Abstracts

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
ABRAMOVITCH, ILANA, New York University (Panel: Women's Expressive Culture)
"Flushing Bharata Natyam: Indian Dancers in Queens, N.Y."
How is the Indian-American girl transformed into an Indian woman? What are the ways in which a culture is transmitted to the new generation born thousands of physical and cultural miles away from the source? One way which has become popular amongst middle-class New Yorkers of Indian origin has been to teach their girls the classical dance, especially the Bharata Natyam. A solo danced graduation ceremony functions as a coming-out party for the young women. Here we see the transformation on a cultural level of an American into an Indian and of a girl into a woman. The tradition of dance is kept alive in the U.S. as a marker of ethnic and feminine identity. Through interviews with teachers, students and families of the students, as well as through observations of dance classes, I will present a picture of the bodily mapping of Indian deals onto the American girls. The dance's history, briefly, is a journey from the temple to theater to expatriate community. Temple dancers danced for the male god, reformers created a dance for the internalized other, and Queens girls perform for the conservators of patriarchal traditions.

ADAMS, JOHN, University of Maryland (Panel: Development and Economics)
"India's Foreign Trade and Payments in the 1980's.
It is generally recognized that India's export performance has improved in the past 15 years. Nonetheless, there is considerable criticism of India's treatment of exports from those who favor more liberal and open policies. Restrictions on imports are also thought to be too heavy. This paper will examine in a quantitative manner (tables) the recent trends in the level and mix, as well as direction, of India's exports and imports. These trends will be put in the context of India's overall balance of payments picture. Recent policy changes will be evaluated in light of the expectations of the critics of India's anti-liberal stance. Relations between India's growth and development, and these recent trends in foreign economic relations and policies, will be discussed.

ADAMS, VINCENNE, University of California, Berkeley (Panel: Nepal as an Etnographic Area:Representations & Reevaluations
"When Khumbu Becomes an "Open Ledger" and Friends Become "Cash-Value Documents"
As one of Nepal's most dynamic and tenable industries, tourism deserves close scrutiny not only as a force of economic change, but as a culture, sui generis. This paper examines Khumbu Sherpas' roles within the tourism industry of Nepal, the demands they face while working with other Nepalese and foreigners, and some of the ways that Serpas assure control in social environments which are dominated by others. The paper is based on data collected during eighteen months of field research among Khumbu Sherpas in Khumbu and in Kathmandu as well as published literature on this topic. By looking at both social rapport and economic strategies within the industry, the paper will show some of the ways that international economic forces articulate with indigenous economies in ways which are both culturally and industry specific.

AGRAWAL, C.M., Kumaun University (Panel: Omnibus)
"A Preliminary study of pregnancy precautions in Northern India during Medieval and Modern Periods"
Based on the observance of different writer dating back from 1200 A.D., the present paper seeks to find out the pregnancy precautions adopted by the people of India in time and space. Further, some amount of ethnography has also been included in this essay. The field work has been carried out in Kumaun (U.P. Hills), Punjab and Bihar. It has been observed that there are some regional variations as to the pregnancy precautions. Irrespective of religious, caste and cult affiliations, most of the precautions were widely prevalent. Interestingly, these precautions were observed by all the cross sections of the society-royal family, nobility and commonality. What is central to our study is that many of the precautions have a firm scientific base couched in superstitions which the ancient could not explain in terms of clinical language. Further, many of the precautions, on account of their scientific utility and base, are still surviving. The details will be presented in the paper itself.
AHMED, ANGARUDDIN, University of Akron (Panel: Development and Economics)

"Development Planning in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects"

Ever since its inception in the early 1970's, Bangladesh has experimented with a variety of planning models for the economic and political development of the nation. Needless to say, the goals have not been reached, and Bangladesh has steadily digressed into a situation where we have to reconsider the policies for survival and for development. Three basic variables can be identified as being crucial in our determination of a society's progress: availability of natural resources, level of technology to process the same, and the population dynamics which affect the optimum utilization of the resources. This paper provides a theoretical framework within which we can analyze the compatibility of the planning policies and the practicality of the whole situation based on these variables. None of the models attempted so far has had any significant contribution toward positive changes in the economic and political fields. The paper proposes the trial of a pragmatic approach -- one which is based not on the experiences of other nations who have transgressed primary production systems industrialization (held by many to synonymous with progress and development), but on the psychosocial affects like alienation, drastic changes are in order; changes which do not entail a cultural lag, and consequently a breakdown of the total system. These relate to an innovative population program, for it can be hypothesized that the population dynamics in Bangladesh contribute most significantly to the digression. A reorganization of this aspect can create positive changes in all other parts of the system. With the more effective and efficient utilization of tapped natural resources by an optimum population, societies can be expected to develop faster than if societies have a population size which does for the maximum/optimum utilization. Technological levels have to be changed and introduced in accordance with the dynamic homeostatic state. The paper proposes a population program which, when implemented, carries the weight of formalized law (as in China) but which does not contradict the belief systems of the people.

AKHTER, NAJMA, Aligarh Muslim University (Panel: Management Problems in Higher Education in the South Asia Region)

"Management of Distance Education Problems: A Comparative Study of India and Pakistan"

The concept of distance education is an important innovation of this century. It is for the distant learner, who is not in a position to approach the traditional educational institution. It aims to equalize educational opportunities. It is a philosophical concept of providing open access to higher education to all those disadvantaged groups who could not or did not join the formal stream. In developing countries like India and Pakistan, the need of Distance Education is still more keeping in view of the problems of an ever-growing population, limited educational enrolment capacity and low socio-economic status of the countrymen in general. Distance Education helps in bridging these gaps. As a result, correspondence education started in India and Pakistan long back has assumed quite an important role in the present educational system. Recently the concept of Open University has been accepted in India and Pakistan to cater to all those who have never received any adequate formal education. Open Universities have come up in India and Pakistan with the aim to democratize higher education. The Indira Gandhi National Open University (India) and Allama Iqbal Open University (Pakistan) are catering to more or less similar clientele as the educational needs of both these countries are the same. Job oriented course and specialized courses for women are getting high priority. This paper aims at a comparative study of distance education in India and Pakistan.

AKHUAR, VICHY, University of British Columbia (Panel: Constructing Self and Culture: Three Pioneers of Modern Indian Literature)

"Self-reflective Rhetoric of Ram Ganesh Gadkari"

Ram Ganesh Gadkari's short (1865-1919) but brilliant career in Marathi literature is a perpetual puzzle. Although he was preceded by pioneers such as Kirloskar, Daval, Kolhatkar and Khadii,ar, Gadkari left an indelible mark on Marathi drama with only six plays, three of which he left unfinished, and four of which were staged after his death. The influence of Gadkari on later playwrights has been acknowledged in areas such as creation of comparable characters, similar dramatic situations, and imitation of prose style. This paper will explore a so far unexplored aspect of Gadkari's literary contribution, namely the conscious self-reference to the act of playwriting and acting found in his literature. The paper will deal with the technique Gadkari
employed to erase the line between reality and illusion, analyze his devices, and comment on the dialectic between the creative and critical aspects of his muse.

APTE, MAHADAY, Duke University (Panel: Models of Female Worth)
"Unsung Heroines: Cultural Models of Gender Roles and Selfhood in Marathi Autobiographies"
Life histories are important personal documents that interpret a cultural system and the role of the self in it. Our insights into the multifaceted nature and internal variations of a culture are dependent on the quantity, quality, and diversity of such accounts. So is our understanding of the conflicts between selfhood on the one hand and collective identities, dominant values, and ideal role models on the other. This paper analyzes cultural models of gender roles and selfhood in women's autobiographies from Western India written in Marathi. These life histories describe women's roles as wives of public-spirited men engaged in politics, education, literature, and social reforms, goals that are highly acclaimed in the Maharashtrian society. The ideal role model for women in this culture emphasizes self-sacrifice and silent suffering for the fulfillment of men's objectives. While the contributions of altruistic men to society have been acknowledged by social historians, little attention has been given to the contributions of women to their husbands' achievements. These women's autobiographies reflect their efforts to emulate the dominant cultural role model which is frequently reinforced by references to heroines of Hindu epics and mythology who assisted their husbands through hard work and perseverance. These autobiographies also portray the psychological and physical stresses women suffered in order to resolve personal conflicts and ambitions, and without the encumbrance and burden of family affairs. Some very recent life histories of both women and men reflect the changing attitudes regarding male-female relationships in marriage. There is a decline in the traditionally dominant ideology of self-sacrifice and devotion to husbands and a growing emphasis on self-fulfillment.

AGGEBRINKER, JOYCE, Southern Illinois University (Panel: Women and Work in South Asia - Regional Patterns and Perspectives)
"Women's Economic Activities and Family Economic Organization in a Punjabi Village in Pakistan"
The presenter collected information on household organization in a village in the Punjab, Pakistan in the 1960's; this data is analyzed in terms of the economic role of women in farming families and their influence on joint household arrangements. Various levels of cooperation among women are described and their relationship to times of breakup of families (death of father, marriage of sons, conflict) are analyzed to determine the relative importance of women's activities and decisions in economic strategies of families. This material is updated by references to later studies of Pakistani household economies.

AUST, THOMAS, American Institute for Indian Studies (Panel: Inside Tradition: Change as Momentum in India's Performing Arts)
"Changing Khyal; Rajasthan's Folk Theatre"
Folk theatre continues to entertain village and festival audiences in Rajasthan, combining the "recitative style" acting of epic texts with dancing, singing, and instrumental music. Formulaic dance steps are used for fighting, love, etc., and modern interpolations are offered which have nothing to do with the play, but are simply entertaining. Stage conventions and movement patterns are sometimes formulaic, in their communication with the audience. Costumes and stage properties have their own sign language, and are made to order. Texts are poetry, representing converging currents of folk and classical. Players can insert, at their discretion, comic interludes which are improvised (though much of what is "improvised" is stock play) to suit the text, the occasion, and the audience. Performance conditions vary, depending on whether the Khyal takes place at a religious fair, a cattle fair, or in a town. Travelling with particular troupe shows their distinctive Khyal style, but also the particular appeal of certain groups and stages. Significant change has taken place in Khyal over the past four decades. How has it changed, why and where? How does this reflect changing cultural perspectives in Rajasthan? For example, Visvamitra is now played as a greedy comic whose excessive demands for dowry go beyond the original intentions of the text where the whole thing is set-up by the Gods to test Harishchand's devotion. Older players are still appalled at the sacrilegious representation of the venerable sage, but the audiences love it. On the other hand, no comic implications at all are permitted with Amar Singh Rathore. He may not even participate in the comic interludes or take money from members of the
audience during the solicitation interludes (i.e. songs sung to solicit money from the audience). This paper considers the text and performance conditions of Khvajah, the performers and stage conventions, and focuses on Khvajah's responsiveness to changing conditions in Rajasthan, and in the presentation formats.

BAGHIT, DRIPICA, Southern Illinois University (Panel: Women and Work in South Asia - Regional Patterns and Perspectives)

"Women's Work Patterns in a Changing Resource Environment in Madhya Pradesh, India"
The paper examines women's work roles and patterns in a changing resource environment in Madhya Pradesh, India. Based on field work conducted during 1979-80 and 1983-84, the paper examines two major areas of women's work outside the domestic sphere - farm and fuel collection activities. Representative samples drawn from different crop, culture, resource regions and social economic groups, the paper presents variations in work patterns, adoption and impact of new technologies, and impact of a changing resource environment. The overarching scenario is of heavy and varied work loads, alienation from traditional income supplementing tasks, and differential wage rates and job opportunities from men.

BASKI-YAHIRI, SUDESNA, Cornell University (Panel: Gender Construction of Work, Power and Politics in South Asia)

"Towards a Gender Construction of Power: Ritual in the Maldivian Context"
This paper addresses a crucial, theoretical issue in the study of culture and society: the mutual embeddedness of gender and power that essentially shapes political reality. The data that inform the analysis have been collected from a highly under-represented Islamic area of the South Asian landscape: the Republic of Maldives. Historical documentation reveals that, despite the Islamic milieu of the Maldives, women have consistently occupied a conspicuous and elevated position in island society. Their relatively high status in both the religious and social worlds has been critically reinforced by the autonomous orientation of female ritual practices, deriving from mainstream Islam. The essence of women's power as it is captured within the symbolic arena of religious activities obtains from the very nature of rituals. Rituals are inherently political: they are utilized not only to reflect the existing power structure, but also to conceptualize power and redefine its place within the social system. Thus, by being employed for religious discourses about power, rituals provide legitimation of cultural ideas through dramatic, political displays. In the Maldivian context, the ultimate authority that sanctions, and facilitates local understanding of, a specific construction of power as exhibited in ritual is vested in a particular interpretation of Islamic ideology. Hence, women's culturally-inspired ritual behavior provides an avenue for comprehending the gender-specificity of power against a backdrop of traditional Islamic values.

BASHIR, MUHAMMAD, University of Nebraska-Omaha (Panel: Opium in South Asia)

"Drug Smuggling: The Afghan Connection"
This paper will trace the historic development of Afghan drug smuggling, the usual routes, and the change in form and character after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

BEALS, ALAN R., University of California-Riverside (Panel: Siblingship in South Asia)

"Correlates of Sibling Rivalry and Love in Karnataka State"
Observations of young children and dispute cases gathered in two villages in Karnataka State suggest that the existence of unity and rivalry between siblings can be explained in terms of social structural factors without recourse to biopsychological theories concerning the universality of sibling affection and rivalry. For the most part, younger siblings display obedient deference to older siblings throughout their lifetimes --- a stance reminiscent of the pattern of own sibling relationships described in the Mahabharata. At all ages, conflict between sisters or between brothers and sisters is rarely observed or reported. Conflict between brothers, virtually absent in childhood, becomes one of the most frequent and disruptive forms of village conflict during the adult years. Such conflict between brothers can be attributed to disputes that arise when younger brothers demand their legal right to share equally in the family property.
BERTRAM, GERALD D., University of California-Berkeley (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations and Revaluations, Part II)

"The Indian Himalayas and Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations and Revaluations"

The Indian Himalayas, specifically Uttarakhand (the Himalayan districts of Uttar Pradesh), Himachal Pradesh, and extending well into Kashmir, share more ethnographically with Nepal than with the adjacent plains: language, architecture, economy, technology, religious practice, social organization—all are continuous with those of western Nepal and ultimately central Nepal and beyond. All reflect the shared history and environments of their peoples. Inhabitants of the Indian Himalayas do not, however, see themselves as actually or potentially associated with Nepal politically or otherwise. In fact, those of different Himalayan regions within India tend not to identify with one another. Rather, they strive for recognition, respect and a degree of autonomy, ethnic region by region, within the Indian union. This striving is manifest in a variety of social, political and environmental movements. The greatest obstacle to the success of these movements is found in the unrealistic perceptions of mountain people held by politically and economically dominant plainsmen, resulting in shortsighted and destructive exploitation of their environment and misguided social, political and economic policies applied to them by administrations at all levels. Much could be learned and much benefit gained on all sides if their governments would join with Nepal in addressing the common problems of Himalayan peoples, learning from one another's experience.

BHAROWAJ, SURINDER M., Kent State University (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Forth of Culture, Part I)

"Transference and Development of Sacred Space: The Southern Indian Example in America"

The process of "relocation diffusion" of Hindus in America has been characterized by voluntary immigrants of predominantly urban, highly educated, and professional backgrounds who are generally affluent. This confluence of conditions has made possible a very rapid transfer of authentic patterns of religious beliefs and behavior from India. Hindus of Southern Indian cultural heritage have been very successful in the transference of their religious ensemble. Including the culturally popular deities, temple architecture, ritual, ritualists, pilgrimage, and above all their organizational tradition. Development of individual temples into an evolving Hindu sacred system in America has important ethnic implications. The paper will describe the present distribution of Hindu temples in the United States, and examine the developing pilgrimage pattern in relation to selected centers. Some adaptations to the American environment will be highlighted.

BHATTACHARYYA, JINABAKRATA, Southern Illinois University (Panel: Gender Construction of Work, Power and Politics in South Asia)

Social Hierarchy and Radical Women's Movement: The Mahila Atmaraksha Samiti (Women's Self-Defence Association) in Bengal.

The MAS, founded in 1940, was the women's front organization of the Communist Party of India. It was a channel for recruitment of Party workers and for creating support among women for the broad objectives of the party. With its own membership drawn from Hindu bhadrarok families, the MAS's mobilization efforts were directed at subaltern families -- industrial workers and peasants as well as including other bhadrarok families. The program objectives of the MAS focused on raising the political consciousness of women, improving domestic relations and working conditions and expanding income opportunities. The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which bhadrarok women were successful in organizing subaltern women. Among the questions to be explored are to what extent differential class and caste status intervened in attempts to generate solidarity and symmetrical relations among women? To what extent were bhadrarok women conscious of status differentials in their mobilizing efforts?

BROWER, BARBARA, University of Texas-Austin (Panel: Conservation Initiatives at Four Villages in Nepal)

"Sherpa Livestock Management and Landscape Change in Khumbu, Nepal"

Over several hundred years of Sherpa occupation, both livestock themselves and Sherpa modification of natural vegetation in the interests of cattle production have substantially changed the landscape of Khumbu. Traditional conservation systems have meant that man-induced environmental changes has achieved an equilibrium, a balance of human pressure and environmental productivity, that stops short of severe ecological disruption.
as measured in erosion rates and other indicators of disturbance. Traditional livestock management systems exemplify the moderated exploitation that permits the ongoing survival of both Sherpa society and supporting landscape without the catastrophic transformation of either. Contemporary processes of change affect both the composition and management of Sherpa herds. These newly emerging management practices are more responsive to external factors than to local environmental limits, and threaten to disrupt this equilibrium.

CHANDA, MAYA, William Patterson College (Panel: State, Nationalism and Security: The emerging Equation of Power in South Asia)

"India's Emerging Quest For Power in South Asia: Dilemmas of National Identity, Unity and Security"

Heterogenous ethnic structure and communal conflicts have profound implications for the formation of the Indian state - its domestic stability and political integration - and for the ways in which New Delhi interacts with its neighbors. Yet, the role of ethnic conflicts in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy have received little attention. Such an 'ethnic' perspective will establish not only an important link between domestic preoccupations and foreign policy, but act as a corrective to the current over-emphasis on balance of power analysis in the study of India's regional interactions. The significance of domestic conflict - particularly those that are ethnic based - to the framing of foreign policy can be hardly overstressed in the 1980's when insurgency in the Punjab has impacted on India's relations with Pakistan and Tamil nationalism has propelled it to intervene in Sri Lanka. In the long run, India's ethnic heterogeneity will determine both the prospects of internal stability and the methods and objectives of India's quest for power in the subcontinent.

