35th Annual Conference on South Asia
Lal Ded: Questioning Identities in Fourteenth Century Kashmir

Dean Accardi, Columbia University

In this paper, I aim to move beyond tropes of communalism and syncretism through nuanced attention to Indian devotional forms and, more specifically, to the life and work of a prominent female saint from fourteenth century Kashmir: Lal Ded. She was witness to a period of great religious fermentation in which various currents of religious thought, particularly Shaiva and Sufi, were in vibrant exchange. This paper examines Lal Ded’s biography and her poetic compositions in order to understand how she navigated among competing traditions to articulate both her religious and her gender identity. By investigating both poetic and hagiographic literatures, I argue that Lal Ded’s negotiation of Shaivism and Sufism should not be read as crudely syncretic, but rather as offering a critical perspective on both devotional traditions. Finally, I also look to the reception history of Lal Ded's poetry to problematize notions of intended audience and the communal reception of oral literature.

The Political Quietism of Islamic Revivalism(s) in Pakistan: Between Farhat Hashmi’s Neo-Conservatism and Javed Ghamdi’s Accomodationist Liberalism

Junaid Ahmad, College of William and Mary

This paper will look into the politics of two emerging theological strands developing in Pakistan. Associated with Farhat Hashmi’s neo-conservative and Javed Ghamdi’s neoliberal religious philosophies, these two respective Islamic worldviews seem to have the social function of providing a convenient mechanism for the middle classes of Pakistan to reconcile their Muslim identity with modernity and all of the fruits it provides for these privileged sections of Pakistani society. What is not noticed by most commentators who see the ideologies as complete poles apart is the deep similarity in the ways in which these movements translate politically. This paper dissects the political quietism that is the hallmark of both of these movements. What is questioned is the degree of relevance these religious persuasions have for the social majorities in Pakistan, and how the proponents of each respective worldview strengthen the politico-economic ideology and processes associated “globalization.”

Archaeological Surveys and Exploration in the Northwest Frontier Provinces, Pakistan

Ihsan Ali, Hazara University, NWFP Pakistan

Recent surveys conducted by the University of Peshawar and the Department of Archaeology, NWFP have begun to shed new light on the complex history of the Northwest Frontier Provinces of Pakistan. Archaeological sites ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Early Historic period now require new frameworks for interpreting the history of this region and of South Asia as a whole. This paper will present the major new discoveries to highlight the important new directions of current research.

Ecoregional conservation: a step forward or back?

Teri Allendorf, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The concept of ecoregional conservation is increasingly popular in conservation planning. In some ways, it has been a polarizing concept, with conservation biologists and environmental NGOs viewing it as a way to plan conservation proactively and more logistically, while others critique it as a branding or marketing ploy that shifts emphasis away from community-based conservation paradigms. Using WWF's Terai Arc Landscape project as a case study, we explore ecoregional planning and its pros and cons as a conservation tool. While there are potential drawbacks to ecoregional planning, which will only become clear as ecoregional planning is practiced, it does represent an attempt to conserve biodiversity while recognizing and understanding the larger political, economic, and social contexts.

The Memory of Migrations

Lalaie Ameeriar, Stanford University

In this paper, I seek to challenge ideas of migration that assume a beginning and an endpoint. I juxtapose two types of migration narratives presented to me in interviews with Pakistani women during sixteen months of fieldwork conducted between May 2002 and September 2003 in Toronto, Canada: narratives of migration surrounding the 1947 partition and recent narratives of migration for labor to Canada. Contemporary images of immigration assume that a country of origin is stable and fixed, however among the senior women I spoke with who experienced partition, Pakistan appeared as a type of way station in their personal trajectories. It was not the place they began their migration. The women who are the focus of this study have in many ways had their nation constructed through narratives. The central question I consider is how can the past be functional in the present. How does talking about the past help to construct a sense of place? How does remembering the past create a sense of community in the present?
Imagining Self and the Other: The Iconography of Tourist Art in Nepal

Dina Bangdel, Virginia Commonwealth University

Using Nepal as a case study, this paper explores the phenomena of tourist art as narratives of cultural imaginings, specifically the constructions of identity and meaning through the production and marketing of "ethnic" art. Indeed, the production of "ethnic" goods for export and tourism is the third largest revenue generator in Nepal, and Buddhist artworks in particular have a large international consumer market. It is this demand on the imagined "authentic" that has given rise to new iconographies and non-traditional artistic styles that are increasingly becoming the standard for tourist art.

Based on field interviews of the artists creating these works as well as tourist consumers, this paper will examine the ways in which tourist experience offers a space for the defining of artistic creativity, specifically relating to Buddhist thangka paintings. Here, I will consider how the traditional artists imagine themselves fulfilling the expectations of the tourists, by categorically constructing the aesthetic tastes of the "other," based on specific global identities. This imagining then becomes critical to the marketing/packaging of the commodities as it underscores how these new iconographies are interpreted and sold as continuities of the traditional works of art.

Mission Journalism to Development Journalism: Emergence of Community Media in Nepal

Arjun Banjade, Ohio University

Community radio has many names and operates with different objectives throughout the world. Some community radio stations are oppositional broadcasters while others are run by people without a particular political agenda with a humanitarian and grass-root development motive. There are radio stations that serve local minority language populations, and special interest groups, and so on. Community radio offers a model that is very grass-root and very democratic. It provides access to information to the marginalized section of the population, gives a voice to the voiceless, and becomes the mouthpiece of oppressed people and the tool for development. Unlike in Latin American countries where community radio stations emerged to counter the military dictatorship, community radio stations in Nepal emerged during democratic period to provide a platform for participation in communication process and help the local development initiatives. The popular uprising of 1990 restored parliamentary democratic political system and the Nepalese government adopted the National Communication Policy of 1992 that opened the door for the development of private media as well as initiatives for community radio. This paper explores the media development before 1990, the emergence of community radio during democratic environment and their struggle to survive in recent years.

Blurred Boundaries: Civilianization of the Military in Kargil (Jammu & Kashmir)

Mona Bhan, Rutgers University

In the aftermath of the Kargil war fought between India and Pakistan in 1999, the Indian military launched Operation Sadhbhavna (Goodwill), a development operation designed to "win the hearts and minds" of border communities in district Kargil, part of the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. Sadhbhavna, funded by the central government's Ministry of Defense and Border Area Development Fund aimed to redress deep-seated alienation of border communities against the Indian state wrought by differential state policies and decades of terrorism in Kashmir. This paper discusses the relationship between the army and the civil-government in Kargil within the framework of Sadhbhavna raising questions about the form and content of Indian democracy in contested spaces. An ethnographic engagement with civil-military relations in Kargil complicates existing scholarly debates about whether or not civilianization of the military poses an inevitable challenge to India's democracy. Everyday negotiations, struggles, and stakes of military interventions in development reveal shifts in power between the civil-state and the military as contingent and unstable rather than as absolute and immutable. Through Sadhbhavna, I demonstrate how boundaries between the civil-state and the military are constituted, maintained, negotiated and also simultaneously blurred.

