
Volume 23

Number 2 *Himalaya; The Journal of the Association
for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*

Article 12

2003

Conference Digest

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Recommended Citation

(2003) "Conference Digest," *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*: Vol. 23: No. 2, Article 12.
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**ANHS Preconference to the 31st Conference on South Asia,
Madison, Wisconsin, October 2002**

Hindu-Kush/Afghanistan Panel:

Yesterday's Freedom Fighter, Today's Terrorist: An Analysis of the US Interaction with the Afghan Mujahideen.

GOLZAD, Zalmai, Department of Social Sciences, Harold Washington College, Chicago, IL.

Afghanistan, situated at the crossroads of the historical silk route and the current gas pipelines of Central Asia, has experienced the incursions of many military forces. British narratives of the three Anglo-Afghan wars of the 19th and 20th centuries conjured images of Afghans as "lawless fierce warriors" or "vengeful and violent primitives," and these images permeate the current discourse on Afghanistan. In the 1980s Cold War era the romantic image of "freedom fighter" was added to that of tribal warrior and garnered much economic, political, and military support during the fight against the Soviet supported government of Afghanistan. Pakistan became the conduit through which all aid was channeled. Fundamentalist Islam, known as "Wahabi'ism", became the dominant ideology of the "freedom fighters" and later was imposed on Afghanistan by the Taliban. Historically, Afghanistan did not have strong religious institutions and was not dominated by fundamentalist sects. How did the "freedom fighters" of the 1980s become the "terrorists" of today? This presentation will examine the changing western perceptions and political alliances of the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan.

Anecdotal Evidence of the Impact of 9/11 Attacks in Pakistan's Hindu Kush

BASHIR, Elena, University of Chicago

A recent return to the Hindu Kush foothills in Northern Pakistan reveals apprehension over the war in Afghanistan spreading into Pakistan, but a lack of overt antipathy toward the west. Informants displayed a low level of sympathy for Taliban and Islamic militant positions, but concern that the US war in Afghanistan would injure civilians.

Kashmir Panel:

Political Morality and Reproductive Sociality: The Exposure of Human Rights Abuses, the Refusal of Humanitarian Relief, and the Proliferation of Islamic Militant Organizations in Kashmir

ROBINSON, Cabeiri De Bergh, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University: cdr3@cornell.edu

In this paper, I examine the ways in which the conditions of long term armed conflict in Kashmir has challenged traditional forms of social and political authority in Kashmiri society. I focus on the post-1990 period of civil armed separatist conflict in the Valley of Kashmir and examine the proliferation of explicitly Islamic militant organizations in a context in which Kashmiri and Islamic political identity is constructed simultaneously in attempts to preserve and protect the domestic space and to negotiate between the imperatives of international legal/political demands and cultural notions of political morality and justice. I examine specific methods of producing social terror to argue that gendered practices of sexual torture were widely deployed by the state and socially understood in a national frame as an attack on Kashmiri domestic reproductivity. While state practices of sexual torture and rape challenge the kinship paradigms by which social authority traditionally leads to political authority in Kashmiri social organization, militant fighters reconstruct ideas of the nation and political authority in an Islamic idiom of brotherhood and martyrdom. Across transnational domains such as refugee camps, the domestic space is organized to refigure reproduction in terms of militant authority. In the refugee camps, the international legal frames of refuge and displacement intersect with Islamic notions of victimization, witness, and political agency. Camps are spatially and socially ordered around the notion of exposure, but the refusal of humanitarian relief and interventions is seen as an explicitly political decision which brings the moral and ethical project of HR and Humanitarian principles into radical doubt. This paper argues that Islamic jihadi organizations in Kashmir explicitly participate in the moral discourse which underlies International Human Rights Law and Humanitarian Law, but reject the legitimacy of an international order which focuses on state-based diplomacy and political negotiation.

Recovering the Past: Community Memories and the Possibilities of Return among Kashmiri Hindu Migrants

DUSCHINSKI, Haley, Harvard University, haley@wjh.harvard.edu

The ethnonationalist conflict in Kashmir Valley has created widespread conditions of instability for the local Kashmiri population, prompting the displacement of more than half a million people from both sides of the Line of Control between India and Pakistan. Although much academic research has focused on the political and economic dimen-

sions of this conflict, relatively little is known about the societal consequences of the violence, including the ways in which communities of survivors have attempted to reconstruct shared meanings and local moral orders in the aftermath of displacement and destruction. This paper focuses on the social experiences of one community of Kashmiri Hindu migrants currently living in temporary conditions in Delhi, India. Kashmiri Hindu migrant organizations in the urban capital have constructed politicized modes of historical discourse that seek to mobilize community identity on the basis of shared heritage and homeland. The stories told by various migrants, however, challenge and contest these dominant narratives of community history. Stories about home, characterized by the sense of violent rupture and loss, speak about the past, but they also suggest a moral orientation towards future possibilities of repatriation, recovery, and return. Through ethnographic attention to the social processes of memory construction, this paper examines the ways in which complex notions of homeland, community, and nation inform the collective experience of displacement among members of the Kashmiri Hindu migrant community.

Pakistan's Unofficial Fifth Province: The Northern Areas

FLOWERDAY, Julie, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, flowerda@email.unc.edu

As early as 1892, the Viceroy of India made it clear to Maharaja Pratab Singh, ruler of the State of Kashmir and Jammu, that he was expected to give his utmost assistance to promote the affairs of Gilgit in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India. Over the years, this position hardened. In 1905 Government confidential correspondences affirmed that tracts outside the designated area of the Gilgit Wazarat "though under the suzerainty of Kashmir [were] not Kashmir territory" and that Kashmir officials would not be allowed to interfere with the Gilgit Political Agency. By 1925, the Political and Wazarat districts were treated inclusively as 'the Agency' in these same records and were regarded as an 'outpost' of the Indian Empire held solely for strategic reasons. In 1936, when the dissolution of colonial rule was eminent, Government officials were negotiating a sixty-year lease of this Agency from the Maharaja. All this changed in 1948 with the secession of the former Agency member territories from the State of Kashmir and Jammu and the forging of an alliance by their leaders with Pakistan. Though the eastern margins of the liberated area have not been settled, development programs led by the globally based Foundation of the Aga Khan and the Pakistani-Chinese collaborative construction of the international Karakoram Highway have interiorized an unofficial fifth province in Pakistan known as the Northern Areas. This paper examines the underlying process and explores the dilemma resulting from it.

Nepal's Maoist Movement Session I: Development and the State

Discussant: Susan Hangen

The Maoist People's War and the Failure of Development in Nepal

FUJIKURA, Tatsuro, University of Chicago

It is often claimed that the failure or absence of development in rural Nepal is one of the underlying causes for the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Yet the statement is rarely elaborated further. What does the failure of development mean? How is it related to the violent mobilization in the form of the People's War? The paper will discuss both the examples of meta-discourses on the relation between the People's War and development projects found in scholarly and journalistic literatures, and the statements and actions in rural mid-western Nepal that constitute part of the People's War. In so doing, the paper will try to provide a perspective that sees the current crisis as involving a specific conjuncture between two—not completely mutually exclusive—bundles of modernist imaginaries and political rationalities: developmental and revolutionary.

"Bringing Women In": Development and the Maoist Revolution in Nepal

LEVE, Lauren, Wellesley College

Women's active participation in the Maoist insurrection in Nepal poses a critique of societal, state, and developmental practices which offers a clear window onto the globalization of liberal values and the surprising forms of conflict these may inspire in specific socio-political contexts. Building on ongoing research that focuses on international development as part of an emerging global governmental regime, this paper interrogates the relationships between the rise of women's empowerment as a mainstream international development goal and the surprising support of many Nepali women for an armed struggle that is being waged by a Maoist "People's army" against the Nepal state. Maoist women's words and actions articulate a vision of social justice that reflects ideas about participation, democracy, gender equity, and human rights that originated in state- and internationally-sponsored development discourses. Yet, in this case, these ideas have been redeployed to de-legitimize the state and its agencies. This paper explores the ironic links between community development and Maoist violence not as a consequence of leaving people out of the development process, but from the perspectives of the women who were targeted for participation.

Centralized Polity and the Growth of the Maoist Insurgency

LAWOTI, Mahendra, University of Pittsburgh

This paper looks at the relationship between the centralized Nepali polity and the growth of the Maoist insurgency. I look at the role of the unitary structure of the state, centralizing political culture, and central public policies that largely ignore the aspirations of large segments of the population. I argue that the centralized polity has alienated the people by depriving power and resources of people and communities, constraining evolution of viable local governance institutions, ignoring the problems of the periphery, and facilitating abuse of power and corruption. Alienation among the people provided the Maoists with a broad support base and space to organize without much effective local resistance. On the other hand, the lack of penetration of the state, partly as a result of the centralized polity, has handicapped the state agencies in carrying out effective counter actions against the Maoists. By analyzing political structures and culture, the paper will focus on variables that have not yet been discussed as factors related to the growth of the Maoist movement.

Nepals's Maoist Movement Session II: Ethnographic and Comparative Considerations

Discussant: Mary DesChene

Caught in the Cross-fire

PETTIGREW, Judith, University of Central Lancashire, UK

The Maoist insurgency and the government counter-insurgency has led to the death of over 3500 Nepalis and many more have been detained, threatened, disappeared or have experienced violence, witnessed violence or know someone who has experienced violence.

This presentation, which is based on current research, examines the manner in which people are inadvertently caught up in the conflict between the Maoists and the security forces. Based on the narratives of people who have been the victims of violence (directly targeted by either side, caught in cross-fire or who have been tortured) this paper considers the ways in which people's social worlds are being targeted as well as considering the strategies that people are using to recover from or resist violence. This presentation also examines the factors that influence people to seek or avoid treatment following violence. By doing so it draws attention to the fact that in the current situation care-seeking is not a neutral act but rather one that may draw unwarranted attention to the victim which may lead to a further cycle of violence and victimisation.

Towards an Ethnography of the Maoist Movement: Resistance, Memory, and Motivation

SHNEIDERMAN, Sara, Cornell University

Many analyses of the Maoist movement to date have focused on the history of political party splits at the center that led to the formation of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), but few commentators have discussed the complex dynamics of local participation which have been partly responsible for the movement's success. I argue that an ethnographic approach which examines the politics of memory and motivation in specific, local contexts will provide crucial insights towards understanding the development of the Maoist movement and its future implications. Drawing upon case studies from the Thangmi ethnic communities of Sindhupalcok and Dolakha districts in northeastern Nepal, I suggest that rather than viewing local involvement in the Maoist movement as anomalous behavior largely motivated by fear and coercion, in many cases such participation can be understood as continuous with previously existing expressions of resistance. Local memory of such resistance and the concomitant state responses to it can play a key role in motivating action within the current framework of the People's War. A preliminary discussion of some of these motivating factors demonstrates the need for a critical ethnographic analysis of the Maoist movement, which in turn suggests the necessity for certain shifts in ethnographic practice within contemporary Nepal.

Nepal's Maoists in Comparative Perspective

BOWNAS, Richard, Cornell University

In this paper I will attempt to place the Maoist uprising in Nepal in the comparative context of other 'leftist' insurgencies in South Asia, such as the Naxalite movement(s) in India. I may also include a cross-regional comparison with Peru's 'Sendero Luminoso'—a movement whose superficial resemblance to Nepal's Maoists actually brings out some of the Nepali movement's distinctive characteristics.

My aim will be to explain why the recent uprising has proved more successful (in terms of mobilizing rural populations) than other movements with similar ideologies. I will focus on three main factors in the comparison: the relative capacity/incapacity of the Nepalese state compared with other states which have encountered uprisings; the question of whether movements have mobilized on ethnic or class lines (or both); the resource base of the movements—that is to say, what have been their sources of funding and the accompanying material incentives facing the leaders of the movements (predatory or participatory).

To conclude I will ask whether we can expect Nepal's Maoist movement to follow the same trajectory as other movements, especially in terms of a trend towards increasing predation and specifically ethnic mobilization or whether the movement is unique.

31st Annual Conference on South Asia Madison, Wisconsin, October 14-16, 2002

Representing War: Colonial Accounts and the British-Pukhtun Encounter

AGHA, Sameeta, Pratt Institute

The North-West Frontier (a mountainous tribal area bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan) occupies a unique site in the history of British colonialism. Despite almost a hundred years (1849-1947) of bloody confrontations and continuous warfare, the British failed to conquer the region or subdue its inhabitants—the Pukhtuns. The British-Pukhtun encounter led to some of the hardest and biggest military campaigns fought in the history of colonial warfare. One of these wars, Malakand, later became famous due to the presence of a young subaltern named Winston Churchill, who went on to write his first book about it. Despite over a hundred military confrontations with the Pukhtuns, the British did not win this war. Because of the uniqueness of this colonial encounter we see the emergence of a peculiar colonial historiography. We see fragmented accounts with major gaps. We see an emphasis on isolated incidents, incidents which would reclaim the superiority of the British soldier. Even if this historiography is viewed as a one-sided colonial monologue, it leaves major questions unanswered and ends up employing a variant orientalist discourse. Providing a brief background into colonial historiography, this paper examines representations of the British-Pukhtun wars that emerge from official, confidential documents. If contemporary writings that were meant for the public do not tell the whole story, how did the British represent these wars to themselves? An accurate depiction would have necessitated confronting and justifying their failures on the Frontier. Based on archival and field research, this paper explores this question and in the process attempts to reveal the construction of a strange and particular discourse of colonial warfare.

City, Kingship, and Sacred Center: Goddess Taleju in Medieval Nepal

BANGDEL, Dina, Western Michigan University

As the Tantric manifestation of Durga was located in the center of the palace compound, Taleju served royal *istadevata* to the Malla kings of medieval Nepal. The dominant political goddess of the three cities of the Kathmandu Valley, Taleju was, and today remains, key to the symbolic construction of the cities as sacred mandala. Through the, symbolic re-enactments of annual festivals and Tantric pujas that focuses on her temple, Taleju embodies the centrality of Tantrism and royal power in medieval Nepal. Within

the context of Tantra as defining paradigms of kingship and sacred space, this paper will examine the iconography and ritual functions of Mul Chowk, the Tantric temple of Taleju located at the center of the royal palaces. Specifically, I will focus on visual imagery of two temple courtyards and Mul Chowks of the cities of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, both of which are restricted to non-Hindus and have not been discussed extensively in previous scholarship. Furthermore, the paper explores Taleju's relationship with two significant Tantric goddesses of the Valley, specifically Tripurasundari and Manesvari, who also served as fountainheads of kingship and state protection in medieval Nepal.

