

Inter-Caste Marriage: Social Support and Family Care in Contemporary Rural Nepal

Rajesh BHUSAL (rajesh.bhusal.st14@mswtu.edu.np)
Master's program in Social Work, Tribhuvan University

Abstract

Encompassing numerous castes and ethnic groups, nearly about eight dozen linguistic and various regional groups are the deities of Nepal. The rules and rituals, customs and ceremonies, cultures and festivals, dialogue and languages might not be similar comparing among the majorities of such groups (one group to another). For the last two decades, the caste system in Nepal has been criticized as an unjust and discriminatory system of social stratification that is deeply entrenched. The '2011 Rural Poverty Report shows that discrimination based on caste and ethnicity still prevails particularly in rural parts of Nepal, where more than 80 per cent of the country's population reside. In this context, it is not surprising to ask whether inter-caste marriage is possible. This paper is based on the study conducted in a remote Thosey Village Development Committee (VDC), Ramechhap district of Nepal from May 11 to June 10, 2014 as a compulsory part of Masters in Social Work Program first semester's field work at Tribhuvan University. The study attempted to explore perceptions of family care and its effect upon heterosexual inter-caste married couples in the study area. This study is the outcome of case study research. Generally, the reader of this paper will get the comprehensive idea about the family care, social support, marital satisfaction, state incentives and provision towards inter-caste marriages in the countryside of Nepal. Thus, I argue: i) ganyamanya (local elite) people in the community despite inter-caste marriage receive healthy family care and prestigious support from the society, and ii) prevalence of "generational inter-caste marriage" – more than two generations – family members are well accepted both in private and public sphere.

Keywords: inter-caste marriage, social support, family care, state incentives, generational inter-caste marriage

1. Introduction

The caste system of Nepal is vague and complex structure which often denotes the social stratification of Nepalese people. The system is based on the degrees of purity and pollution with the lowest ranks being considered 'untouchable' or Dalit. The traditional Hindu mythology is the mother of caste system which categorizes all people into four (4) levels i.e. Brahmins (priests) are at the top,

followed by Kshatriyas (rulers and soldiers) and Vaishyas (merchants and traders) whereas Shudras which are regarded as so called untouchables (laborers, cobblers, and manual scavengers) are positioned at the lowest level within the caste hierarchy. Caste is a unique feature of the Hindu religion, and as such, caste systems only exist in countries that practice Hinduism. There are two states that can be said to be Hindu states: India and Nepal. Thus the phenomenon of caste-based discrimination affects these two states primarily. States with large Hindu minorities also merit attention.¹ The caste system is also known as one of the oldest surviving social hierarchy in the world. It is believed to be nearly about 3,000 years old. Caste has not the same social significance for non-Hindus as it has for Hindus. Among non-Hindus, caste is only a practice, not a sacred institution. Religion compels the Hindus to treat isolation and segregation of castes as a virtue. Hindus observe caste not because they are inhuman or wrong-headed, but because they are deeply religious. People are not wrong in observing caste. In my view, what is wrong is their religion. Then the enemy is not the people who observe caste, but the Vedas that teach them the religion of caste.

Caste system is still practiced as a very rigid system in Nepal under which a person could achieve a special status and position not by qualities and expertise but by birth. It is the ascribed status in Nepalese society. The caste based discrimination has all round adverse effect in every level of socialization and cultural process in Nepal. According to Gurung (2005 B.S), 'caste discrimination and untouchability has remained a fact of everyday life in 'the world's only Hindu kingdom.' This is why caste based discrimination is one of the major social problem in Nepal. Marriage is one of the prominent and visible systems which have been significantly affected because of the ideology of Casteism. Casteism permits the endogamous practice in which the member marry within the limitation of their caste group and such concept is deeply entrenched in the mind of the majority of Nepalese parents despite of their higher level of education and understanding. This is why in Nepalese context, if somebody practices exogamy most of the Nepalese parents took it as a stigma in their family along with the fear of social demotion even though their children relation seems fine to them. Thus, Inter-caste marriage is one of the challenging practices and often serves as a key to conflict in the society and family.

