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CONFERENCE DIGEST

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ANNUAL CONFERENCES CALENDAR

CONFERENCE	APPROXIMATE DATES	ABSTRACT DEADLINE
American Academy of Religion	Weekend before Thanksgiving	1 March
American Anthropological Association	Early December	1 April
Association of American Geographers	Early April	1 September
Association for Asian Studies	Early April	1 August
South Asian Conference	3rd Weekend October	15 May

We ask scholars who wish to present papers or organize panels for conferences to notify HRB sufficiently early to allow us to include your plans in the HRB.

Conference Paper Abstracts

American Anthropological Association 30 November-4 December 1994 Atlanta, Georgia

Adams, Vincanne (Princeton)

Karaoke as Modern Lhasa in Touristed Tibet

Synchronized lip-singing (or lip-sync sing-along) karaoke bars serve as markers of modernity for many Tibetans in Lhasa, and they also metaphorically illuminate the construction of modernity in Lhasa as a multicultural spectacle of scripted simulation. I examine this spectacle in regard to Westerners and Tibetans. Western tourist desires to find a "real" Tibet within the Chinese state become strategies for Western modernization and surveillance in the region by producing cultural differences articulated through discourses about religiosity, political oppression and human rights. Tibetans'

reproduction of cultural difference, in turn, becomes articulated through modernization strategies of the Chinese state. Westerners' performances are scripted by a geopolitical rhetoric which reveals to Tibetans suitable ways of remaining within the gaze of the West. At the same time, Tibetans' performances scripted by Western interests reveal attempts to modernize according to Chinese development goals, at a time of increasing impoverishment in a marginalized region of the People's Republic. Karaoke is not merely a form of modern Tibetan evening entertainment. It metaphorically highlights the problem of defining authenticity of modern Tibetans, for whom scripted simulations are a modern consequence of the commodification of cultural difference. This highlights questions about how ethnography can avoid its own production of cultural differences in images of essential authenticity, and thus how it can subvert its own modernizing tendencies.

Ahearn, Laura M. (Michigan)

Arranged Marriage and Social Transformation: The Reconfiguration of Women's Agency among Magars in Nepal

In a kinship-based community such as that of the Magars of Gumha, a village in western Nepal, marriage establishes or intensifies both alliances and hierarchies. This paper analyzes the ways in which the actions of Magar women whose marriages are arranged not only create, reflect, and reinforce relationships of domination, but also challenge them, albeit often ineffectually. Although some arranged matches are celebrated in a perfunctory manner in Gumha, most are marked by songfests, extravagant feasts, and lengthy rituals led by a Brahman priest. Because arranged-marriage ceremonies serve as the template against which all other marriage types are judged, even villagers who perform other types of marriage take as their point of departure the Hindu 'gift of a virgin' rituals that have been adapted by Gumha Magars in their arranged-marriage ceremonies.

As hegemonic as the institution of arranged marriage is in Gumha, however, the actions and attitudes to which it gives rise allow for the expression of emergent, counterhegemonic sentiments that are helping to transform practice and meaning within marriage ceremonies and across the community as a whole. As self-initiated marriage replaces both arranged marriage and capture marriage at an increasing rate in Gumha, women's agency is being reconfigured. Drawing on case studies and narratives of marriage from Gumha, this paper examines the ways in which women physically enact and discursively express their continually shifting and culturally constrained, but never totally negated, agency.

Childs, Geoff H. (Indiana)

Reflections on Trans-Himalayan Encounters

From the 16th century onward, Tibetan religion spread to the southern slope of the Himalayas. Many beliefs and practices were adopted by peoples, such as Gurungs and Tamangs, living at the cultural watershed between Tibet and India. Recent approaches to understanding culture change within Nepal focus primarily on Hindu conversions and often emphasize the core-periphery dichotomy manifest in Srinivas concept of Sanskritization—a term connoting the adoption of Hindu norms by those who are peripheral to the caste system. In this paper, the analogous yet less studied process of Tibetanization is analyzed. Conditions for cultural transmission are examined in relation to political events, religious ideology, and demographic movements.

A common assumption, based on ethnographic observations for which historical evidence is lacking, is that some indigenous practices of isolated communities in the Himalayas become marginalized upon contact with expansionist Hindu or Buddhist societies. Through a diachronic study of opposition by Tibetans to animal sacrifice, the paper addresses the need to critically assess discernible processes of culture change. Evidence is presented to support the premise that Tibetan migrations do not necessarily induce the Tibetanization of certain rituals among contact populations. Often, it is charismatic individuals who provide the impetus for change. In addition to emphasizing the significance of emic literature for understanding transformational processes, a primary intent of the paper is to provide an analytical framework, based on sources from both the present (ethnographic studies) and the past (Tibetan documentary evidence), for investigating the dynamics of cultural exchange.

