Judith Pettigrew

What are the personal and academic reasons behind your becoming a Nepal researcher?

A mixture of factors really. I had been living in Canada and in the final stages of my MA in 1988 I decided that I would like to do my PhD research in Ireland, my home country. In fact I had been admitted to Cambridge to work on medical anthropology themes in rural Ireland. Prior to beginning my PhD studies I decided to spend a year in Saudi Arabia working as an occupational therapist (my original profession) to raise money to fund my PhD. While there I began to get very interested in the study of chronic illness and disability in so-called 'developing' countries. I also decided that for my PhD I wanted to undertake a 'classical' anthropological study i.e. one in a far-away society which was very different from my own. At that point I decided that I would do my 'at home' research later in my life and so began looking around for an alternative field site.

One day I went to the rather poorly stocked hospital library half-heartedly seeking inspiration and was most surprised to find a small number of anthropology books one of which was written by John Hitchcock, *The Magars of Banyan Hill* (1966). I took this to be a real omen as one of the countries I had been thinking about doing my research in was Nepal. My interest in Nepal stemmed from my long-term curiosity about how people live in mountainous regions and how this landscape impacts on their culture and social organisation. This is an interest that is very close to my heart as I grew up in the Wicklow Mountains in the Repulic of Ireland and I am deeply influenced by my early experiences there. It was there also that I developed my love for hill walking. Prior to living in Saudi Arabia I had just spent seven years hiking, backpacking, mountaineering and cross skiing in the Canadian Rockies and many of my friends had trekked and climbed in the Himalayas or had aspirations to do so. So when I thought of an alternative field site Nepal was one of the first places that came to my mind. Furthermore, I was aware that my prospective supervisor at

Cambridge, Alan Macfarlane, conducted research on Nepal although at that time I had no idea of what work he had done there. I read Hitchcock's book on the Magars from cover to cover and decided that I would like to work in a similar society. I was influenced partly by my experiences in Saudi Arabia as I had found it very difficult to be a woman there and from what I could glean from Hitchcock's book I felt that it would be less difficult for me as a woman in Nepal.

Things got a bit complicated when I finally arrived in Cambridge in December 1989 (three months late) as Alan was about to go on sabbatical and it was suggested that I conduct my research in the Middle East as I had just spent time there and spoke some Arabic. I didn't feel very happy with this suggestion but didn't really know what to do and so put in a revised proposal and was allocated a new supervisor. Once I had done this I thought about the influence my PhD research would have on my life and career and realised that I must choose a regional specialisation in that I was interested in and not one suggested by other people. I went back in to the Department of Social Anthropology and explained that while I wanted to continue working on medical anthropology themes I wanted to do so in Nepal. At that point Declan Quigley was assigned to be my interim supervisor until Alan returned from sabbatical.

I arrived in Nepal to begin my PhD research among the Gurungs in October 1990 and returned to Cambridge to start writing up my dissertation in January 1993. I conducted further fieldwork in Nepal in 1993 (two months), 1994 (five months) and 1995 (one month). I defended my dissertation in May 1995.

What was the thematic focus of your research for your PhD? Also explain if any British national or disciplinary traditions were important in your selection of Nepal as a research site.

Initially the focus of my PhD research was on medical anthropology (themes related to chronic illness, the body, disability, local healing traditions) and then ethno-politics, religion, ethno-history, identity, the study of landscape, urbanisation, and the impact of service in the 'Gurkhas'. My dissertation can be described as a study of the politics of cultural preservation. In particular it examined the attempts by a group of first-generation Tamu (Gurung) urban-dwellers, most of whom were ex-'Gurkha' soldiers, to revalue their cultural traditions and reinterpret the understandings of their past.

While ex-soldiers were driven to repeat migration by a devaluation of their earnings, a devaluation of their culture led to the founding of a cultural revival movement dedicated to the preservation of Tamu shamanic

practice. This movement was based on an idea of shamanism which was previously perceived to have been under pressure from Hindu history-makers and was now threatened by Buddhist lamas. The landscape of shamanic action reflected the ancient migration of the Tamu people from 'Mongolia' and a central feature of the dissertation was an account of a journey by the cultural revivalists into the ancestral landscape. The analysis showed that the previously Hindu-centric view of the Tamu past was being contested by a version based on geography which was one both of the migration route from the north and simultaneously of the shamanic soul journey. To revalue the shamanic was to support its struggle against Buddhism, as lamas were competing with the shamans in the performance of the Tamu rituals of death.