CHAKRAVARTI, TIA, Sukhadi University (Panel: Opium in South Asia)

"Production and Marketing of Opium in India with special Reference to Rajasthan"

Opium production and marketing is very different from any other crop in India, as its cultivation cannot be taken up by anyone freely. Moreover, one cannot sell the produce freely. Finally, the cost of cultivation of this crop is higher than other crops that are grown by cultivators in the villages surveyed. Production of opium is very remunerative for the producer and the country as a whole, as opium has very useful medicinal components in the form of opium alkaloids, but at the same time, the pilferage in the controlled marketing system and the method of pricing have led to the misuse of the product with such harmful consequences that it is threatening the very sanctity of human existence. Here an attempt has been made to study the production and marketing process which may have indirect bearing on the wider aspect of misuse or abuse of the product as opium cultivators think that if they are assured adequate returns for their produce, they would not encourage the smugglers. The highest price that is given by the government on highest average yield is Rs220/- whereas smugglers pay Rs500/ - to Rs700/- in the producing areas, when the same reaches the shore towns, it fetches from Rs150/- to Rs180/- per kilogram, and when it leaves the border areas and reaches foreign land, it fetches anything between Rs500/- and Rs6000/- per kilogram. Thus the smugglers acting as middlemen pay a higher price to the cultivators as they themselves net a very high margin of profit.

CONTRAST, JANET A., University of Minnesota (Panel: Voices from the Slums)

"Siddhartha and Shivaji in a Pune Slum"

The leaders in Manutingar, a slum in Pune, have established two distinct political mandals (associations). One mandal is dominated by Marathas and has political connections with a militant Hindu organization outside of the slum. The Maratha mandal leaders have adopted this organization’s ideology, which is a militant form of Hinduism, and are attempting to organize the caste Hindu residents in the slum by using the discourse of this ideology to create a sense of “Hindu community.” Their approach involves a notion of Hindus as a victimized majority, and reinforces the insecurity and dependence of the slum residents. The second mandal in the slum consists of Dalits, all of whom have converted to Buddhism and who now follow the teachings of Dr. Ambedkar. Their sense of themselves as a “Buddhist Dalit” community gives them a unity which the caste Hindus lack. The Dalit mandal leadership tries to reinforce this unity and promote self-reliance through its emphasis on education. The contrast in the mandals’ ideology and political work is discussed in this paper.
COONS, ELLAN, New York, New York (Panel: Deity and Spirit Possession in the Himalaya—Recent Research)

"Possessing Power: Ajima and Her Medium"

A growing number of Newari mediums, mostly women, exist in the Kathmandu Valley. They are regularly possessed by a variety of deities, most frequently by the goddess, Harat-Ma-Ajima, her sisters and her children. Through mediums, the deities often state that they have become embodied in order to help those who come to them for aid; healing is the organizing principle around which scheduled possessions take place. The mediums help people cope with social change by providing a traditional framework in which to comprehend it, but they are also agents of social change. They are controversial among Newars, for they provide an alternative to the religious authority of those who hold it; literate, high caste, initiate men. In this paper, I will discuss how these predominantly illiterate women of every caste are empowered by their close association and identification with goddesses. Part of the power gained by both the goddesses and their mediums comes from gaining a voice with which they can present in their own stories and interpret their experiences, so I will present in their own words the story of the goddess Harat-Ma (Ajima) and that of one of her mediums. These stories reflect a belief that transformation and change are possible without breaking the laws of the Hindu-Buddhist universe and Newar culture.

CUTLER, NORMAN, University of Chicago (Panel: The Use, Meaning and Rhetoric of Images of Family Life in South Asian Religious Texts)

"The Parent-Child Relationship in the Moral Scheme of an Early Tamil "Wisdom" Text"

Tirukkural, a Tamil text of the 5th and 6th century attributed to the legendary poet Tiruvalluvar, is an anthology of 1330 aphoristic verses on a wide range of topics pertaining to family life and life in society, asceticism, kingship, and the protocol of love. This paper will focus on the ten-verse subsection of Tirukkural on the topic "begetting children" (makalai pirural). Though among modern-day, educated speakers of Tamil, individual verses from Tirukkural are frequently quoted much in the manner of proverbs, for instance, as succinct verbal encapsulations of situations, this paper will be concerned not so much with the pairing of discrete verses to "contexts of situation" as with the moral outlook informing the text as a whole. In particular, the paper will be concerned with the way the parent-child relationship is viewed in the context of a systematic moral view of human activity and relationships. Besides the verses themselves, the paper will examine glosses and discussions of the verses contained in the "classic" commentaries on Tirukkural in order to determine the extent to which the traditional commentators perceived a larger moral scheme underlying the text and how they interpreted individual verses in light of that scheme.

DALE, STEPHEN F., Ohio State University (Panel: Afghanistan: the Afghan War and Problems of Reconstruction)

"The Idea of Afghanistan"

Since the mid-eighteenth century, when Afghanistan emerged as an independent state, the Pashtun tribes have formed the core of Afghan national identity and supplied the principal leaders of its governments. This paper will first, examine the history of these tribes, analyze the degree to which their linguistic and ethnic identity can be said to have constituted the nucleus of a nation state and examine the relationships between tribal and religious leaders in Afghan society. The second part of the paper will then discuss the Pashtun element in "modern" Afghan nationalism and examine the Pashtoonistan issue as a factor in the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Finally, the paper will raise questions regarding the relative influence of the Pashtun element and members of the Afghan 'ulama in post-Soviet Afghanistan.

DASGUPTA, SUNIT, Williamton, Delaware (Panel: Models of Female Worth)

"Gender, Women's Status and Violence Against Women: The Practices of "Sutees" in the 19th Century and "Dowry Deaths" in 20th Century India"

Every year scores of women are put to death in India by their in-laws in relation to higher demand for dowries. A parallel can be made between these dowry deaths and the practice of "Sutees" where widowed women were burned to death in the funeral pyres of their husbands. Although circumstances surrounding these two practices of violence against women are different, in one case the woman was a widow and in the other case the woman is married with her husband frequently acting as a direct or an indirect participant in this violent act, these two practices share similarities in terms of women's status within the family and society, and in
the way the concept of "gender" is constructed in relation to the act. Dowry death, is not a normative institution in the sense that this violent act against women, although "condoned" by the criminal justice system, is not positively rewarded by the society. In most cases the husbands' families try to put up a front of "accident" or "suicide," committed by the victim herself. Suttee, on the other hand, was a normative institution where the act was directly rewarded by the society itself. The act itself brought social prestige to the woman's family by proving that the woman "had been virtuous all her life." Dowry deaths, on the other hand, bring out indignation from women's groups against the act and dowry itself, grief and emotional loss to women's family and friends but no exalted status to the victim's or to the perpetrator's family. If the act is proved to be not being initiated by the victim herself, it is defined as "murder" by the society. In the case of "suttee" the act was not "murder," no matter who initiated the act. In this paper, I would analyze the "gender" ideologies and women's normative and actual status within the family and society both in the 19th and 20th century India to throw lights on these two types of acts of violence against women. Data for the present paper would be gathered mainly from archival and library research. I would show that: a) In spite of structural and normative differences in the 19th and 20th century Indian society, where the former was feudal and colonial and the latter is urbanized and industrial, gender ideologies and women's status within family and society share considerable commonalities, and b) gender ideologies and women's normative and actual status within family and society are two important factors which can explain these two types of violent acts against women.

DR. MUNK, VICTOR C. University of California-Riverside (Panel: Siblingship in South Asia)

"The Myth of Opposite-Sex Sibling Solidarity: an Examination of Brother-Sister Relationships in a Sri Lankan Community"

While Srinivas and others have examined the "Myth of fraternal solidarity" in the Dravidian cultural region, few researchers have questioned the concomitant assumption of brother-sister solidarity. Brothers and sisters are axiomatically expected to be protective and nurturant of one another. In contrast to brothers, arguments between brothers and sisters are not publicly expressed or observed, hence the assumption of solidarity is often presumed by the lack of evidence to the contrary. Data from a Sri Lankan Muslim community is used to examine brother-sister relationships in terms of the variances between actual behaviors and a set normative behavioral postulates held between kin. The objectives of this paper is to explicate a set of normative rules for behavior, examine how well they account for the on-the-ground behavior, and formulate a secondary set of postulated norms. Age, marital status, and personal resources seem to be the primary factors accounting for the variance between actual and normative expectations of behavior between brothers and sisters. It appears that brother-sister relations fit best with the normative assumptions when attributes of rank dominance (e.g., wealth, seniority, married) are all clearly assigned to the brother. Strains between brothers and sisters become more evident in proportion to both the number and kinds of attributes of rank dominance that are assigned to the sister.

DESHCHEN, MARY. Stanford University (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations & Revaluations)

"In Service to Colonialism: The Emergence of National Identity Among the Gurkhas"

The hill regions of Nepal are often portrayed as having been isolated and generally unaffected by world affairs until at least the end of the Rana period. Yet the British have, since the early nineteenth century, recruited infantry for their armies from among those hill peoples—Magars, Gurungs, Rai and Limbu—whom they counted among the 'martial races.' The Gurung men with whom I worked drew upon their experiences as soldiers to interpret and respond to social, economic and political changes within Nepal which affect their lives. This paper explores the role of service in foreign armies in shaping understandings of these local and national processes. Experiences overseas have, for example, heightened Gurung men's awareness of Nepal as a nation, while disparity in pay, pensions and promotion between Gurkhas and British soldiers have led them to reflect upon domination and inequality. I argue that the consequences of these reflections are found in a transformation of Gurung identity as ex-soldiers and their offspring have begun to understand themselves as part of an ethnic minority within the Nepalese state, and to chart lives which they hope will at once allow them to remain resolutely Gurung and yet place them within the mainstream of Nepalese society as they perceive it.
DIDH, RASHIDA M., Philadelphia Pennsylvania (Panel: Education in Regional South Asia)

"Education and Development: A Case Study of the Republic of Maldives"

Educational Goals and Objectives: Educational goals and objectives are directed at providing primary education for all, developing a curricula more relevant to the environment, and training the manpower necessary for national development. They emphasize self-reliance, strengthening of national consciousness, and the preservation of cultural heritage.

Literacy: Reasons for the high literacy rate (compared to the developing world in general and particularly to South Asia) lie in the strong family and community-based traditional system of education that still prevails. The absence of gender disparities in the rate of literacy and school enrolment is also a feature worth noting. This is also a unique phenomenon considering the pattern in the region.

Modern Education: One of the aspects of modern education involves the newly-organized primary school system throughout the rural areas. This is aimed at achieving universal primary education by 1995. The other aspect is the English-medium schools in the capital island of Male. It is the English-educated high school student on whom the country depends for academic, professional and semi-professional training such as doctors, teachers and nurses who are in much demand. Is also this group that will go in for the different non-academic areas of training. Another area of importance for the development is the vocational training program. Some of this training has been directed at training the much needed skilled worker such as electricians, welders, carpenters etc. Besides, this program also attempts at providing innovative methods to improve traditional craftsmanship so as to develop new and more marketable products.

Women's Education: Specific women's education programs were launched only a few years ago by the National Council for Women, a government body entrusted with the task of women's development. Various training courses conducted were aimed at developing women leaders in general, particularly in the rural areas. These women were expected to take an active role in the areas of health, education, income-generation, community development, among others.

DONALDSON, THOMAS, Cleveland State University (Panel: Temple Traditions)

"Rare Sanctum Images of Siva in Orissan Temples"

The temples of Orissa are particularly noted for their dark interior which is invariably devoid of sculptural decoration. In many cases the sanctum floor is subterranean so that one has to descend down steps to reach the enshrined linga, a feature which makes the interior even darker. In some cases this is due to a later temple being built over an earlier one. Whereas the images of other Devas may be moved, the Siva-linga, once fixed, must remain, hence it is called "immoveable." Even when the temple is erected on a high platform the sanctum is often at ground level or lower. According to indigenous tradition, the sanctum is dug deep into the earth so that during the rainy season the linga within will be surrounded by water. As such the symbolism corresponds with that of the linga (agni) emerging from the water (soma), i.e. the liquid sakti (Ganga) activating the inactive linga, and stresses the rising nature of the linga in the yoni. Aside from the linga, images of Siva in other forms seldom appear in the sanctum of Siva temples. There are, however, three examples in situ, in the back wall of the sanctum immediately behind the linga, which are particularly interesting as all three are directly associated with this Agni-Soma symbolism of the Siva-linga. The first image is a six-armed Mahesvara emerging from water while the other two images are of an eight-armed Tryambaka wherein Siva pours libations over himself. These latter two images, based on the Sarad-tilaka Tantram, are unique and the only such examples of this ichnographic form of Siva so far known. They are thus extremely important discoveries for the study of Siva ichnography.

DUSHKIN, LEAH, Kansas State University (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Firth of Culture, Part II)

"Cultural Identity in the "Sticks": South Indian Professionals in Kansas"

South Indian physicians, engineers, scientists and other professionals who settled in Kansas during the 1970's have confronted many of the same issues as elsewhere. Their population is small, however, and widely scattered in the few cities and college towns of the state. Seldom are there enough accessible people from one's own linguistic region for this to serve as a basis of shared activity and identification. It seems,
rather, to be a part of what it means to be Indian as acted out on ceremonial occasions. The paper will review how the South Indian respondents have established themselves professionally and how they are defining themselves as Americans, as Indians, as Hindus or Muslims.

BRADLEY, KATHLEEN M., Lewis and Clark College (Panel: Female Images in the Panjab)
"Images of Power: Sakti in Panjabi Religion and Culture"

This paper will explore female images of power (sakti) in Panjabi Hinduism and Sikhism. The worship of Devi (the goddess), the embodiment of sakti is one of the most vigorous and visible of religious phenomena among Panjabi Hindus. She is worshipped at pilgrimage places and in homes in different aspects and manifestations. Structurally, the meaning behind these multiple aspects can be discerned by looking at two distinct polarities in the Goddess' nature. The first is that of Vaisno, the gentle vegetarian aspect, and Kali, the fierce carnivorous aspect. The second is that of Mother (Mata) and Virgin (kanya or kanjak). I will discuss these two polarities by exploring the oral myths told at pilgrimage places, particularly Vaisno Devi. If we are to understand the concept of sakti in Sikhism, I believe we must go beyond the assumption that it is a "holdover" from Hinduism or that it stems solely from "unorthodox" Sikh participation in the Hindu Goddess cult. I will demonstrate that sakti is central to Sikh theology through a close examination of Guru Gobind Singh's creative incorporation of female images of power. I will also argue that although the concept of sakti is an important part of the Panjabi world view, Hindu or Sikh, that it can be employed in divergent ideologies stemming from that shared world view.

EVERITT, JANA, University of Colorado, Denver (Panel: Voices From the Slums)
"The Voices of Slum Women in Bombay"

What do women living in the Bombay slums think of their work and family lives? What positive and negative aspects do they identify? What changes do they want? How do they evaluate other types of work? What aspirations do they have for their sons and their daughters? To what extent do they participate in organizations? How do they evaluate the effects of organizations on their lives? After decades of invisibility, lower class women in the Third World have become the objects of research in development studies. Too rarely do they figure as subjects. Seldom are their voices heard. Drawing on research in progress on two hundred women informal sector workers in Bombay, this paper investigates the questions listed above. It examines the perspectives articulated by women from the slums and note the recommendations for policy and organizational development implicit in their perspectives. The data for this paper consists of surveys and in-depth interviews of women in five informal sector occupations (sweepers, domestic servants, putting-out workers, khannawalis, and fish processors). The data, collected during 1986-88, is part of a larger study of women informal sector workers, organizations, policy and the Indian political economy that is being carried out by Dr. Mira Savara and myself.

KEO, SCOTT University of Hawaii (Panel: Conservation Initiatives at Four Villages in Nepal)
"Local Resource Management in Nepal: Prospects and Limitations"

In rural South Asia natural resources figure directly in the relationship between people and their environments. The dynamics of many of these relationships are changing for a variety of reasons, and the ability to control and manage these resources at the local level is critically important to strategies which seek to accommodate these changes. This is especially critical in Nepal, where geographic factors limit greatly the range of adaptive strategies and the capacity of the national government to play an effective role in the conservation and management of local resources. Using case study material from a small integrated rural development project in western Nepal, this paper will examine the potential for local-level control over resources and the possible limitations posed by conflicting claims on territorial jurisdiction and power.

PELTMAN, JAMITA, University of California-Berkeley (Panel: Female Images in the Panjab)
"To Be or Not To Be a Goddess: The Question of Rajender Singh Bedi's Female Characters"

Critics of Urdu literature consider Rajender Singh Bedi (1915-1984) to be one of the major writers of modern Urdu fiction. Bedi was affiliated with the Urdu branch of the All India Progressive Writers Association (1936-1950), a movement of literature that investigated the problems in Indian Society. Progressive writers
sometimes focused on the plight of Indian women, a theme that marks much of Bedi's work. Bedi's women characters are urban and rural, are members of several socio-economic classes, and are residents of different areas of India, Maharashtra, Bengal, and his native Punjab particularly. Bedi examines not only women's problems—the stigma of illegitimacy in a society requiring female chastity, women's financial dependence on men, and marital-familial discord—he also investigates the female nature. In describing this aspect of Bedi's work, literary critics have identified several of Bedi's characters as goddesses, but these critics have no analyzed these goddess figures in depth and have no described the traits which distinguish them as deities. Goddesses are, however, unique to Urdu fiction which is, for the most part, the province of Muslim authors whose writing does not contain goddesses. My paper will examine three of Bedi's Punjabi female characters illustrating the characteristics Bedi attributes to goddesses: 1) Rano in Bedi's novel A Slightly Soiled Sheet (Ek Chadar Maiili Si); 2) Lajwanti in Bedi's short story "Lajwanti"; 3) Ma in Bedi's Short story "A Barren Woman" (Kohor Jali). My study draws on the scholarship of the Urdu literary critic Gopi Chand Narang, the works of psychoanalysts Morris Carstairs and Sudhir Kakar, the writings of classicist Wendy O'Flaherty, and on my own fieldwork conducted in India in 1984.