Fortier, Jana (Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

Indigenous Labor Management in a Himalayan Community

Indigenous labor management for agricultural production is paramount for efficient and timely farming in western Nepal. Indigenous labor management is not dependent on a capital intensive farming, but instead on a labor intensive farming system. Indigenous knowledge about how to recruit labor and what labor forms to use are crucial to efficient agricultural production. Nepalese households select indigenous labor practices depending on labor supply, cropping patterns, income, and other factors. Most households engage in indigenous labor management practices, particularly sharecropping (*adhiya, kut*), patronage (*jajmani, khalo*), casual labor (*baure, jyaala*), labor reciprocity (*parima*), and gifts of labor (*sahayog*). Anthropological research in South Asia has generally overlooked the issue of the management of agricultural production. Much previous anthropological research of agricultural production in South Asia focused on the *jajmani* system as a unique means of exchanging goods and services as well as religious rights and obligations. Contrary to prior research, I conclude that *jajmani* is only one small part of indigenous labor management. Through a conversation with Gogane Rawot, a centenarian ferryman, I explicate how local labor practices constitute a wily efficient, though exploitative, management of agricultural production. By recounting Gogane's working experiences, I explore the intended penance of patronage, sharecropping, and casual labor. I find that indigenous labor management practices in western Nepal are multifarious and highly interdependent. From a ferryman's perspective, indigenous management systems are often exploitative, reinforcing hierarchical social relations of caste and class.

Iltis, Linda (University of Washington)

The Goddess of Own Place: Geopolitical Space and Social Identity in Nepal

While the official boundaries of Nepal's Hindu Kingdom have shifted through time, local cultural constructions reveal a preponderance of gendered symbolism expressing ideas relating to the power of place and local, regional and national identities that transcend the rigid limits of physically contiguous geopolitical space and allow for a construction of social space that is contextually determined and infinitely recreatable by individuals and communities.

Contemporary worship of Swasthani, the "Goddess of Own Place," annually renews the well being of place and person ranging from self to home, to community, and to state. Ritual practices of women associated with the Goddess result in the formation of long-standing inter-community networks which lead to cooperative ventures in business, marriage and politics. These meaningful alliances that transcend physical space and time, are widely accessible to more than an "educated elite". Women, the Goddess, and other related women's rituals are a powerful source of symbolic imagery for underscoring notions of ethnic/moral identity and national unity in popular literature, films, and recent political demonstrations. Hence through the "Goddess of Own Place", a shared notion of space is explicitly reasserted which is defined through the individual and community rather than by policy makers. The rituals of the "Goddess of Own Place" exemplify conjunction of both a construction of social space and spatial construction of society and one's own place in it.

Liechty, Mark (Pennsylvania)

Consumer Culture and the Construction of Modern Youth: Teenagers in Kathmandu, Nepal

This paper explores one aspect of the emergence of a middle class youth culture in Kathmandu, Nepal. I am interested in how different interests and voices seek to constitute and represent the "modern youth" or "teenager." As the first generation raised in a new, relatively cash rich middle class, "modern youth" must pioneer the newly opened "in-between" spaces between childhood and adulthood brought about by extended periods of education, delayed marriage, changing understandings of acceptable employment and the realities of an extremely limited middle class job market.

It is in this new youth or "teenage" space where we see the forces of consumer modernity at work: forces which seek to define modernity in material terms and construct identities around commodities. Yet while commercial interests populate this new landscape with beatific "teen" images of leisure,

pleasure, progress, glamour and beauty, other perspectives in the debate counter with images of the "teen" as a drug or pornography addict. This critical counterrepresentation of a teen as consumer addict links consumer modernity with the seduction and corruption of youth, not some longed for "teen" epiphany. The battle for the cultural territory of modern youth has one facet of the experience of modernity in Kathmandu, an experience of engagement, experimentation and critique that is lived at the interface between consumer modernity, state modernism and the daily realities of scarcity and precarious claims to social standing.

Mchugh, Ernestine (Rochester)

Reconstituting the Self: Models of Death and the Practice Of Mourning in the Himalayas

Metaphors of coalescence and dissolution are prominent in representations of death among the Gurungs of Nepal. These are evident in beliefs about death and in the symbolism of Gurung mortuary rituals. The question to be explored here is how these beliefs become sufficiently resonant with personal experience to be convincing as a model of the world. The cultural regulation of grief in conventions of mourning creates an experience of the self for people that can be seen to recapitulate ideas about the nature of human existence represented in the rituals and beliefs that give meaning to death. Examining these will allow us to trace interconnections between inner experience and cultural beliefs and practices, as well as highlighting the ideological value of death in Gurung society.

Owens, Bruce McCoy (Franklin and Marshall)

Finding Gods and Making Meanings: The Debated Serpent Deities of Chare Ghare

This paper uses a relatively rare ethnographic opportunity to examine religious innovation, the creation of meaning, and the institutionalization of devotional activity as they emerge in a newly constituted arena of divinity. In the winter of 1983, several serpents took up residence in a flooded Kathmandu valley rice paddy. Identified by many as serpent deities or 'nagas,' these creatures rapidly became the focus of curiosity, devotion, and debate over the meanings and implications of their anomalous appearance. This paper examines the processes of interpretation and meaning production as forms of contestation that are multiply directed and engaged. It will also consider the ways in which diverse opinions and divergent discourses were deployed in the process of institutionalizing access to these controversial subjects of devotional attention.

