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**NIAS** *nytt*
Asia Insights



**Paintings by Mr.
Round Kelana**

**The Tsunami and
its aftermath in
Asia**

**'Two times the
tsunami hit me'**

**'Tsunami ...
bubblegum?'**

**After the
tsunami:
A missed
opportunity
for peace in Sri
Lanka?**

**Conflict
of aid and
reconstruction
in Aceh**

**To give or not to
give: Ethics after
the tsunami**

THEME:
**The tsunami and its social
and political implications**

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Cover painting by Round Kelani:

'That used to be my house, Mum'
(More paintings on pp. 4–5)

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The tsunami last year in December had a devastating impact on the societies and lives of people in Asia, and we are only now slowly beginning to see the actual ramifications of the tragedy. This issue of NIASnytt Asia Insights takes as its starting point a wider canopy of ramifications which is the result of more indirectly linked causes and events related to the tsunami. These include the international reactions toward the tsunami and the massive inflow of aid in the affected areas and related political issues of conflict, poverty, and nationalism.

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Does the Nordic dimension still matter?

The Nordic Asia scene is particularly active these years as we are experiencing a booming interest in Asia and a host of Asia-related activities. We are seeing a marked shift of attention from the traditional philologically based area studies to the various disciplines, primarily in social sciences, but also in the humanities such as philosophy, religious studies, art, and media studies. In addition, we can notice an increasing interest in cross-disciplinary collaboration both within education and research.



Jørgen Delman, Director

Furthermore, cooperation between Nordic and Asian researchers in the 'harder sciences' is escalating, stimulating a more general interest in the political, social, and cultural dimensions of Asia. At the same time, almost all universities and research institutions in the Nordic countries are developing or have already established their own partnerships in Asia which are still expanding and deepening over time.

While recognizing and appreciating the new interest in Asian studies and the multitude of initiatives, we also have to ask ourselves as professionals researching and disseminating knowledge about Asia: Are we moving in the right direction? Do we produce enough and relevant research to keep our stakeholders informed about developments in Asia? Are we good enough at disseminating our results? Could we become better at influencing the political agenda and that of the media? Do we educate enough young people with specialist skills on Asia to match our increasing Nordic engagement with Asia and do they learn the right things? These questions are not new, but it is important to remind ourselves to ask them over and over again.

In the Nordic region, there exists a common point of departure from which we can take stock of the present situation. Traditionally, a lot of effort is put into developing networks and other collaborative frameworks and initiatives within Asian studies in the Nordic countries. There is a host of conferences, seminars, workshops, study visits, exchanges, summer schools and much more organised every year. A list of these Nordic networks and collaborative frameworks can be found on NIAS's website with links to their respective homepages (see <http://nias.ku.dk/networks/>). Although this list is not all-inclusive, it is still encouraging to note these initiatives, which involve a considerable yet limited number of committed Nordic scientists and students working across regional and disciplinary lines; there is also substantial overlap of people across the initiatives.

Asian studies environments in the Nordic countries are still scattered and mostly quite small; however, the number of them is steadily increasing. At the same time, some research centres are expanding. But what is really bringing the field together and what makes a difference are all the different network initiatives where the Nordic dimension still plays an important role. Therefore, we cannot but emphasize that 'Nordic' still makes sense in Asian studies and is the common ground for a lot of our co-operation.

I do not intend to answer all the questions raised above. I do think, however, that we should continue to see the Nordic dimension as a useful reference point for discussion and influencing where the field of Asian studies is moving. I suggest that we should look at how we can strengthen our collaboration around all the network initiatives without making it bureaucratic, administratively complex or wasteful. I also propose that we should focus more on the needs of potential employers of young Asia scholars in our work and help create more job opportunities for graduates. I further propose that we collaborate more in disseminating our research results and knowledge, both through the academic media, but also the Nordic news media. I suggest that we make a more concerted effort to make ourselves known and visible in Asia by not only focusing on what we can learn in Asia, but also on what Asia can learn from the Nordic countries. Finally, we need to take initiatives to bring in more funding, particularly from the private companies involved with Asia.

I propose that the various Nordic networks and associations constituting the nexus of Asian studies in the Nordic region discuss these questions and issues, and also that we raise them with the policy makers and executives in our countries. In this context, the Nordic Council of Ministers could play a stronger role. Politically, economically and commercially, Asia is a strategic partner for the Nordic countries. If we want to keep an edge in science, technology and innovation, we need to strengthen this common Nordic platform and together with our Asian partners set out the priorities for the future.



Mr. **Round Kelana** is a 65-year-old painter from Banda Aceh. He was washed away by the tsunami and he rode with the wave for two kilometers. Miraculously he survived. However, his house, together with most of his paintings are now in the bottom of the ocean.

The gallery of his paintings is exhibited at the NIAS Tsunami website which now has the only copies of his paintings (http://www.niaslinc.dk/gateway_to_asia/Asia_Insights/tsunami_pictures/virtual_exhibition.asp).

After the tsunami, Mr. Kelana has started making new paintings, visualising his experiences and feelings of this tragedy. Mr Kelana has kindly allowed us to exhibit some of these paintings in this special issue of *NIASnytt Asia Insights*.

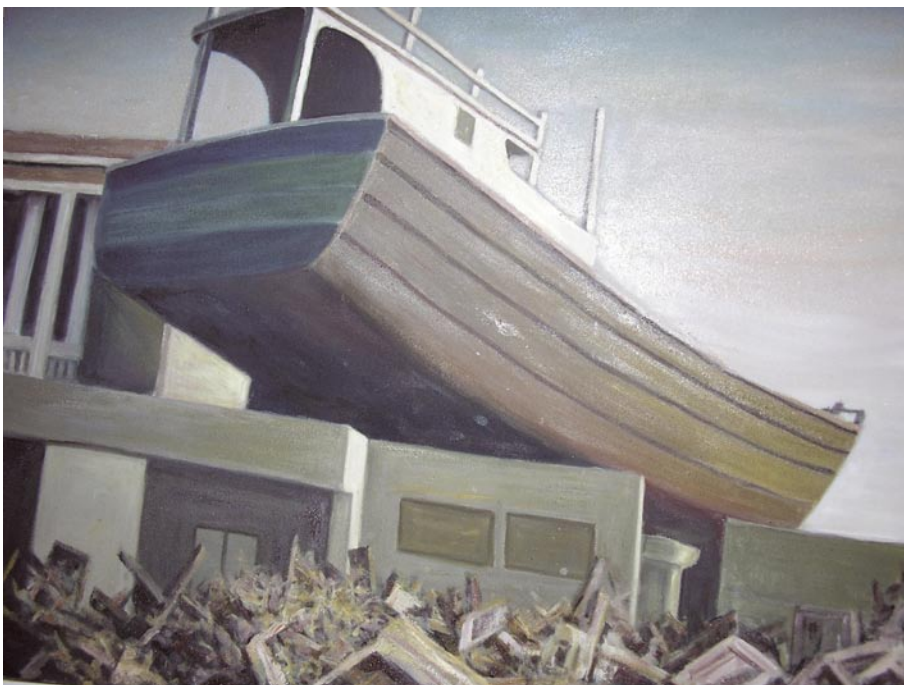
Mr. Kelana is here standing in front of yet another painting in his tsunami series 'Oh God, my son ...'.



We got more than fish today!



When the tsunami became the driver



The last port of the Ark of Tsunami



When the tsunami came



Hope they will see me



God, help my daughter!

The tsunami and its aftermath in Asia

By Michael Jacobsen and Jan Kanne Petersen



Michael Jacobsen, PhD, is a Visiting Associate Professor at Asia Research Centre, Copenhagen Business School.

Five months have now passed since the devastating tsunami of 26 December 2004 and we are now slowly beginning to see the actual ramifications of the tragedy. Certainly, those who were directly affected by the tsunami immediately became and still are heavily traumatized.

Changing the perspective and focusing on the catastrophe from a more holistic angle, however, reveals a canopy of ramifications, which are a result of more indirectly linked causes and events related to the tsunami. These can be divided into two major categories which together constitute a continuum.



Jan Kanne Petersen, Mag.art., is a Research assistant and project coordinator at NIAS.

At the one end, political reactions toward the tsunami and the huge inflow of aid from the international community have varied considerably. India has taken a nationalistic stand and has taken it upon itself to finance the reconstruction process. Sri Lanka, Thailand and Indonesia, incidentally the hardest hit in the affected region, have accepted international aid contributions. Thailand has gone aggressively into reconstructing the disaster area(s), whereas the situation in Indonesia has still not got off the ground. In the meantime, the inflow of aid has been so great that the reconstruction of the disaster areas can take place without any of the affected states having to contribute substantially their own resources. As such, the international aid is actually helping the overall economy of the countries affected thus leaving them almost better off financially than before the tsunami although the local economies of ordinary people are deeply affected!

At the other end of the continuum there is another large group of people whom we have not heard from. These are the poor people, fishermen, farmers and small traders, who lost all their belongings. It is likely that their means for carving out a new existence in the post-

tsunami era will be jeopardized by their removal from the coastal regions, which has created new opportunities for national and local authorities as well as for developers. The latter two might see this as an opportunity to initiate 'development' projects in the form of new tourist resorts and for launching new governmental infrastructure projects. The question is whether the poor and now dispossessed have been incorporated into these plans. Because of their societal position we doubt this. If this is the case then a further impoverishment of this already disadvantaged group will inevitably take place.

In relation to the ongoing conflicts in Aceh and Sri Lanka we have seen that the catastrophe has affected them in adverse ways. The Sri Lankan one, already internationally recognized, seems to continue due to accusations that the adversary has hoarded aid money thus further infuriating the left-outs. The Aceh one, on the other hand, has gained international exposure due to the international relief organizations and foreign government representatives in the region thus creating a window of opportunity that is currently being exploited by the conflicting parties.

A further consequence of the tsunami in this connection is

that the various under-reported conflicts, such as the ones in southern Thailand and internally in other parts of Indonesia, are suddenly getting more attention now that the international limelight has hit the regions involved in the catastrophe. For how long this exposure will last depends on continued international attention to this area and whether international human rights groups and the media uphold a continued interest in the various areas of tensions and conflicts.