2. Inter-caste marriage

Marriage is considered to a social, religious, spiritual, and/or legal union of individuals. It is an Institution in which interpersonal relationships (usually intimate and sexual) are acknowledged by the state by religious authority of both society and state. Marriage is a central family process in Nepal, as it is in many other countries of the world (Bennett 1983; Frick 1986; Watkins 1996). Nearly everyone in Nepal marries ("Nepal 1996" 1998) and a young person's marriages is one of the most important events of his or her life. The ceremony among some ethnic groups requires a full seven days, and often drives the Bride's family deep into debt (Bennett 1983). Marriage in Nepal historically has

been under the strict control of the family (Barber 2004). An individual's family decide when and whom he or she would marry (Folmar 1992). Therefore, Nepalese marriages, which are Inter-caste and inter religious in nature seems like a taboo to most of the people. But in order to eradicate the caste system and racial discrimination it is very important that Inter caste and inter religion marriages should be encouraged in a broader scale. Inter caste Marriages are regarded as the most important social custom and the best means to remove the barrier of the prevailing caste system. Inter-caste Marriage is mostly led by love marriage which is resistant by the traditional Society. It is taken as a characteristic of society where individuals take precedence over family and is thus moving away from the accepted norms of the society, the caste hierarchy.

Normally, inter-caste marriage means the marriage of two people from different caste group. However, the general convention of Inter-caste marriage usually denotes the marriage between Dalit and non- Dalit in Nepal. Nevertheless, in this paper I have attempted to define inter-caste marriage not only as the marriage between Dalit and non-Dalit but as a union of male and female from two distinct castes, indigenous and ethnic groups.

My field work experience during the month of May 11 to June 10, 2014 in Thosey Village Development Committee (rural community located in the Ramechhap district of Nepal) , conducted using in-depth case studies through ethnographic perspectives reveals that, even though inter-caste marrier found themselves in better conditions liberated from endogamous and orthodox practices of marriage they said that for the satisfied and healthy married life social support and family support from both natal home and in-laws home is crucial. Most of the families take inter-caste marriage as the blow of family honor and prestige so they hesitate to accept it even though they want to. But the level of social perception and social support they get are highly manipulated by their socioeconomic status and family income. By socioeconomic status and family income, I mean the amount of money they earn and to which class-whether ruling or ruled- they belong in that particular community. My research demonstrates that there are two strong independent variables: the notion of Casteism and socioeconomic status, determining the level of family care and social support of heterosexual inter-caste couple in the study area (since there is no any homosexual inter-caste married couple in the area). These two (2) variables seem to be overlapping in my paper. In the first part of my present paper, I will be focusing on inter-caste couples' broader idea on marriage and marital satisfaction. Following this the indicators of family care and social support and its effect upon the life of married couple will be discussed. Another part simply deals with the analysis of findings and outcomes of the research. The last part proceeds with the State incentives and provisions towards inter-caste couples in Nepal. Thus, before going ahead, it is important to understand the inter-caste marriers' opinions/views on marriage and marital satisfaction.

2-1. Respondents views on marriage and marital satisfaction

1. Inter-caste couples understand that marriage is the spending of life with other people in life.
2. Marriage is the exchange of life with known and unknown person.
3. Marriage is two (2) wheels of the chariot without one it cannot move.
4. Marriage is the natural rule to enter in conjugal life which ultimately forms the family.
5. Marriage is the kind of poison which you cannot take fearing the future of your children.
6. Inter-caste marriage is the end of your love relationship but the beginning of social conflict if you don't have money.
7. There should be regular interaction and communication between the spouses for healthy family life.
8. There should be single voice for family planning.
9. Husband must not involve in whoremonger and drinking habit to make his wife happy.
10. Wife should handle all round responsibility in family like: - cooking different kind of foods, serving guest, rearing child, being sexually loyal to her husband, remain in the family boundaries, speak less and remain in the home during the return of her husband from somewhere outside.
11. Any form of matriarchal move is the source of marital conflict which eventually leads to marital dissatisfaction.