Pigg, Stacy Leigh (Simon Fraser)

Modern Medicine and the Question of Villagers' Beliefs in Nepal

Development institutions are among the most important forces translating ideas of modernity into projects of modernization. In Nepal, 40 years of intense, nationalistic focus on development have produced a representational politics in which social differences are articulated in idioms of progress/backwardness and modernity/tradition. This paper examines the dynamics of these representations of difference by focusing on the positions produced by the deployment of 'modern dichotomies. In particular, crosscutting discourses about the credibility of shamanic healing emerge in the shadow of an image of a rational, scientific, and efficacious a modern medicine." The paper traces how the objectification of villagers' beliefs" as the antithesis of modernity intersects with rural people's representations of themselves as modern believers in shamanic powers. In showing how, in Nepal, representations of belief are implicated in the production of identity and difference, this paper raises questions about how anthropological interpretations of cultural meanings sustain an ideology of modernization and the stratification it produces.

Shankar, Anita (Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health)

Assessing Vitamin A Intake and Household Behaviors Through Direct Observation in Rural Nepal

This paper presents data from a study designed to uncover factors important in distinguishing 80 case households having a xerophthalmic child (age 2 to 5) matched with 80 control households having a non-xerophthalmic child of the same age. To accurately assess the level of vitamin A intake, we developed a day long observation instrument to monitor household and child behaviors and directly estimate food intake. Qualitative, ethnographic approaches were used to develop the structured instrument which utilizes over 100 distinct codes focusing on child care, hygiene and feeding, thereby permitting analysis of variables unobtainable by recall. Preliminary observations of shared plate eating, a common child feeding practice in the area, suggest that children eating with adults eat more and a greater variety of vegetables as compared to children eating with children. Responsibility of food serving is placed on a primary cook, who either serves food when asked or serves food without specific requests. Analyses of a sub sample of households found no differences between cases and controls in the frequency of holding and comforting the focus child. On the other hand, case children appear to spend less time laughing, running or playing as compared to their normal counterparts. Moreover, in case households, there are more instances of children begging for food. Initial dietary data indicate case households eat substantially fewer vitamin A rich vegetables than the paired normal controls.

Thompson, Julia J (Wisconsin-Madison)

Ethics and Gender Inside and Outside a Kathmandu Beauty Parlor

Ritu's is a popular beauty salon in Kathmandu, Nepal. Most women leave the security of their family compound to visit Ritu's and there, in this public gendered space, women exchange secret information and interact in innovative ways. While setting facials, women tell ribald jokes; marriages are negotiated under hair dryers; women phone their lovers while paying the bill; copies of international magazines are shared; foreign goods are bartered and sold; fortunes and misfortunes are told. Based on almost three years of fieldwork, I explore the ethical issues involved in conducting research in the public domain. I ask, what are the moral dilemmas of creating a false research agenda? How do I present information about the ways women deceive their families, and the discrepancies between these women in private and their public images, especially when I meet them in other settings? How do I deal with the issue of consent in a complex public research community? Where is the fine line between having a manicure and conducting research? I cannot reveal much of the information I have because it is dangerous. How do I acknowledge this in my research especially when some of my informants' kinfolk and friends may attend this conference? The beauty parlor is a public space, rightfully a business, but much of what I learned there is not public knowledge. These ethical issues have implications for other researchers working in public urban domains.

**Association of American Geographers
Annual Meetings 14-18 March 1995 Chicago, Illinois**

David R. Faust, Department of Geography, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. E-MAIL: faus002@gold.tc.umn.edu.

Rethinking Development: Grassroots Action in India.

Development, in India and elsewhere, is often discussed in terms of industrialization, technology transfer, and economic growth, but these aggregates conceal the persistent and widespread mosaic of impoverishment and environmental degradation that has accompanied "development" throughout the Third World. Increasingly prominent among the losers in development have been the rural poor. The disempowerment and impoverishment of development have caused rural communities and action groups to engage in consciousness raising, popular resistance and struggle, and locally defined and managed

eco-restoration and productive activities. Local efforts are evolved as local praxis, potentially leading to community empowerment. These efforts differ from place to place according to social and environmental conditions and the situation of the locality in the global and national political economy. These activities can be seen both as an assertion of their human rights and as a rejection of a model of development that produces both ecological devastation and social and economic impoverishment. Also, networks of intellectuals and activists work at the macro level in a number of ways to make space for rural communities to exercise increasing control over the circumstances of their lives as subjects, rather than objects of development. Alternative visions of both state and development are evolving from the praxis of these resistance groups. This paper will explore the forms of resistance, and the evolving alternative conceptions of state and development using a comparative study of grassroots actions in India.

Keyword: sustainable development, resistance, India.

Sarah J. Halvorson, Department of Geography, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309. E-MAIL: halvorso@ucsu.colorado.edu.

Water for Fields and Families: Women's Water Management in Northern Pakistan.

The ways in which women publicly and privately manage water resources in northern Pakistan are inextricably linked. Dramatic shifts in the social and economic dynamic of rural households over the past decade have increased the importance of women's roles in irrigation and the maintenance of the physical and economic health of households. At the same time women's participation in and contributions to collective decision-making over this flowing property are constrained by gender relations, social and cultural issues, and development interventions.

This paper examines the spatial and temporal processes which affect women's water work, household water consumption, and the productivity of households in Northern Pakistan. The nature of women's water work is contextualized through an evaluation of present water policy, past water supply interventions, and local infrastructure. Interviews with women in local communities in the Gilgit District of the Northern Areas reveal the ways in which women's knowledge, perceptions, traditions and beliefs concerning water at the household level further shape their roles in managing water resources. This research has implications for improving women's participation in rural water resources development particularly in the water supply and sanitation sector.

Keyword: gender, household water consumption, Pakistan.

