A Note on Tibetan Translations and Transliterations

Tibetan words in the following account are represented, in the body of the text, as pronounced, preceded by their nearest English equivalent. They are then listed in the glossary at the back, followed by transliterations from the Tibetan script, in accordance with the system developed by Wylie (1959). For example, when I discuss mutual aid societies among the Tibetans, in the body of the text, I write: mutual aid society (*kyiduk*). In the glossary at the back, I write: kyiduk, skyid-sdugs, mutual aid society. Occasionally, very common Tibetan or Nepali words appear in the main text without their English equivalents. They are italicized to mark them as foreign, yet they are modified grammatically as if they were English words. For example, Tibetans eat *tsampa* and wear *chubas*. Nepali people pay for their goods in *rupees*.

TABLE 0.1: International Organizations Assisting Tibetans in Nepal, 1960–1995

1960–1962
British Council of Churches
USAID
Swiss Red Cross
American Red Cross
British Red Cross
Red Cross of Liechtenstein
Indo-German Social Service
Thyssen Concern
Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
Nepalese Tibetan International Refugee Relief Committee (NTIRRC)
American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees
Australian National Committee for World Refugee Year

Source: Data derive from Holborn (1975); Hagen (1994).

1962–1966
USAID
SATA
Swiss Red Cross
Swiss Aid to Tibetans
Australian Refugee Committee
Norwegian Refugee Council
American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees
Nepal International Tibetan Refugee Relief Committee (NITRRC)
UNHCR
Nepal Red Cross Society
Save the Children Fund–UK
Save the Children Fund–Sweden
Catholic Relief Services
The United Protestant Mission in Nepal
U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization
World Health Organization (WHO)
UNICEF

Source: Data derive from Information Office of the Dalai Lama (1969); Holborn (1975).

1975–1995
U.S. Congress
U.S. Department of State
USAID
U.S. CIA
Taiwan's MTAC
Swiss Development Corporation (SDC)
ICRC
UNHCR
Minority Rights Group
Asia Watch
International Campaign for Tibet
Campaign Free Tibet
Swiss Aid to Tibetans
Friends of Tibet Switzerland
Norwegian Refugee Council
Tibet Development Foundation Belgium
Tibet Development Fund Holland
SOIR-IM, Rajpur
UMCOR
German-Nepal Help Association
German Aid to Tibetans
Tibet Fund USA
Tibet Health and Development Fund
Tibet Cultural Institute USA
MISEREOR
Save the Children British Columbia
Tibet Society UK
Tibet Foundation UK
Help the Aged International–UK
Help Tibet Trust UK
Friends of Tibet–UK
Tibet Relief Fund London
Tibetan Refugee Aid Society Canada
Canadian Teachers Federation
SOS International
Dana International Centre Japan
TRCS Japan
Aide à l'enfance Tibetaine
Fiona Fund
Association Tibet Libre
American Himalayan Foundation
Association Tibet Freand
REDD BARNA
Nepal Red Cross Society

Source: Data derive from Snow Lion Foundation Annual Reports, 1975–1995.

MAP 0.1: Location of Tibetan Settlement Camps in Nepal

MAP 0.2: Distribution in the Kathmandu Valley of Tibetans Who Claim Refugee Status

TABLE 0.2: Distribution in the Kathmandu Valley of Tibetans Who Claim Refugee Status (Index for Map 0.2)

Map Location		Number of Tibetans	Map Location		Number of Tibetans
1	Budanalikantha	51	36	Nagpokari	9
2	Toykal	13	37	Kamal Pokhari	20
3	Bansbari	160	38	Chabahil	133
4	Baluwatar	1	39	Gaushala	4
5	Sundarijaal	1	40	Nagarkot	0
6	Vajrayogini	0	41	Ganesthan, Nar Devi	12
7	Ichangu, Sitapaila,Ramkhot	28	42	Asan Tole	10
8	Balaju	14	43	Bhotahity	7
9	Gongabu	23	44	Rani Pokari	5
10	Dapasi	22	45	Bagh Bazaar	11
11	Maharaj Ganj, Chaksal	52	46	New Road	8
12	Gorkana	7	47	Tundikhel	0
13	Swayambhu	167	48	Sundhara	20
14	Kal Dhara	16	49	Baneswar	1
15	Paknajol	28	50	Babar Mahal	8
16	Naya Bazaar	18	51	Besigaun	19
17	Lazimpat	171	52	Nakhu	4
18	Bhatbhateni	2	53	Langankhel	15
19	Handigaon, Tangal	5	54	Pulchowk	6
20	Bishalnagar	10	55	Kupontole, Lalitpur	14
21	Thinchuli	182	56	Patan	140
22	Boudha	2381	57	Koteswore	3
23	Kopan	97	58	Jawalakhel	141
24	Tusal	305	59	Bhaktapur	8
25	Jorpati	687	60	Sunakoti	13
26	Sankhu	5	61	Sanogaun	8
27	Kimdole	22	62	Pharping	57
28	Chauni	5	63	Chapagaun	15
29	Dalu	207	64	Godavari	3
30	Bijeswari	26			
31	Chettrapati	174			
32	Thamel, Jhoche	169			
33	Thahity	113			
34	Jyatha Tole	86			
35	Kathmandu	62			

Source: Data derive from Nepal Home Ministry Tibetan Refugee Identity Book Applications, 1994–1995.

