



Transforming Pattern Of Marriage: An Ethnographic Study Of Chamar And Hali Dalit's In Churah Tehsil Of Chamba District Of Himachal Pradesh.

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Abstract

Social transformation is a process of change in institutionalized relationships, norms, values, and hierarchies over time and refers to how society changes due to economic growth, science, technological innovations, and war or political upheavals. Largely, social transformation affects people's interactions and lifestyle aiming to transform individuals from their parental social status and move from an ascribed status to an achieved status. Ethnography is defined as an illuminative account of social life and culture in a particular social system based on multiple detailed observations of what people do in the social setting being observed by using qualitative and quantitative research methods used by sociologists to study specific groups, communities or institutions in simple as well as complex society.

This chapter is based on the study conducted among Hali Dalit from Mangli Panchayat and Chamar from Shikari village in Churah Tehsil of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh as a compulsory course of M. Phil. in Sociology. The ethnographic study focuses on the social transformation of people of the Hali and the Chamar Dalit's during the last 20 years. In this chapter, the changing nature of the marriage of Dalit's in Mangli and Tissa-II Panchayat is being explained. There is a rapid change in the system of marriage here as compared to before. Earlier especially the families of Dalit are used to get their children married at a very early age. Their children were still barely fifteen and sixteen years old. But now Dalit's are getting their children married after completing their age and education.

Keywords: *Social Transformation, Dalit's, Marriage, Hali, Chamar, Education.*

The Marriage System:

Marriage is one of the deepest and most complex webs of human relations. It is an essential part of society and the social system as well. According to Radha Krishanan (1956) writes, "Marriage is not a mere convention but an implicit condition of human society. Marriage is the union of men or women in a rate defined by social custom and law and carrying with it specific economic, sexual and child-care responsibilities. Marriage is a legally recognized union between a man and a woman in which they are united sexually, cooperate economically, and may give birth to, adopt or rear children.¹ According to Edward Westermarck (1991) marriage is a universal human institution that had been part of the social structure of all settled societies, a flexible institution flexible in many forms. Mace (1991) defined marriage is rooted in the family, not the family in marriage. Duncan Mitchell (1978) defines marriage as, "socially

¹ Ratra Amiteshwar, Kaur Praveen Kaur, Chhikara, 2006, Marriage and Family in Diverse and Changing Scenario.pp, 3.

sanctioned sex relationship involving two or more people of the opposite sex, whose relationship is expected to endure beyond the time required for gestation and the birth of children.

In the Hindu view, marriage is not a concession to human weakness, but a means for spiritual growth. Man and women are soul mates who, through the institution of marriage, can direct the energy associated with their instincts, passing the progress of their souls like Dharma, Kama, and Moksha. The base of the happy marital union is love, harmony, and respect for the partner. Marriage is one of the oldest distinctive of human intuitions. There is no record of any society, however simple its economic and political system that does not have marriage as one of the key elements of its social structure².

The marriage has been more recently defined as a legally binding contract between a woman and a man that conveys certain rights and privileges including sexual exclusivity, legitimating of any children born of the union, and economic responsibilities. While most marriages involve an emotional commitment on the part of the two persons, this is not a requirement for a valid marriage (Axelson). According to the Hindu Philosophy and religion, marriage is to propagate family, 'Vivaha' is meant to propagate Kutumba'. Hindu marriage was ideally monogamous.

Marriage system in Churah valley is very different in itself. Mosley Dalits families are not good in economic condition; Dalits children do not get their basic education, due to poverty, a few of Dalits children got a higher education. Dalits children got married at a very early age, lack of education, lack of proper guidelines, and poverty.

Ethnography:

Ethnography is a qualitative research method that involves a detailed study of a particular cultural group. The word ethnography comes from **Greek** words **Ethnos** meaning **people** and **Graphain** meaning **writing**, so ethnography is also known as "*people or cultural writing*". It is a primary research method mostly being used by anthropologists and sociologists to document in their fieldwork. Ethnography is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Anthropology. Socio-cultural anthropologists who write ethnographies are termed as ethnographers.

The methodology of Ethnography relies typically on participant observation and qualitative data collection. While conducting ethnography, anthropologists generally live in a culture different from their own. They get engaged in the daily lives of populations to be studied and deeply observe and record their findings. While conducting any research in Anthropology, the researchers try not to be ethnocentric by using the tool of cultural relativism.

As the holistic study is important in Anthropology, ethnographers also apply a holistic approach to focus on most of the aspects of a culture. Cultural relativism was an approach developed by a famous anthropologist, Franz Boas culminating the idea that it means that an ethnographer should avoid a judgmental attitude towards the culture to be studied. Instead, they should be empathetic and understand the viewpoints of others.

These cultural aspects could be social institutions: political, economic and religious, kinship system and family, marriage, etc. For example, if an anthropologist has to conduct an ethnography of the subsistence strategies of a tribe, he/she won't be limited to the economy but will also study other factors like power/authority, laws, the status of every individual and social stratification, the behavior of society, educational qualifications, the average age of marriage, institutions and organizations in the area, etc. to get a complete picture of the cultural area.