Ken I. MacDonald, Department of Geography, University of Toronto, Scarborough, Ont., Canada M1C1A4. E-MAIL: macdonald@tsunami.scar.utoronto.ca.

Landscapes of Negotiation: Place Colonization, Spatial Resistance and the Mediation of Balti Identity.

Recent deconstructionist critiques of colonialism and colonial literature have demonstrated that the identity of subject peoples was not simply determined from without but was the product of interaction within a defined space—what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the "contact zone." Self-representation was essentially a product of negotiation; albeit within extremely asymmetrical power relations.

In the Braldu valley of Baltistan, this negotiation of identity and self-representation relies heavily on the manipulation of space and topography in acts of refuge and resistance to domination. Residents have been confronted with a topological redefinition of space through the colonization of local topography for recreational pursuits ('exploration', mountaineering, and trekking). This same form of place colonization has imposed a form of coercive labour on local peoples. In an effort to limit the cultural erosion deployed by this form of colonization, Braldu villagers rely on an intricate knowledge of local space and topography to express resistance and continually renegotiate a cohesive identity. This paper discusses villager's strategic use of space in confronting asymmetrical relations of power and concludes that just as space can be recognized as constitutive of hegemonic power, it can also be interpreted as an important element in active resistance to domination—as a constitutive component of identity,

Keyword; colonialism, identity, Pakistan

Haripriya Rangan, Department of Geography, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720.
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Access Rights over Land Ownership: State Mediation of Forest Production and Conservancy for Sustainable Regional Development.

Recent debates on environmental protection and sustainable development have subjected the role of the state in natural resource management to intense criticism. Whether it is neo-liberals advocating auto-regulation of environmental crisis through market forces, or eco-populists demanding that civil society gain full ownership and control of "the commons," there is general agreement that the state must withdraw its presence from the sphere of environmental protection and natural resource management. The paradox however lies in the fact that both positions cannot ensure, in practical terms, the successful outcome of their ideological arguments without the mediating presence of the state. Sustainable forest production and conservancy cannot occur effectively under private or "common property" forms of ownership, but requires state resource management agencies to develop and mediate a wide array of entitlements, rights, and forms of access to resource extraction. If forestry must be sustained as along-term activity offering economic opportunities to poorer households, both scholarly research and policy formulation need to move away from debates over form of property ownership and gain a better grasp of the different forms of access to resource extraction that simultaneously influence and are influenced by production and conservancy processes. The paper will illustrate this argument by drawing on empirical research conducted in the Himalayan districts of Uttar Pradesh State, India.

Keyword: forestry, access systems, sustainable regional development.

Nanda R. Shrestha, School of Business and Industry, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, FL 32307.

A Narrative of Racism, Development, and Underdevelopment.

Based on the author's own personal experience, this paper will discuss the nature of racism and how it is propagated in underdeveloped countries. The paper will also discuss how the native elites develop a colonial mindset rooted in racism or how they indirectly promote racism within their own countries, a form of racism that is self-degrading and nationally destructive. The paper will argue that while Western (white) racism directed against the native peoples of today's underdeveloped countries used to be expressed overtly during the colonial period, its expression has in the post-colonial period taken a subtle form (although no less degrading than previously). Today Western (white) racism is expressed invariably through what is euphemistically called intentional cooperation for the development of underdeveloped countries. Western development assistance is the highest and most insidious form of racist expression.

Amulya R. Tuladhar, Thomas L. Millette, Roger E. Kasperson and B. L. Turner II, Center for Technology, Environment, and Development (CENTED), The George Perkins Marsh Institute, Clark University, Worcester, MA 01610-1477. E-MAIL: ATULADHAR@VAX.CLARKU.EDU.

The Use of Remote Sensing for Environmental Criticality Analysis in the Himalayan Middle Mountains of Nepal.

The "middle mountain" zone of the Himalayas is often identified as a region in stress owing to human-induced environmental degradation. This study looks at three villages in the Middle Mountains representing different levels of environmental and socioeconomic vitality. Image processing of Landsat Thematic Mapper data is used to identify positive and negative indicators of environmental "criticality" expressed in the landscape as detailed land covers. Preliminary results are both encouraging and cautioning. However, indications are that 30 meter resolution satellite data can provide useful information associated with broad land-management practices, landesque capital, and land cover changes for the debate on Himalayan environmental degradation.

Keyword: Environment-Himalayas, Remote Sensing-GIS, Asia-Nepal.

Association for Asian Studies
6-9 April 1995, Washington, D.C.

Session 141: Religious Continuity and Revival in Contemporary Tibet

Organizer and Chair: *Matthew Kapstein*, Columbia
University Discussant: *Morris Rossabi*, City University of New York

Since 1978 the People's Republic of China has tolerated increasing expressions of cultural identity among minority nationalities. Tibetans in the Tibet Autonomous Region, Sichuan, Qinghai Yunnan and Gansu have taken advantage of the liberalization of cultural policy to reassert the distinctiveness of their Tibetan identity in many different areas: language and literature, music and theater, the arts and crafts. Tibetan cultural identity, however, is profoundly interwoven with Tibetan religious identity, so that this has entailed a far-reaching religious revival.

The reinstatement of traditional religious practices, the re-establishment of temples and monasteries, and in some cases the establishment of new ones, the re-emergence of monasticism, in some districts on a very large scale, all have significant economic, political and cultural dimensions. Questions of ethnicity, regional and sectarian identity, cultural autonomy and the patronage of cultural institutions are raised prominently in this context.

