

TAMANG FAMILY RESEARCH PROJECT

SUMMARY REPORT ON ETHNOGRAPHIC AND SURVEY RESEARCH
CONDUCTED IN THE BUDHANILKANTHA AREA, KATHMANDU VALLEY
AND TIPLING GAON PANCHAYAT IN THE UPPER ANKHU KHOLA VALLEY

MARCH 1987- JANUARY 1988



Report to the Centre for Nepal And Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur

Thomas E. Fricke
Dilli Ram Dahal
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Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
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CNAS

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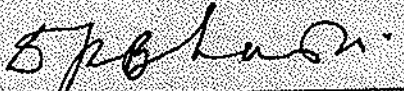
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FOREWORD

The Tamang Family Research Project for which this report provides basic background and descriptive material is a true collaboration between Nepali and American research scholars. It is an ambitious study combining the tried and true ethnographic forms of data collection which have so successfully provided basic information on Nepali society with survey forms of investigation developed over the last forty years at the Institute For Social Research in Michigan, USA. Its novelty extends beyond this point of method, however, since it is the first study to demonstrate conclusively the extent of changes in the lives of individuals within distinct communities. This is accomplished with rigorously gathered quantitative data on the life experiences of all people over age 12 in two widely separated Tamang village settings. No prior study in Nepal has gathered the comprehensive material forming the core of this study and we may look forward to the future analyses to emerge. In the meantime CNAS is pleased to publish this research report. It is to be hoped that it will serve as a model for future research into our changing Nepali society and also as a model of collaboration between Nepali and foreign researchers. The research team is to be congratulated for the quality of their effort.


(Prof. Dr. Durga Pd. Bhandari)
Executive Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this scope relies on the good will and help of many people, not least those living in the villages we studied. We would like, first of all, to acknowledge the kind permission of His Majesty's Government of Nepal to conduct this research. In the same spirit, we thank those members of the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, the institution in Nepal with which we were affiliated, who were especially welcoming of our work. Likewise, the Rector's Office of the Research Division at Tribhuvan University, especially Dr. Ratna Man Pradhan, expeditiously forwarded our research applications to the appropriate departments of HMG for approval and we thank them here. We would also like to make special note of Dr. Bal Kumar K.C., Chair of the Population Studies Program at Tribhuvan University, who was unusually supportive of this project.

Others in Nepal who have aided us in various phases of data collection and processing include Mr. Dwarika Shrestha whose CARTS Secretarial Services acted as our communications center in Kathmandu and who supervised the replication of our 1520 survey instruments for transfer to Michigan for coding. Dr. Hans Gsanger, Director of the Dhading District Development Project for GTZ, was extremely gracious and welcoming of our project activities in Tipling Gaon Panchayat and offered important information from his own project's activities. We hope that the material in this report will go a small way toward fulfilling our debt to him. Also helpful at DDDP was Dr. Ashok Shah who very kindly gave us some of his time to discuss agricultural training and other programs in the Upper Ankhu Khola area.

At the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor, Michigan we have been fortunate in having the expertise of our excellent support staff throughout this research. Ms. Judy Baughn was especially thorough in coordinating project activities in remote areas of Nepal from her desk at the Institute. Ms. Linda Young-Demarco performed her usual wonders in supervising the data coding and computer entry and continues to be essential to our activities in her work with the statistical analyses. Thanks also to the coding staff for their forbearance in the unusual task of direct data entry from Nepali language questionnaires.

Our interviewers and project staff in Nepal performed admirably at tasks which could only have been new to them. They signed on to the project not knowing what was in store and built a comradeship that carried them through snowstorms in the high passes and the leeches of the monsoon. We would especially like to single out Ms. Meena Kumari Tamang of Darkha for her keen loyalty to this project, for her innate understanding of our goals, and for her intelligent contributions to every phase of project work since she joined us in Nepal. Mr. Tschering Lama of Budanilakantha was a crucial member of our project in the same way. Joining us in Sangila, he quickly became one of our primary data collectors for the ethnographic portion of our work. Without these two the quality of our

information would have been greatly diminished.

We wish to thank all of the people of Sangila and Timling. They welcomed us into their homes and accepted us as members of their communities in spite of the inconvenience we must have caused them at times. We would like to single out the special kindnesses and help we received from Mr. Lal Bahadur Lama, Mr. Rama Bahadur Lama, Ms. Pema Lama, Ms. Renjen Dolma Lama, and Mr. Nirmal Lama--all of Sangila. In Timling, we prospered with the special help of Mr. Sirman Ghale, Mr. Lal Bahadur Ghale, Mr. Shelthapa Tamang, Mr. Ramleka Tamang, Ms. Anteri Ghalseni, Mr. Kharka Bahadur Ghale and Lama Mingmar Ghale. We are grateful to all for their forbearance and hope our work will help them in ways that none of us can begin to know. Thanks also to various gaon panchayat members for their support and permission to conduct research in Sangila and Timling.

This work has been supported by NICHD grant number 1 R01 HD22543 and NSF award number SES-8607288. We sincerely thank these institutions for their support and funding of project work in Nepal and at the University of Michigan.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Tamang Family Research Project (TFRP) is an interdisciplinary project focusing on changing economy, family relationships, and fertility in Nepal. It is unique in the extent to which it combines ethnographic and survey methodologies in its data gathering procedures. Two sites were chosen for the research: one of these was a collection of Tamang villages and hamlets centering on Budanilakantha at the northern edge of the Kathmandu Valley (we call this area Sangila after an indigenous Tamang name for the area); the other was the village of Tipling in Tipling Gaon Panchayat at the Northern edge of Dhading District (we call this site Timling to refer to the original settlement in the panchayat). This report covers preliminary findings and descriptions of basic trends from both sites and is intended to describe project activities to date and provide useful comparative information to the research community in Nepal.

The report is primarily based on initial computer runs from survey data collected in the villages during the period from June 1987 through January 1988.

The specific aims of the overall project included examination of key issues in family and demographic transition theories. Our objectives were to focus on two topics: (1) the implications of economic change on family relationships and kin networks and (2) the consequences of these familial changes for reproductive behavior. We see economic change as one element of transformations in social organization having implications for family relationships, marriage, and fertility. Our hypothesis is that supports for high fertility in non-market economies are mediated by family organization through alliance building and household formation strategies.

This organization is undermined when senior family members lose control over primary production through processes such as land fragmentation and the rise of educational and wage-labor opportunities.

The TFRP was designed as a two village comparison. One setting was to be characterized by limited opportunities for schooling and wage labor while the other included more fully developed schooling and wage earning opportunities. Timling, the less monetized setting was studied in both 1981 and 1987 (Fricke 1986, 1990). Sangila, the more monetized setting, differs in its history, the extent of its market orientation, and its proximity to the urban environment of Kathmandu (Fricke and Thornton 1989; Axinn 1990a, 1990b).

Current research focuses on a number of specific analyses: (1) a comparison of household economic organization across settings emphasizing such variables as dependence on household and market means of production, migration, land ownership and wealth; (2) the influence of these economic factors on familial and household organization variables including both economic and nonfinancial obligations and interchanges within and between households, interhousehold links among kin and non-kin, and household authority structure; (3) the effects of family economic organization on

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individual life courses, emphasizing the way economic change affects intergenerational relationships by involving children in educational and employment experiences outside the family, by having children live independently from their parents, and by shifting the role of marriage as a link between households and larger units; (4) the impact of family and household organization and experiences on the number and timing of children and the adoption of contraception.

Theoretical Background for the Project

Modern versions of demographic transition theory, theoretical statements of the supports for high fertility in agrarian societies, and a range of empirical studies from anthropology, sociology, history, and more general population studies converge on the extent to which they see the family as the mediator between economic context and reproductive behavior.

While there is widespread agreement about the fertility reducing effects of increasing educational and occupational opportunities for individuals, the specific mechanisms by which these factors operate in family contexts are only recently receiving systematic attention. Primary theoretical statements by Caldwell (1982), for example, stress the importance of intergenerational wealth flows and authority patterns between the generations and sexes as buttresses for high fertility. Cain's work (1981, 1982), on the other hand, is directed to more specific cultural contexts in which systems of inheritance and household developmental cycles can make it as rational for women as men to desire children for their social security values. Thadani's critiques of Caldwell (1978) parallel those of Cain in their emphasis on cultural context and the importance of social structural features such as connections between households. Nevertheless, a basic theme of economic factors operating through the family to affect fertility illuminates the work of all these scholars. These theoretical statements are paralleled by recent statements in anthropology with special attention to the task-oriented nature of household activities (Wilk and Netting 1984; Yanagisako 1979) and the wider kinship context of families (Hammel and Laslett 1974; Kertzer 1984b).

Historical work in Europe has documented the responsiveness of family forms to economic considerations of partible vs. impartible inheritance systems (Berkner 1976), systems of wealth transfers between households, and the transformation from subsistence agrarian to more monetized economies (Levine 1977). Among the changes in the West accompanying industrialization and urbanization were the shifting of production away from the home (Tilly and Scott; Demos 1970), the appearance of boarding and lodging and, later, the growth of independent living among young adults (Kobrin 1976), and decline in fertility.

Empirical studies in Asian settings display interesting patterns of change and persistence. South Asian material, for example, tends to document changes in household structure with urbanization processes (Vatuk 1972). Yet, strong kinship networks and strict control of female marriage options often continue (Parry 1979; Caldwell, *et al.* 1982). Empirical work in Taiwan shows similar complexity in family change in response to economic transformation (Greenhalgh 1985a, 1985b; Thornton, *et al.* 1984) and suggests that change will occur differentially along the various axes of family organization and that existing sets of cultural values and social organization will channel the forms of these transformations (Kung 1983).

Methodological and substantive literature directed toward these issues converges on the family with historical, demographic, and other perspectives bringing their own strengths and weaknesses. Historical demography, for example, has been criticized for a tendency to infer too much about culture and values from demographic patterns alone (Kertzer 1984a; Yanagisako 1979). Similar problems arise for the study of household structure and process. The historical records usually will not allow the continuous accounts of individual life courses within household contexts that a properly operationalized life-course approach demands (Anderson 1971; Elder 1977; Hareven 1977). While these have not been fatal problems, they have meant that most studies of the early family and social transitions from subsistence agrarian orientations to proto-industrialization and wage economies, have needed to depend on high levels of inference. Kertzer's review of historical and anthropological family studies suggests that anthropological work can strike the appropriate balance between norms and behavior (1984a, 1984b).

Taken together, this literature suggests the need to relate individual and household processes to larger factors of social organization. The key to a unitary perspective is a focus on economic strategies involving resource control, labor and material exchange, and the mode of production itself (Lesthaeghe 1980).

Our perspective on family change is actor and culturally based in the sense that we see such transformation emanating from the behaviors of individuals in interaction with cultural and economic constraints and in pursuit of culturally given goals (Anderson 1971; Ortner 1984). From this point of view, the stability of family systems across generations is maintained through complex relationships unifying production, reproduction, distribution, and transmission activities (Wilk and Netting 1984) within household and extra-household kin contexts. Social control over younger household members is supported by control over productive resources; stable life course and developmental trajectories are supported by expectations of adequate inheritance of the means of production. Our hypothesis is that an increasingly fragmented land base will combine with new educational and employment opportunities to alter the stability of this system. Monetization of the economy is expected to affect the nature of authority relationships between generations and links between households as the familial mode of production (Caldwell 1982; Macfarlane

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1978) appropriate to subsistence economies gives way. Since marriage is a primary regulator of alliances and household dynamics in this setting, we expect these changes to be reflected in the processes of marriage and the nature of kinship roles centering on marriage and household development.

Relevance of the Tamang

Although transformations of populations from rural to urban settings is critical to particular histories of change (cf. Sharma 1989; Gurung 1989), important components of complex European family and social transformations also involved incremental transitions within the rural setting (Levine 1977). We expect similar complexity in Nepal where some of the most significant changes are within rural villages (Blaikie, et al. 1980).

Many of the most important transformations occurring in Nepal are those within the agricultural sector in which 95% of the population is involved (Lieberman 1982). Historical transformations linked to population growth include the move from subsistence-oriented to wage labor remittance economies in many areas (Macfarlane 1976). Increasing scarcity of arable land, Nepal's primary productive resource, is a threat to stable social systems in which marriage strategies are oriented to the establishment of cooperative and political links.

The Tamang themselves are an especially suitable ethnic group within which to study these transformation processes. They are the single largest ethnic group in Nepal and are most densely represented in the area surrounding the Kathmandu Valley (Frank 1974). As a consequence their settlements span environments and economic orientations from strongly subsistence-oriented agriculture to the urbanized, wage-earning environment of Kathmandu, Nepal's capital city. In spite of these different environments, the Tamang as a whole are united by various commonalities of social organization: patrilineal clan organization, a cultural stress on the importance of cross-cousin marriage, and an emphasis on the exchange and alliance values of marriage (March 1983; Hofer 1979; Fuerer-Haimendorf 1956; Fricke 1990). In addition, although Tamang dialects vary across the whole of their territory, kinship and family terms are consistent and groups have no trouble communicating among themselves. Marriages are even arranged across dialect areas and there is a growing sense of the unity of all Tamang regardless of their origin¹.

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the Tamang as an

¹ See, for example, Lama (1981) and the new journal, Syo Mhendo, devoted to pan-Tamang interests in Nepal.

ethnic identity include a range of populations with variable origins. Various names in past literature, their common identification by the word "Tamang" was established by government fiat in 1932, within the lifetimes of the oldest residents of both research sites (cf. Holmberg 1989: 16-30). Ethnographically, they have generally been placed into three general groups defined largely by dialect similarities and geography. Timling lies within the bounds of those groups aggregated into the "western" Tamang, while Sangila might be considered inhabited by "central" Tamang. In addition to the geographic and linguistic differences, some elements of Tamang ritual differ from area to area as well. For the purposes of comparison, however, we may consider all of these populations as related in terms of their common social structure and marriage preferences although local histories are obviously different.

Finally, the Tamang have been characterized as intermediate in the status of women, lying in the middle of a continuum between those strictly controlling females and those with widest flexibility in female options (Acharya and Bennett 1981). This is reflected in the range of marriage options within single villages, where the type of marriage can run from "kidnapping" of wives to arrangement by parents to mutual consent of the spouses themselves. Variations in ritual complexity cross-cut these forms and earlier evidence suggests that variations in marriage style are associated with variations in marriage age with implications for fertility (Acharya and Bennett 1981; Fricke 1985).

Field Strategies

The causal model driving instrument design has family structure and relationships influencing fertility behavior. At the same time, social and economic change have dramatic influences on aspects of family life. We have defined the individual life course as the unit of analysis with three culturally relevant events critical to the nature of family and household relationships. These events may occur in the period of early socialization embodied in childhood and adolescence (the period from birth until initiation of marriage becomes acceptable), early adulthood (the period centering on marriage), and adulthood (the period of establishing independent households and building families). Each of these occurs within definite contexts composed of village, family, and the constraints and opportunities posed by past actions in the individual life course.

Figure 1.1 presents a schematic representation of this model. It identifies the classes of important contextual and behavioral variables we have gathered and will be examining in this research. Although a dynamic perspective implies three dimensions of change (village, family, and individual) corresponding to historical, family, and individual time, we have simplified the diagram to represent features of village and family that remain fairly constant throughout the individual life course periods of primary interest.

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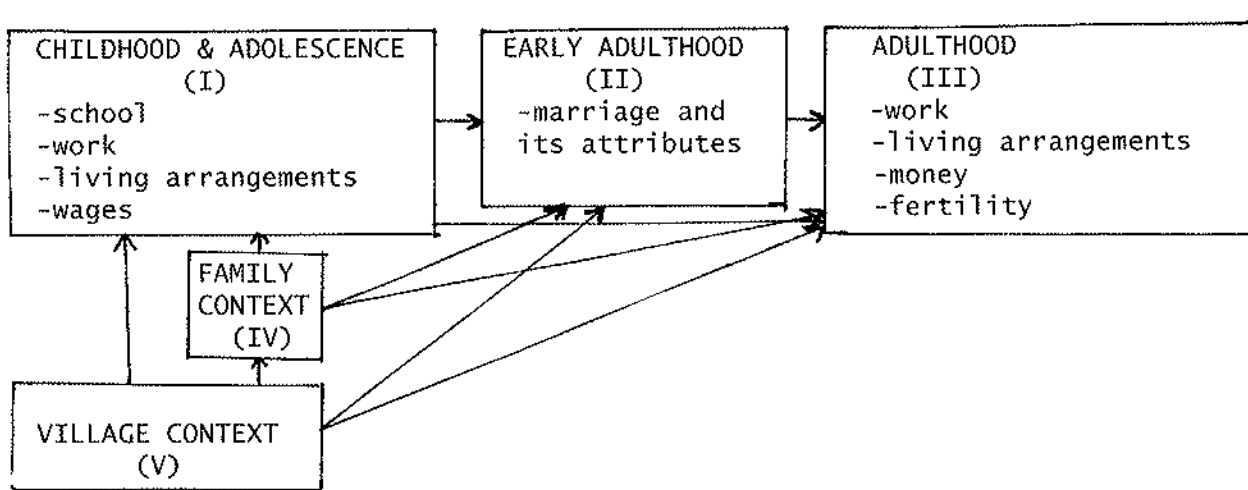


Figure 1.1: Heuristic Causal Model to be Examined Among Tamang

Two types of instrument were designed to gather information we considered appropriate for trained interviewers. These instruments focused on data at the individual and family/household levels (I-IV in figure 1.1).

Our theoretical orientation determined the classes of data elicited in these formal instruments and Table 1.1 shows the primary categories in Figure 1.1 to which specific sections are related. Additional sheets triggered by appropriate responses in sections D and E gather data on former spouses and on each child ever born alive. Other sheets filled out during the household census provide information for parents and sibs from which selected variables will be coded as family context variables.

In addition to the data gathered through formal survey instruments our combinatory fieldwork strategy allowed us to gather a wealth of other material. Of particular interest for the planned analyses is historical material for villages that will allow us to establish important local watershed dates: building of schools and roads, the availability of particular categories of work such as participation in the British army's Gurkha regiments, and the like. In addition extremely detailed patriline histories have been gathered. These will be important for the analysis of enduring relationships among clans and patrilines as well as in establishing the specific cultural and social organizational context of marital events that will be statistically analyzed.

Table 1.1: Data Summary for Primary Instrument

<u>Section</u>	<u>Relevant Section Contents</u>	<u>Model Categories</u>
Section A.	Education: respondent's schooling, reasons for leaving, literacy	I
Section B.	Residence: residence history outside of natal village, relationship of co-residents, ages at first events, visits to natal villages	I,II
Section C.	Parental background: education, wage-labor employment, literacy for respondent's parents	IV
Section D.	Marriage: timing, autonomy of decision, transactions, relationship between spouses before marriage, ceremony, residence, dissolution timing and decisions (for 1st, 2nd, and last marriages)	II,III,IV
Section E.	Fertility and contraception: timing of births, breastfeeding, survival of children, ages at death, education and marriage for each	III
Section F.	Employment: formal and informal economy participation; ages at first time and first time after marriage; wage work and amounts in 12 months preceding interview	I,III
Section G.	Inheritance: contents of and timing for men and women.	III
Section H.	Media exposure: exposure to movies, print media, television; ages at first exposure, levels of exposure in 12 months preceding interview.	I,III
Section I.	Networks: relationship of people relied on when sick; relationship of people helped in last 12 months, mode of payment; relationships of people in informal work groups	IV
Section J.	Household economy: crops planted, animals owned and sold in last 12 months: number of those providing help from outside of household and their relationship to household head (section asked of household head only).	IV
Section K.	Interviewer observations: household quality and possessions.	IV

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Extensive informal interviews were conducted by Fricke with selected informants on a range of topics related to family organization and relationships, marriage, village histories, and other relevant topics. Many of these were taped on cassette in the field and have thus far resulted in 917 pages of transcript. Of particular interest, for example, are transcriptions of spontaneous informant comments on the tension surrounding household fission in the newly emergent wage labor economy, and the expectations of wealth flows from children's wage labor jobs--both useful for fleshing out the cultural meaning of trends revealed by the behavioral data from the questionnaires.

Finally, case history materials focusing on specific life course and family transitions and the value context within which they occur were gathered. Case material exists for: (1) relationships between parents and children working for wages away from the villages; (2) marriages and elopements; (3) the process of household formation and fission from parental households; (4) reactions and consequences of deaths for children and adults; (5) the organization of work on road crews and in the markets of Kathmandu. Extensive social structural information has been collected, especially that having to do with auspicious and forbidden categories of marriage, culturally expected behavior among various categories of relatives, and historical material on the relations among the patrilineal clans that organize Tamang society. All of this information will not only provide important context for our planned formal statistical analyses but will redress those criticisms of family and demographic transition research which suggest that too much is inferred from behavioral data alone (Kertzner 1984a; Stone and Campbell 1984).

Data and Data Quality

A principal concern throughout this project has been data quality and the maintenance of high levels of rapport with our respondents. Our survey instruments are the result of intensive discussions among project members resulting in a preliminary set of questionnaires which were field tested in March 1987 in the Tamang households of Raniban in the Kathmandu Valley. This pretest was supervised by Fricke and Rimal. At the completion of these fieldtests, the initial instruments were modified at the University of Michigan, again through a process of discussing problems in the original design. The final instruments were developed in Nepali with the aid of Rimal who joined the project staff at the University of Michigan. Master versions were constructed and printed in Kathmandu in June 1987.

In the primary data collection effort, we obtained data for 1520 out of 1521 respondents identified as eligible for interview in the two settings (eligibility was defined on the basis of being 12 years of age or more), virtually 100%. Of the 1521 total eligible respondents 1415 (93%) were interviewed in face-to-face visits by our staff. There were no refusals in either setting, although 3 interviews needed to be conducted with proxies because the respondent was incapacitated for medical or other reasons.

Information was gathered by proxy from another 102 (7%) respondents, the majority of whom were simply out of the village temporarily and could not be met. Most proxy interviews were conducted with spouses or parents, if they were available, and secondarily with sibs.

We took a number of measures to reduce the percentage of proxy interviews in both settings. Where possible, interviewers attempted to visit respondents at their places of work, such as the carpet factories of the Kathmandu Valley. From Timling, we sent interviewers to the roadbuilding workcamps, a two day walk over extremely rugged country. Where respondents were unavailable at the initial interviewer visit, interviewers were required to make callbacks at frequent intervals and differing times of the day to meet them. These callbacks were virtually daily events. In both settings, proxies were not authorized until the final two weeks of data collection when the opportunities for meeting the actual respondent were exhausted.

The attention to meeting eligible members of the population has resulted in a very high percentage of questionnaires administered to the respondents themselves. There are no large differences in the percentages of young or old, male or female respondents met in face-to-face interview. Thus, we have regular interviews with the respondents themselves for 1103 out of 1166, 94%, of the ever-married respondents; we have regular interviews for 312 out of 354, 88%, of the never-married respondents. Similarly, 91% of the male and 96% of the female interviews are regular interviews with respondents. Thus, we have full information on virtually 100% of our eligible respondents and in 93% of the cases the data were collected from the respondents themselves, while in another 7% the data were collected from an informed relative. This coverage of the population ensures that non-response will not be a serious threat to the integrity of our results.

Interviewers were selected from an applicant pool of 48 from which 28 were invited to classroom and field training sessions. Our evaluation of these trainees resulted in an initial 16 interviewers being asked to join us in the monetized setting. From these 16 a further selection left us with 11 of the highest quality interviewers with proven accuracy and ability to establish rapport with the Tamang. The interviewers submitted their work daily so that it could be checked by the senior fieldstaff, an assurance that there is no missing data within interviews. Each interview was double-checked on the day of its completion; interviewers were sent back to respondents to reconcile problems discovered by senior fieldstaff. After correction, the interview was again double-checked. In addition, all interviewers were observed in the field in multiple unscheduled visits; a selection of respondents for all interviewers was revisited by senior staff in order to ensure proper performance.

