

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

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: for 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. (Baber1939:23)

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 after and female were tortured therefore the marriage system came to exist. Sacred, social and personal are the three meaning commonly found in Marriage. Until the present century, it is view 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)

The 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 and female and 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 those 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 breakdown. Intimacy is the most rewarding of all behavior but also a rarest. Intimacy in marriage is the ideal, but 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 mostly found to marry their elder sister's or younger sister's son to their daughter, boy marry the maternal uncle's daughter. It is called "mama cheli, phupu chela" marriage. Northern Magar (Dolpa) marries the phupu's daughter as well. But the Magar of Palpa, Tanhu, Syanja do not encourage the marriage of son of maternal uncle to the phubu's daughter. If anyone get physically involvement to the paternal aunt's daughter then the person 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 had to give fine to the maternal uncle. Even these days Palpa Magar is found to use this custom. (Baral-Magar 2050 BS)

Marriage, on 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 has 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 practice 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 practice by Muslim all over the world. Cross-cousin marriage is also practice by traditional

culture in a small number of countries including Nepal by some: Magar, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Chantyal of ethnic groups and Thakuri of Chetri caste group through the time immense till now. Marriage in Nepal is also one of the sacred performances of life cycle though different ethnic group observe in their own way.

Marriage practice among Magar is found different, within clan and sub clans but commonly, they follow Hindu practices. Mostly Magar 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 the Magar 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 Inuit, 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 polyamory 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)

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, 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 father 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 has cause the dowry system. (ibid)

Levirate marriage is a type of marriage in which a woman marries one of her husband's brothers 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 *levir*, 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, 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 (Chinese "Xiongnu", "Hsiong-nu", 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 to 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 (Laumann et al. 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 married 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 polygynandry, from a combination of the words polygyny and polyandry. (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 in virtually every society. The very oldest records that refer to it 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 marriage seen in the modern age: Arranged marriage is chosen by others. Marriage has fulfilled a role of diplomacy between monarchies and other dynastic contexts, such as business families. As 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: two Roman forms of marriage. Covenant marriage: - in some U.S. states, a form of marriage where divorce is made more difficult. Digital marriage - two people who have no connection outside their gaming lives come together within a virtual community. Fleet Marriage: - Clandestine marriage in 18th century England in the vicinity of Fleet Prison. Mut'ah (temporary marriage in Islam banned by Sunnis but still practiced by Shias). Morganatic marriage Proxy marriage: - Ceremony in which the bride, the groom, or both are not physically present and use stand-ins.

There are many terms for marriage types

After death marriage - Permitted in France, a living person can marry a dead person of the opposite sex after the individual has died. Child

marriage: - A practice in which the parents of two small children (even infants) arrange a future marriage.

Common-law marriage - A form of interpersonal status in which a man and a woman are legally married because they live together.

Covenant marriage - A marriage in which the couple agrees to obtain pre-marital counseling before marrying, and accept more limited grounds for divorce.

Digital marriage: - A marriage that occurs within a computer or video game. Endogamous - When marriages occur within the boundaries of the domestic group, between members of the same group.

Exogamous - When marriages occur outside of the domestic group, between members of different groups. Flash marriage - Speedy marriage between couples.

Forced marriage - A marriage in which one or more of the parties is married without his/her consent or against his/her will.

Marriage by abduction: - A form of forced marriage in which a woman who is kidnapped and raped by a man is regarded as his wife. This practice is limited to a few traditional cultures in a small number of countries, and is generally regarded as abhorrent by other cultures.

Heqin: - Arranged marriage for political alliance during Medieval China.

Hollywood marriage - A marriage between Hollywood celebrities or a marriage that is of short duration and quickly ends in separation or divorce. Human-animal marriage: - A marriage between a human and a non-human animal.

Intermarriage or Mixed marriage: - Marriage between people belonging to different religions, tribes, nationalities or ethnic backgrounds.

Interracial marriage: - Marriage between two people of differing races.

Interreligious marriage: - Marriage (either religious or civil) between partners professing different religions.

Lavender marriage: - A marriage between a man and a woman in which one, or both, parties are, or are assumed to be, homosexual.

Miscegenation: - The mixing of different ethnicities or races, especially in marriage, cohabitation, or sexual relations.

Mop marriage: - An archaic common-law practice in which a couple could be joined by a local magistrate at the annual Mop Fair.

Morganatic marriage: - A marriage which can be contracted in certain countries, usually between persons of unequal social rank, which prevents the passage of the husband's titles and privileges to the wife and any children born of the marriage.

Putative marriage: - An apparently valid marriage, entered into in good faith on part of at least one of the partners, but is invalid because of an impediment.

Shim-pua marriage - A Taiwanese tradition of arranged marriage, in which a poor family (burdened by too many children) would sell a young daughter to a richer family for labour, and in exchange, the poorer family would be married into the richer family, through the daughter.

Sister exchange: - The husbands trade sisters to be each other's wives in order to keep any group from losing a woman.

Traditional marriage - A term used by the traditional marriage movement to describe only monogamous opposite sex marriages.

Walking marriage: - a practice of a matrifocal group in which the woman accepts her lover each evening, but he departs in the morning to work in his mother's household.

Widow inheritance: - the widow may have the right to require her late husband's extended family to provide her with a new man; more commonly, she is obliged to marry the one they choose. Yogic marriage is a tradition of Hindu Marriage done within Shavite Sadhaks and

Sadhvis, to enable them to get positive energy from yajmans and homas. ("http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Types_of_marriages" July 2007).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The Hindu society of Nepal address cousins as sibling, therefore it is not very comfortable subject to pursue existing marriage of cross cousin practice by Magar society of Nepal. Hinduism declaration of state after unification of Nepal made the ethnic people observe culture and religion simultaneously. The Hinduism followed by Magar has made them critique of traditional approach of their lifestyle. The imposed Hinduism had no philosophy meaning to them according to Lecomte-Tilouine. She added that the Magar had their own Bhanja as Bahun to observe and they took Bahaun for service only as performer not the teacher. Magar still practice cross cousin marriage, the symbol of cohesion in society or family. Therefore, they deserve a thorough study to find out their attitude towards prevailing practices. Some of them are very hostile about the practices and it was not one but very smooth and sensitive observation is needed to pinpoint the real problem.

There is very few authentic written publication of Magar literature to sum up their lifestyle therefore the oral version documentation from the interview and observation is only tool to reliability of the field work. The etymology of cross cousin marriage is taboo in the Nepali society as cousins are considered to be sibling in Hindu society. Though it is not outlaw to practice cross cousin marriage, it is considered primitive practice. Some ethnic groups are found to practice cross cousin marriage and Magar are one of them. It is contradictory situation for being Hindu and marrying cousin therefore the Magar women who practice cross

cousin marriage are not Hindu or the Hindu religion and tradition is the syncretic practice, though it is not representing the whole community but a fraction of it. (rwr.org. 2007)

All the ethnic groups have their own culture and tradition. Some of them practice cross cousin marriage which is not taboo in the community though they know it is in the society. Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Chantyal are some of the ethnic population found to practice cross cousin marriage even to the date and Thakuri is exception of caste group to practice cousin marriage. Therefore, it was not as easy as presumed to find the real reason behind the practice without annoying the community. Some of the respondents seize to speak out clearly in the fear of wrong interpretation or of not knowing the outcome of the research and relent to be part of it.

Though traditionally Magar are animist but they are most influence by Hindu culture. The Magar were amidst Brahman and Newar and in time they were influence by their culture. The young generations of Magar are educated and modern, aware of their environment so they want to marry of their choice. Magar women of urban setting observe Hinduism and the cross cousin marriage practice is not Hindu character therefore Magar women refrain to answer some question or open about it especially, cross cousin marriage.

This study on marriage system among Magar of Kathmandu Valley being cosmopolitan group is found very important for knowledge about the existing marriage practices and investigate whether they still practice cross cousin marriage, the percentage of divorce rate, and the reasons of changing marriage practices among Magar.

1.3. Objectives

The general objective of this study is to find out the marriage practices of Magar settled in Kathmandu Valley. The specific objectives of this study are:

1. To investigate cross-cousin marriage practices among Magar women in Kathmandu Valley.
2. To examine their attitudes towards cross-cousin marriage practices.

1.4. Rationale of the Study

Marriage is an important social institution which if violated it might turn the society in a ditch which means the right is not used in its norms and value. This study is necessary for to look through the eyes of one community like Magar and their women to represent the situation of women of Nepal. Cross cousin marriage is not practiced by only Magar community but other ethnic groups are also in the practice and harmoniously having family life. This part of practice must be recognized by law and draw the line for it. The practice must be recognized or banned according to its effect to the society. 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 cousin marriage poses birth defect to their offspring. The thorough research is needed to establish new law before banning on any traditional culture and not spread false alarm if it is irrational to other culture.

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 undeveloped therefore it is essential that all problem of the society be uncovered. It will provide new set of literature in the status of Magar women and their attitude which will make the way towards this search process more easily in the future. This study will try to reflect marriage practices especially on cross cousin marriage among Magar and their attitude towards it. This study focuses on the marriage, customs, tradition, occupation, language, religion, and several other aspects of the Magar women of Kathmandu Valley

1.5. Organization of the Study

There are altogether six chapters. The first introduction chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, rationale of the study. The second chapter is about the review of general overview and the relevant literature. The third chapter deals the methodology, which was adopted during the fieldwork. It describes the various techniques of data collection and the analysis. The chapter four describes the geographic, socio-economic and cultural setting of the study. Chapter five elaborates history of the origin of Magar, describes social cultural practices of the Magar in the study area, which includes the structure of family, life cycle ritual as well as festivals and traditional customs, economic organization of Magar in the study area and the social and cultural change of Magar and in fifth chapter summons the summary and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

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

2.1 Overview of Relevant Literature

The relevant literature regarding Magar women do not consist in the manner of their attitude but an attempt is made to include the studies on this topic. The overview is focused on women as a whole and come to Magar women later on. The influence of Hinduism in urban area is at the most optimum compared to the rural and remote area where the state rule is not follow strictly. The changing trend of marriage practice has influence the cross cousin marriage as well and traditional influence is by gone. Even though the study is on Magar women from indigenous community the life style of urban setting and the traditional Magar women, are two blend in one. The Hindu system, following the media in the tremendous way and modern trend has influence the marriage practice altogether as change is the law of nature. This is true for material objects, 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 a dynamic and hence is always changing from one type to another. (MacIver and Page: 1982)

2.1.1 Magar Women

The Magar women are ethnic group of Nepal. Magar women of Kathmandu Valley observe Hinduism and the culture is base on Hindu religion therefore it is necessary to know about Hindu custom and culture. It is obvious that the caste system bestows upon Magar women as Shudra, (Thapa 2007) and their division of work is to serve the upper class caste. The knowledge of Hinduism is necessary for accountability of the custom they follow or the standard by the state as law they had follow:

Vedic Rituals

The Vedic ritual has not denied any performance for women. The daughter is look upon as of purity, devotion, tenderness, affection and bliss. The father focused to worship daughters as an emblem of virginity, purity, tenderness and have right of Vedic study. The education for women was respected in Vedic rituals. Gorgi and Maitreya had learned the most obscure philosophical doctrine of soul from Yajnavalkya. Though the Sudra were not suppose to learn but to serve the high caste people, therefore it was not a question of Sudra to learn but to serve which they are doing till now. (Chaudhary 1996)

The Arth Veda in extolling the Brahmacharya says that by Vedic studentship a girl wins a young husband. The women have learned songs and aptitude in music and recognized their position in society. Rigveda bears testimony to women song on ceremonial occasions. The attitude of women in dancing is also exhibited in Rigveda. Maitreya kept on Vedic learning thus declaring that she cared nothing but the highest knowledge. Two daughters of Dakshyana were born students of theology. The

grammar also records the proficiency of women scholars in the Katha and Rigveda. Ubhayabharati was champion scholar of theology. Sulava was so learned that she could teach even Janaka. She could not be married as no male was equal to her. The daughter after her samaskara was entitled to perform the Saraddha rites for her parents. Like her son, the daughters also are not entitled to be married within one year of the death of any one of her parents. (ibid)

The daughter has the right to marry in her adult age at her discretions the person whom she loves. The Kamsutra and Epics also uphold the discretionary power of maiden in choosing her husband. The former expressly says that Gandrava- the love form of marriage- is the best of all forms of marriage. If successful in love, the younger sister can get married before the elder sister. There is a magical rite in Athe Veda in which the bride binds the lover with her hair. This symbolically means that the lover will be truly hers alone. (ibid)

There is no trace of joint family in Vedic period when both sons and daughters left their parents after marriage. The increasing difficulties for marriages and life of women were experienced after the development of rigorous caste system and the development of the joint family system. The Vedic ritual shows that the mother and the father were one and the same before and after the death.

The Position of Widow in Vedic Era

The principle of Vedic rituals underlying was that, when equal half is absent another half is useless. If one dies the best other half can do is passed away with the deceased one or if s/he could not do so this ordeal chooses the way s/he felt the best. A widow had the privilege to go for

Niyoga or remarriage. Niyoga is a practice through which a woman can have secret relations with another male if she does not have child. This relationship cannot be valid after the conception. She must not meet the person except for this purpose. Mahavarata says Niyoga can be applied to have not more than three children. The preference for Niyoga is to be given to brother of deceased husband or the near relative. Kautiliya allows a queen to resort Niyoga, if old king is badly in need of a competent and honest heir. Niyoga is sanctioned under following circumstances. i) when the wife or widow is childless, ii) when the wife has children but they are not honest and competent, iii) but not when the wife or widow already has honest and competent children, Niyoga is not permitted.

Though some of the medieval authorities prescribed this verse the mantra for widow burning many of the other authorities accept it for widow remarriage. A widow is allowed to marry many times as she liked, either the younger brother of her deceased husband or anyone else. The discrimination on widow marriage is a later developed phenomenon. Vedic literature is silent about it. (ibid)

Widow: In Vedic rituals the position of a widow was not more miserable than the widower. The principle underlying was that, when the equal half is absent another half is useless. "Mahavarata says Niyoga can be applied to have not more than three children" Chaudhary (1996). The preference for Niyoga is to be given to brother of deceased husband or the near relative. Kautiliya allows a queen to resort to Niyoga, if old king is badly in need of a competent and honest heir. The Rigvedic verse X.i8.8 "Rise O' women, come towards the world of living: thou lies by the side of this

one whose life is gone. Be the full-fledged wife of (this) your husband who (now) grasps your hands and woes you". (Ross, 1961)

Seniority System

In Nepalese hierarchy among kin is based on age and gender. The grandfather is the head of the family and if there is no grandfather the male gets the seniority and mother of the senior male also takes advice from her. Senior female is the bridge between the generations.

Among urban middle class families the older generations do not dominate elder generations to the same extent as they did in a joint family. The Vedic ritual was more scientific and gave equal opportunity to both sexes to emerge but not miserable compare to later literature. Buhari for buhartan or daughter in law are only suitable for household and caring for family. The nuclear family has change the status of seniority system as they do not have senior member living together in the same house.

Women in modern time are restricted to purity by Sutra and Brahmatic from state declares of Hinduism which was not so from the literature of Vedic rituals. The effect of Manus philosophy is observed till the day in part of India and Nepal. After this development in society women were seen as property to be kept securely by father, brother, husband and later son.

The Marriage Objective in Vedic Ritual

Hindu society has great importance of marriage divided among the life cycle of human ;Vbirth-marriage-death. The development of religious consciousness marriage became a social necessity along 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 they have after their death than the world living. They must think about the world later and make it as secure to live as they can, according to the belief that they must discipline to get better life than the present they are living. Kama as the instinctive life is recognized as one of the aim of 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. The same study forty two percentage of total respondent 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 younger 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 a sort of sacrifice and religious necessity. (Rasaily, 1993)

Hindu Marriage Types

The two types of Hindu marriage are described in Smriti approved and disapproved. The eight forms of marriage are defined in approved and

disapproved: they are Brahma, Daita, Arsa, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Raksasa and Paisacha. Among all these forms of marriage: Brahma marriage which means to ask the groom to offer the daughter as “kanyadan”. Groom promising his wife to be always along with her in dharama, artha and kam. Daiva 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 arsa marriage. to married off the bride and groom and promise to look after the bride is prajptya marriage. asur marriage unlimited dowry given by father to marry the daughter to the groom. Gandarva marriage is a kind of love marriage as the bride and groom get married as they please. Rakshasa marriage is getting the bride by force or kidnapped, capture or sometime raped and get wife. Paischa marriage gets wife by raping while she is unconscious. (Shrestha 2054: 13-14)

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 a marriage ritual also accept that the girl should be married only after she had attained puberty. During the time of Ramayan and Mahabharta 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. In fear of commencement of puberty let father give his daughter in marriage while she is still in cradle. If her father don not marry her and she remain 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 Mohammadans 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 conducive factor in contemporary trend towards pre-puberty marriage. Parents or guardian, 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 Nepal 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 is 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

Hindu have both endogamous and exogamous restriction in the selection of mates, which are caste system and 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 follow up from the state of Nepal.

Spinda exogamy prohibited marriage between person related from mother and father side and Gotra exogamy prohibited marriage between individuals of same Gotra. Spinda restrictions were used for fewer generations than the Gotra restrictions. Brahman also used pravara restrictions. The selection of mates is also restricted due to the prevailing practice of dowry.

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 Chetri caste, where cross cousin marriage is accepted widenes the practice of choice.

Polygamy Practice

Polyandry was practice in Mahabharata by Draupadi, having five brothers as her husband. 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. The numerous example of widow marriage in the Hindu literature but the children born to widow have lower status in Dharmasutra, Budhayana, Gautama and Manusamhita.

The polyandry once was practice of Khasas: Nair, Iravans and Todos of Indian sub-continent. The people of cist-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 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 in practice. However, there are instances in which a man in poverty rents or pawns his wife temporarily.

Polygyny 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 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, Pariskli, 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)

Remarriage

In Nepal remarriage of a man is allowed under certain condition, 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 is 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 though 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 toward Gandarva form of marriage was not so favorable. Even Kalidas has 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

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

In Nepal majority of young men favored the inter-caste marriage and love marriage but those above 45 are still against this practice. Newars are more liberal toward the inter-caste marriage than the Brahmin. 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 Rig-Veda society has no instances of premarital relations. 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 Svetadety, 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 come into contact with 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 a women and men found through history. But, without a doubt, every opinion has a clause for beauty. Beautiful, young, women sweet and emotional was found in several ancient literatures. Hardwar Grhisutra states four qualities of women wealth, beauty, intelligent and family. According to Manu ;Ÿlet one wed a women 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 sickly, nor one either with no hair (on the body) or too much, 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 unwidowed women and this rule was more strictly followed in later days. Again the bride was required to be 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 brahmcharya. Lingaprana emphasizes 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 of bridegroom was 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 suffer 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 had transformed itself into a joint family whose head managed 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 were being made to harmonize them with the interest of the joint family, family constitution was 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 is clearly institutionalized and the means of transforming authority was so well defined that it was not 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 pertained more to the outside jobs than those within house. Except in farm families women did not work outside the house. The amount of work done by a woman depended 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 was 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 chances 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 there 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 where as Nepalese women fear of heavy 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 chelibeti, 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 very respected position. 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.

Concern for Education

Education is considered insurance for family's future. Educated girls tend to get better husbands. Nuclear family women have to contribute to family income and there are better opportunities for married women to work outside. Therefore parents encouraging girl's education. In nuclear family parents are more anxious about the education of daughters. This tendency is higher with younger generation.

Property

Manu give law of inheritance and partition in the following words. After death of the father and mother, brothers having assembled may divide among themselves in equal share the state for they have no power while the parents live or the eldest alone may take the whole paternal estate and others shall live under him just as under their father.

Dharmasutra writes who preceded Manu, were clearly against impartial nature of property and patriarchal nature of family. Some ancient writers have stated only an additional share to the eldest son, According to these writers disqualified persons are not able to getting any share of the property. Smirti writers also agree on that the son have right over the fathers property till he is alive and faultless and they divide it among themselves after his death only.

Vyasa stressed property received on gift or acquired through ones own learning and effort was not needed to be divided with other brothers. According to Sukra women's property through dowry and gift involves her sole right.

In Nepal to a large extent productive aspect of the house hold is male oriented. According to inheritance rule only sons inherit agriculture land and daughters may inherit it if they remain unmarried to the age of thirty five. Male siblings have equal rights in the inheritance to land of their father. New Law Act has revised to equal right of family inheritance for sibling.

Modern Trend

Though Vedic ritual was broader to women Manu smriti follower were very strict to Hindu women. The changing trend of marriage occurred when the education and modernization led women out of their household. The urban settling started women to work as extra hand of income in the nuclear family.

Nuclear Family is new trend of family due to enactment of different laws. Education have empower women and their knowledge of different culture have made bold enough to talk about right of mobility and work to support family economy. The requirement of skill on women by new economic and administrative system also enhanced their power to mobilize and engaged in work other than household. The women started working for livelihood and could support the family along the husband and no longer be the object of joint family.

The shape of Hindu family and the attitude of women towards it; has been changed. Hindu orthodox practice is less compare to 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 or family festivals or retire to the villages after making some money in the city. (Elder, 2007)

Family is facing changes due to industrialization and urbanization. When they shrink to nuclear families and scope of relationship widens, then even close relatives become public. The relationship between family members becomes much equilateral. Father and father-in-law lose their power over married children as they move to separate homes located far away. Due to these changes husbands and wife are beginning to share now common social life.

