



LUDWIG-  
MAXIMILIANS-  
UNIVERSITÄT  
MÜNCHEN

FACULTY FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURES  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY



# Jammu and Kashmir: Boundaries and Movements

*International Symposium*

June 16 – 19, 2011, Frauenwörth, Chiemsee, Germany



## Programme

Thursday, June 16, 2011

13.00                      Arrival at Frauenwörth

13.30                      Lunch

15.00 – 18.00            First session

*Martin Sökefeld*  
Welcome and Introduction

*Chitrlekha Zutshi*  
Kashmir as Literary Paradise: Region as Sacred Space in the Kashmiri  
Historical Imagination

Tea/Coffee

18.00                      Dinner

**Friday, June 17, 2011**

8.00 Breakfast

9.00 – 12.00 Second session  
Chair: Hermann Kreutzmann

*Ershad Mahmud*

Impact of Cross LoC Trade and Travel on Kashmir Conflict

*Ken MacDonald*

Bounding Identity, Bounding Place: Movement, Stasis and the  
Translocal Production of Balti Culture

12.00 Lunch

14.00 – 18.00 Third session  
Chair: Chitrlekha Zutshi

*Farrukh Faheem*

Resilience in Kashmir, 1980: Identity, Location and Expression

*Shahnaz Khalil Khan*

Gender Boundaries and Movements in Jammu & Kashmir

*Haley Duschinski*

Popular Protest and Jurisdictions of Justice in Kashmir Valley

In between Tea/Coffee

18.00 Dinner

19.30 *Lakeer* (Film by Shiv Dutt and Daalat Ali)  
Introduction by Daalat Ali

**Saturday, June 18, 2011**

8.00 Breakfast

9.00 – 12.00 Fourth session  
Chair: Ken MacDonald

*Stefan Urban and Pascale Schild*

Local Politics of Reconstruction in the Context of the Ambivalent Political Boundaries between Azad Kashmir and Pakistan

*Miguel Loureiro*

Conceptualising Change: The 2005 Earthquake and its Impact on Domestic Boundaries in Rural Pakistan-Administered Kashmir

12.00 Lunch

14.00 – 18.00 Fifth session  
Chair: Cynthia K. Mahmood

*Martin Sökefeld*

Negotiating relations between Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan

*Hermann Kreutzmann*

Boundaries and space in Gilgit-Baltistan

*Antía M. Bouzas*

A Sense of Belonging in Contested Borderlands: Skardu, Gilgit-Baltistan and the Kashmir Conflict

In between Tea/Coffee

18.00 Dinner

**Sunday, June 19, 2011**

8.00                      Breakfast

9.00 – 12.00            Sixth Session  
Chair: Haley Duschinski

*Cynthia K. Mahmood*

A Window for Peace? Transforming the Great Game in Kashmir

Concluding Discussion

12.00                      Lunch

ca. 13.00                Departure from Frauenwörth towards Munich

**Abstracts** (listed alphabetically by presenter's last name)

***Daalat Ali***

**Lakeer (Film), directed by Shiv Dutt, screenplay by Daalat Ali**

The film brings alive the pre- and post-partition life in Jammu and Kashmir, and how local people are suffering in everyday life after the partition. However, the greater message "Lakeer" manages to convey is that even after the forceful division the diverse communities not only still live together but aspire for a united Kashmir and yearn for freedom of movement.

Lakeer is a period drama with a tragic but realistic plot, it takes the viewer through the last six decades of the turbulent history of our state and how the occupiers have tried to mould and justify their occupation in their respective domains but the people of the state reject a forceful division on religious and sectarian basis.