Transforming pattern of marriage in Hali and Chamar Dalits in Churah Tehsil of Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh is supervening. The Dalits were unparalleled to the national development and were deprived in all terms including economic, political and social progress. Like Dalits of other areas in the country, they were looked down upon by Brahmins and Rajputs. However, the state of affairs has changed now and the marriage patterns of Dalits are rapidly transforming.

The Meaning of Dalit:

The words "Dalit" is derived from the Sanskrit past participle, adjective Dalit, and means divided, split, broken, scattered, derived from the meaning of verbal root **dal bedha** - to divide. It was perhaps first used by Jyotirao Phule in the nineteenth century, in the context of the erstwhile "untouchable" castes of the twice-born Hindus.

- **Shah, Ghanshyam. (2001):** according to him they are the castes identified by the present of India under Article 341 and put under a Schedule. The term Scheduled Castes was first used by the British in the Government of India Act, 1935. He argued that Dalits traditionally, hierarchy, considered *Ati-Shudras* or *Avarna*, and are treated as untouchables.

² Havemann Ernest, Lehtinen Marlene .1986, Marriages and Families.pp, 3.

- **Clarke, Sathianathan. (1998):** He defines that Dalits means ‘oppressed’, ‘broken’, and ‘crushed’, the term Dalits called by various terms: *Dasu*, *Raksasa*, *Avaran* (the no caste). Untouchables, Harijans, Protestant Hindu, Scheduled Caste, Outcastes, Depressed Classes, Exterior castes, *Chandals*, *Panchamas* (the fifth caste), etc.
- **Singh, Jag pal. (1998):** he found that the most numerous sections of Dalits in the rural are poor wage laborers’, poor and small peasants, and milk sellers.
- **Bhardwaj, Anil. (2002):** according to him Dalits were segregated and discriminated against based on caste in every aspect of Indian society, i.e. socio-economic and political.

Meaning of the Hali: (plowman)

The Hali means a person who earns his livelihood by Hal (plow). Hali’s traditional occupations were to the skin and tan dead animals, to remove lacrosse’s, and other social and religious ceremonies. The 43,218 Hali people live Himachal Pradesh and 41,056 Hali people live the Chamba district according to the 2011 census of India. That data tells the most Hali Dalit people who lived in Chamba district. They till their soil or they work as sharecroppers for others. Some of them are tired to remove carcasses from other communities. They are noted for being expert weavers. A few of them have been able to get a better education and rise to white-collar jobs. The total population of Hali caste of India is 39,000 and the Hali caste based on Hinduism or the main language is *Chambiyali* and *Churahi* because that the Hali cast is mostly found in Chamba District and Churah valley. They were actual agricultural laborer of *Rajputs*, *Ranas*, and *Thakurs* in these villages.

Meaning of the Chamar:

They are traditional leather workers and it is a widely spread community in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The Chamar are known by various names such as *Mochi*, *Ramdasias*, and *Ravidasi*. Now the new youth are not to do that tradition work and they hesitate to do that work, they see some other profession like government jobs as well as private jobs. Chamar was accused of poisoning cattle with arsenic in nineteenth-century India. Chamars were involved in “containing and controlling cattle diseases” through a variety of ritual remedies. Chamars may have used arsenic to kill abandoned or sickly cattle³ Chamars the largest Dalit Community, having a population of 4, 58,838 in which male population is 2, 32,563 and female population is 2, 26,275 all over in Himachal Pradesh according to the 2011 census of India.

The Chamar are considered Untouchable, and most of them knew nothing else their entire lives. The Chamar can be looked down on by higher Indian Caste as they do leather work. They are considered *Achhute* (untouchable) and most of them know nothing else their entire lives. With a population of over 50 million, they are among the larger Untouchable or Dalit communities in the Hindu world. They are regarded as Untouchable or Sudras. They are much-exploited community comparison to other Dalit community. It is histories of exploitation of Chamar Dalits in every society, the life expectancy of Chamar Dalits were very poor.

Research Methodology

Research Design: a research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner the aims to combine relevance to the research to the research purpose with the economy procedure. Research design is the set of methods and procedures used in the collection and analyzing measures of the variables specified in the problem research. Research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. In short, it is the blueprint of collection, measurement, and analysis of data.

Qualitative Research Design

The researcher used the qualitative research design to understand the transformation of Hali Dalits in Mangli Panchayat of the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. Qualitative research is one that involves quality or kind, i.e. when the research is to be made of human behavior attitudes, cultures and experiences, based on observations and interpretation, the research is said to be qualitative.

1. Methods of Qualitative Research Design:

- Focus Group:** An interview or discussion is carried out by an expert moderator, in a natural manner with a small group of respondents.
- Depth Interview:** Direct personal interview conducted with a small group of respondents to gain insights of the problem at hand.
- Photo Ethnography:** A method wherein the research clicks pictures of behaviors, attitudes, and emotions of individuals in various situations instead of interrogating them.

³ Ramnarayan S.Rawat 2011, Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamars and Dalit History in North India. Indiana University Press, .xix, 272pp.

