

## GLOBAL- LOCAL INTERFACE AND THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF NEPAL

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### ABSTRACT

*Globalization, altering role of WTO, expanding markets in Asia and Latin America, the emergence of prosperous middle class with heavy influence of satellite television and the rise of consumerism has introduced a new transnational class structure. From a theoretical perspective, although deterioration is fundamental to understanding globalization, any piece of land can never be completely overcome without winning the heart and mind of the local people. In a context of global-local interface, deterioration must unavoidably be escorted by the process of relocalization of the cultures and traditions of backward world.*

**KEY WORDS-** *Lens, Globalization, Ethnographic, Polymorphous, Romanticism*

### PRELUDE

Anthropologists are firm on accepting the complexities of culture via the active analysis of *culture by means of the anthropological lenses*. One does not take hold of the full meaning of the anthropological lens or viewpoint unless one comprehends artistic impact of any phenomenon. *Culture* is a part of a broad view of human existence that anthropologist term holistic. If the holistic field of vision of anthropology is extended far enough, it would include the perceiver as well as the object perceived, and this too is a concern of anthropology, which recognizes the subjective as well as the objective aspect of knowledge, human behavior, cognition and social cultural values that are vital in determining the status of all and everything.

Peacock (2001) squabbles that yet despite its diversity, certain major themes do occur in the understandings of the world that anthropologists have considered. Using the photographic metaphors of '*harsh light*' and '*soft focus*' Peacock characterizes the anthropological worldview as consisting of two elements: on the one hand, concern with the basic reality of the human condition, free of cultural influence; on the other, a broadly based holism that attempts to grasp all aspects of that

condition, including its relation to the anthropologists.

With the change in time the focus of anthropological lenses has also changed. The dimension of the focus has been altered and widened and new ideas and concepts have emerged with the trend of globalization, transnational connections in everyday life of the people. Globalization is related to a single world or the making of a uniform world order where the distance between countries of the world will be narrowed down. Marshall, (2006) says *Globalization theory examines the emergence of a global cultural system. It suggests that global culture is brought about by a variety of social and cultural developments: the existence of a world satellite information system: the emergence of global patterns of consumptions and consumerism: the cultivation of cosmopolitan lifestyles; the emergence of global sports such as Olympics.*

Globalization as a continuous common progression involves the process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede (move away) and in which people become increasingly aware that they are retreating and integrating into a global culture. In such situation, it becomes imperative to investigate the connection between nationalism and globalization in its diverse forms, mainly centering on the effect of globalization on national identity, human behavior, social behavior and the ways in which globalizing processes have influenced culture and lifestyles. Owing to globalization the transnational or the *international* connections between the countries have increased which has augmented the process of connections and communication between the countries and their diverse cultures and has enhanced the process of cultural, social, economic borrowings and diffusions. Even the ethnic groups existing in the remotest parts of the globe are not in a position to remain untouched of the changes brought by technological revolutions. Modern Nepalese culture is also an example of increasing globalization and international connections due to global migrations, satellite television world, internets etc. The scope and the field of anthropology have also been enlarged and widened owing to globalization and transnational connections between the cultures. The store of theoretical perspectives has also been widened and thus become more complex. People's everyday life has distorted owing to cultural diffusion, technological and educational revolutions brought by modernization, westernization and urbanization.

Allied to the debates on globalization and the consequent transnational (international or between the nations) connections and their impacts on everyday life in the last two decades, it is deducible that the world cultures are prone to basic structural changes. The discussions' adjoining topic of globalization and culture have also suggested certain images – or at least two opposing sets of images, each of which originates from a certain thesis about where the world societies are heading in terms of its essential structure. On the one hand, the globalist thesis sees the breaking of national boundaries – boundaries which have been conceptualized not only in terms of the legal-institutional structure of societies but also in terms of social phenomena, often expressed in the idea of 'culture'. Side by side on the other hand, there are abundant supporters of the notion that the world is likely to remain structured principally around the preeminence of western cultures as well as the stagnation of traditional cultures of Asia, Africa and Latin America and that these entities will not only continue as the major players in the world but will also remain the primary site of emotional connection for the immense majority of the world's people.