Creating space in the ancestral landscape was paralleled by an attempt to create space in the town by the building of a shamanic 'monastery' in which apprentice shamans would be trained and the tradition 'saved'. This was a quest which was motivated in part by the desire to define shamanic knowledge as 'knowledge' that could be valued in the contemporary world of formal education. In the dissertation I argued that 'saving culture' is, however, to 'change culture.' The activities of preservationists were leading to the emergence of innovative and syncretic cultural forms, which have their origins in the past but their expression in the present. Change was taking place in the guise of continuity, and in the process was facilitating the emergence of new Tamu identities. The thesis concludes with some reflections on the ethics of my involvement with the cultural preservation organisation.

Prior to moving to the UK to begin my PhD research I had had no direct contact with British academic traditions and so was not specifically influenced by them (although of course I was familiar with the writings of British social anthropologists and had been taught by a British academic while doing my MA at the University of Alberta). My reasons for selecting Nepal were as outlined above.

What is your research focus now? What other thematic transformations have occurred in your research in the mean time? How do you explain the changes that have occurred in your research focus?

I continue to conduct research on ethno-history, religion, landscape and identity. In 1992 I accompanied members of the Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh (TPLS) religious and cultural organisation on their journey to match landmarks on the shamanic soul journey and their downward migration route to ancestral villages and other landmarks in the physical geography. Following this trip, TPLS members asked me to make contact with

archaeologists who could help with a research project on the archaeology and ethno-history of the large ruined Tamu ancestral village of Kohla (which is located at 3,200 meters on the Kaski-Lamjung border) and other nearby ancestral villages. Out of this request the Kohla Project for Archaeology and Ethno-History developed as a collaborative venture between University of Cambridge researchers, the TPLS and His Majesty's Government (HMG) Department of Archaeology, Nepal. The Kohla Project is concerned with archaeology and ethno-history as a 'community process'. Its multi-dimensional approach incorporates archaeological survey/ excavation alongside ethnographic video documentation and the analysis of shamanic narratives and oral history interviews with Tamu people about their views of the past. The project brings together migratory histories preserved in shamanic texts and archaeological evidence in an effort to excavate the Tamu past. A 'project within a project', it is also concerned with how history is created in the present, how people use the past for diverse purposes and how looking at the past is an attempt to re-formulate identity in the present. A central feature of the Kohla Project is its commitment to the concept of multiple voices, separate but equal [for further details see: Evans, Pettigrew, Acharya, & Tamu (2002); Pettigrew & Tamu (1999); Pettigrew (1999); Evans (1999)].

In 2000 I returned to the villages where I had done much of my earlier research after a gap of two years and discovered that there were large numbers of Maoists in the area. Interviews with middle aged and older people revealed two recurring themes: their reluctance to accept that Tamu youth were involved in the Maobadi and their surprise when they discovered women's involvement. The Maoists were also becoming a catalyst that brought pre-existing unexpressed concerns to the surface. Talking about the Maobadi provided an indirect way of talking about conflict between neighbours and kin and the fears associated with these conflicts (for further details see Pettigrew 2003). This work led to my main current research project – a multi-sited ethnography of the impact of the conflict on rural civilians. Fieldwork for this project commenced in December 2001 and has been conducted primarily in the Western and Mid Western regions (the summary of findings cited below refers solely to work carried out in the Western region).

I decided to undertake a research project on the conflict shortly after taking part in the conference held at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in the autumn of 2001 on the Maoist movement as I felt that inadequate attention was being paid to the impact of the insurgency on the people being most affected by it: rural civilians. My interest in studying this topic was also motivated by my previous background in

occupational therapy which included a specialisation in mental health and an additional training that I undertook between 1996 and 2001 in psychotherapy which included specialised training in trauma therapy. I therefore approached my research with a strong background in the treatment of trauma combined with an anthropological perspective that made me question the training I had received and in particular question the wisdom of current international humanitarian approaches which advocate the widespread provision of trauma therapy programmes for war affected populations.

Furthermore, as an Irish person I am very aware of the devastating effects of civil war not only because of the conflict in Northern Ireland but also because of the impact of the 1922-23 civil war on my home country, the Republic of Ireland. In the mid 1990s I conducted a small-scale oral history project in my home town during which I interviewed elderly women about their experiences during the 1922-23 civil war and so I came to the study of the Maoist insurgency with a sense of the horror of what happens when people from the same country – area, town, village and perhaps family – face each other down the barrel of a gun.

