Abstract Book

Himalayan Studies
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101 | Beyond Documentation: Photography in the Field

Convener: Rob Linrothe, Northwestern University

This panel in two sessions features papers on critical studies of photographic practices in the Himalayas. Photography has been part of the apparatus of scholarship on the Himalayas since the mid-nineteenth century. The assumed "truth value" of photographs led to an unquestioned, self-evidentiary approach to the photograph as document, a sentiment that remains alive and well. Photography is still employed by anthropologists, geographers, art historians, artists and, well, photographers, but not always in apparently straightforward ways. Photographs, old and new, have been creatively employed by the peoples of the Himalayas in ways that merit critical attention, even as scholars are reflexively reviewing their own practices. The papers in the two linked panels include discussions of the early history of photography in particular regions, the changing patterns of the circulation and use of photographs and other visual reproduction or printing technology within the Himalayas, repeat photography as a method to investigate climate change or development, the impact of photography on art and aesthetics, unmasking the staged nature of historical photographs generally accepted for their indexical relation to "reality", photographic practice by researchers and professional photographers as a kind of intervention in and collaboration with Himalayan societies, and the effects provoked in local communities of the reintroduction of colonial photographs by outside researchers.

Session I
Chair: Rob Linrothe, *Northwestern University*
David Zurick, *Eastern Kentucky University*
Marcus Nüsser, *South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University*
Clare Harris, *University of Oxford*

Session II
Chair: Clare Harris, *University of Oxford*
Rob Linrothe, *Northwestern University*
Kevin Bubriski, *Green Mountain College*
Melissa Kerin, *Washington and Lee University*
Patrick Sutherland, *University of the Arts London*

The Purpose of Photography in Field Study

David Zurick, Eastern Kentucky University

This presentation examines how photography may be used in landscape study in the Himalaya. Examples are drawn mainly from the discipline of Geography but the various approaches discussed in the presentation regularly cross disciplinary lines. The paper proposes the term "visual ecology" to describe the common documentary practices which employ photographic methods for geographical and ethnographic study. These practices seek to capture information or to create meaning from a scene or a place through the use of visual imagery. A photograph in this case most commonly supports the theory and practice of a discipline, in effect illustrating its methods or conclusions. The presentation provides examples of the visual ecology approach based upon field study in Nepal. The supporting role played by photography in most academic field study contrasts with other methods of image-based work in which the photograph becomes the primary means of research and analysis. This approach is illustrated with examples from Bhutan and the Kathmandu Valley which utilize historical photo sets to capture landscape change and associated societal trends. Finally, the paper introduces photography as a primary or sole means of communication. Here the intention is not so much to explain a landscape phenomenon through analysis and text but rather to evoke an interpretation of it based upon a blending of intellectual and emotional responses to an image. This latter use of photography in landscape study moves the method into the realm of art and is illustrated with examples drawn from various Himalayan localities.

From Nanga Parbat to Khumbu Himal: Using Repeat Photography to Detect Glacier Changes along the Himalayan Arc

Marcus Nüsser, Heidelberg University

In recent years Himalayan glacier changes have been at the centre of the global climate change debate. These dynamic ice bodies have not only become prominent topics of scientific research but have also received international media attention as both indicators and icons of the effects of global warming. Despite their crucial importance for freshwater storage and supply, detailed monitoring of contemporary changes only exist for a limited number of these glaciers. Satellite imagery and terrestrial photography are the two principal ways of remotely detecting glacier change. In practice, many studies are solely or predominantly based on multi-temporal satellite data without adequate ground truthing. The monitoring periods covered by such datasets go back no further than the late 1960s at the earliest. Using historical photographs extends the temporal analysis from the end of the 19th century.

This study is based on panoramic photographs taken during various mountain expeditions to Nanga Parbat (1934, 1937), Langtang (1949) and Khumbu Himal (1955) and matched photographs taken between 2006 and 2012. On a Himalayan scale, the comparative analysis reveals a differentiated picture of recent glacier dynamics. Whereas the glaciers of Nanga Parbat have not changed drastically over the observation period between 1934 and 2010, some glaciers in Nepal are characterized by massive down-wasting processes and retreating ice fronts over the last decades. The results demonstrate the potential of repeat photography in assessing recent glacier dynamics, especially when complemented with satellite imagery and field surveys. However, major research challenges of this approach stem from the difficulties in accurately detecting and documenting the processes of glacier change beyond what is visible. Further, spatial extrapolations of the results from regional repeat photography studies to the Himalayan scale remains problematic.

Type-cast? Performing Tibetaness for the Camera in British India

Clare Harris, University of Oxford

The standard accounts of British photography in the Himalayas in the late nineteenth century tend to celebrate the depiction of two subjects: landscape and 'ethnic types'. These were genres perfected in the studios of some of the most distinguished photographers of the period including Samuel Bourne (and his company Bourne and Shepherd), Johnston and Hoffmann, J. Burlington Smith, and Thos. Paar. In print and postcard formats their work was hugely popular and circulated widely in the "visual economy" (Poole) of colonial India. In this paper I suggest that both the locations where these images were created – the hill stations of British India – and their indigenous residents, need closer consideration as agents in the production of British photography. I argue that while members of the Raj were crafting the illusion of home by Anglicising the mountains with British-style buildings and dressing up for Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, Tibetans, Bhutias and others were similarly required to perform but for the camera. Meanwhile Tibetan Buddhist institutions provided the backdrop for staging Tibet in British India. This paper asks: is it possible to assign agency and identity to those individuals who were otherwise reduced to 'ethnic types'? Can we overcome the preoccupation with sublime views and exotic 'others' in order to write a different kind of visual history of Himalayan hill stations as "contact zones" (Pratt) and sites of performance?

Drawing the Line: Painted Photographs in Ladakh & Zangskar

Rob Linrothe, Northwestern University

Monasteries in Ladakh and Zangskar continue to display black-and-white photographs taken in the early 20th century, and to employ them for different purposes: as foci for devotion, to document their own heritage and history, for personal remembrance of late teachers, and in new sectarian museums exploring and celebrating the past. This paper examines the deployment of older photographs into contexts which also accommodate portrait paintings and sculptures as well as the use and placement of newer photographs in reliquary shrines of the teacher depicted. It will analyze the ways in which such older photographs are treated prior to display, particularly the collage-like constructions which paste photographs into paintings, and/or paint on and around the photographs, and discuss the compositional template for teacher photographs developed in older painting and sculpture which was adapted for photography. This after-image is still alive and well in formal portraiture, even as informal "snapshots" are beginning to find a place on altars.

To the Edges and Beyond: The Framed Moment & Memory

Kevin Bubriski, Green Mountain College

Documents embody stories and histories. In photography the camera lens mediates what happens in front of the lens as well as behind it. As a photographer in Nepal for nearly forty years I am a seasoned practitioner of framing pieces of the real world and making decisive choices of what will end up on the film or digital light sensitive sensor. To speak of objective documentation would be presumptuous and also miss the entire point of how particular and also powerful the photographer is behind the camera.
The photographer makes a countless number of decisions – from when to unveil the camera, remove the lens cap, bring the camera to the eye, to which piece of natural or manmade environment or piece of human life to frame, when to release the shutter and transform an unfolding moment into a fixed document, and then ultimately, which frames (documents) to let represent the surrogate of reality, truth or information. The social location and the intent of the photographer are deeply part of the photographic process. The photograph or document can only be trusted as a story or representation of everything its creator allows or does not allow into the frame.

These are not objective documents made by satellite, aerial drone, or stationary time lapse devices, but entirely created by a number of choices which present difficult questions about representation, the power dynamic built into being the creator of documents, the issues of responsibility and the usefulness of such documents. Can photographs made by a photographer interested in form, light, composition and specifics of content be mined for data that is useful? Who are we as the viewers in relation to those whom we view in a given document, and how much can we trust these images as documents?

Decoding Devotional Photographs: Their subject matter, material, circulation, and re/uses at Tibetan Buddhist Temples in Ladakh

Melissa Kerin, Washington & Lee University

At Tibetan Buddhist temples, whether located in Tibet, India, or even in the U.S., one will immediately notice a preponderance of photographs; layers and layers of photographs large and small, old and new are incorporated within a temple's larger display of religious objects featuring teachers and tutelary deities. Many of these photographs can be grouped as icons depicting honored gurus related to the temple's specific lineage. Such photo-icons, often conspicuously displayed on thrones or temple columns, stand as the index of the absent teacher. There are, however, groups of other photographs that easily go unnoticed if one is not looking to find them placed behind a temple's bookshelf, tucked between the cracks and fissures of an altar, or slipped between the mount and glass of a framed image. Often aged and sometimes damaged, these photographic images are cut from newspaper articles and art catalogues; they come from personal collections and even travel brochures to sacred Buddhist sites. These religious photographic images are snipped and saved from the quotidian world to be later subsumed within Tibetan Buddhist shrines where they take on new purposes and sometimes altered meanings.

Through visual analysis of several Tibetan Buddhist temples in Ladakh, (Jammu and Kashmir), India, I will document the formal elements of these found photographic objects from the quotidian world of newspapers, personal photographs, brochures, and catalogues. After considering the objects' materiality, I will then turn my attention toward production practices, circulation, and reuse of these photographs. By cataloguing these objects and analyzing their placement and function within the temple environs, this paper will work toward identifying and deciphering the manifold types and complex functions of devotional photography at contemporary Tibetan Buddhist temples.

Photographing Spiti

Patrick Sutherland, University of the Arts London

I am a documentary photographer, a practitioner talking about practice. I have been photographing in Spiti, a culturally Tibetan community in north India, since 1993. I am currently revisiting and reworking this archive of photographs, writing in depth around the images, some which date back two decades, others which were produced last year. I have usually captioned these photographs with terse and neutral descriptions, but the wider context for this work is my changing understanding of a community which is itself in transition, my personal experiences of the encounters that lead to successful images, my role as a photographer employing different visual strategies, from reportage through photo elicitation to collaborative formal portraiture, my obsession with this place evidenced through repeated fieldtrips as well as my position as a privileged outsider. Many of the images I have made are of people who I have met on numerous different occasions and in different contexts. The images that I have produced consequently act as powerful triggers to my thoughts and recollections, often evoking layer upon layer of memory and experience. In practical terms this means that each time I exhibit, publish or talk about this work, I find that I rework the descriptions accompanying the images. What I am currently undertaking is a process of recording and writing up these thoughts, memories and experiences, a self-reflexive description of Spiti.

For the conference I will deliver a series of readings around the contextually richer images from my Spiti archive, a presentation that aims to reveal my personal experience of photographic practice, of evolving and complex documentary photography projects, of community responses to the visual work as well as my relationship with individuals and groups in Spiti.

102 | Citizenship, Political Subjectivity, & the State

Conveners: Carole McGranahan, University of Colorado Boulder
Abraham Zablocki, Agnes Scott College

This panel addresses issues of citizenship and political subjectivity in contemporary Himalayan and Himalayan diaspora communities. Massive political change in the last century —wars, the creation of new states, the closing of long-open borders, shifts in political regimes, demands for political recognition, demands for territory, multiple refugee crises, the need for identity documents, the inability to gain such documents, and more —are not just the stuff the states, but also the realities of individuals and communities in everyday life. Despite the hardening of borders between Himalayan states in the twentieth century, we contend that ideas of citizenship and political subjectivity often extend beyond state borders, linking communities in disparate countries in new and important ways. We invite papers addressing the ways that communities engage with the state(s) in ways both expressive and formative of political subjectivities. What sort of commentary can the experiences of individual communities offer on the state of citizenship and political possibility in the contemporary Himalayas? How do ideas about political belonging cultivated in one region of the Himalayas shift upon moving to a new locale, a new state, be it in Asia or elsewhere in the world? Given what we thought we knew about 20th century political community —e.g., the received academic wisdom about the modern nation-state—what changes are we seeing in these first decades of the 21st century?

Session I
Piya Chatterjee, *University of California at Riverside*
Peter Hansen, *Worcester Polytechnic Institute*
Laura Kunreuther, *Bard College*
Carole McGranahan, *University of Colorado Boulder*

Session II
Tina Shrestha, *Cornell University*
Abraham Zablocki, *Agnes Scott College*
Discussant: Sara Shneiderman, *Yale University*

Faultlines: Feminist Reflections on Difference and Power in Dooars Tea Plantation Women's Organizing

Piya Chatterjee, University of California, Riverside

Between 1999 and 2007, a small group of tea plantation women workers and I allied together to create a small community-based organization in the Central Dooars belt of North Bengal. This effort involved a multi-ethnic/racial/caste formation that reflected the great diversities in this plantation enclave. Highly organic in nature, our work quickly reflected the tensions of status, difference and power that cleaved the plantations[1] labor lines. This paper will historically situate the internalization -- and dove-tailing --of colonizing and feudal scripts of status, especially between diverse Nepali and adivasi women whose common sense of identity as coolie- mazdoor (working class people) , and as women, became an initial spark for connection and solidarity. Yet, as our work proceeded, multiple faultlines of power (including my own Bengali upper-caste identity) emerged and jeopardized this work of alliance-building and coalition. Using feminist insights on coalition-building, the paper will reflect on (especially) ethnoracial and caste tensions around capital, governance and leadership. This micro-snapshot of gendered and ethnoracial politics illuminates the daily realities and tensions of the broader ethno-racial politics in this volatile region of the eastern Himalaya.

The Everest Brawl and Political Subjectivities on Mount Everest

Peter H. Hansen, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

The "Everest brawl" of 2013 conjured images of western climbers and Sherpa guides in a violent conflict on the slopes of Mount Everest. While the incident was sometimes attributed to the commercialization of mountaineering, this presentation examines the "b rawl" as part of a broader transformation of political subjectivities, an assertion of control over the mountain by Sherpas. From this perspective, such conflicts were the consequence of political reforms and economic disparities in Nepal as well as developments among diasporic Sherpa communities and climbers in other parts of the world. This "brawl" is far from the first conflict on the mountain, but it and other recent disputes on Everest have been entangled with changing conceptions of citizenship and political subjectivity. In 2010, plans to spread the ashes of climbers or politicians on the summit of Everest were announced at almost the same time. The issue was debated in Nepal and online. After a civic association decided that no one's ashes should be placed on Everest, this decision was hailed as a victory for Sherpa values and beliefs and for indigenous rights of self-determination. This presentation examines such incidents in light of on-going reforms of political structures in Nepal and wider reconfigurations that have opened a space to re-envision forms of shared sovereignty on Mount Everest.

Sounds of Democracy: āwāj and political subjectivity

Laura Kunreuther, Bard College

During the nineteen-day curfew imposed by the King Gyanendra in April 2006, Nepalis went to the top of their roofs to bang metal plates and pots with spoons, creating a deafening noise across the city, a strategy deployed in many political protests throughout South Asia and South America. During the Maoist civil war, a Nepali performance artist staged a mournful procession in Kathmandu, with actors carrying radios that broadcast the sounds of human crying. Since the mid-1990s, FM radio programs have encouraged listeners to write or call in with personal questions or confessional narratives that FM hosts circulate among a sympathetic audience of other listeners. All of these examples, ranging from the most clearly political to the seemingly apolitical, were described to me as examples of *āwāj uthāune* or ' raising voice.' While *āwāj* and *āwāj uthāune* (raising voice) clearly resonate with global discourses of voice, *āwāj* also refers to material, "natural" or "non-human" noise and sounds that fall outside of discourse and are often even opposed to intentional meaning. The discourse of *āwāj* and *āwāj uthāune* asks us to take seriously the union between political metaphors of voice and the social politics of sound in understanding contemporary political subjectivity within Nepal and beyond its borders. How might we rethink the global metaphor of voice by interrogating it through the concept of *āwāj*? In this paper, I will look at three different ethnographic examples of *āwāj uthāune* that I argue are instrumental in shaping the kind of person who is thought to be a democratic subject. By focusing on the material sound that constitutes each instance of *āwāj uthāune*, I seek to explore the affective dimensions of political subjectivity and the political dimensions of sound itself.

Refugee Citizenship: Political Asylum and Tibetan Immigration from South Asia to North America

Carole McGranahan, University of Colorado Boulder

Migration across international borders presumes citizenship. It presumes passports and checkpoints, visas and the need to "go through Immigration," such that a lack of paper or process is exceptional and a mark of something gone wrong. For stateless refugees such as Tibetans, however, to *not have* papers or citizenship is the norm, thereby turning what counts as a "state of exception" on its head. As a component of their political struggle, Tibetans have categorically refused citizenship in India and Nepal, the two countries in which the refugee community has primarily resided since 1959. Since the 1960s, Tibetans have argued that to accept citizenship would compromise their political claims to Tibet. As a result, although many Tibetans qualify for citizenship in India or Nepal, as a community Tibetans reject citizenship in either country. Thus, in a world where individuals are presumed to be citizens of one state or another, Tibetans in South Asia hold only refugee citizenship under the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. In the mid-1990s, however, Tibetans began to migrate to North America with the hopes of securing American or Canadian citizenship. In addition, the Central Tibetan Administration just announced that Tibetans could now apply for citizenship from the Government of India. In this paper, I explore refugee citizenship as a component of group political identity, specifically asking how the Tibetan case comments on (1) new global forms of citizenship practices that "escape the boundaries of the formal polity" as Saskia Sassen puts it, (2) "illegality" as a historically spatialized social condition, and (3) culturally, politically, and historically specific experiences of migration to North America from South Asia.

"Making paper, selling suffering": the work of seeking asylum among Nepalis in the United States

Tina Shrestha, Cornell University

Drawing on my ethnographic research (2008, 2009-2011) among Nepali political asylum claimants and their legal representatives in New York City my paper has two major theoretical strands. In the first part, I focus on the ways in which Nepalis explain and self-reflexively critique their experiences of seeking asylum in the U.S. through the socio-cultural concepts of *kaagaz banaune* (literally, "making paper"), or legal documentation, and the work of *dukkha*, or suffering, being inseparable from socio-political dynamics, emphasizing the series of conceptual binaries –victimhood and agency, conformity and sovereignty, subjectivity and truth –that underline it. In the second part, I trace an individual claimant's case to show the type of work required of claimants engaged in the asylum process: from the initial screening interview to 2 years of asylum documentation and legal interpretation sessions at human rights agency and private law firm to the merit hearing at the Immigration courtroom. The "asylum seeker," I argue, emerges as an inclusive and powerful category in which claimants must fit their diverse, sometimes mutually incompatible, and un-interpretative narratives of suffering. The case, at the most basic level, illuminates certain convergence between a universal victim-subject and a culturally unique "asylum seeker," giving way to the production of asylum-subjectivity, whose voice, demeanor, and thought, above all, must correspond to the asylum suffering narrative appropriate in the contemporary US asylum context.

Green Books and Blue Books in the Tibetan Diaspora: Towards an Anthropology of Fictive Citizenship

Abraham Zablocki, Agnes Scott College

This paper explores the meaning of "citizenship" as a category of belonging for Tibetan exiles and their international supporters. In particular, it investigates the deployment of strategies for administering citizenship in a social context where the nation-state lacks basic elements of governmental power, such as a police force, the ability to enforce borders, or the ability to enforce the payment of taxes. The Tibetan government in exile has attempted to instill a sense of citizenship among its people through a variety of strategies, including the so-called Green Book for documenting participation in the Tibetan polity. The paper also considers the extension of this strategy of invented citizenship to the fund-raising technique of the Blue Book, whereby non-Tibetans are able to purchase a kind of fictive citizenship in the Tibetan social world. These two forms of constructed citizenship are analyzed as ways of understanding Tibetan exile efforts to build and sustain nationalist sentiment in diaspora. The paper concludes by considering what the Tibetan case reveals about citizenship more generally, both as a form of emotional belonging, and as a form of bureaucratic categorization.

103 | Communities & Agrarian Environments

Convener: Nayna Jhaveri, Independent Researcher

This panel focuses on how communities within agrarian environments in Nepal engage with emerging institutional, planning and ecological conditions. The post-conflict transition period has had profound implications for the structure of institutions and governance. The demands for equality, rights and justice now have become clearly embedded within political discourses such that governance systems are responding to the claims of new sets of marginalized groups including women, Dalits and janajatis. The configuration of local planning systems in rural areas are therefore changing with greater levels of participatory approaches resulting in new membership of public spaces. Similarly, community forestry has developed a strong legitimacy as a democratic, participatory form of natural resource governance within villages. Rather than simply working towards improving forest cover, they are now increasingly (since the 10th Five Year Plan) addressing the social dimensions by supporting pro-poor, and pro-women interventions. In addition to mixed-gender community forestry user groups, we have also seen the emergence of women-only community forestry user groups with a distinctively different experience of transparency, accountability, and effectiveness within their governance arrangements. At the national level, too, the language of "climate justice" has newly entered into climate change policy calling for rural interventions that help support those who are most vulnerable to climate change. Precisely how this is being put into action requires close attention. At the community level, we find evidence within vulnerable communities, such as in Rasuwa VDC, practicing adaptive strategies to climate change that bolster their resilience in the face of continuing lack of development programs. In the context of significant environmental transformations, the move towards organic farming and tree planting on farms has led to the rise of new wildlife activity such as the arrival of new birds and growth of slugs that in turn, have impinged on the selection of farming practices. This demonstrates how ecologically interlinked the fixed spaces of individual farms and the wider common landscapes are, with actions in one domain producing multiple ramifications at large.

Sharad Ghimire, *Martin Chautari*
Nayna Jhaveri, *Independent Researcher*

Discussant: Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Yale University*

Climate Justice in Nepal's Climate Change Policy Process

Sharad Ghimire, Martin Chautari

Nepal's climate change policy has incorporated the notion of climate justice following its popularity in global academic, activist and policy circles. In a 2010 vulnerability assessment and mapping of climate change vulnerable countries, Nepal was ranked as the world's fourth most vulnerable country next to Bangladesh, India, and Madagascar. Although usually the notion of climate justice has been interpreted with reference to the global North-South division over contributions to greenhouse gas (GHG) generation, and hence a nation's share of responsibility, in Nepal the notion's conceptual or operational aspects are still unclear, especially regarding public policy formulation and programs. Two specific national policy instruments will be analyzed in the paper, the Climate Change Policy, and the related National Adaptation Program of Action. The Government has recognized that securing peace and fighting poverty is dependent on adapting to the impacts of climate change As such, the 2011 National Climate Change Policy sets the Government's priorities and plans for ensuring development in Nepal is climate resilience. This policy document is particularly interesting because of the space it gives to such as concepts as climate justice which are relatively new in Nepal. For example, in several places, the document clarifies that local communities will be entitled to up to 80% of the total climate change funds. Yet, this analysis will demonstrate that these documents are products of a top-down techno-bureaucratic policy-making process and the idea of climate justice has been conceived there in often simplistic and contradictory ways. Even so, the provision of climate justice may provide a discursive device for articulating the voice of affected people and activists.

Collectivities in Emergence: Women-Only Community Forestry User Groups in Nepal

Nayna Jhaveri, Independent Researcher

This paper examines the history of women-only community forestry user group (CFUG) emergence as well as development in order to identify whether they provide a distinctively different contribution in terms of governance, livelihood benefits and forest cover from mixed-gender CFUGs. Nepal's community forestry experience stands on the frontlines of the global experience with 18,000 CFUGs geographically spread across Nepal's mid-Hills covering almost one-third of Nepal's population. While many studies have examined the practices and performance of the mixed-gender CFUGs, very few studies have focused on the some 1,000 of these that are women-only groups. Women-only CFUGs were developed by the Department of Forests together with bilateral project donors as one way of bypassing the prevailing gender dynamics within mixed-gender CFUGs where men dominated. This process involved handing over smaller, more degraded forests to the women-only CFUGs. Previous studies from the 1990s on women-only CFUGs indicated, however, that these groups experienced the same elite capture problems as male-dominated CFUGs. Furthermore, they were less able to access the services necessary for running the CFUGs due to the lack of necessary exposure and linkages. In recent years, however, there has been strong and accumulating anecdotal evidence that these groups have achieved good improvements in forest cover despite poor initial quality of forests. In addition, they demonstrate better governance arrangements in the form of more effective transparency, communication, and accountability in financial management. Presently, with these women-only CFUG forests becoming commercially viable, men have become interested in joining the women-only CFUGs to reap the financial benefits and even become chairpersons. There is a recognized need to understand the governance dynamics and impacts of women-only CFUGS in order to identify appropriate interventions for strengthening their viability. This paper presents the results of a survey among a set of women-only CFUGs that were established in the mid-1990s.

104 | Conservation Policies, Social Ecologies & Community Practices in Bhutan

Convener: Galen Murton, University of Colorado Boulder

Bhutan is internationally recognized for its unique conservation agenda and rigorous implementation of "progressive" environmental policy. However, a disjuncture exists between the vision of national policy and the reality of local practice. This disconnect is displayed on the ground by conflictual human-wildlife relations, problems with forestry management plans, and obstacles faced by payment for environmental services (PES) initiatives. Furthermore, although leadership in Bhutan remains steadfastly committed to preservation of the natural environment, local experiences increasingly call for a more critical assessment of the imbalance between ecological conservation standards and socio-economic development opportunities (Penjore 2008). Taking environmental policy and practice as a starting point, this panel on *Conservation Policies, Social Ecologies, and Community Practices in Bhutan* seeks to deepen the discussion on human-environment relations in Bhutan.

Session I: Community Forestry and Private Forestry in Bhutan: Practices, Policies, Challenges, and Opportunities

Wangchuk Dorji, *Ugyen Wangchuck Institute for Conservation and Environment*
Sarah Brattain*, Boston University* & Aanchal Saraf*, Brown University*
Laura Yoder, *Wheaton College*
Discussant: Hilary Faxon, *Yale University*

Session II: Development and Environment in Bhutan: National Policy, International Trade, and Global Frameworks

Kunzang Kunzang, *Yale University*
Matt Branch, *Pennsylvania State University*
Ritodhi Chakraborty, *University of Wisconsin*
Discussant: Tshewang Wangchuk*, Bhutan Foundation*

Towards Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in Bhutan: Combining Community Forests and Market Farming

Wangchuk Dorji, Ugyen Wangchuk Institute of Conservation and the Environment (UWICE)

Community forests have rapidly expanded in Bhutan and are advocated as a key means to raise rural income and reduce rural poverty. We examined the reasons households join community forest management groups (CFMG), the benefits they obtain from them, and their contribution towards household livelihoods in four community forests in Bumthang, Central Bhutan. We found households join a CFMG to more efficiently obtain forest products, protect local forests from unregulated access by outsiders, and earn income; however meeting these goals is uneven across community forests with income generation particularly constrained by low forest quality, limited infrastructure and insufficient CFMG management skills. Selling agricultural crops, particularly potatoes, is the major means (92%) households earn income which they use to purchase rice and maintain household food security. Rural livelihoods are changing rapidly in Bhutan with new opportunities for income generation; sustainable rural livelihoods involving food security require diversified strategies involving both forestry and agriculture.

Community Forestry: Management Plans and PES potential

Sarah Brattain, Boston University
Aanchal Saraf, Brown University

The objective of this research was to evaluate the Namdrupcholing Community Forest Management Plan and to examine the forest's ecotourism potential via Payment for Environmental Services (PES). The community forest management plan was analyzed within the framework of income generation potential, benefit sharing processes, and land management issues. Ecotourism potential was measured as a function of the biodiversity and sustainability of the forest, the community's perception of the venture, and available actors. Findings support an ecotourism PES as an alternative solution to strengthen community health despite shortcomings of the current CF management plan. The possibility of a carbon sequestration PES is contingent upon improving the CF management plan and identifying possible sellers.

From Farmers to Foresters? Response to pine encroachment on former swidden fields in Choekkhor Valley, Bumthang district, Bhutan

Laura Yoder, Wheaton College

In the past few decades within the Bumthang region of Bhutan, much of the privately owned land previously used for agriculture has been left fallow and covered by a growing encroachment of blue pine (*Pinus wallachiana)* forests. A result of increasingly powerful factors, this land management practice underscores the ways in which agricultural decisions and transitions occur in dynamic agronomic, socioeconomic, and policy environments. On the basis of field research conducted in Summer 2012 by students from the School for Field Studies, this study unpacks land management practices in Bumthang by taking a close look at private forestry policy changes, farmer preferences, human-wildlife conflict, and income generation potential from timber products in central Bhutan's Choekhor Valley. The study investigates the causes and implications of blue pine growth on privately held land in Choekhor's Chamkhar village and research findings also provide a snapshot of the unique factors that influence decision-making around planting and fallowing land in the wider Bumthang region.

A Legal Tool to Bite not Bark: Towards Environmental Assessment Act (EIA) Amendment in Bhutan

Kunzang Kunzang, Yale University

Bhutan is strongly committed to environmental protection and conservation as evidenced by its developmental policy of Gross National Happiness, numerous conservation initiatives, and Constitutionally-pledging minimum of 60% forest coverage for all times to come. The country firmly believes in living in harmony with nature and inter-generational equity. One of the legal mechanisms for effective implementation of these beliefs is the Environmental Assessment Act (EIA) of 2000 and its 2002 regulation. The EIA process, which originated in the US in the late 1960s and 1970s, emerged in developing countries in Asia during the 1990s and has now been adopted extensively in the rest of the world. EIA is a planning and management tool for sustainable development that seeks to identify the type, magnitude, and probability of environmental and social changes likely to occur as a direct or indirect result of a project or policy and to design the possible mitigation measures coupled with implementation procedure. This presentation covers the general EIA process, drawing best practices from countries such as Canada and EU that are quite advanced in EIA implementation. It then explores the existing EIA process in Bhutan focusing mainly on the EIA Act of 2000. Lastly, it mindfully considers integrating the existing system with international best practices that are customized to be practical, implementable, and effective in Bhutan's case. The recommendations and feedback from this study will contribute to amending Bhutan's EIA Act and strengthening existing provisions.