Providing Education for All: International Assistance and Development of Primary Education in Nepal

Pramod Bhatta, Kobe University

Nepal has provided the perfect development destination for a plethora of donor agencies after she 'opened up' in 1951. The growth in aid volume to Nepal since then has been described as 'a stream turning into a torrent turning into a deluge.' In recent years, Nepal's education sector, especially primary education, has been a major recipient of aid. This paper discusses the role of international assistance in the development of Nepal's primary education. It shows how donor agencies have been instrumental in formulating policies and programs for primary education, often by marginalizing important national stakeholders. It also reveals how educational agendas have been shifted and sifted, with policy making adopting a more inclusive approach, but their implementation has been unable to cater to regional differences in the degree of inclusiveness. It concludes with a discussion about the type of aid that is more effective and desirable for the development of primary education in Nepal.

Peace and Happiness on the Campaign Trail: Political Rituals in a Muslim Punjab

Anna Bigelow, North Carolina State University

Malerkotla is the only major Muslim majority area in Indian Punjab. Most of the Muslim population stayed in 1947 and there were no deaths then or since from inter-religious
violence. The reasons for this are many, but for the purposes of this presentation, the most relevant explanation is the one most frequently repeated by residents and visitors: in 1705 the Muslim ruler of Malerkotla spoke up against the execution of the captured sons of the Sikh Guru Gobind Singh who subsequently blessed the town. To many Punjabis and others, this righteous act – popularly known as the haa da naara – is the single most important explanation for Malerkotla's peace at Partition and since. Why is this event still so powerful a part of the collective imagination? This paper explores how commemorative acts and public rituals establish the collective memory of the haa da naara and the peace at Partition. In particular, speeches at political rallies and 'Id gatherings invariably invoke the haa da naara, publicly displaying Malerkotla's core values through the narrative of this famous moment of inter-religious cooperation. Such commemorative practices generate Malerkotla's idealized image as a peaceful pluralistic community, establishing the town's hegemonic history and identity.

Not Just Another Local Purana: The Unparalleled Success of the Svasthani Vrata Katha in Nepal's Religio-Cultural Literary Traditions

Jessica Vantine Birkenholtz, University of Chicago

This paper explores the unrivalled prominence of the Svasthani Vrata Katha, a key Hindu religious text specific to Nepal that has an unbroken – and conspicuously unstudied – history spanning five centuries and three languages, Sanskrit, Nepali (Nepalbhasa (Newar), and Nepali. Specifically, I address how the Svasthani tradition became so pervasive among the general public, vis-a-vis other religio-cultural literary traditions in Nepal. Of particular contrast is Nepal's local puranic textual tradition that includes notable texts such as the Nepal Mahatmya, Pashupati Purana, and Svayambhu Purana, which historically remain the domain of scholars, pandits, and priests. I argue that the following three factors contributed to the unsurpassed popularity and importance of the Svasthani in Nepal: the nature of the Svasthani’s subject matter, the language employed in the text (both in terms of simple linguistics, but also its accessibility), and the trajectory of Newar and Nepali literature. Perhaps most importantly, I suggest that, as evidenced by my research of the history and development of the Svasthani textual tradition, the Svasthani evolved hand-in-hand with the nation-state of Nepal, thereby inextricably ingratiating itself into the imaginaire of Nepal’s (Hindu) culture and thereafter informing the production of a worldview and identity for Nepal’s Hindu communities.

Architectural Interpretation and Change: Using Photo Documentation to Explore Use and Reuse of Vernacular Structures in Northwest Pakistan

Jennifer L. Campbell, University of Toronto

This paper introduces a system of photographic architectural documentation for the recording and analysis of caravanserais and related vernacular structures of travel and exchange in Northwest Pakistan. Specifically, the Mughal period serai of Gor Khuttree, Peshawar, Pakistan is discussed and presented as an example of how detailed architectural analysis can reveal information about the use and reuse of vernacular structures. City-center Caravanserais provided shelter and protection to travelers and served as centers of interaction, incorporation and control. The function of these structures varied through time and with subsequent reuse and/or abandonment during the Sikh, British and Pakistani periods. Alterations in the architectural fabric can be correlated to periods of changing function (as related to the controlling group) and to the resultant shifts in attitude towards travel and exchange, imperialism and colonialism, and the reoccupation and reinterpretation of space and place.

Re-viewing the Tradition, Revival and Transformation of Madhubani Paintings

Nachiket Chanchani, University of Minnesota

In the first part of this paper, I show that the ritual wall paintings of Mithila, today popularly known as Madhubani paintings, were ‘discovered’ by an ICS officer and were shortly thereafter valorised by Ajit Mookerjee. I then track the revival, promotion and use of these paintings by the Indian state, by focusing on the role of the Crafts Museum in Delhi and on the efforts Pupul Jayakar, Indira Gandhi and Jyotindra Jain. Next, I consider the lives and works of three contemporary Mithila painters and look at specific discourses that they have been framed in. In doing so, I show how Madhubani paintings changed when this ritual art was commercialised. Thereafter I assess implications of this revival and transformation by making an argument based largely on my fieldwork in Mithila. The gist of the contention that is put forth in this part of the paper is that over the years some Mithila painters have often controlled the production of their ritual art form. They have done so in order to serve their economic needs as well as requirements of self-representation, which have been made imperative by the generation and continuation of the powerful discourses of postcolonial India.

Foguangshan and the Ordination of Theravada and Tibetan Nuns

Stuart Chandler, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

This paper examines the campaign by the Chinese Buddhist organization Foguangshan to hold triple altar ordinations so that women in Theravada and Tibetan lineages can become fully-ordained nuns. It does so by analyzing
the Foguang perspective on women’s rights and the order’s push to establish a more unified worldwide Buddhist monastic corps. The presentation will focus on Foguangshan’s ordination in Bodhgaya that took place in 1998, but will consider other ordination ceremonies as well.