Despite recent interest in the anthropology of war, relatively little attention has been paid to the analysis of how conflict is lived or represented by the people caught in its midst (Zur 1998: 18). My work contributes to the study of political violence by addressing three issues. Firstly, it examines villagers' interpretations and representations of combatants and villager-combatant relationships. It considers how the presence of Maoists and the Security Forces and their activities impinge on villagers' lives and the surrounding landscape of trails, fields and forests. Secondly, I examine rural people's fears by exploring the local 'culture of terror'. Thirdly, I consider villagers' survival strategies and ask which cultural practices become meaningful in the face of ongoing fear and what creative strategies come into play to resist the vicissitudes of violence.

Despite the outward appearance of mundanity in the villages where I undertake research in the Western region of Nepal, fear is widespread. People go to work, visit neighbours and kin, occasionally sing and dance, marry, have children, plan for the future, leave or decide to stay. Surface normality is maintained but at a deeper level the cracks reveal themselves in the embodied manifestations of chronic fear, the ever-present vigilance, the disturbed sleep patterns, the violence-themed dreams and the adapted work patterns. The impact of the conflict is embedded not only in the social landscape and in people's bodies but also in the geographical and spiritual landscape.

The 'culture of terror' that developed in this area can be characterised primarily as a violation of intimate space. Neither the Security Forces nor the Maoists respect village distinctions between public spaces (paths, water taps, meeting places) and the private space which intersects public space but which is marked by ever decreasing circles of intimacy from courtyard to veranda to house interior. Public spaces are frequently seen as dangerous and polluting and so harmful influences are stopped at the door. Demarcations, barriers, thresholds and spaces impede free movement and also symbolically transform people during their transition from one social sphere to another (Robben 1989, 2000, van Gennep 1960).

While the Security Forces only occasionally visit this area, their intrusion into intimate space is often deeply violating. They commit symbolic assaults by searching houses, going through possessions and entering sacred space by searching areas which contain shrines. They hit people, shoot at their houses from helicopters and turn their homes into battlefields. Maoists, on the other hand, visit frequently seeking food and shelter, and while they do not conduct searches or go through possessions, their penetration into intimate space is also deeply violating. While their entrée to a household might be conducted with courtesy, within minutes of their arrival they transform the household into a 'military camp'. Guns are stacked alongside household and agricultural implements and bomb-making materials are placed next to weaving equipment. The courtyard, which only minutes earlier contained women weaving and children playing, is transformed into a gun-cleaning and bomb-making space. The veranda on which invited guests are welcomed and offered seats is turned into a place in which to transcribe revolutionary songs and sew revolutionary flags. The most intimate space of house interior and hearth is also violated as insurgents warm themselves by the fire, drink tea, place gun-cleaning equipment in the hearth and ignore village caste rules which dictate that those who are considered to be of low caste should not enter the homes of those considered to be of a higher caste. The Maoist assault thus extends into the most intimate core of the house and by extension is a symbolic assault on its inhabitants. The assault is exacerbated by the fact that the unwelcome guests position the house at the centre of a potential battlefield for the duration of their stay.

Villagers, however, not only endure but also creatively respond to the fear in their midst. One of the greatest resources that villagers draw on is local information. Local people 'track' the movement and numbers of Maoists in the village and convey this information to others. When Maoists arrived in a village during one of my visits, under the guise of making a visit to a shop a neighbour and her young son did a reconnaissance to

estimate the numbers and possible destinations of the insurgents so that she and their neighbours could be prepared. Another woman went on a supposed errand to a different part of the village to acquire information about the movement of the insurgents there. These women could not prevent the visits to their homes but by anticipating them they acquired a measure of control over their immediate destiny. Once the Maoists arrive in a house the owners can take small steps to enhance their security, such as checking that sentries have been posted or – as in the case of a shop keeper who pleaded with them not to stay the night – negotiate the duration of their visit. Villagers also engage with Maoists on the basis of commensality, and by sharing conversations and jokes – albeit warily – they attempt to gain protection against insurgent-perpetrated violence. Through the process of social interaction villagers try to thwart the potential violence that Maoists bring into their homes. They attempt, in other words, to take the violence out of the insurgents. By drawing on cultural models such as the indebtedness of a guest and the right of an older person to maintain authority over a younger one, villagers challenge Maoist hegemony. By forcing themselves into people's homes, Maoists transgress and violate the intimate realm of courtyard, veranda and house and commit a deeply symbolic assault on its residents, but by appealing to the cultural boundaries of hierarchy and indebtedness, villagers can symbolically 'dis-arm' their youthful invaders. Fear remains a way of life but agency provides a possibility for creative resistance (for further details see Pettigrew 2003; Pettigrew forthcoming).