From Bandit Queen to Sadhavi: Legitimacy at the Cost of Sexuality

GHOSH, Bishnupriya, University of California, Davis

Sex had always hounded India's murdered "bandit queen": her early abuse and later resistance to sexualization (she reportedly "covered her face in shame" on viewing Shekhar Kapur's sensational film); her separation of sexuality from questions of gendered violence; and her final desire to "die a sadhavi." In context of current reconsiderations of Phoolan Devi as national icon, my paper traces the bandit queen's own political and juridical self-fashioning as a sexed subject and/or sexual object. The trajectory of Phoolan Devi's sexual performativity is regulated by her growing political legitimacy: from silent subaltern to a "speaking" subject (in biographies) and plaintiff; from an outlaw with 57 counts of murder to an icon "queen"; from middle-class married woman to politician and a seer. In an era of powerful sadhavis, the cost of her political legitimacy as citizen and leader has been the abrogation of all sexual desire: first, in shame, and then, renunciation. This presentation will be a part of a larger project on national haunting: in the coverage of her murder, reporters write evocatively of her "specter" that continues to cast lengthy shadows on the nation's treatment of lower caste women subjects.

What Price Honor? Nam and the Great Game in Asia: 1885-1905

GILBERT, Marc Jason, North Georgia College and State University

The current conflicts in Afghanistan and Kashmir have been greatly shaped by two events attending the Great Game that occurred between 1885 and 1905: the creation of the Anglo-Afghan Durand Line and the unilateral decision of the British to extend that line of control to the Pamirs

by expanding the authority of the Maharaja of Kashmir to Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar. In both cases, representations of honor drawn from the ideology of the British "Raj" and the parallel systems of authority of the Indian "Princes"—so much an element of relations between the Raj and its client states—played a crucial role in both complicating and ultimately securing these ventures. The Durand Line was accepted by Amir Abdul Rahman only after issues of what he explicitly called "nam" were resolved. The British manipulation of the Maharaja of Kashmir (which included his retirement in favor of a Council of State) in order to facilitate their Kashmiri policy was openly conducted within conceptions of honor and rank entered into by the Maharaja as well as the British government.

Iqamat-i Din vs. Ikhlas-i Niyyat: Political Islam and Islamic Politics in South Asia

GRETLEIN, Alex, New York University

The school of thought associated with the madrasah at Deoband attracts the allegiance of a significant proportion of South Asian Muslims. As the intellectual and spiritual progenitor of both the Tablighi Jama'at and the Taliban, it provides the context for significant global trends. And yet Deobandism, especially in its later stages, remains relatively unexplored. This paper tries to trace the evolution of Deobandi conceptions of Islamic politics by focusing on the Deobandi ulema's critique of Sayyid Abu al-'la Maududi and his Jama'at-i Islami. The paper analyzes published texts and speeches from three main contexts: the Independence and Pakistan movements, in which the Deobandis were divided and Maududi took a third stance; the chain of reaction unleashed from the 1960s onwards by the book *Khilafat-i Mu'awiya wa Yazid*; and the jihad movements in Afghanistan and Kashmir from the 1980s on. Through this, I hope to demonstrate the existence of a number of variations around a core politics and theory of political action centered on individual piety, traditional hierarchy, and the effects of worldly action in the afterlife - as contrasted with Maududi's system in which notions of community and the establishment of a shar'i order in this world are central.

Exclusionary Democratization: Democratic Institutions and Political Exclusion in Nepal

LAWOTI, Mahendra, University of Pittsburgh

Despite the restoration of democracy in 1990, various minority groups, who constitute a majority collectively, are still excluded from governance in Nepal. Representation of some of the groups in the Parliament and the administration has, in fact, declined compared to the pre-1990 years. This is despite an increased mobilization for equality and inclusion by minority groups. In this background, the paper analyzes the causes of exclusion of minorities in a culturally plural Nepal. I focus on the political institutions Nepal has

adopted as important causes for the exclusion of minorities, such as the Indigenous Peoples, untouchables, madhesi, and women. I will demonstrate the role of constitutional provisions, unitary structure, and electoral formula (plurality method) in the political exclusion of minorities. I will analyze the impacts of the institutions in the dismal performance of minorities in the last twelve years and compare the Nepali institutions with institutions found in established plural democracies. This study will show how some types of democratic institutions cause exclusion of cultural groups in multicultural societies. Its broader implication will be to test appropriateness of certain types of political institutions in emerging plural democracies.

Jnanadakini of Nepal: Goddess on the Move

MARSH, Natalie R., Columbus College of Art & Design and The Ohio State University

Little recognized in South Asian and Himalayan art history is the goddess Jnanadakini, who is associated with the preeminent goddess of the Nepal Valley's Chakrasamvara Tantra tradition, Vajravahni. The goddess Jnanadakini plays a key role in the transmittal of the powerful deity Matsyendranath to Nepal from Kamarupa, the modern day Assam. Despite the constant meddling of the wife of the deity, identified as the yakshini Jnanadakini, Matsyendranath took the form of a black bee and was successfully carried to Nepal in a sealed water pot, the non-anthropomorphic form of the goddess Jnanadakini as venerated at her temple at Maipi-Ajima in Nepal. In like manner the goddess Annapurna is venerated in the form of a water pot, a *purna kalasha*, at her Patan temple, where inscription also identifies her as Jnanadakini (Jnaneshvari). Annapurna, the guardian provider of Varanasi was brought to Nepal from this important North Indian religious center, where she had been established after transferal from Kamarupa (where she is known as Kamakhya). It is this triangulation of transmittal between Assam, Varanasi, and Nepal, intimately tied to the history of the primary teachers of the Shaivite and Sahajya Buddhist traditions, that is the source of the multi-valent identities of this goddess. This active environment allows for further associations of Jnanadakini with a range of exoteric/esoteric forms of Hindu/Buddhist gods and goddesses, like Padmanarteshvara and Guhyajnanadakini. It is thus the goal of this paper to elucidate aspects of the complex soteriological genealogy and iconographies of the goddess Jnanadakini whose presence is perhaps more widespread and visible than previously realized.

Interpreting Inscriptions on Tibetan Thangkas

PAUL, Katherine Anne, University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper will provide both quantitative and qualitative studies of inscriptions on Tibetan paintings called *thangka*. There is little analytical information regarding inscriptions

on thangkas as a group, as they usually are examined primarily for their images. Information regarding the inscriptions on thangkas, if it appears at all, may be found in footnotes or appendices indexed with the painting. Most often paintings in such publications are pre-selected usually as part of a special exhibition frequently to demonstrate particular evolution of styles either temporal and/or regional. Thus the types of inscriptions that appear on these paintings are also (unwittingly) pre-selected. This presents a false impression of the quality and frequency of inscriptions that are found on thangkas. To rectify this false impression this paper will examine a broader range of thangka inscriptions by using the American Museum of Natural History's collection as a random sampling of Tibetan thangkas that were not assembled explicitly by region or artistic style. It will discuss certain types of inscriptions that are not mentioned in the existing literature and will provide new classification systems for scholars to better understand how inscriptions are used on thangkas.

Gender Relations and Development in a Weak State: the Rebuilding of Afghanistan

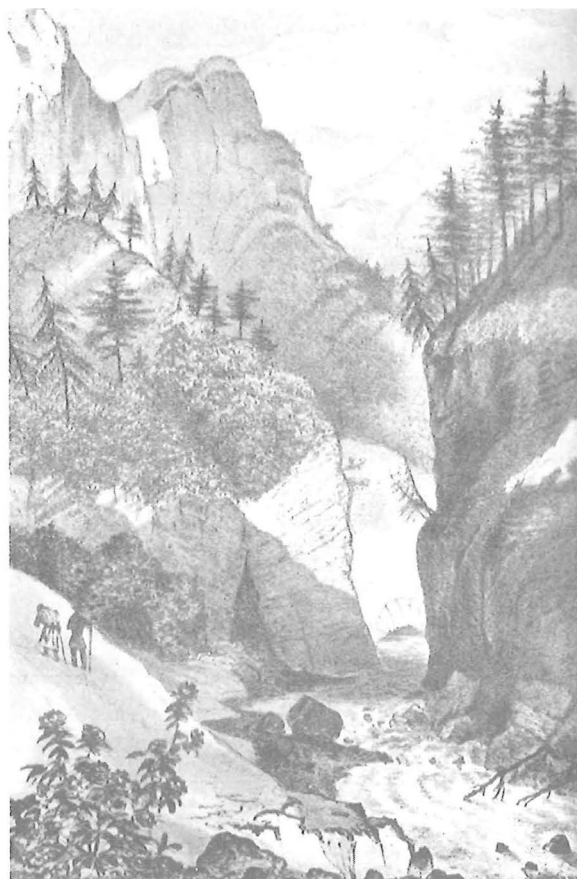
RIPHENBURG, Dr. Carol J., College of DuPage

There is growing awareness of the important role women play in the political and socioeconomic development process of their countries. This study seeks to remedy the neglect of women as subjects and participants in the development process by analyzing gender dynamics and social change in Afghanistan, the archetype of a weak state. Coming late to the ideas of nationalism and modernism, the Afghan state over the last century has been too weak to implement reforms or modernize successfully and has been constantly opposed by strong religious-tribal forces working against change or any diminution of their power. Afghanistan under the Taliban demonstrated just how bad things could get for women under an Islamist movement (sometimes called fundamentalism or political Islam). Rising to power in the context of political chaos and profound socioeconomic crisis following the withdrawal of Soviet forces, gender assumed a paramount position in the repressive policies of the Taliban. In a period of instability, efforts were made to reimpose traditional behaviors for women, seen as the transmitters of societal values, as a remedy for crisis and destabilization. Never a strong state, Afghanistan has been weakened to the point of governmental collapse and national fragmentation by over two decades of warfare. It is a prototypical weak state on the low end of the spectrum of capabilities, incapable of imposing its will on social groups. The characteristics of a weak state include limited political institutionalization and penetration in society, strong ethnic, linguistic, and/or religious divisions, and slow economic and social development. Afghan nationalism is embryonic at most, as the concepts of nation-state and national identity are foreign to much of the population. As the rebuilding of Afghanistan begins, the role of women in the process remains a vital issue.

A Sociological Study of Child Labor in Nepal (A Case Study of Domestic Children in the Urban Terai of Eastern and Central Development Regions)

SHARMA, Badri Nath, Bhaktapur Multiple Campus, Nepal

Child labor is a serious problem in Nepal. The total number of working children is estimated to be about 4.52 million with an annual growth rate of 18 percent. Research on domestic child labor in the Terai is extremely limited. The present study aims to find out the socio-economic status of domestic child labor in three municipalities located in the Terai of eastern and center development regions. Primary and secondary data sources have been extensively used. Data have been collected based on interviews and personal observations. Two case studies were also conducted. The 11-16 years age group and Tharu, Yadav, Mandal and Brahmin-ethnic groups occupy a high proportion of domestic child labor. Ram Dayal Chaudhary and Bijaya Yadav are typical examples. Poor family economic conditions had forced them to work as servants in rich people's houses, and both of them had a strong desire to go to school and enjoy childhood. Few employers sent servants to school or permitted them to work in the morning and evening hours. Providing employment opportunities to senior family members of resource poor families may reduce the tendency for child labor.



Snow beds at 13,000 ft. in the Th'lonok valley, with rhododendrons. Kinchinjunga in the distance.

Himalayan Journals, Sir J.D. Hooker

32nd Annual Conference on South Asia Madison, Wisconsin, October 24-26, 2003

Note: These abstracts are printed as they appear, with ellipses, on the University of Wisconsin - Madison Conference on South Asia website (wiscweb3.wisc.edu/southasiaconference/abstracts.html)

Mind and Mental Factors in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Scholasticism

APPLE, James, University of Alabama

Many passages in Buddhist literature state that the mind, or consciousness, is naturally luminous and its stains are adventitious. In Indo-Tibetan Buddhist thought the common theme among various contextualizations of the concept of luminous mind are understood as applicable to discourse referring to consciousness's ultimate nature and/or its liberated state. This primarily ontological and soteriological context is not usually related to the implications of "conventional" epistemological or psychological mental states, even when it is explicitly admitted that luminosity is the nature of defiled minds as well. This paper examines the typology and defining characteristics of mind and mental states according to *The Necklace of Clear Understanding: An Elucidation of the System of Mind and Mental States* (Sems dang sems byung gi tshul gsal bar ston pa blo gsal mgul rgyan), one of the best known works of the prolific Tibetan Buddhist author and teacher, Tshemchog- gling yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1713-1793). The paper discusses this text's clear and straightforward explanation of the complex system of mind (sems, Skt. citta) and mental states (sems byung, Skt. caitta).

Cosmology, Forest, and Gendered Space among the Jads in Garhwal, India

CHANNA, Subhadra Mitra, University of Delhi

The pastoral Jads are an 'ecosystem' people who do not differentiate between nature and Culture or secular and sacred. They recognize a gendered distribution of space and their life is centered on the pastoral grazing movements of the men from high to low seasonal pastures through 'forest' routes and the movements of women from high to low altitude villages. In Jad cosmology the men belong to the 'wild' of nature and women to the 'domestic'. Space is centralized in the innermost feminine space of dwellings and spreads outwards from the safe confinements of the *Ul* (village), to the *Rega* (forest) and the wilderness beyond. Sacredness is maximized in pure (sangma) forests on the highest altitudes of the Himalayas diluting to lower altitudes, culminating in the most dangerous urban 'jungle' on the plains.

Kashmir in a Nuclear Sub-Continent

CHEEMA, Faisal, Civil Service of Pakistan

The Kashmir issue came to the limelight especially after the nuclearization of South Asia. Following the nuclear explosions by India and Pakistan, there emerged two schools of thought, the pessimists and the optimists. The nuclear optimists, like Kenneth Waltz, were of the view that nuclear weapons have provided security to India and Pakistan and both countries have become cautious in their attitude towards each other. But the nuclear pessimists, like Scott Sagan, were of the view that the nuclearization implied many dangers for both countries especially in the presence of low intensity conflict, i.e. the Kashmir issue. A ray of hope was seen by the peace activists when Prime Minister Vajpayee visited Lahore. But soon this euphoria evaporated when the Kargil crisis emerged between India and Pakistan. Presently there is ongoing low intensity conflict in South Asia which can escalate to the nuclear level and be dangerous for peace and stability in the region. In my paper, I will analyze whether nuclear weapons are weapons of stability or instability so far as South Asia is concerned.

