

# CHAPTER : ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Marriage is a universal phenomenon which existed in every society from tribal to civilized society. Marriage makes stability and continuity of the social order and for a regulation of kinship relations. Radcliffe-Brown (Haralambos & Holborn, 2005) states that marriage is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society determined by parenthood in the social sense.

In most of the societies, marriage serves socially identify children by defining kinship ties to a mother, father, and extended relatives. It also serves to regulate sexual behavior, to transfer, preserve, or consolidate property, prestige, and power, and most importantly, it is the basis for the institution of family (Malinowski, cited in Haralambos & Holborn, 2005). According to him, a legal marriage is one which gives a woman a socially recognized husband and her children a socially recognized father.

Marriage makes the paired relation of the couple a socially acknowledged, legal, relatively permanent bond, which provides not only for reciprocal obligations between the married couple but also for the rights of the offspring. It provides a formal and legal link to the extended family, or kinship relatives, and thereby establishes property rights and stable lines of inheritance from generation to generation (ibid)

According to Westermarck, marriage is a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union and in the case of children born out of this union. Similarly, Lundberg states that marriage consists of rules and regulations that define the rights, duties and privileges of husband and wife with respect to each other (<http://www.sociologyguide.com/marriage-family-kinship>).

Marriage has been defined as a legal, religious and social process to establish a relationship between husband and wife in society. But the questions arise as to what forms of marriage system exist and how it contributes to maintain stability and gives

continuity to the social order and for a regulation of kinship relations. Finding out the responses to these questions would be very tough. In ancient times, the male used to have sexual relationship with one or more females of different groups (tribe) making it difficult for the mother to identify the father of their children before the existence of marriage system. Specifically, the female used to have difficulties in identifying the father of their babies. As a result, children were not looked after well and females were tortured or oppressed to take care of them independently. Therefore, marriage system came to existence. 'Sacred', 'Social' and 'Personal' are the three terms commonly attached to Marriage. Until the present century, it is viewed mainly as an institution of divine significance, at the end of the nineteenth century, its interpretation began to shift to that of a civil institution and contemporary marriage is viewed chiefly in our society as a vehicle for personal satisfaction. The increasing emphasis on the personalization of marriage that has occurred hand-in-hand with the depersonalization of many of man's other institutions as our culture has adopted the characteristics of a mass society of globalization (Haralambos & Holborn, 2005).

There are four possible forms of marriage that exist and are generally recognized: monogamy, polygyny, polyandry and group marriage. Monogamy marriage is a form of relationship in which an individual has only one partner during their lifetime or at any one time. It is a universal practice. It is also the prevalent form of marriage in practice. Polygyny marriage is the marriage of one husband to several wives. Similarly, polyandry marriage is the marriage of one wife to more than one husband at a time. This form of marriage is also found to be in practice in many societies of the world. Group marriage is the rarest form, where a single girl or boy marries with multiple persons of opposite sex. The tasks which must be performed in marriage are those of income provision, housekeeping, sexual fulfillment and fulfillment of psychological need. If one of these essential tasks is not characteristically performed, the relation will breakdown. Intimacy is the most rewarding of all behavior but also a rarest. Intimacy in marriage is the ideal, but the marriage relation will succeed, even though most interaction is not intimate, as long as the essential tasks of marriage are performed at least as operation and occasionally as intimacy (<https://en.wikipedia.org/marriage>, April 2015).

Polyandry (a woman having multiple husbands) occurs very rarely in a few isolated tribal societies with limited resources. These societies include some bands of the Canadian Inuit, although the practice has declined sharply in the 20th century due to their conversion from tribal religion to Christianity by Moravian missionaries. Spartans were also notable for practicing polyandry. Spartan polyandry often took the form of Adelphi polyandry where the husbands are all biological brothers (World Encyclopedia/marriage, 2007). Societies which permit group marriage are extremely rare, but have existed in Utopian societies such as the Oneida Community. Though polyandry marriage system is very rare, it is in practice even in Nepal. Sherpa community in the Himalayan region practices this marriage system in Nepal ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherry\\_Ortner](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherry_Ortner))

Marriage is essentially a form of relationship between two different sexes and it is socially approved and regulated. Biologically, the family can function efficiently without recourse to marriage; likewise marriage may produce a lasting company without resulting in children. In this case, marriage system always has continuity and long-term welfare, of any kin group depends on obtaining spouses for the unmarried members of the group from other group. A kin group also has a stake in retaining some measure of control over at least a portion of its members after they marry (Haralambos & Holborn, 2005).

In the context of Nepal, traditional marriage system i.e. arranged marriage is very common. Usually, the parents of the man initiate the marriage by approaching the girl's family with the marriage proposal. The mediator of the marriages called *Lami* in Nepal. *Lami* plays an important role to unite the two young people. However, Nepal is a multi-cultural, multi lingual and multi ethnical country. Thus, community has different marriage practices respectively to their own ethnicity and religion. Among these various ethnic communities, Tamang people are one of the major indigenous groups in Nepal pertaining to the Mongoloid sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman community. The majority people live in the hilly regions of Nepal, adjoining sides of Kathmandu valley, the capital of Nepal. They have their own language, culture, traditions and distinct life style and lives in their own geographical territory.

Cross-cousin marriage is a taboo in most Hindu societies. However, it is practiced among many ethnic groups in Nepal such as; Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Thakali,

Chhantyal etc. Marriage in Nepal is also one of the sacred performances of life cycle though different ethnic group observe in their own way.

Traditionally, Tamang community practice cross-cousin marriage. It is common in Tamang community (Tamang, 2008). The Tamangs are organized into exogamous clans; the sole function of the clans is to regulate marriage (Hofer, 1981). Marriage is ideally between bilateral cross-cousins, descent is patrilineal, and post-marital residence for young couples is patriarchal (Holmberg, 1989).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

All the ethnic groups have their own cultures and traditions. Some of them practice cross-cousin marriage which is not taboo in their respective community though they know it is taken as the taboo in some other societies. *Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Chantyal* are some of the ethnic groups which practices cross-cousin marriage even to date and Thakuri is an exception in the caste group to practice cross-cousin marriage. Therefore, it is not as easy as presumed to find the real reason behind the practice without annoying the community. Many educated youth of ethnic groups practicing this practice are afraid to speak out clearly in the fear of wrong interpretation, as it is taken as a taboo in other society.

Traditionally, Tamangs are Buddhist. The young generations of Tamang are educated and modern. Thus, they are aware of their environment and have begun to choose marrying partner of their choice. Among the many cultural and linguistic groups, Tamang people are the one in Nepal that practice cross-cousin marriage.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a modern, science and technological era, an extensive research is necessary in order to find out what are the socio-cultural significances of cross-cousin marriage system on Tamang community. Some members of Tamang community are very rigid on traditional norms and practices while others are not. Therefore, anthropological research on cross-cousin marriage system in Tamang community is worth exploring.

The cross-cousin marriage is taboo in the Hindu society as cousins are considered to be siblings “brothers” or “sisters” in this society. Though it is outlawed to practice cross cousin marriage, it is considered primitive practice among indigenous people of

Nepal. Interestingly, *Tamang*, *Gurung*, *Magar* and some other ethnic groups have been practicing cross-cousin marriage in Nepal, which is the symbol of cohesion in society or family. In addition to this, the legal transformation of Nepal from a mere Hindu state to a secular state now adds up the government's responsibility to promote and protect cultural and ethnic practices across the country. This will additionally be of interest as to see what policies and program can be developed by the state to do so with such studies.

There are several literatures on Tamang to sum up their lifestyles, culture and economic status in various ways. However, there are limited studies on cross-cousin marriage practice among Tamang community. In fact, only very few studies have been done on Tamang marriage system. Therefore, this research is prone to study a cross-cousin marriage practice which is helpful to explore the changing pattern of marriage practices among Tamang community. This study has attempted to address the following research questions:

- ) Why Tamang prefer cross-cousin marriage?
- ) What are the impacts of cross-cousin marriage in Tamang society?
- ) What are the perceptions regarding cross-cousin marriage practices among Tamang women?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study was to find out the marriage practices of Tamang women in Kavre district of Nepal. The specific objectives of this study are:

- ) To study cross-cousin marriage practice among Tamangs.
- ) To examine their perception towards cross-cousin marriage.

### **1.4 Rationale of the Study**

The study explores to assess the significance of cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs in Nepal. Therefore, this study would comprehensively provide in-depth information about cross cousin marriage in Tamang society for the interested researchers in the coming days. Moreover, the study gives ample guidelines to university students and teachers to conduct their further research works. Since the

researches of this nature are found very rare in Nepalese context, then it deserves extra significance in the arena of research as well as in the process of national integration and development. Therefore, this study keeps great significance from both theoretical and practical perspectives.

## **1.5 Organization of the Study**

The study has been divided into six chapters; the first chapter deals with the introduction of the study comprising background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, rationale of the study. The second chapter deals with the review of literature concerning Tamang community. The third chapter deals with the research methodology comprising background of the study area, rational of the selection of study area, nature and sources of data, research design, sampling procedure, data processing and analysis.

Similarly, chapter four describes the history and socio-cultural practice of Tamang. Under this heading, the Tamang people of Nepal, their religion, life cycle ritual as well as festivals and traditional customs etc. are described. Fifth chapter presents an practice and perception of Tamang on cross cousin marriage and final sixth chapter consists of summary, major finding and conclusion of the study.

# **CHAPTER : TWO**

## **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

### **2.1 Theoretical Review**

There are different sociological and anthropological theories on marriage. From the structural-functionalist perspective, marriage and family are a very basic building block of society. According to this perspective, these institutions exist because they are necessary for a stable society. Marriage and family perform a number of necessary functions. For example, they provide a structure in which children can be produced and raised. They also provide a way in which sexual relations can be in some way regulated so that people can fulfill their sexual desires without causing conflict. Finally, they give people a way to feel loved and to feel a sense of belongingness. This makes people more likely to be good and productive members of society. The cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs is analyzed from the perspective of structural functionalism.

Conflict perspective sees marriage as the outgrowth of conflict between men and women. They used to say that marriage and family, as practiced in our society, tend to subjugate women to some degree. Although this may be changing, marriage and family have, they would say, traditionally been a way for men to maintain their dominance (Holmberg, 1989).

From the symbolic interactionist perspective, every marriage is different. Marriage is, essentially, what people make of it. There can be marriages in which one of the partners feels subjugated to the other. However, there can also be marriages in which the partners fulfill and complete one another. Symbolic interactionism is a very micro-level perspective and so it sees marriage as something that differs from relationship to relationship (ibid).

A rough estimate shows that close to half of all Muslims in the world are inbred: In Pakistan 70 percent of all marriages are between first cousins (so called "consanguinity"), and in Turkey the amount is between 25-30 percent (Jyllands-Posten, 2009).

Statistical research on Arabic countries shows that up to 34 percent of all marriages in Algiers are consanguine (blood related), 46 percent in Bahrain, 33 percent in Egypt, 80 percent in Iraq, 64 percent in Jordan, 64 percent in Kuwait, 42 percent in Lebanon, 48 percent in Libya, 47 percent in Mauritania, 54 percent in Qatar, 67 percent in Saudi Arabia, 63 percent in Sudan, 40 percent in Syria, 39 percent in Tunisia, 54 percent in the United Arab Emirates and 45 percent in Yemen. (wikiislam.net/Nicolai Sennels-Muslim inbreeding: Impact on intelligence, sanity, health and society-EuropeNews, 2010).