The present panel addresses some of the key issues that are at stake here from an interdisciplinary perspective, bringing together recent research in anthropology and religion conducted in three of the regions and provinces (T.A.R., Sichuan, Qinghai) in which there are substantial Tibetan populations. Above and beyond the particular interest the papers to be presented will hold for Tibetanists, the topics considered address topics of concern to the broader community of scholars studying ethnicity and religion in China, contemporary Inner Asian affairs, and the Himalayan communities of South Asia.

Melvyn Goldstein, Case Western Reserve University

Religious Transformation and Continuity in the Tibet Autonomous Region—Two Perspectives

Discussions about contemporary Tibet frequently focus on the state of core cultural institutions such as religion. This paper examines this issue using data collected by the author during fieldwork in the Tibet Autonomous Region in two diverse areas, one a nomadic community in western Tibet and the other one of Tibet's most famous monasteries—Drepung (in Lhasa). The nature of religious activities is examined with regard to both practice and economics. The current situation is contextualized diachronically through examining briefly the history of religion in these areas since 1951 when the 17 Point Agreement was signed and China began to exercise sovereignty over Tibet.

David Germano, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville

The Nyingma Revival of Tibetan Buddhism; Its Nature, Significance and Obstacles Under P.R.C. Rule

This presentation will focus on the marked revival of the Nyingma scholastic, contemplative and monastic traditions of Tibetan Buddhism over the past two decades in Tibetan cultural areas currently under P.R.C. rule, its significance for changing notions of ethnic identity, and the continuing obstacles it faces. This will be based on experiences in Central Tibet and Khams (Sichuan) while staying in communities in those regions during fieldwork in 1990-92. The particular focus will be the large religious institute that has developed in Golok Serta around the charismatic Buddhist teacher known as Khanpo Jikphun (*m Khan po 'jigs med phun tshogs*), though information gathered on other important religious centers, and anecdotes concerning some important contemporary religious figures involved in the Nyingma revival, will also be presented.

Larry Epstein, The University of Washington, Seattle

Ritual, Ethnicity and Generational Conflict

Villagers in the vicinity of Reb skong, Amdo (eastern Qinghai), claim to have celebrated the same week-long folk ritual known as *Klu rol* among other names, for more than 1100 years. The ritual consists of a series of dances, sacrifices, propitiations of local mountain deities, and rites that celebrate long life and fertility. Despite the presence of a large and famous monastery, Rong dgon, monks are not allowed to attend, and the ritual is organized and performed exclusively by laymen and shamans. Rituals such as these appear to be of ancient provenance in Tibetan life and in the lives of other "minority nationalities" in China. Comparison with the latter reveals that despite the presence of similar ritual forms and structures, the Tibetans of Reb skong interpret their meaning in a very different way, primarily having to do with local military conquest and history. Although performance of this and many other rituals was banned during and following the Cultural Revolution, it has been revived with renewed vigor since the early part of the last decade. Further, examination of ritual structures and conversations with participants in them unveil, within the contemporary context, new structures of meaning within the ritual process representing not only static concerns with local Tibetan history, but newer ones, such as ethnic identity and generational conflict as well.

Matthew Kapstein, Columbia University

A Festival of Rebirth Reborn: The 1992 Drigung Phowa Chenmo

Besides the many mensual and annual rituals and festivals of Tibetan Buddhism, there are a number of important duodecennial pilgrimages, held at major sacred sites throughout Tibet. Because of the relative infrequency of these observances, they were especially vulnerable to their interruption after 1959, and their revival, in those cases where it has occurred, has accordingly been greeted by Tibetans as a palpable indication of the revitalization of their culture. A notable case in point is the Drigung Phowa Chenmo (*'bri gung 'pho ba chen mo*, "the great Drigung [teaching of] transference of consciousness [into a Pure Land following this lifetime]," whose reinstatement in 1992 after a hiatus of 36 years was celebrated by approximately 10,000 participants from Central Tibet, but some coming from far distant districts in Qinghai and Sichuan with traditional sectarian affiliations to Drigung Monastery.

The Drigung Phowa Chenmo exemplifies the great significance of religious pilgrimage in the traditional Tibetan world, embodying at once conceptions of sacred time and space, and a rich system of symbols, that are constitutive of the beliefs, values and orientations of the Tibetan religious universe. Thus, the re-establishment of this pilgrimage was felt by many to be an important expression of Tibetan cultural autonomy. The question we will examine, therefore, is the manner in which the 1992 performance was both continuous with and divergent from the tradition as it existed until 1956.

Kirin Narayan, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Imagined Pasts, Anticipated Presents: Kangra Songs as a Strategic Resource

Songs, like other collective expressive forms, are often viewed by anthropologists as windows into social relations: "autobiographical ethnography" enacted from the natives' point of view. Yet doing research on women's songs in Kangra, I found that songs diverged from contemporary realities in complex ways. While most genres mixed past and present, two genres stood opposed. At one extreme were *pakharu* ballads which conjured up vanished worlds of men on steeds, child marriages, evenings lit by flickering oil lamps. At the other extreme were *nach git*, boisterous dance songs which described husbands riding in jeeps, uppity daughters-in-law who sported nail polish, pukka cement houses. In this paper, I examine these two genres to argue that the discrepancies between songs and contemporary realities can be profitably explored through women's commentaries on the times (*jamane*) described in song texts. In Kangra, it appears that representations of the imagined past are also strategic statements about familial authority and regional identity. Representations of the anticipated present, by contrast, emphasize the married couple as a self-contained unit and assert linkages with an aspiring middle class that spills beyond regional boundaries.