3. Family care and social support

Inter-caste marriages that are not arranged by the families eventually counter against capitalist values of wealth, power and status. According to Baraili (2005), "marriages in Nepal are controlled by property, religion, casteism, social customs and traditions so they are feudalistic in nature and individual decisions and independent marriages are not tolerated. Inter-caste married couples are often taken as social deviants and usually punished for rejecting the prevalent norms of the society. Some couples may be barred from the participation in normal activities in family and society while other couples may be deprived of social relations and networks. Once a group is excluded from social relations, it will have debilitating conditions to command livelihood opportunities. These are found in both material and non-material condition. It is simply the debate upon the predominance of society versus individual. In this context, the perception of family members and variations in social support easily creates fluctuation in the life of the inter-caste married couple.

3-1. Sarita Pradhan and Rauthel Sherpa (Pseudo identity)

I asked one of my respondents: how has your life changed after your marriage? She answered surprisingly what do you mean by your question? Do you think I am happy? And she narrates her story like this- I was born in a middle class family in 2036 B.S (1979 A.D). When I was 16 years of age studying in grade 11 I fell in love with one of my senior college boy. We went deeper in our relationship and despite of knowing our unequal caste hierarchies we elope after two years in 2054 B.S (1997 A.D).

When I came to my husband's home it seemed like I came to the hell. Getting support and inspiration was far more thing rather nobody even dare to look and talk to me. Unequal caste hierarchies was not the only reason for my ignorant/pitiable condition, I thought the Dowry system² was also the major reason since my family was totally unaware about my elope marriage.³ Later I realized I had become the victim of snap judgment⁴. How hard I passed my seventeen (17) years of marriage I cannot tell you everything (there are many more incidents which are not worthy to disclose here with you, she cried having said this). I had passed many days without food since I was not allowed to enter into the kitchen during the very first days of my marriage. I was considered Kulakshini⁵ in the eyes of my mother-in-laws and father-in-laws. Not even the single person from the society came to console me. Not only this, I was not invited in social ceremonies like: - marriage, Pasni⁶, Bratabandha,⁷ meeting and so on. Unable to tolerate those entire situations we left our home for one and half year (1.5 years) and return back when our first child turns six (6) months. My husband works as a manual worker in construction site and I am a housewife. Still today I don't have good relationship with my husband's family and society. When I close my eyes and remember, I feel like, I had committed the blunder by abandoning my study and my natal home and having the inter-caste marriage. I had jumped into the pond of poison from which I cannot overcome even though I want to. All these things are making me weaker and obstinate days by days.

3-2. Mohini Tamang and Harikrishna Shrestha (Pseudo identity)

Now I am 41 years of age. I was born in 2030 B.S (1973 A.D) in a simple family. During that time my uncle usually came to our home regularly with one boy. Both of them work in the construction site. Gradually, we became friends and used to talk while I served tea and drinks. Our friendship became stronger and we fell in love when I was around 16. We did not have mobile and cell phones during those days so we used to exchange our handwritten letter as an expression of love. Unfortunately, we did not belong to the same social group which was the major social problem to turn our love relation into marriage. Our regular meetings and unusual gossips created suspicion to my Family and eventually I was caught. My family began to scold and threatened me time and again in the name of culture and tradition. I had faced physical punishment from my father regarding my affair. My parent's care and concerned for me had drastically changed after the identification of my love affair. The loving word "nanu"⁸ had been transferred into "oe"⁹ and "yeha au kanchhu"¹⁰ into "yeha mar"¹¹. The situation became so intense and I left my home and ran away with that guy (now my husband) in 2048 B.S (1991 A.D). We got married in the temple and went to the conjugal home. But the things were more critical that we weren't accepted easily by our family. Each day we had to face the unbearable word emerging in the name of casteism and traditional social custom. Even my mother-in-law without shame compared me with prostitutes. Failure to take all those blame and fiascos, we left our conjugal home as well right after the one month of our marriage and came to Kathmandu

(capital of Nepal) and resided in rented room. After two (2) years we had our first child and we went back to home but nothing had changed in two years and father-in-law arrogantly told us, “ek tukra sampati diyechhu vaneta k ani thah paulas.”¹² That statement led to extreme dispute between my husband and my father-in-law which further led to police case and social gathering. However, panchayat¹³ decided in our favor but we got extremely limited property and resources than we should (only around 30 percent out of 100). Now it’s been twenty three (23) years since our marriage but we still don’t have good relationship both of our home: natal and conjugal. In this condition, you can surely guess are there any possibility of getting support from our society.