Bhutan's Gross National Happiness as Green Governmentality

Matt Branch, Pennsylvania State University

Bhutan has leaped into the international scene in the past several years, culminating with the country's current bid for a temporary seat on the UN Security Council. Worldwide attention has been largely fueled by Bhutan's alternative development concept, Gross National Happiness (GNH), but little critical work on GNH exists. This paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Bhutan from 2010-2012, takes a genealogical approach to GNH and deconstructs it in the context of Foucault's concept of Governmentality. Originally little more than a guiding principle, in the 1990s GNH developed into an approach to sustainable development with four interconnected pillars: economic growth, preservation of the environment, preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, and good governance. Following a presentation to the UN, multiple international development groups funded the creation and rapid advancement of a GNH national survey, the GNH Commission that measures the impact of public and private sector projects, and a push to expand GNH beyond Bhutan's borders. Concurrently, Bhutan has undergone rapid transitions in governance, decentralizing its government and transitioning to a parliamentary democracy in 2008. This paper seeks to examine how the rapid development of GNH has interacted with environmental policies. These policies provide a useful lens for approaching GNH qua governmentality since the discursive connections between happiness and environmental quality can be traced through government documents, newspaper articles, and interviews with government officials. Thus Bhutan's environmental policies and the ways they are linked to "happiness" help to demonstrate the creation of a new form of governmentality.

A Starchy Feedback Loop: Potato Production and India-Bhutan Trade: An Assessment of Impacts on Economy, Society, Forestry and Climate Change

Ritodhi Chakrabarty, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) were introduced to Bhutan in the 17th and 18th centuries by representatives of the East India Company (Roder et al. 2008). Until the 1960s, this highland staple from South America remained mostly a subsistence crop in Bhutan (SDC 2008). However, concurrent with significant growth to the country's physical and financial infrastructure, potato cultivation has transformed into an industrial practice in Bhutan. Capitalizing on the massive market in northeastertern India, Bhutanese farmers have converted their traditional cropping systems to incorporate potatoes. Following government laws against swidden agriculture, rural to urban migration of labor, growing demands south of the border and high yielding varieties of potato seeds, the "potato revolution" took off in the 1970s and '80s (Wangchuk and Siebert 2013). Currently over 4000 ha are under potato cultivation in Bhutan, and potato production contributes more than 2% to the annual GDP. This change in farming practice acts as both a cause and an effect for broader socioeconomic and biophysical changes. Potato production and trade creates the need for access to roads, thus setting in motion developmental policies which in turn bring the market to the village and compound the effect of industrial farming. Along with this is the impact of heavy chemical fertilizer and pesticide use for potato production and its effects on fragile highland ecosystems across the Eastern Himalaya. Furthermore, global forces of political economy fuel Bhutan's potato industry, particularly through bilateral trade agreements with other South Asian countries, such as India. This presentation tries to understand the current situation of potato production in Bhutan within a broader context of livelihoods and environmental feasibility. It also makes an attempt to identify the different actors that are involved in this rapid and pervasive change in agricultural, political and ecological landscapes and tries to predict some possible futures.

105 | Constructing Communities: Tradition, Modernity & Migration

Chair: Mary Cameron, Florida Atlantic University

This panel discusses how tradition, modernity and migration intersect to construct communities and frame membership. The papers focus on media, migration and cross-cultural encounters, and the ways in which these work to redefine communities.

Session I
Andrea Butcher, *University of Exeter*
Christie Lai Ming Lam, *Osaka University*
Mahendra Lawoti, *Western Michigan University*
Sanjay K. Nepal, *University of Waterloo*

Session II
Binod Pokharel, *Tribhuvan University*
Kathryn Stam, *SUNY Institute of Technology*
Babs Grossman-Thompson, *University of Colorado Boulder*
Alana Vehaba, *Arizona State University*

Definitions of Morality and Discipline in Ladakh's Contemporary Buddhist Social Movements

Andre Butcher, University of Exeter

In the former Buddhist kingdom of Ladakh, the monasteries and temples of Tibetan Buddhist lineages dominate the region's Buddhist organisation. Since the 1930s, however, Ladakhi Buddhism has encountered--and been modified by--the Theravada-inspired Buddhist modernism of South Asia. Increasingly, the youth who travel outside the region for higher studies encounter associations and social movements whose interpretations of Buddhist practice and identity deviate from their own. Ladakh itself has witnessed an increase in socially-engaged Buddhist associations imparting instruction and meditative practice according to the Pali teachings. Such organisations are gaining in popularity amongst the Ladakhi Buddhist youth, and are instrumental in engaging them for social and environmental causes. In this ideologically-reformed variant, narratives of discipline, charity, and offering differ from those of the established monastic authorities, who advocate moral discipline based upon the Mahayana teachings; and who, whilst increasingly engaged in social and environmental causes, require significant lay sponsorship of ceremonial performances aimed at taming the territorial domain and its inhabitants, both materially and psychically.

The paper emphasises the areas of convergence and contestation between a Buddhist practice that requires significant lay sponsorship of ceremonial performance to tame negative forces present in the landscape, and a Buddhist practice that encourages acts of charitable, engaged action for social welfare and environmental causes. The data are drawn from interview transcripts with leaders of the various social movements, transcripts and observations of public workshops, and observations taken from my own participation with the activities undertaken by the various groups--for example the locally-organised relief programmes that followed in the wake of a devastating flood in 2010. Ultimately, the paper examines how diverse Buddhist communities and interpretations coalesce to determine the character of the modern Ladakhi Buddhist identity.

"Working Students": An Ethnographic Study of Japan Study Boom in Nepal

Christie Lai Ming Lam, Osaka University

In this paper, I examine an emerging type of migration that has not received adequate attention in the Nepali migration literature. While much research has focused on either low skilled Nepalese migrant workers typically working in Malaysia and middle-east countries or Nepalese professionals studying and working in western countries, there is no enough study regarding the role of the growing educated but unemployed youths in international migration.

My ethnographic study of Nepalese students in Japan shows that facing the prolonged political instability, high youth unemployment, and attraction of ' high-paid' jobs, more and more educated Nepalese youths perceive migration as rite of passage to secure their future. In the most recent trend, Japan has increasingly become the most popular study aboard destination for Nepalese youths. In this paper, I will first discuss the recent Japan study boom in Nepal by analysing push-pull factors. Afterward, I will take a closer look at the lived experiences of Nepalese students in Japan. According to my ethnographic data, many of them are "self-funding" students. Although they dream of pursuing higher education opportunities and better career prospects, providing financial support to their families in Nepal is often the top priority. As a result, in order to manage the heavy debt from study abroad, high living expenses in Japan and support family members in Nepal, most of them have to work double or even triple jobs. The challenges of these "working students" faced are numerous. Many students find it difficult to pursue their university dream and the aspiration for getting high paid jobs. Some students even experience isolation. To conclude, I will analyze how this new migration trend differentiates from previous Nepali migration patterns and the social implications for both sending and receiving countries.

Diversity and Constitutional Instability in Nepal

Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University

Despite being in existence for more than two centuries, Nepal is still grappling with constitutional instability. Employing and engaging with the broader framework of nation-state versus multi-nation state building, this paper will examine how different constitutions (two proto constitutions, six formal constitutions and the failed drafting process of a new constitution) treated cultural diversity over the years and how that contributed to constitutional instability. Some have argued that assimilation policies combined with coercion over a long period can establish a stable nation-state while others have argued that culturally diverse countries can become stable only when multiple nations are recognized within a state. The paper will look at how various ethnic, linguistic, castes, religious and regional groups were excluded/included by different constitutions and how peoples' actions and reactions affected the constitutions, including their transformations. First, I will trace the attempt to create a nation-state in Nepal by the dominant group by promoting its language, religion, and culture by looking at constitutional articles and policies that were adopted during the period governed under various constitutions. Second, I will examine the caste, regional, religious, linguistic and ethnic characteristics of people who governed and people involved in writing the constitutions to trace their impact, if any. Third, the paper will look at protests, resistance, and culture-preserving activities of non-ruling identity groups during the various constitutional epochs. Fourth, I will locate the emerging constitutional transformation that has begun to recognize the diversity of the country and analyze how it has come about by examining the role of protest and resistance activities and/or make-up of the state and constitution framing bodies. The study of Nepal demonstrates that nation-state building through constitutions and state policies does not work in diverse societies despite long and multiple attempts.

Irish Pubs and Dream Cafes: Tourism, Tradition and Modernity in Nepal's Khumbu (Everest) Region

Sanjay K. Nepal, University of Waterloo

Scholars of globalization and cultural theories have argued that tradition and modernity are negotiated concepts and not fixed points for cultural references. The transformation of Khumbu, a traditional mountain region, to Everest, as a tourism destination did not occur overnight, but Hillary's and Norgay's scaling of the summit of Mt. Everest slowly but decidedly paved the way for its turn as one of the most famous adventure destinations in the world. Applying concepts relevant to the dichotomies of tradition-modernity and local-cosmopolitan, and cultural competence, this paper explores the contrasts apparent in the touristic landscape of Khumbu: (i) in the physical realities of a place that is rugged and remote, yet, friendly, cosmopolitan and familiar; (ii) in how the Sherpa view themselves; and, (iii) in tourists' imaginations and experiences with Sherpa society. Main data sources include 21 field-based interviews with Sherpa entrepreneurs and tourists, analysis of observations recorded in 13 student journals, and background literature on Khumbu based on the author's previous research and other major scholarly work on Sherpa society. Based on these observations, three main conclusions are made: 1) that the Sherpa are very successful in negotiating between tradition and modernity; 2) that successful negotiation is largely due to a higher level of cultural competence gained through involvement in tourism; and 3) that tourists are increasingly aware of the apparent discrepancy in their expectation and realities of Sherpa culture encountered during their trip.

Street Vendors as a Community in the Age of Globalization: Some Ethnographic Reflections from Kathmandu, Nepal

Binod Pokharel, Tribhuvan University

With the growth of urbanization in Nepal, 'street vending' has been emerging as a part of informal sector of economy. It has its ubiquitous and polymorphic nature in the urban settings. The genesis and growth of it are related to the processes of globalization triggered by the neoliberal economic policies adopted by the successive government since the late 1980s. It has been growing because the formal market sector has not been effective to cater to the needs of bourgeoning urban poor and lower middle classes. It is the also the direct function of imbalanced development between urban and rural settings and consequent non-availability of employment opportunities in the later has been the determinant of rural to urban migration forcing the poor migrants with relatively low level of educational background adopt 'street vending' as a coping mechanism for their livelihoods. The paper analyzes the formation of the urban community of street vendors, their characteristics, and their role in producing a new culture of consumption. Succinctly put, street vendors in Kathmandu- the capital city of Nepal- are no longer defined by ethnicity, religion, and region but are seen as an emerging "occupational group or community". The paper shows that urban community is formed and transformed through trade and transaction in the public spaces characterized by group solidarity, cooperation, coordination, mutual support during the time of economic and social hardship and belongingness. They have played an instrumental role in producing a new culture of consumption through street trade among lower middle and urban poor classes.

Cultural Adaptation for a Bhutanese-Nepali Refugee Community in Utica, New York

Kathryn Stam, SUNY Institute of Technology

After about twenty years of living in Nepali refugee camps, a group of 400 Bhutanese-Nepalis were gradually resettled in Utica, New York, starting in 2009 and continuing until today. They are part of the 60,000 Bhutanese-Nepalis who have been resettled in the U.S. An active refugee center and availability of low-cost housing and jobs made Utica, NY an attractive option, although the culture and climate could not be less familiar to them. Many of the refugees knew each other from the refugee camps in Jhapa while another large group came because of their affiliation with a church in a different camp. Half of them are Hindu, coming from all castes, and half are Christian (non-denominational). English language competence is widely varied.

This study of 15 male and female workers in Utica, NY describes their experiences in the casino and yogurt factory where most of the refugees who are able to work find jobs. Topics covered include work interests, differences between expectations and work realities, compensation, support of coworkers, and the challenges of cultural adaptation to unfamiliar occupations. One theme of interest is the necessity for workers to change behavior and attitudes in relation to caste and the concept of caste itself. These mostly Hindu workers are required to work, eat, and socialize with people from the same ethnic group but different castes. At the same time, they have had to adjust to doing tasks that would not normally have been done by people from their castes. The younger generation claims that caste is no longer relevant, while many older refugees continue to try to maintain "purity" and hesitate to change behavior related to food and worship norms.

In addition, the workers share examples of how their culture and communities have changed since coming to the U.S. They have frequently been in situations where the American system is incomprehensible to them or their parents. The author will share the highlights of these discussions.

Gender, Identity and Modernity: Female Trekking Guides in Nepal's Urban Public Spheres

Babs Grossman-Thompson, University of Colorado Boulder

My research contributes to ongoing discussions in sociology about the ways in which labor is deployed as an articulation of 'modern' identity by providing an ethnographic account of female tourism workers in the urban centers of Nepal. Over the last thirty years, Nepal has faced internal and external pressure to become 'developed' and 'modern' through the implementation of a strong tourism industry. Such development prerogatives become the crucible of the local/global encounter as emerging tourism economies shift local labor patterns and create new understandings of the gendered self in the process. My research focuses on the experiences of labor and identity formation in female trekking guides in Nepal and will answer three questions: How do the present gendered labor regimes reflect both macro and micro structural forces of 'development?' How do shifting patterns of labor precipitate new gendered subjectivities in female wage-workers and new structures of feeling around gender as a social category? How do women living in Nepal's urban centers articulate such new subjectivities in the context of globalization? Female trekking guides' unique position within the state's massive 'development via tourism' scheme make them particularly suited to speak to the relationship between gender and modernity in Nepal. I hypothesize that emergent labor and life cycle patterns, especially urbanization and proletarianization, are the material processes through which female, Nepali wage-workers are re-defining their notions of livelihoods, gender and ultimately the self as a modern citizen, and that the experiences of female trekking guides will elucidate this broadly applicable phenomenon.

Wives, Activists, Dreamers, Enjoiners: The Inji Appendages of the Tibetan Community in Exile

Alana Vehaba, Arizona State University

This paper will focus on the *injis* who traverse into and across the Tibetan community-in-exile; those who find or create home on the crowded streets of Dharamsala, India, and who, in some capacity, are intimately involved in the lives of Tibetan refugees. "Inji" is the panoptic word for "Westerner" in the Tibetan language (Lhasan dialect), and though it literally translates as "English speaker," one finds that it is applied more broadly to mean those who come from "Western" countries. By using the word 'inji' rather than 'Westerner' I hope to center the Tibetan perspective on these non-Tibetans, and to note that these people are not mere tourists, briefly touching the lives of Tibetans in exile, though those abound in Dharamsala as well. Rather, these injis have come to be framed by, and have framed themselves by, the Tibetan community, in so much as "being a part of the Tibetan community," and their relationship to the Tibetan people is a large part of their own personal identity.

I explore conditions of community formation by asking if, and in what ways, the idea of 'community' stretches beyond identity-based coalition. Can community be conceptualized as a naturally occurring phenomenon or an intentional project? Are communities based upon circumstance or affect? Can a community consisting of refugees have a "basis of conscious coalition, of affinity, of political kinship,"[1] with non-refugees? And, in this kind of community, do the refugees have authority as they define and build towards self-determination? What would a community of affinity, affect, and solidarity look like?

I question the differentiated ways in which power, economy, and authority are enacted in interactions betweens Tibetans and injis by examining two main points of interaction: (1) the Nama Network, a "secret" Facebook group whose members are all inji women who are, in some capacity, romantically involved with a Tibetan man. Through the discourses culled from the group, I explore affective connections to the Tibetan community. (2) I examine inji participation in Tibetan freedom activism, primarily in Students for a Free Tibet, and the ways in which injis organize to support the vision that Tibetans have for attaining sovereignty in Tibet. How is citizen-power and privileged exercised in activist spaces? With an understanding informed by what Avery Gordon refers to as "complex personhood,"[2] I suggest that a spectrum of participation exists in which injis embody and change in their roles as observers, participants, and occasional enjoiners in Tibetan affairs.

106 | Defining and Contesting Language & Community in the Himalayas

Convener: Miranda Weinberg, University of Pennsylvania

This panel explores the relationship between language and community in the Himalayas. From the legal level to more local definitions of community, there are complex relationships between language competence and community membership in the Himalayas. The papers in this panel present case studies from Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim that demonstrate the contested nature of belonging to language communities, and the centrality of language in disparate social movements across the region.
Language is often an element of movements that make claims about ethnicity and nationalism. These concerns are tied as well to imaginations of the past and aspirations for the future. The papers of this panel use ethnographic fieldwork and discourse analysis to investigate the role of language in political and social movements, and the nature of movements that take language as their theme. Together, we look at the role of language in the shaping of the Himalayan political landscape across time, space, and scales.

Session I
Retika Rajbhandari, *Syracuse University*
Joseph Stadler, *University of Buffalo*
Ross Perlin, *Endangered Language Alliance*
Miranda Weinberg, *University of Pennsylvania*

Session II
Mara Green, *University of California, Berkeley*
Jana Fortier, *University of California, San Diego*

Discussant: Mark Turin, *Yale University*

Refugee Reciprocity, Indexicality, and the Nepali-Bhutanese community in Syracuse

Retika Rajbhandari, Syracuse University

After residing in refugee camps in Nepal for almost two decades, Nepali-Bhutanese refugees have begun to be resettled in the United States in large numbers since 2008. Syracuse, New York has become one of the most popular sites of resettlement for the community. In this paper, I ask, to what extent do the Nepali-Bhutanese refugees feel morally obligated to reciprocate the "generosity" of the United States once resettled and how do they engage in that process? I argue that refugee-reciprocity becomes visible as refugees attempt to carve out their path to assimilate into the American cultural fabric. More specifically, I focus on language use as an example of this refugee-reciprocity. By using the semiotic concept of orders of indexicality (Silverstein 1998), I demonstrate how Nepali-Bhutanese refugees use linguistic competence of standard American English to attempt to distance themselves from their "refugeeness" once resettled in Syracuse. This competence also maps onto one's sartorial preference and age. My discussion on this new nature of belonging that is reshaping Nepali-Bhutanese personhood is based on my fieldwork with the Nepali-Bhutanese community in Syracuse and in the refugee camps in Eastern Nepal.

"Once we keep our language, we keep other things": Resettled Nepali-Bhutanese Refugees' Nation-Building Projects

Joe Stadler, University at Buffalo

This paper analyzes the ways in which the essentializations and equivalences of language, culture and identity Nepali-Bhutanese refugees rallied against in the early 1990s have come to be reproduced by this population in resettlement. The Bhutanese Community Association of Erie (BCAE) –a representative body, essentially set up as a resettlement NGO, for Erie, Pennsylvania's population of around 5,000 Nepali-Bhutanese refugees — having taken on the human-rights-centered rhetorical platform of resettlement NGOs and their focus on a right to culture, is currently concentrating on conserving, promoting and protecting cultural heritage, social and traditional values within the "dynamic environment" of the United States. This proposal, of which language preservation is understood as an integral component, can be seen as both the product of long-term NGO interaction and dependence and a past in which the Nepali-Bhutanese felt alien cultural heritage, social and traditional values imposed upon them by the Bhutanese government. The Bhutanese government's policies and rationales, which led to the exodus of Nepali-Bhutanese, mirror well exactly those things the BCAE is looking to do. For instance, the BCAE wishes to teach cultural classes centered on the preservation of the Nepali language. A similar promotion of Dzongkha was seen in the late 1980s in Bhutan. The government felt that it was only through shared values, customs and traditions that the feeling of being "one people" and, thus, the health and longevity of the Bhutanese nation-state could be ensured. This paper reveals that, although they have been greatly affected by the politics and violence of their past as well as their on-going engagements with humanitarian actors, Nepali-Bhutanese refugees see their community through the lens of the nation-state and carry out nation-building strategies that seem antithetical to their own history.

The Last Valley: Multilingualism and Language Contact in Northwest Yunnan

Ross Perlin, University of Bern & Endangered Language Alliance

In the extreme northwest of China's Yunnan Province —where it borders southeastern Tibet and Burma's Kachin State —the mountainous Dulong River Valley is sometimes called "the last valley". The last you come to as you travel westward, the last to have a paved road and electricity, the last to keep its language strong, the last to face famine in recent memory. Like several other countries in the region, China "backs up" onto the Himalayas —and Chinese eyes see the "last valley" as a dead end mired in "backwardness", in desperate need of opening up.

Yet from a linguistic and anthropological perspective, this corner of Yunnan is a multicultural crossroads of long standing (Gros 2005). Drawing on several years of fieldwork in the area —mostly focused on Trung (Dulong), a Tibeto-Burman language of the little-known "Nungish" branch —this paper will bring into focus the patterns of language use and language contact in a micro-region where Trung, Gongshan Nu (a close cousin of Trung), Northern Lisu, a variety of Khams Tibetan, Southwest Chinese, and now even Standard Mandarin are all in close interaction (Perlin 2009).

How stable is Himalayan multilingualism, as exemplified in "transition zones" like the northwest corner of Yunnan, where different ethno-linguistic groups have traditionally occupied distinct ecological niches? Today's multilingualism is increasingly organized around language domains —Trung as the language of the home, Lisu as the language of an expansive Christianity, Southwest Mandarin as the language of the local economy, Standard Mandarin as the language of education and the outside world. On a local level, multiple, overlapping forms of acculturation are in play, while traditional vectors of trans-Himalayan exchange are less and less in evidence.

Taking down Barcelona in Kathmandu: Linguistic Futures in a Student Movement

Miranda Weinberg, University of Pennsylvania

In June 2012, student activists in Nepal declared a campaign against private, for-profit colleges with foreign names, simultaneously decrying the schools' names and their exorbitant tuition fees. During the campaign, members of multiple student unions vandalized signboards, buildings, computers, and buses belonging to various colleges and filed a court case demanding stricter management of private schools by "checking exorbitant fees and deterring naming of schools after English-origin places and clubs" (The Himalayan, 7/23/2012). These activists claimed control of the linguistic landscape of Kathmandu, objecting not to English in the classroom but to the material emblems of branded educational institutions.

This paper explores implications of this movement through discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of events surrounding the protest. I examine the discursive construction in newspaper reports of competing "cultural chronotopes" (Agha, 2007), semiotic representations of time and place peopled by certain social types. Activists called into question a chronotopic representation marketed through gaudy school signboards that linked English language, symbols of Euro-American prestige, and forms of capitalism that sell education to those who can pay, and placed all of these elements in the territory of Nepal. Their suggested replacements for such school names drew from a chronotopic representation of Nepal as unchanging and morally pure. These protests, short-lived though they were, demonstrate a concern for the future linguistic community of Nepal and the kinds of people who will inhabit it.

Intimate Pasts, Expansive Futures: Practice and Potential in Nepal's Deaf Society

Mara Green, University of California, Berkeley

In contemporary Nepal, efforts to (re)claim and revitalize minority languages are frequently grounded in a real or imagined history of shared blood, captured in the powerful trope of the *mātribhāsā* 'mother tongue'. Although deaf advocates sometimes refer to Nepali Sign Language as their mother tongue, the practices and aspirations of *bahirā samāj* 'deaf society' are structured by the fact that deaf children do *not* learn language from their mothers (or fathers) but rather from other deaf people. In fact older generations of NSL signers, now in their 40s and 50s, lay claim to having developed the language through their interactions with each other in the decades following the founding of Nepal's first deaf school in 1966. In the present day, the minority of all deaf Nepalis who learn NSL do so in deaf schools or deaf-run associations; members of these younger generations frequently name a specific peer or older mentor who helped them in this process.

On the one hand, then, NSL is linked to deeply personal histories of language emergence and dissemination. On the other hand, the goal of deaf politics is to spread NSL far beyond its current, largely urban-based networks of circulation. This tension between intimate pasts and expansive futures is reflected in the fact that *bahirā samāj* 'deaf society' refers sometimes to those who *do* sign NSL and sometimes to those who *could* sign NSL (that is, all deaf Nepalis). As such, we can see that for deaf NSL signers, the relationship between language and community is situated both in what is and in what might be.

Raute Cultural and Linguistic Resilience

Jana Fortier, University of California, San Diego

The Ban Raji and Raute live in the Mahakali and Karnali watershed regions of the Himalayas where they currently engage in hunting and gathering rather than agriculture for a living. These groups speak Tibeto-Burman languages and are pressed to assimilate into the central Pahari languages (Kumauni, Nepali). To counter the pressures of cultural hegemony, they practice cultural and linguistic resilience, a set of political actions which are designed to protect these forest foraging peoples from the assimilative practices of local agrarian polities. The physical acts of resistance are based on a set of tightly intertwined ideas about proper behavior as hunter-gatherers and these are made manifest through pragmatic language discourse strategies. In this paper, I ask, ' How is cultural resilience embodied in their language of work and trade?' In order to limit the topic, the paper will focus on vocabulary and speech acts surrounding their material artifacts. This represents a set of about 60 items, in the areas of hunting, plant gathering, storage, food processing, and shelter. Discussion will focus on the historical meaning of a few of the objects, their symbolic meanings, their relation to artifacts of other TB speaking groups, and how these act as a gateway into Raji-Raute social worlds.

107 | Development and Change in the Himalaya

Chair: Steven Folmar, Wake Forest University

This panel focuses on the theme of development as an intervention. The papers address how development is a contested ground for different stakeholders, how perceptions of socio-economic statuses are particular to the social ecologies of communities and the socio-cultural implications of development interventions. The panel also features papers that address local, community health initiatives across the Himalayan region. These papers explore local health choices, the co-existence of bio-medicine and traditional healing practices, and the role of community-based infrastructure in health care delivery.

Session I
Sirkka Korpela, *Tsinghua University*
Sonam Lama, *United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization*
Pushpa Hamal, *Brock University*
Katherine Rankin, *University of Toronto*

Session II
Sarah Rasmussen, *Macalaster College*
Catherine Sanders, *The ISIS Foundation*
Laura Spero, *Eva Nepal*

Impacts of Mining on Local Communities in Tibet

Sirkka Korpela, Tsinghua University

There is no doubt that there exist mining activities in Tibet, both large scale (by State Owned mining companies with or without participation of western multinational partners), medium scale (owned and promoted mostly by local governments) and small scale (mostly illegal). What is somewhat more unclear is the real extent of actual mining operations and what are the impacts of the different types of mining on local communities. The purpose of this paper is to elucidate the various impacts, including:

1.1 Physical impacts
- Relocation of communities as a result of open pit large scale mining
- Loss of agricultural/pasture land as a result of access denied to concession areas and of environmental impacts
- Loss of quality and availability of water for human and agricultural use due to mines' extensive use of water and pollution resulting from mining discharges
- Environmental impacts of chemical leaks and tailings
- Impact of new roads and increased heavy traffic

1.2 Economic Impacts
- Lack of revenue sharing with local communities
- Limited or no employment opportunities for local people, lack of training for potential workers
- Potential for small business opportunities created in ancillary services, commerce, housing etc
- Endemic corruption exacerbated by mining spoils

1.3 Social Impacts
- Influx of outside temporary workers, mostly without families, creating disturbances to local communities
- Influx of outside population to take advantage of small business opportunities
- Increased presence of alcohol, prostitution, gambling, street fights
- Desecration of sacred sites
- Disturbance of earth
- Changes in existing local power structures
- Increased incidence of conflicts between communities
- Community participation
- Lack of prior consultations and consent
- Limited or no participation in decision making

The paper will draw on existing international best practices to aim at an informed discussion of the reality on the ground in Tibet. The paper will be informed by publicly available information, private interviews with stakeholders and site visits.

Architectural heritage and road development in Tsum, Nepal

Sonam Lama, UNESCO, Kathmandu

Tsum Valley, located in the highlands of Nepal's Gorkha District and bordering Tibet, has a well-preserved archaeological heritage due to its remote location and lack of development. However, the government of Nepal recently produced an engineering survey and sent heavy construction equipment to Tsum in order to build a road to Tibet. In response to road survey which, if executed according to plan, will destroy numerous sites having local cultural significance, I received a grant to systematically document Tsum's architectural heritage.

In this paper I will summarize the results of the survey, present various categories of architectural heritage (eg., mani walls, bumpa, gonpa, chorten), discuss local interpretations and meanings, and demonstrate how the location, concentration and distribution of these along the foot trail adds visual coherence to the cultural landscape of Tsum. Finally, I will discuss how architectural heritage is deeply connected with cultural identity, and argue that the lack of local consultation on the proposed road threatens to disrupt the fabric of Tsum's unique cultural heritage. This paper will contribute to our knowledge of architecture in Tsum, the connection between architecture and identity, and ongoing debates about the state's interactions with indigenous peoples through development schemes.

