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II. PAPER ABSTRACTS

*ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS FROM THE 13TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON SOUTH ASIA

ACHARYA, HARIHAR PRASAD, Cornell University, Local Capabilities and Limitations: A Case of Drinking Water Movement in Rural Nepal (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development by Rural People in the Hills of Nepal).

This paper examines some cases which suggest the capabilities and limitations of various categories of actors in rural Nepal in constructing, maintaining, and utilizing their own drinking water schemes through individual and cooperative efforts. The cases suggest that tremendous organizational, managerial, technical, innovative, and sometimes even financial capabilities exist at the local level which need to be creatively utilized by development planners. However, the limitations of local actors should also be carefully examined. Usually they are not concerned or capable in the matters of improving public health; equitable distribution of tangible and intangible benefits between sexes, ethnic/caste groups, economic classes, and geographical locations; high technological and financial involvement; and management of violent conflicts. Through the analysis of existing local capabilities and limitations, it can be suggested that the government can play crucial supportive roles in the development of rural potable water if involved only in matters that are beyond local capabilities, concerns and preferences.

BHANDARI, BISHNU, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Socioeconomic Characteristics and Nutritional Status of Nepalese Children in Chitawan (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics).

The study is an investigation of the prevalence of protein-calorie malnutrition and its correlation with socioeconomic characteristics among rural children under six years of age. The anthropometric measurements of 358 children were taken and the heads of the households were surveyed. The Gomez, Waterlow and MUAC (mid-upper arm circumference) indices are used to determine the nutritional status of children. Some 60 to 85% of the children suffer from mild to severe malnutrition. About 10% of the children suffer from third degree malnutrition. The girls have a slightly better nutritional status than the boys. The same is true with the children of the lower caste people. Kshetry's children suffer from chronic undernutrition. The variables such as the amount of land farmed by the family, cash value of total crop production, caste, gender and education show a weak or inconsistent relationship with malnutrition variables. Possible reasons for the lack of association between socioeconomic variables and child malnutrition are discussed, accompanied by some policy recommendations.

COOKE, M. T., University of California-Berkeley, The People of Nisyang: Ethnic Identity in the Nepal-Tibet Borderland (Panel: The South Asian Landscape).

The paper presents in abbreviated form historical data as well as field research data to depict the complexity of processes of ethnic identification among the Nisyang people ("Manangi") of Nepal. The historical data to be considered consist of approximately twenty documents issued by the authorities in Kathmandu in connection with the administration of the Nisyang region during the past two hundred years. The field research data involve patterns of economic activity, structures of local political organization and networks of kinship among residents of the Nisyang valley as well as among Nisyang residents of Kathmandu. The data reveal a complex process of identity negotiation involving Tibetan, Gurung, and Nisyang people. The complexity of such processes, in turn, calls into question various assumptions commonly made about the phenomenon of ethnic identity in the Himalayas.

ELLINGSON, TER, University of Washington-Seattle, The Gam Pyakham of Patan: A Classical Newar Ritual Dance in Nepal (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia).

One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ritual traditions of South Asia is the pyakham dance tradition of the Newar civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theatre, pyakham reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these, rare surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theatre and Indian Buddhist ritual practice

blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure the experience of performers and community. The Gam Kyakham is a Buddhist Tantric dance composed by a Newar king and a Buddhist priest in the 17th century, in the style of centuries-old Indian Buddhist dances. Performed by high-caste Buddhist priests, it combines Sanskrit ritual and historical drama with Newari comic interludes. In their transformation to embodiments of indigenous Newar and Hindu-Buddhist deities, the dancers create a geometric embodiment of the geography and cosmology of Nepal, transforming it into a mandala framework for attaining Buddhist Tantric realization. (Part 2 of TWO INTRODUCTORY STUDIES ON THE NEWAR PYAKHAM. See also Linda Iltis, "The Jala Pyakham of Harisiddhi".)

ENGLISH, RICHARD, Columbia University, Considerations of Tibeto-Burman Scripts in Himalayan Cultural History (Panel: Approaches to Nepali Cultural History).

Written forms of the Tibeto-Burman dialects spoken by the Rai and Limbu of eastern Nepal, and the Lepchas of Sikkim are known to be extant. This paper considers the origins and application of these "indigenous" scripts as particularly ethnohistorical developments. That is, they emerged within the context of encroaching cultural domination by Sanskrit traditions in Nepal and Tibetan traditions in Sikkim. Despite any widespread literacy among the speakers of these dialects, the existence of written forms of their languages represents an important dimension of indigenous historical and ethnic consciousness. The process by which Sanskrit and Tibetan traditions came to dominate these indigenous groups are contrasted in an effort to suggest some analytical themes applicable to the cultural history of the entire Himalayan region.