MAP 0.3: Development of the Jawalakhel Settlement Camp

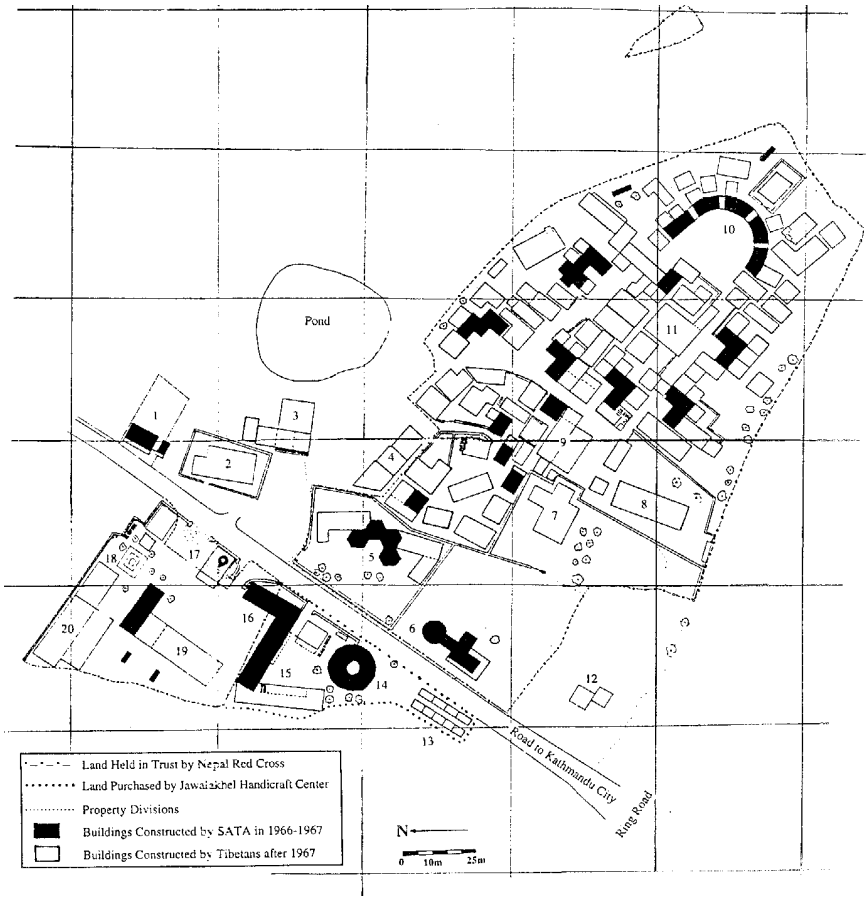


TABLE 0.3: Development of the Jawalakhel Settlement Camp (Index for Map 0.3)

1 Cooperative Society restaurant.
2 Tibetan monastery built on public land.
3 Privately owned Nepali houses. Rented to Tibetans.
4 Privately owned Nepali houses built on private land. Tibetans argue it is camp land.
5 Nepali school. Built by SATA for Tibetans but nationalized by Nepal government in 1971.
6 Medical Dispensary. Site of new staff quarters.
7 Private Nepali house. Built on land that was once part of the Tibetan camp.
8 Tibetan old person's home.
9 Tibetan nursery.
10 Circle of houses built for Tibetans by SATA in 1967.
11 Private Tibetan factory built on several garden plots.
12 Private Newar farmhouse on privately owned land.
13 Small one-room shacks built on factory land for Tibetans in 1975.
14 Poultry farm house built on factory land. Now used as staff quarters.
15 Atisha School built on factory land with factory money. Serves as elementary school.
16 Factory spinning hall. Built on factory land in 1967.
17 Cooperative Society sales shop. Built on public land that once housed a Shiva temple.
18 Tibetan temple (chorten).
19 New factory building. Serves as weaving hall, sales shop, and administrative offices.
20 New factory storeroom. Also serves as a meeting hall.

Source: Base map derives from SATA's Tibetan Resettlement in Jawalakhel, Kathmandu, 1967. Revisions are my own, based on my own field survey, 1995.

Introduction

Entitlement Systems and Identity Politics

"We are like bats," Tashi said to me with a sly smile. "If we open our wings and soar in the sky, birds think we are birds. If we lie crouched on the ground and bare our teeth, rats think we are rats."

It seldom happens that I understand Tibetans when they express themselves through such short, somewhat-cryptic sayings. This time, however, I understood immediately. I had just watched Tashi, one of many wealthy, successful Tibetan carpet factory owners in Boudha, an urban neighborhood northeast of Kathmandu, finish his carpet factory work for the day. Tashi had just bundled together his Nepali citizenship papers, business registration papers, and a statement of his accounts, and was handing them to his Nepali business advisor to take to the Department of Cottage Industries to renew Tashi's business license for the year. As Tashi signed the papers with his Nepali name, I asked his business advisor where he is from. "I am a true Nepali," he said, and I thought, at first, he was teasing Tashi for being Tibetan, but he soon explained that he is a Newar born just outside of Kasthamandap in Kathmandu's Darbar Square. Of all people in Nepal, a Newar (people from whom the word Nepal is believed to be derived) born at Kasthamandap (a place from where the word Kathmandu is believed to be derived) is one person who can most unarguably make such a claim.[1] As Tashi handed his advisor the business documents, bound in a clear plastic binder, he paused to point to his photograph that showed through the cover. "Look at how young I looked then," he said. And we all laughed.

There are many Tibetans in Nepal like Tashi, the self-proclaimed bats of Tibetan exile society. Skilled at strategies of identity negotiation, they link themselves into multiple local, national, and (most importantly) international networks to access the resources they need to build their business and social organizations. In Tashi's case, he acquired Nepali citizenship, and

along with it, the right to buy land, to register a business, to travel outside the country, and to vote for people to represent his interests. He secured various sources of international assistance. He attended a two-year administrative training course organized by Swiss intergovernmental officials for Tibetans in Nepal and then later met a sponsor who sent him to business school in the United States. Tashi used his connections to build a successful carpet business in Nepal; to found a social welfare organization; and, along with a number of other Tibetans in similar positions of influence, to build a hospital in his home village in Tibet. He owes his success, he claimed, to the many people and organizations who assist him.

"Sometimes we feel guilty," Tashi said, "The younger generation, they do not have this guilt, but we know what it is like to live in Tibet. We have seen Tibet and we know. We know what it is like to live in Nepal, too. We have lived here for so long." Tashi's guilt, he explained, comes from being wealthy and successful when many other Tibetans, and most Nepalese, are poor. Nepal is home to some of the poorest people in the world, and as a country, Nepal ranks consistently in World Bank statistics among the poorest in the world. With an economy based on subsistence agriculture, Nepal has an average per capita income of only $200 per year. Fifty to 60 percent of its population lives at or below the absolute poverty level, and some 30 percent is chronically indebted.[2] Just how Tashi, and other Tibetans like him, went from being poor, landless, and stateless to being wealthy, well connected, and politically influential is what I went to Nepal to learn.

What I learned, however, involves more than just how a particular group of Tibetans became economically successful and politically influential within a host country that struggles to support its own population. Far more important is what I learned about the limitations of existent approaches to the analysis of migrant and refugee people to account for the causes and consequences of Tibetan success. Existent approaches rarely discuss international assistance organizations and the role they play in refugee success. This book focuses specifically on the role that international assistance organizations play in the lives of Tibetan exiles in Nepal. It asks how international assistance contributes to the economic success of the Tibetan exiles, yet more importantly, it asks what other effects derive from the assistance relationship. It is intended as a study of the Tibetans as well as a model for the analysis of other populations, migrant or indigenous, who regularly receive international assistance.