What brings the road and what does the road bring? Local governance, subjectivity and cultural politics in 'post-conflict' Nepal

Pushpa Hamal, Brock University
Katharine Rankin, University of Toronto
Tulasi Sigdel, Kathmandu University

Roads convey a powerful affect in Nepal's mountain regions. Everyone wants a road; everyone connects palpably to the project of road building; in the mountainous, deforested terrain of the middle Hills and Himalayas, roads flood, crack, erode, collapse, lose passenger buses off sharp, precipitous corners ...yet they perennially hold out the promise of modernization and development for all. Road building commands the largest share of local development budgets during a period of massive decentralization of planning authority. They constitute a key terrain of donor intervention, political party mobilization, and claims making among a politically conscious peasantry. Thus it is no surprise to find road building among the most contested and contentious terrains of local governance.

This paper identifies key themes arising from a study of road building in two mountain districts of Nepal, Khotang and Mugu, whose district centres are currently in the process of being connected to the country's national road network. Themes include the civilian-military interface that comes into view through the army's lead role in building the Karnali Highway in Mugu; the politics of decentralization in a 'post-conflict' condition; the co-constitution of politics and economy evident in the contract system, the formation of labor markets and the organization of vehicular transport; and the multiple subjectivities and contradictory cultural politics that come together in these conjunctures to shape opportunity and processes of social transformation. Based on these themes, the paper proposes an approach to researching 'what brings the road and what does the road bring' to Nepal's mountain communities.

Somewhere in the Middle: The Role of Female Community Health Volunteers in a Nepali Hill Village

Sarah Rasmussen, Macalester College

In the small Nepali hill village of Noju, a diverse array of health resources converge, creating a complex landscape that villagers, traditional healers and biomedical practitioners alike must navigate. Based on three weeks of ethnographic interviews with health providers and community members, this paper presents two different beliefs about healing in Noju, and focuses on the role of female community health volunteers (FCHVs) in creating alliances among practitioners of these two systems. The first system is that of the health post staff, who respect traditional healing but believe biomedicine is the only method that is truly effective; the second is that of the villagers who view traditional healing methods, such as shamanistic rituals, and biomedicine provided by the health post as equally effective treatments for two different types of illnesses. I will argue that FCHVs, who are members of the community and share the perspectives of their neighbors but have a basic training in biomedicine, are uniquely able to facilitate the reconciliation of these two conflicting beliefs.

"Khaana chhaina bhane kheti pani hundaina": wealth and poverty in defining communities of Humla District, Nepal

Catherine Sanders, The ISIS Foundation
Kimber McKay, The ISIS Foundation

Himalayan communities exist in widely varying ecological contexts. These community ecologies set parameters for and interact with a host of social and economic vulnerabilities that people contend with on a daily basis. Yet measurements of socioeconomic status, which form the basis for development interventions and scientific models of risk, are often taken for granted based on a few standardized indicators. Our combined twenty-plus years conducting ethnographic research in Humla District, Nepal has revealed that the livelihoods and vulnerabilities of villagers hinge on sets of factors unique to the social ecologies of particular communities. This variation and the remoteness of the fieldsite render standard measures of socioeconomic status irrelevant for assessing vulnerability. Based on fieldwork conducted in the spring of 2013 that examined local conceptions of wealth and poverty (following Tucker et al 2011) in six villages of upper Humla District, we present findings that challenge overly simplistic definitions of both socioeconomic status and "community". The variation we observed in Hindu and Buddhist communities of Humla District did not adhere to strict definitions of caste, ethnicity, religion, occupation, education levels, or income. Rather, socioeconomic status took on community-specific definitions that spoke to historically- and geographically-defined interactions among villagers, change agents, and the varying microclimates of the Himalayas. The findings we present call for the redefinition of "community" and "socioeconomic status" in academic and applied research geared towards obtaining an understanding of vulnerability in the Himalayas.

Structure and Imagination: The Promise and Risk of Building Community-Based Infrastructure

Laura Spero, Eva Nepal

In Nepal, health care is typically administered through a combination of ineffective government programs and splintered private initiatives, most of which fail to integrate their efforts into the relationships, patterned activities, and belief systems of the rural communities they hope to serve. The result is a perpetual cycle of episodic stop-gaps, and a persistent disconnect between nationally/internationally-set policy and health-care delivery at the community level. The primary program of my organization, the Kaski Oral Health Care Project (KOHCP), employs a different model, establishing locally based dental care in rural areas entirely through community involvement. Our project is implemented on a village-by-village basis by three person "teams." These teams are comprised of residents of the community, whose primary function is to use their good sense and originality to create unique local versions of our basic design. Our work raises a number of important and complex issues: In what way is cross-cultural collaboration valuable – and what are some of its limits? Why is it critical to create community programs that cut across multiple sectors – health, education, private, public – in order to address issues like dental care that seem, at face value, to be quite narrow? How is it that the traditions and hierarchies within a community offer immense potential for transformational infrastructure, but also provide some of its most significant obstacles? In my paper, I will explain the resources and difficulties of community engagement with regards to health-care delivery, with reference to issues of generational change, collaboration, and institutional structures. In particular, I will address the critical balance between structured planning and an organizational culture of empathetic spontaneity, as well as how a focused and deep engagement with a few people can permit innovation that engages an entire community and catalyzes a long-term impact.

108 | Encountering Bio-medicine in Nepal

Organizers: Steven Folmar, Wake Forest University
Mary Cameron, Florida Atlantic University

Innovation, creativity, plurality, scarcity, and competition mark the health care landscape in Nepal. As the modernization/westernization of medicine in Nepal continues to accelerate and reaches into all areas of contemporary life, the conditions are created for imaginative reconfigurations of western/allopathic/scientifically-based health programming and medical intervention, especially within indigenous and community-based systems. In this round table, the discussants will explore the innovative and imaginative potential of defining and addressing illness and healing in this dynamic environment. We will explore such topics as volunteerism and medical clinics, the commercialization of indigenous medicines like Ayurveda, health care in insecure environments, the melding of science and faith in psychiatric medicine, health care resource scarcity, reliability of national health survey data, caste and ethnicity as determinants and shapers of health and health seeking, and the changing context of medical decision making in the family.

Mary Cameron, *Florida Atlantic University*
Steven Folmar, *Wake Forest University*
Brandon Kohrt, *Duke University*
Catherine Sanders, *The Isis Foundation*
Lydia Sandy, *Wake Forest University*
Judith Justice, *University of California, San Francisco*

109 | Ethnic Communities in Transition on the Sino-Tibetan Border

Convener: Tenzin Jinba, Yale University

This panel explores historical and ethnographic research on ethnic groups (including the Han) along the Sino-Tibetan borderlands (Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan, Gansu, etc). Topics include environment, livelihood, religion, culture, gender, identity, development, tourism, migration, memory reproductions, inter-or-intra-ethnic relations, collective resistance, NGOs and state-society relations.

Session I
Jonathan Lipman, *Mount Holyoke College*
Xiuyu Wang, *Washington State University*
Benno Ryan Weiner, *Appalachian State University*
Huasha Zhang, *Yale University*

Session II
Tami Blumenfield, *Furman University*
Chris Coggins, *Bard College at Simon's Rock*
Matthew S. Erie*, Princeton University*
Ming Xue, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Yinong Zhang, *Shanghai University*

Cultural Combinations and the Minzu Paradigm at the Chinese-Tibetan-Mongol-Muslim Frontier

Jonathan Lipman, Mount Holyoke College

The PRC's classification of society into discrete, genealogically defined entities (minzu) has distorted our picture of frontier areas by centering all social identification on definitions created by the state. In this paper I critique the minzu paradigm through review of ethnographic materials on people in Amdo who are culturally Tibetan and religiously Muslim. Living in the "middle ground" between Chinese and Tibetan cultures, the Kargang Muslims and Tuomao Muslims do not fit easily into the rigid structures of the minzu system. For comparison, the paper also examines the Santa (Ch. Dongxiang) and Bonan (Ch. Baoan) groups who live in the same region. The analysis demonstrates the inherent messiness of frontiers, which always have at least two sides — China-Tibet, China-Mongolia, China-Central Asia—and which reflect back to their cores unfamiliar images of what it means to be "us" or "them."

"Our Lone Leverage:" Reimagining the Sino-Tibetan Tea Trade in Late Qing and Early Republican Sichuan

Xiuyu Wang, Washington State University

The decades between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries saw increased activism on the parts of British India in its northern frontier trade, Qing China regarding its Kham frontier administration, and the Lhasa government in balancing relations with the two powers. Concomitant with the changing balance of geopolitical power, various types of Qing and Republican Chinese actors were engaged in recasting relations with the Tibetan world along economic, political and cultural lines. This paper explores this complex process of change with attention to both emerging new concepts and mutations of old practices in the history of Sino-Tibetan exchange. In particular, I examine how new geopolitical significance, notions of economic modernity, and politico-cultural mobilization were newly attached to the institution of Sino-Tibetan tea commerce, which had for centuries linked together various ecological and social worlds on the eastern fringes of the Himalayan region. Before the 20th century, tea production and distribution in China for the Tibetan market were shaped by state control, regional commercial competition and ecological-economic factors, while its consumption, retail, and distribution beyond the Yunnan-Sichuan-Qinghai borderlands lay largely outside the control and concern of the state. As Qing-Republican Chinese merchants struggled to respond to dwindling export caused by rising British Indian tea trade and policy intervention, a mixture of new discourse about the tea trade, entrepreneurial techniques, and government policies was used as the instrument for political control and identity affirmation. As Chinese intellectuals, officials, and merchants reworked their perceptions of history and modernity, the ways in which Sino-Tibetan relations of political economy were given new meanings and historical reinterpretations would create an important framework for relations of the subsequent decades.

In the Footsteps of Garaman or Han Yinu? Rebellion, Nationality Autonomy and Popular Memory among the Salar of Xunhua County

Benno Ryan Weiner, Appalachian State University

Events such as the 2008 Tibetan uprising and the interethnic violence that erupted in Xinjiang the following year challenge the People's Republic of China's claim to being a "unitary multinational state created jointly be the peoples of all its nationalities." However, less visible are examples such as the Salar, where the state's policy of regional autonomy for minority nationalities, as well as the minzu paradigm itself —that is fifty-six nationalities living together in equality and amity, all protected by and invested in a single multinational nation-state —has arguably been relatively successful. While Tibetans may feel that their identity is threatened by the state's minzu framework, for many Salar, consciously or not, it serves as a communal safeguard, a bulwark against the loss of a protected space.

This paper argues that Salar interests currently intersect with the state's own narrative of national integration, in particular the state's avowed commitment to nationality autonomy. Central to this convergence is the Salar origin myth, which provides a discursive mechanism for the Salar to lay claim to a place, physically and conceptually, within the modern Chinese nation-state. By contrast, past depictions of the Salar have tended to stress their fierce independence, "martial spirit," and anti-state intransigence. The origin story is therefore an example of the deployment of popular memory as "a dimension of political practice," in Richard Johnson and Graham Dawson's terms, "a stake in the constant struggle for hegemony." It depends on the rejection of the legacy of Han Yinu, the Salar leader of the 1958 Amdo Rebellion, and instead embracing the legacy of the Salar's semi-mythical forefather Garaman. This in turn has wide-ranging implications for our understanding of the efficacy of the state's policy of regional ethnic autonomy and the limits of national integration.

Begging in the Land of Barbarians: The Politics of Power, Class, and Ethnicity in Early 20th Century Khams

Huasha Zhang, Yale University

Focusing on the social aspect of the Khams region's early 20th century history, this paper looks at the political, cultural, and economic interactions among local Khams pa residents, Han Chinese immigrants, and the Chinese regional government. Different from the image of the Han-dominated Khams region today, the Han Chinese government's presence in Khams was limited in the early 20th century. Han immigrants' social and economic status in Khams communities was also ambiguous. This paper examines a series of widespread phenomena in Khams in the first half of the 20th century, such as Han Chinese bridegrooms in Khams pa households, the derogative term rgya sprang (Chinese beggar) used by the Khams pa to refer to both Chinese officials and commoners, as well as the Khams language's influence on the grammatical structure of the local Chinese language. By analyzing the interactions and conflicts among the institutional power of the Han Chinese government, the economic and social superiority of the local Khams pa residents, and the Han immigrants' unprivileged position in local communities, this paper examines the competing political, economic, ethnic, and class hierarchies within the Khams societies, and argues that in stark difference to the post-1949 Khams where Han Chinese immigrants secure the dominant position in almost every realm of the society, the power dynamic within the multi-ethnic Khams societies in the early 20th century was multilayered and complicated.

Resilience in Mountainous Southwest China: Adopting a Socio-Ecological Approach to Community Change

Tami Blumenfield, Furman University

Now that the word 'sustainability' is firmly ensconced in the consciousness of many academics, universities and the broader public, some scholars of socio-ecological theory are questioning whether sustainability is the most appropriate goal. With ecological and social systems in constant flux, they argue that resilience, not sustainability, provides a more effective model for understanding how contemporary societies can maintain healthy relationships with their environments (however those may be defined). Resilience also provides a window to reflect how communities themselves can adapt to a rapidly changing set of political, economic, and social circumstances.

Few countries have demanded their residents be more resilient than the People's Republic of China. Even as the ecological damage of overheated development becomes apparent, official slogans about "man and nature hand-in-hand" and building a "harmonious society" proliferate. In the midst of this worrisome ecological moment, whose effects are felt differently across the vast nation, how are communities and individuals coping? This paper takes a socio-ecological systems approach based on long-term multidisciplinary field research in Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces, primarily in Na and Nuosu communities, to address this question. Examples include a state-directed "Ecological Protection and Straightening Out Model Project" and changing land cultivation practices, among others.

Animate Landscapes and Frontiers of Ecological Harmony in Tibetan Communities of the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands

Chris Coggins, Bard College at Simon's Rock

The "Harmonious Society" (implemented 2005) and the "New Socialist Countryside" (2006) address threats to stability posed by popular protests over land expropriation, illegal fees and taxes, environmental pollution, and labor disputes. "People first" development aims to ameliorate growing rural-urban and regional disparities, environmental problems, and challenges to inter-ethnic harmony through development subsidies that improve minority livelihoods and make recipients grateful to the state and the 'elder brother' Han. The 2008 protests carried out across cultural Tibet mark a failure to impose "stability," as do continuing acts of self-immolation in the PRC (mostly in the Sino-Tibetan border areas of Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai). Governmentality in the Harmonious Society increasingly assumes the form of the "ecological state" (shengtai liguo); natural landscapes and indigenous cultures are treated as renewable and marketable resources, and non-Han minzu are reviving, restoring, and reinventing indigenous places, cultural practices, and identities. Many Tibetans must reckon with a crisis of consent, having to locate adaptive subjectivities, culture(s), and landscapes within the colonial system. This study explores the personhood of "natural" features, especially zhidak (gzhi bdag) - regional deities typically associated with mountains, how they comprise a field of resistance to state sovereignty, and how they animate local identities with new forms of power. In these sites, Harmonious Society and Tibetan sovereignty often converge and conflict, exposing fault lines between the visible and the invisible, the animate and the inanimate, the inert matter of marketable nature and the animate matter of supernature. Supernature often defies modern expediencies, thus the record of less-than-harmonious relations between modern conservation (with its requisite zonation and commodification) and indigenous sacred landscape practice. Tibetan community-based conservation holds potential to radically reconfigure landscape ecology to encompass the human and the non-human in dialectical embrace, but it is ever vulnerable to the prerogatives of the ecological state.

Law, Language, and Subject: Normative Creolization on China's Silk Road

Matthew S. Erie, Princeton University

In Hezhou (contemporary name Linxia), a major trading outpost on the historical Southern Silk Road in southwest Gansu Province, the legal culture of Chinese Muslims (Hui) responds to waves of reformist movements that continue to buffet the city, and shape the religious, ritual, familial, and social lives of Hui. Hui who live in the Muslim quarter of the city called Bafang speak a dialect called Bafanghua. Bafanghua incorporates Chinese, Arabic, Farsi, Turkic, Urdu, Tibetan, Mongolian, Salarhua, and Dongxiangyu. The creole is a linguistic palimpsest of the many groups that have crossed the outpost and claimed it as their own – or merely passed through. I use Bafanghua as a conceit or extended metaphor to understand Hui legal culture, which I name Han shari'a. Han shari'a consists of Islamic law greatly influenced by non-Muslim (Han) Chinese custom and constrained by state socialist law. Just as Bafanghua is a creole, so too is Han shari'a a creole law. In this paper, based on ethnographic evidence collected in Hezhou over 19 months from 2009 to 2012, I develop a descriptive theory of normative creolization to explain the ways in which Han shari'a informs Hui subject formation. The paper finds that Han shari'a contains micro-conflicts of law and these conflicts are partially resolved through Chinese Islam's "teaching schools" (jiaopai) which are based in Hezhou.

Breaking the taboo? Female students and Han students of Tibetan thangka painting in Amdo Tibet

Ming Xue, University of California, Los Angeles

In Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai province in China, the Tibetan residents of Rebgong have long passed the Buddhist thangka painting from generation to generation as forms of apprenticeship. Thangka painting is also one of the major sources of income of local residents. Since I started my fieldwork in 2009, the number of visitors in the area, the mobility of the painters, the material conditions, and the scale of the thangka art market have been rapidly increasing. With the increasing interaction with diverse culture groups from outside, Rebgong painters have been experimenting with the revolutionary ideas of accepting female and Han-ethic students, both of whom were traditionally prohibited from learning thangka. My study investigates two sets of questions: how the acceptance of female students in thangka painting reveals transitions in gender politics in Amdo Tibet; and how the acceptance of Han-ethic student reflects relationship dynamics between Han and Tibetan people on this Sino-Tibetan border. These two aspects will also shed light on the ongoing modernization process in rural areas of Huangnan TAP.

"Tibetan Splitist" and "Chinese Bin Laden": Border/Boundary in the Disjuncture between Local and Global

Yinong Zhang, Shanghai University

Sino-Tibetan borderland—referring to a vast discursive regions in contemporary Chinese provinces of Gansu, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Qinghai —has long been the hotbed of multiple cultural, religious, ethnic, and political entities besides the commonly assumed cultural duality of Chinese and Tibetan. The Chinese reform and open-up since the 1980s has given space to the ethnic and religious revival in this ethnic entangled borderland. This paper is based on my dissertation fieldwork in Taktsang Lhamo (ch: lang mu si) in southern Gansu —a traditional part of Amdo Tibetan region and an official town in today's Gannan Tibetan autonomous prefecture. Through two particular events ("Tibetan splitist" and "Chinese Bin Laden") I intend to contextualize the theoretical concept of border/frontier in a both locally and globally informed ethnic conflict. The contrast between the salient Tibetan Buddhist revival and the almost invisible Hui Islamic revival in Taktsang Lhamo shows the dilemma of a "unified multi-ethnic nation" that the Chinese government has tried to construct. Furthermore I demonstrate that the changing dynamic among the different ethnic communities in the Sino-Tibetan borderland lies not only in the role of nation-building in contemporary China, but more in the heart of diversity as a global discourse that has been locally absorbed through the political cultural filter of state.

110 | Expressive Practices & Material Culture in Transforming Nepali Communities

Convener: Coralynn V. Davis, Bucknell University

How are long-standing expressive practices and forms of material life taken up in the processes and projects of community transformation? And conversely, how are the problems and possibilities of community transformation expressed and engaged through long-standing cultural forms and formats? The presenters in this double panel examine these questions through focus on diverse Nepali communities —in Nepal as well as in diaspora, as well as an array of practices, for example, songs, attire, folktales, "ethnic" restaurant dynamics, and temple building. While exploring the functions, forms, and expressive content of these contemporary practices, the presenters trace their cultural history as well as interface with such locally articulated but globally situated contemporary processes as migration, mass consumption, discourses of modernity, and secularization. Collectively, the panelists seek to understand how forms of expression and material life are engaged by their practitioners to navigate their reshaping worlds and subjectivities.

Session I
Coralynn V. Davis, *Bucknell University*
Susan Hangen, *Ramapo College*
Mark Liechty, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
Kathryn March, *Cornell University*

Session II
Sara Shneiderman, *Yale University*
Anna Stirr, *University of Hawai'i at Mānoa*
Galen Murton*, University of Colorado Boulder*
Discussant: Mark Turin, *Yale University*

Same Old Story? Political and Social Change through the Window of a Women's Festival Tale from Mithila

Coralynn V. Davis, Bucknell University

Sāmā Chakeva is a long-standing women's festival in the cultural region of Mithila, which extends from Bihar into the eastern Tarai of Nepal. The story of Sāmā, one of Lord Krishna's multitude of offspring, and her brother/lover/husband Chakeva is the narrative basis for the figurine play as well as songs that are integral aspects of the festival. In this paper, I present the distinctive *Sāmā Chakeva* narratives of two women of the same caste but differing generations, life stages, and educational backgrounds. The details of their respective social locations and personal histories shed light on the unique emphases and details of their respective tellings, tellings that allude to profound political and social changes that have occurred in the past 25 years. Joint examination of these tellings makes clear how folk (and festival) tale-telling may act as a vehicle by a teller for rumination on her or his own identities, concerns, and contexts, as well as provide a window into gendered perspectives on shifts in political and social landscapes.

Restaurants and the Public Space of the Nepali Diaspora in New York

Susan Hangen, Ramapo College

This paper traces the changing foodways of the Nepali diaspora by examining representations of the Nepali cuisine in New York's Nepali restaurants. With the dramatic increase in the population of Nepalis, Tibetans and Bhutanese in New York over the past decade, numerous restaurants offering foods of the region emerged, particularly in the borough of Queens. The emergence of Nepali restaurants and shifting ideas about what constitutes Nepali food in NY provide a window into how Nepalis in diaspora imagine the identity of their country of origin and their identity abroad. The menus and names of these restaurants suggest that idea of a Nepali identity intersects with an overlapping and broader Himalayan identity. These restaurants also provide a key site for constructing identities in diaspora by serving as meeting and function venues for political and social organizations as well as for family celebrations.

Tourism, cash flow, and community transformation in 1960s Kathmandu

Mark Liechty, University of Illinois at Chicago

This paper examines how elements of urban Kathmandu Newar material culture shifted as a result of that community's encounter with tourists and tourism between the 1950s and 1970s. Although rarely the owners of tourism-related businesses, Kathmandu Newars were a key part of the "medieval" city-scape that foreigners had come to see. Through increasingly common encounters with tourists, residents of the old city quickly learned what foreigners wanted and what they were willing to pay for.

By the late 1960s the nature and intensity of contacts between foreigners and Kathmandu Newars changed dramatically as a wave of young Europeans and Americans began to wash over the valley. What had been fleeting encounters between city residents and rich tourists were quickly transformed into much more sustained interactions as young budget tourists began to literally knock on doors in the old city looking for places to live and eat on the cheap, but also to acquire more "authentic" local experiences. Some of the first to engage with budget tourists were members of the (untouchable) Newar butcher's caste –people who had the least to lose and the most to gain from associating with impure foreigners.

In this paper I look at how budget tourism transformed the domestic economies of many low- and farming-caste Newar families. For these extremely cash-poor families, amounts of money that even budget tourists found cheap (for food and lodging) were enough to significantly boost household budgets. Because members of higher castes were reluctant to have contact with impure foreigners, many of the first Nepalis to deal directly with tourists were from lower and even untouchable caste groups, and most of these were young people. By injecting cash into the local economy, tourism also transformed the local consumer culture with special impact on local clothing and food ways.

Flower of Love, Thirty-seven Years in the Life of Tamang Song

Kathryn S. March, Cornell University

As a community, Tamang people are known throughout Nepal as prodigious singers. An Eastern Tamang genre known as *selo* has become so popular that a Google search for "*Tamang selo*" results in "about 253,000" hits and has become almost synonymous with 'Tamang song' to many Nepalese music lovers. This paper looks at the Western Tamang tradition of *Mhendo maya* ('flower love'). What, in 1976, in the Five-Hundred-Streams region northwest of the Kathmandu Valley, was a single song, relatively new to the courtship call-and-response repertoire, by ca. 2000 has become associated with a youth cultural preservation and performance group, and today appears on its own way to standing for the whole genre. Along with its immediate historical predecessor, *Sai khola* ('100 streams'), songs in the *Mhendo maya* tradition chart important continuities and transformations in Tamang life, especially the lives and aspirations of young people. Among the continuing negotiations navigated in these songs are marriageability, loyalty, honor, mobility, abandonment, loss and love. At the same time, the rapidly changing circumstances of an increasingly globalized community pose new riddles to be puzzled out through these same songs, as would-be lovers no longer sing to one another from opposite sides of a hill or river, but opposite sides of the world. Along with changes in the lyrical composition of these songs come even more dramatic changes in their performance. Striking, if predictable, shifts from local, unstaged, amateur composer competitions to stylized and theatrically staged performances by professionals, from accompanied if elaborate and night-long singing to amplified karaoke-style singing to prerecorded instrumental tracks, and from purely for-pleasure into for-profit ventures, presage shifting undercurrents in the formation of Tamang ethnic and gendered identities.

Temple Building in Secular Nepal: Post-Conflict Notions of 'Progress'

Sara Shneiderman, Yale University

In the Nepali public sphere, the discourse of secularism has often served as a proxy for the discourse of indigenous rights. This generates very different understandings of, and commitments to, the project of secularism than one finds in India, and perhaps elsewhere. Furthermore, both the ideas of secularism and indigenous rights have become entangled with discourses of rational, scientific modernity, or what I prefer to call "progress" –as it more closely approximates Nepali terminologies –in complicated and sometimes paradoxical ways. This paper explores these issues through an ethnographic account of how temple building projects amongst the Thangmi ethnic community of central-eastern Nepal have accelerated since 2006 in the "post conflict" era of the secular state, and attempts to explain why.

Dialectics, Dialogics, and the Politics of Love in Dohori Song

Anna Stirr, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Conversational dohori songs, improvised between two or more singers, are usually associated with two broad structures of feeling in Nepal: youthful flirtation and exuberance on the one hand, and suffering and sadness on the other. Both of these structures of feeling are associated broadly with love. Despite the potential challenges to the social order posed by binding song duels that can end in marriage, it is often argued that love as expressed in dohori songs is apolitical or even anti-political. Yet this does not mean that political dohori does not exist. Over the last forty years or so, progressive singers have also used the dohori format in their political songs, many preserved in published books of lyrics from their underground days. After the end of Panchayat-era censorship that banned all political lyrics in state-sponsored performances and the mainstream media, love and politics have increasingly intermingled in dohori songs. As they intersect, so too do ideas about how exactly songs can affect the community to which they are addressed. This paper examines changing ideas about dohori's pragmatics during and after Nepal's Maoist People's War. While some see in dohori's musical structure a potential for dialectical debate or redemptive post-conflict conversation, most viewed and continue to view it as a dialogic form, in which stock couplets and tropes contextualize the personal in larger structures of feeling, and meanings radiate and multiply outwards. Following one dohori singer's increasing embrace of the political in his improvised and composed performances, I begin to trace how the dialogics of dohori may reframe the dialectic of love and politics that dominated discourse on music in Nepal throughout the twentieth century.

Roads, Goods, and Communities: Co-producing Mobilities, Commodities, and Identities across the Tibet-Mustang Borderlands

Galen Murton, University of Colorado Boulder

Trans-Himalayan trade across the Tibet-Nepal borderlands has dramatically changed in recent years. This transformation is largely attributable to three factors: newly opened borders; the development of international road systems; and the growth of Chinese foreign investment in Nepal. In Nepal's northern district of Mustang, historical patterns of mobility and trade are being revived as a result of these geopolitical and socio-economic developments, but in a distinctly modern form. For example, since the advent of trans-border traffic in Mustang, China has hosted semi-annual trade fairs on the Tibetan Plateau for Mustang's populations, including Lo-pas, Bod-pas, Thakalis, and others. Yet, when Mustangi communities attend these trade fairs, they are far more likely to purchase motorcycles than horses, and Tibetan beer rather than Tibetan salt. Situating my study in the space between Tibetan trade fairs and local Mustang villages, I take a "consumer view of the subject" (Hetherington 2007) and use roads as a lens to examine how mobility patterns and consumption practices contribute to the re-imagination of cultural identities in Mustang. Three questions frame my study:

1) In what ways does traffic on the roads and participation at the trade fairs constitute a revival of the region's historical trans-border mobilities?

2) How do Tibetan trade fairs specifically target Mustangi communities and generate new consumer subjects?

3) In what ways are new subjectivities based on the consumption of Chinese and Tibetan commodities reconfiguring cultural identities in Mustang? Following these historical and cultural materialist questions, I argue that mobility and consumerism are re-shaping and transforming identity across once bordered but increasingly borderless Trans-Himalayan spaces.

111 | Governance, Identity & Ethnicity in the Himalaya

Chair: Heather Hindman, University of Texas at Austin

This panel explores relationships between marginalized communities and national frameworks of recognition. The papers focus on community interactions with, and experiences of, national politics in ongoing struggles for legitimacy and visibility.