Research Area:

This study has been conducted in Mangli Panchayat of the Churah Tehsil of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. Churah the hidden valley of Himachal Pradesh is located at latitude 32.545 and longitude 76.1152 towards the North District headquarters of Chamba. Churah means four paths. The headquarters Tissa and Bhanjraru is a central place of Churah valley from where the path leads to all four directions linking different places within the district and the adjoining state of Jammu and Kashmir. Mangli Panchayat is 100 km and Shikari village is 70 km far away from Chamba city, the headquarter of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. The Churah seems to have been open to trading route from Jammu and Kashmir as it makes boundary with it. The Churah valley is endowed with various places of scenic beauty, religious and historical places.

There are 254 villages in Churah Tehsil of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh according to 2011 censuses. The researcher selected two panchayats namely Mangli and Tissa II for study through purposive sampling. The researcher chooses the Hali Dalit from Mangli Panchayat and Chamar from Tissa II Panchayat. The researcher selected three villages in Mangli panchayat namely Major, Bhodas and Ruhama and Shikari village from Tissa II Panchayat. The researcher has taken forty, forty household interview schedules for both panchayats through purposive sampling.

Study Sample:

In this study purposive sample has been used. Purposive sampling is also known as judgment, selective or subjective sampling is a sampling technique in which a researcher relies on his or her judgment when choosing a member of the population to participate in the study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method and it occurs when elements selected for the sample are chosen by the judgment of the researcher. Researchers often believe that they can obtain a representative sample by using sound judgment, which will result in saving time and money.

The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which will best enable you to answer your research questions. It is a choice, the purpose of which varies depending on the type of purposive sampling technique that is used.

Methods of data collection used:

In the study of Hali Dalits in Mangli and Tissa II Panchayats of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh, both the primary and secondary data has been used. Collect the data of Hali and Chamar Dalits in Churah Tehsil of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh sociologically, ethnographic, participant observation and frequent field visit is utilized to understanding the social transformation and activities of both Dalits segment. It is very effective to understand the indigenous communities holistically in their social culture step.

The participant observation method is the most commonly used especially in studies relating to behavioral sciences. The collection of data in the study through interview method, interview schedules and case study that all method is utilized to understand the Transforming Patterns of Hali and Chamar Dalits in both Panchayats in Churah Tehsil of Chamba District.

Marriage Pattern in Churah Valley:

There is a unique method of getting married in this Tehsil which still sits. One of the theme's unique marriage methods still resides there, with the boy taking the girl away (elope marriage) and marrying him. But the biggest feature of this marriage is that this marriage takes place with the consent of both the boy and the girl. The good think about this marriage is that both families have to accept this marriage and it has to be adopted without any conditions. Most of the families here especially Dalits belong to middle families which give more importance to this type of marriage. There are five to six types of marriage found in this Tehsil, the most prevalent among them is the one that drives the girl away (eloping marriage). Earlier here, very few had celebrated such marriages. According to the elders of these villagers said, this kind of marriage was considered a crime. But the youth of today's have adopted a new ideology leaving that orthodox ideology.

The Dalits here are mostly found below the poverty line especially Hali and Chamar Dalit. Being below the poverty line, the families of Chamar and Hali cannot get their children married for four-five days. Most of the Dalits families here do this type of marriage due to poor economic conditions; there at one time there were very few vows of this type of marriage. Thus, only this marriage (elope marriage) is not famous here, many other types of marriage like such as *Magawali*, *Jnei*, and *Vivaah* are prevalent here. The pattern of all types of marriages in this valley is slowly transforming. Earlier, here each type of marriage required at least four-five days, but the due to modern thinking these marriages are now being settled in only one or two days. In this regard, when the researcher had a conversation with the Dalits there, why you want to end this marriage system which has been going on for centuries? Their answer was in this regard that we are one of the financially backward and on the other hand, we belong to a lower caste and we do not have enough means to organize the marriage of children for more than three to four days. The biggest transformations

patterns of marriage in Churah Tehsil are due to the contribution of providing better education, good transformation, mass media, as well as Westernization and Modernization, etc.

Type of Marriages:

Marriage is a union of man and woman. It indicates a relationship between one or more men to one or more women. Marriage indicates a long-lasting bond between the husband and the wife. The marital relationship between man and women lasts even after the sexual satisfaction between man and woman lasts even after the sexual satisfaction is obtained. A union of man and woman becomes a marital bond only when the society gives its approval. Marriage imposes certain rights and duties on both the husband and the wife. Marriage is an institution of society, which can have very different implications in different cultures. Classification of ancient Indian marriages included Brahma, Daiva, Prajapatya, Arusha, Rakshasa, Asura, Gandharva, and Paisacha.

The Churah valley has mainly five to six types of marriages founded namely arrange marriage (*Jnei* and *Vivaah*), *Magawali*, *Elope marriage* (drive the girl away) and *Rotiyoj*, etc. Of all the above marriages in the family of Dalits, the elopement marriage is the most prevalent. Elope marriage is also known as love marriage in this valley. This type of marriage is not prevalent only among Dalits families, but it is also done among the people of the upper caste. This valley is predominantly inhabited by Hindu and Muslim communities and contains many different the upper castes, lower castes, and sub-castes etc. This marriage is therefore; more prevalent in the entire valley because the people there have very little income and they are unable to organize a marriage for three to four days. All other types of marriages are done here on the basis of its economy. Even here, whether it is elopement marriage, *Jnei*, or *Magawali*, some transformation patterns in all the marriages that take place. Previously, where every marriage was held for more than three to four days, today there is an attempt to cover every type of marriage in one to two days.