**Feldman, Shelley**, Cornell University (Panel: Gender Constructions of Work, Power and Politics in South Asia)

"Contradictions of gender inequality: the social construction of the labor process in contemporary Bangladesh"

It has been argued that gender inequality in the labor market, and in export processing zones in particular, can be ascribed to the domestic division of labor and the recreation of domestic patriarchal relations in the work place. This paper examines the social construction of these gender relations in the homestead and in selected enterprises in the export processing zones of Bangladesh. A comparative analysis of the gender division of labor in these arenas will be located in the context of the changing articulation of purdah. The ideological manifestations of gender inequality will be structurally examined in the context of the restructuring of the urban labor market and the creation of what some have called the aristocracy of labor.

**Fisher, William**, Columbia University (Panel: Deity and Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya—Recent Research)

"Spirit Possession in Central Nepal"

This paper focuses on incidents in Central Nepal of what I.M. Lewis (1972:32) and Rex Jones (1976:2) have called "peripheral possession." The unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of peripheral possession makes it particularly threatening to social order. According to Lewis and Jones, this form of possession has the social function of an "oblique aggressive strategy" whereby possessed individuals can manipulate superiors without openly challenging their authority. It has been suggested that peripheral possession occurs most frequently to individuals of low status. This assertion, that peripheral possession provides a means for status achievement that is otherwise inaccessible, is essentially correct but vague, and does not explain the possession of high status individuals, nor why this strategy would be employed by some low status individuals in similar circumstances. This paper aims to further our understanding of this phenomena through the presentation of several case studies from Central Nepal which illustrates the complex dynamics of peripheral possession, its local interpretation, and its treatment.

**French, Hal**, University of South Carolina (Panel: The 'Religious' and the 'Secular' in Indian Thought)

"Indian Constitution as a Document of 'Civil Religion'"

The Indian Constitution is generally interpreted as embodying the ideal of the modern secular state. This paper continues the discussion with reference to 'saintly' and ' secular' aspects of the Constitution, but it does so on the basis of a model which has not yet been applied, i.e. to see it as a document of civil religion. Rousseau's classic five categories for civil faith form the starting point for this inquiry, with focus only on two of these, "the sanctity of the social contract and the law, and the exclusion of intolerance." One way of enhancing the first of these was through the extension of the idealist feeling for the land, the people, their institutions. Yet the drafters of the constitution rejected the Gandhian model of decentralized, village India as romanticized and impractical. Their goal was to provide a strong center which could override the communal, divisive structures which had promoted intolerance. In developing the civil
religion motif, the paper studies the strong claim which the Constitution makes for the role of the State, investing it with authority of "secular sanctity." The stated provisions of Articles 25 and 26 are examined, with the State's clear assertion that an arbitrating function over religion is needed in consideration of "public order, morality and health." Divisions persisted and the State has found it problematic to elicit popular idealism and support for what has often appeared as Westernized, non-traditional model of government.

GASTON, ANNE-MARIE, Oxford University (Panel: Inside Tradition: Change as Momentum in India's Performing Arts)

"The Recreation of Bharata Natyan: What is Meant by Traditional"

Bharata Natyan, currently one of the most popular styles of classical dance in India, once had ritual importance in the temples of south India. In the course of its transition from temple to stage and its passage from the purview of traditional families to the control of members of the educated elite, the dance has undergone some changes in presentation and style. The dance style itself is recognizable the same form that has evolved and undergone changes, but there appears to be a tendency for current practitioners to embellish it with the trappings of antiquity, whether or not they were present in its immediate precursor. Legitimizing innovation through an appeal to authority has become the arbiter of how the dance can develop. In this paper I shall examine the attitudes of students, teachers and critics today towards certain trends in the dance, and in so doing attempt to define their concept of what is 'traditional'.

GEORGE-CRAGEM, MARGARET, University of California-Davis (Panel: Models of Female Worth)

"Accounting for Female Worth: Does Control of Productive Property Make a Difference? A Comparative Village-Level Study in Tamil Nadu and Kerala"

The question of female worth in India and the dynamics of the imbalanced sex-ratio have led scholars to search for causal explanations for the suggested regional variation in female worth, and it has been posited that females are more highly valued in South India than in North India (Miller, 1981, 1987; Dyson and Moore, 1982). This paper will present the results of anthropological fieldwork carried out in 1986-87 in two villages in South India which tests the relative control that women exert over productive property against their decision-making power within the household relative to male control. This research suggests that female ownership and control over land and other productive property does positively affect their control over other dimensions of their lives. Specifically, over reproductive decisions, decisions over the marriages of sons and daughters, decisions over diet and spacial mobility. This in turn suggests that women gain political control within the household as a result of control over the economic base of subsistence. Further, this paper explores authority structures within the household, and the reproduction of these structures and examines if the realm of authority and ideology is, in these cases, a totally separate domain. This paper will argue that control over productive property does indeed make a difference, but that the degree of the difference varies according to which dimension of female autonomy and female worth we are measuring. A comparison of the two differing state contexts and state policies with regard to land reform is also counted to make a difference.

GHAI, KIRIN E., Los Angeles, Calif. (Panel: Women's Expressive Culture)

"Hindi Popular Cinema and the Indian American Teenage Dance Experience"

Contemporary Indian popular culture, especially musical cinema, influences the lives of Indians settled outside India, as well as other peoples in almost every part of the world. This paper investigates the impact of popular Hindi cineman dance on Indian immigrants, and particularly, on first generation Indian American female performers, in Los Angeles and Orange counties, California. Due to recent developments in video recording technology, thousands of Indian feature films, and hence film choreography, reach southern California. Imported musical films have become one vital aspect of family and community life among the more than 35,000 Indians and persons of Indian descent settled in the area. Cinema is conspicuously present in the Indian community events, or "cultural programs," as immigrants and their children often perform songs, instrumental compositions, and dances drawn from Hindi films. Girls ranging in age from ten to 22 present solo and group choreography, which are well received by Indian audiences. Many of these girls also study classical dance forms with professional dance artists, and participate in social dance forms from several regions of India. This paper explores the local teenage performers' methods of choosing, learning, and re-choreographing film dances for stage presentation; describes their criteria for distinguishing particularly skillful Hindi.
cinema actresses/dancers; and presents their perspectives on the relationship between Indian classical dance traditions and popular Hindi film dance. Finally, the paper identifies the factors underlying the accessibility of film dance for both the young choreographers and the Indian community audiences.

GHOSH, HUMA AIMEED, Syracuse University (Panel: Women and Work in South Asia - Regional Patterns and Perspectives)

"Impact of Agricultural Development on the Work Patterns of Women in a Village in Uttar Pradesh"

Pulinpur in Uttar Pradesh is highly reflective of the general trend in rural work participation and its social ramifications in North India. This paper portrays rural women's changing work patterns due to agricultural development in Pulinpur. Agricultural development in Pulinpur has led high caste women to move out of the confines of their homes to agricultural work on family farms, while it has led scheduled caste women to withdraw from wage labor and confine them to their homes. This paper examines the process and cultural impact of this reversal on women's status in Pulinpur.

GOKHALE, SHOBHANA, Deccan College, Pune (Panel: Beyond Form to the context of India's Visual Arts.)

"Ritual Organization with Special Reference to Sri Vithala at Pandharpur"
The unique sculpture of Tara in cave No. 3 at Kanheri has been sculptured along with the Buddha and Avalokitesvara. The elegant figure of Tara is holding lotus in her left hand and a torch in her right hand. This could be dated with the help of epigraphic evidence. The Kesari plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III (dated S 727 - 805 A.D.) record that the king snatched away the royal banner of the Pala monarch Dharmapala which bore the effigy of Bhagavati Tara. At Kanheri there are two inscriptions of the Svbhara kings. One inscription dated in S 765 (A.D. 844) is of Pulasakti records the donation of one dramma for the purchase of books. The other inscription is of Kapardin - II. These inscriptions have recorded that the Svbhara kings were feudatories of the Rashtrakuta kings. The inscription dated S 797 (850 A.D.) has mentioned the Rashtrakuta king Govinda - III as jagattunga (highest in the world). The same inscription records the donation of Gomin - Avighnakara who hailed from Gaudadesha (Bengal) made a donation of 100 drammas (coins) for the construction of Meditation room at Kranagiri - Kanheri. From the epigraphic evidence it is clear that the political victory of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda - III over Bengal had nurtured the Cultural relations between Bengal and Western India. At this time the cult of Tara which was prevalent in Bengal was introduced in Western India. The reference to the donation of one dramma for the purchase of books delineates the educational tradition at Kanheri. This sculpture of Tara at Kanheri indicates the superb synchronism between the holistic imagination of a Buddhist monk who was well-versed in the Sdbhanas, instructed the artizen for compliance and therefore we find exact approximation between the Sdbhanas of Tara and the sculpture of Tara at Kanheri.

GOLDMAN, ROBERT, University of California-Berkeley (Panel: The Construction of the Feminine: Representations of Women in Traditional and Contemporary India)

"Transsexualism, Gender and Anxiety in Traditional India"
In addition to the well-known and influential passages in important Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain texts which demonstrate powerfully negative attitudes towards women and assign them a clearly secondary role in the social and spiritual life of traditional India, there exist a number of myths, legends, and other literary and nonliterary sources which may appear to run counter to this negative valuation. Among the latter are a series of legendary, performative, and biographical texts from the ancient, medieval, and modern periods which center on the fantasy-theme of transsexualism particularly -- but not exclusively -- on instances in which a man is transformed, psychologically and/or physically, into a woman and appears to find that gender preferable to that of the male. Drawing on texts ranging from the vedas, epics and puranas to the performative traditions of the Krsna school and the biographies of the modern religious leader Sri Ramakrishna, the paper will discuss selected examples of the theme of transsexualism and suggest an interpretation of this theme as a response to specific gender-related anxieties fostered by a powerfully patriarchal society such as India's and--paradoxically -- to the very hostility towards women which appears to inform so much of the tradition's normative texts.
CUMMINS, BARBARA, Columbia University (Panel: Female figures in Indian Literature)  
"History/Herstory: The Mahabharata Tales of Lunar Dynasty Women"
Scholarly interpreters of the genealogical material in the Mahabharata (particularly the lengthy account of the origins of the lunar dynasty in the Adi parvan) have variously regarded it as historical record, purposefully crafted representations of the past, and tedious yarns spun around a core of information essential to the epic narrative. Most discussions of this material have focused on the male members of the lineage; few have considered the female members in their interpretations. This paper will compare and contrast the representations key lunar dynasty women to argue that such stories are relevant to understanding the epic's central themes.

GUSTAFSON, DON, Augsburg College, Minneapolis (Panel: Opium in South Asia)  
"The British and Opium in South Asia"
This paper will concentrate on 19th century British policy in India towards the production, regulation and marketing of opium. The policy of opium promotion will be related to the need of the British for a medium of exchange within other Asian countries, especially China. The impact in India will be analyzed. Early Congress Party policies pressuring Britain to change and limit opium production will be described.

HALLISSEY, CHARLES, Loyola University of Chicago (Panel: The Use, Meaning and Rhetoric of Images of Family Life in South Asian Religious Texts)  
"Parenthood as Metaphor in Theravada Buddhism"
Theravada authors commonly use elaborate clusters of metaphors for two distinct ends. They use metaphors as analytic models to aid understanding of philosophical positions, as when they employ the imagery of houses, rivers, and vegetation to illustrate Buddhist ideas about persons. They also use metaphors to motivate people to appropriate action. My paper focuses on this second use of metaphor in order to add to our understanding of Buddhist rhetoric. It is an investigation of how the notion of parenthood is elaborated as a "performative metaphor" in the Buddhist literature of medieval Sri Lanka (twelfth to fourteenth centuries). I will look at the metaphorical use of parenthood in two different contexts within medieval Sinhala and Pali literature. First, I will consider how the model of parents and children provides a structure for personal relations in monastic life. Second, I will describe how the idea of the Buddha as a mother serves as an instigation for devotion within a Buddhist context. Finally, I will discuss the place of the imagery of parenthood in Theravada Buddhist ethics.

HAMBLY, CAVIN R.G., University of Texas at Dallas (Panel: Conflicting Images of the British Raj)  
""Universal" Historians"
It does not seem to have been remarked upon that the majority of Indo-Muslim historians between the 13th century and the 18th, have shown remarkable indifference to the course of historical events outside the subcontinent. There is no Indo-Muslim equivalent of al-Tabari, Juvaini, Rashi al Din or Ibn Khaldun. The one exception may be the 13th century historian, Minhaj-i Sira Juzjani, who, although immersed in political survival in the Delhi Sultanate of the mid-thirteenth century, nevertheless included in this great compendium of history, the Tabaqat-i Nasiri, a quite exceptionally large amount of non-Indian material. Why was this so? The horizons of his world were very broad indeed. Upbringing had something to do with it, for he had grown up in the Ghurid territories in Afghanistan and eastern Iran before emigrating to Delhi, and events in his former homelands drew his attention again and again. And then, he lived through an extraordinary period of history, when the career of Chinghis Khan and the establishment of a Mongol empire had made the world a smaller, if a more perilous place. Perhaps the ongoing threat of Mongol raids from across the Indus made it impossible for a contemporary chronicler to ignore what was happening beyond the frontiers of the Delhi Sultanate. Juzjani was exceptionally well-informed about events in Mongolia, in southern Russia and in the Levant, where the affairs of the Crusaders also arouse his concern. Does this dimension of Juzjani as an early Indo-Muslim historian deserve greater attention than it has hitherto received? A re-evaluation of Juzjani - and one is certainly due - would surely cast him as a writer with a more encompassing world-vision than, say, Barani, Abu'l Fazl or Bahauni. To put it another way, is the fact (if it is a fact) that, after Juzjani, Indo-Musl
historians progressively displayed less and less interest in events outside Hindustan reflect an increasingly parochial perception of the place of India within the Dar al-Islam?

HARRIS, MICHAEL S., Southern Methodist University (Panel: Development and Economics)
"The Human-Land Relationship in Bangladesh"
In this paper the human-land relationship is viewed as mediated by the forces of culture. Particular attention is paid to the land system of Bangladesh, using data from a village study. Previous studies in Bangladesh relating to rural social and economic structure have emphasized the exploitative nature of social relations in regard to land tenure systems and the increasing landless population. This paper offers a descriptive account of the breadth and arrangement of tenure strategies. Focus will be on understanding tenure and inheritance of land as dynamic processes which serve to exacerbate the landless problem, yet which also serve as important means of ensuring survival. In general, inheritance patterns in conjunction with limited land resources contribute to the marginalization of households through decrease in the size of landholdings over time. However, sharecropping and leasing systems can function as types of safety nets which allow the household to retain its land and/or manage crisis situations.

HEINRICH, STEVEN A., University of Illinois-Urbana (Panel: Ethnic and National Identity)
"Identity Switching: A Pragmatic Model of Indian Social Interaction"
There are at least two Indias today, the India of modernity, and the India of tradition. Most individuals in India must operate within both of these cultures. I propose that this apparent contradiction is resolved by simultaneous identities as situationally appropriate. A social identity may be defined as an identity derived from membership in a given culture. Such membership carries with it certain roles, and an understanding of a system of rules for interpreting the behavior of others who operate within the same cultural framework. Individuals in most societies exhibit some degree of plural identity, but such multiplicity of identities is elaborated to an extreme degree in India. The traditional social system, economic classes, linguistic/ethnic groups, and the modern nation state all have identity theory by proposing that cultures are not discretely bounded entities, and modern nation state all have the potential to give rise to social identities. I expand on traditional social identity theory by proposing that cultures are not discretely bounded entities, and that individuals are capable of simultaneous membership in several cultures. Within any given cultural framework, such as the various of traditional India, only one identity will be open to any one individual. Thus, identities within one cultural framework are in structural opposition. Since I propose that one can simultaneously be a member of several cultures, however, different social identities will be open to an individual within other cultural frameworks. Many apparent social dilemmas vanish when one assumes that individuals have to assume whichever of these identities is situationally relevant. The unit of intersection of these cultures, and the unit of expression of these identities is, thus, the individual.

HIBBERT, GEORGE, Asian Art Society, Saint Louis (Panel: Studies in South Asian Art)
"On Tibetan Paintings"
A series of observations on early Tibetan painting paintings and the development of Tibetan painting styles.

HITLEBERG, ALF, George Washington University (Panel: Animals as Transformations and Projections in Classical Indian Texts)
"The Water Buffalo: From "Proto-Siva" to "Brake Inspector"
This presentation will be an overview of the ichnographic, ritual, mythological, folkloric, and proverbial significance of the water buffalo in the Indian tradition. Against the background of the most prominent ritual and mythic roles of this animal -- the buffalo sacrifice and the Buffalo Demon's combat with the goddess -- I will concentrate on the following themes: the buffalo's taxonomic and symbolic rapport with other animals, continuities between Vedic royal rituals and the buffalo sacrifice as part of Navaratra-Vijayadasami, the significance of the recurrence of "disguised" buffalo sacrifice scenarios in both classical and folk epics, the Buffalo Demon's human multiform, human stupidity and other human failings, though often in humorous fashion.
HOFFMAN, STEVEN, Skidmore College (Panel: State, Nationalism and Security: The Emerging Equation of Power in South Asia)

"Nation-Building Imperatives and the Creation of Modern Border; India vs. China"

The need to strengthen the state structure of post-revolutionary China, and efforts to reinforce the fragile sense of national identity in post-Independent India, are largely responsible for the long running Sino-Indian border dispute. China's post 1949 government wants borders which assume continued control over frontier regions, partly to build up the stability and legitimacy of the historic centralized "state," upon which China's sense of nationhood rests. India's government claims to have discovered borders which demonstrate the pre-British historical authenticity of the Indian "nation." If the Sino-Indian border conflict is to be fully resolved, the modern Chinese nation state's need for strategic borders must be reconciled with the Indian nation state's need for historic borders.