Cross-community Interchange of Design Knowledge for Preserving Cultural Landscapes in the Trans-Himalayan Regions of India (Ladakh) and Nepal (Mustang)

Neel Kamal Chapagain, University of Hawaii

Preservation of cultural landscape has much to rely on the continuity of vernacular architecture and building practice. The trans-Himalayan region in Nepal and India has earthen architecture as the preeminent vernacular architecture. Earthen architecture, by nature, needs many cultural practices that actually prolong the life of individual building. However, there is always room for improvement, and it is observed that such improvements could actually be learnt from another community practicing similar kind of vernacular architecture. Mustang in Nepal and Ladakh in India could be one group of communities which can learn from each other and improve the building practices. Such cross-community interaction could also contribute for preserving the overall cultural landscape in these regions. Therefore, this could be a sustainable and integrated preservation approach in such cultural areas. The paper will explore the feasibility of such cross-community interaction, which could contribute to the preservation of the cultural landscapes in the trans-Himalayan region of India and Nepal.

Engendering Abuse, Embodying Exile: A Case of Divorce as the Basis for Asylum in Tibetan Diaspora

Jennifer Chertow, Stanford University

This paper addresses a Tibetan asylum case in the U.S. during March, 2006. Human rights lawyers asserted that Tenzin Yidok needed asylum due to abuse by her Tibetan husband - a U.S. citizen. Her home community in Dharamsala, India rejected her, and she could not return safely. Entering the U.S. on a partial fiancée visa, authorities imprisoned Ms. Yidok. Tibetan women are considered the bearers of culture and tradition in communities in and outside of Tibet (Makley 2003, Mani 1989). When women break with tradition, for example in the case of divorce, it is in a sense, taboo. How is “tradition” codified by the U.S. court system and how do women stand in for tradition in diaspora? For Tibetans in exile, negative publicity about Tibetan culture is perceived as a threat to independence claims against China’s occupation. This paper asks what kinds of racialized assumptions about non-whites are informing Ms. Yidok’s American lawyers. How are community rights versus human rights navigated in the context of gendered abuse? Questions of home and away enter Tenzin Yidok’s experience of living in several diasporas that intersect along axes of gender, race, and class.

Why is the Insurgency in Kashmir So Intractable?: Dynamics of Conflict From Within State-Level and Internal Muslim Politics

Jugdep Chima

The separatist (or irredentist) insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir has been amongst the most deadly and longest-lasting in contemporary India. More than sixty-thousand people have died as a result of political violence in the state since the late-1980’s. Many existing explanations for the continuation of this insurgency point to the lingering rivalry between Pakistan and India as the main source of conflict. Hence, prospective solutions also point to the improvement of relations between these two countries. This paper takes a slightly different view and argues that the sources of conflict that underlie the insurgency also flow significantly from state-level and internal Muslim politics within Kashmir. This paper examines the political dynamics between and amongst state and ethnic elites to explain the rise and continuation of the conflict. In particular, it also analyzes the internal politics within the various extremist and militant groupings operating in the state. Thus, this paper argues that changing the political interrelationships between various central state, state-level, and ethnic political elites provides an alternative route for “solving” the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir. Comparative dynamics leading to the end of the Sikh separatist insurgency in Punjab also also discussed.

Buddhist Nuns’/nuns’ in Premodern and Modern History

Steven Collins, University of Chicago

This paper traces the history of the Buddhist Order of Nuns (bhikshuni), which existed in India and Sri Lanka until roughly the end of the first millennium AD, but not in SE Asia. It then discusses the modern movements of female celibates, across the whole Theravada world from Nepal to Cambodia, with special reference to Sri Lanka, where most of the modern re-Ordinations of bhikkhuni-s have taken place.

Constitutional Dictatorships and Unconstitutional Democracies: The Politics of Democratic Constitutionalism in South Asia

Rohit De, Yale Law School

Constitutional histories of the Indian and Pakistani Supreme Courts draw contrasting linear narratives of triumph and tragedy respectively. While the Pakistani courts have been charged with surrender to dictators and undermining constitutional governance the Indian courts experience is viewed as the triumphal transformation of a conservative but independent judiciary to a liberal activist judiciary. Given the striking similarities in history, legal culture, state structures, constitutional texts and character of the judiciary, these linear narratives are difficult to comprehend. An effort hindered by the extremely limited literature on comparative constitutionalism in South Asia and the peripheral role given to constitutional law by comparative historians and political scientists.
A closer reading of decisions indicates that the doctrinal stances taken rarely reflect the actual result of the judgment. This paper attempts to understand the strategic decision making of judges, by examining a series of decisions in cases, where the executive's attempts to change the constitution was challenged. It suggests that the courts in India and Pakistan faced with hostile executive adopted contrasting strategies of constitutional adjudication. These strategic choices made in the early years determined the role the judiciaries played after the fracturing of executive power in the nineties.

**Faultlines and Lines of Control: Islamist Charities, International Organizations, and the Pakistan Military in the Earthquake Relief and Reconstruction Project**

Cabeiri De Bergh Robinson, University of Washington

This paper examines the roles of the Pakistan army and security services, international humanitarian organizations, and Islamist charities in providing relief and formulating a reconstruction policy in Azad Kashmir after the earthquake of October 2005. It describes the ways these state, international, and religious organizations have sought to provide relief in this disputed territory and high security zone, and it analyzes the junctures and disjunctures in the different moral languages used to describe social responsibility and political accountability after a natural disaster. The paper focuses particularly on the relief and reconstruction activities of three Islamist charities which are closely connected to jihadist militant groups involved in the armed conflict in Indian-administered regions of Jammu and Kashmir-- the Jamatud Dawa (connected to the Lashkar-e-Tayiba), the Al Rehmat Trust (connected to the Jaish-e-Mohammad), and Al Safa Foundation (connected to Al Badr). The paper concludes with a discussion of public evaluations of the relief and reconstruction work carried out by the national military, international humanitarian organizations, and religious charities in order to evaluate changes in the ways that Kashmiris imagine their relations with 'the state' in Azad Kashmir.

**Political Ecology and Economics of Energy in Nepal**

Surendra Devkota, School for International Training, World Learning

Energy is a crucial ingredient in socioeconomic development. This paper looks into how a developing country like Nepal could achieve her development plan in terms of energy requirements. It examines whether ongoing 10th Plan is achieved in terms of availability of energy. To this regard, an input – output analysis is carried out to examine the energy demand by different economic sectors as outlined in the 10th Plan of Nepal. The model indicates that it is very unlikely to meet essential energy demanded by the Plan due to institutions failures, unsustainable supply, and lack of a comprehensive energy policy to address the role of energy in socioeconomic development in toto. Politico-ecological aspects of major energy resources like water, oil, and forests are discussed. People are paying high prices due to the disappointing performances of state owned institutes. Nepal needs an overhauling of energy policy as well as socioeconomic development philosophy. Alternative energy sources could play a vital role in meeting the deficit energy demand as these sources need less time and cost for installation and energy extraction and are sustainable.