Contents

In trying to highlight some of these topics we have invited a group of authors who depict the responses to the tsunami from different perspectives, ranging from a micro-level eyewitness account to a macro-level structural analysis. To grasp the horrific events on 26 December 2004 Muslahuddin Daud from Banda Aceh in Indonesia describes how he survived the devastating force of the tsunami(s).

This is followed by an account from Tranquebar in India where Frida Hastrup describes the tsunami as a meta-narrative used by the survivors. The narratives do not explain why the tsunami happened but rather seem to explain all sorts of secondary effects of the catastrophe.

Kristian Stokke and Timo Kivimäki take up some more direct consequences of the tsunami in Sri Lanka and Aceh in Indonesia respectively, discussing whether the catastrophe constituted a window of opportunity for a solution to the armed conflicts. Stokke argues that in Sri Lanka the aid that followed the tsunami destruction actually fuelled the conflict further due to accusations that the other part was preventing aid from reaching everyone in the affected areas thus creating a biased and region specific reconstruction process. Kivimäki, on the other hand, points towards the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in Aceh. The aftermath of the tsunami created a situation in which the Indonesian army and government could no longer conceal the conflict from the international community due to international involvement in the reconstruction process thus opening the opportunity of a dialogue between the two.

In his article, Ole Bjerg takes stock of the nature of aid to the affected region after the catastrophe. He contests the interpretation that Western engagement after the tsunami was driven by purely ethical and altruistic compassions and instead suggests that it was driven by global relations of power and political manipulations.

The section of thematic articles in this special issue of *NIASnytt – Asia Insights* ends with a discussion by Anja Møller Rasmussen about the flow of information after the tsunami. The aim is to give an overview of coverage and responses to the disaster from the media, civil groups and researchers, and to describe the use or lack of use of the internet as a major information distributor.



Photo: R. Sankar



Photo: R. Sankar

Muslahuddin Daud is an Acehese conflict specialist from Banda Aceh, Indonesia, who collaborates with NIAS through the Indonesian Conflict Studies Network and Timo Kivimäki, senior Researcher at NIAS.

'Two times the tsunami hit me'

An eye-witness account from Aceh in Indonesia

By Muslahuddin Daud

It was Sunday morning at seven o'clock on the 26th of December 2004 when I left my house in the village of Jeulingke, Banda Aceh, to go to the nearby beach to do some fishing. I was riding my motor bike and I made a short stop on the way to buy some shrimps to use as bait. Arriving at the beach 40 minutes later I began to fish standing on a large rock near the sea. I had not caught anything when a large earthquake hit this area some 20 minutes after I had arrived. The rock on which I was standing began to shake heavily, and I was trying to hold on to it with my left hand while I continued fishing with my right. When I turned around and looked inland towards the village, I could see palm trees shaking so heavily that they were crashing into each other. On the beach people were sitting down, praying to God. After ten minutes the earthquake stopped and my heart was beating rapidly while I was standing there, watching it all.

I didn't move from my rock. When I saw that the ocean was calm again, I thought that everything was back to normal so I picked up some more shrimps and continued fishing. After five minutes a large wave came towards me. It was not extremely big, but still it rose to three meters above normal sea level and flooded my rock with about 70 centimeters. I was frightened as I have never experienced anything like this before, so I ran off towards my motor bike. I had difficulty in running because my trousers were completely drenched. It took me seven minutes to reach the place where I had parked my bike. I was so exhausted that I had to pause for several minutes before doing anything else.

At this place I met an old fisherman, about 70 years old, and I asked him a lot of questions about the earthquake. During our conversation he mentioned that a similar earthquake had happened in Aceh in 1964. While we were talking, to our great surprise, the sea suddenly drew back. The sea literally disappeared, leaving more than one kilometer of seabed dry. For more than five minutes, more and more of the sea disappeared. I could see many fish and other

things left behind on the seabed. Yet I didn't run but I continued talking to the old fisherman. He urged me to get hold of the other fishermen, who were out at sea, to make them return home.

Suddenly a ten-meter-high tsunami wave rose 500 meters in front of us, rushing towards the shore where we were standing. I got hold of my motor bike and raced off at 90 kilometers an hour. I was completely in shock and alas I did not see a big hole in the road that unexpectedly appeared in front of me. This hole was the result of a landslide caused by the earthquake and I had no chance of avoiding it. I drove straight into the hole with my motor bike. Fortunately, I managed to pull my bike up from the crater, but when I tried to pass it again the same thing happened and I was caught in the hole with my bike. When I tried to get out of the hole for the third time, I was hit from the back by the tsunami wave. Fortunately, I was lucky enough to gain consciousness immediately afterwards and even though the engine of my motor bike was full of mud and salt water, it had not died. On both sides of the road, the slopes had turned into raging rivers. This first tsunami wave

had a height of approximately four meters.

I rode my bike as fast as I could, and when I reached the bridge at Jembatan Krueng Cut I turned my head around to see the second and bigger tsunami wave which was about 20 meters high. Strangely enough, I did not consider climbing some of the surrounding hills to get to safety. At this point I only remembered my wife and my daughter who were at our house about one kilometer from the bridge. I took off at more than 100 km/h and reached the village within five minutes.

At this time most villagers were standing in front of their houses. After the big earthquake they were too scared to enter their houses, fearing that another quake might do further damage to the buildings and make them collapse. I just parked my motor bike next to my wife who was also standing in front of our house. I told her that the tsunami wave (at this time I didn't know the word 'tsunami') was just about to reach the village and I loudly announced the same to everyone else around me, but no one believed me!

Suddenly a six meter high wave appeared in front of us, about 70 meters from our house.

It rushed very quickly towards us and I could see that many big houses were destroyed by the wave and the water was pitch-black.

I grabbed my wife's hand and we ran together as fast as possible. Our daughter was being taken care of by my older sister when the first earthquake occurred.

We only managed to run about 30 meters when the wave hit us. We couldn't have got away any faster as the roads were heavily congested with people, motor bikes and cars – hundreds of people around us were just crying for help. The wave was just getting higher and higher; at this point it had carried us 200 meters away from our house. Fortunately, the wave did not push us towards the main road of the village where the water was running very fast.

Because of the power of the water we could hardly stand up. When a trunk suddenly hit my back, both of us fell and we were completely drenched with the muddy and dirty water. My wife even swallowed a lot of water.

The stream of water continued to carry us away from our house. At some point we entered the yard of a big house, spinning around like a fan until the water pushed us back against the front door of the house. If this door had not opened under the pressure of the water, we would have died for sure: a car was also carried away by the water and it came straight towards us. Fortunately, the water pushed us inside the front room of the house.

It is really difficult to explain in words the strength and force of these masses of water.

Still being carried around by the water, we were pushed against the walls and were thrown against the furniture in the room. Everything in the room now began to float and, fortunately, we were able to climb onto a cupboard that fell down just in front of us. So floating on this cupboard, we realized that the water was still rising to more than 4 meters but

we thought that we were safe here. But suddenly one of the concrete walls of the house started to crumble and broke into pieces and the water again began to pour in with a tremendous force. When we saw this happening, we both cried aloud and we were convinced that both of us were going to die. There was no way of escape; the water rose to a level of more than 6 meters. There was a lot of rubbish floating into the room, and we were just sitting on the floating cupboard praying.

But, thank God, when there was only five centimeters of air left between the water and the concrete roof above us, the water began to descend.

While we were still sitting on this cupboard, I suddenly saw a two and a half year old boy being carried into the house by the water. My heart told me that I must help this child. Using a piece of wood I tried to paddle closer to the small boy, and while I was getting the boy safely onboard the cupboard my wife was crying out of sheer happiness. This boy is still alive today and later we realized that he is the son of my neighbour. The boy's mother and youngest sister died during the tsunami while his father is still alive.

We stayed on the cupboard for another half an hour, waiting for the water to descend further. The water had carried a lot of mud and dirt from the nearby fisheries and the place was filled with it.

I had no words to express my feelings; simply I was aware that man is on the earth for a limited time only.

When the water had descended to a level of two meters, I realized that there were two other people in the room. It was the owner of the house and his mother. And both of them had died during the flood. I asked my wife to take care of the young boy while I managed to get near the two bodies so that I could close their eyes.

After this the young boy showed us another room where there was a staircase leading to the second floor of the house. I put the boy on my shoulders and took my wife's hand and we climbed the staircase. When I looked out of the window, I was completely taken aback by the sight: everything was flattened, all the houses were broken and the streets were filled with garbage, mud and dirt. When the water slowly descended to a level of one meter a car with four dead persons became visible in front of the house. They were a terrible sight.

I cried loudly as I did not know what had happened to the rest of my family. For four hours I was almost in despair until a man passed by the house, telling me that our 8-month-old baby daughter had survived. I almost couldn't believe this and I went straight to the place where my baby was supposed to be. It was really difficult to get there. The road and small passages were filled with garbage, broken glass and other sharp objects. But I didn't care and I just went on searching. After one hour I found my daughter together with my older sister on the second floor of a playstation shop. My sister was in a critical condition, suffering from injuries to her mouth, ears and eyes – her wounds being infected from the dirty water. Also she had no clothes on her body. Even though I was so tired, I managed to carry her to the place where my wife was waiting. I was really frustrated, having no clean water to cleanse her wounds and no clothes for her body. And we had nothing to eat either.

At night time I decided that we should leave the house but I did not know where to go. We left the house and after walking approximately two kilometers we met someone whose house was not destroyed by the water and he invited us to spend the night there. We continued walking for

continued overleaf

continued from p. 9

two long hours before we reached the house. We were all extremely exhausted and my daughter was crying constantly. We had no food, no clothes and no water. While I was searching some of the rubbish piles, I was lucky to find three bottles of water which had not been opened. Later that night, at 11 o'clock, we were given some rice and dry clothes by the owner of the house. But the nightmare just continued: during that night there

were 11 after-shocks which kept us awake. I was also in despair because I did not know what had happened to two of my family members. They had just disappeared. So we did not get any sleep that night.

Later we stayed in a non-IDP camp [IDP=internally displaced persons] for three days before going back to my place of birth in Pidie district, 160 kilometers from Banda Aceh. This was so hard for us. My little daughter had almost

endless diarrhea and lost so much weight. She became thin and her weight went down to only four kilograms. Fortunately, she was treated with traditional drugs and made a complete recovery.

Ruhama, my older sister who saved my daughter, died ten days later suffering from tetanus because she could not get sufficient drugs.