According to Hindu sacred texts like Asvalayana Garhyasutra and Atharvaveda, eight different types of marriages are recognized by the ancient Hindu society. Four of them were categorized as "Prasasta" or proper marriages conducted by following appropriate religious customs. The remaining four were considered as "Aprashasta" which referred to inappropriate unions between man and woman that did not follow any vedic or religious ritual. The various types of marriages are as follows: (1) Brahma- It is the marriage that takes place upon receiving mutual consent from both bride and groom's families. It is considered the most appropriate form of marriage in Hindu society. (2) Daiva- The daughter is dressed up with fine cloths and ornaments and is offered as a sacrifice fee to the Deity. This type of marriage is prevalent during yajna sacrifices in ancient times. (3) Arsha- the father gives away his daughter in exchange for a cow and bull from the groom's family. The groom takes an oath to effectuate his commitment towards the bride and her family. (4) Prajapatya- The couple gets married by uttering Sanskrit verses promising eternal love in presence of their families. This is similar to a modern day civil ceremony where neither priest nor religious rites are performed (culturalindia.net).

The various types of Aprashasta marriages are as follows: (1) Gandharva- The bride and the groom either start living together as a couple out of love and mutual consent or get married without a formal ceremony as well as without the consent of their families. (2) The bride's father has been intimidated or bribed by the groom or his family into giving his consent to giving up his daughter for marriage. (3) Rakshasha- The bride is forced into marrying against her consent. (4) Paisacha- This is the most brutal of all types of marriages, where the groom forces himself upon the bride first and then accepts her as his bride (businessinsider.com).



In modern western society, marrying your cousin is not well accepted. Through a combination of old prejudices and present day conventional wisdom about inherited birth defects, first cousin marriage is seen by many as a little too close for comfort, as well as a bad idea if you want children. However, first cousin marriage is far more common, and far less dangerous. Further if you include second cousins in the mix, according to the Clinical Genetics Handbook, the increased risks with regards to having children are nearly nonexistent in this case compared with non cousin marriage (ibid).

While there have been instances of the banning of marriage between cousins at various points through history, such as the Roman Catholics banning the practice for a time starting with the Council of Agde in 506 AD, for the most part of marriage among cousins has been popular as long as people have been getting married. In fact it is estimated that as many as 80 percent of marriages in human history have been between first and second cousins. The cousin marriage's acceptance began in earnest in some part of the Western world in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, until the 1860s or so, first cousins commonly married in Europe and the U.S. (ibid)

## **2.2 Review of Literature**

There are several studies in the context of Nepalese Tamang indigenous people. Both foreign and native scholars have done many studies. However, study on Tamang's marriage system is very rare. For this study, I have reviewed those previous studies which are relevant to and available or accessible to me.

The Tamangs of Nepal has been historically exploited (Tamang, 2017). The *Muluki Ain*, 1854 and other nineteenth century codes classified the Tamang as pure (*chokho*) caste. Although they were thus set off from untouchables-the *paninachalnejat* or those castes from who water is not acceptable-they were among the lowest of the clean castes; they were classed with alcohol drinker (*matwali*) and subject to enslavement (*masine*) tribe. These attributes placed them below other alcohol drinkers like the Magar and the Gurung, who were not enslavable, and high-caste Hindus, who wore sacred threads, did not consume alcohol, and could not be enslaved (*see* Sharma, 1977; Tamang, 2008; Tamang; 2017). Looking back to history, the rulers' behavior

towards Tamangs is not positive. It was always discriminative. As a result they couldn't improve their socio-political life.

According to Bista (1967) Tamang community had *Kipat* land system and it was maintained through the various clan divisions over many generations. In the *Kipat* system a clan had exclusive and inalienable communal rights over a large defined settlement and cultivation area. With the abolishment of *Kipat* land, according to Holmberg (1989), different form of land tenure affected the Tamang community. Their lands often became the income generating estates (*birta*, *jagir*) of functionaries of the state (military, administration, or nobly) or the Tamang became tenants on these estates. They were also brought under a curve like system (*rakam* and *jhara*) whereby villagers retained over agricultural lands in return for compulsory labor; in addition to this service they were also subject to several additional taxes. *Rakam* was particularly prevailed in the Kathmandu valley. A third form was *guthi* or land endowed in the support of institution, particularly religious and charitable ones. Although as in the case with *birta* estates Tamang were often tenants on such estates, they were rarely allotted these estates themselves. A final form of land tenure (*kipat*) whereby the government recognized inalienable, ancestral land rights has been reported for the eastern Tamang (Hamendorf, 1966 cited in Holmberg, 1989). All these forms with the exception of *guthi* have been abolished in recent decade among Tamang and converted to *raikar*, a form of freehold in return for taxes. Tamang (2017) has similar view. Accordingly, Hindu rulers were not satisfied with Tamangs and seized their *Kipat* (ancestral land), as a result; Tamangs became slaves in their own land.

Fricke (1986) has studied Himalayan household of Timling VDC of Dhading district. His study has elucidated on the basic of cultural ecology. According to him Tamangs have exploited wide range of microenvironment due to their shifting cultivation. The Tamangs of Timlings are also engaged in Trans Himalayan salt trade. Fricke, further states that Tamangs depend on natural resources for their subsistence. He points high fertility rate and high mortality rate.

His study also discloses that 67 percent of the households were of nuclear type. Land livestock, household items seems to be their sole property. Exchange of labour system, division of work shows the unity among community. Women are more active

in decision making though they matrilineal. The socio-cultural expense has made them to be in below poverty line.

March (1983) has studied Tamang people of northern and western region of the Kathmandu Valley. She has described gender role, relations, gender situation based on Tamang society. Along with the gender analysis, she has also analyzed the Tamang women from symbolic perspective. According to her, weaving and writing are taken as separate, symbols being role, prestige, and process of socialization. "Writing" decision men's work, labor, role, and process of socialization. Through these symbolic aspects, she has analyzed the gender condition and gender role in the Tamang community. Due to such regions, the men are involved in high-level work and the women in low level work. She has also mentioned and analyzed about the marriage system, ritual activities performed from birth to death, role and position of lamas in the Tamang community very minutely.

Tamangs people have their own way of life. They have unique culture, ritual, tradition, custom and many customary laws. Tamang is one of the ethnic groups who have preserved their identity; such as cross-cousin marriage (Tamang, 2008).

Lynn Bennett (1981) has described about the gender situation of Nepal. She has analyzed the condition of Nepalese women historically. According to her Nepalese legal system was influenced by Hinduism which was discriminative for the women.

According to Lama (2013), Tamang communities practice three major forms of marriage. They are *magibivaha*, *bhagibivaha* and *prembibaha*. These forms of marriage either might be cross-cousin or not. But many Tamangs still prefer cross-cousin marriage.

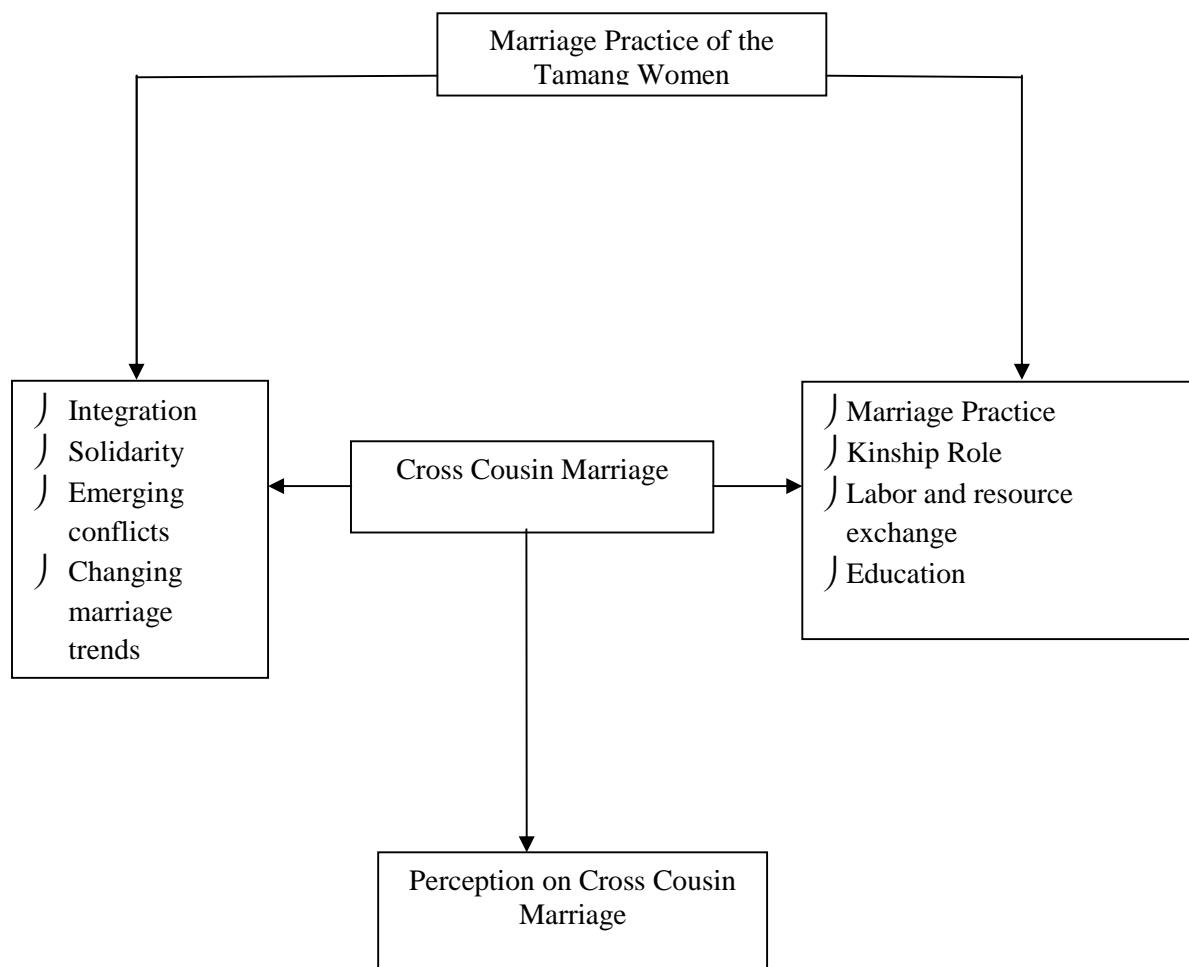
From the above literatures it can be easily concluded that cross-cousin marriage system is a traditional marriage system of Tamangs. Fricke (1986) and March (1983) have briefly explained about Tamang's marriage system. Their studies have not focused on marriage. Similarly, Holmberg (1989) has studied about Tamangs from the ritual and interpretive approach. He has focused on Tamang's rituals including marriage. He has described about cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs but he has not explained the significance of cross-cousin marriage. Tamang (2008) has explained about Tamang's marriage in detail. However, his study was conducted more than a

decade. Therefore, practice and perception on cross-cousin marriage is a worth researching issue.

### 2.3 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Cross cousin marriage is popular among Tamang people. However, the perception of cross cousin marriage differs among the Tamang women. Moreover, it is a reality that cross cousin marriage is related to the concept of education, kinship role, and labour exchange. It supports integration and solidarity and also invites conflicts. Cross-cousin marriage is sacred for Tamang cross-cousin marriage is revered performances of life cycle between bilateral cross-cousins. The main concern of cross-cousin marriage was not to divide the resources.

They think that both families (cross-cousin married family) feel equally responsible and they transfer the resources (like labor, cash and other necessary equipment). Therefore, cross-cousin marriage is popular and alive in Tamang community of Madan village. However, the trend of traditional cross-cousin marriage is changing nowadays. The figure below explains in detail.