In Nepal also the forces of modernization are causing to change attitude of people towards family. People are tending to favor nuclear family. But for emotional attachment with their children most parents favored joint family system. (Rasaily: 1993)

The study of area also they favor nuclear family. The lifestyle is changing and every household have their own small family due to urbanization and modern concept as the nuclear family has more freedom to mobility and independency.

In India fight for independence forced men and women to move out into a wider world and break many previous habits. Gandhi insisted on lowering caste barriers. Higher education for women is making them want more independence including their own homes when they marry. Nevertheless, the nuclearization of family is slow in Hindu society due to the prevailing laws of inheritance and its distance from Europe. (ibid)

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)

Among the Newars of Kathmandu valley usual joint family is of three to five generations and well to do Newars always like to live in a joint family. Jyapoos usually tend to break their family more frequently. The usual causes of breakdown of the joint family are conflict between women and her mother in law and that between the wives of brothers. But education seemed very weak factor in the family breakdowns. (ibid)

Occupation

The nuclear family has become integrated into work field, each member will be working in the field of which other member knows little. Middle class married women are beginning to enter the work world. Their increasing contact with the outside world through college, friends, media, family members settle in urban has made some girls career conscious. Single women have difficulty in overcoming the social stigmas attached to the new freedom of behavior which is necessary to carry on urban occupation. (ibid)

In Nepal percentage of employed women is increasing in recent years. Nepal Rastra Bank Multipurpose Household Survey shows that 2.9% of female are employed in manufacturing sector. According to CBS survey Manufacturing Industries in 1987 17.4% female were employed but in 1991 this figure increased to 23%.

Nepalese women in Management

According to 1991 population census 9.54% of women are in occupations other than agriculture. About 5% of total work force of government constituted women employees. Women represented 14% of employees in a study of 32 organizations, among them 15% were in top level. According to the same study a Nepalese women manager is typically married (86%) and aged between 31-40 years (47%). Majority of them hold graduate degree and are more qualified than their husband. Most of the women manager live in the urban, nuclear family and have two children. Despite their husbands being quite supportive and inspiring person to their career 52% of the women found no help from them in cooking dishes. Majority of Nepalese women managers expressed that they have considerable say in decisions affecting their household. Only obstacles to their career are social attitude towards their employment and their reproductive and productive roles. (Chhetri, 2004)

Nepalese women manager are however far different from an average Nepalese women. They are from very privileged background, having very good education and supporting family members and got married at older age than the average age of census. This information is positive towards the status of women but majority of them are still living in the status of tough and shadow. (ibid)

Women in Recent year: Sutras and Brahmins writers stressed upon purity of a woman and placed more restriction on women. The effect of the Manu's philosophy is observed even today in many parts of Nepal. According to this development woman at every stage her life is required to be protected by someone, her father when she is young, her husband when she is married and her son in old age. (Rasaili 1993)

As far as it can be trace, whether in the brilliant civilization of the ancients or the most primitive of preliterate peoples, we find man hedged about with restriction in the choice of a 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 peoples 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 the different stages of development of marriage theories have influenced integration 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 people recognizes as 'outer circle' as Sir Henry Maine calls it ;V

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 of marriage between the castes still persists in India, and in most countries it is disgrace (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, and 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 peoples 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 his 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 gets-or, 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)

Rising, Ghising, Magar do not marry in same clan and other place Magar also does not marry within same clan for seven generation. If they do so they become 'bhai phora' (splitting of brother) and they become s asurali kutumba. Some Magar remarry their sister in law after the death of the elder brother if the brother had died nature death. After the death of 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 form the society. This kind of relation is called "haDa- phoDa". They are boy cote from the kitchen and clan. They would go away from their village or palace 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 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 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 Rising Ghising Bhirkot and Palpa have this kind of marriage but now days 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's, 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 the 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 inbreed 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 can 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 descendants. “Inbreeding (or endogamy) is also common among Christian in the Middle East, although less so 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 cousins or second cousins. Americans have long dismissed cousin marriage as something practiced only among hillbillies. That old stereotype of inbred mountaineers

waging decades 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 Ish?und 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 offspring. However it is likely that we are all

descendants of cousin marriages. 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 marriages. (Hassain 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 marriages 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 increases the odds of birth defects. Marrying within your own town further increases your chances. Cousin couples have only a slightly higher incidence of birth defects than non-related couples. (ibid)

The frequency of cousin marriages in the USA is about 1 in 1,000 and in Japan is about 4 in 1,000. . The range of consanguinity in Saudi Arabia is between 34 to 80+percent. It is estimated that 20 percent of all couples world-wide are first cousins. It is also estimated that 80 percent of all marriages historically have been between first cousins! (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 a 2-3% risk of birth defects, as opposed to first cousins having a 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.

A second-cousin mating entails an additional risk of birth defects that many authorities assess at about 1 in 100 - the same risk as that of a woman producing offspring at age 35 or, again, that of an even younger man. (BBC Newsnight, 2007)

Famous cousin couples

Albert Einstein married his first cousin. And so did Charles Darwin, who had exceptional children. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the longest serving US president in history married his cousin (not a first cousin, however they shared the same last name). The first Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. MacDonald married his first cousin. God commanded many cousins to marry, including Zelophehad's 5 daughters, Eleazar's daughters, Jacob (who married both Rachel and Leah, first cousins), and Isaac and Rebekkah (first cousins once removed). They were all ancestors of Jesus Christ. If it were not permitted they won't have married their cousin and had left intelligent offspring.

Cousin marriage in South America:

Marriage between parallel cousins is considered incestuous; marriage between cross cousins is the preferential form. Of the possible cross cousins the last choice is the father's sister's daughter. A Chacobo groom realizes that he has been accepted as a future husband when his bride cooks the meat he has previously brought her and they eat it together with manioc flour prepared by her. Parents seldom interfere in their daughter's marriage, unless the groom is considered "lazy." The new couple establishes their residence in the house of the woman's parents. The son-in-law is required to help his father-in-law in minimal household tasks. Four or five years later, the couple builds their own house and the light noninstitutionalized bride-service ends. Although monogamy is the predominant marriage rule, polygyny is frequent for mature men. Domestic Unit: Although Chacobo constitute temporary uxorilocal extended families, the domestic unit is still the nuclear family. The household tasks that the son-in-law has to perform for his wife's father while living with him do not conflict with the time needed for a young husband to work on his own garden or on his own rubber trails. Inheritance: After death, Chacobo belongings are either broken or buried with the dead person, except for shotguns and iron tools, which are inherited by a son. Land or ritual privileges are not inherited.

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 cousins 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 couples 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 had 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 haemophilia 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 will carry the gene - it does not stop marrying. Historically in the Royal Families of Europe over the last few centuries, marriage was invariably between 1st cousins to build bridges and maintain/propagate dynasties. Other than haemophilia 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 creating undue anxiety.”(www. Marriage between first cousins, 2008)

In Asian Cultures: 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 it might turn the society in a ditch which means the right is not use in its norms and value. Sans the value and norm the society can't function properly. This study is necessary for 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 marriage is accepted. Even though, the new coming 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 cousin 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 was very new concept for some of respondent that Magar 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 confirmed they do. It shows that there remains the kin terminology to address. They do not call solti as other do. They call bhena for easier relation compare to Brahmin.

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 if, 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, the NHS offers services tailored to the needs of modern women. (Darr, 2005)

Cousin marriage is a social choice: it needn't be a problem British Pakistanis shouldn't be stigmatised - they just need a responsive health service, says Aamra Darr the formerly high incidence of congenital defects, specifically hemophilia, among European 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)

The investigation, carried out for BBC2's Newsnight, found that while British Pakistanis accounted for just 3.4% of all births, they had 30% of all British children with recessive disorders. Ms Cryer said: "As we address problems of smoking, drinking, obesity, we say it's a public health issue and therefore we all have to get involved with it in persuading people to adopt a different lifestyle." (BBC News, 2007)

In Europe, on the other hand, particularly in Mediterranean cultures, cousin marriage had a long and reasonably respectable history, although it's rare today. Finally, European deep thinkers contended that certain forms of cousin marriage increased social cohesion. No such positive arguments were advanced in the States. Let me emphasize we're talking strictly about cousin marriage here. The incest taboo regarding parent-child and sibling unions is still strong in Europe and most other places. Setting aside the issue of exploitation where minor children are concerned, such unions have a much higher risk of "adverse medical outcome"--7 to 31 percent, according to Bennett et al. (Cecil. 2008)

Offspring of first-cousin unions have 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 cousins 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 can 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 clean, the likelihood of genetic defects resulting from cousin marriage is low. A recent review (Bennett 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 findings show 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 professionals responsible for their care, would be an ethical and inclusive approach for a multiethnic society. (ibid)

"The practice has little do with Islam (or in fact any religion) and has been a prevalent cultural norm before Islam." Inbreeding (or "endogamy") is also common among Christians in the Middle East, although less so than among Muslims. Islam itself may not be responsible for the high rates of inbreeding in Muslim countries. (Similarly high levels of consanguinity are found among Hindus 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 health consequences for offspring. (Darr, 2005)

The societies who do not practice cousin marriage were against the entire process of defective gene and the cost of investigating 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.

2.2 General Overview

2.2.1 Economy

Bista describes the Magar have been depend on agriculture for their subsistence economy. They grew corn, millet, wheat and barley in the dry terraced field (Bista 1976:64) Bista also explained about the occupation of Magar working is a craftsman for their living. The Magar living in northern parts have become quite prosperous by engaging in long range trading that takes them near to the northern border of the Tarai. Shrestha and Singh has analyzed (1987:104) the occupation of the magar people. Their economics based on agriculture but they are also working as minor

digging, basket weaver, painting, engraving design of flowers by round slender bamboo pens and have manufactured Nepali paper.