GRAHAM, JACK W., Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, The Challenge to Higher Education in Nepal (Panel: The Outlook of Education in Nepal).

The early education in Nepal was that provided in Hindu and Buddhist temples and monasteries. Some form of education was evident as early as the 6th century. Modern higher education started in Nepal with the founding of Tri-Chandra College in 1918. Since that date, education has grown to include over 60,000 students on over 60 campuses of Tribhuvan University as organized in 11 separate institutes. It is a challenge to keep higher education developments in balance with other developments of the country. Yet the two are very much dependent upon one another. Some of the specific challenges include: providing the best type of educational opportunities for the secondary school graduates; refining the technical and vocational schools to better meet the manpower needs of the country; developing part-time educational opportunities; determining the place of theoretical and applied education; re-evaluating the use of English in graduate education; and improving the program of faculty development.

HANSON-BARBER, A. W., Middleton, WI, The Role of the Guru in the Vajrayana: A New Interpretation Based on Newar Sources (Panel: Approaches to Nepali Cultural History).

Most of our knowledge of the position of the guru is based on Hindu and Tibetan sources. Dismissing the Hindu notions on this subject as inappropriate in a discussion of Buddhism, the focus is on the development of the position of the guru in Tibetan culture and how these notions have been translated to western audiences. This development is historically documented to have developed from an extreme line of "transmission" originating in India with Naropa and Tilopa. It is further developed with the acquisition of political power by holy figures in Tibet and culminates in the notion of the Tulku. In contrast to this, the Newar tradition does not maintain a theory of the guru as deity. Instead, in its reading of the texts of the Vajrayana, it understands several different interpretations of the guru notion depending on the context. The first is that of the Buddha Vajrasattva as the guru to all individuals. The second in importance is the notion of the internal guru which is in fact Vajrasattva. The lowest in priorities is the human teacher. However, the lack of political power for the Newar guru has developed the notions associated with the relationship between guru and disciple according to different lines than those above. This is seen as the relationship of any student to a teacher in the classical Indian pattern where abusive behavior of the guru towards the student is not acceptable. Finally, it is argued that this is probably the correct interpretation for understanding this phenomena even in Indian Tantric Buddhism.

HOLMBERG, DAVID, Cornell University, The Logics of Sacrifice Among the Tamang (Panel: Ritual, Society, and Symbol in Nepal).

This paper explores the place of sacrifice in the Tamang religious system. First, it examines the form and meaning of both propitiatory and exorcistic sacrifices. Second it discusses the relations between the rituals of lambu-s or sacrificers and lama-s and bombo-s or shamans. In particular it explores the apparent contradiction between the Buddhist value of ahimsa and the fact of sacrifice in the Tamang religious system. Finally the paper considers the problem of sacrifice comparatively by examining the role of sacrifice in the religious systems of other groups in Nepal. In conclusion it considers the sociopolitical functions of sacrifice in Nepal.

ILTIS, LINDA, The Jala Pyakham of Harisiddhi: A Classical Newar Ritual Drama in Nepal University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance).

One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ritual traditions in South Asia is the pyakham dance tradition of the Newar civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theater, pyakham reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these, rare surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theatre and Indian Buddhist ritual practice blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure and experience of performers and community. Reputedly the oldest masked pyakham is the Jala Pyakham of Harisiddhi. This dance theatre is famous for its historical content, and for embodying all the gods, Hindu and Buddhist, of Nepal. Harisiddhi is itself a uniquely sacred village, with a special lineage of local priests who become the gods of the dances. Simultaneously the most classical and the most ritual of the Newar pyakham traditions, the Jala Pyakham vividly exhibits a fundamental unity of art and ritual in the interactions of the dancers and audience during a performance. (Part 1 of TWO INTRODUCTORY STUDIES ON THE NEWAR PYAKHAM. See also Ter Ellingson, "Tha Gam Pyakham of Patan".)

LEUSCHNER, WILLIAM A., ROBERT E. ADAMS, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and MERVIN E. STEVENS, U.S. Forest Service, The Interfacing of Forestry into Nepal's Development Planning (Panel: The South Asian Landscape).