We believe the interview experience was enjoyed by our respondents and that this enjoyment enhances the quality of our data. In the village setting an unpleasant encounter would be impossible to conceal, yet, far from having people avoid interviews, we had the unusual experience of respondents in both settings seeking us out to have their interview taken. Part of the explanation for this is the real appreciation we found for a study of the

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Tamang, a sense among the Tamang themselves that it was important to see how they lived and how they were changing. Certainly, there was a strong sense of our sincerity communicated by the very fact of residence in the study areas for lengthy periods. This occasioned many approving remarks and effectively built and maintained rapport between the Tamang villagers and the researchers.

Our interest in data quality caused us to randomly assign interviewers and respondents in one of the settlements within the Kathmandu study area. Random assignment permitted an exploration of the relation between interviewer characteristics and the quality of responses to sensitive questions (Axinn 1989a, 1989b). Of particular concern was the effect of interviewer gender on these responses in the Nepali social context where it has important status implications. Findings indicate that the interviewer's gender was related to responses on particular sensitive questions. Analyses were concerned with respondent reports for making money from his or her own business, for reports of contraceptive use, and for questions about whether female respondents or male respondent's wives were currently pregnant. For all of these questions, female interviewers were more likely to record an affirmative response and the interviewer gender effects were significant for the business and current pregnancy questions.

These results were sufficiently interesting that we expanded the analysis of interviewer gender effects to the whole data set and to selected questions from every section of the questionnaire, both those deemed sensitive and those thought to be less so. We examined the data for Sangila and Timling separately because we collected data in Timling using a subset of the original interviewers. Our preliminary findings are that interviewer gender is related to affirmative responses on a limited set of sensitive questions having to do with pregnancy, contraception, and wage labor in the Kathmandu study area. An examination of other questions from the Kathmandu study area central to our analyses--those related to marriage, exposure to media, household ownership of land, livestock, other goods--indicates, however, that interviewer gender had no relationship to responses.

While there are apparent effects for particular questions in the Kathmandu setting (other variables for which gender effects were discovered include: any schooling, whether lived outside of current village of residence, any farm work, any wage work, any work for less than a month, and female respondent desires for more children) the majority of variables critical to the analysis are unaffected. For example, no relationships were found among crucial variables such as reports of living away from parents before marriage, number of times married, meeting spouse before marriage, children ever born, the desire for more children, seeing movies or video movies, or household ownership of land, cattle, or goats and sheep. Moreover, the random assignment of interviewers means that these effects are also randomly distributed within that sample and parameter estimates are unaffected. In areas without random assignment, we are able to enter the interviewer's gender in analyses to control for any gender effect in

interviewing.

Preliminary findings in the analysis for Timling data revealed an even smaller number of variables with apparent effects and none of these involved contraceptive or current pregnancy data. Moreover, because the conditions of fieldwork in Timling were somewhat different than those in Kathmandu with substantial numbers of respondents unable to speak Nepali, random assignment of interviewers to respondents was not possible. Three male interviewers and one female interviewer were able to collect data in Tamang. Since respondents unable to speak Nepali are also those least likely to have experience outside of the village, it is not surprising that female interviewers were more likely than males to gather affirmative responses to questions about living outside of the village and wage work experience. Thus, our preliminary examination suggest that gender effects, if they exist at all, are more attenuated in Timling.

In summary, responses for Timling respondents are unlikely to be correlated with gender or other interviewer characteristics; in the Kathmandu setting, gender effects are confined to a limited number of variables for which adequate controls can be introduced in analyses. Given the multiple fieldchecks and the confined relevance of gender effects we continue to be extremely confident that our data is of the high quality that will support the sophisticated analyses planned for it.

Personnel

Project personnel included primary research staff from the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, a collaborator from the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies at Tribhuvan University, a consultant from the Dhading District Development Project, and our interviewers selected from the pool of applicants described above. The primary researchers embodied disciplinary perspectives from anthropology and sociology, bringing a variety of complementary strengths to the data collection process. Interviewers included both men and women and Tamang and non-Tamang as described. Additional data collection was enhanced by the participation of specially trained fieldworkers who assisted with genealogical and ethnographic components of the project. A complete listing of project members, their affiliations, and the sites in which they worked is included in Appendix A.

Site Description: Overview

Village context² is crucial to our entire research strategy. By village context we mean the overall environment--economic, educational, social--in which individual and family processes are carried out. From our point of view, this context presents the range of overall constraints and defines the

² Maps for Timling and Sangila appear at the end of this report.

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productive strategies for household survival. Key differences between the two settings, as we have suggested, are in historical relations, proximity to Kathmandu, and the extent of educational and wage labor opportunities. We do not take village site as a static variable, however, and our preliminary examination of data reveal that economic transformations have occurred in both settings over the lives of current residents although the magnitude and timing differ across settings. Residence in the villages has allowed us to date the arrival of important innovations such as schools, roads, and the possibilities of certain types of employment. In addition, we have in our instruments life course records that will allow us to pinpoint the introduction of specific behaviors such as school attendance within each setting.

In our cross-sectional design the village of Timling has been chosen as the relatively subsistence setting for this research. By "subsistence setting" we do not mean to imply that wage earning activities were entirely absent in the past; we know this is not true for any setting in Nepal. The importance of wage earning to the overall economy in the subsistence setting was, however, extremely attenuated.

Although there are changes in the wage labor participation of Timling's population, the village continues to lie a 5 day walk from the motorable road and bazaar in Trisuli. It is important to stress that Timling's households rely most heavily on local production and that immersion in the wage labor market is yet incipient. Indeed, it is one of the strengths of this research to be catching the change in Timling at this point. Timling continues to be without a tea stall or a market area, virtually universal features of more monetized Nepali villages.

The economic character of the village is still largely subsistence-oriented in spite of changes since the 1981 fieldwork. Households in Timling are reliant on their locally produced crops and herds although an increasing number of people are involved in wage labor opportunities brought in part by the development of a lead and zinc mine in their high pastures. Most of the wage work available to the people of the area is in road construction for the mine. At our arrival in Timling in October, 45 people eligible for interview were working on road construction (out of a total eligible population of 482). An additional 30 people were out of the village in places as far away as Kathmandu or parts of India. Although the steady wage labor component to the local economy is yet in its earliest stages, preliminary indications are that it is having hypothesized effects on family relations. For example, in an informal conversation with one Timling father Fricke discovered that his 18 year old daughter wouldn't return from roadwork when he sent word for her to do so. His response was an exasperated "What to do?! My daughter no longer honors my word. She wants to make money!" Another woman, also 18 and a worker on the road, confided that she did not want to have children. Her hope was to find a way to continue earning money that would allow her to be independent throughout her working years.

If Timling can be said to represent the subsistence setting, the Kathmandu Valley site is a powerful representative of the monetized end of the continuum for the Tamang. This setting consists of a cluster of villages and hamlets (Taulung, Chaap, Tarebhir, Tulogaon, Simali, and Budanilakantha) at the north edge of the Kathmandu Valley and within the relatively well developed network of motorable roads served by buses and taxis in the valley. The closest households within the area (which extends in a 3 mile arc centering on the main paved road from the city) are minutes from the bus stop while others are a brisk hour's walk from the road.

This setting's stable agrarian system continued more or less undisturbed until 1950-51 when Nepal's borders opened to foreigners after a century and a half of closed feudal rule. This period marked the end of restrictions on building schools for the general public. Moreover, the country was opened to foreign development capital and reorganizations of local land tenure. The reorganization of land tenure both freed the people of this area from tenant-landlord obligations and encouraged them to seek wage labor employment to buy their land.

Schools were built in the dispersed collection of hamlets and settlements beginning in the early 1960s. An earlier temple school that taught reading for religious purposes to a very few students was converted to a public school in the mid-1950s. These earliest schools provided classes up to grade 3, but rapid expansion to keep up with the level of village students followed and four schools exist in the area to provide schooling through grade 10 now.

Wage labor participation is extensive and various (Fricke and Thornton 1989). While wage labor in Timling tends to be in the limited form of seasonal work at road construction or portering, the Kathmandu area provides a spectrum including government service jobs, carpentry, work in stores, work in a variety of factories, and other possibilities in addition to road work and hauling loads. At the same time, nearly all households continue to have some component of their domestic economy tied to farming in their village fields. Extensive participation in the wage economy has increased within the lifetime of the oldest respondents.

In what follows, we will define the key variables reported here and their relevance to the overall project. Two chapters will present, separately, the data for key life course events (schooling, living arrangements, wage labor participation, marriage) and contextual material for Timling and Sangila. Additional information will be presented for activities in the two settings during the 12 months preceeding survey work in the respective communities. Finally, we will summarize some of the essential findings for Sangila and Timling with some comment on their implications for research in Nepal and more generally.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTION OF MEASURES

As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, the starting point for our research has been that the Tamang of both settings were characterized by a family mode of organization. This mode of organization is consistent with a wide range of economic environments. Sahlins (1972), for example has identified the "domestic mode of production" as a central feature of subsistence tribal economies, but his description is remarkably consistent with more recent work on agrarian production in which market considerations are important. Similarly, early forms of commodity production in a variety of settings involve high degrees of reliance on family organization even where agriculture recedes in importance (cf. Medick 1976).

While Sahlins (1976) and Caldwell (1982) have focused on domestic or family mode of production, our analysis of social change and the family is phrased in terms of mode of social organization; our difference in terminology is intended to grant the whole range of group activities the same analytical status as production. A major intent of our data collection was to examine changes in the family modes of organization in Timling and Sangila through the proliferation of individual activities outside the family (Thornton and Fricke 1987).

From this perspective, the important variables we investigate have to do with changes in activities engaged in by different cohorts at key points in the life course.¹ The key events we have focused on include entry into formal schooling, experiences outside home communities, entry into non-familial wage labor, and entry into marriage. In what follows, we summarize the significance of each of these and define the measures used in this study.

Determining Age of Respondent

An essential variable for establishing cohorts and event timing is that of respondent's age. In spite of the high rates of illiteracy that characterize the populations of both Sangila and Timling, our age data is extremely reliable because of the Tamang use of the Tibetan calendrical cycle in which animal symbols (lho) designate the years in a 12-year cycle. This system is described in Fricke (1986: 54) in more detail. For our purposes, we note that these lho have a rough correspondence to full years in the western calendar and we are able to convert animal years at

¹For a discussion of the importance of cohort analysis in the study of social change, see Ryder 1965; Rosaldo 1980 provides an example of the application of this and life course analysis in an anthropological population; useful summaries of life course approaches may be found in Kertzer 1986; Elder 1977; Hareven 1977.

birth to western calendrical years for analysis. Virtually all Tamang in Timling and most adult residents of Sangila know the animal years of their own and their children's birth and the number of cycles (legar) they have lived through. The use of this aging system thus contributes to a high degree of consistency in age reporting. Our data collection was entirely in the year of the goat (Yeh lho). Table 2.1 presents the 12 years of this cycle and variants in their designations in the two sites. Variant names, often given in Nepali, are shown in parentheses in English. Aging of respondents was accomplished by straightforwardly asking each of them their lho and the number of legar they had lived. The same information was also requested for each of their children in the genealogies.

Table 2.1: Tamang 12-Year Cycle with English and Tamang Variants

Year	Tamang <u>Lho</u>	English
1987	Yeh	Goat (cat)
1986	Taa	Tiger
1985	Lang	Bull (cow)
1984	Jiwa, Jii	Mouse
1983	Pha	Boar
1982	Khi	Dog
1981	Jhya	Bird (chicken)
1980	Pre	Monkey
1979	Luk	Sheep
1978	Ta	Horse
1977	Bruł	Snake
1976	Bruk	Dragon (sky)

Household

A lengthy literature has been devoted to the issue of comparative definition of household and family (Yanagisako 1979; Bender 1967; Guyer and Peters 1984). For our purposes, we have developed a concept that is in keeping with Tamang notions of this fundamental organizational unit, one that focuses on the smallest group within which production and consumption activities are carried out (Fricke 1986). In practice, we have taken the household in both settings to be defined by the group of people who regularly produce for consumption around a single hearth, whether or not that hearth is under a single roof with the hearths of other relatives. This operational definition allows us to capture separate production units even though, in the course of time, subsidiary hearths have yet to be moved into a separate residence. Among the Tamang, household fission is a process that may involve a number of activities

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leading up to the eventual construction of a new house for relocating sons. Until that house is built, however, the separation of lands and herds in a family will be marked by the relocation of the new domestic group's hearth within the parental house (cf. Fricke 1986).

For the Tamang Family Research project, these households (or hearth groups) were defined during the initial censuses conducted in Timling and Sangila by responses to the following questions:

1. First, I would like to know the name of the head of this household.
2. Next, I would like a complete listing of the people who usually sleep and eat at your hearth. These include members of your immediate family, other relatives, and people who are not related to the family but who usually eat and sleep here.

Follow-up questions were also asked to insure that eligible household members were not missed:

3. Are there any other people who usually live here?
4. Are there any other people who are away, that is people who lived here at any time during the last year who you expect to return to live here soon, people who usually eat and sleep here?

Although these questions focus on customary coresidence and consumption, in Tamang terms they include all of the people who we might think of as the smallest production group.

Education

The advent of formal schooling has been shown to have important implications for the organization and character of familial relations in a variety of settings. Its effects are realized in a number of areas by: (1) removing children from the socialization of senior household members for large parts of the day during an important phase of their life course; (2) increasing the costs of raising children due to both the expense of purchasing supplies for school and removing them from their productive contribution to household activities for much of the day; (3) imparting values that are supra-local in the sense that they emphasize morality focused at national rather than, or in addition to, strictly familial contexts; (4) teaching skills such as reading and math that may alter the balance of dependence between seniors and juniors within family groups (Caldwell 1982).

We expect the impact of formal education among the Tamang to be especially important as an indicator of social change especially because, prior to the 1950's, it was virtually unavailable in Nepal outside of Kathmandu. An example of the rapid increase of the availability of schooling in the country as a whole is indicated by the growth in the number of high schools between 1948 and 1954 from just six to 83 (Pandey, et al. 1956: 35-37). At the close of that period, there were 921 primary schools in the country--one of these was in the temple area at Budanilakantha.

For the Tamang in our research settings, primary education continues to be the most relevant since, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, few men and women have attended school beyond this level. Nevertheless, the content of education in the primary years is extremely important to the general process of state-building in Nepali society. Instruction since 1964 has increasingly made use of Nepali language texts, where in the previous decade texts were likely to be in Hindi or English, or to be poor translations of these (Gaige 1975: 132-133).

A summary of the course of instruction for the primary grades 1-5 makes the dominant goal of national integration clear. Few countries the size of Nepal are characterized by as many ethnicities, languages, and religious traditions (Bista 1972). In textbooks used through 1990 for the early grades, the themes of national unity and loyalty to the King and Queen within a Hindu polity are continually stressed. The very first reading for the class one reader opens with the following rhyme:

desh haamro nepaal ho haami nepaali
bhaashaa pani nepaali bhash pani nepaali
sadhainbhari jyundo jaati vir nepaali.

raashtra haamro nepaal ho haami nepaali
raajaa pani nepaali prajaa pani nepaali
sabaisanga miina sakne haami nepaali.

shakti haamro nepaal ho haami nepaali
naam pani nepaali jaat pani nepaali
milijuli kaam garne haami nepaali.

Our country is Nepal, we are Nepali.
Our language is Nepali, too, and so is our dress.
Always alive, always brave, we Nepali.

Our country is Nepal, we are Nepali.
Our King is Nepali, too, and so are the people.
We all can pull together, we Nepali.

Our strength is Nepal, we are Nepali.
Our name is Nepali, too, and so is our caste.
We all work together, we Nepali.

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Although the textbooks through class three are relatively simple, the focus in them is on national themes--the anthem, national heroes--and on Hinduism as an integrating religious tradition for all Nepali. The early classes through this level focus, in addition, on imparting basic skills in reading, writing, and math. Class four broadens the range of subjects to include Sanskrit, social studies, science, hygiene and physiology, moral instruction, and an introduction to the English language. Lessons are designed to impart ethical lessons in self-discipline and the placement of Nepal within South Asian and wider world history. Social studies, itself is integrated with Hindu religious training with a good deal of attention to Lord Krishna and an entire chapter devoted to the Ramayana in class five.

This course of instruction illustrates how education may contribute to changes in local society. By emphasizing national Hindu festivals, the Nepali language, and a pan-Nepali identity, schooling directs attention away from merely local concerns and may potentially alter values in ways posited by Caldwell and others.

Our life course perspective has motivated us to ask questions both about school attendance and the timing of this attendance. All respondents were asked the following questions (numbers refer to position in the questionnaire):

- A4. Now I would like to ask you some questions about school and places where you have lived. Have you ever attended school, even if you never finished a grade?
- A7. What is the highest grade in school you have completed?
- A8. Do you have a school leaving certificate?
- A9. How old were you when you began attending school?
- A15. Now I am going to read you a list of reasons why people sometimes stop going to school. For each reason please tell me if that was among the reasons for you stopping school when you did.
 - a)No more grades available at your school?
 - b)Expense of attending school?
 - c)Parents needed help?
 - d)To begin wage/service work?
 - e)Other (specify).

In addition to the responses to these questions about formal schooling, we

included questions that allow us to measure literacy and the ability to speak the Nepali language. These questions included:

- A31. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the languages that you know. Can you speak Tamang?
- A32. Can you speak it well, or can you just speak a few words?
- A33. Can you speak Nepali?
- A34. Can you speak it well, or can you just speak a few words?
- A36. Can you read a letter in Nepali?
- A37. Can you write a letter in Nepali?

Experience outside community

Experience outside of the immediate environs of the communities is an important measure of social influence. At the individual level, residence outside of family and village contexts exposes people to a range of alternative possibilities for their lives, perhaps unimaginable in the context of the villages themselves. At the same time, periods away from the village are likely to be less supervised by seniors and to create possibilities for independence not locally available. These kinds of experiences at key points in people's lives may have an impact, in turn, on the structure and content of familial relations.

In the context of this study, we asked questions about living experiences away from the home village for a month or longer. Our objective was to get measures that would encompass markedly different living environments than those of the home community. Among the questions asked were the following:

- B2. In your own lifetime, have you ever lived anywhere besides your current home village and the village where you were born for one whole month or longer?
- B5. In your own lifetime, have you ever lived in Kathmandu for one whole month or longer? [Note: for Sangila, Kathmandu = inside of ring road.]
- B6. [If respondent ever married.] Have you lived in Kathmandu for one whole month or longer up to the time you were first married?
- B8. [If respondent ever married.] Have you lived in Kathmandu for one whole month or longer since you were first married?

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These question sets were repeated for other key localities in addition to Kathmandu--Pokhara & Terai and outside of Nepal. If the respondent reported living outside of Nepal, he or she was asked whether it was Tibet or Bhutan or somewhere else (somewhere else in virtually all cases would be India). In addition, the ages for the first time the respondent lived in any of these places was also asked.

Work

A key element of change in family modes of organization is found in the productive activities in which individuals are involved throughout their lifetimes. The Tamang Family Research Project has collected information at both household and individual levels for the 12 months prior to fieldwork in order to get a picture of contemporary patterns. In addition, a major portion of the survey forms for men and women focuses on individual experiences in both family organized and non-familial wage work of various types.

Because work activities are examined in terms of the familial mode of organization (Thornton and Fricke 1987), we have constructed a hierarchy of categories that differentiate between, first, (I) family farm work without pay and for home consumption and (II) all income generating work whether or not organized by the family. Second, we have distinguished within this second category between (a) village work--income earning activities organized within families, including truck farming or selling forest products, and farm work for wages, including wage labor exchanges between domestic groups within the village areas--and (b) all non-familial, non-agricultural work for wages. Table 2.2 makes these categories clear.

Table 2.2: Categories of Work Experience Recorded in Project.

- I. Work without pay: family farm and domestic work
 - II. Income generating work
 - A. Work within village and family organized work
 - B. Non-Family organized work
-

For the purposes of studying social change in the two communities, the last category, non-family organized work for wages, is obviously the most important. This is so because, first of all, all Tamang in these communities have been historically involved in work without pay for their domestic units. This is largely true throughout the rural agricultural communities in Nepal (cf. Acharya and Bennett 1981; Nag et al. 1978;

Hitchcock 1981). Moreover, in historically predominate production regimes, authority in work patterns has been organized along the dimensions of kinship, gender, and generation that typify the family mode of organization (cf. Sahlins 1972; Thornton and Fricke 1987). The Tamang, in particular, have been characterized in the past by such organization (Fricke 1990; Toffin 1986a, 1986b).

The growth of non-family employment represents a powerful force potentially changing familial relationships and authority because it begins to separate the product of work effort from the familial context. Where work on the family farm or within the household is inherently for the productive advantage of the whole unit and under the control of senior members within it, there is little possibility for independent use of these products by individual workers. Wage labor, on the other hand, permits individuals to calculate relative shares of the product of their work. Wages may be subdivided and a laborer may give everything, a fraction, or nothing of his earnings to his or her seniors. This may be done openly or covertly, but in either case it can increase the relative independence of junior household members. In a similar way, as domestic economies become dependent on the wages of junior members to fulfill their needs, the authority of senior members may be more subject to negotiation (Caldwell 1982).

Our questions about the work experience of individuals were intended to get at both the categories of employment as well as the timing of first experience within each category. The same kinds of questions were asked of all respondents 12 years old and above. Additional questions asked of ever-married respondents determined the kinds and timing of work experience before and after marriage. The following examples will make the general format of these questions clear. The first set of questions was intended to gather information on unpaid work on the family farmstead:

- F2. These questions are about work. Please think of all the different types of work you may have done in your lifetime as you answer these questions. First, have you ever worked on a farm to grow food eaten in your household?
- F3. From birth to the time of marriage, did you work on a farm to grow food eaten in your own (family) household?
- F4. In the past 12 months have you worked on a farm to grow food eaten in your own (family) household?
- F5. Have you ever raised animals or crops to sell?
- F6. From birth to the time of marriage, did you raise any animals or crops to sell?
- F7. In the past 12 months, have you raised any animals or crops to sell?

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A second set of questions in the same format asked whether the respondent had ever performed farm work for wages before and after marriage and within the last twelve months and included questions about the first age at which these activities occurred. For wage work in the past 12 months, respondents were asked about how many rupees they earned at a particular job and how they divided this money:

- F15. [Asked of farm work for wages in past 12 months] About how many rupees did you earn in the past 12 months at this work?
- F16. Did you keep most of this money yourself, or did you give most of it to a relative older than yourself? [Respondents could volunteer that it was about equally divided.]

These questions about agricultural work were then followed by questions which elicited information on non-agricultural, income-earning activities. A first set was confined to information on forms of income-earning that would count as "self-employment" while a second set was concerned with forms of employment involving non-familial forms of employment:

- F17. Other than farm work, have you ever worked at any job for money for one whole month or longer?
- F18. If a "no" or "don't know" response in F17] People do many things to earn money. Sometimes they make and sell things, sometimes they work hauling loads or work in other people's homes, or other kinds of work. Have you ever done any work like this to earn money for one whole month or longer?
- F19. First I would like to talk to you about ways of making money in which you aren't working for someone else for salary. For each of these, please tell me if you have ever made money this way for one whole month or longer.
- a) Selling tea, cooked food, or beer.
 - b) Gathering and selling wild herbs.
 - c) Moving people or goods in your own rickshaw, cart, or ox-cart.
 - d) Moving people or goods in an automobile, bus, or truck.
 - e) Moving people or goods on your back.
 - f) Making and selling cane mats.
 - g) Making and selling thread or cloth in your own home.
 - h) Any other business of your own.

