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Qing’s “Modern” Reforms in Eastern Tibet in the 1900s

WANG, Xiuyu, Carnegie Mellon University

Qing’s “new systems” reforms (xinzheng) in its last decade along Sichuan’s Eastern Tibet (Khams and Amdo) border zones demonstrated unusual devices and desires to bring the Tibetans into the state’s extending reach. Interior-style administration (liuguan), intensive farming complemented by handicraft and small mechanized industries, and Han modes of life were imposed upon local groups who were previously under local officials (tusi) nominally supervised by Sichuan and loosely connected with each other. Interestingly, though plagued by central weakness and financial crisis, metropolitan and Sichuan officials’ approaches to Khams’ resistance to xinzheng, culminating in the 1905 killing of Assistant Amban Fengquan at Batang, oscillated toward armed suppression, departing from the usual method of “benevolently soothing” (en ju) unruly, but stronger, ethnic groups. Inducing these departures were the significant 1903–1904 Youngusband invasion of Lhasa and the more consequential, internal, and traditional statecraft strategies like agricultural colonization, Confucian schooling and militia-maintained order. A heightened militarism, financed by the Court but controlled by provincials like Xiliang, Zhao Erfeng and Ma Weiqi, initiated the reforms, followed by Han bureaucrats. Both responding to outside pressures and initiating new turns in their internal power relations, Khams tusi and monasteries tailored their strategies to changes in the balance of power and their own interests, ranging from fighting Sichuan forces within fortresses, ambushing, alliance-making to running away and cooperating. This high tide of violent change, this study finds, enmeshed clashing perspectives and interests into an unstable mix, setting the pattern for the later relationship breakdown between the Central Plain and Khams.

Educated Youths: The Rise of a New Social Class in Late Republican Bathang

COLEMAN, William M. IV, Columbia University

This paper traces the rise of a new class of educated youth in Bathang, a Tibetan principality in southwest Khams, in the first half of the twentieth century. Three primary factors contributed to the development of Bathang’s new elite. One, the demise of Bathang’s indigenous leaders and the struggle by various Chinese factions to establish control over the region in the early Republican period created in local residents a sense of political uncertainty. In search of new resources to bring stability to their homeland, Ba bas began sojourning in central Tibet and inland China. The knowledge they brought back to Bathang permanently altered local society. Two, the establishment of American missionary and Republican state schools fostered the growth of locally-educated youth who were soon mobilized by returning sojourners to achieve broader goals. Three, decades of local fighting with Qing, Republican, and central Tibetan armies brought economic collapse to Bathang, and new state extractions following the consolidation of Republican rule in 1939 further destabilized local society. This combination of political, social, and economic circumstances stimulated the unprecedented rise to power of a new educated elite in Tibetan society under the leadership of Phuntsog Wangyal, who founded the Communist Bathang Underground with the Communist Bathang Underground Party and the Eastern Tibet Democratic Youth League in 1949. Significantly, many of Bathang’s educated youths went on to hold important leadership positions in China’s administration of Tibet after 1950. Tracing their rise to power will shed light on the unique status of Bathang in the Republican and early Communist eras.

Han Chinese Immigration to Eastern Khams during the Qing Dynasty and the Period of the Republic of China

TSOMU, Yudru, Harvard University

Lying between the two great power centers of China and Central Tibet, Eastern Khams (Dkar mdzé Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province) was not only a territory where cultures intersected, but also a stage where Tibetans, Han Chinese and other ethnic groups have clashed throughout history. Its special geographical position and rugged topography have played a role in the unfolding of its history. The issue of non-Tibetan immigration into the region through most of its history is an important aspect, and its study provides a window onto the complexity of this region’s unique culture while deepening our understanding of the rationale behind the frontier policies of the Qing and its successors. Because this region was not subjected to extensive military colonies or planned immigration, the archival documentation and official accounts of immigration to this region are sparse and irregular. This paper explores scattered information about Han Chinese immigrant groups in gazetteers of the counties in Eastern Khams, official Chinese dynastic records, and accounts of local conditions written by Chinese military officials and scholars. This paper will mainly focus on the late Qing and Republican Period when much of the
immigration occurred. I argue that the Qing court would have developed Eastern Khams, as it did other borderlands, had it been important economically, politically or militarily. I conclude by summarizing major characteristics shared by the Han immigrant groups and their special features.

Ethnographic Practices and Aesthetics of Politics in Modern Khams
PENG, Wenbin, University of Washington

The establishment of Khams and its adjacent areas as Xikang (Sikang) province in 1939 inherited in part late Qing reform agendas in Khams to consolidate Sino-Tibetan frontiers. Its creation during the Anti-Japanese War, however, involved a more complex scenario than late Qing frontier officials (e.g., Zhao Erfeng and Fu Songmu) would have imagined—this provincial project had been enmeshed in multiple politico-military and ethnic relations, ranging from Khampa self-rule movements, to provincial warlordism, and to Central Nationalists’ unification planning. The making of Xikang also ushered in modern ethnographic practices which were distinct from late Qing cultural (and primarily military) maneuvers in Khams, and which continued well into the Anti-Japanese War period when southwest China served as a wartime base. This paper explores constructions of order and knowledge in relation to ethnographic processes and the building of Xikang province. It examines the scholarly mapping of Khams in its myriad forms (geographical, ethnological, and historical) from the late 1920s onward and their contributions to ideological and administrative practices of the Province in the Republican era. My paper partakes in recent efforts in the field of China studies to push research of ethnicity beyond the PRC era to that of Republican China. Departing from previous studies working on a crude center-local dichotomy in China, I intend to pay a closer attention to intersections of the provincial and ethnographic constructions in Khams within a framework of nation, region, locality and ethnic identity.

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Cartographic and Textual Sources for the Amdo Tibetan Buddhist Monastery GIS: A Spatial Survey of New Research Findings
RYAVEC, Karl E., University of Wisconsin, Steven’s Point

Recent books published in China since the 1980s on surveys of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries offer new research prospects for studying the historical geography of the spread of Buddhism. These texts, however, usually do not provide geographic coordinates for the locations of sites. At best, the local administrative division each site is in is merely listed. Utilizing these textual data, in tandem with Chinese administrative maps and census data, and western cartographic maps, the approximate geographic coordinates of each monastery were ascertained. This paper describes how these diverse cartographic and textual sources for the Amdo (northeastern Tibet) cultural region divided between areas in the Chinese provinces of Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan, were integrated into a geographic information system (GIS) of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Preliminary findings on spatial patterns of the diffusion of monastery foundings are presented. Also, interrelationships with environmental factors, such as agrarian and pastoral resources, and socioeconomic factors, such as trade routes and ethnic geographies, are examined.

The Amdo Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Database: Interpreting Geographic Information in Light of Historic Events
TUTTLE, Gray, Yale University

Modern fieldwork, information collection and culling from historic sources on Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Amdo (Qinghai and Gansu) has yielded an immense amount of geo-referenced information on cycles of monastic foundation, renovation, destruction and revival for some 750 religious institutions. This material has been most concisely published in two sources: Pu Wencheng's Gan-Qing Zangchuan Fojiao siyuan [Gansu and Qinghai Tibetan Buddhist Temples] (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990) and Nian Zhihai and Bai Zhengdeng's Qinghai zangchuan fojiao siyuan ming jian [The Clear Mirror of Tibetan Buddhist Temples of Qinghai] (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1993), which serve as the foundation for the Amdo Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Database.

This geo-referenced religious institutional material allows for a broad analysis of the social and political history of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Amdo. The impact of specific historic trends—from the rise of Gelukpa influence in the region in the 17th century, to the early 18th century "rebellion" of Mongol princes and Tibetan monasteries against Manchu Qing rule (and subsequent Qing patronage), to the late 19th century Muslim uprisings—all affecting various regions differently. These patterns of destruction and renewal of Tibetan Buddhist institutions also continued into the 20th century. These spatially organized data are used to illustrate these effects, as well as the important role of ethnicity in influencing the nature and affiliation of certain monasteries. For example, the historic place of the Mongguor local rulers, as well as their Chinese subjects, is examined in light of their continued parishioner affiliation to Tibetan Buddhist temples.
Khams Administrative Regularization in the Last Qing Decade: Precedents, Patterns, Substance

WANG, Xiuyu Carnegie Mellon University

Departing from the common understanding of Qing's regularization (gaitu guiliu) of Khams in the 1900s as primarily modernizing and nationalistic, this examination of its precedents and measures shows that the movement is better seen as a violent bureaucratic incorporation of formerly out-of-reach frontiers, using interior-style legal and economical norms not to produce a "modern" Tibet but to buttress the new Han rule. In terms of the use of force, the kinds of preparatory measures prior to gaitu guiliu, the measures concerning monasteries and local Tibetan officials, Qing official activities in Khams, which were implemented and financed by Sichuan's provincial interests, imitated earlier attempts which hardly pursued modernization or nationalistic agendas. Rather, its primary concerns seemed to be greater bureaucratic control over local political power, jurisprudence, land reclamation, and the corvée labor market (ula), with a desire to implement these more uniformly and systematically. Aside from a small number of drastic measures, the majority of the Qing gaitu guiliu policies either reiterated earlier concerns or streamlined the procedures for realizing them. In this sense, what Sichuan officials habitually called "new policies" (xinzheng) in Khams were only "new" relative to traditional Khams political patterns but were hardly unprecedented in the context of Qing frontier statecraft history. If it could be said to have set off any "modernization syndrome" or "responded to" British India's overtures in Tibet at all, then its forcible bureaucratic implementation of earlier goals would have to be the salient cause, not any genuinely modernizing or nationalistic impulse.