1. Arranged marriage:

Many cultures traditionally seek endogamous marriage. In the Hindu tradition where the bride and groom belong to the same caste but are non-consanguineous that is the bride and groom are neither blood relatives nor an extended family member. According to the MarianWebster dictionary “An arranged marriage in which the husband and wife are chosen for each other by their parents. The arranged marriage has adjusted to modernization. Prospective grooms were once not even allowed to see the photograph of their prospective brides so to preserve an unmarried woman’s purity, her most valuable asset, by the 1930s, the couple exchanged photographs, in order to decide if they liked each other. Now, the couple deciding talks and discusses important to marry or not.⁴ According to the oxford dictionary “An arranged marriage planned and agreed by the families or guardians of the couple concerned.

In Churah Tehsil two types of marriages are found under arranged marriage namely *Janei* and *Vivaah*. But such marriages are not performed in Dalit families, because their economic condition is not well, therefore he does not give much importance to these types of marriages. A very few families of Dalits perform this type of marriage, whose economic condition is very good. The elder of Dalit families say that the trend of arranged marriage is slowly ending here. Because nowadays, new generation boys are getting attracted to love marriage instead of Arranged marriage. The respondents of Dalits there believe that the end of the arranged marriage is a concern, because nowadays our girls and boys are not getting ready to accept our ideas. When the researcher asked the question of the younger generation of Dalits which marriage are you in support of, then they all said that we do only love marriage. He said that because we want to choose our life partner as we wish.

If we talk about twenty to thirty years ago, there was no nay concept of love marriage here. At that time in this valley, there were no boys and girls who could marry their favorite. At that time what the parents of the children would say was a final. If any family of Dalit there is performed an arranged marriage somewhere, its original format is not shown, in fact, those marriages lasted for four-five days, they were being finished in just one or two days. It is not that there is no arranged marriage here, but the arranged marriage which was its form is coming to an end. Where previously the arranged marriage used to take place, now the new marriages have taken its place like *Magawali*, Elope marriage and *Jnei* marriage, etc. It can be ascertained that a lot of transformation is happening in Dalit families even in marriage, where love marriages were not allowed at any cost.

Most of the youth of the Dalit family have now educated and they want to choose their life partner according to their wish. Due to this, the importance of arranged marriages has decreased in the Dalit family here. Most of the people of the Dalit community of Churah Tehsil are getting attracted to the marriages of Eloping and *Magawali*, because those types of marriages are conducted only for a one-day. Therefore, they are able to afford one day wedding in which organizing three-four days becomes very difficult for them.

⁴ Ratra Amiteshwar, Kaur Praveen Kaur, Chhikara, 2006, Marriage and Family in Diverse and Changing Scenario. Pp.24.

Arranged marriages are very expensive as compared to other marriages because the dowry system also comes in it. This is the reason that Dalit families are mostly poor, they avoid arranged type of marriages.

i. Jnei:

Jnei means when the bridegroom goes to the house of bride with Barat (procession), then the bridegroom bears a crest (*Kalangi*) of the peacock on his turban and then it is called Janei in the local dialect. In *Jnei* marriage, the bridegroom cannot wear the sehra, instead of the sehra the bridegroom has to wear a crest (*Kalangi*) of the peacock on his turban. The use of the altar (*veadi*) is prohibited in this marriage, but seven rounds are made from Havan in place of altar (*veadi*). Not only this, there is no arrangement for a palanquin for the bride and an hour's for the groom. All the rituals that place under the Janei marriage are completed quickly as possible by the Pandit. A specialty of this marriage is that the boy's relatives also help him financially. In the local dialect, that helps done by relatives for marriage is called *Chhak* (means one-time meal). Through this *Chhak*, his relatives can also donate ration, utensils, clothes, and money, etc. Janei marriage is quite prevalent in middle-class families, whose yearly income is neither more nor less yet like normal of the Dalits in these villages. Janei is a famous marriage ceremony in these villages. The specialty of this marriage is that it is held for three to four days. This marriage, which lasts more than three days, is held for only one or two days. From this, it can be ascertained how much changes are taking place in this marriage.

