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II. RESEARCH REPORTS AND ISSUES

*ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS FROM THE 12TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON SOUTH ASIA

ACHARYA, HARIHAR, Cornell University, Systems of Labor Exchange Among the Magars of Nepal

Exchange of labor is only one arena of intercaste and intracaste exchange relationships among the Magars but it incorporates other socio-economic, political and religious aspects of their life. Magars, as members of the broader social system of Nepal, have long been incorporated into the Hindu caste hierarchy. Magars maintain regular socio-economic links with both higher and lower caste people through the exchange of labor. Elements of reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange are all present in the various systems of labor exchange to differing degrees. Similarly, both exploitation and equality are present with different intensity in such exchanges. The study of these exchange relationships can show the resultant patterns for distribution, differentiating positive and negative benefits to the participants, and thus be of importance in development planning.

ACHARYA, MEENA, University of Wisconsin, Madison, The Role of Women in Nepalese Agriculture Implications for Status and Issues in Development Policy

The paper analyzes three major issues related to the integration of women in development in Nepal. First, it examines the current role of women in Nepalese agriculture, both in terms of labor inputs and farm management decisions. Secondly, it analyzes the potentialities and limitations of different organizational forms for achieving integration in the cultural context. Lastly, it tries to draw implications of various policy prescriptions for status of rural women in Nepal. A comparative perspective from other Asian countries is provided.

BEACH, KING, City University of New York, Perceptual Exploration in Nepalese Children: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach

A combination of ethnographic and cognitive psychological theory and method is used to address the difficulties encountered by Nepalese children in imposing a systematic pattern of perceptual exploration upon information provided in school texts. The need for such a research paradigm to address educational development issues in the Himalayan Region is discussed in light of preliminary findings which indicate the following: A) the ability to impose a systematic pattern of perceptual exploration decreases with a decreasing number of years of formal education among family members, decreasing numbers of books, calendars, and pictures in the household, and increasing adherence to traditional values, B) the child's formal schooling has no effect upon the development of this ability, C) the ability to impose a systematic pattern of perceptual exploration increases with age if sufficient environmental supports exist.

GYALTHONG, GELEK; GYALTHONG, TSERING, Toronto, Ont. & SNYDER, JEANETTE, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Legal Aspects of Tibetan Trade

The two Tibetan authors are father and son. The senior Gyalthong was a prominent businessman in Lhasa and his son holds a business degree from the University of Manitoba. This paper explores some of the legal ramifications of conducting business in Tibet.

HOLMBERG, DAVID, Cornell University, Closure, Nonclosure, and the Ideal of Reciprocity Among Western Tamang

Exchange relates to social, economic, and ecological constraints, but it also carries profound cultural value. This paper suggests that, among the western Tamang of Nepal, measured reciprocity is a primary cultural value which shapes social, economic and ecological relations. Tamang announce this value of balanced reciprocity in the exchanges that accompany memorial death feasts, the most elaborate of social rites. The logic of exchange, however, pervades everyday life and structures, labor, marriage, gender, speech, and commensality. In its ideal representation exchanges should be perfectly reciprocal, totally inclusive, and carried out among equals, bringing measured closure on human relations. Socioeconomic reality, though, contradicts these ideals; exchange is never perfectly reciprocal or totally inclusive; moreover, Tamang society

is marked by disparities in wealth. Yet, as I attempt to demonstrate in this paper, Tamang submit these contradictions to the logic of exchange by converting them to the embodiments of evil and the causes of misfortune, in other words, the contortion of reciprocity.

HOOK, PETER EDWIN, University of Michigan, Clitics and Pronominal Suffixes in Kashmiri

Kashmiri, like Sindhi, Siraiki, Hindko and other Indo-Aryan (and Iranian) languages of the northwest part of South Asian, has a system of clitics which are in complementary distribution with independent pronoun + postposition constructions: that is, when the clitics are used the pronoun + postposition phrases do not appear and, conversely, when the independent phrases appear, the clitics do not. However, in addition to clitics (which can be thought of as moved P+Ps) Kashmiri has at least two systems of pronominal suffixes. One of these allows (optionally) the appearance of the co-referent pronoun + postpositional phrase in the same clause. This can be thought of as copied postpositional phrase. In the second system of pronominal suffixes, the coreferent (pro) nominal phrase occurs, but always in the nominative case. (If this system, under certain syntactic conditions, cannot be used, the corresponding (pro) nominal phrase is always in an oblique case). This can be thought of as copying NPs but moving postpositions. Thus, this second set of pronominal suffixes can be seen to offer, from a quite unexpected quarter, additional justification for the Paninian practice of considering a noun (phrase) or pratipadika as a linguistic element quite separable from the case relation (karaka) that it bears to the action expressed by the verb with which it is in construction. This idea will be refined through field work in Kashmir.