Tulasi Acharya, *Florida Atlantic University*
Chudamani Basnet, *South Asian University*
Kathleen M. Gallagher, *St. Mary's University*
Andrew Nelson, *University of North Texas*

Governance for women; Serving Patriarchal Bureaucracy

Tulasi Acharya, Florida Atlantic University

The paper is a qualitative analysis of governance for women in Nepal Himalaya. It reviews the policies being promulgated and the programs offered to women. The paper studies how the organizations working for women are serving patriarchal bureaucracy rather than promoting democratic gender practices. However, the trend after people's war has been somehow restructured and reorganized. As the country is in the state of transformation from a decade long insurgency, gender friendly approaches are being instituted. It is worth analyzing the context and deciphering the strength and weakness of governance, therefore the ease pursuance of women governance is assured. The paper analyzes two cases and brings up some recommendations for organizational reformation. Key words: Bureaucracy, governance, women, Nepal, democracy

Ethnic Experience and Expressions in a Multi-ethnic Village in Eastern Tarai

Chudamani Basnet, South Asian University

The "ethnic debate" in Nepal has taken a polarizing turn in the aftermath of the recent political change that ushered in a republican order. Types and nature of federal states have become the major bone of contention among the ethnic activists and political party leaders. Of particular interest has been the debate about the adoption of "ethnic" and "non-ethnic" federal states. This paper aims to investigate how the polarized national ethnic debate plays out and transpires in a multi-ethnic village in the eastern Tarai region of Nepal. It argues that the local people actively use the troupes and idioms available in national politics to make sense out of the current ethnic debate, but people's ethnic identity expressions and political preferences are powerfully informed by their lived experience and history. Accordingly, this calls for a greater attention to local power structures and economic and political change that Nepal has undergone in the past two centuries. This paper underscores the fact that both "ethnic" and "non-ethnic" local leaders from all political persuasions shun polarizing positions. This position is qualitatively different from the most activist and dominant scholarly account of ethnic debate in Nepal.

In Pursuit of Legitimacy: The Construction of Entitlement and The Politics of Identity in Nepalese Squatter Settlements

Kathleen M. Gallagher, St. Mary's University

Using the 1990 demise of Nepal's centuries-old absolute monarchy as a critical historical juncture, my paper examines the impact of democratization on squatting or illegal land occupancy. To date 263, 768 families have been officially identified as squatters in Nepal, however the unofficial population is estimated to be well over one million. These figures do not include the additional 100,000 to 150,000 people that were internally displaced in Nepal between 1995 and 2006 during the Maoist insurgency. I argue that the shift to a democratic form of governance in 1990 was accompanied by a transformation in the underlying arguments and strategies legitimizing squatters' claims to land. In order to delay or prevent eviction, squatter communities invoke a variety of different forms of recourse to legitimize their right to occupation. Such claims may be articulated in democratic rhetoric (as a constitutional right to livelihood); in the language of compensation for victims' pain and suffering (at the hands of Maoist insurgents); or in the form of restorative justice for recently liberated *kamaiyas* or slaves/bonded laborers. Squatters in Nepal adapt the basis of their claims to land in response to variances in political rhetoric and the dominant moral economy. Claims to land also vary according to shifting structures of governance, both in form and ruling party. In addition to playing a pivotal role in the establishment and maintenance of squatter legitimacy, claims to land shed light on the protean nature of identity politics in contemporary Nepal's shifting political landscape. In so doing, claims also reveal a larger narrative about a nation state in flux, a populace in search of livelihood, and their mutual struggle for survival.

Nepali, Bhutanese, or American? Questions of Nationality and Citizenship amongst Elder Nepali-Bhutanese Refugees in the United States

Andrew Nelson, University of North Texas

In this paper, I reflect on the observations of elder Nepali-Bhutanese refugees in Dallas, Texas expressed during weekly preparatory classes for the US citizenship exam. From their marginalized position in Bhutan to their refugee status in Nepal and now the US, they hold several unique perspectives on the issues of citizenship and nationality. One, I explore how the group subverts the nationalist message of the exam's scripted history and civics lessons by converting the process into a platform to consider the ambiguities of their Nepali and Bhutanese identities and histories. Two, I contrast the liberal ideals implicit in the exam with the group's more pragmatic motivation to obtain access to international travel, economic empowerment, and social respect. I conclude by arguing that for this particular group of refugees, citizenship does not represent a commitment to a nation-state, but rather a legal recognition of their transnational status.

113 | Himalayan Ummah: Global & Local Muslim Community in the Himalayas

Convener: Jacqueline H. Fewkes, Florida Atlantic University

While concepts of the global, such as a worldwide Islamic *ummah*, are compelling social forces, Clifford Geertz has reminds us "no one lives in the world in general", we all live "in some confined and limited stretch of it – 'the world around here'" (Geertz 1996:262). Through the papers in this panel we will explore interactions between the concept of the general Islamic community, the *ummah*, and specific iterations of Muslim community/practice/experience in the Himalayan region. Varying notions of community in global and regional contexts may be concomitant and alternatively inform, constitute, and/or deconstruct each other. Examining this discursive process is valuable to understanding the concept of Muslim community from both global and regional perspectives.

This panel brings together scholars from multiple disciplines working with diverse Muslim communities in India, Nepal, Pakistan and Tibet. We address the range of Muslim experience within multiple sects of both the Sunni and Shi'a branches of communities, with both historical and contemporary perspectives. The papers explore the ways in which Muslim identity interacts with notions of regional community, provide an examination of the ways in which regional interactions and institutions shape the practices of being Muslim in specific areas, and work together to investigate the notion of the Himalayas as an Islamic space.

Participants in the panel aim to create a dialogue about concepts of the regional and global Muslim community that help to better develop our understanding of the topic. These studies of Islam in the Himalayan cultural settings illustrate interconnections between multiple cultural spheres of Muslim community. The Himalayan region provides us with a site of both geographic and cultural crossroads, where Muslim community is simultaneously constituted at multiple social levels, thus allowing panel participants to consider a wide range of local, national, and global interests while maintaining a focus on the localized experiences of real people.

Session I
Opening remarks: History of Islam in the Himalayas
Megan Adamson Sijapati, *Gettysburg College*
Rohit Singh, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Jacqueline H. Fewkes, *Florida Atlantic University*

Session II
Katherine J. L. Miller, *Reed College*
Jonah Steinberg, *University of Vermont*
Discussant: Brian Spooner, *University of Pennsylvania*

Conceptualizing the Himalayas as an Islamic Space

Megan Adamson Sijapati, Gettysburg College

What would it look like to conceptualize the Himalayas as an Islamic, or Muslim, space? There are multiple models for understanding the Himalayas as a region: is it an Indo-Tibetan interface? a zomia? both a lived and imagined space? a collection of cultural and political borderlands ever-shifting? How would a view through the lens of Muslim networks and Islamic tradition contribute to our thinking of the Himalayas as a distinct space, and how might such a view contribute to understandings of what constitutes a global, regional (particularly South Asian), and local ummah?

This paper will explore some of the necessary questions for beginning such a conceptualization. First I will discuss what Muslims in other historical periods and settings have believed necessary for a place to be Islamic. Then drawing upon the work of scholars across disciplines in the Himalayas, including my own fieldwork in Nepal, I will examine how Himalayan examples complement or contradict these. Are the Himalayas Islamic or Muslim (and the two have different implications) through a network of shrines laid out on a map connected with dots and lines? Or are there other networks more prominent, such as those constituted by oral histories? ritual practices? material culture? religious literature? charismatic figures? In conclusion, I'll consider how notions of Islamic space in conjunction with Himalayan Islamic traditions today might together enable a new way of thinking of the region.

Muharram and Modernity in Leh, Ladakh

Rohit Singh, University of California, Santa Barbara

Drawing on fieldwork, audiovisual data, and textual sources, I examine local and global dimensions of 2012 Muharram commemorations in Leh, Ladakh. My paper focuses on how Shi'i clerics in Leh use discourses on Muharram to promote a modern Shi'i Muslim identity based on the ideals of religious pluralism and global political consciousness. These clerics frame the events of Karbala as a battle between justice and injustice with the Prophet's grandson Hussain representing perfect righteousness and his opponent Yazid embodying tyranny. Hussain's ' martyrdom' at Karbala symbolizes a heroic refusal to bow before an unjust regime. Shi'i clerics in Leh emphasize that Hussain died for all religions and that non-Muslims can learn from Karbala's moral lessons. This pluralist message is made within Leh's public sphere where Buddhists and Muslims strive for reconciliation after decades of political tensions. Thus I argue that clerics strategically promulgate Karbala's universal-ness as form of public outreach to Ladakhi Buddhists. Invoking the dichotomy of justice/injustice, clerics also present a global political worldview in which Hussain is equated with modern Iran and the US and Israeli governments represent Yazid. During Muharram commemorations, Shi'i Muslims in Leh prominently display images of and anti-America quotes by Ayatollah Khomeni and other Iranian high clerics (*mujtahid*). In public speeches, Shi'i religious leaders called on inter-religious opposition against oppressive political regimes, namely America and Israel. In my paper, I contextualize these discourses on pluralism and global politics in reference to both Leh's multi-religious public sphere and the global legacy of the Iranian Revolution.

Gendered Religious Authority and "Being Muslim" in Ladakh, India

Jacqueline H. Fewkes, Florida Atlantic University

Prayer is a central feature of Islamic practice, and considered by many to be central to notions of being Muslim. Part of the appeal of studying prayer in Muslim communities lies in its role as a public performance of culture. Yet another crucial aspect of prayer is its relationship to the physical —whether in the form of bodies and/or spaces.

In this presentation I will address how both women's religious authority on prayer and the embodiment of religious practice shape gendered notions of being Muslim in the north Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh. In this case study of the influence of female Islamic scholars in the Ladakhi Sunni community, embodied prayer practices have informed other women's understanding of themselves as religious believers and have engendered socio-religious change. The processes that engender new meanings for being Muslim in Ladakhi communities highlight the role that various local and international institutional spaces have played in shaping women's religious knowledge. Women's scholarly and institutional roles in Muslim communities are shaped by, and contribute to, both a local Himalayan community and the global *ummah*.

In these cases the epistemic divide between sites of local and global Muslim communities is porous. The challenge here is not merely to understand how/why the divide exists, but to also interrogate its limitations and account for the myriad spaces in Muslim communities that transcend this divide while still allowing for the possibility that the categorization of spaces as variously local or global could be useful. Thus while this paper contributes to the growing number of works on gender and Islam that problematize reductionist notions of women's religious roles in Muslim communities, it also acts as a call for such works to more explicitly consider if, and how, the sum of local practices constitutes global Islam.

Working Title: Ummah or Jamat?: Aspiring to Locality, Globality, and Universality in the Hunza Valley

Katherine J. L. Miller, Reed College

Like many places designated "remote," "rural," and "isolated" in both popular and anthropological parlance, Pakistan's Hunza Valley is a site whose local specificity is constituted in part through relations with other local places and with global institutions, processes and forms of community. In particular, Hunza is shaped by its inclusion within the Isma'ili Islamic religious community. The globally-dispersed Isma'ili jamat is held together by a dense, highly bureaucratic network of institutions of religious and community governance and development, the local presence of which enables a sense of connection to the global; collectively they represent a the jamat as a "moral horizon" for Hunza's Isma'ilis. At the same time the jamat and its institutions, thoroughly imbricated at multiple points with European liberalism, also gesture toward a universal conception of humanity (albeit one with a specific history and locus), which likewise becomes a focus of Hunza people's moral imagination.
Amidst these complex interrelations and aspirations to link the local, the global, and the universal, the concept of the ummah occupies a relatively insignificant place. This suggests that the ummah, though central to the global imagination and aspirations of many Muslims, may have limits as a focus of collective identity and moral striving for communities defined by distance from an "orthodox" Sunni norm. In this paper I explore some of the spatializing implications of the concepts "ummah" and "jamat," and to consider how the latter is deployed to construct a particular understanding of the relationship between local Isma'ili communities and various iterations or senses of the global. I argue that the ummah, from the perspective of Hunza's Isma'ilis, offers a paradoxically parochial form of identity –at once too narrow to capture their broadest moral ambitions and too inclusive in ways that contradict their own perceptions and experiences of the boundaries between Muslim communities.

Land of the Ungoverned: On the Historiography of Lawlessness at the Frontier of Empire

Jonah Steinberg, University of Vermont

In this paper I will examine the construction of 'lawlessness,' cultural disobedience, and Islamic 'fanaticism' in British colonial narratives of the northwestern frontier of imperial India. Drawing upon rare archival materials, imperial scholarly writings, and popular writings, I suggest that such framings served to rationalize exceptional tactics of violence against 'insubordinate' or 'insurgent' subjects, and to exempt them from standards and guarantees of 'the law' applied to other colonial subjects. In particular, I interrogate ethnographic construals of cultural character as it pertained to a limited set of resistance movements in the foothills of the Hindu Kush range; I look at the written manifestation of British anxieties over the rebellions of 'The Mad Faqir' Saidullah, and of Umra Khan. I pay special attention to the way that undisciplined intractability was explained by virtue of revealing contrasts, in an ethnological voice, between the essentially violent nature of Islam and the fundamentally peaceful nature of Christianity. Such binaries were tied into a narrative of lawlessness as the antithesis of a rationality whose sole possessors were the agents of empire and whose negation, or cure, might be found in the disciplines of capitalism whose ultimate reward would be prosperity. I further will explore the possibility that the obedient 'lawfulness' performed by Isma'ili principalities to the north, compliant as they were and are with regional states, emerged in dialectic with the perceived restive insubordination to the south.

114 | Histories of Himalayan Buddhism

Conveners: Andrew Quintman, Yale University
Kurtis Schaeffer, University of Virginia

The historical study of Buddhism in the Himalayas has developed significantly in the last several decades. The completion and cataloging of major collections of Himalayan Buddhist literature such as the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, as well as similar ongoing efforts in Bhutan and elsewhere, have brought unprecedented resources for the study of history before the international scholarly community. Yet by and large scholars in different disciplines and in different national traditions of scholarship tend to work independently and with little interaction. This panel seeks to draw together scholars from a number of disciplines working on the history of Buddhism throughout the Himalayas, including social and institutional historians, art historians, literary specialists, and anthropologists whose work extends to historical periods. Contributors will report on ongoing research projects, and they will also be asked to address methodological concerns and productive trajectories for future research. What are the major documentary collections that require attention now, and how should they be approached. What is the role of field research in historical study today? What shared features do Tibetan-derived forms of Buddhism stretching from Arunachal Pradesh to Pakistan have in common with one another and with the traditions of other Himalayan cultural groups (Newars, middle-hills Nepalis, etc.). How should these commonalities and divergences structure research? How can distinctive areas of research –art history, architectural history, social and cultural history, literary history and so forth –best be synthesized in interesting and productive ways. What emerging technologies should be utilized in the field? In asking panelists to address issues of broad methodological concern in the context of their own work, we hope to focus a sense of collective scholarly enterprise in the study of Himalayan Buddhism.

Session I
Benjamin Wood, *St. Francis College*
Sarah Richardson*, University of Toronto*
Elizabeth Monson*, Harvard University*
John Ardussi, *Independent Scholar*

Session II
Kurtis Schaeffer, *University of Virginia*
Andrew Quintman, *Yale University*
Annabella Pitkin*, Columbia University*
Todd Lewis, *College of the Holy Cross*

Mapping the Life of Losel Tengyong

Benjamin Wood, St. Francis College

In conjunction with Sarah Richardson's contribution to this panel, my presentation reports on *Gold, Statue, Text: Visualizing Movement in Tibetan History* —a group project centered at the University of Toronto. My talk specifically pertains to the project's development of a digital map of Shalu master Losel Tengyong's 1864 Tibetan autobiography. This map was developed in order to experiment with new approaches to visualizing the autobiographer's recollections of his travels and exchanges (of teachings, holy objects, and money) across the Tibetan plateau. The text's aspiration towards precision (commemorating travel and exchange in terms of locations, personal names, dates, objects, and money) —a feature common to many Tibetan autobiographies —has made it possible to exhaustively compile and visualize detailed event-associated data. With its ability to sort historical events through categories of exchange, date, place, and religious affiliation, the map aims to enliven and support the analysis of data that are normally too fragmentary to meaningfully evaluate. We hope, thereby, that the map will allow us to pose new research questions on the author's networks of influence and exchange. My talk surveys the map's rationale, its developmental challenges and limitations, and the research questions that it might support. I conclude by speculating on the questions that might be asked (and answered) in an expanded version of this project, based on the collaborative mapping of multiple historical texts.

Visualizing a Temple Across Time and Space

Sarah Richardson, University of Toronto

As part of the collaborative project *Gold, Statue, Text: Visualizing Movement in Tibetan History*, this talk explores some specific uses of digital technologies to bring the history and art of the temple of Shalu into our modern sights. In particular, this talk is about ways we have tried to quite literally see change, construction, and diversity at a historic Tibetan monument. The production of a digital model that shows different building periods at Shalu from the 11th to 14th centuries has been built, one that we hope is a useful tool through which to see the changing Tibetan temple as not only a physical but a social product evincing change. This talk will consider the potential contribution of such visual reconstructions to better understand temples and their historic contexts, asking what are their potential, as well as their limits? The web based project, which considers present painted and sculptural remains at Shalu in relation to historic building periods, has been one way to help organize complex but sometimes conflicting data on the history of the temple. Further, the visuality of the website format has been useful to another task of comparing particular visual themes in Shalu's famous paintings, affording our visual access to specific examples of the overwhelming diversity depicted in Shalu's 14th century paintings. Can this organized collection of images open up visual research of this otherwise inaccessible temple to a broader audience? Does doing so allow us to treat and organize visual material more like a text? This talk will discuss the particular potential of visualization, image and reconstruction to harness some of the power, and reveal some of the limits, of our historical imaginations.

Flying Phalluses and Buddhist Biographies: Rethinking Contemporary Ethnographic Resources for Pre-modern Literary Studies

Elizabeth Monson, Harvard University

An article from the Globalpost online magazine states: "Most of the penises painted on houses or suspended from rooftops in Bhutan are larger than humans... Flying phalluses are...tributes to the adored religious teacher and master of mahamudra Buddhism, Drukpa Kunley...[who] pioneered an unorthodox branch of Buddhism based on enlightening the common folk, mostly women." This statement, representing perhaps one of the most common contemporary perceptions of the Buddhist saint, Drukpa Kunley (1455-1529), forces me to question how modern representations of Drukpa Kunley, such as this one, may provide rich resources for both literary and historical analyses of this saint's fifteenth-century *rangnam* (autobiography). In this paper, using the case example of ethnographic research I conducted in Bhutan over two years on the figure of Drukpa Kunley, I explore the impact of such field research and ethnographic representation on a literary study of pre-modern Buddhist *rangnam*. I investigate in what ways an ethnographic study and representation of the contemporary visions, stories, and practices of this saint in modern Bhutan enable me to be a better reader of pre-modern texts, such as Drukpa Kunley's fifteenth-century autobiography. However, this question extends equally in the opposite direction, challenging me to also investigate how textual studies of pre-modern texts can inform and nuance analyses and ethnographic accounts of contemporary practices, oral narratives, and embedded representations. This paper addresses the larger question concerning the role of field research in the literary and historical study of Himalayan Buddhist materials.

The Life of a Controversial Himalayan Buddhist Ruler: The 16th Deb Raja of Bhutan Sonam Lhundrub (also known as Deb Zhidar) (reigned 1768-1773), Based on Inscriptions and Historical Records from Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Ladakh, and British India

John Ardussi, Independent Scholar

"Himalayan Buddhism" presupposes the existence of Himalayan Buddhists as human actors. In the Tibetan world view, at least, Buddhism provided the framework for not only religious practice but also for historical scholarship and social interaction on multiple levels, including governance and the conduct of foreign relations. It is a frustration shared by scholars of traditional Tibet, however, that rarely do the standard Tibetan histories offer nuanced, critical evaluations of the individual personalities about whom they write. In attempting to get beneath the culturally prescribed rhetorical formalism of these texts, we have to evaluate not only what is said, but also to speculate on what is left unsaid.

The existence of Bhutan as a neighboring state to Tibet since the early 17th century offers a unique opportunity to study the dynamics of two distinct Himalayan societies. Both nominally "Buddhist," their traditional histories were written in classical Tibetan and share common Buddhist themes. But their mutual sectarian and political differences left a trail of conflict extending the length of the Himalayas, from Arunachal Pradesh to Ladakh.

In this paper I propose to review key events from the life of a controversial Bhutanese civil ruler of the 18th century, the 16th "Deb Raja" ('Brug Sde-srid) Sonam Lhundrub . Not being a monk, no formal biography (rnam-thar) was written of him. Nevertheless, as a forceful promoter of Bhutanese political interests in the Himalayas and bordering lands, his character and actions can be evaluated based on an inscriptional source and the writings of monks and officials from Bhutan, Tibet, Sikkim, and British India. It is hoped that the exercise will shed light on the methodology and differing use of source material by traditional Himalayan Buddhist historians.

An Introduction to the Life of Kuntu Zangmo (1464-1549) and Some Remarks on Researching the History of Buddhist Women in the Himalayas

Kurtis Schaeffer, University of Virginia

It is a platitude to state that textual sources for the history of women in Tibet are rare. Out of the thousands of biographies---to cite just one type of Tibetan literature---recounting the lives of religious leaders, only a small handful of these are about women. Yet this is a platitude that should continue to provoke in us questions regarding our research methods, our project design, and our ways of historical explanation. Why is it that women's writing and writing about women is so poorly preserved? How can we expand, refine, and critique the repertoire of our historical research methods about women in Tibet? And how might the effort to think through histories of women in Tibet help up us in turn to write better histories of people, places, and times in Tibet more generally? In this presentation I offer a brief overview of available Tibetan-language sources by and about women before the modern period as well as recent scholarship about these works. I then introduce a major source that has only recently become available, the 1551 biography of Kuntu Zangmo (Kun tu bzang mo, 1464-1549), partner of the famed leader Tsangnyön Heruka (Gtsang smyon Heruka, 1452-1507). This Life is a well-wrought life story that shares many features of works from the school of life writing promoted by Tsangnyön and his disciples during a period of about eighty years, from the late 15th through the mid 16th centuries. I describe the content, scope, and style of the work, as well as the people, topics, events, places, and forms of reasoning presented in the work. Finally, I use this brief overview as an occasion to reflect on the current state of historical research and writing about Buddhist women in the Himalayas, with particular reference to the Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik's introduction to their 2005 volume, *Women in Tibet*, which in my opinion constitutes the field's most important exploration to date of issues in the historical study of Buddhist women in the Himalayas.

Buddhism on the Border: Institutional History and the Formation of Religious Tradition on the Frontier of Tibet and Nepal

Andrew Quintman, Yale University

Discussions of Tibetan religious systems and institutional histories have tended to focus on the region's dominant geo-political center, that is Lhasa and the surrounding province of the modern-day TAR. Recent efforts have begun to explore Buddhist traditions along Tibet's eastern periphery, acknowledging the prominent role of religious institutions and figures along the traditional Sino-Tibetan border far from the political center. This paper turns instead to Tibet's southern border with Nepal. In particular, it will situate the monastic complex of Drakar Taso (Brag dkar rta so) as a nexus for Buddhist training, doctrinal transmission, and institutional authority across the central Himalaya. Drawing largely from the *History of Drakar Taso and its Abbatial Lineage* written by the early-nineteenth-century scholar Chokyi Wangchuk (Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1775-1837), this paper will survey this religious center's construction and rising prestige. The site's origins are closely tied to subjugation myths of the early charismatic figures Padmasambhava and Milarepa. By the mid-sixteenth century, Lhatsun Rinchen Namgyal (Lha btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal, 1473-1557) had established the foundations for a monastery, retreat complex, and printing house. The *History* continues by recording the lives of monastic throne holders down to the author himself, where it describes the creation of a newly recognized reincarnation lineage: the Drakar Taso Tulku line to which Chokyi Wangchuk belonged and which was the only such tradition in Kyirong. In this way the *History* documents efforts of local religious leaders to raise the center's stature throughout the central Himalaya, creating a loose network of affiliated temples in Tibet and Nepal. This paper uses the *History* of Drakar Taso as a lens for examining transformations of institutional authority and religious culture "on the border." In doing so, it raises further questions about how a provincial region on the Himalayan margins could exercise widespread and enduring influence on the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, and how the writing of history itself may be complicit in that process.

Making Room for Miracles: Interdisciplinary Religious History in the Himalayas

Annabella Pitkin, Barnard College, Columbia University

Accounts of Himalayan Buddhist yogis who travel five hundred miles in an evening, know the future, or feed guests from an inexhaustible supply of candy complicate the division of labor between historians, literary scholars, and anthropologists. Sitting uneasily between disciplinary boundaries, miracle stories call attention to the presence of religion in Himalayan historical materials, and to the overlap between historical, literary and cultural genres. In this presentation, I explore miracle narratives from two interrelated twentieth century biographical projects, as a starting point for questions about the intersection of history, anthropology, and literary methods in research on Himalayan societies. I also consider contributions scholars in Himalayan studies may make to contemporary debates about the role of religion.

The biographical projects I discuss concern the lives of Khunu Lama Tenzin Gyaltsen and Drigung Amgon Rinpoche (both late 19th-mid 20th centuries). Like others on this panel, my research is interdisciplinary. I draw on textual genres including biography, poetry, grammatical treatises, and histories of institutions. At the same time, my project also an oral history-based one. Associates of both men were still living during my research, something which reinforced the value of bridging historical and ethnographic methods. The two protagonists of my study were Buddhist adepts whose remembered activities include teaching, publishing, meeting political leaders, and displaying powerful *siddhis*. The stories of their lives highlight questions about the place of religion in Himalayan intellectual history and in interdisciplinary Himalayan studies. Precisely because miracle stories challenge assumptions about the role of religion in society, miracle narratives are an indispensable element of our historical and social investigations. Finally, I argue that by bringing miracle narratives back from the margins of our historical and anthropological work, we gain an opportunity to contribute to important current debates about secularism, post-secularism, fundamentalism, and the role of religion in society.

Placing the Himalayas in the Asian Studies Curriculum: a History from Curriculum Projects and Institutes

Todd Lewis, College of the Holy Cross

A history of efforts in the American higher education to define, locate, and legitimate the study of the Himalayan region has never been written. In addition to (and similar to) the adjacent field of Tibetology, the field's origins must be sought in the work of the pioneering scholars (and their institutions) who first published in the region: anthropologists Gerald Berreman at Cal-Berkeley, John Hitchcock at the University of Wisconsin-Madison; historian Theodore Riccardi at Columbia University; the geographer Padyumna Karan at the University of Kentucky; and the political scientist Leo Rose at Cal-Berkeley were in this cohort. In this presentation I will describe two arenas in which I have worked and about which I am most familiar: [1] The work at Columbia in the 1980-s, in which Riccardi, Richard English, Bruce Owens, and I were funded by the U.S. Department of Education to produce three works that were intended to define the field of Himalayan Studies: a Bibliography of all published works; a annotated *Reader of Himalayan History and Anthropology*; and a *Syllabus*. All were produced by 1988. The first two were printed, bound, and deposited in Washington, DC and in the Columbia University library. After considerable effort, no press would take on the Reader but only the last was published by the Asian Studies Association in 1994. [2] A series of five Summer Institutes on the Himalayan Region funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities that I co-directed with Tibetologist Leonard van der Kuijp from 2002 until 2011. I will discuss the dilemmas we faced in presenting the region in these one-month programs to K-12 teachers and to college/university faculty, with the goal of providing them with material that would enrich their teaching about Asia.

115 | Human Ecology in the Himalaya

Chair: Jana Fortier, University of California, San Diego

This panel explores different modes of human-environment interactions across the Himalayan region. Themes include the role of non-governmental organizations in wildlife conservation, land-labor relations, environmental governmentality, food sovereignty, agriculture policy and ethnobotany.

Session I
Rachel Devi Amtzis, *National University of Singapore*
Shaunna Barnhart, *Allegheny College*
Bhuwan Dhakal, *University of Florida*

Session II
Yufang Gao, *Yale University*
Ramesh Sunam, *Australian National University*

Cyber-Urban Heritage Revitalization Communities and Movements in the Kathmandu Valley

Rachel Devi Amtzis, National University of Singapore

Responses to the negative environmental effects of urbanization in Kathmandu engage social media platforms using a combination of textual, photographic, and video appeals to mobilize members of online communities to act, both within cyberspace and in physical Kathmandu, to protect and revitalize the Kathmandu Valley's natural, cultural, and built heritage. This research will analyze the conservation strategies employed by individuals and organizations concerned with heritage preservation. It will investigate how their narratives of community, nature, nostalgia, and urban decay and renewal are expressed on social media platforms. This study particularly seeks to examine how these textual and visual cyber communications translate into community mobilization in the physical environment, as well as how community involvement in heritage preservation is portrayed in online communities and the resultant implications for understanding and strengthening community engagement in future heritage conservation efforts. The research will reveal how and to what extent these initiatives' narratives place themselves as part of global urban revitalization and heritage preservation efforts and analyze the mutually influential quality of their discourses in cyberspace and street space.