The story of this Pahari film (with English subtitles) begins in 1940 (United Kashmir), in a village in Mirpur where all religious communities were living harmoniously. Sakina, the pretty daughter of a village headman, falls in love with a wrestler, Sheeda, but between the passion of lovers and its consummation stands the great divide of class: Sheeda is a low-born wrestler, while Sakina is an only daughter of the village headman. The committed lovers cross the rubicon, eloping to another town, Rajori in the Pir Punjal region. They settled down in new surroundings; nursing a secret guilt in their hearts to have deserted their parents. On a chance meeting with Sardara, an old friend of Sheeda's, this guilt erupts into an irrepressible desire in Sakina's bosom to visit her native village. Sheeda tries to stall her, expressing his fear that Sakina's folks would not allow her to return to their homestead. However, Sardara guarantees her return and hence she left leaving her son and daughter behind.

At this time, 1947, the British decided to leave India creating two states divided on a religious basis, Kashmir was occupied and divided too, leaving Sheeda and Sakina along with other millions of people divided. The film travels through the main events of the 1965, 1971 wars and comes to 2005 confidence building measures (CBM) controlled travel across the line of control. Sakina crosses to meet her family but she can't stay with them. The misery of the divided people still continues 60 years on.

Lakeer has a local cast, it contains cultural and folk values and aims to inform of the plight of Kashmiris divided and displaced in a nutshell. Run time is 2 hours and 20 minutes. There have been many films on the division of India on this subject but this is the first ever on Kashmir and by all inclusive Kashmiri writers, directors, poets and actors from the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

*Antía M. Bouzas*

**A Sense of Belonging in Contested Borderlands: Skardu, Gilgit-Baltistan and the Kashmir Conflict**

The paper discusses the mixed legacies and sense of belonging of people from Skardu, a town located close to the Line of Control on the Pakistani side of Gilgit-Baltistan, and how views emerging from the local context diverge or coincide with the general understanding of the Kashmir conflict. The uncertain legal-constitutional status of Gilgit-Baltistan within the Pakistani state has implications in the everyday life of people living there. In this regard, it seems pertinent to look at how the local communities perceive the wider geopolitical scenario in which they live in a context of significant political and economic development. By understanding boundaries as institutions (and the Line of Control has functioned as a *de facto* boundary for more than six decades), the paper underlines their role in relation to the state and nation building processes as a tool to explore issues of border transformation.

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*Haley Duschinski*

**Popular Protest and Jurisdictions of Justice in Kashmir Valley**

In the summer of 2009, the apparent murder and rape of two young women in the small town of Shopian sparked a year of popular protest in heavily militarized Kashmir Valley, with expressions of outrage at the everyday forms of violence that accompany Indian rule in the contested region. This paper draws analyzes the Shopian case and its implications by drawing on ethnographic field research conducted in 2009–2010 to consider how the state has exercised militarized governance, occupational authority, and institutional denial of justice through practices of cover-up that are built into the legal systems that claim to protect the rights and interests of Kashmiris. The paper also demonstrates how various local actors have worked to establish alternative forums to challenge state violence, illuminating the ways in which they have sought justice in this context of intense militarization characterized by the routine state violence through legal and criminal justice processes. Through these processes, human rights and justice have become vernacularized, taking on distinctive arrays of meanings within historical trajectories and contemporary projects of Kashmiri resistance and struggle. Through its conclusions, the paper emphasizes how the event, and the responses to it, reshaped the interplay between legal authority, social protest, and political power under conditions of occupation, with implications for subsequent formations of popular resistance against Indian rule in Kashmir.