**From Provincial Elections to Pakistan Schemes- The Construction of a Muslim Political Community in the United Provinces, 1936-42**

Venkat Dhulipala, University of Minnesota

This paper explores the attempts at the construction of a Muslim political community in the United Provinces (UP) between 1936-42. A principal claim in the scholarship on India's Partition is that the Muslims of the United Provinces (UP) were mainly responsible for that historic event. Their role during last decade before Partition is deemed crucial as the UP Muslims sustained the idea of Muslim nationalism which eventually found widespread support among the Muslims of the majority provinces. This paper contests the view of the UP Muslims as a nation in waiting, as a united community at the vanguard of the movement for Pakistan. It argues that the UP Muslims were a community divided along party, class, ideological, and sectarian lines, making the process of their mobilization a contentious one. The greater unity achieved among UP Muslims between 1937-39, was facilitated by the Congress' Muslim Mass Contacts program. However, the subsequent Pakistan resolution passed at Lahore in 1940 brought forth political dilemmas as the UP Muslims began to consider its territorial implications and the potential problems it posed for minority province Muslims. This paper therefore seeks to revise the familiar historical representations of the political agency of the UP Muslims in the creation of Pakistan.

**The Latent Nationalism of Spatial Practice: Lhasa’s Tsuglagkhang in Exile**

William P. Duncanson, University of California-Berkeley

Ritual obeisance in Tibetan Buddhism is often achieved by movement; the movement of mantras (scriptures) in a rotating prayer wheel, the movement of a lungta (prayer flag) in the wind or, most significantly, the movement of pious devotees around sacred buildings and objects. These koras (circumambulation routes) generated the distinct urbanism of Lhasa and structured its growth. The Tsuglagkhang (Central Cathedral) comprised an inner kora (the Nangkor) and an outer kora (the Barkhor). A third kora, the Lingkor, defined the outermost boundary of the city. Together, these koras defined Lhasan urbanism until the period of Chinese occupation. The occupation of Tibet...
instigated an exodus resulting in a worldwide exile population in excess of 130,000. In 1960 the Tibetan Government in Exile settled in the town of McLeod Ganj in Himachal Pradesh, India. In 1971, a Tsuglakhang was constructed in McLeod Ganj to facilitate ritual practices and audiences performed by the Dalai Lama and the Namgyal Monastery. This Tsuglakhang quickly became a surrogate center for the exile community and became the focus of Mcleod Ganj’s own series of koras. In this paper I will explore how spiritual movement has become political movement, both in contemporary Lhasa and in exile.

**Picturing Religion: Photography and the Production of Religion in Himachal Pradesh**

Mark Elmore, University of North Florida

Since state independence in 1971, a dominant public has emerged in Himachal Pradesh. This public is integral to the continued political and social integration of a region divided by history, language, ritual practice, and geography. This talk examines a notable absence in the work of two photographers framing the visual parameters of this public. While they highlight ritual spaces, they never picture practices. The absence of lived practices from a refined image of ‘Himachali’ religion speaks to the ascendency of innocuous ritual forms, such as darshan, and the marginalization of practices like animal sacrifice, ritual possession, and prognostication rites. I argue that these photographs and the public spaces that display them are part of a broad redefinition of religion as a sphere of human life distinct from economy, politics, and performance. These images are thus not simply reproductions of natural spaces or works of artistic merit. They are religious statements shaping the limits of what is and is not legitimately part of ‘Himachali’ religion.

**Military Interventions in FATA: Import for Security and Governance?**

Christine Fair, U.S. Institute for Peace

The Pakistan Army, along with related security organizations, have undertaken several interconnecting efforts to bring the Federally Administered Tribal Areas into mainstream Pakistan. This is a high-stakes effort. FATA has hosted remnants from Al Qaeda, the Taliban and several other enterprises. It is the major crossing point for narcotics as well other licit and illicit goods. Bringing law and order to FATA is critical to diminishing the myriad internal security threats in Pakistan and beyond. Yet the army and the government face numerous challenges. Governance and rule of law in FATA are tenuous and the state has only partially penetrated this rigorous terrain. Over the last three decades, the former political structure has evolved and religious leaders have become important political players as a result of the deliberate infusion of Wahabbist and jihadist ideologies into this area during the 1980s. This paper describes the nature of the security forces’ interventions in FATA, analyzes the impacts of the security forces’ strategy both to bring governance to the region and to diminish the formidable internal security challenges posed by the region, and concludes with a discussion of the implications of these efforts.

**The Bonded Laborers’ Freedom Movement and the Horizons of Politics in Contemporary Nepal**

Tatsuro Fujikura, Kyoto University

The kamaiya (bonded agricultural laborers) freedom movement initiated from western Nepal in May 1st, 2000 resulted in the Nepali government’s declaration of their freedom in July 17th in the same year. Ever since its immediate aftermath, the kamaiya liberation has been variously interpreted and evaluated. On the one hand, it was hailed as one of the major triumphs of human rights mobilization initiated by the NGO sector in Nepal. On the other hand, some described kamaiya liberation as a major failure that succeeded only in giving kamaiyas the freedom to starve. The paper describes and analyzes the dynamics of kamaiya struggles since the declaration of their emancipation, under the condition of severe political instability involving armed insurgency, and suspension of representative democracy and basic human rights. The paper focuses particularly on how the kamaiyas are engaging with and seeking to transform and expand the ideas and practices of human rights, development, and democracy in Nepal.