The Struggle for Land Rights and The Trafficking of Women in Jaunsar Bawar

CHILKA, Rashmi, University of Washington

Does the struggle for emancipation from traditional servitude mean liberation for both laboring men and women? This article tries to answer this question by examining the phenomenon of trafficking of women for prostitution from a small hill region of North India in the context of landlord-labor relations. Drawing on the reports of various agencies (non-governmental and governmental) and my own fieldwork in Jaunsar Bawar, I trace the history of trafficking from this area, bring out the subtle changes in the trade and show that these are reflective of the larger struggle to redefine landlord-labor relations in this region. As agrarian relations began to be based on monetary rather than caste ties, "debt" became instrumental in procuring forced labor. This meant that labor could buy their freedom by repaying their "debt". While this redefinition held out the possibility of moving away from forced agrarian servitude for the men, this was not automatically true for their women. I propose that this reconfiguration of landlord labor relations had an adverse impact on women, as many became entangled in prostitution.

India's Kashmir Policy: Thus Far and the Road Ahead

DURAI, Suba Chandran, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

This paper consists of five parts. The first part will be a critique of India's policy towards Kashmir, both internally and externally. The focus will be on whether India's policies have met the Indian objectives and served its security interests. This part will have a special emphasis on BJP and whether there has been any change in the Union government's policy towards Kashmir and towards Pakistan. The second part will focus on the ground realities in Jammu and Kashmir, based on my previous visits to Kashmir and the surveys undertaken. This part will focus on the following questions: What are the aspirations of the people in Jammu and Kashmir and to what extent have the State and Union governments met them? Have there been any considerable changes over the years inside Jammu and Kashmir? How are the 2002 elections for the State Assembly and the subsequent changes seen? The third part will focus on the hurdles towards resolving the conflict at three levels: within Jammu and Kashmir, between New Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir.

There Goes the Neighborhood: Why the Relocating of Local Buddhist Spirit Forces Matters for Tibetan Nationalism and Identity

HASKETT, Christian P., University of Wisconsin-Madison

Buddhist peoples across the Himalayas maintain relationships with a variety of nonembodied (Tib: *gzugs med*) beings; some originate in the traditional/canonical pantheon, while others are rooted in local geography, tradition and folklore. This second class of deities is often understood to live in geographic features particular to a specific region, such as the Red Rock King (*brag dmar rgyal po*) who might reside at the top of a valley, the land lords (*sa bdag*) who inhabit rocks or trees, or the demon that the village children insist lives under the bridge at the bend in the road. These deities play a role in the understanding of embodied personhood, sickness and health, religion, origin, and family; this makes the deity relationship a multivalent site for production of identity. This paper examines how Himalayan Buddhists renegotiate relationships with local spirit-forces when they leave their natal homes and implications for the formation of Tibetan nationalism and identity in refugee communities. It will present the results of original research and interviews conducted with Ladakhis, Tibetans and other Himalayans in Ladakh, Tibetan refugee settlements in Delhi and Karnataka, and in Tibetan communities in America.

Ethnicity, Forests and Deforestation in the Western Tarai Region of Nepal: A GIS Study

HECHLER, William, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Cumulative logistic regression was used to evaluate the effects of demographic and geographic variables on forest cover and deforestation in 118 Village Development Committees (VDCs) in Kailali and Kapilavastu districts of Nepal. Population density, ethnic composition, and distance to hills were statistically significant predictors of forest cover. Pre-existing forest cover, population density and distance to hills, but not ethnic composition, were statistically significant predictors of deforestation.

Forests of Memory: Development, Statehood, and Forest Fires in Uttaranchal, India

KLENK, Rebecca, University of Tennessee

After a long and sometimes volatile movement for statehood, the Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh officially became a separate state, now known as Uttaranchal, in 2000. This paper analyzes contested productions of "Uttaranchal" as a symbol, region, and locality through multiple—and often contradictory—narratives of remembrance, self, and place. It explores relationships and slippages between official discourses of state formation and personal reflections on senses of self, place, and region in the gendered narratives of rural residents and social activists. It takes as its point of departure conflicting accounts of the practice of setting fires as a forest management tactic, and examines some of the multiple modalities through which "development" and its "lack" have been implicated in the codification of a regional identity in Uttaranchal.

Consumer Propriety: Ijyat in Middle-Class Kathmandu

LIECHTY, Mark, University of Illinois

This paper considers how "ijyat"—the long-established cultural narrative of prestige, honor, and status—has emerged as one of the central organizing principles within Kathmandu's new middle class. Whereas in earlier caste society ijyat was negotiated primarily through sexual propriety, ritual orthodoxy, and fixed property, modern middleclass culture combines these earlier moral and material registers of value with the increasingly vast realm of short-lived (and therefore precarious) values associated with capitalist consumer goods. The commercialization of an ever expanding range of ritual and social functions means that the failure to generate cash now often means the failure to maintain social status and parity. As the reckonings of ijyat become more and more tied to a person's place in the market economy, this time-honored discourse of status/honor is increasingly tied to the acquisition and display of consumer goods. Indeed, by welding "modern" consumerism onto the "traditional" domain of status claims (to ritual and moral

respectability), *ijjat* has become an extremely useful tool in the larger middleclass project of distinguishing itself from its class others: the morally-degenerate elite.

Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Celibacy and Gender within Tibetan Buddhist Communities

MILLS, Martin, University of Aberdeen (Scotland)

Gender analyses of Tibetan communities throughout the Himalayan regions have been characterised by complex debates over both the status of women in general, and the role of Buddhism in constituting that position. Core to these debates has been the apparent contradiction between the apparently high position of laywomen within Tibetan agricultural and pastoral society, and the widespread economic exploitation and symbolic degradation of Buddhist nuns within monastic and lay economies. This paper draws on fieldwork within Ladakhi communities in North-West India to question the validity of highlighting celibate religious practitioners (such as nuns and monks) as somehow characteristic of broader gender relations within Buddhist religiosity. Instead, it asserts the dominance of fertility as the principal idiom of value around which the ritual exchanges of Buddhist communities is organised. Here, monastic temples are treated as sites of divine evocation, and thus as objects of ritualised devotion (*dadpa*) and economic sponsorship (*zhindak*) by laity; whilst the agricultural and labour resources of lay households (conceptualised in terms of a complex cosmology of 'wealth-holding')

Water, War, and Peace: Linkages and Scenarios—The Case of Pak-India Relations

MIRZA, Nasrullah, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This study attempts to discover the role of the "hydrostrategic" nature of the Kashmi territory in the Pakistan-India conflict and its impacts on political thinking, strategic planning, and warfare in the region. It challenges the existing viewpoints that Kashmir is an ideological and political issue alone. Rather, it argues that the genesis of the issue is rooted in its geographic location and the nature of its topography—richness in water resources. All other issues are symptoms and their politicized versions. The water supply in the Indus Basin is the real and major strategic issue and is a question of life and death for the whole of Pakistan and the farmer communities of Indian Punjab. The Indus Waters Treaty is environmentally unsustainable, as the growing water scarcity will further intensify competition over Kashmir. The thinking that sooner or later Pakistan will come back to the fold of an Indian Union or that one day all of Kashmir will be part of Pakistan is totally utopian. A give and take strategy to settle Kashmir bilaterally . . .

Grandmothers Who Live Off the Road: Singing Wisdom in Kangra

NARAYAN, Kirin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper follows old women in Kangra, Northwest India, who draw on songs in a regional dialect to conceptualize the physical changes of old age and to prepare for death. Inspired by Pauline Kolenda's commitment to fieldwork over time, her close attention to changing kinship configurations, and her insightful documentation of social change, I locate such songs within shifting sociocultural horizons. These songs rehearse physical decline, indignities within the joint family, and even bureaucratic hurdles associated with the journey from old age to "the land of no return." Sung in groups, the melody and poetry in these songs mark aesthetically and sensually charged moments of shared living—voices joined, knees touching, sipping at sweet tea. Sung alone, songs are a defiant affirmation of an aged singer's vitality and sturdy grasp of fragile collective memory. These songs—like others in dialect—are particularly associated with old women who live "off the road," away from the thundering highways bringing in new goods, practices and symbolic forms. I draw on rhetorical constructions of old Kangra women whose . . .

Religion and Region: Forging State Ideology and Social Identity in Kashmir

RAI, Mridu, Yale University

Among the hotbeds of religious politics in the world today is the Valley of Kashmir. Disputed between India and Pakistan, it contains a large majority of Muslims subject to the laws of an increasingly 'Hinduised' India. The twentieth century history of Kashmir is characterized by the formation of a regional identity, deployed in opposition to the Indian nation, but articulated in the religious mode. How did Kashmir's modern Muslim identity come into being? I argue that its origins lie in the 100-year period from 1846-1947 when Kashmir was ruled by Hindu Dogra kings under the aegis of the British. This was a collusion of governance which shaped a decisively Hindu sovereignty over a subject Muslim populace. The British guarantee of Dogra sovereignty obviated the need for the ruler to seek legitimacy through the time-honoured practice of patronage for the religious and cultural sites of his diverse subject population. This meant that Muslims, their shrines and cultural symbols suffered neglect, while the Dogras set about conjuring up the ceremonial trappings of a specifically Hindu sovereignty. . . .

Cultures of Economies: Ijyat and Socio-Spatial Change in Nepal

RANKIN, Katharine N., University of Toronto

This paper brings a discussion of the role of *ijjat* in the Nepal context to bear on debates animating Geography today about the boundaries between “economy” and “culture” and their implication for policy planning. It explores the mutual embeddedness of culture and economy through an ethnographic analysis of the interrelationships between spatial practices, economic strategies and gendered symbols of status organized through ideas about *ijjat*. The fine-grained ethnographic analysis presented here is intended specifically to challenge “best practice” approaches accompanying the recent “discoveries” within Economic Geography about the significance of culture in determining and promoting regional competitiveness and in presenting alternatives to capitalism. I have drawn particularly on the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu to reveal how *ijjat*, as a local “economics of practice,” establishes and maintains gendered ideologies, within which women also create spaces for acquiring and wielding power, enhancing material status and pursuing their chosen interests. Feminist Geography, meanwhile, contributes a spatial dimension to practice theories, important for understanding the relationship between individual consciousness, action, and social change. Throughout the paper . . .

Tales of Bhairav from Garhwal

SAX, William Bo, South Asia Institute (Heidelberg)

This paper is based on my current research on the cult of

Bhairav in the Garhwal region of Uttaranchal. In his songs and stories, Bhairav is represented as a Nath Yogi who uses his *siddhis* to defend the powerless, especially women and members of the lowest castes. I argue that these tales cannot be adequately understood apart from the social contexts and practices in which they are embedded.

Tuken on Chinese Divination in the Tibetan Tradition

ZWILLING, Leonard, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Among the attractive aspects of the personality of Tuken (Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma) as revealed in his “Crystal Mirror of Tenet Systems” is his rationalistic orientation. Tuken was not one to simply accept traditional beliefs and explanations because of their antiquity or general acceptance; he was quite capable of subjecting such traditions and beliefs to critical scrutiny, even rejecting them on rational grounds when he thought it warranted. What is of particular interest in this regard is his willingness to critique such beliefs even when they emanated from his own Gelukpa tradition. In this paper we will focus on one example of such a rationalistic critique, i.e., his examination of Tibetan views concerning the origins of Chinese divination (*nag rtsis*)—including the *Yijing* and astrology—not only as espoused by the older Tibetan schools, but also by the eminent Gelukpa polymath, the Sde Srid (Regent) Sangs rgyas rgya mthso. By doing so we hope to shed light on the bent for critical scholarship which is the hallmark of . . .

American Anthropological Association 102nd Annual Meeting, November 19-23, 2003

Thirty-five papers and poster sessions dealing with the Himalayan region, including Afghanistan, were presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in 2003. The abstracts are given below in alphabetical order by author. They have been individually numbered and indexed by subject matter below. The abstracts were produced by permission of the American Anthropological Association from the 2003 AAA Annual Meeting. They are not for sale or further reproduction.

The Violence of Numbers: Morality and Development in Modern Tibet

ADAMS, Vincanne, University of California at San Francisco

Social theorists have explored how quantification serves as an instrument of governance in the modern state, whether tied to concerns of population size and quality or problems of

social behavior (Hacking; Bowker and Star). Biopolitics are as visible in the modern socialist states as they are in those in the free-market democratic states (Kligman; Foucault), and are nowhere more popular today than in the new global standards of “evidence-based medicine.” Socialist China has relied on such technologies as much as the agencies of the National Institutes of Health in creating institutions for civilizing and organizing citizenry. Implicit in this method is the distinctly modern assumption that morality can be severed from truth; numbers are thought to be, at least, morally neutral. Some suggest that such an assumption instantiates a violence of modernity and crisis of modern subjectivity. Exploring the effects of attempts to quantify maternal behavior, morbidity and mortality in rural Tibet highlights the problem of morality in an environment in which the numbers are never free standing but presumed to carry moral messages, in which domains that cannot be quantified serve as a primary basis for knowing truth. Their critique helps

interrogate the liberal humanist project of enlightenment, seeking what Benjamin and Taussig have referred to as re-igniting of the magical and auratic. Rather than materialist returns to the body, the visual and sensual, Tibetans would have us do this by way of a theological return to spirit and belief as ways of knowing the truth.

The Gendered Materiality of Nepali Love Letters

AHEARN, Laura M Rutgers University

When villagers in Junigau, Nepal, began writing love letters in the early 1990s, they initiated a new literacy practice that transformed their engagement in various networks of exchange—linguistic, economic, and social. Drawing on the work of New Literacy Studies scholars such as David Barton, Brian Street, and Mike Baynham, this paper explores some of these transformations, focusing in particular on how love letters as material objects present readers and writers with opportunities and risks that differ from those associated with verbal expressions of romantic love. As one correspondent noted, love letters, “even without the give and take of conversation, remain in the form of a true trace until the end of life.” Such “true traces” can help to reassure a reader of the depth of a lover’s feelings, or provide incriminating evidence of a former love affair. Women have more at stake than men, as their marital prospects may be permanently damaged if their correspondence is discovered. Another gendered aspect of the love letters concerns how they help villages embody the identities to which they aspire as “developed” (bikasi) women and men who set up neolocal households, consume goods such as fancy stationery, and become educated employees and bazaar dwellers rather than village peasants lacking formal education. In the development discourse that pervades these 200+ love letters, one can see how the correspondences both shape and are shaped by patterns of consumption, desire, and social change throughout Nepali society.