# CHAPTER : THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Study Site and Rationale for Site Selection

The study was carried out at *Madan Gaupalika* of Kavre district which is located in province no. 3. The village is nearly 90 kilometer far from the capital city, Kathmandu and 60 kilometer far from the district headquarter, Dhulikhel. Geographically, Madan village is hilly zone with motorable road and electricity facility.

Map 3.1



Map of Kavre District indicating the Research Site

Source: Googlenet, 2018

Research Site =★

*Madan* is a typical Tamang village of the district, near the Kathmandu valley. This village is very appropriate area to conduct research on this topic. I have chosen the area and topic because no special studies in this subject have been conducted so far. Moreover, since the researcher is familiar with this village, he can explore the reality more effectively than in any other areas.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The design of this research is descriptive as well as explorative. This study describes the practices of marriage among Tamangs and explores the perception of Tamangs towards cross cousin marriage practice.

### **3.3 Nature and Sources of Data**

Primary and secondary data is used in this study. Primary data is collected from fieldwork using various methods, tools and techniques. The secondary data is taken from various studies such as books, published and unpublished documents from related literature and government documents from different libraries and institutes. Both qualitative and quantitative data are used in this study.

### **3.4 Universe and Sampling Procedure**

The study was carried out in *Madan* village which is typically a prone-clustered area of Tamang people within Chauri Deurali Gaupalika of Kavre district located in province no. 3. According to the national population census (2011), the total population of the village is 2336 and they all belong to Tamang ethnic community. It is difficult to identify the numbers of cross-cousin married women in the village because the authentic numbers of cross-cousin marriage is not available yet.

As I was very much impressed with the tradition of cross cousin marriage in Tamang, I was looking for a prone area of Tamang. When I recognized the desire area then I used frequently visit In Chaurideurali Gaupalika in Kavre District. I tried to make an intimate friends or relatives as per rapport building in the area. With the help of them I started my study. This study is more qualitative in nature and hence only 30 cross-cousin married women were taken as the sample of study. According to objectives of the study purposive sampling method was employed.

## **3.5 Techniques of Data Collection**

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

### **3.5.1 Interview**

Interview was carried out with 30 cross cousin married Tamang women to find out overall perceptions towards the cross-cousin marriage. The interview questions were both structured and unstructured type. Quantitative information were taken from structured interviews and qualitative information were taken from unstructured interview with case study.

### **3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

The group discussions were conducted to get the information associated with the study. Only one focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted and in the FGD, the members of Nepal Tamang Ghedung (Five in total), those were permanently residing in the study area, having their own profession for their livelihood, who had also performed cross cousin marriage, were the participants.

### **3.5.3 Interview with Key informant**

Key information is important for research from which the researcher can gain reliable data. Community leaders, social workers, and old aged Tamangs were key informants who were six in number. Those key informants were permanent resident of the study area and somehow they are directly related with cross cousin married Tamang women.

### **3.5.4 Case Study**

Case study method was adopted to draw qualitative information. There are altogether nine case studies that were made. The qualitative data drawn from case studies have supported quantitative data.

## **3.6 Data Processing and Analysis**

Collection of the data were made manually in the presence of respondents in their home-town-area directly and those data were processed and presented using tables,

charts with the help of computer/laptop. So that, I am trying my best, the case studies and the report might be simple and understandable to the readers.

### **3.7 Limitations of the Study**

Due to time and budget constraint; and virtually, it is partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master's Degree of Arts in Anthropology only, this study was conducted in a small area and small numbers of respondents. Primarily, in this study, the cross-cousin married women were included as prime respondents. Therefore, the finding may not be worth generalized for other regions.



# **CHAPTER : FOUR**

## **HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURE OF TAMANG**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Nepal is a country of different caste /ethnic groups, languages, religion, and cultural background situated between China in north and India in south. Diversity is the beauty of Nepal. Therefore, Prithivi Narayan Shah, founder of modern Nepal, referred the country as the 'common garden of diverse communities'.

Holmberg (1989) & Fricke (1986) have described the ancestral territory of the Tamang people as the region extending broadly between the Budhi Gandaki River in the West and the Likhu River extending to the watershed of the Dudhkoshi River in the East. In the North, the population extends to the high ranges of the Himalayas up to the Chinese border and in the South, through the Mahabharat and Siwalik ranges. Although Tamangs are spread across the country in different districts, they can be found concentrated in the central hills of Nepal.

The traditional occupation of Tamangs is agriculture, livestock caring, weaving and Thangka painting. Apart from this, few finger-counted Tamangs are associated with tourism business and public service. Despite living close to the Kathmandu Valley throughout centuries, Tamangs are under poverty, ignorance, hunger and superstition until today. Their social, economic and political conditions are relatively poor compared to similar other cultural groups. Therefore, Tamangs are known as darkness under the lamp (*battimuni ko adhyarojati*). Despite facing several hardships they are succeed to preserve their distinct identity.

### **4.2 The Tamang People of Nepal**

According to National Population Census (2011) there are 125 caste/ethnic groups in Nepal (CBS, 2012). Among them, Tamang is one of the major ethnic groups of Nepal, having their own specific way of life; along with unique culture and rituals.

Tamang is an indigenous people of Nepal (Bista, 1967) however; about their origin, there is no uniformity among scholars. But majority of them agree that they are of

Tibetan origin (Holmberg, 1989; Fricke, 1986; Bista, 1967). Hofer (1960 cited in Holmberg, 1989) also points out the original home land of Tamang was the "Kerung" region of Tibet. According to him Tamang migrated first from Kerung to Dhading of Nepal. In the same way, Fricke (1986) explains that in 640 A.D., the armies of Songtsen Gampo, the first Tibetan king to embrace Buddhism, moved south and occupied parts of Nepal, including the Kathmandu valley and the mountainous country to the north. These armies remained for a number of years and some attribute the beginnings of Tamang (also called Lama/Murmi) history in Nepal to those who remained behind (Shakabpa, 1967; Norboo, 1981 cited in Fricke, 1986).

There are different views on etymological meaning of 'Tamang' word. Many scholars claim that the word 'Tamang' has been derived from a Tibetan word '*Tamag*' which means '*Ta*' refers to 'horse' and '*Mag*' refers to 'rider'. So, Tamang are the horse-riders. It is believed that after the Nepal-Tibet War some of the horse-riding soldiers of King Tsrong Tschong Gampo permanently settled in the Himalayan Hills of Nepal who were later recognized as the 'Tamang' nationalities. But many other scholars have opposed the above perspective that the Tamangs are the descendants of the horse-riding soldiers of King Tsrong Tschong Gampo. Bista (1967) notes down no one seems to have any idea how long Tamangs have resided on the south slopes of the Himalaya. It is said that originally they were collectively called 'Bhote', meaning Tibetan, and that later on the term 'Tamang' was attached to them because they were horse traders. According to him '*Ta*' in Tibetan means 'horse', '*mang*' means 'traders'. Unlike, Macdonald (1989 cited in Lama, 2013) describes Tamangs are the indigenous inhabitants of Nepal who were resided in Nepal before the state formation. He disagrees on the point that Tamangs are the horse-riding soldiers of King Tsrong Tschong Gampo who were left behind after the Nepal-Tibet War. He puts forward his reasoning that there should be some mention of King Gampo in the genealogy of Tamang nationality if it was so. But nothing has been found yet in Tamang genealogy. In their language, the Tibetans call Tamang people as 'Rongpo' that means foreigners. Obviously, it also justifies that Tamangs are the indigenous inhabitants of Nepal, not the horse-riding soldiers of King Tsrong Tschong Gampo. (Macdonald, 1989 cited in Lama, 2013).

In contrast, Yonjan-Tamang (2006) has portrayed different view on 'Tamang'. He has described that the word 'Tamang' is derived from 'Tampang'. The meaning of Tampang is able to speak language or able to communicate. 'Tam' refers to 'language' and 'Pang' means 'to speak'. Therefore, he has concluded the etymological meaning of 'Tamang' is 'ability to speak language' or 'able to communicate'. According to him the followers of 'Tamba' could be Tamang. 'Tamba' is a language originator. The meaning of 'Tam' is 'language' and 'Ba' means 'agent'. Similarly, Tamang (2012) has described the word 'Tamang' from Chinese perspective. In his view 'Ta' means 'great' and 'Mang' means 'large public or common people'. So, 'Tamang', in Chinese means the community with large number of people at the entrance or boundary, which signifies the settlement of Tamang people in the border of Tibet i.e. in Nepal. It is also supported by the Tibetan usage of the word 'Rongpo' to Tamang, which means the foreigners, inhabited beyond the border of Tibet. Now, it is obvious that the Tamangs are the indigenous inhabitants of Nepal, not the descendants of the horse-riding soldiers of King Tsrong Tschong Gampo as Tamang themselves do not possess the characteristics of a horse rider nor there is a sign of their history directly associated with horses.

On the other hand, earlier Tamangs were known by various terminologies such as *Murmi, Bhote, Lama, Ishang etc.* Among these, '*Murmi*' was a popular term among western scholars (Yonjan-Tamang, 2006; Tamang, 2012). Hamilton (1802 cited in Tamang, 2017), Hodgson (1847 cited in Tamang, 2017), & Macdonald (1989 cited in Lama, 2013) have used the term '*Murmi*' in their studies for Tamang people.

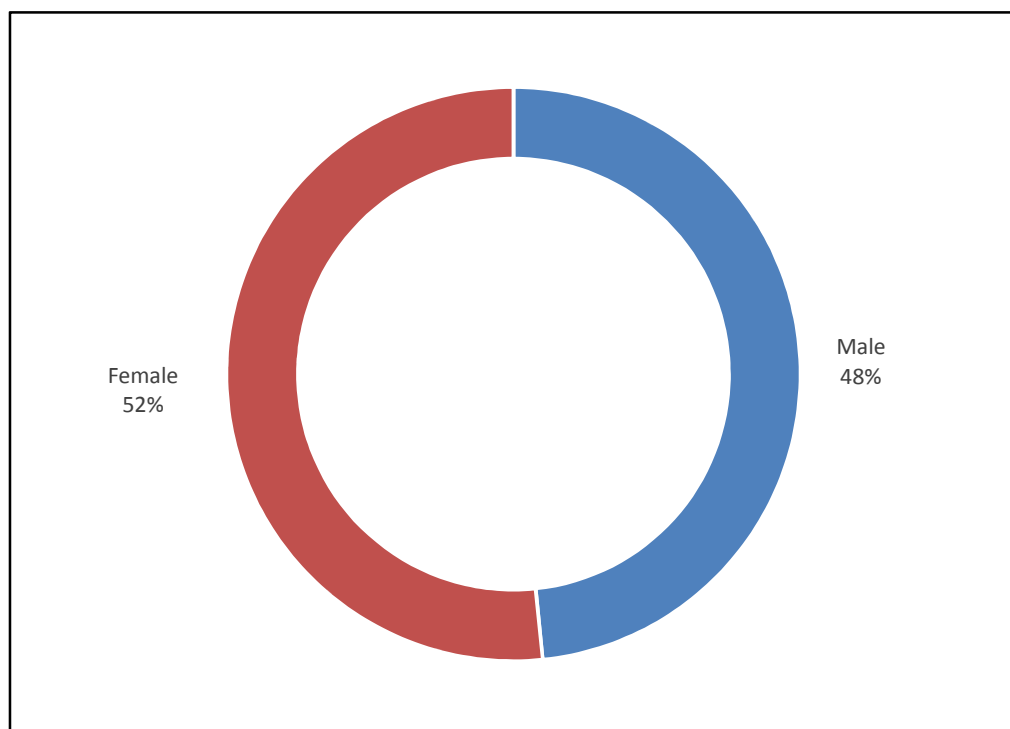
In 13th century, King Boom Degen (1253-1280), who had ruled the present Mustang region of Nepal, has scripted the word 'Tamang' in his genealogy. This is the oldest written document ever found about the usage of the word 'Tamang' that exclusively refers to the Tamang nationality of Nepal (Wikipedia, Tamang, 2010).