Again, this information was gathered for the periods before and after

marriage and in the previous 12 months. Additional questions asked about the timing and the distribution of earnings for work in the last 12 months. These were followed by questions on wage work for others. We asked about a series of specific forms of work, followed by a question about any kinds of work that we may have not included. The specific forms of work asked about in the questionnaire were: army, servant, road building, factory work and what kind, building construction, hauling in rickshaw, cart or ox-cart, hauling in a motorized vehicle, and porter work.

In this report we will present detailed figures for trends in forms of income-generating activities for both Sangila and Timling. We will distinguish between two categories: (a) all family organized work combined with agricultural work for wages and (b) all wage work performed for others, that is, the subcategories under II in Table 2.2.

Marriage

An additional life course transition about which we will report results here is that of marriage. Our understanding of household formation systems and their convergence with individual life courses suggests that marriage is a critical event in the relationship between familial organization and population processes. Marriage has long been a key process in the formation of new households in a range of societies (Hajnal 1982) while marriage in patrilineal societies of South Asia is crucial in the alliance building process uniting households and patrines (Eglar 1960; Vatuk 1975). A consideration of the links between family organization, modes of production, and fertility should also acknowledge the importance of gender roles and female options in society (Greenhalgh 1985b; Mason 1984) and these are all tied to marriage processes in societies organized like the Tamang (cf. Collier 1988). This is especially true in settings such as South Asia where male prestige systems (Ortner 1981) assign women symbolic values in addition to their production roles (Dyson and Moore 1983).

Through marriage the household economy, women's roles and status, and family relationships come together to determine subsequent demographic and household histories (Kertzner 1984b). The close relationship between the age and tempo of marriage and fertility is well-documented (Bongaarts 1978; Smith 1983). In addition, marriage represents a watershed in individual and family life course--generating and reaffirming systems of alliance and exchange between households (Keesing 1975; Fricke, et al. 1986), signifying the imminent formation of new households (Hajnal 1982; Foster 1978), and radically altering the context in which young people, especially young women, pursue their own lives in post-marital settings (Acharya and Bennett 1981). It is precisely these links between households based on marriage and gender roles that make for stable social systems in many settings (Sahlins 1972; Bloch 1973). Styles of marriage vary with class (Parry 1979; Acharya and Bennett 1981) and this variation is related to age at marriage (Fricke, et al. 1986; Fricke 1986).

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Our survey included extremely detailed questions about the marriage process for the Tamang of both communities. We will be especially interested in reporting trends here in marriage form, the decision-making process, and various exchanges implicated with marriage in Tamang society.

Among the Tamang, marriages are expected to involve individuals and their closest kin in relationships of specific obligation throughout the life of the union. Some of these relationships are discussed in reports from other Tamang villages (Hoefer 1969; March 1979, 1983; Holmberg 1989). The key obligations established or ratified by any single Tamang marriage involve a central wife-taker, his wife's father (Tm. ashyang), and his wife's brother (Tm. shyangbo). This is an obligation of debt entered into by virtue of having taken a woman from their household and, by extension, from their patriline. To the ashyang and shyangbo, the wife-taker is mha (Tm.); mha are expected to provide labor and services throughout the seasonal round as well as at specified ritual occasions, most dramatically at the funerals of members of their ashyang-shyangbo households. Of course, as Holmberg (1989: 66) notes these primary units of relationship do not exist in isolation. Nearly every mha will in turn have mha beholden to him if he has a sister or a daughter. The general picture is one of wife-takers (mha) providing services to their wife-givers (ashyang-shyangbo).

Such structured obligations are consistent with kinship-ordered hierarchies as well as egalitarian relationships. Within the Tamang system of preferred bilateral cross-cousin marriage, ideally realized, they create at minimum an oscillating equilibrium across generations in which the overall relationship between patriline is balanced. The logic of repeated marriages of this type would place a married man's mha and ashyang-shyangbo within the same family. Indeed, his classificatory wife's brother, to whom he owes service, would be the same person as his classificatory sister's husband, who owes him service, resulting in a balanced reciprocity in the same generation.

Reality is not so neat as this logical system, of course. While all Sangila and Timling Tamang accept the obligations constructed by marriage (cf. Holmberg 1989: 59), people often go outside of even classificatory FZD² to obtain a wife. More important than the stated "correctness" of FZD marriage in Timling are the compelling negative sanctions levied against those who enter into forbidden marriages. In the upper Ankhu Kholā area,

² We employ standard anthropological shorthand to describe classificatory relationships here. MBD equals "mother's brother's daughter". FZD equals "father's sister's daughter." Because this is not the place for a detailed discussion of kinship, we refer interested readers to Fox (1983) and Keesing (1975) for more details on kinship theory.

at least, marriage to a forbidden category of relative, one with the same bone, resulted in the past in enslavement.

While the negative sanctions are ironclad, the range of possibilities for marriage, all acceptable Tamang, include:

- 1) those in which husband's and wives had no recognized traceable kin link before marriage;
- 2) those in which a wife was related only as a real or classificatory MBD before marriage;
- 3) those in which a wife was related only as a real or classificatory FZD before marriage;
- 4) those in which a man's wife was both a classificatory or real MBD and FZD before marriage.

All of these marriage forms have different implications for enduring patterns of obligation across generations and are statements of the relationship between patriline. All are acceptable since, while there is an officialized preference (Bourdieu 1977) for marriage exchange of the repeated FZD kind, the active constraints to marriage between any two people are the rules of exogamy. Understanding marriages demands a look at the continuing relationships each form engenders in terms of its origin in prior social relationships and contexts of meaning. A look at the possibilities for marriage and their implications for the position of mha and ashyang-shyangbo will make some of these clear (see Fricke 1990 for an extended discussion; also Holmberg 1989 and March 1979).

Any single MBD marriage implies a consistent one-way flow of obligations replicated for at least two generations. Women move in one direction and the labor and service obligations move in the other. Reciprocity structured by the exchange of women and these obligations is denied. Marriages in which prior relation is recognized as either FZD or simultaneously FZD and MBD suggests a recognition of the essential equality of these families and reciprocity is fulfilled in the rhetorically appropriate way across generations.

Marriages contracted without recognized kin links in prior generations, on the other hand, suggest the establishment of completely new obligations, although they are expected to be taken no less seriously than affinal obligations renewed in other forms of marriage. While specific individuals automatically enter into relationships of obligation, no statement concerning enduring statuses that transcend single domestic groups is made by these marriages. The playing out of enduring relationships and status claims at the lineage level in these marriages are unknown since they may result in marriages of any other type in the next generation; links may be continued reciprocally or hierarchically or even discontinued altogether.

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Questions on the structure of marriages were asked of all ever-married respondents for their first, second, and last marriages.³ In this report, we will take this information from the questions asked of women concerning their first marriage to construct measures for whether first marriage was classificatory MBD, FZD or FZD-MBD, or resulted in a new link:

- D51. Before this marriage was your father related to your (first) husband's mother?
- D52. Were your father and your (first) husband's mother brother and sister from the same father?
- D53. Were your father's father and your (first) husband's father's mother brother and sister from the same father?
- D54. Before this marriage was your mother related to your (first) husband's father?
- D55. Were your mother and your (first) husband's father brother and sister from the same father?
- D56. Were your father's mother and your (first) husband's father brother and sister from the same father?

In addition to the structure of marriages, which are related to the politics of village life (Fricke 1990), we are concerned with the process of marriage itself as an indicator of familial relationships between generations and organized between affines. In particular, changes in marital decision-making and the processes leading up to first marriage have been linked in the literature to changes in other social realms (Caldwell 1982; Macfarlane 1986). Our survey questionnaire also included questions related to this:

- D11. Did you know your (first) husband before your marriage?

³ As with other Tibeto-Burmese groups in Nepal, Tamang women suffer little if any retribution for divorce and remarriage. As we will see in the chapters for Sangila and Timling, few men and women in our population married more than 3 times--we chose to limit our survey information to 3 marriages in order to cut the length of the interviews themselves as well as the questionnaires.

D17. There are many different ways to get married. Sometimes our parents choose for us and sometimes we choose for ourselves who to marry. Who chose your (first) husband--was it completely your parents' decision; was it completely your decision, or did you and your parents decide together? [Respondent could specify "other" as a category.]

D18. [Asked if answer to D17 was "together".] Even though you and your parents may have decided this marriage together, one of you probably had more say. Who would you say had the most influence in the choice of your (first) husband, you or your parents?

D19. Was this marriage initiated by you, your parents, your husband or your husband's parents?

Finally, Tamang marriages have historically involved wealth transfers from the husband's to the bride's family. Most of these were expected to become available to the new couple for the establishment of their own independent domestic group after separation from the husband's parental home. In addition to these transfers, marriage established service and labor obligations owed by the new husband to his wife's family. We have included a series of questions to discover the levels at which these norms have been adhered to among the Tamang of Timling and Sangila:

D25. At the time of your (first) marriage, did your husband's family give anything to your family?

D26. [Asked if response to D25 was "no".] At the time of your (first) marriage, did your husband's family give anything to your family that was passed on to you?

- a) Livestock.
- b) Household goods?
- c) Cash.
- d) Gold or silver.
- e) Other.

D33. Were most of these things kept by your family or were most of them given to you to use, or were they divided equally between you and your family?

D50. Did your (first) husband work for your family without pay after your (first) marriage?

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Household Holdings

In addition to the questions directed at theoretically important life course transitions, we included a number of questions in the survey which allow a cross-sectional description of household economic holdings and activities. Every household head was asked these questions. They include information on crops grown in the 12 months previous to the survey, amount sown, whether commercial fertilizers were used, and whether any portion of crop production was sold or entirely consumed by the household. Similar questions were asked about household livestock. Additional questions focused on the nature of cooperative labor networks in the previous 12 months:

- J18. In the last twelve months has your household had any help with any harvests from people not living in your household--either for free or for money?
- J19. [Asked if response to J19 was "yes".] For which crop harvest did you have the greatest number of people outside your household help you?
- J20. [Asked if response to J19 was "yes".] Now I would like to know the names of the people from outside of your household who gave you help. Please tell me their names if you would [Up to 16 names listed.]
- J21. [For each name.] Is (NAME) related to you or your family?
- J22. [Asked if response to J21 was "yes".] What is the kin relationship of this person to you?
- J23. [For each name.] Did you pay with money, with crop; did you exchange labor, or did this person help for free?

Similar sets of questions were asked of household heads for a second set of tasks which they were allowed to specify. This allowed other non-agricultural tasks deemed to be important by respondents to be included in data on cooperative networks.

CHAPTER THREE

TIMLING: HISTORY, TRENDS, AND CURRENT STRATEGIES

Timling lies off the Bhabil Khola, one of the tributaries of the Ankhu Khola, at an elevation of about 7,600 feet.¹ Its people gain their local subsistence from a strikingly rugged altitudinally zoned environment ranging from a low point of approximately 5,300 feet to their high pastures between the 13,000 and 17,00 foot levels. Timling is the original settlement within Tipling Gaon Panchayat which was administratively separated from Sertung Gaon Panchayat in 1982. Timling today comprises wards 2-4 of the panchayat. The entire panchayat population of 2127 in 1987 (according to records at the nearest health post, in Sertung) is divided among Timling and its daughter settlements of Lapdung, Phyang, Lingjyo and scattered household clusters.² Data collection was confined to the nucleated site of Timling, composed of 142³ households and 669 people in 1987.

According to clan histories, Timling was settled about 15 generations ago (approximately 300 years) by members of the Damrong clan who crossed Pangsang Pass into the then uninhabited valley. They were joined by a large influx of Ghale at about the time the region was incorporated into the growing Nepali state by Prithvi Narayan Shah in the later part of the 18th century (cf. Fricke 1990). Documentary evidence indicates that the village gompo was established in 1804 by a Karmapa Lama from the Kyerong area on the Tibetan border.

Timling existed in relative isolation from the urban centers of Kathmandu until the post-1960 period when the regular salt trade with Kyerong was interrupted by the closing of the Tibetan border by the Chinese. A growing orientation toward market areas to the south accelerated at this time, although people from Timling had joined Gurkha regiments in the British army during the second world war (today, one man

¹ Based on 2 independent altimeter readings in 1987. Fricke (1986: 32) reports Timling's elevation at about 6,500 feet based on approximations from the Indian Survey maps constructed in the 1950's for Nepal.

² Data from 1981 fieldwork in Timling (Fricke 1986) set the population of this area at 1862. This figure was calculated by extrapolating the average household size for Timling to other settlements and may be an underestimate. The distribution of households was: Timling (132), Lapdung (128), Phyang (40), Lingjyo (64), other (24).

³ One of these households includes the family of a man who had returned from Bhutan after many years away from the village during our 1987 data collection--consequently, our household economic data presented below does not include any information for him since he held no animals or land independent of his brother at the time of survey.

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in Timling receives a pension from his service in Gurkha regiments). The school in Timling was established a few years before initial fieldwork in 1981, but operated erratically because of the difficulty of retaining a qualified teaching staff in the relatively remote area. In 1982, however, a headmaster moved into the village and has been resident there since this time. Today, the school is intended to teach classes 1 through 5 for the whole panchayat and is run by the headmaster, a Brahmin, and his two teaching assistants, a Chhetri and a Newar--all three are from villages in the southern part of Dhading district.

Two encompassing systems of social differentiation exist together in Timling. One of these is patterned after the four-fold division of Tibetan society into endogamous royal, ministerial, priestly, and commoner groups (Allen 1978; Aziz 1978: 51-57). The difference in Timling is that this social order is associated with exogamous clans. In the local system, Ghale rank highest and are associated with royalty, followed by the four Tamang clans. Damrong are known as the ministerial clan. Gomja and Mepa are two clans, said to descended from different co-wives of a common male ancestor, are associated with religious specialists in Timling. Tellingly, Mepa are descended from the first wife and are classed as Buddhist religious specialists (Tm. lama). Gomja, descended through the second wife, are classed as shamans (Tm. bombo). Finally Mamba rank as commoners in this system. It was into this last clan and the Gomja that slaves (Tm. gyappa) manumitted by the Nepal state in 1926 were incorporated.

In spite of the association with specific social tasks which the people of Timling refer to in occupational terms, specialization in Timling is not clan specific. Thus lama and bombo religious specialists come from every clan in the village. The Gompo Lama is, in fact, a Ghale. Similarly, village mukhiya or headmen were named from the pool of eldest males within each clan to constitute a kind of council. The overall village headman, representing village interests to the Nepal state, however, has always been a Ghale and even today the elected official representing the village in district administration is invariably a Ghale⁴.

The fundamental division in Timling is that between the royal clan, the Ghale, and the four Tamang clans. Timling people describe their differences as being on the same order as the difference between castes in wider South Asian society, at least in the sense of there being a hierarchy of "kinds" (Np. jat). Both groups agree that the Ghale are "higher" and non-Tamang. This higher status finds reflection in the Timling's Tamang-Ghale naming system in which Ghale append -gyelbo and -gyelmo to their names, Tibetan-derived words for king and queen. The four Tamang clans are regarded as of closer status among themselves and

⁴ See Regmi (1978) on the 19th century political organization of state-local relations in Nepal.

identical to clans found throughout villages of the western Tamang region (cf. the listing of clan names in Hoefer (1969) and Toffin (1986a)).

In 1981, Timling's subsistence round was organized overwhelmingly in terms of the agro-pastoral cycle within the home territory. No household was without land. Major crops grown included corn, millet, wheat, barley, and potatoes (cf. Fricke 1986 for a detailed description of the household economy at that time). The nucleated village sits on a shelf of land surrounded by the agricultural fields that provide food for the village. Any single domestic group's fields are dispersed throughout the altitudes that constitute the agricultural zone of production from about 5,300 feet below the village up to about 9,000 feet (Fricke 1986). Pastoral lands for the herding of cattle, goats, sheep, and (in the past) yak stretch above this zone to above 15,000 feet. It is impossible for any individual to combine the elements of subsistence on his own since the work of tending fields near the village is at least a day's remove from the high pastures where sheep and goats are herded in the summer months. Cattle are kept at lower elevations in a densely forested zone above the village, at about 10,000 feet, but even these closer pastures are a good 6 to 8 hour walk from the village fields. Even if a family were to forego pastoral production, agricultural fields belonging to a single domestic group are often a day's walk or more apart. Cooperation is essential for the production of goods that allow Tamang and Ghale to share food even at a minimally acceptable level.

There are few divisions between types of work based on gender, although those which exist are significant. In agricultural tasks men are not necessarily excluded from any activity. This is true despite women and children performing weeding and harvest tasks in cooperative work groups more often than adult men. Only men plough fields, however, and the work of herding in the high pastures, a high status activity, is strongly associated with men. It is in the lineage-focused groups cooperatively pasturing cattle and sheep and goats away from the village, that boys are likely to hear many of the stories of village and clan history cementing their identity with their patriline.⁵ Pasturing animals closer to the village in the post-harvest period is engaged in by both men and women.

Even then, individuals from the village would go to Kathmandu and Pokhara in search of temporary labor as porters and other laborers during the slack times in village production. These labor networks were fairly widespread even then. A good number of people, for example, had been to Bhutan and worked on road construction projects under the Indian government. Although, opportunities for wage labor existed in the past, the most dramatic transformation in economic activities for Timling since

⁵Domestic units within the strongest patriline invariably pasture their herds cooperatively. One marker of tension between domestic groups within a lineage segment is, in fact, an alteration in which domestic units seek other, non-lineage partners, usually affines, for cooperative herding.

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1981 has been the accelerating participation in road-building. Much of this had become available in the three years before 1987 when the road being built from Trisuli to the mine being developed in Timling's high pastures moved closer to the village. By 1987, construction sites were only a two day walk from the village and large numbers of men and women from Timling have work experience in these areas.

Because data was gathered in Timling in both 1981-82 and 1987-88, we are able to provide some comparative measures for aspects of village life through time. In what follows, we will provide such information where possible. Readers are referred to Fricke (1986) for a more comprehensive discussion of village demography, economic activities, and household processes at the time of initial fieldwork.⁶

Population

The population structure of Timling has changed little in the period from 1981 to 1987 as shown in Table 3.1.⁷ This structure is consistent with a moderately expanding population with the demographic characteristics reported in detail in Fricke (1986). Lacking the broad base relative to height characteristic of more rapidly expanding populations, such as that for the population of Nepal as a whole (Banister and Thapa 1981), this intermediate age pyramid is consistent with a number of other Tibeto-Burmese populations studied in the middle hill and high mountain areas of the Himalaya (Macfarlane 1976; Ross 1981; Levine 1988).

⁶ Other relevant comparative material derives from the interdisciplinary projects organized by the French through the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Members of this group were briefly resident in Timling and the neighboring village of Sertung in the mid-1970's and relocated to Salme in Nuwakot District for more intensive research. Key publications for these projects may be found in Toffin (1976a, 1976b; 1986a), Alirol (1976, 1977) and in the collections of papers edited by Dobremez (1986a, 1986b). Also see Panter-Brick (1986, 1987, 1989) for important quantitative information on women's labor.

⁷ The figures from 1987 in this table come from the separately gathered village census and may not agree entirely with the age data from the questionnaires themselves.

Table 3.1: Timling's Age and Sex Structure, 1981 and 1987

Age Category	Population in Interval					
	1981			1987		
	N	%	Cum %	N	%	Cum %
Females						
0	11	3.4	3.4	5	1.5	1.5
1-4	36	11.1	14.5	35	10.6	12.1
5-9	31	9.5	24.0	40	12.2	24.3
10-14	35	10.8	34.8	28	8.5	32.8
15-19	32	9.8	44.6	34	10.3	43.1
20-24	35	10.8	55.4	33	10.0	53.1
25-29	22	6.8	62.2	37	11.2	64.3
30-34	16	4.9	67.1	18	5.5	69.8
35-39	21	6.5	73.5	12	3.6	73.4
40-44	21	6.5	80.0	16	4.9	78.3
45-49	14	4.3	84.3	21	6.4	84.7
50-54	12	3.7	88.0	12	3.6	88.3
55-59	7	2.2	90.2	14	4.3	92.6
60-64	13	4.0	94.2	9	2.7	95.3
65-69	10	3.1	97.3	8	2.4	97.7
70+	9	2.7	100.0	7	2.1	100.0
Males						
0	7	2.2	2.2	8	2.4	2.4
1-4	33	10.5	12.7	29	8.5	10.9
5-9	35	11.1	23.9	35	10.3	21.2
10-14	38	12.1	36.0	37	10.9	32.1
15-19	22	7.0	43.0	40	11.8	43.9
20-24	36	11.5	54.5	29	8.5	52.4
25-29	23	7.3	61.8	37	10.9	63.3
30-34	15	4.8	66.6	16	4.7	68.0
35-39	22	7.0	73.6	20	5.9	73.9
40-44	22	7.0	80.6	18	5.3	79.2
45-49	12	3.8	84.4	18	5.3	84.5
50-54	14	4.5	88.9	9	2.6	87.1
55-59	7	2.2	91.1	13	3.8	90.9
60-64	10	3.2	94.3	9	2.6	93.5
65-69	8	2.5	96.8	9	2.6	96.1
70+	10	3.1	100.0	13	3.8	100.0
Total		639			669	
Female		325			329	
Male		314			340	

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Analysis of the proximate determinants of fertility, moreover, indicates that this pattern is influenced primarily by village breast-feeding practices together with the relatively late age of marriage in the community as compared with more Hinduized rural populations in Nepal (Fricke 1985). Exposure variables, including age at marriage, divorce, and widowhood have been shown in those earlier analyses to dampen potential fertility by 23%. The importance of marriage timing to the shape of fertility argues that great attention be given to changes in marriage processes for a full understanding of fertility change.

Preliminary evidence from the 1987-88 fieldwork suggests that the fertility regime has changed little in the intervening period since the effects of larger social changes have only begun to affect points in the life course prior to the historical onset of child bearing. Thus, the analyses presented in Fricke (1985, 1986) continue to be good indicators of the current fertility regime. Nevertheless, readers should know that in some respects, Timling is experiencing demographic change. Project members were surprised to discover during the most recent fieldwork that several men from the village and one of its daughter settlements had undergone vasectomies and that some of these men were the most adamant defenders of natural fertility six years before. A total of 9 men in the whole panchayat had received vasectomies in the three years prior to our survey. The wives of all of these men had borne at least 5 children and the rationales for ending child bearing in each case was phrased in terms of a need to provide an adequate inheritance for their sons. Because of the small number of people using an irreversible method of birth control, we are unable to provide a quantitative analysis of the onset of contraceptive use in Timling. Certain features of this change, however, bear similarities to the pattern found in Sangila which will be taken up in the next chapter.

The Total Fertility Rate for women in Timling, based on the analysis of data gathered in 1981 was 5.43. Average age at first birth for women who had completed their reproductive careers was 22.8 and, on the average, women in this group could expect to continue bearing children until they were 39.2 years old.⁸ Were all of these children to survive, Timling's population would grow at a rate much faster than the 1.2% per year that it does. High mortality, however, dampens this potential growth rate considerably. Fricke (1986) shows that the mortality pattern consistent with the fertility histories gathered from women in 1981 placed an expectation of life at birth at about 40 years. Over 25% of the ever-born children failed to survive through age 5. One implication of this pattern of mortality for inheritance and the subsequent splitting of land among sons is that about two out of three sons born in the average household

⁸ The rather high standard deviation of 5.8 years around this mean indicates the high variance created by conditions of spouse mortality at these later years.

will survive to establish their own domestic groups. Phrased another way, this means that average land holdings are likely to be divided into 2 each generation, a pattern documented as well for Sherpa groups to the east (cf. Ortner 1989), with implications for participation in wage labor opportunities beyond the community.

Children are highly valued in Timling for a variety of reasons converging on their value for contributions to the diversified domestic economy and their social values in establishing alliances with other families. Asked about their thoughts on the situation of a childless couple, informants universally agreed about the difficulty of their lot (from 1981 interviews by Fricke):

People without children have a harder time at working. And who will do their death rituals? Who will care for them... (60 year old woman, 1 son and 1 daughter).