The *Jnei* is one of the famous marriages in the middle class of Dalit families or by those families who do not have the capacity to do much expense in marriage ceremonies. Janei is the sub-type of arranged marriage. The boy's parents visit the girl's house with the proposal of the marriage. In the local dialect it is called *Mangani* (asking the girl for his/her son). In the *Mangani* both sides keep their conditions after then they will decide the date of marriage. When the consent of both the families is formed, after that the boy and girl are asked that both of you agreed to do this marriage. After having a relationship, both the boy and the girl has given a chance to talk once again and ensure this relationship. After that, the parents of both families go to the Pandit and get the marriage date fixed. If we talk twenty years ago, then the boy and the girl were not given any opportunity to talk about the relation. Earlier, the boy and girl were not given any chance that you should make a decision about it, whatever decision parents had to make, they had to accept. Not only this, the boy and girl have not even seen each other's face at all, but still, they had to obey their parents. But nowadays even if there is a relationship, but if the boy and girl do not like each other, then that relationship also breaks. Arrange marriage is only nominal when now love marriage is getting more boost in this valley. In this way, instead of arranged marriage, the trend of love marriage is increasing and the transformation of arranged marriage is moving rapidly towards to love marriage.

ii. Vivaah:

Marriage, which is termed in Sanskrit as "Vivaah", can certainly be defined as a sacred institution where two souls of a man a woman together and bind themselves in one single thread of commitment, love, and togetherness for eternity. The word originates as a sacred union of people as per Vedic traditions. But many call it marriage, based on cosmic laws and advanced ancient practices. Hence the word "Vivaah" is most commonly used in South Asia. Under Vedic Hindu traditions, marriage is viewed as one of the Sanskara, which is a lifelong commitment of one wife and one husband. In the context of Veda certainly be defined as a holy union between a man and a woman so that they can come together and follow the path of Dharma meaning religion, Artha meaning material possessions, and in the end the Kama meaning physical desire. As it is described in Vedas, vivh is certainly a getaway at once to the earthly life of pleasure progress, prosperity and joy and viewed as an altar of elevation and a way to reach divine spirituality. It also involves social acknowledgment of the union as it results in future generations. There are different types of Hindu matrimony, which can be found existed through ancient times and got forwarded into modern times. According to Manusmriti, there are eight types of marriages found in Indian society. According to Vedas, Vivaah (marriage) is certainly not any kind of a contract bounded by legal formalities, but it is viewed as Sanskara meaning sacraments as Hindu families are patriarchal.

There are two types of marriages found such as *Jnei* and *Vivaah* under arranged marriage, in which there are a lot of variations. During the *Vivaah*, when the groom goes to the bride's house with a wedding procession, then he goes wearing a sehra on his head. But when we talk about *Jnei* marriage, then the groom goes to the bride's house with a wedding procession and the groom bears a crest (*Kalangi*) of the peacock on his turban. All the rituals that are performed according to the Vedas are performed in this marriage. The altar (*veadi*) is prohibited in the Janei marriage, the marriage function organized for only three to four days, but the *Vivaah* function organized for more than four to five days. These types of marriages are mostly conducted in

families which are of very rich households. In this valley, whoever organizes Vivaah compared to other marriages, he gets very high social status from the brotherhood. This marriage has a tradition that the girl's parents provide a dowry to the girl as per their wish. There has also been a tradition in the valley that the girl's parent's demand from the boy's parents how many relatives you are with Barat (procession). The Baraatis (processions) are called *Jandran* (*Jandran means, those who are cousins, close friends, and elderly people of the groom's side*) in their local dialect. A second groom is also accompanied by barat, which is spoken in the local dialect by *Padjandra* (*a cousin or a friend who are not married*). The specialty of this marriage is that it is compulsory to be *Padjandra* (*a cousin or a friend who are not married*). There is a traditional dress for all *Jandran*. These traditional dresses, that all made of wool in which the local dialect called *Chola* and *Dora*. Without that traditional dress, they wouldn't go with a wedding procession. This marriage is held for more than four days, therefore every day, all activities take place according to *Lagan* (scheduled time fixed by Pandit) which is determined by the Pandit. The name of the local dialect is *Churahi*. Here in the local dialect, on the first day of the marriage is called *Ghreshanibhat* (in this, the head woman of the family fasts and the land is worshiped in both sides). The second day of marriage will also be very important for the groom's side as this day the boy's relatives support finically. This process is called as *Chhak* (one time-meal) in the local dialect for financial assistance. Through this tradition, groom relatives help him with money, ration, utensils, and clothes, etc. During the *Chhak* processed, the groom's maternal uncle and his cousins, close relatives or friends all of them giving his financial assistance. In *Chhak*, when any relative comes with a *Chhak*, he comes with musical instruments. It is the tradition of there, all the people who provide financial assistance in his marriage will also have to provide financial support during any marriage ceremony of help provider family. According to the lagans, on the second day, the bridegroom takes the bride's home to the wedding procession.

After that, completing all the ritual formality performed by the Pandit, on the third day, the bridegroom gets married and returns to his house with the Pandit and wedding procession. The fourth day of the marriage is very special for the bridegroom side because a big *Dham* is organized on this day. On this day the, Drums, *Nagagas*, flutes are played by the *Bhajandari* (local artists) of the place and folk dance of this place is equipped with this marriage. Especially this seems to like turns into a local fair. On this occasion, women and men perform local dances in their traditional dresses, which is called *Jatar* (local dance) in the local dialect. On this day, as many relatives, friends are there and people of brotherhood come. The biggest feature of this day is that people come in large because they have to apply *Tambah* (money assistance). For example if, a person puts five hundred rupees at a wedding, later, when any member of that family married, he will get double the money instead. Similarly, this is also the tradition from the girl side is called *Suyahni* (financial help) in the local dialect. All the financial assistance a bride gets is her right to her family. Last day on the marriage, bride parents and all the people of their brotherhood come there on that day.