(Edited by Jan Kanne Petersen)



Frida Hastrup, M.A. in the sociology of religion, specializing in collapses of social communities. The tsunami investigation is funded by the Carlsberg Foundation and headed by Associate Professor Esther Fihl as part of a larger Tranquebar research project at the Centre for Comparative Cultural Studies at the Institute for Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen. The fieldwork on which this article is based was funded by an anonymous private foundation.

‘Tsunami ... bubblegum?’ Narratives of cause and effect in Tranquebar

By Frida Hastrup

In December 2004 the tsunami killed around 800 people and destroyed houses, fishing boats, huts, cattle, and agricultural land in the small South Indian village of Tranquebar. As in other areas affected by the tsunami, the people of Tranquebar are now struggling to reconstruct their lives. Based on seven weeks of anthropological fieldwork in Tranquebar in February and March 2005, this article explores some of the social implications of the tsunami, particularly in relation to the narrative structuring of the tsunami experience and to ideas of cause and effect. It is suggested that the analytical concept of context often highlighted as central to the social sciences is somehow inverted when studying an area affected by disaster.

Causality

The title of this article refers to an exchange of words I had with a girl of about ten years of age in Tranquebar in February 2005. To her, there seemed to be an obvious causal connection between the tsunami and bubblegum; the tsunami accounted for the fact that she had none and thus asked me for some. For lots of reasons other than the tsunami I had no chewing gum either, and so I had to disappoint the girl. It may well be that this encounter signified nothing more than a child trying her luck with the odd foreigner. It could, however, be argued that the incident points to more general insights into how the people of Tranquebar retrospectively interpret the tsunami and into what role stories of the tsunami have come to play.

The tsunami explained

Two things immediately struck me when talking with the people of Tranquebar: one was how readily they recounted the events of December 26th 2004. Frequently, even before I got around to asking, many informants were already in the midst of an often very sad and effective narration. The other was how pervasively all features of life in Tranquebar seemed to be influenced by the tsunami. For instance, for reasons largely unexplained, many more weddings than usual have taken place since December. Moreover, driving lessons and tailoring classes are now offered in a new technical school, which was opened explicitly in response to the tsunami. While it is, of course, not remarkable that people who have lost everything are preoccupied

with the tsunami, it is conspicuous that so many other aspects of social practice are seen as relating to the disaster. In addition to being seen as a singular destructive event, I want to suggest, then, that accounts of the tsunami have come to work as a kind of metanarrative for the survivors, providing an explanatory framework for the articulation of all kinds of quotidian needs and concerns not directly linked to the tsunami. While no one I talked to ventured to explain why the tsunami happened, the tsunami, in turn, as a totalizing narrative seemed to explain most everything else.

Qualifying for aid?

What role, then, do the *stories* of the tsunami play? Due to limited space, I will restrain myself to answering this question in only

two ways, one is a material answer the other is symbolic in nature.

In Tranquebar, the people most severely affected by the tsunami were the fishing community and the agricultural coolies, since these two social groups lived closest to the sea. As elsewhere, the need for relief materials has been great and has led to the influx of a large number of Indian and international NGOs and foundations who have provided the affected families with aid in the form of food, clothing, kitchenware, fishing vessels, temporary housing etc. These donations were very welcome and highly appreciated by those dependent on relief materials in order to be able to reconstruct at least a semblance of their normal lives. As has probably been the case in other tsunami affected areas as well, the need by far exhausted the capacity of the NGOs; a fact that has forced the donors to select recipients of aid among the many deserving. Ethics aside, from an anthropological viewpoint this is a highly complex task given that the tsunami, as any event unfolding in a social space, is experienced differently by different groups and individuals who thus generate a variety of possibly conflicting ideas of both the disaster and of the necessary measures of rehabilitation (c.f. Oliver-Smith 2002:25). Perhaps such potential contest of ideas is all the more crucial with regard to disasters and healing since, in a very literal sense, it decides whether or not and in what way aid will be distributed. Consequently, in a relatively poor area like Tranquebar, it becomes a question of balancing need vs. loss.

Narrative envy

If all are in need but only some have lost, the result could be a fight for the narrative space, since an effective means to substantiate your entitlement for donations is by way of narrative. If the tsunami has indeed come to be a

metanarrative subsuming other issues, the question is whether the relief organizations ought to take this at face value and try to relieve poverty in general, or if they should only compensate losses directly linked to the tsunami. What of the families who were not directly affected but who have since suffered losses due to a general collapse in the local economy after the tsunami? These underlying questions lead to a paradox: it seems as if it has almost become a source of envy to have suffered losses due to the tsunami – if, of course, you live to tell the tale. In retrospect it is apparently almost desirable to have been a victim of the tsunami since this position carries with it obvious benefits as well as accounting for social positions. If victimhood is a requirement for receiving relief materials this can be constructed in narrative – if not exactly in event.

Telling Stories

In a more symbolic vein, it has been suggested that the act of narrating troubling events alters the narrator's position from a helpless passive object of circumstance to a subject with a sense of agency (Jackson 2002:15). If this is indeed the case, the people of Tranquebar have all the reason in the world to recount their experiences of the tsunami in the face of which most were truly helpless. In this sense, relating the story of the tsunami can be seen as an empowering strategy for the narrators: "In building a world of words, the narrator cocoons himself from its potential harm" (Skinner 2000:178). While, principally, it might be true that tsunami narratives restore the survivors' sense of agency, one should bear in mind that in reality not all narrators have equal access to the narrative space, since for the bystanders (i.e. donors) only some stories seem to qualify as a genuine tsunami experience.



Photo: R. Sankar

Disaster as Context

I have argued that telling stories of the tsunami serves two purposes, both of which have helped turn the tsunami experience into a metanarrative, at once entitling people to relief aid and offering a sense of control of their world. To me, this has some interesting implications for the understanding of the concept of context, attention to which is often thought to be paramount in the social sciences. Disrupting events, such as the tsunami, challenge the common understanding of event versus context (c.f. Hastrup 2004). The tsunami as metanarrative makes it impossible to single it out as a destructive event occurring in a specific context, in this case in Tranquebar. Rather, contrary to the common understanding of context, the tsunami itself presently *is* the context for articulating needs, hopes, and practices in Tranquebar. In addition to turning the victims' lives upside down the tsunami potentially turns analytical concepts inside out.

Concluding remarks: Rethinking cause and effect

Cause and effect are generally thought to be linked in a simple temporal relation; a cause has

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Kristian Stokke is Professor of Human Geography at the University of Oslo, focusing on conflict, peace and development in Sri Lanka and movement politics and democratisation in South Africa. Recent publications include: 'Sinhalese and Tamil Nationalism as Postcolonial Political Projects from "Above," 1948–1983' (*Political Geography* 1998), 'Authoritarianism in the Age of Market Liberalism in Sri Lanka' (*Antipode* 1997), 'The Struggle for Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka' (with A. K. Rynveit, *Growth and Change* 2000), and 'Development as a Precursor to Conflict Resolution: A Critical Review of the Fifth Peace Process in Sri Lanka' (with N. Shanmugaratnam, forthcoming in: *Between War and Peace: Deprivation and Livelihood Revival in Sudan and Sri Lanka*, James Currey).

After the tsunami: A missed opportunity for peace in Sri Lanka?

By Kristian Stokke

The two worst-affected areas in the tsunami disaster – Sri Lanka's northeast province and the Aceh region in Indonesia – have both been marked by intra-state armed conflicts. In the aftermath of the disaster, political commentators pointed out that this could actually constitute an opportunity for conflict transformation, as the scale and urgency of humanitarian needs should bring the protagonists together in joint efforts for relief and rehabilitation. The assumption was that practical collaboration would yield communication and trust that could lead to a process of conflict resolution.

From disaster relief to peace?

Early reports on tsunami relief in Sri Lanka lent some support to this hypothesis: the government invited the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to participate in a joint relief task force; the leader of the LTTE (Velupillai Pirapaharan) extended his condolences "to our Muslim and Sinhalese brethren in the southern coastal areas", and many individuals, businesses and organisations provided relief across the ethnic divides between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil and Muslim minorities. Journalists observed that the LTTE found constructive ways to work with state officials at the local level to provide assistance to tsunami-affected areas. The Tigers set up a joint task force comprising representatives of the government, aid agencies and civil society groups to coordinate relief programmes in LTTE-controlled areas. In this situation, what are the prospects for moving from tsunami relief to a revitalised peace process?

Dual powers and politicisation of disaster relief

There are two structures of state power in the northeast of Sri Lanka, the government and the LTTE, which were locked in armed conflict for almost 20 years prior to the ceasefire

agreement of February 2002. The LTTE runs a de facto state, with military, administrative, policing, judicial and revenue-raising structures. The power of this rebel state is not confined to the LTTE-controlled areas but permeates society and state institutions throughout the northeast. Whereas local state institutions have been seriously weakened during two decades of warfare, the Tigers have systematically developed their own political structures and also increased their ability to informally control the local state bureaucracy. They have set up political offices in most parts of the province, brought local NGOs under their co-ordination, and developed a comprehensive tax collection system.

The local collaboration in tsunami disaster relief must be understood in this context. It is not an equal partnership between the protagonists in the conflict but a LTTE-led process, emerging from the areas they control and extending into government territory. Rather than being a manifestation of national unity in a time of crisis, it is a continuation of the LTTE's state-building project. While the tsunami might have weakened the LTTE militarily, their ability to mobilise aid from the Tamil diaspora and international organisations and to deliver relief in an efficient manner have reinforced their legitimacy among the

Tamil population and aid donors.

Tsunami relief has also been used by Sinhalese political parties and factions to gain political capital. A political competition for control and recognition has emerged between the two parties in the government coalition of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and Janatha VimukthiPeramuna (JVP) and even between President Chandrika B. Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse. Consequently, the LTTE has criticised the government for prioritising their Sinhalese constituencies in the south while ignoring the humanitarian needs in the northeast. The government has denied these allegations and has instead accused the LTTE of hijacking government provisions in order to distribute them in their own name. Thus, the promising signs of political goodwill during the first weeks after the disaster have given way to an escalating politicisation of tsunami relief.

International pressure for a joint mechanism

Recognising that this politicisation of relief and reconstruction poses a serious obstacle to efficient and fair distribution of aid, Sri Lanka's international donors has demanded that a joint mechanism should be established between the government and the LTTE.

