

**Change and Continuity in Marriage Practices among
Gurung of Benigaon, Gorkha**

A Thesis

Submitted to

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The Department of Sociology & RD, Prithvi Narayan Campus, Pokhara in

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Master of Arts

in

Sociology

Submitted by

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ग्रामीण विकास विभाग

भीमकाली पाटन, पोखरा, नेपाल
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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

It is with great pleasure that I recommend for the approval of the thesis entitled **Change and Continuity in Marriage Practices among Gurung of Benigaon, Gorkha** has been completed by **Lebindra Bahadur Gurung** under my supervision for partial fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Arts in Sociology. Therefore, this thesis is recommended for its evaluation.

Date : 21 December 2018

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LETTER OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the thesis submitted by **Lebindra Bahadur Gurung** entitled **Change and Continuity in Marriage Practices among Gurung of Benigaon, Gorkha** has been approved by this Department in the prescribed format of Humanities and Social Sciences.

EVALUATION COMMITTEE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study looks at continuity and changes of marriage practices among the Gurungs of Benigaon of Gorkha. However, this study also explores the continuity and changes in social and cultural practices, including festival, gender roles, economy, education, social stratification and politics. The Society has undergone a number of social, political, and economic changes. The people of Benigaon share with many other peoples the experience of changing pattern of their lives. Local Gurungs identify these changes as a process of transformation of their village from rural to urban, or traditional to modern.

Marriage is one of the universal social institutions (Rao, 2002); which has been constantly changing over the time across the space. The study population is not an exception. In the study area marriage practices are being carried out following traditional norms and practices; however by incorporating some of the elements of changes at the same time. Both continuity and change in the marriage practices can be traced out through sociological investigations.

Families are gradually transforming from joint family to nuclear family type. Previously, they not only lived in a joint family, but also owned the property together and collectively participated in the production that is agricultural production. Now, except a few families, majority of the families have turned into nuclear families. Likewise, they have also diversified their livelihood strategies, not depending on agriculture alone. Labor migration is one of the prominent factors that have triggered the changes in the study village.

Social and cultural change is ubiquitous and observable in each and every community. The members of the community themselves experience and describe it better than anyone else. Such experiences can be sociologically documented and understood; and this study

is one effort to explore and understand such changes in a tiny Gurung village of mid-hills, focusing more on changes in marriage practice.

1.2 Problem statement

The central theme of this study is to understand how the younger generation of Gurungs of Benigaon or whole community preserving their identity and cultural heritage in that unpredictable and changeable society. The people of the clan (senior citizens) were more likely practicing as shamanism rather than Hinduism and Buddhism but they are slightly changing as in particular religious faith. To find out their religious practice and belief in last past fifty years is being the most important issues. Now the people of the Benigaon or Gurung society are changing their leadership system to the younger generations not to their senior one which is against the Gurungs' cultural governing system.

The people of Benigaon do not speak Gurung language but they need to follow the rituals activities and traditional worshipping and *karma* (birth and death rituals) according to their priests, who only used Gurung languages. There has been growing disbelief on traditional and ritual values because they do not understand language and Priests' instructions and system also seems vary between every occasions and on the case of individuals. In general cases Gurung people follow the three different kinds of priests such as Pachyu, Tu Ghyabri and Lamas but availability of those priests is very difficult in urgency. Normally Priests are urgently needed during the death of one individual for funeral services in the way of Gurung, it is called Bato Dekhaune (guiding up to symmetry), but it is not easy to be available in time because those all kind of priests do not live in Benigaon. They must have come from 5 hours walking distance so; it takes normally two days for normal procession, that means dead body should lay down for more than 24 hours. So, people from younger generation are seeking rationale about traditional issues which is not accepted by whole society.

Secondly loosing of social institutions like Bheja, Bethi, Hurri, Parma, Jhara, Guhar are surprising fact among the conscious matured people. The loosing existence of rich traditional music and culture like Rodhi, Ghatu, Shorati, Chudka, Jhyaure made the society away of their (satya) truth fullness. The greatly formed traditional welfare and social capital like thati, pauwa, chautari, bisauni and pachheta were nearly collapsed and

similarly worshipping of Natural Gods like spring's god, Ban devi, Sansari Mai, Nangrung Devi etc were also stopped. How those moments were occurred during same periods? Few traditional thans and thanis (temples) were still in existence and people are worshipping continuously which is also most important to know the reason.

Gurungs are still relying heavily on a pastoral and agricultural way of life. They grow rice, wheat, maize, millet and beans (soya bean, mas masyang etc.) normally on terraced mountain slopes. They also derive subsistence from livestock (goats, buffalo, cow and local chicken) for meat, milk and manures but it is heavy pressure on community forests. The loosing of their professional skills like hunting (Animal and birds with gun and other traps) and farming in burning and farming (khoriya: jungle allocated by community) make the older aged people vulnerable. Going to collect fodder and firewood in jungle are completely stopped and daily eating habits and food products, food processing systems are also forced to change but all of them are not economically capable to accept.

Generally speaking, the Gurungs are divided into two castes (Jaat in the local tongue); Chaar and Sohra jati. Within the Chaar jaat there exists further sub-divisions: namely, Ghale, Ghotane, Lama and Lamichhaney. Their cultural norms and values are greatly influenced by the Tibetans but a source said that jats were constituted by the influence of north Indian tribes. The Tibetan priest performs the entire ritual task that they are the main part of their culture. The Sohra jaat means (16 castes); but there exists more than 32 jats (approx) further sub divisions, named by their different settled clans. Their tradition mainly relies on Pye- taa, Lhu taa. They have their own priests, 'ghyabrees' and 'pachyus' and they do all the traditional rituals. They almost follow 'Bon' religious faith which was originated from Mongolia to Singatse of Tibet with the origin of gurungs. They are also mainly Buddhist by religion. But we can see the influence of Hindu religion in the culture and tradition of the gurungs is great differences to study.

Social judgments between the community were controlled by the chief (Mukhya) is abolished now but during the non political issue elder or senior person try to give the decision in similar manner but it is not being practicable. In rare cases like death, birth, mangani, marriage, Nwaran, chhewor, Bhat khuwai (rice feeding) are taken as advice of senior people but who would take that responsibility is the main problem of the

community. Nowadays during the Chhewor, marriage and any kind of party (bhoj) are being tuff and expensive, where drinking and eating habits of the people are completely changed i.e. economical burdened.

Regular Gathering (General meeting) of senior citizens in Aunsi and Purnima are not more existed and the band of working in Aunsi and Purnima also dismissed. Major festivals such as Dashain, Tihar, Maghii, chaitre Dashain and Chandi Purnimas were celebrated in different ways than previous and new types of festivals are introduced like Lhosar, Maghee, Teeja, Mata tirtha Aunsi and Kuse Aunsi are being more popular among the community. In the scenario, this study aims to solve following major research problems:

1. How is a Gurung society and culture changing over the years in a mid-hill village in Gorkha district, focusing on marriage pattern, in particular?
2. What are the main factors that contributed such to changes?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall objective of the research was to explore social and cultural changes among Gurungs of a mid-hill village of Nepal, and account the factors that contributed to those changes. The specific objectives were as follows:

- i. To investigate the socio-cultural and economic factors that contributed to those changes.
- ii. To account and describe the changes in marriage practice over the generation and analyze the contributing factors for such changes.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study is purely an academic study, as it has been undertaken to fulfill the minimum requirement for Master's Degree in Sociology. Therefore, its immediate significance is an academic one. However, since this study has explored and elaborated social and cultural changes occurred amongst the Gurungs of Benigaon. It may provide some knowledge on

changes taking place among ethnic Gurung community due to the interplay of different factors. And thus, it may prove to be significant from applied point of view too for certain NGOs, and GOs working in the similar fields.

1.5 Limitations of the study

Being an academic study, it was undertaken within the boundaries of limited time, budgets and other resource. This study was carried out in a limited territory of Benigaon of Gorkha. In addition, this study focused in the marriage practices of Gurungs. Therefore, the finding and conclusion drawn from this study may not be widely generalized out site the village and other than Gurungs. Obviously, some generalization can be made considering the socio-cultural and economic similarities with the studied community.

1.6 Organization of the study

The main body of this study has been divided into six different chapters excluding References. The first or introductory chapter presents the background, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, its limitations, significance, and organization of the study. The second chapter presents the /theoretical overview and review of related literature. The third chapter includes the methods adopted in this study and the fourth chapter presents continuity and changes: society, culture and economy of Benigaon. Likewise, chapter five explains marriage among the gurungs: continuity and change. Chapter sixth presents the summary, findings and conclusion of the study, which is followed by references. At last annexes are presented.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical overview

2.1.1 Social change and cultural change: Conceptual overview

The nature is never at rest (Rao, 2002: 483), so change is considered inevitable. Just like nature, society is not static phenomenon. Social structure, social relations etc. are subjected to constant change. They may be growing, decaying, finding renewal, accommodating it to extremely variant conditions and experiencing vast modifications in the course of time. According to Jones (1949), social change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction, or social organization. Similarly, cultural change refers to all alternations in any aspect of culture including customs, art, science, technology, philosophy, rules and patterns of social organization etc. By nature, social and cultural changes are closely interwoven. The processes, factors and mechanisms of social change and cultural change are similar to each other, sometimes they even precede in the same pattern.

2.1.2 Factors of social and cultural change

There are various factors which determine the nature, pattern and characteristics of social and cultural change. The main factors among them are briefly summed up here:

Education: Education can initiate social and cultural changes by bringing about a change in outlook and attitude of man (Rao, 2002, 508). It can bring about a change in the pattern of social relationships and thereby it may cause social and cultural changes. Earlier educational institutions and teachers used to show a specific way of life to the students and education was more a means of social control than an instrument of social and cultural change. Modern educational institutions do not place much emphasis upon transmitting a way of life to the students. The traditional education was meant for an

unchanging static society not marked by any change. But today education aims at imparting knowledge.

Education has been chiefly instrumental in preparing the way for the development of science and technology. Education has brought about phenomenal changes in every aspect of men's life. It is viewed as a factor which brings about changes in the behavior of society. It is a process which enables every individual to effectively participate in the activities of society and to make positive contribution to the progress of society.

Economy: Economy itself is a social institution so it definitely plays a significant role in social and cultural change in a particular society. Economy organizes a society's production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in the market. These goods and services are highly valued since they ensure the survival of people or make their life easier. Due to this reason, any change in the economy directly influences society and the social life of people. Moreover to this, through technological change and advancement economic system has stood firmly in favor of social and cultural change. From historical point of view also, the shift in economy i.e. from hunting & gathering to present capitalism has provided a definite dimension and direction for society and culture to change. So it should be well accounted for in the study and description of social and cultural change.

Technology: The technological factors refers to those conditions created by man which have a great influence on human-socio-cultural life. As argued by Ogburn & Nimkoff (1946) technology changes society by changing our environments to which we in turn adapt. This change is usually in the material environment and the adjustment that we make with these changes often modifies customs and social institutions. Changes in production technology, change in means of transportation, changes in means of communication etc. also play significant role in determining the nature and types of socio-cultural changes. The modern age is often called the technological age. The technological development has given rise to industrialization, urbanization, development of transportation and communication, modernization, changes in the social institution and so forth. Technology and social change are intimately connected where rapid technological and social change goes hand in hand. In utilizing the products of

technology, man provokes socio-cultural changes. Technology leads to socio-cultural change by changing our environment to which we in turn adapt. A single invention may have innumerable social and cultural effects. For ex. Computer has influenced our entertainment, education, literature, politics, attitudes, knowledge and so on.

Demography: Demographic factors like birth, death and migration affect the numbers and composition of population, the birth rate, the death rate, hereditary quality of the successive generation etc. in a number of ways and hence result in different types of socio-cultural changes. A population change is itself a social change but also becomes a casual factor in further social and cultural changes. A stable population may be able to resist change but a rapidly growing population must migrate, improve its productivity or starve. Great historic migrations and conquests of the Huns, Vikings and many others have arisen from the pressure of a growing population upon limited resources. Migration encourages further change for it brings a group into a new environment subjects it to new social contacts and confronts it with new problems. No major population change leaves the culture and society unchanged.

Culture: Culture itself is one of the factors of social and cultural change as it is a dynamic process. According to Rao (2002) culture gives speed and direction to social change (p. 500). The culture of a place or a group can be diffused, assimilated or acculturated by another group of people or society. Similarly, cultural lag, cultural revolution, cultural ideologies etc are the issues affecting the socio-cultural change of a place or a country. A culture that has been evolved in one place diffuses to other places through various processes. Each culture moves forward with modification and refinement either by external impacts or evolution within it.

2.1.3 Theories of social and cultural change

a. Evolutionary theories

Evolutionary theories are based on the assumption that societies gradually change from simple beginnings into even more complex forms. Early sociologists beginning with Comte (1975, orig. 1851–54) believed that human societies evolve in a unilinear way-

that is in one line of development. According to him, there were three stages in the development of human thought and society namely the theological, the metaphysical and the positive in a way represent the three basic stages of social change.

Morgan (1877) believed that there were three basic stages in the process: savagery, barbarism and civilization. According to them, social change meant progress toward something better than the previous one. They saw change as positive and beneficial. To them the evolutionary process implied that societies would necessarily reach new and higher levels of civilization. This evolutionary view of social change was highly related to Charles Darwin's theory of organic evolution.

Those who were fascinated by this theory applied it to the human society and argued that societies must have evolved from the simple and primitive to that of too complex and advanced such as the western society. Herbert Spencer a British sociologist carried this analogy to its extremity. He argued that society itself is an organism. He even applied Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest to human societies. He said that society has been gradually progressing towards a better state. He argued that it has evolved from military society to the industrial society. He claimed that western races, classes or societies had survived and evolved because they were better adapted to face the conditions of life. This view known as social Darwinism got widespread popularity in the late 19th century. It survived even during the first phase of the 20th century. Emile Durkheim identified the cause of societal evolution as a society's increasing moral density. Durkheim viewed societies as changing in the direction of greater differentiation, interdependence and formal control under the pressure of increasing moral density. He advocated that societies have evolved from a relatively undifferentiated social structure with minimum of division of labor and with a kind of solidarity called mechanical solidarity to a more differentiated social structure with maximum division of labor giving rise to a kind of solidarity called organic solidarity.

b. Cyclical theories:

Cyclical theories of social change focus on the rise and fall of civilizations attempting to discover and account for these patterns of growth and decay. Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin can be regarded as the champions of this theory (Rao, 2002). Spengler pointed

out that the fate of civilizations was a matter of destiny. Each civilization is like a biological organism and has a similar life-cycle, birth, maturity, old-age and death. After making a study of eight major civilizations including the west he said that the modern western society is in the last stage i.e. old age. He concluded that the western societies were entering a period of decay as evidenced by wars, conflicts and social breakdown that heralded their doom.

Arnold Toynbee focuses on the key concepts of challenge and response of society in his famous book 'A study of History' (1946). Every society faces challenges at first, challenges posed by the environment and later challenges from internal and external enemies. The nature of responses determines the society's fate. The achievements of a civilization consist of its successful responses to the challenges; if cannot mount an effective response it dies. He does not believe that all civilizations will inevitably decay. He has pointed out that history is a series of cycles of decay and growth. But each new civilization is able to learn from the mistakes and to borrow from cultures of others. It is therefore possible for each new cycle to offer higher level of achievement.

Pitirim Sorokin in his book Social and Culture Dynamics published in four volumes from 1937-1941 has offered another explanation of social change. Instead of viewing civilization into the terms of development and decline he proposed that they alternate of fluctuate between two cultural extremes: the sensate and the ideational. The sensate culture stresses those things which can be perceived directly by the senses. It is practical, hedonistic, sensual and materialistic. Ideational culture emphasizes those things which can be perceived only by the mind. It is abstract, religious concerned with faith and ultimate truth. It is the opposite of the sensate culture. Both represent pure types of culture. Hence no society ever fully conforms to either type. As the culture of a society develops towards one pure type, it is countered by the opposing cultural force. Cultural development is then reversed moving towards the opposite type of culture. Too much emphasis on one type of culture leads to a reaction towards the other. Societies contain both these impulses in varying degrees and the tension between them creates long-term instability. Between these types lies a third type 'idealistic' culture. This is a desirable blend of other two but no society ever seems to have achieved it as a stable condition.

c. Functionalist theories

In the middle decades of the 20th century a number of American sociologists shifted their attention from social dynamics to social static or from social change to social stability. Parsons (1951) stressed the importance of cultural patterns in controlling the stability of a society. According to him society has the ability to absorb disruptive forces while maintaining overall stability. Change is not as something that disturbs the social equilibrium but as something that alters the state of equilibrium so that a qualitatively new equilibrium results. He has stated that changes may arise from two sources: from outside the society through contact with other societies and from inside the society through adjustment that must be made to resolve strains within the system. Parsons speaks of two processes that are at work in social change. In simple societies institutions are undifferentiated that is a single institution serves many functions. The family performs reproductive, educational, socializing, economic, recreational and other functions. A process of differentiation takes place when the society becomes more and more complex. Different institutions such as school, factory may take over some of the functions of a family. The new institutions must be linked together in a proper way by the process of integration. New norms must be established in order to govern the relationship between the school and the home. Further bridging institutions such as law courts must resolve conflicts between other components in the system.

d. Conflict theories

Conflict theories highlight the forces producing instability, struggle and social disorganization while explaining about social and cultural changes. According to Dahrendorf (1959) every society experiences at every moment social conflict, hence social conflict is ubiquitous and that conflict contributes to change in society. Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others. The most famous and influential of the conflict theories is the one put forward by Karl Marx who along with Engel wrote in Communist Manifesto 'all history is the history of class conflict.' Individuals and groups with opposing interests are bound to be at conflict. Since the two major social classes the rich and poor or capitalists and the proletariat have mutually

hostile interests they are at conflict. History is the story of conflict between the exploiter and the exploited. This conflict repeats itself off and on until capitalism is overthrown by the workers and a socialist state is created. What is to be stressed here is that Marx and other conflict theorists deem society as basically dynamic and not static. They consider conflict as a normal process. They also believe that the existing conditions in any society contain the seeds of future social changes. Like Marx, German sociologist, George Simmel too stressed the importance of conflict in social change. According to him conflict is a permanent feature of society and not just a temporary event. It is a process that binds people together in interaction. Further conflict encourages people of similar interests to unite together to achieve their objectives. Continuous conflict in this way keeps society dynamic and ever changing.