The book has three principal arguments. It argues that the relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them play a critical role in their economic success. It argues further that identity negotiation on the part of the Tibetan exiles is necessary to maintain their economic success. Finally, it argues that the Tibetans' identity nagotiations complicate issues of issues of sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity. The book uses the case of the Tibetan exiles to propose a

framework for the analysis of international assistance that accounts for what I refer to as its dynamics. I analyze international assistance as a type of entitlement system, comparable to the entitlement systems of welfare states, in order to emphasize its role in promoting alternative norms and values among local communities worldwide.

International assistance to the Tibetan exiles has helped them in many ways. It has helped them to build an economic base, to build international awareness for their political cause, to reconstruct their monastic institutions, and to educate their children. The benefits have been numerous. International assistance has also had other effects, however, that are critical to the ways in which the Tibetan exiles define and discuss the Tibetan identity. International assistance to the Tibetan exiles complicates their efforts to define the Tibetan identity. It does so by promoting alternative norms and values among them. The challenge for the Tibetan exiles is to accommodate the norms and values of the organizations that assist them without losing sense of what it means to themselves to be distinctly Tibetan.

"We are like bats," Tashi's self-characterization, is one way of conceptualizing what it means to be Tibetan in a context of conflicting normative expectations. It is one way of making sense of the process of identity negotiation. Being a bat means being able to accommodate others' expectations on the surface while maintaining a consistent sense of oneself at the core. It is an empowering concept that enables Tibetans, at an individual level, to manage the process of identity negotiation. The process of identity negotiation involves more than just the individual transaction of norms and values, however. It involves also the cultivation and maintenance of collective norms and values. Identity negotiation is generative as well as transactional (Barth 1969: 10); it is a collective process as well as an individual process. More than just the negotiation of the individual self, it involves also the reproduction of the collective self over time and across generations.

The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them challenge their efforts to reproduce a collective sense of Tibetanness over time and across generations. They do so by providing incentives for the Tibetans to identify, affiliate, and act in concert with groups alternative to their local and national communities. Such relationships, far from acting to preserve the Tibetan identity (Devoe 1983; Klieger 1992), act to transform it.[3] They introduce alternative norms and values that influence how the Tibetan exiles define and discuss their identities and goals. Relationships of international assistance, although critical to the Tibetans' economic success, are thus best viewed not as a value-free source of financial support for Tibetan cultural continuity, but rather as a mechanism of change. It is the goal of this book to understand how they function as a mechanism of change at the local level and to analyze their specific effects on issues of sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity.

Tibetan Success: Definitions, Explanations, and the Role of International Organizations

The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them play a critical role in their economic success. This role has been obscured in the existent literature on the Tibetan exiles to the detriment of our understanding of the dynamics of their success. There is general agreement in the existent literature that the Tibetan exiles are indeed successful.[4] They have integrated economically into their host countries (Goldstein 1978; Devoe 1983; Saklani 1984; Gombo 1985; Forbes 1989; Chhetri 1990). They interact constructively with their host communities (Gombo 1985; Forbes 1989; von Fürer-Haimendorf 1990; Hagen 1994). They display little evidence of psychological trauma associated with other exile communities worldwide (Goldstein 1978; Miller 1978; Nowak 1984; Norbu 1994). Some authors discuss the role that international organizations play in the social and psychological aspects of this process (Devoe 1983; Klieger 1992). The role that international organizations play in the economic aspects of Tibetan success, however, has thus far received little attention.

This study began as an inquiry into the factors that led to the economic success of the Tibetan exiles. It defines success in terms of income level and property ownership. It focuses on the Tibetan exiles in Nepal, in particular, as they are, in economic terms, exemplars of success, even among Tibetans. The Tibetan exiles are a group who arrived in Nepal with few marketable skills, little capital, and little experience with international business.[5] They were further disadvantaged by Nepali laws and policies restricting land and business ownership to Nepali citizens only.[6] And yet, within a single generation, the Tibetan exiles went on to introduce, establish, and control what is now one of the largest and most important industries in the country, the manufacture and export of hand-woven woolen carpets. Nepal had no carpet industry whatsoever before the Tibetans arrived as exiles in the 1960s.[7] By 1993, the carpet industry, then at its peak, comprised more than five percent of Nepal's gross domestic product and more than half of its total annual export earnings (FNCCI 1995: 29, 66).[8] Total annual sales, from 1989–1993, amounted to more than $150 million, as compared with about $80 million for garment manufacture and $70 million for tourism (FNCCI 1995: 66, 116).[9] With more than 250,000 workers, the industry employs more people than any other in the country (Shrestha 1992: 15). It is a driving force in Nepal's industrialization.[10]

The economic success of the Tibetan exiles in Nepal involves more than just their control over the carpet industry as well. Tibetans also own and manage hotels, jewelry shops, and trekking equipment shops. They have built dozens of monasteries to serve as religious centers for all Buddhists and dozens of schools to educate children of Tibetan exiles as well as of other ethnic Tibetans in Nepal. Tibetan exile carpet factories, shops,

monasteries, and schools serve as the most visible evidence of Tibetan success. Observers speak of a "renaissance of Tibetan civilization" in Nepal (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1990).

The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them play a critical role in their economic success. Explanations proposed in the past, however, have tended to obscure that role. Explanations proposed in the past tend to follow either of two approaches that dominate the more general literature on migrants and refugees. The first explains economic success in terms of the structural conditions of the host country. It asks such questions as: Are local labor markets relatively open or closed? At what level can migrants participate economically, given their particular skill sets? Do host government policies facilitate, or hinder, migrant entrepreneurship? Soysal's (1994) analysis of guestworker policies in Europe provides an example of this approach on a general, comparative level. She proposes a typology of incorporation regimes to analyze how states govern the migrants that enter and remain in their territory (1994: 37).[11] The second approach explains economic success in terms of particular cultural characteristics thought to predominate within the group. It asks such questions as: Does the culture of the migrant group emphasize entrepreneurship? Does it place a high value on educational achievement? Does it glorify risk takers? Sowell's (1996) analysis of German, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Indian, and Jewish migrants is the most recent use of this approach on a general level. He argues that the reason all of these groups have succeeded economically is that their cultures emphasize such values as education, skill, industriousness, risk, social cohesion, and a concern for the future of their children.[12]

The economic success of the Tibetan exiles has been explained in the past in terms of either cultural characteristics or structural conditions. Saklani (1984: 219), for example, argues that Tibetan success is due to cultural characteristics, such as the Tibetans' penchant for trade, their willingness to work hard, and the willingness of Tibetan women to work as hard (outside the home) as Tibetan men.[13] Goldstein (1978) and Norbu (1994), based particularly on the experience of the Tibetan exiles in India, argue that two basic structural conditions are involved: The generous and very liberal policies of the host government, including the donation of land on which the Tibetans could resettle (Goldstein 1978: 397–398; Norbu 1994: 15–16); and the structure of the government of the settlements, headed by the Dalai Lama's exile administration (Goldstein 1978: 406–409; Norbu 1994: 19–29).