Hitchcock (1966)ⁱ found that population growth in this community was excessive and the land was limited due to the pressure of population. To meet the demands of Magar families most of the younger males have to join in army both Nepal and British., India. The Magar community of Arkhala of Nawalparasi district, their farming system, their socio-cultural practices and the environmental condition of the area. He also tried to described slash-burn system in agriculture practice hunting, fishing and various Pooja and the consequences reflected in relation to their traditional attitudes, beliefs on supernatural power and their activities. (Shepherd, 1982)

Although Magar were animist they have been influenced by Brahmin from the Indo agentive plains who gradually manipulated into the acceptances of Hinduism. They worship the trinity like Brahma, Vishnu and other Hindu local deities. They celebrated all the Hindu festivals like Dashai, Tihar, Mage sankranti, Saune sankrati, Teej (ibid p.34)

The Magar, seem to have received the Rajput chief with much cordiality and now have adopted great part of the ferocious costumes of mountain Hindu. They eat copiously the flesh of hog's goats, sheep, ducks and fowls, but now abstain from beef. They have, in general, submitted to the guidance of the same and sanyasis that instruct the Rajput, but formally had priest of their own tribe called Damis, and worship god is in his part of services to remove the ghost". (Hamilton, F.1819)

Historically, Magar who belonged to Kaniwale clan, worked as smiths, miners diggers. They were looked in a lower class people such as the Gharti and Shepherds. The magar are outstanding as former and are known as the Pakali Magar. They also collect berries, roots herbs and everything edible from the woods.” (Hermanns, 1954)

Gurung has analyze relationship between natural resources management of local institutions and their ritual practices of Tarami Magars of Tara khola of Baglung district. Tarami Magar has the communal ownership of land, forest and water resources through the local institution. The communally preferred their ritual practices like Marti Brume Puma. These rituals explicitly intended for religious purposes operate to lesson and restrict the impact over natural resources in the area. (Gurung: 1996)

Baral-Magar (2050 BS) describes the various social and cultural features of Magars of Palpa, Tanahu and Syangja district. He shows the traditional homeland of magar is western hill of Nepal. They speak three types of magar languages. They still comprise their own traditional institution and custom but the impact of Hinduism is more powerful causes for the social changes among them. They use their traditional wears like bhoto, kachad, pang and vangra. In few scale the westernization and modernization has effected on their traditional economy, structure and function of the family and kinship.

If the child dies in infant and if the child is daughter the Magar call their nephew in 11th day nauran and put dhago on the wrist of the child. By doing this the children later on won't die, it is the belief among Magar community. This kind of child girl is not considerd as kanya or pure in ritual, or she is consider married. If the girl and the boy in their marriage

age do not like each other, they can marry whom they like. One person said he had done so and later on he had married another woman but his maternal uncle had brought his daughter to his home and later he took her back to his home. But if the girl get married to another man then the husband should give Rs 60/- to the bhanja, the maternal uncle has to give fine to his bhanja in case the girl marry other man.

Marriage alliances are an important means of establishing ties between lineages. The preferred marriage contract in Magar society is with the mother's brother's daughter (Sali). This is the most immediate marriage that can be contracted to strengthen an existing mama-bhanja relationship between lineages. Mager kin terms define these basic ties of alliance. Sali means both the actual mother's brother's daughter and any marriageable women of his generation of any lineage which are his mama.and bhena to the girl who are bhanja of her father. Since this has been true for numerous generations, over time all lineage have become related by ties of mama-bhanja. (Molar.1981)

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

This chapter discussed on the research methodologies based on the available secondary information revolving around the reviewed of existing literature and core feature of the study is based on the primary data generated by the interviews and group discussions. 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

There is very few studies have been done on Magar women of Kathmandu Valley especially urban setting and their attitude of cross cousin marriage. Therefore, there was limited research findings available relating to these societies. This has been so because foreigner as well native Sociologist/ Anthropologists are not interested to carry out research on the urban women. It might be because of less culture preservation is found. Hence, this study aims to fulfill the gap of studies on Sociological/Anthropological aspect.

3.2 Research Design

This study has adopted descriptive as well as exploratory research design. This study attempts to explore study area and the study has adopted

descriptive because it has described the perception of marriage of Magar women as a system and their practices.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data have been used in this study. Primary data has collected from fieldwork using various methods, tools and techniques. The secondary data has taken from 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 Universe and Sampling Procedure

The Magar women living in Kathmandu Valley represent many districts of Nepal. The random sample women of western region and eastern region have different attitude towards the cross cousin marriage due to their change in the environment and situation. The chosen 64 Magar women were selected, who are living in different part of Kathmandu Valley. They told about the custom of their own region which they still do though pattern is changing as the new generation don't want to follow the old tradition. Therefore, the 64 respondent represent their marriage practice from different region they came from.

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

Generally, household head male take the initiation but the Magar women marriage conception were for women to fill the questionnaire therefore

the wives were taken as key informants. The random study leaving close relatives the sample all in total were 64 household. It was from different parts of Kathmandu Valley. Thecho, Tikathali. Thankot, Maharajgunj were the place of seven generation settlement. Thapagau of Bhaktapur were also place of old settlement. The new settler were in Bagdole, Tikhedewal as well they were from different place of Nepal. The culture and tradition differ according to their custom. The household composition, family structure, income were key question focused primarily.

3.5 Techniques of Data collection

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

3.5.1 Observation

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

3.5.2 Interview

Interview with Head of family was conducted so as to find out overall directing of the family. The interview schedules were both structure and unstructured type. Quantitative information was taken from structured interviews and qualitative information was taken from unstructured interview. Structured interview was used to collect the data about the history, the rites and rituals, socio-cultural organization relationship of the other community people and their culture, tradition etc. The unstructured interview adopted with people at any time span wherever/ whenever they were free to discuss. This method has used to collect the information about their social cultural and also ritual values.

3.5.3 Group Discussion

The group discussion was conducted by the researcher to get the information associated with the study. The community members of Magar association of Lalitpur, some local leaders, teachers were together present for the discussion. It was to acquire and to confirm the output of interview or version of one place to other. For example the Magar of Dolpa district practice cross cousin marriage and on the top of it they marry both side of cross cousin, daughter of paternal aunt and maternal uncle which other Magar don't.

3.5.4 Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire survey was not needed for qualitative survey. Some structured were provided for the Magar women of different place of Kathmandu Valley migrating from different regions.

3.5.5 Key informants

Key information is important for research from which the research can gain reliable data. Key informants were invited to gain reliable data. In the study area community social workers, wife of social worker, the magar old aged men and women, the relatives of informants, visiting parents of Magar students, Magar women organization activities have interview to get depth knowledge on fulfilling the objectives.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Data

The key data collection tool-questionnaire was pre-tested and later distributed among the sampled respondent in selected areas by researcher. Since researcher was acquainted with some of the family, personnel approach was also 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 responses from the sample family.

3.7 Data Processing, Analysis, Interpretation

The data gathered through observation, interview was first tabulated manually using dummy tables and then comprised. The data was then summarized and aggregated using Microsoft Word and Excel programs for further analysis and meaningful presentation of the collected data.

The level of awareness among women as validated by the data was also compared across has been developed and presented It has attempt to describe attitude of Magar women on cross cousin marriage practice.

3.8 Limitation of the Study

The study faced limitation as it relied heavily on interview and observation. Some respondent answer out of obligation rather than of interest and in some cases few detail were left unanswered, misunderstood. Whence, the information may not be as valid and reflect the true perceptions of the respondents.

The study focuses on those families having access at all of resources. The respondent represents a different class of affluent citizens compared to other Magar women of village. Again, the mindset of the Magar women that the study revealed could prove to be far from the reality of majority of the rural Magar women.

The Magar women who were married to their cousin felt little uneasy as they felt it was out of context as they were in the urban setting. The family bond and up bring were some element to obey their parents for arranged marriage. The cross cousin marriage has no chance to flourish in urban setting as found in the area where Magar settled 217 years ago. Most of Magar women observed Hindu ritual and it was confusing situation for them to explain about cross cousin marriage. The local Magar women told that such marriage must be abolished as it was primitive and health wise not prevailing. It was not expected from the interviewee to feel out of place which is not so, after all everyone is the

product of cousin marriage even it is reluctant. The cross cousins marriage is still practice in the rural and even in Kathmandu Valley by them who are descendents from joint family. Their value of family cohesion is very strong that there is no place for other's saying. They represent from the strong family of joint and still have tie with their relatives back home.

It was the wistful idea to get interview and analysis the data. As Baber had written it is the primitive society who has kept the value and norms of society even in the critical situation. They have rule and whoever violet it get social boycott which is using by new law as well in family law. To get the tactful idea without arising question was very trustworthy task and justify them is irky responsible.

The study was on Magar women. The researcher has made use of her social network in finding appropriate agenda. There was no ethical consideration made for the study, as this is an open research on the socially acceptable agenda. The researcher has made use of her social network in finding appropriate respondents and following up the research in the sample. This initiative could have a partial influenced the respondents, hence the collected data. The research findings would be provided as a set to all studied for their organizational reverence as well as a compliment to all the respondent involves in the study.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

The study was on Magar women. The researcher has made use of her social network in finding appropriate agenda. There is no ethical consideration made for the study, as this is an open research on the

socially acceptable agenda. The researcher has made use of her social network in finding appropriate respondents and fulfilling up research in the sample. The research findings would be provided as a set to all studied for their organizational reverence as well as a compliment to all the respondent involves in the study.

The evolution of marriage did not go through the same stages as Morgan's system of cultural stages. Cross cousin marriage is not anyway inferior practice than polygamy monogamy known of the recent trend. The family relation, social organization calls for self-development not for self-negation. The ethnical consideration must be analysis for cross cousin marriage practice by ethnic communities.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY AREA AND THE PEOPLE

4.1 Physio-geographic Setting

Mostly Magar are the settlers of hill. They have come to settle in Kathmandu valley during the unification of Nepal and as the center of administration, they have settled permanently. Later the trend of migration to urban was for more facilities and easy life. The study focus on cross cousin marriage respondents are settler in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts.

This study on cross cousin marriage practice among Magar women was carried out mainly in the Kathmandu valley due to the major migration from all over the country. Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal, the center of activities including international, is one of the heavy migration. Kathmandu valley specifically the sampling Magar resident areas of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts were chosen as the study area given the nature of the study.

Magar women have come to Kathmandu Valley from different parts of Nepal settled with their family. Some Magar women were born in the area of study, some married to men of the study area and some have come to complete their higher study and settled later.

The village: Tikathali, Thecho of Lalitpur districts are the residential area of the settlers from the time of Prithivinarayan Shah. Thapa gaoun is located in Sanothimi, Bhaktapur district and Sitapaila, Rampur, Maharajgunj, Samakhusi are from Kathmandu district of settlers of seven generation or more according to residents of Tikathali. There are other places which he had forgotten the name.

Climate: The weather of Kathmandu Valley is very suitable for all season. The place is famous for the climate and the beauty of the Mountain scenery. It is degrading as the warming of the world is affecting the valley, too.

Natural resources: Land: Kathmandu valley has most fertile land in the country and the suitable weather suit all kind of vegetation except the mostly extreme hot climate one. Forest is one of the asset water stone mine. Except

Ethnic composition:Magar are found to be settling in Kathmandu Valley along with Brahimin Chetri Kami Damai and other caste of Newar though social hierarchy of Magar is rank in Sudra of caste system including all the tribes of Nepal (Thapa 2008)

4.2 Socio-economic and Cultural Setting

This study tried to explore on some of the socio-economic backgrounds of the respondent in term of age, religion, family type, clan/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.

Thapa is the largest clan group in number while Budhathoki clan population is the least in the total numbers of sample households of 64. Among them only 64 Magar women sample were chosen in the study area. 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 sun set. There are in additional two subsidiary meals which known as arni and khaja. According to her respondents they usually eat millet food but now they prefer much to eat rice and maize food. Most of the Magar at present use millet for production of wine. Wheat and maize are their subsidiary food. magar mostly take rice, pulse, and vegetables (dal bhat tarkari) twice a day.