These cases signify who determines the marriage- whether individual or Society? On the one hand, you want to liberate from all those traditional endogamous practices of marriage which are highly supported by the certain doctrines of social customs and practices and eventually you decide to marry with your special one. But on the other hand, you are likely to be the part of family negligence and social annihilation if you cannot meet the certain standards created by the family members and society for marriage. The changes in marriages, family and divorces are believed to closely relate to modernization process. This is why the arranged marriage and the extended family system are supposed characteristics of traditional society where as love marriage and nuclear family system are considered characteristics of modern society in Nepal.

My experience shows that, the role of economic status and one’s position in the society has the crucial role in determining one’s marital happiness and the amount of social support and care they get from their society. I asked my respondents- have you ever faced any kind of problem or negligence regarding your inter-caste marriage from your family and society. They answered in this way-

3-3. Arun Chhetri and Karuna Magar (Pseudo identity)

My name is Arun (pseudo name) and she is karuna, my wife (pseudo name). We knew each other and became friends, I still remember, when we were playing bhadakudi¹⁴ together (laughed), a long year back in our childhood. Luckily our friendship gets stronger and I used to visit her home within the interval of couple of days since it was only about half an hour walk from my home. Our regular meetings and interactions made our relationships stronger and we fell in love around our twenties. But the problem was that our society was guided by traditional monopoly which has certain restrictions on heterosexual forms of friendship which holds rigid mentality against premarital love and premarital intimacy between boy and girl. During my visit, I had to convince her parents that I am her “friend in image of her brother” or “brother in the image of her friend”. Luckily, both of us are from elite families who have certain control over our community people and resources. We belong to different social group even though we are in a strong relationship. Assuming the potential rejection of our affair, we never had courage to disclose our relationship with our parents and we decided to elope in 2040 B.S (1983 A.D). Fearing the prestige of our family and rejection of our marriage we did not

went home for three (3) months. When we got back, we didn't have good understanding between both: conjugal and natal home but most of the community people showed deference towards our relationship. After all, my wife (karuna) was the younger daughter of her family and I was the single child in my family, our parents began to accept our relationship and situations began to come to the normal stage. More painfully, after two (2) years of our marriage, my father passed away because of high blood pressure (since I already left my mother when I was child) and all the properties and resources of my father had been transferred in my name. Eventually, we became more powerful and economically sound in our society. We are invited everywhere in our society and our society shows reverence towards us. We have always been the representative of various developmental programs in our society. We have prosperous relationship with our society. They love and care us very much.

3-4. Jamuna Shrestha and Mohandas Karki (pseudo identity)

I was born in a small village in 2025 B.S (1968 A.D). My childhood days passed in a middle class family. My father and mother love me very much since I was the most beautiful child in my village (smiled). I met my husband in my uncle's marriage. He was attending the marriage from the side of the bride's family. Gradually, we became closer and eventually, we fell in love. But unfortunately, we were not from the same caste group which compelled us to elope in 2050 B.S (1993 A.D) when I was 25. We didn't go to my natal home for one (1) year but thereafter my natal home accepted our marriage. I still remember there used to be minor dispute regarding our custom and tradition with my mother-in-law in my conjugal home but not intense. We didn't have bad relationship with our society since our family had accepted us without any struggle. Few years ago, my husband went for foreign employment and I am doing small tea shop here in my village. Occasionally, I provide some financial assistance to my neighbor as well. Even though my husband is not here with me, as of today, I don't have face any unpleasant situation resulting from my society. I am respectfully invited in different functions of my society. To be honest, I am really happy with my marriage and my husband never let me feel alone that he keeps in touch with me every day.