The economic success of the Tibetan exiles in Nepal can indeed be explained, in part, by these two approaches–by the Tibetans' cultural characteristics (such as their penchant for trade and willingness to work hard) and by certain structural conditions in Nepal, such as a surplus of labor (lowering the costs of carpet manufacture) and a lack of competition, at least initially, from Nepali carpet businesses. These explanations are

incomplete, however, as they cannot explain individual differences within the Tibetan exile community, as attested, for example, by Jha's (1992) study of socio-economic differences among the Tibetan exiles in Nepal. They also cannot explain why other ethnic Tibetans in Nepal–such as the Gurung, the Manangi, the Thakali, and the Lopa–do not share in the economic success of the Tibetan exiles. All share the same cultural characteristics and structural conditions. If either factor alone, or in combination, explained the economic success of the Tibetan exiles, we should expect all ethnic Tibetans in Nepal to be equally successful, yet they are not.[14]

The success of the Tibetan exiles was, and is, greatly facilitated, as well, by the relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with a multitude of international patrons, some of who have been assisting the Tibetan exiles for more than forty years. The Tibetans' international patrons include a broad variety of organizations, both intergovernmental and non-governmental. They include development organizations, Buddhist organizations, refugee assistance and human rights organizations. They facilitate Tibetan success in two ways. They provide the Tibetans with capital and other resources unavailable to other peoples in Nepal, and they serve as guarantors in a series of legal arrangements that enables the Tibetans to circumvent Nepal's restrictions on land and business ownership.[15] The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with their international patrons differentiate them from other ethnic Tibetans in Nepal. They are the factor that enabled the Tibetans to acquire the resources they needed to establish and maintain their carpet factories, shops, monasteries, and schools.

The Tibetan Exiles and Their International Patrons

At least five major networks of international assistance contribute to the success of the Tibetan exiles in Nepal. The first revolves around Swiss intergovernmental organizations. They helped the Tibetans establish the first carpet factories and export companies in Nepal. Many of the Tibetans who now control the carpet industry in Nepal started their careers in the Swiss-Tibetan factories or otherwise under the direction of Swiss intergovernmental officials.

A second revolves around U.S. intergovernmental organizations. They helped the Tibetans launch a guerrilla war against China, at times from bases in Nepal. Their efforts included instruction in such skills as operations management and public relations, skills that would later benefit Tibetan managers and entrepreneurs. U.S. officials also helped the Tibetan exiles to establish a separate network of carpet factories and export companies as well as the Dalai Lama's exile administration, represented in Nepal by the Tibet Office.

A third patronage network revolves around a more disparate group of non-governmental organizations I refer to as "friends of Tibet organizations." They helped the Tibetans construct and finance numerous schools and monasteries in Nepal. They also sponsor educational and resettlement opportunities to enable Tibetans to study in, and migrate to, India, the United States, and Europe.

A fourth patronage network revolves around Taiwan's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (hereafter the MTAC). The MTAC provides financial support to some Tibetan individuals, monasteries, and schools.[16] Which ones are involved is difficult to discern, however, as few Tibetans admit to accepting its patronage themselves. The reason is that, in contrast with the Tibetans' other patrons, the MTAC carries a moral stigma among the Tibetan exiles due to Taiwan's position that Tibet has always been a part of China. Tibetans describe accepting patronage from the MTAC as "licking honey off the edge of a razor," that is, sweet but dangerous, as it could be interpreted as a sign of support for Taiwan's claims over Tibet.[17] Many of my informants accused other Tibetans of accepting MTAC assistance. Only two implied, indirectly, that they themselves accept it. Both did so by defending their right to accept financial assistance from anyone who offered it.

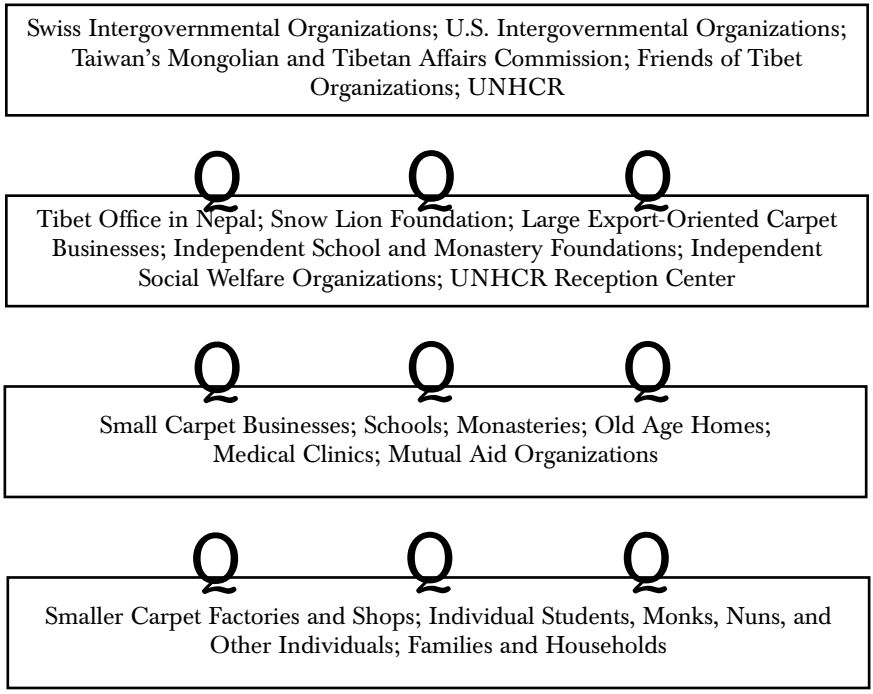
A fifth patronage network involves the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Its role differs from that of the Tibetans' other patrons. Whereas other patrons help long-term Tibetan exiles establish and maintain their organizations, UNHCR helps newly arrived Tibetan exiles in Nepal. UNHCR provides funds and legal assistance to the Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office to facilitate the transit of Tibetan exiles through Nepal and into resettlement communities in India. Its assistance also serves as a form of moral support to the Tibetan exiles, and particularly to the Dalai Lama's exile administration, which views UNHCR support as legitimation of its claims over Tibet.

These international patrons, taken together, provide the Tibetan exiles in Nepal with the resources they need to establish and maintain their factories, shops, monasteries, and schools. International patrons provide the Tibetan exiles with three basic types of resources. The first constitute what may be called human resources. They include English language education and skills training in accounting, business management, and public relations, all of which helped the Tibetans not just to start their businesses but more importantly to be able to operate them on an international scale. The second are material resources, such as direct grants, loans, and computer equipment. The third are what may be called symbolic resources, such as personal recommendations, public statements of support, and marketing assistance. They help the Tibetans maintain an international reputation for spirituality, vulnerability, non-violence, and humility, a reputation that has helped the Tibetans expand their network of patrons, secure protection in their host countries, and market their goods.

