Maintenance and Regulatory Mechanism of the Interior Relationship of Polygamous Families
—An Anthropology Investigation of Tibetan Community in the Southeast of Qinghai-Tibet Plateau

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Abstract. Based on the field investigation, this paper analyses the maintenance and regular mechanism of the interior relationship of polygamous families typically represented by a wife shared by brothers and a husband shared by sisters. It reveals the inherent conflicts and instability of the polygamous marriage form by the means of discussing the core interior contradictions and exterior change characteristics. With the ever-changing and constant development of the interior and exterior factors of the families, the internal family relationship and regulatory mechanism will show a more diversified and complicated trend.

Introduction
Polygamy is a common form of marriage in Tibetan society, which can be found in the Naxi, Monba and Lhoba ethnic groups in small amounts. The Tibetan Plateau of the multi-family is mainly based on the family of the wife of the same family and the main family of the sister-based polygamy. In recent decades, with the implementation of the completion of the Tibet democratic reform and the law of marriage, polygamy has been with the end of serfdom and other old system gradually disappeared in history, but still continue to exist in a few areas.

Duty of Housewife: Fairness and Unity
"Virtuous" is the basic requirement and ideal image of local society. For polyandry family, housework, filial piety, harmonizing the relationship between good husbands' hard work, low-key life is the basic "women should do". It is the duty of the housewife to not allow the hostility and enmity between her husbands to influence the unity and harmony of the family. Those who meet these standards will be praised by the local community, on the contrary, if the family conflicts or even disintegration, then the first will be accused of housewives. As a result of the number of husbands, the housewife has become the core of the family relationship of polyandry.

The monogamous family shows a vertical linear relationship between husband and wife, while the polyandry and polygamy are represented by a multi-center, circular network. There are multiple power centers within the family. Because the number of spouses in the multi family is not balanced, the power structure within the family is also flowing and diversified. In the family of brothers and sisters, the housewife is not only the decision of the male parent, but also plays an important role in the role of the agent and the staff. The relationship between the two sexes presents a cooperative and competitive relationship, which is both contradictory and harmonious. Therefore, in order to coordinate the relationship between a number of husbands in the family, because of the central position of the housewife had to pay more efforts to maintain a good relationship within the family, and to achieve the purpose of marriage. Housekeeping is also an important duty of a housewife. It is a duty, and a symbol, for the men to give their money back to the custodian. The housewife in charge of the warehouse keys at home. All kinds of materials are to be responsible for the purchase and deployment. In this regard, local men have their own views, they believe that these trivial things should be done by women, as a man in the market bargaining is unspeakable.
Sexual relationship is the most basic link between husband and wife. In addition to every day's hard work and family balance, it is necessary for the housewives of a monogamous family to properly coordinate the sexual relationship with their husbands. In order to satisfy the sexual needs of the husbands as much as possible, housewives have to face great challenges from the physical and psychological.

In addition, the old woman daughter-in-law is another kind of quite threatening family crisis. The mother daughter and the birth of the son of the innate blood relationship, as well as the relationship between the wife and her son after the establishment of the marriage between the contradictions arising from the fundamental conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. For her mother-in-law, on the one hand is to control the power of the wife in the family, in order to ensure their authority, this control is particularly reflected in the protection of the authority of the housewife. Most of the mother-in-law said as long as their own ability and to try to ensure that its roles and status in family management in internal affairs; on the other hand, the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law must to improve the. Daughters in law are also well aware of her mother's mind, although the days of her daughter's hard and wronged, but they are also trying to comfort themselves to endure, because one day they can become authoritative mother. They gain personal authority in a variety of things and relationships within the family and play a vital role in decision making.

Affection of Brothers: Friendly and Humility

In addition to the sexual ties that are associated with their wives, the link between brothers is the innate kinship between them. Although the local people in the pursuit of "village solidarity, family unity and happiness" is the ideal of life, but from the current status of the dominant cultural cognition perspective, male polygamy polyandry to participate in the formation of at least two sharp challenges: one is the male give up control to the wife as well as the exclusive rights to child rearing; the second is the formation of sexual repression in a certain degree. Since these two inevitable contradictions exist in the family at the same time, what is the internal mechanism to coordinate these two contradictions?

In fact, the most prominent mechanism in the contact between the husband and wife within a family of multiple husbands is the special Tibetan brothers". The Tibetan brothers as the heart of the people, is the best helper, but also the most like-minded relatives. For those who have been married to a wife, this unity and mutual respect for each other to maintain its special family relationship is more important.

Indeed, in the era of heavy work, unity and fraternity brothers and their wives’ family jointly established plays an important strategic role, it will be more successful long-term retention of male labor in the family, in order to fight against the difficult economic situation and the pressure of life. A successful marriage can not only effectively achieve its utilitarian strategy effect, but also can be more closely linked to the brotherhood between brothers. The humility and unity between brothers is also reflected in the suppression of sexual relations. These mutual comities can not only effectively alleviate the contradictions within the family because of unbalanced spouse caused by gender relations, but also can reduce the wife due to sexual relations between husband and coordinate various troubles. However, when the contradiction between brothers cannot be reconciled, the wife must make certain sacrifices. Some wives must be offered to her husband with a monoclinic in no circumstances, or in the physical and psychological conditions in turn and can accept more than one husband spent one night, even in the daytime some possible occasions a sexual relationship with her husband as compensation.