The Rise to Power of Khams Chieftain Mgon po rnam rgyal in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Historical, Social and Political Factors

TSOMU, Yudru, Harvard University

By focusing on salient historical, social and political factors, this paper explores the striking success of Mgon po rnam rgyal, the leader of a small Khams polity, in his conflicts with two great imperial powers sandwiching his region, Qing China and Central Tibet. Although he was relatively unknown as the chieftain of the small Middle Nyag rong, he was able to conquer most of the Khams region, over which the two imperial powers also claimed control. After briefly reviewing the circumstances in Qing China, Central Tibet and other Khams polities of the time, I concentrate on the repercussions of past Qing failure to effectively suppress local disturbances in Nyag rong and the particular historical situation in Nyag rong during his lifetime. Social factors include the availability of ready fighters for Mgon po rnam rgyal due to particular social circumstances exemplified by local inclinations to admire bravery and attitudes supporting revenge-seeking against personal enemies, as well as a strong sense of tribal and regional cohesion. Political factors such as Khams' decentralized power structure precluded a strong supra-tribal alliance by other polities in the region against a major outside power like Nyag rong. And any cooperation among other local chieftains that might arise was inherently weak and ineffective in its capacity to oppose this astute tribal leader.

Historical Materials Related to the Establishment of the Derge Sutra Printing Academy

COL, Cynthia, Graduate Theological Union

An in-depth study of the Sde dge Par khang (Derge Sutra Printing Academy) has yet to be undertaken in western languages. This talk will examine the body of primary materials in Tibetan and Chinese languages that forms a basis for such a study. The Derge Printing Academy was first conceived in the early eighteenth century, and in 1744 it produced the influential Derge Kangyur and Tengyur. I will focus on information provided in the Khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi sde so so'i to rgyus gsal bar bzad ba nang bstan gals bar me long zhes bya ba bzhus (A clear and exhaustive mirror of the history of the monasteries in Dkar mdzes county of Khams) published by the China Tibetology Culture Research Center in Beijing in 1995. Produced to provide a definitive history of the monasteries of Khams, this compilation draws on oral tradition, as well as facts taken from local gazetteers and monastery records. My discussion will consider problems concerning the scholarly use of this material such as relating information provided in this collection with primary sources. Situated in the Northwest corner of Khams, Derge enjoyed a cordial but hands-off relationship with the Qing. In contrast to other Khams polities, the Derge rtsi fostered and maintained relations with monastics from all Tibetan Buddhist schools as well as Bon clerics. This openness set the stage for the subsequent flourishing of the ris-med (non-sectarian) movement in the nineteenth century.

China's (and the Dalai Lama's) Tibet Problem

SAUTMAN, Barry, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

The Chinese government and Dalai Lama are usually said to have opposite Tibet problems: China's problem is how to keep Tibet firmly within the PRC, over Tibetan and foreign opposition, while the Dalai Lama's is how to gain independence or a high degree of autonomy for Tibet. This paper argues that the PRC and Dalai Lama in fact have basically the same problem: how to deal with the forces that oppose a compromise solution to the Tibet Question. Foremost among these have been certain Western and Indian politicians, Tibetan exiles and "Tibet supporters" who seek the complete independence of Tibet, as well as the "stabilizing force" of Tibetan and Han officials in Tibet who seek to out-maneuver and outlive the Dalai Lama. The PRC government mistrusts the Dalai Lama in part because the "stabilizing force" points to his alliances with "foreign hostile forces" that support his demand for liberal
democracy in Tibet because they seek to detach parts of China or end Communist rule. The Dalai Lama in turn has been unable to meet China's preconditions for negotiations because of his reliance on support from foreign politicians and pressure from activists who abjure compromise over Tibet's status. The paper proposes that a number of ideas advanced by the PRC government or its critics with regard to other peripheral regions of China (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Xinjiang) can be used to overcome opposition to a compromise settlement of the Tibet Question.

Guerrilla Art: An Illustrated History of the Tibet-China Conflict

MCGRANAHAN, Carole, University of Colorado, Boulder

In 1956, Tibetan-Chinese relations turned from cautious cooperation to armed conflict. Individual village uprisings soon became regionally coordinated actions, and eventually led to the formation of a Tibetan national volunteer army. Although this army waged war against the much larger Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) through the early 1970s, relatively little is known about the Tibetan resistance in Tibetan, Chinese, or Western academic communities. In this paper, I explore Tibetan stories of the resistance, specifically how Tibetan guerrilla soldiers explained the conflict with China to other Tibetans. Drawing on a rare collection of illustrated political pamphlets created by soldiers in the early 1960s, I argue that these pamphlets unexpectedly draw on multiple and global explanatory strategies—appeals to Tibetan cultural logic and Buddhist principles, targeted anti-communist rhetoric, and an educating of modernist sensibilities on subjects such as human rights, self-determination, and participation in the international community. Given that Tibetans trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) produced these pamphlets, they provide unparalleled insight into Tibetan interpretations of then global discourses of the Cold War. Generated primarily for semi-literate or illiterate villagers, these pamphlets also provide an important counterpoint to histories of this period told by or about the state, be it the People's Republic of China or the Tibetan Government reconstituted in India as the Tibetan Government in Exile. As an illustrated history for the people, these examples of soldiers' art raise important questions for us about global subalternity, representations of war, and this underexplored period in Tibetan-Chinese relations.

Taiwan's Shifting Tibet Policy: The Changing Role of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission

ZABLOCKI, Abraham, Hampshire College

Recent shifts in the relationship between Taiwan and Tibetan exiles reflect changes in geopolitical strategy on both sides. The Tibetan exiles have sought to move beyond the tense acrimony that previously characterized the relationship, while the Taiwanese have sought to use their Tibet policy to express their growing sense of themselves as separate from China. These shifts have been reflected in the changing role of Taiwan's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (MTAC). Long controversial in the Tibetan exile community for its role in fostering intra-Tibetan strife, MTAC is now increasingly marginalized in light of the Taiwan-Tibet rapprochement, particularly following the Dalai Lama's two trips to Taiwan in 1996 and 1998 and the consequent creation of new Taiwan-Tibet administrative organizations. This paper considers MTAC's changing role in the relationship between Taiwan and the Tibetan exiles, and the way that this changing role reflects transformations within both polities.

The Global Politics of Taming: Domesticating Tibetans at the Beijing Minzu Park

MAKLEY, Charlene, Reed College

Many observers have recently noted that in the late '80s and early '90s China saw a boom in cultural theme parks (ch. zhuti gongyuan) in large cities across the country. Theme parks were part of the increasing prominence of foreign and domestic tourism across China as localities sought to garner precious tourist monies in the face of diminishing state industry and social service subsidies under reforms. In this paper, I draw on ethnographic fieldwork in the summer of 2002 at the Beijing China Nationalities Culture Park and Museum, as well as fieldwork in the famous Sino-Tibetan frontier town of Labrang conducted between 1992 and 2002. Drawing on this multi-sited research, I consider the massive theme park not as a trivial site of urban escape, but as an important state-sponsored “participation framework” in which young Tibetan dancers, as well as Tibetan monks and lamas, were recruited to participate in their own “domestication” as benign and eminently accessible tourist commodities for Han urbanites. Focusing on the reconstruction and consecration of a beautiful Kalacakra mandala temple in the Tibet exhibit under the direction of lamas, I consider Tibetans' participation in the park as part of a precarious Sino-Tibetan politics of competing masculinities under post-Mao reforms, in which Geluk lamas across the country worked vigorously within state limits to access global capital and thus “re-mandalize” their spheres of influence on a global scale.

Transnational Tibet: Activism, Affect, and the Politics of Solidarity

MCLAGAN, Meg, New York University

What role does affect play in connecting people to political projects? How are certain affects mobilized and circulated in order to draw attention to political issues or to effect social change? The paper explores these questions in relation to transnational Tibet activism. Over the last two decades, the Tibet issue has achieved remarkable visibility in the international arena. One of the ways this has been accomplished is through the tactical deployment of narratives and images of suffering victims. While the perils of representation in this vein are clear—the conversion of lived experience into social text entails its own kind of violence, as does it mass mediation—it nonetheless
remains a dominant mode through which Tibetan activists around the world bear witness to political terror and seek to produce solidarity. This paper maps some of the contours of this symbolic economy of suffering, focusing on the case of Palden Gyatso, Tibet’s longest serving political prisoner. I explore his transformation from a little known elderly refugee and monk into an iconic figure (and what some have described as an Amnesty International “poster boy”) by tracing his movements through various circuits and venues.

Lost in Translation: Tibetan Inscriptions in the Tomb of the Qianlong Emperor
CURA, Nixi, Union College

Its stone walls carved with Buddhist texts and images, the tomb of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95) displays a distinct aesthetic orientation in Qing imperial burial practice that diverges from traditional indigenous forms. In life, the emperor—a Manchu governing a Chinese empire—eschewed overt Manchu and Chinese signs and instead chose Tibetan writing, Tibetan transliterations of Sanskrit, and Lantsa script to decorate his underground palace. In the 75 years since the opening of the tomb, scholars have identified the pictorial iconography, but the thousands of incised characters have resisted translation. Questioning the assumption of equivalence to a yet unrealized text known only to select initiates in the eighteenth century, I argue that what makes no literal sense now made no literary sense then. Although the Qing monarchs commissioned multiple translation projects towards governing a comprehensive empire, could the disorder and opacity of the Tibetan inscriptions form an integral part of an alternate sacred order of the afterlife? In reconstructing the presence and authority of nonsense in Qing conceptions of utopia, I examine illegible components of extant Chinese imperial mausolea, the role of Tibetan Buddhism at court, and Manchu shamanistic rituals. Unreadable as text, the Tibetan syllables appear as auditory and visual patterns, combining with the images to form a seamless palimpsest of a necessarily incomprehensible otherworld.