2.1.4 Perspective on social and cultural change

Social change may consist of changes in nature, changes in social institutions, social behaviors, or social relations. Social change may be driven by cultural, religious, economic, scientific or technological forces. Social change may refer to the concept of social progress or socio cultural evolution, the philosophical idea that society moves forward by evolutionary means. It may refer to a paradigmatic change in the socio-economic structure, for instance a shift away from feudalism and towards capitalism.

Change comes from two sources. One source is random or unique factors such as climate, weather, or the presence of specific groups of people. Another source is systematic factors. For example, successful development has the same general requirements, such as a stable and flexible government, enough free and available resources, and a diverse social organization of society. On the whole, social change is usually a combination of systematic factors along with some random or unique factors.

Hegelian: The classic Hegelian dialectic model of change is based on the interaction of opposing forces. Starting from a point of momentary stasis, Thesis countered by Antithesis first yields conflict, then it subsequently results in a new Synthesis.

Marxist: Marxism presents a dialectical and materialist concept of history; Humankind's history is a fundamental struggle between social classes.

Kuhnian: The philosopher of science, Thomas Kuhn argues in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* with respect to the Copernican Revolution that people are likely to continue utilizing an apparently unworkable paradigm until a better paradigm is commonly accepted.

The process of social and cultural change evolves through some processes such as natural evolution, planning change, and change after evolution in society. The first is the natural process through which changes occur in various aspects of society and culture naturally. In this process, there are phenomenal changes in all aspects of the planet earth such as physical, biological, social, cultural, etc.

On the other side, there is a planned type of social and cultural change in which various specific attempts are made by people in the field of social structure, family, marriage and kinship system, material and non- material culture aspects, tools and technologies, knowledge and skills, education and economy, politics and many more and promoting culture and civilization (Chaitanya Mishra). There is remarkable influence and change in society when the plan gets success.

Similarly, evolution is another type of social and cultural change. A society reborns after evolution. All the social, economic, political and cultural aspects are changed dramatically after evolution. It happens mostly within the short period of time if the revolution gets success.

On the process of socio cultural change the modernization, urbanization, migration and sanskritization are the major factors for transformation of human civilization. For e.g the primitive hunting and gathering culture has been transformed into modern industrial civilization due to process in the economic system of the ever existence society (Devkota, 2001). In all these social systems there are obvious changes in the socio-cultural structure of the society. There is a deep relation between economic structure and social and cultural change. When the economic status of the society is changed there will be a change in the every aspect of life.

2.2 Review of previous studies

In his book, *Les Gurungs* (Mouton, Paris, 1966; re-published in translation as *The Gurungs*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1993), by Pignede (1966) is one of the earliest ethnographic studies among ethnic groups of Nepal. In this book, Pignede mentions about how Gurungs came to Gorkha (including the study area) at first. According to him, some Tamus crossed the Annapurna range in the course of hunting around 500 A.D. They liked the high land and sowed some grain there. When they returned on a second visit, they had a good harvest. Other Tamus migrated later from Manang and Mustang. Those remaining in Mustang became the Thakali when other Tibetan groups, and probably some Tamangs, arrived. On the third visit peoples from three clans came and settled there in their three groups, calling it Kohla Swomae Toh. It was the first historical village of the Tamus on the southern slopes of the Himalayas and it became the last united village too.

In an article entitled, "Ecological Change and Adaptation among the Gurungs of the Nepal Himalaya", Messerschmidt (1976) discusses The Gurungs of northern Lamjung District, and of Ghaisu village in particular, relative to a changing ecological and cultural adaptation. According to him, over time these people have moved to lower elevations from their ancestral outpost in the high Himalayan forest. In the course of change, they have accommodated to a low-elevation environment, to an economic system based on cattle culture and irrigated rice agriculture, and to a predominantly Hindu religious, social, and political system, a system emphasizing caste. He has found that Gurungs of Ghaisu living the most traditional and; old-fashioned existence, still maintaining a viable although greatly modified transhumant system exploiting the highlands, alongside a more modern system of sedentary farming in the lowlands. One might expect, as contemporary Ghaisu Gurungs articulate more intimately with the dominant caste groups of their nation-state and as the peasant orientation toward adaptation to lowland agriculture and trade becomes even more pronounced, that their earlier distinctly tribal social outlook and adaptation will fade more rapidly.

In his pioneering book entitled “Resources and population: A study of the Gurungs of Nepal”, Macfarlane (1976) posits that one very significant pressure for the changes in Gurungs comes through education. As he claims further, a growing number of parents have taken the drastic step of selling their land and moving to the towns to enable their children to attend school and university in cities and towns. They are being trained to join an urban bureaucratic way of life but only a few modest numbers of jobs are provided for the flood of qualified young people. Macfarlane further argues that Gurung entertainment in the past was singing and dancing for instance there were flirtation and teasing songs, where boys and girls would sing in turn, each other have almost totally disappeared in many Gurung Villages.

McHugh (1989) has written a research article entitled “Concepts of the Person among the Gurungs of Nepal”, in *American Ethnologist*. According to McHugh, data from the Gurungs of Nepal show that a high value on interrelationship does not preclude a well-defined concept of the individual. The Gurungs are a people for whom integration in a social network is of paramount importance, yet they conceive of the person as a discrete entity with distinct needs and impulses that may run counter to demands for social cohesion. Gurung concepts of the person reflect the importance placed on social embeddedness and a recognition of an individual being that is embedded. McHugh further claims that the concepts of individuality and relatedness and the ways in which they are articulated and reconciled express tensions inherent in South Asian social life.

In an article entitled “Some background notes on Gurung identity in a period of rapid change”, Macfarlane (1989) argues that Gurung economy, society and religion have constantly been changing. He further claims that there are grounds for believing that current changes are more rapid and far reaching than anything that had occurred up to the Second World War. In this article, he briefly assesses a few of the agents and dimensions of these recent changes to note the multi layered impact of the pressures upon the Gurungs. He further maintains that the Gurungs possess the skills to blend various flavors of life and this is the reason why Gurungs always remain connected and united even if they remain away from each other in diverse geographical locations from their homeland in the villages, to Pokhara, Kathmandu, Hongkong or UK. The origin of the Gurungs, inhabited in the southern part of the Himalayas, Mustang, Manang, the bank of

Marsyangdi river, and around the Annapurna ranges. In other side, eastern part of Nepal, Bhutan and India a few number of Tamus have settled in Rummjatar, Okhaldhunga, Ilam, Sikkim, Bhutan, Darjeling, Meghalaya and Aasam. The Gurungs were still living in their ancient villages and their rich culture and traditions were well preserved. Today, many Gurungs have migrated to the cities of Nepal like Pokhara, Kathmandu, Dharan, Butwal, Chitwan and abroad like Hongkong, United Kingdom USA and so on.

In their paper entitled “Indigenous peoples in Nepal – An assessment of the UN international decade of the world’s indigenous peoples (1995–2004)”, Gurung and Serchan argue that 'Gurung is a Nepali term given by the Hindu people after the 18th century, though some of the writers (Doherty: 1975) suggest that Gurung is a derivative of Tibetan word grong meaning the agriculturist.' In Gurung language, tamuqwi, gurungs are called Tamu , which is a cognate of a Tibetan word. Etymologically, tamu means horse-riser, if not horse-herder. These cognates have been accepted as indication that the Gurungs are the descendents of Tibetan ancestors who migrated to central Nepal many years ago for better socio-economic possibilities. The family consists of tather, mother, married sons and their children. Residence after marriage is patrilocal. In such families, women have a relatively subordinate position though not to the extent of Hindu high castes. All family members in their activities are guided by the family head. Marriage in such family is governed by the rules of kinship rather than courtship, and is considered a matter of inter-familial and impersonal concern’.

In a research article entitled “The value of sons and daughters among the Gurungs in Nepal”, Tiwari (2006) has compared the value of son and daughter to Gurungs of Nepal. In this article, she asserts that the Gurungs seem to prefer slightly sons to daughters, mainly because of the importance of sons for the security in old age. However, both sons and daughters are important in the funeral ceremony. There does not seem to be a great gender disparity to the effect that people want sons and will not stop childbearing until they have a son. Hence the Gurung son preference is not an issue and a cause of high fertility. On the other, the necessity to have at least one daughter might influence fertility. The need for having a daughter would require a gross reproduction rate of at least one. Based on the statements of the informants a picture of masculinity and femininity among the Gurungs can be constructed. She further argues that masculinity is associated with

providing for the family and providing for the parents at old age. Femininity is associated with nurluring and duties to family and household, as well as with giving love and affection to children. According to her, national legislation with regard to inheritance in Nepal still favours sons. The fact that parental property goes to sons rather than daughters influences the value attached to having sons and daughters and discriminates against women, also among the Gurungs.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Rationale of the selection of the study area

The study area of this research is Benigaon, which is a small village with a majority of Gurungs population. This village and its inhabitants have undergone a tremendous change in recent period. Gurung, the main caste/ethnic group of this village is an indigenous group with a distinct set of social and cultural characteristics. For long, the Gurungs of this place had been maintaining a kind of indogeneity, however, now the scenario has greatly altered. This small place in terms of population has shown great transformations in the recent years in terms of social and cultural characteristics. As a result, the Gurung culture including marriage pattern of this village has witnessed numerous changes. Thus, this place is much suitable for sociological analysis of continuity and change among the indigeneous populations.

3.2 Research design

Glaser and Straus have proposed a novel strategy, namely “Grounded Theory Research” which gives priority to the data and field under study over theoretical assumption. The rapid social change enables the researchers to understand their traditional logical methodologies obtaining research questions and hypotheses from theoretical models. And a meta-analysis research design also were used to integrate the findings from several studies, selected from available articles, books, theses, dissertations, and investigator - generated databases. The outcomes of the selected studies have been tabled and described analytically to summarize the effect of socio-cultural gap of past fifty years as achievement. A meta-analysis design was chosen because it allows for generalizations across studies, and can reveal useful patterns in the combined study.

3.3 Nature and source of data

For the purpose of this study, primary data of qualitative nature were collected. The senior member of the each household, women participants of the community and available member of the each clan were the major sources of primary data. However, some important quantitative information was also collected. In addition to these, some important secondary data were also collected from various published and unpublished sources.

3.4 Universe and sampling

There are 30 Gurungs family and five Damai households living in Benigaon village with an approximate population of 222 residents. All of these households formed the universe of this study. Since this research was based on ethnographic approach, all the houses came under its scope, so sampling was not needed. Since people of all 35 households are so closely intertwined among themselves, all of them have been taken into consideration while accounting for social and cultural undergoing in the village (though Gurung community is the main focus of the study at large). However, only Gurung community has been made the main focus of the study while accounting for the changes in the institution of marriage.

The senior members of each household, women leaders of the community and selected members of the each clan have participated in the study as investigators. The High school students primarily from Benigaon specially the Tamu students from grade nine to twelve were selected for the study. Most of the data were generated through participant observation during three months stay. Research tools which are related with objective of the study were applied.

3.5 Tools and techniques of data collection

This study was conducted among the Gurung village of Benigaon, to achieve a detail understanding of the group and regarding research theme, various sociological tools and

methods were applied. This is also advantageous of generating knowledge of social life at the level of everyday interaction. To a great extent, this is the location where I stayed for three months in this village.

Regarding techniques and tools, it relied on qualitative tools and techniques such as

a. Participant observation

This technique was employed as one of the major techniques for data collection. Basically it was employed to gather qualitative information regarding changes in the social and cultural features of the place. During the fieldwork, visible and noticeable aspects of the changes brought in society and culture were observed carefully to get greater insights. The status and changes in housing pattern, market accessibility, etc. were the main aspects in which I had more concern, and I observed phenomena related to them.

b. Interview

This technique was the main tool for primary data collection. Different types of interviews were undertaken among some selected respondents. These interviews were mostly semi-structured type and were conducted limiting strictly around the research problem. A semi-structured interview checklist was prepared in order to facilitate interviews. Informants were selected purposively. Repeated field visits and many informal talks were the bases on which the selection of interviewees was made.

c. Focus group discussion

During the field work, two FGDs were conducted in order to get deeper insights into the social and cultural changes undergoing in the village. One of the focused group discussions was made among ten selected women from the study area regarding the state of *magi* and *chori bibaha*; while another focused group discussion was made with ten selected individuals (five women and five men) regarding the nature and trend of social and cultural change in the study area.

3.6 Database management and analysis

The collected data were analyzed qualitatively. At first, all the recorded interviews were transcribed. Then the transcribed data and field notes were translated into English. After translation, coding of the data was done and then the coded data were categorized into different themes. Then the data were analyzed and interpreted based on the themes and categories generated.

CHAPTER IV

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGES: SOCIETY, CULTURE AND ECONOMY
OF BENIGAON**

4.1 The setting: Brief introduction to the study area

Benigaon, which is a small village of Gurungs of former Ghyalchok VDC, Gorkha. Currently, it lies in the Gandaki Gaupalika, Ward No: 8 of Gorkha District of Gandaki Pradesh. This village is situated in south eastern part of the district. The village is surrounded by Rampur in the North, Toriswara in the south, Budhigandaki River in the East and Terse and Kotgaon in the West. The average height (altitude) of the village is 4,000 ft. (four thousand feet) above the sea level and almost all the land of this village is slanting towards the south-east. There are 30 households of Gurungs and 5 houses of Damai in the village. The climate of the village is neither very hot in summer nor very cold in winter. In addition to temperate and moderate climate it seems slightly windy during March and April and the average rainfall is very similar like Nepal's other zones.

The forest of Benigaon, almost all the parts are full of bushes and shrubs, and also valuable timbers like saal, saj, sallha, chilaune, karam and some other trees in the community forest. The forest also full of wild jungle where some plants are very important and useful and also used for fodders, those wild plants or good qualities of species were planted as fodder on people's Raikar land.

4.2 Social and cultural context of Banigaon: A glance

Nepali society has integrated a tremendous amount of changes during the past five decades. New one has replaced many old values and tradition although it may not have been the way the individual or a planner sought. It does not mean that all the old traditions and values have disappeared completely. People of Benigaon including Gurungs have changed the lifestyle of the people from wearing dress bhoto patuka

(gharbuna) to track suit and trousers, ladies dresses from panga fariya to kurta salwar and jeans pant, sleeping around fire place to single bedroom with good qualities quilts and blankets, eating kandamul (edible food) for years and years to 3 times different foods as at least once chicken or meat in a week. The people of Benigaon had a long history of severe scarcity of drinking water. The restoration of Democracy in Nepal or just two decades ago they got plenty of water to drink and helped to rear livestock too. Free and open toilets were the worst types of identity of Benigaon. They still remember the situation of footpath, water pond for livestock and bad smell around. Drinking Water supply and Health education campaign improved human health and reduced massive work loads of Gurungs of Benigaon which changed the life style better and better.

4.3 Population distribution

Out of 11 khalak (santan) of Benigaon, seven families were migrated from different village in different period of time. In a human society the process is continue, and 9 (nine) family members were completely migrated out from Benigaon during five decades. Out of 222 people of Benigaon only 91 (41%) people are staying in Benigaon permanently, rest of 59 % is out of village. They are not migrated permanently they are going to abroad for their better job or better life opportunities. That is called seasonal or returned migration. That long and continuing process may shift the family permanently which experience proved already in Benigaon.