MILLER, BEATRICE D., University of Wisconsin-Madison, An Overview of Tibetan-Western Collaborative Research on Tibetan Polity

This paper reviews the presentations from the Ninth Conference (1980) and suggests the value and validity of Tibetan-Western co-operative in scholarly research.

NORNANG, GESHE NGAWANG, University of Washington, and TETHONG, TSWEWANG C., Victoria British Columbia, Land Tenure and Taxation in Tibet

Professor Geshe Nornang teaches Tibetan at the University of Washington and was a monastic administrator in Tibet. T.C. Tethong holds a degree in History and a diploma in Public Administration from the University of British Columbia. The authors examine the traditional Tibetan legal bases for land tenure and taxation.

TSARONG, PALJOR, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Tongho: The Economics of Tibetan Monastic Ritual

It is within the general redistributive nature of the Tibetan political economy, particularly its religious estates, that this paper will examine how merit, prestige and obligations support, perpetuate and reproduce religious ritual and, therefore, serve monastic establishments. The various patterns of sponsorship of ritual are examined as well as their changes over time. All these point to the close interaction and exchanges between the lay and monastic realms, show how economic exchange is rationalized, and how it reflects social value as well as the hierarchical structures of society.

VAJRACHARYA, GAUTAM, University of Wisconsin-Madison, The Real Meaning of Nepalmandala

It has been generally assumed that in ancient times the name Nepal was confined to the Kathmandu valley. This assumption led Dr. Mary Slusser to believe that Nepalmandala was the ancient name for the enclosed valley. A careful study of contemporary literary sources has clearly revealed that Nepal was extended far beyond the valley. This paper presents all those literary sources with their analytical study.

WAHID, SIDDIQ, Burnsville, Minnesota, The Roles of Tibet's Muslim Communities

Largely ignored by Western scholars, the real contributions of Tibet's Muslim citizens is explored by a scholar who is both a Harvard trained historian and a Tibetan Muslim.

***PROJECT: MUSTANG INTEGRATED RESEARCH PROGRAM AT CNAS**

Coordinator: Professor Dor Bahadur Bista

Senior Researchers: Professor Prayag R. Sharma, Mr. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, Dr. Navin K. Rai,
Dr. Durga P. Ohja

Mustang Integrated Research Program (MIRP) is approved by His Majesty's Government of Nepal and conducted in coordination with the HMG, National Planning Commission (NPC). The International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, is providing the bulk of the funding of the program and CNAS is contributing the in-house expenses.

The main objectives of the MIRP are:

- (i) to acquire first-hand scientific knowledge about Mustang by an interdisciplinary research team consisting only of Nepalese experts, and to present the state-of-the-art of Mustang from a Nepalese perspective;
- (ii) to submit a comprehensive proposal to the NPC on the problems and prospects of development in Mustang and to inculcate the NPC to incorporate the recommendations in its subsequent planning; and
- (iii) to train junior Nepalese researchers to carry out disciplinary and interdisciplinary, individual and group researches.

Four aspects of Mustang — Archaeology, History, Anthropology and Economics — are emphasized. The field research area is limited to the Lo Chhyo-dhuin, the "seven districts" that comprised the traditional kingdom of Mustang.

Headed by Prof. Dor B. Bista, Coordinator, the program is run by four senior researchers (Prof. Prayag R. Sharma/Archaeology; Mr. Dhanavajra Vajracharya/History; Dr. Navin K. Rai/Anthropology; Dr. Durga P. Ohja/Economics) and four researchers (Mr. Jagaman Gurung/Archaeology; Mr. Ramesh Dhungel/History; Mr. Ram B. Chhetri/Anthropology; Mr. Sudarshan Adhikari/Economics). In addition, the program hires eight research assistants in its field study.

The program is scheduled for two and a half years (September 1982-March 1985). The reconnaissance survey was carried out in November 1982. Detailed field work has been continuing since May 1983 and will end in June 1984. The proposal on the development of Mustang will be submitted to the NPC in April 1984 and the four monographs detailing the academic aspects of Mustang, will be ready for publication by March 1985.

Through the reconnaissance survey and first phase of field work, eight researchers spent on average four months each. The team has collected volumes of qualitative and quantitative data — notes, censuses, documents, drawings, maps, photographs and diaries.

At present, the team members are busy carrying out the winter field work, analyzing the data and writing the preliminary report.

(reprinted from CNAS Newsletter January 1, 1984)

***PROJECT: STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR AND SIZE, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY/NEPAL**

Principal investigators: Dr. Dilli R. Dahal and Dr. Chaitanya Mishra

This project is funded by ESCAP. It is among the ongoing projects at CNAS and has the following objectives:

1. To identify factors conducive or antecedent to the acceptance of family planning which lead to decline and differentials in fertility;
2. to analyse the effect of family planning practice on family size and on the family life-cycle; and

3. to analyse the effects of changes in the demographic characteristics on the structure and functions of the family.