The Other Side: Tajik Discourses of the Afghan Border
STEINBERG, Jonah, University of Pennsylvania

The international boundary between Afghanistan and Tajikistan, like most borders, divides historically-unitary populations who share language, religion, and ethnic affiliation. In this paper I will draw upon ethnographic data collected during recent fieldwork to explore the ways that the populations of the Pamir mountains of Gorno-Badakhshan on the Tajik side of this border perceive their counterparts on the Afghan side. I will discuss the historical formation of this border, its role in the present moment, and its possible futures. This discussion will focus in particular on the process by which the international boundary has created two widely-divergent societies from a once-unified sphere of interaction. I will argue that the power of this border, like others, in the daily cultural lives of local societies, derives from the disciplinary power (Foucault 1977) of the nation-state, a power which subjects eventually come to impose upon themselves; that the Isma’ili Muslim, Pamiri-speaking residents on the Tajik side of this border conceptualize the residents of the other side as a version of themselves at an earlier stage in an imaginary evolutionary history (Fabian 1983; Said 1979); and that through these dynamics, the residents of the Tajik Pamir come to see the inhabitants of the Afghan side, once their kin, as a cultural other which is a wild, primal, and organic variant of self (Lacan 1977). Thus a single population becomes two wherein one sees the other as a photonegative of the self, a dialectical reflection and complement of the self rather than an autonomous entity.

Reckless Engenderment: Changing Parameters of Tibetan Gender in Refugee Communities in India
KLEIGER, P. Christiaan, California Academy of Sciences

In the forty-five years that the Tibetan nation has been in exile in India, one could reasonably expect that changes have occurred in what has been historically construed as traditional Tibetan society. In the multifarious category of ‘identity’, however, the experience of exile has tended to harden both ‘ethnic’ and ‘national’ self-perceptions. In the most general sense, Tibetans have become ‘more Tibetan’ since migrating to India, in an attempt to maintain a social distance with their Indian hosts. However, despite this apparent resistance to change, great modifications can be seen in social organization and gender role expectations in Tibetan refugee communities, especially those that are urbanized. To what extent have these identities changed, and why have they changed? Early data suggest that: (1) gender role expectations have adjusted to workplace opportunities afforded in modern India; and (2) marriage patterns and household organization have changed radically in exile. These significant adjustments may have been causal in the breakdown in essentialist categories of traditional gender expectations of old Tibet. For example, more latitude is currently being expressed in the realm of women’s role in society, gender role expectations, and sexual orientation in urban Tibetan refugee life, than ever was noted in pre-1959 Tibet and the first generation of Tibetan refugees. This paper will examine some of the recent work done on changing gender expectations among urban Tibetan refugees in India.

Microfinance as Social Capital? Comparative Perspectives from Nepal and Vietnam
RANKIN, Katharine N., University of Toronto

This paper considers how the globalization of neoliberal economic thought manifests in market-led approaches to development. It takes one instance of this phenomenon—microfinance—and considers the specifically gendered nature of its role in promoting market-led development. Microfinance is a popular development approach that has been replicated throughout “developing” countries. Its most significant in-
novation has been the recognition that markets can be promoted and finance capital dispersed "at the grassroots," when social capital—groups of borrowers who monitor one another's financial activity—substitutes for physical collateral. It is argued that this innovation offers a second developmental benefit: the empowerment of women. When women get access to credit, the argument goes, they gain opportunities to earn income and change the gendered relations of power within households. Yet the very proposition of social collateral as a device for deepening credit markets, also relies on the participation of women in rather instrumental ways; after all, women are more readily disciplined to wear uniforms, chant slogans and follow other heavily regulated practices of microfinance programs.

The paper examines the implementation of the microfinance model in two different national contexts—Nepal and Vietnam. The comparative approach is undertaken to emphasize how development models cannot merely be replicated, as is often claimed, but, as an instance of globalization, must always articulate with national regulatory frameworks and local cultures of value. Particular focus will be placed on examining the claims of women's empowerment against the instrumental use of women as agents of market deepening.

Making Chinese Tibetans: Schooling and Modernization

POSTGLIONE, Gerard, University of Hong Kong

This paper examines the context of ethnic identity formation in schools for rural Tibetan children. It reviews rural primary education within Tibet and secondary education for Tibetans in boarding schools across China. Data are presented on policies, student recruitment, curriculum, teachers and the campus environment, as they impact students' identity formation. Although there is little that is multicultural about the learning process in these schools, these schools do not strictly deny Tibetan culture to Tibetan children. The school architecture, sculptures, photographs, wall paintings and so forth provide representations of Tibetan culture, albeit selectively and interpreted by the state in terms of the ideological themes of national unity, patriotism, revolutionary traditions, civilized behavior and love of Tibet. The conclusion points to a make-or-break opportunity for state education to support a more evenhanded cultural policy, rather than the dichotomy of segregation and impact integration.

Teachers' Perceptions of the Impact of the Indian Educational System on Tibetan Students' Ethnic Identity

MASLAK, Mary Ann, St. John's University

The Tibetan community in India supports formal education for primary and secondary school-aged children. Both the Tibetan and Indian communities acknowledge that one role of the educational system is to foster identity development amongst the student body it serves. How does the educational system influence the ethnic identity for Tibetan students in India? In particular, what are teachers' perceptions of the ways in which students' ethnic identity is formulated? The first part of the study, a content analysis of textbooks used by Tibetan day school students, revealed that textbooks used in the middle school years represent a fixed collection of information and ideas that are largely steeped in the Hindu tradition. The findings from the content analysis should not be surprising, as the political process used to create curriculum is dominated by the majority largely influenced by Hindu philosophy and the ruling party's ideals. Are these messages influential in shaping students' ethnic identity? The second part of this study surveyed teachers' perceptions of the influence the textbook content has on students' ethnic identity development. During my two-month residence in Majnu-Ka-Tilla in 2004, teachers at the local day school completed survey questionnaires and provided in-depth interviews. Survey questionnaire data from twenty-one teachers indicate school curriculum is a significant factor in the ethnic identity development of students (p < .05). In-depth interview data also uncovered teachers' perceptions of the complicated nexus between the traditional family structure that emphasizes Tibetan language and culture, and the school structure that promotes achievement based on the successful completion of the nationalized curriculum.

Digitization in Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Problems and Remedies

SOBISCH, Jan Ulrich, University of Copenhagen

In the last fifteen to twenty years, digitization has made a significant impact on Tibetan Buddhist studies. The two major targets of digitization efforts have been the production of electronic Buddhist texts and dictionaries. While there is no doubt that electronic texts and dictionaries can be of great value in research, it has also become clear that the digitization of Tibetan texts has given rise to several problematic issues that must be confronted and remedied. One problem is that many conventions of careful and critical scholarship in philology and lexicology seem to have been summarily dispensed with by producers of Tibetan electronic texts and dictionaries. Another disturbing trend is the seeming emphasis on quantity rather than quality, which frequently leads to hurried publication of electronic resources. The result is sometimes disastrous and often discouraging from a scholarly point of view. A third problem is that electronic texts and dictionaries are often used in an uncritical and superficial manner. If we want better digital resources, and a more responsible use of them, we must first understand the current problems. In my paper I provide a brief outline of the shortcomings of some of the available Tibetan digital texts and dictionaries and analyze their possible causes. I will also illustrate in some detail the kind of mistakes that arise from using "bad" digital texts and dictionaries, and discuss some of the possible remedies.
No Time to Sleep: Life as the Tibetan Sakya Dagmokusolah

BENARD, Elizabeth, University of Puget Sound

When Trinley Sangmo (1906–1975) married into the Tibetan Sakya family in 1928, her two worlds of being a member of a political noble family and of a Buddhist practitioner coalesced. Though the Sakya family was politically powerful, their raison d'être was to disseminate the ancient Sakya Tibetan Buddhist teachings through a line of succession. When after ten years of marriage Trinley Sangmo did not produce an heir to the Sakya throne, her younger sister, Sonam Dolkar, became the second wife and actual birth mother of the Sakya daughter, Jetsunkusholah, and the future heir to the Sakya throne, Sakya Trizin. With a frail Sonam Dolkar, one of Trinley's many responsibilities was to raise her niece and nephew. As an infant, Jetsunkusholah cried at night and Trinley developed a habit of only taking catnaps. Later she transformed this habit of staying awake into practicing all night in her meditation box. She made certain that eminent lamas who conferred the major teachings and empowerments trained properly both Jetsunkusholah and Sakya Trizin. Being a dedicated practitioner, she attended the teachings and did many of the required retreats with her niece and nephew.

I will examine how Trinley Sangmo masterfully handled all the complexity of running a household of over eighty members, did her spiritual practices and raised the two children as great lamas who continue the Sakya tradition presently. Having no written accounts about Trinley Sangmo, most of my information is based on interviews from the Sakya family and their main attendants, who presently reside in India.

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[Ellipses indicate truncated abstracts as appear on the website]

Frontier Undefined: Mapping and Marginality in the Northern Areas of Pakistan

ALI, Nosheen, Cornell University

This paper examines the relationship between cartographic representation and marginality in the context of the "Northern Areas of Pakistan". These areas comprise rural, mountainous regions that are directly controlled by the Pakistan state, but claimed by both India and Pakistan as part of the disputed territory of Kashmir. I use contemporary maps (circulated in texts such as census reports, school textbooks, and travel guides) as a lens to explore the liminal status and construction of the Northern Areas within the Pakistani nation and state. By analyzing the ambiguous, contradictory, and exclusionary ways in which the Northern Areas are mapped, I argue that far from making the region legible, cartographic representations serve to mystify the regional identity of the Northern Areas, and contribute to its marginalization within nationalist imaginings, as well as within discourses of the "Kashmir issue".