HOLMBERG, DAVID, Cornell University (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations and Reevaluations)

"The Origin and Implications of the Idea of Tribe in the Himalayas"

Ethnology of the Himalayas cannot escape its history, which is intertwined with the ethnology of greater South Asia and Tibet. This paper examines conceptions of inhabitants of the Himalayas as they took form in earliest accounts of Asia through British rule in India to contemporany anthropological constructions of Nepal. It focuses especially on the origins and implications of the term 'tribe' as developed in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its relation to "marginality." The ethnography of Nepal originated at the very moment that anthropological concern in India was shifting to greater Indian civilization away from an almost exclusive focus on "tribal." This has had important implications for the form and substance of Himalayan ethnography.

HOOLE, S. RAVAJEELAN H., Harvey Mudd College (Panel: Insurgency Movements and the Sri Lanka-India Peace Accord)

"The Current Situation in Jaffna-A Civilian Perspective"

Much has been said and written on the situation in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. However, most of what is written is usually from the perspective of the Indian or Sri Lankan government or that of the Tamil Tigers. These news releases tow the official line, be it Indian, Sri Lankan or Tamil. Outside foreign reporters, on the other hand, do the best they can from a short visit and, as a result, are constrained to report all claims and counterclaims. In all this, how the civilian living in Jaffna perceives the situation is often lost. This paper tries to establish the Tamil civilian perspective on the current situation in Jaffna. The study covers the periods of the onset of large scale and perpetual violence, the control of Tamil territory by the militants, the subsequent counter-offensive by the Sri Lankans, and, finally, the Indian consolidation. The paper follows the transition of Tamil-civilian thought through time - for the Tamil tigers at times and against them at others, pro-Indian at times, and anti-Indian at others. The reasons for these vacillations, as well as those that constrain civilians to take the "official position" are examined.

HOVELL, LAURIE, Syracuse University (Panel: Voices from the Slums)

"Nandeo Dhasal: In the Streets of Bombay"

This paper focuses on the uses of slum and street imagery in Dhasal's poetry. Nandeo Dhasal's first book of poetry, Golpita, is named for a slum area of Bombay. His poems wander the streets—past the prostitutes on Faulkland Road, past beggars, through the teashops, on to John Beach, down to the burial grounds; his poems look into hutments and stand staring at statues of Dr. Ambedkar. Dhasal's language is that of the streets: Bombay Hindi, Marathi, village dialect, with a bit of English thrown in. The slum is his world, the arena of political, sexual, domestic, and social activity. This paper examines Dhasal's depiction of the slum and its inhabitants—specifically his representation of women—and his use of street idiom.

HUNTINGTON, JOHN C., Ohio State University (Panel: Studies in South Asian Art)

"Some Little Known Indus Seals"

A detailed examination of the Indus seals containing human representations reveals new insights into the Indus civilization. The paper presents three of these seals.
HURD, JOHN, Norwich University (Panel: Conflicting Images of the British Raj)

"Market Integration in India in the British Period"

The construction of railways across the India played a key role in the expansion of markets in the subcontinent and in the linkage of India to world markets; but the mechanics of the process have not been fully investigated. I have argued elsewhere that at the macro level, railways brought market integration in terms of the convergence of prices of rice and wheat. Recently, I have found that the price elasticity of demand for freight service was -.3 to -.7, which indicates that demand for freight rates must be added to track mileage as a key element in market expansion. The role of rates is particularly important in light of the dramatic changes in rates that took place at various points between 1884 and 1938. In this paper, the processes are analyzed at the micro level by the examination of price data for specific districts. Regression analysis and graphs are used but results are intended to be comprehensible to non-economists. Integration is found to exist before railways reached various districts; but curiously, the process of integration halted before real rates ceased to fall and track mileage ceased to expand. Market integration, a process so vital in other countries for regional specialization and growth, thus came to an end in India before World War I, and this may be one of the reasons why the subcontinent achieved only a very slow rate of economic growth in the British era in spite of having the fourth largest rail network in the world. Much of the grain traffic was destined for the ports and export markets in the years before World War I; therefore, the crucial role of exports in market expansion is explored. Patterns of non-export rail trade are also examined. The paper shows that in many districts, the linkage to world markets brought year to year price instability that exceeded the prerail price instability, a change with profound socio-economic implications.

JAMES, CAROLINE, Washington State University (Panel: Education in Regional South Asia)

"People and Projects in Development Anthropology: A Literacy Project in Madhya Pradesh"

This study project applied and tested cross-culturally Paulo Freire's methodology and learning theory to a literacy program in Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, India. The study utilized qualitative and quantitative data to determine the success and effectiveness of Freire's method. Quantitative data is based on surveys of participants in literacy programs. Qualitative data is based on participant observation and interviews. The study gave proof that Freire's method could be applied to "grassroots" participation in the process of literacy development in India. The study also illustrates the importance of social and cultural factors in development.

JIN, ANNIE, Ohio State University (Panel: Studies in South Asian Art)

"Influence of Nepali Buddhist Art on Chinese Imperial Portraits"

A detailed analysis of the Yuan Dynasty imperial portraits reveals that the Newari artist, An-Ni-Ke or one of his immediate followers was probably responsible for having painted the set.

JOHNSON, BENEDICT, University of Pennsylvania (Panel: Women's Expressive Culture)

"Weep for Status: Expressions of Gham in the NWFP"

(This is the second of two papers which deal with women's expressive behavior in contemporary Pakistan. It belongs alongside Maggie Ronkin's paper entitled, "Dress for Success: Language of the Shalwar-kamias in Pakistan")

Based on research conducted in the NWFP in 1982-83 and 1986-87 among Paktun rural women, this paper discusses how the notion of sorrow, suffering and hardship is learned, structured and performed to establish and maintain membership in the community of good Paktun women. It links to notions of morality and ethics, in that women reputations are assessed by how they experience is converted into various performance genres. Audiences and critics concur that the best of these forms contain stories of sadness. The notion is cultivated via popular culture in folk and literary romances, poetry and film, and by women in personal narratives performed for other women at particular rites. Gham, or sorrow and grief, is a key Paktun concept belonging to women's expression of honor in shame. It is enacted in women's presentation of themselves on their wedding day, in pictures, in statements about their lives, in ways of interacting with men, mostly observable in non-verbal communication such as using black veils, lowering the eyes and resisting expressions...
of joy. All these are presented as supporting data to this paper. Ghum, appropriately performed, gains women status and respect within the community. This is evident in the way women promote the more honorable members of society, and denigrate those without honor. Understanding this concept contributes to the anthropology of emotion. It also adds to current discussions on the performance of honor and Muslim women's channels of self identity in Southwest Asia.

JOHNSON, JUDITH, Adelphia University (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Porth of Culture, Part I)

"Mariamma Iconography"
Consideration of the indigenously created murtis of Tamil Shaivite figures such as Kalbhairo, Manis Prem, Shiva and Durga in Sri Lanka, Guyana, Guadeloupe, Nepal, Trinidad, India and Brooklyn provides insights into the visual consciousness of these East Indian communities and into the complex relationships between popular Hinduism and Great Tradition. Comparison among these images demonstrates striking parallels in formal iconographic characteristics as well as great diversity in the nuances of tone or sensibility that the pieces convey. It is this latter characteristic which may yield new understanding of the roles these images play in the articulation of culture. Linguistics provides an analogy for the method of analysis employed to understand these murtis. Structural linguistics delineates formal properties of language and lends itself to the differentiation of standard and non-standard forms. Discourse analysis by contrast considers the range of meanings conveyed by "talk" in particular cultural contexts. In the same way, the iconography of these murtis exhibits stability throughout the Tamil diaspora, but the styles and modes of the pieces suggest a great diversity of "messages." How are these messages to be interpreted? What is the range of murti styles which make sense to the members of each of the cultures where the examples of several of these "sense" boundaries, as well as the varieties and commonalities noted above. A positive view of these murtis as examples of social action/speech production (as opposed to a center/deviant model inherent in Great Tradition/Little Tradition analysis) may help us to reach a richer sense of the deeper meanings these precious visual forms convey.

KELLY, JOHN D., Princeton University (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Porth of Culture, Part II)

"South Indians and "Indian" Political Projects of Fiji"
Last comes and the minority among Fiji's indentured laborers, Fiji's South Indians were the subordinated "other" within an Indian community which itself was the subordinated "other" of "racially" organized colonial Fiji. Tracing South Indian participation and intervention in key Fiji Indian political projects, this paper shows how particularist South Indian political action generated factionalism in the short run, and more tolerant and inclusive Fiji "Indian" political projects in the long run. Also outlined is the South Indian role in the movement from "religious" to "economic" projects as political vehicles in the face of colonial restriction of explicitly political activity.


"Political Conflicts and Constitutional Imperatives in Bangladesh"
A critical analysis of the fundamental principles of the Bangladesh constitution suggests that the spirit of constitutional government was compromised at different junctures of Bangladesh political history by different political/military leaders and vested interests. A special emphasis will be placed in drawing linkages between democratic values embedded in the constitution and social-political-economic forces which have created different obstacles for different reasons against the translations of such values into institutional reality. An alternative constitutional model will be examined with a view finding ways of narrowing the gap between constitutional ideals and their operational feasibility.

KLINGMAN, P. CHRISTIAN, University of Hawaii (Panel: Ethnic and National Identity)

"Accomplishing National Identity among Tibetans in South Asia"
Tibetan refugees, after 29 years in exile, have shown remarkable resistance against the forces of assimilation in their host countries in South Asia. This paper, based on anthropological fieldwork in India, Nepal, and
the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the PRC (1986-87), demonstrates that this contemporary tenacity is conditioned by long-term structural opposition that have defined their separateness for centuries. The ideology of the patron/priest dyad, in this context, will be examined. This set of relationships has been re-established in refugee life, with western agency replacing previous Inner Asian patronage systems. Tibetan institutions and other cultural forms receive a significant amount of support from various types of western patronage, including relief aid, religious contributions, and tourism. This patronage has not only brought a certain 'modernization' to traditional Tibetan life, it has also been interpreted according to the ideology of the past. The recent nationalism of Tibetans is seen as a re-interpretation of a national identity along western lines, one which is nevertheless continuous with the past. It is this continuity which has served Tibetan exiles most successfully in the maintenance of Tibetan identity.

FOLKENA, PAULINE, University of Houston (Panel: Siblingship in South Asia)
"Siblings - North, Central and South India"
The theme of this paper is the nature of sibling relationships in India is strongly related to the various marriage systems in India. While there are broad similarities in Hindu marriage in north, central and south India, there are also important differences, and these vary much affect not only relations between adult siblings, but also those between children as they are socialized with respect to anticipated later relations. To document such differences, field work data from Khalapur village, western Uttar Pradesh (representing north India), from Maharajapur-Kishangarh village, Jaipur District, Rajasthan (Representing central India), and from Kanyakumari District, Tamilnadu (several hamlets representing south India) are drawn upon.

KRISNAYYA, M.V., (Panel: Omnibus)
"Viravaivasvam in the Dolapunnam Ritual in Simhachalam of Northeastern Andhra Pradesh"
Salvites and Vaisnavites are generally conflicting religious movements. Nevertheless in Northeastern Andhra Pradesh, Viravaivasvam has merged with Vaisnavism creating a Viravaivasvite sect. This sect has distinct characteristics as does Vaisnavism and are noticeable in the Dolapunnam ritual held every year at Simhachalam in the Visakhapatnam District. As with other traditional aspects of region, this Viravaivasvite sect is in danger of extinction due to a lack of academic research and documentation at a time of increasing modernization. The symbiosis of the "Vira" aspect from Viravaivasvam into Vaisnavism has created the distinct features associated with Viravaivasvam. The sect holds strong ties to the Jagannath and Krishna cults as evident in the folk stories and songs. The sect is composed of low caste bhakti practitioners and involved in non-brahmanical rituals as is Vaisnavism. Though unlike Vaisnavism, the Viravaivasvites do not hold the strong out spoken anti-brahminical stand. The structure of the Dolapunnam tirtha reveals the interaction of Viravaivasvam and Vaisnavism. The festival which occurs on Jyesta Masa combines the two movements practices into one religious consciousness. This festival is the last of a series of festivals which begin in January after makara sankrantil on the full moon night for six months. Because there are no prominent founders of Viravaivasvam, like Basava and Mallikarjuna for Vaisnavism, academic research and documentation has remained inadequate. This sect's practices have retained their folk and rural characteristics despite the threat of modernization, nationalization and Hinduization thanks to local patronage. But in the last twenty years, the district has undergone sudden industrialization. The devastating effects of this industrialization cannot allow the continuation of Viravaivasvam at Simhachalam.

LEVINE, NANCY E., University of California, Los Angeles (Panel: Deity and Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya -- Recent Research)
"Spirit Possession and Ethnic Identification in Nepal's Northwest"
Tibetan Buddhists in northwest Nepal are participants in a regional complex of oracular spirit possession, yet display considerable ambivalence towards it. This is reflected in the periodic refusals of men to take up offices associated with the complex, occasional attempts to reform it and bring it into greater conformance with Tibetan sensibilities, and, more rarely, attempts to eliminate cults of oracular possession entirely. Underlying this ambivalence is the belief that the practices have Nepali origins, the fact that certain claims the oracles make directly contradict textual Tibetan Buddhism, and the serious ethical problems posed by the animal sacrifices central to these cults. Paradoxically, Nepalese in the region believe that a number of the
principal incarnating deities are Tibetan in origin and that aspects of the ritual have Tibetan origins as well. The fact that this syncretism imparts a certain power and legitimacy to these practices for Nepalis while invalidating them for Tibetans tells much about ethnic relations in the region. Yet despite these problems, oracular spirit possession still can be found in many ethnic Tibetan villages. The paper will discuss the reasons for this and the advantages that participation offers in the inter-ethnic milieu of northwest Nepal.

LINDA, MARY P., Curator, The Asia Society Galleries, New York, NY (Panel: Beyond Form to the Context of India's Visual Arts)

"Brahmin Builders: An Alternative to Royal Patronage"
Twelve temples at five sites remain in the early medieval kingdom of Kalinga, which was centered from the fifth through at least the tenth centuries between the Nagavali and Vamsadhara Rivers in Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh. These temples are the only monuments constructed in stone during this period and therefore must have had significant religious, social, political and economic functions within the society which created them. By extrapolation of information in copper-plate grants, it is plausible to suggest that temples in stone were the result of land grants to brahmans who were charged with expanding the amount of settled land in Kalinga, and with establishing and sustaining a Hinduization process within the kingdom. Temple in stone, vehicles for assimilating tribal culture and diffusing Hindu culture, were clustered at sites which became the central focus of the areas surrounding them. The sites were strategically located within the kingdom to ensure maximum exposure to Hindu culture. Brahmans associated with the temples, learned in the Sanskrit tradition, mediated between the two cultures. The result over time however, was the predominance of Hindu, or the more urban culture. This is indicated by the development of sedentary agriculture, incorporation of tribal into the caste system and expansion of hierarchical society. This resulted over time in a distinct, although geographically limited, regional culture.

MALANDRA, GERT H., University of Minnesota (Panel: Beyond Form to the Context of India's Visual Arts)

"Ellora's Social Reconstruction: Whose Cultural Context?"
Art historians of South Asia have enjoyed a certain intellectual innocence as they have discovered unknown or long-forgotten sites, revealed and described their contents, compared them with other sites, and placed them in narrative or historical contexts to "explain" their meaning. Discussions of ancient material have usually been dissociated from the traditions or accidents that drew us to and instructed us in the study of the past. We assume that we can objectify our material—it is not only Oriental, it is also old. So, where Edward Said in a recent essay has accused Orientalists of confining the Orient "to the fixed status of an object frozen once and for all in time by the gaze of western percipient ("Orientalism Reconsidered," p. 92) we can reply "our material is frozen in time; it is ancient." But has this temporal distance really protected us from the charges of intellectual imperialism that Said directs at Orientalists in general? Ellora, the example I will use here since I know it best, clearly illustrates our shift in perspective and our nineteenth century roots. How can we explicate an ancient religious center responsibly, that is, while understanding and, if necessary, correcting for the context we have established for ourselves? The question has to do with the social context(s) of the past and of our own, as well. Finding answers is a tricky enterprise. The evidence is sparse and disconnected; much of it must be filtered through the writings of people themselves unconsciously responding to their own social and intellectual contexts. Among other questionable assumptions, we have continued to assume that political conditions are an inexorable influence on religion (that is, the religion preserved in our sites, most if not all of which are, after all, religious places). And we hope that we will find "texts"—whether inscriptions, religious writings or other literary forms—that will help us confirm the visual evidence we find in the sculptures and architecture with our temples. When we encounter a place like Ellora, these expectations together with the site's richness, place great impediments in the way of our understanding. We do not have historical records for the Buddhist period. We do not have texts that appear to match the iconography in significant detail. Ellora is the end of a sequence, so we cannot show where it develops to. I propose a potential path out of this dilemma: What appear at first to be random connections to Buddhist sites outside of the Ellora region, should be examined as part of a systematic set of relationships among several important sites in the Buddhist "periphery." Each of these places may have its own relationship
to the main centers of the time, especially Bodh gaya and Nalanda. However, I hypothesize that there are equally significant relationships in the peripheral network, that will become clear when we begin to look beyond regions for a larger pattern. This means ignoring, initially, the processes political history would lead us to expect. It means ignoring geographic "boundaries" unless we can demonstrate that they really were cultural boundaries. If this approach works, it will have a double benefit. Not only will we understand better the social or cultural contexts in which a site like Ellora could develop, but also, our own context for scholarship will expand as we discard some outdated restrictions and broaden our horizons.

MALIK, HAFIZ, Villanava University (Panel: State, Nationalism and Security: The Emerging Equations of Power in South Asia)

"Pakistan's Emerging Options: Problems of Unity and Regional Security"

This paper will attempt to analyze Pakistan's regional and demographic problems. These problems have been further complicated by the presence of the Afghan refugees, and resistance fighters in the NWP and Baluchistan. With the impending Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan will face the prospects of achieving an equilibrium with the Soviet Union, India, the United States and especially Afghanistan, whose irredentist claim over Pashtunistan has not been repudiated either by the Kabul regime or the Afghan resistance. Would the U.S. continue to support Pakistan? If so, Pakistan will have an opportunity to consolidate her security in cooperation with China and the U.S., with a hope that India will be content with the status quo.