(reprinted from CNAS Newsletter, January 1, 1984)

***PROJECT: POPULATION GROWTH AND POVERTY IN NEPAL**

Investigator: David Seddon
School of Development Studies/Overseas Development Group
University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK

Research Assistant: Sally Westwood

Sponsored by: I.L.O., Geneva

Population growth is all too frequently treated as an independent variable in the analysis of the relationship between agrarian change, economic and social inequality, and social deprivation. In this study, based on materials collected by a wide range of studies and surveys (some of which were carried out by the Overseas Development Group in west central Nepal during the mid to late 1970s) from many parts of Nepal, and on official documents available in Kathmandu from the various government and aid agency offices, an attempt is made to incorporate population dynamics within a more general analysis of economic and political development in Nepal. The objective is to better understand the social roots of deprivation and disadvantage.

A report A State of Poverty: Population Growth and Social Deprivation in Nepal has been prepared for the ILO with the following structure:

Introduction

Chapter 1: Population Growth and Agrarian change: 1750-1950

Chapter 2: The Crisis in Agriculture: 1950-1980

Chapter 3: The Social Context of Population Growth

Chapter 4: Population Pressure and Environmental Deterioration

Chapter 5: The Economic Basis of Social Inequality

Chapter 6: Social Deprivation and the Struggle for Basic Needs

Chapter 7: The Role of the State

Conclusion

It is expected that this report will be revised for publication in 1984.

***PROJECT RASTRIYA ITIHAS NIRMAN PARIYOJANA (NATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT).**

Project Chief: Professor Madhav Raj Pande

Begun in 1982, the National History Project, is among the ongoing research projects currently in progress at the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal.

The objective of this 5-year project is to prepare an authentic and comprehensive history of Nepal on the following aspects:

- (a) Political
- (b) Administrative
- (c) Economic
- (d) Social, and
- (e) Diplomatic

Prof. Madhav Raj Pande is the project chief, but other eminent historians are involved in this project.

(reprinted from CNAS Newsletter, January 1, 1984)

***NEPAL PRESENTATION AT FACE GLOBAL CONFERENCE ON TRADITIONAL COMMUNICATION**

Mr. Harihar Bhattarai, Lecturer at CNAS, participated in the Global Conference/Festival held on November 7-11, 1983 in the United Nations Headquarters, New York on the occasion of World Communication Year.

Mr. Bhattarai demonstrated the Nepali films entitled Jyapu Guthi (Togetherness), Lok Nacha (Folk Dance), and Devasthal (Land of gods and goddesses). The posters, pictures, disc records and cassettes about Nepali folk songs were exhibited.

During the panel discussion Mr. Bhattarai spelled out with emphasis the need to identify, preserve and promote the indigenous and traditional cultural heritage of people as central asset to every aspect of human development and progress.

(reprinted from CNAS Newsletter, January 1, 1984)

***PROJECT THE INVISIBLE WORKER: THE ROLE OF THE PEON IN NEPAL'S HEALTH SERVICE**

Researcher: Judithanne Justice
Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, U.S.A.

Health services are most effective when tailored to fit the needs of particular populations. Thus, an underlying assumption is that social and cultural factors are fundamental to adequate health planning. To understand what socially relevant information is used, or perceived as being useful by policy makers, a study was made of the decision-making process involved in planning the rural health program in Nepal. Community participation in developing primary health care is a priority in this program. Despite the fact that planners are presently designing programs for community health volunteers, they are unaware of, or fail to utilize, social and cultural factors which affect local health care delivery.

In Nepal, the peon, the lowest ranking worker in the health bureaucracy, performs many basic and crucial functions in the delivery of health services at the local level, such as dispensing medicine, dressing wounds and giving injections. In addition, he is the only worker who is actually from the village, who speaks the local dialects and has the most interaction and direct contact with patients. Rather than investigate who these peons are and what motivates them to assume voluntarily these same functions being proposed for the newly created community volunteer, their contribution is unrecognized and remains invisible to foreign and Nepalese health planners.

This research bears out earlier observations that social and cultural data are not being used by most health planners dealing with Nepal. But even more significant, when planners are aware of social factors that affect health services, it does not appear to influence the planning of the rural health program. When a truly community based health worker arises, there are no mechanisms to change the established structure or procedures to take advantage of this fact. This illustrates the barriers within the bureaucracy to incorporating socially relevant information in health planning.

(reprinted from Soc. Sci. Med. Vol. 17, No. 14, pp. 967-970, 1983.)