Back to history, the term 'Tamang' was not common in general official usage in Nepal until the twentieth century (Holmberg, 1989). However, Hofer (1979 cited in Holmberg, 1989) notes that Tamang appears in texts in Tibetan language as early as the thirteenth century. According to Tamang (2008), during the regime of King Tribhuvan, the Prime Minister Bhim Shumsher had formally used the term 'Tamang' for the very first time under the request of a Tamang leader BahadurJungabirTamang.

Although earlier Tamang were addressed in a derogatory manner as ‘*Bhote/murmi*’, they have however continued to call themselves Tamang.

The Tamang community is vertically divided into several sub-groups, known as ‘Thar’. Each Thar has its own name such as, Waiba, Thing, Ghising, Dong, Moktan, Bal, Yonjan etc. Central Bureau of Statistics (2012) has traced 1,539,830 populations of Tamang indigenous peoples that comprise 5.8 % of the total population of the country. Of the total population, 52% are female and 48% are male. They believe in Mahayana, a form of Buddhism and practice cross-cousin marriage. Tamangs have their own mother tongue i.e. Tamang and the script ‘Tamyik’. Tamang language is the largest Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, numbering 1,353,311 (88 % of their population and 5.11% of total population).

**Figure 4.1**



**Population of Tamang**

*Source: Population Census 2011*

The dense populations of Tamang in 9 districts of Central Development Region are mainly in Rasuwa (63.75%), Makawanpur (47.34%), Nuwakot (38.52%), Sindhupalchowk (30.93%), Kabhrepalanchowk (33.78%), Sindhuli (25.36%), Dhading (21.54%), Ramechhap (20.56%), Dolakha (13.52%) (CBS, 2003). In addition, Tamangs have also migrated in significant numbers to the Terai, southern region of Nepal and to Sikkim and Darjeeling in India, Bhutan and as far as south Asia.

### **4.3 Societal Formation**

The Tamangs have a system of six types of societal leaders: *Tamba*, *Bonbo*, *Lama*, *Labonbo*, *Choho* and *Ganbato* keep the Tamang society continuously alive and dynamic (Tamang, 2008). The six leaders have their respective and important roles to play in the development and continuity of Tamang society. The Tamba looks after the cultural aspects and has a very important role to play in marriage ceremonies. The Bonbo propitiates the local gods and goddesses and assists by providing treatment to the sick and needy in the village. The Lama carries out death rites (*Ghewa*) and undertakes activities related to the Buddhist religion.

The Labonbo (frequently used as *Laptaba*) keeps alive the history of the clan and lineage through the worship of clan deities. As each Thar, or subgroup, has its own *Phola* or clan deity, there are different Labonbos for each and every subgroup. The Choho looks into cases and dispenses justice and maintains peace, security and wellbeing in society.

The Ganba participates in all types of social, political and religious activities. He observes the various activities of society, including whether the Tamba, Bonbo, Lama, Labonbo, Choho, etc. have fulfilled their functions as prescribed by rituals and to the best of their ability or not, and evaluates the activities and gives his suggestions.

**Table 4.1**  
**Types of Societal Leaders**

S. N.	Name of Societal Leader	English Meaning
1.	Choho	President
2.	Tamba	Scholar of history
3.	Ganba	Respected person in society.
4.	Bonbo	Sorcerer
5.	Labonbo	Priest
6.	Lama	Guru

*Source: Lama, Mukta (2008)*

#### **4.4 Religion**

Most of Tamang people of Madan village are followers of Nyingma, the oldest of the four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Historically, the Tamang people were adherents of Bon, a Tibetan school of Vajrayana (Tantric Buddhism), in which they practiced veneration of ancestors (Tamang, 2017). Buddhism spread to the Tamang from nearby Tibet, and the Tamang were early adopters of Buddhism.

#### **4.5 Festivals**

Festivals often serve to fulfill specific communal purposes, especially in regard to thanks giving (Bista, 2058 BS.). The celebrations offer a sense of belonging for religious, social, or geographical groups, contributing to group cohesiveness. They may also provide entertainment, which was particularly important to local communities before the advent of mass-produced entertainment. Festivals that focus on cultural or ethnic topics also seek to inform community members of their traditions; the involvement of elders sharing stories and experience provides a means for unity among families. Tamang community celebrates different festivals to fulfill their specific communal purposes. Some of the major festivals which belong to Tamangs of Madan village are as follows:

#### **4.5.1 Buddha Jayanti**

One of the festival of Tamang people is Buddha Jayanti. It is the most important religious festival for Buddhist. This festival is held on the full moon of the 4th month of the Buddhist calendar. On this day in different years of his life, Lord Buddha took birth, achieved enlightenment and attained nirvana. These three important events are celebrated in this festival. Tamangs go to visit to the monasteries and offer *Khada* (a type of sal) to Lord Buddha. A procession carries the holy scriptures of the teachings of Buddha from the monasteries.

Most of Buddhists including Tamangs from Madan village celebrate Buddha jayanti on “Basishak Purnima” every year.

#### **4.5.2 Lochhar**

The term ‘Lochhar’ is composed of two words; ‘Lo’ means year and ‘chhar’ means new. Hence, the etymological meaning of Lochhar is New Year. Lochhar is the New Year for Tamangs. It falls on different date in Bikram Sambat and English Calendar. This Calendar is ancient Tibetan Calendar. The New Year second new moon after the winter solstice (Rarely the third if and intercalary month of intervenes). Tamang has tradition of counting year with association of symbols of twelve different animals it starts with Rat ends on Boar. In Tamang Lochhar, all Tamang people they celebrate with their communities.

In this festival Tamang people goes to the Gumba and worship their god Lord Buddha for peace and prosperity among all the people. Now, Tamang organizations (Nepal Tamang Ghedung and other associated organization) organize Losar festival in open theater i.e. Tudikhel of Kathmanudu.

People of Madan village celebrate Lochhar festivals welcoming atmosphere for New Year. They buy new traditional Tamang dress and decorate their houses according to their living standard. They clean their house to sweep away any bad fortune in hops to make way for good incoming luck. Window and doors are decorated with colorful paper and clothes and the couplets with popular them of good fortune and happiness wealth and longevity. People get together and have dinner with family and feasts in include meat and sweet items.

**Table 4.2**  
**Tamang New Year**

S. N.	Tamang Name	English Name	Nepali Name
1.	Jeewa	Rat	मुसा
2.	Lang	Ox	साढे
3.	Tak	Tiger	बाघ
4.	Hee	Rabbit	खरायो
5.	Duk	Dragon	गरुढ
6.	Duul	Snake	सर्प
7.	Tak	Horse	घोडा
8.	Luk	Sheep	भेडा
9.	Te	Monkey	बाँदर
10.	Jya	Rooster	कुखुरा
11.	Khi	Dog	कुकुर
12.	Fak	Pig/Boar	सुंगुर

*Source: Tamang, Ajitman (2012)*

#### **4.6 Language**

The Tamang language is in the Tibeto-Burman language group. According to the national population census of 2011, 88 percent of the Tamang people speak in their own mother tongue, i.e., Tamang. Their script is known as *Sambhota*, but one of the leading Tamang organizations, Nepal Tamang Ghedung, has been using a script known as Tamyig, which is a well-known modified version of the *Sambhota* script. Tamang people usually speak their own language within family and community.

#### **4.7 Music**

The Tamangs are a music loving people. Their favorite and famous musical instrument is the *Damphu* (a musical instrument). It is a small round drum where one



side of the circular wood is covered by the skin of a goat and is joined with thirty two small bamboo pencil-like pieces.

In ancient times when the Tamangs moved from place to place in search of food and shelter they lived by eating wild fruits, yams and the meat of wild animals. It was a communal kind of life where they shared food in their temporary settlements.

There is a Tamang Once, the leader of a group named Peng Dorje went hunting with some of his group members. The whole day passed without any prey, and while heading back to their shelter, disheartened, *Peng Dorje's* eyes fell on a mountain goat grazing on a high, stony cliff. He moved forward cautiously, aimed his arrow at the goat, and let it go from the bow. It flew at high speed and struck the body of the goat in the right place, and the dead goat came rolling down the cliff. He skinned the animal and let the skin dry on the open ground. When the skin was dry he created the small, round drum called the Damphu. He offered his first prayer of thanks giving to god by playing the Damphu. This small drum still exists in the same form to this day. Tamang songs are known as Tamang Selo. There are songs of humor wit, philosophical thoughts, and of life's joys and sorrows. This Selo music is very popular music in Nepal.

#### **4.8 Kinship**

The term kinship was first coined by L.H. Morgan and categories of kinship term, the classificatory system several people, lineal as well as collateral and often ever affinal, are all refer to the same term of designation describes the speaker's exact relation towards him her whom s/he is referring to or addressing. Their 'uncle' is a classificatory term but 'father' is a descriptive term. (Holmberg, 1989).

Kinship is a social institution which helps to identify the social position and relation which is termed *Nata-Gota* in Nepali. The rights and duties are sanctioned by the kin identity in relations. The kinship as a structure enhances the relation with a particular socio-economic status holder family or in a household it can change the position of the person in particular dynamic life. The relation is also geographically limited in Tamang because of cross-cousin marriage system.

## **4.9 Rituals**

Ritual is the major index to evaluate the total social system of the society. Ritual is the main point that differentiates human being with other creature. The intelligence, creativity, wisdom, knowledge etc have enabled them to live with separate existence and identify over all over living creature. Culture is the total of rituals, whereas ritual is the part of culture. This is not as of past days.

They were improved through various time periods. These are also the identity of any ethnic community. Human scientists, probably, are governed by certain system, rules, regulation, tradition, customs etc. These factors indicate the unique characters of the society. They differ from one to another group. Even in same ethnic group. Such system may differ according to the locality. Hindu and Buddhist myths regard rituals as the purifiers. So, rituals can be assumed as measuring tools to know any civilization.

Like other ethnic group, Tamang people of Madan village perform many rituals in their daily life. These rituals do not practice all over the country among Tamang ethnic group. There are three folds of cultural related activities found in this study area. First, the activities guided by the traditional rituals celebrated from birth to death ritual known as life cycle ceremony.

Secondly, the tradition of common celebration in the community is known as festivals. Thirdly, social activities that practiced since time immemorial reflects the way of living of the Tamang community in Madan village.

### **4.9.1 Birth Ceremony**

This is the very first and culturally important ceremony celebrated or a neo-born. When the baby is born, one member of the household goes with a Pong a drinking souvenir that virtually is wine to invite Laptawa (Respected Person). The birth ceremony is fixed, as of availability of Lama that normally should take place either on the third or fifth or seventh day. It is belied in Tamang community of Madan village that six day of newborn child god will fix his future. This ceremony takes place to purify the mother and child and all households people wants to get rid from the evils. It is believed that only after purification, the child is entered into the lineage.