However, the negotiations between the LTTE and the government over this joint mechanism have so far failed to reach an agreement. The parties to the negotiations have agreed to delink the question of a joint mechanism from the peace process to avoid divisive politicisation that would prevent workable solutions. In this way they seek to create a win-win situation, based on the shared interest of the LTTE, the government and international donors in disbursing the large amount of tsunami aid that has been pledged to Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, even this narrow and technical collaboration has turned out to be so controversial that the joint mechanism seems to be close to collapse even before it has been formalised.

The basis for this controversy lies in the fact that any kind of collaboration legitimises the LTTE as a regular political actor with a state-like structure in large areas of the northeast. It also recognises the dual power structures and institutionalises a certain power sharing between the government and the LTTE. The present government came into being through a strategic alliance against the previous government, and against the power base that the LTTE had acquired in the peace process. This constitutes a weak political platform for the coalition, especially since there are major divisions between the SLFP and the JVP on the question of peace. While the SLFP is campaigning for a joint mechanism, the JVP has announced that it will quit the coalition as soon as an agreement is signed. The present government coalition is unlikely to survive an agreement that recognises the LTTE as a legitimate political actor and establishes a significant degree of power sharing between the government and the LTTE.

To make things worse, there

seems to be an ongoing propaganda campaign that seeks to re-establish the image of the LTTE as a 'terrorist' organisation responsible for numerous violations of human rights and the ceasefire agreement. This challenges the reputation that the Tigers have acquired during the peace process as a political movement with legitimacy among Tamils as well as substantial administrative and diplomatic capacity. As this propaganda campaign coincides with increasing violent clashes and assassinations, it seems unlikely that the peace process will be revitalised anytime soon. The consequence of this stalemate is that the civilian population, which has suffered severe hardships and losses from warfare and the tsunami disaster, remains in extremely difficult living conditions despite massive pledges of international aid for relief and reconstruction.

History repeating itself

There are striking similarities between the post-tsunami politics of the joint mechanism and Sri Lanka's most recent peace process (2001–2004). The peace process was characterised by an unusual sequencing of priorities, addressing immediate humanitarian needs in the war-torn areas before discussing political power sharing and conflict resolution. This approach resembles what is now suggested as a way forward from tsunami relief to peace.

The peace process reached a convergence on the centrality of humanitarian needs and the role of international development assistance, but the question of development administration turned out to be highly contentious, as it impinged upon the balance of power and future arrangements for power sharing. The LTTE considered an interim administration with

substantive power and a guaranteed position for the LTTE as an absolute necessity to ensure the fulfilment of development needs and internal self-determination. The then Sinhalese opposition (JVP and SLFP) viewed the interim administration as a first step towards secession and hence as a threat to the sovereign unitary state. The Sinhalese polity is highly fragmented and a recurrent pattern has been that attempts to reach a peace deal with the LTTE have been challenged through nationalist mobilisation by the political opposition. The government, holding only a small majority in parliament and facing a strong opposition to the peace process, was trying to find an interim arrangement within the limits of the unitary constitution. In the LTTE's view, such an arrangement would inevitably reduce them to a junior partner with little or no formal power. An interim authority proposed by the LTTE was, however, seen by the Sinhalese opposition as a first step towards secession. While showing that addressing immediate humanitarian needs may provide meeting points for the protagonists, the peace process also demonstrated that this approach politicises development administration and inevitably leads to the conflictual core question of constitutional and institutional reforms for power sharing. The peace process produced a lasting ceasefire, but the negotiations stalled even before the agreed upon rehabilitation programmes were implemented, thus producing neither rehabilitation nor peace.

The tsunami disaster could have created new meeting points and modes of collaboration between the protagonists, but the lessons from the peace process show that there is a need to be realistic about the prospect

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Conflict of aid and reconstruction in Aceh

By **Timo Kivimäki**

Managing a humanitarian emergency is a complex administrative task involving many administrative branches and a lot of special requirements for flexible coordination of activities. In Aceh, which was the main area of the tsunami emergency, administration has never functioned well even during the times of normality. Legitimate political administration has been largely absent, the independence-minded rebel organization, Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement, GAM), has traditionally controlled large areas subjecting even local Indonesian government officials to GAM-taxes. The abuse of political power by the rebel group and by the Indonesian government has been a major problem. The establishment of legitimate governance should have preceded the humanitarian operation, if only there had been time. Since there was no time to waste when saving people from the natural disaster, humanitarian aid has just had to muddle through the difficulties caused by the administrative complexity.

But the quality of aid is not the only casualty when an emergency operation has to be implemented prematurely. Wars in Somalia in the beginning of the 1990s proved beyond doubt that even emergency aid is political, and that it has the potential of fuelling as well as preventing conflicts. How to channel aid, who to target, and what kind of projects to promote, are all decisions that can be violently contested. This is why managing tsunami-related humanitarian aid in a conflict zone such as Aceh is a precarious activity. Contested governance and the conflict not only risk harming the aid operation, but the aid operation also risks fuelling war. Yet so far Aceh has avoided the fate of Somalia, where the amount of aid at any specific time strongly correlated with the intensity of fighting.

The political sensitivities of tsunami-related emergency aid in Indonesia are many. In the beginning there were conflicts of interest between the central government and the regional

military command. For 18 months Aceh had been a province closed from any transparency due to imperatives of anti-rebel military activities. It was a paradise for any illegal activities by the local Indonesian military. When the president declared, immediately after the tsunami hit the province, that the province was wide open for international emergency relief organizations, the local law enforcement officials blatantly refused to open the province for foreigners. Even after the military had allowed international donors and the international media in, there were many efforts, especially by the Indonesian Army, to curb the rights of foreigners to report on issues not related to the tsunami. The step from complete military control to rather extensive international transparency was simply too radical a change to be accepted. Only after some time had been allowed for cleanup operations, was this conflict about international transparency resolved to the advantage of the president.

The next conflict in relation to the management of post-tsunami aid was on the very issue of relations between Jakarta and the province. The Indonesian government planned a blueprint for the rebuilding of Aceh, but found the Acehnese less than unanimously enthusiastic to cooperation with the central government. At the time, negotiations were already on the way in Helsinki, between the representative of the GAM, who wanted to administer the aid itself as the government of "independent Aceh", and the government of Indonesia. Negotiations to end the over 28-year conflict on the relations between Aceh and Jakarta were in a way necessary to resolve the issue of how should Aceh be rebuilt and by whom. The GAM wanted these negotiations to start with a ceasefire, but the government was pushing for a more comprehensive solution. A ceasefire would have enabled the GAM elements a freedom of operation in the province, and would have meant that donor organizations would have to be

allowed to operate in GAM-controlled areas within local realities. Instead of aid being distributed under Indonesian military supervision, GAM would have been seen in control of aid in their areas of control. Since this did not materialize, but instead aid was managed by the Indonesian law enforcement officials, many civil society groups complained that aid was distributed in a militaristic fashion, as for prisoners. Claims of military abuse of aid were also made and aid was accused of being used for political purposes. The arrangement has been such that the Indonesian military has not been able to punish GAM areas by not allowing aid to them. Instead, international donors have had access to all areas. However, the military has collected a lot of political points being in the position of actually delivering aid (also from non-Indonesian donors). According to some, in many villages people have tried to reach the donor organizations before the local military, in order to avoid the military regulation of aid in the area. This does not, however, testify to the fact that the military was abusing aid, but simply to the fact that in some areas people did not want to be subjected to "begging aid from the Indonesian military". In some cases it is likely that popular competition for aid has also been motivated by the simple desire to get more than ones fair share.

While the conflict on the ground continued between forces of independent Aceh and forces of the Indonesian military, elites of the two sides were negotiating in Helsinki. Negotiations have been a great success and it is expected that a peace treaty can be signed as early as August. Both sides were pressed by their own side almost as much as by their opponents.

On the government side there has been a conflict between the executive and the legislative sectors. The government was negotiating about an issue that will necessarily require legislative changes to the special autonomy law of Aceh and the law on political parties in Indonesia. Yet the parliament was not involved in the negotiations. As a result, there have been voices in the parliament against negotiations. While in an ideal world it would be important to keep the parliament involved in negotiations that will eventually lead to legal changes, it would probably have been impossible for the government to allow the Aceh peace process to become politicized by broadening the negotiation efforts.

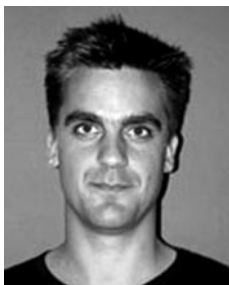
Parts of the military also protested against negotiating with the terrorists. According to the Army Chief of Staff General Ryamizard Ryacudu, the conflict could only end if the GAM surrendered. At the same time the commander of the Indonesian Military forces, Indonesian Military Chief, General Endriartono Sutarto, showed much more loyalty towards the political administration, while many troops in Aceh demonstrated their support to the Chief of Staff by intensifying military operations in an effort to sabotage the peace process.

On the Aceh side there has been restlessness about the GAM being the only Aceh representative in the negotiation tables deciding the Aceh fate. Some non-governmental organizations have insisted on a seat in the negotiation table as representatives of the Aceh, otherwise they have threatened mass demonstrations. Fortunately this has not yet happened. The problem in this conflict is similar to the problem of the hen and the egg. On the

one hand, it is natural for the people of Aceh to want to participate in the decision-making about their own future. At the same time there are no legitimate democratic representatives of the Aceh civil society before the local governance has been decided upon. And the issue of local governance of the post-tsunami Aceh is exactly what the civil society would like to participate in deciding about. Without a mechanism on how to monitor the rules of civil society participation it is also impossible for the civil society to freely express its opinions. The mediating team has consulted various civil society organizations in Aceh and it has its feelers in the Aceh society, but it has not been able to solve the dilemma of how to get a political agreement to allow civil society participation so that the civil society can participate in deciding about the very political agreement.

The process of rescuing Aceh from the tsunami and leading the post-tsunami society to a better future has muddled through without attempting to be perfect. It seems that this has been the only possible way to success. Managing the rescue of Aceh has required decisions that have not fitted the ideal world of textbooks of conflict resolution or democratic administration. The process to a better Aceh has tried to choose the best of the available imperfect strategies instead of trying to be perfectly orthodox or perfectly fair to anybody. It is necessary for scholars of conflicts and students of Indonesian politics to avoid idealizing the Aceh rescue and peace process, in order to allow this case with all its imperfections to teach how mediators and negotiators can overcome the "impossibilities" in the real world.