**Farrukh Faheem**

**Resilience in Kashmir, 1980: Identity, Location and Expression**

Large political and economic upheavals that influence people, engage individual's thought or feelings in a dialogical relationship- using their relationships and surroundings in remembering and thereby transforming them. From Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras to modern times the landscapes of memory for a common Kashmiri are dotted with the oppression. It is the memory of this oppression and the plight of Kashmiris during these oppressive periods in their history that often finds expression in Kashmiri literature. The frequent reference to Treaty of Amritsar as '*sale deed*' and articulation of regional sense of belongingness are visible through out Kashmir's historical past. During the modern political phase this regional sense of belongingness was kept alive by frequent mention to '*honour*', '*dignity*' and '*pride*' of Kashmiris and was often invoked to attract participation in protests. Sheikh Abdullah's act of signing accord in the year 1975 was thus seen as *betrayal* by the new generation of Kashmiris and thus, from being called '*the lion*' he began to be viewed as a *traitor* to the cause of Kashmir and Kashmiris. Sheik Abdullah's frequent incarceration at the hands of New Delhi (for thirteen years) endeared him to millions of Kashmiris. As Sheikh moved closer to New Delhi, youth in Kashmir moved in the opposite direction, for in the popular psyche the fate of Kashmir was antithetical to the one dictated by India and the Indian state. It is in this context that the 1980 becomes an important marker in political history of Kashmir. A decade that divided and in a way linked the preceding twenty two years with the subsequent years of *Azadi* mobilizations in Kashmir. Frequent mention of slogans like *Azadi ya muat* Freedom or Death and references to the '*pledges*' made by leaders of India and Pakistan recognizing the right of self-determination for Kashmiris during this phase prepared the ground for the early 1990s protest movement in Kashmir. As Halbwachs<sup>1</sup> observes the apparent vacuum between creative periods is filled by collective memory in symbolic display, or simply kept alive through transmission by parents and other elders to children or ordinary men and women. It is not a co-incident that the periods of '*relative calm*' in Kashmir between 1975 and 1986 were in reality quite intense. This was the period when one observes a growth in youth led organizations in Kashmir and increase in *underground* literature in the form of books, novels, jokes, anecdotes and newsletters. The sentiment of *Azadi* in Kashmir was thus nurtured during the twenty two years of mobilization from 1950s to 1970s and in the transformed political climate (post 1975) vigorously articulated through the early 1990s protest movement in Kashmir. This paper argues that it was the extensive mobilization of preceding years and the *ground work* of the various youth organizations during the early 1980s that allowed common Kashmiris to interpret their situation. Such mobilizations helped them acquire their own share of the *generation awakens*; and what they contemplated was nothing but being alive to their collective memory of denial and suppression. Defying all forms of threats including the mother of all threats i.e. death, the protest of an average Kashmiri youth wanted to choose who they were and how they should be referred to as.

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice, Halbwachs (1992) On Collective Memory, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.



***Shahnaz Khalil Khan***

**Gender Boundaries and Movements in Jammu & Kashmir**

There is a plethora of literature available on international relations dimensions and the on-going geo-political debacle between Pakistan and India over the entity known as Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). There is little of this vast, essential work that is concerned to gender relations in J&K; women are either given the role of Islamist sympathisers and discredited as having nothing but patriarchal Islamist rhetoric to contribute, or as primary or secondary victims of violence. In order to participate in the debates over gender, Muslim women often have to negotiate the rigid conservative norms of their society which means that they are in a constant state of negotiating and organising to shift the boundaries between themselves and men.

The subject of my talk will be the moving boundaries of gender relations in J&K. Firstly I will provide a brief history of the engagement of women in the political arenas of politics in the 1940s J&K. I will then talk about the progress made in increasing public spaces for women through reference to education, voting and participation in election campaigns by Muslim women. Since 1990 the unresolved political status of J&K exploded in a movement for self determination in JK. What has that meant for the women of the State?

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***Hermann Kreutzmann***

**Boundaries and space in Gilgit-Baltistan**

A systemic analysis of spatial entities and their performance over time suggests that certain systems fulfil a cycle from invention through maturity. In specific cases it leads to disaggregation and/or collapse. The envisaged cycle incorporates certain properties and is influenced by a wide range of elements. The risk of failure seems to be a permanent challenge to such systems. Risk of collapse, separatism and/or violent conflicts is often modified and reduced by powerful actors through the implementation of administrative reforms and restructuring. Strained relationships between different actors result in a set of operations which modify spatial entities and their setups. Gilgit-Baltistan is a prime example for politico-territorial boundary-making and transformations in space and time. Different actors are shaping a variety of attributions and interpretations. The debate on the recent renaming game in Gilgit-Baltistan and its implications will be discussed in this contribution.