Most of the magar are non-vegetarians. They keep cock pigs for meat and use a lot of meat and fish with wine. Traditionally magar served buff meat but now least persons served it. When their relatives or guests visit their home rice and chickens are cooked. Homemade wine is widely used for arni. Drinking rakshi and jand in evening rituals and festivals are also quite common among them. If some relative visit their family, the family feels a necessity to treat them nicely by offering chicken and rakshi. They consume large amount of grain for making these jand and rakshi.

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

Chewar: The hair-cut of the male child for the first time is observe as Chewar when the child is in odd year of age. (i.e. one year or three year). It is done by the maternal uncle, and in his absent the mother of the child does the first cut and other make it bald. The ceremony is a kind of ceremony but it depends as the expense parents want to meet.

Guniu-choli: The female child is given new clothes as she is recognized to reach the puberty and celebrate by gathering relatives and giving gift. 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 13years of age.

Marriage: Marriage is social function in the recent context done by the Hindu priest in the temple premises or in front of the house premises. The cousin marriage is seen as fulfillment of the marriage who favor cross cousin marriage.

Death: Death is observed for 13 days and do according to the Hindu priest for secular ritual and salt is avoided in the food. Some of the Magar now take the service of their own Bhusal (priest) and make secular days to seven instead of thirteen.

Festivals and Traditional Rituals: Dashain,Tihar, Maghe Sanskranti, Saune Sankranti, Chaite Dashai are festival of observe by Magar of Kathmandu valley and ancestor is observe once in a year according to their date. The local festivals and traditional ritual as amako mukha herne, babuko mukha herne are some of additional custom compare to other region of Magar.

Birth Rituals:

Childbirth causes ritual pollution (sutak) to the woman's family and some kin of the husband. The pollution generally makes off in eleven days since childbirth's day. Functions like puja, marriage are banned by lineage. On the 11th day of the child a name giving ceremony (nwaran) is performed by a Brahmin (pandit). This name giving ceremony can be held on seventh or ninth day in special condition.

The Brahmin comes to perform the naming ceremony on the 11th day. He first purifies the house by sprinkling a little cow urine inside, and outside of the home and gives to each family member for purifying themselves by touching to their lips. Puja is conducted on the veranda of the house with the father of child but in his absence grandfather and other male of the family follow the puja and unmarried phupu of the child. The Brahmin draws a name from his astrological table (patro), according to the date and time of the birth the name is very important because birth calendar (china) is written on the basis of it. The name giving ceremony is special while a male of the family (father or grandfather of the child) holds the baby, the Brahmin rolls up the leaves one at a time to form a tube then he blows the repeating name into the boy's ear long with a spell in Sanskrit. The baby holding by his/her family members is run around the home twice or three and the baby is exposed to sun. Brahmin then ties sacred thread (dora) in the hands of the child and his father and mother. As a final act in the ceremony the father of the child gives tika and some money to Brahmin and married and unmarried daughters of the father's lineage members who may be present there. The father also bows down and touches his head to the feet of these girls, gives each a few piece, and puts some flowers in their hair. In the case of different, they show

different behavior between male and female child according to the respondent male child is opener of the heaven door. That way they give higher emphasis on male child. Generally on the sixth day they observe chaiti. They believe that on the sixth day the god comes and writes the destiny of the child forehead. They maintain whole night of sixth day by singing and dancing with lighting lamp.

Most of the Magar are non-vegetarians. They keep cock pigs for meat and use a lot of meat and fish with wine. Traditionally magar served buff meat but now least persons served it. When their relatives or guests visit their home rice and chickens are cooked. Homemade wine is widely used for arni. Drinking rakshi and jand in evening rituals and festivals are also quite common among them. If some relative visit their family, the family feels a necessity to treat them nicely by offering chicken and rakshi. They consume large amount of grain for making these jand and rakshi.

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 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, though not married to cousin Kathmandu Valley Magar also marrying within 'tin ghare' clan endogamy marriage. In the study area three types of kin relation exist these are: consanguine, affinal 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 affinal, 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 Magar 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 sailba for the (father's brother), baje (father's or mother's father) phuju (father's sister), pusai (father's sister's husband) etc are classificatory kinship term. The sibling relation is elder to younger dai (elder brother) and bhai (younger brother). The younger greet their elder (father, mother, elder brother and sister) by placing their forehead on his/her feet. When a family does not have any child, they adopt the son of others (which may be same cast or other).

House structure: The house structure of new settlers are modern and cemented whereas the other settler house are made of mud, brick and thatched hay roof where cow shed is kept underneath.

Dress ornament: the women wear the 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 married women and mature girls wear dhoti, choli, sari, blouse, batuka, petticoat, lungi made in

foreign as well as in Nepal. old aged magars wear black-cap, shirt with black waist coat, lion-cloth (kachhad), white turban (seto-pheta), bhoto, pakhee (rug) khadi, khurpeto (an instrument of putting sickle) and white patuka (white waist tied cloths). But the type of dress with regards to the younger is different from old generation. They wear shirt, jeans pants and jeans jacket, vest sport shoes. In short, they use only kinds of dress, which they get in the market according to their choice. The Magar of Kathmandu wears Magar dress occasionally in festivals only.

In the magar community, during the partition a portion of property called Jiuni, which further puts aside for himself and his wife to sustain in old age. The jiuni may be as land or 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 to be the inheritor 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 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. According to respondents the cause of breaking down of joint family are many conflict between two brothers, mother-in-laws and daughter-in-law, conflict between daughter-in-laws and earning and lower sharing etc. according to the old man wife is the main reason 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 Buddhism 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 villagers recognize three classes of priest; Lama, Jaisi and Dhami.

Magar marriage is sacred reflecting the society of Nepal polygamy is in practice if there is no child after twelve years of marriage. Sorrorate or sometimes niece is married to the husband for child, the first wife still remaining in the house. Divorce is out of question and general concept is that the women who do not bear child especially son, they allow their husband to remarry. Sometimes the husband is not compatible to child bearing but it is always accepted to blame women and if the man is to be found unable to bear child the husband is an ashamed to have, or the man is not macho. The women are discarded in the family but the man is laughing stock in the communities or society which is not bearable for wife as well as the whole family. It is easier escape than face the consequence boldly they blame women and get silent agreement to remarry. Niyogh was performed in the Hindu culture like in Magabharat Myth the famous warrior Arjun's father was not his biological father and his father also the biological son of his younger uncle from Niyogh performance. This kind of knowledge was not to pass to general properly or sometime the Yogi performed the ritual and bears the child if the husband agreed or mislead by woman, not to be outcast by the society. It was out law later.

The widow and widower marriage is accepted in Magar community. After death of husband the wife is found to remarries. The woman is not lookd down by the community. The Magar community accepts the marriage of both widow and widower. Arrange marriage, love marriage,

jari marriage, widow and widower marriage, sari marriage. There are two types of marriage: Audya and lagnya: lagnya marriage is arranged marriage and other marriage is audya marriage. This custom was agreed by only who were recently shifted to Kathmandu Valley.

Magar women living in Kathmandu Valley are settling since many generations, who came during unification in 1757, 247 years ago. Later on most of the Magars started to live in Kathmandu Valley after they got job in British Army, Nepal army, Nepal Police and different job in various government and non government organizations. Magar are commonly understood as honest, sincere and na?ve as well as liberal nature. Due to modernization most Magar living in Kathmandu valley are assimilating with other caste and other indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal and are also plasticizing different marriage and cultural practices.

CHAPTER 5

CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE

Magar women attitude towards cross-cousin marriage practices:

Marriage 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 people 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 unthinkableness of marriage between the castes still persists in India, and in most countries it is disgrace (only a few years ago it was still a crime) for persons of widely different rank or social position to marry. The most exogamy practice is not practice among inter race. The marriage between high class and low class by caste, economic status is not encouraged. The black and white of America is not common couple. The endogamy marriage persists in every society and cousin marriage is not the exception.

5.1 Age structure

The age of the Magar women respondents were between people living

Table 5.1
Age Group of the Respondent

Age Group	Total No	% of Total
15-19	3	4.69
20-29	15	23.44
30-39	16	25.00
40-49	21	32.81
50 Over	9	14.06
Total	64	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007

Kathmandu valley were between 16 to 86 as required by the topic of enquiry. The age structure of respondents suggests their maturity. It's normally understood that the mature person have more experience though they may lack academic qualification. The greater number of respondents 21 (32%) are in the age group of between 40 to 49 years of age and youngest 16 years of age and the oldest one 86 years of age. These Magar women were very valuable as they expanded the variety in age and experience. The informants told that the age of marriage is increased due to schooling of girls and social context made them aware. The choice of appropriate mate also is one of the cause of late marriage. They were not able to speak out their mind against the parents will in old days. The new generation can speak their mind because they are educated as well, the older generation accepted the cause of late marriage as well, while in the interview. The early marriage is not good in name of religions, they told while in interview. All of them told that they would marry little older if given the choice. It was arranged marriage it is sometimes economic as well. Some women even said that they went to help the groom household to cook food for the marriage and find out later that the bride was not other than herself and laughed at the consequence. The parents who have young girls to marry, might marry their daughter young compare to other as they are anxious to marry other daughters as well in time rather than keep them at home unmarried.

5.2 Clan and Sub-clan

The greatest number of respondents in this sample study area is Thapa clan

Table 5.2
Clan and Sub-clan of the Respondent

Clan/Sub-clan	Total Respondent	% of Total
Thapa	25	39.06
Ale	9	14.06
Budhathoki	1	1.56
Lungeli	2	3.13
Lyahyo	2	3.13
Pulami	1	1.56
Pun	2	3.13
Rana	19	29.69
Saru	1	1.56
Susling	2	3.13
Total	64	100

of Magar consisting 25 (39.06%) and Budhathoki the least only 1(1.56%). Pulami, Susling, Lungeli, Lyahyo, Saru are sub-clan name of Magar. Rana19 (29.69%), Ale 9 (14.06%), Pun, Lungeli, 2 each (3.13%), Saru, Susling, Pulami and Budhathokieach (1.56%). Thapa, Rana, Pun, Ale, Budhathoki are the clan name and the name to get access to recruitment in army and other job. Therefore, these clan names of Magar women are common name to hold, mostly being wives, relatives of army personnel, job holder. Now a day other sub-clan is also in used by the new generation while filling up form for education and other purpose.

