

Title: Yolmo Mother-Daughter Relationships in Nepal

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Abstract

By focusing on mother-daughter relationships, researchers are beginning to understand one of the most fundamental, yet complex forms of human bonds that exist among women. The mother-daughter relationship's capacity to be both immensely rewarding and intensely trying appears to cross cultural boundaries. Applying Life Story method to mother-daughter relational behavior, this paper proposes to study mother-daughter relationships of the Yolmo wa in Nepal.

What makes the Yolmo mother-daughter relationship unique is the Yolmo wa marital ritual. The male kidnaps an unsuspecting teenaged female to be his wife. As one Yolmo man stated, "Attraction leads to violence." The marital practice of the Yolmo wa creates a dramatic separation where females must endure tsher ka (pain). This abrupt separation between mother and daughter may be far more traumatic than U.S. marital rituals and may have far reaching consequences.

The Life Story method that is paper proposes to use focuses on the in-depth interviews that highlight the life stories or those stories that the teller feels are important. Through the use of narrative, the life story approach will be able to reveal the complexity and ambiguity of human interaction. With the use of the life story method, this study will take a dialogic approach plus use a collaborative effort by both researcher and participant in the design, conduct, and analysis of the research. The Life Story method will yield a rich database and a rich unfolding of life of the Yolmo mothers and daughters.

This research project hopes to add to the body of knowledge about the relationship between mother and daughter and how that relationship upholds and maintains the culture they live in. Additionally, this project hopes to add to the body of knowledge on emic as well as etic research on mother-daughter relationships.

Yolmo Mother-Daughter Relationships in Nepal

Central Focus

The purpose of this study is to examine the complexities of mother-daughter relationships of the Yolmo wa¹ in remote villages in the district of Helambu, Nepal. Helambu is in the central district of Nepal, northeast of Kathmandu. The Yolmo wa are distinctive from the better-known Nepal Sherpas. Anthropologists originally considered the Yolmo people to be Sherpas, however the Yolmo people have a language that is characteristically closer to the Tibetans than the Sherpas thus leading researchers to re-evaluate their first assumptions. More importantly, the people from Helambu consider themselves, not Sherpa, but Yolmo.

Today, the Yolmo people live in much the same way that their ancestors did using traditional rituals and communal practices. However, in the late 1980s, modern civilization began to intrude on their way of life. Before the Yolmo culture is further eroded by outside influences, it is imperative to study the familial relationship between mother and daughter. This information will help us understand the Yolmo wa and will increase our understanding of human nature as a whole.

Mother-daughter relationships.

Scholars in the United States have found that the parental-child relationship between mother and daughter represents one of the most fundamental, yet complex forms of human bonds that exist among women (Chodorow, 1978; Fischer, 1991; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). This relationship can be both immensely rewarding and intensely trying. Part of the conflict between mother and daughter is what neofreudians argue is the mothers' struggle with simultaneously maintaining emotional closeness with daughters while pushing them into adulthood. This process is believed to contribute to "tense" mother-daughter dyads (Chodorow, 1978).

Another psychoanalytic theory tries to explain these diametrically opposed feelings. Researchers conclude that daughters reach reproductive maturity at a time when mothers are typically ending their reproductive years. Therefore, conflict is believed to be a result of mothers'

¹[1] The people of the Yolmo culture who live in three areas in the Helambu district, Rasawa, Kuwakot and Sindhupalchowk, call themselves Yolmo wa. Wa means 'way of life.'

difficulty in accepting this menstrual asynchrony (Freud, 1948; La Sorsa & Fodor, 1990). This co-occurrence of menarcheal onset in daughters and menopause in mothers may be common among families in which women, across generations, bear children during their young adult years. Typically, the age distance between U.S. American mothers and daughters in these families ranges from 25 to 32 years or more (Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1990). However, this generational spread is not the case for many families in cultures where the norm is for the daughter to be married in her teen years, thus the mother and daughter may be much closer in age and will be menstruating in synchrony rather than in asynchrony. Typically it is in developing countries where girls marry at much younger ages. One such developing country is Nepal, home of the Yolmo wa.

In the Yolmo culture the female child is most often married before her eighteenth year and leaves her parental home to live with the husband and his family. Anthropologist Robert Desjarlais (1999) states, "As Yolmo women tell it, moving to the groom's household is one of the most traumatic moments of their lives, a lasting moment often marred by pain in separation. Indeed, many informants conceded that tsher ka (pain) falls to the daughter more than the son because she must undertake this journey" (p. 120). In this paper, I will return later to the cultural marital practice of the Yolmo wa that creates the separation between mother and daughter at this time of life that may be far more traumatic than in Western cultures and may have far reaching consequences.

In the United States, a younger marrying age, often correlated with poverty, presents the mother-daughter relationship with an additional burden. Some scholars (Collins, 1987; Stack, 1974) argue that lower income mothers must be overprotective of their daughters, yet at the same time they must foster a sense of self-reliance in them. The developing country of Nepal has one of the lowest per capita income rates in the world^{2[2]} and the Yolmo people, typically agrarians,

^{2[2]} United Nations statistical document on world distribution of wealth, 2001.

live in one of the most impoverished areas of Nepal. In the district of Helambu, there is no infrastructure: no roads, electricity, sewer or water systems and few schools. The abject poverty found in Helambu may be another issue to contend with in mother-daughter relationships and the Yolmo mother may experience the tension between wanting to protect her daughter and needing to teach her self-reliance.

Another consideration is living in an area that is threatening to one's survival. Western scholar, W. A. Collins (1990) argues that mothers rearing their children in high-risk environments must be careful not to enhance their daughters' self-reliance at the expense of their daughters' survival. For example, "Black daughters with strong self-definitions and self-valuations who offer serious challenges to oppressive situations may not physically survive" (Collins, 1990, p. 123-124). Unfortunately, the Yolmo wa are now living in a high risk area and Yolmo mothers must now raise their daughters in a cultural climate quite unlike that of just a few years ago. Today Yolmo mothers and daughters must deal with the ominous sex trafficking business in Nepal and the Maoists insurgency that is terrorizing the villagers of Nepal.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) have tried unsuccessfully for the past few years to stop the growing trade of Nepalese girls and women to boarder brothels and to brothels in Bombay, India. Despite efforts to curtail it, sex trafficking is growing in this small Asian country. According to Anuradha Korralla, director of the Non-governmental Organization (NGO) Maiti International, (personal communication, Feb. 22, 2002) the demand for Nepalese girls is rapidly increasing. The number of girls and young women sold into sexual bondage is estimated to be between 5,000 to 7,000 females per year in Nepal. Many of these girls and young women live in rural areas that are hardest hit with poverty. Husbands, fathers and even mothers may sell wives and daughters to sex traffickers. Additionally, sex traffickers may abduct young females. According to Korralla (personal communication, Feb. 22, 2002) as NGOs curtail sex trafficking in one area of Nepal, the trafficking increases in other areas typically those like Helambu.

In addition, with the abject poverty of Helambu and other areas in Nepal, young people are looking for jobs outside their familiar settings. According to the Maiti International website, (March 21, 2002), in Kathmandu there are over 135 overseas employment agencies in Nepal which help find jobs abroad in the Gulf, Southeast Asia and Europe. However, the kinds of jobs available are cheap labor in households, hotels, and factories and many employees have returned home sexually exploited.

An additional potential harm to villagers is the Maoist insurgency. Since 1996 a group of Nepalese Communists have band together calling themselves Maoists. Armed with rifles, the Maoists strong-arm village men to join their crusade against the Nepalese government. If the men do not join they are killed. Additionally, the Maoists have been known to burn villages and to terrorize the villagers. The marauding Maoists have killed hundreds of police officers in the village areas. The potential danger of the Maoists and the danger of being abducted by sex traffickers, Yolmo daughters may find themselves in positions that are highly dangerous and like the African American mothers in the United States, Yolmo mothers in Nepal, may face the same challenge of raising daughters with high-self esteem without placing their lives in jeopardy as Yolmo females may challenge their oppressors in the dark and seamy businesses of trafficking and recruiting.

Furthermore, new economic opportunities for the Yolmo people are changing the face of their agrarian society. Due to the economic deprivation in the villages of Helambu, when tourism began to impact the area in the 1980s, local residents usurped the opportunity to make money. Homes opened to become inns and kitchens became cafes for tourists. Further, young men became tour guides. On the other hand, many Yolmo people, mostly men but also some young women, moved to the city of Kathmandu due of the lure of higher paying jobs. The combination of poverty, increase in tourism, and outgoing of young people has created changes in the Yolmo culture.