4.4 Family and demography

Gurungs of Benigaon constitute same family units that are existed in other areas of Nepal. Families have common features. It is based on love, responsibilities and duty. It is the network of different types of relationships and it is also the inheritor of cultural and social values of the earlier generation. Gurungs of Benigaon accomplished both types of family unit system they were joint and nuclear families. They had only four family units in Benigaons at first and rest of seven units were migrated in different time periods. They themselves claimed that they come first in Benigaon. Kromche, Nhansi, Chhi Lem and

Jhimal Khalak were first developer of settlement, where kromche were mukhiya of Gurungs of Benigaon. Relation with family tie and economic prospective 7 (seven) groups of families were shifted to Benigaon. Quite recently (During observation period) Darlami (2048 BS) and Khulal (2068 BS) were migrated from Daharechok Chitwon and Nalang Dhading. Other five groups were shifted in different time between the gaps of two hundred years. Households are expanded when their inherits were increased but some households were collapsed when they had no sons. Kromche had two, Ghyabri, Tite Lem, Jhimal and Khiu Lem each had one household collapsed during fifty years. The reason, they had no son for inherits.

After tracing the family roots of the Gurungs of Benigaon, the family structure existing there was also assessed. The following table presents the details in this regard:

Table No: 4.1

Family structure of Gurungs of Benigaon

SN	Santan	No of HH	Male	Female	Total
1	Kromche	2	8	11	19
2	Chhi Lem	5	19	15	34
3	Ghyabri	7	18	17	35
4	Tite Lem	1	3	2	5
5	Jhimal	5	21	22	43
6	Nhansi	1	2	2	4
7	Khiu Lem	4	14	14	28
8	Darlami	1	3	6	9
9	Ale	3	10	13	23
10	Khulal	1	2	1	3
11	Pariyar (Damai)	5	10	9	19
	Toal	35	111	112	222

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

At the end of the field visit, it was found that extension of family member and migration from different clans in Benigaon, they constituted 10 khalak and 30 households. There were 35 Households including one khalak of Damai with 5 more households. Family structure and populations are shown according to the groups of gurungs that there were 30 units Gurung and 5 units of Damai. We have recorded 222 people with 110 male and 112 female members.

Kromche were extended up to 4 household during the periods of fifty years and in last thirty years two families were collapsed because they had no sons for inherits. Tithe Lem who come from Makaising hundred and fifty years ago also collapsed one family. Similarly one from Ghyapri, one from Khiu Lem and one from Jhimal family were completely collapsed because of same reason.

4.5 Changes in Livelihood Strategies

During the fieldwork, it has been discovered that due to severe land scarcity, low quality of soil and poorly managed agricultural technology and high population pressure on resource area, the carrying capacity of agriculture to attain food and livelihood security has greatly been declining from time to time. As a coping mechanism, people were found to be widely engaged and practiced diverse activities as livelihood strategies. In the other words, diversifying livelihood strategies at current have time become a common phenomenon in the study area. The study, therefore, tried to identify the existing livelihood strategies adopted by rural households and to assess factors that determine households' decision to choose alternative livelihood strategies.

It is known that each household of Gurungs of Benigaon cultivated at least one tree of Orange and Lemon for cash income. Other way of income was sales of ghee, Sales of Goat and Buffaloes. Buying clothes, species like salt, pepper, kerosene and to pay for the price of meat was very difficult. Very few household have sufficient foods for a whole year, during summer season of 2025 BS to 2029 BS most of the people were forced to eat wild edible products or wild foods and fruits like Githa, bhyakur, Bharlang, choyu, Tarul and mangos. Benigaon did not produce enough grains for whole year round.

Food crops helped the people to alive for few months. Few people said that their dietary habit or eating pattern was scheduled to economize foods. Morning popcorn, after noon rice/dhido with vegetable and evening popcorn with beans (makai masyang). Like that process they have made their life bit easy.

During the Year 2038 Dugdha Bikash Sansthan (DDC) established Dairy in Charaudi Dhading, Rasriya Banijya Bank and Agricultural Development Bank started to flow loan

on land and on Gold and silver. People got money as loan and lending from relatives, the starting of sells of milk from their home land converted the lifestyle from very poor to adequate food stuff to eat. Gurungs of Benigaon found market to buy rice and other food stuffs easily and improved life style of Gurungs very rapidly. A turning point of the Gurungs of Benigaon was notable that no one was left hunger from that period.

4.6 Education

Education in Nepal was long based on home-schooling and Gurukul but Bengaon have not found that kind of evidence. Reports found that some Lahures (Ex-army) pensioners were active to literate the younger and the some literate one transformed the knowledge to the others to read and write. The birth of Nepalese democracy in 2007 BS opened its classrooms to a more diverse population. But Benigaon waited in line for twelve more years for formal school opening. They open school in 2020 BS at Gharidanda to make centre for four small villages like Terse, Kotgaon, Toriswara and Benigaon and later they shifted school in Munthal, Benigaon.

Education is one of the fundamental infrastructures of development. Education is a privilege that a state must guarantee to its citizen. During the decades of fortieth one shift of informal class were run for six month and again followed up after one year, which helped the illiterate people to write their name, we found no record of a person who was trying to read and write regularly. Data shows that 20 percent people are still illiterate where 23.33 percent people received Higher education from the same community.

There were one primary school near by village Benigaon, and it was very clear that graduation from primary school means sufficient education level for the young boys before 2040 BS. If a boy is physically fit, and have got a certificate of class five that's enough for Indian Army too. Going to High school was far from Benigaon and sending boys in high school also a problem to manage food stuffs. Their guardian was not happy (heisted) to send Dhido (maize flour) with other friends because Benigaon did not produce sufficient rice as food. People were stratified as two classes; rice eating families were counted high and dhido as low class. First three decades of analysis period, no one was happy going to college instead of Lahure. One more survey found that more than 80

percent parents still want to see their boys with combats than white color office administrator.

Table No: 4.2

Preference ranking of Occupation

First choice	Second choice	Third choice	Fourth choice	Last choice
British Army	Indian Army	Nepal Army/Police	Further study	Foreign Employment

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

During the last ten years primary schools were promoted to high school, schools got sufficient students to study in senior classes but there were no single student in primary school from Gurungs of Benigaon. Only three to four students were represented from Damai (khalak) santan. One female temporary school teacher from Gurung and one lady office assistant is employed from Damai santan. During the last two decades people were aware and fully benefited in education.

4.7 Gender-based role and time allocation

Gender is the wide set of characteristics that are seen to distinguish between male and female. It can extend from sex to social role or gender identity. As a word, "gender" has more than one valid definition. In ordinary language, it is used similar with "sex" to denote the condition of being male or female. In the social sciences, however, it refers specifically to socially constructed and institutionalized differences such as gender roles. Some cultures have distinct gender-related social roles that can be considered distinct from male and female, such as the hijra of India and South Asia.

The following table shows the role and time allocation between man and woman in the households:

Time Allocation Studies (TAS) about women and men use of time needs to be challenged with quantitative data. For analyzing gender role in Benigaon, I established Time Allocation Studies (TAS) Method for random visit of study areas. The first field activities began with an depth of baseline study of the women of Benigaon. The monsoon, during their busiest season, is an excellent time for recording their activities. The time allocation studies were made selected household, Giving detail data on the household and farm responsibilities of men, women, children and elders throughout the day over a month. Information was collected on which duties could be shared with by member of both sexes. That studies were made of 30 selected household which concluded Female were busy with light and hassle work as 12:00 per day and male engaged in bit hard and heavy work with 8:00 per day.

4.8 Health and drinking water

Thulo Pandhero was only a resource of water for whole Benigaon. Location is south west of village; normally it takes one hour to get one Gagri of water if no one is staying in queue. (Average time for collecting one Gagri of water was allocated two hours). Before 2036 BS, every household collected at least average 7-8 Gagri (50 -70 liters) water during the day. Except children almost all the members used to go to Thulo pandhera to collect water from early 4:00 AM to 5:00 PM in the evening. Those who had sufficient manpower they could collect earlier than others. During winter and until early summer washing and shower was not possible in Thulo pandhera because of insufficient water. People have to wait until rainy season for shower.

Diseases and human health were not calculated how it was affect and loss the lives of Gurungs of Benigaon. Shower and washing was not necessary for all but school children were instructed by teacher to get shower once a week but it was impossible. Neither children were happy to shower nor did parents get enough water to do so. Open and free toilet mess the environment of the rural community very badly. Children and Old age people were suffered with many ways of illness and diseases. But the surviving and lost of life was uncouncted. The turning point of 2036 BS, awareness level of community was

slightly increased, People started to go health post for treatment instead of going witch doctor.

After the restoration of democracy in country, people started to talk about development. The young leaders started to talk and asked for new development practices like drinking water, school, community forest, electricity etc. During the year 2054 Benigaon got sufficient drinking water and health education. At the same time awareness in health and sanitation was introduced, and the campaign changed the free and open toilet into permanent pit latrine in each and every household. That way, they became the first model community in Ghyalchok and Darbung VDC.

4.9 Festivals

Nepal is a multicultural country and it is not only the land of mountains; it is also the land of festivals. There are more than 50 festivals celebrated in Nepal every year. While the national festivals have fixed dates, religious festivals are set by astrologers following the lunar calendar. The best part about the festivals in Nepal is that all the events are celebrated with the same interest by all people of Nepal. People of the studies area had some experiences of notable festivals but more or less all the patterns are not changed.

Dashain (Bijaya Dashami): During the month of Aswin and Kartik (October), Nepali celebrate the biggest festival of the year as Dashain. Dashain is the longest and the most auspicious festival in the Nepalese annual calendar, celebrated by Nepalese of all caste and faith throughout the country. The fifteen days of celebration occurs during the bright lunar fortnight ending on the day of the full moon. Thorough out the country the goddess Durga in all her manifestations are worshiped with numerous poojas. Thousands of animal are sacrificed for the ritual holy bathing during eighth and ninth day of Dashain. The tenth day is special day which is called Dashmi or Dashain, which simbolized the victry of Goddess Durga over the wicked demons Mahishasoor. At the similar way, one of the victory stories told is the Ramayan, where the lord Ram after a big struggle slaughtered Ravana. It is said that lord Ram was successful in the battle only when goddess Durga was evoked.

Gurungs of Benigaon memories or respects (Shraadda) their Ancestors during the eighth day of Dashain which is different than other people of Nepal. Shraadda is a kind of ritual system that a senior member of every family stay fasting whole day to respect their ancestors in evening. Holy foods are prepared for the ancestors. All the foods including Phuee raksi (holy liquor) and fish and banana are most important to be prepared. All prepare foods are demonstrated in banana's leaf and left with oil lamp for whole night. The other rituals are very similar like majority people of Nepal but Gurungs of Benigaon offer white tikka in forehead instead of red during the Dashain festival.

Tihar (Deepawali) The five day festival of lights, known as Tihar honors Yama the God of Death, meanwhile the worship of Laxmi, the Goddess of Wealth dominates the festivities. A festival is started 15 days after the Dashain festival.

On the first day Kaag Tihar is the day of crow, the informant of Yama is worshipped. The second day kukur Tihar is for worshipping the dogs as the agents of Yama. On the third day is Gai Tihar and Laxmi puja. On this day cow is offered prayers and fooding in the morning, and Goddess Laxmi is offered elaborate prayers and Puja in the evening. The fourth day is for the draught animal, oxen when the Newari community also performs Mha puja dedicated to oneself. The fifth day is Brothers' Day when sisters put tika on their brothers' foreheads and give blessings. The festival is noted for lighting up of homes with candles, oil-wick lamps and electric lights.

People of Benigaon celebrate Tihar from the day of Bhai tikka (fifth day) mostly, Elder or younger whoever all the brothers gathered in one place to take a tikka with sister. If a family has two more sisters, they are requested to come turn by turn every year. The only one sister come to offer bhai tikka once a year, if one have four sisters one would get a time to offer tikka once after four year. The team of sister could help to cook foods and make mala and tikka but the materials for the occasion are brought only from main sister of the turn. Similarly gifts and money are directly given to main sister that year. After eating foods three times from a main sister of a time, then people gather to community hall (mukhiya ghar) to make deusi special.

The young boys and girl and Aama samuha (senior mothers) and all interested members can join the cultural program. Especially they perform jhyaure song and dance in every

house. On the way of Deusi (cultural program) at first night people could make decision how much money they would collect that year. What would be the program to expend money? Deusi bhoj is one the main program and others like school building, Drinking water maintenance and so on. Normally deusi program goes five days to nine days means up to ekadashi.

Tamu Lhosar: Tamu is another name of Gurung community of Nepal and Lhosar means New Year. Tamu Lhosar is celebration of Gurung's New Year, marks the beginning of the Tamu Sambat or Gurung Calendar Year. Tamu Lhosar is celebrated on every 15 Poush of the Nepali calendar (in December/January). In big cities, Gurungs come together to celebrate Lhosar at a common place and express joy in various cultural processions, feasting and greetings. In the old days in the villages, they gathered in courtyards to celebrate Lhosar.

Gurungs all across the world celebrate Tamu Lhosar by organizing rallies in traditional attires and cultural programs. They also visit Buddhist shrines on that day. The days in Lhosar and the events are the opportunities to Explorer to witness cultural heritages of the Gurung community.

Gurungs (Tamu) are indigenous inhabitants of west-central parts of Nepal and some live in east part of Nepal. There are numerous clans of Gurungs, the members of which are all well known for their bravery and cultural wealth. Their warm welcome and hospitality at the Lhosar celebration were plain from the plates with sel roti (Nepali Bread) and Achaar (Nepali pickles) being served in the festival. Gurungs years divide time into cycles of 12 years (lhokor), to each year of which a special name is given, which is known as Barga (lho). Lhosar also heralds the change in 'Lho'. According to the oriental astrological system, there are **12 Lhos-garuda, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, bird, dog, deer, mouse, cow, tiger and cat.** Therefore, each year is marked by a particular animal and they are arranged in a single circle (on paper), closely following the Tibetan calendar with its' 12 animals. In early days, when there was no calendar system in Nepal, the 12 rotation system was used to calculate peoples' ages. As Poush 15 marks the end of winter and start of spring, Lhosar it traditionally celebrated for three days doing banbhoj (picnic) too.

Gurungs of Benigaon invites their guest (chelibeti, bhanja bhanji) to have special foods as pandhrapus pahuna. At around forty years ago people of Benigaon celebrate pandhra push eating three times at night. It is called longest night and shortest day of the year. A folk tradition is said that humming birds wake up three times at that night because she felt that was a time for wake up again and again.

The same way people used to eat early in the evening, at midnight and next morning or before the sun rise. About forty to fifty years ago Gurungs used to collect dry meat of birds like chachar (a seasonal bird comes in late winter and disappear in late summer), bird hunting technique were big stone trap (dharap). An indigenous knowledge of majority Gurungs were spreading over the settlement area like Benigaon. That dry meats were used to keep especially for pandhra push celebration. It was continuing during the year 2030 BS that most young boys used to go to jungle for dharp thapnu (stone trap). Collection of meat from hunting birds system greatly helped for livelihood of Gurungs of Benigaon.

Maghe Sakranti: Maghe Sankranti is a Nepali festival observed on the first day of Magh in the Vikram Sambat (BS) calendar (about 14 January) bringing an end to the winter solstice containing month of Poush. Maghe Sankranti is similar to solstice festivals in other religious traditions. Gurungs of Benigaon celebrates the festival calling pahuna (guest) chelibeti for special foods. They prepare battu (breads of beans) in early evening of the Maghe Sakranti eve. Before 3 decades ago, people used to observe Maghe Sakranti as Lhosar. Still some people of the clan change (calculate) their Lho (barga) from Magh instead of 15 Push.

Chaite Dashain: Chaite Dashain falls generally in the month, Chaitra, of Bikram Sambat calendar. It is known as Chaite Dashain or Small Dashain. The big Dashain falls in autumn. It is almost the last festival in Nepali calendar year. After this festival, we have a new year ahead within few days. This festival has two days of celebration. First day is Chaite Astami or known as Chaite Dashain and second day is Ram Navami or Some part of Nepal and India, is called Chaitra Navaratri.

Gurungs of Benigaon offer pooja on the top of the village called the kalikasthan. Said, it is a symbolic God of Gorkha kalika, A Gurung son of mukhiya were the pujari (priest) of

the kalika, who should be unmarried boy. The pooja system was run by bheja which can buy one black buck and few chickens. Volunteer of the clan collects pooja materials from each and every household, that would be ful achheta (rice, flower, oil lamp, red colors, perfume sticks set in a saal ko tapari (leaf plate). All the member of household represent in pooja and helps pujari to complete pooja. When the pooja is over in the morning all the people of a clan were allowed to have food in their home. Meat of a black buck and chicken is distributed for all the member of Gurungs household.

Buddha Jayanti: Buddha's birth anniversary is celebrated every year during the month May in Nepal. On this day people swarm in Swayambhunath and Boudhanath to pay homage to Lord Buddha and also visit Buddha's birth place in Lumbini and chant prayers and burn butter lamps. Lord Buddha was born as Prince Siddhartha Gautam but he abandoned his luxurious life when he realized the misery of mankind and went in search of enlightenment.