From the globalization and transnational point of view, cultures of the world have been the center of attraction. The initial point for most deliberations on culture draws from traditional anthropological ideas, the appearance of which are also closely associated with nationalist thought. Conceptions of culture based on these ideas have met with energetic criticism from proponents of Universalist causes – causes which have become much more significant in the post-cold war period after 1990. Both particularist and universalist approaches have something to offer in the continuing project of conceptualizing *culture* in a globalizing world which is, nevertheless, likely to remain hopelessly pluralistic not along 'national' lines, but in numerous other ways. The altering role of World Trade Organization, majority of countries becoming its members, expanding markets in Asia and Latin America, the emergence of prosperous middle class with heavy influence of satellite television and the rise of consumerism has introduced a new transnational class structure. From a theoretical perspective, although *deteriorisation* is fundamental to understanding globalization, any piece of land can never be completely overcome without winning the heart and mind of the local people. Deteriorisation

must unavoidably be escorted by the process of *relocalization of the cultures* and traditions of backward world.

#### GLOBAL-LOCAL INTERFACE AND ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH: REVIEWS OF SOME ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLES

Cultural artifacts diffuse across the world at the speed of light highly influenced by present globalization process. Nevertheless, relevance of local ethnic concept remains decisive. The relevance of ethnography remains crucial for tracing the local-global interface. The confrontation for ethnography is to trace significant systems, and comprehend cultural mechanism and relations. It is also imperative to describe the complexities of a chaotic global system and its impact on local cultures, and then discuss ethnographic consequences. It is a reality that the information revolution makes possible networks of relationships based on global markets. These processes change social relationships and cultural representations, weaken local bases of cultural-social cohesion, and make local politics and economic systems less relevant.

Ethnography is the distinctive indicator of anthropological research. The conventional technique includes participant observation and interviews stirring over an elongated period, sharing daily life with people living in remotest part. Ethnographic studies and researches are diverse and they relies more on “*polymorphous engagement*” which means to interrelate and interact with informants across a number of dispersed sites, not just in local communities, and sometimes in virtual form; and it means collecting data electrically from a disparate array of sources in many different ways. It also involves a diverse mix of other research techniques: formal interviews of the kind often. Under ethnographic studies, debates on fieldwork emphasize the transactional interactions between the researcher and the field of informants or participants mediated by one’s own body and experiences, research assistants, translators (native speakers), or an audience. During his study in Omarkana in western pacific resulting in the publication of *Argonauts of Western Pacific in 1922*, Malinowski used a translator for making communication with the Papuans. However, he made many flaws while collecting ethnographic statistics.

In anthropology and other disciplines, nevertheless, changing notions of place, nation and culture owing to global-local interface have led

researchers to refocus their object and site of study. The changing nature of the ethnographic field has been recognized by scholars in response to an increasingly global, mobile, transnational world (Marcus 1995). He identifies a new mode of ethnographic research. He claims that a new mode of ethnographic research :

*“...moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space. This mode defines for itself an object of study that cannot be accounted for ethnographically by remaining focused on a single site of intensive investigation”.*

Ethnographic researches are multifaceted and depend on a multi-sited ethnographic approach to explore native experiences, perspectives, and representations with concerns on :

*a. Which place do we visit for study? b. How do we coordinate multiple locations and time schedules with limited funding? c. How do we enter the field and build relationships in a short time frame? Modern technologies can make part of this possible, but can technology replace face-to-face relationships, observations, and exchanges during a field visit? d. Are there advantages to multiple short visits in comparison to “deep hanging out”? How will methods adopted affect data? Is any ethnographer still doing ethnography for the natives? Or is it a hyper reality only?*

Likewise, there are certain challenges to ethnographic research in terms of *a) conception of locality; b) relationships with informants; c) the type of data produced; and d) ethics procedures. Equally, the vital question is, “Should ethnographic research be linked to a specific locality or should the coverage be wide, multi-sited and of broad spectrum?*