Session 112: Birth in South Asia: Midwives and Female Healers

Organizer: *Santi Rozario*, University of Newcastle, NSW, Australia

Chair: *Geoffrey Samuel*, Lancaster University, U.K.

Discussant: *Jeanette Snyder*, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The limited range of studies so far available on birth practices in South Asia (mostly from North India and Bangladesh) suggests that South Asia forms a distinct cultural region in this respect. Specific features include (1) a high degree of concern with pollution and supernatural danger; (2) traditional low caste female birth attendants (*dai*, etc.) whose primary purpose is to remove pollution rather than aid the birth process itself; (3) little or no ante-natal care; (4) limited post-natal care for mother and child. The low status of female birth attendants is connected with their role as removers of pollution, but it can also be seen as resulting from a process of marginalization of female healing practitioners by the male-dominated healing professions. Modernity allows for a renegotiation of this relationship, as female birth attendants acquire access to biomedical techniques, and as the Western construction of midwife as a skilled professional impacts on the South Asian situation. The two Newar papers present aspects of the "traditional" situation, though the high status of the Dyamaju healers may reflect the extent to which Newar society departs from the norms of Hindu and Muslim society in North India and Bangladesh. The remaining two papers explore the renegotiation of the female birth attendant's role which is taking place in the encounter with modernity.

Barbara Johnson, Smithsonian Institution

Childbirth with a Traditional Birth Attendant in a Kathmandu Valley Newar Village

This is a discussion of the ethnographic filming of labor, delivery, and immediate postpartum care in a Jyapu (Newar) farming village in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. The presentation will use video excerpts detailing the social setting of labor which takes place in the company of female relations and the traditional birth attendant-neighbor; the exchange of information through stories about other births, hospital births, and problem births; the traditional role of food and religious beliefs; the immediate post-partum care of mother by family and neighbors; and washing and oiling of the baby by the traditional birth attendant. Complete film footage is available with translation of all Newari dialogue through the Human Studies Film Archive at Smithsonian Institution, and a 20 minute edited videotape with English subtitles will also be available for viewing at the meeting.

Linda Iltis, University of Washington

Knowing all the Gods: Grandmothers, God Families, and Women Healers in Nepal

Amidst a diverse Hindu and Buddhist pantheon of gods and goddesses, the Newars of Kathmandu Valley have an especially deep reverence for their apical ancestor-god couple, the great grandfather and great grandmother, Aju and Ajima. Ajima, also known as Hariti, is the tutelary grandmother goddess for Newar women healers called Dyamaju or Hariti Ma. The Goddess, her god family, and her human counterpart serve family and community as healers in contexts ranging from pregnancy and childbirth to disease and communal violence. Although specialization involves childbirth matters, the caste status of the Dyamaju is far from low. Her techniques involve diagnosis, healing, removal of self-blame, and prognosis evaluations. Her success as a ritual medical specialist is attributed to her rich narrative repertoire and comprehensive knowledge and potential physical embodiment of "all the gods"—especially the local gods—in her community. Her invocation of a familiar grandmother-to-child relationship through the primary tutelary goddess family narrative serves as a formal ritualized foundation in all her rituals, leading the patient by the hand, guiding and teaching. The patient identifies with a familiar relationship and participates in his or her own healing.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

Seventh Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies

12 to 15 June 1995, Bonn, Germany

Colloquium will include 30 papers summarizing recent research in ethnology, Tibetology, history, geography, biology, development studies, etc. A main focus of this meeting will be the relationship between Ladakh and Central Asia. For further information contact: T. Dodin and H. Rather; Zentralasiatisches Seminar; Universitat Bonn; Regina-Pacis-Weg 7; 53113 Bonn, Germany; FAX +49-228-737458.

7th Seminar of International Association of Tibetan Studies

18-24 June 1995, Scholss Seggau (near Gratz) Austria

International Symposium: Karakoram-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change.

29 September to 2 October 1995, Islamabad Pakistan

The Pak-German Research Project "Culture Area Karakorum" (CAK) was initiated by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (The German Science Foundation) in 1989 to study the relationship between humans, culture, and the environment in the high mountain areas of Pakistan. Abstracts of papers for oral presentation and for Symposium publication can be submitted until 15 June; Presentations can last for as long as 40 minutes. Papers presented can be based on the specific results of research as well as technical cooperation in the interactive perspective between highlands and lowlands. Papers can also present major contributions to comparative mountain research on a more general level. The fee for the conference for participating members is US\$200; for accompanying participants it is US\$100.

Pre-Symposium excursions: There will be four, one to Chitral, one to Hunza, one to Nanga Parbat, and one to Deosai Plateau and Baltistan. Excursion fees are US \$435. 19 September to 28 September.

Registration for both Symposium and Excursions before 15 June 1995.

Before 1 September, contact: Pakistan-German Research Project; Coordination Office; Institute of Social Anthropology; University of Tübingen; Scholss, D-72070 Tübingen, Germany; phone 0049-7071-294995.