The Lama makes a fire in the courtyard and places *titepati* (a kind of medicine plant) on a heated shining white stone called *darsandhunga*, The baby is warmed in the vapor and is purified with incense purified water from the *Kalash*. Then name is given by Lama. The name is selected from the holy text of Lama. Such names generally includes: Tsoisang, Palmo, Tseang, Dawam Dolma Pema, Tstring, Norbu, Tashiect. If the name is given by the head of the family, the name usually represents some god or goddess. Some Tamangs choose the name according to the day child born such as Aaita or Aaiti of the child was born on Sunday (Aaitabar), Sombahadur or Sommaya if the baby was born on Monday (Sombar).

#### **4.9.2 Feeding Ceremony**

Feeding ceremony takes place in six months of the baby boys and five months in case of baby girls. There is no need of particular important person such as Lama in Madan village when the baby is old enough the relative and neighbors are invited and the most respected member of the family starts the feeding with gold or silver coin. The role of maternal uncle (*Mama*) is vital. All guests give the baby small gifts and money as their condition. All guests are served with special foods and local wine.

#### **4.9.3 Chhewar Ceremony**

Chhewar known as 'Hair Cutting Ceremony', is the third ceremony of Tamang male child. In this ceremony the hair of the male child is cut done in odd years such as in the third, fifth, seventh or ninth years of a boy. In case of female child there is no any celebration like male child. His maternal uncle (mama) cuts the boy's hair. To mark the celebration, the Lama in Madan village matches out a convenient day and the maternal uncle is invited to come to the celebration. The maternal uncle comes with a new scissors, clothes and garland of money to gift to his nephew. When *mama* is about to arrive to the place, according to their position, he is received by the host with varieties of music like Panche Baja, Damphu, Sone, gun fire and some Irok (wine) and snacks.

#### **4.9.4 Death Ceremony**

Ceremonies associated with death dominate the life of the community throughout the year (Fricke,1986). Death rituals occupy predominant position their ritual

reapportionment and rite of social affirmation (Holmberg 1989). The same tendency exists among the Tamang community in Madan village.

#### **4.9.4.1 Cremation**

In the Madan village when a person dies, the Lama is informed and requested for his presence to perform the death ritual. The lama is escorted to the mourning household and the lama performs ritual and leads the funeral procession to the cremating place. In the event of procession the dead body is wrapped by a white cloth and positioned upright in the wet wooden or bamboo chariot normally made by bamboo. The funeral procession is preceded only after the gathering of son, son-in law, relatives, neighbors' etc. When the procession reaches the spot, the lama performs ritual again and rests to collect the firewood for cremation. The dead person is given daily food like an ordinary person until the process is completed. When the corpse is cremated the attendees are purified with stream water and *Sagun* is served with liquor drinks and smokes. If the dead person was leader of the community, *Mane* is built in his memory. After the funeral rites, the funeral precisionists will be served with rice, meat, wine etc.

#### **4.9.4.2 Ghewa**

Ghewa is a last but most aesthetic post death ritual in the name of a departed soul. It is one of the most expensive rituals in the tamang community. During the time relatives, families, neighbors bring souvenir (*Raksi*) and at the same time they donate money willingly too. *Mamali* plays a vital role in this ceremony specially in the worship place'. When the Ghewa ceremony is over, there is the provision of providing cap and red *Tika* to their nephew by the maternal uncle, It is believed that relatives of the dead person will be purified in their community. The studied area's Tamang community differs from other Tamang communities in the sense that they bring Astu at Swayambhunath nearer to the *Ghang* for the purification.

### **4.10 Marriage System**

Marriage is an institution of society which can have very different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society. Marriage is not only a social obligation, but it is also a biological need too. It

is one of the universal social institutions established by human society to control and regulate the sex life of man (Rao, 2012).

Marriage ceremony is an important event in Tamang society of Madan village. The Tamangs practice various type of marriage; they are- arrange marriage (*magi bibaha*), love marriage (*prembibaha*), adultery marriage (*jaribibaha*), capture marriage (*choribibaha*) and widow marriage (*bidhuwabibaha*).

In an arrange marriage (*magi-bibaha*), while proposing the girl for the first time, the boy's side in the Madan village goes to the girls home with *sagun* (gift) of *selroti* (bread), a hen and five liter wine. Whether or not the girl's parents agree, the *sagun* is a must. If the girl's family accepts the proposal than another round meeting is organized where the boys' team comes with *sagun* and discussed on the amount to be spent on marriage, the number of the *janti* (Marriage procession), fix date and time of marriage. The girl's family makes preparation of what items to give to the daughter as present. Such as cloths, ornaments and what food item to serve to the *janti*. On the other hand the boy's family also prepare for the items to serve to the *janti* and the items to be parched for the bride.

Generally the *janti* comes one day before the marriage day. The *janti* stays overnight at the bride's home and leaves with bride the following day. The younger brother attends the groom during the marriage. Such man of the groom is called *Bharma* (friend). At the time of the marriage procession, the boy's family has to carry with them the *rit* (gifts). The *rits* are various kinds. Under the *mulrit* (main gift), depending upon the groom's economic condition, they take *mui dang* (buffalo *rit*), *ra dang* (goat *rit*), or *nagarit* (hen *rit*). With the above *rits* they have to bring other items of *selroti* (a kind of round bread), and wine. The quantity differs on the basis of the main gift. After the marriage procession reaches the girl's all the *rits* are calculated and handed over the girl's family. The girl's family then hospitality takes a: the *janti* to a light breakfast followed by a fest. After the feast both the sides sing *Damphu* songs and enjoy themselves. At around 12 in the night the groom is carried inside the girl's house by the girl's family. Then the bride is applied make up and made to sit next to the groom in the *Kundal* (the wedding seat). At this moment the *Tamba* of the bride's side tells the *delwa tam* (wedding tale) in the presence of all. The tales is meant for

the bride and groom to realize their responsibility from now. And the bride's family gives bride and groom their advice and blessing.

In the love and capture marriage, on the third day chorko song pong (the gift consisting of roasted chicken, fruit and bread) is sent to the bride's house in the form of an excuse for capturing of the bride without the consent of the bride's family. Then another pong is also sent to fix the meeting. If the meeting time is fixed by the bride's family, mukhulopong (gift consisting of liquor, roasted chicken and bread) is sent. After, there will be a good relation between two parties. This type of marriage is found commonly in the Tamang community. In the jaribibaha (elopement/adultery marriage) the bride is capture by another person through her husband is still alive. In such a case, the second husband pays jari (consisting of jewels, marriage expenses of the first husband) to the fist husband. Such type of marriage is also accepted in the Tamang community.

Tamangs in Madan village prefer cross cousin marriage but brother clan marriage is strictly prohibited. The unique characteristic of Tamangs is that they have right to marry son and daughter with the son and daughter of maternal uncle. Every boy and girl have right to marry their siblings if they feel descendants of maternal uncle and paternal aunt. In Tamang community in Madan village, there is no age period to marry i.e. Tamang males do not mind marrying elder brides. However, the form of marriage has been changing in Tamang society of Madan village. There are 127 subgroups (*Thar and Sahathar*) within the Tamang, and inter-marriage does not occur within the same subgroup (*Thar as well as Sahathar*). For Instance, a boy belonging to the Yonjan subgroup and a girl belonging to the Moktan subgroup but the mother of both the boy and girl belong to the same subgroup, marriage between them is not possible since they are socially recognized as the son and daughter of the same mother. There is the practice of marrying one's maternal uncle's and aunt's daughter.

Unlike in Hindu society, Tamang women of Madan village do not adopt the last name of their husbands following marriage. Their *Thar* or subgroup does not change; the woman remains in the same subgroup in her entire life. When she dies, the body cannot be disposed without the presence and permission of her relatives. There is the traditional practice among Tamang daughters of undertaking small economic

activities (Pewa) like keeping goats, chicken, etc. This enables the daughter to learn to stand on her own feet and make independence.

A Tamang boy get marry any girl from any clan except his and his brother clan. Preferred marriage is between cross-cousins that is to one's mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. Parallel-cousin marriage of a man to his father's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is not tolerated. Sons and daughters of one's father's brother belong to the same clan as oneself.

Tamang women are quite free to make decision of their marriage. Similarly, one interesting practice of Tamang marriage in Madan village is the fact that girls are allowed to go to boy's home before formal marriage which is called Bhagi-Bibaha. After some days or even months such couples are accepted by society after presenting the Sagun.

#### **4.11 Economy**

Agriculture, husbandry and Thanka art is the main occupation of Tamang community of Madan village. Most of woman does various economic activities in order to fulfill their daily needs although; some women are engaged in supporting their family members and worked in their self-employment like tea shops. Some family worked together in Thanka art at their house. The production of thankas are sold in direct market and Thanka shops in Thamel, Patan, Bhaktapur etc.

## CHAPTER : FIVE

### INTRODUCTION, PRACTICE AND PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS

The chapter starts with respondents' brief background. It presents the trend of cross cousin marriage practice and perception towards cross cousin marriage embedded with emerging conflicts.

#### 5.1 Information of Respondents

Respondents of the study area of the Madan village of Chaurideurali Gaupalika were found in social cohesion among Tamang. The respondents performed various types of marriage like love, arrange and capture marriage but interestingly, they performed cross-cousin marriage. The data, through the included table, figure and case studies show that The maximum number of respondents were interested to continue this form of marriage which would play a significant role to make Tamang community of Madan village more united, harmonized and strong.

##### 5.1.1 Family of Respondents

Family is a primary and most important social institution. Without family there is no possibility of society. Generally there are three types of family in terms of size; a) Nuclear family b) Joint family and c) Extended family. In this study, the families of the sampled families are classified into three categories according to the number of family member which are given as follow:

**Table 5.1**  
**Types of Family**

<b>Family Type</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
Nuclear (1-5 family members)	14	47
Joint (6-9 family members)	10	33
Extended (10 above)	6	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Field Study, 2018*



Many years ago, joint and extended families were considered as reputed family in Nepalese context (Gurung, 2004). This concept was also employed in the case of Tamang community of Madan village. Extended family had a special recognition in society. People used to prefer joint family structure. But nowadays, people do not prefer extended family, they usually prefer nuclear family because large family size puts economic burdens for the heads of family members and it also makes some of family members unnecessarily dependent on other members. As shown in the above table, the family size of 1-5 members (Nuclear family) constituted the highest percentage 47 followed by the family size of 6-9 members (Joint family) constituting 33 percent of the total respondents. Likewise, the family size of 10 above (extended family) was only 20 percent. As shown by the data, Tamang people of study area preferred the nuclear and joint family rather than extended family.

### 5.1.2 Age of the Respondents

Age is one of the important factors for marriage. The below table present the categorization of respondents by age.

**Table 5.2**  
**Age Group of the Respondents**

<b>Age group of respondent</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
20–30	2	7
31–40	6	20
41–50	10	33
51 – above	12	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Field Survey, 2018*

Out of the 30 respondents, the majority of the respondents were from the age group 51 and above (40%) followed by the age group 41-50 (33%), 31-40 (20%) and 20-30 (7%) respectively. The above table shows that the trend of cross cousin marriage is higher among the old generation than new generation.

## 5.2 Marriage Practice

Marriage is an important ceremony in the Tamang community. There are various forms of marriage however there were practiced three types of marriage in the research area. Among various forms of marriage, love, arrange and capture marriages were mostly practiced. Interestingly, these forms of marriage are made under cross-cousin marriage. All the respondents were cross-cousin married either they got love or arrange or capture marriage.

### 5.2.1 Types of Marriage

The customary law of Tamang describes that getting cross-cousin marriage is traditional authority of *Mama's* son and *Phupu's* daughter. The other form of marriage only is possible if cross-cousin marriage is impossible. The details about marriage practices among respondents are shown in the following table.