Multi-sited research cannot have an ethnographic control of the entire field for each related locality. To a certain extent, this type of research has a propensity to examine movement or processes that negotiate localities. Selection of sites in ethnographic research depends on

research design and questions as well as prospects for comparison. Multi-sited research depends more on informants and interviews than on participant observation and also should mingle various kinds of sources. Participant observation is abridged in multi-sited research, the chance for observation still occurs. Beside participant observation setting up contacts, attending various events, and analyzing cultural display are vital. Interviews and other sources like focus group discussions rather than participant observation are too decisive in ethnographic studies.

Fundamental to ethnographic construction and production of knowledge is the fieldwork experience and the location of the knower. Fieldwork refers to *a specific style, quality, and duration of dwelling*; that is distinguished from travel (Clifford, 1997). Area of the field and interest in the locality defines the fieldworker conducting fieldwork in the field. The growing acceptance and recognition of mobility among communities and the interface of the local and the global in everyday life of an individual have naturalized multi-sited ethnography as a fieldwork practice. George Marcus (1995) underscored the role of complicity, circumstantial activism, and chance in multi-sited ethnography. Current debates on fieldwork underline how events and encounters mould ethnographic enquiries, the fieldworker's reflexive construction of knowledge, and finally the ethnographic present. However, *Ethnography* can never be considered as autobiography though it is fieldwork experiences and the writing about them that create ethnographic knowledge for a wider world.

Increasingly ethnographic knowing and the act of understanding are conceptualized to be a mediated activity requiring collaborative exchanges between the ethnographer, the objects/subjects of research, and the others. Fieldwork produces fictions of wholes that are *economies of truth* where we can see how *history and power* work (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). A politics of representation continues to structure all ethnographic knowledge, although the known are not powerless to challenge such narratives. The writing of culture is naturally partial and incomplete while ethnographic writing is accepting polyphony and polysemic readings.

Anthropology in the present has gone beyond cultural studies in suggesting a critique; nonetheless, cultural studies have played an imperative role in the current acceptability of partial truths and experimental writing of ethnographies. If the field is not distant or located in another land then we are conducting fieldwork at *home* and in one's *own* community. Here any knowledge generated is about equally knowing the *self* and is gained corporeally, with person becoming a mode of knowing and with knowledge about others and the self becoming undifferentiated. Fieldwork is assuming ever-presence in with ethnography becoming a self-reflexive process of writing. The trends are changing in ethnographic studies and methods. In the context of local-global interface, ethnography has been under severe analysis, but the serious issue of concern has been the multiple interdisciplinary ways in which an ethnographic moment is experienced or encountered and later constituted and disseminated as knowledge. *Locating self* is vital in ethnographical studies. Fieldwork at home is complex and requires the researcher to keep distance self-consciously and convert the familiar everyday life into an object of study. Fieldwork has largely focused on understanding the everyday life. This is not to ignore how global issues viz. disaster, riots, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, cyber crimes, human trafficking, and issues of Non-Resident Nationals (NRN) etc have been the focus of ethnographic enquiry.

## REVIEWS OF SOME ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLES

In *Methodological Approaches to Studying the Social Monad*, Weber, Christina (2001) explains the creative use of inter-textuality with an analysis of data collected through interviews of children of Vietnam War veterans (generational approach). Fieldwork was complemented by a textual analysis of television, movies, and text focusing on the representations of the Vietnam War veterans and to a limited extent by the researcher's biography. Weber acknowledges the deep impact her research on Vietnam had on herself as a person and how it helped in understanding her father who was Vietnam War Veteran.

In the Nepalese context many of the foreign scholars focused their studies mainly either writing on general ethnography or assessing the

impact of development. With an exception of David Holmberg (1989), Sherry Ortner (1989), Richard Burghart (1984), and Andras Hofer (1979), almost all anthropologists, however, have interpreted their research findings in the present context treating the indigenous groups as discrete entities isolating them from larger system of the Nepalese society. Although their studies are useful in many respects, many of them are sometimes over romanticized and disgustingly simplified disfiguring genuine ethnographic facts.