As talked about above, a cultural ritual that is distinctive to the Yolmo wa is that of courtship. How teenaged Yolmo girls become married is especially intriguing. A Yolmo male does not court nor ask for the female's permission to marry her. The cultural practice is for the young male to enlist several friends to help him kidnap the unsuspecting female when she is alone, perhaps when she is gathering wood or going from village to village on a barren road and defenseless. Pema Lama (personal communication, March 8, 2002), a Yolmo wa, defined this cultural practice as one of "attraction leads to force." The young female's resistance to her kidnappers places her in an even more violent situation, as her captors do not consider her desires. When she is kidnapped she is taken to the male's home, which may be two or more days from her family, and she does not return to her parental home.

In this dramatic marital ritual, the daughter nor the family are aware that the daughter's life is about to drastically change and the kidnapped wife-to-be has little recourse. She cannot file a complaint, as she is socially bound and thus helpless. Occasionally, if the bride's family is not pleased with their daughter's union, they may offer money to the groom, or, on rare occasions, violence is the proposed plan of action. To rescue the abducted female, the brothers, father, uncles and extended male family members will use weapons against the intruders and the ensuing battle can be very bloody. However, most often, the young kidnapped female has no recourse and must marry the man who is attracted to her.

Being kidnapped has ramifications for the young women. Researchers who have studied the Yolmo culture such as Desjarlais (1992) found that songs are an integral part of the Yolmo wa. Yolmo women sing songs about pain of being forced against their will to marry. These songs construct a bond of empathy and communality amongst themselves. Desjarlais (1992) writes, "One of the songs of the young woman, betrothed against her will to a boy she perhaps has not seen before, is about being fated to become a "daughter without good fortune," landing on the doorsteps of unfamiliar others" (p. 120). With this abrupt parting from the parental home can come feelings of despair, neglect, and anger.

It is not clear how this connubial ritual plays a part in the mother-daughter relationship. The impending yet unknown date of the daughter's departure from the family home without advanced preparation, neither mentally nor physically, presents the mother-daughter relationship with an additional relational layer, quite unlike that of Western mother-daughter dyads.

The relationship between the Yolmo mother and daughter also has other implications. In the Yolmo culture the mother's status and reputation reflects onto the daughter.

According to Pema (personal communication, March 10, 2002), a young man may choose a young woman to be his wife because she comes from a wealthy family or he may choose a woman based on the mother's reputation as a good cook or mother.

Conversely, in the upper regions of Helambu, sometimes a mother is labeled a 'witch', that is, it is rumored that she practices witchcraft. For the daughter of the 'witch' this creates an undue fatalistic future as men do not choose a witch's daughter as a wife.

According to Pema (personal communication, March 8, 2002), this is a taboo topic that is not talked about openly, but daughters of 'witches' do not share the same hopes for the future like those of other young Yolmo women.

Being married is highly valued in the Yolmo cultural so it is essential for the female to marry. The mother is responsible for teaching her daughter how to be a good wife and mother. Pema (personal communication, March 8, 2002) stated, "The daughter becomes the mother." Moreover, the daughter is dependent on the mother for being a good role model in the home as well in the community. This interdependency of mother's reliance on daughter to uphold the

mother's reputation and the daughter's reliance on the mother to teach her how to become a good wife may add relational conflict or relational convergence.

In sum, only within the last two decades has the culture of the Yolmo wa been so invaded by outside influences. The encroaching tourism, changes in employment opportunities, the Maoist insurgency and the growing sex trafficking of Nepali females, has created changes in the Yolmo culture. In addition to cultural changes, the ancient cultural practice of marriage that still exist today shape this duality of not wanting to be abducted and leave the familial home and knowing one must, makes the mother-daughter relationship especially intriguing to study.

Research Questions and Key Concepts

My research question is a twofold, complex inquiry into the lives of the Yolmo wa. First, what is the relationship between Yolmo mother and daughter? Secondly, how are cultural values and norms passed from mother to daughter. Bertaux and Thompson (1997) state that sociologists' neglect of the nature of cultural transmission across generations has created a lacuna in our understanding of culture. Referring to the study of cultural transmission across generations, Bertaux and Thompson (1997) write:

First, it is fundamental to the human condition: it bridges the gap between the need for continuities in culture, the core of human social identity, and the brevity of individual human life. And secondly, because in Western societies it is a widely shared assumption that parental influence can be crucial in shaping their children's adult lives, it is a key theme both in everyday gossip and in national debates on the politics of law and order and social policy. (p. 33).

Therefore, continuing in the line of research of Bertaux and Thompson (1997), the present research project will also search for how cultural traditions are passed from generation to generation.

My approach is pre-theoretical. Rather than theorizing about the relational verbal and nonverbal cues and the intricacies of the mother-daughter relationship, this study's analysis and theorization will be synonymous, that is, it will follow the tradition of Clifford Geertz. The work of this study is to take place in a dialectical to-and-fro movement between observation and conceptualization. This approach is not to establish a preset configuration of concepts but rather its purpose is to identify relational processes, contradictions, shifts in meaning, and sense of connectedness between mother and daughter as they manifest in the interactions between mother and daughter.

Method

Description of the Method

The method this research will use is the life-story approach. One of the characteristics of the life-story method is to "chart dialogues that open and explore interpersonal and intercultural territories" (Greg Sarris, 1993). Tison (1980) defines a life story as "a person's story of his or her life, or of what he or she thinks is a significant part of that life" (p. 276). With the life story method, my research team and I will try to understand the complex and rich relationship between the Yolmo mother and daughter through a series of narrative dialogues. In a study of mother-daughter relationships in thirteen cultures, Socha (1995) states "It is clear that the mother-teen daughter relationship should continue to be studied through the lens of both members" (p. 47). With this in mind, this

study seeks out life-stories of both mother and daughter. Interviews will be conducted and the Yholmo language will be translated into English and visa versa.

Following the lead of Paget (1983), I and the other interviewer will reflect during the course of an interview on the possible similarity between our own and the interviewees' life experiences. Paget (1983) states that this reflection influenced the questions she asked and entered into her understanding and interpretation of the story she was being told. Additionally, her approach gave control of the interview process to the interviewee, and her hesitant and searching way of asking questions, encouraged searching, reflective, and extended responses. In other words, she and her interviewee were engaged together in the same task of trying to understand important life experiences. This research project will have interviewers that are of the same generation as the mothers and daughters. This will help our research team facilitate what Paget experienced as a symbiotic relationship between interviewee and interviewer.

This research project will employ the snowball sampling strategy to elicit participants.

According to Berg (2001), "Snowballing is sometimes the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study" (p. 33). The research team will elicit the first few dyads by seeking out mother-daughter dyads that we meet when attending festivities at the temple in each village. After enlisting a mother-daughter dyad with the appropriate characteristics (listed below) for this study, we will ask the participants for names of others that fit our criteria. Berg (2001) states "By asking these

first subjects for referrals of additional [subjects] the sample eventually "snowballs" from a few subjects to many subjects" (p. 33).

Taking into consideration the breadth and depth of the interview that life stories necessitate and the extensive analyzing process, the number of interviews will need to be limited. Although limited in numbers, of utmost importance to this research project is the comparison of cases, searching for negative cases, and "reaching the point of saturation whereby the sociologist's mental representations of given patterns may be generalized to a whole social milieu"(p. 215, Bertaux and Kohli, 1984). For Bertaux and Bertaux--Wiame, (in Bertaux, 1981) the projected number of interviews for a study on bread makers in France was in the hundreds, but they soon realized that after analyzing just thirty interviews, the same theme kept reappearing with no new information. However, other researchers have interviewed far fewer. Ragin (1994) states that some researchers have investigated a single case study while still others have found that the saturation point is as few as ten to fourteen interviews.

Following the above findings, this research project proposes to interview mother-daughter dyads until we reach the point of saturation, that is, the same prevalent themes will reoccur in the interviews. With this in mind, the present project will use the baseline of thirty mother-daughter dyads as our projected subject number. However, the point of saturation will

ultimately define the number of interviews. The expected time for in-depth interviews will average one and a half hours per interview on each of four separate occasions.

In sum, the life story approach that will be employed in this project will: (1) focus on the inquiry on the individual, (2) be particularly personal, (3) have a "practical" orientation and (4) there will be an emphasis on subjectivity. Through the use of narrative, the life story approach will be able to reveal the complexity and ambiguity of human interaction. According to Hones (1998) the life story method uses a dialogic approach plus a collaborative effort by both researcher and participant in the design, conduct, and analysis of the research. Additionally, Hones (1998) states, "The focus on individual lives enables narrative research to place social theory in a practical light, as well as to connect an individual's personal history with the social history of his or her life span" (p. 237). Finally, participants' 'voice' and story are a positive contribution of the narrative genre to social science research (Hones, 1998; p. 237).