They have nobody to do work for them; the husband has to do too much work on his own; they have nobody to do wage work and when they grow old they won't have help... (28 year old woman, 1 son and 1 daughter).

Parents without children have a life of sorrow. They do all the work themselves. Who goes to Trisuli to haul salt for them? When they are old who will care for them? And when they die, their brothers will eat their land--their brothers who have done nothing for them... (23 year old man, 1 son and 1 daughter).

Because they have no way to become well off, or nobody to help with their work; there is no reason for the man to stay with the wife and he will look for another... (26 year old woman, no children).

It's obvious. Look at the work I have to do myself because I don't have children. I spend all my time at the goth, or cutting wood or doing other work. I have no time to rest... (41 year old male, no children).

On the other hand, these informants were equally emphatic about the advantages that come to families having 4 or more children:

They can divide the work. If some children die, there will be others. The more children there are, the bigger the net of kin. The older children can teach the younger children their work... (32 year old woman, 1 son).

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The death rituals are better when more people contribute to them; it's better for the division of work and more cash will come to the household if you can free up people for wage labor jobs... (37 year old man, 2 sons and 2 daughters).

There are no special advantages unless they have a lot of land; then they can send some sons out for work [in the wage labor economy]... (28 year old woman, 1 son and 1 daughter).

A family with many children can divide the work; one son can work the goth; another can work cutting wood; another can go do wage work. They can buy new land and cattle with the money. They can buy rice for Dasain... (41 year old man, no children).

The advantages of children from the point of view of Timling people is in their potential for diversifying the domestic economy, freeing household members for wage work and the consequent monetary contribution to the family, security in old age, and to ease the pace of work. Important culturally conditioned reasons include the need to fulfill ritual obligations at death and the desire to expand social networks through the exchange of daughters and sons in marriage. There was a clear pattern even in 1981 of the perceived importance of the wage labor economy beyond village boundaries and of a desire to send children to work in it as a contribution to the household. The actual pattern of this form of work will be taken up in a subsequent section.

In discussing the disadvantages of large families, the reasons given in 1981 foreshadow the explanations offered by men who had obtained vasectomies in the intervening years:

Before the children are old the parents must provide clothing and it's hard to give equally. And the food may not go around, too... (32 year old woman, 1 son).

More than 4 means that it is hard to feed them all. The sons will bring in more wives that I might not get along with... (25 year old woman, 1 daughter).

The angsa is smaller. Food might not be enough. With more sons there is more danger of conflict with their wives... (60 year old woman, 1 son and 1 daughter).

The angsa of the children is made small. Food may not be enough to go around... (28 year old woman, 1 son and 1 daughter).

There may not be enough to feed everybody from the land. The angsa for the children gets smaller... (23 year old man, 1 son and 1 daughter).

The problems seen in having too many children are focused on the potential inability to feed them all in the present and on concern about providing a sufficiently large inheritance to insure their support in the future. A secondary concern often mentioned by women had to do with the potential for conflict with daughters-in-law brought in by sons, both between a son's mother and his wife and between daughters-in-law themselves. This is a frequently cited reason for the fission of households in Timling and has direct repercussions for the size of the domestic unit and the resources available to it. The concern about land and inheritance relates to the need to provide what Fegan (1978) has called an "establishment fund" for the children in one's family and relates to the widespread perception in Timling that the limits of easily opened arable land in the home territory have been reached.

In 1987, the 121 women below the age of 50 who were currently married were asked if they desired more children. Of these women, 88 said they desired more children and most of these women desiring more (51) responded that they wanted as many as came, or as many as God gave them. Moreover, only 6 ever-married women below the age of 50 reported ever using a birth control method (1 laparoscopy, 4 husbands' vasectomies, 1 abstinence). While a majority of Timling's people still appear to adhere to a natural fertility regime, it is also clear that the village has crossed the important divide to fertility limitation since 1981 and suggestions are that it is related to concerns about land sufficiency.

Production and Holdings

Production within the local environment of Timling is entirely agropastoral and contingent on household land, livestock, and the number of workers available to the household. This last variable changes through time as domestic group members age, enter, and leave their households, a fact explicitly realized by the people of Timling. Domestic groups can go through a series of transitions in growth and fission in which their fortunes are improved with the aging of children. They often grow from a unit with essentially two producers (a husband and wife) to one which includes their children and eventually incorporates the labor obligations of sons-in-law as a consequence of marriage.

Earlier analyses (Fricke 1986) suggest that a domestic group with senior members experiencing average fertility have the labor of 3 or more production units available to them for about 15 years out of an average of 37 years in which the same senior couple controls household affairs. While these averages should not be taken to represent any single actual household, they are useful for emphasizing that household production strategies must be constrained by variations in their membership through time. In a similar way, the actual holdings, especially livestock, of households at any given period represent resources that vary throughout

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the histories of individual groups. Nevertheless, we present average figures for these resources to indicate the general condition of households at the time of our survey.

Pastoral Production. Economic data is among the most sensitive that can be gathered in a context such as Timling's. The tendency for under-estimation of holdings is quite high since farmers in remote areas are often appropriately cautious about giving this information to outsiders. Because of this, we present two independent measures of household livestock for Timling, one from 1981 and another from 1987, in Table 3.2. The 1981 measures were derived from a random sample of 30 households in the village and are presented here to get a sense of change through time.

Table 3.2: Average Number of Livestock per Household 1981 and 1987.

Animal	1981*	1987**
Sheep	2.73	----
Goats	3.60	----
Sheep + Goats	6.33	6.25
Cow	2.23	2.91
Oxen	2.20	2.01
Buffalo	.30	.45
Fowl	3.70	5.32

* Based on random sample of 30 households.

** Based on Tamang Family Research Project survey data (141 units).

We can see that there is great consistency in the average number of sheep, goats, and cattle reported for Timling in the two data collections. This close agreement argues for the general level of accuracy in our survey work. If we accept the figures from our project as accurate, they demonstrate a strikingly consistent pattern through time. This suggests that the important acceleration of non-village activities in the form of

wage labor have not yet diminished the pastoral component of Timling's economy.

Table 3.3 displays the number of households reporting ownership of various animals at the time of survey and gives the average number owned by households claiming those animals at all. Nearly 90% of the Timling households report ownership of cows and a slightly lower percentage ownership of oxen, confirming the importance of these animals to the local economy. Buffalo have been fairly recently introduced into the village. Only 23 households report ownership of female buffalo, an animal that is primarily useful for its milk. The introduction of buffalo into the area is significant since older village residents report that they have not been kept in the village until quite recently because of their offensiveness to local deities and their increasing presence in the village in recent years represents a movement away from historical patterns of livestock raising and the powerful moral sanctions buttressing them.

Table 3.3: Animal Ownership at Time of Survey in Timling.

	Oxen	Cows	Male Buffalo	Female Buffalo	Sheep & Goats	Fowl
Overall Average	2.01	2.91	0.12	0.33	6.25	5.32
# Households Owning	116	125	12	23	110	109
% Total HHs	82.3	88.7	8.5	16.3	78.0	77.3
Average in Owning HHs	2.44	3.28	1.42	2.04	8.01	6.88

In addition to supplying domestic group needs, livestock are also sold, either locally or to people from other villages. Table 3.4 displays information on the local market for animals and their products over the 12 month period preceding the 1987 survey in Timling. Slightly greater numbers of households reported owning animals in the last 12 months than at the time of the survey itself, an entirely acceptable pattern given the volatility of animal holdings. Of 131 households owning cattle (including oxen, cows and buffalo), 17 reported selling live animals in the previous year. More households were involved in the selling of sheep and goats (31) and of fowl (29). The market in these animals has been transformed in recent years by the development of the mine in Lari and the road construction a couple of days walk from the village so that some

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households supply work crews in these places with animals for eating. Thus one household had sold 10 sheep and goats in the previous year, most of these at the mine, while another reported selling 60 chickens to laborers in these areas.

Table 3.4: Production and Selling from Live animals in Timling During 12 Months before Survey.

I. Animal Ownership and Selling			
	Cattle	Sheep & Goats	Fowl
# Households Owning	131	113	119
% Total HHs	92.9	80.1	84.4
# Households selling live animals	17	31	29
% Total HHs	12.1	22.0	20.6
Average number sold	1.8	2.4	5.6
II. Production and Selling from Animals			
	Milk	Eggs	Honey
# Households Producing	82	100	4
% Total HHs	58.2	70.9	2.8
Amount of Production Sold & Percent of Producing Households Selling			
None	82 (100.0)	85 (85.0)	3 (75.0)
A Little	0 (0.0)	11 (11.0)	1 (25.0)
Half	0 (0.0)	3 (3.0)	0 (0.0)
Most	0 (0.0)	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)
All	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

Locally, however, production continues to be largely for domestic use and only a small number of households in Timling are yet taking advantage

of these marketing opportunities outside of the village. The people of Timling suggest themselves that the difficulty of transport is one of the reasons for their reluctance to become more involved in production for sale. Looking at the production of milk, eggs, and honey in the village makes this more clear. Of 82 households with milk producing animals in the past year, not one sold its production. Similarly, the production of eggs is nearly entirely for domestic consumption. Of 100 households with egg producing chickens in the 12 months previous to the survey, 85% consumed all of the eggs within their domestic units and only 4 sold half or more of the eggs produced. A similar picture characterizes the four households that keep bees for honey. Only one of these sold a small amount of the honey produced, keeping the rest for domestic consumption.

Table 3.5: Cooperative Patterns in Pasturing Livestock in Timling.

	Cattle/Buffalo	Sheep and Goats
Pasture animals with others		
Yes	102 (79%)	94 (83%)
No	27 (21%)	19 (17%)
Of those pasturing together, average number of households	2.5	3.3
Relationship of co-pasturers with Respondent ¹		
Father	12 (12%)	10 (11%)
Brothers	61 (60%)	63 (67%)
Other Relatives	48 (47%)	34 (36%)
Non-Relatives	6 (6%)	9 (10%)

¹ These sum to more than 100% because individuals may have multiple co-pasturers.

The practice of cooperative herding in Timling illustrates the importance of connections beyond the household for taking advantage of economies of scale in labor. Except for the cold months of the year when livestock are brought down from the high country pastures (see Fricke 1986:74-77 for a description of the annual cycle), most households pasture their animals jointly with others. Table 3.5 summarizes this pattern for cattle/buffalo and sheep and goats for the 12 month period preceding 1987 fieldwork. The patterns of cooperation for sharing labor for cattle and sheep and goats is roughly similar although the herding of sheep and goats is slightly more likely to be accomplished with brothers and to include greater numbers of households in joint pasturing activities (cf. Alirol 1976).

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Agricultural Production. We did not gather information on land holdings in our 1987 survey data collection although figures for 137 households suggest that the average domestic group has its land divided among 6.8 plots dispersed throughout the altitudinal zones within which the people farm (roughly 5,300 to 9,000 feet in altitude). Data from 1981 indicated average holdings in the village to be 24.34 ropani per household, although the land quality is poor by Nepali standards. In 1987, 120 (85%) of the households reported that none of their land was irrigated, 18 (13%) reported having small amounts of irrigated land, while just 3 (2%) reported that about half of their holdings were irrigated. No household in 1981 was without land and the same was true in 1987. Major crops reported from that earlier fieldwork and the average percentage of household land devoted to each were maize (26%), millet (16%), wheat (15%), barley (29%), and potatoes (15%) (cf. Fricke 1986: 68).

In 1987, we asked 141 household heads to tell us the 4 major crops sown during the past year on their land. All 141 households mentioned potatoes, confirming the importance of this crop to subsistence in the village. The second most mentioned crop was millet with 134 households reporting it. Maize was third with 123 households, followed by barley (83), and wheat (76). Only two households in Timling grow an inferior variety of rice while small numbers reported that beans and soybeans were among their major crops.

Nearly all households in Timling use locally available fertilizer (dung, leaves). Our 1987 reports indicate that 109 (77%) households used no purchased fertilizer on their plots; 30 (21%) households reported using fertilizer on small amounts of their total land; only 1 household head reported using purchased fertilizer on most of its land and an additional head reported using it on all of his household land.

As with pasturing, agricultural activities are organized cooperatively with shared labor among households (cf. Toffin 1986b). Of 141 household heads asked, 125 (89%) responded that they had such help. The average number of outside people helping for these 125 households was 9.9 with the smallest number of helpers reported being 2 (reported by 5) and the largest being 22 (reported by 3). Thus for all 141 households, the average number of outside helpers at a harvest in the past 12 months was 8.8. Table 3.6 lays out the pattern of help based on the 1987 survey which asked if any labor from outside of the household was used in a harvest in the previous 12 months. Using only the first three names mentioned by household heads it depicts their relationship and the form of payment used. While the simple use of first mentions can't be taken as the true percentage characterizing the proportion of helpers who are related in various ways, the pattern in the table is consistent enough to suggest that most help comes from members of the household head's own clan with only supplementary help provided by

Table 3.6: Cooperative Patterns in Agricultural Harvest in Timling.

	Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
Number mentioning	(124)	(124)	(119)
Relationship to Head			
Male consanguine	45 (36%)	37 (30%)	38 (32%)
Female consanguine	44 (35%)	43 (35%)	40 (34%)
Male affine	20 (16%)	23 (19%)	20 (17%)
Female affine	8 (6%)	13 (10%)	8 (7%)
Distant Relative	6 (5%)	7 (6%)	12 (10%)
Not Related	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
Method of payment			
Money	3 (2%)	4 (3%)	3 (3%)
Crop	3 (2%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)
Exchange Labor	105 (85%)	107 (86%)	106 (89%)
None	12 (10%)	11 (9%)	8 (7%)
Don't Know	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

affinal relatives and other more distant relatives. The level of work by affinal males is consistent with labor expectations from male in-laws in Timling's brideservice system. This sort of harvest labor in Timling is almost entirely performed in exchange labor relationships. Even those reported to have received nothing in return for their work are implicitly involved in these sorts of exchange relationships although direct labor exchange in kind may not be practiced in all instances.

Finally, we turn to the number of buildings owned by household units in Timling. Of 141 household heads in the village, 29 (21%) reported owning another permanent structure in addition to the house where they lived--most of these additional structures (22) were permanent cattlesheds or shelters in the higher pastures used for seasonal grazing of livestock. For those owning the household in which they lived (139), 55 (40%) built their own houses, 6 (4%) purchased them from others, 66 (47%) inherited them, and 12 (9%) received them in some other fashion (as, for example, senior women through the death of a spouse). Table 3.7 summarizes, for those households which were built by their current heads, information on the nature of help received, again demonstrating the importance of cooperative labor networks in Timling.

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Table 3.7: Nature of help for 55 householders who built in Timling.

	N	%	

Where land from			
Father	39	71%	
Bought	11	20%	
Other	5	9%	

	Own Family	Wife's Family	Non-Relatives

Help Building:			
Yes	42 (76%)	37 (67%)	42 (76%)
No	13 (24%)	18 (33%)	13 (24%)
Method of Payment			
Cash	11 (26%)	9 (24%)	18 (43%)
Exchange	9 (21%)	10 (27%)	15 (36%)
None	32 (76%)	28 (76%)	23 (55%)

Individual Activities and Cohort Trends

We have focused up to this point on general village and household characteristics. This section takes the discussion down to the individual and life course level where our theoretical model suggests many of the changes in Timling society will be effected. Our procedure here will be to follow the general life-course strategy outlined in the first chapter by following important moments and experiences in individual lives. For some of our material, especially that of wage labor participation, we will provide cohort trends in the timing of participation in these activities while for other dimensions we provide summary information taken directly from the distributions of responses in the questionnaires. These responses come from all residents of Timling 12 years old and older at the time of our 1987 research--249 males and 235 females.

A sense of change permeates even the comments of villagers themselves when they reflect on events of the last half a century. When one informant was born in the village of Timling in 1925, the country of Nepal was yet a feudal Hindu Kingdom under the control of the hereditary prime ministers from the Rana family. Its borders were closed to the outside world except for the occasional visits of emissaries from British India to the south. Slavery would not be abolished for another year and no

motorable roads linked Nepal with other countries, while travel within the country was entirely by foot on the trails linking communities. Timling itself was an isolated village oriented in trade toward the Tibetan border town of Kyerong. Most people's lives were spent within the orbit of the local territory and the annual subsistence round of seasonal agriculture and pastoralism in the high country. Yet, within the lifetimes of that cohort born before the second world war, dramatic changes have transformed both the country and the remote villages of which Timling is an example. As our informant put it:

When I was young, Calcutta was only a name. Now many of our people have been there. Trains, buses, cars...only things heard about. Now a road goes to Lari [referring to a road being built to a mine near the village]. Slowly, people here will change; the school will get bigger. Someday a road will come to the village--first across Pangsang [the 14,000 ft. pass on the old trail to Kyerong], then from Dhading [the district headquarters in a valley to the south]... We will be able to take our things to Kathmandu to sell and we will have Kathmandu things here. It will only take a day instead of 4 or 5 (FN: 11/7/87⁹).

Where the early years of this man's life were in many respects parallel to those of his parents and grandparents, the same cannot be said for his children and grandchildren. The changes that he mentions--schools, living experiences, closer connections to urban centers and their influences, increasing immersion in a market economy--are precisely those which we have made central in our data collection and which we begin to describe here.

Education. Of the total number of males and females 12 years old and over, a quite small percentage have received any kind of formal education at all. Not surprising, given the recent introduction of formal schooling to the village, only 46 males (18.5%) have ever attended school, while the numbers for women are even smaller with just 4 (1.7%) of the women 12 years old and older attending. The highest average grade attained by those 46 males aged 12 and above is 2.4. For the four females who have attended at all, one never completed a grade and the other three finished only grade one.

The life table analysis of entry into schooling presented in Table 3.8 graphically shows the cohort transformation in schooling for Timling's

⁹ In this report, the notation following quotes will identify whether they come from fieldnotes (FN) gathered by T. Fricke or from taped interviews (TR). The dates at which the conversations took place are also given.

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males. Of those men born up to 1955, not one had ever attended school by his 36th year. The cohort born in the 1956-1965 marks the first that was able to take advantage of the building of schools in the panchayat (at that time, a part of Sertung) while the most recent cohort of males shows a pattern in which about half will attend school for some period by their 18th birthday. Women have yet to be exposed to schools at this rate with only 4 who have attended at all. nevertheless, the effects of schooling promise potentially dramatic differences in Timling's future. For the present, however, educational attainment is truncated by the competing needs of the domestic economy.

Table 3.8: Life Table Estimates for Cumulative Proportions Entering School through Age X by Sex and Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936 45	36-45 38	46-55 31	56-65 51	66-75 82	<1936 43	36-45 30	46-55 32	56-65 58	66-75 72
6	.000	.000	.000	.000	.049					
12	.000	.000	.000	.078	.452					
18	.000	.000	.000	.078	---					
24	.000	.000	.000	.100	---	NO CALCULATION; ONLY 4 WOMEN EVER ATTENDED SCHOOL				
30	.000	.000	.000	---	---					
36	.000	.000	.000	---	---					

We asked people their reasons for leaving school when they did and their answers make it clear that it is not the simple unavailability of schools and higher grades that precludes attendance in Timling. The single most cited reason (24 men and all women) mentioned for leaving school was the need to help parents, followed by the desire to go off to do wage work outside of the village (10 men). Expense of education was the next most often cited reason with 6 of the men reporting this. This suggests that schooling is in significant competition with the needs of domestic economies in the village, as one would expect at the introduction of this novel institution.

In spite of the lack of education, a high number of men and a substantial number of women speak Nepali in Timling. Their Nepali language ability is not always the most grammatical but functions well for

travelling outside of the village area and to search for the wage labor jobs available to the Tamang outside of the area. Some people, with experience in India or Tibet, speak Tibetan or Hindi and one man remembers a few words of English from his days in the British Gurkha regiments.

Table 3.9 summarizes information on languages spoken and literacy among the village population aged 12 and above. The most striking feature of this table is the differential between males and females in ability to speak Nepali. While only 16.9% of the male respondents reported that they have no Nepali language ability at all, 53.6% of the women reported that they know only Tamang. Given that Nepali in Timling

Table 3.9: Languages Spoken and Literacy in Nepali in Timling.

	Men	Women
Interview Language		
Nepali	143 (57.4%)	49 (20.9%)
Tamang	106 (42.6%)	186 (79.1%)
Speak Tamang	249 (100%)	235 (100%)
Speak Nepali		
Well	155 (62.2%)	52 (22.1%)
Middling	27 (10.8%)	24 (10.2%)
A Little	25 (10.0%)	33 (14.0%)
None	42 (16.9%)	126 (53.6%)
Speak Other Languages (Besides Tamang & Nepali)	44 (17.7%)	14 (6.0%)
Read Nepali	63 (25.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Write a Letter in Nepali	48 (19.3%)	0 (0.0%)

tends to be learned on travels outside of the northern Dhading District area this is not surprising as we will see in the following section on travel outside the village area. Only males reported any ability to read or write Nepali, suggesting that even those women who attended school for one grade came away with few usable skills. Many of these men are self-taught and their reading and writing is often halting. Although they can make their way through a letter written in colloquial Nepal, more formidable documents can be read by only a few men in the village.

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Residence and Living Arrangements. In the past the lives of Timling's people were largely spent within the local area in subsistence pursuits. Groups of men would make short trips to Kyerong or to Trisuli, usually in the company of family members, to engage in the salt trade or to trade herbs gathered in the high pastures. These journeys away from the village were seldom of long duration and women were unlikely to accompany the men. Some people, of course, made longer trips--men in search of positions in Gurkha regiments, small groups looking for portering jobs outside the upper ankhu Khola--but this was a part of the lives of a minority of men. One of our informants made the distinction between men and women very clear in reflecting on the changes that have come to Timling:

Before when we went together travelling across country [paradesh] they [women] didn't travel without the company of men from their own families, not even as far as Trisuli, certainly not to Kathmandu. And if they needed to go to the bazaar for supplies or to buy anything at all, they didn't buy it themselves but we [patriline men] bought it and gave it to them. Nowadays they buy it themselves and give it to us (TR: 1/17/88).

In Table 3.10 we show the experience of respondents in living outside of the village area for periods of a month or longer. We have divided this information between ever-married and never-married respondents because experiences in this period before marriage is critical for explaining family relationships at later times. Also, since never-married respondents are younger as a group than ever-married people in the village, a comparison of their experience before marriage gives an idea of the cohort transformations that have come to Timling.

Looking at the panel for ever-married respondents, we can see that a majority of both men and women have reported living outside of the village area for one month or longer some time in their lives. As we might expect, men have this experience at higher rates than women. When we look at the experiences before marriage, however, we see that very small numbers have visited areas outside of Timling for long periods. Moreover, the dominant areas to which people travelled and lived at this time in their lives are not Kathmandu, but areas outside of Nepal and the regions of Pokhara and the Terai. In the past, these were the main areas where wage labor opportunities could be found, usually in construction work and soldiery in India, the site of labor migration from areas throughout the hills of Nepal before the 1950's (cf. Ortner 1989 for a Sherpa comparison). Thus, for the ever-married men, similar percentages of men have lived in the Pokhara/Terai areas and outside of Nepal in the earlier years of their life-courses (16% and 17%), while smaller numbers lived in Kathmandu (10%). For women, the dominant site for living away from the

village was within Nepal in areas outside of the Kathmandu Valley. A comparison of experiences before marriage and after marriage for men and women shows that men are continually more likely to live away from the village during this period of their lives, too. Moreover, the increases for men are generally greater than women, lending support to the hypothesis that marriage tends to tie women to the domestic group more tightly than it does men.

Table 3.10: Residence Away from Timling for One Month or Longer.