Do you operate from a traditionally defined department or from an area studies centre?

Neither. I teach anthropology in the Lancashire School of Health and Postgraduate Medicine. I am also a research associate in Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge.

Do you teach and if so, at what level? What kinds of courses do you teach (or have taught in the past) and what Nepal-related content are included in those courses?

All levels i.e. BA, MA, MPhil, PhD. The students I teach are completing social science-based degrees in the study of health. My responsibility is to contribute the anthropological perspective. I regularly include Nepal-related content in my courses. The work most relevant to our courses is the medical anthropology literature (for example, the work of Vincanne

Adams, Robert Desjarlais, Judith Justice, Stacey Pigg, etc.).[1] I also use the mental health literature including work on the psychosocial impact of torture and on transcultural psychology/psychiatry (for example, the work of Mark van Ommeren, Bhogendra Sharma, Suraj Thapa, Ramesh Makaju, Joop de Jong, Brandon Kohrt, Richard Kunz, Naba Koirala, Vidya Sharma, Mahendra Nepal etc. See below for selected references). When teaching introductory material on topics such as kinship and marriage I incorporate Nepal-related literature (for example, when teaching material on polyandry I use Nancy Levine's work (1988) and the BBC film 'Dragon Bride'). I also use Nepal-related film (for example, Dhruba Basnet's 'The Killing Terraces' and the Center for Investigative Journalism's 'The Living of Jogimara') as well as using my own materials including published and unpublished materials, fieldwork data, video materials, photographs and sound recordings.

I have also taught courses in the Anthropology Department/Völkerkundeumusum at the University of Zürich (1988 and 1999) and each summer semester I teach a course on Tamu shamanism at the Carl Jung Institute in Zürich (the students are Jungian psychotherapists in training). For this course I draw extensively on my own published and unpublished materials.

Where have you published your Nepal-related books, articles and essays? Please attach a list of your publications with full details.
Much of it is in Nepal or Himalayan-related journals and edited volumes. See the publications list at the end of this text.

Do you converse productively with colleagues doing research and other works related to Nepal in the UK, other parts of the world and Nepal? If so, how?
Yes, mainly with academic colleagues but also with writers, editors and journalists. Since beginning my current research project on the insurgency I have had extensive contact with people involved in the human rights field including lawyers, members of Nepali and international human rights organisations as well as people involved in conflict resolution and to a lesser degree with those working in development. I communicate by email, phone, face-to-face conversations, exchange of drafts of written work (mainly with academic colleagues), reports etc.

What institutional and human resources were available to you as a graduate student?

[1] Works by these anthropologists have been cited in the reference section of the responses by Ian Harper, among others, in this book (PO).

Libraries of Cambridge University; libraries in London; supervisor Alan Macfarlane; (in my pre-fieldwork period Declan Quigley was based at the university and provided supervision and support); faculty advisor/second supervisor Piers Vitebsky (who works on shamanism in India and Siberia); Michael Oppitz at the University of Zürich.

What kinds of funds were available for your graduate studies and for field research in Nepal as well as for the final write-up of your dissertation?
Fieldwork was funded by a series of small grants from the university. During the final write-up period I was very short of money – due mainly to my classification as an 'overseas' student (see below) – and relied on small write-up grants and two contributions from a private donor. When I finished my PhD I was deeply in debt which meant that while I was working on my postdoctoral fellowship I had to work part-time as an occupational therapist to help pay off my debts. Consequently, I did not publish as much as I would have would have liked during my immediate post PhD period.

What are the institutional and funding resources in the UK (outside of the UK as well) that have made it possible for you to continue your research and teaching on Nepal?
I have received three major grants (with Christopher Evans) from the McDonald Institute, University of Cambridge. I have also received three small grants from the British Academy (who are funding my present work) and one from the Nuffield Foundation. Following my PhD I was awarded a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellowship which I held at the Völkerkundemuseum at the University of Zürich because of my previous connections to Michael Oppitz.