*Miguel Loureiro*

**Conceptualising Change: the 2005 earthquake and its impact on domestic boundaries in rural Pakistan-administered Kashmir**

The earthquake that struck Pakistan-administered Kashmir (PaK) in October 2005 brought with it destruction and change. While much has been written about the destruction, few have attempted to analyse the earthquake and its aftermath as catalysts for change. According to local inhabitants the earthquake was transformative in many ways: people started moving from a joint family system to one based on nuclear families; social relations built on kinship were being replaced by networks based on common goals and agendas; a rural, primary economy dependent on subsistence farming faded at a faster pace into an urban, international service economy. In summary, according to them, the earthquake became a catalyst for a shift from tradition to modernity.

However, the ideal picture a society has of itself does not often correspond with how a society actually works. In this paper I try to identify the differences between what people *say* has changed ('imagined' society) and what has really changed ('real' society). I further explore which other underlying factors might have contributed to this change, to determine if the earthquake was indeed a catalyst for change or a "moment of clarity". I do this by looking at the extent to which people used post-earthquake housing reconstruction as a rationalisation to engage with a modernity project in a set of villages in the southern part of Bagh District, which has witnessed a sizeable migratory movement to the Gulf States since the mid-70s. To what extent can changes in housing be attributed to the earthquake and its aftermath? Were these changes witnessed in the domestic arenas as well? What seem at first glance to be simple questions concerning how people in PaK are coping with changes post-earthquake are in fact enquiries into how complex issues of kinship, social protection and the nature of change in local value systems are conceptualised and understood.

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*Ken MacDonald*

**Bounding Identity, Bounding Place: Movement, Stasis and the Translocal Production of Balti Culture**

Boundaries and borders, both physical and ideological, direct movement and movements. In this paper, I track the effect of multiple boundaries on the inter-relation between movement, or the possibility of encounter, and the emergence and form of what might be called 'movements' concerned with the reproduction of cultural identity among Balti communities on both sides of the Line of Control. While having, until recently, minimal contact across the border these 'movements' have gained ground over the past 15 years and have explicitly sought to articulate and perform cultural authenticity. In the paper I describe how these identity movements, even as they seek to reorient the boundaries of identity and to reconstitute the limits of an interior cultural space, are effectively bounded by the conditions, relations and forces of their own production. I contrast the two identity 'movements' in Kargil and Skardu and describe how they are challenging distinct configurations of boundaries in the rearticulation of identity. While both of these 'movements' are brought

into relational dialogue through the existence, and their instrumental use of, the 'Line of Control' the qualities of each movement and the instrumental and cognitive resources they rely on to practice identity reveal the movements as subject to the bounded and translocal conditions of their own production.

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**Cynthia K. Mahmood**

**A Window for Peace? Transforming the Great Game in Kashmir**

The confrontation of two nuclear-armed states across the Line of Control in Kashmir is often assessed as a likeliest origin point of a Third World War. Although Kashmir plays a critical role in the national identities of both India and Pakistan, their interactions over Kashmir exhibit many gamelike qualities. The awareness of being played as pawns exacerbates the indigenous Kashmiri identity, increasingly assertive in this fraught strategic environment.

American involvement in Afghanistan since the Soviet collapse draws the US into this orbit, with the "war on terror" covering a latent but real interest in Kashmir. The public's inability to grasp the regional subtext of American decisions in South Asia increases the sense of opacity around US strategy, the skepticism as to ultimate US aims, and the suspicions directed at American ally and aid recipient Pakistan. The silent strategy of attending to regional conflicts and nuclear risks while overtly engaging in the high drama of tracking down terrorists maintains American hegemony as a superpower while risking the credibility of its local ally as enigmatic missteps become apparent. Nevertheless, the way the American imperium plays out could benefit the people of Kashmir if the rules of the game are better understood. The opening for attention and focus on peace building in Kashmir may be *now*, as the conflation of the US "war on terror" with long-term India-Pakistan competition momentarily makes that region a point of focus for all.