The present research will use life stories as evidence of facts, situations, and contexts along with perceptions and evaluations. The interviews will be recorded using semi-structured questions. The interview questions are developed based on the research questions and review of literature (see appendix A). The questions are open-ended and are merely established to act as a guideline for the interview. According to Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1981; in Bertaux) "...a good life story is one in which the interviewee takes over the control of the interview situation and talks freely..." (p. 39). Therefore, the narrator may offer information that the researcher has not considered and thus the researcher becomes simply the channel rather than the catalyst for the collected data resulting in data that may otherwise be obscured from the research.

Rationale for the Methods

I have selected life stories as our data because they allow the multiplicity of elements within the complex mother-daughter relationship to be collected and assessed. One's life story is shaped and understood by personal and social histories (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). Therefore, the telling of one's life story is an important expression of personality, self-

conceptions and contexts (Mishler, 1986). The life story is not just a chronological telling of past events that have occurred in one's life, life story is about exposing one's inner self and affirming the identity of the storyteller in the act of telling the story (Tipton, 1980). Tipton states, "The life story tells who one thinks one is and how one came to be that way" (p. 290). As a result, this process will yield not only the participants' history, but also challenges they face, their feelings and experiences and meanings they have attached to events and behaviors. Most notably, narratives can expose the complexities of participants' familial relationships.

One crucial feature of life-story that is unique is not only in its focus but also in its ability to meld a rich and meaningful relationship between researcher and participant. This relationship can lend authenticity to the narrative as participants engage in and are urged to explore the issues within their own experience. Another crucial feature is that the analysis is based on the interview text and observations. Because the interview process is interactive, with analysis occurring simultaneously, it will be most advantageous as the interviewers can clarify ambiguous answers, probe for more meaningful answers and ask follow-up questions.

In a study of French young adults, Bertaux (1981) found that in-depth interviews were more productive and elicited a clearer picture of their lives than surveys or other types of methods. When comparing in-depth interviews to the answers given on questionnaires, the researchers concluded that the in-depth interviews were "both more subjective and more 'objective' (or rather, more factually informative) than the answers to the questionnaires and indeed, that the subjective-objective dichotomy was itself highly misleading" (p. 28). On the questionnaires, respondents only provided fragments of explanations to the open-ended questions. However, in the in-depth interviews, participants expanded and explained particular events in their lives. "The same respondents were able to develop much more coherent descriptions of the context of the event, the complexities of their situation arising from constraints and from previous commitments, the influence of their relationships with others, their perception of alternative courses and their hopes at that time, and the reasons why they chose one course

rather than another” (p. 28, Bertaux, 1981). The life-story approach in this case yielded a much richer set of data as the participants “not only explained the meaning which the event had for them, but provided the missing contextual information for why they reacted to it as they did” (p. 28, Bertaux, 1981).

The life-story method will be particularly effective in the current research project because telling one's own life story requires not only recapitulation of directly remembered experience, but it “also draws on information and stories transmitted across the generations, both about the years too early in childhood to remember, and also further back in time beyond one's own birth. Life stories thus are in themselves a form of transmission” (p. 27, Bertaux, 1981). Transgenerational stories that cross between mother and daughter will help to establish how each understands the context of the story and the relationships within the stories. In addition, placing themselves within the story will enable us to understand more fully the mother-daughter relationship and the transmission of cultural practices.

According to Bertaux (1981) the life story analysis is not primarily used to discover individual particularities, but seeks to discover the elements that can be generalized to the culture: “By representing individual life histories, the biographical method is meant to give access to the reality of life of social aggregates (strata, classes, cultures, etc.)” (p. 63). This research project will seek to understand subjective accounts of feelings and experience individually and between Yolmo mothers and daughters in relation to the context within which they live, both as a culture historically embedded in Yolmo wa and as a rapidly changing culture.

Research team and related organizations.

The research team for this project will consist of Pema Lama, Dolkar Lama, Sanghmitra Rimal and myself. As stated above Pema is a member of the Yolmo wa culture as is Dolkar. Sanghmitra is Nepalese. It is important to note that Pema, one of my students at Malpi International College in Kathmandu, Nepal in 2000, is currently a student at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay.

He is double majoring in anthropology and environmental science. My other research assistant, Sanghmitra Rimal, also one of my former students at Malpi, is currently a student at the University of Colorado, Denver. She is majoring in sociology and her central focus is on women's rights in Nepal. Dolkar Lama, a relative of Pema, was my student at Malpi International College also and is currently attending Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, Nepal. All of these students speak fluent English and we can communicate effectively.

Significant to this research, Pema, Sanghmitra and I will be working on the research project prior to arriving in Kathmandu. Pema will be teaching us basic Yolmo words such as appropriate salutations for males and females of varying ages and sects. Dolkar will be joining us in Kathmandu and will be introduced to the research project at that time. Prior to our departing Kathmandu, Pema and Dolkar will be teaching Sanghmitra and I about nonverbal cues particular to the Yolmo culture. We will role-play using nonverbal behaviors such as proxemics and haptics.

While teaching at Malpi International College, I established many good relationships, one being with the executive director, Jana Thapa. Ms. Thapa is most willing to accommodate our research in any way possible. Additionally, Tribhuvan University, School of South Asian Studies who sponsors foreign journalists, students and research teams from around the world, is interested in sponsoring our research.

Some researchers that conduct studies in Nepal do not get sponsored as their research can be completed in less than five months. Tourists can stay in Nepal for three months then they must have their visa renewed. The renewal is for one month at a time and one can only get a visa renewed twice. In other words, a five-month stay is the longest a tourist can stay in Nepal without leaving the country and returning at a later date, thus beginning the process again. Since our project requires a longer stay in Nepal and it would be most difficult to renew a visa at three and four month intervals, it will be advantageous to have this project sponsored.

Sample.

The sample will consist of thirty dyads that will be chosen using the following criteria. First, both the mother and father in the household will be from the ethnic background of Yolmo wa therefore the daughter will have grown up in Yolmo wa traditions. Since there are some interethnic marriages, some mothers and fathers in Helambu may be either Tamang or Guiang. The Tamang and Guiang cultural backgrounds are similar but not exact. Thus, to preserve the integrity of the research data, only mothers and daughters of Yolmo ethnic cultural heritage will be interviewed. Secondly, the daughter will be a natural birth daughter not adopted; the daughter will currently be unmarried and between the ages of thirteen and nineteen. Finally, each mother/daughter dyad will be from one of the selected villages of Ghopteghyang, Tarkeghyang, and Bundirghyang. The goal will be to interview ten dyads from each village following the above criteria and using the snowball effect as mentioned above.

Sites for Data Collection

The villages, Ghopteghyang, Tarkeghyang, and Bundirghyang, have been chosen for the following reasons. None of the villagers are directly related to my research assistant, cultural informant and interpreter, Pema Lama nor to the other interpreter, Dolkar Lama. That is, the villages are not a part of their family, nor will we interview people from their village, Sermathang. For the research to be as pure as possible, it will be best to avoid Pema and Dolkar's home village thus lessening any bias errors.

Secondly, the villages were chosen because of their proximity to one another. The villages are within three days walking distance of each other, which will help to minimize our time spent going from village to village. Thirdly, each village has not been impacted as heavily as other surrounding villages by the tourist industry. Therefore, the ancient cultural norms of the Yolmo mother-daughter relationship should be more intact than in some of the other villages that were first invaded by tourism in the 1980s. Next, the villages were chosen for their size. Unlike some villages, such as Pema and Dolkar's, that have as few as ten households in them, the chosen

villages have forty to fifty households^{3[3]}. With this larger number of households and thus overall population, participants that meet our criteria will be easier to find to enlist in our research than in smaller villages.

Lastly, each village has a temple (yang). Unlike most Nepal citizens who practice Hinduism, the Yolmo people practice Buddhism. The temple is not only a place to practice Buddhism, but also the community center where many festivals are celebrated. According to Desjarlais (1992) the temple is the political center of each village where large collective rites take place throughout the year. Thus the temple will be an exemplary place to elicit participants. Additionally, having the opportunity to observe the mother/daughter dyads in their cultural practices of festivals and rites will add another rich layer to this mother-daughter relationship research.

Data collection processes and procedures.

Preparation of interview questions

For this study, we will examine how mother-daughter relationships are expressed in narratives as well as how such relationships may structure and integrate individual experiences. Looking to Desjarlais (1992), the research team will prepare questions that are appropriate and will yield rich data (see Appendix A for an example).

Pema and I have talked at length about Desjarlais' (1992) research. Pema (personal communication, March 6, 2002) agrees with Desjarlais that there is a desire for harmony in the Yolmo family. Their speaking style is indirect and following their Buddhist beliefs, they feel that if you make someone feel unhappy this will make you feel unhappy, conversely if you make someone feel happy, you will also feel happy. With this in mind, we will take an indirect approach to the interview questions and ask mothers and daughter about their relationships in general rather than asking questions about the participants themselves.