(Written on 16.05.05)



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To give or not to give: Ethics after the tsunami

By Ole Bjerg

Barely had the devastating waters of the great Tsunami withdrawn from the beaches of Thailand, Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries before the area was struck by another flood. The international community in the form of both individuals, organisations and nations reacted promptly to the catastrophe by sending massive amounts of aid and money to help its victims. The powerful and destructive forces of nature were countered by almost equally powerful constructive social forces. But what was the nature of these social forces?

At first glance one might take the reactions of the international community to the tsunami catastrophe as expressions of a globally mediated form of ethics. The natural disaster seems to have generated an ethical solidarity, which we may have thought impossible in a globalised world. According to the great sociologist of postmodernity, Zygmunt Bauman, moral sentiments are founded on face-to-face relationships between individuals and when these relationships are lifted out of their immediate contexts and mediated across time and space, morality is lost in the process (Bauman 1993). But are the reactions and feelings from the international community towards the tsunami victims not proof that ethics and compassion can be mediated, even on a global scale?

The purpose of this article is to present a number of questions contesting the interpretation, that Western engagement after the tsunami catastrophe was driven by a purely ethical compassion.

Why not Darfur?

The world is full of catastrophes. Why particularly did the victims of the tsunami become the centre of attention and

compassion of the entire world? Why not the victims in Darfur or Iraq? Measured by the amount of human suffering both of these catastrophes easily live up to the tsunami.

Every catastrophe has an element of fascination and attraction. The catastrophe is an articulation of some of the basic existential conditions of being such as death, grief, hunger and disease. And so the catastrophe in all its misery is an articulation of the basic meaning of being. To most people in the Western welfare states death, grief, hunger and serious disease are relatively rare and rather distant phenomena and they are not part of our daily lives. The unbearable lightness of being lulls one into a state of existential numbness and boredom in which it may be difficult to feel that you are really alive. It is a state of existential emptiness or meaninglessness. Catastrophes, most often in distant parts of the world, however give us the opportunity to experience by proxy that existential intensity, which has been lost in our social democratic daily lives. The chorus of the Danish pop song recorded to raise funds for the victims of the tsunami was “it reminds us how small we are”. This almost sounds like a pop

paraphrase of the founding father of existentialism, Martin Heidegger, when he speaks of “the call of being disclosing Dasein as an authentic Being-towards-death thrown into the world” (Heidegger 1927). So even if catastrophes are connected with poverty and need they do hold a certain “richness of meaning”.

What distinguishes the tsunami from other catastrophes such as the ones in Darfur, Iraq and Gaza is the “simplicity” of the event. Getting engaged in the situations in Darfur, Iraq or Gaza, one is soon faced with a complex network of intersecting and often mutually contradictory political, economical, juridical, religious and historical explanations, reasons and conflicts. And it is impossible to identify the innocent victims, the evil perpetrators and the courageous heroes. Furthermore, we may also risk being forced to consider our own role in the situation, since we, as Westerners, are often a responsible part of these catastrophes due to our political and economic engagement in the areas in question.

In the case of the tsunami, on the contrary, we have a very simple and apolitical situation with a lot of completely

innocent victims, no responsibility or guilt to be placed and no historical or political reasons to point back to ourselves. This opens the possibility of a very uncomplicated and relatively cost free (apart from the 200 Danish krone one may donate) identification with and compassion for the victims. A rare and very welcome opportunity in an ever more complex world. The tsunami catastrophe is, in other words, existentially attractive since it allows us to draw meaning from the incident without having to pay the price of either direct suffering or indirect political responsibility.

Why not India?

By engaging ourselves in a catastrophe for which we bear no responsibility whatsoever and making donations to its victims, we (the West) position ourselves in the place of the seemingly altruistic giver. Marcel Mauss' seminal anthropological study of *The Gift* (1924) should, however, remind us, that gift giving is often not as neutral and altruistic, as it might seem at first glance. Giving a gift establishes a reciprocal relationship. If the receiver cannot repay the gift the relationship turns hierarchical. The receiver's inability of producing a gift of equal value is a demonstration of his inferiority and a respective confirmation of the giver's superiority. This relationship is only strengthened when the receiver is even dependent on the gift.

Donating money and aid to the countries struck by the tsunami gives us a feeling of being needed. In a culture praising individuality and independence as core virtues, the feeling that somebody depends on you can be a rare and often missed experience. Furthermore,

if we look at the content of our "gifts", something else is revealed about the nature of the relationship established. Not only do the victims of the Tsunami need us. They need us for something that lies particularly at the heart of the constitution of Western culture: money and technology. They need us for something that is particularly Western, particularly us. The reciprocal relationship established by the giving of these "gifts" is therefore not only a satisfaction for the individual giver but at the same time an affirmation of the superiority of Western culture.

In this connection it is interesting to note how India refused to receive aid from the international community of willing donors, among these their former colonial ruler, Britain. By refusing these gifts India refused to once again enter into the subordinate role of a helpless developing country dependent on foreign benevolence. Instead the refusal is the expression of a newly gained Indian self-consciousness of strength and independence. However, in our newspapers we can now read stories of the insufficiency of the aid provided by the Indian government to the victims among its own people. Recently inhabitants of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were reported by the BBC to have received compensations of amounts as ridiculously low as 2 rupees. One may ask whether the public indignation generated by these stories springs from a true solidarity with the poor Indians or from an annoyance with the Indian government's reluctance to confirm the British's position as benevolent givers?

To give or not to give

The argument of the present article is not that international



Jokeren (a Danish rap musician) reminding us "How small we are" and encouraging us to make our donations via phone or SMS. Photo: TV2

engagement in helping the victims of the tsunami is wholly devoid of ethics and solidarity. And the normative implications are not that we shouldn't give aid to people victimised by catastrophes of different kinds. The point is, however, that we should beware of making ourselves believe that our engagement in catastrophes around the globe is driven purely by ethical sentiments. What is at stake is internal and not external to global relations of power and recognition. We should also not think that buying indulgence by making donations to "existentially comfortable" apolitical catastrophes like the tsunami excuses us from a more political engagement in more complex catastrophes, such as the ones in Darfur, Iraq, Gaza etc., where our role and responsibility as Westerners is of a somewhat more ambivalent character.

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Tsunami research and resources: media responses to the tsunami

By Anja Møller Rasmussen

The massive earthquake and subsequent tsunamis devastated much of the coasts of South and Southeast Asian countries on 26 December 2004. The death toll reached over 300,000 with another half a million people injured and many more homeless. The tsunami proved to be an enormous test, for governments, aid organisations, the media and researchers. During the first 48 hours media, scientific journalists and citizen bloggers reported from the affected countries and coordinated relief efforts in many of the regions using digital networks and the Internet. This short comment gives an overview of coverage and responses to the disaster from the media, civil bloggers and researchers, and describes the use or lack of use of the Internet as a major and timely information distributor.

As clean-up operations started after the tsunami that devastated much of the coasts of South and South-East Asian countries on 26 December 2004, questions were already being asked about lessons for the future. There was no scarcity of reflections and commentaries on the impact of the disaster. The media has, at least until the beginning of March, looked into almost every conceivable angle; the humanitarian, the impact on health, on tourism, on the environment, contamination of groundwater, risk of airborne diseases, even the impact on animals has received attention.

One area that has so far received less attention from scientists is the social science aspect: the impact on the society, on women and children, on mental health, on security and some missed opportunities for peace negotiations and on long-term development. As a result, we are still far away from understanding the long-term social impacts and what steps must be taken to ensure that the immediate responses are effective in bringing both relief and secure peace and development.

During the first couple of weeks the horror played out on

television screens and in the newspapers around the world. The western media did not disappoint the public. Within a few hours they transitioned from providing the facts to reporting the news with sensationalism and sentimentality focusing on the visual dramatic effects of the tsunami on the primarily western tourists in the seemingly worst hit areas.

Media coverage of the disaster

The response from governments, aid organisations and the public on the disaster was rightly overwhelming. However, it is interesting to speculate why there has been this reaction and why there has been such a huge and quick response from the media, the public and the (natural) science researchers. Put into context the tsunami is indeed one of the worst natural disasters of our time. It has not, however, caused the amount of death and destruction seen in some of the world's other ongoing conflicts.

Press coverage of the tsunami focused on the dramatic effect of the disaster. It was a great media event. Dramatic pictures from different countries. Lots of nationals involved from nations

with highly developed media outlets. Stories of lost relatives; a significant numbers of westerners have been to these countries or have friends or family who have vacationed there. It affected many in developed countries and on a personal level the situation required an immediate response and human interest but with little analysis and debate. After a few weeks the cameras moved on, leaving us with a need for a more thoughtful, balanced approach to such disasters waiting, for the (social) scientists' analysis of the long-term impact on society.

Tsunami bloggers coverage of the disaster

The more interesting and useful way the Internet has been used is to share information about relief efforts and to help people connect with missing family members. Quickly Bloggers became an information source both for the public and for mainstream media outlets. Hearing about individual experiences directly from the people who survived the tsunami offered readers a different, more personal perspective on the human side of the tragedy than

most of the articles published by news organizations. The news media were almost beaten to the punch by Internet bloggers (a weblog or blog, is a personal website constructed using one of the many free, easy-to-use blog tools available on the Internet). When the tsunami struck, people did not wait for newspapers or TV-stations to tell and show what happened. They wanted information immediately, and within hours after the disaster witness accounts, photos and videos were made available by bloggers all over the world. The citizen journalists who make up the loose network of weblog began to organise aid efforts and post their own reports from the disaster, pointing towards the newest trend in online news: vlogging or video blogging.

Research coverage of the tsunami's effects

Shortly after the disaster the British Overseas Development Association, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank published analysis of the economic and financial consequences of the disaster and several scientific organisations and e-journals like SciDev published articles which provided background information on the geological and hydrological processes behind tsunamis, and the impact on the environment concluding that 'the immediate relief needs in the Indian Ocean are large and complex, and there will be a long-term need for rehabilitation and reconstruction in the areas affected. The disaster is complicated because there are the effects of the earthquake near the epicentre in Aceh and the widespread effects of the tsunami wave. In effect, there are two disasters, a very severe earthquake as well as the effect of the tsunami.'