Differential access to the resources that international patrons provide is one reason why some Tibetan exiles in Nepal are more successful than others. Some Tibetan exiles in Nepal, whether because of their personal histories or their organizational abilities, have direct access to international patronage. For them it is comparatively easy to secure the resources they need to start and maintain their business and social organizations. Most Tibetans have only indirect access, however. They work with Tibetan intermediary organizations to secure the resources they need. Control over the resources that international patrons provide has thus become a form of political power among the Tibetan exiles in Nepal. It constitutes one basis for the system of hierarchical relations that governs Tibetan exile society.

Tibetan exile society functions as a stratified system of patron-client relations with international patrons, the source for critical resources, at the top, and with various strata of Tibetan intermediary organizations underneath.

FIGURE I.1 The System of Patron-Client Relations that Structures Tibetan Exile Society



The second stratum consists of formal well-organized Tibetan organizations, such as the Snow Lion Foundation and the Dalai Lama's exile administration, which mediate access to international patrons, and in the process, influence how other Tibetans behave. The third consists of smaller Tibetan organizations, such as Tibetan exile schools, which mediate access to larger Tibetan organizations, and also use their positions to influence how other Tibetans behave. The fourth consists of individuals and less well-organized groups whose access to the resources international patrons provide is limited and highly mediated by other Tibetans' interests. In this system, the ability to mediate access to international resources is a form of political power as well as a factor in economic success.

The Normative Dynamics of International Assistance

The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them involve the transaction of critical resources. Equally important, however, they also involve the transaction of norms and values. These norma and values influence the ways in which the Tibetan exiles define and discuss their identities and their goals. s involve more than just the transaction of resources, however; they involve also the transaction of norms and values. All of the many international organizations that assist the Tibetan exiles maintain their own narratives about who the Tibetans are, why they should be assisted, and who they should become by means of assistance. These narratives are the basis for what I refer to as the normative dynamics of international assistance. They influence the ways in which the Tibetans define and discuss their identities and their goals.

Swiss intergovernmental organizations provide an example. They maintain a narrative about the Tibetans as a humanitarian concern. They promote market mechanisms as a means for resettling the Tibetans. Their goal is Tibetan self-sufficiency through the production of goods for the market, and in particular, the international carpet market. Toward that end, they seek to promote certain values among the Tibetans that will help them to compete in international markets; they include cleanliness, efficiency, and an international orientation.

U.S. intergovernmental organizations, in contrast, maintain two interrelated narratives about the Tibetans–one of which portrays them as fellow anti-communists; the other of which portrays them as advocates for global democracy. U.S. intergovernmental organizations promote democratic governance among the Tibetans. Their goal is the development of a Tibetan democratic system, one that could serve as a model for a future Tibet. Toward that end, U.S. officials seek to promote certain values among Tibetans that will help them to develop a democracy; they include a belief in representative government and a commitment to equality of opportunity.

Friends of Tibet organizations maintain a variety of narratives about who the Tibetans are and who they should become by means of assistance. Some maintain a narrative about the Tibetans as a human rights concern. Others portray the Tibetans as an issue of cultural survival. Still others maintain a narrative about the preservation of Tibetan Buddhism as a system of knowledge with potential benefits for all humankind. What all of these groups have in common is a liberal humanist worldview that celebrates and supports the rights of individuals to maintain their own cultural heritage. They promote such values among the Tibetans as humanism, multiculturalism, environmentalism, and legal activism.

As the Tibetan exiles interact with each of the many international organizations that assist them, they learn to define themselves and their goals in terms of the appropriate narratives. They adopt the same language and normative frameworks used by those who assist them. In the process, they reinterpret their own values, culture, and tradition in terms of their patrons' worldviews. With repeated interactions over time, they come to entertain their patrons' worldviews as alternatives to their own.[18] It is in this manner that the normative dynamics of international assistance function as a mechanism for change. It is my contention that these dynamics occur not only among the Tibetan exiles yet among all local communities that regularly receive international assistance.

The Entitlement Model of Global-Local Relations

This book therefore proposes a model not just for the analysis of the Tibetan exiles yet for all local communities that regularly receive international assistance. The model is intended to facilitate the analysis of the normative dynamics of international assistance. It analyzes relationships of international assistance as a type of entitlement system, similar in some respects to the entitlement systems organized and maintained by welfare states. The central process around which the model is constructed is the process of legitimation. I ask how international organizations legitimate the assistance they provide. (How do they portray certain communities as more entitled to assistance than others?) And I ask how recipient communities legitimate their claims to assistance. (Why do they portray themselves as more entitled to assistance than others?) Recipient communities, I argue, learn over time how to legitimate their claims in terms of the same norms and values as the international organizations that assist them. That process is what I refer to as the normative dynamics of international assistance.

Existent models used to analyze international assistance do not account for its normative dynamics, as they do not account for the ways in which recipient communities legitimate their claims to assistance. Existent models analyze international assistance in terms of either charity or humanitarianism

on one hand or political instrumentalism on the other. Both of these models take the point of view of the international organization involved, and what we assume to be its intentions, rather than the point of view of the recipients and their efforts to legitimate their claims. The humanitarianism model is used most often to analyze multilateral intergovernmental assistance (as provided, for example, by the United Nations Development Program) or nongovernmental assistance (as provided, for example, by Save the Children). By the conventions of the literature, we assume their intentions to be benevolent, apolitical, and concerned only for human well-being (Shawcross 1984; Harrell-Bond 1986; Hancock 1989; and Baintenmann 1990; among others, challenge these assumptions). The instrumentalist model, in contrast, is used most often to analyze bilateral intergovernmental assistance (as provided, for example, by the United States Agency for International Development). By the conventions of the literature, we assume their intentions to be politicized, instrumentalist, and also often neo-imperialist (Zolberg et al.'s 1989: 277 analysis of refugee warrior communities, for example, takes this perspective, as does Reynell 1989). Both of these models assume the intentions of the international organizations involved, yet even more problematic, both ignore the point of view of the recipient communities.

The model I propose, and that I call the entitlement model of global-local relations, takes into account the points of view of both the international organizations involved and the recipient communities. It asks how the international organizations involved legitimate the assistance they provide and how the recipient communities involved legitimate their claims to assistance. The negotiation of the issue of legitimation is what I refer to as the normative dynamics of international assistance.