HIV and Me: A Discourse Analysis of HIV/AIDS Narratives in Nepal.

BEINE, David K, Summer Institute for Linguistics International

This paper presents the findings of a discourse analysis study conducted among person with AIDS (PWAs) in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal. Thirty texts were collected from HIV positive persons in both urban and rural settings. Besides illuminating elements of a dominant cultural model of AIDS emerging in Nepal, these narrative also express common themes of shared meanings of HIV/AIDS not held by members of the wider culture. Furthermore, the texts demonstrate a slightly different understanding of HIV/AIDS between rural and urban dwelling PWAs and between urban male and female PWAs. These common themes as well as the illness schemata that underlie these narratives are

the focus of the paper. The findings allow for cross-cultural comparison of cultural models of HIV/AIDS as well as validating the narrative analysis model for the first time cross-linguistically.

Empowerment and Social Inclusion: Policy and Practice in Nepal.

BENNET, Lynn

New thinking about poverty in development circles has embraced multidimensional definitions, and emphasized participation and empowerment as mechanisms to enable the poor to take action to help themselves. Equally important, however, is the complementary approach that seeks to bring about system-level institutional reform and policy change, opening opportunities to address inequities in access to assets and capabilities. This paper briefly discusses the context of anthropological input in formulating development institution’ policies on empowerment and social inclusion. It then looks at efforts in Nepal to put policies into practice.

The Landscaping, Life-shaping Glaciers Of Khumbu Himal.

BROWER, Barbara A, Portland State Universty

Since the Little Ice Age of 1400 to 1850, when cold-fortified glaciers blanketed the northern entryway to the Sherpa stronghold, Khumbu, glaciers have influenced the lives of residents and visitors alike. In retreat, glaciers have released an upward-expanding territory for settlement, cultivation, and yak grazing. Advancing, as in Everest’s Khumbu Ice Fall, glaciers create the most dangerous obstacles encountered by travelers, whether Tibet-bound traders and their yaks, climbers on ascent, or the Sherpa high-altitude porters who pay the ultimate price for the climber’s game. In sudden, spasmodic collapse, glacial lake outbursts (tshoserup, in Sherpa) claim lives, lands, and infrastructure, serve as reminders of the instability and risk inherent in high mountain environments, and arouse the concern and attention of glacier experts from around the world. Yet glaciers as components of the lived landscape have remained in the background, overshadowed by high peaks and the colorful and complicated lives of the Sherpas. This paper draws from three years’ field experience in Khumbu, the chronicles of visiting climbers and glaciologists, and the research and recollections of Khumbu Sherpas. I explore glaciers as geophysical, geomorphological agents in landscapes, and as phenomena influencing the imagination and understanding of the highest mountains’ residents and visitors. The accelerated transformation of the Himalayan glaciers to be expected with global warming will reshape lives and landscapes in these mountains. A closer look at the sometimes competing, sometimes complementary ways residents, climbers, and scholars make sense of glaciers may be useful preparation for that change.

Dalit Expression of Social Justice.

CAMERON, Mary M, Florida Atlantic University

Living inside the grid of caste, dalits (lower castè Hindus; untouchables) have found numerous narrative and metaphoric ways to escape its confines and express their vision of social justice. Faced with retribution by upper castes in forms ranging from verbal insult to physical violence for expressing these views and attempting to refuse the power of caste, dalits have turned to institutions outside of their cultural communities, such as NGOs and international human rights movements, for assistance and support. Their success has been marginal, as the markers of caste exist at so many levels—political, family, economic, educational, and social—and caste has proved so difficult to eliminate. The paper presents various forms of dalit expressions of social justice and discusses why the presence of caste organization makes local and national peace in Nepal so elusive.

National Minorities, Transnational Health Practices: Medicines, Modernities and Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in Tibet.

CHERTOW, Jennifer

This paper addresses power relations shaping constructions of gender and ethnicity at the site of women's bodies during childbirth and prostitution in Tibet. Based on two years of dissertation research in Tibet (2001-2003), I look at transnational, national and local level discourses surrounding childbirth and commercial sexual practices in Tibet and women's responses to these discourses. I aim to discover how bodies are constructed as gendered female along philosophical and material dimensions in the intersection of "modernity" and "tradition." Through an evaluation of state and transnational medical interventions directed toward women in the domain of childbirth and prostitution, I attempt to demonstrate the various ways in which Tibetan women are constructed as objects of desire, ethnic Otherness, pity, purity and the moral imperative to "save lives." I aim to show how women are also rendered subjects of various orders of modernity through subjection to "modern" medical technologies and techniques; biomedical epistemologies of the body, health and disease; state forces of citizenship making; and international forces of global citizenship-making through their incorporation into a network of international NGO schemes. These variegated and at times contradictory constructions of gender, selfhood, and Tibetan ethnicity call into question given categories of identity based upon "biological truths" about the body. As the site of international and governmental health campaigns, the bodies of Tibetan women become the ground upon which China's national minorities are brought into the national fold and Tibetan populations are brought into the international order of 3rd world aid.

Tibetan Pastoralists' Search for Peace, Justice and Security.

COSTELLO, Susan E., Boston University

For pastoralists whose wealth is portable and thus very much subject to theft, peace is often elusive. In this paper I will use oral accounts from my fieldwork in the Golok Tibetan area of present-day China's Qinghai Province to compare traditional (pre 1958) strategies and the modern, state-sponsored system of police force, courts and prisons. While armed conflicts over grassland are nowadays rare, smaller conflicts, such as murder or cattle theft are still common. In most cases, local Tibetans feel that these situations are best resolved with the help of local mediators rather than settled through the courts. In murder cases, for example, the victim's family usually prefers a cash restitution payment rather than incarceration or especially the death penalty which most oppose on religious grounds. In this Tibetan area, the Chinese state makes concessions to local traditions, and in some cases allows traditional methods of conflict resolution to be used. This compromise itself is likely because of the difficulty of law enforcement in this remote area. Because of the mobility of individuals and the ease of reprisal and escape, however, only settlements that are acceptable to both sides have a chance at success. The nature of compromise combined with the ethos of bravery valued by the Tibetan pastoralists, however, makes neither system, not even the combination of the two markedly successful in reducing the number of small scale conflicts. In this paper I examine both the difficulties and the advantages for these systems and their combination in this grassland setting where security is a constant concern.

From Golden Age to New Man: A Nepalese Revolutionary Movement.

DE SALES, Ann., Centre Nationale pour les Recherches Scientifique

The Nepalese Maoist revolutionary movement emerged at the beginning of the nineties following on from the replacement of the absolute monarchy that had ruled the country for over two centuries by a democratic regime. The comparative value of this case study lies in part in the recent date of the events that continue to unfold day by day and have not yet set into what will become, after the inevitable selection of the facts, the history of the movement. Questions to be addressed will include: To what extent has the majority Hindu population come to terms with new socialist ideals, propagated within a matter of years, of a society with neither caste nor sacrifice? How do ethnic minorities (35% of the population) conceive of their identities within a socialist nation? How do farmers (90% of the population) manage their daily life caught between a Maoist guerilla war heavily tinged with messianism and, on the other had, violent repression from the state that most often targets the

wrong people? Local communities are torn between nostalgia for their homeland and their more or less forced involvement in a general movement beyond the frontiers of their country. Important contributing factors are the growth of international economic migration, global communication, international political links, and proselytization by universal religions (mainly Christianity). This paper will draw on ethnographic data collected among Magars, a tribal community located in western Nepal where the guerilla leaders established their original stronghold.

Global Capitalism, Structural Adjustment, War and the Rise Of Poverty in New York City and Katmandu After 1980

DEHAVENON, Anna L.

This paper hypothesizes parallels between 1) the US Federal Reserve Bank's policies to control budget deficits and inflation after the Mid East oil embargo, 2) the IMF and World Banks structural adjustment and other free market programs designed to control the same economic trends in Nepal, and 3) increasing poverty in both cities. A cultural materialist approach is used to test the hypothesis in a comparative analysis of findings from annual research reports on the causes and conditions of hunger and homelessness in NYC (Dehavenon 1979 to 2002) with findings from the analysis of data collected in 60 low income families living in Katmandu (Dehavenon 1998 to 2003). How global capitalism contributed to poverty's rise in NYC by moving manufacturing to the US South and then to Latin America and Asia and in Katmandu by privatization and the internationalization of organized tourism is also discussed. While annual increases in defense spending, the failure to index the minimum wage and Public Assistance payments to the CPI and the failure to build subsidized housing fed the rise of US poverty, this rise in Nepal correlated with the wider spread of the Maoist insurgency. In both countries, the existing gap between rich and poor widened more as a result of these trends.

Special Subjects: The Fluid Boundaries of Kashmiri Identity.

DUSCHINSKI, Haley, Harvard University

This paper considers the fluid boundaries of Kashmiri identity within the context of contemporary nuclear nationalism on the South Asian subcontinent. In South Asia, as elsewhere, the violence of modernity has emerged along the peripheral landscapes of nation-states, in border zones that mark the dangerous outer limits of national identities. Kashmir valley is one such border zone that has been the site of violence since 1989. This paper examines from an ethnographic perspective the ways in which Kashmir Hindu migrants living in temporary conditions in New Delhi remember the past and envision the future of their com-

munity and their homeland. These stories move back and forth across the boundaries that define identity in this local world, thereby challenging the taken-for-granted conditions of the modern Indian state. Through attention to such narrative transgressions, this paper argues for the importance of ethnography in identifying local strategies of reconciliation in the aftermath of violent conflict.

Overlapping "We"-nesses: Performing an Imagined Community in Hindu Pilgrimage.

ENGELKE, Christopher R., Northern Arizona State University

While aspects of the construction of community in pilgrimage ritual are well explored in anthropological literature, their applicability to multi-caste Hindu pilgrimage has not fared well under ethnographic scrutiny. Instead, ethnographic accounts from Nepal and India point to a strengthening—rather than transcendence—of caste barriers in pilgrimage as a reaction to the ritual's anti-structural impact. This paper reexamines the issues of inter-caste relations and cross-caste identity by analyzing the recent pilgrims' event narratives of their participation in the pilgrimage to the wish-granting temple of Manakamana, Nepal. Here this paper unpacks creative indexicals, such as "we" and "our," to expose the performed construction of a new community. Additionally, due to Vedic mandates of verbatim specificity in ritual performance, this paper examines metaperformative interactions between pilgrim groups, and between pilgrims and Brahmin priests, in terms of "we"-ness in narrative and the use of metalanguage in ritual instruction, this paper demonstrates how Hindu pilgrims bring new communities into being through performance, answering question of pilgrim community inclusion on a caste by caste basis.

Contradiction in Cultural Tourism.

FOLMAR, Steven J., Wake Forest University

Nepalis embrace opposite positions comfortably in one world view, reveling in contradiction whereas Westerners strive to logically reconcile contradiction through accepting one position and rejecting its opposite. These contrasting philosophical frameworks, Western vs. Hindu/Buddhist, confront one another in a cultural tourism program offered by the Gurungs of Sirubari, Nepal. Locals deal with a number of social contradictions not recognized by the casual tourist. The tourist-host interface includes logical inconsistencies in programming centered on "traditions" that rely on lifestyle amenities that are not traditional and the promotion of a "totally unspoiled Gurung settlement" that is dependent on the entertainment of other Dalit castes, marketed as "Gurung." Internal administration of the program grapples with the rhetoric of hierarchy vs. equality and fatalism vs. self determination, contradictions that are prevalent among Nep-

alese cultures. We conducted fieldwork for 4 weeks during the summer of 2002, using observation, semi-structured interviews, demographic and economic surveys, still photography, audio-recording and videography to record information pertaining to the inner workings of the program. This poster session will present our results through use of qualitative and quantitative data analysis in the forms of written text and a brief video. The analysis will suggest that the logically consistent tourist perception of Gurung culture is dependent on 1) the tourist passively selecting logically consistent images of local culture and 2) the community's active manipulation of these images to distill contradictory elements of the local world view into ones that lack such inconsistencies and are more intellectually comfortable for foreign tourists.

Weapons of Weak States: Nepal and the Tibetan Exiles.

FRECHETTE, Ann, Hamilton College

This paper analyzes the relationship between the Tibetan exiles in Nepal, the many organizations that assist Tibetan exiles, and the Nepal government. It argues that Nepal's government officials use "weapons of the weak" to maintain state sovereignty in a context of multilateral intervention. It focuses on two events. The first involves Nepal's efforts through 1995 to return to Tibet as many as three hundred newly arrived Tibetans. Tibetans have been arriving as exiles in Nepal continuously since the 1950s. The 1995 deportations were neither the first nor the last in a series of efforts to return them. UNHCR intervention stopped them for a time, yet as the crisis passed, the deportations continued. The second involves a project intended to register all Tibetan exiles in Nepal with the Home Ministry to issue refugee identity booklets to them. The project had been discussed off and on for many years, and King Birendra's government even issued booklets to about one fourth of all Tibetans exiles in Nepal in 1974. Successor governments failed to follow up on the project until 1994, when the newly elected United Marxist-Leninist government began to issue booklets again. Again, after only one-fourth of the books were issued, the Home Ministry stopped the process. The Nepal government provided no explanation, claimed its policies had not changed, and promised the project would continue. Both events demonstrate how Nepal's officials use weapons of the weak to resist multilateral intervention and assert their sovereign status.

Opting Out For Inner Peace: Nepali Widows As Christian Converts in a Hindu Kingdom.

GALVIN, Kathey-Lee, Portland State University

Both widows and Christian converts often face social censure in Nepal. Why then would widows, already subject to likely social abuse, decide to convert to a religion that is

likely to attract even more social disapproval from wider Nepali society? For many groups in Nepal, widowhood is a negative status structured by dominant religious and cultural practices. Related expectations—such as wearing white for differing periods of time, eating "non-aggressive" foods, and observing modest behavior—are supposed to encourage inner peace in widows. The outward signs of striving for inner peace, or widow signs, however, sometimes result in negative public treatment. How do widows mitigate this status? Some widows choose to entirely opt out of these ideological structures by converting to Christianity. Only since 1991 has it been legal for Nepali citizens to convert to other religions and as more people opt out of Hinduism it is becoming an increasingly emotional and political debate. Nepali Christian converts often face a great deal of social disapproval and yet widows continue to forge new religious affiliations with this also-marginalized group. Furthermore, widows report feeling more "inner peace" even as they face more public penalties. Based on original field research, this paper explores the heart of this phenomenon through widows' explanations for their conversions to Christianity and how they describe their experiences as Nepali Christian widows.