Environmental Governmentality at the Intersection of Community Forestry and Biogas Technology in Nepal

Shaunna Barnhart, Allegheny College

Community forestry and biogas technology are two programs in Nepal which independently are commonly heralded as success stories, despite their shortcomings. This paper investigates the intersection of these two programs: community forest groups that support, promote, and fund household biogas technology to reduce firewood dependence for cooking. While the decision to build biogas (an anaerobic digester that traps methane for direct energy use generated from decomposing organic matter, primarily cow manure) is at the household level, those decisions are connected to perceived and experienced communal benefits in addition to the benefits realized at the household level. This paper utilizes the framework of environmental governmentality, specifically focusing on knowledge production and power, to explore how community forestry influences environmental subjectivities resulting in an extension of changing other environment-related behaviors, in this case energy choices. This study is based on 17 months of qualitative field work conducted in Jhapa and Gorkha districts with nine community forest user groups conducted over a 3 year period.

Locals' knowledge, attitude and perception towards human-elephant conflict in Bahundangi, eastern Nepal

Bhuwan Dkahal, University of Florida
Brijesh Thapa, University of Florida

Bahundangi Village in eastern Nepal has experienced intense trans-boundary human-elephant conflict in recent decades, and is considered as one of the most affected community in the country. The impact is largely due to elephants that travel from West Bengal, India and ultimately to Bahundangi which is the principal point of entry into Nepal. The elephants annually visit the village within a six-month period, and create major impacts to agriculture, human life, property, and livelihoods. Given the human and elephant casualties along with economic hardships due to crop depredation and infrastructure damages, the district has yet to garner major national level priority initiatives. The purpose of this study was to conduct a baseline assessment of community residents with respect to knowledge, perception and attitudes towards the ongoing human-elephant conflict in the area. Six focus groups (8-10 participants) were conducted in the local Nepali language among various stakeholders in the community during December 2012. Members of the focus groups were probed on multiple issues as anecdotally reported by residents. Based on the responses, thematic analysis was used to identify themes and subthemes. Results identified that the local people had minimal knowledge on conflict mitigation strategies, and was largely based on the experiences they had during the past four decades. Also, the ongoing conflict had direly impacted livelihoods, and there were major concerns with respect to lack of mitigation by the government. In addition, lack of community input and government influence were also major limiting factors. Other key issues were focused on the lack of compensation for loss of property and crops. While the majority viewed that killing of elephants would be the permanent solution of the problem, they also opined that effective management of electric fencing would stop encroachment. Overall, residents noted that the government should bear the cost of management while people needed to take ownership of management actions.

The Role of Indigenous NGOs in Conserving Wildlife on the Eastern Tibetan Plateau, China

Yufang Gao, Yale University

Effective local participation is the key to save the last wilderness in western China where the Tibetan inhabitants share the enthusiasm for wildlife conservation. The role of indigenous conservation groups is increasingly recognized in Sanjiangyuan National Natural Reserve, an area of over 360,000 km² on eastern Tibetan Plateau, which was designated by the central government of China as the first national experimental conservation zone in 2011. Drawing on my one-year participant observation with a conservation group formed of local Tibetan Buddhist monks in Sanjiangyuan, I appraised the role of indigenous NGOs in promoting local participation and conserving wildlife. I presented the case of Nyanpo Yutse Conservation Association, elaborating on the development of the group, their conservation philosophy and efforts, their successes and failures, as well as the obstacles and limitations they encountered. I also analyzed the relationship and interaction between indigenous and outside NGOs based on reflections of my involvement in the group. I found that indigenous NGOs, with their roots and long term presence in the local communities, have the potential to enhance and sustain local participation in wildlife conservation. Being a channel for conveying local perspectives, indigenous NGOs can help facilitate the search for locally acceptable solutions to the conservation challenges. However, the role of indigenous NGOs is impeded by the political constrains as well as the communication barriers due to language and culture differences. I recommended that outside conservationists should help create a safe and favorable arena for the indigenous NGOs to play their roles. By working together, combining top-down and bottom-up approaches, outside and indigenous NGOs will be able to improve their conservation effectiveness.

Neoliberal agriculture policy, farming and food sovereignty in rural Nepal

Ramesh Sunam, Australian National University

This paper examines the case of Nepal in terms of its trajectories from being once a net food exporter to a food deficit country in the last few decades. The national agriculture policy has prioritised commercial farming but the country continues to be stuck in subsistence agriculture. In this sense, Nepal represents a typical country where peasant farming is still dominant and the influence of 'green revolution' is quite invisible unlike many parts of India and Southeast Asian countries. Although corporate agriculture takes no hold, local food sovereignty has been deteriorating in Nepal. Drawing on extended ethnographic fieldwork in rural Nepal, this paper unfolds adverse processes and social relations that have constrained local food production. The neoliberal government policies – no subsidies, reduced technical services, commodification of land among others – have undermined local farming. This in turn has compelled many rural farmers to exit agriculture and travel overseas as a low-paid international labourer, mainly to the Gulf countries. Similarly, the commodification of land and its uses for non-farming purpose has seen an unprecedented rise which in turn is partly fuelled by feudal land relations. Another important reason behind ailing farming in rural Nepal is partly driven by state-protected and corporate-led agriculture in the bordering parts of India, flooding Nepali market with cheap agri-products.

116 | Laboring in the Himalayas: Critical Perspectives

Conveners: Mona Bhan, DePau University
Debarati Sen, Kennesaw State University

This panel explores the relationship between place making, labor and ecological formations in the Himalayas. It traces this triad in the context of shifting economic regimes and enduring continuities that have persisted through colonial and postcolonial times to produce specific forms of identities, labor practices, and place-based resistance. We are interested in exploring the ways Himalayan ecologies both shape and are shaped by political economic regimes of labor and resistance that might allow for a deeper understanding of the ways in which populations living in the Himalayas produce place, space, and society. Based on long term field-research the questions that the panel raises are the following: How do processes of place-making and labor intersect to shape self and subjectivities in the Himalayan borders? What are some unique features of the Himalayan environment (cultural, political, and ecological) that engender specific forms of labor regimes? How have particular labor practices within the region influenced ways of being, belonging and protest? How have continuities and changes in community labor practices affected the politics of identity formation and political mobilization?

Heather Hindman, *University of Texas at Austin*
Debarati Sen, *Kennesaw State University*
Mona Bhan, *DePauw University*
Austin Lord, *Yale University*
Discussant: Arjun Gunaratne, *Macalester College*

Labor Migration and Laboring to Migrate: Transparency and Dalals in Nepali Migration

Heather Hindman, University of Texas at Austin

This paper considers the rise of new forms of labor migration mediation and how the very processes endured as a part of the preparation for migration give potential movers different ideas about what they might face abroad. Contrasting the experience of those seeking to work in South Korea with the procedures for movement to Gulf countries, I elide the distinctions between educational migration and labor migration to direct attention to the role of various forms of brokers in the labor recruitment and selection process (Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh 2012). I argue that the South Korean program of EPS/KLT, now EPS/TOPIK, indexes an international discourse on transparency that is not universally utilized in Nepal. Furthermre, the procedures that are a part of the pursuit of overseas work in Korea exhibit a resemblance to youth activities of gaining capital through cultural and educational means familiar to middle class, urban Nepalis, but less so to their non-elite counterparts. Particularly in the case of Korea, migration dreams blend with popular cultural practices, including the soft power agendas of the Korean government and the rise of the Mongol look in Kathmandu. In addition, I explore discussions of risk within the labor migration process and how participants in new forms of high-end mobility are able to utilize resources and endure distinctive forms of risk. New processes of labor migration have also created new forms of work for migration facilitators. I suggest that even as international agencies seek to eliminate the exploitation associated with brokerage (Sampson 2010; Gurung 2012), new spaces for obfuscation are created, ones especially opaque to those unfamiliar with modern bureaucratic rationalities.

Everyday Subnationalisms: Gendered Affective Labor of Gorkhaland in Darjeeling, India.

Debarati Sen, Kennesaw State University

How have women plantation workers' narratives around work and cultivation of work based subjectivities become central to the everyday life of subnationalism in Darjeeling's rural areas? In engaging this question I wish to highlight the historical and contemporary role of Darjeeling's rural women in the region's subnationalist movement. I contend that rural Nepali women engage in particular forms of placemaking through the valorization of their labor and local ecology that is central to the everyday legitimacy of subnationalist local politics. My focus here is on women plantation workers everyday narratives about plantation work, which helps cultivate a distinct *pahadi* identity so central to a politics of distinction and belonging that sustains the everyday desire for a separate Nepali state. In these narratives around gendered plantation labor one finds both support and ambivalence towards the subnational movement. This gendered affective work of self-cultivation enabled a particular kind of subnational imaginary to take shape in rural Darjeeling. These narratives are central to the cultural work of subnationalism and the production of Nepali cultural citizenship within India in the last three decades.

These gendered everyday material and discursive manifestations of "politics of recognition" (Fraser 1997) are absent from the existing literature on subnationalism in India. The paucity of information about the creativity of poor women in Darjeeling is perpetuated by the increased media focus and scholarly interest in the struggles of the broader Nepali community within India. The latter focuses on diagnostic moments of ethnic anxiety, decentralized territorial arrangements and forms of violence in which men are disproportionately represented barring a few instances where women become martyrs. But detailed ethnography of everyday realities helps us move beyond seeing Nepali women either as victims, silent bystanders or heroes. Instead, it upholds women's complex subjectivities, and how through their labor and affect women uphold the symbolic economies of struggle, the critical cultural work they do to make the movement meaningful for average people, despite dictatorial and corrupt leaders, and setbacks in the movement

Moral Capital, Idle Labor: Counterinsurgency and Corporatization in Kashmir, India.

Mona Bhan, DePauw University

Many scholars argue that the ultimate control of critical water resources is at the heart of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. In the past five decades, India has constructed twelve dams in Kashmir to "harness" its water resources, a move which, according to many Kashmiris, reflects India's colonial designs in the region. Local resistance to dams is countered by state and corporate narratives in which building dams is framed as moral work that promises to bring Kashmiris into the fold of modernity while "assimilating" them into India's "productive work culture." I focus on the border district of Gurez in Northern Kashmir to show how communities living on the India-Pakistan border are being incorporated into new forms of wage labor since the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) ––– India's premier dam building agency ––– began constructing a 330 MW dam on the disputed waters of the Kishanganga river. My goal is to analyze how NHPC employees represent the Himalayas as wild, unpredictable and treacherous in order to justify their unjust labor practices as well as their social and ecological interventions that will displace local communities in Gurez and dramatically alter their land and waterscapes. I also show how the NHPC resorts to particular constructions of Kashmiri indolence to normalize corporate control over preexisting definitions of time, labor, and corporeality and strengthen the state's iron control during periods of grave political instability. In the end, I want to argue that new forms of corporate labor are meant to tame Himalaya's difficult geography and to discipline recalcitrant border populations who refuse to subscribe to state-scripted notions of territory or identity.

The Turbulent Frontier: Scale, Uncertainty, and the Lived Experience of Hydropower Development in Nepal

Austin Lord, Yale University

Hydropower development is intensifying in Nepal as environmental, political, and economic resources are mobilized in response to scarcity, to resolve common social and spatial urgencies. These mobilizations are based on certain framings of underdevelopment and social justice, but also particular logics of environmental governance, political efforts toward energy sovereignty, and technologies of state-making. Hydropower has long been understood as the necessary future of Nepal, and a wide variety of efforts have been and are being made to accelerate, underwrite, or guarantee the 'scale-making projects' (Tsing 2000) of hydropower development. The imagined hydro-future is produced through an elaborate system of practices and processes, both material and discursive, that seek to restructure and reorient certain territories – affecting complex flows of labor and capital, creating new landscapes of risk and opportunity along an expanding resource frontier.

This pattern of capitalization on Nepal's rivers is affecting complex processes of both location and dislocation, connectedness and fragmentation on a variety of scales, and across a wide variety of biophysical and human geographies – producing a variety of different 'hydroscapes' (Swyngedouw 1999). Hydropower development is often presented as a monolithic force, when it is in practice a plurality of uncertain interventions that are experienced and understood differently within differently affected and differently placed populations.

My research focuses on this turbulence - on describing plurality, uncertainty, and unevenness within the 'lived experiences' of hydropower development. This work uses an ethnographic approach to disaggregate patterns of social and spatial change in the Trishuli and Tamakoshi watersheds, where hydropower development is intensifying in real time – to add finer detail to abstract definitions of 'affectedness' and 'locality'; to increase the voice and visibility of alternative narratives of hydropower development; to describe what is changing and for whom, who and what comes and goes, who benefits and who does not, how and why.

117 | Modernization & the Revisiting of Tradition in Tibetan regions

Convener: Ming Xue, University of California, Los Angeles

The process of modernization has been taking place in different Tibetan regions. However, modern ideologies do not necessarily replace traditional thoughts and beliefs. Through the interaction with modern societies, a traditional community may adapt to modernity to some extent, meanwhile revisit its tradition and re-evaluate the core value of its culture. What has changed and what has been preserved? This panel invites papers that examine the dynamic between tradition and modernity in contemporary Tibet. Examples include, but not limited to: how do Tibetans evaluate and practice traditional healing with the availability of western medicines? How do parents and children reconcile the conflict between formal education (generalist) and transmission of culture through apprenticeship (specialist)? How do craftsmen preserve the tradition of the ethnic art on one hand, and pursue its economic value on modern markets on the other hand? How do traditional beliefs (e.g. sacred mountains and lakes) affect the way in which people use their ecological resources? For this panel, Tibetan regions are loosely defined, including communities in India, Nepal, and China, etc.

Theresia Hofer, *University of Oslo*
Lijing Peng, *National University of Ireland*
Ming Xue, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Michelle Kleisath, *University of Washington*

Medicine and the Representation of Traditions and Modernities: Shrine Rooms and Museum Exhibits in Lhasa

Theresia Hofer, University of Oslo

At present, Tibetan medicine is one of the liveliest forums for the expression of Tibetan culture, identity and language in Tibetan areas of China, where it is particularly popular in urban areas. Building on theories about museums and national identity formation as well as "civilizing projects", "ethnic medicine" and modernity in the context of China and Tibet, this paper argues why exhibitions and displays on Tibetan medicine are relevant sites to understand broader issues of transformation and modernisation in Tibet. The paper describes various displays of material aspects of Tibetan medicine, such as instruments, books, photographs and saintly figures, as found in hospitals, colleges and pharmacies in the contemporary Tibet Autonomous Region. It analyses these within two kinds of spheres of representation. One provides a contemplative experience for medical professionals, who seek to revere Buddhist ways of knowing and saintly figures of the past, especially the Medicine Buddha. The other sphere uses the techniques and didactic means of modern museums and is accessible to the wider public. While the first contemplates a relationship with the deep past of the medical and Buddhist tradition, the latter's salient features are the promotion of "progress" of Tibetan medicine in tandem with communist reforms, the "scientific" character of traditional medicine, and, at times, commercial interests.

This presentation reveals representations of Tibetan medicine in Lhasa as a dynamic arena where Tibetans make active choices about their relationship to Tibet's past and Tibetan medicine's emerging futures, yet clearly spelling out the limitations in such expressions.

Performance of Epic Gesar and Modernization in Kham and Amdo Tibet

Lijing Peng, National University of Ireland

Performance of Tibetan Epic Gesar features a pervasive system of practices involving the production and dissemination of belief systems. In the modernization of Tibetan cultures, the practice of epic performances demonstrates interesting aspects when traditional cultural forms confront the economic and political changes. This paper aims at analyzing current Epic Gesar performances across different Tibetan cultural groups and the status of the transmission of this tradition. The related field researches were carried out in Tibetan-inhabited areas outside Tibetan Autonomous Region, where diversified national ethnic policies and socio-economic structures bring different elements to the modernization processes. In Kham Tibetan area inside Sichuan Province, the national propaganda of the conscious preservation of Epic Gesar causes the textualization and visualization with modern techniques of this tradition; and the best singers among the youths are invited to learn the performance for the sake of preservation and to play the role which was traditionally undertaken by the spiritualists with specific artistic and religious talents. In Amdo Tibetan area inside Gansu Province, the traditional spiritual performances of Epic Gesar are well preserved in an oral form. These performances are being carefully studied by local scholars who point out the value of this performance style as a distinct cultural form. This demonstrates an alternative reaction to modernization. In the linguistic aspect, both the textualization and the modern researches illustrate the performance contents in standard national language, and therefore clear out the stratification of languages within one performance practice. The prayer before the epic singing which is performed in classical Tibetan language is not taken in any texts and shown in any academic work; thus the important religious essence of this tradition has been eliminated as an important strategic to turn a religious practice into a cultural one in the process of modernization.

Painting The Future: Trends and Transitions of Tibetan Thangka in Amdo Tibet

Ming Xue, University of California, Los Angeles

In Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai province in China, Buddhist thangka painting is one of the major sources of income of local residents. Although it was traditionally a painting for religious teaching and practice, the aesthetic and economic value of thangka art has been increasingly recognized by art dealers, collectors and tourists from other parts of China and overseas. Since I started my fieldwork in 2009, the number of visitors in the area, the mobility of the painters, the material conditions, and the scale of the thangka market have been rapidly increasing. This paper will investigate two aspects of the trends and transitions in Tibetan thangka painting. First, during the process of producing traditional thangka, how do painters make judgments about their professional activities when different moral codes are in conflict (e.g. religious norms in conflict with economic profit)? Secondly, what motivates thangka painters to make innovations in their artwork to produce contemporary thangka, and how does such innovation communicate their Tibetan identity within and beyond their communities? Based on my interviews with thangka painters in Huangnan TAP and Lhasa, my study will shed light on how Tibetans evaluate their own cultural core values and find ways to keep them in the process modernization.

Love across Paradigms: White Women, Tibetan Men, and the legacy of Salijia

Michelle Kleisath, University of Washington

This paper investigates the complex meaning of the Tibetan term "salijia," coined in the late 90s by Tibetan comedian Menlakyab. The term originated on MenlaKyab's Amdo talk radio show, as the name of a male Tibetan villager who married a white woman. It has since transformed into a thriving salijia culture with its epicenter in Dharamsala, India. This paper will analyze popular images of salijia in Dharamsala-produced films such as "I love you Richard gere" and "We're no Monks," contrast them with portrayals of Tibetan men in the film "words of my perfect teacher" and the book "Namma: a Tibetan Love story", both produced by euro-American women. In exploring this popular imagery, I aim to explain the effect of salijia imagery and culture on the lives of everyday women and men.

119 | Nepal in Transition

Chair: Keshav Bhattarai, University of Central Missouri

The papers in this panel explore post-conflict Nepal through the lens of constitution-writing, governance and citizenship. Topics include the state restructuring process and the changing experiences of what it means to be Nepali.

Tatsuro Fujikura, *Kyoto University*
Anne Mocko*, Concordia College*
Luke Wagner, *Yale University*

Communities and the Constitution of the Public in Contemporary Nepal

Tatsuro Fujikrua, Kyoto University

The politics in Nepal since the 1990s has been characterized by growing demands for rights and recognition by various (ethnic, linguistic, caste) communities, including the demand for 'identity-based' federalism. Critics of these demands argue that the basic structure of Nepal should be built upon sajha ('common', 'shared' or 'public') identity of all the Nepalis. The paper considers the constitutions of communities and the public in contemporary Nepal. At one level, community is rooted in the everyday physical and linguistic practices that create the sense of belonging, for example, to the Tharus, dalits, kamaiyas, or laborers. At another level, communities are also configured through the actions of modern governance, such as categorization of people into different groups through the practices of census. The public is also constituted through both discursive and non-discursive practices. At one level, since the panchayat era, the official history of Nepal aimed to construct the 'common' experience of the Nepalis as a people. On the other hand, what is shared or public, and the nature of that public is also shaped by built environments, such as open parks and public water taps. In this regard, the paper discusses, in particular, the violent struggle among various groups, including the security forces, the Maoists, and other actors, over what statutes should be erected at the crossroads in the city of Nepalgunj. The paper also discusses the roles of map and official documents, such as citizenship and land ownership certificates, in constituting what communities and public. By introducing governmental practices, built-forms and documents into the debate, I hope to add yet another (and hopefully, less divisive) perspective on the question of what constitute communities and res publicus in today's Nepal.

The Presidency and the Post-Monarchy in 'Naya Nepal'

Anne Mocko, Concordia College

One of the most radical changes to the Himalayan political situation in recent years has been the abolition of Nepal's monarchy (from 2006–2008) and the establishment of a presidency to take over the role as 'head of state.' This transition has significantly altered the possibilities for understanding the imagined community of the Nepali nation.

This paper examines the role of public ritual as a means of constructing the national imagined community, and specifically explains how the process of translating *royal* rituals into *presidential* rituals has made arguments about political power and the nature of the state.

The paper begins by providing a brief overview of the demotion of Nepal's king and the creation of its presidency. It then discusses the specific possibilities and challenges of having an elected, party-based official serve as the country's ritual-performer-in-chief, and it explains the discussions currently taking place about how to adjust the president's roles as time goes on.

It concludes with a discussion of the state-level celebration of the holiday of Dasai –a holiday which had previously been central to the assertion of the Shah monarchy. I explain how and why this holiday had posed challenges in transitioning to a post-monarchy situation, and I explain the peculiar system currently in place, whereby the president and ex-king now have annual, competing public Dasai celebrations, located mere blocks from one another.

The paper thus illustrates the complexity of attempting to remove the monarchy from the institutionalized performances of the state, the intriguing possibilities of creating a new office, and the idiosyncratic ways Nepal's first president has been working to balance traditional responsibilities against the post-monarchy government's claims to secularism.

Forging a Secular State: Perceptions of Secularism in the Kathmandu Valley

Luke Wagner, Yale University

In 2006, Nepal's newly re-instated parliament declared the Hindu kingdom a secular state. Two years later, Nepali citizens elected a Constituent Assembly, which swiftly moved to abolish the monarchy and defined the new state as a secular, inclusive, Federal Democratic Republic. Nepal has since been engaged in intense debates regarding both the nature and structure of the new state, and the transition to a full democratic system of governance remains underway. These debates are broad and far-reaching, but at their core they hinge on questions about the meaning of the state, the nature of Nepali national identity, and how Nepal's diverse religious communities engage with each other and the state. The legal definition of "secular" is ambiguous, and there is currently no consensus on its meaning in Nepal. Both anti-secular and pro-secular groups are mobilizing to define the term and thereby contest or defend the state's secular status. This paper presents the preliminary findings of interviews with Nepali citizens living in and near Nepal's capital, Kathmandu, regarding their perspectives on the meaning and implications of secularism in Nepal. Five themes emerged: 1) The understanding that secularism entails equal state support to all religions (as opposed to a separation from religion); 2) The association of secularism with religious conflict; 3) The need for religious tolerance and the protection of the right to freedom of religion; 4) The role of Hinduism in unifying the nation and providing a unique global identity; 5) The increasing influence of Christianity in Nepal. The implications of these findings are analyzed in the context of broader academic debates about secularism, focusing in particular on how Nepal's emerging model of secularism deviates from established models and how debates about secularism are a site for the negotiation of national identity and democratic norms.

120 | Nepal's 2013 Constituent Assembly Elections

Organizer: Luke Wagner, Yale University

On 19 November 2013, Nepal held elections for a new Constituent Assembly (CA). In this roundtable, participants will reflect on the dynamics observed in Nepal's CA elections and will discuss these dynamics in the broader context of Nepal's political history and emergent political processes. The roundtable will include participants who have observed the elections first-hand, both as formal credentialed election observers and as independent observers.

Tulasi Acharya, *Florida Atlantic University*
Amy Johnson, *Yale University*
Mahendra Lawoti, *Western Michigan University*
Elijiah Lewien, *The Carter Center*
Jacob Rinck, *Yale University*
Luke Wagner, *Yale University*

121 | New Directions in Human-Environment Relationships in the Himalayas

Conveners: Sarah Besky, University of Michigan
Shaila Seshia Galvin, Williams College

The trans-Himalayan region has long been conceived as a unique contact zone between different cultural and religious influences, and between human communities and the natural environment. The very landscape of the mountains, with their rifts, rivers, valleys, and peaks calls us to think about the more-than-human contact zones and communities that come into being across Himalayan regions. Understandings of these contact zones, and of human-environment relations in particular, have been marked by a range of perspectives – from those that emphasize degradation wrought by human communities to others that laud their ecological stewardship. In this panel, we stretch the notion of contact to better understand not only the everyday experiences of life in Himalayan landscapes, but to also approach issues of community and community formation within a living landscape that includes plants – from rice, to tea, to foodstuffs – animals – including the iconic monkey guardians of mountain temples – and humans.

Shaila Seshia Galvin, *Williams College*
Jayeeta Sharma*, University of Toronto*
Sarah Besky, *University of Michigan*
Radhika Govindrajan, *University of Illinois*
Discussant: Shafqat Hussain,*Trinity College*

Contesting Basmati: Myths of Origin and Proprietary Lore in Uttarakhand, India

Shaila Seshia Galvin, Williams College

Situated in struggles to assert proprietary ownership and control over basmati rice, this paper studies conflicting "origin stories" about this most luxurious, and contested, Indian grain. Since 1997, when the US-based company RiceTec filed a patent on basmati with the US Patents and Trademarks Office, basmati has been the subject of legal wrangling that has brought to the fore questions of sovereignty and national patrimony, most recently evident in the Government of India's effort to obtain a Geographic Indication for basmati through the World Trade Organization (WTO). Examining accounts of basmati's origins given by Indian rice breeders located in agricultural universities on the one hand, and basmati farmers in the Doon valley of northern India on the other, it focuses on a surprising rift: while rice breeders claim basmati to be indigenous to northern India, and even to the Doon valley itself, rice farmers recount how basmati arrived in the Doon from the Kunnar valley in Afghanistan during the early 19th century, during the Anglo-Afghan wars of the Great Game. The paper will consider how basmati is nationalized as Indian through academic publications produced by rice breeders, which are in turn mobilized to support India's application for a Geographic Indication. If the Great Game was waged over control of territory and Empire in Central Asia, this paper will argue that scientific expertise works to expand the loci of stateness at the genetic level and inscribe it not only in territory but in the qualities of grain itself.

Scarcity, Subsistence, and Plentitude: Food Histories of Himalayan Travel and Work

Jayeeta Sharma, University of Toronto

This panel uses the notion of contact to understand everyday experiences of life in Himalayan landscapes, and approach issues of community and community formation within a living landscape that includes plants, animals, and humans. This paper facilitates the panel's objectives by exploring connections between plants, animals, humans, and their environs through the lens of food history, i.e., "the raw and the cooked", and the circulation thereof, with particular reference to the Eastern Himalayas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beginning with a set of broad premises around food supply, preparation, distribution, and consumption, it moves on to consider some historical encounters around Himalayan travel and work that illuminate the ramifications of colonizer-colonized relationships on the scarcity, subsistence, and limited plenitude that often characterized the region's foodways.

The Buds and Roots of Subnationalism in Darjeeling

Sarah Besky, University of Michigan

Indian Nepali residents of Darjeeling have been calling for the formation of a separate Indian state of "Gorkhaland" for decades. Tea, tea plantations, and tea workers have central features of the movement. Motherly Nepali female tea workers have long been the paradigmatic embodiment of the subjugated Indian Nepali, or "Gorkha," subject. The Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJMM), the separatist party that led the most recent incarnation of the movement (2007-2011), spoke often about tea's place in the region's identity, but reforms to the tea plantations were never part of the GJMM's political program. In fact, tea was often exempted from general strikes led by the GJMM —strikes which effectively stopped the timber trade and tourism.

Why was tea exempted from the GJMM's reforms? This paper explores the role of Darjeeling tea, one of the world's most recognizable agricultural commodities, in the Gorkhaland movement. As Darjeeling tea circulates from plantations to consumers around the world, it brings with it essentialized ideas about Darjeeling itself. Ideas about the region's ecology, its people, and its colonial history have become central to its success on the market. When Gorkhas grow Darjeeling tea, on the other hand, plantation labor reinforces ideas about their rootedness in place: in the very soil of Darjeeling to which they lay claim.

Both the global tea market and subnationalism work on a balance between rootedness and circulation. Tea plants materially and symbolically capture this tension. This paper, then, is about how the global market articulates with regional subnationalist politics. Both operate on specific ideas of place. The GJMM's exemption for tea shows how economic, geographical, and ethnic distinction inform one another. Concepts of rootedness and circulation help us understand how tea plantations served as the material foundation for the movement, yet remained an obstacle to the actualization of a separate state.