***PROJECT: THAKALI ANTHROPOLOGY**

Researcher: Barbara Parker
Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan

In April, 1983, I completed an 18-month field research project in a Thakali-speaking village of upper Thak Khola in Nepal's Mustang District. Although many natives of this region are part-time residents who spend the winter months in the Pokhara environs, my study focused almost exclusively upon the village of origin. Because my project was designed to investigate vectors of change, I had decided to conduct it as a complement to change-oriented studies which emphasized the movement of some segments of the Thakali population into urban environments and adaptations.

Although I had planned to explore change in terms of the twin (and presumably conflicting) impacts of tourism and Sanskritization, I discovered upon reaching the village that neither of these influences was decisive with regard to proclivities developing in the village itself. Instead, I began to concentrate my research activities upon a topic which the villagers themselves view as central to their identity and position within national life: the orientation of Thakali peoples toward trade and commerce. However, I do not plan to focus upon their role in Nepal society as entrepreneurs, as other scholars of the area have already discussed this in some depth. Instead, I am planning my doctoral thesis so as to identify, describe and analyze the factors in the Thakali socio-cultural system which foster entrepreneurial values and behavior, and which direct Thakalis into commercial activities.

As other students of Thakali society have established, the importance of eco-geographical factors in promoting trade in this region cannot be denied. Nevertheless, socio-cultural factors are not inoperative, and indigenous financial institutions such as revolving credit associations have also been proposed as partial explanations for the dramatic rise of Thakali businessmen to economic prosperity. My own thesis will discuss these associations as only one element in an extensive system of social institutions and of religious and cosmological schema, all of which contribute to the development of an entrepreneurial orientation. The components of village socio-cultural life will be described in terms of its general preoccupation with business concerns, and in the course of my analysis I hope to contribute to an understanding of the meaning of trade and commercialism in the cosmological system of the Thakalis. My long-range objective is to join in the anthropological discussion of economy as a cultural system.

***PROJECT: A UNIQUE COMPOSITE IMAGE OF THE SUN-GOD IN NEPAL**

Researcher: Deepak Shimkhada
Claremont Graduate School
McManus 131, Claremont, CA 91711

The fertile valley of Kathmandu at the foothills of the Himalayas is equally fertile in the areas of myth, legend and syncretic image. While the myth and legend have been studied by researchers, the study of most of the syncretic images is still a desideratum. As a crucible where Buddhism and Hinduism have coexisted, influencing each other, the Kathmandu Valley — the heart of the Nepalese civilization — has given rise to many images of interesting and unusual iconography not found in the neighboring country of India. Of such images, one that merits attention is a stone relief with the representation of Surya, the Sun-god, in the attribute of Ganesha, the elephant-headed god who removes obstacles and bestows good fortune.

The relief is carved in a round shape, resembling an orb of which the Sun is the master. The Sun-god is positioned in the center of the circular composition, surrounded by gods and celestial beings of the Hindu pantheon. Seated in the so-called European position, Surya commands a chariot drawn by seven horses, which probably symbolize the seven colors of the prism. The unique aspect of the relief is that the Sun-god is depicted with the head of an elephant. The enigma and incongruity that the image presents are baffling because there are no textual sources to warrant the composite nature of the image. But we need not go too far to seek for the answer. The major breakthrough in the identification of the image comes from the shrine of Suryavinayaka, located about 10 kilometers east of where the image in question is in situ. As the name indicates, the shrine is dedicated to a god who combines the aspects of Surya, the Sun-god, and Vinayaka, the elephant-headed Ganesha, and is believed to cure physical handicaps — deafness and dumbness in particular. Both in ancient and modern times the Sun has been worshipped for the power it possesses to heal, and Suryavinayaka's power of healing physical impairment may be better understood in the composite aspects in which the god is portrayed.

While Surya cures, Ganesha removes obstacles in the healing process. What deity could be more potent and efficacious than the one having aspects of the two gods combined? That is probably why the shrine of Suryavinayaka has been a very popular place of pilgrimage among the physically impaired people in the Kathmandu Valley. The relief, though it is located in Patan, miles away from the site of the temple, does mirror the idea the shrine embodies. Because the relief makes a statement about the nature of the shrine of Suryavinayaka, the image portrayed in the relief must be identified as that of Suryavinayaka.

***A NATIONAL SEMINAR ON 'DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND PROGRAMME IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES'**

Dr. Dilli R. Dahal and Dr. Chaitanya Mishra, both Lecturers at CNAS, separately presented papers entitled 'Development of Infrastructure and Programme in Anthropology/Sociology in Nepal' at the National Seminar on 'Development of Infrastructure and Programme in the Social Science' organized by Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences on December 11-15, 1983.

(reprinted from CNAS Newsletter, January 1, 1984)