**Table 5.3**  
**Types of Marriages**

Type of Marriage	Respondents	%
Love Marriage	11	36
Arrange Marriage	17	57
Capture Marriage	2	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Field Study, 2018*

The above table shows that the respondents of the study area adopted various types of marriage under cross-cousin marriage practice. Among different types of marriage, 57 percent of respondents got arrange marriage. It means most of the respondents believed on arrange marriage. Similarly, 36 percent of respondents got love marriage.

Only 7 percent respondents got capture marriage. These data revealed that arrange marriage was most popular form of cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs which was similar to the findings of Frick (1986).

### 5.2.2 Marriage and Education

The table below shows the relationship between marriage and education. Of the total 30 respondents, 17 got arrange marriage followed by love marriage (11) and capture marriage (2) respectively. Similarly, of the total 11 married respondents who got love marriage, 6 were literate and 5 were illiterate. It means there was no correlation between love marriage and level of education.

**Table 5.4**  
**Marriage and Education**

Types of Marriage	Educational Status		Total
	Literate	Illiterate	
Love Marriage	6	5	11
Arrange Marriage	9	8	17
Capture Marriage	-	2	2
<b>Total</b>			<b>30</b>

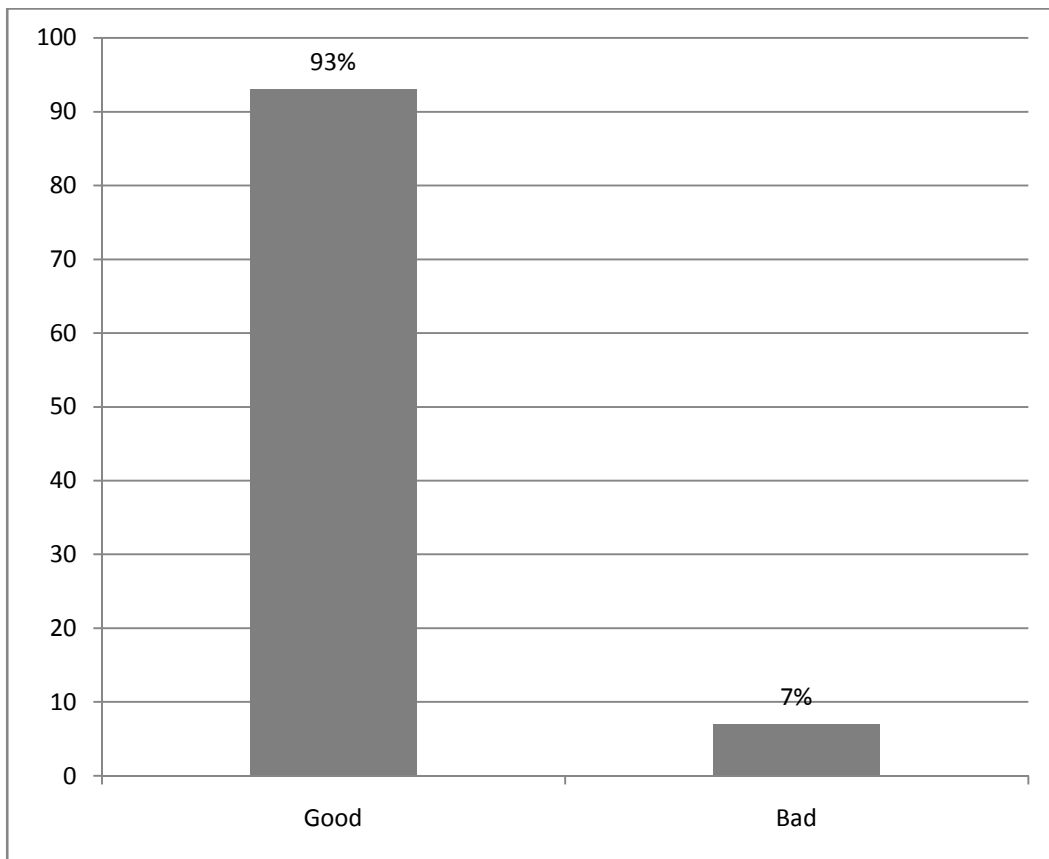
*Source: Field Study, 2018*

Similarly, of the total 17 married respondents who got arrange marriage, 9 were literate and 8 were illiterate. This data also revealed that there was not significant relationship between arrange marriage and educational status. In contrast, there was correlation between capture marriage and level of education. Of the total respondents who got capture marriage, were illiterate. Overall, there was not significant relationship between cross-cousin marriage and education.

### 5.3 Perception towards the Cross-cousin Marriage

The structured interviews and unstructured interviews were employed to understand the perception of Tamangs towards cross-cousin marriage. The findings of the interviews are presented in the figure below.

**Figure 5.1**



**Perception towards the Cross-cousin Marriage**

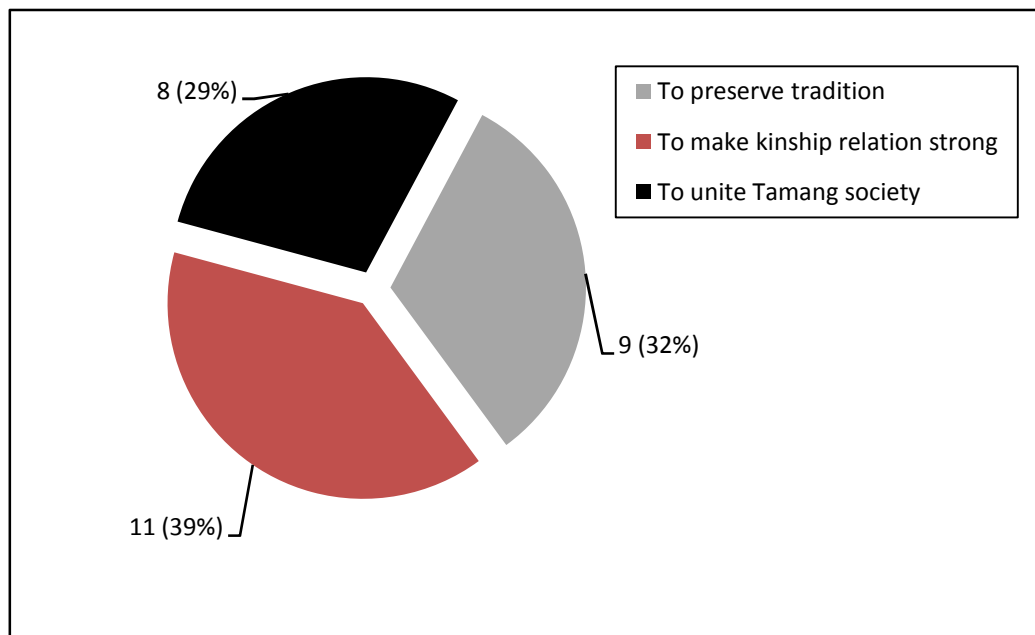
*Source : Field Study, 2018*

As shown in the above figure, the total 30 respondents, 28 (93%) respondents' responses were good regarding cross-cousin marriage practice and only 2 (7%) responses were negative. The data revealed that the perception towards cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs were positive. Furthermore, the figure below shows the significance of cross-cousin marriage practice among Tamangs.

### **5.3.1 Significance of Marriage**

Cross cousin marriage is important in Tamang society for different purpose. Cross-cousin married family felt equally responsible and they transfer the resources like labor, cash and other necessary equipment. So, they agreed to preserve the tradition and it is alive in Tamang community of Madan village. However, among new generations, it seems that the growing desires of young men and women to give priorities to their own choice while selecting their husbands and wives. The following figure shows the similar views to support cross cousin marriage.

**Figure 5.2**



**Significance of Cross Cousin Marriage**

*Source: Field Survey 2018*

As shown in the above figure, of the total 28 (93%) respondents who had positive response towards cross-cousin marriage, 39 percent respondents were preferred cross-cousin marriage in order to make kinship relation strong. Similarly, 32 percent respondents liked cross-cousin marriage to preserve their tradition and 29 percent respondents wished cross-cousin marriage to unite Tamang society.

The following case of Palmo Tamang reveals the fact that cross cousin marriage makes the kin stronger.

**Case Study 1**

*Ms. Palmo Tamang (name changed), 52, is a permanent resident of Madan Village. She got arrange marriage with her uncle's son (mama ko chhora) at the age of 18. They were familiar with each other since their childhood. When her uncle (mama) and his family proposed to get marry with their son Pasang. Palmo's whole family agreed commonly because cross cousin marriage was their tradition. Palmo didn't feel so strange after her marriage because she was already familiar with her husband and his family. She was beloved as a daughter rather than daughter in law. She feels cross cousin marriage makes the kin stronger due to blood relationship.*

*She further expresses, 'we have a common sense of solidarity and our community is united. We are bonded somehow with all community members due to cross cousin marriage tradition.'*

The case study of following Ms. Pasang Dolma Tamang (name changed) further supports the arguments made above.

### **Case Study 2**

*Ms. Pasang Dolma Tamang (name changed), 20 years old, is a married women working as primary level teacher at Swasthani Secondary School at Madan, Kavre. She got love marriage at the age of eighteen with her phuphu's son (cross-cousin) named Norbu Tamang.*

*She has noble relation with her family members. She calls her mother-in-law as Aangi (phupu) and father in law as Aashyang (mama). Regarding cross-cousin marriage, she feels it is important because it makes kinship stronger. Cross cousin marriage makes close emotional attachment in relation. She explains her experience that her father-in-law and mother-in-law treat her as niece more than daughter-in-law. She further explains that her family is very cooperating and every members of the family are equally involved in every decision making in the household.*

*She adds that cross-cousin marriage supports to continue family relation even generation to generation. It doesn't only make kinship relationship stronger but also helps to preserve Tamang tradition and customs.*

Another, the following case study of Mai Tamang tells the similar story regarding cross-cousin marriage. She also favours the cross-cousin marriage. According to her the cross-cousin marriage is a distinct identity of Tamang community. This tradition unites Tamang society and makes stronger. Therefore, it should be preserved.

### **Case Study 3**

*Mai Tamang is a housewife of 47 years old. She got arrange marriage with her Mama's son before 25 years. She has a joint family. Her family is very supportive and cooperative. She goes to her maternal home seasonally to support different activities. At the same time, the members of her maternal home also come to her husband's home to assist works. They have mutual relationships. Interestingly, Mai Tamang's father-in-law and mother-in-law also got cross-cousin marriage. Hence, their families*

*are bonded each other. An illiterate Mai Tamang tells that cross-cousin marriage is our tradition. It is- our identity as well. Since we have a strong kinship relation we share our joys and sorrows collectively. Since I am married woman I never fell so much different because we had already a kin relation with my husband and his family. I behave to my husband's parents as uncle (Aashyang) rather than father in law and aunty (Aangi) rather than mother-in-law (sasu). They also treat me as bhanji rather than daughter-in-law (buhari).*

The above stories of Pasang Dolma Tamang and Mai Tamang reveal that the cross-cousin marriage plays a significant role in Tamang community. As functionalists explain that every part of the society is equally important to make the society equilibrium and sustainable, the cross-cousin form of marriage has played an important role to make Tamang society equilibrium.

In contrast, the following case study of Lhamo Tamang revealed controversial views towards cross-cousin marriage in Madan village.