Chhetri, (2008) argues that there are two divergent positions on anthropology-one holding that ethnographic work has to be and can follow the positivistic path while the other asserting that hermeneutics (or thick description) is the proper way to do ethnography. He cited some ethnographic works from Nepal in order to illustrate the arguments of both of the opposing theoretical positions in anthropology. For example Cultural Ecology: the materialist approach and the ethnographic works in Nepal based on cultural ecology model. He says that a number of scholars have used cultural ecological perspectives in their studies in Nepal viz. Molnar (1981), Fricke (1986), Bishop (1998), Stevens (1998) etc. Chhetri (2008) squabble that Molnar's paper (1981), Economic Strategies and Ecological Constraints: Case of the Kham Magar of North West Nepal, uses systems approach while relying on the analysis of ecological constraints and opportunities (related to 'possibilism' version of environmental determinism). Molnar uses the ecological models in order to describe the subsistence economy among Magars living in four different settlements and attempts to determine the constraints operating in their respective local environments. Talking about the robustness of ecological model, Molnar contends that if the model is defined properly, it would enable the researcher to examine the interrelation of environment and economy. By using a combination of ethnographic and quantitative data Molnar has attempted to answer a number of questions like: *Why do economic strategies differ? How important is a particular constraint in different contexts? How are economic strategies developing?* etc.

It has been stridently articulated by Prof. Dor Bahadur Bista that the first order of business for Nepalese anthropology ought to be the service

of the nation. But the romanticism charge has been leveled by several scholars. Prof. Bista has also cautioned that Nepalese students ought to stand against indulging themselves in *over-romanticized nostalgia*. Nor is the accusation of romanticism hurled only by Nepalese at foreigners is totally false. For example Sherry Ortner began her book on Sherpas ritual by saying:

*“Nepal is certainly one of the more romanticized places on earth, with its towering Himalayas, its abominable snowmen, and its musically named capital, Kathmandu, a symbol of all those faraway places the imperial imagination dreamt place. And the Sherpa people ... are perhaps one of the more romanticized people of the world, renowned for mountaineering feats, and found friendly by Westerners for their warm, friendly, strong, self-confident style.”*

Chhetri (2008) cites the ethnographic works of Sherry B. Ortner *Sherpas through their Rituals*. The Sherpas studied by Ortner area are a well known people (as mountaineers) who practice Tibetan Buddhism. Ortner says that Sherpas believe in multitude of gods and spirits. Ortner analyzes three rituals (Nyugne, exorcisms and offering rituals) and one case of secular event (hospitality) in order to present the webs of Sherpa culture. She argues that the ‘symbols of the rituals, -----lead us towards discovery of structural conflict, contradiction, and stress in the wider social and cultural world.

It is deducible that there is the common impact of ethnographic research on ethnographers themselves and on the cultures and people on which they are conducting their ethnographic studies. The evaluation of *us* as persons and as *researchers* undertaking fieldwork is tangled and not separate or separable in a period of globalization. As much as ethnographers are administered and shaped by disciplinary roots, in passing through these disciplinary boundaries they are equally in turn shaping future fields. Many of the researches conducted by foreign scholars and their trends suggest that Nepal has been an experimental ground or laboratory. Although all these studies by foreign scholars are useful in many respects, many of the ethnographic studies are *exotic*, sometimes becoming over *romanticized and descriptive*.

## LOCATING ANTHROPOLOGY OF NEPAL IN THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCHES, THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS, CRISIS AND SHIFTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

The opportunity for foreigners came when *Christopher Von Furer-Haimendorf* was awarded the Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship for 1935-1937. He was initially drawn to study the *Sherpas* of Eastern Nepal. Until the mid-1960s, he concentrated his fieldwork almost exclusively on Nepal. In the time being many research works were done by Nepalese scholars---including Anthropologists/Sociologists and non-Anthropologists/Sociologists. Many foreign scholars have conducted researches using rigorous theoretical approaches but theoretical underpinnings are very rare in the works of Nepalese scholars. Few Nepali doctoral students have conducted and are conducting theoretically informed researches. In succinct the researches conducted by renowned Nepalese and foreign scholars are based on the following frameworks.