Gurungs of Benigaon celebrate Chandi purnima later known Buddha Jayanti, There they offer two kind of pooja in a community. One is collective offering of chandi which is closing ceremony of Ghatoo. There would be participation of all the members of the Gurungs of Benigaon for pooja. (Ghatoo dance is no more in Benigaon which was stoped in 2027 BS.). Ghatoo is acting dance on the basis of king pashramu and queen Amphawoti which is very popular among Gurungs. Second one is also separate pooja of each khalak (santan), that were the pooja of sacrifice of Chickens. The God is remembrance and offering of pitri (ancestors) also called Baayu puja. Dead ancestors who are on the way of heaven and who are still on the way to destination are called Baayu; they believe that they could harm the family members and livestock because of dead person's soul. So every year people remember their pitri and offer Baayu pooja. When foods (prasads) were ready, they used to call all the relatives of a santan who ever living far from the clan after marriage. Especially they should be invited (nimto) in chandipurnima for (prasad) good food. It is called the special and last festival of the year before (Barsa) monsoon.

Mata tirtha Aunsi is a festival for mothers as it is the Nepali Mother's Day, which falls on the Nepali first month Baisakh (April/May). It falls on the last day of the dark

fortnight of April or early May. It is a day to show the love and gratitude to one's mother. People show their love and appreciation to their mother by spending time with her, cooking for her and buying her gifts. The children who live away from their mother come to visit her with gifts or sweets. *Mata Tirtha Aunsi* is also called *Aamako Mukh Herne Din* (Day for seeing Mother's face) in local language. Gurungs of Benigaon started to celebrate mothers' day since 2045 BS. A few religious people have already been informed but community didn't realize about that. The group of daughter in law who were married from Nalang Dhading first time visited their maiti (parental home) to feed their mothers, By the following year it became some special, who were in Nalang from Benigaon also came to celebrate Mothers' day in Benigaon. During the last two decades it has been a very special festival. These days one married daughter used to come maiti and call all the members of her maiti santan not only mother, feeds all of them whatever she had prepared on the occasion. That could be roti, raksi, chutney as meat, Achar and fruits etc. Foods are distributed to all the maiti santan but dress is only given to mother. It's very special for married daughter, unmarried daughter and son were not so necessarily organized the day.

Kushe Aunsi (Fathers day): Nepali people celebrate their traditional fathers' day as Kushe Aunsi. This special day set apart for the respect of one's father. On this auspicious day sons as well as daughters go home to meet and spend time with their fathers. Home cooked delicacies, sweets, meat and other gifts are offered to all fathers. Gurungs of Benigaon started to celebrate fathers' day just few years later than mothers' day celebration. Whatever the way of celebrating mothers' day is same as fathers' day as well. The different are just the festival is extended up to Teej, because daughters should not send a special invitation for teej because daughter would be already in maiti for fathers day. At the moment they can spent three more days in maiti sharing grief and happiness.

Teej: Teej is a generic name for a number of festivals that are celebrated by women mainly in Nepal and some parts of India. This is a festival celebrated by Nepali women, for the long life of her husband and long and firm relationship between them until the death. Teej is observed for marital happiness, well-being of spouse and children and purification of own body and soul. Teej is the most famous festival among Nepali women. The folk music and dances add more flavor to traditional values of Teej. It

is fascinating to see women, in “Red” dancing and singing on the street, going to temple in holy and fasting mood. Teej is also called Hari Talika Teej. This festival is celebrated by Nepali Hindu women all across the world.

Neither Benigaon celebrate special program nor any one stay fasting. But loads of guests, far away from married daughters come to maiti and meets relatives each others. They do not come specially for teej but it;s extended program of fathers' day. That symbolized the teej festival of Benigaon.

4.10 Rite de Passage (Life Cycle Rituals)

Birth: Concept of purity and pollution

Every human society tends to promote the ideas of human purity and pollution in some form. Certain agents, activities, contracts, periods and substances are known to pollute, while others purify. All major religions (e.g. Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam) also variously elaborate on matters of sin, taboo, pollution and purity. Every culture has an idea, in one form or another, that the inner essence of man can be either pure or polluted.

Naming (Nwaran)

After the birth of a baby, guardians should take care of baby and mother equally. At the decades of thirtieth, mother and babies were not given mates to sleep. it is very important to note that ghatda badhda (time of birth and death) same action were taken. Similarly mates and cotton clothes were not re-used. They were treated very poorly, they were forced to sleep in hays (bunch of rice straw). After seven days of birth for boys and five days for girls are taken out of the house by grand mother is called nwaran. Now most of the respodent blamed, not the traditional practice that they had no enough materials like today, they had provided facilities according to their capacities. A term *Nani Bahira Nikalne* is popular as nwaran these days. A grand mother must be responsible of a new born baby for the process of washing or bathing, oil massage and tie a Reepu on neck, waist, wrist and ankle. (* Reepu is a wholi rope made up of raw piece of thread by older women of Gurungs making knot of 9 for boys and 7 for girls) It could be confirmed a baby was born on right and on purity.If the new born baby is in doubtful or on

questionable situation of marriage, in that case, society or grand mother could refuse nwaran. At the adverse cases, biological father of a baby is not unknown, the baby is important for that clan, in a case, grand mother and the society could accept a child and took a responsibility of nwaran, which action could be legalized and socialized and given purity for a baby.

Gurungs of Benigaon follows the Nepali patro and time table of birth which is not similar as Tibetan calendar. A jaksi baje of Darbung was responsible for the name of a baby at early days but these days they have so many options to show janma kundali and naming of a baby. We have learnt that some of the children were left no name until the time of school. On that time teacher could imagine and naming the children too. A baby's name is not particularly important for all aspects but a Lho is important to be noted. Lho (Barga) is changed from every Lhosar or at 15 Paush of Vikram Sambat.

Rice feeding (*Bhat khuwai*)

Weaning Ceremony is a celebration in Nepal in which a child is first fed rice. Although centuries old tradition, modern science has established the fact that child's digestive system is capable of processing solid food when they are approximately 6 months old.

This ceremony is held at five months for daughters, and six months for sons in Benigaon. An auspicious date and time is chosen by an astrologer, and all the closest relatives are invited to witness and to celebrate. The rice is the first and easily digestible solid food to feed baby. First of all mother of a baby or grandmother feed the baby a kind of holy food that is cooked in milk, ghee and little salt. After touching all kinds of foods to a mouth of a baby by mother or grand mother, the collected little foods were thrown in side of garden or in a junction. By that way turn by turn relatives and guest could feed the holy food if the baby is not irritated. Relatives and invited guest come to see the occasion with little gifts like dresses and money for baby. A child's parents organize bhoj (party) targeting the entire guests who come to see baby.

Puberty rites of boys (*Chhewor*):

This ceremony is performed only for the boys. When the boys reach certain age, i.e. 7, 9, 11, this ceremony is performed. However, nowadays, people perform bratabandha a day before marriage as well. Bratabandha is known as chhewor in study areas. It takes 3 days

to complete the programs. When a family is ready for chhewor of a boy it is to be confirmed by the priest about Barga, date, day and time table of program. First of all they inform mama (maternal uncle) means go with a pung (A bottle of alcohol) for special invitation to confirm day, date and time of Chhewor. Similarly community members also should be active for preparation of program and invitation to other guest.

The families of mama or mamalis should be ready one day earlier of chhewor with complete materials like golden ear rings, silver bracelet dresses for bhanja and money for tikka. Mamali team should be present one day earlier in the evening of a program and used to inform that mamalis are coming. The responsible person of the organizer goes to receive mamalis with sagun (roti, raksi and masu) on the way to home. And they must be treated as special guest, as whatever they made good foods. Before to go to bed they have to make plan for next day which location should be selected for chhewor. They decide the role of the team members of the mamalis, they check the exact time table of (tuppi katne kam) karma kand, important materials for Chhewor like scissors, saguns etc.

At the right time and right location senior mama arranges right direction for bhanja to cut tuppi. The location would at least 100 or 200 meter far from the house, may be garden or on the shadow of a big tree. *(Untill or before the year 2050 BS people used to select a cow shed, they used rope of a cow and used to put some peepal leaves and dubo in a mouth of bhanja, means still a boy is similar like a innocent creature. These days' people were not happy with those logics.)* When an announcer calls as shubha lagan, senior mama cuts tuppi and other mamas help to finish the hair cut one by one. Showering and cleaning job should be helped by maiju. After wearing dress brought from mamali, they give golden ear ring from senior mama and bracelet from maiju and dresses for bhanja with pagari (white clothes about 3.5 meters long). Senior mama starts to give tikka and dan daxina (money) as similarly other member of mamalis complete tikka.

After completion work of tikka from mamali they move to home of bhanja. On the way to home of bhanja chelibeti makes (bato chhekne) barrier on the path keeping roti, raksi and chutney and similarly by cooking staff and musician team also make obstructions separately. Mamalis have to pay each team certain amount of money and get free from them. When they reached home Parents of a boy and all guests are open for tikka. Each and every guest should offer tikka with gift to bhanja and bhoj (Party) is open for

continue until the program is not finished. After three days Senior mama has to finish the job keeping tuppi, means rest of hair should be cleaned with blade leaving only few hair on the center of the head. To wear a cap for bhanja instead of pagari, proceeds some sagun, tikka and again few dan daxina should be ready. These days people used to finish that job on the same day of the evening. The way they give farewell party for mamali in third day and finished receiving (*Nek is special kosheli for mamali not minimum a jar of raksi, one basket roti and piece of leg of a goat*) Nek.

Puberty rites of girls (*Gunyo Choli*):

At the age of 9, 11 or 13 a girl's Gunyo choli karma should be done. The age a girl is counted in the basis of barga as Tibetan calendar. it would not be exceeded 12 years in real calculation. If the gunyo choli karma is not done, she is not mature to process other karma like puja and participation in social functioning. The process should be done like in chhewor with mamalies. Ear rings, bracelets bangal, ribbon and Reepu (holy thread) and specially gunnyo choli as guring dress should be provided by mamalis. Timing and location and lagan is set like chhewor, instead of hair cut girls should be shower and bath with help of maiju and starts tikka wear gunyo choli in right lagan. The similar way offering tikka, presenting gift and making bhoj and party were given in same way as in chhewor. It is also completed within 3 days of ritual functioning. This ritual is celebrating and given more importance than chhewor in all clans in Gorkha.

Marriage

Marriage in Nepal is a family affair; the parents are responsible for selecting suitable spouse for their children. Every community has their own specific culture and style but most of the marriages in Nepal are arranged. Even though Nepalese society existed 6 (six) types of marriages.

- Arranged marriage
- Love marriage
- Court marriage
- Elopement (Bhagi Biwah)

- Polygamy

Among Gurungs, cross-cousin marriage is preferred. The category of cross cousin is broad, including a large number of classificatory relatives. Residence is patrilocal, with a preference for village exogamy. Divorce can be initiated by either the man or the woman. Bride-wealth in the form of gold jewelry is given to the bride at marriage. If the husband initiates a divorce without due complaint, such as adultery, the wife has the right to keep the bride-wealth. However, if the wife causes or initiates the divorce she is required to return the bride-wealth to her husband.

'The family consists of father, mother, married sons and their children. Residence after marriage is patrilocal. In such families, women have a relatively subordinate position though not to the extent of Hindu high castes'. (Om Gurung) All family members in their activities are guided by the family head. Marriage in such family is governed by the rules of kinship rather than courtship, and is considered a matter of inter-familial and impersonal concern.

Death Rituals

All rituals are very important but among these rituals, death rite of Gurung is extremely vital and compulsory. *Death rituals have been a means of co-ordination creating solidarity through 'Syaisyai' which is a social institution for uniting the Gurungs.* The death rite of passage of Gurung is divided into many ways according to their clans. Normally *Antesty kaj- Kirya, and Arghun should be done in particular time.*

Gurung mourn for three days to thirteen days according to their culture of the place (region) and their desire. --Some people do *Bayupuja* after they believe that they suffer because of dead person's soul. The belief is that any family member or livestock will become sick and Gurung priest *Ghepre* or *Pachyu* will declare that it is because of dead person's soul (*pitry*) and people need to do *Bayupuja* at any suitable time.

Conducting Arghun, is a final but it would be crucial for management so death ritual conducted after a certain period at the comfort of deceased persons family. As the second mortuary rite Pae or Arghun is observed either on the last day of the death pollution or on the 45 day of the dead, and sometimes more than a year depending upon the economic

condition of the family. On the occasion great offerings are made by the relatives to the deceased. Gurungs believe Pae ceremony as salvation of the soul by sending the departed soul to heaven.

When dead body is placed in a courtyard three representative from different relations are very important in the funeral procession. A purohit (Ghyabri, Pohchyu, or Lama) according to their clan, mama-mamali and chhori-baini are to be ready to reach up to cemetery. A purohit shows the path or way to go to (cemetery) next universe praying and playing a drum on his way. Chelibiti cleans the face of dead body with little oil massage and offer tikka on forehead and mama has to give symbols of dress and foods as bunch of cotton for dead body of bhanja or bhanjee. To manage up to those steps the volunteers must visit close relatives like mama and purohit as soon as possible and then can make time table for procession.

After their kith and kin discussions, they decide how to manage expenditure for conducting Arghun, what amount to spend etc. In village areas, kith and kin manage collecting firewood, making duna tapari, marketing goods and calling and receiving purohit (ghyabri and pohchyu) collecting water etc for Arghun. In urban areas, kin households assist by donating money as the offering of small help. Arghun is divided into one night and three nights. In three days, on the first day of Arghun, there occurs the function of hanging clothes, foods etc in a *lingo* (erected pole) at a tip of bamboo known as *Aanla* in Gurung lexis. On the second day they perform "*Rhiteba*" Ghyapre or Pahchyu dance by making dumra (effigy) of dead person and Arghun ends in the third day with "*Kyun chhaba*" grazing sheep around the foods offering by families and kin of the communities. Some communities end ceremony and descending down *Aanla* (cloths, foods etc hanged to the tip end of a bamboo) during midnight saying astu udaune (to banish effigy). Afterwards the relatives do *Syaisyai* which is a special tribute of support by offerings money or clothes to the person involved with performing the last rites of deceased. The *Syaisyai* ceremony is performed to encourage and to give consolation and condolence to the relatives of the deceased.]

4.11 Religion (Shamanism)

The term *shamanism* comes from the Manchu Tungus word *saman*. The noun is formed from the verb SA means to know; thus, a shaman is literally “one who knows.” The shamans recorded in historical ethnographies have included women, men, and transgender individuals of every age from middle childhood onward.

The religious phenomenon centered on the shaman, a person believed to achieve various powers through trance or ecstatic religious experience. Although Shamans repertoires vary from one culture to the next, they are typically thought to have the ability to heal the sick, to communicate with the otherworld, and often to escort the souls of the dead to that otherworld.

The term "shamanism" was first applied by western anthropologists as outside observers of the ancient religion of the Turks and Mongols, as well as observing more religious traditions across the world, some Western anthropologists began to use the term in a very broad sense.

The term was used to describe unrelated magic-religious practices found within the ethnic religions of other parts of Asia, Africa, Australasia and even completely unrelated parts of the Americas, as they believed these practices to be similar to one another

Bonism refers to pre Buddhist religion of Tibet and the people come to the western Nepal like Gurungs, Thakali and people from Dolpa. They were practicing and believed in Bonism. Gurungs are followers of ‘Bonism’ but they are under the profound influence of Tibetan Mahayani Lamaism. On the way of migration and modernization now they are bind in Hindu and Buddhism. Before twenty years ago people of Benigaon neither they follow the Buddhism nor believed in Hinduism. Their Gods were all related with nature, they were offering pooja for Agricultural plantation, Water resources, preservation of community like Munthala Kalika influenced by Hindu. According to their experiences some were used to say Kartike, Margasire poojas and more popular were Munthala, thani, Kalika, Sanshari, Jaldevi and Nangrung were most famous in a community.

4.12 Entertainment

Rodhighar, an institution found among the Gurungs of Nepal, the Rodhighar can be described as a nightly social gathering place. *Rodhi* is like a social club mostly prevalent in the *Gurung* community. In ancient times, young Gurung and Gurungni would gather at a common place to carry out their business of wool. On the way of extra time, at the same place turned out for amusement and entertainment as well and came to be known as Rodhi Ghar. At *Rodhi*, normally young people of the same community and interest get together to discuss, to share or to enjoy of their interest. It provides a healthy forum for its members to share and exchange ideas, joys, and happiness. The young revelers who visit those Rodhi Ghar sometimes fall in love and get married. Marriages both arranged and eloped were recognized in Gurung community. Though Rodhighars were typically found especially in the western development region.

Until 2026 BS Gurungs of Benigaon gathered in common house is called Rodhighar of Ghyapri tole. The house was demolished in 2028 BS and evening Gathering was shifted to private home of same area. Those activities were continuing few years in Thado tole and few months in Tesro tole. During the decade of thirtieth, the young guys were divided into two or three different private houses for gathering.

After 2040 BS Young girls of Benigaon stopped night gathering except compulsory and special program. For a decades, They were not concentrated for handy (making mate, knitting sweter, Making rope) work in gathering but just to talk and discussion, singing and dancing with like professional girl singers and dancer. At the recent time It is only on practiced in one's special program like chhewor, biwaha and poojas. During the restoration of Democracy in the country, traditional steps were just twisted, Young's were diverted in particular songs like chudka and moderen musical system and were practiced months and month. The well practiced musical programs like chudka and jhyaures were shown in local Jatra like Munthala, Bhadkhala, Bhairabi and Judi and in major festival. Those musical programs were not performed inside the private house but chose big space of public surroundings. They formed special team for particular program to perform in Chhewor, Bibaha and in Opening Program of school, projects and related program with political awareness.