5.3 Education

The respondent 37 (57%) Magar women were literate having school level to higher education and illiterate Magar women were 13 (20.31%) and 14 (21%) didn't mentioned

Table 5.3
Education Attainment of the Respondent

Level of Education	Total Respondent	% of Total
Literate	37	57.81
Illiterate	13	20.31
Not Mentioned	14	21.88
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2007

about the literacy as they might be High school failed and shy to further enquiry (told later). The target groups were married Magar women, therefore the respondent households though had female children, which is not mentioned here. The respondent had not mentioned about their education attainment as they might be illiterate or were owe to answer unexpected question like why not working in office, they told later and some told that primary school were not good enough to mention. Illiterate women told that in their time there were no school near about and who would go long distance instead of working at home. The education for other tribe and especially for women was not encouraged in the time before 2007 BS. Therefore the women of middle class family are not

found to be educated. It was luxury to get good education. Some of those women had home tutorial class whose fathers were high class officer. Girls didn't go to regular school as in their time. Later girls' school was opened.

5.4 Marital Status

Most of the respondents were married as it was sample of married Magar women and their attitude towards practice of cousin marriage. 57 (89%)

Marital Status	Total Respondent	% of Total
Unmarried	7	10.94
Married	57	89.06
Total	64	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007

respondent were married and only 7 (10.94%) unmarried were respondents. The seven unmarried women represent their view on cross cousin marriage. The selected married Magar women were chosen to respond the questions to find about their attitude about the prevailing cross cousin marriage practice and their view. The unmarried Magar women were chosen to find whether would marry their cousin or not. Mostly disagree to marry cousin.

5.5 Age at Marriage

The least age of marriage of Magar women is 12 years old. The age of marriage is 12-19 of 47(82.45%) respondent which is quite big numbers

Age of Marriage	No of Respondent	% of Total
12-19	47	82.45
20-29	10	17.54
Total	57	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007

residing in urban area 0 (17.54%) respondents were after 20 years and 26

years is the late age for the marriage among these Magar women. These Magar women were married in the teen as they recalled it was time when the girls were married young and who would not marry young before puberty they were counted as spinster forever or married by widower only.

5.6 Income and Expenditure of the Respondents

The Magar women residing in Kathmandu Valley have sound income as they have land in Kathmandu or husband is working abroad but the expenditure is also quite high comparing to other community as there are always relatives along their family in the household as they are living in city of facilities and family members come by for medical treatment in big city and any other reasons. They spend as much as they earn they told but all of them their own house which was better compare to their counterpart at rural areas. They told one hand to earn another to spend, two hands to earn and spend.

5.7 Religion

The total sample respondents are 64 Magar women. They mostly were very happy to talk about religion. They regularly visit the most

Religion	Total Respondent	% of Total
Buddha	7	10.94
Hindu	57	89.06
Total	64	100

Source: Field Survey, 2007

famous temple Pashupatinath. The Magar women practicing Buddhism is 7 (10.04%) and Hindu religion is 57 (89 %). The number of Hindu religion practice is high among the Magar women of Kathmandu Valley. The state declaration had made all the ethnic community Hindu including

Magar. Some of Magar women told that their religion were not very definite as they visit all the temple, gumba and other religious places but surely they are Hindu by birth though little knowledge of Hindu philosophy.

5.8 Marriage Practice

Total numbers of Magar women respondents are 64. The arranged marriage respondents were 39 (60.94%) and love marriage respondent were

Type of Marriage	Total Respondent	% of Total
Love Marriage	22	34.38
Arrange Marriage	39	60.94
Court	3	4.69
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: field Survey 2007

22 (34.38%) and court marriage were 3 (4.69%). Religion, one of the important aspects of culture and impact on people, the respondent were 89% Hindu and arranged marriage being the sacred marriage in Hindu religion 61% had attend them. The court marriage is new trend, only 4.69% has used it.

They told that arranged and traditional marriage is better than other as they do not know who might change later and the marriage may break as seen in most love marriage. The love marriage practicing women told that the marriage is done once in their life so why not choose the one to live the entire life happily with no compromise.

The Magar women respondents were married arranged by their family considering the choice of their daughters. Those preferred love marriage or had love marriage came to Kathmandu valley after marrying or

elopement and to settle in Kathmandu for livelihood. Though only few apt for court although to make the lengthy procession of marriage short.

The Magar women respondents were 39(60.94%) had arranged marriage and they liked it because it was traditional, prestigious, and the chance of failure in zero. And they all kept silent for divorce which was out of question as once married to the one guy means 7th times harmony. They would be husband and wife for 7 lives. Once tie of lagan gatho it cannot be reopen it is taboo to talk about divorce as it might mean leaving the god in Hindu philosophy. Kathmandu Magar women are more religious and follow the rule of sacred compared to their partner who is seen to have polygamy practice of marriage. Love marriage is seen as elopement therefore the marriage is not prestigious from the view of orthodox.

5.9 Cousin Marriage

The structured questions made it not possible to ask about their marriage as other place the Magar women are not so much follower of Hinduism though they call

Table 5.8
Attitude of Respondent about Cousin Marriage

Cousin Marriage	No of Respondent	% of Total
Good	27	42.19
Bad	37	57.81
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2007

themselves Hindu. 37 (57.81%) were against the marriage of cousin as they argue that cousins are like brother and sisters and shouldn't marry but if cousin marriage is traditionally accepted phenomenon than it is not argument. It is social impact that they fear for rather than personal matter. 27 (42.19%) told 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 is a permission to marry.

The paternal cousin marriage is not permitted in Magar society but cross cousin is permitted in Magar and other ethnic community of Nepal. The Magar family of Kathmandu Valley consists of nuclear family of urban settling therefore it is not irregular to find no one of them married to cousin in the new generation as they do not have close cohesion in family. 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.

5.10 Occupation

The respondent are 34(53.12%) housewife, 13(20.31%) help in farming as a family member, 7(10.94%) social worker- helping in community as volunteer, 4(6.25%) students (diploma/degree), 3(4.69%) as a service holder, 2 (3.13%) as

Table 5.9
Occupation of Respondent

Occupation	Total Respondent	% of Total
Housewife	34	53.12
Farming	13	20.31
Social worker	7	10.94
Student	4	6.25
Service	3	4.69
Proprietor	2	3.13
Researcher	1	1.56
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2007

proprietor owning boutique and beauty parlor and 1(1.56%) is researcher having M Sc. Degree. The question was forward to the women who are housewives so they might be married to cousin but it was not so. The most arranged marriage was not among cousins in the context of Kathmandu Valley.

5.11 Language

Magar women living in Kathmandu Valley has seized to speak their mother tongue. Only 15(23.44%) speak their language nevertheless they are new settler and 49(76.56%) have forgotten their mother

Table 5.10
Mother Tongue Speaker

Magar Language	Total Respondent	% of Total
Can Speak	15	23.44
Can't Speak	49	76.56
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2007

tongue. Some old Magar women did not find any company to speak. At the time of unification ethnic communities were force to speak Nepali language as one language program of the country. The Magar women shifted to Kathmandu valley when they already had lost their mother tongue and there was no way to practice as most of the speaker had seized to speak. Losing the mother tongue meant losing culture and traditional value. Myagdi Magar women have learnt the mother tongue though they had not spoken for many generation but they are found to practice cross cousin marriage as they live in homogeneous close community.

5.12 Divorce

Marriage is sacred function and divorce is not included in the context of Nepal. The divorce is not seen auspicious against marriage and prosperity. It is sad event and they were not much enthusiastic about it though some had said it was the women's misfortune to get divorce. Hindu system has made husband superior in every aspect of life and her fortune depend 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.

The Magar women kept quiet about the divorce as it is not a good thing to talk about. Even if new woman comes as co-wife some said they shall beat the new women of the husband not the husband but not divorce them!! The condition of divorcee is more 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.

Divorce might be negative concept for many but when compromising is the process where only women have to adjust and abused like an animal, the Nepalese women have started to voice against it. The wife was burn when her husband accused her of not able to bear her son. The Magar women also tolerate many abuses thinking that they were married in the heaven and they shall separate only after death.

5.13 Type of family

The total sample respondents were 64. Among them 45(70.31%) are living in nuclear family and 19 (29.60%) are from

Family Type	Total Respondent	% of Total
Nuclear	45	70.31
Joint	19	29.69
Total	64.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey

joint family. The percentage of nuclear family is very high. The Magar women are educated and demand more freedom to make individual decision while it in not possible in joint family.

Though there are some merits in joint family, they prefer nuclear family. It is economic and modern, not orthodox to serve the family. Mostly women are the cause of breakdown of the family the elder family of the respondents told. After the death of the family head the eldest son become the head of the family in joint family and the new generation had to take his permission as being the decision maker. Than a boy receives his lineage affiliation as a member of this group, a boy secured property right not shared with his sister. The modernization and one family concept with insufficient economic source are the main reason of urban nuclear family. The nuclear family have more time spare for themselves and not share economic burden with lazy members of the family, the respondent told the reason of nuclear family.

The changing trend of marriage among Magar women

Age of marriage is changing as women are getting married after only college education which has expanded the age of marriage without too much criticism from family and friends. After college at 22 or late the girls are able to handle their own households and children and their mother in law won't be able to mould them fully as traditional family custom. Wives too have different relation with their husbands, more companion than subordinates.

The 70% respondents of Kathmandu Valley were from nuclear family having new modern thought and cross cousin marriage is one of the tradition and primitive process in their opinion. The most of respondent opinion was that the cousins were like sibling 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 have been not taboo if they were brought up in joint family.

The interviewee answered though they were brought up in the nuclear family, their relatives were married to cousins and never had other idea then to marry her own cousin, as she was suitable age wise. Economic is other factor to marry where the parents arranged, love marriage is exception. As the interviewee married her niece to her son, the niece had no objection but to participate. The niece was supposed to get married as the parents' duty won't be complete. There was no better man than her cousin in her knowledge or periphery. It was not forceful marriage but arranged by family.

The traditional large elaborated ritual marriage has been eliminated to short ceremonies no longer serve 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 Magar women of urban setting, is more depended on their husbands as they are the breadwinner. Some women are working but it is not sufficient for living. The education level is not high to be independent to rebel against husband when they get another wife. Some tradition family makes the mother 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 and lacking traditional culture, custom of the community does not follow some family norms and the modern mother also can't convince as she herself lack the experience and support if she is from the nuclear family.

The women like to have their say in the nuclear family, where the recreations were largely confined to family members and relatives has change to exhibition, cinema, club instead. Age of marriage increase after college which only made them more bold and aware of their situation, romantic dreamy marriage could not be function if the couple is not earning. Romantic love marriage is only dream not come true for young generation as it could not succeed if they could not afford it. The tradition hold is by women. Divorce was 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.