It is not appeals to the moral high ground but simple realpolitik that must be recognized in the attempt to negotiate at this altitude of power. This has not been anthropology's forte, and the discipline's emphasis on local realities have often directed it away from the regional insights necessary for international discourse. But anthropology's most useful talent in the peace building context is its ability to juxtapose myriad local realities, to understand each as inherently valid, and to establish a terrain for communication across differences. Far beyond the idea of the cultural specialist who can advise diplomats how not to offend a host by misuse of dining utensils, an engaged anthropology can play a much deeper and more vital role in the peace building enterprise. As an epistemological challenge to the mono-narrative of empire, anthropology stands solidly for the plurality of peoples. As scientific witness to the millenia-long evolution of our species, anthropology stands firmly for the ultimate unity of humankind, sounding a deep tone of optimism amidst the disputes, wars, and suffering it studies. In Kashmir, anthropologists have worked and lived with people in Ladakh, in the Valley, in Jammu; in Azad Kashmir, in the Northern Territories. Now, our job may be to find these various interlocutors - all Kashmiri in some sense or other - a place at the negotiating table of their future.

***Ershad Mahmud***

### **Impact of Cross LoC Trade and Travel on Kashmir Conflict**

During 2005-2008 the initiation of Cross Line of Control (LoC) travel and trade in the divided State of Jammu and Kashmir was a unique idea which turned out to be a rare success story. It encouraged both India and Pakistan to think beyond the traditional conflict resolution framework to find unconventional solution to the Kashmir issue. Interestingly, despite setbacks such as the Mumbai attacks cross LoC trade has not only survived but also made significant progress.

The impact of successive wars from 1947-2008 on trade, markets and the economic and social lives of divided families were profound. With the decision to open the LoC to travel and trade opportunities, relations between people on either side have improved. There remain many difficulties and obstacles to the successful growth of intra-Kashmiri trade and people to people contacts. The extension of the list of approved tradable items from 21 to include more profitable goods is yet to happen. Pakistan administered Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) needs greater investment to develop its productivity and markets so it can benefit from trade. Communications and banking systems must be improved.

More direct contact between business people from both sides is necessary for deals to be brokered successfully. Local business people require capacity building training to improve their understanding of trade methods and their relationship to peace building politically. Restrictions on timing of the movement of goods and the size of consignments along with many other bureaucratic impediments are limiting profitability. Non-local business people monopolizing the trade opportunities are marginalizing local entrepreneurs.

The socio-economic impact of trade is significant that the local populations as well as those directly engaged as traders. Families have been reconnected and self-employment opportunities generated. Trades unions and chambers of commerce are operating on both sides.

On the travel side Buses are smooth taking people across LoC but visa regime is not only strict but some time people who want to travel have to wait months after months to get permission. It also needs to be softened.

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***Martin Sökefeld***

### **Negotiating relations between Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan**

This paper explores the boundary and relationship between the two Pakistani controlled parts of the erstwhile State, Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), which have been subjected to quite different political regimes after 1947. While AJK is formally a separate state, GB has been under direct administration by the Government of Pakistan. After outlining the different constitution and political trajectories of both parts the paper turns to “nationalist” perspectives that reject Pakistan’s control and domination of both areas. Such nationalist perspectives towards the respective other part differ fundamentally: While political actors from AJK claim GB as a rightful part of (Azad) Jammu and Kashmir and demand unification, most nationalists from GB reject any such claim and insist on a distinct

identity and separate political status of GB. Although oppositional nationalists from AJK and GB sought a certain (strategic) alliance in recent years, this fundamental difference could not be overcome. Further, the Government of Pakistan attempts to strictly prevent political interaction and movement across this border. Drawing on recent perspectives of the anthropology of the state, the paper analyses the boundary between AJK and GB as an instrument of control by Pakistan.