3-5. Harish Shrestha and Khuma Chhetri (pseudo identity)

We met each other in Parma¹⁵ where both of us went to help our neighbor. After the regular interaction and sharing, we fell in love after three (3) months of our first meeting. We tend to fear about different sort of things but we never feared about the rejection of our relationship from our family. I was always confident that I won't have any kind of restrictions to marry her. Since in my family, there was the prevalence of generational inter-caste marriage. My grandfather is Newar¹⁶ but my grandmother is Tamang.¹⁷ My father is Newar but my mother is Gurung.¹⁸ Similarly, my elder brother had tied his knots with the Gurung sister-in-law and my elder sister had married with the Chhetri¹⁹ guy. So I was only thinking now it was my turn. We get married from the consensus and

full support from both of our parents. It seems like our love relation has been turned into marriage in an arranged way. We are getting different forms of care and support from our family like- advice, monetary assistance and cultural support whenever it is required. We have very good relationship with our society; we are always cordially invited in social ceremonies and community development program. Hadn't we had the generational inter-caste marriage in our family, right now we might still be fighting against the rigid traditional limitations and social customs along with the despise, hatred and social exclusion in our society.

3-6. Durgadevi Thapa and Ramesh Shrestha (pseudo identity)

I was born in 2025 B.S (1968 A.D) in a medium level of family. I fell in love with one of my village girls when I was around 15. Even though we weren't mature enough to get married we loved each other so deeply. We didn't have any problem to get married because my father and mother were not also from the same social group. With the blessings and permission from both of our parents, we get married in 2042 B.S (1985 A.D). Both of our family love and care us very much. They do have good relationship with our society. We are also invited in various social program and ceremonies. We too have respectful relationship with our society and family. In fact, we are really happy with our marriage.

Of six case studies, the first and second cases raise the question- whether marriage is a private or social (public) affair? Likewise, third and fourth case reveals the role of socioeconomic status and social position's connotation with marital happiness, social perception and social support one gets from their society and last fifth and sixth case demonstrates how the prevalence of generational inter-caste marriage reinforce and permit the inter-caste marriages without much hurdles and obstacles in Nepalese society.

The first and second case had to face the social exclusion and family annihilation not only because they fall under the category of exogamous practice but also of their lower property and less family income. Sarita didn't brought dowry (major reason for family conflict) and Rauthel works as a laborer who has lower income. The social image of Mohini and Harikrishna was already been underneath of inter-caste marriage, family exclusion and Police case for which they only received limited property by the decision of panchayat (which always counter against injustice and discrimination). Their family annihilation, poor income and low profile constructed their image as a less important person in their society.

The third case (Arun and Karuna) and fourth case (Jamuna and Mohandas) belong to the elite family who has certain control over community resources and occasionally provide some financial assistance to the villagers. Majority of the villagers are dependent to them for which they always showed reverence although they are not satisfied with their marriages.

The fifth case (Harish and Khuma) and sixth case (Durgadevi and Ramesh) direct the unique feature of the continuation of inter-caste marriage in Nepalese society. It implicates how generational marriages and family dynamics and family structure manipulate social perception and social company.

However, there seems to be the contradicting view of that particular community perceiving inter-caste marriages. On the one hand, the notion of casteism and traditional social system seems to be deeply entrenched and as a result, some of the couples are neglected from the family and remain far away from social support and inclusion. On the contrary, when the same inter-caste marriage takes place in locally elite and economically sound family, the notion of casteism, social boundaries and traditional ritual automatically vanished and came underneath. Analyzing from the Marxist perspective, it seems like the social structure of that community is based on the two different classes- "The Haves" and "The Haves not". It looks like even the strong boundaries and limitation created by the social customs and casteism became submissive in front of the strong socioeconomic status and position. It clearly portrays that the bourgeoisie has the direct control and domination over proletariat class in that community.

4. State incentives

The major motivating factor for the commencement of incentives to inter-caste marriage was to abolish caste based discrimination. This is to say that the government started to provide incentives to the inter-caste married couples to bridge the gap that prevails among different caste systems. There has been a long debate in Dalit movement on whether or not inter-caste marriage can reduce caste based discrimination. The Interim Constitution 2063 B.S has spelled out that anyone discriminating on the basis of caste, lineage, community and occupation is punishable. A provision has been made in the law that he or she will be sentenced from three months to three years in prison or fined NRs 1000 to NRs 25, 000 or both. The victim will get compensation according to law. Another clause says that no one on the basis of his or her caste will be prevented from using public services, facilities or from accessing public place or temples, or from religious activities. However, this clause still seems quiet regarding discrimination practiced at homes and the punishments for those practicing it. To encourage inter-caste marriage, the Nepalese government on 13 July 2009 announced to provide a grant of 100,000 rupees (\$ 1,270) to the newly married inter-caste couple within 30 days of marriage registration. Besides this, there are no any other legal benefits and provisions declared by the government of Nepal. Most of the couples are not being able to get benefited by the provisions given by the state since they are compelled to face lots of taboos right after their marriage. But some of the couples are highly benefited by these incentives because those incentives helped them to get food and shelter after their marriage since they were displaced from their family members. It has been proved as the god gift for them.