What was the job market like for you when you finished your PhD? How many times have you changed jobs since your first post-PhD appointment? Is your current job a 'permanent' one?
It is difficult to get jobs. I got my job relatively quickly but I think that it would have taken much longer if I had only looked for jobs in anthropology departments. This is my first job and it is permanent. The job market remains extremely competitive.

Is a new generation of Nepal researchers being produced in the UK? If so, how is the next generation being mentored in the field?
Yes, a new generation is being produced in the UK (although I suspect that the conflict has meant that there are fewer than would usually be

expected). I am not formally involved in their education but am involved informally as I have contact with those who work on topics or themes that overlap with mine. They are being mentored by those already in the field, those who work in related fields and via other networks.

What is the attraction for this new generation to study Nepal?
My sense is that those who do postgraduate degrees with a specialism in Nepal often have some pre-existing connection to the country such as experience teaching English or working as a volunteer or in some other capacity. Those reasons aside I think that Nepal continues to be seen as a remote exotic place of cultural and religious diversity and this continues to be a drawing factor. The images that prevail in the UK of Nepal are select and stereotypical – high mountains, stunning scenery, smiling 'Gurkhas' and/or women and children, diverse religious practices – and while potential scholars may see these images for what they are I think that remain influential.

Are the conditions of their recruitment different from the time when you entered the field? How would you compare the institutional and financial resources available to them to become Nepal researchers today compared woth those in your own time and what are their job prospects?
I find it difficult to make a comparison between past and current resources, as my experience was atypical. When I arrived in the UK to begin my PhD I was horrified to discover that although I was Irish I was to be classified as a 'overseas student' (as opposed to a 'European Union student') as in the three years preceding my arrival in the UK I had lived in Saudi Arabia and Canada as well as in Ireland. I consider the classification extremely unfair as it was eventually based on just seven weeks in 1987 when I was finishing off my MA in Canada (despite several appeals – and encouragement from members of the Irish judiciary to take the case to the EU court, which I didn't do – it was never over-ruled). This meant that I had to pay extremely high fees and was ineligible for any major local or EU funding and so I don't have a good sense of what was available at that time. I applied for and received small fieldwork and writing-up grants and these continue to be available. While there are more electronic resources available compared to when I began my postgraduate studies I do not have a sense that there are any more financial resources available.

Do you communicate about your research with the national public at large in the UK and elsewhere in Europe? If so, how do you do it and how often?

In both the UK and Switzerland I have given public presentations to coincide with the opening of museum exhibitions or as part of programmes organised for the public. Otherwise I am not involved in communicating about my research with the public but feel that there is a greater need to do so. Since the escalation of the conflict this has become more apparent as media representations of the situation in Nepal are frequently inaccurate. I wrote one piece that I would have liked to get published in a national newspaper, however, lack of time and lack of experience of writing in a more journalistic manner meant that in the end I incorporated this work into one of my academic publications.

What is the relationship between your current or past research and discussions in the various Nepali public spheres? Do you find that there is a tension between representing Nepal to your colleagues in the UK and making your research theme and conclusions 'relevant' and accessible for discussions in Nepali society?

I have worked mainly on ethno-politics, ethno-history and the conflict which are topics that are highly discussed in Nepali society; however, I do not think that my work is adequately accessible to the Nepali public. This is partly because it is in English and also because it appears mainly in academic publications. My Gurung research is more accessible because my colleagues and I have presented our findings to community groups and have also given reports as well as copies of published work. Video-tapes of our work have been shown to audiences in both rural and urban locations and are available for viewing in Pokhara via the Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh. In relation to written work I do not feel that our findings are adequately accessible as academic publications are often difficult for lay people to understand. Consequently, we have started giving summarised reports in non academic language. To date these have been given in English and the next step is to translate them into both Nepali and Gurung (Tamu Kyui). We are currently working on a book on Gurung ethno-history and archaeology and while it will initially be published in the UK I have talked with Deepak Thapa from Himal Books about bringing out an English version for sale in Nepal as close as possible to the date of publication in the UK. We will also bring out a Nepali language version and summaries in Tamu Kyui although these will take longer to organise.