^{3[3]} The estimated total population of Helambu is between 100,000 and 75,000 of which approximately 50,000 are Yolmo wa. (Nepal Handbook, 2000).

Another approach to questions we will take involves pictures of myself and my daughters and pictures of Sanghmitra and her mother as well as family pictures of Pema and Dolkar. The pictures will help to establish commonality between Sanghmitra and the Yolmo daughters and myself and the Yolmo mothers. It is my hope that pictures establishing my motherhood and Sanghmitra's and Dolkar's daughterhood will help to facilitate openness, safety and value and will encourage a dialog between the researchers and participants. Thus the pictures will serve as a springboard to questions about the relationship between mother and daughter.

Pretest

Before departing from Kathmandu, Sanghmitra, Pema, Dolkar and I will conduct a pretest. Prior to our arrival in Nepal, Ms. Jana Thapa (personal communication, March 1, 2002), executive director of Malpi International College has agreed to solicit two mother-daughter dyads from ethnic groups that are similar in background to the Yolmo wa that have moved to the Kathmandu Valley. It is highly unlikely that Jana will be able to find two mother-daughter dyads from the Yolmo culture in Kathmandu. However, there are at least 35 ethnic groups in Nepal and some that share similar cultural customs and norms. The pretest will allow our team to determine the appropriateness of the role of the interpreter and the ability of the interviewers to draw life stories from the participants using the pre-established questions as well as questions invoked from the familial pictures. The pretest will also be an important time to test the equipment to make sure that the users can adjust the microphones, audiotape levels and videotape focus, white balance and video microphone levels correctly.

Approach to villages.

Establishing rapport and credibility.

It will be necessary to establish credibility with the Yolmo wa. Therefore, I have scheduled a month for the research team to build rapport with the villagers. Upon our arrival in a village we will speak to the highest member of the community. Since these villages are not large

and people know each other, local establishment owners will be able to provide us with this information. When we speak to the leader of the community we will give gifts to honor this person and their family. We will present the leader (as well as each participating family) with a gift of two hand-made wool blankets made by The Association of Woman's Products, a cooperative in Nepal that markets their goods in Kathmandu in the area of Dulhikal. We will also present a gift of pencils and paper to give to the local school. These tokens will increase our rapport and credibility with the Yolmo villagers and thus, the Yolmo family.

We will establish the purpose of the research in the village and ask for blessings from the community leader as more than likely the leader will be (1) an elder male and (2) a lama from the highest Buddhist sect. During the first month in a village, we will attend village gatherings at the Buddhist temple as well as festivals. Since our presence will be noted and presumably talked about, we will dispel any unfavorable talk about our research by being open and forthcoming with information about the research. An approach we will take to avoid skewed data due to the culture's affective orientation towards language will be to instill trust in our research team by reassuring them that the data will not be shared with anyone.

We will talk with the villagers and local business people and establish a friendship. Our credibility will be enhanced because Pema and Dolkar are members of the Yolmo wa culture and are important participants of the research team. Additionally, I will also gain credibility since I am a teacher, a vocation that is highly regarded in Nepal. This will also be a time to refine our interview questions.

Interview contexts approaches and rationale.

The research involves four separate dialogs taking place on four different occasions in four different contexts with Yolmo mothers and daughters. To maximize the interviewing

process, the research team will attempt to establish interviews with no more than five mother-daughter dyads at a time.

Step one. The first of these dialogs will be in the context of the participants' family. This interview will be audio taped using a multi-directional microphone. Although a videotape would be most advantageous, given the nature of the interview with the entire household or family, it is likely it will take place at night after chores and work are finished for the day. Given that lighting is minimal in the homes of the Yolmo wa (Pema, personal communication, March 15, 2002) a video taping of the interview would not yield the quality of video necessary for the project.

Step two. The second dialog will take place within a small group setting. One group will be with five mothers and another with five daughters. This interview will be audio taped using a multi-directional microphone.

Step three. The third dialog will be with individual mother-daughter dyads during an activity such as a household activity. Since this will make it more difficult to record on audiotape, we will be videotaping this part of the interviewing process. One rationale for this is that video cameras are equipped with microphones that can potentially pick up sound at greater distances than audio tape recorders. Furthermore, this videotaped part

of the data collection will be valuable when assessing nonverbal communication in a typical situation. According to Pema (personal communication, March 10, 2002), Yolmo wa will be agreeable to being videotaped.

Step four. *The last interview will be between each individual daughter and my research assistant and each individual mother and myself. This final interview will be audio taped.*

It will be advantageous to use different contexts to learn how the mother-daughter dyads interact across the contexts. For example, mothers and/or daughters may feel more freedom and security to talk in a group of their peers rather than with their daughters or mothers present respectively. However, the dyads may reveal communication behaviors that are particular to being in a dyadic conversation when interviewed together or when interviewed in the presence of male members of their household. The individual interviews will enable the research team to investigate the relationship as it has been observed thus far and to clarify observations with the participants. These will be discussed in greater detail below.

Approach for enlisting dyads.

After we have established a relationship with local business people and become more integrated into the ebb and flow of daily life in a village, we will seek to establish relationships

with mothers and daughters that fit our criteria. To find this dyad we will observe participants at festivals and Buddhist temples and will ask to be introduced to the mother by people we have become acquainted with. This introduction by someone who knows the mother will increase our credibility. After we have secured a family to be interviewed that fit our criteria for the mother-daughter dyads, we will arrange to have a family meeting. According to Pema (personal communication, March 5, 2002), the family interview should take place in the privacy of the family home. As stated above, after interviewing one mother-daughter dyad, we will ask them to introduce us to other dyads that fit our criteria, thus using the snowball effect.

Conduct of interviews.

Family interviews: Step one.

The first encounter with the mother-daughter dyad will be in the context of the family interview. The Yolmo cultural is highly structured and patriarchal, that is, males are valued over females. In order to be culturally appropriate and not offend the men, perhaps creating a tension in the household and a chasm between the research team and the intended participants, it will be necessary to interview the entire family that lives in the household before interviewing the mother and daughter separately.

Several cultural traditions will be followed for the first interview that include the entire family. The entire household may consist of several people that reach beyond the more traditional Western core family of mother, father and children. According to Desjarlais (1992), a Yolmo household consists of a housefather, a housemother, and other immediate family members, including others linked by a close relation such as a son's wife. On the other hand, a Yolmo family may be much more extensive. Although the following quote is quite lengthy, Desjarlais (1992) succinctly states what the Yolmo family's portrait looks like and needs to be included here. Desjarlais writes:

"While a Yolmo household is a relatively bounded group, composed of immediate family members and affines, a "family" is a more loosely

defined organization". An extended family often consists of households related by agnatic descent but can also include various affines, uterine descendants, and neighbors. Latu's family, for instance, includes (at least) his father, wife, and adopted daughter; his brothers and their wives and children; his sister and her family; his wife's brother and his children; and several Yolmo neighbors with whom he has close ties. In essence, a family consists (as Clarke observes) of "those who regularly and informally help each other and exchange hospitality" (p. 27). A family can therefore include nonrelated neighbors and at the same time exclude agnates. Two brothers who have a history of conflict, for instance, might refer to themselves as being in different "lines." (p. 48)

From Desjarlais's quote we can come to understand the breadth of the Yolmo family and although it may be necessary to only interview the household members, we are prepared to interview more extended family members.

We will be diligent about adhering to cultural norms and honoring the familial hierarchy as each family has its own hierarchy based on relative age, gender and wealth. Desjarlais (1992) states, "Built into a household is an implicit hierarchy, with members ranked according to gender, relative age, and, in the case of affines (e.g., son's wives), the status of the woman's family within the village hierarchy" (p. 50). Of special note, the family interview will be advantageous to the data collection as the research team can record the interaction of mother and daughter in this familial setting where the presence of relational males may define the dyad's interactions differently than in interactions with only females and the interviewers.

When interviewing the participants in their home, it is imperative that we follow the rules of the family sitting arrangement. According to Desjarlais (1992), "The hierarchy of a household manifests itself in the customary seating arrangements of a family: men sit in terms of relative age to the right of the hearth (as one faces the hearth), toward the window, with the house-father below the altar, while women sit to the left, where kitchen utensils are kept (with affines usually closest to the door)" (p. 48).

As guests we will be assigned seats by the house-father (Pema, personal communication, March 15, 2002). It is likely that Pema will be seated away from Dolkar, Sanghmitra and myself. However, although Pema will not be seated close to me in particular, this will not hinder the data collecting process as Dolkar can interpret the family members' conversations at this meeting.

Group interviews: Step Two

The second interview will include two groups; one each of five mothers and five daughters from the participating dyads. The group interviews will allow both groups, mothers and daughters, to express their stories in a communal setting. The impetus behind this interview context is to allow participants to dialog amongst themselves drawing upon each other's stories to remember their own. In this setting the interviewer will act as discussion facilitator thus allowing stories to unfold.