**Shadow States: Languages of Corruption and Caste in the Bureaucracy in Uttar Pradesh, 1930-1960s**

William Gould, University of Leeds

In north India in the 1930s, district officers and their subordinates spoke of the system of ‘dollies’ and ‘gifts’ through which bureaucrats maintained contacts and relations with powerful landlords and contractors. The idea of ‘corruption’ was rarely mentioned, with a range of euphemisms employed instead. In 1964, the Santhanam Report very clearly defined and discussed ‘corruption’ amongst state servants, delineating its many forms and agonizing over remedies. This paper looks at ideas about corruption through the history of the civil service in UP, and in relation to its ethnographic approaches to recruitment. Whilst the language and ideologies of corruption changed over this period, as the authoritarian state gave way to democracy, comparable assumptions were made in the 1930s and the 1960s about how bureaucratic corruption occurred in its most pronounced forms at ‘subordinate’ levels. Similarly, ideas about the exercise of local influence in the bureaucracy tied into state views about caste-based control of the civil service at local levels. This paper will examine how the maintenance of particular ethnographies for recruitment tied into a historically dynamic civil-service tradition, in which representations of, and responses to ‘corruption’ were implicated.
Global Gurungs: DVDs, Photographs, and the Production of Intimacy
Susan Hangen, Ramapo College
Recently Nepalis living abroad have begun to form associations that represent particular ethnic groups rather than Nepalis as a whole. Focusing on The Gurung Society in New York City, this paper seeks to analyze the emergence of these organizations and their social and political effects. I critically examine the prevalence of the concept of identity in diaspora studies and ask to what extent identity is a useful tool for understanding the emergence and activities of this organization. I show that the ethnic political movement that mobilized in Nepal after 1990 inspired Gurungs outside Nepal to form their own organizations. However the social effects of the Gurung Society are not limited to the production of a diasporic Gurung identity. Rather, this organization also creates a sense of intimacy between Gurungs, both within New York and on a global scale. I examine how the global circulation and consumption of DVDs and digital photographs of the celebration of the Gurung New Year creates these connections. These representations serve not only to construct Gurung identity, but also to create and sustain relations of affect between Gurungs wherever they may live.

Secularizing Islam and Sacralizing the State: Maududi and the Jammat-i-Islami in Pakistan
Farhat Haq, Monmouth College
The persistence of political religion in public life has led to renewed interest in critically examining the assumptions underlying secularization thesis which posited that modernity ushers in a decline in role of religion in public and private lives of citizens. It was generally assumed that Islam might constitute an exception to the secularization thesis because of the commonly accepted assertion that there is no separation between religion and politics in Islam. Mauualn Maududi as the chief theoretician of modern political Islam greatly contributed to this common place understanding that Islam constituted a comprehensive ideological system guiding all aspects of Muslim society. In this paper I want to outline the ways in which Maududi’s ideology and its political expression—the Jammat-i-Islami—is an example of secularizing Islam in South Asia. Turning Islam into an ideology and using a highly bureaucratized political party to implement this ideology from the top; the Jammatt gave expression to a secularized Islam. Since creating an ‘Islamic’ state is foundational to Jammat-i-Islami’s political agenda it has also agitated to sacralize the state in Pakistan.

Sites for Peacebuilding? Women’s Voices in Tij
Kathryn Hohman, The George Washington University
In this paper I set out to discuss the Hindu festival of Tij as a site of women’s agency and the possibility of constructing a plausible platform for creating alternative means of peace building in the face of Nepal’s civil war. Most Western literature on Tij has focused on the patriarchal structure and symbolism, presenting it as a ritual that reinforces the gender relations of Hindu religious ideology. A critical evaluation of the sociocultural dynamics within the Tij festival allows the observer to look beyond the external structure of the occasion and consider, rather, the agency demonstrated through the social production of commentary that is evident in Tij songs. I demonstrate, rather, the festival’s evolution into a veritable political forum, serving to mobilize socially excluded groups to construct counterhegemonic identities and raise the consciousness of their fellow community members. Today Tij lyrics are calling on women to act to change the social, economic and political conditions of women throughout the country. A ritual that commands respect within the community, Tij allows a safe space for critically contesting dominant ideologies, placing women at the forefront of suggesting alternative social structures and perhaps approaches to conflict resolution.

Pakistan: Islamic Banking by Judiciary?
Feisal Khan, Hobart and William Smith Colleges
Pakistan’s non-interest-based, Islamic banking system was shaken by key appellate court rulings in 1992 and 1999 that declared the current system insufficiently “Islamic” and ordered a complete revision of all financial legislation to ensure direct equity participation as the sole acceptable financing mode. Many Islamists agreed with this decision as the current form of Islamic banking merely changed terminology rather than practice. The Pakistan Supreme Court, upon final appeal, stayed the decision of the lower court and ordered the originating court to review its decision, thereby granting the banking system a reprieve. How permanent is this reprieve likely to be?

Diasporic Voices in Kathmandu
Laura Kunreuther, Bard College
Contemporary Kathmandu subjects, particularly since the Maoist civil war and the proliferation of new global media, are deeply affected by the figure of the diaspora. Unlike many studies of diaspora, this paper focuses not directly on a particular community of Nepalis abroad; but rather, on the mediation of diaspora within Kathmandu. I discuss the process through which a Nepali diaspora is made ‘present’ in Kathmandu by two technologies of voice—the FM radio and the telephone. I center on the hearing and voicing of personal telephone calls made between Kathmandu Nepalis and those abroad that are broadcast on an FM radio program. The diaspora emerges not primarily through a relationship to place, but rather through relations of affect and the temporality produced on the radio and the phone. The intimate quality of the conversations, the material qualities attributed to the faceless voice and the fact that the program is live all contribute to a
sense of temporal simultaneity and 'presence' of the diaspora in Kathmandu. Attention to the form of these two technologies, their discourses and functions, shows the links between the figure of voice, the figure of the diaspora, and contemporary Kathmandu subjectivity.

**Convicts and Crime in Karachi: an Exploratory Analysis**

Zainab Latif, Graduate Center, CUNY

Karachi exudes an energy that is addictive. And yet the city faces many challenges: high rates of in-migration from the rest of the country, a failure on the part of the State to provide basic goods and services, and high rates of crime and insecurity. Criminal violence in Karachi is a highly emotional issue. In most media and civil society discourse, its analysis is confounded with political rivalry and ethnic tension. The charged nature of the debate prevents researchers from asking dispassionate questions, and many basic facts about crime in Karachi remain unknown. Moreover, there has been a failure to contextualize criminal violence within the larger socioeconomic framework that provides a theoretical backdrop for analyzing, and consequently addressing, law and order in the city. This paper presents an exploratory analysis of data on inmates at Karachi Central Jail and addresses questions such as: who is arrested for these crimes, in which communities do they live, what types of crimes are committed, and what sanctions are commonly awarded in court? The paper concludes that the complex realities of the city raise important, theoretical questions which need to be considered in the interpretation of these data.