MALIK, YOGENDRA, (University of Akron) and VAJRYT, DHIRENDA K., (University of N. Iowa) (Panel: Political Parties, Elites and Policy-Making in South Asia)

"Political Recruitment of Party Elites: A Comparative Study of Indian Party Activists"

As political organizations reflect social realities and serve as intermediate organizations between individual citizens and the government, party officials at the district level serve as a necessary link between national political elites and the voters. Without local and district party activist it is impossible for national and state party leaders to mobilize voters and articulate and integrate the demands of a society as diverse as India. Referring to traditional philosophical and normative structures, students of Indian political culture hold that Indians have a negative attitude toward acquiring political power and seeking political office. Based on 230 interviews collected during the spring of 1987, we explore how and why our sample of Indian party functionaries became interested in party politics and compare their more basic political attitudes. The analysis is based on interviews collected in 15 districts of four Indian states and includes representatives of the following six national parties: Congress, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Bhartiya Janata Party, Janata Party, Lok Dal, and Communist Party of India.

MATTHEWS, BRUCE, Acadia University (Panel: Insurgency Movements and the Sri Lanka-India Peace Accord)

"Extremist Notions of 'Patriotism' and 'Nationalism' Among the Sinhaleses"

It is an unfortunate fact that because of recent circumstances, chauvinism possesses much of Sri Lanka's south. Economic uncertainty and lack of opportunity to express themselves in any kind of franchise have jointly given birth to new levels of jingoism. There are few forums for objective discussion of current events left, and even some important academics publicly deplore the good work of research and advocacy groups that reach out for detached and rational understanding. The universities are only sporadically open for classes (due to student political strife), but when they are, discussion on the topic of ethnopolitism is hardly tolerated. The decay of reason and order has engendered ignorance, hysteria and subversion. On the extreme right there are a few "patriotic" and religion-cultural organizations that capitalize on this, although none of these groups is programmatically violent. On the extreme left, there is the proscribed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and its dangerous offspring of intensely nihilistic organizations. These thrive of the worst and largely uncontrollable elements of racism and warped nationalism. Ironically, both extreme right and left wings are trying to ride the same wave of Sinhala patriotism. This paper aims to set down the inspiration and ideology which inspires these reactions, and to consider their impact on the contemporary political scene.
McCarthy, Florence E., Cornell University (Panel: Gender Construction of Work, Power, and Politics in South Asia)

"The Realities of Piece Work: Gendered Constructions of Islamic Womanhood in Karachi Pakistan"

This paper examines the reproduction of gendered patterns of work including the ideological conceptions of women as found in the slums of Karachi Pakistan and embodied in the work environments of women employed in piece work. The paper explores the extent to which female employment opportunity such as piece work is structured to reflect generalized patterns of women’s exclusion and concomitantly to justify patterns of female exclusion from and discrimination within wage employment. Briefly to be addressed are women's conceptions and explanations of their work roles and the extent to which these reflect or contradict their own conceptions of "proper" (or preferred) behavior for Muslim women. Data informing the paper comes from research to be done in the Orangi area from a selected sample of female slum dwellers and their families.

McHugh, Ernestine L., University of California, San Diego (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations & Reevaluations)

"The Individual in a Sociocentric World: Representations from Nepal"

Personhood as such has been little considered in ethnographies of Nepal, though it has been discussed extensively in reference to other parts of South Asia, especially India. Anthropologists working in India have suggested that members more holistically oriented South Asian cultures lack a notion of individuality. Such a suggestion presumes a powerful disjunction between the human experience of anthropologists and the people they study. The paper that I propose to present, based on data from my research among the Gurungs of Nepal, calls this into question. It will show that a high value on interrelationship does not preclude a well defined concept of the individual. Nepalese and other South Asian representations of personhood may emphasize aspects of belonging and play down the distinctness of individuals in keeping with an ideology of subordination of self to group, but such representations should not be taken as more than one surface of a more complex reality. Concepts of both individuality and relatedness exist among Gurungs and the ways in which they are articulated and reconciled express tensions highly elaborated in South Asia and inherent in human social life.

Metz, John J., University of Wisconsin (Panel: Conservation Initiatives at Four Villages in Nepal)

"Forest Degradation and Conservation in an Upper-Elevation Village of West Nepal"

Budimela, a Magar village south of Dhaulagiri Himal, employs an extensive agroforestry system typical of upper elevation villages throughout Nepal. Widely dispersed, often infertile agricultural fields are managed by holding livestock on each field for one to four weeks prior to planting each crop so that manure and urine are deposited directly on the soil surface. Livestock are moved from field to field in a complicated pattern and are taken into forests when all fields are planted. Herders feed their animals crop residues and fodder cut from forest trees and allow them to graze and browse forests and shrubland. Forest degradation has led villagers to implement conservation practices which include prohibiting and restricting fodder and fuelwood cutting, structured harvesting of bamboo, planting of communal tree plantations, and planting private fodder and fuelwood trees. Whether these practices will be sufficient to insure the long term sustainability of their system is doubtful. Changes toward more intensive use of privately owned fuelwood, fodder, and timber trees are occurring and seem likely to continue.

Mitchell, Stephen L., Univ. of Wisconsin (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations and Reevaluations PART 2)

"Caste Community or Anthropologist for Imperialism? A Reappraisal of the Ethnographic Paradigm"

This paper reappraises underlying assumptions about caste, culture, and ethnicity which have served as a starting point for many ethnographic studies on Nepal. Studies based on these assumptions have obfuscated the process of capitalist penetration and domination in Nepal and have unconsciously expressed an alliance between indigenous ruling interests and corporate capitalism. I use a case study of mercantile community in the west-central hills to show how ethnographic studies of communities in the area have misrepresented Nepalese history.
MOHSEN, N., Aligarh Muslim University (Panel: Distance Education in South India: Need and Relevance)

"The Open University Experimenting the Indian Subcontinent"

The Indian conditions demand a more open Educational System which is able to cater to the needs of all. Therefore the Government has been giving enough importance to the Non Formal Education Programmes which are aimed at making the drop outs/children/adults literate. To make higher education accessible to all those disadvantaged groups who could not or did not join the formal stream, the Open Universities concept has been accepted and popularized in the Indian Sub-continent. In India, four Open Universities have come up to equalize educational opportunities and to train people in various arts and crafts to develop their skills. Neighboring South Asian Countries are also following suit. The special needs of the South Asian region and the scope of Open Universities is to be discussed in this paper.

MINFORD, STAN ROYAL, Sweetbriar College (Panel: Deity and Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya — Recent Research)

"Spirit Possession and Soul Guidance in a Gurung Death Rite"

In northern Nepal, the Gurung shamans living in the Gyasundo region in Manang perform an extraordinary death rite, in which the soul takes a ritual journey through the three worlds of the cosmos. The rite involves a social drama in which the soul of the deceased recognizes its own living relatives through spirit possession of a bird owned by the Ghyabre practitioner, and culminates in detailed shamanic guidance up the trail in Gyasundo, to a Gurung land of the dead at the top of a local rock dome nearby called Chhe. Analysis of this original data on the Gurung death rite will be historically contextualized. The Ghyabre practitioners are continuing an ancient shamanic tradition while responding to recent criticisms of their funeral rite by Tibetan lamas living in nearby villages. The Gurung shamans are thus becoming reflexive about how their soul guidance technique differs from that of the Tibetan Buddhist death rite and the manner in which the lamas' view is beginning to influence their own interpretation and performance.

MURPHY, LESGA RANA, University of California-Berkeley (Panel: Management Problems in Higher Education in the South Asian Region)

"Problems of Higher Education for Women: The Management Point of View"

The countries situated in the South Asian region may be diverse in many ways, but they show a marked similarity in the pattern of spread of education. The percentage of literacy is quite low in all these countries despite considerable economic and scientific development. The most alarming feature is the very low rate of female literacy. The state of Higher Education Programmes for women is also much the same. The number of women getting admitted into institutions of higher education is still much less than the number of men. Furthermore, specialized job oriented Educational Programmes for Women are not available in sufficient number, although they are the need of the hour for the developing South Asian Countries. Management problems in higher education for women particularly in the context of India and neighboring South Asian countries need to be studied thoroughly, as it is evident that the development of this region is directly linked with the educational upliftment, particularly female education.

NAG, DILALI, Michigan State University (Panel: Models of Female Worth)

"'Tangail Sari': The Construction of a Commodity as an Object of Art"

The paper is part of a larger project dealing with the process of commoditization of handwoven cloth in the context of popular culture in India. In this paper, I shall focus on the market in a particular "type" of handwoven sari, by the name of "Tangail" sari, in modern day Calcutta. The name signifies a history: that of a group of Hindu weavers whose homeland was in the district of Tangail in what is now Bangladesh, who emigrated to India following two major political upheavals in the subcontinent (independence and partition of India in 1947 and the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent Islamic nation in 1971), majority of whom are now settled in three villages in the state of West Bengal in India and practice their case occupation of weaving saris. In the context of the market, however, the sign denotes an exchange value. Its value is derived from its meaning in a system of signs (such as Shantipuri and Dhakkhali, which are names of some other "types" of handwoven Saris). The value is then a differential value. This new historical meaning of the sign is produced in the market by means of interactions between buyers and sellers, both of whom bring their own
interpretation to bear upon the object. By making a case-study analysis of some of these interactions in the market, I want to argue that the object comes to be produced as an "object of art." It comes to represent an "essential" meaning, a meaning that is entirely divorced from the actual history that produced the commodity.

NILSSON, USHA. University of Wisconsin (Panel: The Construction of the Feminine: Representations of Women in Traditional and Contemporary India)

"A Woman's Experience: Mirabai"

Ascetic poets and devotional poetry is held in high esteem in all Indian languages. But Mirabai faced a life of ridicule, persecution and exile from her home. Could this be due to her being born in a traditional, princely family, her refusal to be a sutee when her husband died, or her devotion to a Vaishnava God in a Devi worshipping family? Or because she was a woman who fought all the traditions? She was called a prostitute because she danced openly, possessed by Krishna; Jiv Goswami of the Chaitanya sect refused to meet with her, because she was a woman and a widow. This paper will attempt to reconstruct her life experiences as a woman from historical, hagiographical and oral traditions, but most importantly, drawing from her own poetry, her thoughts on being Mirabai, a woman in love.

NICKOLS, CHARLES W. University of Kentucky (Panel: Siblingship in South Asia)

"A South Indian Family Romance"

The paper examines adult sibling relations in a Telugu fishing village and their correlates in two domains—goddess myths and shamanic diagnosis. The central hypothesis states that conflicts created by competing goal structures (funded as allegiance to same-sex versus cross-sex siblings) are expressed and resolved 1) through conversion into medical issues and diagnosis as the precipitating causes of common illnesses, and 2) through displacement onto the origin myths of goddesses and controlled fantasization in story-telling. The paper compares causal diagnosis and myth as knowledge structures which resolve at different levels (social, cognitive, and unconscious) the ambivalence generated by incompatible goal structures and social themes.

OBERST, ROBERT C. Nebraska Wesleyan University (Panel: Political Parties, Elites and Policy-Making in South Asia)

"The Emergence of New Political Parties in Sri Lanka"

This paper will examine a model explaining the emergence of new political parties in Western European countries and apply it to a Third World nation, Sri Lanka. In addition, it will apply the model to extra-legal organization, namely the violent Tamil "Tiger" organizations which proliferated in Sri Lanka since the late 1970's. Its findings will indicate that the model is applicable to non-Western political systems and to extra-legal political organizations. The development and emergence of political parties has been largely ignored in scholarly literature. Too often, new political party development is seen as a random affair or as in the case of the United States, it is seen as a product of the times and new ideas emerging in the political arena (see Sundquist, 1973). Until recently the subject has been largely ignored. James Q. Wilson was led to state in the 1970's that "theories about how organizations behave around; theories about how organizations come into being scarcely exist" (Wilson, 1973: 195). This paper will argue that new party development is neither random nor the product of merely the issues of the times and new ideas in the political system. The recently expanding literature on the emergence of new political parties has largely ignored party development in the Third World and focused exclusively on their emergence in Western Europe and the United States (Harmel 1985: 415-16). In one of the early theoretical pieces on the subject Charles Hauss and David Rainside (1978) constructed the groundwork for a theory of political party emergence. Their work pulled together the divergent ideas which had been presented in other studies on the emergence of new political parties and applied these ideas to Western political democracies. They tried to isolate the factors which are associated with the development of new political parties in democratic political systems, and in so doing constructed a rudimentary model explaining the emergence of new political parties. They argue that new political parties are not solely the function of cleavages and strains in the political system. There are other factors which affect whether the cleavages and strains will lead to the development of new political parties. These other factors are far more important in the development of new political parties than the mere existence of cleavages and strains (Hauss and Rainside 1978). This paper will examine Hauss' and Rainside's model and apply
it to a democratic system outside of Western Europe—Sri Lanka. In addition, it will apply the model to other types of political organizations such as guerrilla organizations and extra-legal violent political organizations. In summary, this paper supports most of Hauss and Raiside's findings and expands their model to non-western democracies and to the development of terrorist and guerrilla organizations.

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O'Plackery, Wendy D., University of Chicago (Panel: Animals as Transformations and Projections in Classical Indian Texts)

"Flying Horses and Half-Horses as Liminal Metaphors"
Horses have served as metaphors for various kinds of liminality throughout recorded Indian history. From the time of the Rig Veda, horses have been associated not only with the earth, their apparent natural habitat (horses as horses), but with the sky (through the image of winged horses, horses as birds) and with the waters (including the subterranean waters, horses as snakes); they are thus doubly ambivalently, or triplylous. They have also mediated between the animal and the human through the image of the KIngurusa (closely associated with Gandharvas) in later Buddhist and Hindu literature. The Kingurusa (also called the Agramukha) varies in several ways: sometimes it is human with the head of a horse and sometimes a horse with the upper body (not the head, perhaps in imitation of the image of the rider astride) of a human; sometimes it is male, sometimes female. These possibilities are, moreover, developed differently in Hindu and Buddhist art and literature. What does this range of semantic powers tell us about the meanings with which the ancient Indians saddled the horse?

Pach, Alfred, University of Wisconsin—Madison (Panel: Deity and Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya—Recent Research)

"Possession, Gender and Society in a Hindu Village in Nepal"
In a high caste Hindu village in the Kathmandu Valley forms of deity and spirit possession may be distinguished by those that are sanctioned and voluntary and those that are involuntary and distressing. Clan deity and ancestor cults are key forms of sanctioned possession, while attacks of witchcraft or evil spirits predominate as forms of distressful, involuntary possession. These different forms of possession represent opposing values and social positions which are at the core of household and community social relations. The oracular cults of clan and ancestor deities express social and ritual responsibilities, and oversee the well being of the local descent groups connected to them. However, only initiated males may participate in these cults or act as vehicles for these divinities. In contrast to these cults distressful, uncontrolled possession largely affects young, affinal women and indicates the presence of underlying conflicts and tensions. Thus, these distinct forms of possession reflect the opposing tendencies of agnostic solidarity and the rivalries which often underlie these relationships. This paper will explore the social values and formations and inherent conflicts and tensions that are reflected in the gender distinctions related to these forms of possession.

Pappu, S.S., Rama Rao, Miami University (Panel: The 'Religious' and 'Secular' in Indian Thought)

"Hinduism, Secularization and the Secular State"
Secularism, more than any other "ism," has spread to many walks of life in India and is spreading to every walk of life at a rate faster than what the West has experienced in its own history of secularization. This is not to say that India's secularization process is complete. It is not also denied that there are several anti-secular forces which are arresting its spread. This paper aims at understanding philosophically the meaning and significance of secularism in modern India. In Part I of the paper I shall analyze the concept of secularism, as it is understood in the West. In Part II, I shall argue that in Hinduism, religion and social
organization are two sides of the same coin, and therefore we can best understand secularization by studying the changes in the Hindu social structures. In part III, I shall argue that given the universal outlook and tolerance of Hinduism, the liberal values and the secular polity adopted in the Indian Constitution is, in a weak sense, identical with Hindu dharma. This is found possible because the Constitution framers have given a revolutionary redefinition of Hindu dharma. Contemporary Hindu dharma, it is maintained by them, is "liberal dharma"!

PARKER, KAREN (Panel: The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord)

"Humanitarian Law and the Tamil Struggle"

Introduction: This Paper will examine the juridical status of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka in light of the international law of armed conflict (humanitarian law). Additionally, it will examine violations of humanitarian and human rights law that have occurred before and since the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 29 July, 1987.

Pre-accord status of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam: This section will evaluate the status of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) under the internal armed conflict rules of treaty-based and customary humanitarian law. It will show why the LTTE had achieved combatant status in its armed conflict against the government armed forces of Sri Lanka.

Humanitarian law and intervening countries: This section will examine the armed conflict rules in force when the armed forces of another country become involved militarily in an internal armed conflict. It will set out the rights and duties of the government of India and its armed forces (the India Peace-Keeping Force—IPKF), as well as the continuing rights and duties of the armed forces of the government of Sri Lanka.

Post-accord violations of humanitarian law rules: This section will describe the major violations of humanitarian law committed by the IPKF and Sri Lankan Forces.

PARKER, CHENNA, Columbia University (Panel: Female Figures in Indian Story Literature)

"Women, Untouchables, and Other Beasts in Tulsidas's Ramayana"

Investigations of Tulsidas's attitude to women, untouchables, and animals have revolved exclusively around one particularly condescending verse: women, untouchables, and animals are fit only to be beaten. Researches have used this verse as a barometer of Tulsi's attitude to women and untouchables, concluding from it that his attitude was stridently critical. In fact, Tulsi's attitude to them is as complex as his portrayal of them. They play pivotal roles in the dramatic structure of the Ramayana. The epic is replete with verses that describe both negative and positive attributes of these characters. This paper focuses mainly on the women in Tulsi's Ramayana. It examines Tulsi's specific attitude to them with respect to two constraints: the limitations placed upon Tulsi in creating a didactic epic with a pre-determined plot, and the articulation of character in the context of the narrative structure of the epic.