It is important to understand that natural disasters on this

scale have less visible, but critically important, economy-wide, macro-economic effects. This is because of the impact of damage to productive sectors such as fishing and tourism which generate jobs, tax revenue and foreign exchange, but also because government expenditure has to be diverted from other uses.

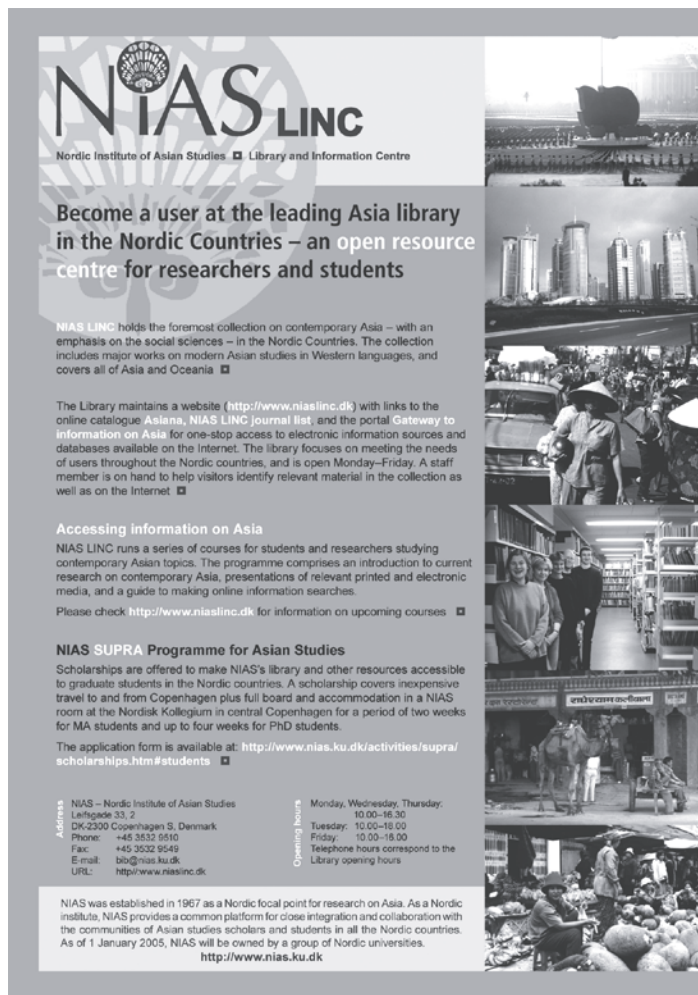
As a general rule, the macro-economic effects of natural disasters tend to be relatively short-lived. The research evidence is that it is unusual to find significant decreases in national income or drops in the growth rate from sudden impact earthquakes, tsunamis or tropical storms. Indeed, in some cases, natural disasters have had a positive effect, because of increased spending on the rehabilitation of infrastructure.

Unfortunately this leaves the analysis of the human consequences to journalist and bloggers.

An analysis of the English language journals and newspapers held in the databases of Dialog, a Thomson Communication database host, combined with a closely monitored search on the Internet, shows that less than ten percent of the articles, features and comments come from social scientists.

The findings underpin the need for social scientist to start using new communication technologies and the Internet to get their responses out quickly and mediate their valuable knowledge and experience.

This in turn means there is a need to develop the professional skills of all those who can contribute to the process. And it is vital, for example, to ensure that future plans include opportunities for developing and making use of the skills that researchers in general – and social science researchers in particular – can play in drawing



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NIAS was established in 1967 as a Nordic focal point for research on Asia. As a Nordic institute, NIAS provides a common platform for close integration and collaboration with the communities of Asian studies scholars and students in all the Nordic countries. As of 1 January 2005, NIAS will be owned by a group of Nordic universities. <http://www.nias.ku.dk>

attention to imminent threats to life and safety.

The task of the scientists is not merely to report on what emerges from universities and research institutions. Equally important is the need to identify and make comprehensible the potential impact of such information on the lives of the public.

In disaster-related areas of social science, the need is equally great both to communicate information about new understanding of phenomena to the communities that are likely to be most affected, and to explore the implications of this information for these communities.

Part of the task of developing professional communication skills in the social sciences is to overcome the timely publishing process common in the social science area. Here the Internet

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has an important role to play. Much has been made of the way in which the Internet is providing knowledge by making it readily and quickly available to all. More challenging is using the web to ratify social science information to ensure that it is robust and being used responsibly.

The power of communication also brings with it important responsibilities. One is to ensure the accuracy of the information that is being communicated.

NIAS Library and Information Centre's Tsunami Portal

Shortly after the disaster, NIAS LINC decided to create a Tsunami Disaster Portal. The aim of the Portal was to establish a starting point for researching the Nordic responses to the Tsunami disaster and to give Nordic researchers access to high

quality and relevant, non-biased, scientific information.

The articles and responses listed in the special NIAS Asia Insight: Tsunami Disaster Site provide background information, access to analyses and research, news about recent events and their implications, and links to reliable sources of further information. Most of the articles will be from Nordic research institutions, universities, ministries and aid organisations, but the site also publishes relevant material from Asian regional research institutions, international organisations such as the UN system, World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and NGOs.

The site contains also a list of Nordic researchers and other Asia specialists who are willing to contribute with their expertise

for analyses and comments on the social science aspects and consequences of the Tsunami disaster and other relevant issues.

The websites and blogs have been evaluated for credibility and are recommended as a starting point for social science tsunami research. The website gives access to the best news sites, blogs and research and will continue to be improved.

If you would like to contribute with articles or responses, or be listed among the researchers and Asianists with relevant expertise, please contact NIAS Webmaster, Inga-Lill Blomquist at ILB@nias.ku.dk.

The site can be found at http://www.niaslinc.dk/gateway_to_asia/Asia_Insights/Tsunami_disaster.asp

continued from p. 11 (Frida Hastrup ...)

certain effects. However, in the case of disasters such as the tsunami, what are considered social effects seem to surpass the original causal agent. In the aftermath of the tsunami in Tranquebar, a sequential idea of causation seems to dissolve. In stead, tsunami narratives reconfigure aspects commonly believed to be signs of permanence. Paradoxically, even the durable is erupted – suspending, analytically at least, the distinction between cause and effect.

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continued from p. 13 (Kristian Stokke ...)

of going from relief and rehabilitation to peace in Sri Lanka. At the time of writing (April 2005), divisive politicisation of disaster relief is more prevalent than practical collaboration and political dialogue. If the ongoing negotiations about a joint mechanism fail to yield concrete results, there will also be serious concerns about the future of the ceasefire agreement. The opportunity that was created by the tsunami for revitalising the peace process has seemingly been missed.

The Gendering Asia Network

From 19 to 21 May 2005, the Gendering Asia Network held its first conference at Kungälv Folkhögskolan near Göteborg in Sweden. The conference brought together forty-two scholars and students from the Nordic countries as well as from Asia, Australia and North America. Nordic scholars engaged in studies of gender and Asia generally have established wide-ranging networks within their particular areas of research. However, especially MA and PhD students working within the field of gender and Asia in the Nordic countries have expressed a strong need for a network to support them in their studies and enable them to identify and contact other students as well as scholars working within their fields of study.

Thus, the conference was held in order to begin building a strong, imaginative and resourceful network that will benefit research and teaching on gender and Asia in the Nordic countries. On the one hand we know that scholars are engaged in this kind of research and teaching in all Nordic countries, but on the other hand we also do not have an overall picture of who exactly is doing what and where. One aim of the network is to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and contacts by building a database of scholars and students working on gender and Asia. Asian studies environments in the Nordic countries are all relatively small, and although most scholars have their individual networks within and beyond the Nordic countries, we believe that there is room for increased Nordic interaction, exchange and collaboration that can be facilitated by a formalized network.

The network is not defined as a *Nordic* Gendering Asia Network. Much of our work takes place in collaboration with colleagues in Asia and elsewhere in the world and the network, as reflected also

by participation in the conference, is open to participants from all parts of the world.

The theme of the first conference was broad and paper presenters were asked to consider how gender is part of their research either as a methodological/theoretical approach or as a focus of study and to discuss how a gender perspective in their work has provided new knowledge on Asia. The two keynote speakers Maila Stivens, Director of Gender Studies at the University of Melbourne (*above right*), and Nguyen-vo Thu-huong (*above left*), Professor at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies and Cultures at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), as well as several paper presenters addressed the gendered processes that construct many dimensions of Asian modernities and their incorporation into a globalizing world. Other papers analysed the effects on women and men of the dramatic economic, social and political changes sweeping the region. In future, the plan is to convene annual conferences on more specific themes.

Cecilia Milwertz



Photos: Cecilia Milwertz

The network was established by the three scholars who also act as network coordinators:

Wil Burghoorn, Senior Lecturer, Centre for Asian Studies, Göteborg University <wil.burghoorn@ceas.gu.se>

Cecilia Milwertz, Senior Researcher, NIAS <milwertz@nias.ku.dk>

Helle Rydstrom, Associate Professor, Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University <hely@tema.liu.se>.

Join the network at
www.nias.ku.dk/genderingasia



Farhat Taj, Centre for Women's and Gender Studies, University of Bergen, held a Contact Scholarship at the end of January. She is preparing a Ph.D. project on *Women-Specific Islamization in Pakistan Extending its Tentacles to Norway*.

Women representatives in Pakistan also face sexual violence and harassment

By Farhat Taj

The idea to write this article came my mind when I read Irene Graff's article 'Quota Systems in Pakistan Under the Musharraf Regime' in NIASnytt 1–2004 (March edition). The quota systems, as mentioned by Irene, have increased women's representation in the representative bodies of the country. What I want to bring into focus is that these female representatives are as much vulnerable to gender based harassment and violence, as are the ordinary women of Pakistan. Broadly speaking there are three levels of people's representation in Pakistan: National level, Provincial level and District level. This article mentions three incidences, one each from the national assembly, provincial assembly and a union council, wherein women members of these elected bodies personally faced sexual violence, harassment and gender discrimination. All the three incidents were given wide coverage by the media in Pakistan.