Locating Moderate Islamism in Afghanistan and Pakistan

BOKHARI, Kamran, Howard University

Nowadays, when the area along the Afghanistan-Pakistan frontier is believed to be the headquarters of al-Qaeda, the leading transnational militant Islamist force and both countries in their own respective ways are experiencing an upsurge in radical Islamist groups, there is significant demand for voices of moderation to stem the tide of extremist actors. The purpose of this paper is to examine the prospects for the emergence of authentic moderate Islamist groups, which do not suffer from the crisis of delegitimation, and can act as formidable ideological counter-weights to jihadism. It will try to ascertain the future of democratization in keeping with the underlying Islamic ethos of both countries. This will be done by an examination of the Pakistani Islamist alliance, the Mutahiddah Majlis-i-Amal, which not only governs two of the country's four provinces, but is also the largest opposition bloc in parliament, and the sundry Afghan Islamist leaning political forces ...

The Role of Local Communities in Heritage Preservation: Case Studies from Nepal

CHAPAGAIN, Neel Kamal, East West Center, University of Hawaii

The role of the local community is important in heritage preservation, from decision making to the site works, in maintaining these sites, and ultimately in ensuring a better future for these heritage sites. This paper attempts to analyze the role of local community in heritage preservation in South Asia. In this context, where there still are many heritage sites to be taken care of, especially in remote areas that are far from any organized preservation regulations, this approach of defining the role of local community would definitely help in preserving the cultural heritage, before it is too late for the concerned authorities to step in and take required actions. In this presentation, most of the practical references would be drawn up from Author's experience of working in Upper Mustang region of Nepal, a remote and almost isolated area with a number of cultural heritage being preserved back up to 15th century.
Gender and the Feminization of Tibetans as National Minorities in Transnational Contexts: Health, Medicine, and Women in Tibet

Chertow, Jennifer Marie, Stanford University

This paper explores the feminization of Tibetan populations through national and transnational health initiatives for women in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. By contrasting birthing narratives of Tibetans living under the People’s Commune Era of the 1970s to the new generation of Tibetans who grew up in a post-Mao Tibet, this paper explores the shifting location of women vis-à-vis the state and global economies of aid. State technologies and biomedical interventions around reproductive control and childbirth shape life possibilities of Tibetans at the same time that women’s bodies come to stand in for the national body as docile recipients of “modern” forms of aid. How does local knowledge of the body, healing and medicine intersect with state and transnational epistemologies of health? How do women respond to these interventions? What forms of empowerment do they represent or render impossible? How are Tibetan identities constructed through their spatialization as population within a “hinterland” of Western China?

‘Who Settled Its Dimensions’: Constructing and Contesting the North-West Frontier.

CONS, Jason, Cornell University

This paper examines the formation of borders in late 19th/early 20th century colonial India with particular reference to the North-West Frontier. Understanding borders as simultaneous social, epistemological, political, and cartographic constructs, I historically situate changing colonial administrative understandings of borders as elements of security (both internal and external) and division with emerging political and sociological understandings of states as territorial entities. Such views imagine and rely on neatly defined boundaries. A reading of Survey of India activities in and around the North-West frontier significantly complicates such views. Territorialization is often imagined as a top-down process. However, an exploration of cartographic practice in sensitive political areas such as the border with Afghanistan suggests a more dynamic process. Here, border definition is seen as highly contingent and contested, emerging from the complex and mutually constitutive interactions between local populations, surveyors, geography, and imperial interest.

The Silent Residue of Politics: Iris-Scan Technology, Afghan Refugees and the State of Pakistan

DAULATZAI, Anila, Johns Hopkins University

The introduction of new technologies and terminologies has re-defined the subjectivities of Afghan refugees in Pakistan post-9/11. By offering information on two recently created biopolitical management processes, I hope to reflect on the state at a border. These processes, developed by the Government of Pakistan (GoP), have deviated from the standard procedures for refugee population management. I will speak of the adoption of iris-scan technology at the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and the manufacturing of terminologies to describe Afghans that have enabled the state to constitute itself in new ways. These modern forms of state power produce biopolitical regimes, which control a population in intimate spheres of their physical and legal existence, to ultimately create new forms of life and new subjectivities. This paper, about management technologies for refugees, becomes an ethnography of the state. I draw from thirty-five months of ethnographic fieldwork with Afghan refugee populations in Pakistan over the past eight years.

Citizenship, Subjecthood, and Attachment to Home: Political Storytellings among Kashmiri Hindu Migrants in New Delhi

DUSCHINSKI, Anna-Haley, Harvard University

This paper considers themes of violence, displacement, and the state through reference to community mobilizations among Kashmiri Hindu migrants who left Kashmir Valley during the height of the militancy in 1990. I examine the complex entanglements between migrant organizations and state agencies within the spaces of political society in the capital city of New Delhi. These conditions of society/state interchange give rise to “political storytellings,” as migrants attempt to make sense of their collective position in Kashmir Valley and in India through stories about the homes that they have lost and the lands that they have abandoned in Kashmir Valley. These storytellings suggest new forms of citizenship, subjecthood, and attachment to home. My analysis attends to the formations of such political storytellings in urban localities, and what these formations have to say about distinctive patterns of political democracy in contemporary India.

Religious Formations: Myths of Himachali Religious History and the Ascendancy of the Pahari Subject

ELMORE, Mark, University of California at Santa Barbara

This paper sketches the subjects formed in two competing public cultures in Himachal Pradesh—one village-based and the other state-wide. I use ethnographic and historical sources to delineate these two subjects and track the dominance of the latter. I argue that the logic which unites the 31 ancient kingdoms that comprise the modern state of Himachal is predicated on a redefinition of religion. This redefinition is achieved through the circulation of a particular myth of Himachali religious history in popular videos, vernacular journals, and tourism ads. This history is characterized as peaceful, natural and different from the plains; it is sanctioned by an abstract theology. The formation of a unified state and its accompanying subject is thus predicated on eliminating the authority of local deities and replacing it with a translocal identification stripped of the divisiveness of ritual practice, political history, and specific theological identification.
The Reasoning Behind oakya Chogden's Refutation of Tsongkhapa

HASKETT, Chris, UW-Madison

This paper will examine the works of two prominent Tibetan philosophers on the soteriological implications of Madhyamaka and various interpretations of Candrakīrti, considering the writings of Tsong kha pa and his later Sa skya pa respondent oakya mchog ldan. In so doing I hope to illuminate the philosophical concerns underlying the disparity of Sakya and Gelug understandings of the role of rationality, philosophy, and functions of mind, in particular the divergent views of Tsongkhapa and Chogden on pramāṇa, Tantra, and classification of Mādhyamika systems, and how these relate to Gelug and Sakya conceptions of soteriology. I will demonstrate that their disagreements, though far-reaching and multidimensional, can be traced to a comparatively small number of sources, such as differences in theories of the two truths and the logical workings of Madhyamaka negation, and that their interpretations of fundamental issues of reason and reasoning thus ultimately dictate their conclusions concerning its limits.

(Re)markable Whiteness and (Re)making Alurity: Western Expatriate Considerations of Difference in Kathmandu, Nepal

HINDMAN, Heather, Centre College

In this paper I seek to explore contemporary understandings of difference within Nepal by the western expatriate community living in Kathmandu. A population largely familiar with perceiving themselves as "normal"—as unmarked in racial category—the largely Euro-American community of those working for a short duration in Nepal are forced to reevaluate their identity as a part of their status as a visible minority. Yet, this exploration rarely translates into a problematization of racial, cultural or class categories in Kathmandu. Instead, many of the formulations that expatriates have for understanding difference in Nepal continue to draw on romantic formulations of exotic others from guidebooks and popular ethnography. In exploring how expatriates perceive alterity in Nepal, I also suggest that this is a discussion, a shared grammar that elite Nepalis often either share or are complicit in perpetuating.

Nepal's Maoist Rebellion and Resurgent Monarchy

KEY, Jeffrey, Sweet Briar College

Nepal underwent a revolution in 1990-91 when its monarchy was replaced with a constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy. This system functioned fitfully for eleven years before collapsing in 2002 due to its inability to stop a widespread Maoist insurgency that began in 1996. Local government is in disarray and Maoists claim to govern many of the country's seventy-five districts. A prime minister appointed by the king nominally governs the country. Nepal's instability concerns India, China, and the United States. This paper will examine the impact of Nepal's Maoist rebellion on the country's government and politics. The collapse of institutions, especially local government administration and the national parliamentary system, will receive particular attention. The re-emergence of a functioning monarchy under King Gyanendra will also be discussed. The paper will conclude with a review of the interests of outside powers and the prospects for a settlement.

Adversarial discourses, analogous objectives: Controlling Afghan women, legitimizing violence

KHATTAK, Saba, Sustainable Development Policy Institute

The paper addresses the question of how political discourses produce violence and women. It analyzes western as well as "fundamentalist" discourses on Afghan women over the last decade to highlight both misogyny and racism as they are deployed to legitimize multiple forms of violence. Using interviews conducted with Afghan women over the span of ten years, the analysis questions the depth to which portrayals emanating from different quarters touch women's lives and if in turn women can shape these portrayals. It argues that ultimately such discourses stem from very similar motivations in the context of conventional power politics. As the Afghan case demonstrates, women's emancipation from oppressive conditions is not at the base of the motivation to control their lives by local, regional, or global forces. As such, very little positive social change may be expected to take place with respect to women's life circumstances and conditions.

