

of subsistence except intensive settled agriculture. He argues that in the evaluation of 'degradation', inappropriate scientific models based on maximized production within ranching conditions have been used to assess Himalayan livestock raising. When multiple users and management objectives are involved, any one-dimensional criteria for reckoning degradation or carrying capacity become problematic.

The theoretical and concluding chapters attempt to go beyond analysis of peasant resistance to state resource control in terms of simple class opposition, and offer a view of the state as composed of competing institutional agendas of resource exploitation and conservation. Within these conflicting mandates the Himachali shepherds have managed successfully to negotiate room for continuing their livelihoods, using relationships of kinship, patronage, and financial payment to ensure *de facto* access to grazing. Saberwal stresses the institutional pressure for the Forest Department to stick with a version of land-user causality in environmental degradation that has not acknowledged the uncertainty of the science it selectively uses.

*Pastoral Politics* is a consistently well-argued and valuable engagement with the increasingly sophisticated debates on Himalayan environmental history. Its primary perspective is, though, the identification of partial uses of scientific theory by strategically embattled, and culturally embedded, state institutions. The possibility that Gaddi herders may have valuable longitudinal knowledge of ecological system dynamics that could feed in to scientific research is raised at the end of the book, but unfortunately not demonstrated. Their local knowledge and perception of their role in shaping the Himalayan environment remain in the realm of uncertainty.

*Ethnizität und Nationale Integration in Nepal: Eine Untersuchung zur Politisierung der Ethnischen Gruppen im Modernen Nepal*, by Karl-Heinz Krämer. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg), 1996. ISBN 3-515-06937-2, 474 pp., 7 appendices, glossary, index, bibliography, summary in English.

Reviewed by David N. Gellner

If all books are the product of their time, this one, it is now clear, is very much the product of the early 1990s. The new constitution promulgated at the end of 1990 gave a wholly unprecedented degree of recognition to ethnic

groups as valid elements of civil society within Nepal. As is well known, Nepal is defined therein as "multi-ethnic" and "multilingual", two terms that are in direct contradiction of the ideology which sustained the state during the immediately preceding Panchayat period. The new freedoms and the new attitude towards ethnic claims in the public sphere led to a veritable outpouring of new ethnic organizations and movements, which are the subject of Karl-Heinz Krämer's book. Were such a book to be researched and written today, it would be overshadowed by the tragedy of the Maoist People's War which has grown steadily more bloody and all-encompassing since its inception in 1996, culminating in the State of Emergency declared at the end of 2001. That threat was barely anticipated in the early 1990s: Prachanda rates a mere two mentions, and Baburam Bhattarai one, in this lengthy and data-rich tome.

Krämer's book begins by analysing the Rana state and the way in which ethnic identities evolved within a unified Nepal. He goes on to look at the search for a new national identity between 1951 and 1960, at the way in which the Panchayat regime handled ethnic issues, and at the new situation post 1990. Subsequent chapters look at the varieties of ethnicist discourse and the reactions to them. He also looks in detail at the effect of Nepal's proximity to India, and at the position of Nepal's in Darjeeling, Sikkim, and Bhutan.

Krämer is well aware of the theoretical literature on ethnicity and the numerous discussions which cast doubt on the usefulness, or universality, of concepts such as 'tribe' and 'ethnic group'. He is of course also well aware (and discusses many examples here) of the way in which particular ethnic identities in Nepal have changed, emerged, expanded, or contracted over time. Yet he goes on to treat ethnic groups as unproblematic units of analysis. Furthermore, since he is describing history in the Rana and Panchayat periods from the perspective of his *janajāti* informants in the present, he underplays the extent to which elite (and even non-elite) members of many ethnic groups cooperated enthusiastically and without coercion with the Hinduization policies of the time. He does not hide where his sympathies lie, dedicating the book to the Nepal Janajati Mahasangh and "to the people who feel themselves to be represented by it". (He hopes that the demands of these moderate activists will be met so as to neutralize the appeal of the more extreme ethnic nationalists.)

Although Krämer does not claim as much, the focus of his book might lead one to suppose that it was primarily ethnic dissatisfactions which led to the 1990 revolution against the Panchayat regime, which is surely not true. Voting patterns since 1990 have generally not followed ethnic lines. The causes of the revolution have to be sought rather in the international

situation, which was favourable to the overthrow of authoritarian regimes, in the unwillingness of the King to see much bloodshed, in the growth of a considerable middle class, in insufficient economic development, and in mass education.

Despite these disagreements of interpretation and emphasis, *Ethnizität und Nationale Integration in Nepal* is a major work of synthetic scholarship, which has achieved a certain renown in Kathmandu: I was told in 1997, in a hushed voice, that there is a German book that describes the entire ethnic movement. Despite the fact that the political context in Nepal is now very changed, the book remains an important synthesis, a fundamental work of documentation, which brings together an unrivalled amount of first- and second-hand material on the ethnic question. It contains the most detailed analysis anywhere of the ideology of Gopal Gurung, and much else on the ethnic issue. The analyses of the Rana and Panchayat regimes are substantial. Most of the sources used are in English (with some in Nepali) and many of the citations from interviews or from books and articles are in English. (Newspaper articles in English or Nepali are translated into German.) All those who are likely to be interested in the content of the book read English, but few read German. It is therefore not merely the parochialism of a dilatory reviewer, but a sincere public-spiritedness and a desire for Krämer to have the wide readership he deserves, which lead me to urge him to make the book available in a form more accessible to the scholarly community which this journal aims to serve.

### Information for authors

Proposals for articles should in the first instance be sent to the lead editor, Michael Hutt. All articles submitted are subject to a process of peer review.

Please use author-year citations in parentheses within the text, footnotes where necessary, and include a full bibliography. This is often called the 'Harvard' format.

#### *In the body of your text:*

It has been conclusively demonstrated (Sakya 1987) in spite of objections (Miller 1988: 132-9) that the ostrich is rare in Nepal.

#### *In the bibliography:*

Sakya, G.D. 1987. *Nepalese Ostriches: A trivial myth*. Kathmandu: Mani Pustak Bhandar.

Miller, M.L. 1988. 'A comprehensive rebuttal of G. Sakya' *Kailash* 6 (2): 121-83.

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