However, in the operation in accordance with the pecking order sequential polygamy within the family, between brother and brother's power and status are not equal, as mentioned above, the younger brothers must succumb to act as parents and brother of the authority, therefore also formed a competitive relationship between the inevitable internal male population. Extramarital sex is widespread to some extent alleviate the physiological multiple husband and wife problems. It will envy contradictions mainly in the psychological level, the family conflicts have been greatly buffer.
At the same time, if there is a contradiction between the brothers, they are most likely to be the first to complain about the housewife rather than their brothers.

**People to Old Age: Spiritual Authority**

In the household internal longitudinal blood ties and maintenance relationship between the elder and the younger will be closely linked. In most cases, the local adults over the age of forty-five began to step into the ranks of the elderly, since then, their life trajectory will be significant changes. For men, the time away from home will be greatly reduced, engaged in heavy physical labor will be significantly reduced. In young children gradually assume the burden of the family under the premise of development, all the middle and old aged people including women will be more than their life gradually from productive labor transfer to rearing offspring and engage in religious activities. In the family, they will gradually fade out the core of responsibility and power, and become a kind of spiritual power.

In fact, Tibetans have a long history of respect for their parents and the elderly. Filial piety has become the core of the younger generation of elders to treat the moral standards, serving parents is everyone's unshakable responsibility for life. On the other hand, unfilially will be regarded as beasts who disobey elders who will enter hell after death to be punished. In addition, for the housewife, respect for elders and the elderly is the daughter and daughter-in-law must abide by the moral code, the violation will be subjected to tremendous pressure of public opinion.

In addition to respect in daily life and take care of the younger generation, but also for the elders held birthday at a specific time to celebrate, depending on family economic conditions and. In a word, in the Tibetan society, which is generally respected by the elderly, the spiritual authority enjoyed by the elderly has greatly exceeded the secular power. However, respect for elders is not blindly follow the views of parents, if inappropriate, it should be dedicated to persuasion, otherwise considered to be false the wrong behavior. In addition, there are some gender differences in the attitude towards elders. Generally speaking, people think that parents should listen to the words of the father, the mother of the mother, in the absence of the father's mother's position can be highlighted.

With the family economic conditions improve, the old people are no longer engaged in too much work, the Buddha is that they spend most of the time. Especially for those who completed the birth and rearing of task in elderly women, if conditions allow, have able and son and daughter or daughter and son-in-law, they can finally put down most of the labor burden, make yourself into another kind of physical and spiritual cultivation condition. It is unimaginable in the course of his life. In addition, in recent years, the rise of the village has also become a new way to travel the local elderly pastime.

**Intergenerational Relationships of Polygamous Families**

In most cases, the relationship between the multi family is more harmonious. According to the role and behavior of each of the rules should be played, the elders love the younger generation, while the younger generation will try to respect and obey the views of their elders. In the coexistence of family internal relationship between husband and wife, brother (sister), the relationship between mother child relationship, parents in law and daughter-in-law relationship, parents in law and the relationship between other peers and marrying relatives outside and husband or wife in the mother child relationship is a special relationship between generations.

Due to the birth of the blood relationship between the mother and the child to determine the relationship between the close and difficult to let go of affection. For the children, although important things in general by parents as the father decided, but his closest person is often the mother, whether boy or girl, when they have troubles and worries, tend to her mother for comfort. In the most of the time, parents, especially mothers, are tolerant of their children. This tolerance often leads to a lot of children to the mother to produce a long-term attachment. Compared with mothers, the relationship between the children and their father is not so harmonious and harmonious. Although part of the
reason can be attributed to the father to spend time with them much less than the mother, but also with the father of the character and its close proximity to the supreme authority is closely related.

Compared with a tolerant mother and a stern father, the relationship between the grandparents and their grandchildren seems to be much more natural and harmonious. The close relationship between the elder and the younger generation is just a reflection of the harmonious interpersonal relationship in the family, and also shows the ability and charm of the elders in the future generations. The benefits of raising children in the older age groups who lost the ability to work has been fully reflected, at the same time, intergenerational relations also reflect the polygamous family members make the internal imbalance and the contradictory relations between spouses of conflict in the reaction, such as the relationship of personal emotional sustenance to the children, and the elders to reconcile these contradictions made many attempts and efforts.

Conclusion

The implant spouse number of and the contradictory social gender relationship in the Tibetan polygamous families influence the daily interpersonal relationship of family members. At the same time, the common goal of the family prosperity promotes the constant meshing and debugging among family members. Among them, the fairness and unity duty of housewife, the friendly and humility of wife-shared brothers and the intergenerational relationships led by the spiritual authority of seniors become the core mechanisms of maintenance and regulation of the interior family relationship. With the development and changes of the society, the internal relations and the adjustment mechanism of the family will be more diversified and complicated.

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