	Men	Women

Ever-married Respondents		
Ever lived outside	149 (85.1%)	115 (61.2%)
Kathmandu		
Before Marriage	17 (9.7%)	13 (6.9%)
After Marriage	35 (20.0%)	23 (12.2%)
Entire Life	50 (28.6%)	32 (17.0%)
Pokhara/Terai		
Before Marriage	28 (16.0%)	22 (11.7%)
After Marriage	44 (25.1%)	19 (10.1%)
Entire Life	68 (38.9%)	40 (21.3%)
Outside of Nepal		
Before Marriage	30 (17.1%)	6 (3.2%)
After Marriage	63 (36.0%)	18 (9.6%)
Entire Life	81 (46.3%)	23 (12.2%)
Never-Married Respondents		
Ever lived outside	59 (79.7%)	31 (66.0%)
Kathmandu	21 (28.4%)	8 (17.0%)
Pokhara/Terai	15 (20.3%)	5 (10.6%)
Outside of Nepal	8 (10.8%)	3 (6.4%)

A comparison of the before marriage experience of living away for

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ever-married respondents with the experience for those who were never-married in the 1987 TFRP survey reveals evidence of striking changes in the mobility of Timling residents. It also suggests a transformation in the destination sites for short-term labor migration. Kathmandu has become the dominant destination for these younger people while travel to and residence outside of Nepal has become less important in the lives of Timling people. Moreover, much higher percentages of people are leaving Timling for temporary residence outside before marriage. Where none of the percentages for particular destinations before marriage for older residents is greater than 17%, 28% of the never-married males report already living in Kathmandu and nearly 80% have lived out of the village already. Even totalling the figures for all destinations before marriage for the older group gives an outside estimate of about 43% and the figure could be less because of multiple destinations for some individuals. The same is true for females where a total for all destinations before marriage gives a maximum of about 22% of the older group living away compared to 66% of the younger group. There is thus extremely strong evidence for increasing experience away from the village area in recent years. Moreover, the differentials between males and females, while still evident, are declining.

Another dimension of living experience has to do with living arrangements. In the past, a majority of people in Timling spent their entire lives before marriage with members of their kin groups and usually supervised by seniors. Table 3.11 displays the experience of living away from parents before marriage for the same two groups--ever-married respondents and never-married respondents--as the previous table.

Here, too, the evidence for change in the experience of individuals is striking and consistent with the trends we find in other data. Where a large minority of older males (39%) have lived with people other than their parents for a month or more, a large majority of younger males (76%) have done so. This doubling of such experiences is also true for Timling females--28% for older women and nearly 60% for younger. The theoretically significant categories in this table are living with friends and living alone, since these are contexts in which seniors are not available to supervise the activities of young people. Women's experience of living away from parents and with friends before marriage has more than doubled (20% compared with 45%) while men's experiences of

Table 3.11: Living Arrangements before Marriage in Timling.

	Men	Women

Ever-married Respondents		
Ever Lived Apart from Parents 1 Month or Longer	69 (39.4%)	53 (28.2%)
To Attend School	1 (0.6%)	0 (0.0%)
With Other Relatives	11 (6.3%)	17 (9.0%)
With Older Non-Relatives	8 (4.6%)	4 (2.1%)
With Friends	50 (28.6%)	37 (19.7%)
Institutional Housing	3 (1.7%)	1 (0.5%)
Alone	10 (5.7%)	2 (1.0%)
Never-Married Respondents		
Ever Lived Apart from Parents 1 Month or Longer	56 (75.7%)	28 (59.6%)
To Attend School	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
With Other Relatives	7 (9.5%)	6 (12.8%)
With Older Non-Relatives	3 (4.1%)	0 (0.0%)
With Friends	39 (52.7%)	21 (44.7%)
Institutional Housing	2 (2.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Alone	10 (13.5%)	0 (0.0%)

these living arrangements with friends has nearly done so (29% compared with 53%). Moreover, given that many of the never-married respondents 12 years old and above will not marry for a number of years, we may safely predict that the percentages experiencing living arrangements unsupervised by seniors will only increase.

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Work. Although the domestic economy in Timling continues to be organized around subsistence production within the local environment, substantial numbers of people 12 years of age and above have worked at one time at various income earning activities. These activities are becoming an increasingly important supplement to the domestic economy in the village and promise to transform familial relationships as greater numbers of young people participate in them.

There has never been a time in living memory, of course, when some people from Timling were not involved in activities outside of the village. We have already mentioned in our discussion of living arrangements the search for wage labor outside of the country and the participation in Gurkha soldiery. These pursuits were a comparatively minor part of the typical life course in Timling, however, and only a few of the older village residents have gone to India for such work. More important has been the process of integration into the Nepali state formed by the conquests of Prithvi Narayan Shah. In spite of the remoteness of Timling to the centers of power in Kathmandu, it lies nearby one of the strategically most important access routes to Nepal--the trail leading from Trisuli up to Kyerong. Nepal has been involved in two wars with Tibet in its history, once in 1792 and again in 1855 (cf. Richardson 1984). In order to keep its northern border integrated into the state and to pursue these wars, corvee labor requirements beyond the usual were promulgated in the region encompassing Timling.¹⁰

The Regmi Research Series includes a number of documents relating to corvee labor impositions on this region during times of war and in the more normal course of events. One document dated August of 1792 and sent to Lamjung, Nuwakot, and Kaski calls for all able-bodied men "between the ages of 12 and 80" to report for duty against Tibet (Regmi Research Series 1973: 236-240). The men were conscripted on the jhara¹¹ system with the promise of land grants in the future. Similar documents are dated for various labor obligations from the Panchsayakhola area for the years 1830, 1854, and 1855 (Regmi Research Series 1975a, 1975b, 1980), while one document dated 1844 mentions Jharlang, a village to the south of Timling, as a part of the Birta¹² lands of Prime Minister Mathbar Singh Thapa (Regmi Research Series 1976).

¹⁰ Timling lies within the Panchsayakhola (500 Rivers) area of northern Dhading although they have historically thought of themselves as lying within the Satsayakhola (700 rivers) area to the west. In the last century, this area was a part of Nuwakot District.

¹¹ Jhara: compulsory unpaid labor due to the government for a specific purpose (Regmi 1978: 92).

¹² Birta: land grants made by the king to individuals, usually on an inheritable and tax-exempt basis (Regmi 1978: 161).

Table 3.12: Work Experience of Men and Women in Timling.

Activity	Men	Women
I. Work Without Pay: Family Farm and Domestic Work		
Family Farm Work	245 (98.4%)	235 (100%)
II. Income Generating Work		
A. Organized Within Village		
Selling Produce	56 (22.5%)	22 (9.4%)
Farm Work for Wages	6 (2.4%)	4 (1.7%)
Family Business	74 (29.7%)	48 (20.4%)
B. Non-Family Work		
Army	9 (3.6%)	0 (0.0%)
Servant	9 (3.6%)	1 (0.4%)
Roadwork	163 (65.5%)	107 (45.5%)
Factory	7 (2.8%)	10 (4.3%)
Building	35 (14.1%)	6 (2.6%)
Carting	6 (2.4%)	0 (0.0%)
Driver	1 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)
Porter	116 (46.6%)	70 (29.8%)
Other	28 (18.8%)	10 (4.3%)

While Timling's people have long been called upon to perform services outside of their village, the organization of contemporary labor activities is strikingly different from the past in that it represents wage labor for the benefit of the domestic unit or individual workers themselves. Table 3.12 displays the array of tasks in which Timling's people have been involved in their lifetimes and in the 12 months prior to the TFRP survey. These figures demonstrate the dominance of agriculture in people's lives while also showing that significant proportions of the village population have been involved in income generating pursuits at least once in their lives. Of those activities organized within the village, that labelled "family business" involves primarily selling herbs and wood. Substantial proportions of men and women have worked at these activities, but more important in the experience of Timling's people are the wage labor jobs organized outside of the family. Of these, two types of work are strikingly dominant: road construction work in which 66% of the men and 46% of the women have worked for one month or longer and portering work in which 47% of the men and 30% of the women have worked at some time in their lives.

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In order to get some sense of the historical trends in work activities within the lives of our respondents we present two life tables showing the cohort trends of ages by which people have experienced various kinds of work for one month or more. The first of these, Table 3.13, displays cohort trends in the important family-organized activities of selling wood and gathering and selling herbs for sale in Trisuli. In fact, most of the experience registered in this table is that of selling medicinal herbs from the high pastures, an historically important supplement to the domestic economy. This work has been engaged in largely by young adults and, as shown in the table, by males more than females. The pattern for every cohort up to the 1966-75 birth cohort shows that by age 30, about a fifth of the males in Timling have performed this work at least once in their lives. About half as many women have worked at this activity. Looking across cohorts at the experience of both men and women through age 18, however, there is an indication of decline in the importance of this form of family organized work. Participation in these activities peaked for this age in the cohort born from 1946-55 and declined rapidly for the next

Table 3.13: Life Table Estimates of Cumulative Proportions Involved in Selling Herbs or Wood for One Month or More through Age X by Sex and Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936 45	36-45 38	46-55 31	56-65 51	66-75 82	<1936 43	36-45 30	46-55 32	56-65 58	66-75 72
6	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
12	.000	.026	.000	.020	.000	.000	.000	.000	.052	.031
18	.067	.158	.161	.078	---	.023	.067	.125	.069	---
24	.156	.184	.226	.143	---	.023	.067	.125	.130	---
30	.222	.211	.258	---	---	.023	.100	.125	---	---
36	.222	.211	.393	---	---	.023	.100	.166	---	---

cohort. Possible reasons for this include the competition of more lucrative wage labor positions which were becoming more available at about this time as well as some sense that medicinal plants are becoming more scarce in the local territory.

Table 3.14 displays cohort trends in non-familial wage work outside of the village in the same format and suggests some support for greater competition of wage labor positions with these other forms of income

generating work. There is a dramatic increase in the likelihood that men will be involved in outside wage labor by age 18 between the cohorts born from 1946-55 and 1956-65, at the same time that the family organized activities displayed in the previous table declined in importance. The interesting pattern of work across cohorts in which the high proportions of men born before 1936 declines for those born from 1936-45 is quite consistent with the pattern of corvee labor

Table 3.14: Life Table Estimates of Cumulative Proportions Working for Wages Outside of Family Enterprises for One Month or More through Age X by Sex and by Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936 45	36-45 37	46-55 31	56-65 51	66-75 82	<1936 43	36-45 30	46-55 32	56-65 57	66-75 72
6	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
12	.044	.027	.032	.059	.065	.023	.000	.031	.000	.061
18	.267	.135	.290	.471	---	.116	.133	.313	.228	---
24	.444	.378	.484	.784	---	.233	.200	.500	.507	---
30	.533	.459	.677	---	---	.233	.233	.531	---	---
36	.578	.541	.829	---	---	.279	.333	.601	---	---

described above. This form of labor tax was discontinued after 1950 making this oldest cohort the last group whose members came to age in the old system. Given that historical pattern, the smaller proportions working away in the next cohort is quite explainable while the rapid increase in later cohorts is a consequence of an entirely different organization of wage work. And here we find very dramatic rises in the proportion experiencing this work through age 18, where by the time of the last cohort for which we have data, well over half of both men and women have worked for wages outside of the village.

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Marriage. Finally, we might ask ourselves what kinds of changes in Timling's social organization are related to these very dramatic changes in schooling, residence, and work experience. Some indication comes from the data we gathered for marriage. Table 3.15, extracted from an analysis in process (Fricke and Thornton n.d.), provides some trends for the marriage process of women in the village. This institution has already been shown to be critically important in the organization of individual, household, and village production (see discussion above; also Fricke 1990) and changes here are indicative of the kinds of wider transformations in familial relationships that we may expect in the

Table 3.15: Transitions in Living Arrangements, Work, and First Marriage Processes in Timling.

	Birth Year			Total %
	<1946 %	46-65 %	66-75 %	

Live out of village before marriage				
No	90	80	69	82
Yes	10	20	31	18
Wagework before marriage				
None	81	64	35	67
Family Only	4	11	8	7
Family & Nonfamily	8	7	12	8
Nonfamily Only	8	18	46	18
Who chose spouse				
Entirely other	49	33	27	39
Together	32	31	31	31
R alone	19	36	42	30
Wealth transfers at marriage				
No	45	57	65	53
Yes	55	43	35	47
Bride service after marriage				
No	18	36	50	30
Yes	82	64	50	70

village. The variables we provide cohort measures for all show interesting trends consistent with those we have already discussed and those which would be expected from the theoretical material reviewed in the first chapter.

Looking at two dimensions of women's experience before marriage, living out of the village for a month or more and working for wage for a month or more, we see evidence of dramatic increases for ever-married women. Thus, of those women born before 1946, only 10% reported living outside of the village for a month or more before marriage and this percentage steadily increases by 10% for each new cohort. Similarly, the percentage of women reporting no income generating work before marriage steadily declines from a high of 81% for the earliest cohort to only 35% for the youngest. More dramatically, those women who have worked at nonfamilial waged work before marriage (the last two rows for the waged work variable) increase from 16% to 58% of all women from the earliest to latest cohort.

Although no causal analysis is presented here, the three marriage process variables of spouse choice, wealth transfers at marriage (from groom's family to bride's), and bride service all show transformations consistent with greater autonomy of individuals. The percentage of marital decisions entirely in the hands of a woman's senior kin declines from 49% to 27% across cohorts while those decisions entirely made by a woman herself increases from 19% to 42%. The percentage of first marriages involving wealth transfers has declined by 20% across cohorts, from 55% to 35%. And the percentage of marriages relating affines in reciprocal labor obligations has declined from 82% to 50% across these generations. All of these changes suggest far-reaching transformations in the Timling's social organization. Moreover, these changes are measured in this table only for women who have already been married. Evidence presented above shows that even higher percentages of unmarried women are experiencing novel living arrangements and work histories and we may expect further changes in Timling's social life in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

SANGILA: HISTORY, TRENDS, AND CURRENT STRATEGIES

Sangila represents a setting undergoing dramatic and accelerating social transformation within the lifetimes of its current residents. Clan accounts suggest that the first settlers in the area were Tamang of the Shyangdan clan who moved down from the mountains to the north in search of new land between two and three hundred years ago.¹ These ancestors established themselves in settlements on the densely forested slopes of Shivapuri, the second highest peak enclosing the Kathmandu Valley, and opened land into terraces for agriculture after a period of swidden cultivation. Expansion of these first settlements to accommodate population growth was easily accomplished by opening new land upward onto Shivapuri's forested slopes. The four major settlements that compose Sangila today thus stretch in a three mile arc on the flanks of the mountain from the valley floor at about 4,500 ft. to a high point of about 6,500 ft. in elevation. Each farmstead includes plots of land widely dispersed throughout the territory such that any domestic unit is likely to own land a 45 to 60 minute walk from the household itself.

The collection of hamlets and villages we call Sangila (after a Tamang name for one part of the total area) actually lie in the three panchayats of Budanilakantha, Chapali, and Baluwa. These panchayats span both slope and valley floor at the northern arc of Kathmandu and include a multi-ethnic mix of about 12,000 Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, and Tamang residents in 1822 households enumerated by the National Election commission in 1986.² Although the proportion of Tamang in these 3 panchayats is about .25, the Tamang Family Research Project concentrated on the slope settlements of Taulung, Tarebhir, Simaligaon, Chiseni, Tulogaon, and Chhaap where the population is almost entirely Tamang. In addition, Tamang households within Budanilakantha proper were included in the study for a total of 307 households and 1551 people, roughly half of the Tamang population in the three panchayats. The distribution of households for each area was: Taulung (147), Simaligaon-Tulogaon-Chiseni (38), Budanilakantha-Chhaap (62), and Tarebhir (60).³

¹ The temple of Budanilakantha itself predates this influx of Tamang ancestors. Evidence suggests that it was built during the Licchavi period by the ruler, Vishnu Gupta, who ruled in the Kathmandu Valley from approximately 633-641 A.D.

² This information is derived from a village panchayat directory compiled by Mr. Anup K. Pahari, a graduate student in Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

³ Tarebhir is the only village for which we have not covered the entire community. Our study focused there on the two highest wards bordering the Shivapuri Watershed containment area.

The Tamang of this area are likely to be linked to those mentioned in the earliest British reports from the last century. Francis Buchanan, for example, wrote of the Tamang (whom he referred to by the alternate name of Murmi) in 1819:

In the more rude and mountainous parts of Nepal Proper, the chief population consisted of these Murmis, who are by many considered as a branch of the Bhotiyas, or the people of Thibet... The doctrine of the Lamas is so obnoxious to the Gorkhalese, that, under the pretence of their being thieves, no Murmi is permitted to enter the valley where Kathmandu stands... They have, therefore, since the conquest, retired as much as possible into places very difficult of access... They never seem to have had any share in the government, nor to have been addicted to arms, but always followed the profession of agriculture, or carried loads for the Newars, being a people uncommonly robust (Buchanan 1971: 52-53).

With the formation of the modern Nepali nation between 1769 and 1814, these early Tamang settlements were incorporated into a feudal system in which Tamang farmed for a 50% share in production (cf. Regmi 1978). According to older informants, land tenure prior to the conquest was organized into kipat holdings.⁴ Sangila's Tamang residents also provided corvee labor, a tax of labor rather than kind or money, to the government. The major tasks for Sangila residents included providing firewood from nearby forests as well as working as soldiers to provide medicinal herbs from the high mountain areas in the country.⁵

Apart from these state and landlord requirements, the Tamang of Sangila were free to pursue their own cultural traditions and social organization, although deviant from that of Hindu orthodoxy (cf. Hoefler 1979; Buchanan 1971 [1819]). Specifically Tamang features of household and family organization included partible inheritance of immoveable property among sons, a bridewealth system, a preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage and high rates of local endogamy (Fricke 1986; Holmberg 1989; Fuerer-Haimendorf 1956). Although all but the youngest sons would eventually leave their natal homes, they usually built their

⁴ Kipat: a system of communal land tenure associated with Tibeto-Burmese people of Eastern Nepal, especially the Limbu (Regmi 1978: 162).

⁵Special requirements in this system were usually village specific. Raniban, another Tamang village in the Kathmandu Valley, for example, was expected to provide red clay for the royal palace, with the labor tax based on the number of households in the land registry. On the other hand, individuals could also have special assignments, as with one old man in Sangila who had the job of holding the umbrella that shielded an important official from the sun.

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own household adjacent to their fathers, giving rise to patrilineally linked neighborhood groups whose members cooperated in farm work (Fricke 1986).

Unlike Timling, the clans in the TFRP study area all regard themselves as Tamang in spite of the different migrations to which they trace their origins. The same ethic of egalitarian relations and reciprocity exists in the area and is ratified by stories similar to those found to the west (cf. Holmberg 1989: 53). Yet, a dimension of hierarchy also exists that parallels that of the Ghale-Tamang distinction in our other study area. The Shyangdan clan sees itself as the highest ranking clan with internal divisions into khor⁶, or circles of kin within single clans who claim descent from a common ancestor. The khor are themselves ranked according to the birth order of their ancestors. Older informants speak of these khor as once important for the organization of marriage--across clans, only the members of similarly ranked khor were allowed to marry--but say that they serve no function today. They, nevertheless, provide a potential insight into processes of clan fission within Tamang society for this area. In comparison to swangi bhai, brother clans not permitted to marry often because of common descent through a set of sisters according to some informants, khor derive from descent through brothers.⁷

The Tamang have, in general, been characterized by relatively minor sexual division of labor occurring around the household. Outside the Kathmandu Valley, men generally plow the fields but other agricultural tasks are shared. Within the valley, where plowing was not historically practiced, men and women worked closely together during all phases of planting. On the whole, women and young boys perform slightly more of the field labor. In the past, this strategy freed adult men for corvee labor; today, it continues to allow domestic groups the flexibility to send members to jobs far from the hearth. Although there are no sanctions against women being involved in activities such as gathering wood and pasturing, there is a continuing tendency for women to be associated with domestic and village centered tasks. Mothers suckle young children, brew beer, work the crops near home and guide daughters-in-law, if present, at

⁶ The Tamang translate khor in terms of gotra, a unit below clans in high caste social structure. See Kolenda (1978) for a discussion of this level of organization in India. Also see Toffin (1986a) for a somewhat different discussion of khor among the western Tamang of the Salme area.

⁷ A complete discussion of these internal clan divisions in Sangila awaits further work. For a list of clans in the Sangila area see Appendix B.

these same enterprises.⁸

Sangila's stable agrarian system within the Nepali state continued more or less undisturbed 1950-51 when Nepal's borders opened to foreigners after nearly a century and a half of closed feudal rule (Rose and Fisher 1970). Moreover, the country was opened to foreign development capital and the renewal of industries that had been dormant since the 19th century (Rose and Fisher 1970: 129-134). At the same time, the decade from the early 1950's until the early 1960's was characterized by vast reorganizations in local land tenure. Within Sangila, the Tamang were given the sudden opportunity to buy the land they farmed. This reorganization of land tenure and landlord-tenant relations both freed the people of Sangila from labor obligations and encouraged them to seek wage labor employment to buy their land.

The early impact of these changes was dampened by Sangila's marginal location at the edge of the Kathmandu Valley. More significant for the development of wage labor opportunities was the building of an all weather motorable road from Kathmandu. In the early 1960's, a rutted dirt road allowed occasional access to Sangila but monsoon rains precluded any regular motorable link. Gradual improvement of the road occurred through the 1960's and 1970's--by 1973 it was paved up to a community about half way between urban Kathmandu and the nearest households in Sangila. By 1975, the road was paved the entire distance and regular bus and taxi service was established. Slightly before this in 1972, a prestigious boarding school was built in the area. Although intended primarily for wealthy outsiders, the building of this school gave simultaneous rise to a growing bazaar in Sangila near the terminus of the paved road.

Final developments nudging people into the wage labor economy included the closing the higher slopes of Shivapuri to farming, grazing, and woodcutting in an effort to protect the major watershed for Kathmandu. The land closed to such practices has been enclosed within a boundary wall, built about 7 years prior to TFRP data collection and defining the bounds of the Shivapuri Watershed Management area (Sthapit and Shrestha

⁸Time budget studies in a Tamang village to the east of the Kathmandu Valley show the proportion of female input to total time inputs of various activities as follows (Acharya and Bennett 1981; Shrestha n.d.):

Farm Production	.58	Family Farm	.62
Local Market	.40	Labor Migration	.33
Domestic Tasks	.80		

Among Nepali societies, the Tamang tend to be in the low to middle range in the extent to which male and female tasks are differentiated. See Macfarlane (1976), Jones and Jones (1976) and Levine (1988) for comparisons with other Tibeto-Burmese language groups in the Himalaya.

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1986; Singh 1986). This had the dual effect of ending possibilities for household expansion into new arable land while truncating informal money-earning activities such as selling firewood in the city.

At about the same time carpet factories were opened in Sangila in the 1980's. Usually owned or managed by Tibetan refugees, these factories actively seek out Tamang rug weavers who are valued for their perceived ability to perform hard work. Some kinds of factories, notably the bottling plants and the shoe manufacturing plant a 15 minute bus ride from Sangila, approach the typical Western image of a factory. The carpet factories so important in the local picture, however, vary widely in size. The smallest factory in the Sangila area is the size of a small shop and employs six Tamang rug weavers, their looms set up along the walls. The largest carpet factory, on the other hand, employs over a hundred weavers and encompasses a small compound in which employees eat, play cards, and nap during breaks. Within the compound are tin shanties for housing employees from beyond the village.⁹

Economic and educational changes in the Sangila area are grafted onto a system where virtually every family's primary subsistence comes from agrarian production. In spite of this, every family also shares at least an occasional need for money¹⁰ and this need has probably been present since at least the turn of the century when tax payments were converted into cash rather than kind. There has never been a time in living memory when some people from these villages were not combining outside labor with their family farm activities. Even the earliest British visitors to Kathmandu note the presence of the Tamang in the hills around Kathmandu, mentioning their Buddhism, their agro-pastoral economy, and their menial work for the elites of the capital (Buchanan 1971 [1819]; Hodgson 1874; Wright 1972 [1877]). Nevertheless, the sudden introduction of schooling, new and extensive wage labor opportunities, and motorable roads with regular bus service to the city means that the world of Sangila's young people has been fundamentally changed from that of their parents and grandparents.