Daily gathering of community were stopped and live music also performed occasionally. Actually live music singing and joking pattern of talk were substituted by radio and tape recorder. Almost all the youngster started to leave home for high school and colleges. They themselves became guest or visitors of a community. Listening new music and recording of local song by themselves were become popular. After the year 2050 BS entertainment system was changed, On Saturday and in short vacation younger people started to visit local bazar for movie, shopping and photo studios. They were always busy in sports competition and music practices instead of Rodhi. The local musical instruments like khaichadi, dampu were substituted by modern instrument which were not found these days. These days housewife of every household were busy in watching their own program like Television serial and someone favors Lok dohori and so on. When they are in work (mela) they don't talk about their culture, festival and jatra, they talk about singer of a television, about a model of a lokdohori and star of the year and so on. In the recent days, televisions are left for illiterate and old aged people. Rest of the people are busy in their handset mobile, Laptops using internet like face book etc.

4.13 Identity politics (Newly emerged concept in the village)

During 2030 BS community commanded by two ways of leadership, one from mukhiya another from sadasya or Member of a Panchayat. More likely cultural values and traditions were run on the way of mukhiya but reformation of school, drinking water, grazing land and goretho and ghoretho bato were concerned with member of Panchayat. For a decade development works moved by collective leadership but after the land survey is done in 2036 BS the role of mukhiya was reduced.

Bethi and Khogi: Members from each and every household has to go for service (labor work) in busy period like in summer for Mukhiya. Mukhiya sets planning management to work in land for widding or digging whatever they need to be done in land. Once a year that service (labor) donation is compulsory for mukhiya that's known as Bethi in Benigaon. The role of mukhiya was to collect tax of land owner and to be deposited to district maladda. The labor donation is justified that every member of land owner must not go to district maladdha for malpot tiro (tax). The time takes 3 days to go to district

headquarter from Benigaon. That job was responsible of Mukhiya, being a responsible person of a community, people used to respect the mukhiya on Dashain celebrating Khogi feast together.

Khogi feast was a system of receiving tikka from Mukhiya the next day of Dashain tikka. Whole head of a Buffalo used to separated from Dashain meat or not divided for purchaser of Dashain community. That's snacks for the guest, who comes to receive tikka with Mukhiya on the Khogi day. Each member come to mukhiya prepares (cooks) foods for evening including head of Buffalo, collects raksi from each house as kosheli for mukhiya. After receiving tikka from mukhiya, people used to serve foods for Mukhiya and their families raising slogan in joking pattern then all the members of clan used to eat food. After the land survey of 2036 BS the tax Payers of land was directly concerned with government office not with mukhiya. Which made mukhiya system paralyzed. Not only mukhiya the worshipping (pooja) of than and thani also stopped. It affected to directly to khogi, Bheja and Bethi system which the people were not thought exploited by that institutions.

It began to transform social leadership from mukhiya to political leadership. Teacher of a local school, ex service man of Army and member of a Panchayat became the leader of gaon. Ex-Army men were the mostly trusted leaders because they have time, they have little money and capacity of exposures. It was a time of ruling and command, time of labor donation for development work. Decisions were not a discussion of people of grassroots. Local leaders who were not trained by Nepalese politics were converted into yes-man of Panchayat or Government's Authority. That course and activities were seen unfit (unreasonable) with educated young boys, girls and local school teachers. On the way to restoration of democracy newly young leaders were trusted. To find out their religious practice and belief in last fifty years is being the most important issues. Now the people of the Benigaon or Gurung society are changing their leadership system to the younger generations not to their senior one which is against the Gurungs' cultural governing system. Community leaders were changed and women members were participated in discussion of different levels of workshop started to trust in collective leadership instead of single leader. Local organizations like Deusi Bhailo School management committee and mahila sangathan were the strong team in a time.

4.14 Land Ownership

Existing land holding system of Gurungs of Benigaon is nothing more than raikar. After Land survey task is completed in 2036 BS in Ghyalchok and benigaon, we saw no feudal, no jamindar and no more mukhiya in Gurung community. No body made any remarks about land ownership survey in that period. Existing land holding system of Gurungs of Benigaon was nothing more than raikar. The people of Benigaon marked some land themselves as less fertile and not secure from wild animal, That products of the land could not cover governments' revenue or tax, means not necessary to survey or registration. Instead they divided and used lands on their own understanding. Which ran that system for five years and later they knew they were doing illegal work. Now they stopped to cultivate in public land.

4.15 Occupation: Profession other than Agriculture

Gurungs of Benigaon is based on Agriculture and at the decades of thirtieth 95 percent people were involved in subsistence Agriculture. Very few people were out of village for Indian, British and Nepalese Army and few were on the way to find a civil job in India. Rests of the people have no other specific occupation.

Now 49 people of Benigaon involved in different professional and highest number is involved in remittance. Receiving high volume of remittance is from Indian Army. Out of 16 people 9 (nine) are working in Indian Army and rest of six people are in abroad. Even though some of them are full time job holder and few people are part time job as students. Currently after the demolition of Nepal earth quake 2072" a few people are involved in skilled laborer for construction work. Other permanent and main supporting income of majority household is pension, which are increasing from job holders. Almost all the job holders are Nepal Army and police except one temporary school teacher.

The male members aged over fifty were happy to work as builder in the field of construction work, youngster are happy to work as driving truck, jeep and buses and some are already engaged in informal sector as labor. But 60 percent people were

interested to promote (modernized) Agriculture or to commercialize their agriculture. Plantation of fruits, herdings of domesticated animals were their priorities.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry is the branch of agriculture concerned with animals that are raised for meat, fibre, milk, eggs, or other products. In Nepal, animal husbandry is one of the main occupations, along with farming, as Nepal is an agricultural country. About 80% of the total population of Nepal is engaged in agriculture. In Nepal, people rear different animals like goats, pigs, cows, oxen, buffalos, and dogs. Butter, milk, meat, and wool are the main products of animal husbandry. Wool is exported to India and other countries. Different wool and woolen products are produced. Nepali mats called galaicha command a high price when exported to foreign regions such as Europe, Australia, and America.

Dairy production is also increasing due to the rearing of milk-giving animals. Nepal has just started using modern tools for animal husbandry, so there is a chance for further development of animal husbandry. Meat and eggs are also some of the main goods produced by animal husbandry.

Poultry farms can also be found throughout Nepal. Additionally, improved breeds of animals are reared in Nepal these days, which is increasing income for Nepalese people. Among other animals, cows are reared the most because of their religious and economic significance. Cows are regarded as the incarnation of the goddess Laxmi. There is a restriction on killing cows in Nepal because it is the national animal. So cows are found in almost every house in village areas of Nepal.

Livestock is a backbone of agriculture in overall; Benigaon overcame their starvation and hardship through milk production during 2038 BS. Every family reared one or more Buffaloes of good qualities. Establishment of dairy in Charaudi (local market) and cash flow in rural area made community prosperous. Cow and oxen were reared and used to plough field and chickens and goats for meat productions. Now the situation of livestock is degrading along with other agriculture. Now the number of Buffaloes is reduced by one third compared to decade of fortieth. Number of cow and oxen also reduced these days because people do not feel they plough land again more. Gurungs of Benigaon do not keep cows for milk and haven't experience of rearing that kind of qualities. Other

numbers are not changed so much like goat, chicken and beehives. Now it is recorded till date no one is keeping animals as commercial farm in Benigaon.

4.16 Involvement in government service in armed forces

From 2025 BS to 2055 BS, no one was holding Government job of Nepal, Just one person was in Nepal Army and one as temporary Primary School teacher between 2047 to 2050 B.S. The respondent of the study area agreed that the people of Gurungs of Benigaon have no good link to join Government service equally no good education with them. Recording of recent data, out of 33 armed men, 20 boys are currently working in different battalion, they are 12 in Nepal and 8 boys are in Indian army. The latest trend of working in Army is being popular and suitable for their capacities.

The following table presents the involvement of people from the study area in various kinds of government armed forces:

4.17 Remittance economy/labor migration

"Remittance is an important source of foreign income for developing countries like Nepal increasing dramatically in size over recent decades. It is a private income that is regularly or periodically transferred from international migrants to family members in their country of origin. It represents one of the largest sources of financial flows to developing countries. Foreign employment is gradually getting a major source of foreign exchange earnings and sustaining the positive balance of payment in Nepal" (Bharatram Dhungana). World Bank figures, extreme poverty has declined from almost 70% to 25% in the last 15 years, and the extra billions arriving direct to Nepalese households during this period are undoubtedly part of the story, along with large-scale state investment in social sectors and infrastructure.

Remittance income has been mostly used on domestic purpose such as managing land and building, children education, health care, entertainment and so-on. Moreover, it is used in productive and commercial sectors in some extent to operate micro and macro level business. Remittance income is one of the major sources of capital formation in the context of Nepal.

Studying in high school and colleges, building a new houses and buying khet (land for rice plantation) are the main products of remittance. In another words it is called Lahure economy. Only the son or daughter of Lahure or Lahure pensioner got a chance to study or capable of sending them out of Benigaon. Fashion of Gold jewelry and and expensive dresses were introduced by Lahure families. Dietary and drinking habits are almost permanent and spreading around and out of the Gurungs of Benigaon. The result of remittance economy 8 (eight) families were migrating to town or city areas from Benigaon. That means Benigaon could not hold the economy which were earned from foreign countries.

Migration for foreign employment has become a major source of income for a many Nepali households. Who are not able to go third country for work may have been working in city areas of Nepal and neighboring country in India. There is no doubt Nepali migrant workers make an enormous contribution to their home country.

Gurungs of Benigaon have no remarkable contribution from labor migration and records except Lahure professions. Some people had a record of working in New Delhi and some parts of India. Very few people got long term job there, but others got back to Nepal very shortly. During the period of 2045 some energetic people involved in trekking helper (porter) job based in Pokhara. Which seasonal job made people again uncertain of their time table and got no regular income. Except a job of informal sector one family member of armed force is permanently migrated to India. For last ten years few people means 3 boys are working in Gulf country and seen satisfied on the basis of their qualifications.

In this way, this chapter dealt with the continuity and change in in Benigaon of Gorkha district in terms of culture, society and economy. The socio-cultural activities have gradually changed with course of time but the change is accelerated in recent time. for last two decades. The number of households of Gurungs of Benigaon has remained the same in quantities and patterns. The primary location and area coverage for supporting factors of households like sheds, kitchen gardens are mostly not changed. Raising awareness has increased the confidence level of people and develops new ideas for sustainable life system. Now, large and open space, cleanliness around resident areas or

wide courtyard and systematic toilet made the transition from one life stage to the next is gratifying. Gurungs of Benigaon have a history, from four khalak to expansion of eleven khalak, migrating from different village in different time. Equally 9 (nine) household or families were migrated out, from Benigaon during last three decades.

An establishment of school changes the awareness level of Gurungs of Benigaon which made Eighty percent people literate and 23.33 percent educated from higher study. Reports said that some Lahures (Ex-army) pensioner were active to make literate the younger boys. The same boy, who becomes literate first, then transformed the knowledge to the others to read and write. Government School opened 2020 BS and now, that school is running as High school. Four decades ago the major festivals were celebrated to had good food, sufficient foods, cleanliness and new dresses. They worked for whole the year round and used to get rest in particular festivals. Now people have time table for work, no people wait festival to have good food and new dresses. Local festival of Shansari pooja, Thani Pooja, Nangrung sthan pooja and Gathering in Aunsi, Purnima and Barana were dismissed and new festivals like mothers' day, fathers' day, Teeja and Lhosar instead of pandhra Push are celebrated mostly with high importance.

Indigenous people like Gurungs of Benigaon have developed ceremonies and rituals to help make sense or celebrate a change in position, circumstance or relationship. Over time some rituals become diluted, imperfect or less accepted by the youth for whom they are intended. In majority of cultures, like the greatest effort is given to the death rite of passage, Neither pachyu, Ghyabree nor lama could satisfied the community. Causes are given that they have not used written text for ritual work, excess use of alcohol by Lama and Ghyabree, definition of used materials are unclear, the stories about each steps were found different. These days people are vulnerable to choose their Lama or pahchyu on the basis of their remarks. A custom which is very popular in Gurung of Benigaon is Chhewor (Bartabandha) not a Gunyo choli but these days Gunyu Choli is highly given importance in a community. It is not only for mama and mamalis but also their parents excited to complete the karma. Equally it is a matter of Gender issues that communities are happy doing so. In early days most of celebrations were concluded in one or two days because the next day was special for the guest who was coming from far away. These days they celebrate three days, they do not focus the guest who is coming from far

or near, they could have access of transportation to go anywhere at any time, said it is the other way of enjoyment and respects for their guest.

Among Gurungs, cross-cousin marriage is preferred. The category of cross-cousin marriage is suspended in Gurungs of Benigaon for two decades. It is not decided by group discussion or made any commitment but probably "it would be not restarted again in future," said most of the respondent of the study. Chori Biwah still exists in Gurungs of Benigaon but it has been changing their trends. Formally parents of bride is not asked to get permission about their daughter but informally they are informed by other means of media like close relatives, close friends or by Lami. Now it is being stable way of marriage among Gurung of Benigaon. Magi Biwah do not proceed at any time because they can't take whole burden or expenses, They would agree to finish their marriage part by part when they would be capable for expenses.

Until 2026 BS Gurungs of Benigaon gathered in common house is called Rodhighar of Ghyapri tole. The house was demolished in 2028 BS and evening Gathering was shifted to private home of same area. Those activities were continue few years in Thado tole and few months in Tesro tole. During the decade of thirtieth, the young guys were divided into two or three different houses. Traditional entertainments were associated with daily life. Internal and external forces play vital roles for cultural changes. External factors such as outside visitors, Radio, Television, News papers, and other informal sources that assist to increase awareness and are main external forces to erode the local culture and other associate activities.

The economic status of Gurungs of Benigaon was changed in three different ways in three different periods. Between 2025 BS to 2038 BS the economy or livelihood of Benigaon were depended on subsistence agriculture, some time producing enough grain with the help of appropriate climate and some time eating edible foods or getting food loans and lending from others. Then until 2055 BS their pattern were changed and supported by livestock mainly from dairy establishment. Free market availability of food grain in market and cash income from selling milk and selling other agricultural products run the livelihood of village quite differently. Now during the last two decades the economy of

Benigaon is controlled by job holders, pensioner and remittance. Now eating or dietary habit is changed, dresses were changed and life style of Benigaon is completely changed.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AMONG THE GURUNGS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

5.1 Marriage practice in general

Marriage is a universal social institution that is found in almost all societies and at all stages of development. Also it is a permanent bond between husband and wife. It is designed to fulfill the social, psychological, biological and religious aims. Marriage is always associated with some civil and religious ceremony. This social and religious ceremony provides validity to marriage. Though modern marriage performed in courts still it requires certain religious or customary practices.

Marriage in Nepal is a family affair; the parents are responsible for selecting suitable spouse for their children. Every community has their own specific culture and style but most of the marriages in Nepal are arranged.

5.2 Types of Marriage in General

- **Arranged marriage** Arranged marriage is popular among Hindu culture in Nepal. Once the son or daughter become at the age of marriage, the parents look for the groom or bride through relatives or people they know. Once the groom or bride is found then the parents will go to the priests to consult and check and confirm whether the bride and the groom are made for each other. For this purpose both the bride and the groom's star signs are matched. The middle person or the lami, who acts as a messenger for both the families is involved in all arrangement of the wedding. First the groom will go to the bride's with his family, friends and relatives are called Janti in Nepali, and the wedding ceremony will end with Swayambar (ritual) to dulahi anmaune (farewell of bride). And the next day entry of bride at the house of groom will complete the functions.

- **Love marriage** :This type of marriage are becoming more popular in Nepal these days as there are no options of choosing the life partner in arranged marriage. The new generation have started to choose their life partner themselves and if the parents of the both families are agree with their choice then they will arrange the wedding according to their own tradition.
- **Court marriage: Legal of official marriage system is popular if the people have no enough time for other activities.** Some of the couples when they are happy with each other's and even their parents are agree to get marriage then they just will go to the court and get marriage certificate.
- **Elopement (Bhagi Bibah):** Elopement is an old version of the Love marriage in Nepal and this type of marriage are practiced in certain community or ethnic group in Nepal, when both boy and girl are happy and agree to marry then they will do this marriage. Even the parents are not agree then they would leave the family and elope or get married.
- **Polyandry system in Nepal:** In the North West part of Nepal like Humla, Dolpo and Mustang, the people are practicing polyandry marriage system as well. The Tibetan speaking peoples of those areas are generally referred as Bhote (Tibetan) people. The polyandry system is taken as cause that the farming land is little and production is very much less compared to the efforts for cultivating so, If all brothers of the families are married with different women that will lead to separation of the family which will results in the division of land and property. Which is difficult for them to divide property. Generally sexual right of the wife is determined by age so the younger can have access only when the senior are absent. However, the Number of polyandry families are decreasing in Nepal and this is not legal as well.
- **Polygyny:** The Polygamy is an old culture in Nepali society but it is most common in Nepal. Nepal was ruled by the monarchy and the kings of Nepal or the rich feudal of Nepal used to get marriage with 2 or more women. Those who married two or more wives he used to be respected by the local (said mardako say woti) saying brave man marry hundreds of wives. These days, for many reasons there are still active a system of keeping multiple wives in Nepal.