Mother-daughter dyadic interviews: Step Three

The third dialog will be with an individual mother-daughter dyad in the context of an activity. In the interviews with dyads, the research team will have already established a relationship with the participants and we will have acquired some knowledge of their particular mother-daughter relationship. We intend this interview to be very fluid as we will participate with the mother-daughter dyad in either festival activities or household chores such as preparing food, taking care of children, hauling water and so forth. This will enable us to record how they interact in traditional and daily rituals.

Individual interviews: Step Four

The fourth and final interview will be individually with the mother and individually with the daughter. Interviewing individuals may seem contradictory to cultural norms given that the Yolmo culture is collectivistic. However, there is a strong tendency in the culture to push individuals to be independent. This tension between independency and interdependency has been researched by Desjarlais (1992). Desjarlais writes, "Yolmo wa, though deeply communal beings,

also profess a strong notion of individuality, with this dialectic fostering a conflict between the desire for autonomy and the need for interdependence” (p. 47).

Cultural consideration for Interviews 2, 3 and 4.

Although the family interview will be formal, the other three interview settings will be less formal and may take place inside the home or outside. During these interviews, Dolkar will accompany Sanghmitra and interpret for her using an appropriate sitting arrangement. Pema will interpret for me and may sit beside me while I conduct the interviews, however it would be inappropriate for Pema to sit behind a woman, nonetheless the participant’s attention can still be drawn more to the interviewer and less to the interpreter.

For example when I interviewed a group of Guatemalan refugees from the Mexican region of Chiapas who founded the women’s group, Mamakeen, I found that although the interpreter was very much a part of the circle, I could keep the interviewees’ focus on me. By using affective nonverbal communication such as sitting forward on my chair, maintaining eye contact, talking directly to the women, using normal hand gestures, and not looking at the interpreter, made the interview more personal between the women and myself. Continuing with this type of nonverbal behavior will create a more immediate dialog between the interviewer and the participant. I will instruct Sanghmitra on ways to facilitate the immediacy between herself and the daughters.

Cultural considerations for autonomy and dependence.

Additionally, although the Yolmo wa have traditionally considered males to be both autonomous and interdependent while women are bound more by the constraints of dependence,

Yolmo females, like Dolkar, are venturing out to attend universities or join the ranks of laborers in Kathmandu. Further, when speaking of both males and females, Desjarlais (1992) states, "By definition, a person in Helambu is enmeshed in a social network made up of family members, relatives, neighbors, "insiders" and "outsiders"; much of subjective experience seems to draw on this network. This does not mean that Yolmo wa lack a sense of individuality or uniqueness" (p. 54). Therefore, this desire for individualism in the collectivist culture of the Yolmo wa, will create a conducive atmosphere for individual interviewing. Further, Pema (personal communication, March 10, 2002) reassures me that interviewing mothers and daughters individually will be culturally appropriate.

Cultural considerations of sex and age of interviewers and translators.

In addition, it is best for the daughters to be interviewed by a female closer to their age and ethnicity. My assistant, Sanghmitra, is in her early twenties and is Nepalese. Teenage daughters will feel comfortable with someone close to their age who they can identify with and thus the in-depth interviews will be most rewarding for both the daughters and the interviewer. On the other hand, Pema (personal communication, March 5, 2002) assured me that despite my ethnic background of European descent the mothers will be able to relate to me since I am a mother

I want to note here that although Dolkar may appear to be an ideal interviewer because she speaks Yholmo and since she is a Yolmo daughter, I have decided that it would be best for her to only fulfill the role of interpreter. My reasons are twofold. First, Dolkar has experienced life somewhat differently than most Yolmo daughters. She is attending Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, which is not typical of the Yolmo wa and secondly, she is in her early twenties and unmarried. These two combined, higher education and unmarried, may put Dolkar in a position of either pity or resentment depending on the beliefs and desires of the daughters we interview, thus daughters may not be inclined to answer Dolkar's questions and the data would be tainted. Sanghmitra, on the other hand, has a different ethnic background and has lived in Kathmandu most of her life as well as studied in the United Kingdom and the United States. Pema (personal

communication, March 5, 2002), concurred that Sanghmitra will not represent the anomaly nor threat that Dolkar will to these young Yolmo women. Sanghmitra will be the central focus as interviewer and as an interpreter Dolkar's position will have less status. Thus participant bias towards the interviewer will be minimized and hopefully avoided.

Another concern for this study is that of the villagers' perception of the research team's gender roles. I asked Pema if his very presence during interviews as well as being subordinate to a female would pose complications in the data gathering? Pema (personal communication, March 10, 2002) stated this would not be problematic.

One reason Pema's position as interpreter for me will not interfere with data collection is due to yet another point of tension in the Yolmo culture. Aside from the above mentioned tension between individualism and collectivism, the Yolmo wa have distinct gender roles as in the seating arrangement mentioned above and it has overlapping gender roles. For example, males and females share tasks. Desjarlais (1992) states, "The members of a household function together as a corporate group: they coordinate labor and resources in the work of farming, business, and child care" (p. 218). Therefore, although the strict adherence to hierarchical roles will restrict the formal seating arrangement of the family, the overlapping of female-male roles in the Yolmo culture will enable Pema to act as interpreter. In addition, as stated above, age is also a consideration in the Yolmo wa hierarchy, so the fact that Pema is much younger than I will be advantageous to the research group as it will be culturally appropriate for Pema to interpret during data gathering.

Additional interview process: Step five.

While the research team is interviewing five dyads using the multi-contextual and multi-interview process, we will simultaneously be establishing relationships with another five mother-daughter dyads from the same village and those five will follow the above process of interviews.

Interview totals.

The total interviews in one village can be broken down into the following using the sample size of ten mother-daughter dyads per village: ten family interviews; four group interviews that include two groups each of five mothers and five daughters; ten mother-daughter dyads; ten individual mother interviews and ten individual daughter interviews. The interviews in each village will total forty-four.

A comprehensive total of interviews including all three of the villages of Ghopteogyang, Tarkegyang, and Bundirgyang for the entire research project is 132 interviews. Taking into account that it may be possible that Sanghmitra and Dolkar will be interviewing daughters on the same days that I and Pema will be interviewing mothers, I have estimated that it will take thirty-four days per village of interviewing with each day yielding one interview. Since this an optimal schedule that may not yield the exact results, the research team is prepared to make adjustments as needed.

Timing

Due to the length and nature of this research project, a span of nine and a half months will be necessary to collect all the data. I have considered the time needed for traveling and in-depth interviews juxtaposed with the appropriate times for this agricultural based society. I have also taken into account the fact that traditional festivals will slow down the research as communities will be engaged in festivities and not accessible for interviews.

An auspicious time to begin the research in Helambu will be in August. Although the research team will be arriving in Helambu in August, the first month will entail the research team's observation of the village of Ghopteogyang. In September, the crops will be harvested and therefore there will not be the need to be in the fields and Yolmo people will be more accessible to interview. Another consideration is that it is imperative that the weather permits the research team to cross the mountain passes. During the summer monsoons of June and July, the mountain passes may not be passable.

After discussing with Pema the best time to conduct the research in Helambu, I have decided to begin the field research in August and extend the interviewing to mid-May. According to Pema (personal communication, March 8, 2002), fall is a time of relaxation and reflection in the Yolmo villages. The winter months will bring even more indoor time thus helping us access participants. Farmers will begin planting in the month of April, the final month, with only the last five dyads to interview, and although this will be a busy time for the farmers this research team is prepared to interview participants while helping in the fields and doing other chores.

Data translation and coding.

As stated above, Pema and Dolkar will be translating the data for the research team. Having two translators will help to ensure that interpreting biases will be found. Having Pema and Dolkar as not only members of this research team, but also translators will ensure consistency in the interpretation. Pema and Dolkar will also transcribe the tapes and all four of the members of the team, Pema, Dolkar, Sanghmitra and myself will code the transcriptions. Sanghmitra and I will be responsible for our own personal notes. Taking notes will be of special importance since the Yolmo culture is a high context culture, that is, much information is expressed nonverbally. As a double check, we will confer with Pema and Dolkar about nonverbal behavior that we observe and record.

Due to the amount of work and thus time involved, Pema and Dolkar will be doing as much of the translation work in the field as possible. The translation will be from the Yolmo language to English, the one common language amongst the four of us. Since three of the members of this research team are from Nepal and at the time may opt to stay in Nepal rather than returning to the United States, I have adjusted the time spent in Kathmandu to reflect the time spent on transcription and coding.