After 1 September, contact: Pakistan-German Research Project; Culture Area Karakorum; Coordination Office; House #3-A; Street 10; F-8/3, Islamabad, Pakistan; phone 0092-51-853523; FAX/Tel: 0092-51-252885.

24th Annual Conference on South Asia

20-22 October 1995, Madison, Wisconsin

Panels with a Himalayan focus planned for October's Annual Conference on South Asia include session on Kumaun as well as the two panels described below. At press time, a further panel is in the works: an NSA-sponsored Roundtable, being organized by Paul Benjamin, on **Development in Nepal**. Possible participants include Pramod Parajuli, Om Gurung, Amulya Tuladhar, and Nanda Shrestha. For further information contact Paul Benjamin: Pahadi1@aol.com.

Jana Fortier, organizer

Work Strategies in the Himalaya

This panel will focus on how households devise strategies to best mobilize labor resources:

Cameron, Mary (Auburn) **Untouchable Laborers: Embodiment and Aesthetics of Low Caste Artisan Production in Western Nepal**

Because of Nepalese farmers' dependence on well-crafted iron tools of many kinds, low-caste iron smiths (*luhar*, *kaami*) maintain extensive patron-client (*riti-bhagya*, *jajmani*) ties, and, of all the artisan jaat, are the best "paid" and least threatened by market forces. In this video-assisted presentation of *luhar* forging new tools and repairing old ones in an outdoor smithy in western Nepal, I draw on the concepts of 'embodied knowledge' (culture contained within the experiencing body) and its aesthetics to comment on the social dimensions of ironsmithing. These include social relationships of kin, friends, and patronage, independence and cooperation of manufacturing, and apprenticeship. The *luhar's* head, eyes, arms, hands, legs and feet engage, and are engaged in, the firing and tedious pounding of rough iron blades, the whittling of wooden handles, the coiling of metal into chains, and repairing the hearth's "*moluth*". Though they continuously encounter danger and pain, the *luhar* avoids expressing fatigue and pain, choosing instead to joke, talk, and smoke tobacco with family and friends.

Fortier, Jana Lucrecia (Wisconsin-Madison) **Simple Labor Reciprocity Ain't So Simple**

One work strategy which is essential to labor intensive wet rice farming is known as *parima*, or simple labor reciprocity (SLR). Although often mentioned by anthropologists, SLR is seldom analyzed as an important labor practice. Most analytical attention focuses on farmer transitions to wage labor. I maintain that Western theoretical strategies marginalize and essentialize non-Western economic features rather than elaborating socio-economic behavior into more fluid interactive paradigms. Further, theoretical marginalization of non waged work strategies is influenced by androcentric research biases. Since women's work strategies are only beginning to become an object of scientific interest, many informal non waged work strategies are poorly understood.

Related to the general mystification of this form of exchange, researchers frequently equate simple labor reciprocity with equal exchange. Anthropologists even advocate SLR as an egalitarian countermeasure to exploitative wage labor. Assumptions of SLR as socially symmetrical incorrectly situate reciprocity in an evolutionary framework which idealizes reciprocity as a previous form of exchange more symbolically "pure" than market-driven capitalist economies. Using video stills from Himalayan fieldwork, I show that SLR is only one facet of a greater set of work strategies which are frequently asymmetrical.

Macdonald, Ken (Toronto) **Labour Arrangements and Household Security in Northern Pakistan**

In the 'outpost' villages of the Baltistan region of the Karakoram Himalaya, communities have developed specific agro-ecological and social practices to reduce the vulnerability posed by natural and economic hazards. The capacity to provide security to individual members resides, partially, in the diversity of co-operative and reciprocal labour arrangements extant in the village. The effectiveness of these labour arrangements in reducing vulnerability, however, is dependent upon the legitimate authority of the household head and his female equivalent to allocate labour responsibilities. It is also influenced by certain community wide metanorms that establish a reciprocal nexus between household and village security. In this paper I use examples from a Balti village to demonstrate the relationships between labour allocation and vulnerability, the role played by 'traditional' institutions of authority in allocating labour both at the level of the household and the village, and threats to household security posed by recent changes in village social structure.

Shatri, B.B. and Kadariya, R. K. (Aberdeen, Great Britain) **The Role of Pig in the Himalayan Country with Reference to Ethnomangement**

This paper addresses the importance of the conflict between ethics of untouchability, ethnomangement of pigs, and the future role of pigs as organ donors in medicine. Stereotypically, keeping pigs is an integral part of day to day life of some lower class Hindus whereas the pigs are untouchable for Muslims, Jews, and some Hindus. Traditionally pigs are regarded as unclean. If a high caste person accidentally touches a pig, they hurry to the river and plunge in with all their clothes on. Also stereotypically, low caste swineherds are forbidden to enter into high caste temples and houses, and are tabooed from marriage to high castes. In the future, however, an ethical dilemma for high castes may develop in that pigs may become a donor for human organs. For example, a diseased human kidney can be transplanted with a healthy kidney from a pig. The symbolic significance of "blood" is here

called into question. There arise ethical questions of touchability about the relationships between humans and pigs. What shall be the social status of a person after receiving pig's organ? Shall a person reject an organ from pigs if he or she is high caste? For Nepalis these are very real ethical dilemmas. Thus, it has a direct effect on the management of religious beliefs and social relations involving livestock production of pigs.