**Democratic Experience in Nepal, 1990-2002: What went wrong, what worked and what should be done?**

Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University

During Nepal's democratic experience from 1990-2002 some sectors worked whereas there were failures in others. The paper will argue that one major common thread that ties the success and failure cases is the distribution of power (or the lack of it) and accountability mechanisms (or its absence). Central governance saw crisis of governance (corruption, rapid government changes, growing insurgency etc.) because of excessive power centralization in the executive with very weak accountability mechanisms whereas the media, social justice movements, community forestry etc. developed because power devolution provided space for them to perform. Based on the Nepali experience and theories of democracy, the presentation will argue that for Nepal's democracy to perform better when it is restored, extensive power devolution should be carried out along with development of effective accountability mechanisms.

**Protestant Buddhism, Post-Protestant Buddhism and the "Art of Living" in Neoliberal Nepal**

Lauren Leve, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

The early and mid-twentieth century revival of Theravada Buddhism among Kathmandu Valley Newars was, in many ways, a textbook example of the transnational extension of what Obeyesekere first identified as "Protestant Buddhism" to Nepal. In recent decades, however, far-reaching political and economic transformations have brought about significant changes in Nepali Buddhists' everyday lives, and both the Theravada Sangha and the laity have responded accordingly. This paper explores the interpretive, ritual and material changes that have take place in Nepali Buddhist lives and Theravada practice, and in the ways that practitioners think about, with, and thru Buddhist concepts. I ask what is gained—and lost—when the history of Theravada in Nepal is told according to a single narrative, and to what extent the idea of a "post-Protestant" Buddhism (that stands in the same relation to Protestant Buddhism as the concept of post-modernity stands to high modernism) is helpful to understand the changing religious realities of neoliberal Nepal.

**Diasporic Communities In Moments of Crisis**

Rama Lohani Chase, Rutgers University

This paper will study the political organizing of the "Nepali diaspora" in the U.S. and the issues of "gender and difference" in diasporic politics. A longstanding civil war and the collapse of democratic institutions have produced unprecedented crisis and militarization at home. Given this context, thinking about and participating from afar in the crisis has unsettled the social relations of the diasporic community. Do the politics at home divide or bring together communities? In particular, I will address two questions: How do women and others figure in this process? What is the condition of "Nepali women" in diasporic politics? While Nepal goes through political crisis and war, women toil in multiple sites as political activists, migratory laborers, military soldiers, and revolutionary guerrillas. Are they talked about in the diaspora? If so, how? I look at the political and cultural events organized by the Nepali diaspora in the U.S. and newspaper reports and representations coming out of Nepal to explore whether the crisis, though considered productive, has actually sidelined women "at home" as political actors whose visibility remains marginal in diaspora as well.

**Institutional Design Approaches to Sustaining Civic Organizations after the Earthquake**

Anas Malik, Xavier University

The October 2005 earthquake that hit Pakistan was an enormous catastrophe: 70,000 killed, hundreds of thousands injured, and more displaced. Despite the disaster's scale, a surprising positive emerged: deaths from cold and from epidemic illness, were averted. Yet a less dramatic but ultimately bigger challenge has emerged. How does one sustain civic organizations that aim to deliver needed social services- in welfare, education, health, housing, and other sectors- when the social context includes a weak state, corruption, opaqueness, low accountability, and informal distribution and influence networks? This paper argues that the earthquake provides a critical juncture somewhat akin to reducing influence by...
powerful vested interests—what Mancur Olson called "distributional coalitions". In the aftermath, it is possible to imagine a virtuous cycle in which transparency and accountability become socially-accepted, culturally-ingrained requirements for working in the public interest. A negative outcome would be a permanent decimation in the civic capacity for self-governance. That gutted vacuum will only inspire heavy-handed, centralized control, or white-collar Mafiosi; the longer-term consequence would be a stagnant socioeconomic environment and possibly a politically restive disenfranchised population. This paper describes the resultant challenge for institutional design and possible solutions, based on post-earthquake interviews in Pakistan.

Epistemologies of Suffering and the (Re)Constitution of Self

Ernestine McHugh, University of Rochester

Attention to the "work" of cultural meaning in conditioning perception, experience, and relationship runs like a thread through the scholarship of Gananath Obeyesekere. Articulated richly in his early writings, such as Medusa's Hair, these fundamental ideas were refined and extended, brought to bear on critical debates, and politically and historically contextualized in his later books. They have influenced a generation of scholars whose research focuses on the intersection of culture and self in South Asia. As one so influenced, I wish to pursue here the ways in which individuals make sense of suffering by drawing on a variety of cultural ideologies. Focusing on Nepal, I shall explore the historical and political factors that permit the presence of a range of meaning systems and discuss how these are actualized by people confronting the pain of mortality. Examining the features of their lives and situations that cause individuals to draw on particular ideologies, I will consider the implications of these choices for the construction of self—a creation that emerges, as Obeyesekere long ago pointed out, at the interstices of social relationship, cultural possibility, and individual response.

Nodes and Networks: Travel Amenities of the Mughal Period in Northern Pakistan

Heather M.-L. Miller, University of Toronto

The construction and use of various travel amenities during the Mughal and later periods created transit networks across northern Pakistan. The use of a standardized database and geographic information system (GIS) techniques has allowed the examination of factors influencing the construction and use of amenities, including both physical features of the landscape and political boundaries and aspirations. The network of archaeologically identified travel amenities (mostly caravanserais and baolis, or step-wells) is compared with the network of amenities known from historical accounts, highlighting the perspectives provided by both sources of evidence.

Reflection On Blunt's Proposal For Islamic University In Hyderabad Of 1884

Athar Murtuza, Seton Hall University

c oauteur: Miriam Murtuza, University of Texas-Austin.

English Victorian, Wilfred Scawen Blunt according to Barbara Harlow was a "nonconformist conscience" who championed late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalist struggles, including the Arabi Uprising in Egypt and the Home Rule Movement in Ireland. While visiting India in 1883-84, Blunt proposed a plan for creating a Muslim university in the state of Hyderabad which was to serve as a intellectual and educational center for teaching Muslims progressive ideas as well as a means of bringing together the various schools of thoughts among Muslims. Blunt's proposal sought to reform Muslims' perception of their own faith as well as bring them into modern age, but it was never carried to fruition even though it was received favorably in Hyderabad. The intrigues among the advisors of the then Nizam, that according to Blunt were aided and abetted by the British civil servants, prevented the proposal from fruition. The proposal made by Blunt and its late provide an interesting perspective on the role the Imperial Britain played in actually impeding an Islamic Reformation and the education of its Muslim subjects during the Victorian Age despite its profession to the contrary.