About 10 years ago several major actions were suggested to further the management planning of forest and range resources to improve the land in the country of Nepal. This paper reports on 1) how these actions were implemented, 2) the overall strategy used in mobilizing donor forces to assist in halting the rapid degradation of Nepal's environment, and 3) the multi-faceted and integrated project supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The interaction of these activities has had a significant influence on the policies, laws and planning of Nepal forest resources and also on other forestry development in the region. The point is made that the foresters in concert with the people have agreed to a plan of action, adopted policy and are enacting laws based on sound environmental principles which has the potential of reversing an environmental threat that was developing for centuries.

LEWIS, TODD T., Columbia University, Galactic Polity and the Anthropology of Hindu-Buddhist Relations in the Himalayas (Panel: Approaches to Nepali Cultural History).

Religious tradition in the Himalayas has often been characterized as "the Indo-Tibetan Interface". This paper considers this subject using S. J. Tambiah's notion of "galactic polity" to define the continuities and contrasts between the Brahmanical and Buddhist organization of religious tradition. The Kathmandu Valley civilization provides the central focus for this analysis, since for the last 1500 years Hindu-Buddhist interrelations have been a distinctive feature of Newar culture. Furthermore, the longstanding presence of Tibetan Buddhist institutions and more recent Shah state Hinduism in the Valley complicate the confluence of religious institutions, royal alliance, and the meaning of "religious field" to the lay polity, we propose analytical themes that help clarify the ethnohistorical analysis of Himalayan religion.

MARTIN, EDWARD D., Cornell University, Indigenous Water Users' Groups for Irrigation Management in Nepal (Panel: Investments for Water Resources Development).

Irrigation is the most critical factor enabling intensive agricultural production in the hills of Nepal. In most cases, irrigation systems include more than a single household and, thus, require coordinated collective action for their operation. Nearly all of the irrigation systems in the hills of Nepal have been constructed and are managed by the irrigators themselves. Wherever there is a functioning irrigation system, there is an organization for managing it. This organization must mobilize resources and carry out the specific tasks of water acquisition, allocation, and distribution. Farmers in Nepal have organized in different ways to effectively accomplish these irrigation system tasks. Future government-sponsored irrigation development in the hills will nearly always be in areas where there is an existing irrigation organization, and an awareness of these organizations and appreciation of their capabilities should facilitate more effective irrigation projects. This paper presents the variety of organizational forms and principles observed during 21 months of field research in the mid-hills of Nepal and analyzes some of the differences.

MUMFORD, STANLEY, Princeton University, Transmutation and Debate: The Shamanistic Roots of Tibetan Lama Rituals in Nepal (Panel: Ritual, Society and Symbol in Nepal).

In the Gyasumdo region of the Manang District in Nepal there is a community of Buddhist Tibetans whose forefathers migrated from the north over 100 years ago. They settled in villages surrounded by Ghale-Gurung peoples who claim to have migrated from Tibet in ancient times and still practice a shamanism similar to the early Bon religion. The recent migration of Buddhist Tibetans has provoked a reenactment of the historic rivalry between Lama and shaman practices and conceptions.

This paper draws on local texts and ethnographic data to analyze Lama/shaman differentiation as a process of argument. Four types of household rites performed by the Lamas will be briefly analyzed for the sake of comparison with their shaman-equivalents:

- 1) Rite of exchange with underworld serpent deities (kulu) and earth owners (sabdag).
- 2) Rite of defense which honors the protecting deities (srungma) of both kin groups and village community.
- 3) Rite of ransom substitution (glud) — exorcism employing the thread cross.
- 4) Rite of self-sacrifice such as gchod (severance), performed as a household rite for lay sponsors.

Each ritual type can be distinguished as having a particular solution for dealing with evil forces generated by different conditions of temporality. Further, each type shares a common base with equivalent rites performed by the Gurung Paju and Ghyabre, but with a different mode of transmuting these shamanistic roots into Buddhist conceptions. The transmutation of images will be analyzed as a process through time, using ethnographic data that explicates an on-going Lama/shaman debate occurring in the ethno-history of the region.

NAFZIGER, DALE L., Cornell University, Water Usage for Irrigation in Micro-Hydro Power Generation in Rural Nepal: An Investigation of System Management Alternatives (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development).

Although Nepal is very poor economically, she is blessed with an abundance of hydropower wealth. Little of this potential has been developed to the present time. One form of development which is taking place, however, is the installation of micro-hydro turbines in rural areas. When these installations were initially implemented in the 1960s, their primary task was and continues to be that of alleviating the arduous task of pressing oil, grinding flour, and hulling rice by traditional methods. Because the power derived from these turbines is utilized locally, there are times when it is important for the local residents to access which is more advantageous: using the available power for milling versus using it for irrigation. The decision becomes more complex when it is noted that irrigation has traditionally been a communal activity whereas many of the micro-hydro schemes are under private ownership. In making decisions where two highly vested but diametrically opposed interests are represented, conflict has often been the result. The gravity of the situation is resounded in an observation made by one recent survey stating that, "there is a great danger of turbine schemes coming to a halt on account of water use conflicts." Based upon the author's field experience, this paper examines some of the criteria used by rural Nepalese in making the decision as to whether the available water ultimately goes to the crops or to the turbine. Also considered are water management decisions in the case of the "ghatta" — the traditional flour mill which has existed for centuries. By

examining the ghatta and considering other alternative forms of water system management, strategies for conflict management within the micro-turbine/irrigation system are explored.

NORBU, THUBTEN J., University of Indiana-Bloomington, China's False Image of the Tibetan Question (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion: In Commemoration of Twenty Five Years in Exile).

Based on my travels to Tibet in 1980, this paper provides an update of the current situation under the Chinese Rule. It will examine China's interest in resolving the Tibetan Question and show that their policies have undergone no major changes. It will also look at what policies are available in view of the need on the part of many Tibetans to rectify the situation.

PACH, ALFRED III, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ancestor or Evil Ghost? Contrasting Paradigms of Ritual Performance in a Hindu Village in Nepal (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirit: South Asian Spirit Possession Rituals as Performances).

Numerous problems in a local descent group, and the failure of various primary remedies in an especially serious case of illness, set the stage for explorations of the cause to be traced to a more intractable, ancestral ghost. This calls for elaborate cumulative rituals to identify, and transform this ancestor to a deity. When the intense drama and themes of this invocation do not prove possible, a shaman is challenged to act through contrasting rituals and themes to remove the spirit now differently conceived. The character of these differing designations are convincingly asserted and displayed, and engaged therapeutically in a forceful orchestration of interrelated ritual media and cultural themes.

PARKER, BARBARA, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, Buddhist Rationalization in Nepal's Thak Khola Region (Panel: Ritual, Society and Symbol in Nepal).

The literature on Thak Khola contains extensive discussion of the adoption of Hindu social and religious practices in the region, particularly by the Thaksatsae Thakalis who have migrated to urban areas. Data collected during 1981-83 in a Thakali village of Panchgaon indicates that Buddhism is not in eclipse among all those still remaining in Thak Khola, and that a process of "Buddhist rationalization" may in fact be occurring. Replacement of Jhankris by Buddhist Lamas in some ceremonies, curtailment of traditional animal sacrifices at the behest of Gelong Lamas, the increasing valuation of celibacy and the performance of austerities among local Lamas, and the appearance in the area of a residential teaching monastery, all point to a growing interest in Buddhism in its other-worldly rather than this-worldly aspects. Ultimately, it may be less meaningful to analyze Thak Khola's religious trends in terms of either "Hinduization" or "Buddhization" than to acknowledge that purely local and shamanic religious practices are losing importance in favor of the more rationalized and universalized values of textual Hinduism and Buddhism, in Thak Khola and perhaps in other high altitude regions of Nepal as well.

PIGG, STACY LEIGH, Cornell University, The Anthropology of Illness and Healing in Nepal (Panel: Ritual, Society and Symbol in Nepal).

Our understanding of illness and healing in Nepal is shaped by prior conceptions of what constitutes medicine in other cultures. This paper draws on comparative issues in the anthropology of medicine to discuss existing research on Nepalese healing practices and concepts of illness. Following the dominant perspective in medical anthropology, these studies have focused on the cultural beliefs that order the experience of illnesses and explain its causes. Yet people's willingness to experiment with new healing techniques, including ones that draw upon other theories of illness causation, contradicts the importance placed on specific cultural beliefs about the nature of illness. The disjunction between our understanding of what villagers believe and our knowledge of what people actually do raises questions about the nature of medical systems in general.

PRADHAN, UJJWAL, Cornell University, Water as Property: Its Ramifications (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development).

With the development of facilities for the acquisition and use of water, there is a fundamental change in the way that it is conceived of as property. Investment patterns augment this water property notion even further. In this paper, an attempt shall be made to show the various principles that govern the right to water use, the relationship people enter into when the water takes the form of property, especially when it has productive utility or potentiality, and the competition and conflict experienced thus. Issues concerning development projects that make water as property, technologies that have water as its use as a crucial input or element, investment strategies, water rights, and conflicts arising from these shall be dealt with. The transactions of this property and the limitations to wider participation due to the water rights shall be reviewed with examples from Nepal. The concept of water as property shall be reviewed in the light of certain irrigation, drinking water, and water turbines in Nepal.

SHAKABPA, TESPON W. D., Finance Minister of Tibet, Samye Monastery: In Ruins After the Cultural Revolution (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion).

When Beijing unleashed the red guards during the Cultural Revolution, the full impact of this most destructive of all mankind's campaigns was felt in Tibet. Samye monastery, built in 780, was among thousands of holy and historical sites destroyed. The paper will trace the history and physical layout of Samye and discuss the extent to which this historically important site suffered under the wrath of the Cultural Revolution.

SHARMA, SHANKAR, East-West Center-Honolulu, Hawaii, Perspectives on the Prospects for Economic Growth in Nepal (Panel: South Asian Landscape).

Some of the developing countries are experiencing major economic growth, others are not. Earlier explanations of economic growth and development were based on the neoclassical economic assumptions. Economic growth was attributed to capital, entrepreneurship, and the size of domestic markets. An alternative explanation modifies the neoclassical assumption of the economic development and suggests that certain public policies can compensate for deficiencies in these factors of production. Despite great efforts, Nepal has not been able to achieve the goal of economic development. Thus, focusing on Nepal, this paper examines structural conditions and the problem areas that block the engine of growth and development. First, the economic performance of the country for the last decade will be evaluated. The next section of the paper will attempt to discuss the problem areas of development. Final section tries to provide some policy prescriptions. The analysis concludes that public policies can compensate for the deficiencies of economic development explained by neoclassical economic theory.

SHRESTHA, MOHAN N., Bowling Green State University, Urbanization in the Kathmandu Valley: A Historical Perspective (Panel: Geographical Patterns in South Asia).

Reconstruction of location and distribution of settlements in the Kathmandu Valley at different periods in time is an impossible task. There are no old maps, no accurate historical documents and very few archaeological excavations have been carried on so far. In this paper, an attempt is made to locate the existence of villages, towns and cities that developed over time using ancient names, festival routes and the location of ancient monasteries. Settlements that were once centrally located grew in sizes and shapes whereas other settlements that lost their trade and commerce due to the changes in the trade routes and the change of regional capital stood still in time or deteriorated and finally disappeared. Recent changes in population and areal extents of towns and cities in the valley are discussed in detail.

SLJIPATI, KRISHNA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Patterns of Public Information Flow in Nepal (Panel: Informational Role of Media in South Asia Nations).

It is evident that what each citizen of Nepal knows about his nation and the world is largely dependent upon what he receives from the mass media. In other words what the editors put on the mass media will determine people's attitudinal climate which eventually influences their norm and value because they receive given information about parts of the environment. Research has indicated that putting news and information on the media is determined by three important factors: 1) editors' perception, 2) institutional policy and 3) news factors. Importance of each factor depends upon the political climate

of a nation. In this short paper only one factor, "editors' perception" will be discussed in the context of Nepal. Discussion will be carried on the basis of a questionnaire survey conducted among 48 senior editors of 11 news media in Nepal in order to measure their perception towards the types of news, institutional policies (Government and Media) and news factors.

SNYDER, JEANETTE, Madison, WI, Images of Power and Possession in Tibetan A Che Lha Mo (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia).

A che lha mo is the classical, secular theatre of Tibet. Using music, dance, narration, satirical improvisation, costume and masking, day-long performances present plays that are drawn from Tibetan literature and developed within the matrix of Tibetan world views. Among the characters and events in these performances, which are essentially dramas of human concerns, characters and relationships, one encounters many portraits of power, both temporal and spiritual -- from kings and their battles to tantric masters and their rituals. An examination of some of these portrayals provides insight into Tibetan views of power and possession and their manifestation as revealed through performance.

TAKLA, TENZING, Purdue University, Max Weber on Tibet: Religion and Polity in a Comparative Perspective (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion).

Although brief and scattered, Max Weber makes several references to Tibet in his series of monumental studies on world civilization. The paper examines Weber's handling of the Tibetan case from two viewpoints: first within the context of Weber's typological scheme, and second, its relevance for Tibetan Studies.

TSARONG, PALJOR, University of Wisconsin-Madison, The Role of the Labrang Institution in Tibetan Speaking Areas (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society, and Religion).

The Labrang, originally the focus of Tibetan monastic organization, became the personification and institutional basis of the Tibetan government. The Labrang is defined, and his historical formation and role in the Tibetan political economy are discussed. It will be described as a focus of social integration in Tibetan speaking areas.

VAIDYA, RAMESH, University of Minnesota-Duluth, Financial Policy and Development Goals: The Case of Nepal's Construction Projects (Panel: The South Asian Landscape).

The basic premise of this paper is that the construction industry can play an important role in achieving development goals. However, a construction industry does not emerge merely by expenditures on construction activity; its emergence depends upon a number of policy choices. A model is suggested for analyzing this issue and it is then empirically tested by using primary data gathered from 14 construction projects in Nepal. The results indicate the following relationships: 1) Projects financed by multilateral sources, located in easy terrain, and of large scale, are likely to use capital intensive construction methods, while those funded by domestic sources, located in difficult terrain, and of small scale, tend to use labor intensive ones. 2) Projects financed by multilateral sources and of large scale are likely to use a higher proportion of foreign materials, while those funded by domestic sources and of small scale tend to use a higher proportion of domestic materials. 3) Projects financed by multilateral sources and of large scale are likely to use a higher proportion of foreign management input, while those funded by domestic sources and of small scale tend to use a higher proportion of domestic management input. It is demonstrated that a comprehensive strategy can be evolved that permits the choice of appropriate policies to accomplish development goals.

VAJRACHARYA, GAUTAM, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Treasure Garden: A Unique Feature in Nepalese Landscape Architecture (Panel: Approaches to Nepalese Culture).

The medieval palace compounds, some of which still exist in Kathmandu valley, have extended backyards which bear an interesting name, Bhandarkhal, or treasure garden. Although ancient Indian architectural texts prescribe such a garden inside a royal residence, apparently it has been a part of the forgotten story of Indian architectural history. In Nepal, on the other hand, one of such gardens still functions not only as a backyard but also a safe place for keeping valuable materials. This paper

investigates the significance of such gardens during the medieval period in the light of historical documents.

WAHID, SIDDIQ, Harvard University, The Influx of Tibetans into Ladakh: the Historical, Present and Future Contexts (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion).

The paper is about the influx of Tibetans into Ladakh. It will examine the early Tibetanization of Ladakh and primarily, the post-1959 refugee exodus. The refugees' activities, their general adaptation to Ladakh, as well as the changes and future prospects will be discussed.

YODER, ROBERT, Cornell University, Time-tested Technologies for Irrigation in Nepal: Himalayan Folk Engineering Success, Limitation and Possible Extension (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development).

Records of irrigated rice being grown in the hills of Nepal date back many centuries. The sculptured rice paddies in the river valleys are evidence of a tremendous effort by the farmers of Nepal to utilize their limited land resource. Not so readily visible is an even larger effort that has required collective action, careful organization, skillful engineering, and outright bravery to divert the water from monsoon streams and convey it along mountain slopes to the rice fields. Once water arrives in the area of their fields it must still be distributed according to established rules. This paper focuses on the technologies that farmers have developed to divert, convey and distribute water for irrigation. As population growth forces increased agricultural intensity to meet subsistence food needs it is desirable to expand irrigation facilities. Local technology has often reached a constraint limiting the expansion of irrigation. However, modern technology (cement, steel, plastic) as advocated by engineers has often failed to bring about expected results. The possibility of engineers borrowing and building upon the indigenous skills and technologies is examined.

***ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS APPEARING ELSEWHERE**

JUSTICE, JUDITH, Medical Anthropology Program, University of California, Can Socio-Cultural Information Improve Health Planning? A Case Study of Nepal's Assistant Nurse-Midwife

Nepal's Assistant Nurse-Midwife program demonstrates some of the consequences of ignoring social and cultural information in health planning. Partly in response to national and international pressures to develop careers for women, the program was designed to train young women to provide maternal and child health care in rural areas. But traditional expectations about women, which are widely known, have impaired the program's effectiveness. Thus, even when cultural information is relevant and available — in fact, common knowledge — it still may not influence health planning. This case study pinpoints crucial planning issues in primary health care and recommends changes that could make the Assistant Nurse-Midwife's role more appropriate to its social and cultural setting.