The Nepal bandh and the violence of political society

LAKIER, Genevieve, University of Chicago

This paper will examine the bandh, a pan-South Asian form of political protest, as it manifests in contemporary Nepal. Although usually glossed in English as "general strike", bandhs are mobilized in the name of the national public, not the worker, and target consumption and mobility instead of production. The parties and organizations which call bandhs use threats and sometimes violence to enforce the total shutdown of public life and to demonstrate their political power. This paper will examine why bandhs have emerged as primary tools of political struggle in democratic Nepal (1990-) to argue that insofar as they mobilize popular demands upon the state, they must be considered an element of Chatterjee's "political society". The coercion intrinsic to most bandhs thus reveals the violence of political society and forces us to examine how it produces, and never simply represents, the public in whose name it acts.

Building the "Road to Kathmandu": The Himalayas in the Western Countercultural Imagination

LIECHTY, Mark, University of Illinois at Chicago

This paper considers the rise of mass tourism to Nepal in the 1960s in light of the historical processes that created images of the Himalayas in the Western imagination. By
the 19th century critics of modernity had begun to look to "The East" in search of the spiritual authenticity they believed lost in the increasingly "disenchanted" West. From the Transcendentalists to Spiritualism, to Theosophy, disaffected anti-modernists found a new global axis mundi in South Asia generally, and the Himalayas in particular. By the early 20th century this Himalayan fixation found expression in the creation of Shangri-la and a growing fixation of supposedly Tibetan occult sciences. These images and others helped create the spatial imaginary that launched hundreds of thousands of Western youth on "The Road to Kathmandu" in the 1960s.

Do the Uttarakurus Have More Fun?: Indian Cinematic Imaginings of Himalayan Folk

LUTGENDORF, Philip, University of Iowa

Fantasies about life beyond the front range of the Great Himalaya have been a trope in Indian literature since at least the period of the Sanskrit epics. The "northern Kurus" (as residents of the region have sometimes been called) were rumored to have long, happy lives burdened by few inhibitions, especially in sexual matters. Their women were spared (what the Mahabharata calls) the "terrible dharma" of respectable women in Bharatavarsha and were free to enjoy multiple extra-marital liaisons and polyandrous marriages. Such legends appear to persist in popular 20th century narrative through a much-used trope in Bombay cinema: the depiction of the Himalayas as a realm of uninhibited romantic fantasy. Although this trope is often confined to virtually extra-narrative song sequences that whisk the hero and heroine to Himalayan (or lately European or even New Zealand alpine) locales, a number of highly successful films have given it much more extended...


METZ, John, Northern Kentucky University

The idea of deforestation-led environmental degradation in the Himalaya has a long and varied career. The argument was first utilized by colonial foresters to limit subsistence users' activities, and it justified many development projects in the 1980s and 90s. Research to specify the processes revealed a much more complicated set of physical and social processes operating. Revisionists argued that human impacts on vegetation cause little erosion and flooding relative to geological, hydrological, and meteorological forces. More recently, scholars have explored how changes in Himalayan environmental discourses correlate with fluctuating development discourses. I review the career of the concept of Himalayan environmental degradation, examine the empirical evidence, and consider the validity of attempting such an empirical evaluation.

Restoration and Revival: Remembering the Bagmati Civilization

RADEMACHER, Anne, Yale University

The urban reaches of the Bagmati River in Nepal are widely characterized as severely degraded. State and international development agents have allied to create a restoration agenda that is actively contested by several groups, including those who charge that official river management plans are insensitive to, and abusive of, the river's cultural significance. This paper explores the local circulation of the concept of a "Bagmati Civilization:" a particular configuration of history, cultural identity, and ecology espoused by prominent river activists in Kathmandu. I explore how this approach to framing ecological restoration promoted specific linkages between cultural heritage protection and urban river ecology. Through a discussion of the Bagmati Civilization, the paper explores a particular characterization of the proper past, present, and future relationship between the state and the urban riverscape, and how that characterization was deployed to promote specific ecological, cultural, and political ends.

The Miss Tibet Pageant: Contesting Feminine Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora

SWANK, Heidi (Frank), Northwestern University

Beauty pageants are spaces in which local and global often intersect. Contestants are expected to represent their own culture while simultaneously embodying those qualities appealing to a global audience. Since 1994, beauty pageants have become big business in India. In the Tibetan Diaspora in India, though, this intertwining of local and global is viewed by some as a threat to their ethnic survival. In October 2002, the first Miss Tibet Pageant was held in Dharamsala, India. However, due in part to a statement by the Tibetan Diaspora's Prime Minister, it had only four contestants and was the subject of much debate. The Miss Tibet Pageant in 2003 had only one contestant, who was then crowned. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted during the 2002 and 2003 pageants. It examines (1) how the reproduction of Tibetan diasporic identity is tied to notions of feminine identity that conservative forces within the ...
Lesson for Infant Democracies

ACHARYA, Meena, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation

The paper reviews the current political crisis in Nepal in its historical socio-economic and geopolitical context. On the basis of facts and figures, on the political side, it is concluded that democracy is about balancing the interest of various groups representing existing political forces within the country. It analyzes particularly the geopolitical situation of Nepal and the way this has been exploited by various groups to advancing their own interest, including the king, the big brother neighbor and the international community, donors or otherwise. It further analyzes the impact of economic policies in increasing the dualistic development in Nepal. It concludes that efforts at globalization must take the nature of the economy in account. Globalization is viewed as a multi-dimensional process creating a culture of unlimited wants and massive dissatisfaction with conditions of deprivation. This situation creates fertile ground for insurgency of all kinds, as evident from current global situation, which includes Nepal. As a counter force the fundamentalists of all kinds also have fertile ground for propagating their agenda. In this context the paper sees very little prospect for agreement with the Maoists, who have total socialist agenda.

He Said, She Said, They Said: Household Decision-Making and Health in Nepal

ALLENDORF, Keera, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Women's empowerment – the ability to control resources and make choices – is increasingly recognized as an important factor in child and maternal health in South Asia. However, studies exploring this relationship have paid little attention to men's views of household decision-making. Using the 2001 Nepal Demographic and Health Survey I explore both wives' and husbands' views of household decision-making and their effects on child and maternal health. Most couples are in agreement about who has the final say on household decisions, but there is also a substantial amount of disagreement. Preliminary results indicate that couples in agreement that the wife participates in decisions have the best health outcomes, suggesting that the larger and more visible the wife's role in decision-making the greater the benefit to health. Women who play a more covert role in decision-making, indicated by disagreement with their husbands over whether they participate in decisions, also have better health outcomes than women who don't participate at all, but not to the same degree as women whose husbands agree that they participate in decisions.

Recreating culture, Refiguring rights: Decentralization and Development among the Brogpas of Kargil

BHAN, Mona, Rutgers University

The recently formed autonomous hill development council in district Kargil (Jammu & Kashmir) points to the centrality of cultural and minority discourses in legitimizing political representations. I analyze the struggles, stakes and negotiations of Brogpas, an ethnic minority living along the disputed line of control between India and Pakistan, in obtaining a formal representation in the council. Brogpas who are celebrated for their "pristine" culture and an "Aryan lineage," creatively engage with the narratives of cultural and minority rights to legitimize their demand for a political representation. I demonstrate how Brogpas co-opt the discourse of the "need" to maintain their identity unchanged, while at the same time aspiring to partake in dissemination of political power and resources through the hil-council - processes that are inimical to their perceived identity. Despite provisions of local empowerment institutionalizing and reinforcing societal divisions, the reification of the local in the struggles for representation is viewed by Brogpas as a chance to wrest themselves from relations of subjugation that reduce them to spectaculars identifiable only through redundant stereotypes.

Future of Earthen Architecture of Trans-Himalayan Region of Nepal

CHAPAGAIN, Neel Kamal, University of Hawai'i

The Trans-Himalayan region of Nepal is a culturally rich area, located in a difficult geo-physical context. Culturally and historically tied to Tibetan culture, this region has some very good examples of Tibetan Cultural Heritage Sites. Its earthen architecture represents a unique tradition of building, which has evolved out of the physical, cultural and socio-economic contexts of the region. Now, as the region is going through the main stream of development efforts, many would fear that the culture and traditions are at risk of disappearing. While it should not mean a mere conservation of such traditions and culture; there are many implications for the essence of these traditions and culture, which could be well adapted to contemporary practice for a better sustainable future. Certainly, in terms of architecture, this concern would mean an approach to integrate the conservation and development aspects of traditional practice of earthen construction. This paper will look in to tradition of earthen architecture of this region, will derive some implications from current research in earthen architecture, and finally examine if there are possibilities of continuing the earthen building traditions in the contemporary needs and aspirations.
Conserving Monarchy and Negotiating “Success” in the Annapurna Conservation Area
CROES, Ken, Princeton University

The Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) has a special status in Nepal due to its high-profile association with the Nepali royal family. The royal family's association with ACAP extends and renews a longstanding pattern of monarchical association with development in the post-Rana era, promoting an image of beneficent leadership and, more recently, countervailing a reputation of criminality in an effort to bolster the legitimacy of the monarchy in competition with democratic parties. For ACAP to do the work I argue it does for its royal patrons, it is not necessary that the residents of ACAP think in ideological ways about the monarchy. It is necessary only that ACAP appear to be "successful" in its participatory approach. Local participation is thus the raw material for a process that operates on a different level—the level of national and international discursive representation. By most accounts, ACAP has achieved this "success," serving as a model for similar community-based, participatory conservation projects in Nepal and other developing countries. Based on an ethnography of the field staff and residents of ACAP, this paper examines how the principle of participation plays out on the ground and how ACAP's "success" has been achieved and maintained.