Habitat Significance of Holocene Glacier and Periglacial Events in the Karakoram Himalaya, Inner Asia.

HEWITT, Kenneth, Wilfrid Laurier University

The Karakoram supports about 16,000 km sq. of glaciers. Settlements and activities here adapted to a land base shaped by former and present-day glaciation. Snow and glacier meltwaters are critical resources. Human activities are at risk from a variety of glacier hazards. These benefits and dangers have changed and are changing in scope with climate-related glacier changes. The paper outlines Holocene glacier changes, and especially those from the end of the Little Ice Age to the present time. Examples are provided of impacts and responses to glacier expansion and retreat, glacier surges, ice dams and their outburst floods. Periglacial events are of equal interest. Moreover, our picture of glacial, post- and periglacial events in the region has been changed by the discovery that some ubiquitous valley-floor features and deposits, formerly attributed to glaciers, are due to catastrophic landslides. Almost all villages and towns lie on features related to landslides, and many lie amid their rubble. Traditional societies have creatively adapted the specifics of a diverse and complex land base generated by, or in response to, landslides. The latter are, however, periglacial phenomena, legacies of former glaciation. They descended from slopes oversteepened by ice, then debuttressed and rendered unstable by deglaciation. The cultural landscape is one creatively adapted to glaciation and deglaciation, including periglacial features. In Carl Sauer's language this defines their "habitat significance".

When Is Migration Not Migration: Elites In Kathmandu, Nepal.

HINDMAN, Heather, University of Chicago

This paper considers a particular segment of the large population of Indians living in Kathmandu, Nepal and the language under which this particular migration is discussed. Nepal and India have long existed in ambiguous tension, at times cooperative neighbors, at other times hostile and competitive enemies. Statements that imply an unequal relationship between the two sovereign nation-states never fail to raise the ire of Nepalis. I examine how elite Indians living in Nepal as a part of business pursuits were emplotted within a number of controversies, including a petroleum trade dispute, a problematic statement by a Bollywood star and the palace massacre.

Indians are the largest population of non-nationals living in Kathmandu, but the categories under which they might be considered vary greatly. Focusing on elite migrants, this paper seeks to interrogate the more subtle distinctions of residence, citizenship and belonging that arise in this situation where borders are neither singular nor clear. I use this somewhat anomalous example of migration to interrogate the simplistic and ahistorical labels that often are deployed in debates about migration. While acknowledging the ways in which legality impinges, I propose that the language used to discuss migration continues to presume a South-North flow that is no longer the dominant form of movement across borders. In order to capture and unbundle intraregional migration, it is necessary to think about the discourse that surrounds contemporary population movement, one which allows governments to make distinctions that ultimately rest upon race and economics without making these distinctions explicit.

The Known, The Unknown, and The Transcendent In Tamang Shamanic Practice.

HOLMBERG, David H., Cornell University

Tamang shamans or bombo produce both knowledge and magical power in ritual practice yet key facets of the knowledge they produce remain enigmatic and the performative silences of shamans during ritual suggest that the relation of shamans to the unknown is a critical element in their production of esoteric knowledge and of magical power. The effectiveness of shamans resides then, on one level, in a tension between the known and the unknown. The most direct interpretation of shamanic rituals or soundings would view them as enactments – manipulations, bodily movements, and words – which reproduce a transcendent overview of known reality and “unveil” unknown, unseeable realities. Shamans enact transcendence. Although these symbolic processes may well regenerate afflicted shamans, clients, and community as active agents in the world, these very effects depend

on a transcendent and deconstructive ritual suspension which attributes the most important forms of knowledge and of power to the unknowable. These ritual suspensions are, I would argue, both reflective moments of the arbitrariness of cosmic and social orders and the ground from which shamans and their clients regenerate closure through magical, transformative power, powers that reside ultimately in human intentionality and the disguise of that intentionality. On their highest levels, shamanic soundings then may well be viewed as esoteric metalogues on knowledge and power comparable to our own.

Boundaries Of Belongingness In the Palas Valley, Pakistan.

KNUDSEN, Are J., American Ethnological Society

This paper explores the meanings of violence among the Kohistani tribesmen living in the Palas valley, a remote and inaccessible mountain valley located in District Kohistan of the North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan. The most distinctive feature of social life in Palas is the scale and ferocity of the blood feud. It is argued that the men's proneness to fight among themselves can be put down to what they perceive as a need to safeguard their “belongingness”, that is, the importance the villagers place on being “settled in the valley”. The threat to their belongingness is underlined by frequent feuds and homicide that force those who cannot protect themselves to leave the valley. In the Palas valley, it is argued, fighting should not be viewed primarily as an act of violence but rather, through its transmutation, as an act of self-preservation. Still, by adhering to the vernacular notions of manhood and masculinity, they threaten the very belonging they seek to safeguard and protect. To understand why, this paper offers a broader analysis not only of the act of fighting and migrating but the local customs and social etiquette that structure the conduct of feuds. The tension between belonging and excommunication is explored through Mary Douglas' notion “egalitarian enclaves”. In egalitarian enclaves belonging holds a special meaning because of the tendency of the enclave to shed its members. To further our understanding of the meanings of violence in Palas and other egalitarian enclaves, the paper foregrounds the cultural construction of violence.

In The People's Name: Popular Protest and Political Legitimacy In Kathmandu, Nepal.

LAKIER, Genevieve, University of Chicago

This paper examines contemporary political spectacle in Kathmandu, Nepal, in order to explore the conflicting logics and discourses of populist mobilization and economic modernization in the global periphery. What is the power of civic protest under conditions of disbelief in state beneficence? One of the distinctive features of the post-1990 democratic period in Nepal has been the visibility of popular protest on

the streets of the national capital. Protest of a spectacular nature has served as the primary means by which parliamentary as well as civil society groups express and negotiate dissent. In the course of marches, parades, sit-ins, hunger-strikes, wheel-stops and general strikes (bandhs), the public spaces of the city are colonized in order to demonstrate popular support for a wide variety of political causes. At the same time, political turbulence is increasingly blamed for democracy's failure to achieve the prosperity promised in its name, while corruption and state failure have led to a growing popular disengagement from the political realm in general. I will argue that the constitution of a visible political public in Kathmandu remains the primary method by which opposition groups, including Maoist guerrillas, can successfully contest the state. The public indexes the continuing importance of local imaginaries of citizenship to political legitimacy in Nepal. Nonetheless, the potency of the citizen as political agent disenfranchises as well as empowers, rendering city residents subject to and not only subjects of national political projects.

The Uncivil Poetics Of Reason: Textual Architectonics and Semiotic Ideology In Tibetan Buddhist Debate.

LEMPERT, Michael P., University of Pennsylvania

Habermas's bid to restore faith in the "unfinished" project of modernity, and his contributions to ethical theory that comprise his work on "discourse ethics," have rested on an account of argumentation whose poetics have been left unproblematized. Argumentation was said to be underlain by universally-distributed pragmatic presuppositions which comprise the so-called "ideal speech situation." These "procedural" or "formal" presuppositions were said to offer interactants no substantive (i.e., denotationally-explicit) normative content, yet their normativity may lie in their poetics. It is suggested that the modes of symmetry which comprise the ideal speech situation stealthily operate as an indexical-icon of the liberal-democratic principles of truth, justice and freedom that Habermas wishes to impart. With his poetics of symmetry exposed, this paper directs attention to Tibetan Buddhist debate, whose asymmetry and agonism would appear decidedly "uncivil" from a Habermasian perspective. After the Dalai Lama's exile in 1959, the Geluk sect of Tibetan Buddhism replicated its monasteries in India, and revived its debate-centered curriculum. The multi-modal architectonics of a video-recorded debate in India is examined, which includes attention to language use, kinesics, and proxemics. The challenger initially treats the inherited corpus of Buddhist doctrine as if it were a seamless inter-textual whole, and affirms the defendant's knowledge of this coherence. Once affirmed, the challenger rends this inter-textual fabric, while directing blistering claps, shouts, and taunts at the

defendant. This sea-change in the event constitutes a dynamic figuration of rationality, yet one that would remain analytically recalcitrant for those committed to a poetics of symmetry.

Identity.

LEVE, Lauren G., New School University

The language of identity is everywhere today: individuals expend endless energy claiming, cultivating and/or bemoaning the lack of it, institutions like law, government and academia increasingly assume it stands at the center of political life. Anthropologists have tended to turn to the concept as older terms like "society" and "culture" seem increasingly destabilized. My own interrogation of the term is informed by Theravada Buddhists in Nepal, who are in the complex position of having to use the idiom of identity in order to make political claims while at the same time espousing beliefs which hold that all forms of identity are actually illusions. Examining this case reveals the existence of a global "identity machine": a particular global cultural imaginary, concretized in a host of institutions, ideologies, frameworks, structures, forms of knowledge, and norms which produce not only the categories of cultural identity, but the very ontology of identity itself. Philosopher Jonathan Ree has argued that modern nationalism is based on two equally dubious assumptions: that collectivities have "identities" in the same sense that individuals do, and that individual identities are constituted by historical memory. The implication: we are whatever we think ourselves to be. I argue that this conception is not, as Ree implies, simply a philosophical mistake made by John Locke, but a direct extension of Locke's possessive individualism. One effect of the identity machine is to impose an essentially liberal (or neoliberal) ontology on any legitimate political expression, even as it claims to emancipate formally repressed forms of identity.

Taking Place: The Space Of Class In Kathmandu.

LIECHTY, Mark, University of Illinois at Chicago

This paper argues that class is an inescapably locational cultural construct and as such, that class needs to be theorized in processual, rather than objective terms. Drawing on extensive ethnographic research in Kathmandu, I describe a range of spatial practices whereby a local middle class carves out a space of cultural middleness between its local and global class others. In a host of registers—from the discursive to the material—the middle class works to locate itself (and its class others) in social space, as well as to "take place" in the city, that is, claim urban spaces for its own epistemological and economic logic. The very cultural practices of locating class (explicit discourses of "betweenness" and "middleness") in turn produce class-cultural locations, cultural spaces of class that are both conceptual and physical. Locational dis-

course and practice helps to naturalize middle class privilege by naturalizing middle class claims to the city.

Subjectivities After War: Arrested Histories and Other Pains Of Community In Exile Tibet.

MCGRANAHAN, Carole, University of Colorado

Pain in the exile Tibetan community often means one thing—the loss of Tibet. While the very existence of the exile community is directly attributable to the Chinese colonization of Tibet, the experience of exile is not so easily reduced to a single subject. Instead, the pains of exile are generated as much in place—in the refugee communities themselves—as they are built upon the sense of being out of place, i.e., not in Tibet. In this paper, I explore the relationship between suffering and subjectivity in the context of the aftermath of the Tibetan armed resistance against the People's Republic of China. As histories of the resistance were “arrested” in favor of sanitized versions of the past, soldiers' subjectivities were inflicted with a set of pains that extend beyond the loss of country. The new pains were internal, diagnosed as both chronic and hypochondriac, and for which silence and deferral were prescribed. In the context of this panel on “Suffering and Belonging,” my investigation of soldiers' subjectivities centers on three questions: (1) what other exile pains are masked by the overwhelming disciplinary and discursive focus on a singular community pain, and why?; (2) in Veena Das' sense, how might we understand the pain of belonging as a politics of knowledge?; and, (3) in the post-WWII world, and in ethnographic terms, what is—and should be—the relationship between witnessing and writing?

Statelessness and The State: Diasporic Tibetans, Bureaucracy and Identity.

MEREDITH HESS, Julia A., University of New Mexico

The Tibetan population in the United States has increased significantly over the last decade. The passage of the 1990 Immigration Act instituted the first large-scaled immigration of Tibetans from South Asia to the U.S. Tibetans in the United States are adopting U.S. citizenship, and are encouraged to do so by the exile government on the grounds that gaining a political voice in the U.S. enables Tibetans to be “ambassadors” for their lost homeland. In contrast, Tibetans in India have primarily remained stateless, foregoing the practical benefits of citizenship. This paper considers the way the transformation from stateless refugees to citizens of the United States impacts Tibetan identities. Throughout the immigration and citizenship process, state bureaucracies, including the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, have challenged the way Tibetans categorize themselves. For instance, if Tibetans were born prior to 1959 (when China formally incorporated Tibet into the PRC), their place of birth appeared on their visas as “China,” rather than Tibet. Challenges to this rule

resulted in changes to U.S. policy, however, by listing Tibetans as “stateless,” still not allowing “Tibet” as place-of-birth. The paper thus explores the intersection of identity formation and state policy. I speculate on how to illuminate the way “the state” impinges on its subjects. At the same time, I show how responses from Tibetans—not easily categorized as resistance or accommodation—both transform state policy, and simultaneously reflect changes in expressions of Tibetan identity as the diaspora expands.

Visualization Before Television: The Dramaturgy Of Emotion In Pre-war Afghanistan.

MILLS, Margaret A., Ohio State University

This paper examines visual descriptions, elements of performance such as “asides” spoken by characters, and other techniques used to depict emotional states in oral narrative performance in Persian-speaking Afghanistan in the mid-1970s, a time immediately before the introduction of television when few people had direct access to film viewing. Examples are from the performances of three adept adult storytellers, two men and one woman, who differed in age, economic status and exposure to written literature or other potential stylistic influences on verbal art techniques.

In everyday speech the general term /deq/ was regularly applied to designate a range of emotions from transient annoyance or moderate disappointment to severe, persistent depression or anger. Use of the general term to describe others' reactions or ones own served norms of discretion where self-control was a valued index of maturity and good character. The range of dramatic renditions of emotion in narrative performance was broader, employing not only pitch, cadence and pause in reported speech, but also monologue asides in which characters represented their private responses to others' actions and words. Narrators sometimes described involuntary responses (heart rate, tears) in counterpoint with characters' public self-presentation, providing a rough map of dramaturgical expectations for visual expressivity and for the unexpressed, through both mimesis and description of combinations of outward appearances and inward, physiological experiences.

Violence, Human Rights, and Political Order: The Tibetan Case.