PARKER, TIA, Stanford University (Panel: Distance Education in South Asia: Need and Relevance)

"Non-Formal and Adult Education in South Asia with Special Reference of India"

India and the neighboring South Asian Countries may be diverse in their cultural and socio-economic structures, but they show a marked similarity in their educational backwardness. Nearly all these countries have a literacy percentage of 36% and below! Since development is directly proportional to the educational upliftment of the countries, India has launched several programmes of non formal education—for children, youth and adults. The need of such programmes was evident from the fact that the formal education system cannot cater to the large & diverse population of India. A non-formal education programme for 9 - 14 yr. old children/drop outs, an adult education programme for 15 - 35 yr. old men & women, continuing education programmes for in-service personnel and house wives, and various follow up & post literacy programmes have been launched & successfully organized in India. These programmes can be replicated in the neighboring countries also and improvements can be suggested based on the Indian experience.
PAUL, WAKELEY, (Panel: The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord)

"The Legal Aspects of the Proposed Devolution of Power Under the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord"

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord called for the creation of Provincial Councils with legislative and administrative power in the North and East. This paper will discuss the scope of the devolution presented in the text of the accord as well as the thirteenth amendment to the constitution which created the provincial councils. The constitutional change made is that the Tamil provincial councils cannot pass statutes which become law unless they get the approval of the other seven Sinhala councils and the Sinhala dominated parliament. The major subjects of devolution such as land distribution and law enforcement are under total control of the central government. Land use remains a national government prerogative and the government controls land settlement on the major irrigation schemes. In the area of law enforcement, the Tamils are not protected from the antagonistic power and presence of the national security forces and police forces whose powers remain undiminished. The Tamil council has the power only to appoint a deputy police chief. The accord was neither designed nor signed by one of its principal representatives. Enforced participation affords that party the right and the luxury to continually point to the dangers of their adhering to certain of its clauses.

PAVIND, ALAM, Ohio State University (Panel: Afghanistan: the Afghan War and Problems of Reconstruction)

"Key Steps Toward the Establishment of an Independent Government in Afghanistan"

This brief paper has grown out of the concern held by many Afghan scholars who monitor the war in Afghanistan. They believe that most of the solutions advanced by outsiders are unworkable because they have not taken into account the historical, cultural, religious, economic as well as political dimensions of the current conflict in Afghanistan. Hard realities suggest that Afghans are tired of war but there is no evidence to suggest that they will accept peace on Soviet's or anyone else's terms. Eight years of Soviet occupation and atrocities have created an environment in which the process of reconciliation or coalition with the communists in Afghanistan is rejected by almost all Mujahidin and Muhajirin groups. This does not mean that a workable solution to the current conflicts in Afghanistan could not be found. Some Afghan analysts and resistance leaders argue that a workable, or to use the Afghan term "less dangerous" solution to the crises is possible if the following major conditions are met: (1) The Soviets should be genuinely interested in withdrawing their troops from Afghanistan without setting unrealistic or unacceptable conditions. (2) Outside supporters, including the Soviet Union, the United States and Pakistan should avoid the temptation of promoting their own political agenda at the expense of the independent government in Afghanistan. (3) Include Afghan resistance and refugee representatives in the U.N. sponsored negotiations. After all, they make up about one-third of the Afghan population. (4) Reach an international agreement through the United Nations. (5) Based on international agreement, the introduction of the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces in Afghanistan. (6) An important function of the Peace-keeping force should be to oversee the withdrawal of Soviet troops and advisors from Afghanistan and monitor the return of over four million refugees to that country. (7) After eight years of collaboration with the occupying forces, the active members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) should be moved to the Soviet Union or a third country for their safety. (8) After the Soviet pullout, Afghans be left free to choose their own indigenous methods for the establishment of a transitional administration. For instance, a Loya Jirga (Supreme National Council) should be convened to appoint a broad-based interim government to prepare the ground for a smooth transition to a representative and independent government. (9) This interim government, among other functions, will appoint a commission of Afghan experts to draft a new constitution. (10) A second Loya Jirga should be convened to study, debate, revise and eventually ratify the new constitution. (11) Based on the provisions of the new constitution Afghans will choose their own form of permanent government and the interim government will be dissolved.

PETERS, PAT, University of Missouri, Kansas City (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying F orth of Culture)

"Indian Tamil Settlements in 19th century Sri Lanka"

Few topics in the modern history of Sri Lanka have generated as much debate as the emigration of Tamils to Sri Lanka in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tamils worked as laborers first in coffee plantations and then in tea and rubber plantations. Passenger traffic between south India and Sri Lanka rose with the
buoyant economy, and a large population of laborers settled on the plantations, particularly on tea estates. Other Indian Tamils sought employment in Sri Lanka, adding both to the passenger traffic and to the immigrant population. Current scholarly literature assumes that coffee plantation laborers were primarily seasonal laborers; that most of the passenger traffic — and all of that recorded in the nineteenth century— consisted of plantation laborers; and that immigration of new settlers continued at a high level well into the twentieth century. New research in the customs returns of "coolie" traffic between south India and Sri Lanka, in tallies of workers maintained by plantation owners and compiled in Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, and in censuses, has revised this view. By the end of the coffee era in the 1980's, many estate workers had become permanent residents of the plantations, and immigrant laborers filled a substantial proportion of some non-estate occupations. The paper examines the historical significance of these conclusions and their implications for contemporary Sri Lanka.

PETERSON, INDIRA V., Mount Holyoke College (Panel: Constructing Self and Culture: Three Pioneers of Modern Indian Literature)

"The Creative Evolution of Self in the Poetry of Subramania Bharati"

Subramania Bharati (1882-1921) is acknowledged as the founder of modern Tamil literature. In his brief career of two decades he transformed Tamil letters with his bold use of the living language, and his innovative writing in traditional as well as modern genres. Bharati's poetry grew out of his passionate concern with the reconstruction of Tamil and Indian culture. The poems published in the collections Cuttack kitankal (National Songs; 1908), and Jamabrumi (Land of our birth / Motherland; 1909) and Kuvil pattu (The Kuvil's Song; 1910) appear to be preoccupied with introspection and the definition of self. In this paper I will show that Bharati's poetry reflects a transformative and evolutionary relationship between culture and self, and that, for Bharati the act of writing poetry constitutes the construction of a self in which the public and the private dimensions are integrated to form a whole.

PFEFFERBERG, BRIAN, University of Virginia (Panel: Insurgency Movements and the Sri Lanka-India Peace Accord)

"Crucible of Violence: The Social, Economic, and Political Roots of the Tiger Insurgency in Northern Sri Lanka"

Beginning in the mid-1970's, Sri Lanka's Jaffna Peninsula—the cultural center of Tamil Hindu culture in that island country—witnessed the rise of several youth insurgent groups, chief among which was the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). Such groups formed in response, partly to the declining fortunes of Tamils in a Sinhalese-dominated polity. Yet other factors played a role as well. The Tiger insurgency, an insurgency of youths, rejackets the legitimacy of Sinhalese control in the Jaffna Peninsula; it is, in consequence, an intergenerational as well as interethnic conflict. And stemming as it does so predominantly from marginal groups within Jaffna society, the insurgency can also be viewed as a quest for social reform in what is unquestionably Sri Lanka's most caste-conscious region. This paper seeks to account for the multifaceted nature of the Tiger insurgency by clarifying the social, economic, and political circumstances in which it took form. It surveys the role of several factors in producing a large cohort of unemployed, rootless boys and men by the early 1970s. These factors include Jaffna's economic niche within Sri Lanka, the rapid rise of population, devastating land shortages, the impact of dowry and inheritance customs, the restrictive role of sexual puritanism, and changes in intercaste labor relations. It shows, too, how the politics of the older generation of Tamil political leaders failed to communicate democratic values to this large, anomic group. Although this cohort shared a rejection of the older generation's politics and a hatred of Sinhalese domination, it was by no means without internal divisions along lines of education and caste, and these divisions have occasionally surfaced—sometimes in dramatic and violent ways. A class analysis of this cohort shows, however, that the less educated and marginal caste groups were best poised to emerge in the vanguard of the Tiger insurgency. Yet the Tiger insurgency still faces the challenge, as did the older generation whose politics it rejects, of horizontally integrating the Tamil community in defense of its rights to self-determination and economic progress.
"The Shaman's X-Rays and the Problem of 'Us' and 'Them' in the Medical Imagination of Nepal"

Images of shamans and doctors dominate portrayals of illness and healing in Nepal. In development-oriented discourse, shamans and doctors represent, respectively, "traditional" and "western" medicines. For the people living in and around Bhojpur Bazaar (Eastern Nepal), conceptions of "dhami" (shaman) and "daktar" (allopathic practitioner) demonstrate a pluralistic view of power and knowledge in the face of disease. More importantly, talk of dhami and daktar entails an orientation toward emerging social divisions in a "developing" Nepal. Both development rhetoric and local medical discourse position speakers in relation to social divisions—designating an "us" and "them." Whether these social labels take the form of "traditional villages" vs. "westerners" or "people who don't understand" vs. "people who don't have to carry loads," they refer not to fixed, permanent social identities so much as to possibilities for shifting points of view. The problematic quality of the language of "us" and "them" is dramatized in local medical discourse by: (1) its playful analogies and radical skepticism, and (2) the appropriation of development rhetoric about the "traditional" and the "modern" as a signal of status. Anthropological representations of Nepalese medicine typically stress the contrast between Western medicine and traditional beliefs. Examination of "us" and "them" in medical discourse shows that medical beliefs and practices also act as politically charged representations of Self and Other.

"Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and the Tamil Struggle for Self-Determination"

The Tamil national question in Sri Lanka is being fought on the basis of that nation's right to self-determination. For the last thirty-five years the nation of the Tamil EELAM has been subjected to severe oppression. The struggle for national freedom having failed in its democratic popular agitations, having exhausted its moral power to mobilize masses for peaceful campaigns, gave rise to the emergence of an armed resistance movement in Tamil Eelam. India taking into consideration her own regional interests and the spontaneous upsurge of the people of Tamil Nadu, had tried to take advantage of the trouble. India, having appointed herself as mediator in this issue, took efforts for a political settlement to the ethnic conflict, which often turned futile. While our disciplined and dedicated movement has grown as the mass movement with the overwhelming support of our people, important political changes took place in India and Sri Lanka. India and Sri Lanka entered into an agreement reportedly to end the ethnic conflict. There were several complications and several questions in that agreement. The doubt arose for us whether, as a result of this agreement, a permanent solution would be available to the problems of our people. Accordingly, we made it emphatically clear to the Indian government that we were unable to accept the Accord, but we would go along with the Accord placing full responsibility for the life and security of every one of the Eelam Tamils at the hands of the Indian Government. Even after one year of the Accord, our principles are still being killed and people's rights are being violated being uncheked by the international community. We firmly emphasize that we are ready for a negotiated settlement, but only with total guarantee for a permanent solution that assures secure and peaceful existence for our People.

"Historical Analysis of Irrigation Policies in Nepal"

The role of the state has been vital in setting up irrigation policies and practices in Nepal. This role of the state can be understood better with an historical analysis taking into account the nation's internal economic and political power structures as well as its relation with the then neighboring colonial power, namely the British. This paper outlines the different irrigation policies undertaken by the state of Nepal within the context of the political economy of its underdevelopment. Specific emphasis will be made on the historical dominant economic and political groups, land reclamation and expansionist policies, relations with British India, and water rights laws. Current irrigation finance and administration will also be analyzed within the international context.
QUASHER, S.ALEHA, University of Wisconsin (Panel: Distance Education in South Asia: Need and Relevance)

"Distance Education in Pakistan"

Pakistan has, in the last 4 decades of independence, developed to a considerable extent both socially and educationally. The education of women and under privileged groups has received special attention by the government. Distance Education Programmes have been started in various forms. Correspondence Courses are being given by several universities, Job oriented Courses and women interest courses are also available in sufficient number. Due to Punjab System poverty, the women and youth of a certain section of the society have not been able to receive any formal education at any level. For such a clientele the Pakistan Government has started Open University which has a flexibility and is above the conventional restriction of place, time and entry qualification. Pakistan TV and radio also play an important role in this work. The paper will discuss various aspects and experiments done in Distance Education in Pakistan.

RAJOPAL, P.R., Center for Police Research, New Delhi (Panel: Opium in South Asia)

"Police and Opium in India"

Nature has conferred a special geographical status on India in the context of the drug problem of the world. Situated between the "Golden Triangle" comprising of Burma, Thailand and Laos; and the "Golden Crescent" comprising of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, India plays the role of a transit corridor as it were for the drugs from the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent en route to Western Europe and the United States. This trend has got accentuated in the 80's and particularly during the last five years. India has a land border extending over 3,310 km. with Pakistan. That the bulk of the drugs seized during approximately the last four years comes from Pakistan is borne out by the fact that, in 1986, of the 2,627 kgs. of Heroin seized in India, 87% was of Pakistan origin. In 1987, 92% if 2,780 kgs. of Heroin seized was of Pakistan origin. The Indo-Nepalese border is 1,568 km. long and this border extends over the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, and Sikkim in India. 'Ganja' is smuggled by head load and by trucks into India from Nepal most of which is consumed locally. The Indo-Burma border is 1,000 km. long. There have been reports of the smuggling of Heroin through this border into India and particularly through the Indian state of Manipur. India is the only country where cultivation of Opium Poppy for extraction of Opium directly from the plant is in vogue. India has reduced the area licenced for cultivation for medicinal use from 66,339.5 hectares in 1977-78 to 23,335.7 hectares in 1986-87. This has brought down the annual production of Opium directly from 1,646 tons in 1977-78 to 673 tons in 1986-87. That there is leakage from the locally cultivated Opium is evident from the fact that a number of clandestine laboratories are engaged in extracting Morphine or Heroin from Opium obtained from local cultivation. The stock position as in September, 1987 was 1,642 of Opium in the country which is equivalent to approximately 180.6 tons of Morphine which is almost equal to the total world requirement of opiates estimated to be around 200 tons in terms of morphine per year. India has an estimated 5 million drug addicts and the number is expected to go up to 5 million by 2000 AD. In 1982, the Heroin addiction was reported to be only 2% of the total at the All India level. In Delhi alone, when the NDPS Act (Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act) came into force in November, 1985, 3,200 cases were registered involving 3,230 persons of whom 2,846 were males and 384 females up to February, 1987. Out of 5,834 peddlers, 4.365 were found to be addicts in Delhi on the basis of a study conducted by the Delhi Police. The peddlers sustain the drug trade through drug pushing. Experience of other countries show that organised crime in drugs, once it takes root with its different ramifications, does not remain confined to national boundaries. Actually, it thrives on the basis of its international connections. The paper that I propose will cover briefly the different catches of Heroin during 1986, 1987, and 1988, the results of some of the surveys done of the addicts, with special reference to their social and economic background and motivation. Information collected from the smugglers will also be assessed to ascertain the nature and the pattern of smuggling and the types of persons behind the trade. The paper will also attempt an evaluation of the efforts of the Indian police in combating the drug problem.

RAMANATHAN, PRITHI, Syracuse University (Panel: Historical Analysis of Irrigation Policies in South Asia)

"Colonial Policy and Bureaucratic Practice in the Post Colonial State"

Based on two years of field work on an upland canal system in South India, my paper explores the hypothesis that the "low" performance of the irrigation bureaucracy today cannot be understood until the manner in which
this state form was created in the colonial period is considered. It is from the colonial period that the current institutional framework derives its origin. The paper examines how the structure of the irrigation bureaucracy inherited at independence has been transformed during the post-colonial period by its interaction with politically and economically powerful groups in the new state. In this paper, I am less concerned with the economic rationality of the decision-making process, than with the political struggle among the major constituents—bureaucrats, politicians, and citizen-clients—for control over scarce resources. In particular, I will focus on the allocation of water as an arena of political struggle. I hope to show in my paper that complex mechanisms (some rooted in colonial policy, others in the political "anarchy" of the new state), exist which allow certain local groups to negotiate with politicians and bureaucrats and demand a degree of economic and political accountability.

RAO, B. TARAKANODAR. Ferris State University (Panel: Education in Regional South Asia)

"Open University Education in India: An Evaluation of Expectations and Achievements in Andhra Pradesh"

On August 26, 1982 the first open university in India was inaugurated in the state of Andhra Pradesh. That marked the beginning of a highly controversial experiment with the "distance education" teaching concept in India. Educators and public officials hoped and expected that the open university would provide the following benefits: (a) greater equality of access to higher education, (b) an opportunity for those adults who had missed higher education when they were young, (c) an opportunity to those adults who would like to have access to higher education throughout their lives, and (d) help those who wanted to renew or update their knowledge. The imparting of information to the enrolled undergraduates in humanities, sciences, and business programs was done through extremely flexible methods. The students were assured that they would have a prompt and regular supply of printed textual material to read at home, that they would have educational programs and lectures on television and radio, that they would have easy access to qualified instructors and counselors at their study centers on specific days, that they would be given periodic written assignments and tests to assess their academic progress, and that they would have opportunities to conduct science experiments in properly equipped laboratories located within the study centers. However, most of these promises were never fulfilled, and the ongoing efforts in that direction were extremely ineffective and were thus unlikely to achieve the desired goals and objectives in the foreseeable future. The author of this proposal undertook this study as a part of his sabbatical leave in 1985-87 to learn more about what was expected from the open university programs and to learn to what extent those expectations had been fulfilled during the past 5-6 years or would be fulfilled in the future. A survey questionnaire, followed by in depth interviews with students, educators and public officials, was employed to gather the basic information. The paper to be presented will deal with these and several other aspects of the "distance education" system in Andhra Pradesh.

RICHMAN, PAULA. Oberlin College (Panel: The Use, Meaning, and Rhetoric or Images of Family Life in South Asian Religious Texts)

"God as Baby and Author as Mother: The Rhetoric of Devotion in Pillaiittamai Texts"

The Pillaiittamai is an extremely productive genre of Tamil devotional poetry in which a god or goddess is addressed in the form of a child. Pillaiittamai are conventionally divided into ten sections, each section dealing with a particular activity such as the baby clapping its hands, playing with toys, or giving its parent a kiss. In such poems, the female author takes on the persona of a mother, writing tender or cajoling verses of devotion to the baby. These religious poems suggest a great deal about concepts of infancy and styles of child-rearing in Tamil society. In my paper, I will be concerned with the ways in which the mother persona and the god as baby motif shape devotional sentiment in the poem. First, what do the poems emphasize as the stereotypical concerns of mothers and behavior of infants? Second, what unusual kinds of emotions does this literary situation allow the author to express? Third, to what specific kinds of theological statements does it lend itself? Finally, I will consider some of the implications of statements of devotion in which an apparently helpless baby is praised as a salvific deity.
RIZVI, Tahir, University of Wisconsin (Panel: Management Problems in Higher Education in the South Asian Region)

"Management Problems of Medical Education in India"

Medical education has always been looked upon as a profession in the developing countries like India. The situation in Pakistan and Bangladesh is also almost the same. The rush of students towards medical colleges is an evidence to it. However, neither the budget allocation is made in the correct proportion, nor enough educational facilities are available. As a result, numerous medical colleges have sprung up in India which give admission to medical aspirants on payment of "capitation fees." The standard of such medical colleges is far below the expected level as they could not provide the minimum basic infrastructural facilities. Besides they are far away from the modern scientific improvements made in the developed countries. This situation can be dealt with properly only if proper management of resources, manpower and scientific knowhow is built up and improved. The facilities of specialization in various new fields of medicine are available in small measure research facilities access to recent research information, adequate training of fresh graduates, and many other similar problems are needed to be looked into and properly managed to make the medical education in India more sound and relevant. The management of change should be planned and implemented so as to cater to the requirement of the ever-growing population.