I refer to the model as the entitlement model of global-local relations in order to emphasize the central role that processes of legitimation play in these normative dynamics. I take Sen (1981) as my starting point in the discussion of entitlements and their legitimation. Sen (1981: 1) describes entitlement relations as recursive rules of legitimacy that connect the claims that people make to resources to each other. He proposes the following example:

> Consider a private ownership market economy. I own this loaf of bread. Why is this ownership accepted? Because I got it by exchange through paying some money I owned. Why is my ownership of that money accepted? Because I got it by selling a bamboo umbrella owned by me. Why is my ownership of the bamboo umbrella accepted? Because I made it with my own labour using some bamboo from my land. Why is my ownership of the land accepted? Because I inherited it from my father. Why is his ownership of the land accepted? And so on. Each link in this chain of entitlement relations "legitimizes" one set of ownership by reference to another, or to some basic entitlement in the form of enjoying the fruits of one's own labour. (1981: 1–2)

Following Sen (1981), I begin with a very broad concept of entitlements centered on the issue of legitimation. I ask how international organizations legitimate the assistance they provide, and how recipient communities legitimate their claims to assistance. Why do international organizations consider some people to be more entitled to assistance than others? Why do recipient communities consider themselves entitled to assistance?

I characterize international assistance as a type of transfer entitlement, defined by Sen (1981: 3) as a resource one is entitled to own because it is willingly given by another who legitimately owns it. Transfer entitlements can be distinguished from three other types of entitlements. They are trade-based entitlements (one is entitled to own what one obtains by trading something one owns with a willing party); production-based entitlements (one is entitled to own what one gets by arranging production using one's own resources, or resources hired from willing parties meeting the agreed conditions of trade); and own-labor entitlements (one is entitled to one's own labor power, and thus to the trade-based and production-based entitlements related to one's labor power). Transfer entitlements are resources one can claim because they are willingly given by others.

Transfer entitlements are normally discussed only with reference to state welfare. Numerous scholars characterize state welfare as a type of entitlement transferred from the state to its citizens (Marshall 1950, 1965; Offe 1972; Freeman 1986; Mann 1987; Young 1995). It is my contention, however, that the concept can be applied also beyond the level of the state to discuss resources transferred from international assistance organizations to individuals and communities worldwide. What state welfare and international assistance have in common is that, in addition to being a transaction of resources, they are also both a transaction of norms and values. Both serve to promote particular norms and values, not the least of which is the value of community. State welfare promotes the idea of a national community; international assistance promotes the idea of an international community. It promotes the idea that we, as human beings, all share a basic common humanity, and that therefore, we are all entitled to at least a basic minimal standard of life and livelihood. We see this idea of a basic common humanity, entitled to at least a minimal standard of life and livelihood, in such documents as the Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. International assistance is intended, at least in part, to reinforce this basic idea through a transfer of resources aimed at its achievement.

State welfare programs and international assistance programs are also both intended to promote certain other norms and values as well. I take, as my point of reference in the discussion of the norms and values state welfare programs promote, a chapter in Goodin et al. (1999) on the moral basis for state welfare. Goodin et al. (1999: 5–6) define welfare as the transfer of resources from the state to groups and individuals. They include in their

definition transfers that are funded from general tax revenues, such as child welfare programs (for example, in the United States, Aid to Families of Dependent Children), as well as transfers that are funded through contributions from employers and employees, such as old age pensions (1999: 114–115). Goodin et al. (1999: 22) set forth six moral values state welfare is supposed to serve:

1. Promoting economic efficiency
2. Reducing poverty
3. Promoting social equality
4. Promoting social integration and avoiding social exclusion
5. Promoting social stability
6. Promoting autonomy

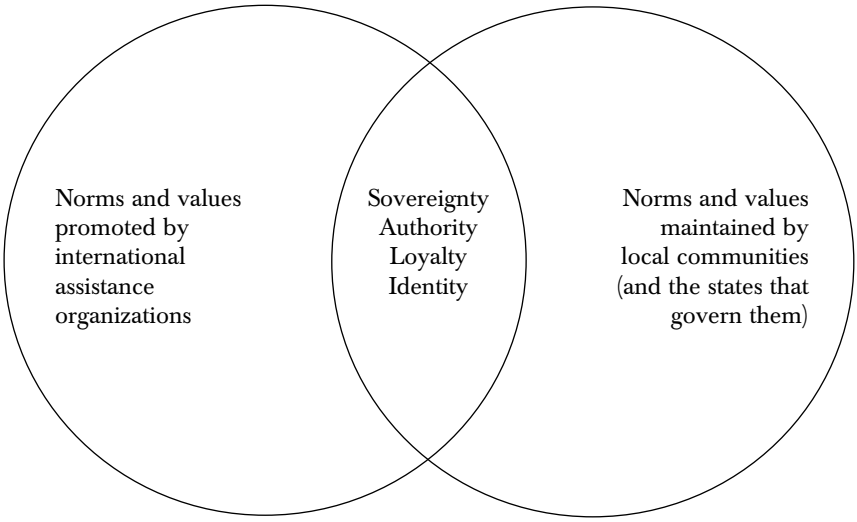
Goodin et al.'s (1999: 125–236) concern is to analyze the degree to which three types of social welfare regimes–liberal welfare regimes (exemplified by the United States); corporatist welfare regimes (exemplified by Germany); and social democratic welfare regimes (exemplified, in their study, by the Netherlands)–achieve any or all of these goals.[19]

Our concern is the way in which any or all of these goals are promoted not just at the level of the state, through state welfare programs, but also at the global level, through international assistance programs. The same moral goals that are promoted at the level of the state, I argue, are also promoted at the global level. The means (resource transfers), too, are the same. The principal difference between the two types of relationships involves our conception of the larger system within which they are embedded. Welfare states are constructed on the logic of a closed system. They are characterized by a closed and bounded membership (their citizenry), who contribute to the system through a sense of affiliation, solidarity, and a willingness to share with each other (Walzer 1983). State welfare programs, within such a system, serve to promote norms and values that the members of the state presumably already share. International assistance relationships, in contrast, are constructed on the logic of an open system. Such relationships may develop between any international assistance organization and any local community. International assistance, within this system, serves to promote norms and values that the recipients may not already share yet may come to share through the assistance relationship. I refer to both types of transfers as entitlements to emphasize the role they play in promoting particular norms and values. We may refer to the first type as membership entitlements to acknowledge the boundedness of the larger system within which they are transacted; we may refer to the second as non-member entitlements to acknowledge the openness of the larger system within which they are transacted.