Nepal Studies Association Annual Members Meeting
at the Madison South Asia meetings:
Saturday, October 21st from 6 to 8 PM
in the Lower Lounge of Lowell Hall

John Metz, organizer

Ecological Investigations in the Nepal Himalaya

The panel brings together papers focused on the functioning of terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems in various parts of Nepal. The papers will emphasize the ecological functioning of the communities studied, but will also explore the implications of the scientific evidence for conservation and sustainable development. The first paper explores the habitat requirements of large mammal populations within and outside Chitwan National park. The second paper summarizes a comprehensive analysis of fish populations in one of Nepal's three major river systems. The third paper, a summary of research in progress, describes habitat requirements of the Saurus crane and its interactions with humans. The fourth paper examines species composition and reproduction on the southeast flank of Dhaulagiri himal. The fifth paper reports on surprisingly successful, natural forest reproduction in Sagarmatha national park.

J.L. David Smith, **Forests of the Terai: A Tiger's Perspective**

David R. Edds, **Fish Ecology in Nepal's Gandaki River Basin**

Pratima Shrestha, **Population and Habitat of the Saurus Crane in Nepal's Tarai**

John Metz, **Species Composition and Dynamics of Temperate and Subalpine Forests of West Central Nepal**

Barbara Brower and Ann Dennis, **Forest Dynamics in Sagarmatha National Park**

American Academy of Religion

Weekend before Thanksgiving

Two sessions on Himalayan topics:

"Vision and Revelation in early Tibetan Buddhism."

"Review of the book 'Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Society' by Geoffrey Samuel."

American Anthropological Association.

Early December; no information in hand about on sessions.

Society for Indian Philosophy and Religion

Coincident with APA Eastern Division Meetings, December 1995.

For information contact: Chardana Chakiabarti; Campus Box 2336; Elon College; Elon, NC 27244.

Association of American Geographers

9 to 13 April 1996, Charlotte, North Carolina

Proposal deadline is 18 September. Contact John J. Metz; Dept. of History and Geography, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41099; 606 572-5461; email "metz@nku.edu"

Association for Asian Studies

11 to 14 April 1996, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Deadline for proposals: 3 August 1995.

Himalayanists have been poorly represented at recent Asian Studies meetings. This year's site, Honolulu, is an attractive location. Todd Lewis wants to organize a session on religion. Any other ideas or queries should be funneled to John Metz at the above address. The address of Todd Lewis is: Todd Lewis; Dept. of Religious Studies; College of the Holy Cross; Worcester, Ma 01610-2395).

Regional Meetings of Association of Asian Studies

ASPAC Conference
Pacific University
Forest Grove, Oregon
16 to 18 June 1995

Contact: Jeffrey G. Barlow
Department of History
Pacific University
Forest Grove, OR 97116

New York Conference
SUNY Buffalo
Buffalo, NY
15-16 September 1995

Contact: Thomas W. Burkman
Asian Studies Program
SUNY Buffalo
Buffalo, NY 14260-1040

Western Conference
Lewis-Clark State College
Lewiston, Idaho
9-30 September 1995

Contact: Marilyn Levine
Division of Social Sciences
Lewis-Clark State College
Lewiston, Idaho 83501

Mid-Atlantic Conference
Towson State University
Towson, Maryland
21-22 October 1995

Contact: Jonathan H. Wolff
Asian Studies Program
University of Pittsburg
Pittsburg, PA 15260

Southwest Conference
Baylor University
Waco, Texas
13-14 October 1995

Contact: David Mungello
Department of History
Baylor University
Waco, TX 76798-7306

New England Conference
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass.
28 October 1995

Contact: Meera Viswanathan
Comp Lit/Asian Studies
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912

Midwest Conference
University of Missouri-St. Louis
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri
13 to 15 October 1995

Contact: Robert E. Hegel
Asian/Near East Studies
Languages/Literature
Washington University
St. Louis, MO 63130-4899

Southeast Conference
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee
12 to 14 January 1996

Contact: Terry Neale
Economics Department
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37946
Phone: 615 974-3303.

14th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies

Copenhagen, August, 1996.

For information contact: Dr. Henrietta Bugge; Department of History; University of Copenhagen; Njalsgade - 80, 2300 Copenhagen, Denmark. Discussions regarding the establishment of a "European Association of South Asian Studies" will continue at this 1996 meeting. For further information contact either:

Dr. R. Newman
Department of History
University of Wales
Swansea, SA2 8PP
Wales, UK

Dr. Throdore P. Wright
SUNY - Albany
Albany, NY 12222

3rd International Symposium on Headwater Control: Sustainable Reconstruction of Highland and Headwater Regions

6-15 October 1995 at Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, India

For information contact Dr. R.B.Singh, Dept of Geography, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, 110007 India. Deadline: 31 May 1995.

Hard Livelihood: Conference on the Himalayan Porter

3-4 August 1995, Kathmandu

A meeting to discuss portering in the mountains. Topics will include: portering life and changing economy; impact of roads and air cargo; health, nutrition, physiology; load, muscle, and bone; equity and collective bargaining; future of portering; etc.

Contact : Kanak Mani Dixit
PO Box 42, Lalitpur, Nepal
ph# 977 1 523845
fax 521013
e-mail: him@himpc.mos.com.np

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