District Level

Kaloom Bibi, a woman member of the union council in the district of Nowshera in the North-West of Pakistan held a press conference in August 2004 and alleged that she, along with a neighbor, was stripped naked and photographed by some influential men of her area, whom she named to the press. She told the reporters that one of her female neighbours, called Robina, complained to her that an influential man of her village entered her house in the night and molested her. She (the councilor) reported the incidence to the man's father and requested him to keep him in check. This infuriated the man, who later humiliated the councilor and her neighbor for bringing the matter to his father's attention.

Following the press conference the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), a human rights NGO in Pakistan, assembled a three member team, including myself, to meet various parties to this incident (neighbours, police, the accused and the accuser etc) in order to ascertain facts in this case. The report pointed out that most neighbors were tight lipped out of fear but some confirmed that the incident had indeed taken place. The house of the lady councilor

was locked at the time of the visit of the fact-finding team, because she and her family had fled the area following the press conference. The police said they had arrested the accused but they soon managed to get bail from the court. The police referred to the councilor as a 'wayward' woman. Eight months after the incident she has yet to get justice. She and her family live as refugees in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, and are still getting threats. She has now married off her 14-year-old daughter¹ because she feared the accused could enter her home in Islamabad and disgrace her daughter like herself (*Dawn* 7, January 2005).

Provincial Level

On the floor of the provincial assembly of the Punjab, the largest federation unit of Pakistan, a male parliamentarian from the hard-liner Islamists party, Jumaat Islami, said:

'Under the Legal Framework Order (LFO) of Musharraf regime women have been brought to the National and Provincial Assemblies as a "sweet dish", otherwise, they literally have no role. Women (reserved) seats should be abolished... I am sure they (women) wouldn't bag even 200 votes if they contested election on the general seats (rather than

their indirect election on the reserved seats²)' (*The News*, 26, August 2003).

Another male member of the same provincial assembly said that the women parliamentarians should prove their worth rather than sensationalising the atmosphere of the parliament (*ibid*).

Federal Level

Prime Minister of Pakistan ordered a probe against three top male officials of the National Assembly Secretariat for allegedly harassing a female member of the national assembly of Pakistan during a trip of Pakistani parliamentarians to Paris on October 6 (*The News*, 18, Oct. 2004). The lady parliamentarian, Gul Farkhanda, approached the Prime Minister when the speaker of the national assembly showed reluctance to proceed against the officials (*ibid*). She accused the officials of character assassination and alleged that the accompanying bureaucrats have harassed at least six other female MPs but they choose to stay silent (*ibid*).

Violence Cuts Across the Class Division within Society

Women from upper classes (rich families) dominate federal and

provincial level assemblies and women from lower classes (poor families) are mostly elected in union/district councils (Graff, 2004). The above-mentioned incidents show that women on all three elected levels confront sexual violence and harassment. Thus it seems, at least in this context, that sexual violence and harassment cut across class divisions in Pakistani society.

Women of Lower Classes 70% of women in Pakistan suffer some kind of violence (HRCP, 2003), but arguably, women from lower classes are more vulnerable to violence, especially at the hands of criminals, strangers and state agents. In the cases under consideration, the lady councillor who comes from a poor family, has not got justice even nine months after the incident. Some redressal steps seem to have been taken in the last two incidences at higher level. For example, the hard-liner Islamic party distanced itself from its MP's remarks when its spokesman declared that the concerned MP had spoken in his individual capacity not as their party's representative (The News, 26, August 2003). In the case of Gul Farkhanda, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has ordered a probe into the matter. However, no such probe has been ordered in case of the lady councillor, who has been personally meeting and reporting her plight to various political leaders and senior government ministers (*Dawn* 7, January 2005).

Sexual Violence and Social Change

Public talk of sexual violence against women is a taboo in Pakistan, like in many other societies of the world. It is therefore very courageous of those victims of violence to make their plight to public view. By speaking out publicly, the victims of sexual violence increase public awareness

of the problem. These women are then agents of change in society – the change that they no longer have to endure such crimes in silence and have a right to speak out against it and see the perpetrators punished under the law. If the present perpetrators were punished according to the law, many would-be perpetrators might think twice before inflicting sexual violence against women. Similarly, punishing those who inflict violence on elected women representatives could be of critical importance to promoting women's active participation at all political levels in Pakistan.

Notes

¹ This is below the legal age limit for marriage in Pakistan. The legal age limit is 16 years.

² The government of the present President of Pakistan Mr. Musharaf reserved seats for women in the elected bodies of Pakistan. In the national assembly 60 out of 342 seats are

reserved for women. These 60 women are not directly elected by the people but through an indirect election. During the general election each party submits two lists of female candidates, one each for the national assembly and provincial assembly in each federation unit of Pakistan. How many women are to be elected from each list depends on the total number of general seats won by a party in the respective assemblies. During the general elections of 2002 the people directly elected 12 women and 60 women were indirectly elected on the reserved seats. The women elected on the reserved seats sometimes face discrimination because they do not directly come from the people but have made it to the national assemblies because they are wives, daughters and sisters of influential male politicians.

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- **Wil Burghoorn**, Senior Lecturer, Center for Asian Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden (wil.burghoorn@ceas.gu.se)
- **Cecilia Milwertz**, Senior Researcher, NIAS (milwertz@nias.ku.dk)
- **Helle Rydstrom**, Associate Professor, Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University, Sweden (helry@tema.liu.se)

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Other services include thesis advice, invitations to participate in courses and workshops, the possibility of having one's PhD thesis published by NIAS Press as a monograph, discount on NIAS Press publications, and the supply, free of charge, of *NIAS Nytt – Asia Insights*, NIAS's quarterly on Asian affairs, and SUPRA News and SUPRA Bulletin, NIAS' electronic student newsletters on Asian studies.

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WORKPLACE

For SUPRA students living in or near Copenhagen, there is a possibility of applying for a workplace ('studieplads') at NIAS where we would expect you to become part of the Asia research environment at the institute.

Staff news



Sidsel Rastrup Magnussen from the Department of Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen, has been awarded a work place at NIAS for a period of three months, starting 11 April. Sidsel Magnussen is writing an MA-thesis on 'The Perception of Learning among Chinese Management at the Danish Company Grundfos in Suzhou, China'.



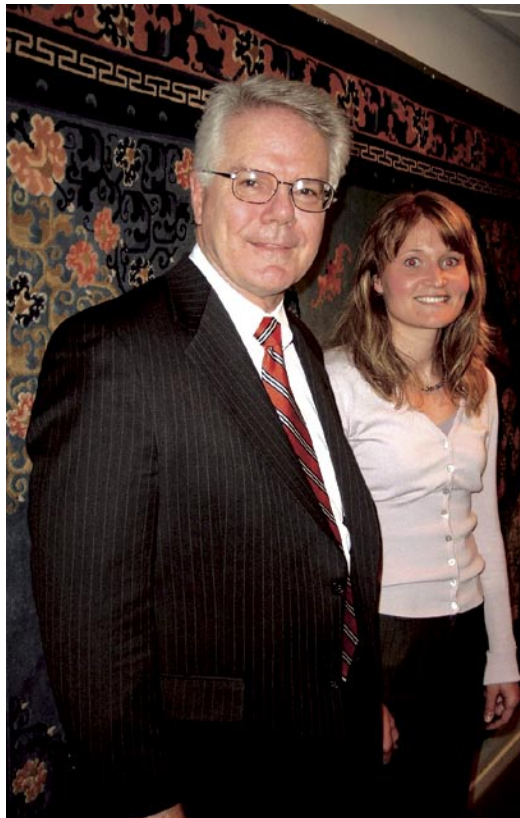
Hanne Elsnaab, Institute of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, has been awarded a work place for a period of six months, starting 1 April. Hanne Elsnaab is writing an MA thesis, 'An Anthropological Study of Knowledge about Medicine in a Rural Vietnamese Commune'.

Recent visitors



The Second NAJS Conference on the Study of Contemporary Japanese Society was hosted by NIAS in Copenhagen, 28 – 30 April 2005.

The Nordic Association for the Study of Contemporary Japanese Society (NAJS) was formed in 2002, with the aim to encourage Japanese studies in Sweden and other Nordic countries, in particular by stimulating education and research related to modern Japanese society. The network identifies the scattered nature of Japanese studies in the Nordic countries as a major obstacle to the establishment of stable research environments and its explicit ambition is therefore to be an interdisciplinary forum where doctoral students and researchers can share experiences, exchange information, and take part in debates.



Professor **David Lampton** visited NIAS May 18–22 to participate in the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs – NIAS seminar 'The Security Situation in Asia: Changing Regional Security Structure? The EU's Opportunities to play a Role in Asian Security Politics'. He has worked together with NIAS on a report on the security situation in Asia and the possibilities of the EU to play a role as an actor on the security scene in Asia, where a first draft of the report was discussed at the seminar.

David Lampton is a leading expert on Chinese foreign and security policy, and on US-China relations. Prof. Lampton is dean of Faculty, George and Sadie Hyman Professor of China Studies, Director of the China Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

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China aktuell is devoted to the transfer of scientific insights to a wide audience. The topics covered should therefore not only be orientated towards specialists in Chinese affairs, but should also be of relevance to readers with a practical interest in the region.

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UNSERE JAHRBÜCHER

Werner Draguhn (Hg.)

INDIEN 2004 – Politik ▪ Wirtschaft ▪ Gesellschaft

Hamburg 2004 • 478 Seiten • 30.00 € • ISSN 1436-1841 • ISBN 3-88910-306-5

Indien wird immer wichtiger! Die größte Demokratie mit über einer Milliarde Menschen befindet sich auf dem Weg von der Einparteiendominanz zum Mehrparteiensystem. Der Hindunationalismus gewinnt an Bedeutung. Im Zuge des Reformprozesses öffnet sich die Wirtschaft, dabei steht krasser Armut eine kaufkräftige Mittelschicht gegenüber. Atomtests verunsichern die Welt, überdies erfordern der Kaschmirkonflikt und die Terrorismusbekämpfung Aufmerksamkeit.

Indien 2004 – Politik ▪ Wirtschaft ▪ Gesellschaft bietet wissenschaftliche Beiträge zu Entwicklungen in der Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Indiens. Neben zeitnahen Analysen zu aktualitätsbezogenen Themen sind auch Beiträge enthalten, die sich aus fachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive mit grundlegenden Prozessen und Strukturen in Indien auseinandersetzen und einen Bezug zwischen Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und/oder Zukunft herstellen.

Manfred Pohl und Iris Wieczorek (Hg.)