⁹The Nepali word kaarkhaanaa was used in the questionnaire. While it translates as factory, it also encompasses a range of referents from industry to craft. The Nepali word is borrowed from the Hindi word for shop or craft (cf. Turner 1931).

¹⁰For example, all people in Sangila wear manufactured clothing purchased in Kathmandu or in the local bazaar. Other items such as cooking oil and various cooking and farming implements also need to be bought. Although exchange labor relationships still function in Sangila, they increasingly do so in tandem with monetary relations (cf. Fricke 1986 for a description of a Tamang setting with much less monetization; also Toffin 1986b for a description of exchange labor groups).

Production and Holdings

The subsistence environment of Kathmandu differs considerably from that of Timling in the array of locally available possibilities for supplementing agriculture and pastoral production. As we have mentioned above, even the earliest reports from the valley indicate that Tamang from the hills immediately around Kathmandu acted as laborers for the people of Kathmandu itself. Daniel Wright, like others, was impressed by the work that these Tamang performed:

The Bhotiyas are the hillmen living around the valley and between it and Tibet... Much of the carrying of burdens is performed by them, and the load they can bear is surprising. It is by no means uncommon for them to carry two maunds, though one maund [80 lbs.] is the regular load, and this has to be carried over hills several thousand feet in height, where the paths are of the most primitive construction (1972: 27).

In spite of the longstanding position of the Tamang of Sangila as a part of the labor pool for the valley, domestic production is nevertheless rooted in agriculture. Certain restrictions on the Tamang of this area have caused them to de-emphasize the importance of pastoral pursuits in the local area, however. One of these is the historical prohibition against plowing in the Kathmandu Valley which is sacred to Shiva, lord of the animals, who uses the ox as his mount. Kirkpatrick, who visited the valley in 1793, commented on the scarcity of plowing in the area while also mentioning that some Newar were beginning to use this method of cultivation near Thankot on the southwestern edge of the valley (Kirkpatrick 1973: 100). Whatever the reasons for this sanction, oxen are de-emphasized in the domestic economy since their primary use is as traction animals while buffalo produce more milk than cows.

Little work has been done into the economies of the villages at the northern edge of the valley so that comparative data for our information on household holdings is sketchy. One survey of 140 household heads in the villages of Mulkharka, Tarebhir, Taling, Thanchok, and Dandagaon was carried out by the Shivapuri Watershed Project in March 1986 (Singh 1986) and we will compare some of these findings with our own.

Pastoral Production. Table 4.1 summarizes the reports from household heads interviewed in 1987 by the TFRP project. We can see from this table that the pasturing of oxen and cows is a relatively minor part of the domestic enterprise in the area. Only 15% of the 307 households in Sangila reported owning oxen and slightly more (28%) own cows. The overall average numbers of these animals for all households is far less than 1, while even when owning households by themselves are considered, the numbers are about half those for Timling. Singh (1986: 6) reports that a higher percentage of his sample households (46%) pastured cows although the average number per owning household was about the same as we find for Sangila at 1.5.

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Table 4.1: Animal Ownership at Time of Survey in Sangila.

	Oxen	Cows	Male Buffalo	Female Buffalo	Sheep & Goats	Fowl
Overall Average	.27	.41	0.08	0.73	2.44	7.54
# Households Owning	46	85	25	170	228	276
% Total HHs	15.0	27.7	8.1	55.4	74.3	89.9
Average in Owning HHs	1.80	1.48	1.00	1.32	3.29	8.39

The relative importance of other animals to the local economy is highlighted by the much greater numbers of households in Sangila reporting ownership of female buffalo (55%), sheep and goats (74%) and fowl (90%). These numbers are quite close to the average figures reported in the Shivapuri Watershed survey in which 54% of the households owned buffalo and 83% owned sheep and goats. Again, the average number of these animals per owning household in this survey is quite consistent with our own data. Our respondents reported an average of 1.32 female buffalo per owning household; Singh reports 1.8 male and female buffalo. Where our owning households average 3.29 sheep and goats, Singh reports 3.5.

While buffalo, sheep, and goats, have obvious uses in fulfilling domestic consumption needs, the high average numbers of fowl owned in Sangila are related to commercial in addition to domestic activities. In Table 4.2 we provide a summary of responses for production and selling activities in the 12 months preceding our survey. As with Timling, slightly higher numbers of households reported owning animals in the previous 12 months than at the precise time of interview. This is an entirely acceptable pattern given the commercial nature of production in addition to the usual vagaries of disease in raising animals. One household in commercial production of fowl, for example, was forced to sell all of its chickens at once because of disease and similar problems can occur with cattle and other animals.

In all respects, Sangila is clearly more heavily involved in commercial animal production than Timling. Its proximity to Kathmandu as well as the activities of the Small Farmer's Development Program explain this higher level. Of 254 households owning cattle in the past year, 23% were involved in selling. A higher percentage (33%) of the

Table 4.2: Production and Selling from Live animals in Sangila During 12 Months before Survey.

I. Animal Ownership and Selling			
	Cattle	Sheep & Goats	Fowl
# Households Owning	254	242	287
% Total HHs	82.7	78.8	93.5
# Households selling live animals	71	101	69
% Total HHs	23.1	32.9	22.5
Average number sold	1.8	3.1	28.4

II. Production and Selling from Animals			
	Milk	Eggs	Fish & Honey
# Households Producing	107	231	33
% Total HHs	34.9	75.2	10.7
Amount of Production Sold & Percent of Producing Households Selling			
None	77 (72.0)	212 (91.8)	24 (72.7)
A Little	16 (15.0)	6 (2.6)	7 (21.2)
Half	11 (10.3)	5 (2.2)	1 (3.0)
Most	2 (1.9)	6 (2.6)	1 (3.0)
All	1 (0.9)	2 (0.9)	0 (0.0)

242 households owning sheep and goats were involved in selling animals. This last category of selling is especially high because of the market for the meat of sheep and goats in Kathmandu, especially during the holiday season of Dasain when streams of goats and sheep are herded into the city by the villagers of the surrounding areas. The selling of fowl is a particularly interesting element of this kind of production. While only about a fifth of the owning households actually market their fowl, the average number sold in the past year by these households is quite high at

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28. This figure is partly the result of 8 households that might be considered to be into major market production of chickens. All of these 8 sold more than 60 chickens in the previous year and the average number sold for this group of large producers was 204.

The second panel in Table 4.2 shows that a similar pattern of largely domestic production and consumption combined with smaller numbers of commercial producers characterizes the patterns for milk, egg, and other animal products (mostly honey). Of 107 households whose cattle gave milk in the past year, the majority (72%) kept that production entirely for domestic consumption. Interesting from the point of view of comparison with Timling where the figure is 4%, however, is that about 13% of these households sold half or more of their total milk production to others. Egg production is even more likely to be for domestic use, but even here large producers are involved in selling half or more of the total. The last column in the table includes 32 households which keep bees and 1 which raises fish for sale. Both of these enterprises represent training programs of the Small Farmers Development Program and here again a similar pattern emerges. These figures make it quite clear that Sangila differs from Timling in the important dimension of market production, in part because of the proximity of an urban center demanding production from the countryside.

Table 4.3: Cooperative Patterns in Pasturing Livestock in Sangila.

	Cattle/Buffalo	Sheep and Goats
Pasture animals with others		
Yes	79 (31%)	90 (37%)
No	172 (68%)	152 (63%)
Don't Know	3 (1%)	1 (0.4%)
Of those pasturing together, average number of households	4.1	4.2
Relationship of co-pasturers with Respondent ¹		
Father	8 (10%)	8 (9%)
Brothers	57 (72%)	67 (74%)
Other Relatives	15 (19%)	14 (16%)
Non-Relatives	32 (41%)	31 (34%)

¹These sum to more than 100% because individuals may have multiple co-pasturers.

In Timling we discovered a pattern of cooperative labor that ratified the extensive links joining related households. We might ask ourselves if the smaller numbers of herd animals in Sangila, together with the higher levels of market participation, are related to similarly extensive networks. In Table 4.3 we examine cooperative patterns of livestock herding in the cluster of settlements. The table indicates that cooperative herding is far less likely to be practiced in this area with only 31% of the households involved in cooperative herding of cattle and 37% of sheep and goats. Comparable figures for Timling are 79% and 83%. One reason for this pattern may be the relatively constricted territory within which herding is practiced. Where Timling's annual round involves trips to distant high pastures, the pattern in Sangila is of yearlong grazing in the wastelands nearby the village--a pattern that more nearly approaches the fall and winter cycle in Timling when animals are brought from the high pastures to graze on family plots.

Of those households involved in cooperative pasturing, however, labor is shared by greater numbers on the average than in Timling and the pattern is more nearly the same for cattle and goats and sheep. The significant departure from Timling's pattern for these co-pasturers shows up in the relationship of cooperating units where we find much smaller percentages involved in pasturing with relatives more distant than brothers and fathers and a much higher percentage involved with non-relatives. This suggests a structure of cooperation that stresses opportune links between families based on convenience rather than the motivations that derive from the common kinship system shared between Timling and Sangila.

Agricultural Production. As with Timling, we did not ask for information on land holdings in the survey data collection. Singh (1986: 5) reports in the Shivapuri Watershed survey that mean holdings per sample household in the area was 9.5 ropani divided between dry land (4.3 ropani) and irrigated land (5.2 ropani). He also reported that 85% of the sample households owned all of the land they farmed, 5.5% farmed land both their own and rented land, and 8.5% were tenants on the land they farmed. An independent check for the 147 households of Taulung revealed a very similar pattern with a mean of 8.7 ropani per household, 4.8 in dry land and 3.8 in irrigated land. For all households in Sangila, our survey indicated that 273 (89%) owned all the land they farmed, 26 (8%) farmed both their own and rented land, and 8 (3%) owned no land of their own.

A total of 300 households reported that they farmed in the 12 months prior to our survey (one of the non-farming households owned land but left it entirely in fallow for that year). The four major crops grown by these 300 households included maize, reported by 297 (99%); millet, reported by 292 households (97%); rice, reported by 253 households (84%); and wheat, reported by 245 (82%). Additional crops grown were reported by much smaller numbers of households and included an array from beans and soybeans through various vegetables. Only 2 households reported potatoes as a major crop in contrast with Timling.

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Of these 300 households, only 43 (14%) reported that none of their land was irrigated, 57 (19%) said that a small amount of the total was, while 116 (39%) reported that about half was. More substantial proportions of irrigated land were reported for 28% of the households with 46 (15%) saying that most was and 38 (13%) reporting all the land they farmed as irrigated. In another striking difference with Timling, only 13 households out of 300 (4%) reported no use of purchased fertilizer. About half (145, 48%) purchased only a small amount of the total used while 102 (34%) purchased about half, 37 (12%) purchased most, and only 3 (1%) purchased all of the fertilizer used.

Most households continue to cook with firewood in Sangila in spite of the closing of the watershed to cutting. Of 307 households, 298 (97%) mentioned firewood as a major fuel while only 21 (7%) use kerosene at least part of the time. Higher percentages of families buy most of their cooking fuel than in Timling, however, with 62 (20%) reporting that they buy most and 220 (72%) reporting that they gather most of their own fuel. Another 25 (8%) report that they both buy and purchase their household fuel. In addition, most households purchase at least some of the food they consume. Only 70 (23%) reported purchasing none of their food while 70 (26%) purchased at least half of their household food.

Table 4.4: Cooperative Patterns in Agricultural Harvest in Sangila.

	Name 1	Name 2	Name 3
Number mentioning	(270)	(268)	(264)
Relationship to Head			
Male consanguine	95 (35%)	84 (31%)	71 (27%)
Female consanguine	43 (16%)	42 (16%)	48 (18%)
Male affine	34 (13%)	30 (11%)	27 (10%)
Female affine	7 (3%)	12 (4%)	10 (4%)
Distant Relative	17 (6%)	33 (12%)	27 (10%)
Not Related	74 (27%)	67 (25%)	71 (27%)
Method of payment			
Money	43 (16%)	40 (15%)	44 (17%)
Crop	10 (4%)	8 (3%)	8 (3%)
Exchange Labor	208 (77%)	208 (78%)	202 (77%)
None	9 (3%)	12 (4%)	10 (4%)

We have seen in our discussion of animal holdings in Sangila that the pastoral nature of the domestic economy is less emphasized than the agricultural. This was shown to play out in the extent to which Sangila households are not involved in cooperative pasturing. In Table 4.4 we turn to a look at cooperative patterns in agriculture. Out of the 300 households involved in farming in the previous 12 months, 274 (91%) reported that they had help with at least one of their harvests. Of 271 household heads who were able to report the number of helpers, the average number reported was 13.5 with the lowest number helping being 2 (reported by only 1 household head) and the highest 56 (reported by 1). Superficially, then, Sangila might be said to have even more reliance on cooperative labor networks than Timling with its smaller average number of helpers and much smaller range in the numbers.

In Table 4.4, however, we find some interesting patterns that further differentiate the two TFRP settings. The most notable difference, first of all, is in the numbers and percentages of non-relatives involved in help with these harvests. Where in Timling virtually no helper was unrelated to the household head he was helping, in Sangila at least a fourth of the first three names mentioned are unrelated. Even more significant, a much higher percentage of these people were paid in cash than in Timling--15% or more for the first three helpers mentioned compared to no more than 3% in Timling. The percent of co-harvesters involved in labor exchange is also smaller in Sangila. Taken as a whole, then, these figures underscore the different basis for organization in Sangila where help is more likely to be offered on a contractual, monetary basis rather than the kinship and exchange basis found in Timling.

Turning finally to the ownership of buildings in Sangila we can add further emphasis to our point. Of 307 household heads, 51 (17%) reported owning another structure in addition to the house where they lived--15 of the 45 additional structures owned were for non-agricultural purposes and likely rented out to others for selling goods or as residences. Of 298 household heads reporting sole ownership of their houses, 161 (54%) built their houses, 12 (4%) purchased them, 116 (39%) inherited them, and 9 (3%) received them in some other fashion. Table 4.5 summarizes for those who built the nature of cooperative and networks in Sangila, again demonstrating the relatively greater importance of cash within its economy as well as the generally smaller levels of help received from family members, whether consanguines or affines.

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Table 4.5: Nature of help for 161 householders who built in Sangila.

	N	%			
Where land from					
Father	109	68%			
Bought	35	22%			
Other	15	9%			
Don't Know	2	1%			
			Own Family	Wife's Family	Non-Relatives
Help Building:					
Yes	105 (65%)	63 (39%)	125 (78%)		
No	55 (34%)	97 (60%)	35 (22%)		
Don't Know	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)		
Method of Payment					
Cash	59 (56%)	16 (25%)	102 (82%)		
Exchange	36 (34%)	13 (21%)	29 (23%)		
None	65 (62%)	50 (79%)	43 (34%)		

Individual Activities and Cohort Trends

Our picture of Sangila thus far is largely the static one embodied in production and ownership figures for the 12 months prior to the TFRP survey. We have seen that the area, relative to Timling, is characterized by a much more monetized economic organization and generally less emphasis on the cooperative alliances formed by kinship and marriage links. Nevertheless, the historical sketch that we have been able to provide for this area suggests that there have been important watershed periods in the past marking fundamental transitions from one kind of organization, largely feudal, to another that embodies new institutional and work possibilities. In this section, we will explore how these changes may have been translated into individual level differences between the experiences of cohorts using information from the questionnaires administered to all Sangila residents 12 years old and above--504 males and 532 females. In addition to the life events covered in the last chapter for Timling, we will close this discussion of Sangila with an exploration of the adoption of contraception in the Sangila area. Our final chapter will then briefly summarize the findings presented in this report with some attention to comparative implications.

Education. The formation of panchayats after 1950-51 marked the end of restrictions on building schools for the general public. Toward the end of the Rana prime ministership, under which Nepal existed in isolation for over 100 years (Rose and Fisher 1970), educational reforms had begun but had yet to be widely implemented. Prior to these reforms, common people could learn to read and write with the aid of private tutors or from teachers supported at some temples by village and town philanthropists. Such a school was established at the Budanilakantha temple complex in Sangila in 1936. But public schools were not built in Sangila's dispersed collection of hamlets and villages until the early 1960's.

After the early conversion of the temple school into a public school in the 1950's, three other schools in the settlements comprising Sangila were opened in 1961, 1972, and 1978. These earliest schools provided classes up to grade 3, but rapid expansion to keep up with the level of village students followed and four schools exist in Sangila to provide classes through grade 10 now. The separate settlements within Sangila each have their own schools which vary in the grades to which a student can study. Grade 10 is the final high school grade in the Nepali educational system and is only offered by the government boarding school which requires high tuition and is effectively unavailable to most residents of Sangila. Of the four other schools in the area one provides classes to grade 8, two to grade 5, and one to grade 3. Education is free through grade 5 although uniforms and books must be purchased for children.

Many of the residents of Sangila expressed their faith in the transforming power of schools to our project staff. One mother who was sending both a son and a daughter to school felt strongly that her children needed to have as much schooling as possible to compete in the world of the future. Her commitment to this future resulted in her not only encouraging both her children to attend the village school daily but to sacrifice even more of their potential contribution to the domestic group by giving them time to study each evening. She hopes for her daughter to become a lawyer although she worries that her son will not stay in school long enough to gain his SLC pass.

In Sangila, 235 males (47%) twelve years of age or greater report that they have attended at least some school. A far smaller percentage of females in those ages have also gone--only 44 (8%). The highest average grade attained by those males who have ever attended is 4.4. For those 44 females the highest grade completed averages 2.2. Ten men and one woman have received their SLC.¹¹

¹¹ SLC: School Leaving Certificate; earned after successful pass of a national standardized test incorporating material from grades 1-10.

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Table 4.6 presents a life table analysis of age at entry into schooling for ten year cohorts of men and women in Sangila. We can see here how schooling has become more widely available and is taken advantage of by increasing proportions of children with each new birth cohort. Prior to the 1950-51 change of government schooling was restricted to an extremely small percentage of males. For the males born before 1936, who reached age 15 prior to the change in government, only 4.4 per cent had attended school by age 15. None of the women of this birth cohort attended school. All cohorts born after 1936 are influenced by the sudden expansion of schooling opportunities, and we can see the dramatic increase of schooling experience across the cohorts, especially for males. Thus, 20 per cent of the males born from 1936-45 attended school by age 15 while two thirds of those born between 1966 and 1975 are projected to do so.

Female school attendance has also increased, but the onset of that increase occurred later and involves a smaller proportion than for males. For example, through the birth cohort of 1956-65 the fraction of women who had attended school by age 10 was less than 3 percent, but this increased to 11 percent for the youngest birth cohort. It is clear that females are not sent to school to the extent that males are and this holds true for every cohort and every age. We can also see from the table that some males enter school for the first time after age 15 while this is hardly ever true for females. This may be related to the earlier marriages of females who are almost certainly not given possibilities for schooling in the homes of their in-laws.

Table 4.6: Life Table Estimates for Cumulative Proportions Entering School through Age X by Sex and Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75
	90	49	89	105	166	113	61	115	119	150
5	.000	.061	.022	.133	.133	.000	.000	.000	.001	.047
10	.044	.204	.326	.476	.645	.000	.000	.026	.042	.213
15	.078	.204	.382	.562	.733	.000	.000	.026	.059	.221
20	.078	.204	.382	.562	---	.000	.000	.026	.059	---
25	.089	.224	.382	.562	---	.000	.000	.026	.059	---
30	.089	.224	.382	---	---	.000	.000	.026	---	---

It is clear that continued schooling requires a commitment from parents in Sangila. As with Timling, the single most often cited reason for quitting school for men and women was the need to help parents.¹² Out of 120 males who quit school, 74 (62%) cited this as a reason; 62 (52%) mentioned quitting to pursue wagework, while 57 (48%) mentioned expense as the reason for leaving. Other reasons, such as there being no further grades locally available were mentioned by fewer people. Thus, 21 (18%) of these males quitting mentioned the lack of additional grades in their schools as a reason. For the 36 women who quit school, 20 (56%) mentioned the need to help parents, 7 (19%) mentioned wagework, and only 4 (11%) mentioned no grades as reasons for leaving.

Table 4.7: Languages Spoken and Literacy in Nepali in Sangila.

	Men	Women
Interview Language		
Nepali	503 (99.8%)	530 (99.6%)
Tamang	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.2%)
Speak Tamang	497 (98.6%)	518 (97.4%)
Speak Tamang		
Well	477 (94.6%)	499 (93.8%)
Middling	14 (2.8%)	9 (1.7%)
A Little	4 (.8%)	6 (1.4%)
None	7 (1.4%)	14 (2.6%)
Speak Other Languages (Besides Tamang & Nepali)	124 (24.6%)	27 (5.1%)
Read Nepali	247 (49.0%)	22 (4.1%)
Write a Letter in Nepali	221 (43.8%)	19 (3.6%)

The high rate of schooling relative to Timling translates into nearly double rates of literacy as shown by the figures in Table 4.7. Nearly half of our male respondents reported the ability to read Nepali and although only 4% of the women can read, this figure is a marked difference from the 0% of Timling women who reported that ability. Similar levels of

¹² We should note that respondents were allowed to mention multiple reasons for leaving school so that the totals may sum to more than 100%.

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writing ability are also found in Sangila. Of course, some people achieved literacy without schooling. One old man, for example, recounted the story of how he learned to read by copying the Nepali alphabet onto his leg when in Kathmandu to sell wood. When he arrived back at his home in Tarebhir, he transferred these letters to the wall of his house and practiced them every day until he could read and write with ease.

Another striking difference from Timling is found in the percentage of people who speak Nepali. While only 62% of Timling males and 22% of Timling females reported the ability to speak Nepali well, Nepali speaking skills are nearly universal in Sangila, the exceptions being one old couple who never bothered to learn. In fact, Sangila is immersed in national Nepali culture to such an extent that we report figures in Table 4.8 for the degree of linguistic ability in Tamang itself. Although the number of non-speakers is quite small, it is significant that Nepali is the language of the home for even a small number of our respondents.

Residence and Living Arrangements. While Sangila's residents have long been aware of opportunities for work and travel beyond the confines of their community, the need for mobility has never been as pressing in Sangila as in Timling. Thus, the levels of overall experience outside the community area is considerably lower than that for Timling as can be seen in Table 4.8. Where 85% of Timling's ever-married men have lived outside for a period of a month or longer, the corresponding figure for Sangila is 59%. The magnitude of difference for women is even greater, with 61% of Timling's ever-married women living outside for a month or more compared to only 19% of Sangila's. The primary destinations also differ for the ever-married, and hence older, respondents. In the past, primary destinations for people from Timling were seen to be outside of Nepal or into the Terai in search of labor. In contrast, our Sangila residents have always had Kathmandu (here having the meaning of within the ring road surrounding Kathmandu and Patan) as their primary destination.

Although the overall levels are lower than for Timling, it appears that in Sangila, too, the experience of living away from the village before marriage is becoming more prevalent for more recent cohorts. Never-married males are more likely to report living in Kathmandu than ever-married males before marriage--38% compared to 22%. Their levels of living in the Pokhara or Terai regions of Nepal are, however, about the same and they are less likely to live outside of Nepal before marriage. It is possible, if the ever-married males have not lived in more than one place before marriage, that the overall level of living away for men is roughly the same since the sum of all destinations for ever-married men is roughly the same as the total percentage of never-married males who report living away at all for a month or more. For women, however, the trend is toward an obvious increase in this

Table 4.8: Residence Away from Sangila for One Month or Longer.