International assistance has long served as a means through which organizations of all types promote their norms and values worldwide. Missionary

religious organizations, for example, have for centuries used assistance relationships to promote their values. What is new is the extent to which other types of organizations–whether governmental or non-governmental, whether organized to promote human rights, development, or refugee assistance–use international assistance as a means to promote their norms and values among others.[20] My interest is in the effects that relationships of international assistance have on recipient communities. I argue that relationships of international assistance, due to their normative dynamics (that is, due to the role they play in promoting alternative norms and values), complicate four related issues for recipient communities and the states in which they live. They are sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity.

FIGURE I.2 The Normative Dynamics of International Assistance



Sovereignty

There are as many different definitions of the concept of sovereignty as there are answers to the questions where, within a state, does it reside, what are its limits, and how is it affected by changing international norms (Fowler and Bunck 1995). Sovereignty is defined here as the rights, powers, and privileges a state possesses over its membership and territory. States negotiate the limits of their sovereign rights in their interactions both with other states (Thomas et al. 1987; Lyons and Mastanduno 1995; Onuf 1995; Rosenau 1995; Donnelly 1995) and with their own citizenry (Philpott 1997: 20). In general, the sovereign rights of states include the right to control the passage of both people and goods into and out of state territory, the right to decide who may become a citizen or non-citizen member of the state polity, and the right to control state domestic affairs, including the right to collect taxes, define and prosecute crimes, and provide for the general welfare of the citizenry.

Relationships between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance complicate the issue of sovereignty, for they involve their own normative dynamics that may at times conflict with the norms and values promoted by the state. International assistance organizations may promote the values of democracy, for example, within a state that is decidedly undemocratic. They may promote women's empowerment within a state that defines women's roles as subordinate to men. They may promote rights to religious expression within a state that considers certain forms of religious expression a threat to national interests. States evoke the issue of sovereignty when the international organizations that assist their people promote values that conflict with their own.

Issues of state sovereignty become even more complex when international organizations intervene in a state to assist people they consider refugees. Many of the organizations that assist Tibetan exiles in Nepal, for example, consider them to be refugees; UNHCR considers them to be "persons of concern." International organizations that assist refugees, referred to elsewhere as the "international refugee regime" (McLean 1983: 175; Zolberg et al. 1989: 258; Malkki 1995a: 504), promote a special set of norms and values that concern how refugees ought to be treated. These norms and values have been institutionalized in a set of international agreements, including the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and its 1967 Protocol, signed by one hundred forty states worldwide.[21] These international norms for the treatment of refugees do, at times, conflict with the norms and values promoted by states themselves (Weiner 1998: 433). Four issues regularly arise.

The first is the issue of who can or cannot enter state territory. States regard this decision as a fundamental symbol of state sovereignty (Weiner 1995: 9; Brubaker 1989: 14; Hammar 1990: 16); they resist pressure from international organizations to admit certain groups as refugees when they

themselves do not consider the situation to warrant refugee status. The second involves assistance to refugees that, intentionally or not, supports armed resistance movements within state territory. International assistance organizations may unintentionally support armed resistance movements when the camps they maintain become recruitment centers, sources of supplies, or safe havens for the combatants and their dependents (Zolberg et al. 1989: 277; Weiner 1998: 438). The third issue involves the level of assistance international organizations provide to refugees. International assistance organizations do, at times, provide assistance to refugees at a level far more generous than that which the state provides its own citizens (Chambers 1986; Harrell-Bond 1986). Assistance that exceeds state welfare provisions sets new, at times unfeasible, standards for the state itself. A fourth issue involves when states may ask refugees to leave state territory. International refugee agreements stipulate that refugees cannot be made to return unwillingly to their home country, a provision that has been referred to as the principle of non-refoulement.[22] UNHCR is obligated to enforce the principle of non-refoulement, yet at times, that principle conflicts with the norms of state sovereignty, and in particular, the state's sovereign right to control its own borders (Weiner 1998: 438).

The relationship between international assistance organizations and the Tibetan exiles in Nepal has led Nepali officials to raise the issue of state sovereignty a number of times. The most striking involves U.S. intergovernmental assistance to a Tibetan resistance movement that used Nepal's Mustang region as a base from which to engage in guerrilla activities against China (Andrugtsang 1973; Avedon 1984; McCarthy 1997; Knaus 1999). The Nepal government never openly acknowledged the guerrilla movement. It is questionable that Nepal ever granted permission for it to operate in its territory. When the Nepal army disbanded the movement in the 1970s, government newspapers carried stories about how shocked Nepal's officials were to discover what had occurred in their territory. They accused the U.S. of violating the norm of state sovereignty.

UNHCR assistance to the Tibetan exiles in Nepal involves a different sort of normative conflict involving control over Nepal's borders. The UNHCR reception center system in Nepal finances the transit of approximately 2,500 Tibetans from Tibet through Nepal and into India each year. Some of those Tibetans find their way back into Nepal, as Nepal provides Tibetans better economic opportunities than India. UNHCR's agreement with the Nepal government specifies that Nepal will not accept any new Tibetan exiles, and that all Tibetans who arrive after December 31, 1989 must proceed out of Nepal state territory. Some Nepali officials consider the re-entrance of these new Tibetan exiles as a violation of state sovereignty that justifies deportation.

International assistance organizations are also in a position to help support state norms and values, as when they provide assistance to the state itself, or

to projects that the state also supports. It is only when the norms and values promoted by international assistance organizations come into conflict with state norms and values that the issue of state sovereignty is evoked.

Authority

Authority is defined here as the legitimate ability to command thought or behavior and to be obeyed. Authority may be legitimated through personal charisma, traditional procedures, or rational-legal procedures (Weber 1968: 212–245). It may be exercised through control over economic resources or through control over the coercive apparatus of the state–the military, the police, the prisons, and the courts (Weber 1968: 941–948). Relationships between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance complicate the issue of authority in two ways. They involve the transaction of resources that could be used either to support or to challenge existent sources of authority within a state. They could, in other words, be channeled through existent leadership structures or through emergent leaders whom international officials seek to promote.[23] Either way, the international organization involved introduces a new set of norms and values through which positions of authority are legitimated. Either intentionally or not, international assistance introduces a new framework for legitimation.

The Tibetan exiles provide an example. At least some of the assistance that international organizations provide the Tibetan exiles–including much of the assistance that U.S. intergovernmental organizations provide–is channeled through the Dalai Lama's exile administration. That assistance serves, in part, to support the authority of the Dalai Lama's exile administration. In doing so, however, it introduces a new set of norms and values through which its authority is legitimated. U.S. intergovernmental assistance, in particular, introduces the values of democracy as a framework for legitimation. Thus, the authority of the Dalai Lama's exile administration becomes legitimated not only through its association with the Dalai Lama, the traditional spiritual and political leader of the Tibetan people, yet also through its promotion of democratic ideals (Norbu 1990; Thinley 1990; Bhattacharjea 1994). Just how democratic the Dalai Lama's exile administration is becomes a criterion for assessing the legitimacy of its authority.