JAPAN 2004 – Politik und Wirtschaft

Hamburg 2004 • 333 Seiten • 28.00 € • ISSN 0343-6950 • ISBN 3-88910-309-X

Die Herausforderung: Japan als zweitgrößte Industrienation befindet sich im Umbruch. Das bedeutet neue Chancen für Japan und Deutschland sowie Impulse für die Entwicklung der Weltwirtschaft.

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Patrick Köllner (Hg.)

KOREA 2004 – Politik ▪ Wirtschaft ▪ Gesellschaft

Hamburg 2004 • 307 Seiten • 28.00 € • ISSN 1432-0142 • ISBN 3-88910-308-1

Die koreanische Halbinsel – der letzte Gletscher des Kalten Krieges! Hier stehen sich nicht nur eine Trendsetter-Ökonomie und eine Planwirtschaft im Umbruch, sondern auch eine der lebendigsten Demokratien Asiens und das wohl letzte totalitäre System der Welt gegenüber.

Korea 2004 – Politik ▪ Wirtschaft ▪ Gesellschaft bietet neben sozialwissenschaftlichen Analysen zu verschiedenen Aspekten der beiden koreanischen Staaten Übersichten über die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen des Berichtsjahres.

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Recent visitors



Dr Lyn Parker, University of Western Australia, was working at NIAS on 10–19 May. While at NIAS, she gave a seminar on ‘Schooled Sexuality among Minangkabau Teenage Girls’, jointly organized by NIAS and the Institute of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen.



Dr Yeo Lay Hwee, Singapore Institute of International Affairs, will be working at NIAS on 25–29 April.



Ma Hui, Vice-Director of the International Office of the Communist Party of China, was welcomed at NIAS on 18 April by Nis Høyrup Christensen. Ma Hui was the centre of a roundtable discussion about the role of the Communist Party of China in the 21st century (A New Century – A New Party?).



Susanna Kupi from the Institute of International Law and International Relations, University of Graz, Austria, stayed at NIAS on a scholarship in April. She is working on an MA thesis on ‘The Bottom Line – Between Political Economy and Human Rights in ASEAN-EU Relations’.

Aryo Danusiri from the Department of Visual Cultural Studies at the University of Tromsø, and **Mikko Suutarinen** from the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the University of Helsinki, had each a SUPRA Scholarship in March. Aryo Danusiri’s MA thesis is on ‘Negotiating Indigeneity: Space, Identity and Social Mobility of Marind People (West Papua, Indonesia) in the Post-Suharto Era’; Mikko Suutarinen’s MA thesis is on ‘Ethnic and Religious Identity of the Dongxiang People in Gansu, China’.



Kristin Svartveit from the Institute of Social Anthropology at the University of Bergen, held a SUPRA Scholarship each in March. Kristin’s MA thesis on *Taichi as Phenomenon in Chinese Culture*. While at NIAS, she gave a live performance on the art of *taichi*.



Md. Munjur E. Moula from the Department of Social Policy, University of Helsinki, and **Md. Mahabubur Rahaman**, University of Tampere, held each a SUPRA Scholarship in May. Md. Munjur Moula is carrying out a Ph.D.-project on 'The Experiences and Service System of the Street Children in Bangladesh'; Md. Mahabubur Rahaman's Ph.D. project is on 'Development and Dependence: The Emergence of New Institutions – The Case of Bangladesh'.



Lovise Angen Krogstad from the Department of Social Anthropology, and **Ingrid Pauline Kjelsvik** from the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, both the University of Oslo, held a SUPRA Scholarship in May–June. Lovise Krogstad is writing an MA thesis on 'Eradication of Child Labour in India – Local Participation and Empowerment in a Development Project'; Ingrid Pauline Kjelsvik's MA thesis is on 'Civil Society in China: Contemporary Reality and Promising Future'.

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Bonn Juego and **Tengku Mansor**, both presently affiliated to the Research Center on Development and International Relations of Aalborg University, held each an additional SUPRA Scholarship in May. While in Aalborg, they are collaborating with Johannes Dragsbæk Schmidt of Aalborg University on the research project 'Emerging Oppositions to the Liberal-Conservative Malaise in East and Southeast Asia'.



Martin Mitts Broe from the Department of Political Science, University of Aarhus, and **Pål Gilje Tumyr** from the Institute of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo, each held a SUPRA Scholarship in April–May. Martin Broe is working on an MA thesis on 'The Foreign Policy of Pakistan'; Pål Gilje Tumyr's MA thesis is on 'Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) in Burma'.



Ronny Turøy, affiliated to the University of Bergen and to La Trobe University in Melbourne, and **Larissa Dalisay Jürgensen** from the Department of Political Science at the University of Aarhus, had each a SUPRA Scholarship at the beginning of April. Ronny Turøy is writing an MA thesis on 'The Role of NGOs in Media Development Assistance: Experiences from Timor Leste'; Larissa Jürgensen's MA thesis is on 'ASEM, the Asia–Europe Meeting. An Inter-Regional Approach to International Relations'.

NIAS book wins prestigious book prize

*At the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), held recently in Chicago, the world's top award in Southeast Asian Studies was awarded to Andrew Hardy's **Red Hills**, published by NIAS Press in 2003 (and co-published by the University of Hawai'i Press).*

Announcing this year's winner of the Harry J. Benda Prize, Paul H. Kratoska (chairman of the Southeast Asia Council of the AAS) praised **Red Hills** for being "a marvelous book". The citation went on to state "Dr. Hardy adroitly uses heretofore untapped archival material as well as official reports, published materials, and conversations with numerous people in several parts of Vietnam

to provide a layered and nuanced account of internal migration from the perspectives of officials and especially migrants themselves. ... "Dr. Hardy's extraordinarily ambitious research and illuminating analysis make this splendid book an outstanding contribution

to Southeast Asian studies."

The Benda Prize is given annually to an outstanding newer scholar from any discipline or country specialization of Southeast Asian studies. Fuller details may be found at <http://www.asianst.org/book-prizes.htm>.



Paul H. Kratoska announcing the winner of the 2005 Harry J. Benda Prize.

Right: Gerald Jackson of NIAS Press chatting to the incoming AAS president, Barbara Watson Andaya, at a reception in part celebrating Andrew Hardy's prize.

Far right: Paul H. Kratoska together with Antony Boussemart of the EFEO Library in Paris, who accepted the award on behalf of the author.

Bottom right: NIAS author Andrew Fischer signing a copy of his new book at its LSE launch, with Dr Hildegard Diemberger.



Next year's prize-winner?

*The London launch of Andrew Martin Fischer's **State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet** took place on 19 May 2005 at the London School of Economics with much success.*

The launch was introduced with a talk by John Harriss, director of the LSE's Asia Research Centre, who highlighted the book's importance in terms of the field of development studies, in particular with regard to rural-urban development and rural development strategies.

He was followed with a talk by the well-known Tibetan scholar Tsering Shakya, who commented on the wider relevance of the book within the context of the Chinese occupation of Tibet, as well as Chinese development policies.

Finally, Andrew Fischer gave a brief presentation stressing how his book has come out of an effort to find a middle ground from which to discuss and address the pressing social issues in Tibet through the use of a developmental language that was understood and accepted by the Chinese leadership. He then thanked all those involved in the book, in particular those at NIAS.

A spirited discussion followed. Like all things Tibetan, this was not without its share of controversy.



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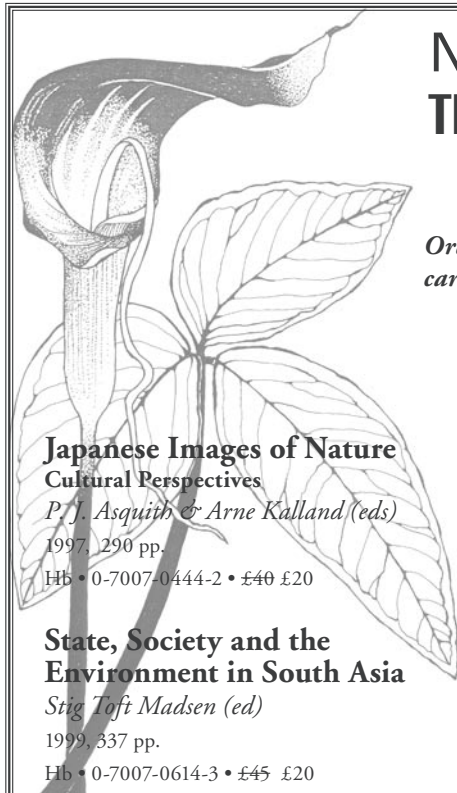
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State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet

Challenges of Recent Economic Growth

Andrew Martin Fischer

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Andrew Fischer has written a wonderful book on development and macro-economics in Tibet. It is a must read for all interested in contemporary Tibetan society and Chinese policy in Tibet. – Professor Melvyn C. Goldstein, Co-Director, Center for Research on Tibet, Case Western Reserve University

The idea that sustained economic growth will automatically reduce poverty and bring increased freedom and democracy along with it, is unchallenged in today's development discourse. That poverty and exclusion could actually increase within a growing economy is rarely considered. In a new and important book entitled, *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet: Challenges of Recent Economic Growth*, development economist Andrew Martin Fischer debunks the myth of growth through a fascinating study of statistics and experiences in Tibet. The book will be of keen interest for development agencies eager embrace China's "Go West" campaign as well as for advocates promoting genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people. ... This book is a singularly valuable resource for advocates seeking to influence development policy and promote increased autonomy in Tibet. Written in a style at once accessible to the general public while also rigorous in methodology, *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet* is a must-read and without doubt, a piece of work that will encourage new directions in research about Tibet. – Carole Samdup, quoted in World Tibet Network News (<http://www.tibet.ca/en/wtnarchive/>)



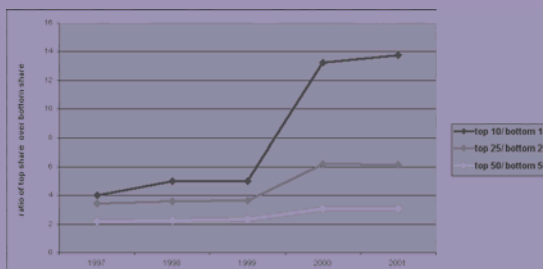
STATE GROWTH AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN TIBET

Challenges of Recent Economic Growth



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STATE GROWTH AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN TIBET
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