	Men	Women
Ever-married Respondents		
Ever lived outside	220 (59.3%)	81 (18.7%)
Kathmandu		
Before Marriage	81 (21.8%)	30 (6.9%)
After Marriage	105 (28.3%)	30 (6.9%)
Entire Life	144 (38.8%)	49 (11.3%)
Pokhara/Terai		
Before Marriage	26 (7.0%)	5 (1.2%)
After Marriage	67 (18.1%)	8 (1.8%)
Entire Life	89 (24.0%)	14 (3.2%)
Outside of Nepal		
Before Marriage	35 (9.4%)	1 (0.2%)
After Marriage	52 (14.0%)	2 (0.4%)
Entire Life	78 (21.0%)	3 (0.7%)
Never-Married Respondents		
Ever lived outside	51 (38.3%)	32 (32.3%)
Kathmandu	39 (29.3%)	26 (26.3%)
Pokhara/Terai	10 (7.5%)	3 (3.0%)
Outside of Nepal	6 (4.5%)	0 (0.0%)

experience. A total of 32% of the never-married women have lived away from Sangila for a month or more compared to only 19% of the ever-married women. Nearly all of these women report living in Kathmandu before marriage.

In Table 4.9, we examine the further dimension of living arrangements, again finding that the overall levels for Timling residents are higher with respect to living away from parents for a month or more before marriage. The experiences of ever-married men are quite close between the two settings, but levels for never-married males

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Table 4.9: Living Arrangements before Marriage in Sangila.

	Men	Women

Ever-married Respondents		
Ever Lived Apart from Parents 1 Month or Longer	119 (32.1%)	41 (9.5%)
To Attend School	7 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
With Other Relatives	38 (10.2%)	17 (3.9%)
With Older Non-Relatives	18 (4.9%)	5 (1.2%)
With Friends	77 (20.8%)	18 (4.2%)
Institutional Housing	25 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Alone	24 (6.5%)	4 (0.9%)
Never-Married Respondents		
Ever Lived Apart from Parents 1 Month or Longer	51 (38.3%)	32 (32.3%)
To Attend School	3 (2.3%)	0 (0.0%)
With Other Relatives	23 (17.3%)	15 (15.2%)
With Older Non-Relatives	14 (10.5%)	2 (2.0%)
With Friends	28 (21.1%)	18 (18.2%)
Institutional Housing	4 (3.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Alone	6 (4.5%)	0 (0.0%)

and for all women are considerably higher in the more remote setting of Timling. Living apart from parents, moreover, does not dramatically increase for males in Sangila when never-married males are compared with their married seniors although there is a large jump in this experience for females. And finally, we can see that never-married females move much

closer to the experience of never-married males in Sangila than in Timling. Thus, although the levels here are different from Timling for the younger group, there is a pattern of increasing experience of living away and mostly with friends in Sangila, too. This increase is found mostly in living with other relatives and with friends where in Timling the increases are mostly in the category of living with friends.

Work. We have seen that work in Sangila continues to be tied to the agricultural domestic economy although levels of monetization even there appear to be much higher than is typical for our remote setting. In Table 4.11, we provide figures for the experience of various categories of income generating employment throughout the lives of all of our respondents. Nearly every male and female 12 years old and above in Sangila has worked at some time in their life on their family farms without pay. In spite of these high levels, it is significant that there are any respondents at all that have not had this experience.

Table 4.10: Work Experience of Men and Women in Sangila.

Activity	Men	Women
I. Work Without Pay: Family Farm and Domestic Work		
Family Farm Work	460 (91.3%)	513 (96.4%)
II. Income Generating Work		
A. Organized Within Village		
Selling Produce	114 (22.6%)	144 (27.1%)
Farm Work for Wages	67 (13.3%)	67 (12.6%)
Family Business	101 (20.0%)	68 (12.8%)
B. Non-Family Work		
Army	102 (20.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Servant	18 (3.6%)	5 (0.9%)
Roadwork	79 (15.7%)	13 (2.4%)
Factory	88 (17.5%)	84 (15.8%)
Building	67 (13.3%)	6 (1.1%)
Carting	2 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Driver	2 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Porter	15 (3.0%)	1 (0.2%)
Other	122 (24.2%)	12 (2.3%)

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Within Sangila, 338 (67%) of the males and 150 (28%) of the females report having any experience at all of income generating activities outside of agriculture for a month or more. For Timling, the comparable figures are 85% for men and 64% for women. These differentials by themselves tell us that the notion of what counts as a scale of monetization is itself a complex issue. While Timling overall levels of experience at income generating work for a month or more may be higher, Table 4.11 makes it quite clear that the kinds of work engaged in by people from the two settings are very different. In Sangila, we can see a much wider range of activities as well as substantial evidence of longstanding participation in activities consistent with proximity to the urban center of Kathmandu. Thus men in Sangila participate in soldiery at quite high levels, while factory employment, and building construction are important categories of work in this area. The undesignated category of "other" for this setting includes a wide array of jobs, usually of the maintenance sort, with government offices in the city, while for Timling this category is more likely to include manual labor jobs. The picture of work experience for the men of Sangila is one of more involvement in stable, long-term forms of employment in comparison with the work performed by Timling people.

Women in Sangila are far less likely to be involved in income generation than men. The exceptions are in forms of work that keep them closer to the community. Thus, selling produce is an important category for Sangila women as are the other kinds of work found in the village area. Women's experience of non-family work is itself predominantly factory employment and this is largely in the carpet factories that have sprung up since 1980 at the edge of the road in Budanilakantha. The relative lack of female involvement in income generation compared to men in Sangila, then, appears to be related to a sense that their proper domain is near the community and the domestic group. Whether this is the result of greater Hinduization in this area relative to Timling is a question that needs exploration by including data from a range of other Tamang communities.

As with Timling, we are able to get a sense of historical trends in the propensity to work at income generating activities by examining life tables for the various kinds of employment. In Table 4.11 we examine trends for participation in family enterprises and local agricultural work for pay (village work). Here male participation across cohorts is somewhat uneven. The drop in rates for the 1936-45 birth cohort may be related to events that occurred with the change in government in the 1950's and the decade of instability following. For women the pattern is equally unclear. The decline in rates of participation for the 1946-55 birth cohort may reflect the sudden availability of outside wage labor activities as alternatives to family enterprise and farm work. Evidence for this exists in Table 4.12 where the 1946-55 birth cohort of women is

the first to substantially participate in the outside wage labor economy.¹³

Table 4.11: Life Table Estimates of Cumulative Proportions Working at Family Enterprise or in Village Agriculture for Wages for One Month or More through Age X by Sex and Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936 90	36-45 49	46-55 89	56-65 105	66-75 167	<1936 114	36-45 61	46-55 115	56-65 119	66-75 150
5	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
10	.022	.020	.034	.010	.006	.009	.000	.009	.025	.007
15	.222	.082	.180	.105	.112	.105	.115	.078	.143	.136
20	.300	.102	.247	.171	---	.167	.197	.113	.219	---
25	.333	.184	.258	.181	---	.202	.246	.122	.284	---
30	.367	.204	.281	---	---	.219	.262	.139	---	---

Turning to Table 4.12, we can see the dramatic and regular transformation of non-familial, non-agricultural labor opportunities in Sangila. The involvement of early cohorts of men is quite high and yet there are regular increases across cohorts. Taking the cumulative proportions of male participation by age 20 as a benchmark, we can see dramatic increases from 26% for the earliest birth cohort to 58% for one of the most recent. Non-familial wage work for the earliest cohorts is largely army, forestry, and peon work consistent with past corvee requirements for which small amounts of subsistence money was paid. The steady and dramatic increases in wage work that characterize cohorts from 1946-55 to 1966-75, however, reflect an entirely different world of possibility for the Tamang with increases in road building and construction and, importantly, participation in factory work. For women, the rates of participation in non-family organized work have increased from virtually nothing, except for the earliest cohort which was subject

¹³In a table not shown here this same cohort of women is suddenly involved in labor and roadwork, too. This is precisely the group that we would expect to be most susceptible to participation in the road building and improvement occurring throughout the later 1960's and 70's. Moreover, these activities were carried out within or nearby the Sangila area itself, thus making them available to women in culturally acceptable ways.

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to the demands of labor taxes, to fairly high levels. Evidence presented in Fricke and Thornton (1989) suggests that marriage tends to take women out of the non-familial wage market. With that in mind, we can look at work experience by the age of 15 as a benchmark since few women are likely to be marriage by that age. Here we find a steady increase in work experience from no participation for those women born from 1936-45 to 37% participation by the time of the youngest cohort.

Table 4.12: Life Table Estimates of Cumulative Proportions Working for Wages Outside of Family Enterprises and Outside of Village Agriculture for One Month or More through Age X by Sex and by Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75
	88	47	89	104	167	114	61	114	118	143
5	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
10	.000	.000	.022	.000	.012	.009	.000	.000	.008	.014
15	.068	.085	.146	.192	.383	.018	.000	.035	.076	.374
20	.261	.313	.461	.577	---	.018	.000	.114	.153	---
25	.477	.458	.629	.744	---	.026	.000	.167	.206	---
30	.500	.500	.753	---	---	.044	.000	.184	---	---

Because factory employment is known to be an important category for both men and women in Sangila, we show a life table for participation in this form of work in Table 4.13. Here we see the only example of outside wage work in which women achieve parity of participation and even surpass that of men. This trend has occurred with the 1956-65 and 1966-75 birth cohorts where we find females entering occupations at about the same rate as men. In the carpet factories of Sangila, they clearly surpass men in participation. One of the most dramatic findings demonstrated in these tables is the strong interaction of factory participation with the life course position of both men and women. Carpet factories have become an important employer in the Kathmandu Valley in just the last decade and they have been taken advantage of primarily by people entering their teenage years during the recent period when the factories were introduced.

In Sangila, only a few older men and women from the earliest birth cohorts gave carpet factory employment a try. These employment opportunities represent a clear and dramatic transformation of the work experience of young people in this area. Their impact on older people, linked to the changes in domestic group labor diversification and the relationships with younger family members, may also be powerful.

Table 4.13: Life Table Estimates of Cumulative Proportions Working at any Factory Job for One Month or More through Age X by Sex and by Ten Year Birth Cohort.

AGE (N)	MALES					FEMALES				
	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	<1936	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75
	89	49	89	105	166	114	61	115	118	142
5	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
10	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.007
15	.000	.000	.000	.038	.267	.000	.000	.000	.042	.328
20	.022	.000	.022	.162	---	.000	.000	.000	.102	---
25	.034	.000	.034	.183	---	.000	.000	.000	.146	---
30	.034	.000	.056	---	---	.000	.000	.000	---	---

Marriage. Although mixed, the general trend of changes in earlier parts of the life course has been toward greater participation of both genders in schooling, living experiences away from parents and the community, and greater participation in the non-familial wage labor economy. Marriage among the Tamang of Sangila represents a life event of fundamental importance for both individuals and the groups joined by the institution and here, as in Timling, changes in marriage are an important barometer of wider social changes. In Table 4.15 we display the reports of women of three cohorts who have ever been married at least once along a range of dimensions important to the marriage process.

Looking at women's experience before marriage, we see a pattern of increase in the experience of living out of the community before marriage. For women born before 1946, this was virtually an unknown experience with only 2% reporting having done so for a month or more. By the time of the most recent cohort, that born after 1965, the percentage of women reporting this experience has risen to 18%. In a parallel way, the percentage of women reporting non-family organized wagework before their

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first marriages rises from virtually none to 21%. Together with those who reported working at both family organized and non-family organized wage labor before marriage, the rise is even more dramatic, from almost none to 32%. We also see a decline in the percentages reporting no work at all and work in family organized money making.

Table 4.14: Transitions in Living Arrangements, Work, and First Marriage Processes in Sangila.

	Birth Year			Total %
	<1946 %	46-65 %	66-75 %	

Live out of village before marriage				
No	98	89	82	92
Yes	2	11	18	8
Wagework before marriage				
None	72	66	52	67
Family Only	27	22	16	24
Family & Nonfamily	0	4	11	3
Nonfamily Only	1	8	21	7
Who chose spouse				
Entirely other	58	50	52	54
Together	32	36	25	33
R alone	10	13	23	13
Wealth transfers at marriage				
No	47	52	45	49
Yes	53	48	55	51
Bride service after marriage				
No	65	60	64	63
Yes	35	40	36	37

Tracking the marital processes of these three cohorts of women, we find evidence of both change and continuity with the past. The tendency for women to choose their first spouses themselves more than doubles from 10% in the earliest cohort to 23% in the last. The percentages of women whose spouses are chosen entirely by others has decreased slightly over this period although even in the youngest cohort over half the women had

their first marriages arranged entirely by others. We might expect these changes, as in Timling, to be associated with declines in the percentages reporting wealth transfers from the husband's to the wife's family at marriage and bride service. Yet the cohort trends for these dimensions of the marriage process are more or less flat for the women of Sangila.

Recalling that in Timling these activities appear to decline with the increase in women's autonomous marital decision making, we can only speculate as to the reasons for this here. One possibility is that increasing non-familial work experience in Sangila continues to be located largely within the bounds of the community area while residence away from home is generally in Kathmandu and still within a short bus ride of the village area. Wealth transfers continue to be at levels roughly similar to those for marital choice by others and further analysis is necessary to discover what types of marriages are involved in these. Similarly, bride service appears to have never been engaged in here at the high levels found in Timling. The levels experienced in Sangila are well within the percentages of marriages arranged by others. The changes occurring in Sangila in general do not involve the high rates that we find in Timling. The parallel patterns of change among early life course experience variables and marriage process variables are correspondingly less obvious and require the multivariate analyses planned for the next stages of the project.

Population

Our analyses of population data for the Sangila portion of our sample is less developed in some respects than that for Timling, yet we have been able to take advantage of the higher number of contraceptors in this population to perform some more sophisticated analyses of fertility limitation. Most of what we present in this section is derived from Axinn's investigation of the onset of fertility decline in the area (1990a, 1990b). Sangila, like Timling, has become a contracepting population within the lifetimes of its older residents. Moreover it has been one for a longer period than Timling and the forms of contraception practiced are more varied and are used by both women and men. The last cohort for which there are no women with experience of contraception is that born before 1933, that is women 55 years old or more at the time of data collection.

Table 4.15 (extracted from Axinn 1990a), summarizes the information we have for cohort trends in fertility and preferences for all currently married women at the time of our fieldwork. As with natural fertility populations the mean number of children ever born increases smoothly with the age of women. The last group who can be said to represent a natural fertility population regime, women born before 1933, are also beyond their reproductive years. Here the mean number of children ever born was 6.43, comparable to that for other natural fertility groups in South Asia, although lower than many for reasons that may have to do with relatively late ages at marriage for the Tamang relative to other groups.

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Importantly, the percentage of women using a contraceptive method is increasing in more recent cohorts until nearly a third of the women in the cohort aged 25-34 are limiting their fertility in this way. Only

Table 4.15: Cohort Trends in Fertility Behavior and Preferences and Distribution of Contraceptive Use by Method in Sangila.

I. Cohort Trends in Fertility

Birth Cohort Age	>1962 <25	1953-62 25-34	1943-52 35-44	1933-42 45-54	1923-32 44-64
# Currently Married Women	72	93	70	59	51
Mean Number of Children Ever Born	1.07	3.38	5.04	6.12	6.43
% Contracepting	7%	33%	31%	12%	0%
% Desiring More Children	69%	24%	9%	0%	0%

II. Contraceptive Users by Method

Method:	Pill	IUD	Injection	Abstinence	Vasectomy	Laparoscopy
%	9%	3%	10%	1%	53%	24%

Total: 69 Women

a small number of women under age 25 are using contraception for reasons which are probably related to the high percentage (69%) of them who desire more children. Some support for this is found in the figures for percentage desiring more children in the two older cohorts where contraceptive methods are most widely used--a much smaller 24% and 9%. Later cohorts are largely beyond their childbearing years in any event and the 0% desiring any more children would not be expected to translate into large proportions using contraception as found in the younger cohorts.

The causal factors involved in explaining the onset of this fertility limitation have been reported in Axinn (1990a, 1990b). Briefly, the evidence suggests the importance of participation in organized development efforts, notably the Small Farmers Development Program which has been active in the Sangila area for about a decade. Another extremely interesting finding from these analyses is that which suggests that the schooling experience of a woman's children is related to her propensity to adopt contraception--indeed children's education was shown to be more powerful than that of both parents, a finding suggestive of a number of interpretations.

Among the possibilities are those which relate to the comments of Timling's people with respect to the disadvantages of large family size in the reduced patrimony for their children. The same culturally perceived need to provide an establishment fund for children may, in the current economic context for Sangila, include the need to educate children to make them more competitive. The expense of educating children would be felt most directly by parents, who must sacrifice their labor contribution to the domestic economy for the period when they are in school and studying even as they must continue to produce for the consumption of their whole family. At the same time, these parents would need to pay for the clothing and supplies required for their children's schooling.

Finally, Axinn also found that, while the experience of mothers outside of their families--in work, living arrangements, and schools--before marriage were not related to their propensity to adopt contraception in Sangila, the experiences of their husbands and their fathers were. The reasons for this and other associations await further analyses, but are strongly supportive of research that investigates fertility and contraceptive behavior in terms of wider family and kin processes as they intertwine with individual life experiences.

The last row in Table 4.15 displays the distribution for methods of contraception reported by 69 couples using any contraception in Sangila. Two methods explicitly asked about on the questionnaire--foam and condoms--were not reported by any respondent. The most prevalent methods used are the permanent ones of vasectomy (53%) for husbands and laparoscopy (24%) for wives. Pill and injection are used by about the same number of women while IUDs are used by a small number of respondents.

Women below age 50 who were currently married were asked if they desired more children. Of these 282 women in Sangila, 112 (40%) responded that they wanted more. And of those who desired more, 43 (38%) said that they wanted as many as came or as many as God gave them.¹⁴ Together with the information extracted from the Axinn analyses above, these figures suggest that Sangila is quite different from Timling with respect to

¹⁴ Compare to Timling where 88 out of 121 (73%) reported wanting more children and 51 of these 88 (58%) said they wanted as many as God gave them.

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attitudes toward fertility limitation. Some of the contextual features of Sangila with respect to the kinship structure of cooperative networks may offer additional suggestions for why this is so and we are currently exploring these issues in ongoing project analyses.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Although our intent in this report has been to provide descriptive summaries for each of the settings rather than complete analyses, we nevertheless feel that a number of important implications for our understanding of family and social change in the Nepal Himalaya and more generally derive from our experience. We will discuss these briefly under the headings of methodology, substantive implications for Nepal, and more general implications for theories of family and social change.

Issues of method. Writing thirty years ago, Oscar Lewis asked what the special contribution of anthropology to family studies might look like (Lewis 1950). Lewis's work in Tepoztlan, a complex and changing village of 3500 people, convinced him that reliance on a few informants was inadequate to the task of obtaining an accurate picture of culture and society. Questions of sampling and representativeness were as important there as in the study of an urban society.

The issues that Lewis raised are still with us as we continue to consider family and demographic change in specific social contexts. And the tension between the intensive knowledge that ethnographic data collection stresses and the more extensive, statistically representative knowledge that survey approaches can provide continue to organize the discussion.¹ Thus both anthropological and demographic literature make reference to joining "ethnographic" and "survey" approaches to data collection (Johnson 1978; Bernard 1988; Caldwell 1984, 1985).

Although a variety of models have been offered, our view is that they fail to take fullest advantage of the mutually reinforcing strengths of combined ethnographic and survey styles of data collection. Caldwell's microdemography comes closest, having been explicitly presented as using a research method "indistinguishable in approach from that of anthropologists" (Caldwell *et al.* 1987: 33), although there are important differences from both more standard ethnographic and survey techniques. Other models presented as possible unions of qualitative and quantitative research designs include the use of focus groups to clarify and extend the depth of analysis possible from surveys. Approaches closer to the standard survey end of the continuum include data collection efforts using survey instruments with high degrees of culture-specific content such as the Asian Marriage Survey (cf. Fricke *et al.* 1987; Cherlin and Chamratrithirong 1988).

¹ Lewis, for example, distinguished between anthropological and sociological approaches to the family. Sociological approaches, in his view, were more segmented and oriented to specific problems. Anthropological approaches were more generalizing, emphasizing "the structural and formal aspects of the family rather than...the content and variety of actual family life" (1950: 470).

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We believe that the methodology used in the Tamang Family Research Project represents a useful model for other studies of social and family change in community settings. The advantages deriving from community studies of social change are a by-product of the intensive local knowledge available to the ethnographer and relate to issues of data quality and accuracy, the multiple levels of data that can be collected, and the ability to observe key social processes as they occur. Rapport with members of the study community, for example, comes about as the researchers grow to know people and as people themselves become comfortable with the investigator. One result is that they are less likely to alter their behavior in his or her presence. Further, as the investigator inevitably grows more familiar with personal and community histories he or she is increasingly able to ask questions with concrete references and to observe behavior with knowledge of their local context.

Knowledge of local context means that behavior can be placed into an expanded and meaningful frame with enhanced significance for the study as dictated by the case study method (Mitchell 1983). For example, a child gleaning potatoes from an already harvested field is not simply an unknown child of about 12 years in an unknown field. He becomes the son of a particular person, living in a family of known economic status and structure, given permission to glean potatoes in the field of a person with a particular kin or friend or landlord relationship to his family. At the least, this density of knowledge provides apt illustrations for the more general social processes determined through other means. More fruitfully, the unforeseen events of village life can provide theoretical insights and deepen the interpretation of standardized data gathered through questionnaires.

From the point of view of quantifiable data, our study has demonstrated the possibilities for gathering high quality information in settings considered difficult or remote by normal large scale survey standards. The descriptive findings we have presented here for such hard to measure variables as animal holdings show a high level of internal consistency and are, moreover, consistent with independent data gathering efforts by both our own project members and others. Moreover, we have shown that community studies need not be incompatible with the collection of sufficient data for sophisticated statistical analyses. Our total coverage of each of our settings has allowed the construction of life tables for theoretically important experiences across cohorts. Completed analyses (Fricke 1990; Axinn 1990a) and work in progress (Fricke and Thornton n.d.; Axinn 1990b) demonstrates our ability to apply various regression analyses to our data for the testing of causal models. At the same time, the fully contextualized meanings of the associations we are discovering among variables is made possible by the ethnographic and historical materials, field notes, and transcripts from informal interviews we have also gathered. Some of these have been presented here.

More prosaically, our work suggests important techniques and revision of received wisdom for data collection strategies themselves. For example, analyses by Axinn (1989a, 1989b) have shown that ethnicity need be no bar to collecting such data in the complex Nepali context while also demonstrating the high quality survey data that female interviewers can gather even in difficult circumstances. Another finding is that robust life history information suitable for the analysis of historical trajectories within communities can be gathered within largely illiterate populations. We have been aided in fixing the timing of events by the Tamang use of the lho system, but others have already commented on the possibility of this type of work in other populations (cf. Howell 1974, 1976). Finally, the possibilities for gathering deeply textured forms of data from communities suggests that these types of study involving combinatory anthropology and survey research provide an important adjunct to national level surveys. They can contribute to our knowledge of concrete social processes in unique ways that can aid the interpretation of these national efforts.

Implications for Research in Nepal. Alan Macfarlane in 1976 noted the failure of anthropologists to confront the issue of social change in the Himalaya and elsewhere and suggested that the prime mover of this change was population growth (1976: 5). The TFRP ratifies at least part of this crucial point: the central fact of adaptation in the Himalayan setting is that it is changing and, indeed, has rarely been in stasis in historical times. The range of studies that have followed up Macfarlane's focus on demography, from aggregate level studies of population dynamics (Banister and Thapa 1981) to more fine-grained studies focusing on special issues within demography (Karki 1984; Nag et al. 1978; Ross 1981), have made it clear that population processes are themselves highly variable and integrated with the same social organizational, environmental, and political relationships that structure other aspects of human adaptation.