1. Structural–functional theoretical framework - a. *'The Newars'* by *Gopal Singh Nepali*. b. *The Structure of Nepali Society* by *Dor. B. Bista*. c. *Caste, Social Mobility and Sanskritization (A study of Nepal's Old Legal Code)* by *P.R. Sharma*. d. *The Dhimals, Miraculous Migrants of Himal* by *R.R. Regmi*.
2. Marxist framework - a. *Nepal in Crisis* by (*Blackie, Cameron and Seddon*). b. *Class, state struggle in Nepal (1999)* by *Stephen Lawrence Mikesell*. c. *Peasants and Workers in Nepal* by *D. Seddon et al*. d. *Himalayan Political Economy more Myths in the Closet* by *John J. Metz*.
3. World system/Transactional framework - a. *Development and Underdevelopment; A Preliminary Sociological Perspective* by *Chaitanya Mishra*. b. *Trans-Himalayan Traders* by *James F. Fisher*. c. *In the Name of Development* by *Nanda Ram Shrestha*. d. *Himalayan State Formation and Impact* by *E. Richards*.
4. Conflict approach - a. *Land and Social Change in Eastern Nepal* by *Lionel Caplan*. b. *Regionalism and National Integration in*

*Nepal* by F.H. Gaize. c. *Priests and Cobblers* by Patricia Caplan.  
d. *Fatalism and Development* by Dor. B. Bista.

5. Interactive (Symbolic and Ritual approach) - a. *Sherpas through their Rituals* by Sherry B. Ortner). b. *Order in Paradox: Study of Tamangs* by David H. Holmberg.
6. Gender perspective - a. *Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters* by Lynn Bennett. b. *Tradition and Change in the Legal Status on Nepalese Woman* by L. Bennett/Shilu Singh.
7. Human Ecological perspective - a. *Economic Strategy and Ecological Constraints. Case of Kham Magar of North West Nepal* by Augusta Molnar. b. *Claiming the High Ground: Sherpas Subsistence* (1996) by Steven Stanley F. c. *Himalayan Households; Tamangs Demography* by Thomas. E. Frake.

There are diverse theoretical trends pursued in Nepal by foreign and Nepalese scholars. After 1960s scholars did researches on the various aspects of Nepali society and people. James Fisher (1985), in a precise summary of the works of foreign scholars in Nepal, writes--

*“One of the remarkable features, of Anthropology in Nepal is that those foreign scholars who have conducted research studies in Nepal have tended to follow their own national trends. Thus, the British anthropologists, such as Caplan and Caplan (1970 and 1972) have evinced strong interests in traditional concerns of Social Anthropology, land tenure, social structure and politics. Americans have pursued various theoretical interests ranging from the symbolic (Ortner, 1978) and psychological (Paul, 1982) to ecological and economic (Fisher, 1985 b). Similarly, Germans have shown strong interests in cultural history (Oppitz, 1968) and material culture (Schmidt, 1975), while the French have tended towards detailed ethnographic accounts (Pignede, 1970). Foreign scholars and researchers have covered all branches of Anthropology: linguistic, social, cultural, medical, ecological, psychological, political and developmental”.*

Fisher writes in the end that although the concern of Nepali Anthropology reflects a wide spectrum of interests that characterize

anthropology as a field, the foreign scholars have tended to concentrate on those aspects of life, which seem to be particularly striking and unique from the western point of view. Dilli Ram Dahal in 1984 too had classified the major studies conducted by the foreign scholars in Nepal broadly into three groups:

General ethnographic studies: Prominent foreign ethnographers include Haimendorf (1956, 1960, 1964), Hitchcock (1960), Pignede (1970), Gabriean (1972) and Messerschmitt (1976).