5.3 Marriage among the Gurungs

Among Gurungs, cross-cousin marriage is preferred traditionally. In Gurung community, matrimonial rites are observed with great fan fare as they consider wedding ceremony the most important event in life. In this community, nieces and nephews could be customarily tied in nuptial knots but the bride has absolute liberty to choose her bridegroom. But these days the category of cross cousin marriage is suspended and a large number of relatives are classified as cousin in Gurungs though who are not close relatives. If one's Mama (maternal uncle) is son of a Nhansi, all the Nhansi santan of Nepal should be respected as mama. The way one can get married to a daughter of Nhansi, who is not a real cousin. The father in law is not respected as father or father in law but one has to call him mama.

5.4 Age of the brides

Gurungs of Benigaon have no records of early (child) marriage during the study periods. The Nepalese Hindu society attaches a great value to the virginity and chastity of women. The desire to preserve the purity of girls forms another major cause of marriages at young ages. Moreover, the religious text also sanction that a girl can be married with proper rites only when she is a virgin. Among Brahmins, a father who could not marry his daughter before pre-puberty was believed to commit a sin. It is also considered that mature unmarried girls are prone to voluntary and involuntary sexual relations including rape.

Second kind of child marriage is still active in a country. "Nepal has the third highest rate of child marriage in Asia, after Bangladesh and India. Thirty-seven percent of girls in Nepal marry before age 18 and 10 percent are married by age 15, in spite of the fact that the minimum age of marriage under Nepali law is 20 years of age". (HUMAN RIGHT WATCH reports). Many of the marriages we know about were arranged, often forced by girls' parents, or other family members. They describe that their unions are "love marriages." Here, the term love marriage is commonly used to refer to a marriage not arranged by the bride and groom's families. The girls' ages are not a barrier for marriage, if the boy is ready, kinds of agents could forward the proposes up to marriage. Love

marriages among children are often active by the same social and economic factors. As a result found that married children usually dropped out of school and have babies early, because they did not have information about contraception, and sometimes their in-laws and husbands pressured them to give birth as soon, as possible particularly laborers of informal sectors like brick factory, girls of Dalit family, Tharu family and other indigenous women and girls are easily affected and mostly victim of child marriage.

Average age of Marriage of Gurungs of Benigaon is found 20.74 Years. The first marriage of one girl from Chi Lem and one from Tithe Lem have got married in the age 16. Similarly very few girls were married at the age of 17 and 18. Most of the girls of Benigaon were married at the age of 20. Family members of Tithe Lem were found most earlier who were married at the age of 18.5 years and families of Kromche found very late at the age of 24.6 followed by Aale/Ghyapree at the age of 24.

It was found that almost all the girls were asked about their choice. "The partner should be from a family of roughly equal wealth and be of similar age. Gurungs marry in their twenties, unlike the Brahmins who live alongside them who generally marry in their teens". (Alan Macfarlane) Receiving a *kosheli* from parents, one girl has refused her marriage at last hour. They returned back *kosheli* immediately after a girl rejected a boy. In a random survey average marriage age of girls were 18 and boys were seen 21 before 2050 BS and these days average age of girls are 20 and boys are 23 at the time of marriage.

5.5 A historical practice of Gurungs' marriage

We found marriage among Gurungs being very similar from the clan of Gorkha-Lamjung to Syanja-Parbat. They constituted no different classification in marriage of Gurung's history, all they have described the marriage were social matter. Father, mother and senior member of clan were seen responsible to complete the rituals. It is not described as *chori*, *magi* or *prem biwah*, it is universal among Gurungs. Marriage among the "Gurungs has traditionally been too important a matter to leave to the whim of individuals. A marriage affects the social relations not only of the couple themselves, but of all their relatives." (Alan Macfarlane) Gurungs of Benigaon is engaged and trying to

conclude in two methods of marriage customs. The most widely recognized type of relational unions among the Gurungs of Benigaon is Chori (Love Marriage) Biwaha.

- **Chori Biwaha (Elopement or Love Marriage)**
- **Magi Biwaha, truly 'Marriage by Proposal'**

A topic chori Biwaha is no more exist at the period because girls are frequently given option to choose her husband or make decision before to accept pungs. Although the parents of a bride are not able to offer pagari (white clothes about 3.5 meters long) that would not be a magi biwaha. That means parents are ready to marry their daughter but economically they are not capable of celebration and big expenses.

- **Chori Biwaha (Elopement or Love Marriage)**

It is tradition of Gurungs of Benigaon, suitable couples were advised or encouraged to tie a knot before disruption from any relatives and families. An initial love or planning for marriage is not secret but not informed to all or their guardians. Nobody knows the Dulhi bhityaune (bride's entry) but everybody goes there for tikka and blessing for couple. Some mediator like Lami and responsible person who could play an important role for Dulahi bhityaune (bride's entry) program. If the girls parents were not happy with the proposed boy and their family it would be difficult for bride's entry. These days or in recent periods pair themselves used to talks about marriage and further planning. After sending *Runche Kosheli* all the guests, who were present at the time of tikka and blessing are given special party (party). When bride and groom take a seat together for dinner with grand party that would be confirm of marriage.

Runche Kosheli (Sobbing gifts): is specially a offering to the mother of a bride. On the way to meet very close friends and relatives, they are also represented with some kosheli like roti raksi (selroti and alcohol). That is actually a tearful period, which divides each other from maiti and maiti gaon. The used term or an institution Runche Kosheli is treatment for acute wounds of splited families and community.

Lho is a Calender year of Gurungs adopted from Tibetan calendar year. According to the calender, Gurungs divide their time into 12 years cycle each having specific name of different animals. In every 12 year, new Lho (barga) is changed, and Gurungs start every auspicious work according to Lho. As for example There is mela for planting rice in

field, when the ropar (planter) team is ready to plant, they can choose a girl to plant first step, who must be chara barga or garuda barga because work could be finalized as quick as flying like a bird. In every step, they value the barga Lho system for daily life.

Gurung Astrologer or Lama used the Tibetan calendar to find the bride and groom stars. It's given 12 Lho (Barga) and five mewa in a chart. About four mewa *Pani*, *Kath*, *Aago* and *Falam* represent two Lho each and *Pani* represents four Lho (Barga). If a girl representing a *musa* (rat) *barga* with a boy representing of *Ghoda* (horse) *barg* are the combination of *Pani mewa* and *Aago mewa*, this couple is highly appropriate for marriage. An Astrologer or a priest could decide the time table of *tikka talo*, They could run their married life very happily. If a same girl got a boy representing the same year or *Musa* (rat) *barga*, the combination of *Pani* and *Pani mewa* gives a result always conflicts. This kind of couple can be accepted by astrologer but their marriage life goes with always struggle, not smoothly, may quarrel each other so they are asked to offer *pooja* before marriage. Another Barga like a girl represents *musa* (rat) and boys representing a *Chara* (bird) *barga*, that they are combination of *Pani* and *Falam mewa*. Which gives a result of *mrityu* (death), that is a meaning which marriage could be broken at any time. At that situation Astrologer could reject the marriage of a couple. *Pran tatwo* do not help them to marry each other. If the couple are in love or very difficult to separate them, those couples have to organize special *pooja* of *Muktidhara*. Or they are advised to go *Muktidham* to shower 108 taps of *Muktidhara* of *Mutinath*. The way or the process could help the married life succeed. The way Gurungs of Benigaon still thought about it.

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- **Magi Biwaha, truly 'Marriage by Proposal'**

Magi Biwaha, truly 'Marriage by Proposal' which is also known as organized marriage. It is conducted in various ways according to their capacities. Initially, the older folks of the boys and girls families approach the senior community leader who looks at horoscope graph. Most essential part is related to the tounge Lho (Barga) and Mewa. If the Barga and Mewa is suitable for each other the parents of girl could receive a *Pung* (A bottle of Alcohol) that is acceptance of proposal of *keta* (boy). Now they could decide or arrange the marriage by their dialogue.

A very few people can offer Pheta or Pagari (3.5 meters of white clothes to be tied up on head of bride-groom) to the boy which is one go (complete) marriage. They could ask janti (witness) and big parties with their mutual understanding. If both side is ready to do so, they can conducted in two days, one day from girl's parents and another day from boy's parents should organize bhoj (party). As the wedding is finalized the bride's family side seeks money, goat, lamb, liquor and wine from the bride-grooms family. This ritual is known as *reet bujhaune* which means book the girl. In the next phase if matrimonial ceremony, the bride- groom's family decides the date of wedding and sends it to the bride's family with fresh fruits. This ritual is known as *saipata*. In case if the girl elopes with someone after the *saipata* ritual is completed, the girl's family should refund the cash and kind to the boy's family. This custom is known as *jari tirne*.

Once, the time is set, the bride groom takes janti to bride's house with band music. Upon reaching the bride's house, they place pot full of yogurt, sweet breads and *rakshi* in front of the bride, waiting at the courtyard as it is not allowed into bride's house. Those assembled in courtyard consume them.

The Gurung initiates the wedding rituals while the family members compete in dancing and singing throughout the night. The following morning, the bride's parents and family perform the *goda dhoi* (foot washing) ceremony. Next, the bride send-off procedure beings as the bride-groom parents offer presents to elderly relatives of the bride. The bride's parents themselves with other relatives escort the bride to her new home.

In other contest girl's parents give only simple tikka to leave birth place. After a months or few weeks, bride and grooms come to see girls parents with **Runche kosheli** they are a jar of Raksi (alcohol) A big basket, merely sat biso (seven twenties) selroti and a whole leg piece of goat meat. Actual kosheli should be not less than panch sholi (5 basket) and with few like 7, 9 or 11 people as janti (witness) are presented. A program would be one night stop in maiti ghar (home of girl's parents). After this program bride and groom could visit maiti and shasurali frequently.

5.6 Dowry verses Baina:

Dowry system is a practice of giving Money or property or some kinds of special gifts at the marriage of a daughter by the girl's side to the bridegroom's family. 'Dowry' is known as '*Daijo*' in Nepali and '*Dahej*' in *Hindi, Maithili and Bhojpuri* language. Dowry is not practiced up to 2074 BS in Gurungs of Benigaon. They had no records of getting dowry or any present from maiti in marriage ceremony. Baina is little cash (coin gift) or golden jewelry given to bride not from girls' families but from bridegroom's capacity to confirm marriage. Instead of getting dowry from maiti, bride used to ask Baina (coin gift) as little cash from bride-groom to confirm their marriage. Some bride could ask instant jewelry or golden ornament as advance. Baina is existed and significance only for Chori Biwaha not for arranged marriage. In addition they could asked some choice of Golden jewelry and expensive dresses before *Bibaha bhoj* (local party) or at the time of Runche Kosheli.

Between 2025 BS to 2045 BS, altogether 20 girls of Benigaon have received Baina as cash and few have taken golden rings, that's kind of rate chha bisa (120.00 rupees) later increased up to 300.00 rupees to confirm their marriage. After 2046 BS Gurungs of Benigaon have no records of receiving Baina for marriage. The question about receiving advance money (Baina) is not justified for a time being. Baina is similar like a pewa (private property of bride) in other community. That system is not well accepted in later days and became more questionable. These days chori Biwaha is converted into Love marriage so Baina and Gifts are not a matter of fixing marriage, what and how much is given. Dowry from maiti is not practiced till today but equally the guest who used to come in ceremony give little cash gift for bride. In recent days very few cases like who have completed one go marriage, have given bride, little gifts from maiti too. Gurungs of Benigaon believed that dowry is not justified when a complete and capable girl is being a member of their (bride-grooms) family to support in every steps of their economy.

5.7 Matrimonial ceremony :

Mannu Jane (complete marriage) is essential when both team are ready for expenses and traditional practice. If the couple's first child is a boy and is ready for bartabandha or girl

is ready for gunyo choli, then they have to complete **manne kam** (marriage) in hasty. If the situation is normal the couple should proceed the demands of maiti. Minimum five sholi of Kosheli with ladies and Nine gentleman as janti. Very important items are *Bhala barchha* (Javelin), one shelroti with (A locally made basket should be filled with piece of bread and radish with leaf) *perango*, *ukhu* and *mulako sag* is compulsory for traditional processing. Those items should be with janti and proceed in courtyard or in front of the gate of maiti ghar. Like Roti, Raksi, Achar and some gifts are prepared as much as they can. Similarly one set of kosheli is prepared for kaka bau (uncle and their families). Bride's mother and mostly senior women members like *kaki*, *kshyama*, *phupu*, *maiju*, *bhauju* and *didi* have to give *lungee* (sadi) for each. In some occasion the way bride has to bring a *kauri pathi* (young female goat) for her close friends to make special party with *roti raksi*.

The member of maiti also arranges visit with little money and beautiful gifts. During the **visit tradition** kannya keta and keti (young boy and girl) should be seated near to bride and groom. Parents offer tikka first kannya because they are the representatives of a time. During the time of offering tikka for bride and groom from maiti, their children are not allowed to see the tradition, It is said that not to see *bau ko Biwaha a*(father's marriage). Maiti including kaka bau (uncle) should be prepared for two days party (bhoj). First day from maiti (real father) and next day from kaka bau for janti and guest. The way they finished marriage custom in several years. We They have some reports that a few people concluded to Mannu jane kam in 12 years. And more often people go for complete marriage in between five to seven years but not necessarily a time is given to finished the job.

About 51 couple were informed that they had magi bibah and only three couple were complete (one go) marriage. Complete marriage is just to finished once, not to go for Runche Kosheli and Mannu jane. Rest of 48 marriage were extended upto Mannu parne. Next type of marriage is known chori Biwaha where 103 couple were completed moving all cycle. It is also describes as love marriage, After the year 2036 BS girls were convinced herself as being a bride but formal information is not given to their parents.

Purity and Pollutions in Marriage

The concept of purity and pollution plays a very crucial role in maintaining the required distance between different clans. But the pollution distance varies from clan to clan and from place to place. A girl married from different clan, even if lineage details are unknown or not introduced before, *clan* members may be organized around a founding members of ancestor. The organized assembly could asked the girl and her husband to be a daughter of a clan. The mostly priority is given to mama. A boy could request his mama to adopt his wife as a daughter. If the mama is ready to make a new daughter or accepts a request of bhanja, the assembly opens the options to purify the couple. Their opening meets (pahilo bhet) may be equivalent to **Runche Kosheli**, people of a community accepts bhoj from just like a newly married couple. They could set a complete marriage as mannu jane kam. The new relations should be established as Mama and Maiju would be father in law and mother in law and their new born babies would get their mamali as in complete cycle.

5.8 Comparison of marriage within a clan and timeline.

It has been discovered that in the period of first thirty years, marriages were not expanded beyond regular relationship (certain clan) like Benigaon to Nalang, Bhunglichok, Tanglichok, Chisopani, Manakamana and Makaipur. Regular relationship is defined as marriage relationship of people of Benigaon in certain clan from the time immemorial.

Mugling Chitwan, Dhading were seen new but that attachment were family ties with regular relationship. The family members of the bride grooms were either migrated from regular relationship or relatives were connected with previous clan. Dhading Nalang and Charaudi were out of the district about the administrative division of a country but *kutumba* (qualified for marriage not related with bloods) are with regular relationship with Benigaon.

At the decades of late fiftieth, marriage relationship broke the regular relationship to cross settlement to out of districts. Some one married from Chitwon, Pokhara and local areas but they were not related with previous relationship. They tied up their marriage

with completely new clans and new identity. Even though marriage were following the rule and regulations of Gurungs of Benigaon. More recently at the decades of sixtieth the marriage system is much more expanded from regular relationship. They were mostly broaden to out of district like Syanja, Kaski, Lamjung and Tanahun in the west and Bhojpur, Okhaldhunga, Charikot to Nuwakot in the East. During the period of this decade three or four couple were married to out of the country like Sikkim, Bhutan and Bihar in India.

5.9 Marriage and break up

About 153 couple of Gurungs of Benigaon were married and 20 couple (13.7 percent) were divorced between 2025 to 2075. Highest splits were seen between 2026 to 2035, i.e. in 7 couples. Kromche families have 16 unions of marriage in which four were divorced in fifty years, followed by Jhimal with 36 marriage and 4 divorced. In more recent years divorce rate is decreasing and lowest is in between 2066 to 2075. Now the divorce rate is reduced in recent years than earlier periods. Khulal and Darlami have no records of divorced.