MOUNTCASTLE, Amy L., State University of New York - Plattsburgh

The threat and use of state violence are integral parts of maintaining the established political order. What, then, are some of the dilemmas that face advocates of a peaceful resolution to the Tibet question? In this paper I explore the use of the human rights discourse by the Tibetan exile government in the context of this framework of violence. The human rights agenda, while providing a valuable counter-point to it, nevertheless remains

a part of the framework. By invoking and employing a human rights discourse Tibetans, marginalized in the established order and blocked from the main avenues of power, challenge this order and potentially advance an alternative vision. At the same time, the human rights discourse is marginalized within this order and its effect is blunted. It thereby serves as a mechanism for policing and curtailing such challenges, subsuming them to the interests of the established order. This marginalization is buttressed by critiques made by various parties, some of them friendly, that the exile government's framing of the Tibet issue obscures one or more other issues purported to be more "real" and therefore more germane to defining the Tibet question. What are the implications of this dynamic of a discourse of human rights trapped within a framework maintained by violence and sustained by seemingly benign and constructive voices, for peaceful resolution of the Tibet question as well as other conflicts and disputes?

The Militarization Of The Environment In the Himalayas.

MULDAVIN, Joshua , Sarah Lawrence College

There is an alarming recent shift in the Himalayan region away from the complex participatory strategies of community based resource management towards more top-down militarist policies and practices concerning the environment, natural resources, territory, and livelihoods for the region's peoples. This is happening in parallel to the intensified creation of the "illegal" resource user as object of control. While local resource users strive to maintain access to historical communal resources and associated territories, they are increasingly viewed by the state as secessionists or worst. The growing geopolitical role in the militarization of the environment can be seen in the multiple conflicts in the Himalayan region. Here "environmental policy," when invoked, should arouse suspicion and careful analysis given its multiple goals including resource seizure by powerful states from local communities, territorial control, and a redefinition of those who resist state policies. In some case, those formerly categorized as peasants or indigenous peoples participating in social movements, are now referred to as terrorists. An example of environmental policy that requires scrutiny is settling of pastoralists and indigenous people to increase control of their activities and movements. Another is logging bans and removal from community control of long-held resources—a return of a policy of "fortress conservation" that had previously been debunked as missing the crucial element of local participation needed for successful conservation. This paper aims to analyze these questions in the context of western China and the Himalayas, further contextualized within the larger geopolitical struggles in the region.

Captain Kingdon-Ward's Floral Optic: Affect and Perception In the Botanical Exploration Of South-west China and Tibet.

MUEGGLER, Erik, University of Michigan

At the turn of the century, British botanists discovered a "treasury of botanical wealth" in Northwest Yunnan Province and Southeast Tibet, with, in some places, greater species diversity than the Amazon rain forest. About a dozen botanical explorers mounted expeditions to the area, and several spent decades in the field, employing large numbers of locals as guides, collectors, and porters. Botanical exploration became key means through which Britons envisioned this periphery of the empire; the material practices of collecting, naming, archiving, mapping, and photographing plants flowered into comprehensive, if contradictory, visions of the place of this landscape in the British empire, the Chinese nation, and a synthetic cosmos. But the material of the scientific survey was also the flesh of love and family relations. The flower-strewn landscape was folded into internal geographies of intimacy, loneliness, bitterness, and love; the practices of walking it, archiving it, and taking possession of it for self and nation were shaped by kinship and friendship as much as scientific ambition or imperial domination. Visions of this imperial periphery produced by science inflected the intimate terrain of family relations; the landscape that inspired tenderness or gave solace for loneliness shaped scientific projects. This paper explores the perceptual and affective regime that motivated the search of one botanical explorer, Francis Kingdon-Ward, for a paradise of flowers, a landscape in which perception and affect would be perfectly attuned to each other.

Women, Ideology and Agency In the Maoist "People's War" In Nepal.

PETTIGREW, Judith, University of Central Lancashire,
SHNEIDERMAN, Sara B., Cornell University

The Maoist "People's War" which began in Nepal in February 1996 has provided the strongest challenge to the Nepali state since the restoration of democracy in 1990. The Maoist movement has compelled female and male citizens of this conservative Hindu monarchy to reconsider their relationship to oppression in its many modes. A particular feature of the movement has been its ability to engage women—as no other social movement has—at all levels of participation. The prominence of armed female Maoists has been one of the hallmarks of the movement with recent estimates suggesting that 30-40% of the approximately 10,000 Maoist combatants are women. This presentation examines the ideological and pragmatic motivations of Nepali women who are or have been active in the Maoist movement. Drawing on recent ethnographic research we address the potential for both agency and victimization within the Maoists' political agenda of gender equality. In dialogue with

the classic literature on gender in Nepal, we consider how women's lived experience of the Maoist movement may shed new light on enduring questions about gender and social structure in this region.

"The Bagmati Needs a SAARC": Environmental Control In a State Of Emergency In Kathmandu.

RADEMACHER, Anne M., Yale University

A month into a national State of Emergency, Nepal's capital city hosted the eleventh meeting of the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). In the weeks leading up to the meeting, Kathmandu witnessed a massive urban "beautification" campaign involving a new park construction, urban plantings, and squatter evictions. Hailed in popular discourse as a grand environmental success, SAARC preparations took place in the context of a newly authoritarian political climate, and were characterized by a markedly un-democratic approach to environmental management. Of interest are responses to SAARC preparations among activists and development professionals involved in urban environmental politics: many approved of the initiatives, even as they labeled them unsustainable. In the context of the Emergency, activists and development professionals often privileged the importance of shows of state strength and resolve over the long-term viability of individual environmental projects. By exploring the enthusiastic welcome SAARC preparations received, while at the same time attending to asides and caveats that expressed skepticism and dissent, I highlight the agency of social actors who, even as they opposed or doubted the ultimate environmental benefits of SAARC interventions, supported them for their power to salvage an unstable state. The calculus of tradeoffs inherent in this support is critical to understanding how actors simultaneously, and often self-consciously, created and conformed to state power expressed through environmental control.

Conflict Settlement and Mediation Among the Uzbeks Of Northeastern-Afghanistan.

RASULY-PALECZEK, Gabriele, University of Vienna

Socio-political relations in Afghanistan are often described by the predominance of violent conflicts. Yet, at the same time various forms of mediating conflicts and maintaining peace have been developed at the local and national level, often, however, standing in sharp contrast to each other. This paper will highlight strategies and institutions evoked to sustain peace and to mediate conflicts in a non-violent manner. As the latter are not isolated, but are embedded in a larger framework, the contradictions between state sponsored forms of conflict settlement and mediation and local institutions will also be analyzed. Besides studying this controversial nature of peace maintenance and conflict mediation, the impact of more recent national, regional and global

agents and interests on existing modes and institutions of conflict management will be tackled. Herein it is the easy availability of weapons and the often prevailing militant political rhetoric that have a major influence on the notions and ways of sustaining peace and mediating conflicts, often superseding old established institutions and modes of peace maintenance and conflict mediation with more violent ones. An illustrative example is today's dominance of the heavily armed Mujaheddin commander over the formerly important local religious and political leaders. My paper will also explore to what extent formerly existing modes of conflict settlement and mediation can be utilized for solving the current conflicts in Afghanistan and what role anthropologists can play in supporting peace negotiations, minimizing conflicts and sustaining peace settlements and conflict management at the local and national level.

Between Compensation and Accountability: Reparation As a State Peace-making Policy In the Kashmir Conflict.

ROBINSON, Cabeiri D., University of Washington

After state elections in Jammu and Kashmir State (India) in 2002, a new government coalition came to power on a platform of reconciliation and peace-making, promising to curtail both state military and paramilitary forces and anti-state militant insurgent groups which have been fighting in the Valley of Kashmir since 1989. The new government based its policy on a program of compensating victims and establishing voluntary defense militias. By examining the history of compensation practices in both Azad Kashmir (Pakistan) and Jammu & Kashmir State (India), I argue that compensations have extended rather than defused state and insurgent violence, and that compensation practices function to transform social suffering into a quantifiable measure of the legitimacy of organized political violence. As a government policy, compensation practices incorporate Human Rights and Humanitarian Law discourses into processes which extend domination through chaotic political violence, militarize civilian populations, and legitimate both insurgent and interstate (Indo-Pak) armed confrontation in Kashmir.

Negotiating Identity Across the Border: Comparative Concepts Of Ethnicity In Nepal and Tibet.

SHNEIDERMAN, Sara B., Cornell University

Historically, "ethnicity" has been a key concept for anthropological studies in Nepal, yet the term is rarely used in the parallel scholarly literature on Tibet. Given the shared border between the two national identities and the presence of numerous "ethnic groups" that straddle it, a closer examination of the ways in which "ethnicity" has or has not been deployed in each context by scholars, governments, and indigenous people themselves poses questions about

the construction of the ethnicity concept itself in cross-border situations. This poster session explores these broad issues through a detailed ethnographic discussion of the construction of ethnicity among the Thangmi, a Tibeto-Burman speaking ethnic group who reside primarily in the Dolakha and Sindhupalchok districts of Nepal, but who also have communities immediately across the border in Tibet. Using visual materials, particularly photographs and film, I will consider how the Thangmi, who have remained absent from most ethnographic and national discourses, represent their own cross-border position between Nepali and Tibetan/ Chinese state apparatuses, as well as between Hindu and Buddhist religious ideologies. At the same time, Tibetan attitudes towards the Thangmi, as well as other borderland groups such as the Mon pa and Lho pa, all of whom have names meaning "barbarian" or "border people" in Tibetan, offer a key insight into Tibetan notions of "otherness." Each of these complex subjective perspectives illuminates the constructed nature of ethnicity in Nepal and Tibet, and suggest new ways of reworking the concept for truly cross-border studies.

Dalit—An Ethnography Of Small Caste Knowledge In Nepal.

WEST, Mark Ralph, Northwestern University

The small castes, or sano jat, of Nepal dwell at the farthest

margins of Nepalese social and economic life. Known in the West as "Untouchables," and in South Asia as Dalit, these various minority groups and lowest castes suffer unique hardship as the most destitute in the Hindu kingdom of Nepal—a mountainous nation with a most fragile economy, and an eight-year bloody civil war. The interconnection of these factors reveals the situation of the sano jat: exclusion from public space, lower school attendance, higher proclivity for trafficking in persons, and general economic hopelessness which leads to participation in the Maoist uprising. This critical ethnographic account looks at the work of local Nepalese non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) in their role as anti-trafficking abolitionists, and as critics of the "Untouchable," position of the Nepalese Dalit. This ethnography centers on the ways subjugated knowledge is kept and transmitted by and among small castes. The Blacksmith and Tailor castes and Tamang minority of rural Eastern Nepal are the three primary Dalit groups examined. In varying sights—including Nepalese schools and local NGO and CBO members' offices and homes—both the impact of discrimination against Dalit aspirations and the efforts of reform movements are investigated. The Dalit partners represented in poster session photographs are "co-performative witnesses," and their common experience reveals the many intractable themes persisting among the Blacksmiths, Tailors, and Tamang of Nepal.

American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting Toronto, Ontario, November 23-26, 2002

Tibetan Prophetic Literature in the Notizie Istoriche of Ippolito Desideri

POMPLUN, S.J. Trent, Loyola College, Maryland

In this paper, I will trace the influence of Tibetan prophetic literature in the *Notizie Istoriche* of the Jesuit Father Ippolito Desideri, who witnessed the Dzungar invasion of 1717 and the establishment of the Manchu Protectorate in 1720. After showing how both the Padma lung-bstan and Padma bka"-thang genres influenced Desideri's interpretation of the political events that shook central Tibet in the early eighteenth century, I will offer some tentative suggestions concerning Desideri's sources of this literature and their implications for future studies on Desideri and early eighteenth-century politics in Tibet.

Rnying-ma Politics in the Seventeenth Century

DALTON, Jacob, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

It is often assumed that followers of the Rnying-ma school remained outside large-scale Tibetan politics, but the dra-

matic events of the seventeenth century paint a different picture. This paper takes as its starting point the biographical collection on the bla-ma-s of the mdo-dbang lineage by Padma "Phrin-las (1641-1717), the second throne-holder of Rdo-rje "Brag. With this collection, Padma "Phrin-las created a brand new mdo-dbang lineage, in an effort to establish his new monastery as a major institution on the Tibetan religious landscape. Padma "Phrin-las touted his new lineage over and against the two already in existence. An examination of his motivations and their historical roots reveals a Rnying-ma school deeply involved in the politics of the day. While Mongol and Tibetan armies battled on the field, another war was being waged in the parallel realm of prophecy and black magic, between the great masters of the Rnying-ma school.

Controlling Time and Space in Lhasa: The New Year and City Pilgrimage Routes under the Fifth Dalai Lama

SCHAEFFER, Kurtis R., Harvard University

Sangye Gyatso (1653-1705), the fourth and most impor-

tant Regent of the Tibetan government founded in 1642 by the Fifth Dalai, sought to assert control in various areas of public religious life. In two minor works, the *Story of the New Year's Fest* and the *Circumference and Extent of Lhasa and the Potala*, Sangye Gyatso hoped to change both the time of the New Year's Festival in Lhasa and the pilgrimage routes around Lhasa. By controlling time and space in Lhasa, so to speak, Sangye Gyatso sought to subsume public religious life in Lhasa under the growing power of the Ganden government, the Dalai Lama, and under the Potala palace, which symbolized this power. This essay will describe Sangye Gyatso's aims and set them in the context of his position as Regent.

Religious Life in a Seventeenth-Century Tibetan Monastery

CUEVAS, Bryan, Florida State University

It is not possible to comprehend the complexities of religion, politics, and social life in premodern Tibet without a thorough understanding of the nature and organization of the monastic institution. In this paper I consider the structure and principles of operation of Mindroling monastery as outlined in its first monastic constitution written in 1689 by the institution's founder, the esteemed treasure revealer Terdak Lingpa (1646-1714). My main objectives will be to demonstrate the value of Mindroling's monastic constitution as an illuminating social-historical document and to offer a few insights into the nature of religious life and polity of one of the most influential Nyingmapa monasteries in central Tibet at the dawn of Gelukpa supremacy.