Social change studies in relation to two or more institutions: Prominent anthropologists include Caplan (1970), Caplan (1972), Rosers (1955), Haimendorf (1980) and Fisher (1980 b); and

Development and social change studies: by Macfarlane (1976), Wake (1980) and Blaikie, Cameron and Seddon (1980).

Related to the development of sociology/anthropology in Nepal, in the more recent days, Prof. Dilli Ram Dahal (2008) divided the types of researches conducted in anthropology/sociology over the last two centuries into three time periods----a) *Period between 1811-1950*, b) *Period between 1951-1990* and c) *Period 1991 onwards*. He claimed that anthropological/sociological research in the context of Nepal is not a new phenomenon; it started almost two centuries ago and it was done mostly by western scholars. Though research and publication by Nepali anthropologists/sociologists is low in number however it is increasing gradually over the years. Related to the time period 1811-1950 he says that Nepal is fortunate to have some interesting socio/cultural accounts of various groups of people beginning with the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The efforts of British scholars provided interesting cultural descriptions of various caste/ethnic groups of Nepal. But the scholars of that time and their works were not affiliated with British scholarly tradition of that time, particularly those of E.B.Tylor, James Frazer, W.H.R.Rivers, Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff Brown. Except for a few articles by Adam (1934, 1936), there was virtually no anthropological articles on Nepal during 1930-1950 periods. These articles also focused on the Nepalese people of Darjeeling district, India. Prof. Dahal argues that the period between 1950-1990 can be considered a breakthrough

in the development of social sciences research in Nepal in general and anthropology/sociology in particular. However, the use of sociological/anthropological tools started only after 1960's in anthropology. During this period, ethnographic study of various ethnic/caste groups of Nepal became the major focus of anthropological research. Anthropologists sought to understand the socio-cultural systems of ethnic/caste groups, analyzing marriage, kinship, family, economy and religion. He says that the post -1990 research in anthropology/sociology is guided by the concept of caste/ethnicity, nationalism, development and change and ethnography of conflict and war. This is particularly due to two specific reasons: a) After the April 1990, Nepal became a democratic state, and b) since the February 1996, the Maoist in Nepal declared an armed struggle against the government for almost a decade keeping the people under the threat and fear during this period. Two pioneer publications after 1990 in the field of caste/ethnicity are David Gellnar's et al "*Nationalism and Ethnicity in Hindu Kingdom: the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal*" (1997) and Dhruva Kumar (Ed) "State, Leadership, Politics in Nepal" (1995) .

There are some serious academic anthropological research and publication during this period viz. Katharyn March's "If *Each Comes Half Way*" (2002), is a collection of life stories of Tamang women about their lives. Researches by Nepalese anthropologists/sociologists during this period also increased. Prayag Raj Sharma's recent publication with 18 articles on Nepalese society and culture has come under a single volume called "The State and Society of Nepal". Chaitanya Mishra's articles written over the last two and half decades have been compiled in a book "Essays on the Sociology of Nepal" (2007). The book contains analytical and perspective essays on development /underdevelopment, growth of social sciences, foreign aids and so on. According to Dahal one of the remarkable achievements of post 1990 periods is the growth of anthropological/sociological literature in Nepali language covering the various dimensions on Dalit, women and Adibasi/Janajati. After the onset of democracy in Nepal in 1990 "**Advocacy research**" is also becoming popular among young scholars focusing on topics viz. inclusive democracy, restructuring of the state, social inclusion, federalism issues of Madhesi, etc.

Till recently a major volume of anthropology in Nepal has been foreign

dominated. It is entangled in the false consciousness of *romanticism* and, therefore, lot not germane to the country's actual needs. Devkota (1984) writes of the *unfortunate trend* of the traditional romantic approach which western anthropologists have introduced. For him it is a matter of shame that western anthropologists are romanticizing simple Nepalese people like the *bhakk!* (Animal for ceremonial sacrifice pledged for the deity). Many works of foreign scholars on the diverse tribes' and ethnicities of Nepal viz. Gurungs, Thakalis, Magars have often romanticized. Harka Gurung (1984) argues that there has been the "*romanticization of the rural*" -- a notion introduced from developed countries -- not to recognize that rapid and extensive urbanization is an essential ingredient for successful development. Nevertheless, the crucial component missing in all these views is a clear declaration of what is meant by either *romanticism* or *development*, for without such an understanding such argument can easily degenerate into either pressured jingle.