According to the Nepali cultural issues that the women will tolerate even though they are suppressed by the husbands and their family. As the man of Nepal do not get marriage with those women who are already married and divorced. The custom is still alive in hindu society that's dominated by Brahmnn and kshetry. Now the Government of Nepal passed the act that the men also have to pay or provide the half of his property when he get divorce. At adverse cases these days Nepal are increasing break up, because the people do not want to live in suppression and people now are more educated so, they leave each other when they do not like so.

Causes of divorce in earlier decades were misguided by family members in Benigaon. There has been not seen any violence and contradiction between divorcee couple. During those periods couples were not independent, what they were doing and planning. The respondent of the study area is agree that, Most of divorcee women were seen innocent in her way of role and duty. Extramarital affairs were not proved and no one was particularly blamed about that cases. A trend was established that their mother in law

were causes of breaking the marriage of their son. It was very common that the monitoring the work and behavior of daughter in law was given to her household's members. That mother in law could play vital role to evaluate, to accept or return back to her maiti, if the daughter in law fail to satisfy her mother in law, marriage could be collapsed at any time.

The role of husband and father in law were seen very weak during the decades of early thirtieth. Almost the husbands of the divorcee girls' were not able to deafened with their parents. The ages of the husband of the divorcee girls were not premature either, only they were the victim of house commander (mother of a household). Other supporting factor of the break up of the marriage was the down fall of the maiti (khalak) santan too. If the economy of maiti santan was getting low or any social corruption were seen during those periods that would be the other causes to break of their marriage.

When the cases forwarded for divorce, social welfare section used to work in negative move. It has seen that only a pair of ear ring of a girl also returned back to the divorcee husband. Gender disparities were very strong during those days, as due causes women rights movements were raised up in right time. If the babies were not born between them divorcee women forced to go to maiti almost (empty hand) necked.

Out of 20 divorcee couple of Benigon, 19 were remarried, 15 got immediately after break up and 3 were getting married after 9 or 10 years later. Only one divorcee women left unmarried for next. It is so common that "Divorce, and desertion are common, Divorcees and widows are permitted to remarry. The practice of levirate does not exist, but surrogate is common." (Dr. Om Gurung 2015). A study of Gurungs of Benigaon reported that no one was left husband or on desertion. But a very few couple (two girls) did not come home from maiti again without blaming any one. Surrogate was not found in between 50 years period in Benigaon but it was seen two more (pairs) examples of previous days. Similarly one widow and two widowers got remarried in different period of time in Benigaon between fifty years.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

The overall objective of the research was to explore social and cultural changes among Gurungs of a mid-hill village of Nepal, and account the factors that contributed to those changes. The specific objectives were to investigate the socio-cultural and economic factors that contributed to those changes and to account and describe the changes in marriage practice over the generation and analyze the contributing factors for such changes.

For the purpose of this study, primary data of qualitative nature has been collected. However, some important secondary data also collected as per the need. About 30 Gurungs and five Damai are living with approximate population of 222 residents; those households have shaped the universe of this study. The senior members of each household, women leaders of the community and selected members of the each clan had participated in the study as investigators. The High school students primarily from Benigaon specially the Tamu students from grade nine to twelve were selected for the study. Most of the data were generated through participant observation during three months stay. Research tools which were related with objective of the study (case studies, key informants interviews and sharing of experiences) have been applied.

To achieve a detail understanding of the group and regarding research theme, various sociological tools and methods has been applied such as participant observation, interview and focused group discussion. The collected data has been analyzed qualitatively. They are transcribed where they are needed, translated, coded and categorized.

6.2 Major findings

The main findings of this study have been summed up as follows:

- Raising awareness and the confidence level of people have developed new ideas for sustainable life system. Now, large and open space, cleanliness around resident areas or wide courtyard and systematic toilet made the transition from one life stage to the next is gratifying.
- The socio-cultural activities has gradually changed with course of time but the change is accelerated for last two decades (after the restoration of democracy in Nepal). Number of shelters are remain same in quantities and patterns. The primary location and area coverage for supporting factors of households like sheds, kitchen gardens are decorated in same areas for continuity and following their ancestor.
- Life chances and opportunity for progress were easy in Benigaon, therefore Gurungs of Benigaon have a history of only 4 khalak (santan) and now expanded up to 11 khalak (santan), migrating from different village in different time. Equally 9 (nine) household or families were migrated out, from Benigaon during last three decades.
- Labor migration or Lahures (Ex-army/) pensioner were active to make literate the younger children. The same way who literate first, then transformed the knowledge to the others to read and write. That way, they opened school, now awareness level of Gurungs of Benigaon increased, which made Eighty percent people literate and 23.33 percent educated from higher study.
- The impact of modernization, local festival like Shansari pooja, Thani Pooja, Nangrung sthan pooja and Gathering in Aunsi, purnima and Barana (prohibited to work next day of local festival) were dismissed and new festivals like mothers' day, fathers' day, Teeja and Lhosar instead of pandhra Push are celebrated mostly with high importance.

- Conflict between old practices and new thinking, Indigenous people like Gurungs of Benigaon have developed ceremonies and rituals to help make sense or celebrate a change in position, circumstance or relationship. Over a time some rituals become diluted, imperfect or less accepted by the youth for whom they are intended. In majority of cultures, like the greatest effort is given to the death rite of passage, Pachyu, Ghyabree or Lama could be given chance on practicing for continuity.
- A custom which was very popular in Gurung of Benigaon ie Chhewor (Bartabandha) not a Gunyo Choli but Gunyo Choli is highly given importance these days. It is a matter of Gender issues that communities, mama and mamalis and their parents are excited and happy to complete this karma.
- In early days all celebrations were concluded in one or two days. Local livelihood practices show the way that these days they celebrate three days, they do not focus the guest who are coming from far away, they could have access of transportation at any time, but local people have worked and served guest continue for two to three days so they organized final party focusing the local people.
- Modernization, education and awareness occupied the traditional entertainment system like Rodhi of Gurung. Until 2026 BS Gurungs of Benigaon gathered in common house is called Rodhighar of Ghyapri tole. The house was demolished in 2028 BS and evening Gathering was shifted to private home of same area. Those activities were continue few years in Thado tole and few months in Tesro tole.
- Traditional entertainments were associated with daily life. Internal and external forces play vital roles for cultural changes. External factors such as outside visitors, Radio, Television, news papers, and other informal sources that assist to increase awareness and main external forces erased the local culture and other associate activities.
- The economic status of Gurungs of Benigaon was changed in different periods. Between 2025 BS to 2038 BS the economy or livelihood of Benigaon were

depended on subsistence agriculture, some time producing enough grain with the help of appropriate climate and a few year eating edible foods or getting food loans and lending from others.

- Now the economy of Benigaon is controlled by job holders, pensioner and remittance. Now eating or dietary habits are changed, dresses are changed and life style of Benigaon is completely revolutionized. Between 2038 BS to 2055 BS they were concentrated in livestock mainly for dairy establishment. Banking system reached the rural area and getting loan on land, gold and silver made them easy to get cash. Free market availability of food grain in market and cash income from selling milk and selling other agricultural products run the livelihood of village quite differently.
- Gurung or Tibetan astrologer system for a marriage is suspended. To find the bride and groom they were practicing Barga and Mewa very much, now disbelievers are increased. Among Gurungs, cross-cousin marriage was preferred and prevalent, and it's broad, including a large number of classificatory relatives.
- After a long term experiences of daily life and psychological pressure made the community that a close relatives of cross cousin marriage is stopped.
- Age barrier was strongly followed from very early period, it means awareness level was seen satisfactory on it, that who were married at the age of 16 were criticized all over the community.
- Conflict between old practices and new thinking, Magi Biwaha and Chori Biwaha are commonly established in a cluster like southern part of Gorkha. As it is clear that there is no diverse between elopement and love marriage which are commonly recognized as Chori Biwaha because girls are frequently given option to choose her husband or make decision before to accept pung (bottle of wine).
- A Baina system was prevalent until 2046 BS, Local livelihood Practices and civilization forced the society that these day a system is completely abolished. Instead of getting dowry from maiti like other community, bride used to ask Baina

(coin gift) as little cash or golden ring from bride-groom to confirm their marriage.

- Runche Kosheli system is still strong and continueing process in a case of *Chori Biwaha* but *Magi Biwaha* is being more common in last ten years than previous time.
- An organization *mannu jane* is final stage of marriage so traditional or ritual activities are regularly following on the way of modernized stage. Sholi (home made basket) and Pung (wooden flask for drinks) are substituted by other containers and a jar or bottle of drinks but quantities are increased.
- New communication system and different social media made possible the marriage trend from different settlement and villages. Before 20 (twenty) years ago no one was gone beyond certain village and clan, Now they have married from different locations. From the beginning of decade sixtieth young's have started their relation with different clan, settlement and district and few have relation with different country as well.
- Divorce is an universal all over the world, like that Gurungs of Benigaon, 13.7 percent couple were divorced based on different causes. Extraneous factors might play crucial role in any society as an analysis found that no couple were unhappy together but Mother in law of a bride were seen main role player to keep their marriage alive or break up. In Earlier days or like during the decades thirtieth, break ups were high but in later days the rate is being reduced.

6.2 Conclusion

Among Gurungs, cross-cousin marriage was preferred and prevalent, and it's broad, including a large number of classificatory relatives. In Gurung community, matrimonial rites or wedding ceremony considers the most important event in their life. Gurungs of Benigaon uusually practiced cross-cousin marriage; which is still prevelant, however in declining faster.

Arranged as well as love marriages are common; and the average age of marriage has also gone up. When the cross-cousin marriage was common, they used to have marriage at early age. Now, with the decline of cross-cousin marriage and growing education level, now the average age for girls at marriage is recorded 20 years and 23 for boys. Upto three decades ago, it was 18 for girls and 20 for boys. Similarly, earlier it was common to marry a girl from the same village, now they have started marrying girls from other villages, as well.

Gurung Astrologer or Lama/Pachyu used the Tibetan calendar to find the bride and groom stars but in now they were not practicing Barga and Mewa very much. However, many rituals are still continued and carried out by the community people without any burden. Not significantly but a few intercaste marriage is also accounted. Likewise, divorce rate is recorded to be 13.7 percent. Even if there was no such date to compare with, people of old age recalled that divorce rate was higher than this in the past years.

Change in marriage practices is also a part of changes in over all social and cultural practices, therefore, cannot be understood and explained in isolation. Factors influencing such changes are usually the same. Based on our findings, it can be concluded that community has maintained and continued some practices voluntarily, and some other practices have been changed, and community has accepted that, too. Major factors that have influenced such change include, rise in education level among the Gurungs of Benigaon; its contacts with outside world, primarily through labor migration and recruitment in Indian and British Army. In addition, livelihood diversification and availability of different economic opportunities have also direct bearing upon the social and cultural changes, including in marriage practices. Likewise infrastructural development and political transformation have also influenced the changes in the village.

Hence, change is obvious and ubiquitous, but, communities do not change from form A to B overnight. All communities retain some conventional elements, which give them the sense of belongingness and identity, at the same time; they also accept the changes induced by the internal or external factors.

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Appendix : 1
Important Tables

Table 1
Family Structure of Benigaon

SN	Santan	HH	Member of H head	Male	Female	Total
1	Kromche	2	1.Ganga Bdr Gurung 2. Nara Bdr Gurung	8	11	19
2	Chhi Lem	5	1.Tul Bdr Gurung 2.Tilak Bdr Gurung 3. Chandra Gurung 4.Khut Bdr. Gurung 5.Tek Bdr Gurung	19	15	34
3	Ghyabri	7	1.Nara Bdr Gurung 2.Tilak Gurung 3.Karna Bdr Gurung 4. Tuk Bdr Gurung 5. Padam Gurung 6. Rabin Gurung 7. Sujan Gurung	18	17	35
4	Tite Lem	1	1. Ganga Bdr Gurung	3	2	5
5	Jhimal	5	1.Bhim Bdr Gurung 2. Yogendra Gurung 3.Santa Bdr Gurung 4. Dile Gurung 5. Ranakauri Gurung	21	22	43
6	Nhansi	1	1. Chet Bdr Gurung	2	2	4
7	khiu Lem	4	1.Tok Bdr Gurung 2. Harka Bdr Gurung 3. Min Bdr Gurung 4. Prem Gurung	14	14	28
8	Darlami	1	1. Surya Bdr. Gurung	3	6	9
9	Ale	3	1. Bala Bdr Gurung 2. Jaga Bdr Gurung 3. Kumari Gurung	10	13	23
10	Khulal	1	1. Kirumaya Gurung	2	1	3
11	Pariya (Damai)	5	1. Maite Pariyar 2. Bambe Pariyar 3.Gore Damai 4. Sobarne Pariyar 5. Krishna Pariyar	10	9	19
Toal		35		111	112	222

Table : 2
State of Land Ownership

SN	Land Description	Families(HH)	Percent
1	More than 20 Ropanis	10	28.5
2	10–20 Ropanis	9	25.8
3	Less than 10 Ropanis	10	28.5
4	Less than 1 Ropanis	2	05.8
5	Land less	4	11.4

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 3
Population Distribution of Benigaon

Santan	Total	In Village	Percent	Out of Village	percent	Out of Country	Percent
Kromche	10	2	20.0	6	60.0	3	30.0
Chhine Lem	38	16	42.1	20	52.6	2	05.2
Ghyabri	37	15	40.5	11	29.7	11	29.7
Tite Lem	5	2	40.0	3	60.0	00	00.0
Jhimal	42	11	26.2	24	57.1	7	17.5
Nhansi	3	2	67.0	1	33.0	00	00.0
Khiu Lem	28	12	42.8	12	42.8	4	14.3
Darlami	8	2	25.0	5	62.5	1	12.5
Aale	22	9	40.9	13	59.0	0	00.0
Khulal	4	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	00.0
Damai	25	19	76.0	6	24.0	0	00.0
Total	222	91	41	103	46.4	28	12.6

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 4
Migration and roots of the Gurungs of Benigaon

Santan	In migration	Out migration	Collapsed
Kromche	.....	1 HH	2 HH Colapsed
Chhi Lem	.....	.....	.....
Ghyabri	Roots Toriswora	1 HH	1 hh coptan
Tithe Lem	Roots Makaising.	....	1 hh Jetha
Jhimal	.....	3 HH	1 hh Duetale
Nhansi	.....	2 HH	.....
Khiu Lem	Roots Toriswara	2 HH	1 hh No son
Darlami	Roots Daharechok	.....	.....
Ale	Roots Terse	.....	.....
Khulal	Nalang Dhading	.....	.....
Pariya (Damai)	Roots of Darbung	1 hh	.....

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

* Note : Khalak is very popular in Benigaon as expanded family, a father of a Nhansi's property could be divided into 3 parts if they are three son of a father, they

could be three houses of Nhansi khalak. Now santan is more popular term than khalak, so both words are frequently used in this work.