Reclaiming "violence"? The Journey after "Playing with Fire"

Richa Nagar, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis

What happens when "violence against women" becomes a professionalized field, a ghetto isolated from other forms of violence, a discursive practice that can inadvertently produce violence? And what happens when a small collective operating on the margins of the NGO world explicitly commits itself to releasing "violence" and "empowerment" discourses from the clutches of donor-driven NGO agendas and reclaiming it for a more radical transformative agenda, while demystifying the meanings of professionalism and expertise as a basic step in this political and intellectual journey? This bilingual presentation in Hindustani and English offers some fragmented reflections from an ongoing journey of sangtins, whose engagements with these questions—primarily (but not solely)—from their location in the Sitapur District of Uttar Pradesh have resulted in at least three significant struggles: the right to claim spaces for their political critiques as legitimate intellectuals, the struggle to secure livelihoods and to remain alive in the NGO sector without isolating "violence against women" from other forms of sociopolitical violence, and the struggle to continue critical self-reflexivity on questions of casteism and communalism.
The Politics of Extremist Violence in South Asia
Deepa Ollapally, George Washington University
This paper presents a model to understand extremist violence in South Asia by considering the interaction between domestic politics and external geopolitics. In doing so, it utilizes Peter Gourevitch’s “second image reversed” approach which argues that international factors strongly condition the nature of domestic institutions, political coalitions and preferences. At the same time, these international forces are seen to be constrained by domestic circumstances, in particular, I suggest, by the state as an intervening variable. The paper takes up a number of cases from South Asia, particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir and Sri Lanka, focusing on groups that range from moderate to extremist in order to understand what tips the balance towards extremism in some cases and not in others, despite the groups holding apparently similar objectives. I argue that the extent of geopolitical intrusions and the particular response of the state significantly contribute to moderate versus extremist outcomes.

Worthy of Worship: The Work of Culture and Hindu Concepts of Person and Divinity
Steven Parish, University of California-San Diego
This paper reflects on the role of concepts of person and divinity in generating moral orientations in a Hindu city in Nepal. Starting with the observation that human persons, sometimes, and divinities, in general, are treated as worthy of worship, it examines some of the ways human persons and divine persons are identified and distinguished. The use of such identifications and distinctions in ethical discourse is explored.

State, Nation and Narration in Manjushree Thapa’s The Tutor of History
Bed Paudyal, University of Hawai‘i-Manoa
The publication in 2001 of Manjushree Thapa’s novel The Tutor of History by Penguin India was a cherished moment for lovers of Nepali Literature. It was the first book in English of a Nepali writer to be published by an international publishing house of such repute. The novel was, and still is, of great topical interest for the concerned because it captures in its imaginative form the crisis of political governance in the post-1990 Nepal. In addition to laying down the objective conditions and sedimented practices behind the political crisis, The Tutor of History constructs an alternative, “imagined” nation. In my paper, as I read both these representations, I also bring in as a locus of interruption the Maoist moment of the political equation the novel raises but dismisses by the means of parody. I do so not so as to advocate Maoism as a viable political alternative but rather as a figure that questions the implied author’s imagined nation.

The Emergence of Human Rights Discourse in Nepal’s Civil War
Dawn Peebles, Duke University
The world’s largest United Nations human rights presence is currently consolidated in Nepal, established in response to the dramatic rise in human rights abuses inflicted by Maoist and State forces. This paper will evaluate the politics of human rights activism and agenda-setting in Nepal, focusing on the development and functionality of human rights discourses originated by local NGOs and advocates, and tracing these agendas as played out on and through the international sector. Nepal human rights advocacy is emerging out of an intricate local and international genealogical framework, ranging from networks of adhoc grassroots and civil society groups, to the creation to the effective dissolution of the National Human Rights Coalition, and the evolution of the UN Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. Human rights discourses play a constitutive role in politics, history, identity and belonging in the midst of Nepal’s conflict. I will integrate field experience from working as a human rights advocate and research in Nepal, along with scholarship on human rights, social movements and transnational institutions, in order to provide a relevant analysis on efforts at preventing human rights abuses in Nepal.

Stepping into a Women’s Collective Story in Lahore
Maggie Ronkin, Georgetown University
Autobiographical narratives are sites for accomplishing self-understandings and identities through speakers’ moral evaluation or stance-taking toward states of affairs. Such displays depend on voicing that emerges from indexical patternings of discursive signs and relations of speech actions to pre-supposed social types and tensions. Extending studies of ritual processes, this presentation explicates a particular type of identity display in narration, iconic isomorphism of enactment, in which individual characters step into collective stories and may invite other participants to do the same. Specifically, I show how, in narration, Tahira, a divorced domestic worker in Lahore, draws on a repertoire of voices and social tensions in wide circulation to contrast disorder in the kinship system with a chaste, ordered religious society. This contrast is highly productive and evaluative. It shapes a regionally recognizable women’s story, in which Tahira refigures the trajectory of a poor girl’s tragic marriage into a life of virtue and redemption, and, by analogy, justifies her decision to send her own daughter, also divorced, to a madrasa. By creating parallel relational patterns within culturally coherent frames, and folding into shared stories possibilities of personal transformations, such tellings serve as resources with which speakers may project coalescing self-understandings and identities.
Integrated Land-Use History and Land-Use/Cover Change in Lamjung Nepal

Milan Shrestha, University of Georgia

Integrated land-use history is an emerging research theme within global land-cover change studies. A growing recognition is that the temporal aspects of the land-cover change studies cannot be properly addressed without considering the impact of historical events and episodes on land-use/cover change. The major challenge, however, is to frame a research method that traces and documents not only environmental history in ‘thick narratives,’ but makes gathered information consistent and directly applicable, in terms of their spatial and temporal scales, to the historically informed land-cover change studies. This paper presents a case example of the recently completed fieldwork in which a set of ethnographic methods were integrated with community survey and remote sensing applications to study the land-use/cover trajectories in Lamjung district of Nepal. Apart from discussing the theoretical basis and practical challenges of incorporating integrated land-use history in my research, it also presents local land-use history of the select area and its relationships with the community managed natural resources and the broader landcover change trajectories.

Religious Violence and the Dialectics of Muslim Identity in Nepal

Megan Adamson Sijapati, University of California-Santa Barbara

This paper will consider the relationship between religious minority identity and the experience of religious violence through an examination of the anti-Muslim violence in Kathmandu in September of 2004. How did the Muslim community come to be a target of violence, what was the nature of the violence, what were their responses to it, and how did it affect the community? These questions will be explored through a presentation and analysis of Muslim personal narratives of the experience of violence and Muslim institutional discourses in response to the violence, collected through fieldwork in the Kathmandu valley one year following the incident. I will suggest that this unprecedented incident of religious violence in Nepal is best understood in terms of the dynamics between local and translocal identities that are constantly at work in the tenuous construction, reconstruction and maintenance of Muslim religious minority identity. I will further suggest that this tragic event reified Nepali Muslims’ precarious position as a community straddled between local and translocal Islamic and Nepali frameworks and identities, and simultaneously worked to help ‘make’ the Muslim minority by compelling Muslims to define themselves and their presence in Nepal.