Not only will transcription be a part of daily activities for the research team, we will be journaling as a part of our daily work. In total, the research team will amass audio and video taped interviews that will be transcribed, field notes taken during the interviews, journal notes

taken after the interviews and contextual drawings of the interviews. The above data will ensure a rich data collection of the Yolmo mother-daughter relationships.

Data Analysis and interpretation.

As noted above, the transcribing and analyzing of the life stories to examine the data for general analytic themes will be done on a day-to-day basis. When the research team returns to Kathmandu, we will organize the data in terms of codes, that is, patterns of words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs that emerge from the data. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) state that

thoroughly examine the data looking for statements that might seem inconsequential but in fact reveal the respondents' feelings.

There may be potential problems when interpreting one language into another, for example some Yholmo words, the language of the Yolmo wa, may not have exact meanings in English or visa versa. Although the Yolmo wa are Nepal citizens, Nepali and English^{4[4]} are second languages to the Yolmo wa and not always learned. So, indeed, language may be a barrier for a dialog between participants and Sanghmitra and myself. However, with the advent of tourism and increased education in the Helambu district, the likelihood that prospective participants will speak English and Nepali is greatly enhanced. Of special note though is that researchers have found that the interviewees when speaking in their native tongue often tell richer and more elaborate stories as they embellish on their stories because they are more familiar with and have larger vocabularies in their native language. For that reason, unless the participants are quite fluent in English or Nepali, it will be most advantageous to have them relate their stories in Yholmo.

Special issues.

Festivals.

There are many religious festivals in Nepal. This is not surprising considering the vast variety of ethnic groups, each celebrating their own traditional religious festivals. According to Pema (personal communication, March 15, 2002), even in the district of Helambu there are several variations of festivals. For example, the New Year is celebrated on different dates depending on the sect of Buddhism practiced.

It is important to note that Hindu festivals do not involve the Yolmo wa except for Dasain. Although not a Buddhist Festival, in October, the Hindus of Nepal celebrate Dasain, a ten-day celebration at the beginning of the month, which focuses on the family and home.

^{4[4]} English is the second official language in Nepal. It is required in schools and students must pass an English fluency test in order to graduate from their sixth year in school.

Symbolically Dasain is both a celebration of great harvests and thanksgiving. Additionally many goats and chickens are killed during this sacrificial reenergizing of natural powers. According to Pema (personal communication, March 10, 2002) due to the fact that many animals are killed during the Hindu festival of Dasain and since this is contrary to Buddhists beliefs, the Yolmo Buddhists spend this time doing pujas or prayers for the souls of the animals. On the one hand, this time will slow data collection, on the other it will be useful as people will be gathering together and the research time will have an easier time finding subjects to enlisting for the project.

Although knowledge of other Yolmo cultural festivals that will curtail research is imperative to know, these festivals and dates are not to be found in any of the literature. This may be due to the fact that Yolmo culture is not thoroughly investigated, or it could be, as Pema pointed to (personal communication, March 15, 2002), the festivals are fluid, meaning that the exact date is decided in individual years by high Buddhist monks. Even Pema was not familiar with the holidays of the villages we will be investigating, therefore I have not made note of the holidays, except for Dasain, which has a set date. There will indeed be many festivals, as Pema has poignantly pointed out. The Nepal culture in general and the Yolmo wa in particular celebrate many religious festivals throughout the year. Besides Buddhist festivals, Yolmo wa have festivities that surround births, weddings and funerals. Both festivals and celebrations of life cycles may pose time constraints. Therefore, I have included extra days in each village for festivals that

may conflict with research and have included Saturdays, the holy day for practicing Buddhism. The festivals that are noted on the schedule (see below) are those that may interfere with research in Kathmandu.

Buddhist Sects.

Furthermore, according to Pema (personal communication, March, 10, 2002), although there is not a caste system in the Yolmo culture, there are five sects of lamas with a hierarchy according to sect. The man's lineage determines the family's position in the hierarchy. Of special interest to this research is that the sects do not discriminate amongst each other and thus our ability to interview Yolmo mothers and daughters will not be hindered due to the hierarchy of sects. Pema and Dolkar are from the highest sect of lamas. Moreover, Pema (personal communication, March, 10, 2002) states that unlike the Nepalese caste system, there are no untouchables in the Yolmo culture. Therefore, the sect system, unlike the caste system, will not limit the members of the community we can interview.

Illness.

In another vein, there is a grave potential that we, myself in particular, will become sick. A recent article in the local Kathmandu newspaper, Nepal News (March 12, 2001), stated that at any given time, 75 to 90% of the Nepal population is experiencing some type of gastrointestinal illness. I and, I suspect, my two assistants who will have lived in the United States for two years by the beginning of this research, will have few resistances to the effects of the unfamiliar E coli bacteria found in Nepal. Although the Yolmo wa's main health practice is Shamanism, we will be carrying with us a medicinal bag containing the necessary medications should one of us get ill. The typical gastrointestinal illness lasts approximately five days and can leave one feeling weak and fragile. Therefore, I have taken this into consideration on our tour of the villages and have added extra days.

Supplies and equipment.

My research team will supply their own water purifiers and other trekking equipment but we will need to buy food supplies and toiletries in Kathmandu. In addition, gifts of blankets for the participants and school supplies to the village schools will cost less in Nepal than in the United States. Currently one U.S. dollar is equivalent to 77.22 Nepalese rupees (<http://www.thamel.com/cgi-bin/rate/ratecalc.cgi>). Therefore it will be most advantageous to buy most of our supplies in Kathmandu, including supplies such as paper, pens, audio tapes and video tapes. It would also be advantageous to buy the video cameras in Kathmandu due to the fact that Nepal uses the Beta system and we will need to view the tapes on Beta equipment. While teaching at Malpi International College, the college allowed me to buy a video camera and tapes for the school to tape the students' speeches, therefore I am familiar with a local dealer. We will need two audio recorders as Sanghmitra and I will be interviewing mothers and daughters separately and the time may overlap. In addition to the two tape recorders and one video camera, the project will require an extra one of each in the event that one should malfunction.

Although the research team will be forwarding the complete data set along with the data analysis to my office at the University of Washington via the Internet and a colleague will keep a constant watch and recording of the data set, I will need to bring the data set and analysis back with me on the airplane. Also, I will return with the audio and video tapes. The Nepal Airline only allows two bags per passenger and an extra bag will cost \$120 U.S. dollars. Additionally, Nepal taxes the export of any goods over \$1,000; this includes the video and audio equipment, computer, and tapes that I will be bringing back from Nepal. The cost is \$150 per \$1,000 U.S. dollars.

Logistics

A hired driver will drive the research team to the Helambu area from Kathmandu. Additionally, in Kathmandu, a porter will be hired for traveling from the drop off point in the district of Helambu to Ghoptegeyang. The research team will need to hire a porter primarily

because the porter will be familiar with the Helambu area that we are entering. In addition, the porter will be necessary to help with the transportation of the equipment and supplies necessary for the research. Although the first porter will be hired in Kathmandu, other porters will be hired in each of the villages. This way the porter will not need to be present for the duration of time in the villages; however, total payment will need to include the days of traveling for the porter to return to his original post.

Political climate issues.

One other consideration is the current political climate in Nepal. As stated above, the Maoist insurgency is terrorizing the villagers of Nepal. However, the Royal Nepalese Army and police personnel have been fighting to quell the Maoist terrorists so that the country can return to some sense of stability and security (Kiyoko Ogura, Nepal journalist, personal communication, April 14, 2002). Kiyoko is currently investigating the Maoist activity.

Additionally, the United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell, expressed U.S. solidarity with Nepal in the kingdom's fight against terrorism and the US has contributed financially to help end the Maoists insurgency. Furthermore, to help end terrorism, United Nations resident representative to Nepal, Dr. Henning Karcher stated that the UN office in Kathmandu "is willing to extend cooperation through dialogue to resolve the problems created because of Maoist activities" (Nepal News, October, 25, 2002). The above suggests that this current situation with the Maoists will be rectified.

Anticipated Results and Interpretation

I expect that we will find that the relationship between the mother and daughter is shaped and influenced by their inherent interdependency. Again, as Pema (personal communication, March 5, 2002), stated, "The daughter becomes the mother." That is, the mother teaches the daughter 'good wife tactics'. This interdependency is reflected in the mother's reputation and built on her own abilities to be a good wife and mother. Conversely the daughter's future is

dependent on the mother's good reputation and her mother's ability to teach her the skills that are essential for her future as a wife and mother.

Further, I expect we will find that the separation of mother and daughter due to the culture's marital ritual kidnapping will play a substantial role in the relationship and thus in the interview discourse. How this interdependency will mark the mother-daughter relationship and how the cultural traditions are passed generationally is yet to be determined.

According to Desjarlais (1992), "Members of a household typically try to relate to one another in a way that benefits individuals as well as households--or, at least, maintains surface harmony (p. 51). Therefore, from Desjarlais findings I would expect that the relational discourse between mother and daughter will be amicable.