5. Conclusion

During my study, I came to know that ganyamanya (local elite people) don't have to face any hindrances in their normal social life even though they get inter-caste marriage. They receive healthy family care and reverence from their society. But on the contrary, in the case of economically poor sections it is considered to be a blunder. That is why they are not only discriminated by their family members rather they are displaced from their society too due to which they have to face a terrible and hazardous situation in their life. More interestingly, the prevalence of generational inter-caste marriage in the families of the study area gives new vision regarding the concept of inter-caste marriage. People are being liberal, their thoughts are altering. This shows the influence of Sanskritization in rural part of Nepal. People are accepting the changing pattern of behavior and culture with the passage of time. It illustrates the socialization process of rural Nepal is being dynamic. Moreover, my study articulately supports the changing pattern of marriage in rural Nepal. Before some years ago, inter caste marriage was considered to be a stigma in the family and culture for which couples have to struggle a lot. But it does not mean that the couples from distinct caste have no such obstacles now. Yes, they too are suffering but the concept is more or less changing now, people don't take it as an extreme issue as it was taken two decades ago.

Notes

⁰ The author is thankful to the entire team members of Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University for giving this opportunity. Author express deepest gratitude towards Professor Mrigendra Bahadur Karki and colleague Ms. Sumina Machamasi for their incessant suggestion and cooperation throughout the preparation of this paper.

¹ For example, the situation of caste in Bangladesh and Srilanka. However, there is a difference in scale between these states and India and Nepal that must be appreciated. Because they are not states with a majority Hindu population (Bangladesh is ten percent Hindu, while the Tamils in Sri Lanka constitute 18 per cent of the population), caste cannot be said to permeate all aspects of socio-economic life, as is the case in India and Nepal. The latter are the only predominantly Hindu states in the world and caste-based discrimination is systematic and endemic in these two countries).

² A system in which property, money and materials are given by Bride's father and her relatives to her husband on their marriage. Dowry system is regarded as an indispensable part of Nepalese marriage. Failure to bring dowry often serves as a marital conflict, family negligence, divorce, social dissatisfaction, suicides and murder cases to women in rural Nepalese societies.

³ A kind of marriage where couple run away secretly without letting their parents aware about their move and get married in the presence of third party like priests, temple and in front of friends.

⁴ Contextualizing this case, the condition when couple went to their conjugal home right after their elope marriage without dowry and letting aware to their family when groom parents do not have any idea what type of girl she was.

⁵ A typical inauspicious and cultural slang blow for daughter-in-law by their husbands' families and their relatives

referring her as a reason of bad luck, unprosperity and sin of the family.

⁶ The ceremony of feeding rice to the children for the first time right after six month from their birth (son) and five month from their birth (daughter), but most of the time it takes place after six month of child birth in Nepalese society.

⁷ An ancient Hindu tradition carried out in Hindu families where a boy saves his head and performs various rituals.

⁸ A word used for calling young one with affection, baby; child; the pupil of the eye.

⁹ A disrespected word for calling and ordering somebody.

¹⁰ The loving sentence for inviting Nepalese female child with extreme love and affection to them.

¹¹ A disrespected and hatred word for inviting and calling someone without any interest and affection

¹² The furious and hatred sentence from the Nepalese father for not giving any means of property and resources (which belongs to them) to their son, which are often announced when children perform an activity or commit a mistake which leads to blow the family honor and prestige, undesirable and hatred for their family.