The summary data presented in this report makes it clear that Nepal's communities, from the remote to those closer to urban centers, have been changing throughout the lives of their current residents. These changes have included processes of monetization and participation of individuals in wage labor. More recently, schooling has become an important part of the picture. Developments in Himalayan research (cf. Fricke 1989) call for the theoretical and methodological sophistication appropriate to relating individual behavior to the whole range of contextual levels--historical, political, social organizational, household--within which it occurs.

The past orientation of studies in the Himalaya toward specific empirical issues unmotivated by a larger theory of social change has been problematic here. Their strong point has been in the increasing refinement of detail concerning particular processes, such as the demographic (Macfarlane 1976; Fricke 1986), or the relationships between a

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limited set of domains, such as ethnicity, environment, and economy (Caplan 1970). Others have focused on general changes in local productive behavior within communities (Dahal 1983) or have provided case studies of particular families (Hitchcock 1963). These issue oriented studies have been weaker, however, in linking individual strategic variation to historical relationships between locally relevant groups within villages, political relationships between communities, and the processes of state development in the Himalaya. The Tamang Family Research Project material presented here suggests that integrated studies simultaneously investigating all of these levels are necessary for a full understanding of social change processes.

Family and Social Change. As a final comment in this report, we briefly suggest that the two village comparison built into our research raises important issues for theories of family and social change. Greenhalgh (1990) has recently suggested that too much attention has been given to modelling the demographic transition rather than allowing for the possibility of multiple histories of social change conditioned by local and highly variant cultures and histories. Her solution, that we focus instead on particular histories and particular contexts to explore demographic transitions, finds its parallels in a recent criticism of the assumptions of progressive evolutionary change embedded in family history and theory (Thornton n.d.). Among these assumptions are those that assume the social character of families to be characterized by a tightly integrated functional relationship among economic activities, the autonomy of juniors within family groups, the character of affection, and the like. Implicitly, change is seen in terms of a more or less linear sequence of stages from familial organization to individuated societies.

Our data begin to suggest the real complexity of changes and cast some doubt on the linearity of change. Thus, Sangila's integration into the monetized economy of Nepal has in some ways been more longstanding and diversified than that of Timling. Schooling has been a real possibility for much longer; the types of occupations pursued by its residents, especially males, are more stable; the reliance on kin-based networks of cooperation is in some ways less overwhelming than that of Timling. If change truly conformed to a linear progressive pattern then our two village cross-section might be taken as representative of two points in the continuum of change. Yet, the differences between Sangila and Timling will not conform to this model.

For example, standard theoretical expectations are that in contexts such as Sangila's the autonomy of junior household members should be more evident and the importance of kin networks truncated. Where a strictly typological view is taken marriage processes--from choice to wealth transfers between families--would be expected to reflect the exposure to the "modernizing" affects of school and employment opportunities. A comparison of the marriage data for women in our two communities suggests

a more complex picture. Thus data from Timling show trends in expected directions. Marital choice by individual women rises in pace with increases in waged work before marriage and these changes appear associated with declines in wealth transfers and bride service in the expected direction. In Sangila, on the other hand, schooling for women is at far higher levels than in Timling. Monetary payments and labor groups that include non-kin are also more evident in the contemporary community. Similarly, the ability to speak Nepali is virtually universal in Sangila while in Timling fewer than 50% of the women speak it. Yet, choice of spouse entirely by others has declined very little in spite of substantial increases in work experience before marriage. Even more puzzling, wealth transfers at marriage have more or less maintained their levels and this is true in spite of demonstrably greater monetization in the pattern of cooperation in Sangila relative to Timling. Nevertheless, in spite of less autonomy in marital decision making, family planning acceptance rates are much higher and the desire for additional children less pronounced than in Timling.

At the very least, these descriptive patterns reveal the underlying complexity of change and argue that a search for primary universal causes divorced from the contexts in which they are relevant is misdirected. The important elements for explaining change in one situation may be different than those for another for reasons that require an examination of particular social, cultural, and historical contexts. This demands that researchers gather quite specific local information. The point we wish to make is not that the changes in these variables are without consequences; rather, we believe that the picture we have of Timling and Sangila at this stage of research indicates relationships of greater complexity than those straightforwardly derived from theories of family change that do not incorporate life course, family, and community organization into their frameworks. Subsequent analyses planned for the Tamang Family Research Project are directed toward an examination of these multiple relationships.

APPENDIX A
PARTICIPANTS IN TAMANG FAMILY RESEARCH PROJECT

PARTICIPANTS	SETTINGS OF PROJECT WORK
<u>Institute for Social Research</u>	
Thomas E. Fricke	Sangila/Timling
Arland Thornton	Sangila/Timling
William G. Axinn	Sangila
<u>Center for Nepal and Asian Studies</u>	
Dilli R. Dahal	Sangila
<u>Dhading District Development Project</u>	
Krishna P. Rimal	Sangila/Timling
<u>Interview and other Data Collection Staff</u>	
Lokendra Bohara (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Lal Bahadur Ghale (Timling)	Timling
Sirman Ghale (Timling)	Timling
Sita Gurung (Darkha)	Sangila
Parsuram Lama (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Krishna Bahadur Lama (Tarebhir)	Sangila
Nirmal Lama (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Rajendra K. Lama (Budaniakantha)*	Sangila/Timling
Laxman Satyal (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Sabitri Shrestha (Kathmandu)	Sangila/Timling
Shiva Lal Shrestha (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Susma Shrestha (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Tirtha Shrestha (Dulikhel)*	Sangila/Timling
Leela Sthapit (Kathmandu)*	Sangila/Timling
Sabita Sthapit (Kathmandu)	Sangila
Meena K. Tamang (Darkha)*	Sangila/Timling
Ram Bahadur Tamang (Darkha)	Sangila/Timling
Shamsher Bahadur Tamang (Darkha)	Sangila/Timling
Tar Lama Tamang (Borang)	Sangila
Tej Bahadur Tamang (Darkha)	Sangila/Timling

* Questionnaire coding staff in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

APPENDIX B

TAMANG AND GHALE CLANS IN TIMLING & SANGILA
AND NUMBERS OF MEN & WOMEN 12 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER IN STUDY

	Males	Females
<u>Timling</u>		
Ghale (Gyeldang)	108 (43%)	100 (43%)
Damrong	78 (31%)	49 (21%)
Gomja	28 (11%)	39 (17%)
Mamba	26 (10%)	34 (15%)
Mepa	9 (4%)	11 (5%)
Dimdung	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
<u>Sangila</u>		
Shyangdan	144 (29%)	131 (25%)
Pakhrin	0 (0%)	3 (1%)
Moktan	39 (8%)	38 (7%)
Tokhra	0 (0%)	1 (0%)
Gole	58 (12%)	66 (12%)
Bajyu	74 (15%)	50 (9%)
Bal	8 (2%)	8 (2%)
Dong	5 (1%)	13 (2%)
Titung	2 (0%)	2 (0%)
Waiba	9 (2%)	11 (2%)
Tu	1 (0%)	5 (1%)
Rumba	22 (4%)	30 (6%)
Gyaba	2 (0%)	0 (0%)
Thing	58 (12%)	57 (11%)
Lo	27 (5%)	23 (4%)
Glan	6 (1%)	18 (3%)
Blon	38 (8%)	39 (7%)
Shyangbo	0 (0%)	3 (1%)
Bomjan	5 (1%)	24 (5%)
Ghising	0 (0%)	1 (0%)
Lopchan	3 (1%)	1 (0%)
Lungba	0 (0%)	2 (0%)
Yonjan	0 (0%)	2 (0%)
<u>Non-Tamang Spouses of Tamang in Sangila</u>		
Chhetri	0 (0%)	1 (0%)
Gurung	2 (0%)	1 (0%)
Rai	0 (0%)	1 (0%)
Clan Unknown	1 (0%) ¹	1 (0%) ²

¹ Deaf-mute adopted by 1 family.

² Spouse of man living outside temporarily; proxy interview.

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APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX D

TAMANG KIN TERMS (ANKHU KHOLA AREA)
(Compare with Hoefler 1969)

FF,MF & their brothers.....	<u>meme</u>
FM,MM & their sisters.....	<u>mam</u>
F.....	<u>apa</u> (DH: <u>babi</u>)
M.....	<u>ama</u>
FeB.....	<u>apagren</u> (DH: <u>babugren</u>)
FyB.....	<u>apachyangba</u> (DH: <u>babuchyangba</u>)
MB.....	<u>asyang</u>
FZ.....	<u>anyi</u>
MeZ.....	<u>amagren</u>
MyZ.....	<u>amachyangba</u>
eB.....	<u>achyo</u>
yB.....	<u>ale</u>
eZ.....	<u>ana</u>
yZ.....	<u>anga</u>
FBS (elder than ego).....	<u>achyo</u>
FBS (younger than ego).....	<u>ale</u>
FBD (elder than ego).....	<u>ana</u>
FBD (younger than ego).....	<u>anga</u>
FZS (elder than ego).....	<u>mhaa</u>
FZS (younger than ego).....	<u>mhaa</u>
FZD (older than male ego).....	<u>sali</u> (some people call her <u>ana</u> if she isn't married or if she's much older; also <u>soltini</u>)
FZD (older than female ego).....	<u>soltini</u> (add: <u>ana</u>)
FZD (younger than female ego).....	<u>soltini</u> (add: <u>anga</u>)
MBS (elder than ego).....	<u>mhaa</u> (add: <u>achyo</u> , <u>solti</u>)
MBS (younger than female ego).....	<u>solti</u> (add: <u>ale</u> , <u>asyangi ja</u>)
MBS (younger than male ego).....	<u>syhangbo</u>
MBD (elder than male ego).....	<u>soltini</u> (add: <u>ana</u>)
MBD (younger than male ego).....	<u>sali</u> (add: <u>anga</u>)
MZS (older than ego).....	<u>achyo</u>
MZS (younger than ego).....	<u>ale</u>
MZD (older than ego).....	<u>ana</u>
MZD (younger than ego).....	<u>anga</u>
S.....	<u>ja</u>
D.....	<u>jame</u>
BS (male ego).....	<u>ja</u>
BD (male ego).....	<u>jame</u>
BS (female ego).....	<u>kon</u>
BD (female ego).....	<u>komme</u>
ZS (male ego).....	<u>kon</u>
ZD (male ego).....	<u>komme</u>
ZS (female ego).....	<u>ja</u>

ZD (female ego).....	<u>jame</u>
SS.....	<u>kon</u>
SD.....	<u>komme</u>
DS.....	<u>kon</u>
DD.....	<u>komme</u>
H.....	<u>rhempo; pha</u>
W.....	<u>mring; be</u>
HF.....	<u>asyang; ken</u>
HFB.....	<u>asyang gren; asyang</u> <u>parangba...asyang chyangba</u> <u>ken gren; ken</u> <u>parangba....kenchyangba</u>
HFZ (elder than own mother).....	<u>amagren</u>
HFZ (younger than own mother).....	<u>amachyangba; (TM: asu)</u>
HM.....	<u>syume (add: anyi)</u>
HMB (elder than ego's father).....	<u>apa gren (babu gren)</u>
HMB (younger than ego's father).....	<u>apa chyangba (kaka)</u>
HMZ.....	<u>anyi</u>
WF.....	<u>asyang (ref: ken)</u>
WFB.....	<u>asyang</u>
WFZ (elder than ego's mother).....	<u>ama gren</u>
WFZ (younger than ego's mother).....	<u>ama chyangba (asu--but unusual in</u> <u>Darkha, except in the upper parts</u> <u>of the panchayat)</u>
WM.....	<u>anyi or syume (note that people</u> <u>will usually call her anyi;</u> <u>vaguely embarassing to use syume</u> <u>in address)</u>
WMB (elder than ego's father).....	<u>babu gren (apa gren)</u>
WMB (younger than ego's father).....	<u>babu chyangba (note: kaka is not</u> <u>used so much in Darkha)</u>
WMZ.....	<u>anyi</u>
HeB.....	<u>jethu or mhaa (if married to own</u> <u>eZ, more likely to be called mhaa;</u> <u>presents problems in touching--</u> <u>can't touch a jethu, can touch a</u> <u>mhaa)</u>
HyB.....	<u>dewar</u>
HeZ.....	<u>amajyu (add: ana)</u>
HyZ.....	<u>nanda (add: anga) [note: Hoefer</u> <u>has sali here, but MK says there's</u> <u>no way that a female can call</u> <u>another female sali)</u>
WeB.....	<u>jethu (mhaa)</u>
WyB.....	<u>syhangbo</u>
WeZ.....	<u>syume</u>
WyZ.....	<u>sali</u>
HBW (elder than ego).....	<u>jethani (ana)</u>
HBW (younger than ego).....	<u>dewarani (anga)</u>
HZH (elder than ego).....	<u>achyo</u>

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HZH (younger than ego).....	<u>ale</u>
WBW (elder than ego).....	<u>ana</u>
WBW (younger than ego).....	<u>anga</u>
WZH (elder than ego).....	<u>achyo</u>
WZH (younger than ego).....	<u>ale</u>
HBS.....	<u>ja</u> (add: <u>ale</u>)
HBD.....	<u>jame</u> (add: <u>anga</u>)
HZS.....	<u>kon</u>
HZD.....	<u>komme</u>
WBS.....	<u>kon</u>
WBD.....	<u>komme</u>
WZS.....	<u>ja</u>
WZD.....	<u>jame</u>
BW.....	<u>chang</u>
ZH.....	<u>mhaa</u>
FeBW.....	<u>amagren</u>
FyBW.....	<u>amachyangba</u>
FZH.....	<u>asyang</u>
MBW.....	<u>anyi</u>
MZH (elder than ego's father).....	<u>babugren</u>
MZH (younger than ego's father).....	<u>babuchyangba</u>
SW.....	<u>chang</u>
SWF.....	<u>mhyaakon</u> (if female speaking, then <u>achyo-ale</u> ; also say <u>samdi</u> in Darkha)
SWM (elder than ego).....	<u>mhyaakonsyaa</u> (if male speaking, and own sister is SWM, then <u>ana</u> ; if HeZ, then <u>chang</u>)
SWM (younger than ego).....	<u>mhyaakonsyaa</u> (if male speaking, and own sister is SWM, then <u>anga</u> ; if HyZ, then <u>chang</u>)
SWB.....	<u>kon</u>
SWZ.....	<u>komme</u>
DH.....	<u>mhaa</u>
DHF.....	<u>mhyaakon</u> (if female speaking, then <u>achyo-ale</u> ; also say <u>samdi</u> in Darkha)
DHM (elder than ego).....	<u>mhyaakonsyaa</u> (if male speaking, and own sister is SWM, then <u>ana</u> ; if HeZ, then <u>chang</u>)
DHM (younger than ego).....	<u>mhyaakonsyaa</u> (if male speaking, and own sister is SWM, then <u>anga</u> ; if HyZ, then <u>chang</u>)
DHB.....	<u>kon</u>
DHZ.....	<u>komme</u>

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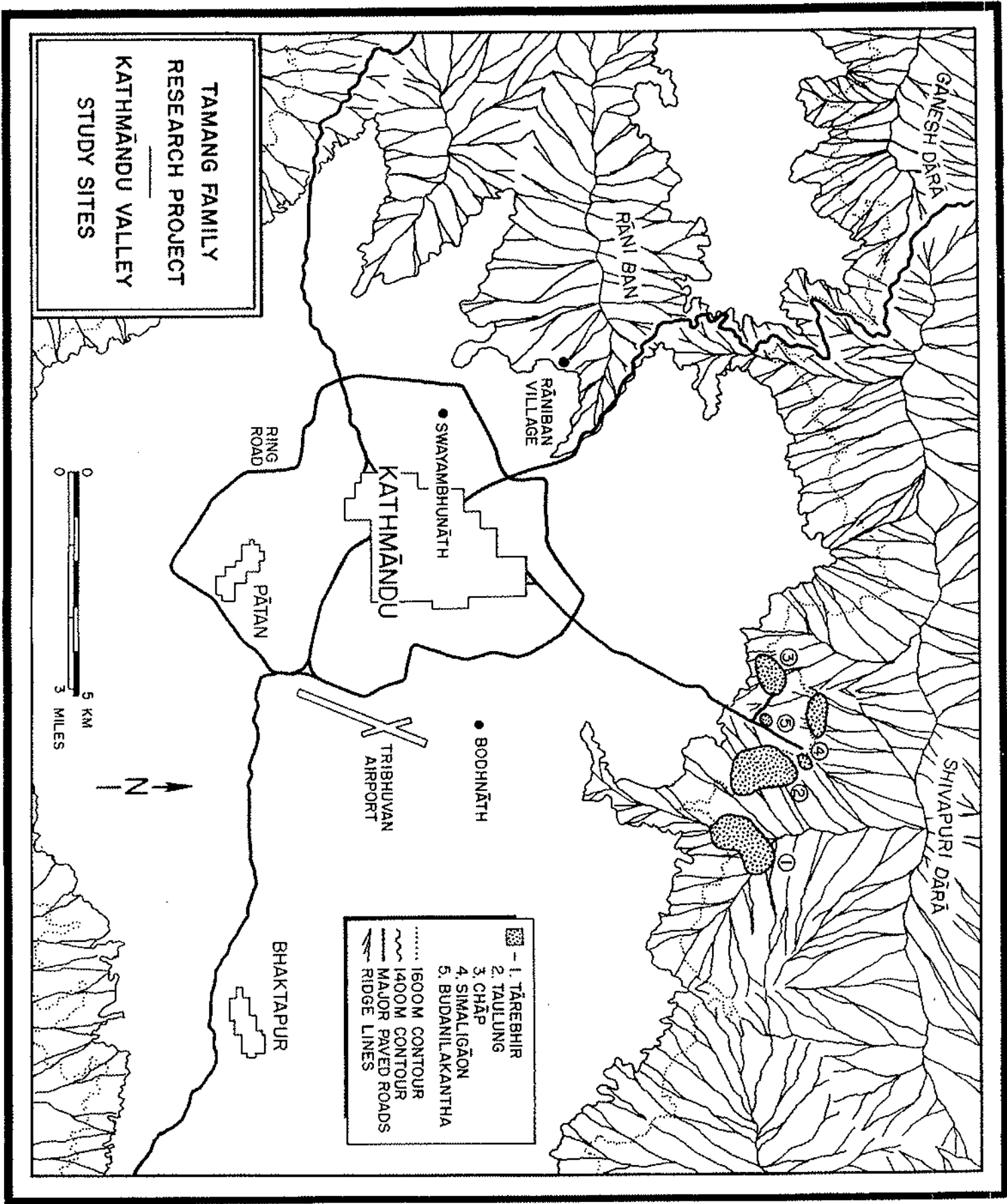
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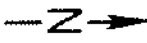
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TAMANG FAMILY
RESEARCH PROJECT
KATHMĀNDU VALLEY
STUDY SITES

- 1. TĀREBHĪR
 - 2. TĀULUNG
 - 3. CHĀP
 - 4. SĪMALIGĀŌN
 - 5. BUDANILĀKANTHĀ
- 1600M CONTOUR
 ~~~~~ 1400M CONTOUR  
 ——— MAJOR PAVED ROADS  
 / / / RIDGE LINES



GANESH DĀRĀ

RĀNĪ BAN

RĀNĪBAN  
VILLAGE

● SWAYAMBHUNĀTH

KATHMĀNDU

RING  
ROAD

PĀTĀN

● BODHNĀTH

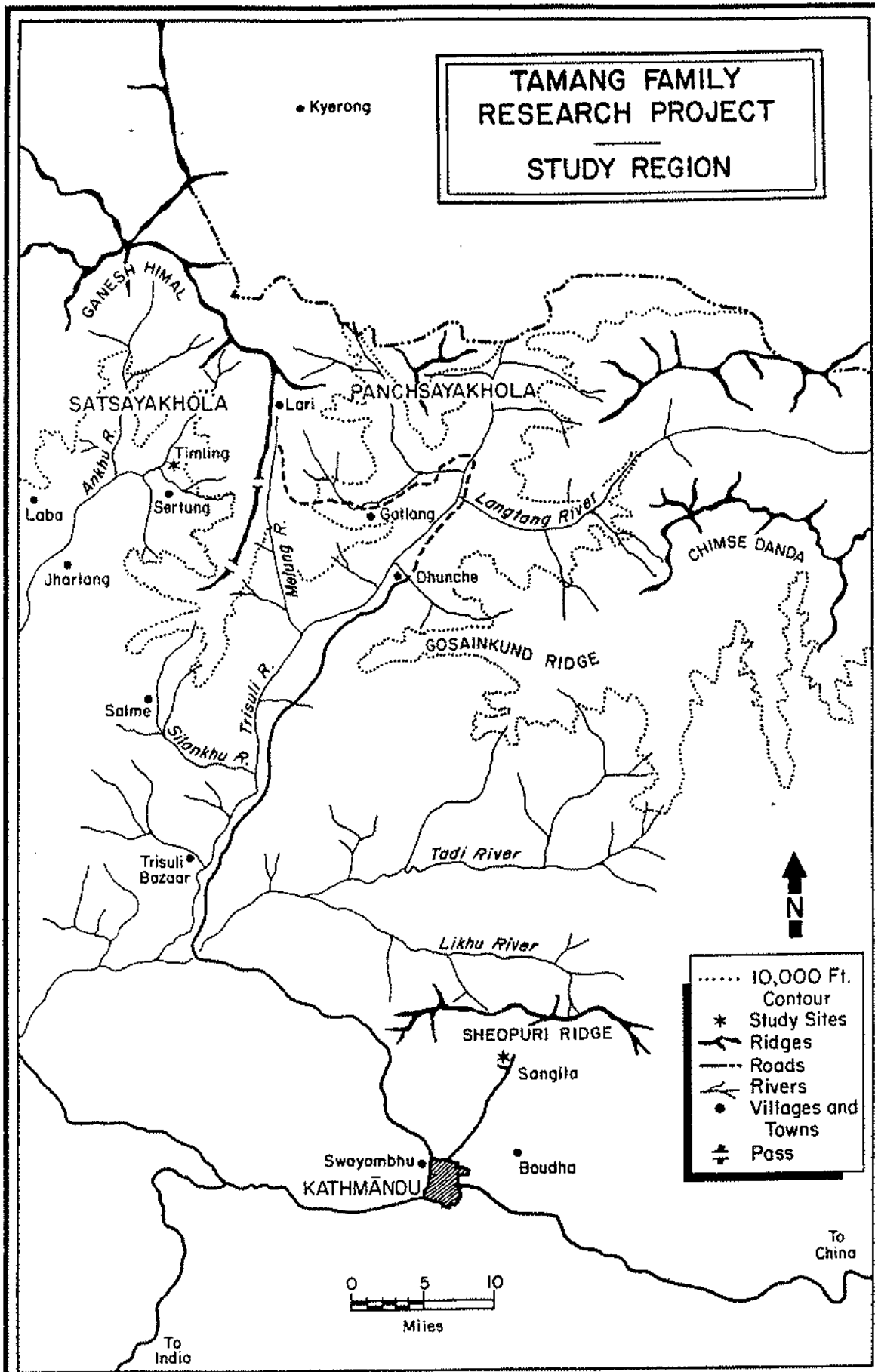
TRIBHUVAN  
AIRPORT

BHAKTAPUR

SHIVAPURI DĀRĀ



**TAMANG FAMILY  
RESEARCH PROJECT  
STUDY REGION**



- ..... 10,000 Ft. Contour
- \* Study Sites
- Ridges
- - - Roads
- Rivers
- Villages and Towns
- ⊕ Pass