All the cousins are not able to find cousins to marry as one interviewee was telling that her phupu had only one son so her younger sister got married to him. So all the cousins don't marry all the cousins, for age difference, education and other prospective is seen before reaching out for hand of cousins. The Magar women of Kathmandu Valley told 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 as well modernization has abolishes the practice of cross cousin marriage. The Hindu attitude to marriage has come down from the ancient Vedic times when it was regarded as a social and religious duty. Even today it is looked on as a sacrament, the Hindu parents always considered the marriage as a duty. It is difficult for them to accept the new marriage pattern 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 medically 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 not incest as pictured from the Western country. The cross cousin marriage is practice not only in Asian countries but in America as well. The modern concept is changing toward cross cousin marriage and the gene defect has given anxieties to already new anxious new generation. The cross cousin is not the only reason for defying arranged marriage but rather to marry of own choice.

The Hindu attitude to marriage has come down from the ancient Vedic times when it was regarded as a social and religious duty. Even today it is looked on as a sacrament, the Hindu parents always considered the marriage as a duty. It is difficult for them to accept the new marriage pattern 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 cross cousin marriage.

The changing pattern of lifestyle has made Magar women of Kathmandu valley more luxurious and sophisticated compare to their village contemporary. The lifestyle and acculturate had made them refrain to cross cousin marriage. According to Magar association the Magar are not only living in urban and all of them are not educated therefore it is not entirely as scenario of Kathmandu Valley to represent the Magar community. The originality and tradition is in need of preserving. They are among few Nepali people living in most sophisticated life. Eventually the point is that the Magars have forgotten some traditional culture which

is abhorrent culture to them. It is social freedom to choose life partner cousin or other depends on the choice of couples.

In Vedic period male and female were equally treated. The women were respected and had divine power. Later the orthodox practiced has overwhelmed the philosophy of Hinduism. There is no written document to treat women otherwise than respect them as daughter, wife, mother and grandmother. Even worshipping the goddess of power Durga, Sarswati, Laxmi, Mankamana Devi, Kalima, are all the powerful ladies and the women who fought the war are still remembered.

The household is entirely managed by woman from grandmother to daughter, they do not get certificate to get managed them. Marriage is also a vital part of family and family makes society. Therefore women are the pivot of society, family. The civilization of a country is understood by a thorough study of the position of its women. Magar women being free to use their rights are merely equipped with fewer instruments to work through their way in the jungle.

The Magar women were nevertheless more powerful and could remarry if she liked instead of be co-wife of her husband. The Veda had clearly written that one of the husband's duty was to let his wife and child be as literate as he is. Though Magar and other communities were discriminated by the state there is few educated Magar women in proportion to the population number of Nepal. The earlier Magar had their education in Deharadun, Darjeeling or other place of India. Magar were neither subject of tradition presevers like other ethnic group neither staunch Hindu upgrading to the position like Prapachanda.

More than fifty percent of the total population of Nepal is female but these populations are in miserable condition. The literacy rate is low in Magar women. Women are second class citizen of the state and Magar women are not exception. Weak citizen is burden to state and development therefore it is essential to improve the manpower.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

The purpose of this study is to find out the prevailing marriage practice of Magar women living in Kathmandu valley and not intended to either encourage or discourage between close relatives. Cross cousin marriage is not incest. The Magar women of Kathmandu valley consists of heterogeneous society and the adaptation of their culture, custom as well. It is not very clear the cause of defying cross cousin marriage by the early Magar settler of Kathmandu valley but in time course the traditional arranged marriage is not in practice among them. The new settlers Magar women still found to practice cross cousin marriage in their periphery but they were uncomfortable about it. The cross cousin marriage is not considered incest in any form. It is conventional arranged marriage practice by Magar according to convenience of the resources.

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 Magar women told that it may be the changing trend to marry other than cousins though if it is traditional culture it must not be look down at them who use them.

The Magar were forced to observed Hindu religion after the unification of Nepal, despite of their own belief and tradition. The Hindu caste system classified them as shudra, which had no right to education or learn the

philosophy of Hinduism. The Magar women were married to their cousins and continue the traditional custom. Therefore despite of being Hindu, the philosophy is not follow as they were ignorant about it. The traditional arranged cross marriage was practice continue among the Magar who had conventional attachment with their relatives.

The urban modern nuclear family had refrain to continue cross cousin marriage as they consider them as sibling. The new idea and education had inspired them to achieve new hemisphere which had little place for tradition that was forgotten or irrelevant to practice. The horizon widen for the urban settlers as well as the modernization. It is changing social process according to sociologist due to mobility as well. The joint family contact between relatives retains the cross cousin marriage as it is social cohesion in their context.

The social interaction among the urban Magar women were Newar, Chetries, Bahun communities do not practice cross cousin marriage and in time span they seised to practice. The rural Magar women are still marrying cousin and had shifted to Kathmandu valley also had taken the new trend as modern though they are not very much educated. 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 have 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 toward cross-cousin marriage practices is conventional old which must be changed as they were not married to cousins themselves.

The traditional conventional marriage matchmaker is not needed in Magar society as they have cousins to marry therefore the mate selection to Magar society is taboo. The marriage for 7 generation, in some northern part it is said to be 14 generation prohibited to marry relatives from same gotra and and spinda. The cousins are not from same gotra and spinda.

Polygyny is in practice in Magar society though it is among the rich people who can afford to have more than one wife and consider as rich though it is illegal to have more than one wife. Hypergamy marriage is also in practice as Magar father also can't resist to marry off their daughter to rich family. Dowry system is not culture of magar society though some rich father has seen to give land to their married daughter. The cousin is his own nephew therefore it is not much necessity of marriage. The Magar women used to 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 is also accepted both in rural and urban area of Magar society. Magar women are also open about the decision to marry the one you like even in the cousin case and 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 school, college girls and boys get mixed, employment in factories, working places girls get time to meet boys to know each other and other media like the relatives get the ideas of eligible partners, friends and now a days there are lots of way like

chatting, newspaper, matrimonial advertisement and so on for choice. The qualifications of men are not very different from others. The male must be educated and able to support their family. Hindu 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 education for the wife is the duty of Hindu male which is not seen a concern for Magar male as they were not school in this way. Property right of women is not clear in Magar women as they take it for granted that the property is also her own but when the time comes the women has repent a lot. The property law is mentioned in Nepal law but it has no implementation. The gift in the marriage is women's sole property and the half property is the right of wife enactment of different laws.

The Magar women who are educated and working are very few and they are different from an average Magar women 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 and it is not comparative to urban few Magar women. It is clan endogamy and family endogamy not only cousins. One of the marriage practices is cousin marriage though it is limited and taboo.

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 make decision and take stand. The love marriage is the choice of new generation. It has abolished the early marriage. The Magar women used to 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 Magar women respondent were not educated to hold job they were housewives and work in their paddy field or they were entrepreneur. They had no pocket money to make. They ask their husband.

Cross cousin marriage and first cousin marriage was no different to them as some community of the world made the different. The cross cousin has different family name whereas the cousin has mostly same name like the “kim kim” of Korea have different family but same name 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, 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 but they marry the niece to aunt's brother. The Brahmin marry the younger brother of brother-in-law and they don't marry outside their caste therefore it is a kind of endogamy according to Baber. The Magar along other ethnic groups practice cross cousin marriage. Some of the relatives of the urban settlers have relatives who were married to cousin. The inter-caste marriage of Chetri woman to Magar man had 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 planned 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.

The modernization slowly is changing the traditional family structure which is also helpful to abolish some custom which may be not useful. They may have their choice but not forced to outlaw as well. Cross cousin marriage is social choice and it will change in time span as it is already practicing by the urban settlers, educated new generation and new modern marriage is replacing by materialistic marriage.

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 spread in the society by others with regard to subject of cross cousin marriage. The world health conscious populations were more interested about the birth which the doctors have proof to be wrong. It is not incest or barbarian practice either. The Magar women have also agree that it should be the free choice but not obliged to the family.

The prevailing cross cousin 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 not define as incest by other community who do not practice. It can be little awkward but it has no defect therefore so other should let those who prefer to practice with due respect. Some of them proudly tells that they are more pure blooded as they were married to cousin from three generations. The family is proud as the women feel comfortable to marry with their male as define 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 preserve

the custom, tradition, norm and value of family. The urban families are homogeneous in the function observation. The best part of nuclear family is they are most educated and follow the modern life but lost the norms and value of family, relatives and mostly the relation has become materialize. The family living in rural and urban has made much different in lifestyle and it is sure 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 southern Magar populations developed a syncretic form of Hinduism that combines animist and Buddhist rituals and recognize three classes of priest; Rama, Jaisi and Dhami for their convenience have very little chance for change which make their identity known.

Magar women represent the silent culture. They don't come forward to speak out their mind. The time span of the interview was very limited that it was not possible to dig out their idea in full-fledged. The new educated Magar women totally defied the idea of cross cousin marriage, as not appropriate in the missiles age! The modern trend from joint family to nuclear family, increase in age of marriage, lost of mother tongue, mix settlement with other caste, economic independency, education and religion are some of the factor in the change in the view of marriage structure. The cultural revolutions might be answer to abolish cross cousin marriage. The new generation who is doctor herself married her paternal aunts' son and a MBBS computer engineer got married to her doctor cousin and shifted to Australia. The senior doctor told in my query that it is not wrong to marry cousin as we are all product of cousins!!

Take back seat and relax and let the time take its toll to approve or disapprove. But it is not incest to marry cousins if one likes each other.

The freedom Magar women rejoice much is not only to be documentation purpose. They are needed for implemented and revised on timely manner. There must be women in the decision making level to materialize the effective gender policies and moving more women forward. In spite of freedom women are still not in a position to entertain equity at home as well as work place. The simple reason is that the women at least does the twice work of men both home and outside, whether at office, farm, or any place they work they do much the twice of men and do rarely appreciate.

Magar women 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 equally important so the male could appreciate the contribution of female. Changing of society for development needs both man and woman. It might be hard to accept some cousin whom one don't intend to marry then it could be really a relief for both side to compromise especially not to make the older generation guilty of their conscience.

The family tie is strong among the cross cousin marriage and tradition is very strongly observe. The cohesion of family and clan makes the community rich of culture and joint venture agreeable. The nuclear family may have many positive dimensions for modern women and also for Magar women. Traditionally Magar women were not very strictly forbidden mobility though it might have been so in the urban and nuclear family. The lifestyle does not match the one describe by the urban dweller to the rural settlers though it is common that the Magar women

are free to move in some extent than their contemporary caste culture women. The arranged marriage is accepted by all the Nepali women for the prestige of their parents or guardians.

Most of the societies dominant with patriarchal and Hindu values see the women related activities as those of imposing Western ideologies suitable in their own contexts and which are most often promoted by the international non-governmental organization to fulfill their hidden agenda. The literature found about cousin marriage also indicates that cross cousin marriage though as printed in media is not big issue. There are always limit in primitive practice as it is always as indicated by Baber that the rule is follow 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 proofed by the pathology that there is no harm in gene married among cousin marriage and cross cousin marriage distant not to fear. Dr. Darr (ibid) adds that cousin marriage is not sociological, political taboo.