All the information mentioned above in the context of *Vivaah* was based on traditional pattern and earlier all the marriage rituals were done in this way. But when we talk about today's marriage, which was the real form of traditional marriage is getting lost. Where these types of marriages organized lasted more than four to five days, which are finished today in two-three days. In this valley, in the family of Dalits, at some places, these types of Vivaah are being eliminated even in one day, where this type of wedding used to go on more than four to five days. Therefore, it is seen here that there is a very rapid social transformation in the marriage here. The elders of these villagers say that the marriage system here is losing its traditional nature. In this context, the researcher found that people are now taking formality, the young generation is not in favor of this type of marriage and the girl side parents feel a financial burden and offer to be eliminated should one to two days.

2. Magawali:

We can understand the meaning of *Magawali* in different examples, such as *Mangalasutra* (wedding chain), one and a half rupee, braiding hair of the girl, break jaggery and from another meaning, in the local dialect it is called *chookri magani* (asking the girl for his/her boy for marriage). In other words, during this ceremony of girl marriage, mother and bride sisters make a braid of their girl's hair. Which is spoken in local dialect *Shirgudano* (braiding the hair) and jaggery is broken and then broken jaggery is distributed of all members during magawali ceremony. In this ceremony, there is neither a Pandit (priest) nor any mantra chanting is done in this magawali marriage. The second specialty of this magawali marriage is that this function is conducted for only one day. This marriage is also done in different ways, such as drive away a girl by a boy, according to the wishes of the parents of both side's and organized a *Jnei* and *Vivaah* as per the consent of both side's parents.

The specialty of Magawali marriage is also that it is held for only one day. This marriage is also very famous here and only a few real relatives go with the Barat (procession), whose numbers are barely ten to

fifteen. In this marriage, only real relatives, close friends, and villagers are called. Magawali marriage is very famous among Dalit's poor families; those families do not have enough money for the marriage. In particular, this marriage is more organized in the Hali and the Chamar families. The Hali and the Chamar Dalits choose this marriage because it does not cost much money and nor does it more days. Even though earlier, this marriage was being held for only one day, but all the people of the brotherhood were invited and today, where only a few real relatives are called. If we talk about twenty years ago, in this marriage all the people of the brotherhood were invited, where even today his villagers are not invited for marriage. Thus, looking at these marriages, there is a lot of transformation seen in the actual form of Magawali marriage.

3. Elope Marriage: (drives away the girl) or Love Marriage

To elope, most literally, means to run away and to not come back to the point of origin. But elopement is often used to refer to a marriage conducted in sudden and secretive fashion; usually involving a hurried flight together with one's beloved to get married. Elopement, in which a couple runs away together and later on seeks the consent of their parents. Some in views, an elopement is celebrating your marriage in a way that fulfills and inspires you in creating a beautiful day with your partner that they can look back on for forever. Some view elopement as an intentionally small and intimate wedding experience which allows more emphasis to be placed on the commitment between the couple. In modern-day, elopement is highly focused on celebrating the eloping couple, whereas in traditional societies, the wedding tends to primarily be not to be focused on such marriages. While in the traditional societies, elopements were defined as a small wedding that looks place with just two people, an officiant and these days come in many more varieties. These types of marriage are organized according to their tradition, culture, custom, folkways, rules, and regulations. These types of marriages are very famous and valid in this Valley.

In fact, it is known by many names in the local dialect such as *Ladki Chorani*, *Chokari Natani*, *Chokari Chori*, (drive away a girl by a boy). Later, when the girl family members and the villagers find the elopement of a girl, then it is called in local dialect *asedi chokari nashi geyi*

Shavarne or *asedi chokari chori kani nashi gyi* (our girl has run away with a boy). It is also like a *Haran* (Rakshasa) marriage in which the boy drives away the girl, but in this the girl drives away according to her wish, wherein the *Haran* (Rakshasa) marriage without the girl desire is forced drive away. In a *Haran* (Rakshasa) marriage, the girl is won based on cruelty, force, and treachery. After a few days, the girl's parents get the news that the elopements of their girl, later on, those who have to drive the girl; they come to the girl house with the news of elopement. After a few days, the elderly people of the village and some real relatives of the boy that all go with *bakra* (a male goat) to the girl house. The reason for taking with a male goat together as a symbol of humility and the valor. The elders of these villagers said that sometimes this (a male goat) male goat was also bitten and returned. This custom is called *Ptiyaara* (to convince the girl parents by the parents of the boy) in the local dialect.

When the parents of the groom go to the bride's house for the *Ptiyaara*, the number of convincer people at the time has five to seven. To understand the *lokraj*, (to be insulted by the society) girl parents have to accept that relationship without pressure from anyone. The girl's parents and relatives also happily accept this relationship, because they also belong to a poor family and the expenditure in this regard is very poor. This is the most famous marriage in this valley because this type of marriage does not require much money, which is too the poorest person can marry. It is also known as a love marriage here. This marriage takes place with the consent of the girl and the boy. When the girl and the boy fall in love with each other after that they are do decide one day to run away. The day the boy has to drive the girl, they both choose that day a few days ago and no one was aware of it. On the day the girl had to drive away, the girl made excuses from her family and she reaches where the boy has decided to reach, in which the boy is already present there. After that, he drives the girl away from there and takes his home and a few days ago, his parents and relatives go to *Ptiyaara* (to convince the girl parents by the parents of the boy).