Table No: 5
Time Allocation of Males and Females of Benigaon

Time	Man	Woman	Remarks
4:00- 5:00	Sleeps	Wake up	
5:00-6:00	Sleeps	Cleaning home/collect water	
6:00-7:00	Wakes up	Makes tea and Break fast	
7:00-8:00	Tea /Feeds animals/ shower	Washing clothes/ collect water	
8:00-09:00	Eats / Go to mela	Feeds children / Go to Mela	
9:00-10:00	No Mela/ eats	Helps children to school /Eats	
10:00-11:00	Take rest /	Collect fodder/ fire wood	
11:00-12:00	Fodder collection	Collect fodder/ fire wood	
12:00-01:00	Fodder collection	Collect fodder/ fire wood	
01:00-02:00	Eats / go to mela	Make foods/ Go to mela	
02:00-03:00	No mela / Rest	Feeds / cleaning/	
03:00-04:00	Go to Bari (field)	Work kitchen gardening	
04:00-05:00	Go to Bari (field)	Collect vegetables / fodder	
05:00-06:00	Feeds animals	Feeds Animals/ locked chicken	
06:00-07:00	Watch TV /chat friends	Cooks food	
07:00-08:00	Watch TV drinks with friends	Home work helps	
08:00-09:00	Eats / drinks /chat with friends	Feeds children	
09:00-10:00	Watch TV	Eats clean dishes	
10:00-11:00	Sleeps	Make animal food/ prepare maize	
11:00-12:00	Sleeps	Sleeps	
Male working 8:00 hours/day		Female working 12:00 hours/day	

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 6
Educational level of Gurungs' of Benigaon

Khalak	Illiterate	Literate	School Edu	SLC+Higher
Kromche	1	1	2	7
Chhi Lem	4	10	9	4
Ghyabri	4	9	4	15
Tite Lem	1	1	2	2
Jhimal	5	4	15	8
Nhansi	1		0	1
Khiu Lem	3	3	8	4
Darlami	1	1	4	2
Ale	4	3	8	3
Khulal	2	0	1	0
Pariya (Damai)	2		13	1
TOTAL	36	32	71	42

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 7**Education above school leaving Certificate**

SN	Khalak	2026-35	2036-45	2046-55	2056-65	2066-75	Uni./stusy	Higher
1	Kromche	1	1	2	2	1		4
2	Chhi Lem	0	0	0	2	4		4
3	Ghyabri	0	1	2	6	8		7
4	Tite Lem	0	0	0	1	2		0
5	Jhimal	0	1	0	3	5		2
6	Nhansi	0	0	0	0	1		0
7	Khiu Lem	0	0	0	1	4		3
8	Darlami	0	0	0	1	1		0
9	Ale	0	0	0	2	2		2
10	Khulal	0	0	0	0	0		0
11	Pariya (Damai)	0	0	0	0	2		1
TOTAL		1	3	4	18	30		23

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 8**Number of People engaged in Armed Forces of Governments**

Army Service	2026-35	2036-45	2046-55	2056-65	2066-75	Total
Nepal Army	1	0	1	7	7	16
Nepal police	0	0	1	1	1	3
Indian Army	5	1	2	4	5	17
British Army	1	1	0	0	0	2
Total						38

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No : 9**Labor Division by Gender in Monsoon season**

SN	Working list	Men	Women	SN	Working list	Men	Women
1	Child care / HW help	6	24	10	Land Preparation	20	10
2	Water collection	10	20	11	Plantation	22	08
3	Cleaning House	3	27	12	Widding	2	28
4	Cooking Foods	2	28	13	Digging	18	12
5	Food processing	15	15	14	Harvesting	15	15
6	Cleaning Sheds	20	10	15	Storing	15	15
7	Fodder / Fuel collection	15	15	16	Brewing Liquar	0	30
8	Milking	18	12	17	Marketing	20	10
9	Grazing /Herding	25	5	18	Community work	20	10

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table 10**Chori Biwaha and Magi Biwaha of Benigaon**

Description	Chori Biwaha	Magi Biwaha	Description	Chori Biwaha	Magi Biwaha
Kromche	12	4	Nhansi	8	10

Chhi Lem	17	4	Khiu Lem	20	1
Klepri	14	14	Darlami	6	0
Tithe Lem	9	0	Aale	14	0
Jhimal	18	18	Khulal	2	0
Total Chori Biwah	120		Total Magi Biwah		51

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 11

Profession Other than Agriculture

Khalak	Job holder	Technician Driver	Skilled Laborer	Remittance	Pensioner
Kromche	0	0	0	1	2
Chhi Lem	3	1	2	3	0
Ghyabri	0	0	1	2	2
Tite Lem	1	0	1	0	0
Jhimal	1	0	0	5	3
Nhansi	0	0	1	0	0
khiu Lem	2	0	1	3	2
Darlami	1	0	1	1	0
Ale	2	0	0	0	1
Khulal	0	0	0	1	0
Pariya (Damai)	0	1	4	0	0
Total	10	2	11	16	10

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table No: 12

Domestication of Animal

SN	Santan	HH	Animal Population				
			Buff	Cow	Goat	Hen	Beehive
1	Kromche	1	2	-	8	8	2
2	Chhi Lem	4	7	9	34	38	15
3	Ghyabri	6	6	2	40	58	2
4	Tite Lem	1	2	-	8	8	2
5	Jhimal	6	1	-	40	27	0
6	Nhansi	1	2	2	6	0	0
7	khiu Lem	6	5	3	15	25	0
8	Darlami	1	2	-	3	13	0
9	Ale	3	7	0	24	31	0
10	Khulal	1	0	0	15	17	1
11	Pariya (Damai)	5	1	2	9	23	1
	Total	35	35	18	202	248	23

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table 13

Study of Lho (Barga) and Mewa

SN	Barga	English	Tamu kyui	Mewa	Mewa/ Pran Tatwo			
					Mewa	Mitra/ Friend	Dwonda/ conflict	Mrityu/ Deadly
1	Musa	Rat	Chyu Lho	Pani				
2	Gai	Cow	Lwo Lho	Mato				
3	Bagh	Tiger	Twon Lho	Kath	Pani	Kath	Pani	Aago
4	Biralo	Cat	Hi Lho	Kath		Falam		Mato
5	Garuda	Vulture	Pnhaa Lho	Mato	Kath	Aago	Kath	Falam
6	Naag	Serpent	Pnhee Lho	Aago		Pani		Mato
7	Ghoda	Horse	Ta Lho	Aago	Aago	Mato	Aago	Pani
8	Bheda	Sheep	Lhu Lho	Mato		Kath		Falam
9	Bandar	Monkey	Pra Lho	Falam	Mato	Falam	Mato	Kath
10	Chara	Bird	Chnhya Lho	Falam		Aago		Pani
11	Kukur	Dog	Khi Lho	Mato	Falam	Mato	Falam	Aago
12	Bandel	Deer	Fo Lho	Pani		Pani		Kath

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table. 14

Comparison of Expansion of Marital Relation within a Clan and Timeline

Table. 14 Compare Marriage within a Clan and Timeline						
SN	Santan	2026–035	2036–045	2046–055	2056–065	2066–075
1	Kromche	Nalang	Benigaon	Churling Makaipur Chitwon»	Chitwon«	Manang» Kathmandu
2	Chhi Lem		Chhapgaon Chainpur Chisopani Nalang	Kotgaon* Tolak Nalang	Makaipur Toriswara	Bhunglichok Charaudi Hetauda« Tolak Makaipur
3	Klepri	Makaipur Nalang	Tanglichok	Nalang	Makaipur Tanglichok Nalang	Bhojpur » Lamjung « Syangja» Siranchok Tolak
4	Tithe Lem			Mugling	Tanglichok	Chisopani Makaipur Makaising
5	Jhimal	Dhading Makaipur Chainpur	Terse Kuwapani * Nalang Makaipur	Erlung * Terse Tolak	Bhunglichok Nalang Chainpur	Nuwakot » Chitwon Bhunglichok Shikkim » Pokhara «
6	Nhansi	Chisopani		Manakamana *		Nalang Taanglichok

						Ghairung
7	Khiu Lem			Nalang Chisopani	Makaising Chitwon* Pokhara*	Tanahun »
8	Darlami		Nalang		Nalang Chitwon*	Lamjung » Bhutan »
9	Aale	Terse		Nalang Kuwapani	Fujel Pokhara* Tanglichok	Mugling Makaipur
10	Khulal			Nalang		Bhunglichok
11	Damai	Darbung	Darbung	Darbung	Nalang Ghyalchok	Bihar « Maidhi Darbung

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Table 15
Marriage Associated with same and out of cluster

Santan	In village	Out	Santan	In village	Out
Kromche	8	7	Khiu Lem	5	15
Chhi Lem	2	19	Darlami	1	5
Klepri	5	22	Aale	1	11
Tithe Lem	2	6	Khulal	1	1
Jhimal	7	28	Damai	0	9
Nhansi	4	10	Total	36	133

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

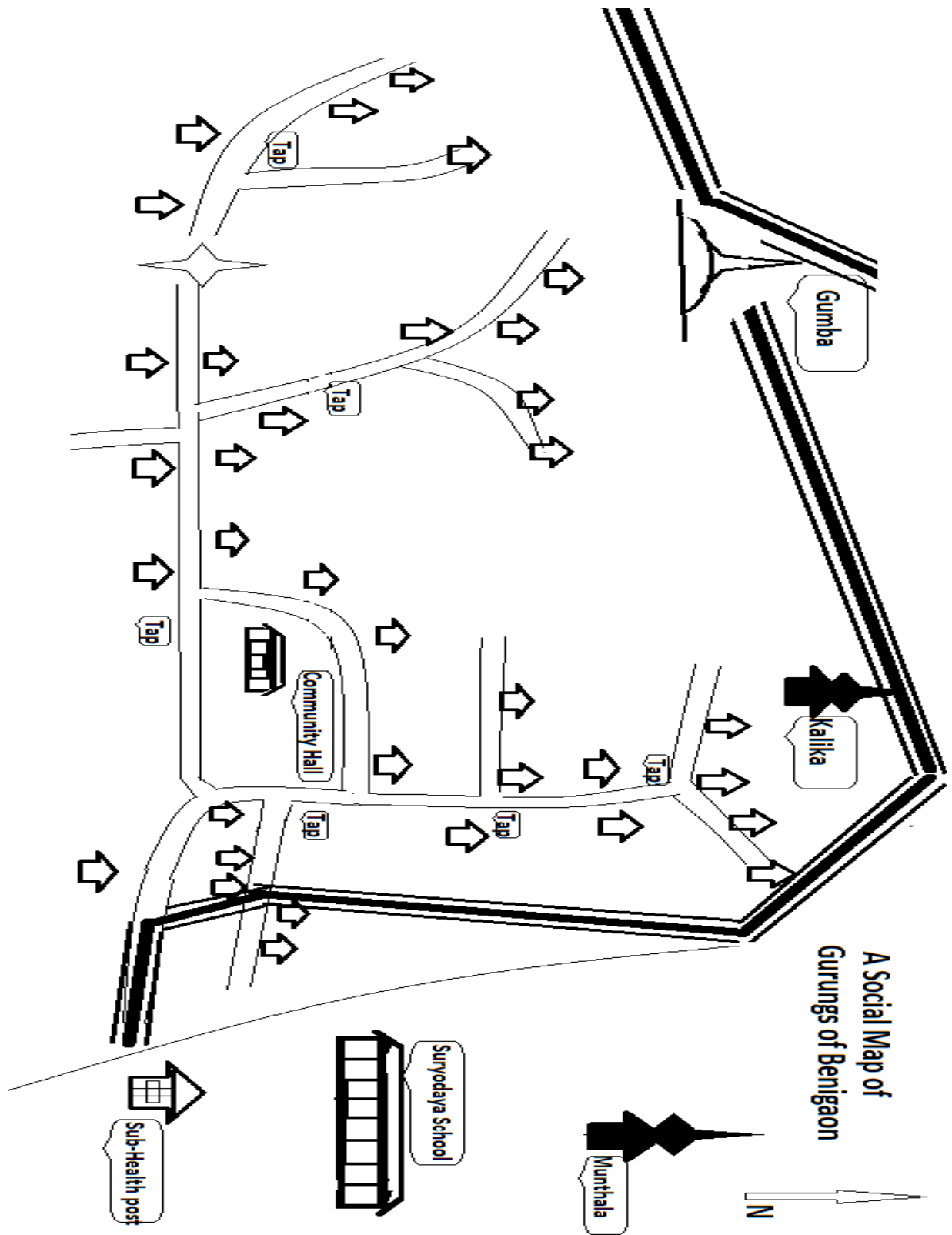
Table 16
Number of Married and Divorcee couples

Table 16 Married and Divorcee couples										
Gurungs of Beni	2026-35		2036-45		2046-55		2056-65		2066-75	
	CM	CD	CM	CD	CM	CD	CM	CD	CM	CD
Kromche	4	3	3	-	5	1	2	-	2	-
Chhi Lem	1	-	6	1	4	1	4	-	6	-
Klepri	7	1	5	1	2	-	4	-	10	1
Tithe Lem		-	2	1	1	-	2	1	4	-
Jhimal	8	1	6	-	6	1	8	1	8	1
Nhansi	4	1	1	-	1	-	3	1	5	-
Khiu Lem	2	-	3	1	3	-	7	-	6	-
Darlami	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	3	-
Aale	2	1	3	-	1	1	2	-	3	-
Khulal			1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total	20	7	31	4	23	4	34	3	48	2

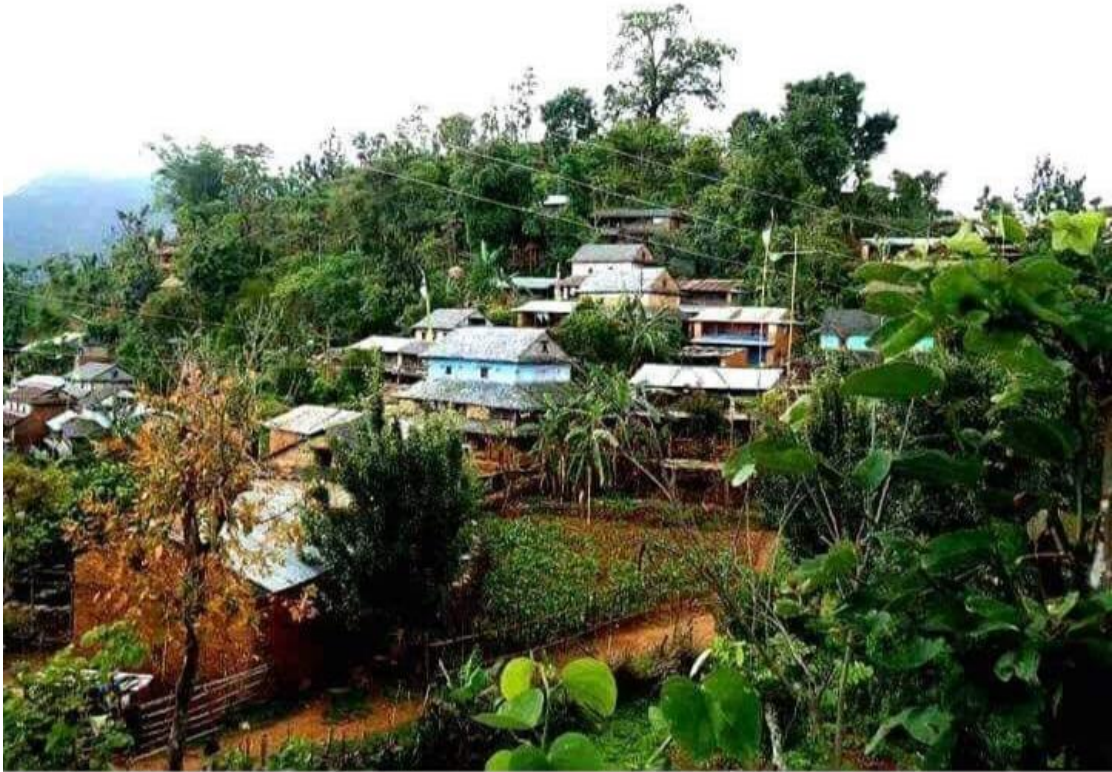
* CM - Couple Married CD- Couple Divorced

Source: Field Survey, 2072/73 B.S.

Appendix 2 : Map of the study area



Appendix 3 :Photo Gallery

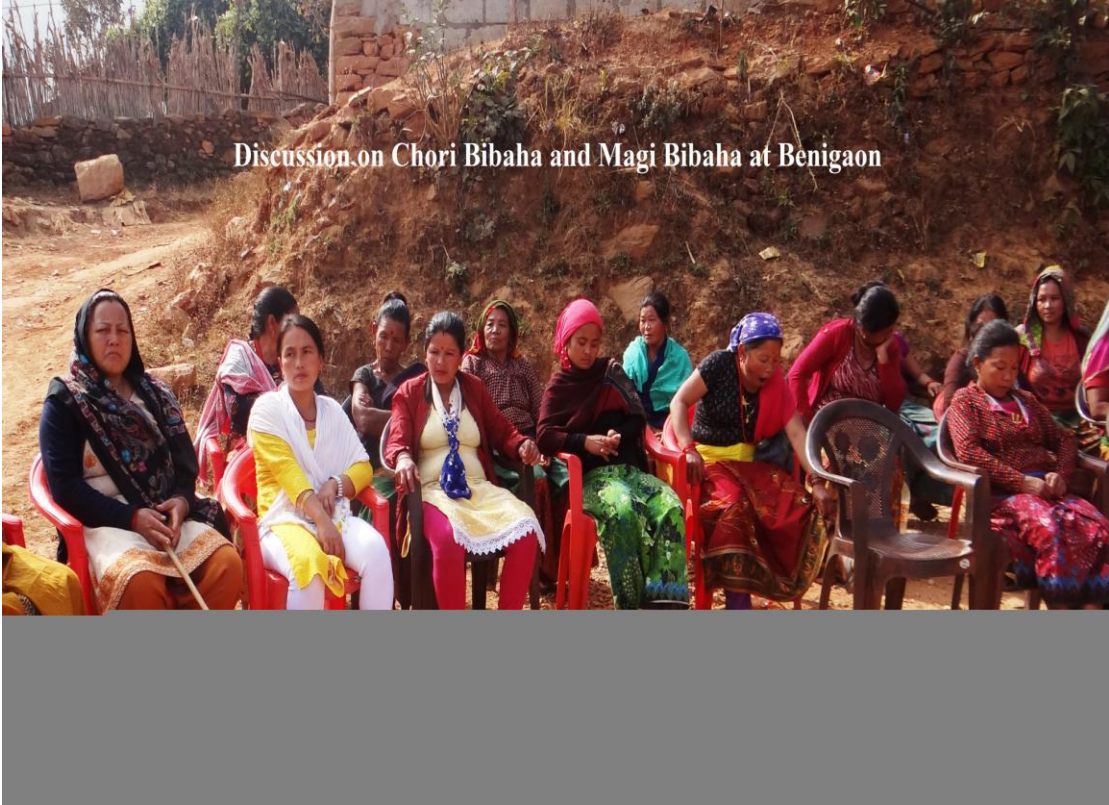


A Glimpse of Benigaon Village



**Benigaon Before
Earthquake**

Benigaon Village before earthquake of 2072 B.S.



Discussion program on Magi and Bhagi Bibaha



Participants of a focused group discussion



A glimpse of Benigaon Village