Dharma Centers and Peace Rituals in Republican China (1914-1934): Tibetan Lamas Teach the First Wave of Chinese Laity

TUTTLE, Gray, Harvard University

The modern global spread of Tibetan Buddhists and their teachings started in China. Almost unknown to Western commentators on the Tibetan Buddhist encounter with modernity, so many of the familiar features of the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism (dharma centers, foreign lay adherents, public esoteric rituals) were first enacted in China from 1914-1934. The tremendous popular support for Tibetan Buddhist teachers and practices by Chinese Buddhists was probably the single-most important factor in the incorporation of Tibet in the modern Chinese imagination of the nation. This potent, though unintended, consequence of the popularity of Tibetan Buddhist rituals and practices in Republican China was not easily accomplished. The first challenge to this reception was introducing the modern conception of "Buddhism." Convincing Chinese Buddhists that Tibetan Buddhist teachings were not alien to their culture but part of a global religion called "Buddhism" helped make these teachings acceptable to the Chinese.

Renewing Religious Practice in a Tibetan Village of Post-Reformed China

ZHANG, Yinong, Cornell University

Set in a contemporary social and political background of post-reformed China this paper is focused on the changing process of Tibetan religious practice in an Amdo-Tibetan village in northwest China. I will examine two factors that are crucial in this process: first, the local Tibetan's memories about the religious legacies and rituals as well as related history; second, the triangular relationship with Chinese state power and local Muslim population, as the second largest ethnic group in this area next to the Tibetans. At the same time this changing process is also viewed as a productive process that will shed new light on such notions as ritual, religion, and identity in a new context of modernity.

Cultural Continuity and Change among Tamang Thangka Painters in the Kathmandu Valley

HEPBURN, Sharon J., Trent University

Images of the Buddha are mass-produced in Nepal. In this paper I consider how in two cases some Nepalese, who are part of greater Tibetan culture, interface with Buddha images in the markets and media of modern Nepal: first, in the workshops that produce thankgas for the tourist market, and second, as the images of the Buddha are created for film, specifically in the case of Bertolucci's *Little Buddha*. I argue that although there are clearly some cultural and social discontinuities as these Nepalis interact with the people, markets, and things of "modernity", how they interact, and how they think of those interactions, is often based in preexisting cultural logics and accompanying forms of social organization. Particular focus here is given to the belief in the power of words and images beyond their literal meaning. This paper is based on research in the Kathmandu Valley between 1990 and 1993.

Reformers vs. Traditionalists in Transnational Tibetan Buddhism

ZABLOCKI, Abraham, Cornell University

This paper examines the conflict between reformers and traditionalists in contemporary Tibetan Buddhist practice. It seeks to understand how the emergence of new global religious networks have shaped Tibetan Buddhist responses to modernity in exile. In particular, the paper explores the tension between those Tibetan Buddhists who seek to modernize the religion and those who seek to preserve it, each in response to the experience of diaspora. In examining this tension, the paper argues that these competing visions of the future of the religion are linked to very different appeals to transnational Buddhist constituents, and that the tension between satisfying the religious aspirations of both non-Tibetan converts and Tibetans themselves is

an increasingly delicate issue within transnational Tibetan Buddhism. Finally, the paper examines the ways in which some transnational Tibetan Buddhist organizations are generating hybrid solutions that blend traditionalist and reform elements, often within an explicitly modernist frame of explanation.

Locating Meaning: The Written Text as a Physical Presence in the Tibetan Buddhist World

FINNEGAN, Damchö Diana, U of Wisconsin-Madison

Along with the considerable energy devoted to understanding the verbal content of Buddhist texts, Tibetan Buddhists have focused a good deal of attention on written texts as material objects. Indeed, the tradition provides remarkably explicit instructions as to how its written texts should be approached and handled physically. Approaching the texts in the prescribed manner establishes distinctive relationships between persons and texts. The practices related to the handling of physical texts reflect and promote a particular vision of how knowledge is created, and encourage persons to orient themselves towards the source of that knowledge to learn from it, but also to gain other goods, social and material. This paper argues that in their very physicality, written texts constitute a source of power in the Tibetan Buddhist world that is rooted in complicated ways not only in the texts linguistic content, but also, and importantly, in the world around the text.

Just How Much Sanskrit Do I Need? Sakya Pandita on Buddhism in Tibetan Translation

GOLD, Jonathan C., University of Chicago

In his *Entryway Into Scholarship* (Mkhas 'jug), Sakya Pandita (Sa-pan, 1182-1251), argues that the unique context of Tibetan Buddhism, wherein the main authoritative texts are translations, requires that scholars protect the dharma against the corrosive tendencies of its recent shift in linguistic and cultural context. When Sa-pan analyzes differences between the dharma's Tibetan and Sanskrit versions he bolsters his own vision of the intellectual and promotes the development of Sanskrit literary studies in Tibet. Only interpreters familiar with the linguistic and literary conventions of India can recover the scripture's original "speech intention" (brjod "dod) and "well known" (grags pa) meaning through the Tibetan translation. Sa-pan's arguments describe a wide range of linguistic and hermeneutic difficulties facing Tibetans. This paper addresses its title question to Sa-pan's treatment of: changes in phonetics and grammatical forms; special translation terminology; translators' techniques; common mistakes in translation; and unexplained names and literary tropes.

Women, Death and Chiasmatic Complexities in gCod

SORENSEN, Michelle, Columbia University

My paper engages the thought of Ma-gCig Lab-gron (1055-1153), the female philosopher-adept who systematized gCod methodology and praxis in Tibet. The dearth of sustained critical study of her philosophy, praxis and contributions to the male-dominated Prajnaparamita commentarial tradition reinforces conventional gender constructs. gCod may be read as an investigation of epistemological and ontological descriptions of the "self," of "subjectivity," and of death as existential closure against conventional readings which are informed by fears of the female body and fears of death. Rather than being macabre and bizarre aspects of the praxis, offerings of the psycho-physical constituents enact the fundamental philosophy of gCod: recognizing and severing the habituations which threaten existential closure, or the death of being. An appreciation of the resonances of death and the body in gCod practice are aligned with limitations on the interpretations of women and erroneous reifications of binarized gender identities in Buddhism.

The Dance of Power: Blood and Possession at the Heart of the Mandala

LIDKE, Jeffrey Stephen, Bard College

Beginning with the events of the recent assassination of Nepal's King Birendra Sah Deva, this paper links bloods sacrifice to mandala-ideology in a case-specific examination of the interface of vernacular and Sanskritic traditions in Tantric contexts. Classical Sanskrit texts like the Nepala-Mahatmya link Nepalese kings with Durga Mahisamardini, the slayer of demons. This equation incorporates the widespread understanding of the Kathmandu valley as a Durgamandala, with the king at its center, surrounded and fed by a religio-cultural network predicated on blood sacrifice, particularly during the festival of Dasein. However, this ritualized mandala-network is not solely a political tool manipulated by elites, reflecting only the Sanskritically informed traditions of the kings; rather, it has also been appropriated and transformed up by Nepal's vernacular traditions, which have challenged, appropriated and engaged Nepalese kingship since its inception.

American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting Atlanta, Georgia, November 22-25, 2003

Strategies of Lineage Construction in the Sutra Empowerment Tradition

DALTON, Jacob, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

When the fifth Dalai Lama took control of Tibet in the mid-seventeenth century, he affected innumerable changes to the religious and political power structures. One way he did this was to construct new Buddhist lineages, wresting control of key ritual systems away from his enemies. An instance of this was the new Sutra Empowerment (mdo dbang) lineage he helped to create at the rNying ma monastery of Rdo rje brag. At the Dalai Lama's behest, the second throneholder of Rdo rje brag, Rigs 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641-1717) composed a massive new three volume ritual manual for the performance of the Sutra Empowerment's initiation ceremony, as well as a new collection of the biographies of the masters of the Sutra Empowerment lineage. This paper examines the strategies of lineage construction employed in these two works and what they can tell us about the functions of lineage in Tibetan society.

The Construction of Esoteric Indian Buddhist Lineages: The Case of the gSar-ma Translators

DAVIDSON, Ronald M., Fairfield University

Tibetan claims to esoteric authenticity rest, in great part, on their affirmations of an unbroken lineage from the living master back through the association between a Tibetan translator and an Indian Pandita, and stretching further on through a line of masters who extend from the revelation from the/a primordial Buddha. Such claims find little verification in the surviving Indian record. When we examine the eleventh-twelfth century translators of the tantric corpus, the manner in which such claims are presented in indigenous Tibetan documents invoke very different strategies of lineage construction when compared to lineages found in Indian esoteric systems. Moreover, eleventh century translators either themselves creatively developed lineages or were attributed them by others. Both circumstances are seen in the cases of 'Brog-mi and Mar-pa, perhaps the two most famous of the eleventh century translators.

The Role of Illness in Tibetan Historiography

GARRETT, Frances M., University of Toronto

Tibetan traditions articulate their identity in specific ways: while recognition of a distinctive doctrine is one part of this self-identification, also important is the naming of a select group of members organized genealogically. Tibetan histori-

cal literature assigns characteristics to these members, and a particular set of personal and professional characteristics serves not only to identify individuals, but also to define the group to which the individual belongs. This paper focuses on an experience used by some, but not all, Tibetan traditions to articulate group identity: the experience of illness and recovery from illness. A study of biographical sketches found in Tibetan histories indicates that certain sectarian traditions considered the experience of illness to be an important feature of an individual's life, while others did not. This evidence will suggest a further implications concerning how the borders of religion and medicine may have been defined in this period in Tibet.

The Construction of Lineages and Cosmological Narratives in Early Medieval Tibet: The rNying ma Creation of a Buddhist Vehicle Termed rDzogs chen

GERMANO, David, University of Virginia

The renaissance of Buddhist culture in Tibet during the eleventh-twelfth centuries witnessed an explosion of esoteric movements driven by new Indian traditions and expanding Tibetan traditions from the eighth century Empire. This takes place against the focus on lineal descent as the touchstone for authenticity, here transferred from clan-based models to Buddhist ones stressing the necessity of Indian origins _ a requirement that surpassed the transcendental grounding in a Buddha's voice. These ideological constraints were in tension with a radical innovativeness, which for the rNying ma involved a creation of unprecedented Buddhist vehicles termed rDzogs chen. The creation of lineages was crucial, including a new cosmogony and cosmology linking divine and human agents, and historical narratives traversing India and Tibet. I will examine the complex processes by which narratives of lineage and cosmology supported the creation of a Buddhist vehicle whose biggest secret was its thoroughly Tibetan origins.

For Guru, God, and Country: Envisioning the Resurrection of Divine Rule in Medieval Tibet

PHILLIPS, Bradford, University of Virginia

This paper presents a Tantrified royal deity cult in Tibet and the (re)visionary contributions of its key medieval perpetrator. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the powerful Tibetan empire of the Yarlung hierarchs (seventh through ninth centuries) had disintegrated, leaving behind a landscape of disparate religious communities with shifting, unstable political alliances. It was during this malaise, then, that Guru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1212-1270 C.E.)

embarked on a prophetic career under the tutelage of the ur-guru for Tibetan Buddhists, the Indian adept Padmasambhava. The task put to Chos-dbang was the constellation of a particular trinity of veneration for Guru, God, and country called bLa-rdzogs-thugs. In assessing Chos-dbang's pious reinterpretation of Imperial Tibetan history, the presentation will dwell less on the question of the "veracity" of his system's claims, and more upon assessment of its efficacy, currency, and operacy—both within its own historical context and in subsequent historical circumstances.

Tibetan Female Revenants

CUEVAS, Bryan, Florida State University

Sometime around the twelfth century Tibetans began recounting individual descriptions of the afterlife. The concern in these personal narratives was more about sins and virtues acquired in this life to be tested in the next than it was about the achievement of Buddhist enlightenment. The central protagonist in this literature is called delok, "one who has passed away and returned". These Tibetan revenants are usually ordinary laypersons, predominantly female, who die, tour the netherworld, and return to report their afterlife experiences and to convey messages from the dead about the importance of moral conduct and religious commitment. This paper demonstrates the value of the delok narratives as social-historical documents capable of providing insights into the status of women as powerful and influential religious personalities in Tibetan society. I also provide a few preliminary remarks on the nature of Tibetan popular perceptions of death and the afterlife.

Hell Hath No Fury: The Lady Tshe-ring Bkra-shis and the Death of Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas Rgya-mtsho

POMPLUN, Robert Trent, Loyola College in Maryland

Several fascinating women have played important roles in Tibetan history, culture, and politics. Among them, the Lady Tshe-ring bkra-shis, the wife of the Qoshot ruler Lhabzang Khan, played a decisive role in the politics of early-eighteenth century Tibet. Famously spurned by the regent Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, she led one of the three columns of the advancing Mongol army that defeated the regent's armies at the battle of Stod-lung, leading to his death and the ascendancy of the Qoshot in central Tibet in 1705. After outlining her life from the relevant Tibetan sources, I will offer some speculations about Tshe-ring bkra-shis' role in the death of the regent and her portrayal in subsequent Tibetan historical literature.

A Comparative Look at Himalayan Nunneries

PRUDE, Alyson, University of California at Santa Barbara

My paper will discuss the contemporary reality of Nepali Tibetan Buddhist nuns' lives in two Himalayan regions of

Nepal. Based on fieldwork carried out in 1997 and 2000-1, I will begin by describing the three nunneries in the Muktinath valley of lower Mustang. Within their historical context, I will compare the present status of the three nunneries and the impact of recent developments on the nuns and local villages. As Muktinath provides an interesting contrast to the nunnery at Debucho in Khumbu, especially in terms of its historical importance and the support its nunneries receive from the local population, I will then discuss this more recently established nunnery. I will conclude by relating my presentations to current issues surrounding women practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism, the impact of the exile community on native Tibetan Buddhist communities in Nepal, and the effects of foreign aid and globalization on these communities.

A Royal Nun in Fifteenth-Century Tibet

SCHAEFFER, Kurtis, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

The Life of Chokyi Dronma (c. 1422-1455) ranks among the most interesting hagiographies of Tibetan women known to contemporary scholarship. The work of unknown authorship thematizes difficulties encountered by women wishing to enter religious life while at the same time showing that women—or at least those from royal families—were influential actors in the religious life of fifteenth century Tibet. The daughter of rulers in the Gungthang royal line in southwest Tibet, Chokyi Dronma played an important role in the development of the Bodong tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, both as patron and practitioner. The work also offers a glimpse of patronage relationships between scholars, yogins, rulers, and ruler's daughters. The Life also takes up the controversial issue of monastic ordination and women. This paper introduces select themes in the Life.