Nepal as the failed state: resituating the politics of framing

Seira Tamang, Center for Social Research and Development

While Nepal has been known periodically to be a “weak state, attention has now shifted with urgency to Nepal at risk of becoming a “failed state.” Conventional analyses of Nepal as a “failed state” focus on the internal dynamics of the country. However, no mention is made of the geo-political and developmental imperatives of foreign actors which shape the internal and external contours of the Nepali state.

An understanding of the dynamics of Nepal as a “failed state” necessitates historically situated analyses with attention to the role of foreign dynamics. A tracing of the aid imperatives of dominant foreign aid donors 1960-1990, plus the overall role played by foreign players since the King’s takeover in October 4, 2002, reveals the critical role that donors have played at particularly important historical moments in the creation of the present day crisis. Nepal’s potential “failure” as a state cannot be understood without paying attention to the external as well as internal vectors at play.

Life Cycle Rituals of Old Age among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley: A Preliminary Account

Alexander Von Rospatt, University of California-Berkeley

The life of the Newars, both Hindu and Buddhist, is regulated by life-cycle rituals (samskara). The focus is on the rites leading up to adulthood, starting with embryonic and birth rites, continuing with infancy, childhood and puberty rites and concluding with wedding rituals. However, in Newar practice the most elaborate life-cycle rituals tend to be old age rituals (jya jamko, in particular the first one performed when turning 77 years, 7 months and 7 days (bhimaratharohana).

This paper will present the first results of a comprehensive study of these rites that is grounded in the examination of the pertinent textual material and informed by extensive fieldwork. It will provide a short overview that addresses the differences between Hindu and Buddhist practice, probes into the historical origins of these rites and examines their function. It will be argued that, on one hand, these rituals of old age serve to prolong the life of the celebrants by revitalizing them and ensuring their good health and warding off ill fortune and death, while, on the other hand, the rituals also anticipate death and serve to prepare for the after-life.
The Articulation of Identity in Border Regions: Belonging to One or the Other- a Case Study of Identity Formation in Pakistan Administered Kashmir

Nageela Yusuf,

Pakistan administered Kashmir lies on the geographical periphery of the relatively prosperous Punjab province of Pakistan on the one side, and Indian administered Kashmir in the other. It presents an interesting case study in the articulation of nationalist identity and belonging on the borders of two regions that frequently have more attention paid to them and are subsequently regarded as more important than the region they both straddle. This case is especially interesting considering the impact of the nationalist self-determination movement across the pre-1947 state of Jammu and Kashmir vis-à-vis Pakistan administered Kashmir's political and economic dependency on Pakistan.

In this paper I intend to investigate the articulation of cultural and political identity amongst the border communities living in Pakistan administered Kashmir close to the Line of Control which divides Indian administered from Pakistan administered Kashmir. I shall do this by investigating the influence of Pakistani Punjab and the Indian administered Kashmiri culture and politics in the region. Presently there is a lacuna in academic literature relating to Pakistan administered Kashmir, such a study would help better understand the impact of the ongoing self-determination movement across the pre-1947 state of Jammu and Kashmir on these border communities.

Distribution and Nature of Gandhara Grave Culture Sites in NWFP, Pakistan

Muhammad Zahir, Govt. College Peshawa, Pakistan

This paper will present the results of recent surveys and excavations on Gandhara Grave culture sites in NWFP, Pakistan. In 2003-04 the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of NWFP, under the supervision of Prof. (Dr.) Ihsan Ali, Director, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, NWFP, Peshawar with Muhammad Zahir as a Field Director, conducted the first ever proper excavations in Chitral at the Gandharan Grave Culture site of Parwak. In 2005, the same team excavated another GCC site Singoor and recorded 9 new GCC sites in the vicinity. The excavations at Parwak and Singoor played an important role in the establishment of the cultural profile of Chitral and provide evidence for testing the theories regarding the Aryan invasions and the origin of Kalashas and Chitralis.

11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS)
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Abstracts related to Nepal, India, and Bhutan

Leh and Lhasa – comparative study of architecture and condition of two historic cities with Tibetan cultural and architectural characteristics

Alexander, André, Tibet Heritage Foundation

The early origins of Leh, capital of the former Tibetan kingdom of Ladakh, are still largely unknown. The historic centre preserved today dates to the 17th century, including the nine-storied royal palace, and clusters of residential buildings and chapels framed by remnants of rammed earth city walls and stupa gateways. The paper gives a brief overview about the urban histories of Leh and Lhasa, and compares the major types of extant residential and religious buildings. The richer houses bear strong artistic links to the noble houses of Lhasa, but after 1947 (independence of India) and 1951 the links between Lhasa and Leh were severed, ending (at least until now) more than a millennium of cultural interchange. Both cities went different paths in their economic and social development. On the basis of the strong cultural and architectural similarities, the paper compares the present condition of the historic centres, the amount of preserved historic fabric and existing conservation policies. The artistic heritage of both cities will be presented in the form of photographs, maps and survey drawings.

“Will you buy my yaks? I want to open a tea-shop in Gangtok?” The crises of roots and routes among the yak-herders of Lhonak valley of North Sikkim, India

Arora, Vibha, Independent Scholar

The analysis of the relation between roots and routes among the contemporary Tibetan (in-exile) yak herders living on the Indo-Tibetan border in North Sikkim, is guided by viewing “human location as constituted by displacement as much by stasis” (Clifford 1997:2). The land-mined areas of the Indo-Tibetan border in North Sikkim are inhabited either by the Indian army or some Tibetan yak-herders who settled here after China annexed Tibet. The paper discusses the identity of the Lhonakpa yak-herders that is constituted by their usufruct grazing rights to a route and their propitiation of the gzhi bdag at the Lhonak valley in Lachen, North Sikkim. I conducted short-term fieldwork among the Lhonakpa during June-July 2002, after getting rare permission from the government of Sikkim and the Indian army to undertake fieldwork in this ‘prohibited entry’ war zone of the Indo-Tibetan border. The Lhonakpa are not ordinary yak-herders as even the gnas yig to Sikkim elucidates their role and responsibility to propitiate the deities guarding the Northern door to sbas yul ‘Bras mo gshongs in their annual