Strange Monkey Business, or How to Tell Insiders from Outsiders: Macaque Translocation and the Politics of Identity-Making in India's Central Himalayas

Radhika Govindrajan, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This paper uses human interactions with non-human macaques as a starting point to examine contemporary politics of identity at work in India's Central Himalayan region of Uttarakhand. People-monkey conflict has a long history in the region that is now Uttarakhand. Recorded instances of villagers complaining about damage caused by monkeys to crops, personal property and to themselves go back to the colonial period, and probably even earlier. But this conflict has taken on particular significance only very recently. The paper argues that this sudden urgency owes much to the convergence of policies of macaque translocation with a particular politics of identity-making that emphasizes how *paharis*, hill people, are under threat of being overrun in their *own* spaces by outsiders from the plains. As unfamiliar monkeys enter landscapes where they are seen as anomalous beings, they give credence to prevalent rumors and beliefs that they are agents of a plains-based 'land mafia' sent in to clear the way for the expropriation of agricultural land. The explosion of land transactions and land speculation in Uttarakhand in recent years has been perceived as an opportunity for youth who want to leave agriculture behind, and as a threat for others, whether farmers of an older generation who see it as a threat to the integrity of their community or youth who see it as undermining a *pahari* state. It is in this context that discussions about strange monkeys have come to embody larger concerns about identity, framed in terms of history, culture, and region, about what it means to *belong*. What these concerns illuminate are a landscape of rumor and anxiety, inclusion and exclusion. The paper argues that translocation, in this landscape of fear and rumor, thus becomes significant in shaping conversations about place and identity, both human and non-human.

122 | People & Environment in the Greater Himalaya

Convener: Teri Allendorf, University of Wisconsin-Madison

This set of panels will focus on human-environment relationships across the Himalaya. We define this topic very broadly to include natural resources, protected areas, biodiversity, environmental policy, pollution, wildlife, indigenous knowledge and systems, population-environment, etc. One of the intentions of this set of panels is to help create and promote a group of scholars focused on the environment but building on the strengths of an area studies context that this conference provides.

Session I: Linking Local to Extralocal

Chair: Geoff Childs, *Washington University in St. Louis*
Michelle O. Stewart, *Amherst College*
Geoff Childs, *Washington University in St. Louis*
Anobha Gurung, *Yale University*

Session II: Change, Adaptation, Resilience

Chair: Geoff Childs, *Washington University in St. Louis*
Hilary Faxon, *Yale University*
Carey Clouse, *University of Massachusetts Amherst*
Gerald Roche, *Uppsala University*
Elizabeth Allison, *California Institute of Integral Studies*

Session III: Communities & Tourism

Chair: John Metz, *Northern Kentucky University*
John Zinda, *Brown University*
Alyssa Kaelin, *University of Wyoming*
Kishan Datta Bhatta, *University of Hong Kong*
Queeny Singh, *GGS Indraprastha University*

Constructing and deconstructing the commons: Caterpillar fungus governance in developing Yunnan

Michelle O. Stewart, Amherst College

Each spring, thousands of Tibetans throughout the Tibetan Plateau climb to the high alpine grasslands of 3500-5000 meters elevation in search of the rare, parasitic fungus *Ophiocordyceps sinensis*, commonly known as caterpillar fungus. Caterpillar fungus is one of the most expensive and prized traditional Chinese medicines, which makes it a choice gift between Chinese government officials and wealthy businessmen in China's unique *guanxi* economy. This growing fungal economy has created an unprecedented economic opportunity for rural pastoral populations and most collectors earn 50-80% of their annual household cash income during the short six-week harvesting season from May to July. Caterpillar fungus collecting areas grow increasingly crowded each year, forging the (re)production of rules and practices governing access to and control over these resources. Drawing together field-based observations from two caterpillar fungus collecting areas in northwestern Yunnan from 2007-2011, this talk examines the production and practice of local caterpillar fungus governance. Juxtaposing the governance arrangements between these case studies highlights not only the existence of strong village-level caterpillar fungus governance arrangements in some areas, which has not been described to date, but also the ways in which both local and non-local power relations and structures relating to Chinese development significantly shape governance realities in different areas.

Migration and Population Decline in the High Himalaya: Implications for Human-Environmental Relationships

Geoff Childs, Washington University in St. Louis
Co-Authors: Sienna Craig, Dartmouth College
                      Cynthia Beall, Case Western Reserve University

The authors use recent household-level survey data and interviews to explore contemporary demographic trends and their implications in Mustang District and Nubri and Tsum Valleys in Gorkha District, Nepal. They first present data to show that the current patterns of declining fertility and out-migration —especially among children and youths —are causing population decline and population aging. Afterwards, they present evidence that these are not isolated cases; similar trends are being documented throughout the Himalayan region. The authors conclude by discussing potential ramifications on human-environment relationships. Because population decline and aging are demographic characteristics of today's highland communities, understanding these processes is crucial to any study of human-environmental interactions as well as to any policy that addresses environmental issues in inhabited landscapes.

Air Pollution Exposure and Human Health Burden in Nepal

Anobha Gurung, Yale University
Co-Author: Michelle L. Bell, Yale University

With increasing traffic and urbanization, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal has been experiencing high level of air pollution although little research has been conducted. We observed high personal exposure to ambient particulate matter with aerodynamic diameter $\leq 2.5\mu$m ($PM_{2.5}$) for traffic police and indoor office workers in Kathmandu Valley. Traffic police had the highest exposure (average 51.2 μg/m^3, hourly maximum > 500 μg/m^3). $PM_{2.5}$ personal exposures for each occupation at each location exceeded the World Health Organization ambient $PM_{2.5}$ guideline (25 μg/m^3). Our result indicates high $PM_{2.5}$ exposure with differences in exposure by occupation, activity pattern, time of the day and location.

Our systematic literature review identified studies of air pollution and health, and additional studies of exposure and air quality, in Nepal indexed through May 30, 2012. We identified 89 studies, of which 23 linked air pollution to health impacts showing potentially serious health consequences. The remainder focused on exposure and air quality, demonstrating high pollution levels and suggesting large health impacts. Our results suggest that the population of Nepal faces a substantial health burden from air pollution. This study also identified limitations, gaps, and recommended future work in the scientific understanding of air pollution and health in Nepal.

Given the limited air pollution and health studies in Nepal and the demonstrated high exposure from our personal monitoring study and the other few studies, one of our ongoing projects investigates associations between ambient particulate matter with aerodynamic diameter $\leq 10\mu$m (PM_{10}) and hospital admission (respiratory, cardiovascular, non-accidental, total) as well as effect modification based on individual and community characteristics for Kathmandu Valley. Our future work focuses on understanding variation of long-term exposure to traffic-related air pollution for urban areas in Kathmandu Valley. This presentation will summarize our completed studies and share information on ongoing projects in Kathmandu Valley, Nepal.

Climate Change in Haa: development, environment and adaptive capacity in Southwestern Bhutan

Hilary Faxon, Yale University

Climate change will have dramatic impacts on the Himalayan environment and its people. However, climate change-induced shifts such as those in precipitation, temperature, and storm frequency are embedded in the many different types of change affecting the region. For Himalayan people, adaptive capacity ultimately depends not only on ecological states, but also social context. This paper explores how climate change interacts with other shifts taking place in the Haa Valley in southwest Bhutan. Participatory Rural Assessments co-designed and -implemented with a local researcher provide a baseline livelihood assessment of Haa, illustrating the multifaceted relationship between local people, each other, and land. Given these subsistence strategies, respondents identify existing and potential environment-development challenges, describe endemic coping mechanisms, and explain their observations and perceptions of climate change. This preliminary data is compared to similar studies in central and eastern Bhutan to illustrate ways in which the interplay between local livelihoods, traditional beliefs and external forces such as geopolitical shift and modern education create a dynamic social landscape that mediates both impacts of and adaptation to climate change. I conclude by discussing implications for designing effective climate adaptation aid, as well as opportunities for further research based on these preliminary findings.

Community Engaged Design and the Promise of Collaboration: the role of visiting design advocacy in the high Himalaya

Carey Clouse, University of Massachusetts Amherst

During the course of the past decade, villages across the Ladakh and Zanskar region of the Indian Himalaya have begun to experience increased water scarcity from diminishing snow pack. In this arid, mountainous region, subsistence farmers are almost wholly dependent on spring and summer meltwater to irrigate crops of barley, wheat, and vegetables. As climate change erodes the glaciers in this part of the world, once self-sufficient villages are suddenly finding themselves forced to re-examine centuries-old patterns of living.

The tiny village of Kumik provides a striking story of resilience and adaptation from an outpost on the front lines of climate change. After suffering from a pervasive and inescapable drought, Kumik's 250 residents have formally decided to abandon their ancient mountain location. In an extraordinarily visionary and collaborative effort, this entire community is moving to a new site, where they are building new canals, fields for farming and homes on what is now dry, open land. During a series of design charettes this summer, the Kumipas participated in the wholesale rethinking of their village layout, envisioning life in a new sustainable location that would also preserve the strong communal relationships and cultural identity from their shared past.

As Kumipas prepare to make this move, the design of new public spaces and the development of a masterplan that the entire community supports could help to ease this transition. These planning and design solutions must conserve scarce water, harness the region's abundant solar energy, incorporate local materials and building wisdom, and generate much-needed income in this rural community. Moreover, the solutions developed for this village could scale up, providing new models for other resource- and labor-constrained communities in this part of the Himalaya.

Abandoning the High Ground: Implications of Pastoral Abandonment in Tibet

Gerald Roche, Uppsala University

Though the grasslands of the Tibetan Plateau may appear to be a natural ecosystem, an emerging consensus among a wide range of scholars now suggests that these alpine meadows are, in fact, an anthropogenic landscape, created and maintained by humans. However, over the last thirty years, a variety of factors have led to pastoral abandonment - the removal of humans and livestock from the grasslands. These factors may be grouped into two categories: ' push' factors, referring to government policies that compulsorily remove pastoralists from the grasslands, and ' pull' factors that positively incentivize pastoral abandonment. The repercussions of the abandonment of one of the earth's largest anthropogenic landscapes are likely to be complex and difficult to predict. At a local scale, changes in biodiversity will occur across the Tibetan Plateau. At a regional scale, the hydrological systems of East, Southeast, and South Asia will be impacted. Finally, at a global level, pastoral abandonment may also have an impact of the earth's climate. The importance of human stewardship on the Tibetan alpine pastures, and the rapid increase in pastoral abandonment, highlight the urgent need for ethnographic studies of and with Tibetan nomads, to document the knowledge and practices through which they manage this
important ecosystem.

Ecological resilience and Gross National Happiness in Bhutan

Elizabeth Allison, California Institute of Integral Studies

Bhutan's guiding development principle, Gross National Happiness, has its roots in Vajrayana Buddhism and Bhutanese culture. Gross National Happiness, or GNH, includes four pillars: good governance, sustainable socio-economic development, cultural preservation, and environmental conservation. These four pillars were later elaborated into nine domains, including "ecological diversity and resilience," for the purpose of analysis and documentation. In specifying "environmental conservation" and "ecological diversity and resilience" as an essential to national development, Bhutan has taken the unusual step of incorporating the value of healthy ecosystems broadly into its planning processes. This paper considers wildlife as one indicator of "ecological diversity and resilience," and investigates the multiple dimensions of human perceptions of and relationships with non-human animals, both domestic and wild, as potential contributions to Gross National Happiness. Based on fieldwork in Bhutan conducted between 2001 to 2008, and building on the values of biophilia articulated by Wilson and Kellert (1993) and Kellert (2012), I describe a range of human relationships with nonhuman animals, ranging from abjection to frustration to admiration. I show that these expressed relationships co-constitute human identity and the way that the Bhutanese perceive themselves in the world, and contribute to the construction of a unique environmental ethic, incorporated into Bhutan's guiding development principle of Gross National Happiness.

Moral Economies of Tourism and Conservation in Three Communities in Himalayan Southwest China

John Zinda, Brown University

Across southwest China, especially on the Tibetan Plateau, tourism is transforming communities in and around protected areas and their relationships with park authorities. As local state authorities consolidate the management of tourism, tensions arise as rules concerning environmental management come into tension with the expectations of rural residents. Drawing on interviews with residents of Tibetan communities as well as park administrators and field staff, this study aims to account for the varying tensions that have emerged in communities taking part in different tourism activities in two protected areas in northwest Yunnan. While I had expected sharp differences based between places where community members manage tourism and where they are employed by state-sponsored tourism companies, these contrasts proved superficial. Conflicts concern different issues, following from different practical challenges in the two parks —in particular, garbage management, infrastructure, and compensation. But residents voice concerns in similar terms, in both parks speaking in terms of failures of the state to fulfill responsibilities or to provide what residents see as rightful benefits. Although residents conduct forest conservation through community institutions, their statements are less in line with the pro-environmental attitudes expected in an "environmentality" framework than with a perspective based on situated moral economies.

The Intersection of Global Tourism and the Agricultural Landscape of Rural Nepal

Alyssa Kaelin, University of Wyoming

Rural landscapes are dynamic, responding in multifaceted ways to the climate, agricultural practices, and communities inhabiting the spaces. This paper examines a rural community in the Rasuwa District of Nepal and its changing landscape due to tourism and geography. It situates the village, Briddim, within larger global processes of shifting demograpics and agricultural practices in mountainous landscapes. The villagers rely on subsistence agriculture within a terraced terrain and the use of firewood for cooking in their daily lives. The paper also describes the village as negotiating its place within the buffer zone of Langtang National Park, established as the first Himalayan national park in 1976, with the addition of a buffer zone later in 1998. The last fifteen years brought many changes to the lifestyle and mobility of the villagers, primarily through its recent involvement in the tourism sector. This paper will determine how the introduction of tourism and its intersecting influence of being inside the buffer zone have changed the villagers' relationship to the land. It argues that the changing demographics and restrictions by the national park are leading villagers to shift their occupations from an agriculture lifestyle to tourism or work outside of the village. Results are drawn from fieldwork observations in 2013, semi-structured interviews with the local community, and an examination of literature and regulations of the Langtang National Park buffer zone.

Ecotourism and Sustainable Community Development: A Critical Examination of Tourism Impacts on the Environment and Local Communities in the Sagarmatha National Park, Nepal

Kishan Datta Bhatta, University of Hong Kong
Co-Author: Roger C.K. Chan, University of Hong Kong

Ecotourism has been widely advocated as an integral means to promote sustainable development in the developing economies. It is, theoretically, portrayed as a benign approach that enhances community well-being by providing socio-economic opportunities, and protects environment through education and awareness to the stakeholders including the tourists. Located in the Sagarmatha National Park, the Everest Trail is one of the most adventurous destinations for trekkers, mountaineers, and ecotourists. Since the first successful ascent of Mt. Everest, rapid development of tourism has significantly transformed the local economy, environment, and socio-cultural life of the indigenous people. In this regard, acknowledging the potential costs of tourism and changing role of local communities in the management of protected areas, several policies and programs were implemented over the years to promote sustainable development. Ironically, role of tourism development and its contribution towards sustainability in the region has been questioned by several scholars. In this context, using the framework of sustainable ecotourism planning, this paper aims to investigate: "whether and to what extent tourism policies and planning have contributed to the promotion of environmental conservation *vis-a vis* community development in the park. Through structured questionnaire survey of 195 households in the Everest Trail, community perceptions and attitudes towards tourism impacts and the dynamics of tourism planning were examined, and further supported by the findings of in-depth interview with the members and staffs of local, national, and international organizations, and tourism researchers as well as informal discussion with trek guides, porters, hoteliers, and tourists. Through critical assessment of tourism impacts, this paper finally highlights how best the problems can be dealt to promote ecotourism and sustainable community development.

Development versus Picturesque: Conflicting Developmental Trajectories in Simla and Darjeeling (1820-1920)

Queeny Singh, GGS Indraprastha University

The history of development of hill stations in India is embedded with conflicting voices. The nineteenth century European visitors, the seekers of 'picturesque', exulted at the pristine and sublime beauty of the Himalayas. The romantics and the seekers of picturesque sought 'the true and most essential sublimity unsurpassed by any masterstroke' in the snow-capped mountain line of the Himalayas. On the other hand, the colonial administration wanted to reshape the hills for politico-military strategic exigencies and, economic and trade interests. Consequently, since the middle of the nineteenth century, many hill stations were converted into the Imperial and Provincial summer capitals. The shift of the political authority to the hills necessarily meant the creation of all the paraphernalia attached to a sovereign power. It increased the pace of development of the hill stations. Incidental to the developmentalism in the Himalayas was the emergence of ecological issues. These overarching power machinations came into direct conflict with the idea of 'picturesqueness'.

The present paper proposes to study ambiguities embedded in the very nature of colonial capitalist enterprise. As yet the studies of colonization and urbanization have focused on the history of the plains. Comparing the developmental patterns and imperial policy, the paper looks at the way the empire was built in the hills with reference to two seats of imperial authority in the Himalayas: Simla and Darjeeling,. I shall explore how hill spaces were reordered under colonial rule from the perspective of landscape and space, and the dilemma over environment concerns and development, which persists even today. The paper allows me to discuss the tensions inherent in seemingly contradictory visions creating ambivalence in the British imperial policies and such paradoxical positions are continuously reflected in the patterns of growth in these hill stations.

123 | Political Asylum & the Provision of Expertise: Professional & Personal Considerations

Organizer: Kathleen Gallagher, St. Mary's University

For anyone that has participated in the asylum process through the provision of expert affidavits, the process can be enormously rewarding, sometimes anxiety producing (in light of the stakes and the reasons for asylum) and also raise personal and professional questions. Our roundtable addresses some of the issues and challenges raised by this process, including: How 'expertise' as affidavit providers is determined and appraised; how 'softer' social sciences (such as my own field of study- anthropology- which arguably straddles humanities and the social sciences) evaluate risk and reprisal for the asylum seeker; and safety concerns for the 'expert' as we move back and forth between field sites that are often unstable. While our starting point is the provision of expertise, anyone interested in this topic is most welcome, as are other points of discussion. As per our regional affiliation, our discussion will be grounded in the political asylum process as it pertains to asylum seekers of Himalayan origin.

Carole McGranahan, *University of Colorado Boulder*
Sara Shneiderman, *Yale University*
Tina Shrestha, *Cornell University*
Kathleen Gallagher, *St. Mary's University*
Jim Fisher, *Carleton College*
Heather Hindman*, University of Texas at Austin*
Mary Cameron*, Florida Atlantic University*
Lauren Leve*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

124 | Power Dynamics and Spatial Authority in South Asia

Chair: Debarati Sen, Kennesaw State University

This panel focuses on dynamics of power between different actors in South Asia and the ways that this plays out in intra-regional co-operation and existence. Topic areas include hydro-power development, Nepal's foreign policy towards Tibetan exiles and spatial authority in Mount Everest.

J. Mark Baker, *Humboldt State University*
Shae Frydenlund, *University of Colorado Boulder*
Sagar Rijal, *Old Dominion University*

Neoliberalism and the Geography of Small-Scale Hydropower Development in the Western Himalaya

J. Mark Baker, Humboldt State University

Consistent with India's embrace of neoliberalism since the early 1990s, the north Indian state of Himachal Pradesh has privatized electricity production through small scale (< 5MW) run-of-the-river hydropower projects. Privatized approaches to power generation in the western Himalaya exemplify "actually existing neoliberalism," and draw our attention to neoliberalism's social and environmental dimensions which, while well-researched in other sectors such as forestry, water, and minerals, have been less well explored in the case of small scale power generation. Within the context of privately constructed, owned and operated small hydropower projects, the environment is a site for instantiating hegemonic neoliberal ideas about the role of government and markets and the private sector, as well as the grounds through which people contest and resist those ideas. This process is eminently geographical. The socio-ecological effects of the 51 recently commissioned small hydropower projects in Himachal Pradesh, as well as the resistance to them that has emerged, vary considerably across the different districts of the state. Understanding the resulting patterns requires specifying the geographical and socio-natural characteristics that influence the trajectories and outcomes of this form of power generation. This provides a fertile opportunity to reflect on the environment as a vehicle for both advancing and contesting neoliberal hegemony, and on small hydropower generation as a technique of government. Furthermore, neoliberalization is a hybrid process containing contradictory strands and elements, including spaces of hope. Consequently, I identify institutional forms of small hydropower development that may enhance equity and avoid some of the negative socio-ecological outcomes associated with most small hydropower projects. This research contributes to our broader understanding of the socio-environmental dimensions of neoliberalism and it informs emerging policy debates in the region, such as the on-going controversy over such projects in HP and the recent ban on small hydropower development in the neighboring state of Uttaranchal.

The Summit Factory: Spatial authority and conflict on Mount Everest

Shae Frydenlund, University of Colorado Boulder

Relations between Western climbers and the Sherpa community on Everest have long been fraught as a result of dangerous labor conditions and unequal power dynamics. The mountain has become a "factory" where "summit experiences" are produced with the labor of local Sherpas who work as guides, cooks, porters and manual laborers. However, a recent clash suggests that the mounting tension between Sherpa workers and Western commercial guiding companies has reached a breaking point. On April 27, 2013, elite climbers Ueli Steck and Simone Moro were involved in an altercation with a Sherpa team fixing ropes above Camp II on Mount Everest. A violent clash unfolded at Base Camp, which attracted widespread media attention and raised questions regarding the dynamic between commercial guiding companies, elite mountaineers and the Sherpa community.

By asking how Everest is contested as commercial, cultural and free space, this paper constructs a preliminary critique of the event's aftermath using a framework of space and hegemony. First, I apply Doreen Massey's concept of relational space to explore intricacies of spatial authority on Everest and situate it within the "unfinished process" that is an extension of Lefebvre's theory of space as a production of the conceived, perceived, and lived. Second, I use the Gramscian analytic of hegemony to explore how Sherpa-climber relations have been formed through processes of coercion and consent. I will examine how this moment, a clash between Sherpas and Western climbers, embodies hegemony as enforced or contested, and discuss the implications of the "Everest brawl" for Sherpa-climber relations.

Small State "Wedging" Strategies: Nepal's Foreign Policy Behavior on the Tibetan Exiles Issue

Sagar Rijal, Old Dominion University

The exodus of Tibetan exiles and refugees into Nepal has always presented a delicate foreign policy challenge for the host nation. Nepal has had to navigate through conflicting demands from China and India, along with those from the international community and the Tibetan communities in exile, regarding the treatment of Tibetans within Nepal's territory. Using international relations (IR) concepts of small state sovereignty, international norms and regimes, and collective action problems, this paper examines Nepal's puzzling interstate behavior concerning Tibetans during the period from 1959 to the present. The paper proposes that Nepal behaves as a "wedge state" and employs "wedging strategies" in its interaction with China and India in numerous other collective action issues, such as economic development aid and management of water resources. However, unlike many such positive-sum collective action problems, on the sensitive issue of Tibet and the fate of exiled Tibetans the paper finds that Nepal's interactions with the two superpower neighbors plays out as a zero-sum game, leaving Nepal with no "wedging strategy." That absence of strategic space explains the observed seemingly arbitrary policy responses to the Tibetan issue by successive governments of Nepal during the research period and is expected to continue.

125 | Reframing Intersections of Global/Local in Contemporary Nepali Art

Convener: Dina Bangdel, Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar

The panel explores the constructions of contemporaneity in the context of Nepali visual arts, and critically reframes issues of modernity that go beyond specifics of geopolitical borders and binaries of East/West, modern/tradition, and local/global. The panel brings together in dialogue contemporary Nepali and American artists to explore their art practices as expressions of contemporary transcultural narratives of hybridity –in that the narratives locate Nepal as a particular imagined cultural space. Is it this experience of *place* and *identity* that the artists negotiate with the notion of a "Third Space,"–the "in-betweenness" of locating the self and the other? Or, do Nepali artists continue to negotiate with the cultural paradigm of Western post-modernisms? Such questions of global exchanges, narratives of contemporaneity, and "transmodernity" will be explored as a framework for positioning contemporary Nepali art.

Dina Bangdel, *Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar*
Maureeen Drdak, *Artist and Independent Scholar*
Kathryn Hagy, *Mount Mercy University*
Ashmita Ranjit, *Lasanaa Alternative Art Space*

Framing the Local/Global in Contemporary Nepali Art History

Dina Bangdel, Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar

As a historian of Nepali art, my research straddles the shifting sands of both traditional and contemporary art practices in Nepal. Through the works of contemporary and traditional Nepali artists (and the American artists in this panel), I explore the construction of contemporaneity in the context of Nepali visual arts that transcend uneasy binaries of East/West, modern/traditional, and local/global. Specifically I consider how artists' narratives and experiences locate Nepal as a distinct imagined cultural space and ways in which their works inform the construction of a particular identity and visual expression.

"The Prakriti Project:" Artist and Artisan in Constructed Definitions of Contemporary Art

Maureen Theresa Drdak, Visual Artist and Independent Scholar

Cultural conceptions of time –linear and evolutionary versus cyclical or "Deep Time" – profoundly influence cultural notions of the "esteemed or proper" subject, form and material of visual art, and are further reflected in "progressive" versus "artisanal" descriptors as designating notions of function, valuation, and "relevance." If we accept the universality of symbols, that symbols bind societies together through meaning, and that enduring symbols are vessels of those meanings deemed by culture to be intrinsically valued for the sustained well-being of both collective and individual, than how deeply and to what end should a contemporary artist be conversant with and engaged in "appropriation" of cultural symbols? When, and under what circumstances, should as artist's appropriation of a cultural symbol be deemed "legitimate" or "colonialist" –or does the question itself presume misguided and limited notions of cultural understanding, purity, or ownership? And what are the challenges for a contemporary artist in negotiating and integrating the apparent dichotomies between a canonical art tradition and an individualistic contemporary art practice?

Along with contemporary artists in Nepal, the author wrestles with these fascinating dichotomies –and other constructions of modernity and cultural identity. Maureen Drdak discusses how these concerns conceptually inform –and invigorate–"The Prakriti Project" –her 2011-2012 Fulbright work in Nepal –in which the author pioneered the first synthesis of repoussé and painting. For her work in Nepal, Drdak studied with Master Rabindra Shakya, grandson of the historic repoussé master Kuber Singh Shakya of Okubahal in Patan, whose family lineage is traceable back to Pandit Abhaya Raj Shakya, founder of the Mahabuddha Temple in 1564; few foreigners have studied with this atelier. Drdak's presentation will be accompanied by select visual images in support of her subject.

Amid Pilgrimage and Rootedness

Kathryn Hagy, Mount Mercy University

Kathryn Hagy's artwork explores natural patterns and rhythms in nature, specifically relating to water. Her earliest artistic investigations were inspired by the rainy, misty Pacific Northwestern United States. She has traveled from place to place in a sort of pilgrimage to examine water sites. More recent investigation of Nepal and India's sacred water sites allowed her to observe the rituals of devotees as a link to her own artistic process, resulting in work honoring the concepts of place, ritual and transience. In Nepal's mix of Hinduism and Buddhism, transience, transition and impermanence play central roles in every aspect of life and death. In addition to her own artistic work in Nepal, Hagy researched Nepal's contemporary arts and has written about artists' exploration of their local context (whether that be affirmation of or protest against that context) and mix of artwork, media and techniques rooted in tradition but existing very much in the present. In this panel session, Hagy discusses what originally drew her to Nepal – the importance of Hindu water sites as sacred places such as at Devghat, where the Trisuli and Kali Gandaki Rivers meet and flow into the Ganges; and how both her artistic and academic research changed and grew in response to her work in Nepal.

Then where do I belong ?

Ashmina Ranjit, Lasanaa Alternative Art Space

The presentation will be on my own personal journey as a visual artists, resides in Kathmandu but constant traveling in and out of Nepal for various purposes such as studying (Australia / USA) presentation / exhibitions / performances (Asia/ Europe/ Australia/ USA). Experiences of living in difference places for short/long period of time for past 20 years has given me the perspective otherwise I would not have in looking at my own identity as a Being, Woman, Newar, Nepali, Visual Artist —not only subjectively but objectively in larger global context has enriched me and forces me to look critically. While raising my own voice and questioning on my own existence as a ' living being' with layered identities, I come to know that I was raising not only my voice but became a collective voice. My personal is political.

126 | Representation of the Himalayas in Films & Media

Convener: Vivek Sachdeva, Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University

The Himalayas have always fascinated travelers, adventure seekers, mountaineers, spiritual seekers, photographers and filmmakers for their respective reasons. Geo-scientific theory of plate tectonics believes that the Himalayas came into being as result of the collision between Indo-Australian plates and Eurasian plates. Till date, different cultures can be seen meeting, interacting or even conflicting on the Himalayas. Some peaks of the Himalayas are sacred to Hinduism, some peaks are sacred to Buddhism; Pakistan, India and China are into conflict on certain areas of the Himalayas; Kashmir, Nepal, North-East (India), three important geo-political territories are also witnessing political insurgency and conflict. Latest tragedy in Uttrakhand brought the attention of the world towards the Himalayas and raised environmental concerns among people. It also raised questions about the damage mindless developmentalism, tourism and commercialism are doing to the environment.

This panel brings together papers from film and media scholars studying how the Himalayas have been represented in films and media as cultural spaces, as ethnographic spaces and as commodity spaces. The Scholars in the panel contextualize the role played by films and media in changing, shaping and influencing our attitude towards the Himalayas.

Vivek Sachdeva, *Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University*
Manisha Gangahar, *Goswami Ganesh Dutta Sanatan Dharma College*
Ramnita Saini Sharda, *Hans Raj Mahila Maha Vidyalaya*
Romita Ray, *Syracuse University*

Real Narratives and Reel Narratives: Comparative Study of Kashmir in Documentaries and Popular Cinema

Vivek Sachdeva, Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University

Kashmir has been the site of conflict between Kashmiri insurgent groups, India and Pakistan for a long time. After Independence, signing of the Instrument of Accession by Hindu king of the Kashmir, when Kashmir was attacked by Pakistani tribesmen and revolutionary Muslims from the Kashmir, brought India and Pakistan face to face over the territory. Emergence of armed insurgency and exodus of Kashmiri Brahmins have further complicated the Kashmir issue.