#### GLOBAL-LOCAL INTERFACE AND THE FUTURE OF NEPALI ANTHROPOLOGY

*Anthropology is no longer a singular discipline, if it ever was, but rather a multiplicity of practices engaged in a wide variety of contexts*, Henrietta Moore (1996) says. It tends to be both enclosed and ethnocentric. Some foremost disputes faced by Anthropology in a post-colonial world: the social and geographical embeddedness of anthropological knowledge and the simplistic discarding of non-western theory; the renovation of anthropological knowledge owing to scientific technical change. Moore (1996) conversed on the increasing mediation of culture and social relations by communication technology; the importance and significance of knowledge produced at the social margins; and the importance of studying what Foucault speaks of as 'governmentality', that is, the rationalist ideology which underpins social engineering -- principally because anthropology, as an academic subject, is part of this approach.

Validity has become an issue in Anthropology. At the start of 21<sup>st</sup> century Anthropology is suffering from a crisis of validity as a stress between a '*crisis of application*' of anthropological knowledge and a '*crisis of version*' of Anthropology itself amidst postcolonial

hangover. Accompanied by an extensive loss of trust and a confusing pluralism in practice the post-colonial hangover in Anthropology has become significant. But post-colonial conditions, emphasis on the local embeddedness of *all* encompassing knowledge has given a new dimension to Anthropology of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I believe that amidst this scenario the Anthropology of 21<sup>st</sup> century will prepare itself for confronting the *crisis of its identity*. Two sorts of Anthropology, the one focusing on the 'Self' and the one focusing on the 'Other' remains crucial.

Anthropology in Nepal emerged in the process of colonial expansion in India. In the present days, it has been squabbled by many that Sociology/ Anthropology of Nepal has come of the age or has become matured; but it seems partially true. In a fast changing world of globalization, Nepalese Anthropology/ Sociology are likely to face many future challenges before they establish themselves in a firm manner. At present the transnational or the *international* connections between the countries have amplified which has augmented the process of connections and communication between the countries and their diverse cultures and has enhanced the process of cultural, social, economic borrowings and diffusions. It has also influenced the cultures of the countries of the world. Even the cultures existing in the remotest parts of the globe are not in a position to remain untouched of the changes brought by technological revolutions in the cultures of the developed west. Nepal is also vulnerable to this situation. The foremost challenge is to cope with the changing world of knowledge and technology. Another problem is with substantive issues and the quality of researches conducted by Nepalese and foreign scholars. Reviewing the whole process of the development of *Anthropology* in Nepal, Prof. Ernest Gellner in the mid eighties divided "Nepalese School of Anthropology" into two parts: *Romantic School and Mid Wifery School*. However, with the change in time, Anthropology/ Sociology of Nepal have not been totally free of both *romanticism and development*. Global-local interface and too much dependency on foreign scholars have given rise to and prepared the ground for impracticality in research studies. Foreign dependency both in matters of money and knowledge (*culture of academic dependency*) and comprehending cultural and social issues only in economic terms ignoring other dimensions like-- ethnic, political, cultural, historical and merely endorsing knowledge dependency and romanticism projected by scholars has proved to be a serious challenge.

In a stipulation of global-local interface, Sociologists/Anthropologists with their broad comparative and disciplinary frameworks can initiate studies by means of diverse methods covering multidimensional aspects of our people and can mull over global issues. In a stipulation of global-local interface, Nepalese Anthropologist needs to renovate a *paradigm* for indigenous Anthropology. Anthropology also necessitate explaining objective reality of Nepali people rather than subjective romantic interpretation of cultures in the form of ethnographies, and then to relate the cultural practices to the magnanimous goals of Nepal in a global context. In global-local collision, the brain drain of talented young anthropologist to west is a serious challenge.

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