Explaining Social Mobilization in Pakistan: A Comparative Case Study of Balochistan and Azad Kashmir (Balochistan and Aza)
DIETZ, Shanna, Indiana University

The striking ethnic and linguistic diversity that exists within the highly centralized state of Pakistan make it a prime target for social mobilization, especially in the form of secessionist movements. However, Pakistan's various states and territories have experienced extreme variation in the amount of social mobilization that they have witnessed since the nation's creation. This paper seeks to address this variation by looking at two opposing cases: Balochistan and Azad Kashmir. Balochistan, a tribal land of distinct culture and tradition, has experienced five ethnonationalist movements since 1947, including the ensuing insurgency at the time of this paper's writing. Azad Kashmir, on the other hand, has experienced no major anti-Islamabad movements despite its independent culture and ample grievances. Employing a comparative case study methodology, this paper concludes that social mobilization in the Pakistani state results from a combination of local tribal networks, institutional exclusion, and openings in the political opportunity structure. The first two variables provide necessary preconditions for mobilization, while political opportunities serve as catalysts which trigger the movement's actual initiation.

Negotiating the Borderland: Formations of Citizenship and the State in Kashmir Valley
DUSCHINSKI, Haley, University of Notre Dame.

Kashmir Valley as a Himalayan borderland offers privileged sites for the investigation of how national and subnational identities are constituted across a highly charged geographical and political landscape. Through examination of changing relationships between Muslim and Hindu communities in the region, this paper considers the processes of identity formation and reformation in Kashmir Valley as differently positioned groups negotiate their multiple appeals to citizenship during the current period of political transition and transformation, with implications for the ways in which space itself is lived and imagined. The premise of the paper is that approaching Kashmir as a place where relations between different categories of citizens, and between citizens and the state, are renegotiated and reinterpreted through everyday practice sheds light on meanings of violence and also possibilities of peace in the region.

Dirt and Dignity: Lichen Collection and Youth Cultural Styles in the Indian Himalayas
DYSON, Jane, University of Cambridge

This paper examines the impact of new market opportunities on the everyday lives of children and young people in a remote village in Garhwal, Uttarakhand. In 1999, the construction of a road to within 8km of the village enabled a new trade in lichen. Obtained from the branches of mature oak tree in the high altitude forests surrounding the village, the lichen is sold in the local market. Its winter season collection in the village coincides with a month long school holiday, and has predominantly emerged as the work of children and young people. Drawing on fifteen months of ethnographic fieldwork, the paper explores the lichen collection of boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 16. I argue that the introduction of new market opportunities has presented children and young people with the opportunity to make valuable financial contributions to their household livelihoods. It has also allowed young men to perform locally valued ideas of dignified masculinity. By contrast, girls have used lichen collection as a way of resisting norms of female "honour", developing "dirty" cultural styles, and carving out new spaces of political expression.

Foucault and the Lepers
GRAIF, Peter, University of Chicago

In Discipline and Punish, Foucault claims that "the image of the leper, cut off from all human contact, underlies projects of exclusion". This paper examines the structural implications of this claim upon the relationship between leprosy and ideologies of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary Nepal. Particularly, it treats the existence of leprosy as something profoundly anomalous to the community that experiences it, mandating mutually contradictory social obligations. Orthodox Hindu and Buddhist notions of leprosy's pollution, on the one hand, demand that people marked by the disease be systemically excluded from social life. Yet, at the same time, lepers are not only lepers, but also wives,
husbands, mothers, fathers, daughters and sons. With these relationships come other, similarly unbreakable obligations. Leprosy requires a response from the community, but one that cannot be easily imagined. In these moments, ideologies and practices more typically associated with the caste system are often invoked, not because leprosy is considered to be the same thing as caste, but because it has symbolic similarities with caste’s categories that make caste-oriented exclusion models work to normalize leprosy. Leprosy patients are not simply “cut off from all human contact”, but are excluded in a way that simultaneously reincorporates their anomaly into social practice. The structural parallels between these different “projects of exclusion” indicate an underlying symbolic relationship between caste and leprosy, one that speaks to the inventive capacities of ideology and practice. This process of symbolic transfer across domains of meaning is essential to the place of leprosy in Nepal.

The Meaningful Body: Ascetic Practice of the Kanpatha Householder Yogis

HAMILTON-SCHWARTZ, Aimee, Indiana University

Kanpatha yogis, followers of Gorakshanath, are traditionally spoken of as practitioners of Hatha Yoga. Within the guidelines of the Svatmarama’s Hathayogapradipika, celibacy is as an idealized value of ascetic practice, although Kanpatha yogis may choose to be householders, and therefore non-celibate. Based on the Foucaultian premise that ‘technologies of the self’ create the body of the ascetic practitioner, the self-created figure of the Kanpatha householder yogi is, at the same time, “read” by external observers. I argue that this narrative quality of asceticism allows the householder yogi to maintain a dialogue of ascetic practice with and exercise power within the non-ascetic and ascetic Kanpatha community. The householder yogis negotiate their status amongst celibate and non-yogis using their bodies as social markers and indicators of meaning.

Ethnic Political Parties and the Democratization Process in Nepal

HANGEN, Susan I, Ramapo College

This paper asks what roles an ethnic political party called the Mongol National Organization (MNO) played in the process of democratization in the 1990s. In its stronghold in rural Ilam district, the MNO contributed to making ethnic inequality a central part of public debate. The party sought to end high-caste Hindu dominance and unite Nepal’s ethnic groups as a Mongol race. By identifying as Mongols, many previously unmanned popular bodies began to think of themselves as political actors. This case also demonstrates the importance of examining political parties when seeking to understand contentious politics in Nepal. Like many other political parties, the MNO made its demands for political and social change in conjunction with other organizations in a larger social movement. Furthermore, the MNO critiqued the new political system even as it worked to uphold it. The government perceived ethnic parties as a destabilizing force, banning them in the 1990 Constitution. However, MNO candidates ran in elections as independents, winning seats in village governments. While many critics assert that democracy failed to reach rural Nepalis, this case reveals that MNO supporters sought to work within the democratic system to resolve social problems.

Information gaps and inundation issues on the India-Nepal Border.

KARACKATUU, Joe Thomas, Assistant Producer

The paper looks at inundation problems on the India-Nepal border at two sites that have been nationalist emotive points for both countries. The prime focus of research was the Mahalisagar embankment situated near the India-Nepal border [along Uttar Pradesh]. Mahalisagar has been contentious from India’s pre-Independence days for reasons of inundation, and recent allegations on submergence of villages on the Nepal side. Auxiliary enquiry also looked at the dispute over a proposed earthen embankment connecting Rasiwala-Khurd-Lotan, and allegations of submergence of Lumbini and Kapilvastu in Nepal. The paper brings out a lot of information on the facts of the case (current and historical), which is relevant, as the general tenor of media reporting in both India and Nepal (states proximate to the sites), has vitiated public opinion for some time. It also examines the role of public administration agencies i.e. bureaucracy in the interstate water dispute.

Committed Insurgents-Ambivalent State: The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal

KHANAL, Shisir, University of Wisconsin-Madison

One common argument in popular and academic discourse is that the presences of poverty, ethnic cleavages, social and political exclusion as well as political repression explain civil wars. Along these lines, Nepal’s Maoist insurgency is explained in terms of underdevelopment, income inequality, regional disparity, ethnic and caste discrimination, and failure of democracy. However, the Maoist insurgency as a product of historical grievances fails to explain why the insurgency is heavily concentrated in certain parts of Nepal? Why insurgency started and rapidly expanded in mid 1990s, at the time when Using recent political theories on violence, I argue that ambivalent attitudes among major political parties, a divided state, and persistent perusal of violence means by determined and organized Maoist party better explain the onset of In doing so, I use “opportunity theory” in political violence. I draw upon influential studies by Fearon and Laitin (2003) and Collier and Hoefler (2001). Similarly, I rely upon a theory that argues a weak democracy is more prone to violence than a pure democracy and an absolute dictatorship (Ellingsen et al.: 2001).

The Bandh, Democratization and the Illiberal Space

LAKIER, Genevieve, University of Chicago
This paper will examine the emergence of the Nepal bandh (general strike) as a political technique used by all the major political parties—UML, Congress and Maoists—since the reinstatement of democracy and of public freedoms of speech, movement and assembly in 1990. It will argue that the success of the bandh in Nepal reveals the extent to which the democratic public sphere has not been liberal—i.e. characterized by norms of personal privacy, autonomy and individual agency (Habermas 1991)—but is instead a site of overt coercion, collective morality and of spectacle. The paper will trace the genealogy of the illiberal public in Nepal through an examination of state ritual under first the Rana and later Panchayat regimes (Burghart 1996). It will suggest that an illiberal public carries potentially positive implications for real democratization and equality in Nepal, insofar as it makes concrete the interdependence of the members of the social body. Nonetheless, the predominant effect of the bandh is a negative one: namely, a growing disillusionment with politics, and the increasing valorization of a ‘private life’ by the middle classes in Kathmandu (Liechty 2003).

Contesting Renunciation and Marriage: Laywomen’s and Nuns’ Songs in Contemporary Kinnaur (HP), India

LAMACCHIA, Linda, Independent Scholar
At the heart of Buddhism is a tension between the worldly life of a householder—linked to attachment and suffering—and the Buddha’s example in leaving home—linked to the monk or nun’s path to liberation. So laypeople and monastics may express different views toward renunciation, family life, and marriage. In Kinnaur, a Himalayan district in Himachal Pradesh, laywomen and nonordained nuns (jomos) in their oral traditions represent marrying and bearing children or leading a celibate religious life as the two options available to women. But they criticize each other’s choice, sometimes harshly. For example, nuns sing, “If you marry...you will be miserable,” and laywomen sing that nuns are “tea-servers.” Yet in their songs they praise each other too, and in their daily lives they often share a close relationship. Drawing on new material recorded in India in 2002-3 and 1995-6, this paper will explore ways in which Kinnauri women’s songs contest renunciation and marriage and will place the songs in three contexts: Buddhist, in which practitioners struggle to balance community and family demands—life in the world—with dharma practice; socio-economic, in which women support—or criticize—each other in a harsh environment; and oral traditions, in which women express alternatives to orthodox views.

The Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies: Indigenous Groups’ participation in Nepal, Peru, and India

LAWOTI, Mahendra, Wake Forest University
This paper compares the ethnic dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies, based on comparative study of Peru, Nepal, and India. Why is there such a high participation of indigenous groups in class-based rebellions? What is the reason for such a strong alliance between class-based insurgency and indigenous groups? Has ethnic support become crucial for Maoist insurgencies in the 20th century? These are some of the questions this paper will explore on the basis of three well known Maoists insurgencies that occurred in developing democratizing polities. The paper will contrast the more successful insurgencies in Nepal and Peru with the less successful in India. The paper looks at the participation of the indigenous groups at the mass and the leadership in the insurgencies, reviews the attitudes of the Maoist parties and the state toward indigenous issues. The paper argues that differential attitudes of the state and insurgents towards indigenous groups can help explain the rise as well as decline of the Maoist insurgencies.

The Political and Religious Powers of the Bamiyan and Bodhgaya Buddhas

LEOSHKO, Janice, University of Texas, Austin
While the power of images in South Asian religious practices is widely accepted, the role of history in the perception of this power in Buddhist imagery is not always as well acknowledged. Nor is the role of political actions--past and present--always perceived as part of the religious significance of particular images. This paper uses the power of special Buddha images in the history of Buddhist practice in South Asia in order to consider more fully the recent destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas. While the Taliban’s religious objections to the existence of these images is often highlighted, this paper argues that there are further aspects involved in understanding the motivations of this destruction. It is such perspective that allows us to consider how ruined images have continued to elicit devotion.

Missionary Appropriations of Indo-Tibetan Medical Knowledge

LORENZEN, David, El Colegio de Mexico
Like many present-day Christian missionaries, early Catholic missionaries in India often took up the practice of medicine. The motives of the early missionaries, however, were not always the same as those of their modern counterparts. The early medical practices were, of course, also quite different from those of modern scientific medicine. This paper looks at the reasons why several missionaries of the eighteenth-century mission of Italian Capuchins in Tibet and Bihar took up medical practice and the sort of medical knowledge and practices they offered. The most important document which sheds light on these questions is a five-hundred page manuscript by a friar named Domenico da Fano now kept in the Capuchin archives in Rome. In this text, Domenico explains how he appropriated the medical knowledge of Tibet and India and offered treatments based on the use of local herbs and minerals. Domenico accepts that his free medical services were a useful strategy for making contact with the local
Socio-economic transformation of contemporary Nepal started since 1950s is strongly felt in Kathmandu valley and its ‘native’ inhabitants, the Newars are among the ones who were affected the most by this transformation. It brought changes in all spheres of their life. Introduction of Theravadin Vihar Buddhism in Nepal can be understood both as the cause and the affect of such changes. Generally, the followers of Vihar Buddhism, especially the monks, the sponsors and the intellectuals are regarded as the ones who have some kind of grudge against the prevailing system and the society. However, most of the laities undertake it to protect themselves from the angst of this fast changing ‘world’ to which they are unable to pace and feel consciously or unconsciously insecure in their livelihood. This is more pronounced since 1980s when the Vihar Buddhism penetrates the Newar society deeper and wider in terms of area, caste and economic possessions. In general these Vihar Buddhists are more liberal and progressive but more concerned, hard working and sober living people in comparison to their contemporaries. This paper will deal with this issue with ethnographic evidence from a Newar village in the valley.

Articular Loyalties: Spatio-religious Transmutations and Legitimacy in a Garhwali Village

MAZUMDAR, Lipika, University of Pittsburgh

Questions of belonging and legitimacy continue to be played out in religico-political fields within the Garhwal/Uttrakhand Himalaya vis-a-vis the nation-building project(s) of postcolonial India. Garhwals significance to the nation-state straddles cultural and physical spaces, as it contains major religious and pilgrimage sites in pan-Indian Hinduism, the sacred and economically vital watershed of the Ganga and Jamuna river systems, as well as a disputed international boundary. Since joining India in 1949, Garhwal remains a socioculturally distinctive and contentious place, needing to be brought into the “fold” of the larger nation and state. This paper examines the interface of local religion and the project of religious nationalism (Hindutva) in mutual appropriations of space and meaning between 1991-2005. Specifically, it explores the re- formations of identity and legitimacy from the vantage of local inhabitants as manifested in the worship of their territorial and oracle village deity. This period frames the current fields of contention between regional and national-level power structures and their attendant loyalties and resistances as carried out and negotiated on sacred ground.

Subversive Voices: Reporting the Maoist Trend in Nepal

MEAD, Ally, Cornell University

In the silent valleys between the grand Himalayas a great beast is growing. Each day the monster becomes larger and more powerful, consuming the hope and happiness of the people and leaving nothing but destruction and ruin as a vision for the future. Even the way Nepalese journalists talk about their country has changed. There is more tension with Indian forces just across the border, offering to step in and end the daily killings and abductions, but with a price. Some news articles have suggested that the price of a distinct identity is worth preserving the lives of its citizens while others still hold fast to the rhetoric of an independent Nepali state. With these discrepancies in reporting, is Nepal presented as a solidified nation, capable of self-governance or are there hints of a diminishing feeling of nationalism in the wake of increased Maoist violence? How has the news rhetoric about national identity changed over the 9-year span of violence? Since the recently imposed media censorship, what picture of the insurgency is currently being propagated? To answer these questions I am proposing a qualitative content analysis of newspaper content from Nepal.

“The Rise of the Maoist Movement in Nepal, State Response and Implications for South Asia”

MEHTA, Ashok Kumar, Independent Researcher

Two challenges confront Nepal today, after the royal coup of 1 February 2005. One is the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) - its structure, organisation, and its capacity, morale and motivation to fight. The other is the Maoists, a force that has grown rapidly, has international linkages and rather than weaponry depends on psychological warfare. This paper examines institutional infirmities that led to the Maoists controlling vast tracts of territories in the landlocked country and gave His Majesty King Gyanendra the excuse to impose direct rule. It explores the structural and historical reasons for the RNA’s loyalty to the King, troubled relations between the Army and the political establishment, and Nepal’s unfinished democratic revolution that broke many shibboleths but did not seriously broach the issue of civilian control of the Army during the discourse on the constitution. The ceremonial nature of the RNA, lack of combat experience, absence of a regimental system, excessive preoccupation with UNPKO, want of intelligence, the assumption that the RNA should have a policing as well as fighting role and the feudal nature of Nepal’s ruling classes have prevented the RNA from developing into a representative and national fighting force capable of taking on the Maoist challenge.

The Rise of the Maoist Movement in Nepal: State Response and Implications for South Asia

MEHTA, Ashok Kumar, Nepal-India Track II

After the royal coup of 1 February 2005, Nepal faces two challenges. One is the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) – its struc-
ture and its capacity to fight. The other is the Maoists, a force that has grown rapidly, has international linkages and rather than weaponry, depends on psychological warfare. Institutional infirmities led to the rise of the Maoists. Among them are the historical reasons for the RNA's loyalty to the King and Nepal's unfinished democratic revolution that broke many shibboleths but did not seriously broach the issue of civilian control of the Army during the discourse on the constitution. The ceremonial nature of the RNA, lack of combat experience, absence of a regimental system, excessive preoccupation with UNPKO and the feudal nature of Nepal's ruling classes have prevented the RNA from developing into a representative and national fighting force. The Maoists have identified the weaknesses of the enemy. But their real enemy is not the RNA per se, but an RNA that is controlled by the King and all that he represents. Structurally, the Maoists mimic the Mao Tse Tung-led Red Army. But the threat of Maoists seizing power in Kathmandu or creating a Compact Revolutionary Zone is somewhat far fetched.

The Birth of the Political: Excavating the Political (Imagi)nation of Nepal
MIDDLETON, Townsend C., Cornell University
Providing a crucial historical perspective on the origin of contentious politics in Nepal, the paper critically engages the epistemic constitution of the Political. By throwing Nepal into a mutually productive dialogue with postcolonial theory, the paper addresses the flow of subjects—human and conceptual—across the Indo-Nepalese border between 1920-1951, which laid the conceptual foundation for Nepal's now five decade long yearning for an authentic democracy. Given its historiographic leaning, one might then ask what an analysis of the entangled histories of the Indian and Nepali Nationalist Movements can tell us about the current Nepali circumstances? I will argue, through involvement in India's public sphere, political activist in Nepal appropriated a particular modality of knowing and engaging the world in a decidedly "political" way. Despite the revolutionary imaginaries this epistemic constitution engendered, both then and now, it has never mapped well onto the socio-empirical realities that such revolutionary movements profess to represent, defend, and/or transform. Offering causal explanation for Nepal's checkered history with democracy, this paper simultaneously affords a compelling epistemological/historical analysis of the Political in Nepal, which can provide an analytic baseline of sorts, from which emergent forms of contentious politics might be judged.