While my work on the conflict is highly topical I was particularly cautious about communicating my findings in Nepal during 2002 (in fact I was cautioned about talking about my findings at all). My work relies on the words and stories of rural people who are often positioned in dangerous, unstable, and highly charged situations and my primary concern is to protect

their identities. The situation last year was so critical, however, that I felt that I could not remain silent and so gave a public presentation in London to the Britain Nepal Academic Council (with Ian Harper) on medical and human rights issues relating to the State of Emergency as well as publishing a non academic article on my observations in Kathmandu in December 2001 (in the *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*). I am often deeply distressed by what I see and hear during fieldwork and following one research trip I wrote a piece describing the terror that people were experiencing in one of my field locations. As previously mentioned, time constraints and lack of experience of writing for a non-academic audience, meant that in the end I did not publish this piece in the public domain. Actually time was the major constraint as although I was in Nepal five times during 2002 (a total of approximately four months) I continued to be a full-time university lecturer and so when I arrived back in the UK it was straight into the classroom, back to supervising students, marking, doing curriculum development, trying to keep up with my publication commitments etc. If I had had more time I could have experimented with different styles of writing and requested feedback from colleagues who are journalists, editors, etc.

How do you evaluate the state of Nepal Studies in the UK at the moment? Do researchers on Nepal languish at the margins of South Asian Studies in the UK?

While the numbers are small I think that the quality is high and that researchers are making contributions to their respective disciplines as well as to Nepal Studies. There is a very strong interest in Nepal in the UK and while not all of it is academically focused there is a consistent group of students coming through into postgraduate studies whose exclusive focus is on the Himalayan region.

I do not have regular contact with researchers who work on other parts of South Asia but my sense – gained mainly from attendance at conference, meetings, etc. – is that research on Nepal is at the margins of South Asian Studies in the UK. I think that this is partly because the numbers of researchers are small and people are highly Nepal-focused. Through my work on the conflict I have begun developing networks with researchers who work on other parts of South Asia and my sense is that this will develop further. I think that there is a real need to develop and sustain such links.

References

Evans, Christopher. 1999. Cognitive Maps and Narrative Trails: Fieldwork with the Tamu-mai (Gurung) of Nepal. In *The Archaeology and Anthropology*

of Landscape: Shaping your Landscape. P. Ucko and R. Layton, eds. pp. 439-57. London: Routledge.
Hitchcock, John. 1966. *The Magars of Banyan Hill.* Reissued as *A Mountain Village in Nepal.* 1980. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
Kohrt, Brandon, Richard Kunz, Naba Koirala, Vidya Sharma, and Mahendra Nepal. n.d. Validation of the Nepali Beck Depression Inventory and Nepali Beck Anxiety Inventory.
Levine, Nancy K. 1988. *The Dynamics of Polyandry: Kinship, Domesticity and Population on the Tibetan Border*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Robben, Antonius. 1989. Habits of the Home, Spatial Hegemony and the Structuration of the House and Society in Brazil. *American Anthropologist* 91(3): 570-88.
Robben, Antonius. 2000. The Assault on Basic Trust: Disappearance, Protest and Reburial in Argentina. In *Cultures Under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma*. A. Robben and M. Suárez-Orozco, eds., pp. 102-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sharma, Bhogendra and Mark van Ommeren. 1998. Preventing Torture and Rehabilitating Survivors in Nepal. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 35: 85-97.
Shrestha, Nirakar Man and Bhogendra Sharma. 1995. *Methods of Torture: Torture and Torture Victims: A Manual for Medical Professionals.* Centre for Victims of Torture, Nepal Medical Association and International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims, Denmark.
van Gennep, Arnold. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
van Ommeren, Mark, Joop de Jong, Bhogendra Sharma, Ivan Komproe, Suraj Thapa, Etzel Cardeña. 2001. Psychiatric Disorders among Tortured Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal. *Archives of General Psychiatry* 58: 475-82.
van Ommeren, Mark, Bhogendra Sharma, Ramesh Makaju, Suraj Thapa, and Joop de Jong. 2000. Limited Cultural Validity of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview's Probe Flow Chart. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 37: 123-33.
van Ommeren, Mark, Bhogendra Sharma, Suraj Thapa, Ramesh Makaju, Dinesh Prasain, Rabindra Bhattarai, and Joop de Jong. 1999. Preparing Instruments for Transcultural Research: Use of the Translation Monitoring form with Nepali-Speaking Bhutanese Refugees. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 36: 285-301.
Zur, J. 1998. *Violent Memories: Mayan War Widows in Guatemala.* Oxford: Westview Press.