Magar women were free in the tradition community compared to the modern society strict on women, as it is not found in the origin place of Magar community. Magar daughter always enjoyed equal freedom and sometimes this was exploited and misguided by other community which has no such freedom. The development for women of all communities is needed as 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 research to preserve the good aspects.

Annex: 1

Cousins are sibling

Gharti Magar writes her name as Thapa and tells that they are different Gharti than the one who carry “dola”, a kind of carrier. Her name is not in use therefore she refrain to tell us. She is going to be 84 years old. She is tall, thin and fair complex lady, her hair is all silver colour. She has no teeth except one in the front. She is said that she didn't like the idea of marrying cousin, they are like brother. It is not possible for her to imagine of marrying cousin but her neighbor do practice cousin marriage. She lives near Nishi Bhugi of Baglung district. She told that her husband's home is primitive one as they still practice cross cousin marriage. She lives now in her husband's house after his death. Her only son had died from fever 5 year ago. Now she has one daughter in law and one granddaughter. Her three daughters live in Bagadol and now she is staying with them. None of children were married to cousin.

She was from the place where Bahun is use as their priest. She thinks Magar drinks liquor and come to pray which is against her perception of purity. She also drinks liquor but to die from it is very abnormal death. The ritual is not complete if it is not pure but the cutting of fowl is done by her male relatives as she no more has son to do. They don't do it properly when they are drunk.

She was 26 when she got married. Now a day girls eloped with whom they think is superficial “jhilke”. The arrange marriage is very elaborated and expensive. Therefore short marriage like calling few people and put tika on the wedded couple forehead is enough. For arranged marriage the

ornament is costly as the price of gold increasing every day. She told that she had worn 50 paisa makhamali choli and bought 1Rs ghee for tin. She had carried ghee to Butwal to sell by foot. It was a kind of journey or travel.

Her granddaughter from son was unable to walk until she was quite big about 5 years old, now she is 8 and even she walks shakily. She was not child from cross cousin marriage. She said that the child was taken by ghost and later found, for the cause of her disability to walk properly. She looks healthy otherwise. Her daughter in law was six years older than her son. Her son used to teach in school before his death. Her children were teachers in the village now they have settled in Kathmandu and manage a restaurant for their livelihood.

Her grandchildren from daughters' side are all healthy and good in study. Her great grandson from daughter's side is very brilliant in study and extra activities. She is happy about it. She doesn't like to stay in Kathmandu as there everything expensive. She gets pension as her husband died during the duty in Indian army and she claims her pension from Indian camp, Thamel. She is independent and counts her money properly.

Annex: 2

Cross cousin marriage is customary

Her name is Mrs Pun. She is 40 years old. She is thin and lean. About 5feet tall but has heath problem from gastric and rhymitism. She has married her cousin and now her daughter is married to her nephew. Her

daughter is Masters degree holder and her nephew is medical doctor. Now they have gone to Australia to study.

She has three children first daughter being married now she has one daughter and one son living with her. She is sad because her daughter is not near her. The smallest daughter is also a student in Bachelor degree and her son has completed his Master's degree. So her children are now out of danger of being druggist as it is the phenomena of metropolitan. She thanked her ancestor for giving her satisfactory life until now except her gastric problem.

Her husband consumed liquor in the evening only before taking dinner and sometimes with his friends. But she has not seen him drunk. Her husband is helpful and he takes cares of their three dogs! There is handful fowls, he take cares of, and the garden. He wakes up early and goes for walk with his dogs. Dogs are always happy to see him as he takes them for walk.

The marriage of her daughter was very simple as there were all together 200 family members without including outsider. All the family members put tika on the forehead of both bride and groom and wished their happy life together. They worshipped the deity and next day they went to grooms' house. There were some family gather and celebrated by dancing, playing music and eating, some might get drunk. Some place it is slogan to avoid liquor drink in bride's house. But if it is groom's, the "janti", friends of groom, family members, uncles, father, brother, cousin, sometimes sister, aunt must get as much as they can drink!

Annex: 3

Economically sound

Sangi Thapa, age 49 is an entrepreneur. She lives in Lalitpur, Kushunti. Her hometown is Dailekha. Her husband is abroad. She has 4 children. She was married to her cousin from paternal aunt.

She is satisfactory about her marriage and the most accountable is that the economic is stable if one marries the cousin. There is taboo about cousin marriage and people have tendency to hide or avoid the topic. She added that though it has good points one has to seized cross cousin practice. This is 21st century and people must behave like civilized. Cross cousin marriage practice is out dated not at all act of civilized. If the cousin is doctor or has good position in the society, the girl might like to get marry? It is their wish- she came to agree.

All her children is good at study only her son was too lazy to compete or he had no such completion nature in him, she sound little unsatisfied. Though her first daughter is doctor, second daughter studying lab assistant and her third daughter is in her college and her only son is also in college doing his degree but she wanted him to be more professional like his sisters.

She doesn't have her own house as her contemporary but she is happy she has success to educate her children to their full heart.

She can speak mother tongue fluently. She is very smart and ambitious. Her children are as smart as she is. First daughter always has good

decision to mark, second daughter less talkative but speak to the point when necessary, third daughter is very talkative and outspoken but her son is introvert. It not known what is going on his head. She would like to extend her business and enjoy the benefit one day. Well good luck!

Annex: 4

Cross cousin marriage is good

Devi Pun, age 59 Pun lives in Butwal, is staying in Bhaisepati, has come for an appointment in hospital as her husband had thrown her down from the balcony when he was drunk. She suffered from the broken rib bone and was hospitalized for months. Now she is able to do all short chores as there is nobody to help her. Her husband has ceased 5 years ago. She was married to him when she was only 20 years old. She had three sons. Two of them died when they were toddlers. The first son is now about 30 years old and married with 2 sons of his own, age 3 and 7. Her son is married to her niece. Her daughter in law is her younger brother's first daughter. She is a teacher in government school of Myagdi and her son is in Dubai, working as a office boy. She lives alone with her two grandsons. She has herself initiate the marriage between her son and niece and now as she is all alone, she has no argument. She said that she is neither happy nor sad about marrying own niece to her son. It is possible to know the daughter in law if she is from the family but it also sometimes is hard as the relation tangles in. If one does not want to annoy brother the niece might take advantages and be a little annoying.

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Marriage Practice of Magar Women of Kathmandu Valley

The respondent:

1. Name Middle Name Surname

2. Ethnic group

3. Age

4. Occupation

5. Marital Status

Married ()
Divorce ()
Separated ()
Remarried ()
Single ()

6. Age at marriage (if married)

5. Mother Tongue

Understand () speak ()
)
read () write ()
)

6. Religion Hindu () Buddhist ()
Bon () Christian
()
Other ()

Economic

1- Landholding (respondent) male/female ownership

2- Occupation

3- Income resources

- Monthly income
- Expenditure
- Saving

Food

Bank

House

Education

Literate / Illiterate

High School

()

Higher Education ()

Family Type

Joint Family

()

Nuclear Family

()

Which type of family do you prefer? Give reason.

Marriage

Marriage compulsory for women: agree
disagree

- Objective of marriage:
- i. physical enjoyment
 - ii. continue of heritage
 - iii. adjustment
 - iv. to social norms and values
 - v. old age partner
 - vi. economic partnership
 - vii. pay ancestral debt
 - viii. other

Virtue of life partner: essential attributes () an ideal life partner ()

Being a wife what position do you give to your husband:

Above ()

below ()

equal ()

other ()

Marriage prefer: Traditional
crowded
temple
few people
swoyamver,
one day
Traditional with party at hotel
Brief worship,
party at hotel
court marriage
elopement
other

Why? Reason:

Maintain tradition and culture () Take place once in lifetime ()
))
Cheap and best () Free from any kind of
burden ()
Expected from her () Other
()

Appropriate marriage age: Girl _____ Boy _____

Satisfied the age of marriage (18 years for both) Yes () No ()
)

Why not?

Responsible for choosing the life partner: parents ()
))
boy-girl parents, ()
boy-girl
()
parents and caste ()
)

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

Physical beauty
Color
Occupation
Behavior
Work skill

Education
Amusing
Property
Family
Background
Urban
Dowry
Other

Opinion of marriage: Civil contract
Sacrament
Do not know
Other

Maternal home relationship after marriage: nearer ()
farther ()
as it is ()

Feeling with new family good bad

Food serves on the basis of seniority: Yes No

Food serve on the basis of sex: Male/ female: Yes No

Interact the male other than you family members/relatives yes
no

Marry in your own gotra: yes no

Number of family members _____

Before Marriage No of Family Members ()

Family break to small size Yes () No ()
Cause:

Dislike head of family

Conflict between mother in law and daughter in law

Conflict between members

Few earner and more spenders

Obstruction in personal development

Poor socialization of children

Uncontrollable size of the family

Belief that more separate kitchen brings more love and coordination

Migration due to job

Clash on property

Other

Do you want to stay with your married son?

Why?

How do you find single family?

Better care of children () need to live in discipline
() enjoyable () no need to keep accounts
of income ()
other

Demerits of single family:

Economic insecure due to low income
Lack of care during maternity and illness
Being small family relatives and neighbor can dominate
Can not give enough time to look after the small children
Being alone can be busy to do all the household chores
Other

Joint family

Good () bad () indifferent ()

Joint income

- Economical and social security
- Joint property
- Economy in spending
- Free time for personal entertainment
- Learning through knowledge sharing
- Healthy family environment
- Other

What are the demerits of a joint family?

Give the numbers according to the priority:

Less earners and more spenders

What does your husband do to solve quarrel between you and mother in law?

Take side of: mother () wife ()

 indifferent ()

Preference given to daughter () son () both ()

No. of children you prefer son _____ daughter _____

Do you treat your daughter same as your son? Yes No

Son	Scolded	punished	counsel	allow
Come home late				
Quarrel inside or outside				
See the movie with/without permission				

Daughter	Scolded	punished	counsel	allow
Come home late				
Quarrel inside or outside				
See the movie with/without permission				

Reason if any _____

Do you give preference to as study?

Son

Daughter

Both

Daughter and daughter in law same treated

Yes

No

Justify

Knowledge about recent marriage divorce

Prefer as first child

Son

daughter

Menstruation

Natural sin

Seclusion period ___ day

First time

Maternity period impure: Yes

No

How many days?

Spend morning and day time

Kitchen work

Family decision

Not allowed for widow

What is your opinion about cross cousin marriage?

Good ()

Bad ()

Why do you say so?

Is there any one in your area who had cross cousin marriage?

Magar are supposed to marry their cousin, they are doing so in rural area and in Kathmandu too, what do you say to them?

Do you prefer your son to marry your niece if they like each other or fall in love?

How would you help to evade this concept of cross cousin marriage?

There are very few living in remote area and the new generation do not want to go there, in this situation there are few suitable people left for marriage and cross cousin marriage is inevitable, what do you say?