Nepal: Prospects for a Maoist Insurgency in a Globalized World
ONESTO, Li, Revolutionary Worker
The rapid growth of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal has been noted by many observers. In 1999, I traveled through the guerrilla zones of Rolpa and Rukum at a time when the military and political apparatus of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was very primitive. Small "guerrilla squads" were conducting small raids on police posts and the structures of "people's power" were only beginning. Within a few years, the "People's Liberation Army" had advanced to companies and brigades and were waging large battles against the Royal Nepalese Army and the Maoists had begun to establish parallel government structures in large areas of the countryside. This paper will explore the military and political strategy of the Maoists, how they have implemented Mao's theory of "protracted people's war" to the specific conditions of Nepal, how this has impacted the deepening and ongoing divisions with Nepal ruling class and what questions, both internally and internationally, are posed by the possible seizure of power by the Maoists. This paper will also discuss the increasing political and military intervention by India, the UK and U.S. in the context of the broader international situation and the "war on terrorism."

Cultural Heritage and Natural Disasters in the Western Himalayas
PANDIT, Munish, Sanrakshan Heritage Consultants
The symbolism attributed to building elements and the rituals associated with building activities have been the main factors for sustainability of traditional architecture of the Western Himalayas. The Himalayan region has witnessed numerous earthquakes, resulting in an architecture that has evolved as an integrated solution in response to earthquakes and harsh climate. This paper focuses on the intangible component of cultural heritage essential for the sustenance of traditional architecture of the region. Understanding of symbolism; rituals and their manifestation in traditional architecture, are used as tools for recommending interventions for the conservation of traditional structures and construction of new buildings in the historic areas so that the architectural character and cultural heritage is maintained. This paper also attempts to assess the impact of large scale rehabilitation programs initiated by the Government and the NGOs after the earthquake of 1991 in Uttarkashi region. These programs seem to have completely ignored the traditional architecture and beliefs; hence the region has witnessed an adverse impact to its traditional architecture, and to the socio-cultural aspects of local communities. This situation demands a holistic and comprehensive disaster preparedness and management program to ensure sustenance of the cultural heritage of the region.

A 'Chaos' Ecology: Equating Democratization with Urban Environmental Degradation in Kathmandu
RADEMACHER, Anne, Yale University
The political and economic changes that followed the 1990 'jana andolan' were acutely felt in the national capital, Kathmandu. These changes had an equally quick and voracious partner, also felt in particular concentrations in the city: pollution and urban environmental degradation seemed inevitable counterparts to growth. As the population surged,
urban infrastructural stresses and environmental deterioration assumed an ever more prominent place in public discourse. The city that was increasingly associated with global discursive and material flows also met with a general sense of the mutual deterioration of environmental and cultural integrity. Drawing from ethnographic research on the cultural politics of Bagmati and Bishnumati River restoration in Kathmandu, this paper explores informants' characterizations of democracy as the context within which invasive and degrading urban environmental processes were permitted to thrive. I examine how urban environmental disorder came to be almost synonymous with dysfunctional democracy, and, in turn, how this perception then informed a welcoming acceptance of authoritarian displays of environmental control during the state of emergency that followed.

Malthusianism in Nepal: Earth Day to Political Ecology to Jared Diamond
ROBERTSON, Thomas, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In a recent Harper's, biogeographer Jared Diamond ascribed Nepal's environmental and political instability to overpopulation. On a recent trip to Nepal, I heard village teachers make similar arguments about Nepal's problems. Using arguments put forth by Diamond and my Nepali acquaintances as a point of departure, this paper will examine the role of Malthusianism within Nepali environmental studies since the late 1960s. At that time, concerns about population growth, especially within South Asia, began to dominate American environmentalism and environmental analysis more broadly. This Malthusian worldview, which reduced all political and environmental problems to "overpopulation," left a deep imprint on the first analyses of environmental problems in Nepal and on Nepal's first conservation programs. Not long thereafter, however, Malthusian reductionism regarding Nepal helped spur an opposing analytical framework—what has come to be known as political ecology—which takes as its starting point many of the socio-economic factors that Malthusian perspectives ignore or downplay. In particular, paying close attention to differently situated actors, especially academics, conservationists and village elite, this paper will focus on the dynamics and implications of Malthusianism's spread from international sources to local Nepalis, as well as the limited success of anti-Malthusian arguments within Nepal.

Reconceptualizing "Sex Trafficking": Sex Work of Women in Nepal
SHRESTHA, Srijana, Pennsylvania State University

(Con-Authorised by Ms. Niveditha Menon, M.S., Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University). When examining the narratives around sexual trafficking in Nepal, the lack of discussion around sexual labor and rights for the workers is very striking. Why hasn't there been a movement in Nepal to rearticulate sexual trafficking as sex work compared to sexual movements in South America, East Asia and other parts of the world? Are (Nepali) women engaged in the process of sexual labor making 'choices' or are they always compelled to work in the sex trade industry against their 'free will'? What are the dilemmas that feminists face when understanding agency of the women who are functioning outside the family and sexual norms of society within very limited socio-political spaces? In order to address these questions effectively, we will examine sexual trafficking in Nepal and analyze the societal and political discourses that construct of the 'woman' who participate in sexual labor. In order to do so, we will also focus specifically on the question of agency of women in the sex trade in the Third World, and the feminist responses to this critical question, using the ideology of the family and the household as a starting point.

Contentious Politics in a Traditional Setting: Conflicting Trends in Democratic Evolution in Nepal
SHRESTHA, Bihari Krishna, Sociological and Anthropological Society of Nepal

The multi-cultural composition of the Nepali society is characterised by ethnically mixed communities, with Indo-Aryan Hindu caste groups and Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups living together. Poverty and illiteracy remains widespread. For historical reasons, three groups, Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar have been economically and politically dominant traditionally. But most groups are economically stratified with large sections of their people constituting the base of the pyramid. The socio-economic complexity has adversely affected the development of the multi-party democracy introduced in 1990 which is based on winner-take-all system of election. Money is increasingly used to sway voter decisions, and has totally corrupted the governance in the country, making it easy for the Maoist insurgency to sweep the countryside. However, during this period, a number of community-managed development initiatives flourished in the country, of which the Community Forestry is the most widely acknowledged worldwide. They thrive on good governance conditions in the communities, and thus, imply devolution of authority as the possible basis for democratic development in third world countries like Nepal.

Minority Politics in Nepal's Maoist Insurgency
SIJAPATI, Bandita, Syracuse University

The interface between ethnicity and a variety of political and ideological constellations has been the subject of much theoretical speculation and debate. Using the case of the 10-year-old 'People's War' in Nepal, my paper will examine the interplay between the rising consciousness among Nepal's ethnic minorities and their radicalization by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). More specifically, I will examine the factors that have enabled ethnic issues to contribute to the Maoist movement by becoming an oppositional discourse and practice. First, I will consider ways in which ethnic identity has been appropriated, transformed, and then used by the Maoists to articulate movement purposes and garner
support, thus arguing that identity politics is relational, situational and flexible, that each person carries a number of potential identities, and only a few gain political salience to form the basis of power struggles. Second, I will discuss why the Maoist leadership has chosen to use ethnic issue for political mobilization as opposed to other templates and why ethnic identity has a special appeal to Nepali peasantry. Finally, by considering the experience of other ethnic movements, I will consider the impact of using cultural resources like ethnicity to achieve political ends in a class-based society.

The Web in the Shadows
SOMLAI, Iván Gyozo, Thompson Rivers University

There has been an exaggerated simplification by maintaining that there are two sides to the conflict in Nepal: the Maoist insurgents and the government. This is understandable in that most conflicts are between, and are settled by, two adversaries. However, in the context of Nepal, assiduous mapping of and discussions with a large number of people, coupled with personal experience throughout the country, has shown that there is a web in the shadows: a collection of independent and yet interlinked individuals and groups--some of whom are in the open, while some of whom remain in the background--which bear considerable influence over the two "official" adversaries. The stakeholders, therefore, are numerous, yet there is virtually no recognition of their influence or the necessity of somehow including them in a planned fashion within a potential negotiation framework. This neglect by world and national bodies is contributing to the stagnation of efforts in establishing meaningful, well-prepared negotiations. This presentation highlights the mapping, illustrates some relationships and discusses the resulting preconditions that eventually would be required for successful negotiations.

Some Thoughts on the Democratization of Community Forestry in Nepal
THOMS, Christopher, Knox College

Community forestry in Nepal is a fairly successful conservation strategy, largely because of restrictions on resource extraction rather than active forest management. Contrary to its conservation success, however, community forestry has so far proven less successful as a poverty alleviation strategy. There exist considerable inequities within community forestry in terms of forest resource access, control, and especially decision-making. Women often play only token roles in community forest decision-making and few user group governing committees include members from dalit or occupational castes. When such members of traditionally disadvantaged groups do serve on user group committees, their participation tends to be marginal. In this paper I argue this means, in effect, that an institution specifically meant to increase people's participation on a large scale is actually presenting opportunities to limit certain people's participation. As a remedy, I argue that new legal instruments and institutional arrangements must ensure fair participation in community forest decision-making and benefit distribution for marginalized groups. Towards that end, I consider a strategy of democratization for community forestry, and suggest ways that community forest user groups could be organized so that all interests are represented on forest user group committees and engaged in decision-making.

Who Deserves What? Economic Inequality in Kathmandu
WAGLE, Udaya, Marist College

Studying economic inequality has become increasingly important because of its multidimensional effects on human and societal well-being. Using recent survey data, this paper operationalizes income and wealth as proxy measures and explores economic inequality in Kathmandu. While income and wealth have mutually reinforcing relationships, they manifest rather different characteristics indicating that high (low) income households are not necessarily the households with high (low) wealth. The suggestion that spatial segregation, human capital and capability, inheritance, and household composition hold power to explain most part of economic inequality—with almost no systematic role for discrimination—provides enormously useful information for policymakers seeking to curb economic inequality in Kathmandu.