It is worthwhile to study how cinema as a medium negotiates with Kashmir and its problems. While portraying Kashmir, Hindi popular cinema has failed to portray the complexities and nuances of Kashmir problem. It has, rather, been projecting either scenic beauty of Kashmir or Kashmir as a site of violence, war and terrorism. In both the cases, Kashmir was either meant for consumption by the tourist-audience or facilitating the formulation of nationalist identity. The voice of the locals has never given space in the popular cinematic imagination.

The present paper makes an attempt to understand the issues and problems of Kashmir from multiple perspectives. Exploring relation between Memory and Narrative, it endevaours to understand the problem of Kashmir through the personal memory as narrativized in different documentary films such as *Inshallah Kashmir: Living Terror* by Ashvin Kumar, Siddharth Gigoo's *The Last Day* and Ashok Pandit's *And the World Remained Silent*. Exploring relation between Narrative, Economics and Ideology, the paper shall compare the representation of Kashmir in popular cinema vis-à-vis documentary films. The underlying assumption is that documentary films render 'voice' to those who are not given space in the Bollywood, which being a market driven industry, propagates 'nationalist identities' to imagine India as a Hindu nation and picturesque of Kashmir for the consumption of audience.

Landscape, Memory and Conflict: The Himalayas in Cinematic Imagination

Manisha Gangahar, Goswami Ganesh Dutta Sanatan Dharma College

The landscape becomes a metaphor of the popular sentiment as its contours are shaped in cinematic imagination. My paper looks at how, on the one hand, the characteristic landscape of Ladakh becomes a backdrop for the unfolding of ordinary life and existence in the film *Frozen* and, on the other hand, in *Road to Ladakh*, which is set in the wilderness moonscape of Ladakh, the road journey through the mountains provide a backdrop for weird encounters between two people who are outsiders, lonely and crave for contact. Searching each other, amidst the mountains, it is a clash of elusiveness and engagement, suspicion and sensitivity, the colossal and the infinitesimal. The second part of the paper, through selected films —*Harud* and *Lamhaa* — explores how Kashmir Valley, which had been decreed as the "paradise on earth", courtesy its landscape, becomes a metaphor of the conflict outside and within the ordinary people. The landscape has offered a sense of identity, a space for defining the self. But when that space is encroached upon, ' occupied' then even the self becomes disputed.

Raising a Counter Voice: Reading Ideology in Mita's Vashisht's *She of the Four Names*

Ramnit Sharda, Hans Raj Mahila Maha Vidyalaya

Mysticism and subversion go together. Through the discourse of mystical transcendence, the female mystics attempt to subvert the established anti-feminist and anti-egalitarian strategies that constitute the patriarchal basis of society, state and religion. Lal Ded is the voice of many; the experience shared by her is in a way collective experience of the society on the whole. The voices of dissent and subversion of the patriarchal set up; denunciation of traditional monolithic religious structures; transcendence as the means of liberation of the self; establishment of a highly personalized relationship with God and assertion of liberation from all the social, political and religious shackles find expression in the writings attributed to her.

Mita Vashishth, a renowned theatre artist and a film actor, started performing a solo theatrical representation of Lal Ded's life and poetry in 2004. Mita Vashishth in her documentary, *She of the Four Names*, explores the contemporary relevance of this great medieval Himalayan saint, whose poetry subverts the cannon. The film engages with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the present day. The paper aims at understanding the complex matrix of the medium of experimental documentary with which the filmmaker tries to weave past and present; how the poetry of the mystic serves to create an identity independent of religious bigotry and fanaticism; and how the biography of the saint is recreated from the hagiography. The paper also attempts to read the counter ideology that the film aims to create against the patriarchy on one hand and fundamentalist violence and fanaticism on the other.

Love on Wheels: the Darjeeling Himalayan Railwayand Hindi Cinema

Romita Ray, Syracuse University

In 1879, the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR) line began to take shape,crystallizing into an engineering feat at over 7,000 feet in the eastern Himalayas. Stretching across 48 miles of steep Himalayan slopes and perilous "loops" (twists and turns), its tracks were navigated by the famous "toy train." A recognizablesign of Victorian progress in imperial India, the speed and mobilityof the train endorsed a level of engineering skill that mirrored the commercialization of the Himalayan landscape where dense forest had been cleared to create sprawling tea plantations. As such, the DHR became inseparable from the life of Darjeeling, and a spate of postcards produced from the early twentieth century onwardssituated the image of the "toy train"as an iconic emblem of the scenic landscapes whose glimpses it framed along its famed route.

In this paper, I examine how the "toy train"has been transformed into a site of romance in Hindi cinema, its very mobility deployed to engage with the breathtaking scenery of the Himalayan landscape as an idyllic, if not fetishized paradise ideally suited to the rituals of courtship. Equallystrikingare its technologies of steam and iron, once the pride of Victorian science, which are drawn into a complex visual interplay between light and shadowin the cinematic frame, to accentuate the atmosphere of romance. What interests me here are the aesthetics of vision and sound brought together in a train journey that embodies a rite of passage for lovers poised on the brink of sealing their courtship. Thus, I look at how a Victorian engineering marvel in the Himalayas spatializes a trail of romantic Hindi songs, while recycling Raj nostalgia as a post-colonial narrative of love within the framework of Hindi cinema.

127 | Rethinking of the Center-Periphery Paradigm in the Han-minority Relations in China

Organizer: Tenzin Jinba, Yale University

The Han are often imagined to be at the center while minority communities are situated on the periphery either in the official discourse or in the popular discourse in China. The academia tends to go along with this framework, but there have emerged new voices to challenge the Han-centrality notion and to urge to look at the Han-minority relations with new angles and in broader cultural and sociopolitical contexts. In line with this new direction, this roundtable will discuss critical perspectives to question this center-periphery paradigm, and simultaneously calls for the debate on the development of "Critical Ethnic Studies" in China field as well as the dialogue on how to bridge the Han and ethnic/minority studies.

Tami Blumenfield, *Furman University*
Chris Coggins, *Bard College at Simon's Rock*
Matthew S. Erie*, Princeton University*
Magnus Fiskesjö, *Cornell University*
Jonathan Lipman, *Mount Holyoke College*
Xiuyu Wang, *Washington State University*
Benno Ryan Weiner, *Appalachian State University*
Ming Xue, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Huasha Zhang, *Yale University*
Yinong Zhang, *Shanghai University*

128 | Sacred Landscapes & Symbolic Locations in the Himalaya

Chair: Jessica Birkenholtz, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This panel explores the idea of the ' sacred' with regard to community building, group membership and environmental conservation among Himalayan communities.

Session I

Jessica Birkenholtz, *University of Illinoisa at Urbana-Champaign*
Emily Yeh, *University of Colorado Boulder*
Kate Hartmann, *Harvard University*
Katsuo Nawa, *Harvard-Yenching Institute & University of Tokyo*
Lindsay Skog, *University of Colorado Boulder*

Session II

Discussion of Papers

Community Building, Building Community: A Study of the New Svasthani Temple in Sankhu, Nepal

Jessica Birkenholtz, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In 2002, community members in the Newar village of Sankhu came together to commission a statue likeness of the local Hindu goddess Svasthani. This is remarkable because Svasthani is the patron deity of a textual-ritual tradition that dates to the 16th century and since its inception, there is knowledge of only two other other statues of the goddess, both from the 17th century and only one of which is still in existence today. Furthermore, this 21st century statue is now housed in an elaborate temple –the first temple ever, in Sankhu or elsewhere, dedicated to Svasthani– that the local Sankhu community also commissioned. This all stands in stark contrast to the historically physically elusive and aniconic, if not altogether invisible, nature of Svasthani. She is traditionally present in and accessible through the pages of her text, which is opened only during the winter month of Magh, during which time devotees read it cover to cover, only to then lock the text and goddess away again until the following year.

This paper presents a study of this new Svasthani statue, with a focus on three aspects in particular: the rational for creating the new statue and temple; the implications of their presence for the community; and the temporal liberation of the goddess. I will explore the tensions between the efforts of (and detractors within) the Sankhu community to build up a community around Svasthani and the ways in which this literal and figurative building ultimately change both in unforeseen ways.

Reverse Environmentalism: Contemporary articulations of Tibetan culture, Buddhism, and environmental protection

Emily Yeh, University of Colorado Boulder

Since the early 2000s, Tibetans in the PRC have asserted, through writing and through the formation of environmental associations, the affinities of traditional Tibetan cultural-religious concepts with contemporary environmental concerns, and thus the value of Tibetan culture and Tibetan Buddhism for conservation. In turn, environmentalists and conservation organizations have sought to collaborate with Tibetans on projects that deploy traditional practices and concepts for biodiversity conservation. This paper contextualizes these claims within broader literatures about religion-and-ecology as well as critical literatures on representations of the "ecological native." I adopt a framework of "reverse environmentalism," paying attention not to the evaluation of Tibetan cultural claims from the perspective of secular conservationists, but rather to how Tibetan claims about the efficacy of their practices for conservation contain within them critiques of Western methods and goals of environmental protection. Drawing on fieldwork with Tibetans involved in conservation work conducted between 2004 and 2011, I focus on common critiques of Western environmentalism, while also drawing out differences in the concepts these community groups and their leaders choose to emphasize in their environmental work, to highlight the diversity that exists within a seemingly monolithic Tibetan perspective.

"Dharma" as a Way to Signal Community Membership in Dondrup Gyel's "Tulku"

Kate Hartmann, Harvard University

"Why do you ask questions of roots and branches instead of the necessary questions of dharma?" asks Akhu Nyima, a character in Tibetan author Dondrup Gyel's 1981 short story "Tulku." In my paper, I argue that the Gyel's whole story attempts to ask one necessary question of dharma: who uses that term and why? In the story, Akhu Nyima's family is visited by a mysterious stranger who claims to be a Tulku, a reincarnated religious leader, but who turns out to be a fraud. Scholarship has generally disregarded the political climate in which the story was written and taken its corrupt Tulku as evidence for Gyel's anti-clerical reformist stance towards Tibetan religion. Reading "Tulku" against the grain of its censor-approved and apparently pro-Party stance, I turn to Gyel's text, analyzing his treatment of religion in "Tulku" by tracking his use of the word *chos*, which carries a range of meanings but is often translated as religion or dharma. Close analysis reveals that the Tibetan villagers, by and large, do not use the word. Rather, it is the Tulku and representatives of the Communist Party who deploy it, in both cases doing so in order to signal their own inclusion in the community of Tibetans and exclude the other from that community. "Dharma," then, is revealed to be part of a rhetorical strategy, a means of advancing one's own aims by claiming membership in a community. While Tibetans are often defined in terms of Tibetan Buddhism, Gyel poses the questions about what it means to identify oneself as part of the Tibetan community after the Cultural Revolution, and what role religion plays in that identification. He calls for Tibetans to interrogate not merely their own tradition, but those who would invoke that tradition to advance their own aims. Only by doing that, Gyel suggests, can Tibetans ask the necessary questions of dharma.

On "baccho" in Byans, Far Western Nepal: Negative demarcation of communities in rituals and its consequences

Katsuo Nawa, Harvard-Yenching Institute & University of Tokyo

Based on ethnographic materials of Byans, Far Western Nepal, this paper deals with the moments when community boundaries, not much concerned in many facets of their daily lives, suddenly become apparent in rituals, as well as with the different implications of this boundary re-presentation to various non-members. The main inhabitants of the region are the people who call themselves Rang (also known as Shauka and Byansi). Rang is subdivided into several levels of communities, notably villages and "clans", each of which has some occasions for ritual communion among members. The term "baccho", frequently used in this context, roughly means "not to be consumed." Several gods and goddesses in Byans strictly restrict the distribution of their offerings to a certain range of people, in many cases roughly coinciding with a whole village or "clan". People are highly cautious whether offerings in a particular ritual is "baccho" or not for a particular person. "Baccho" is reciprocal within Rangs, in that each Rang has gods and goddesses whose offerings are not "baccho" for him or her but are "baccho" for some other Rangs. For Rangs, thus, "baccho" virtually redefines the boundaries of small communities within them. For some non-Rang migrants to Byans, notably Tibetan refugees, however, "baccho" has been conceived as an obstinate barrier to be members of the local community, as they have no local gods or goddesses whose offering is not "baccho" for them. Sorting out multilayered yet overlapping local imagined communities ("clans", villages, regions, *janajati*s among others), and noticing the subtle but crucial difference between being a Rang and becoming a Rang, I demonstrate how the concept of "baccho" regulates, and is manipulated in, their everyday practices of community making.

Claiming Ground: Competing constructions of sacred territory in Khumbu, Nepal

Lindsay Skog, University of Colorado Boulder

Increasingly, non-governmental organizations and social movements, ranging from the local to global in scale, are mobilizing sacred territories –intimate, yet contested and politically charged lifeworlds and expressions of beliefs –to support environmental conservation programs, development agendas, and indigenous peoples' territorial claims. Yet, such mobilizations often essentialize and apoliticize understandings of the sacred and its ties to territory. In Nepal, constructions of territory as sacred embody enunciations of indigenous identity and territoriality produced out of articulations between global environmental and development discourses and localized political and social agendas. Yet, attempts to mobilize the notion of Khumbu, Nepal as a *beyul*, a sacred hidden valley in that Nyingma Buddhist tradition, have not succeeded in the same ways that such constructions have elsewhere. Exploring the social processes constructing sacred territories in Khumbu, Nepal, including mobilizations of Khumbu as a beyul and an Indigenous Peoples and Community Conserved Area to support environmental conservation, this paper will argue that efforts to articulate global environmental and indigenous rights discourses in Khumbu through the *beyul* concept have been met with limited success because such constructions do not reflect many Khumbu Sherpas' everyday practices nor the diversity of beliefs held among Sherpas; rather, Khumbu Sherpas construct multiple sacred territories based in a variety of everyday practices and performances associated with localized territory deities.

129 | Sessions in Honor of Dr. Barbara Brower's Contributions to Himalayan Studies & to the ANHS

Conveners: John Metz
                 Lindsay Skog
                 Pasang Sherpa

These two panels are designed to explore the key roles Barbara Brower has played in the ongoing study of the Sherpa communities and landscapes of Solu-Khumbu, Nepal and in the evolution and development of the Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies. The first panel is a group of papers by scholars who are doing research that parallels or has been influenced by Dr. Brower's academic work. The second panel brings together students and colleagues who have been directly affected by Barbara's role as scholar, teacher, editor, and leader of ANHS.
Jim Fisher begins the first session with an overview of how Barbara's research fits into the body of scholarship exploring the evolution of Sherpa interactions with their bio-physical environments. Second, Alton Byers will explain his recent project, as part of the Mountain Institute's "Local Adaptation Plan of Action," which trains Khumbu and other mountain communities to create institutions that will facilitate indigenous adaptations to climate change and prevent Glacial Lake Outburst Floods. Third, Ken Bauer will describe his studies of people-environment interactions on other borderlands of High Asia. Finally, Pasang Sherpa summarizes Barbara's contributions to the three major aspects of the socio-economic transformation of Sherpa society that Pasang identifies: tradition, tourism, transnationalism.

The second session explores Barbara's more immediate impacts on students, colleagues, and ANHS. Lindsay Skog opens the session by outlining how Barbara's efforts as scholar, mentor, editor, and educator have promoted the diversity of scholarship and advocacy that is unique to ANHS members. John Metz will sketch Dr. Brower's roles in the evolution of ANHS as editor of the flagship journal *Himalaya* and as a key leader of the organization. Finally, testimonies of Barbara's impacts on scholars, colleagues, and students who cannot attend will be presented via Skype, You-Tube, and written statements.

Session I
Chair: John Metz, *Northern Kentucky*
          University
Jim Fisher, *Carleton College*
Ken Bauer, *Dartmouth College*
Alton Byers, *The Mountain Institute*
Pasang Sherpa*, Stanford University*

Session II
Chair: Pasang Sherpa, *Stanford University*
Lindsay Skog, *University of Colorado*
Broughton Coburn, *Colorado College*
John Metz, *Northern Kentucky University*

Placing Barbara Brower's Research in Context: What do we know about the Sherpas, and when did we know it?

Jim Fisher, Carleton College

The Solu-Khumbu area of northeast Nepal has been more intensely studied than any other part of the country. The number of monographs or books on the the area, including its inhabitants, the Sherpas, is very large, and the subjects they have covered are very wide: culture, religion, ecology, merchant trading, environmental impacts, tourism, mountaineering, education, ritual, monasticism, linguistics, demography. These topics have followed each other in various waves, but they also have persisted from period to period. Sherpas have been the subject of many studies going back to the beginning of the 20th century, but the overwhelming majority of them followed the opening of Nepal in the 1950s. Barbara Brower was one of the initial contributors to this late 20th century literature, emphasizing cultural ecology and livestock use, and her influence has been felt also in the wider literature on other topics.

Changing Livelihood Strategies of Dolpo Men: 1990s to 2010s

Ken Bauer, Dartmouth College

Drawing upon research from the 1990s and the 2010s, this paper discusses the generational changes I have observed among Dolpo men between these periods. During the late 20th century, men in Dolpo maintained complex patterns of agro-pastoralism and trade along with pilgrimage and urban migration to help support their households. With the migration of many Himalayan peoples to global destinations as far flung as Taiwan and New York City, the lives of men in Dolpo have certainly changed. Reflecting on Barbara Brower's research in Khumbu, it is salutary to compare and contrast the ways in which small-scale communities from the Himalayas have responded and adapted to the dramatic changes in the span of two decades.

40 Years of Fieldwork and Project Implementation in the Sagarmatha (Everest) National Park, Khumbu, Nepal: A Retrospective

Alton Byers, The Mountain Institute

The presentation discusses the author's research, conservation, and development activities in the Sagarmatha (Everest) National Park, Khumbu, Nepal since first visiting the region as an undergraduate in 1973. In 1984, he lived for nearly a year with his wife Elizabeth in Khumjung village while conducting research for his Ph.D. in geography on regional soil loss processes, landscape change, and alpine ecosystems. Grants from the National Geographic Society in 1995 enabled the continuation of his earlier repeat photography work, replicating the landscape photographs of climber/cartographer Erwin Schneider from the 1950s. Detailed studies of human disturbance on alpine ecosystems of the Gokyo and upper Imja khola watersheds led to the creation of the Khumbu Alpine Conservation Council in 2004, which shortly afterwards discontinued the then-prevalent use of slow growing shrub juniper for lodge, expedition, and trekking group fuelwood use. The replication of dozens of historic photographs of glaciers in 2007 led to the launch of the Andean-Asian Glacial Lake Expedition to Imja lake in 2011, followed by the creation of the USAID-funded High Mountains Adaptation Partnership (HiMAP) in 2012. The author now works as co-manager of the HiMAP project which is designed to (a) assist local people in the development of climate change adaptation plans of action while (b) conducting detailed field studies of glacial lakes and moraines in order to develop effective risk reduction methods and technologies.

Sherpas: Tradition, Tourism and Transnationalism

Pasang Sherpa, Pennsylvania State University

In this paper, I take 1950s as the baseline to explore and examine the socio-economic transformations of Sherpa people in the Everest region and how these transformations have inspired several studies over the decades. I consider tradition, tourism and transnationalism as the three major aspects of the socio-economic transformations that Sherpas are undergoing. The recurring themes in the studies of Sherpas have focused on issues related to the environment, developmental, and tourism. Here, I highlight the contributions of Barbara Brower in shaping environmental research and practice in this region, but more importantly, her approach to studying Sherpas as a real people, with human needs and cultural constraints, and not as a romanticized mountain people. I conclude by discussing the role of transnationalism in further reconfiguring Sherpa socio-economic structure, and thereby emerging as a new research theme for the people

Barbara Brower's Role in Creating the Interdisciplinary Community of Himalayan Scholars

Lindsay Skog, University of Colorado Boulder

A diverse group of scholars, students, and professionals comprise the community of ANHS, and, indeed, the broader field of High Asian studies and advocacy. Such diversity in participation and perspective is unique among academic associations, and must continue to be actively encouraged. This discussion will highlight the contributions Dr. Barbara Brower has made to encouraging this diversity and promoting accessibility in High Asian scholarship through her editorship of *HIMALAYA*, her teaching and student mentoring, and the international education programs she has organized and led. In the spirit of Dr. Brower's unwavering commitments, I aim for this to be a participatory discussion stimulating new ideas for how the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies as well as its members can continue to speak to a broader audience through outreach, teaching, and scholarship.

Income, Opportunity, Migration, and Change for the Sherpa

Broughton Coburn, Colorado College

Partly as a function of significant economic opportunity afforded by income from mountaineering, trek-tourism and education, the last two decades have seen remarkable socio-economic and, to a lesser degree, cultural changes in the Sherpa communities of Khumbu, Pharak and Solu. Investments in businesses and education in particular have coincided with demographic movements of sizable numbers of Sherpa from their natal areas to Kathmandu, India, Europe and North America. The decade-long Maoist insurgency and the relative ease, when compared to other ethnic groups, with which the Sherpa have been able to procure visas to the United States have helped spawn a thriving diaspora community centered around Queens, New York. In Khumbu, the Sherpa themselves are acutely aware of, and are taking pro-active measures to address, challenging issues regarding: absentee owners selling land and tourist lodges to outsiders; ethnic and political conflicts; growing income inequality; and, in the mountaineering context, the functional "ownership" of Mt. Everest and other peaks. This presentation is structured as an informal discussion based on selected anecdotes and is intended to stimulate discussion and further study.

Barbara Brower's Role in the Development of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies

John Metz, Northern Kentucky University

Barbara Brower began her affair with the Himalaya on trip to Khumbu as an undergraduate, and this ultimately led her to her dissertation on Sherpas's uses of livestock in their agricultural and mercantile activities. She soon became an active member of the Nepal Studies Association (NSA). In 1993 the NSA's President, Naomi Bishop, convinced Barbara to assume the editorship of the NSA's *Himalayan Research Bulletin (HRB)*, and she remained editor until 2008 when Arjun Guneratne took over. In these years there was no bookkeeper, so membership payments and records, as well as the finances of the journal and entire organization fell to Barbara, in addition to editorial duties. Despite being de facto bookkeeper and treasurer, Barbara transformed the HRB into today's *HIMALAYA*. The NSA decided to explicitly expand its emphasis to the entire Himalaya, and so changed the organization's name to the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS). To reflect this transition, Barbara proposed, and the membership approved, changing the journal's name to *HIMALAYA*. The journal became primarily a venue for research articles, and in volume 24 began color imagery on the cover. Barbara had a broader vision: to bring the journal to non-academic community. Part of this effort was to produce a calendar with color photos from the Himalaya and insightful interpretations of the photos. The calendar was also intended to generate income for the journal, because her university only provided a graduate assistant, but no subvention. By the mid-2000s ANHS realized the burden was too great. Arjun Guneratne agreed to become editor and was able to secure a subvention from Macalester to cover most of the costs, so Barbara retired. Barbara Brower carried the journal and organization through these 12 years and her efforts allowed it to flower into its current form.

130 | Sessions in Honor of P. P. Karan's Life of Himalayan Scholarship

Convener: John Metz, Northern Kentucky University

No contemporary scholar has such a deep and wide knowledge of Himalayan landscapes and culture as the subject of these sessions, Dr. P. P. Karan. For 60 years he has been visiting, photographing and describing the Himalaya and Tibet. One of his current projects, Himalayan Landscapes, analyzes the photos he has taken over the last 6 decades to show the dynamic changes that are occurring. Dr. Karan's first visit to Nepal was to meet his fellow Bihari, the Indian Ambassador to Nepal, but coincided with the overthrow of the Rana oligarchy, which he was able to watch unfold from the inside. During the 1950s he also visited Lhasa, recording the region's social and economic characteristics before the Chinese invasion. As a young PhD, USAID hired Paul to create the first national overview of Nepal's economic and social geography. By 1960 he began publishing articles on Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, and during the intervening 50 years he has annually visited the region, using his Indian identity to reach areas blocked to outsiders. During that interval he has published 25 books and 71 peer reviewed articles on the Himalaya. These sessions are an attempt to recognize and honor his incomparable achievements as the preeminent scholar of Himalayan geography.

In the first of two sessions colleagues and students explain how their interactions with Dr. Karan have enriched their professional and personal lives. John Metz will introduce the panel with a brief outline of Dr. Karan's academic career. David Zurick discusses the synergies that Paul has brought to their collaborative books on the Himalaya. Sya Kedzior will show how her research has been inspired and guided by Dr. Karan's hand. Steve Wrinn will explain how Paul's contributions have enhanced the University of Kentucky Press and his own life experiences. Ramesh Dhussa will sketch how Dr. Karan's scholarship has inspired his research on the dynamics of cultural change in highland and lowland South Asia.

The second session features papers describing Himalayan research that has been inspired by Dr. Karan's pioneering scholarship. Milan Shrestha uses case studies of 4 communities in Manang and Lamjung districts to explore how transhumance is a hedge against an uncertain future. Keshav Bhattarai describes his use remote sensing and GIS to determine the proper patterns of built and open space needed to mitigate Kathmandu's chaotic urbanization. Netra Chhetri will describe apple orchard development in Thak Khola and how climate change is expanding the areas being planted. Finally, Barbara Brower will discuss the presentations.

Session I

Chair: John Metz, *Northern Kentucky University*

David Zurick, *Eastern Kentucky University*

Sya Kedzior, *Towson University*

Steven Wrinn, *University of Kentucky*

Ramesh Dhussa, *Drake University*

Session II

Chair: David Zurick, *Eastern Kentucky University*

Milan Shrestha, *Arizona State University*

Keshav Bhattarai, *University of Central Missouri*

Netra Chhetri, *Arizona State University*

Discussant: Barbara Brower, *Portland State University*

P. P. Karan's Geographical Studies

David Zurick, Eastern Kentucky University

This presentation builds a trajectory of scholarship evident in P. P. Karan's geographical studies, and links this arc to the broader trends in geography and to Karan's influence on my own studies in the Himalaya region. I consider his contribution in light of their synthesis qualities and value in plugging many of the gaps in early geographical knowledge about the mountain region, bringing to light some of his early studies that established the practice of geographical research in the Himalayan region. The presentation highlights also some of the unique departures in Karan's work, where he veeers away from conventional topics to consider alternative geographies of art, culture, and the natural environment. Of particular note here isnot only how Karan's work has influenced that of other geographers, but how his efforts have produced collaborative scholarship ventures among persons of divergent backgrounds and interests.

Perception and Politics in North Indian Environmental Movements: Merging lines of inquiry from the work of P. P. Karan

Sya Kedzior, Towson University

North Indian environmental movements have inspired broader-scale activism across India and the southern Himalaya. In this talk, I discuss my research on environmental movements and activism in northern India, including studies of the well-documented Chipko anti-logging movement and the still-emerging Ganges River anti-pollution movement. I emphasize how my work takes as its starting point P. P. Karan's research on both environmental movements and the popular perception of pollution and environmental degradation. Discussion examines: How do people make sense of environmental degradation? How do these perceptions inspire, or fail to inspire, environmental activism and participation in the broader politics of environmental management? How do explanations of environmental change influence problem-solving techniques? In doing so, I trace the trajectory of research from "perception" to "knowledge" and from "movements" to "activism" and argue for further work that merges these lines of inquiry.

My Travels with Sir Paul, An Apprentice's Tale

Steven Wrinn, University of Kentucky

From visiting remote Tibetan landscapes he first observed in the 1950s to interviewing survivors from Japanese fishing villages recently devastated by tsunamis to helping him shepherd delinquent contributors to his scholarly anthologies, my professional association and personal friendship with Paul Karan have had a profound and lasting influence on me--not just as a publisher but as a citizen of the world. His colleagues and students know that Paul has dedicated his life to education, research, and scholarship, but over the past twelve years I have had the great fortune to both witness and participate in these endeavors with Paul. I can attest that his soft spoken demeanor and gentle nature have exerted an impact that transcends academia. As Director of the University Press of Kentucky and a member of the University of Kentucky community, but mainly as a friend and travel companion, I have observed not only his profound influence on the University of Kentucky Geography Department, but his significant impact on the entire discipline and beyond.

A professor at the University of Kentucky since 1956, longer than anyone in the history of the institution, Paul has taught literally thousands of students, published textbooks for his classes, and mentored numerous scholars who have gone on to successful and productive careers in the discipline. Paul has authored numerous books about the Himalayan region, Japan, Asia, Kentucky, and the lives of key leaders in American Geography. I have worked closely with Paul on the publication of three of his own books and I have had the opportunity to travel with him on research trips to Tibet, Nepal, India, and Japan. In this presentation I will discuss how Paul's immeasurable curiosity, intrepid personality, soft spoken demeanor, steadfast humor, and unmatched work ethic have enriched students and colleagues in ways that have transcended even his prodigious academic contributions.