It is a kind of marriage; it does not cost any money from to both sides, therefore the Dalits especially the Chamar and The Hali in these villages give more importance to this type of marriage. In fact, this marriage is not limited only to the families of the Dalits, therefore this marriage is prevalent among people of every caste such as *Rajput*, *Thakur*, *Brahmin*, *Lohar*, *Dumna*, *Jogi*, *Sunar*, *Kumhar* and Muslim community, etc. Most of the people belonging to the Dalit families are poor here; therefore, they are given more importance to this type of marriage. Nowadays, these types of marriages are more prevalent in the area, but their form has changed a lot. If we talk about twenty years ago than there were neither road and nor communication facilities going on here, but today here minimum basic facilities are available. Earlier girls used to run away with a boy at a very young age and at the time, she barely fifteen to sixteen years of age.

But now in today's it is being used strictly and only after getting the age of the girl and the boy they are getting married. At first, the boy alone drove the girl away and took her home, but today, he takes his best

friends along and can also use the car. Earlier, when the girl drove away, it was only reported to the boy and the girl but today mostly relatives know about it and even their parents too. With the rise of mobile and the internet, today where the boy and the girl can talk to each other, but at that time, both had to resort to the middlemen. Earlier there girl's used to running away the boys at a very young age, but now the girls here are getting married only after reaching their full age. Nowadays, if a girl drives away with a boy and marries, later with the consent of these families, both of them can also organize *Janei*, *Vivaah* or *Magawali* type of marriages. While earlier that type of marriage could not be allowed by the society in these villages, but today it is possible. Thus, different transformation forms of weddings are being seen in these villages especially in the family of the Hali and The Chamar Dalits.

4. Rotiyoj

Rotiyoj is also a type of marriage, which is mainly found in the Churah valley of Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh. It is a very bizarre marriage in itself. This marriage occurs when a girl who first ran away and got married and that girl may not have completed her marriage age. In fact, this marriage is especially for the girls who get married at a young age like fourteen to fifteen years or those girls who have not to get dowry and when a girl runs away and marries. Later on, when the married girl age is completed and they have their first child than this type of marriage is organized, which is known as *Rotiyoj* in the local dialect. This marriage means that we have the first marriage without the musical instruments, whether it is in the form of *Magawali* and whether it is a runaway wedding. In this way, married woman and woman's parents are left wishing that our girl marriage did not go well and nor we could not give anything to our girl. Therefore, when a married woman has her first boy child, after that the woman's parents ask the boy's parents to marry which is called *Rotiyoj* in the local dialect. This is a unique marriage system here in which gives us the opportunity to we are already married and still we can marry again with the same girl.

Actually, we can understand the meaning of *Rotiyoj* in different examples, in which the parents of the woman who has been getting married provide a full basket of fried breads to the groom parents. Hence, it is related to the fried bread and *pakavan* made by the bride's family and provides bride's family to the family of boy parents during the wedding ceremony. So, it is related to the fried *Rotis* (fried breads) somewhere so that it is called *Rotiyoj* in the local dialect. On the other hand, the main purpose of this marriage is that; whose parents did not give dowry to the girl and the girl has her desire that I marry again. In another way, the girl also marries because she has to listen to her in-laws about what your parents have given you. Not only this, that some cases of the groom parents also want that we do not marry our boy well, so we want to marry our boy again. A very few cases, the pressure is made on the girl by in-laws of the girl that when you were married, then your family members did not give you anything. Because of which the girl has to convince her family members and get married again. Sometimes it used to be that when the girl gets married, the economic condition of the girl's family is not good at that time. Later, when the economic condition of the girl's parents became good than they used to ask the girl to marry.

Now gradually, even *Rotiyoj* marriage transformations are coming too much. Earlier this *Rotiyoj* marriage was possible only when the married girl gave birth to her first child as a boy. In this case according to **Duni Chand Pandit** says that "today's now married woman is not necessary to be her first boy this is no matter whether it is a boy or a girl, and still that woman can marry". Earlier when the *Bharat* (procession) used to go, than the woman's household used to give a full basket of *pakavan* or fried *Rotis* (bread), because of which it was named *Rotiyoj*, instead of those *pakavan* or fried *Rotis* (bread), the woman's parents are giving cans of sweets. Previously, the woman who was to be married used to leave her maternal house seven days before, but today's girls can go on the day of their marriage. Therefore, this type of marriage proves to be a boon for those who get married at a very young age and want to marry again. Today, there has been a lot of changes in this marriage, but still this marriage has own distinct identity in itself.



Case Study -I

A case of Elope (drives away a girl by a boy) Inter-caste marriage in Shikari Village of the Tissa-II Panchayat.