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***Stefan Urban and Pascale Schild***

**Local Politics of Reconstruction in the Context of the Ambivalent Political Boundaries between Azad Kashmir and Pakistan**

The political relation between Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and Pakistan is highly ambivalent. Formally, Azad Kashmir is an independent state with its own government, parliament, and judiciary which merely delegates the affairs of defence, diplomacy, and currency to Pakistan. But in fact, Azad Kashmir is economically and politically dominated by Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan (GoP) allocates AJK's annual budget and appoints the most influential positions within the state's bureaucracy. Because of Pakistan's ideological stance on Kashmir as integral part of the Pakistan nation, oppositional politics critical to Pakistan's territorial claim over AJK and interference in the state's affairs are mostly repressed by the military and civil intelligence agencies in the area.

The political domination of Pakistan over AJK is clearly exposed in the ongoing process of reconstruction after the devastating earthquake of 2005. In the wake of the disaster the GoP enlarged its influence in AJK by establishing a huge centralised bureaucratic apparatus, the *Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority* (ERRA), to administer the entire reconstruction activities in the earthquake-affected parts of Pakistan and AJK.

Muzaffarabad, the capital of AJK, was one of the areas worst affected by the earthquake in terms of fatalities and the scale of the damage to key infrastructure such as roads, government buildings, schools, hospitals and private houses. For the reconstruction and mitigation of the city's disaster vulnerability a comprehensive Master Plan (MP) was prepared. Since many MP projects are still not implemented, people in Muzaffarabad began criticising ERRA's poor performance in the reconstruction process. They further blame the authority, based in Islamabad, for its lack of interest towards local peoples' concerns. A local political alliance comprising of politicians, journalists, NGO workers, etc. engage in the wider political mobilization for a local people's movement of reconstruction (*tareek-e-tamir-e-nau*). Thereby Pakistan's hegemony in AJK is increasingly politicised and, to some extent, challenged. At the same time, the "reconstruction movement" also criticises the AJK government for its frequent opportunistic complicities with the GoP and indifference towards the reconstruction of a safe Muzaffarabad.

With reference to Muzaffarabad's Master Plan we analyse how the ambivalent AJK-Pakistan boundaries figure in the reconstruction process and the local politicisation of this process. On one side, we highlight how these boundaries became manifest in the form of an extensive administration, which frames the MP's (non-)implementation. On the other side, we stress how these boundaries are politicised, strategically exploited, and transgressed by local stakeholders in the specific political context of Muzaffarabad vis-à-vis the governments

of AJK and Pakistan. Boundaries do not only implicate limitations (as, for instance, in the case of Pakistan's dominance over AJK which restricts the latter's autonomy) but produce opportunities for local people who "utilize" these boundaries in strategic ways. By the creation of social-political movements and flexible political alliances (with and against stakeholders from the governments of AJK as well as Pakistan) across these boundaries people transgress and, at the same time, reinvent these boundaries.

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***Chitrlekha Zutshi***

**Kashmir as Literary Paradise: Region as Sacred Space in the Kashmiri Historical Imagination**

This paper examines Persian and Kashmiri historical narratives as well as some visual representations of the Kashmiri landscape to highlight the interconnections among multiple traditions – Sanskrit, Persian, and Kashmiri – and regions – Kashmir, Central Asia, Persia, and Hindustan – that went into the creation of the idea of Kashmir as especially blessed landscape.

The multilingual narrative palimpsest embodying this idea of Kashmir, it argues, points us in the direction of examining Kashmir as a literary paradise, where the interface between diverse imperial and indigenous cultures as well as textual and visual geographies, led to the production of narratives in a variety of genres. These narratives explicitly linked Kashmir's sacred past to its landscape, thereby fashioning its cultural and political history through a unique prism.

It argues that the idea of Kashmir as sacred landscape has not only been central to defining the very contours of the region of Kashmir, literally and discursively, but equally significantly, successive rulers of Kashmir—Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs, and Dogras—have interwoven the idea into their own imperial imaginations.

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Map:



Source: Kashmir Study Group

[http://www.kashmirstudygroup.net/awayforward05/maps/figure1\\_full.jpg](http://www.kashmirstudygroup.net/awayforward05/maps/figure1_full.jpg)