#### **Case Study 4**

*Lhamo Tamang (name changed) of 38 years old women. She was originally from Ramechhap district and got married with her uncle (mama)'s son, a permanent resident of Madan village. Since they had a kin relation and both were openly introduced before their marriage. Coincidentally, they got married with the advice and consensus of their parents. She revealed traditionally Tamangs practice cross-cousin marriage and mostly it does with the consensus of parents.*

*She suggested that the selection of mate should be individual choice rather than parental choice. Custom and tradition sometime altered with changing time. In her view, there was great significance of cross-cousin marriage in the past but not at this modern age. The limitation of cross-cousin marriage is narrowing down the kinship relation in Madan village. If Tamang get other forms of marriage they would have a chance to expand their kin relation. So, new generations would have gradually practiced other forms of marriage.*

The following case study of Ms. Dubsung Tamang, a key informant has a similar view that also has not a rigid view on cross-cousin marriage in Madan village.

### Case Study 5

*Dubsung Tamang (name changed), 56 years old women of Madan village told that cross-cousin marriage was most popular in Madan village in the past as she was aware of Tamang tradition. Usually, the marriage was performed with mutual understanding of parents rather than the understanding of bride and bridegroom. She told that in the modern age, people should have right to select bride or bridegroom. The mate might be either cross-cousin or other anyone. In the past, it was true that Tamangs had comparatively less mobility due to their agricultural based subsistence economy. But with their changing occupation they have high mobility which has influenced in their marriage system also. Now, in the Madan village, the numbers of cross-cousin married people are less than other forms of married people. She told it is needed to modify their culture according to time and space.*

From the above case studies, the narration given by the Ms. Lhamo Tamang and Ms. Dhubsung reveals that there is a changing perception towards cross-cousin marriage.

The above quantitative and qualitative data reveals that cross cousin marriage plays a vital role to make a Tamang community united and equilibrium as structural functional perspective assumes. The following case study of Palmo Tamang shows that how cross cousin marriage is popular among Tamang in Madan village.

#### **5.4 Kinship**

Kinship is one of the main organizing principles of human society. It establishes relationships between individuals and groups through socio-cultural and biological process. Kinship is an important social institution among the sampled population which is developed with traditional networking of norm, values, custom and other into unit.

Kinship is a system that also helps to identify the social position relation, which is called *Natagota*. The rights and duties are sanctioned by the kin identity in relations. The kinship as a structure enhances the relation with a particular socio-culture and socio-economic status holder family or in a household it can change the position of the person in particular dynamic life. In Tamang indigenous people, they can marry with the son and daughter of maternal uncle, the cross-cousin marriage, a popular trend in the study area.



### Case Study 6

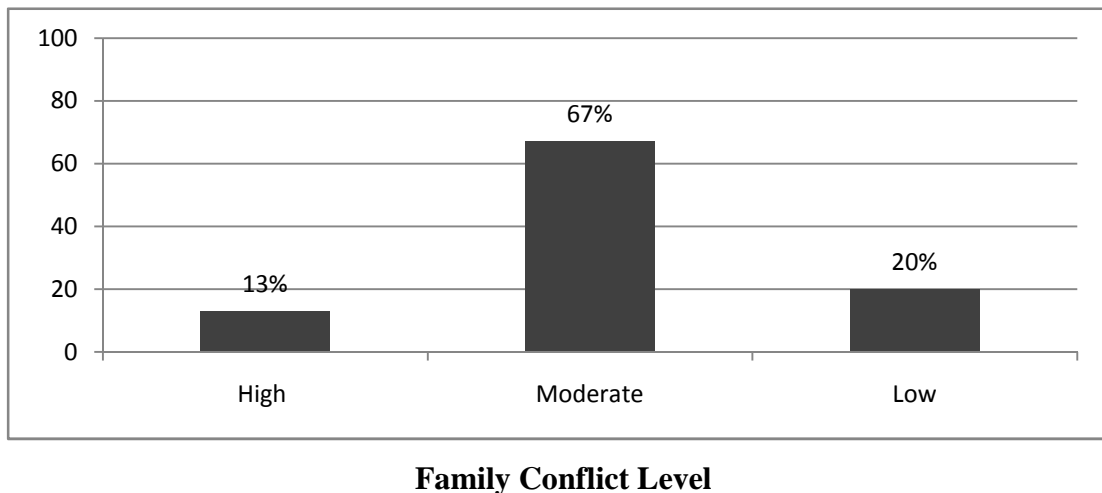
*Chhesum Tamang (name changed), 33 years old woman, is a restaurant entrepreneur. She has a business in her own village. She got an arrange marriage with her phuphu's son named Subash Lama who was three year older than her. She has decent relation with her mother-in law and she calls to her mother in law as aunti (phupu) and father in laws as Aashang (phupaju). She feels that cross cousin marriage builds close emotional attachment in relation. For example her father-in-law and mother-in-law treat her as niece more than daughter-in law. According to Chhesum her family is very cooperative as well as supportive. Every members of the family involve in every decision making process. However, some debate and conflict take place within family members but it is solved collectively. In her view, cross-cousin marriage supports to continue family-relation even generation to generation which already exist, makes stronger and it also helps to preserve Tamang traditions and culture.*

The discussions with key informants (Tamang social, cultural as well as political leaders) reported that cross-cousin marriage practice establishes social cohesion among Tamangs. According to them, cross-cousin marriage is plays a vital role to make kinship relation stronger. In addition, this form of marriage is playing a significant role to make Tamang community of Madan village more united, harmonized and strong.

### 5.5 Family Conflict

The information regarding family conflict was collected through interviews with respondents and key respondents. Cross-cousin marriage is highly emotionally attached with two families (Tamang, 2017). The information between two families (economic and social activities) is transparent. Therefore, there is a less possibility of conflict among family members as seen among the sampled population in Madan village. The cross-cousin married families are involved in long-term as well as closed relationships. They interact with each other regularly so that they can resolve conflict immediately if they have any dispute. Families are bounded in generation to generation. At the same time, they know social rules, regulations, norms, traditions and therefore, the conflict between families are very low as depicted in the figure below.

**Figure 5.3**



*Source : Field Study, 2018*

The above chart shows that only 13 % respondents are having high conflict. Similarly, 67 % respondents are having moderate conflict and 20 % respondents having low conflict in family. These data reveals that the rate of high conflict among the sampled population of Tamang is very low. In support this quantitative data, a case study (qualitative data) has been presented in below.

The above figure shows that only 67 % respondent having moderate conflict. Likewise, 13 % and 20 % respondent having high and low conflict in family respectively. The data reveals the positive significant of cross-cousin marriage in terms of family conflict. The below case further supports the importance of cross-cousin marriage among Tamangs.

The following case study of Sundari Tamang in case 7 reveal conflicts in Tamang family as the result of cross cousin marriage.

#### **Case Study 7**

*Sundari Tamang (name changed) of 42 years, well liberated, divorced women. She was originally from Sindhuli district. She got married with the consensus of their parents in the age of 16 years with her uncle (mama)'s son, a permanent resident of Madan village. In the age of her 17 she gave birth of her first daughter and second daughter in another year. Coincidentally, the elder child was effected with blindness and younger child's left hand was paralyzed from the time of their birth.*

*Sundari Tamang was frustrated, Parents of her husband, some neighbours and some*

*doctors who were involved to cure her pregnancy period used to blame that due to the marriage within the blood relation the health of newborn babies affected negatively. In her view, some medical experts revealed, cross cousin married couple's newborn babies could get various types of inferiority and diseases. She was neglected from her family members and separated in the age of 20 from her husband. She used to express that cross-cousin marriage system must be terminated, there might be many hidden cases of conflicts in many families but it is very difficult to find the real data regarding cross cousin marriage. If other forms of marriage systems are applied Tamang would get better chances to expand their kin relation and health too. So, future generations would have gradually practiced other forms of marriage.*

## **5.6 Dowry System**

A dowry is a transfer of parental property at the marriage of a daughter. The parental property could be cash, assets like furniture, gold, land and domestic animals cow, buffalo, goat, chickens etc. It is still in practice in Nepali society. However, in Tamang society it is not prevailing in mandatory dowry. They deliver properties to his/her daughter gold, domestic animals etc. during marriage and after the marriage. The right of dowry property belongs to his/her daughter as “PEWA” properties, any other family members could not sell and transfer without her consent.

In Tamang Society, this system helps to empower the daughters economically because the ownership of PEWA goes to daughter and she only has to right of this property. However, there is no any compulsory mandate to provide dowry in Tamang Society. The case study below elaborates in detail.

### **Case Study 8**

*Chini Maya Tamang (name changed) is fifty year old. She got married at the age of eighteen years. She is a housewife, living in joint family. She says, dowry practice is not compulsory among Tamangs. However, few Tamangs practice it. Chini Maya received one buffalo and two goats as dowry (Pewa) from her maternal home. She has already sold those properties and has deposited money in a saving & cooperative in her own village and she can use it according to her wish.*

## 5.7 Labor and Resources Exchange

Cross-cousin marriage is directly correlated with labour and resource exchange. The study describes economic activities in cross-cousin marriage. Marriage is held in close relationship. Both family are familiar in economic situation, they do not like to economic burden after the marriage. Therefore, they prefer to minimize cost in marriage.

In Tamang society, the main concern of cross- cousin marriage was not to divide the resources. Tamang community want to keep all properties including labour and resources under own family tree. They want to escape from the unfair financial competition between two families. They think that both families (cross-cousin married family) feel equally responsible and they transfer the resources (like labor, cash and other necessary equipment). Therefore, cross-cousin marriage is popular and alive in Tamang community. The under-mentioned narration of Maila Tamang one of the key informants portrays how labour and resources are exchanged among Tamangs.

### Case Study 9

*Mailee Tamang (name changed). 52 years old, live at Madan village and works as a Thanka artist. She got cross cousin marriage at the age of twenty with Duma Tamang from the same village. Their livelihood is dependent on agriculture. During the season of farming, they need many labors as well as resources; such as money, agricultural equipment etc.*

*In order to perform the agricultural works they exchange labours and resources each other (home and natal home). After completion of one's agricultural works they go to another's. they don't take any benefit as a labour rather they exchange it for each other. Not only labour they also exchange resources too. They exchange grains, money, ox, seeds etc. She think, cross-cousin marriage has made their life easier because they get support from her natal home and they do support them as well. They have mutual co-operation.*

During the Focus Group discussion, it was noted that local leaders were aware of the Tamang cultures, norms, and values. They have been struggling against the state to make law to preserve their culture, identity, traditions and religion. In the discussion, dominant voice was in the favour of cross-cousin marriage. Similarly, from the interview with key informants, it is concluded that majority of Tamangs are in favour of cross-cousin marriage because they believe that Tamang communities are united by this tradition.

## **CHAPTER : SIX**

### **SUMMARY, MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION**

#### **6.1 Summary of the Study**

In Tamang community, marriage makes the paired relation of the couple a socially acknowledged, legal, relatively permanent bond, which provides not only for reciprocal obligations between the married couple but also for the rights of the offspring. It provides a formal and legal link to the extended family, or kinship relatives, and thereby establishes property rights and stable lines of inheritance from generation to generation. Cross-cousin marriage is a taboo in most Hindu societies. However, it is practiced among many ethnic groups in Nepal such as Tamang.

Traditionally, Tamang community practice cross-cousin marriage. It is common in Tamang community. Marriage is ideally between bilateral cross-cousins, descent is patrilineal, and post-marital residence for young couples is patriarchal. Traditionally, Tamangs are Buddhist. The young generations of Tamang are educated and modern. Thus, they are aware of their environment and have begun to choose marrying partner of their choice. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a modern, science and technological era, an extensive research is necessary in order to find out what are the socio-cultural significances of cross-cousin marriage system on Tamang community. Some members of Tamang community are very rigid on traditional norms and practices while others are not. Therefore, anthropological research on cross-cousin marriage system in Tamang community is worth exploring.