Buddhist Women and Social Change in the Spiti Valley

TSOMO, Karma Lekshe, University of San Diego

The villages of Spiti, with a total population of 20,000, are linked by a meager network of unpaved roads and are often snowed in for more than half of the year. Spiti is the home of a flourishing Buddhist culture with a long, vibrant history, which is now part of the Indian polity. The people of Spiti embrace Buddhism's promise of universal liberation, yet patriarchal attitudes nevertheless have remained a powerful influence in both the social and religious spheres and have only recently begun to be reexamined. A major factor in this reexamination has been the establishment of two Buddhist studies programs that provide women access to systematic religious education for the first time. This paper investigates the effects of these programs on social and religious institutions, and argues that they are precipitating a major restructuring of attitudes toward women, as well as institutions.

Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting March 27-30, 2003, New York, New York

“Speaking Bitterness”: Autobiography as Alternative History in Tibet (PRC)

MAKLEY, Charlene, Reed College

The category of “history” has played an eminently constitutive and contested role in Sino-Tibetan relations since the incorporation of Tibetan regions into the People’s Republic of China in the early 1950s. In the ensuing debates over the national status of Tibet, forms of autobiography have been particularly important as historiographic genres in which truth claims about the experiences of (sometimes grossly) embodied narrators could be powerfully asserted to nationalist ends. In the light of this fraught historical context, I draw on fieldwork (1992–2002) in the Tibetan Buddhist monastery town of Labrang in SW Gansu Province to examine a corpus of autobiographies I elicited in interviews and conversations with over fifty Tibetan residents of Labrang born prior to the Chinese Communist Party’s “socialist transformation” of the region (1958–1979). During the political meetings and struggle sessions of the Maoist era, the discourse genre of “speaking bitterness” (*suku*) was the means by which Tibetans were encouraged to define themselves publicly as (modern) individuals in opposition to their oppressive pasts. Such first-person narratives can powerfully mask mediations of other agents and discourses, thus creating the appearance of an unsullied window into the past through the eyes of an (ahistorically) individual self. I argue that privately related first-person accounts appropriate the narrative forms of “speaking bitterness” genres to construct competing arrangements of selves, agencies and moralities in space and time.

“Tibet” in Postcolonial Dharamsala

SINGER, Wendy, Kenyon College

Tibetan refugees in India consider themselves a colonized people. They arrive, often through harrowing journeys, seeking freedom from, among other things, Chinese destruction of Tibetan culture. In India they create or discover a new Tibetan identity.

Most vividly in Dharamsala, the north Indian town that is the seat of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile and home of the Dalai Lama, Tibetan culture is constantly being imagined, invented, and preserved. The lure of Bollywood films and Hindi language represent new challenges. Dharamsala also draws Western spiritual seekers who provide critical economic support to Tibetans, but impress their own—sometimes orientalist—images of what Tibetans should be. Meanwhile, institutions promoting language, religion, and

art re-invent other versions of Tibetanness.

This paper examines the complex meanings of Tibetan\Chinese\Indian\Western interactions in Dharamsala that do not fit the accustomed postcolonial model. Tibetans and Indians define each other as “other.” And surely there are some hierarchical relationships between them—particularly between the Tibetan Government-in-Exile and its Indian host. But the definitions we usually impose on the “other” as opposite—superordinate/subaltern, colonizer/colonized, western/oriental—do not quite fit.

As Indian merchants in Dharamsala market tourist sites and restaurants for Westerners seeking the supposedly highly spiritualized Tibetans, they both reinforce and resist orientalist categories. Therefore, this paper, by addressing cultural interaction in Dharamsala, demonstrates experiences that push against the limits of postcolonial theory. Especially, it questions models that are embedded in the ideology of colonial relationships, which may, in fact, recall orientalist paradigms.

Tourism in Tibet: Chinese Strategies, Tibetan Tactics, and the Question of Culture

SHEPHERD, Robert, George Mason University

Questions about the benefits and costs associated with tourism are debated in a range of disciplines. However, how these questions are posed raise questions of their own. For example, what is widely referred to as the tourism “impact” on local societies often gets framed as a zero-sum proposition involving a presumed trade-off between economic benefits and cultural harm.

In this paper I will examine tourism in contemporary Tibet. Since the mid-nineties, the Chinese central government has actively encouraged the growth of a tourism industry in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. This policy has been premised on a dual strategy: to foster economic development in the T.A.R., and transform “Tibet” as a semiotic image into a depoliticized notion of “culture” and “tradition.” I will draw on fieldwork that I conducted while traveling in the region as an independent traveler and study-abroad teacher to make my argument that tourism, at least in this case, has aided, rather than damaged, local cultural institutions. I will argue that when we examine the place of tourism on the ground, the relationship between regulatory authorities, local actors, and “culture” is far more complex and ambiguous than the zero-sum argument implies. In certain situations, an increase in tourism arrivals and what appears to be a commodification of local culture may actually lead to a renewed awareness of cultural difference and a strengthen-

ing of the local. This is the case in Tibet. Through a variety of tactics both large and small, Tibetans have used tourism, both foreign and domestic, as a means of asserting their differences with Han Chinese, in part by using tourism as a platform for presenting a counter-narrative of Han-Zang historical relations.

The Lhalu Nature Reserve: Environmental Protection and Resource Management in Tibet

YEH, Emily, University of California, Berkeley

This paper discusses how changes in use and management of the Lhalu wetlands over the past five decades encapsulate a broader history of development and landscape transformation in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region. In the early part of the twentieth century, Lhalu covered dozens of square kilometers and was a habitat for abundant wildlife. Local residents managed the wetlands and used marsh grasses as fodder. In the 1960s the army drained much of the marsh in an attempt at agricultural reclamation. When the 1980s brought economic reform and urbanization, new roads and buildings encroached on the wetlands. By the early 1990s, more than half of the wetlands had been drained and built over. Loss of habitat was exacerbated by a flood control canal built around the Lhalu perimeter in 1992.

In 1999, however, the TAR government officially declared Lhalu a nature reserve. Current techniques for environmental protection focus on limiting local residents' access to the marsh grasses, even though the impact of fodder harvesting is minimal compared to the desiccation of the marsh caused by the canal. Residents have been dependent on livestock for their livelihoods since most of their farmland has been expropriated for urban construction. Thus, they are resentful of the rules and fearful of further restrictions. Current state environmentalism assumes that local people are incapable of resource management despite evidence to the contrary. It has become a form of governmentality which limits access to resources without addressing root causes of ecological harm.

Sovereign Self-Determination: China's Approach to 'Tibetan' Sovereignty During the 1980s and 1990s

CARLSON, Allen, Cornell University

This paper is comprised of a theoretically informed examination of China's stance during the 1980s and 1990s on the People's Republic's (PRC) sovereignty over Tibet. It begins with a re-consideration of the relationship between sovereignty and the norm of self-determination, and the manner that individual states substantiate a position on the two sets of norms. Guided by this survey, I then demonstrate that over the last twenty years Chinese elites have consistently enacted practices that seek to firmly inscribe the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) within the PRC, and did so in

an increasingly strident and confrontational manner during the 1990s.

At a fundamental level such a stance is the product of the unease in Beijing over the tenuous status of PRC authority and control over the TAR. However, I also argue that such basic considerations were intimately tied to elite reaction against the perceived rise of an expansive interpretation of the right to self-determination in the international arena during the 1990s. The depth of Chinese resistance to such a trend, and emphasis upon China's sovereign rights over Tibet, far exceeds contemporary realpolitik considerations and the post-Tiananmen push to legitimize the Chinese state through a turn to nationalist rhetoric. It can only be understood with reference to the shadow of the historical loss of the jurisdictional authority of past Chinese empires over outlying regions.

China as Empire: A Colonial Studies Perspective on Tibet

MCGRANAHAN, Carole, University of Colorado

China's fifty-year rule of Tibet may be considered a form of contemporary colonialism. Ironically initiated as Europe was in the process of de-colonizing its territories around the world, Chinese colonialism of Tibet follows some of the same logics and organizing principles of European colonialism. My interest in this paper is in tracking the similarities and differences between these colonialisms in order to learn more about empire in general and contemporary Tibet in particular. With regard to the former, Tibet presents a case of socialist colonialism, a divergence from the liberal empires that have dominated the last three centuries. With regard to the latter, our academic and diplomatic understandings of Tibet are often grounded in the post-imperial epistemologies of international politics. I suggest that a colonial studies perspective offers a new and valuable means for assessing Tibetan-Chinese relations. Drawing primarily on insights from anthropology and history, I will first provide a comparative colonial analysis of the People's Republic of China's rule in Tibet; second, I will consider how colonialism factors into the respective claims of Beijing and Dharamsala towards Tibet; and third, I will present research findings on Tibetan responses to Chinese rule.

The Adi Prajna Guhyeshvari and the Beginnings of Samvara Cycle Tantra in Newar Buddhism

HUNTINGTON, John C., Ohio State University

Note: This paper is about the less publicly known Buddhist site of Puran (Ancient) Guhyeshvari and not the well-known Naya (New) Guhyeshvari in near Pashupatinath in Deo Patan.

In our recent and ongoing studies of Newar Buddhism at The Ohio State University, we have found that the Svayambhupurana's narratives of the emergence of Chakrasamvara

enlightenment methodologies have been reified in a very strict interpretation. Contained within it is the story of the first teaching of the Tantra to Manjudeva by Guhyeshvari and his subsequent teaching of the practice to Prachandadeva of Gaur, who upon receiving initiation (diksha) became known as Shantikar Acharya, the founder of the Vajracharya lineage of Chakrasamvara teachings in Newar Buddhism. The incorporation of Guhyeshvari into Buddhism, and her role in Newar Buddhism is little understood and there are several aspects to her role. First, as Adi Prajna, she generates Vajravarahi and the Yoginis of the Chakrasamvara mandala. She indirectly, via Vajravarahi, also generates all of the Budhaprajnas, who appear as the female Armor deities of the generations stage meditation; she is the goddess Varuni, who is the goddess of the five alcohols (who is the topic of Dr. Bangdel's presentation); and she appears as one of the five Yoginis of Vajravarahi's completion cycle mandala in the Nepal Valley. In summary, she is the underlying fundamental "source" of all Tantric teachings, the pure essence of the transformative realizations of the Chakrasamvara/Vajravarahi methodology, and is the ultimate primordial goddess of the Nepal Valley religions. This presentation will be extensively illustrated with digital images.

Goddess of Purified Amrita: Varuni in the Chakrasamvara Tradition

BANGDEL, Dina, Ohio State University

It is well known in the ritual practices of the Anuttarayoga Tantras that alcohol and other spirituous substances are often used as the offerings in the skull cup. Through meditational visualizations, these symbolic substances are transformed into the nectar of transcendent insight (jnana amrita) that purifies the practitioner to effectively realize the attainments of the Tantric Buddhist path. Specifically, in the Newar Buddhism of the Kathmandu Valley, the visualization of the inner offering mandalas, using both red and white alcohol, are fundamental to the practices of the Chakrasamvara cycle. In this context, it is the goddess Varuni, referred to as Suradevi, "Goddess of Alcohol," who is contained in the inner offering and anthropo-morphically manifests the purified nectar.

Although art as well as religious historians have previously overlooked her significance, Varuni's role is central to the practices of Chakrasamvara and Vajravarahi. The aim of this paper is three-fold: one, to discuss the ritual role of Varuni within the larger Chakrasamvara cycle; two, to highlight the significance of Varuni within the Newar Buddhist tradition, in relation to other Tantric goddesses, such as Guhyeshvari, Vajravarahi, and the Caturyoginis; and third, to explore the little-known iconographic representations of Varuni in Newar Buddhist and Tibetan art. In discussing Varuni specifically in relation to the practices of the Newar Buddhists, it is also my intention to bring to attention some core features of the Chakrasamvara tradition in Newar Buddhism.

Mandala of the Self: On Identity Construction in a South Asian Religious Tradition

GRAY, David B., Rice University

Tantric traditions have appeared anomalous through a variety of different criteria, and have typically been ignored or dismissed by religious and social historians, despite the fact that they have played a very important role in the development of both Buddhism and Hinduism in South Asia and beyond. In this paper I will argue that a reevaluation of these traditions is necessary to further enrich our understanding of South Asian religious and social history, and deepen our awareness of the continued role of Tantric traditions in the lives of many contemporary individuals and social groups. This paper will seek to contribute to this reevaluation process by arguing that traditional attempts at the sectarian identification of Tantric practitioners is flawed and is based upon assumptions concerning self-identification that are not shared by members of these traditions. I will examine in detail the process of self-identification and self-construction encouraged in one contemporary tradition, that of the Cakrasamvara Tantra, which remains popular in Newar and Tibetan communities. Following Comaroff, I will argue that the texts of the Cakrasamvara tradition and the practices based upon them encourage a construction of self-identity based on a rather different set of assumptions than those common in the West, i.e., assumptions concerning the limits and constitution of the self. I will explore the nature of this considerably more expansive and fluid sense of self and its social and historical ramifications. Following Bourdieu, I will also attempt to show how it is constituted via a distinct routine of practices.

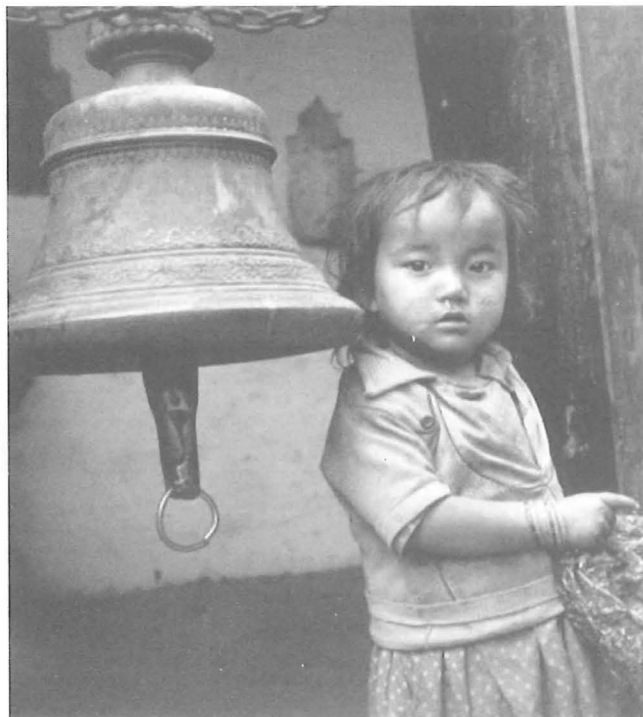


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