A woman named China who belongs to a potter family, who is married to Gori Singh as he belongs to a Dalit family of Chamar caste. Therefore, Chino did this marriage to used run away with the Gori Singh. She belongs to a Kumar (potter) family, in which this caste was considered a much higher rank than the Chamar caste and still she did this marriage. Chino had to say that I did this wedding of my own free will. Because I belonged to a very poor family, my parents could not able to spend more money on my marriage, so I had only one way to run away and get married. Although it was my inter-caste marriage, at first my parents were not happy at me, but they now good behave to me properly as time passes. Now I have children too and go to school but I am happy with my life.

The people Chamar Dalit and Muslim communities live in the Shikari Village of the Tissa-II Panchayat. At the time of the research work of M.Phil, the researcher has created an interview schedule of 40 Chamar Dalit families. Between 40 household interviews, one of the cases was that of elopement inter-caste marriage. A woman named Chino was married in a boy of Chamar family. That girl was related to a Kumar (potters) caste which is considered to be a lot higher than the Chamar caste. The Kumar (potters) family does not marry with Chamar caste at any cost. Although the marriage of the Chamar caste is not as bad as it is with Kumar caste, as much as a Kumar has to marry a Chamar caste. She was thirty-three years old during the interview and had three children. When the researcher from the girl named Chino asked the question “you are happy with this inter-caste marriage, she has said very anxiously,” yes, I am happy with this marriage.

In the first days of my marriage, my parents do not call me to come home and those are my relatives, they don't even call me and talk with me. When I spoke with my parents in the last, my parents told me that from the day you got married, you were dead for us. The parents of the Chino said that you have cut off our nose in front of our society, so you can neither come to our house nor can you speak to us. But gradually as time passed, later the family members of the Chino started conversing with the family of Chino. This is the specialty of elopement marriage, even if there are any obstacles in the marriage, the marriage remains. If there is an inter-caste marriage somewhere in other societies, it would be very difficult to get it to resolve, but here such marriages are also easily resolved. There is no difficulty in other types of marriages founded here, those who marry within their caste. Hence, that is why the wedding that drives the girl away is found most famous here.



Case Study -II

A case of Rotiyoj marriage in the Jaalu Village of the Mangli Panchayat.

A woman named Rita who belongs to a Hali family, who is married to Gopala as he also belongs to a Hali family; both of them had run away and married. They did this marriage on 30 March 2012 and had two children. Gopala is a drummer by profession. One day when Gopala went to Rita's village to play the drum, then both of them met there. Gopala said he met Rita three to four more times later and after that, I fall in love with her. Later on, one day I told Rita that I love you and you will marry me. Rita refused at the time, but later she accepted that relationship. Rita's age at that time was 05-02-1989 years old and Gopala was 20-08-1991 years old. Both of them belonged to a very poor household. After that, both of them decided that we would run away and get married. At the time, the economic condition of both families was not good, so both of them adopt this path. In this regard, both of them fixed 30 March 2012 to run away and later got married.

When both the families came to know that our children had eloped and got married, they were quite happy. Because they knew well that if our children did not run away and get married, we could never get them

married. This is a marriage that does not cost at all; therefore this marriage is also called free of cost wedding here. Later both families happily agreed to the *Ptiyaara* (convince the girl parents by the parents of the boy). After eloped marriage, they had two children one of whom was a girl and the other a boy. The first condition of the *Rotiyoj* marriage is that the married woman has given birth to a boy because the women's parents used to give the *Rotiyoj* only after the boy was born. But today's parents are giving *Rotiyoj* for their girl whether she has given birth to a girl. As Rita gave birth to the boy, in the same way, her parents announced to give the *Rotiyoj*. Later, both the families went to the Pandit to fix the marriage date. That date was fixed on 11 March 2018.

The *Rotiyoj* marriage of Rita and Gopala was celebrated with great pomp. Here it is a unique custom in itself that the woman gets married before, but the married women get a chance to marry again. Therefore, under this marriage, the woman gets opportunities to get married twice married in her life. But it did not remain untouched this marriage by the social transformation. Earlier the rotis (bread) was given to women during her wedding ceremony, which the *Rotiyoj* marriage got its name from the custom of rotis (bread), where today sweets are being used instead of rotis (bread). Most of the customs of this marriage have changed; but still, maintain a unique identity in itself in these villages of Churah Tehsil of Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh.

Conclusion:

Regarding the above-mentioned marriages, there is a social transformation in all the marriages somewhere. There is no marriage is in its mythological existence and it is like that but it has changed a lot. The customs of marriages are the same as they used to be earlier but the new generation has influenced these customs in a new way. There was a time, where basic facilities were not available here, there were no road or communication facilities and very few facilities were available to the people in this valley. They had to make their living in limited facilities. Earlier most of the people here were illiterate and did not go out to work. As time progressed, there was progress in the area, the road started to go and coming resources of communication and people here started studying. All these reasons had a profound impact on the lives of the people and due to its effect, to see a lot of transformation in the marriages here. As people started coming out of the area and started doing jobs, started study due to this, their life changed and the marriage pattern in these villages is also transforming. Where previously a marriage required five to six days to perform that marriage today is disposed of in a day or two. Respondents of these villages would say that we do not have enough time to organize a wedding for more than two to three days.

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