In a study of United States teenagers, Socha (1995) found that during the teen years, adolescents avoid their parents more than preteenagers but that the avoidance decreases when the teenagers become young adults. Socha (1995) suggests this creates dialectical tension of openness-closedness, connectedness-autonomy, and approach-avoidance between parents and teenagers. Socha (1995) states, "Closedness, autonomy, and avoidance may be valued most highly by teens who are in the process of individuating themselves from their parents" (p. 221). With these thoughts in mind, I expect that the data from the life stories from Yolmo daughters will contain elements of this same dialectical tension, as daughters strive for becoming themselves apart from their mothers. However, unlike the United States teenagers in Socha's (1995) study, I expect that Yolmo teenage daughters will adhere to cultural norms and closedness, autonomy, and avoidance will not be as salient in Yolmo daughters' relationships with their mothers.

Conclusion

For all mothers, raising daughters in today's turbulent times is a daunting task. Researching how the Yolmo mother and daughter communicate with one another is of special importance, especially in light of the encroaching outside influences that may

change the culture forever. This information is extremely valuable and it is essential to record the Yolmo wa to increase our understanding of human nature as a whole.

The life story approach to gathering data is especially advantageous in gathering the kind of information that cannot be determined by surveys. How culture is maintained through transgenerational stories with the use of in-depth interviews that highlight the life stories or those stories that the teller feels are important will yield a rich database and a rich unfolding of life of the Yolmo mothers and daughters. As Dilthey (1927, in Bertaux, 1981) stated, "The self-biography is the highest and most instructive form in which the understanding of life is confronting us" (p. 199). This research project hopes to add to the body of knowledge about the relationship between mother and daughter and how that relationship upholds and maintains the culture they live in. Additionally, this project hopes to add to the body of knowledge on emic as well as etic research on mother-daughter relationships.

Returning to the villages.

The intention of this study is to be able to return to the villages of Ghopteghyang, Tarkeghyang, and Bundirghyang after the data has been compiled and the study is complete. The research team would like to present the women who participated in the study with our findings to help them understand their relational communication patterns and perhaps ease the tsher ka (pain) of the marriage ritual that tears mothers and daughters apart.

Appendix A

Preliminary Interview Questions for Group Interviews (one group of five mothers and one group of five daughters).

Interview Opening: *This interview will be about mothers and daughters. I'm going to record your voices on my tape recorder so I can remember what you said later. Pema (Dolkar) will be translating what you say into English and translate my questions to you into Yhomo, so we can understand each other. If you don't want to answer any of the questions, just tell Pema (Dolkar) and we'll move on. Do you have any questions?"*

Indirect questions for mothers:

1. *What do mothers and daughters do together each day?*
2. *What are some difficulties mothers have when raising a daughter?*
3. *What are some things mothers and daughters argue about?*
4. *What kinds of things do mothers talk about with their daughters?*
5. *How do mothers teach their daughters?*
6. *What do daughters teach mothers?*
7. *Can you tell us about a time when this happened? (in answer to any of the above questions).*

Indirect questions for daughters:

8. *What do daughters and mothers do together each day?*
9. *What are some difficulties in being a daughter?*
10. *What are some things daughters and mothers argue about?*
11. *What do daughters talk about with their mothers?*

12. *How do mothers teach their daughters?*

13. *What do daughters teach mothers?*

14. *Can you tell us about a time when this happened? (in answer to any of the above questions).*

Schedule

Location	Date: year 2003-04	Activity
Kathmandu, Nepal	7/01 through 7/04, 2003	Arrival and acclamation to altitude and time
Kathmandu	7/05	Hindu and Buddhist Holy day
Kathmandu,	7/06	Visit Malpi International College and Executive Director, Jana Thapa, to express gratitude and check on update of pretest participants.
Kathmandu	7/07	Visit sponsor to express gratitude for sponsoring the research
Kathmandu	7/08	Meet with research team at Pema's Kathmandu home.
Kathmandu	7/10 through 7/11	Shop for gifts for participants as well as supplies for our trek. Hire porter for the trek in Helambu District. Arrange for ground transportation to and from Helambu.
Kathmandu	7/012	Holy day
Kathmandu	7/13 through 7/18	Train interpreters and interviewers
Kathmandu	7/19	Holy day
Kathmandu	7/20 through 7/25	Pretest: Interviews with participants
Kathmandu	7/26	Holy day
Kathmandu	7/27 through 8/1	Analyze interviews, evaluate pretest.
Kathmandu	8/2	Pack for research trip
Kathmandu to Helambu	8/3	Leave Kathmandu for Helambu (1 day's drive to region)
Helambu drop off point to Ghopteghyang	8/4 through 8/6	Trek to Ghopteghyang.
Ghopteghyang	8/7 through 9/7	Observe village living, establish rapport with villagers, set up interviews with mother-daughter dyads

Ghopteghyang	9/8	Interview family 1, transcribe, journal, review notes, discuss research team's data collection, etc. ^{5[5]}
Ghopteghyang	9/9	Interview family 2
Ghopteghyang	9/10	Interview family 3
Ghopteghyang	9/11	Interview family 4
Ghopteghyang	9/12	Interview family 5
Ghopteghyang	9/13	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	9/14	Interview group 1-5 mothers and group 1-5 daughters
Ghopteghyang	9/15	Interview dyad 1
Ghopteghyang	9/16	Interview dyad 2
Ghopteghyang	9/17	Interview dyad 3
Ghopteghyang	9/18	Interview dyad 4
Ghopteghyang	9/19	Interview dyad 5
Ghopteghyang	9/20	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	9/21	Interview dyad 1 mother and interview dyad 1 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	9/22	Interview dyad 2 mother and interview dyad 2 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	9/23	Interview dyad 3 mother and interview dyad 3 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	9/24	Interview dyad 4 mother and interview dyad 4 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	9/25	Interview dyad 5 mother and interview dyad 5 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	9/26	Finish transcribing, journaling and analyzing.
Ghopteghyang	9/27	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	9/28 through 10/1	Continue transcribing, journaling and analyzing.
Ghopteghyang	10/2 through 10/10	Dasain Festival (Hindu festival) Buddhist Pujas.
Ghopteghyang	10/11	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	10/12	Interview family 6, transcribe, journal, etc.
Ghopteghyang	10/13	Interview family 7
Ghopteghyang	10/14	Interview family 8
Ghopteghyang	10/15	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	10/16	Interview family 9
Ghopteghyang	10/17	Interview family 10
Ghopteghyang	10/18	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	10/19	Interview group 6-10 of mothers and group 6-10 of daughters
Ghopteghyang	10/20	Interview dyad 6

^{5[5]} Although not included on every day, each day of interviews will also include transcription, journaling, rewriting notes and so forth.

Ghopteghyang	10/21	Interview dyad 7
Ghopteghyang	10/22	Interview dyad 8
Ghopteghyang	10/23	Interview dyad 9
Ghopteghyang	10/24	Interview dyad 10
Ghopteghyang	10/25	Buddhist holy day
Ghopteghyang	10/26	Interview dyad 6 mother and interview dyad 6 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	10/27	Interview dyad 7 mother and interview dyad 7 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	10/28	Interview dyad 8 mother and interview dyad 8 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	10/29	Interview dyad 9 mother and interview dyad 9 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	10/30	Interview dyad 10 mother and interview dyad 10 daughter individually
Ghopteghyang	10/31 through 11/6	Extra days for festivals, sickness, etc. that may slow the progress of the interviews.
Ghopteghyang to Tarkeghyang	11/7 through 11/09	Trek to Tarkeghyang
Tarkeghyang	11/10 through 12/10	Observe village living, establish rapport with villagers, set up interviews with mother-daughter dyads
Tarkeghyang	12/11	Interview family 11, transcribe, journal, review notes, discuss research team's data collection, etc.
Tarkeghyang	12/12	Interview family 12
Tarkeghyang	12/13	Buddhist holy day
Tarkeghyang	12/14	Interview family 13
Tarkeghyang	12/15	Interview family 14
Tarkeghyang	12/16	Interview family 15
Tarkeghyang	12/17	Interview group 11-15 mothers and group 11-15 daughters
Tarkeghyang	12/18	Interview dyad 11
Tarkeghyang	12/19	Interview dyad 12
Tarkeghyang	12/20	Buddhist holy day
Tarkeghyang	12/21	Interview dyad 13
Tarkeghyang	12/22	Interview dyad 14
Tarkeghyang	12/23	Interview dyad 15
Tarkeghyang	12/24	Interview dyad 11 mother and interview dyad 11 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	12/25	Interview dyad 12 mother and interview dyad 12 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	12/26	Interview dyad 13 mother and interview dyad 13 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	12/27	Buddhist holy day
Tarkeghyang	12/28	Interview dyad 14 mother and interview dyad 14

		daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	12/29	Interview dyad 15 mother and interview dyad 15 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	12/30 through 1/5, 2004	Finish transcribing, journaling and analyzing.
Tarkeghyang	1/6	Interview family 16, transcribe, journal, etc.
Tarkeghyang	1/7	Interview family 17
Tarkeghyang	1/8	Interview family 18
Tarkeghyang	1/9	Interview family 19
Tarkeghyang	1/10	Buddhist holy day
Tarkeghyang	1/11	Interview family 20
Tarkeghyang	1/12	Interview group 16-20 mothers and group 16-20 daughters
Tarkeghyang	1/13	Interview dyad 16
Tarkeghyang	1/14	Interview dyad 17
Tarkeghyang	1/15	Interview dyad 18
Tarkeghyang	1/16	Interview dyad 19
Tarkeghyang	1/17	Buddhist holy day
Tarkeghyang	1/18	Interview dyad 20
Tarkeghyang	1/19	Interview dyad 16 mother and interview dyad 16 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	1/20	Interview dyad 17 mother and interview dyad 17 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	1/21	Interview dyad 18 mother and interview dyad 18 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	1/22	Interview dyad 19 mother and interview dyad 19 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	1/23	Interview dyad 20 mother and interview dyad 20 daughter individually
Tarkeghyang	1/24 through 2/1	Extra days for festivals, sickness, etc. that may slow the progress of the interviews.
Tarkeghyang to Bunderghyang	2/2 through 2/4	Trek from Tarkeghyang to Bunderghyang
Bunderghyang	2/5 through 3/7	Observe village living, establish rapport with villagers, set up interviews with mother-daughter dyads
Bunderghyang	3/8	Interview family 21, transcribe, journal, review notes, discuss research team's data collection, etc.
Bunderghyang	3/9	Interview family 22,
Bunderghyang	3/10	Interview family 23
Bunderghyang	3/11	Interview family 24
Bunderghyang	3/12	Interview family 25
Bunderghyang	3/13	Buddhist holy day
Bunderghyang	3/14	Interview group 21-25 mothers and group 21-25 daughters

Bundirghyang	3/15	Interview dyad 21
Bundirghyang	3/16	Interview dyad 22
Bundirghyang	3/17	Interview dyad 23
Bundirghyang	3/18	Interview dyad 24
Bundirghyang	3/19	Interview dyad 25
Bundirghyang	3/20	Buddhist holy day
Bundirghyang	3/21	Interview dyad 21 mother and interview dyad 21 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	3/22	Interview dyad 22 mother and interview dyad 22 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	3/23	Interview dyad 23 mother and interview dyad 23 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	3/24	Interview dyad 24 mother and interview dyad 24 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	3/25	Interview dyad 25 mother and interview dyad 25 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	3/26	Finish transcribing, journaling and analyzing.
Bundirghyang	3/27	Buddhist holy day
Bundirghyang	3/28 through 3/31	Continue transcribing, journaling and analyzing.
Bundirghyang	4/1	Interview family 26, transcribe, journal, etc.
Bundirghyang	4/2	Interview family 27
Bundirghyang	4/3	Buddhist holy day
Bundirghyang	4/4	Interview family 28
Bundirghyang	4/5	Interview family 29
Bundirghyang	4/6	Interview family 30
Bundirghyang	4/7	Interview group 26-30 mothers and group 26-30 daughters
Bundirghyang	4/8	Interview dyad 26
Bundirghyang	4/9	Interview dyad 27
Bundirghyang	4/10	Buddhist holy day
Bundirghyang	4/11	Interview dyad 26
Bundirghyang	4/12	Interview dyad 27
Bundirghyang	4/13	Interview dyad 28
Bundirghyang	4/14	Interview dyad 29
Bundirghyang	4/15	Interview dyad 30
Bundirghyang	4/16	Interview dyad 26 mother and interview dyad 26 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	4/17	Buddhist holy day
Bundirghyang	4/18	Interview dyad 27 mother and interview dyad 27 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	4/19	Interview dyad 28 mother and interview dyad 28 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	4/20	Interview dyad 29 mother and interview dyad 29 daughter individually
Bundirghyang	4/21	Interview dyad 30 mother and interview dyad 30

		daughter individually
Bundirghyang	4/22 through 5/3	Extra days for festivals, sickness, etc. that may slow the progress of the interviews.
Bundirghyang	5/4	Buddha's Birthday
Bundirghyang	5/5 through 5/6	Extra days.
Bundirghyang to Sermathang	5/7 through 5/9 5/9	Trek to Sermathang Law Day, Nepal Holiday
Sermathang to Kathmandu	5/10	Be picked up by van to return to Kathmandu (1 day drive)
Kathmandu	5/11 through 5/12	Rest in Kathmandu
Kathmandu	5/13 through 5/20	Transcribe tapes not done in field.
Kathmandu	5/21 through 5/28	Train coders and test for reliability.
Kathmandu	5/29	Hindu and Buddhist Holy day
Kathmandu	5/30 through 7/10	Analyze transcriptions. Code data.
Kathmandu	7/11 through 7/12	Give proper thanks and farewells to people at Malpi International College and others who have helped with this project
Kathmandu	7/13 through 7/15	Return to the United States

Budget

Budget Number	Total
01 Salaries and wages	
Principal investigator: Jaelle Dragomir Twelve and a half months full salary, 100%, \$1350	\$16,875.00
Research Assistant: Pema Lama 50%, \$1100 X 3 months	\$ 3,300.00
Research Assistant: Sanghmitra Rimal 50%, \$1100 X 10 months	\$11,000.00
02 Contract Personal Services	
Interpreters (Pema and Dolkar) (The estimate is 30 family interviews, 12 group interviews, 30 dyads and 60 individuals will be interviewed. Each interview will take approximately 2 hours.) 132 X 2 = 264 hours X \$20 per hour	\$ 5,280.00
Translators / Transcribers / Coders (Each hour of interview takes approximately six hours to transcribe and code.) 264 hours X 6 X \$15	\$23,760.00
:	
03 Other Contractual Services	
Immunizations: all are current	\$ 0.00
Visa (all of us have visas)	\$ 0.00
Telephone expenses (use of phones at Malpi International College)	\$ 0.00
Porters 32 days @ \$15 per diem	\$ 470.00
04 Travel	
Airfare \$1350 X 3 (quote from Ticketplanet)	\$ 4150.00
Extra baggage charge	\$ 120.00
Airport tax inside Bangkok airport \$12 X 3	\$ 36.00
Hotel inside Bangkok airport \$30 X 36[6]	\$ 90.00
Taxi fare in Hong Kong	\$ 36.00

6[6] Traveling to Nepal we will stay overnight in Bangkok, but on the return trip we fly at night,
with a daytime layover in Hong Kong.

Nepal tax for cargo over \$1,000	\$ 150.00
Taxi fare in Kathmandu \$6 per diem X 95 days	\$ 570.00
Housing accommodations ^{7[7]} \$70 @ month X 3 months, 5 Days.	\$ 227.00
Laundry services while in Kathmandu	\$ 60.00
Food while in Kathmandu \$5 per day X 4 X 95	\$ 1900.00
Ground Transportation to and from Helambu \$87 X 2 trips	\$ 174.00
Porters' housing and food 14 days X \$5.00	\$ 70.00
Camping supplies such as food and medicine.	\$ 400.00
Housing in villages. \$2 per day X 4 X 282 days	\$ 2256.00
Food in villages. \$3 per day X 4 X 282	\$ 3384.00
05 Supplies and Materials	
Cassette tapes (102 interviews X 2 tapes per interview)	\$ 408.00
Video tapes (30 interviews X 2 tapes per dyad)	\$ 240.00
Batteries (15 packets)	\$ 75.00
Video camera batteries (30)	\$ 150.00
Lap top computer batteries	\$ 500.00
Writing pads (40)	\$ 60.00
Pens (20 packets)	\$ 60.00
Gifts for research subjects	
Blankets 66@ \$7.00	\$ 462.00
School supplies 3@ \$30	\$ 90.00
06 Equipment	
Professional Tape recorders (3 @ \$150.00)	\$ 450.00
8mm video camera (2 @ \$550)	\$ 1100.00
Lap top computer	\$ 1500.00
Tripod	\$ 50.00
07 Retirement and Benefits	
Health Insurance: 12 months X 3 X \$70 per month	\$ 2520.00
08 Operating fee / Tuition	
	\$ 0.00
Total Direct Costs	\$81,927.00
Total Indirect Costs	0.00
Total Costs	\$81,927.00

^{7[7]} I will rent a room from a friend in Kathmandu. Sanghmitra, Pema, and Dolkar have homes in Kathmandu.

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