Publications

Books

In preparation *Fearful Places: Terror, Landscape and Healing in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency* (contract under negotiation).
Forthcoming *Walking Land: Archaeology and Ethno-history in West Central Nepal.* McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research Monograph Series. Cambridge: University of Cambridge (with C. Evans, Y. Tamu and M. Turin).

1998 *A Place in the Country: Three Counties Asylum (1860-1998)*. Luton: South Bedfordshire Community Health Care Trust (with R. Reynolds, and S. Rouse) (non Nepal related).

Chapters in books

Forthcoming Sacrifice among the Tamu-mai of Nepal. In *Marshland Communities and Cultural Landscape*. Haddenham Project: volume II. C. Evans and I. Hodder, eds. McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research. Cambridge: University of Cambridge (with Y. Tamu).

Forthcoming Living between the Maoists and the Army in Rural Nepal. In *Himalayan People's War: Nepal's Maoist Rebellion*. M. Hutt, ed., pp. 261-85. London: Hurst and Co.

2003 Guns, Kinship and Fear: Maoists among the Tamu-mai (Gurungs). In *Resistance and the State: Nepalese Experiences.* D. Gellner, ed., pp. 305-25. New Delhi: Social Science Press.

2002 Healing Here, There and In-between: A Tamu Shaman's Experience of International Landscapes. In *Practitioners, Practices and Patients: New Approaches to Medical Archaeology and Anthropology*. G. Carr and P. Baker, eds., pp. 109-24. Oxford: Oxbow Books (with Y. Tamu).

1999 Parallel Landscapes: Ritual and Political Values of a Shamanic Soul Journey. In *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices.* B. Bickel and M. Gaenszle, eds., pp. 247-70. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum.

1994 Tamu Shamanistic Possession (*Kh-hlye Kh-haba*): Preliminary Ethnographic Notes. In *The Anthropology of Nepal: People, Problems and Processes*. M. Allen, ed., pp. 416-22. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point (with Y. Tamu).

Journal articles

In preparation Clothing the Bodies Politic during Nepal's Maoist Insurgency. To be submitted to *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Body, Dress, and Culture* (with S. Hepburn).

Forthcoming Relationships, Complicity and Representation: Conducting Research in Nepal during the Maoist Insurgency. *Anthropology Today* (with S. Shneiderman and I. Harper).

2003 Caught in the Cross-fire. Living Between the Maoists and the Army in Rural Nepal. *Himalayan Research Bulletin* XXIII(1).

2002 The Kohla Project: The First Season of Excavation. *Ancient Nepal* 150: 1-19 (with C. Evans, U. Acharya and Y. Tamu).

2001 Observations during the State-of-Emergency: Kathmandu, December 2001. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 20-21: 125-31.

2000 'Gurkhas' in the Town: Migration, Language and Healing. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 19: 7-40.

1999 The Kohla Project: Studying the Past with the Tamu-mai. *Studies in Nepali History and Society* 4(2): 327-64 (with Y. Tamu).

1996 Primary Health Care, Community Participation and Community-Financing: Experiences of Two Middle Hill Villages in Nepal. *Health Policy and Planning* 11(1): 93-100 (with A. Sepehri).

Book reviews

Forthcoming Review of *Love and Honor in the Himalayas: Coming to Know Another Culture* by Ernestine McHugh. *Journal of Asian Studies.*

Reports

2003 *Conflict and Health in Nepal: Action for Peace Building*. Report prepared for Department for International Development (DFID), Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), and Swiss Development Corporation (SDC) (with O. Delfabbro and M. Sharma).

1999 Religious Revival and Ethno-Politics among the Tamu-mai. In *Ethno-Politics in Nepal* by W. Fisher. *Himalayan Research Bulletin* XIX(1).

1996 *Occupational Therapy Learning Disabilities Service Review* (1995). East Herts NHS Trust (non Nepal related).

CD ROM, video

2000 Introduction to Medical Anthropology. CD ROM. (with M. Trias i Valls). (non Nepal related).

1995 Shamanic Dialogue: History, Representation and Landscape in Nepal. PhD Thesis Video. University of Cambridge, UK.

Theses

1995 Shamanic Dialogue: History, Representation and Landscape in Nepal. PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, UK.

1988 A Cognitive Analysis of Beliefs and Practices Surrounding Childbirth: Edmonton Chinese Community. MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Canada (non Nepal related).