Exploring the Himalayas with Dr. Karan: a Long Cherished Dream Realized

Ramesh Dhussa, Drake University

Traveling through and grasping the celestial beauty of the Himalayas has always, since my earliest childhood, been my cherished dream, so when I was invited to travel across the Himalayas with Professor Paul P. Karan in May of 2012, I immediately agreed. During the trip Paul explained subtle nuances of Himalayan dynamics as we explored the bio-physical, agricultural, religious, military, industrial, and architectural aspects of the cultural landscape. A major theme of my presentation will sketch my research on migrant workers who come from the plains states of West Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh to work seasonally in the western Himalayan states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttarakhand. These workers arrive in April or early May and work through the summer until the Durga Puja and Diwali holidays in October and November. Interviews in Leh, Ladahk, Kullu, Manali, Sonamarg, Kaza, and Tabo revealed the working and living conditions, caste and class backgrounds, and goals of migrants. These workers come as single adult men, high school students, underage children, in some cases even as entire families.

Transhumance and Its Future in the Gandaki River Basin: A Focus on the Socio-ecological Systems

Milan Shrestha, Arizona State University

Tranhumant herding has disappeared from much of the Nepal Himalaya, where this system historically played significant roles in agropastoral livelihoods. In the Gandaki River Basin, this system is now limited to a few remote villages, but there has been a new push toward revitalizing it, mainly as a key part of cultural renewal strategies of some indigenous nationalities and as a way to expand tourism. However, this system still faces several challenges and obstacles in its revival, providing a paradoxical challenge to the communities, development practitioners, and policy makers. On the one hand, the main causes of the decline of transhumance are labor shortages created by globalization and changes in rules of resource allocation. On the other hand, transhumance systems can provide many important lessons for sustainable land use, like preventing overgrazing, creating ecological corridors, and maintaining both plant and animal genetic diversity. These benefits could be very valuable for mountain communities in the face of growing uncertainties about the future, due to the impacts of climate change and climate variability on food production and, due to the volatility of global labor markets, on the resulting remittances. Using case studies from four villages in Lamjung and Manang districts, this paper will present some of the preliminary results of an interdisciplinary study involving *bhendi gothala* (shepherds) and the owners of livestock. The primary focus will be on the changing dynamics of transhumance, on household livelihood strategies, and on trajectories of land use change in the region.

Effect of Unplanned Urban Growth on Human Health and Sustainable Development A Spatial Analysis of Urban Growth Patterns in Nepal

Keshav Bhattarai, University of Central Missouri

Many South Asian (SA) countries are rapidly urbanizing, but Nepal's current annual urbanization rate of 5.6 percent is the highest among the SA countries. Though some urban areas of SA are undergoing major transformations under the influence of globalization, regionalization, and formation of special economic zones and are evolving as world class cities, Nepal's urban areas are unplanned, and exposed to possible seismic casualties and health hazards. Despite these problems, a reduction in Nepal's urban poverty rate from 25 to 15 percent between 2000 and 2010 is frequently attributed to increased urbanization. As a result, many Village Development Committees (VDCs) are clamoring to municipality status merely based on their high population densities despite their rural characteristics. The definitional changes from rural-to-municipal status have led to the formation of several ruralopolises where rural-based high population density competes for collective urban facilities. Urban sprawl through unsustainable implosion has blended rural economic and social systems with metropolitan spatial organizations without needed spatially well-organized infrastructures. This paper first, spatially analyzes Nepal's urban growth patterns from historical perspectives. Second, it geovisualizes urban morphologies of Kathmandu metropolitan areas to display how unplanned concrete jungle not only would exert stresses on urban lives through increased heat waves and greenhouse gases, but also from increased urban vulnerabilities. Third, it analyzes urban sprawls and their unintended, but irreversible environmental consequences on human health and sustainability. Fourth, it develops land use/cover metrics for the Kathmandu Valley using geographic information systems (GIS) and remote sensing techniques to determine the ratio of built-in structures and open spaces. The ultimate goal of this paper is to provide a framework for the development of twenty-first century cities in SA.

What explains the recent surge of apple orchards in Nepal's Mustang district?

Netra Chhetri, Arizona State University

Once considered isolated and remote, the valleys and ridges of Nepal's Mountain Region are now rapidly being transformed, as they are integrated into the national economy. In (the last 2 decades – *be more specific*)recent years, agriculture in some of these mountain areas has transformed from subsistence farming - based on the cultivation of a few cereal crops and the rearing of livestock - to commercial horticulture. Farmers are capitalizing on ecological niches known for producing high value crops and products like fruits and vegetable seeds. Additional changes include increased flow of tourists, greater access to markets, improved government services, electrification, and other development initiatives. This case study focuses on Mustang district of western Nepal and reveals specific contexts within which expansion of high value apple production has occurred. While wild relatives of apple such as Custard Apple (give Latin genus and species - I don't know what this is) grows naturally, in recent years the district has become a major producer of high grade apples. Generating revenue of over a million dollars annually within Mustang, apple farming continues to attract new growers. Multiple factors are creating the spread of apple farming across the landscape of Mustang district, including new roads which provide access to lower elevation markets and climate change which is expanding the territory that is available for orchard establishment. In the last 20 years apple cultivation has moved some 50 kilometers northwards and to elevations 800 meters above the valley floor at Marpha, where apple orchards were first planted. If the untapped potential for apple farming continues to develop, apples will become Mustang's major source of income.

131 | The Himalaya and Tibet in the North American Classroom

Organizers: Andrew Nelson, University of North Texas
Sienna Craig, Dartmouth College

For any undergraduate course that deals with distant geographic areas, multiple challenges exist for instructors. This is particularly true for the greater Himalayan region known in Euro-American (and indeed global) popular imagination through 'Shangri-La' romanticism as well as exoticism of its religious and sociolinguistic diversity, its mountains, even its approaches to biodiversity conservation or cultural preservation. For this double roundtable discussion, speakers will address how they respond to the challenges of teaching about the Himalaya and Tibet in the North American undergraduate classroom. Specifically, the first roundtable will speak to what occurs in or through the classroom, while the second roundtable will discuss how and to what ends Himalayan and Tibetan Studies figures in to the institutional priorities of our colleges and universities.

In the first roundtable, speakers will reflect on specific classroom experiences and pedagogical insights from teaching courses related to the Himalayas and Tibet in North American college / university settings. While few students will ever travel to the area, even fewer will pursue a career that engages with the academic debates from the area. If familiar with the region, students often are attracted to the mountain appeal of 'Everest' or 'Sherpa' names, the international fame of 'Gurkha' soldiers, or the mystique of Hinduism or Buddhism. Others might be pulled by the political events of the Chinese occupation of Tibet, separatist movements of Kashmir and India's northeast, 'national happiness' policies of Bhutan, or Maoist revolution and royal massacre of Nepal. How do instructors build on or redirect interest from these sensational narratives to the more structural issues from the region? How do instructors make the region relevant to students who have little to no familiarity with the area? How do instructors engage students in explorations of primary materials? What has worked in the classroom? What has failed? Moving from the classroom to the college/university, in the second roundtable speakers will address the place of this part of the world within the institutional framework of undergraduate education. Particularly at a moment when "area studies" is necessary but also a challenge in terms of long-term institutional support, how do instructors assess the position of Himalayan and Tibetan studies? How do courses devoted to the region fit within the demands of specific departments, university-wide curriculum and planning, study abroad experiences, library resources, and external funding sources?

Session I: Classroom Experience

Chair: Andrew Nelson, *University of North Texas*
Heather Hindman, *University of Texas at Austin*
Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, *Université Laval*
Geoff Childs, *Washington University*
Student Participants:
Elizabeth Joy Reynolds, *Columbia University*
Hannah R. G. McGehee, *Dartmouth University*
Arbeena Thapa, *University of Texas*

Session II: Institutional Questions

Chair: Sienna Craig, *Dartmouth College*
Sara McClintock, *Emory University*
Todd Lewis, *College of the Holy Cross*
Andrew Quintman, *Yale University*
Alexander Gardner, *Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation*
Robert Barnett, *Columbia University*
Kathryn March, *Cornell University*
Kurtis Schaeffer, *University of Virginia*

132 | The Past & Future of the journal Himalaya: Former & Current Editors in Conversation

Organizer: John Metz, Northern Kentucky University

ANHS's flagship journal, Himalaya, has evolved from a newsletter in the early 1980s to a leading publication on all aspects of Himalayan studies. This session is structured as a roundtable bringing together editors from all periods of the journal's evolution, including the current editors, in order to: provide ANHS members and other Himalayan scholars with an overview of how Himalaya has developed to its current status; allow the current editors to explain their vision of the future of the journal; and solicit the audience's ideas, opinions and questions about how Himalaya should move forward. This session should be especially useful for those wishing to publish their research in Himalaya and who are interested in scholarly publishing and knowledge dissemination.

Kathryn March, *Cornell University*
David Holmberg, *Cornell University*
William Fisher, *Clark University*
Bruce Owens, *Wheaton College*
Barbara Brower, *Portland State University*
Arjun Guneratne, *Macalester College*
Sienna Craig, *Dartmouth College*
Mark Turin, *Yale University*

133 | Tracing a Nation: Bhutanese Identities in Object, Text & Practice

Convener: Ariana Maki, University of Colorado Boulder

Considered alongside its neighbors, Bhutan remains comparatively understudied, despite a wide-ranging and largely intact body of extant material available for investigation. This panel highlights four current research projects in anthropology, archaeology, and art history, each of which seeks to provide alternative interpretations of Bhutan's past, and further, how these discoveries could impact our understanding of certain aspects of modern practices and beliefs.

In his paper, Dendup Chophel revisits colonial-era British field reports on Bhutan, visits that coincided with the early 20th century emergence and establishment of the Bhutanese monarchy. His work highlights the ways in which a "Bhutanese" communal identity coalesced in the face of external threats. Further, Chophel provides analysis of relations between the two forces, and in what ways this relationship may have impacted the formation of bonds between Bhutan and post-Independence India. In contrast, the work of anthropologist Dorji Penjore revisits internal social categorizations and stratification that once dominated Bhutanese agricultural practices. His work, based on current research in Trongsa, suggests that the general characterizations of "serfdom" and "feudal society," are in large part due to well intentioned, but misinformed, early reports on these small communities made by outsiders.

Ariana Maki uses iconographic analysis to chart how a sacred site in Bumthang transformed from temple to fully functioning monastery in the 1960s, and how the resultant substantive changes in imagery impact the ways in which the modern local community might read and understand the site, which is of one of Bhutan's most important Nyingma temples. Kuenga Wangmo, Bhutan's only trained archaeologist, offers analysis of the challenges of this nascent discipline in Bhutan, where the clashes between intrinsic cultural value and archaeological context are precipitating new legislation, new questions, and differing perspectives.

Dendup Chophel, *Centre for Bhutan Studies*
Ariana Maki, *University of Colorado Boulder*
Dorji Penjore, *Australian National University*
Kuenga Wangmo, *Courtauld Museum of Art*

Image and Practice at Tamzhing's Mani Dungkhor

Ariana Maki, University of Colorado Boulder

The Nyingma Buddhist master Pema Lingpa (1450-1521) is one of the foremost religious figures of Bhutan, and one of its most prominent historical figures. In 1501, Pema Lingpa recruited local labor to build what would become his main seat, Tamzhing Lhakhang, located in the region of Bumthang. Six years later the site was consecrated, and has since remained a key locus in Bhutanese Buddhist practice.

From its 16th century founding until modern times, Tamzhing remained a community temple without a resident monastic body. In the 1960s, however, this changed: many of the monks of Lhalung Monastery fled to Tamzhing ahead of the Chinese incursion into Lhodrak, just north of Bumthang. Tamzhing was formally established as a monastery shortly thereafter, and though today, the monks continue to perform rites rituals according to the Lhalung calendar, even signing documents as the "Lhalung Community."

So in what ways has the monastic community's presence changed Tamzhing as a whole? This research suggests one answer might be displayed on the walls of the Mani Dungkhor, a subsidiary shrine off the main courtyard. Through analysis of the iconography in the Mani Dungkhor, we can see the ways in which the Lhalung community adapted to its new surroundings. The images provide insight as to what sources of authority were being accepted and promulgated by the monastic authorities, and which practice lineages were considered the most important, sometimes with emphases that stand in stark contrast to what Pema Lingpa himself had instituted inside the temple proper. Further, this paper explores the key personalities –and by extension, practices –illustrated in the Mani Dungkhor; specifically, which messages are being sent not just to the monks receiving their formal training within Tamzhing, but also to the local residents who live nearby and participate in Tamzhing's ritual life.

The Dragon Kingdom and the Crown: Exploring British Political Reports on Bhutan

Dendup Chophel, Centre for Bhutan Studies

The earliest Westerner to visit Bhutan was a 17th century Portuguese Jesuit missionary to the court of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel (1594-1651), who had only recently unified the nascent nation of Bhutan. The missionary's report paints a picture of an exotic country with a larger-than-life ruler, a view that held = on the Western imagination until British forays begin into India and the Duar plains. However, as British consolidated its hegemony over India, Bhutan soon cut off all dealings with the British, even snubbing the Eden mission of 1864.

This paper chronicles the relationship between Bhutan and the British, which have changed dramatically since its early strife, especially during the early years of the monarchy when diplomacy was crucial for the young kingdom. Though Britain never colonized Bhutan, in many ways the British helped to more firmly establish the Wangchuck Dynasty. Drawing on British political reports between 1911-12 and 1944-45, this work further explores the two countries' bilateral relationship over time in terms of politics, trade, and extradition.

But above all, the Anglo-Bhutan relation —and the Indo-Bhutan relation that succeeded it —was built on the personal camaraderie and friendship between the leaders of the two sides. Though it was a relationship bourn from strife, this paper aims to elucidate the ways in which Britain contributed to the development of Bhutan, both overtly and behind the scenes, and how Britain's documents reveal the progress of their "love/hate" relationship from its earliest incarnations well into the modern era.

Serfdom in Traditional Bhutanese Society: Examining the *chos zhing lto zhing* system of social and agriculture production systems in Samcholing village, Bhutan

Dorji Penjore, Australian National University

The narrative of the formation of the modern state of Bhutan compulsorily includes the abolishment of 'serfdom' and 'slavery' by the third king (reign: 1952-1972) in 1956 as a landmark social reform, and existing literature portrays Bhutan as a feudal society that was emancipated only in the mid-20th century. But this generalisation is far from truth. This misrepresentation and misperception was a direct consequence of works of western scholars most of whom as trained Tibetanists extended the same concepts, lens and frameworks to study Bhutan. This is not helped by limited attention Bhutan had received from the western academics after 1959 when the regions in the eastern Himalayas influenced by Tibetan Buddhism and cultures began to be studied as a proxy for Tibet. No trained social scientist has ever studied the country through a long-term fieldwork, and there is a paucity of scholarly works on Bhutan.

Ninety percent of the Bhutanese populations were taxpaying households owning freehold land and homesteads over which not even the absolute state had eviction right if a bundle of obligations like paying land tax were fulfilled. This status quo survived four political systems: of anarchy of the pre-Zhabdrung period (up to 1616), theocracy (1651-1907), monarchy (1907-2008), and democracy (since 2008), spanning more than five centuries. However, the other ten percent of the population consisted of two categories of people, *za pa* and *grva pa*, who occupied the lowest strata of the social hierarchy, and were hereditarily attached to landed aristocratic families and monastic institutions.

Drawing on my fieldwork in Samcholing village where the descendants of the former *za pa* and *grva pa* families live, this paper will examine *chos zhing lto zhing* system which was both the social and agriculture production system, to shed light on a variant of serfdom then practiced in this village.

Protecting Primary Contexts in Bhutan

Kuenga Wangmo, Courtauld Museum of Art

The Bhutanese have always been wonderful custodians, especially of sites and artefacts that have some association with our religious beliefs; our belief not only in sacred objects, but also in sacred landscapes or *nye* and *baeyul*. The Movable Cultural Property Act of 2005 further ensures the security of cultural materials found within the country. Archaeological artefacts in Bhutan, however, as in places around the world, often appear in public and private spaces, appropriately placed in the contemporary setting, but completely out of their original contexts. Primary contexts are vital in archaeological research. Context provides solid clues for site reconstruction; it assists archaeologists in dating and in determining the activities that once took place.

Focusing on the large-scale conservation projects carried out by the Royal Government, this paper will present and discuss the current state of affair on 'cultural preservation' in Bhutan. Going beyond art and artefact to context or provenience, it will address issues of intrinsic versus archaeological value and the different levels of importance people place on the two in the Bhutanese context.

134 | Translating Medical Ideas across Himalayan Communities of Sowa Rigpa Medical Practitioners, Past & Present

Convener: Barbara Gerke, Humboldt-Universitä t zu Berlin

Practitioners of amchi medicine/Tibetan medicine/Sowa Rigpa (*gso ba rig pa*) across the broad band of the Himalaya have always incorporated medical knowledge from diverse sources and do not conceive and develop their medical ideas in isolation. In the past, Tibetan physicians had regular contact with medical traditions across the Himalayas, the historical context of which will be a focus of this panel. These exchanges have been ongoing. Not only are contemporary Sowa Rigpa practitioners exposed to a variety of local indigenous healers, herbalists, bone-setters, and diviners, but also—and increasingly—they are having encounters with both practitioners of biomedicine and patients whose understanding of the body are influenced by biomedicine.

Conceived broadly and as multi-disciplinary, this panel invites anthropologists, linguists, ethnopharmacologists, medical historians, scholars from Buddhist, Tibetan, Himalayan and Religious Studies, Medical History, as well as Translation Studies to discuss new approaches to flows of medical ideas and knowledge among Sowa Rigpa practitioners. This panel will take a broad look at questions of how these practitioners have translated their own and other systems of medical knowledge as well as how we, as academic researchers, translate their forms of knowledge into our own systems of thought. Translation here is viewed in the broadest sense of cultural exchanges of ideas and epistemologies, which flow in multiple ways. As important as questions of how we, as researchers, 'translate them' are those of how 'they translate us,' or how 'they translate others.'

How can we understand the diversities of these practices from the perspectives of medical practitioners themselves? Can we even talk about a community of Himalayan practitioners of Sowa Rigpa, considering their diverse practices? How do practitioners collaborate, carve out their own niche, institutionalise and organise themselves in their efforts to establish their clinics or receive government recognition—all while supplying health care to local and global communities? Each of these efforts, which involve cross-cultural encounters, might address different needs, for example, access to institutionalised education, the fight for recognition, the strengthening of identity, access to *materia medica* resources, or the safe manufacture of medicines. By presenting ethnographic, textual, oral, and historical examples of these encounters, this panel will look at translations of medical ideas and practices in terms of their flow of continuous change and exchange, definitions and redefinitions, as well as negotiations of similarities and differences.

Session I

Katharina Sabernig, *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

Katrin Jä ger, *Rangjung Yeshe Institute*

Susan Heydon, *University of Otago*

Eric Jacobson, *Harvard Medical School*

Session II

Namgyal Qusar, *Qusar Tibetan Healing Centre*

Sienna Craig, *Dartmouth College*

Barbara Gerke, *Humboldt-Universitä t zu Berlin*

Ripu M. Kunwar, *Florida Atlantic University*

Pharmacological Achievements of Darmo Menrampa Lobsang Choedrak

Katharina Sabernig
Medical University Vienna & Austrian Academy of Sciences

The rapid development of Tibetan medicine in the seventeenth century was a result of political support, transfer of medical knowledge, and the ability of Tibetan medical thinkers at the time. Lobsang Choedrak (Blo bzang chos grags), often called by his short name Darmo Menrampa (Dar mo sman rams pa) ' doctor from Darmo', played a decisive role in this process and in the establishment of the Medical College on the ' Iron Hill' (*lcags po ri*) in Lhasa. Thanks to his skills in eye-surgery, he became the personal physician of the Fifth Dalai Lama and is renowned for having studied human anatomy by dissection. Less well-known are the pharmacological achievements he conceived or compiled. Associated with the more theoretically oriented medical school of *Zur lugs*, Lobsang Choedrak stands in a line of transmission with the famous *Zur lugs* proponent Lodro Gyalpo (Blo gros rgyal po), the author of the *Mes po'i zhal lung,* an important sixteenth-century commentary on the *Four Tantras* and its *materia medica.* Maybe as a result of a dispute on pharmacological aspects of this commentary, Lobsang Choedrak wrote another text on the relevant chapter of the *Four Tantras,* namely the twentieth chapter of the second part of this work (*Explanatory Tantra*). For this purpose he was assisted by Godara from an Indian Brahmin family and other Indian informants. His text gives a short introduction to each medicinal substance mentioned in this chapter, followed by a longer explanation that includes taste, quality and clinical indication of these substances, presented in the exact sequence they are mentioned in the *Explanatory Tantra*. Other medicinal ingredients, often of Indian or Nepali origin, are addressed according to their categories. The paper will give insight into the historical background of this text and analyse connections with earlier and later pharmacological writings and point out their differences.

Translating Gampopa's Compendium on Essence Extraction Practices: Combining Western and Tibetan Approaches

Katrin Jä ger, Rangjung Yeshe Institute

Western biomedicine is beginning to acknowledge the importance of mental attitudes in healing processes. To investigate the rationale of Tibetan traditions to combine medical and spiritual aspects of healing, I translated Gampopa's (1079-1153) compendium of essence extraction practices (*bcud bsdus*).

Gampopa's texts combine the challenges of translating medical manuals with those of translating and interpreting Buddhist texts written in a concealed style. I interpreted the medical terms and concepts according to Tibetan medical literature definitions, supplemented by oral explanations of contemporary Tibetan doctors. For the difficult spiritual passages I consulted a Tibetan scholar. Since the literal translation of the texts is not sufficient for their interpretation, I used a collection of five texts on essence extraction practices by Jamgön Mipham Gyatso (1846-1912) and a short text from Drugu Tokden Śākya Śrī (1853-1919) as additional sources for my analysis, supplemented with works by the contemporary Tibetan Buddhist scholars Dudjom Rinpoche, Jamgön Kongtrul, and Thubten Yeshe. In this paper I will discuss how we can approach such difficult translations. I suggest a method where the concealed meanings of Gampopa's text can be interpreted by combining the Western approach of Christian Wedemeyer to read tantric texts by means of connotative semiotics with the Tibetan approach to tantric texts by Dudjom Rinpoche. Together, these two methods disclose a meaningful structure and content behind the seemingly random sequence of the texts in Gampopa's compendium.

Amchi Medicine in Khumbu: An Outsider's Perspective

Susan Heydon, University of Otago

As anthropologists Vincanne Adams and John Draper have written, amchi medicine forms only a small part of the Sherpa medical system. Both were researching in the 1980s in the Mt Everest region where people had traditionally looked to the *lhawa* and lama. Although known of earlier, amchi practitioners like those of biomedicine only arrived on a permanent basis in Khumbu in the 1950s and early 1960s. Today biomedicine dominates. Unlike much of rural Nepal biomedical services and medicines have been provided continuously for nearly 50 years, but amchi medicine remains a small, although significant, part of the continuing plural Sherpa medical landscape.

I am a historian, primarily of the introduction and spread of 'modern' medicine in the Mt Everest area, whose research is underpinned by two years spent living in Khumbu at the main provider of biomedical services and having ongoing involvement. In this paper I set out to explore Sherpa use of amchi medicine since the 1960s, drawing on written and oral sources about Sherpas' continuing pragmatic and selective use of different medical or healing systems. It is a situation that Sherpa biomedical practitioners in the area today accept and acknowledge that it also influences their provision of health care. Talking to people, however, about the different medicines that they have used during the course of their lifetime reveals a varying use of amchi medicines by some people and not others and for some conditions, as well as a range of attitudes and experiences.

Srog rlung or *gdon gi nad*: Schizophrenia or Bipolar Disorder? A Case Study of Chronic Psychiatric Disturbance in an Adolescent Tibetan Refugee and his Family

Eric Jacobson, Harvard Medical School

From fieldwork with Tibetan refugees in northern India, this case follows the trajectory of a behaviorally disturbed teenage Tibetan boy and his family as they search through classical Tibetan medicine, exorcism, and biomedical psychiatry for an effective therapy. From their urban home they turn first to local amchi and lamas, then to exorcist specialists and private psychiatric hospitals in other parts of India, and then to an attempt at occupational therapy in a distant city. The illness manifests as a mix of delinquency, withdrawal, verbal hostility and physical violence, grandiosity and periods of immobility that does not respond more than briefly to any of these approaches. The family attributes the death of the boy's father to the stress of his illness, and buckles under the strain. The surviving members adopt various coping strategies, and the anthropologist himself is drawn into the search for a solution. This narrative leads to a discussion of some points of confusion and contention regarding the differential diagnosis of *srog rlung versus gdon gi nad* in Tibetan medicine, and of schizophrenia *versus* bipolar disorder in biomedical psychiatry.

Integrating Tibetan Parameters into Clinical Trials: Reflections on the Research Methodology of a Clinical Study treating Obesity and Coronary Heart Disease with Tibetan Dietary Principles

Namgyal Qusar, Qusar Tibetan Healing Centre

This presentation analyses the methodology used during a clinical trial at Tübingen University in Germany conducted between December 2008 and November 2010 on 524 obese patients with established coronary artery disease. A diet designed according to traditional Tibetan medical principles showed to be more effective in reducing body weight and BMI for patients of coronary artery disease than a diet following current biomedical dietary theory. The diet also resulted in a significant reduction in the blood values of manifest metabolic syndromes. This paper explores the methodological basis for this successful trial and how Tibetan medical theory was translated into parameters of the research methodology used in this trial.

Tibetan medicine considers obesity as an excess of 'cold' in the body. Development of a chronic 'cold disorder' can lead to metabolic syndromes, such as those tested in this study, and result in lipid deposits in the coronary artery making the heart vulnerable to all forms of stress. A diet and lifestyle that is warming in qualities is an antidote to excess cold in the body. Tibetan medicine identifies warm foods according to the 6 tastes, 3 post digestive tastes and 8 inherent qualities, and the lifestyle according to the inherent qualities of the five cosmo-physical elements of existence (earth, water, fire, air and space). How can these parameters be structured so as to become a part of the research methodology of a clinical trial? Based on the positive results of this initial 2010 study, this paper will reflect on how Tibetan parameters can successfully be included in scientific research methodologies and how a useful translation of medical ideas across medical systems can be achieved.

Sowa Rigpa and the Transformation of Medical Identities among Himalayan Medical Practitioners

Sienna Craig, Dartmouth College
Barbara Gerke, Humboldt-Universitä t zu Berlin

Meanings of terms change with time despite their literal translations remaining the same. Sowa Rigpa (*gso ba rig pa*), or the 'science of healing' is a Tibetan term that according to the seventeenth century medical text *Khog 'bugs* referred to various medical traditions known to the Tibetan world. Sowa Rigpa is a term that also spans vast cultural and political geographies, from India to Mongolia. Since its official recognition by the Indian government under its department of Ayurveda, Yoga, Unani, Siddha, and Homeopathy (AYUSH) in 2010, Sowa Rigpa has undergone a major transformation of meanings. After more than a decade and debate among Tibetan physicians in India to fight for recognition of their medical science either as 'Tibetan medicine' or 'Sowa Rigpa,' the decision to include Sowa Rigpa within AYUSH has created a new platform for recognition and legibility – within and beyond India and the Indian state. In the past, the heterogeneity of origin and practice often led to an inability of practitioners to work together. Now, 'Sowa Rigpa' has the potential to allow practitioners to at once assemble around an explicitly extra-national framework of identity and retain their diverse and more localized subjectivities. Exemplary of this new development was a meeting during the 8th ICTAM conference in Korea (September 2013). This discussion between individuals from India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibetan regions of China serves as an ethnographic example through which we explore the new meanings practitioners are beginning to associate with 'Sowa Rigpa.' We sketch the development over the past twenty years towards this innovative assemblage of meaning and practice, discussing what is gained and lost through the adoption of 'Sowa Rigpa' as a unifying signifier. We also examine what it means *not* to translate this term, but to let it stand for itself, and, in the process, come to stand for something broader than is allowed by the phrase 'Tibetan medicine.'

Dynamics in Ethnopharmacopoeia of Nepal's Western Himalaya

Ripu M. Kunwar, Florida Atlantic University
Co-Author: Rainer W. Bussmann, Missouri Botanical Garden

Changes in weather patterns and increasing temperatures can lead to inevitable changes in relative abundance, distribution and composition of medicinal plant species. These changes would in turn directly impact the human communities who are dependent on these resources. The local plant use and knowledge of people utilizing these plants would be affected considerably. The presented paper analyzes a number of native (both indigenous and endemic) and exotic plant species used by local communities for their health care, from different collection sites in western Nepal. Literature and participatory information were used to analyze the rationale of the inclusion of new plants in the local pharmacopoeia. We found that the population density and distribution of both plants and people have been changing over time. A number of new plant species and collection sites have been increasingly used by local healers particularly *Baidhyas* for healthcare. Non-native plant species are being introduced into the medical repertoire to substitute indigenous and native species in order to diversify the local medicinal stock. Secondary sites are increasingly valued for collection and harvesting of these non-native medicinal species, considered an adaptive asset. We hypothesize that the changing climatic patterns have transformed people's traditional knowledge of medicinal plants through adaptation processes, in order to match the new circumstances.