ROGERS, John D., Somerville, MA (Panel: Conflicting Images of the British Raj)

"Culture Conflict and Social Control: Gambling in Colonial Sri Lanka"

Despite its condemnation by elites, officials, and (after 1841) the law, gambling was a common form of popular recreation in colonial Sri Lanka. Gamblers met in a wide variety of places, including houses, sheds, gardens, and forests. Many events were held on a regular basis, and were organized by men who collected a commission from each successful bet. In view of the constant condemnation of gambling by elites, especially those influenced by the Buddhist revival, the very fact that gambling thrived represented cultural resistance. The Sinhala-Buddhist press consistently linked gambling with other crimes. It was seen, along with drinking, as indicative of social decay. But this view had little effect on the Buddhist poor, who were selective in their adoption of the ideas put forward by religious propagandists. British officials condemned gambling on similar grounds. As a result, in 1841 certain forms, including those organized for profit, were made illegal. Neither this legislation nor its more broadly-worded successor of 1889 stopped gambling. Many local representatives of the state, including policemen and beakmen, were indifferent or vulnerable to bribes. When the authorities did carry out a raid, escape was the common strategy. Sometimes limited violence was employed, usually with the intention of rendering escape more effective. When gamblers were charged in court, resistance continued within the legal system. Criminal procedure was more favorable to the defendant than in British India, and many gamblers took advantage of minor flaws in the prosecution's case. Around 1910, the state's capacity to prosecute gambling cases improved markedly.

RUBIN, Barnett, Yale University (Panel: Afghanistan: the Afghan War and Problems of Reconstruction)

"Security Policy of Post-Soviet Afghanistan"

As Afghanistan emerges from nine years of Soviet occupation, both its domestic and international political alignments will change. How the future government of Afghanistan conceives of its security interests will depend on the relative weight of nationalists vs. fundamentalists, Pashtuns vs. non-Pashtuns, and on whether the Communists are able to continue to play any political role. The definition of security interests will affect how the future government, both organizes and finances its armed forces, which have been key issues in the organizing of the Afghan State.

RUSTUM-KIRAN, Rosaline, University of California-Palo Alto (Panel: The Construction of the Feminine: Representations of Women in Traditional and Contemporary India)

"Reconstruction of Tradition: Women and Anita Desai's Novels"

The women in Anita Desai's works are continuously involved in the reconstruction of tradition. On one level, they attempt to reconstruct their own personal past histories and family traditions. They constantly recall and recreate their past. On another, more important level, they chose or are forced to destroy and then reassemble, reconstruct, the overwhelming tradition they have inherited as daughters, sisters, wives, mothers,
widows, householders, professional working women and hermitage dwellers. A sense of time dominates this process of reconstruction of personal lives and historical tradition. Memories connect different episodes and characters while providing reasons for present actions and future possibilities. Time in Desai's works can also be perceived as an actor of mythic proportions who destroy's, preserves and renovates and becomes the invisible enemy or ally of the women caught in the pattern of their lives. The proposed paper will focus on the women in Desai's Clear Light of Day and Fire on the Mountain. Clear Light of Day is a fugue which presents the voices and thoughts of different women. And within this weaving of voices, Bimala, the protagonist, the spinster sister, the history teacher, the caretaker of her brother, constructs and reconstructs her life using the fragments of her past and the recognition of love which like time destroys, preserves and renovates. Bimala's courage and willingness to move with the changing rhythms of time will be compared to the rigidity of the protagonist of Fire on the Mountain, Nanda Kaul. When faced with the intrusion into her life by an old, pathetic friend and a young, abandoned grandchild, Nanda Kaul is unwilling to reconstruct her already carefully constructed life as a recluse. The women in Clear Light of Day are active participants in a twentieth century reenactment of a mythological dance-drama in which personal and socio-religious traditions are acknowledged and reconstructed. The women in Fire on the Mountain on the other hand, are haunted and finally destroyed by their inability to either fulfill or reconstruct the traditional ideals of the renunciation of the self and of detached action.


"Political Ethics and State Violence in Sri Lanka"

In recent times Sri Lanka has been noted for its violent conflict. The conflict has generally been typified as an ethnic conflict between Tamil rebels and government troops. An important aspect of the government's military activity has been its willingness to over-ride individual rights assured by the constitution. A number of human rights organizations have been critical of the role played by government officials — civilian and military — in the treatment of prisoners taken from the civilian population and the armed ranks of the rebels. To many observers of the Sri Lankan political tradition these behaviors are disturbing because the country has for a long time been held as an exemplar of Westminster democracy. Through the seventies the government of the country had been peacefully replaced by the ballot. The recent changes are therefore a derailment of an older form of political authority. In my paper I would like to discuss the ethical bases of political authority in general, and apply them to the case of Sri Lanka. My sources here for the discussions of political sociology are the writings of Max Weber who, in his discussion of political authority, maintained that there were two distinct ethics that governed political professionals. One he labelled the ethic of responsibility and the other the ethic of conviction. Weber believed that the former was central to modern democracy, while the latter would lead to instability. In applying this view to Sri Lanka I will argue that political authority in the country has moved in tendency from the ethic of responsibility to the ethic of conviction. In British times, I will argue, Sri Lankan politicians adhered to the former. In fact the Sri Lankan independence movement provides a great contrast to the Ghandian movement, which was driven by the conviction ethic. In the early fifties, there was a shift in political authority and a revival of Sinhala nationalism couched within Buddhist rhetoric. This shift was also an ethical shift to conviction and to the primacy of "ultimate ends" over pragmatic power-balancing. My paper will then move to look at the causes for the shifts in ethical bases of authority. I will argue that these causes were fundamentally in the material realm but were influenced by the intentionality ethic inherent to Buddhist practice. In order to do this I will document the entry of increasing numbers of people into the arena of public goods and welfare patronage. This movement increased competition which proved to be conducive to the emergence of various ideologies. I will then discuss the intentionality ethic in the Buddhist tradition where mental intention is deemed to be important to the achievement of salvation. Gombrich has recorded the changes in this ethic in the practice of Buddhism in the island. Through this argument I hope to show that the ethic of conviction, which has formed a basis for political authority among Sinhala politicians in modern Sri Lanka, is motivated by the changes in material life placed in the context of a modern Buddhist interpretation.
SATTAR, ARSHIA, University of Chicago (Panel: Animals as Transformations and Projections in Classical Indian Texts)

"It's a Bird, It's a Bear, It's Hanuman!"
The paper will examine the ways in which Hanuman is likened to a bird (especially Garuda), particularly when he makes his leap to Lanka in the Sanskrit Ramayana. Although he is never called a bird, he is consistently compared to the mighty Garuda when he leaps/flies through the air to the island. Further, within the Ramayana, he does other bird-like things, for example, he retrieves herbs from mountains, and seems to have an antipathy for snakes. The issue of Hanuman as a bird is complicated by the fact that Jambavan, who is a bear, claims to have performed similar feats. This is interesting because there has been much debate over whether the bears and the monkeys in the Ramayana are different from each other. Are monkeys bears and bears monkeys and can they be birds? Are animals anthropomorphic or are they theriomorphic in that they resemble still other animals?

SEELY, CLINTON, University of Chicago (Panel: Constructing Self and Culture: Three Pioneers of Modern Indian Literature)

"Pramila: A Tradition Characterized"
Ashish Nandy, in his study of colonial mentality (The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism <1983>), describes Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824 - 1873) as "probably the person who most dramatically sought to redefine popular mythology to fit the changing values under colonialism. ..." (p.18). The supporting evidence Nandy cites is Dutt's Bengali narrative poem based on the Ramayana, "Meghnadavadha Kavya" (The Slaying of Meghana). This text has been the focus of much criticism, both positive and negative, since its appearance in 1861. Madhusudan Dutt, who began his career aspiring to become a respected English poet, had a change of heart, and, with Meghnadavadha, he unequivocally succeeded in enhancing the language of his forefathers. He is today acknowledged as the first of the modern poets --- his Meghnadavadha, the first poem of the modern era. If modern is taken to mean not only new or any courant but also somehow different from the past, then Meghnadavadha is both modern and traditional, for there is much that is new and much traditional. Even the new, in Dutt's admiral hands, is traditional. This paper focuses on Pramila, the wife of Meghana--- a character conspicuously absent from the "standard" Bengali Ramayana but one whose antecedents are neither new nor foreign to the Bengali literary tradition. Pramila, who commits sati (sati having been outlawed decades earlier by the British), would seem to cast doubt on Nandy's assertion of what Dutt sought to do.

SEN, SUDIPTA, University of Chicago (Panel: Temple Traditions)

"Aspects of the Decline of Terra-Cotta Temple Art in Bengal"
Building of terra-cotta temples was a widespread social practice in pre-colonial Bengal. Temple architecture and burnt clay sculpture were primary and famous art forms in the country particularly since the later middle ages. There was a major community of craftsmen, the *atradhara* - woodworkers, stone and ivory carvers and clay sculptors, a large number of whom came to specialize in brick temple architecture and the designing of terra-cotta motifs. This paper tries to trace the course of the decline of this craft and the changing circumstances faced by its artisans, touching upon the social history of the early phase of the colonial impact on Bengal. The decline of temple building as a meaningful social institution and the disappearance of a highly skilled craft were not simply results of British land revenue reforms which disturbed the traditional patronage. They were linked to the creation of the colonial city of Calcutta. The gradual end of the cultural imperative to host the building of a temple in the countryside was closely related to the shift of social investment to this colonial urban environment. It was also related to the changing social perceptions and expectations of the newly created indigenous urban elite who were the first to benefit financially and socially through intimate associations with the dominant network of British trade and capital. The abode of the household deities of prominent Bengali families during this period became a part of the newly defined residential premise, the *bari* in the private city. This paper also explores the cultural uprooting and the migration of a large number of *atradhara* families to Calcutta in the search of jobs as bricklayers and carpenters, and their re-aggregation in the city as part of the widening labor force, now defined as belonging to the carpenter 'caste' as espoused in the census.
SHARMA, ARVIND, McGill University (Panel: The 'Religious' and 'Secular' in Indian Thought)
"Varieties of 'Secularism' in Indian Thought"
The term 'secularism' is used in a variety of ways, both in India and in the West. The most common usage of the word in the West is that it is "non-spiritual, having no concern with religious or spiritual matters...anything which is distinct, opposed to or not connected with religion or ecclesiastical things, temporal as opposed to spiritual or ecclesiastical." (Encyclopedia Britannica). Modern Indian thinkers, however, interpret 'secularism' as: (1) not being tied to any religion (2) equal protection for all religions; (3) recognition of the universality (as opposed to parochialism) of spiritual values, (4) non-patronization of any particular religion, (5) non-interference with religious institutions and the religious life of the people, etc. I shall examine in this paper how modern Indian secularism should be understood and its implications to modern society.

SHIELDS, NANCY K., San Angelo, Texas (Panel: Temple Traditions)
"Wooden Spirits of South Kanara"
Spirit Worship in South Kanara, India, honors particular local Spirits in yearly forms of ancient rural pageantry. Ceremonial rites provide Spirit dancers the opportunity to reaffirm the continuing powerful relationships between Spirits and humans. Not only do these ritualized performances include elements of folk theater, masked drama and narrative recitation, coupled with healing and personal counselling, but many of the same Spirits whose narratives are chanted by Spirit dancers are also represented in wooden sculptures. The power and ferocity of these sculptures evoke fear and devotion in the worshippers at all times but especially in the flickering torchlight of the festivals. The devotees believe that the Spirit has entered through the eyes of the sculpture and resides therein. Generally speaking the sculptures are carved from jackfruit trees: some take the form of humans: others are of animals: yet others are neither man nor beast. They vary in size: some are gigantic. Many are freshly and vividly painted with natural plant and mineral pigments. The older ones are softened and weathered by time. Just as the Spirits themselves are remarkably variscs in their tales and manifestations, so too are the Spirit sculptures, the temples that house them and the festivals in their honor. The lecture will include slides.

SIDDIQUE, BAKER A., Sangamon State University (Panel: Development and Economics)
"Integration and Development in South Asia: An Economic Analysis"
The idea of regional cooperation and integration arrangements has become widely accepted among both developed and developing countries as an important means for accelerating economic growth and development and also to promote other social goals. Currently, there are over a dozen of such regional groups covering as many as one half of the world's population. While these countries were actively engaged in drawing up and implementing mutually beneficial regional cooperation policies in the fields of economics and other areas over the last three decades of more, with both successes and failures, the countries inhabited by the other half of the world population, namely, China and South Asian countries, have remained very much inward looking and in many instances even anti-regional. Presumably, as a result of the growing strength and successes of other regional bodies and also the realization of greater world interdependence finally convinced the leaders of seven South Asian countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka), to form their own regional cooperation body - the SAARC in 1985. The major aim of this paper is to consider a limited form of economic integration among the SAARC countries and analyze the potential static and dynamic gains for the union. A major finding of the paper is that although the size of the static gains may not be substantial, however, the dynamic gains for the union as a whole may be substantial. Furthermore, the dynamic gains can be increased further by broadening the union memberships including countries such as Burina and Afghanistan.

SILVERBERG, JAMES, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Panel: Opium in South Asia)
"Social and Ritual Uses of Narcotics in a Gujrati Village"
This paper will attempt to offer a better understanding of the current problems in narcotics control in South Asia, by describing and analyzing the uses of cannabis and opium by various social groups in a Gujrati village. Therapeutic use of narcotics in the village will be discussed. Established patterns of production
and commerce, and common attitudes towards use of different types of drugs in different settings will be analyzed.

SINGH, KARORI, University of Rajasthan (Panel: Historical Analysis of Contemporary Irrigation Policies in South Asia)

"Land Reforms in Sri Lanka: Perception and Prospects"

Land reforms have been considered an important aspect of development strategies in Sri Lanka since the colonial period. A large number of legislative and administrative measures have been undertaken by the colonial and post-colonial state for providing security of tenure, fixation of share, and a ceiling on the ownership of land holdings. All such measures were objectives of social justice and productivity. However, these measures did not yield the desired results. This paper analyses the elite and mass perceptions of land reforms. The analysis of perceptions reveals that there is both congruence and divergence in the perceptions of different aspects of land reforms in Sri Lanka. The congruence is on the need for further land reforms. The divergence is on the nature and content of land reforms to be a few policy measures including constitutionally valid land reform laws, abolishing the rotational tenure system, and reducing the ceiling on the ownership of land holdings in the case of paddy land. It is doubtful that the ruling elite will pursue any of the land policy measures suggested which will further aggravate tensions in the agrarian sector.

SINGH, NIKKY, Colby College (Panel: Female Images in the Panjab)

"Sundari: The Paradigm of Sikh Ethics"

Published in 1898, SUNDARI is the first novel of the Punjabi language. The story, however, was conceived when its author Bhau Vir Singh (1872-1957) was still in high school and a part of it was written then as well. It is a heroic portrait of a woman named Srasti who, born in a Hindu family, later embraces the Sikh faith under the influence of her brother, Balvant Singh converted a Sikh much earlier, and receives the new name Sunder Kaur (Sundari for short). She then leads a daring life in the jungles with a band of Sikh warriors. This paper will focus on how a) the elements that forged Sikh moral ethos - langar, seva, kirat karni, vand chakna te nam jagna -- permeate SUNDARI; b) the vision of the Ultimate Reality is realized in the heroine person -- in her socio-political activity; c) Bhau Vir Singh (and the Sikh community) acknowledge Sundari as the paradigm of Sikh insight into the Transcendent One.

SINGH, SURJIT MAN, Johns Hopkins University (Panel: Management Problems in Higher Education in the South Asian Region)

"South Asian Universities: Some Common Management Problems"

India is a country which has recently experienced a mushroom growth of Universities. In spite of this, the country still has a national literacy rate of just 36%. This shows that there is something wrong in the management and distribution system of the resources available. The Universities in India have a variety of management problems - student management, financial management, resource management. Management for objective academic growth and manage of change in the system. The problems vary in nature in the Central and State Universities and also differ region wise depending mainly on the objective growth of the community involved. The paper "South Asian Universities: Some Common Management Problems" aims at discussing these crucial issues rocking the entire structure of higher education.

SINHA, MITALINI, SUNY at Stony Brook (Panel: Conflicting Images of the British Raj)

"The 'Non-Martial Bengalee': A Colonial Stereotype and the Native Volunteer Question in 1885"

In this paper, I examine the 'native' volunteering movement of 1885 in the light of the martial race theory, which had emerged as a guide for recruitment in the post-Mutiny Indian Army. The 'native' bid to join existing European or Eurasian Volunteer Corps or to form separate Native Volunteer Corps occurred at the height of the Russian threat in Afghanistan. The volunteer movement, which was sparked off by an episode in Madras, was taken up by natives all over British India. The educated Bengali babus were at the forefront of the movement. Volunteering was closely associated with the Bengali bhadrachal's self image of effeminacy and it had a decisive impact on the nature of the Bengal resistance to colonial rule. The response of the
colonial authorities to the volunteer agitation drew upon popular notions of manliness and effeminacy. Lord Dufferin's government evoked the quasi-scientific arguments of the martial race theory in order to buttress the colonial ideal of manliness. The volunteer controversy illustrated the evolution of the martial race theory into a rigid gender stereotypes of manliness and effeminacy, which were to have important implications for the structure of colonial society in late nineteenth century India.

SKINNER, DEBRA, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Panel: Nepal as an Ethnographic Area: Representations & Reevaluations.