¹³ The village assembly where group of people gathers to settle a dispute and act against injustice of others. Such kind of system is the feature of traditional Nepalese society where they do not have an access to the police station to tell their problems. Now such system is believed to be extremely less into practice after the termination of civil war (Maoist insurgency) in Nepal.

¹⁴ A kind of game or playing in which actually there is no winner and loser, children around three to six years of age or sometimes even up to eight gather together for entertainment like playing with the mud, bringing utensils from their home and making imaginary family (Husband, wife, son and daughter), prepare imaginary meal and eat imaginary food in an empty plate on the basis of their imaginary story they have created for their playing, sometimes like moving the pots here and there. Such forms of playing are usually found in countryside of Nepal where children do not have an idea and access to computer games and video games.

¹⁵ Labor exchange among all ethnic/caste group of Nepal

¹⁶ One of the ethnic groups of Nepal

¹⁷ One of the ethnic groups of Nepal

¹⁸ One of the indigenous groups of Nepal

¹⁹ One of the caste groups of Nepal

References

- Ambedkar, B. (1936). The Annihilation of Caste, in Rodrigues V. (ed.) (2002), *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, P 285-290
- Baraili. P. S. (2005). Nobody Can Prevent Inter-Caste Marriage' *Jagaran Lekhmala*, Monthly Feature Service Vol 3, No 11, Kathmandu: Mangsir Jagaran Media Center
- Barber, J. S. (2004). Community Social Context and Individualistic Attitudes Toward Marriage, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol 67: P 236-256
- Bennett, Lyon. (1983). *Dangerous Wives And Sacred Sisters*, New York: Columbia University Press

-
- Bishankha, A. (2013). Incentive for Inter-caste marriage with Dalit: Its implication and challenges, Research submitted to Social Inclusion Research Fund (SIRF) Secretariat
- Biswokarma, T. (2013). Incentive for Inter Caste Marriage Between Dalit and Non-Dalit: Challenges and Opportunities in the Context of Nepal, Research submitted to SIRF Secretariat, SNV Nepal, Lalitpur
- Chalam, K. S. (2007). *Caste-Based Reservations and Human Development in India*, New Delhi: Sage
- Choudhary, A. K (2009), Gender and Heterosexual Relationship in Intimate and Public Spheres: Ethnography of Maithil Brahmin Community, In proceeding of the 1st Next-Generation Global Workshop, Kyoto University
- Deshpande, A. (2000). Does Caste Still Define Disparity? A Look at Inequality in Kerala, India, *American Economic Review*, Vol 90:2, P 322
- Folmar, Steven. (1992). Variation and change in Fertility in West Central Nepal, *Human Ecology* , Vol 20, P 225-48
- Fricke, T. (1986). *Himalayan Households: Tamang Demography and Domestic Processes*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press
- Gurung, H. (2005). The Dalit Context, *Nepal Journals Online*, Vol 9, Available on: <http://www.nepjol.info/index.php/OPSA/article/view/1133>, 16 November 2014.
- Keane, D. (1978). *Caste-Based Discrimination In International Human Rights Law*, Ashgate Publishing Limited
- LEE K. Y. (2012). A study of arranged marriage: East Asian and Korean Uniqueness, In Proceeding of the 5th Next-Generation Global Workshop, Kyoto University
- Tyson, Lois. (2006). *Critical Theory Today*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis group
- Studies in Family Planning. (1998). *Nepal 1996: Results from the Family Health Survey*, Studies in Family Planning No.29: P 329-333
- Thi Minh Thi, T. (2012). Prevalence and pattern of divorce in contemporary Vietnam: Tradition, Modernity and Individualism, In Proceeding of the 5th Next-Generation Global Workshop, Kyoto University
- Velusamy, M. (2013). *Social science for social works*, New Delhi: Dominant Publishers and Distributors Pvt Ltd
- Watkins, J. C. (1996). *Spirited Women: Gender, Religion, and Cultural Identity in the Nepal Himalaya*, New York: Columbia University Press
- Gellner, D. N. and Karki M. B. (2008). *Democracy and Ethnic Organizations in Nepal*. In Local Democracy in South Asia: Microprocesses of Democratization in Nepal and its neighbors, Eds. In David N. Gellner, and Krishna Hachhethu, 105-127. Delhi: Sage