However, there are limited studies on cross-cousin marriage practice among Tamang community. Therefore, this research is prepared to study a cross-cousin marriage practice which is helpful to explore the changing pattern of marriage practices among Tamang community. This study has attempted to address the research questions-Why Tamang prefers cross-cousin marriage? What are the impacts of cross-cousin marriage in Tamang society? What are the perceptions regarding cross-cousin marriage practices among Tamang women? The general objective of this study was to find out the marriage practices of Tamang women in Kavre district of Nepal. The specific

objectives of this study are to study cross-cousin marriage practice among Tamangs and to examine their perception towards cross-cousin marriage.

The study was carried out at *Madan* village of Kavre district which is located under province no. 3. The village is nearly 90 kilometer far from the capital city, Kathmandu and 60 kilometer far from the district headquarter, Dhulikhel. Geographically, Madan village is hilly zone with motorable road and electricity facility.

The design of this research is descriptive as well as explorative. This study describes the practices of marriage among Tamangs and explores the perception of Tamangs towards cross cousin marriage practice. Primary and secondary data is used in this study. Primary data is collected from fieldwork using various methods, tools and techniques. The secondary data is taken from various studies such as books, published and unpublished documents from related literature and government documents from different libraries and institutes. Both qualitative and quantitative data are used in this study. The study was carried out at *Madan* village of Kavre district. According to the national population census (2011), the total population of the village is 2336 and they all belong to Tamang ethnic community. It is difficult to identify the numbers of cross-cousin married women in the village because the authentic numbers of cross-cousin marriage is not available yet. Moreover, this study is more qualitative in nature and hence only 30 cross-cousin married women were taken as the sample of study. According to objectives of the study purposive sampling method was employed.

The data collection techniques and tools were interview which was carried out with 30 cross cousin married Tamang women to find out overall perceptions towards the cross-cousin marriage. The interview questions were both structured and unstructured type. The group discussions were conducted to get the information associated with the study. Only one focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted and in the FGD, the members of Nepal Tamang Ghedung (Five in total), those who had also performed cross cousin marriage were the participants. Key informant interviews were also conducted. Case study method was adopted to draw qualitative information. There are altogether eight case studies that were made. The case study supports qualitative data. Marriage is an imperative ceremony in the Tamang community. There are various forms of marriage however there were practiced three types of marriage in the

research area. Among various forms of marriage, love, arrange and capture marriages were mostly practiced. Interestingly, these forms of marriage are made under cross-cousin marriage. All the respondents were cross-cousin married either they got love or arrange or capture marriage.

The customary law of Tamang describes that getting cross-cousin marriage is traditional authority of *Mama's* son and *Phupu's* daughter. The other form of marriage only is possible if cross-cousin marriage is impossible. In Tamang society, the main concern of cross-cousin marriage was not to divide the resources. Tamang community want to keep all properties including labour and resources under own family tree. They want to escape from the unfair financial competition between two families. They think that both families (cross-cousin married family) feel equally responsible and they transfer the resources (like labor, cash and other necessary equipment). Therefore, cross-cousin marriage is popular and alive in Tamang community.

## **6.2 Major Findings**

To answer the research questions, 30 married Tamang who got cross-cousin marriage were selected as respondents. Of the total respondents, 11 Tamangs got love marriage, 17 got arranged and 2 got capture marriage. With discussion individually as well as collectively, it was found that Tamang men and women were quite free to make decision of their marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is traditional authority of *Mama's* son and *Phupu's* daughter. Other form of marriage in Tamang community is possible only if cross-cousin marriage is impossible. Among various forms of marriage, love, arrange and capture marriages were mostly practiced in Tamang community of Madan village-all made under cross-cousin marriage. All the respondents were cross-cousin married either they got love or arrange or capture marriage. Tamang women were free in the community in choosing cross-cousin marriage. The major findings of the study are as follows:

- ) Of the total respondents, 47% had nuclear family, 33 had joint family and 20% had extended family.
- ) Tamang women were free in the community compared to other women.
- ) In Tamang community, there was not any discrimination in terms of gender. Daughters are also equally free as son.

- ) Regarding perception of Tamang towards cross-cousin marriage, 93 percent response was positive (good) and only 7 percent was negative (bad). Majority of respondents desire to continue cross-cousin marriage.
- ) Marriage is an important ceremony in the Tamang community. There are various forms of marriage however there were practiced three types of marriage in the research area. Among various forms of marriage, love, arrange and capture marriages were mostly practiced. Interestingly, these forms of marriage are made under cross-cousin marriage. All the respondents were cross-cousin married either they got love or arrange or capture marriage.
- ) In Tamang community, dowry is not mandatory. They deliver properties to his/her daughter gold, domestic animals etc. during marriage and after the marriage. The right of dowry property belongs to his/her daughter as “PEWA” properties, any other family members could not sell and transfer without her consent.
- ) In Tamang Society, this system helps to empower the daughters economically because the ownership of PEWA goes to daughter and she only has to right of this property. However, there is no any compulsory mandate to provide dowry in Tamang Society.
- ) The customary law of Tamang describes that getting cross-cousin marriage is traditional authority of *Mama's* son and *Phupu's* daughter. The other form of marriage only is possible if cross-cousin marriage is unworkable.
- ) Cross-cousin marriage provides not only for reciprocal obligations between the married couple but also for the rights of the offspring and other members of the kin network. It provides a formal and legal link to Tamang extended family, or kinship relatives, and thereby establishes property rights and stable lines of inheritance from generation to generation.
- ) Cross-cousin marriage is sacred for Tamang cross-cousin marriage is revered performances of life cycle between bilateral cross-cousins.
- ) The main concern of cross- cousin marriage was not to divide the resources. Tamang people want to keep all properties including labour and resources under own family tree. They want to escape from the unfair financial competition between two families.



- ) They think that both families (cross-cousin married family) feel equally responsible and they transfer the resources (like labor, cash and other necessary equipment). Therefore, cross-cousin marriage is popular and alive in Tamang community of Madan village.
- ) However, the trend of traditional cross-cousin marriage is changing nowadays. There are the emerging conflicts among the educated young Tamang. Among new generations, it seems that the growing desires of young men and women to give priorities to their own choice while selecting their husbands and wives. With the changing time, the perceptions of parents have also changed while selecting the bride and bridegroom.
- ) The young generations of Tamang are educated and modern hence they are aware of their environment and have begun to choose marrying partner of their choice which is creating conflicts between the generations though there is socio-cultural significance of cross-cousin marriage system in their community.
- ) Some members of Tamang community are rigid on traditional norms and practices while others are not which signifies the differing perceptions of cross-cousin marriage. Hence, anthropological significance on cross-cousin marriage system in Tamang community is worth explanation.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Perceptions of Tamang towards cross-cousin marriage are positive and very few have negative perceptions. Majority of respondents desire to continue cross-cousin marriage. Among new generations, there is the growing desire of young men and women to give priorities to their own choice while selecting their husbands and wives. With the changing time, the perceptions of parents have also changed while selecting the bride and bridegroom. They agree that selection of bride and bridegroom should be individual choice rather parental choice. Similarly, the marriage should not be forced by the parents.

It can be concluded that at the age of modernization and globalization, Tamang communities are succeeding to preserve their tradition and custom. For instance, they have succeeded to make alive their traditional cross-cousin marriage practice which is

playing significant role to unite and make harmony among the Tamang. Therefore, the role of the nation is to preserve this unique identity, beauty and harmony. Therefore, the roles and responsibilities of the nation are to preserve this identity and beauty. In order to preserve and protect the Tamang culture the government should launch an awareness campaign for Tamang intellectuals, priests etc as facilitators regarding cultural importance. Similarly, as a secular state, the government should not be discriminative. Related authorities should respect varieties of cultures equally.

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# ANNEX -1

## Data Collection Tools

### 1. Interview Schedule on Practice and Perception of Tamang Women Towards Cross-Cousin Marriage

	Survey date:			
				Remarks
<b>Section I. General information</b>				
1.1	Name of the Respondent:			
.2	Sex: Male    Female    Other			
.3	Religion	Hindu Buddhist Muslims    Christian    Other		
1.4	Types of Family: Nuclear Joint			
1.5	Age:		Age at marriage	Age of your spouse at Marriage
1.5.1	Type of marriage : Love    Arrange    Capture    Others			
1.5.2	Marital status	Single	Married	Divorce

**2. Questionnaires (Please choose and tick on any-one alternative option)**

**(1) Can you read and write?**

- (i) Love (ii) Arrange  
(ii) Capture (iv) other

**(2) What type of marriage you made?**

- (i) Love (ii) Arrange  
(ii) Capture (iv) other

**(3) What is your perception on Cross cousin marriage?**

- (i) Good (ii) Bad  
(ii) Not sure (iv) No comment

**(4) Can Cross cousin marriage make following things easier ?**

- (i) Kinship Relation Strong (ii) Preserve the Tradition & Unite Society  
(ii) both (iv) Not sure

**(5) Do you think cross cousin marriage establish unity, harmony and strong role in Tamang Community?**

- (i) Yes (ii) No  
(ii) Not sure (iv) No comment

**(6) What type of family you have?**

- (i) Nuclear (ii) Joint  
(ii) extended (iv) No comment

**(7) How do you categorize the conflict level within your community?**

- (i) High (ii) Low  
(ii) Moderate (iv) No comment

**3. Please provide your views.**

- (1) Can you speak Tamang Language and how many other languages can you speak, fluently ?
- (2) What type of marriage you have adopted ?
- (3) What types of marriage practices are there in your community ?
- (4) Do you prefer cross cousin marriage ?
- (5) How your community perceives cross cousin marriage?
- (6) What are the importances of cross cousin marriage?
- (7) What are the drawbacks of cross cousin marriage?
- (8) How do you think the future of cross cousin marriage
- (9) How do you find the present trends/practices of marriage in Tamang community ?

#### 4. Information Schedule on Cross-Cousin marriage practices in Tamang Community

A. Please Tick  or  or write in appropriate boxes.

##### 1. Survey Date:-

1.1 B.S.:

1.2 A.D.:

##### 2. General Information:-

2.1 Name of Respondent:

2.2 Age of Respondent:

##### 2.3 Sex:-

2.3.1 Male:

2.3.2 Female:

2.3.3 Third sex:

2.3.4 Other:

##### 2.4 Religion:-

2.4.1 Hindu:

2.4.2 Boudhist:

2.4.3 Christian:

2.4.4 Other:

##### 2.5 Type of Family:-

2.5.1 Nuclear:

2.5.2 Joint:

2.5.3 Extended:

2.5.4 No comment:

##### 2.6 Marrital Status (Present Status):

2.6.1 Single:

2.6.2 Married:

2.6.3 Divorce:

2.6.4 Other:

##### 2.7 Age (at marriage):-

2.7.1 Groom:

2.7.2 Bride:

2.7.3 Not known:

2.7.4 No comment:

##### 2.8 Type of Marriage:-

2.8.1 Love:

2.8.2 Arrange:

2.8.3 Captured:

2.8.4 Other:

##### 2.9 Education:

2.9.1 School Level:

2.9.2 Bachelor's Level:

2.9.3 None:

2.9.4 Above Bachelor's Degree:

##### 2.10 Profession:

2.10.1 Job in Nepal:

2.10.2 Job out of Nepal:

2.10.3 Housewife:

2.10.4 None:



