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CONFERENCES

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 88TH ANNUAL MEETING November, 1989 Washington, D.C. Selected Abstracts

PANEL: REACTION AND RESISTANCE: WOMEN'S RESPONSES TO OPPRESSION AND INEQUALITY

ENSLIN, Elizabeth (Stanford)
REGENERATING WOMEN'S SPACES IN NEPAL

Through a recent struggle to claim public land on which to build a meeting and training center, women in rural Nepal are actively regenerating their social and cultural spaces in an emerging capitalist system. The study is based on 12 months of field research and participation in a women's literacy program in Chitwan, Nepal. It combines both material and symbolic analysis for a fresh approach to theoretical debates on the nature of social inequality and resistance in capitalist development.

PANEL: INTERPRETATION AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

DESCHENE, Mary (Stanford)
"TAMPERING WITH THEIR LOYALTY": THE GURKHAS AND ANTICOLONIAL DISCOURSE IN INDIA

From the 1920's attempts were made to recruit the Gurkha soldiers in British service into both the Indian National Congress and Indian National Army struggles for Indian independence. I examine the forms of anticolonial discourse employed to win over the Gurkhas to these movements showing that while this discourse emerged in response to British colonialism, it nonetheless drew upon indigenous models of society for its persuasive force. To understand the "imagined communities" invoked in this discourse, an interpretative approach that attends to local systems of meaning is combined with an analysis of the political-economic context of imperial domination.

PANEL: MARRIAGE: STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE

McHUGH, Ernestine L (UC-San Diego)
GENDER AND KNOWING IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF GURUNG MARRIAGE

Examination of the dynamics of marriage arrangement among the Gurungs of Nepal reveals that women's networks of information and understandings derived from domestic experience are critical factors in designing marriages which will contribute to village solidarity and uphold patriarchal authority. This paper examines two cases of marriage arrangement which shed light on problems of gender and ideology in Gurung society.

PANEL: MARRIAGE, POLITICS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF INEQUALITY: FROM THE HIMALAYAS TO CENTRAL ASIA

This panel examines marriage as a key to organizing social inequality in five Nepal ethnic groups. Papers consider the implications of marriage exchange within contexts of local history, politics and overall structure of social relations. These societies differ in egalitarian ideology, normative marriage exchanges and relations with the Nepali state. Four papers consider these issues among Tibeto-Burman Groups practicing variations in classical exchange forms of marriage; a fifth provides a comparison from the perspective of high caste marriage.

FRICKE, Thomas E (Michigan)

ELEMENTARY STRUCTURES IN THE HIMALAYAS: RECIPROCITY AND THE POLITICS OF HIERARCHY IN GHALE-TAMANG MARRIAGE

Tamang bilateral cross-cousin marriage ratifies the ideology of patriline equality. In Timling, however, the Tamang have entered into marriage exchanges with a single clan of related by "ethnically" distinct people called Ghale whose own ideology reflects notions of hierarchy contradicting Tamang egalitarianism. This paper examines marriage dynamics between Ghale and Tamang in light of this contradiction. Special attention is given to enduring cross-generational links, differential marriage timing and the content of marriage exchange within the structure of village politics.

GRAY, John (Adelaide)

MARRIAGE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF HIERARCHY AND GENDER IN BAHUN-CHHETRI HOUSEHOLDS

This paper concerns a Chhetri hamlet in the Kathmandu Valley. Among Bahun-Chhetris, marriage is central to the establishment of the household and the definition of gender relations which are not monolithic in character. In relation to marriage, Chhetri men construct their sisters and wives as different forms of women. Accordingly, different paradigms of hierarchy obtain and different forms of ritual relations are appropriate. The paper concludes that the household is the primary context in which Bahun-Chhetris culturally constitute the interpenetration of hierarchy and gender relations.

HOLMBERG, David H (Cornell)

HIERARCHY AND EQUALITY IN TAMANG MARRIAGE EXCHANGES

Western Tamang practice bilateral cross-cousin marriage and state a preference to patrilineal cross-cousins. Although cross-cousin marriage is coupled in exchange theory with an ethos of balanced reciprocity and social equality, temporary hierarchies are inherent to the system. This paper examines the relations between mha or "sister's husbands" and ashyang-shyangpo or "mother's brothers-wife's brothers" in reference to their hierarchical opposition and the implications of these inequalities for Tamang social thought. Particular attention will be accorded to the exchanges of services and goods during mortuary feasts.

LEVINE, Nancy E (UC-Los Angeles)

HIERARCHY, MARRIAGE AND THE LIMITS OF STATE SYSTEMS

While cross-cousin marriage is common in societies at the margins of the Tibetan polity and historical data suggest its presence in Tibet prior to the establishment of a centralized state, it is anathema and constitutes incest in modern Tibet. The reasons for this contrast can be found in the differing ways inequality is structured in independent small-scale societies and centralized states. Associated with these differences in systems of kinship, alliance and social inequality or contrary systems of marriage payments (bridewealth vs dowry) and relations between husband's and wife's groups (hypogamy vs hypergamy), which also rest on essential contrasts in the social dynamics of such societies.

MOLNAR, Augusta M (World Bank)

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE AMONG THE KHAM MAGAR

The pattern of matrilineal, cross-cousin marriage followed by the Kham Magar of Nepal has important implications for women's roles and status in Kham Magar society. Systems of cooperative labor exchange, postmarital groom service, and gender-linked division of labor between agricultural and extra-village livestock herding activities all result in a relatively high status for women and considerable range of options in terms of economic strategies and residence choice.

PANEL: THE DEATH PENALTY AND OTHER SOCIALLY SANCTIONED KILLING

Literature on lethal violence has concentrated on instances in which the victim's group responds to the killing with protest or retaliation, such as in war, feud and murder. Less attention has been given to instances when a society demands or permits the death of its own members, such as in capital punishment, infanticide and killing of the aged and infirm. Panelists will discuss such cases with respect to criteria of group membership, relationship between killer and killed, community response and whether such deaths are actually demanded by the group or merely tolerated.

FRENCH, Rebecca (Harvard Law and Yale)

BY THE COMMAND OF THE BUDDHA: THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY IN TIBET IN 1900

The 13th Dalai Lama of Tibet abolished capital punishment to bring Tibetan law more in line with Buddhism's prohibition against killing. This religious position conflicted with several other cultural beliefs: severe punishment was considered an effective deterrent, officials were expected to prevent criminal actions, and they also took on karmic consequences for both punishment and the harmful effects of leniency. Some of the Tibetan resolutions to these contradictions over the first half of the 20th century will be explained with case studies.

PANEL: SYMBOL AND MEANING IN HEALTH AND ILLNESS

PIGG, Stacy L (Cornell)

HERE, THERE AND EVERYWHERE: PLACE AND PERSON IN NEPALESE EXPLANATIONS OF ILLNESS

This paper examines social models implicit in Nepalese villagers' conceptions of illness. In Nepal, illness is attributed to a complex and fragmented plurality of supernatural and physiological causes, yet every locale elaborates these causes differently. Drawing on one locale's discourse on illness, this paper considers the relationship between particularistic causes (illnesses that strike because of who and where a person is) and universal ones. Through the idiom of illness, villagers talk about how they are like and unlike people of other villages and other countries. At issue for villagers is their place within the culturally diverse national state of Nepal and their relation, as rural peasants, to the "developed" world.

PANEL: A DIACHRONIC VIEW OF THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

NOWAK, Margi (Puget Sound)

TO RESCUE MEANING, IF NOT THE HOMELAND: TIBETAN REFUGEES 30 YEARS LATER

For refugees, loss of the homeland has painfully real, literal consequences, but in addition, the loss of "the homeland" as a taken-for-granted source of cultural identity is a problem of symbolic significance as well, involving what interpretation theorists would call "the loss of the naivete of the first certainty." In examining this issue and the responses it has engendered among Tibetan refugees, this paper will identify strategies used by these people to "rescue" the meaning of their cultural self-definition as Tibetan who have nevertheless been living, for 30 years, outside their homeland of Tibet.

PANEL: MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

CALKOWSKI, Marcia (Indiana-Purdue Fort Wayne)

DETERMINING INDETERMINACY: GAMBLING AND THE NEGOTIATION OF AUTHORITATIVE VOICE IN TIBETAN REFUGEE SOCIETY

Among Tibetan refugees living in India, gambling excites public disapprobation while enjoying a burgeoning popularity. A significant rationale grounding this disapprobation charges that gambling consumes the merit (bsod-nams) of the players; thereby inhibiting their ability to gain legitimate ascent in the status hierarchy by obtaining good rebirths. However, while gambling suppresses one code of hierarchical ascent, it engages a dialogue between two alternative codes of status legitimation. Further, gambling provides the only public arena for the negotiation of authority through praxis; thus, it generates ambivalence.

PANEL: MEDICAL PLURALISM, CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF ILLNESS AND CHOICES IN CARE

JANES, Craig R (Colorado-Denver)

FROM MONASTIC ORTHODOXY TO SECULAR PROFESSIONALISM: THE SINIFICATION OF TIBETAN MEDICINE

Derived theoretically from the "great tradition" medical systems of India and China, Tibetan medicine is a humoral-based healing tradition that is associated historically with Buddhist monastic scholarship. Subsequent to the Chinese takeover of Tibet 1951, and particularly after 1965, Tibetan medicine underwent profound changes. Based on interviews with practitioners of Tibetan medicine in urban Lhasa, the contemporary status of Tibetan medicine in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) of China is described, and the role of Tibetan medicine as a healing resource in the ethnically pluralistic urban environment of Lhasa is explored. Tibetan medicine, as sanctioned and supported by the TAR government, is shown to have been transformed under Chinese influence through expansion and secularization.

PANEL: REPRODUCTION: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY STUDIES

SCHLAGER, Catherine J (Boston)

HEALTH SEEKING STRATEGIES OF NEPALI WOMEN

Self-care and home care administered by female relatives is the norm among Newari women of Dhulikhel, Nepal. These preferences are particularly striking when women's prenatal, delivery and postnatal care choices are examined. Conclusions are based on a stratified, random sample survey of 330 households which targeted female respondents for one-on-one interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted with 37 women who had delivered within the last year; detailed information on maternal habits, health and childbirth practices was gathered. Women's health care choices may reflect social constraints related to their role and status within the family structure more than an informed decision-making process which weighs the advantages and disadvantages of the town's existing health care options. Access to resources outside the family is marginal. Creating demand is, therefore, only one aspect of the problem. Meeting unvoiced demand through appropriate outreach services is another.

PANEL: STUDIES OF CONFLICT OVER PERSONAL PROPERTY, LAND AND WATER RESOURCES

GILBERT, Kate (Yale)

DISSOLUTION OF THE NEPALESE FAMILY: LEGAL RIGHTS AND SOCIAL STRATEGIES

Examines the relation between formal division of joint family property (aungsa), individual rights in property and the individual's strategic orientation to the family. The anticipation of aungsa produces seemingly idiosyncratic histories of intra-family theft or abuse. These are often individual strategies which aim at control of the aungsa: its timing, issues and outcome. The intersection of such strategies with abstract rights in property forms the subtext of the positions officially articulated by family members and mediators in the final, legal, property division.

PANEL: ECOLOGICAL INFLUENCES ON DIET AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS

The links between critical environmental variables, the characteristics of potential food resources, the selection, acquisition and utilization of particular resources, and the nutritional implications of the food resources selected will be examined in the session. Abiotic and biotic factors, as well as cultural factors, operating at several levels of scale, are assumed to influence exploitation strategies of populations. What influences the selection of foods in the diet? How far can cultural preferences vs environmental factors explain resources used as food.

BEALL, Cynthia M, and Melvyn C GOLDSTEIN (Case Western Reserve)

CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF DIET AMONG NOMADIC PASTORALISTS IN WESTERN TIBET AT 4850-5450M

Weighed intake data during all seasons from 96 persons are used describe intra-cultural (age, sex, class) and seasonal variation in the nomads' dietary intake. Emic and etic categories of food resources are delimited and analyzed with regard to the interface between cultural preferences and environmental constraints.

GITTELSON, Joel (Johns Hopkins)

SOCIOCULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINANTS OF FOOD ACQUISITION AND CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOR IN HIGHLAND NEPAL

In Dadagaon panchayat, almost 200 different kinds of grains, legumes, fruits, vegetables, animal products and manufactured foods are consumed annually. While most of these foods are limited by season, of foods available in any week, inter-household variation in their acquisition and consumption was observed. These differences appear to be based on the caste, economic status and microenvironment of each household. Additionally, intra-household variation in food consumptive behavior exists between different types of household members. This variation in food consumptive behavior exists between different types of household members. This variation appears related primarily to sociocultural factors, including food prescriptions and restrictions, and the valuation of certain household members over other, associated with age, sex and kin relationship.

PANEL: WHEN LIFE IS HARD: CULTURAL FORMS OF COPING AND HEALING

DESJARLAIS, Robert R (UC-Los Angeles)

SADNESS, SOUL LOSS AND HEALING AMONG THE YOLMO SHERPA

The Yolmo Sherpa of Helambu, Nepal, often experience illness in the form of soul loss; in order to retrieve such a lost souls a shaman needs to search for and "call" it back. Based on recent field research, this paper examines how various emotional dynamics prevalent in this society--among them an "ethos" of sadness expressed particularly through "songs of sadness"--may bear upon the phenomenon of soul loss and help to explain the efficacy of shamanic healing.

GOMBO, Ugen (SUNY-Stony Brook)

TIBETAN GTUMO AND GCOD MEDITATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF IMAGERY, CONSCIOUSNESS AND REALITY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Gtumo and gcod are two Tibetan Buddhist meditations which involve extremely rich imagery, complex and systematic methods and rigorous training (both in Buddhist philosophy and practice). Both are specifically designed for attaining practical and/or psychic experiential goals. The paper maintains and demonstrates that during these meditations, the truly adept seek and experience "altered states of consciousness." The Tibetan case is then discussed in the context of anthropological theories of the nature of "altered states of consciousness" (cf, Bourguignon 1966, 1972, 1973).

PANEL: WOMEN AND WORK: IDENTITY, STATUS AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

CAMERON, Mary (Michigan State)

LANDLESSNESS AND SURVIVAL IN NEPAL'S FAR WEST: LOW CASTE WOMEN AND WORK

The structure of economic relations among Nepal's castes is gender variable, and derives from the direct correlation between caste and landholding status. Descriptive and survey data collected over ten months of research show that low-caste women's work is not "occupational caste"--defined, but varies considerably. Thus, the position that low-caste women's social and economic "autonomy" derives from landless impoverishment will be argued against the common belief that low-caste women are necessarily free from purity ideal constraints.

18TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

ON SOUTH ASIA

MADISON, WISCONSIN

November 3-5, 1989

Selected Abstracts

PANEL: CULTURE AND CONTEXT IN TAMANG CHILDBEARING, CHILDCARE AND PARENTING (NEPAL)

FRICKE, TOM (University of Michigan)

DOMESTIC STRUCTURE, MONETIZATION AND INTERGENERATIONAL CASH FLOWS

Theories of demographic transitions are based on a dichotomy between "traditional" society in which all people produce for a common household fund and a transitional society in which individuals begin to produce for their own interests. Analysis of intergenerational cash exchange in two Tamang Villages with differently histories in wage labor suggest that this is too simple. Transferring money from wage labor is shown to follow a cultural logic embedded in already existing social relations with interests defined by established cycles of household development and the life course positions of household members.

HOLMBERG, DAVID (Cornell University)

CHILD DEVOURING DEMONS, ORPHANS AND OTHER EVILS

This paper addresses in detail the myth and ritual surrounding a female demon known as Mhamho and other related constructions of evil among the western Tamang of highland Nepal. Mhamho is a central figure in the household-level exorcisms of shamans (*bombos*) and lamas. She is of particular interest because she consumes the children of humans in order to feed her own. The logic of the paper is that the mythic transgressions figured in Mhamho and related evils inform our understanding of human relations. These evils, however, are not simply transparent inversions of cultural norms but are part of a complex field of meaning which envelopes parent/children relations and human relations in general. The paper explores alternate modes of explicating inversions embodied in the figures of evil. Moreover, the ritual expulsion of Mhamho which assures well-being and health reveals key dimensions of the Tamang construction of bodies, food, and health.

MARCH, KATHRYN S. (Cornell University)

TAMANG PARENTING; MOTHERS AND FATHERS, FAMILIES AND SELVES

Two primary issues are at stake in this analysis of Tamang parenting. The cultural construction of biology and the affect associated with it. This paper looks at western Tamang ideas about maternity and paternity first in relation to one another and the childbearing through which they are created. It also describes parenting in relation to ideas about family formation, reproduction and the transmission of bodily essence, property, and other attributes of identity. Finally, it considers the importance of sentiments of affection and nurture to these constructions.

PANTER-BRICK, CATHERINE (Oxford University)

CHILDCARE AND CHILD WELL-BEING

Tamang subsistence work entails a pattern of high mobility on the mountainside and lengthy separation of the spouses in the day-time. In spite of settlement in large villages, there are few alternative care-takers except at the place work. Tamang babies are carried by the mother and breast-fed during her habitual activity. Older children, weaned in their third year of life, stay with siblings of peers. Children's growth is hampered by the seasonal incidence of diarrheal diseases and the low energy content of supplementary foods, and they develop to be small but stout adults. Birth-spacing considerably reduces infancy and child mortality. Constraints on child-care among the Tamang, and the success of their childcare strategies, are evaluated.

PANEL: CHANGING CULTURAL GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERNS IN SOUTH ASIA

SHRESTHA, MOHAN N. (Bowling Green State University)

IMPACT OF BOUNDARY CHANGES ON POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NEPAL

Since 1952, regional and district boundaries of Nepal have changed five times. However, the Central Bureau of Statistics of His Majesty's Government of Nepal did not make any adjustment to any of the earlier census data. As such it is impossible to make any meaningful spatial and temporal comparisons of demographic and economic variables. An attempt is made in this paper to adjust these boundary changes that took place between 1971 and 1981, and to analyze the population growth and change at the district level since 1971.

PANEL: CONGRESSES, COMMUNITIES, AND THE COUNTER-COLONIAL DISCOURSE IN INDIAN NATIONALISM

DES CHENE, MARY (Stanford University)

INDIAN NATIONALISM, NEPALI NATIONALISM, AND THE GURKHAS

In the struggle for Indian independence the military was perceived as a critical element by both non-violent and "revolutionary" nationalists. It was clearly vital to the continuation of British rule; conversely the support of Indian Army troops might have brought a quick, if violent, end to that rule. Efforts were made, through speeches, the dissemination of literature, and other means, to win over both serving and retired soldiers to a variety of counter-colonial causes. This paper details the arguments directed at the Gurkhas in particular and explores the nature of the communities invoked in the attempts to persuade these soldiers--who were, after all, foreign nationals--to join in the Indian struggles. The Gurkhas were at the same time being recruited by the exiled Nepalis who sought, through political organizations inspired by Indian liberation, Indian and Nepalese, had many elements in common, yet they presented the Gurkhas with conflicting versions of "nationalism", "brotherhood" and "community." I argue that the contradictions internal to these counter-colonial discourses had an unintended consequence: they facilitated British efforts to keep the Gurkhas as a force apart from communal interests, and thus especially suited to defending the Raj.

PANEL: ISSUES IN ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

MITTAL, A.K. (Kumaun University)

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL HIMALAYAN REGION OF INDIA DURING THE COLONIAL RULE

The Central Himalayan Region is an integral part of Indian heritage. From the administrative point of view this area is divided into two Divisions, i.e., Kumaon and Garhwal. It consists of eight hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Being situated on the border of Nepal and Tibet, the strategic significance of this area is beyond doubt. From historical viewpoint this area remains relatively unexplored till now. The rugged topography and terrain had made communication extremely difficult resulting, to a certain extent, in an insular outlook and an indigenous economic history. The Central Himalayan region was ruled first by many dynasties and then by the British. The British conquered this area in 1815 from the Gorkhas of Nepal and ruled here till the independence of India. The common adage "necessity is the mother of invention" could nowhere be better illustrated than in the economic life of the Central Himalayan people. The tremendous difficulties of the environment had not, as might be imagined, been able to suppress the initiative and the energy of man. The picturesque terrace of the Himalayan slopes that greet the eyes of the traveller represent an extraordinary degree of strenuous toil. The Central Himalayan region was an agricultural area and much of the economic life of the people depended upon their land and its cultivation. Besides agriculture, tea, iron, wool and trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet were some industries which existed during the colonial rule in this area. After the annexation of the Central Himalayan region, the British introduced drastic changes in the existing conditions related to the economic life of the people. The only rich natural reserves of this region, i.e. forests were fully exploited through contract system. Human resource development was also crucified for safeguarding the interests of the British Empire. The proposed paper brings to light the economic life of the Central Himalayan people which was hitherto, not known. It also throws light upon the changes made by the colonial rulers and its impact upon the society. It is interesting to note that the British economic policy for this region was different from the one which was implemented in the other parts of India. Why this discrimination was made and how it worked has also been analyzed and discussed.

PANEL: KUMAON: PAST AND PRESENT

AGRAWAL, C.M. (Kumaun University)

SOME ASPECTS OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KUMAON AND THE MUGHAL DARBAR

The present paper purports to highlight as to how a chieftainship in a marginal area, such as Kumaon, strove to maintain its politico-economic and cultural identity against the Imperialistic designs of the Mughals. In the course of roughly 140 years (from the time of Rudra Chandra - 1569-1597 A.D., to Jnana Chandra - 1698-1708 A.D.) the politically farsighted Kumaoni rulers successfully tackled this stupendous task in a very diplomatic manner, such as paying personal visits to the Mughal Darbar, presentation of precious gifts, etc. In return, the Mughals not only allowed the Kumaoni chiefs to maintain their independent identity but also helped them in critical times. The long and continued friendly relations of the Kumaoni kings with the Mughal emperors created a great stir and brought various changes in the social, economic and political spheres of Kumaoni society. Epigraphic evidence shows as to how technical Persian words were used in the Chandra records. In economic sphere local trade and commerce prospered considerably during this period as is evident from the fact that Kumaon is noted for its several products in the A'in. The diplomatic approach of Kumaoni kings was practiced and according to the needs of the hour. They had to survive and maintain their independent identity in the teeth of their warring neighbors. To successfully meet this critical situation the Kumaoni kings adopted a very wise practical and diplomatic approach by adopting the policy of reconciliation and submission towards the Mughals and of blood and iron towards the weaker neighboring adversaries.

JOSHI, MAHESHWAR P. (Kumaun University)
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JUMAON HIMALAYA UNDER THE CHANDRAS: AN
INTRODUCTORY STUDY"

Historians and sociologists, depending on the traditional account of local history have considered Kumaon as a refuge area where people from plains of India migrated in successive waves. Recent exploratory work in the Central Himalayan region (particularly Kumaon-Garhwal) suggests that it was not a refuge area (Joshi, Maheshwar P. 1989. Morphogenesis of Kunindas (cir. 200 B.C. - cir. 300 A.D.): A Numismatic Overview, Shree Almora Book Depot, Almora). In fact it was a nucleus of a society which had its genesis and growth in the geographically circumscribed Himalayan region. It maintained its social, economic and political identity through the ages. In pan-Indian context when the mighty Mughals had subjugated nearly the whole of Northern India, Kumaon-Garhwal remained an independent identity. No doubt Kumaon Sarkar is referred to as part of the Delhi suba in A'in, but it never surrendered its political, economic and social identity to the Mughals. The present paper is based on the original source-material belonging to the local Chandra rajas of Kumaon who ruled between fourteenth and eighteenth century A.D. These sources indicate a three stage land-ownership under the tenure Kaimi, (tenant cultivator), Asami (potential land owner) and jagira-holders (rent-free land granted by the King). Further, the economic structure of Kumaon during this period had four tiers. In the lowest level were the manual laborers, next to them were tenant-cultivators and artisans, above them were the potential land-owners. On the top of it was the raja. The economic system was based on the principle of "reciprocity and redistribution." The documents used in the study are an indispensable source of Indian social and economic history. The paper contains 9 tables showing taxes, administrative offices, Central, Provincial and Local Level taxes/obligations, etc. These are based on nearly 80 inscriptions and five archival registers.

PANDE, P.C. and PANDE, RAJNISH (Kumaun University)
IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON THE SOCIAL VALUES OF THE PEOPLE OF
KUMAUN HIMALAYA: SPECIAL REFERENCE FEMALE POPULATION"

Before independence in Kumaon hills religion, caste and sex of an individual had an important role in determining the nature of work he performed in society. Earlier, the labor force in agricultural fields, mines and plantations, was generally provided by the lowest castes, depressed classes and the unfortunate ones in the society, although the economic conditions of the so-called high class people was also not enviable. Free movements of the female members of family were highly restricted. they were not allowed to work and talk with outsiders especially with males. But after independence we notice district change in the social outlook of the people of Kumaon, thanks to industrialization. Women workers are now increasingly taking industrial work--both skilled and semi-skilled. Since the scope of the present paper is very wide, we have confined our studies to female industrial labor force of Kumaon region (Pithoragarh, Almora and Nainital districts U.P.). The primary aim of the paper is to study the socio-economic background of the female workers engaged in the industries in Kumaon. To make our studies more meaningful and scientific, we have analyzed the female labor force in the region district-wise under the following heads: 1. Distribution of women labor force district and industry-wise. 2. Age structure of women laborers. 3. Marital status of women laborers. 4. Religious composition of women laborers. 5. Caste composition of women laborers. 6. Educational status of women laborers. 7. Migration of women laborers depending on push and pull factors. 8. Wages of female laborers. 9. Indebtedness of the female workers in industrial units. The point enumerated above have been treated in detail in the paper. The paper is based on the field-work carried out by the authors for last several months.

PANEL: MULTIVALENCE AND IDENTITY: THE GODS AND THEIR WORSHIPPERS IN KATHMANDU VALLEY SOCIETY

ELLINGSON, TER, (University of Washington)

FORMS OF A FORMLESS GOD: MULTIVALENCE AND FLEXIBILITY IN NEWAR CULTURE

The Newar god Nasadya: presents the paradoxical appearance of an essentially formless god who can take many forms. Identifiable with the highest of Hindu and Buddhist deities, he nevertheless appears most characteristically in the form of animal horns, eyes, and hole in the wall, as an invisible dances, the vitalizing power of musical instruments, and the force of personal charisma. His universal worship under many different forms and interpretations promotes a cultural flexibility which allows the construction of meanings and identities suited to different religious and social strategies, and which suggests a cultural identity built not so much on a system of shared meanings as on a system of shared symbols and contrasting, but potentially harmonizable, responses.

ILTIS, LINDA L. (University of Washington)

NINETEEN GODS, EIGHT CHOSTS, AND TWO DOGS: MASKED GODS AND MULTIPLE MEANINGS IN NEWAR RELIGION

When a Newar masked god walks onstage, the audience sees a single mask, but they assign it different meanings. The other gods, wearing other masks, likewise differ in their interpretations of one another; but only the man behind the mask knows the "inside" story of his own identity--and he is sworn to secrecy! How, then, do the masked gods construct a shared world in their common performance; how do their fellow townspeople in the audience share it with them; and how do outsiders, who may never even have seen the performance, form yet other interpretations and strong opinions about it? This paper will examine the issues of shared experience and multiple meanings in relation to the "nineteen gods, eight ghosts, and two dogs" of Harisiddhi, and the lineages of other religious performances.

OWENS, BRUCE (Columbia University)

POWER AND PROXIMITY: DIVINE MULTIVALENCE AND THE SOCIOPOLITICS OF RITUAL AND BELIEF AMONG THE NEWAR

Ethnographers of South Asian societies have often relied upon texts written by and elite for an elite, the privilege perspectives of elders, or the one-sided view of males to provide a conveniently uniform portrait of beliefs purportedly shared by many. Such strategies, however, yield depictions of belief systems which are distorted by a lack of concern for the sociopolitical component of religious belief and the variation which it inspires. Beliefs about one of the most important deities worshipped in the Kathmandu Valley vary considerably among the god's most ardent devotees. This paper compares the conflicting beliefs of those who play four different key roles in the annual festival of this god. This comparison demonstrates the importance of acknowledging intra-cultural diversity in religious belief, and serves to identify fundamental features of religious belief which are shared by diverse segments of Newar society. The social identities of festival participants are marked by their ritually-accorded proximity to divinity and divine power, just as the participants' beliefs about the multivalent god they honor reflect the possibilities and limitations of their social status.

PANEL: NATIONAL PARKS AS A RESPONSE TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS IN NEPAL

BISHOP, NAOMI H. (University of Massachusetts-Boston)

NATIONAL PARKS AND PEOPLE: LIVING IN THE LANGTANG NATIONAL PARK

The Langtang National park is in its twentieth year, yet it was only implemented in the Helambu valley (Sindu Palchowk district) during the past three years. Research in a Helambu village during winter 1989 resulted in observations of the early period of adjustment to life in a National Park. This paper focuses on a single village and views the adjustment to the rules and regulations of the National Park as one facet of a shift toward greater contact with and participation in the national affairs of Nepal. The policies of the National Park have and impact on the livelihood of villagers, through regulations involving transhumant herding, collection of firewood, fodder and building materials, and regulation of

interactions with tourists, to name a few. This paper discusses the real, imagined, and anticipated impact of these regulations in this village, in light of the rapid social changes that are occurring independently of the National Park presence.

BROWER, BARBARA (University of Texas-Austin)

"MANAGING ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS IN SAGARMANTHA NATIONAL PARK"

A widely shared perception of acute environmental crisis in Khumbu Himal led western-trained resource managers to join His Majesty's Government of Nepal in the planning, establishment, and ongoing management of Sagarmatha (Mt. Everest) National Park. An underlying sense of urgency led the park's planners to a hasty imposition of imported management ideology and technique. Park planning and management, predicated on an apparently erroneous assessment of the nature, degree, and pace of environmental deterioration in Khumbu, initially both failed to address actual environmental problems in the park and undermined indigenous practices of resource management.

METZ, JOHN J. (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

A REASSESSMENT OF THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF DEFORESTATION IN NEPAL

Recent detailed studies have suggested that the causes of deforestation in Nepal extend centuries into the past and involve the tax extraction policies of the government as well as the subsistence activities of mountain farmers. Although contemporary forest degradation is primarily due to local farmers, policies of the Nepalese government and of international donors continue to influence resource use and must be included in any comprehensive explanation of environmental degradation. Additional studies of mass wasting and flooding question the impact of deforestation on land degradation. Although conclusive evidence does not exist, flooding, erosion, and sedimentation may not be as severe as earlier reports suggested. This paper will review these studies and suggest the ways that local people are adjusting to resource shortages.

PANEL: OMNIBUS

CAMERON, MARY M. (Kathmandu, Nepal)

SELLING DAUGHTERS': CASTE, GENDER AND MARRIAGE IN WESTERN NEPAL

With the current attention being focused on large dowry demands and their consequences for India's women, the inverse practice of "selling daughters" (chori Betchnay) poses equally important questions of its effects on the status of Nepal's Hindu women, and the nature of patriarchy in South Asia. Receiving payment for a daughter's marriage contradicts ideals of Hindu marriage alliance and kanyadan, but economic necessity motivates this still common practice among landless and lower castes. Furthermore, the common practice of selling daughters reveals gender-based dimensions of caste identity, caste and class conflict, and recent social change. Data from marital surveys, life history interviews, and observance of pre-marital negotiations among several caste groups in Nepal's far western hills will be presented to answer such questions as: Which castes most frequently request money for their daughters at marriage, and what motivates them to do so? How are requests negotiated? Do amounts vary by caste? What is the social consensus about selling daughters. How do "sold" daughters feel about it? Does "selling daughters" constitute the anthropological equivalent of brideprice. And finally, what is the effect of such a practice on women's future relations with their in-laws and their maiti? Since women of low caste are more economically and socially independent than their high-caste counterparts, the practice of selling daughters needs to be considered in the larger context of the economic determinants of inter-caste variation in women's status. The practice of selling daughters in rural Nepal will be compared and contrasted to marital practices in the rest of South Asia, and will be analytically situated within the theoretical frameworks of research and literature on the social construction of gender.

DABLA, BASHIR A. (University of Kashmir)

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE AMONG WOMEN: A STUDY OF THE KASHMIRI MUSLIM WORKING WOMEN

Women in all developing societies have undergone a certain degree of transformation leading to the change in their traditional role and status. This may be explained partly by the impact of process/es of modernization, westernization and so on. As is generally believed, this change has proved helpful to the women's situation. But, at the same time, sociological studies have revealed some aspects of change which have not proved helpful to the women's situation. These aspects have made the change among women complex. The women in the Kashmiri Muslim society have experienced high/low degree of social change. These processes of change among women have started with solid structural/institutional basis. The new role and status of the working women in Kashmir is one of the major manifestations of these processes. Our empirical study of 200 women in the Kashmir valley, carried out during the period 1986-1988, revealed significant change in their attitudes and behavior-patterns. While the attitude change reflected in the changing attitudes about segregation of sexes, practice of purdah, modern education, marriage customs and so on, the behavioral change manifested in changing practices/patterns of marriage, family, kinship, entertainment, inter-generational relationship and general life-style. Moreover, this change among women in Kashmir has coincided with the emergence of new problems for them in home and outside. The Kashmiri women in the traditional situation faced one set of problems like complete dependence, absolute segregation of sexes, restrictions for education, and so on. Now, in the changing situation, they faced other sets of problems like discrimination/harassment at place of work, late marriage, generation gap and breakdown of traditional family and kinship. The changing attitudes and behavior-patterns and emerging problems of the Muslim working women in Kashmir leads us to say that women in Kashmir pass through a stage of transition.

PIGG, STACY LEIGH (Cornell University)

HERE THERE AND EVERYWHERE: PLACE AND PERSON IN NEPALESE EXPLANATIONS OF ILLNESS

This paper examines social models implicit in Nepalese villagers' conceptions of illness. Throughout the middle hills of Nepal, illness is attributed to a complex and fragmented plurality of supernatural and physiological causes, yet every locale elaborates these causes differently. The ethnographic literature shows that, within broadly homologous frameworks for explaining illness, the names and attributes of illness-causing ghosts and deities vary from region to region and ethnic group to ethnic group. Research in one locale in eastern Nepal suggests that people there interpret these differences not as a sign of divergent cultural world views but as a consequence of inevitable differences between people's positions in the world. Drawing on this locale's discourse on illness, this paper considers the relationship between particularistic causes (illnesses that strike because of who and where a person is) and universal ones (illnesses that occur everywhere in the same way). Knowledge about the kinds and causes of illnesses contains within it a indigenous theory of pluralism. Through the idiom of illness, villagers talk about how they are like and unlike people of other villagers and, importantly, others countries. At issue for villagers is their place within the culturally diverse nation-state of Nepal and their relation, as rural peasants, to the "developed" world.

RIPLEY, ABBY (New Milford, Connecticut)

FOOD AS RITUAL IN BUDDHIST LADAKH

In a society in which scarcity is a real contingency of life, food assumes great importance in Ladakh. This concern with food goes beyond the perennial food deficits in many households to be extraordinary activities and attitudes associated with food itself, making it, perforce, an exemplar of societal dynamics. Food is the medium of social exchange and spiritual entreaty. No event is enacted without the offering and/or consumption of food. Therefore, as a mode of habitual performance, food becomes a ritual and as such will be followed through various cultural contexts, past and present, with an attempt to discover to what extent the secular ritual mirrors the sacred one.

PANEL: RECENT RESEARCH IN HIMALAYAN AND NEPAL STUDIES

BERNARD, ELISABETH (College of Wooster)
ORIGIN OF CHINNAMASTA

Chinnamasta is a Buddhist and Hindu Tantric deity found in Tibet, Nepal, and northern India, primarily in Bengal, Bihar, and Himachal Pradesh states. Though she has been worshipped, at least, since the tenth century she remains shrouded in mystery. Who is this goddess, what does her iconography symbolize, and where does she come from? In this paper I shall elaborate on the latter question--what is Chinnamasta's origin, as well as, was she originally Buddhist or Hindu. Considering archaeological, artistic, and textual evidences, I have concluded the earliest proof is textual--primarily from Tibetan Buddhist sadhanas and the Bengali Sakta Mahabhagavata Purana. The principal articles on Chinnamasta's origin have been written by Benyotosh Bhattacharyya who formulated the theory that some Hindu deities were originally Buddhist. He based his theory on evidence from the Sadhanamala but he never investigated the Tibetan nor the Nepalese sources. I shall discuss B. Bhattacharyya's theory and others vis a vis the manuscripts recently found in Nepal and the sadhanas in the Tibetan Tengyur.

PEHARI, ANUP (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
STATES IN REGIONAL CONFLICT: PERSPECTIVES ON INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS

While it has been the trend to study international and regional relations between nations in light of the influence exerted on them by major world industrial powers, it is both relevant and necessary to view many of the emerging conflicts in the developing world mainly in terms of the historical and current nature of regional political and economic ties. Many scholars have correctly pointed out that the developing nations cannot be thought of as a mass of undifferentiated political and economic units. Even a cursor survey of the major continents of the globe, Asia, Africa, and South America, should make it plain that developing nations are diversely equipped in terms of natural resources, political institutions and economic development. One of the major consequences of this differential endowment of natural, political and economic potential is that regional relations are increasingly molded by the forces generated at the level of intra-regional political and economic interaction. States in the developing countries, each emerging as some function of the historical equations resolved in the process of arriving into the modern world, have played a very important part in furthering and concretizing resource and power differences between themselves. States, whether or not they reflect the interests of particular classes in society, can and do make decisions on their own to further what the state elites consider to be vital to their strategic interests in a given region and also globally. Regional conflict between nations, thus, must be viewed in great part, as conflict arising between two states whose leaders resort to extra-diplomatic means to further their interests and consciously or unconsciously the interests of various social classes. A significant conflict of state interests is currently being laid out in South Asia between India and Nepal. Reflecting years of accumulated grievances against each other, both parties "agreed" to let the 1951 treaty of trade and transit expire on March 23, 1989. As a result all formal trade relations between the two countries were suspended. At the heart of the dispute lies Nepal's desire to have two separate treaties on trade and transit, to reduce dependence in India and to exercise its power over all domestic issues without India's interference. India, for a number of reasons that will be discussed in detail in the paper, does not view very favorably this bid by Nepal to move away from traditional ties with India. This paper proposes to analyze the current diplomatic, political and economic impasse between Nepal and India, its historical roots, its present dimensions and its possible impact on future Indo-Nepal relations. A central focus of the paper will be the nature of the state and state elites in the two countries and the possible class bases underlying the actions of the two states. I will also discuss the range of consequences for Nepal for whom this constitutes the major economic crisis after formal statehood in 1951 and may well have significant political spillover. Finally, I will attempt to show that inter-third-world relations must be studied from a level that allows for an understanding of both regional and global bases of conflict, rather than one that accords primary value to the traditional bipolar strategy of viewing the globe.

SHRESTHA, NANDA R. (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)
TOWARDS A THEORY OF LANDLESSNESS IN AGRARIAN SOCIETIES

The issue of landlessness has emerged as a growing problem in the Tarai region of Nepal. The issues is closely related to increasing frontier migration which, in terms of volume, is the most dominant form of migration in contemporary Nepal. Frontier migration largely constitutes hill migrants who move to the Tarai region in the search of farm land. The proposed study will focus on how frontier migration leads to increasing landlessness on the frontier. In other works, the main objective her will be to develop a theory of landlessness in agrarian societies. The study will be based on the field survey data as well as the author's personal observations of the ongoing trend in the central Tarai region of Nepal.

SHRESTHA, UMA (Ball State University)
NEWARI-NEPALI DIGLOSSIA: A CASE STUDY OF UDAS NEWARS' LANGUAGE USE

This study examines the linguistic behavior, with particular reference to language choice and code-switching between Newari, the ethnic language and Nepali, the national language, among Udas, a distinctive merchant-caste of Buddhist Newars living exclusively in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. A carefully designed and pretested questionnaire was distributed to forty-eight Udas Newars selected through a quota sampling procedure. The primary purpose of the questionnaire was to elicit information about the social functions of the subjects' attitudes and opinions about the differential use of the languages in question. The method of participant observation was also used to gather supporting data to check the validity of the responses obtained through the questionnaire. Drawing on the theoretical concept of "domain" proposed by Fishman, five domains are identified for the analysis of the subjects' responses: family, friendship, work, education, and religion. The findings of the investigation show: 1. There exists a discernible pattern in the subjects' use of languages. The use of Newari is exclusively dominant in the domains of family, religion, and intragroup communication while Nepali is dominant in the domains of education and intergroup communication. No language emerges clearly as the dominant one in the domain work. 2. The subjects represent a sample of bilingual speakers exhibiting diglossic behavior in their use of Newari and Nepali. 3. The subjects consistently exhibit strong and favorable toward their ethnic tongue which is not being given any institutional support from the Government. Such commendable attitudes of the subjects toward Newari must have contributed to its maintenance in the face of the growing dominance of Nepali in social, political, and economic realms of the country.

PANEL: RECENT RESEARCH IN HIMALAYAN STUDIES: THE MAINTENANCE OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BOUNDARIES

DESJARLAIS, ROBERT (University of California-Los Angeles)
SELF, SPACE, AND HEALING AMONG YOLMO SHERPAS

The Yolmo Sherpa of Helambu, Nepal rely upon shamanic healers in times of sickness to recall lost souls and exorcise ghosts, demons and other malevolent forces from their bodies. Based on recent field research, this papers investigates how Yolmo healing practice are founded upon interrelations between social structure, concepts of space, and understandings of self and body. After discussing how the body is perceived spatially and metaphorically (i.e., as a house), I suggest that Sherpa understandings of self-other boundaries rest upon two complementary patterns of self-experience: on the one hand, a symbolic flow between self and environment, with life-forces, agents of illness, and thoughts and emotions seen as continuously passing through the "border" of the body, and on the other, a strong motivation to block this flow and separate self from environment through various symbolic means. This dual nature of the self can be explained by conflicts between individual and society embedded in Yolmo social life, for while the Yolmo profess strong communal identity their also exists profound tensions between individual desire and collective action. The analysis then turns to Yolmo healing rituals to show how the above self-environment dynamic, as construed spatially, effects patients' understandings of these rites. I argue that their exists an implicit "kinetics" of healing which structures Yolmo experiences of healing transformations. Drawing upon calling, the paper concludes that the spatial movements and metaphors found in shamanic exorcisms serve to articulate, refigure and maintain boundaries of self.

GHIMIRE, PREMLATA (Bryn Mawr)

SHIFTING PATTERNS OF SATAR IDENTITY: A CASE OF THE SAPHA HOD

This paper examines the process of maintaining, creating, and switching ethnic and other identities among the Satar of Sunauli, a village in southern Nepal. The Satar of Sunauli are divided into three ritual categories: the Bidin Hod ("Hindu Satar") who practice their traditional rituals; the Sapha Hod (ritually "pure" or clean Satar) who combine the rituals of both their ethnic group and the caste groups in their everyday ritual; and the Christian Satar who are Pentecostals and do not participate in any of the rituals of the Sapha Hod or the Bidin Hod. In spite of these differences, these Satar live together and with different caste groups in and around Sunauli. The Satar express their shared ethnicity in four ways: a. by calling themselves Hod (human beings/Satar), b. by claiming to be descended from a common male ancestor, c. by speaking Satari language which they call Hod Rod, and finally d. by dressing similarly. These cultural factors signal their exclusion from the caste groups and reveal the distinctiveness of their ethnic group. Yet within their own ethnic groups, the Bidin Hod, the Sapha Hod, and Christian Satar use their own ethnic charters and maintain a certain degree of social distance from each other. In a multi-ethnic/caste/class society, like Nepal, continuous interaction occurs among the different ethnic groups and caste groups. Since caste dominates the social system of Nepal the ethnic groups often borrow some caste symbols in the process of such interaction. This paper examines some particular case of such borrowing. I focus on the Hinduized Satar of Sunauli, the Sapha Hod, and examine some of the ways in which a few key symbols of the caste society are borrowed and used by the Sapha Hod to define their ritual status in hierarchical Hod deny the Hindu influence and see some Hindu (caste) elements as belonging to their own traditional Satar culture. Further, since the Sapha Hod use the symbols of both their traditional according to their own cultural norms. Ethnicity claimed by the Sapha Hod, therefore, significantly differs from the way members of their larger ethnic group (i.e. the Satar) define it. Ethnicity developed this way is used as a device by the Sapha Hod to create a type of hierarchy, similar to the caste hierarchy, within their own egalitarian group. Using this hierarchy they claim their own ritual status as higher than those of the Bidin Hod and the Christian Satar. At the same time, such identification also functions as a means for the Sapha Hod to emerge as ethnic mediators - overlapping the boundaries of two social groups: the Satar and caste.

PANEL: SAARC

MAJEED, AKHTAR (Aligarh University)

SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY SCENARIOS

More than ever, South Asia today appears less stable and more uncertain, in spite of SAARC and the India-Sri Lanka accord and restoration of democracy in Pakistan. The Siachen clashes between India and Pakistan and charges of mutual interference in each other's internal affairs; the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka; frictions about trade/transit between India and Nepal; resentment about continued preponderance of military in the Bangladesh politics; tensions in Tibet; and the terrorist situation in Punjab--all these project ill not only for the political stability of the countries of South Asia, but also for their attempts and aspirations to establish a stable regional order through cooperation. South Asian situation presents two almost opposite trends: one moving these countries closer and the other apart. The first stems from a general desire and recognition of commonality of interests and mutuality of economies; and the latter from a narrow base of national interests and divergence of outlook in regard to security and the method of dealing with it. The two trends act and react upon each other and make it difficult for South Asian countries settle upon a definite particular course. The presence of extra-regional factors further complicate the situation. The ultimate stability in South Asia will depend on the ability of the elite in these countries to resolve their varied conflicts and create an equitable politico-economic order based on closer cooperation.

RAO, J.S. NARAYAN (Indian Institute of Economics)
ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF SAARC

"Following the success stories of the EEC and the ASEAN, the South Asian countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives too have grouped themselves into the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) with its HQs in the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal. It is a sibling of hardly four years. Its aim, obviously, is regional cooperation in all possible forms and fields, so to say. What, however, are the prospects of economic cooperation of the group? In the world setting, the group stands as one of the most indigent areas. The area's per capita income is about 200 US dollars with, of course, country-side variations. Poverty, accordingly, is the main economic characteristic of the group. It is compounded by the bulgeoning population, bulging at the rate of 2.4 per cent per annum, as against, among other things, the food production growth of 2.2 per cent. Under the circumstances the need for economic cooperation among the members of the group, about which they are still gingerly, needs no elaboration. The countries greatly vary in size, economic development which look quite formidable obstacles in their economic integration and cooperation. Above all is the big brotherly image of India. The big three--India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh--had moved from integration to separation and there are quite differences between them. They are mutual competitors in international economic arena of jute, rice, marine products, tea, readymade garments. Further the countries are divided by the high walls of tariffs from which they derive substantial revenues--as much as 50 per cent by Nepal. Yet there appears to be a good deal of scope for economic cooperation of the group for their accelerated economic growth, such as having, to start with, differential rates of tariff for SAARC and Non-SAARC countries.