"Nepalese Children's Understanding of Themselves and their Social World"

This paper examines the dynamic process of children's reproduction of and resistance to gender and caste identities. Although there are notable exceptions, most ethnographies of "self" in South Asia have focused on Hindu cosmological notions of self and person at a collective level, and not on the intra-cultural and intra-psychic conflict of social identities. Until recently, much of the anthropological literature on childhood socialization has also been limited by the view of children as passively internalizing cultural codes; it has missed the active contribution of the child to the content and process of socialization. This paper is based on an ethnography of children which is concerned with questions of socialization and cultural reproduction of social identities. Data from a mixed caste hill village in Nepal show that children (re)create and negotiate identities and use cultural devices to understand them. Children's resistance to our strategic redefinition of both caste and gender identities has been influenced by recent changes in the village. Some children have also used traditional cultural genres in new ways to give expression to their conflicting notions of social identities.

SMITH, BRIAN K., Barnard College (Panel: Animals as Transformations and Projections)

"Outcast Animals and Beastly Men: The Construction of the Other in Ancient India"

In Vedic ritual texts, animals and humans are divided into those that are sacrificial (medhya) or "worthy of participation in the sacrifices" (yajnya) and those that are not. The animals and humans in the former category are additionally listed among the creatures who are considered "domesticated," they are assigned a class (varna), and the animals allowed inside the confines of the sacrifice are also those regarded as edible. In this paper, I will explore the overlapping criteria for constituting some species of animal as "other" - that is, nonsacrificial, "wild," outside the varna classification system, and nonedible. I will then turn to the case of the similarly categorized group of humans the texts refer to as "pseudo-humans" or "wild men" (kimpura, kimpurusa, purusa puru, or rayu) in order to suggest some of the reasons why certain people in Vedic and Hindu texts (including also the uninitiate of any class, the Vratyas, Sudras, Untouchables, etc.) came to be classified as beyond the pale of the fully human.

SPAULDING, FRANK, Ohio State University (Panel: Ethnic and National Identity)

"Features of Caste and Kinship in Pakistan"

The caste-like features of Muslim South Asian societies have been recognized for some time now. Over the past two decades, these features have increasingly attracted scholarly attention. A number of studies center upon determining the extent to which biraderi (the kinship unit of Muslim South Asia) is organized on principles similar to those which order the hierarchical caste system. These efforts have made important contributions to developing our understanding of Islam as it is mediated and expressed in social contexts external to the Arab Middle East. Such studies, however, tend to minimize the social importance of the syncretic elements present in Muslim South Asian communities. To illuminate some aspects of this syncretism, this paper describes and analyzes the kinship system of a biraderi located in the northern Punjab of Pakistan. This analysis suggests some important features of biraderis that set them against the social organization of Hindu castes while at the same time revealing their common history. Preferred cousin-marriage is identified as an important factor essential to understanding the differences and similarities in conceptualization and social organization that obtain between castes and biraderi.
SPINK, WALTER M., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Panel: Studies in South Asian Art)
"Intrusive Imagery in the Western Caves"

Many of the Western Caves contain imagery that is not part of their original conception but which has been created after the completion of the main iconographic program of the cave. The paper traces the important developments of that imagery.

SRIDHAR, KANAI K., SUNY-Stoney Brook (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Forth of Culture, Part I)
"Cultural Maintenance Among Asian Indians: Kannadigas in the New York Area"

This is a synchronic study of language maintenance and shift from a sociolinguistic perspective. The study presents a detailed profile of the language situation in the first generation of immigrants from Karnataka. The sociolinguistic perspective permits a finer description of the parent's and children's competence in the ethnic language than is usually found in the literature. It also gives insights into the nature of the linguistic output available to the younger generation. Further, this study illustrates the value of the comparative perspective suggested by Fishman (1966) by relating the sociolinguistic outcomes of migration within and outside India. Methodologically, this study is based on reports of language use, attitudes, socio-cultural practices and maintenance efforts of a number of Kannadigas and on observations of interactions among Kannadigas in various informal and institutional settings. Responses to a 55 item questionnaire administered to 21 families of Kannada speakers form the primary data for this study. Results indicate that Kannada is used very much in the family domain, in face to face and telephone interactions among relatives and friends, and at Kannada functions. The children have a primarily receptive knowledge of Kannada and a restricted competence in the speech domain. English is clearly the dominant language for the most of them both at home and outside.

SUTHERLAND, SALLY J., University of California-Berkeley (Panel: The Construction of the Feminine: Representations of Women in Traditional and Contemporary India)
"The Bad Seed: Senior Wives and Elder Sons in the Ancient Indian Epic Tradition"

The rivalry between co-wives, or shapati-s, is a recurrent motif in the epic literature. This rivalry often focuses on the births and characteristics of sons. The conception and births of the sons are not infrequently magical and are sometimes abnormal and even bizarre in nature. In this paper, I will examine some of the more well-known epic versions of this motif in an attempt to understand its underlying importance in the context of traditional Indian familial, social, and religious life.

SYED, ANWAR H., University of Massachusetts (Panel: Political Parties, Elites and Policy-Making in South Asia)
"The Pakistan People's Party (PPP)—An Abstract"

This paper will, first, provide a brief review and analysis of the party's ideological and programmatic commitments announced before the 1970 general elections and the leadership style of its founder, the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It will then examine Mr. Bhutto's style of party management and treat it as one of the principal reasons for the party's failure to hold its ground and for his own eventual ouster from power. It will go on to examine Ms. Benazir Bhutto's style of party leadership and management, her interpretation of the party's goals and missions, factional disputes within the party over her style and over interpretations of Mr. Bhutto's legacy. Reference will be made to party notables, besides Ms. Bhutto, at the national and provincial levels, their ideological and class orientations, and the resulting state of internal cohesion in the party. The party's current problems in building support in the various provinces of Pakistan, including its handling of the issue of Punjabi dominance of other provinces, will be discussed, with some speculation as to what might happen if it were to lose the Punjab in the general elections expected to be held in 1990.

TARKOV, GARY MICHAEL., Iowa State University (Panel: Beyond Form to the Context of India's Visual Arts)
"Makaratorana: The Site of Passage"

The usual way to consider temple symbolism is through the iconography of particular deities found in the temple's precincts. But another and equally important way is to consider the symbolism of the temple's structure. The structure too is composed in accordance with agamic and sastric injunctions and endowed with
significance to be imparted to the rituals that take place within it. This paper investigates a small, peripheral shrine of the Kailasa at Ellora. It examines the architectural decoration to see how it lends to the shrine's meaning and to the meaning of the ritual it housed. Along the way it offers an interesting particular interpretation of the mukaratzana, one of the most popular temple symbolisms of the 8th century Deccan and later. Its major thrust is to reaffirm the significance of the temple as an instrument of ritual transcendence, in which even the most trivial decoration may have a soteriological grounding.

TAYLOR, IRMAGARD C., SJY-N Cortland (Panel: Omnibus)
"Cultural Ignorance as a Barrier to Indian Literature in English"
If literature represents culture, then it follows that unfamiliarity with a given culture makes the literature less intelligible or even unintelligible. In the past, critics have frequently made intelligibility of a text for members of other cultures an important criterion in their positive or negative judgement of a work, but lately this attitude has come under attack. It is now argued that authors do not have to offer cultural explanations in their works to assist readers, that instead readers can be expected to do significant work in their struggle to possess the text. Authors can even choose to make moments of their work culturally difficult because readers will want to perform the intellectual work required to make the text meaningful to them.
The above may hold true for the mature, eager reader. But what about young undergraduates who are confronted with culturally difficult texts in required readings? How much effort are they willing to put forth and at what point of cultural frustration might they give up? The presenter teaches an introductory course on Indian Literature in English at the undergraduate level and will discuss students' reactions to four 20th century novels in terms of their intelligibility to the students. She will further address the need to be a mediator between cultures as well as an instructor of literature in such a course and mention the delicate balance that must be struck between these two areas.

THOMPSON, SUSAN J., Cornell University (Panel: Historical Analysis of Contemporary Irrigation Policies in South Asia)
"Historical Determinants of Irrigation Policy in Sri Lanka"
Sri Lanka's water resource policies, which historically have been irrigation policies, predate the British colonial period. A Dutch development scheme in the eighteenth century anticipated British irrigation policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while a variant of the Kandyan law of rajakariya was implemented by the British for maintaining village irrigation works. Current irrigation policies in Sri Lanka have their antecedents in these early colonial policies and in the laws of the Kandyan kingdom. These irrigation policies were first implemented as regional development policies for the production of subsistence commodities. This policy orientation has not changed since the eighteenth century. Yet there has been little examination of the consequences of irrigation policies developed in other economic epochs as the base of current irrigation policies and programs. This paper will examine the historical antecedents of current water resource policies and explore the implications of for Sri Lanka's agricultural development in the global economy.

TRAHWICK, MARGARET, Hobart and Williams Smith Colleges (Panel: The Use, Meaning and Rhetoric of Images of Family Life in South Asian Religious Texts)
"Men Who Worship Son-Gods: An Examination of Two Life Stories"
People in India take gods very personally. Often a person's choice of a god to worship has something to do with the unique circumstances of that person's own life. The god embodies the worshipper's sorrows, longings, conflicts, hopes, or more precisely, the god embodies a relationship in the course of which such feelings grow. To worship a mother-goddess, for instance, is (among other things) to give a new form to feelings one has had for one's own mother, who is now a part of oneself. When worshippers say that the Mother (or Siva, or Krishna) dwells within the heart, I think that on one level they mean just this. In this paper, the life-histories of two men who worship son-gods will be examined. One of these men is a Vellalar (high non-Brahman) in his seventies who worships a particular version of Pillaiyar, the celibate eldest son of Siva. The other is a Pariyar (Untouchable) of about thirty-five years of age, who worships Ayyappan, the offspring of Siva
and Vishnu, noted for his fidelity to his foster parents. Though the two life-stories are very different, both of them illustrate the tragic aspects of father-son love and patrilineal ideals, and in both of them, the son-gods play key roles.

UNDERWOOD, KELSEY CLARK, (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Forth of Culture)

Negotiating Tamil Identity in the San Francisco Bay Area

This paper looks at the ways in which Tamil people in the San Francisco Bay Area translate and negotiate their cultural identities in a social context vastly different from the one they left in South India. My research indicates that Tamils are concerned not to abandon what they perceive as their ancient linguistic and cultural heritage. Thus as they arrange their lives in the United States, Tamil people have become actively engaged in negotiating long-held cultural identifications. This negotiation is worked out symbolically in various forms and activities. It is a process that entails considerable social and situational variation.

Examples of this negotiation process are discussed in the paper. Tamil's adaptations of their own names from Tamil naming principles to American ones demonstrate the kinds of choices they make, given the constraints of their new society. The study and performance of Bharata Natyam, the South Indian dance form, if another domain in which Tamil people define their identities in the United States. Tamils' negotiation of their identities in relation to each other and to Americans is further demonstrated in my discussion of a weekend camping trip, an unusual ethnographic setting in which these issues were enacted. In focusing on the complexity involved in the process of interpreting and redefining Tamil cultural identities in the United States, the paper considers both how such choices are made and what the symbolic ramifications are to those who make them.

VAJPEYI, DHIRENDR, University of Northern Iowa (Panel: Political Parties, Elites and Policy making in South Asia)

"Lok Dal and Political Mobilization of the Backward Class in U.P. and Haryana (India)"

The role of political parties is crucial in mobilizing people and resources, and in bringing about social and political change. Students of political parties handle the process of participation, legitimacy, management of conflict and national integration. My paper examines the Lok Dal party and its strategy to mobilize the backward classes in Haryana, and U.P., the role of its founder, Ch. Charan Singh, the present leadership Ajit Singh, and H.N. Bahuguna the split in the party and its viability to provide an alternative to the ruling Congress (I) party in these two states.

VAJRACHAYA, GAUTAM, University of Wisconsin, Madison (Panel: Temple Traditions)

"Nepalese Arts of the Transitional Period"

The stylistic difference between the well-known Surya images and Majjiratha is much wider than their time difference. This does not seem to be a result of an abrupt change in a short period of time since the Nepalase artistic tradition was then characteristically conservative. The variance, rather, indicates the existence of different schools, some of which were still in progress, while others were declining gradually for many decades.

VINCENTTHANAN, LYN, Aurora Illinois (Panel: Ethnic and National Identity)

"Harijan Concept of Person and Ideology"

Based on a year of field work in India, 1984-85, and taken from my dissertation, HARIJAN SUBCULTURE AND SELF-ESTEEM MANAGEMENT (UW-Madison, 1987), this paper discusses areas of Harijan subculture that differ from the overarching Hindu culture in ways that help Harijans maintain higher self-esteem. Such areas include cosmogony, caste origin myths, afterlife beliefs, and social structural arrangements. Although the original intent of this project was to study the subculture of a particular Harijan community—the Pariyars of a hamlet near Chidambaram, South Arcot District, and Tamil Nadu—findings from previous studies reveal some similar beliefs and values common to many Harijan castes throughout India, and these are included in this paper. Furthermore, analysis of these various Harijan beliefs and values reveal a coherent and logical counter-ideology to traditional Hindu ideology. The Harijans near Chidambaram have a flood myth with implications contradicting those of Purusha's dismemberment into different varnas. Most non-Brahman caste
origin myths in Tamil Nadu also contradict the Purusha myth, but non-Harijans, non-Brahman myths do imply inherent caste differences, while the Harijan "brother" myth (found widespread throughout India) shows all people coming from a common source. Older and uneducated Harijans believe pollution is evil, but only as an external or temporary condition and not as caste-inherent. Most Harijans do not believe in reincarnation, and those that do hold different conceptions of it. Conceptions of social structure, hierarchy, and division of labor have premises different from caste Hindu ideology.

WEISSMAN, LEE, University of Chicago (Panel: South Indians Outside South India: The Carrying Forth of Culture, Part I)

"Chicagoan Hinduism in the Making"

This paper is about two Hindu temples in the Chicago area which originated from a single (primarily Kannadiga and Telugu) group of interested South Indians, and which how advertise themselves as temples for the entire Hindu community of Greater Chicago. Though both temples are Vaishnava, both include Saiva shrines and employ at least one Saiva priest. These temples have not only begun to incorporate icons of a variety of sectarian and regional deities—Siva-Durgā, Venkateshwara, Rādhā-Krishna, and Ayyappan—and associated calendarical and other rituals but also a variety of regional practices—e.g., Aiyappa Bhajans, Gujaratic Krenna Bhajans, and so on. Although there may be a general strategy of inclusion of regional elements in the creation of a Pan-Indian Hinduism, it is proposed that such inclusions are likely to be agnostic. This paper will ask why and how certain rituals, certain iconographic features, and certain deities are included, while others are not. This paper will explore how these kinds of decisions continue to create a unique "Chicagoan" Hinduism.

WOLF, RICHARD, University of Illinois-Urbana (Panel: Inside Tradition: Change as momentum in India’s Performing Arts)

"The Maintenance of Tradition in Karaikkudi Vina Playing"

In recent years, much attention has been focused on the effect of modern Indian society and values upon the traditional arts of India. Although, in many cases, both Indian and non-Indian researchers emphasize the impoverishment or the decadence of traditions, it is also noteworthy that the rapid modernization in India due to increases in technology, industrialization, and urbanization in India, especially in the last 50 years, provide an interesting context for studying the forces that maintain cultural traditions. In my paper I examine the forces that have shaped the Karaikkudi style of vina playing in the last 50 years. Specifically, I address widespread factors, such as institutionalization of music, politicalization and professionalization of musicianship and individual factors, such as personality, guru-shishya power relationships, and biological vs. non-biological ties to tradition. First I will look at the musical and social implications of the concept of "style," or "bani" in South India, then I will discuss how key members of the Karaikkudi bani have interpreted their roles in maintaining tradition with respect to the factors mentioned above. It is hoped that this kind of an approach will provide a framework through which change in other cultural traditions in India can be compared, thus bringing out the universal processes of cultural maintenance, as well as those that are linked to the individual character of a specific "school."

YOUNG, SERINITY, Columbia University (Panel: Female Figures in Indian Literature)

"Rejection and Reconciliation: Human and Kivine Females in the Biographical Literature of the Buddha"

This paper will concentrate on the two main biographies of the Buddha, the Lalitavistara and the Buddhacarita. One of the purposes of these biographies is to reshape the old Brahmanical values into new Buddhist values and the definition of women is essential to this task. In order to explore this definition I will examine the various roles these biographies assign to women, e.g., the temptress, the dead good mother, the divine helper, etc., and the identification of these women with civilization, sex, and death.

ZURICK, DAVID N., Eastern Kentucky University (Panel: Conservation Initiatives at Four Villages in Nepal)

"Strategies for Slope Land Usage in a Midlands Village of West Nepal"

The paper examines cultural strategies developed by the residents of the middle hills village of Phalabang to use village slopeland for subsistence resource needs. Farmers and herdsmen capitalize on local geomorphic features in their land use system. Slope gradient, aspects and elevation are incorporated into traditional
land use patterns. There are also clear signs of slopeland mismanagement, with resulting land degradation. Villages cope with slope constraints and deteriorative environmental trends in both traditional adaptive strategies and more recent conservation initiatives. The effectiveness of villager’s conservation practices is the main focus of the paper. Such practices include field abandonment, the maintenance of buffer kalya between farm fields, fodder tree production, and local integrated slope regeneration through the cooperative management of private lands. The latter occurs on the Kalikathan slope and involves a number of households with private landholdings distributed up and down the slope. Here villagers have introduced rotational grass cutting, restricted grazing and fuelwood cutting, and minor seedling plantings. The new conservation practices are considered as crucial elements in newly-emerging adaptive strategies resulting from the heightened perception of environment problems.

ZYSK, KENNETH G., Eastern Michigan University (Panel: Home Based Health Care)

"Asceticism and the origins of Ayurvedic Medicine"

This paper will explore the early origins of Ayurveda in India. We shall attempt to find links to the medical tradition in the so-called heterodox and ascetic movements which involved the sramanas and the early Buddhists. Greek, Pali and Sanskrit sources will be employed to elucidate technical and philosophical similarities between the sramanas, Buddhists and physicians. The conclusions, we shall draw, point to a derivation of the medical sciences in ancient India from heterodox religious movements. This is in direct opposition to the origin presented in the classical medical treatises of Caraka and Susruta.