The issue of authority becomes even more complex when international assistance is channeled through middlemen who lack traditional sources of support. In that case, international assistance serves to establish an alternative leadership structure, legitimated in terms of norms and values initially not shared by the local community. Over time, those norms and values could come to be shared by the local community, and the new leaders could be accepted, yet that process involves a struggle between existent and emergent leaders; it involves a struggle for legitimacy. Again, the Tibetans provide an example. The initial leader of the Tibetan guerrilla movement in

Nepal was a monk, Baba Yeshe. He helped resettle the guerrillas in northern Nepal and oversaw their activities for nearly a decade. Fellow guerrilla fighters accepted him as a leader in part because he was involved with the guerrilla movement from its inception but also in part because of his status as a monk. Over time, the U.S. intergovernmental organizations that supported the guerrilla movement in Nepal sought to replace Baba Yeshe with a leader they trained themselves. They wanted someone younger, and who could speak English, in that leadership position. They sent Wangdu Gyatsotsang, a young charismatic CIA-trained Tibetan to replace Baba Yeshe, who refused to leave. The two leaders fought for control over the guerrilla movement until it was disbanded in the early 1970s. Many young guerrilla fighters supported Wangdu Gyatsotsang; they supported him not only because of his considerable personal charisma but also because he represented a new style of leadership unassociated with the monastic tradition yet legitimated through U.S. support.

Loyalty

Loyalty is defined here as a feeling of allegiance or commitment to a person, institution, ideal, product, or cause. States are one institution around which loyalty is constructed. States command the primary loyalty of their citizens. Relationships between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance complicate the issue of loyalty. They provide a locus for the development of allegiances alternative to the state, that transcend the state, and that involve an alternative set of norms and values through which loyalty may be constructed.

Loyalty to a state is constructed through the association of many complex ideals, such as nationality, citizenship, kinship, common history, and a commitment to the same norms and values. It is often expressed through a commitment to die for the state and its ideals, as through enrollment in the military. It is also often expressed through cooperation with state decisions, even when they conflict with individual interests, provided that the decisions are made through a process deemed legitimate (Hammar 1989: 88). Within democratic states, loyalty can be expressed through the exercise of the right to vote. Finally, loyalty to all states can be expressed through contribution to the state, whether in the form of taxes or voluntary service (Harris 1987).[24]

Welfare programs are one way in which states reinforce state loyalty. They are one way in which states reinforce the idea that all members of the state are part of the same community, with the same norms and values, and entitled to the same opportunities for participation in state activities. State welfare is intended, in part, to help all members of the state achieve an economic level at which participation in the basic social life of state is possible (Marshall 1950; Offe 1972; Freeman 1986). Participation in the basic social life of the state reinforces state loyalty.

Many different types of relationships may complicate loyalty to a state. Loyalty to a religion, for example, may complicate loyalty to a state, as when state decisions conflict with religious norms and values.[25] Dual citizens (Hammar 1989), political exiles (Shain 1989), and diaspora communities (Sheffer 1993) may also complicate the issue of loyalty, for they all involve people with potential loyalties to two separate states.

Relationships between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance complicate loyalty as well, for they provide another structure, entitlement system, and system of norms and values within which loyalties may be constructed. Again, the Tibetan exiles in Nepal provide an example. The relationship between Swiss intergovernmental organizations and the Tibetans of the four Swiss-Tibetan settlement camps in Nepal involves a fundamental conflict between economic self-sufficiency and political loyalty. Swiss intergovernmental organizations established the four Swiss-Tibetan settlement camps, and their affiliated carpet businesses, to enable the Tibetan exiles to become self-sufficient. Tibetan exile leaders use them, however, to promote loyalty to themselves and the independence cause through efforts that undermine the goal of self-sufficiency. Tibetan exiles face a normative conflict in the administration of the camp businesses, whether to use them to maintain self-sufficiency, as Swiss officials initially intended, or to cultivate loyalty, as Tibetan exile leaders would like.

The relationship between Taiwan's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (MTAC) and the Tibetans it assists involves a conflict of loyalties as well. The MTAC provides assistance to Tibetan exiles in Nepal with the understanding of them as overseas Taiwanese citizens. Tibetan exiles who accept assistance from the MTAC may or may not consider themselves Taiwanese. They may or may not feel any particular loyalty to Taiwan. Fellow Tibetan exiles consider accepting assistance from the MTAC to be an expression of loyalty to Taiwan and disloyalty to the Dalai Lama's exile administration, however. In the words of one young Tibetan exile, a student in a school supported, in part, by the Dalai Lama's exile administration:

> It is known and seen to all that there are lots of Tibetan factories, monasteries, schools, [and] organizations in Nepal financed and backed by irrelevant foreign associations.… Be it monasteries or schools, uneducated short sighted Tibetans [have] made themselves parasites and [have] never realized the significance of ones country and culture. Days were gone when Tibetans needed food, clothing, and shelter. Now we have a set of Tibetan traitors, terrorists who don't realize their people, citizen, and nation are on the verge of destruction. Solely because they are made crazy by money.[26]

The normative dynamics of MTAC assistance, in this case, involves a conflict between loyalty to Taiwan and loyalty to the Dalai Lama's exile administration and the independence cause.

Identity

Identity is defined here as the contextualization of oneself among others. It consists of two interrelated processes. The first, which may be called processes of internal identity formation, involves the continuously negotiated narrative we tell ourselves about ourselves. The second, which may be called processes of external identity formation, involves the myths, images, symbols, and metaphors others use to make sense of us. Processes of internal and external identity formation work together to construct a sense of self. They work at both the individual and the collective level.

Many theorists discuss identity as the central problematic of late twentieth-century industrial society, a society in which the speed of change outpaces our ability to adapt to it (Habermas 1987, 1995; Harvey 1990; Giddens 1991; Glick-Schiller 1992; Beiner 1995; Ong 1999). Within such a society, national identity formation, in particular, faces simultaneous challenges from two sides, from globalizing pressures and localizing pressures (Beiner 1995). Globalizing pressures derive from the global expansion of capital, labor, and credit markets; the development of new transnational migration networks; and the development of global media markets; all enabled by the invention of new transportation and telecommunications technologies. Localizing pressures derive from the revaluation of subnational forms of identity in a global context that promotes multiculturalism. How do individuals and communities conceptualize national identity when both globalizing and localizing pressures challenge their efforts?

Some people respond in an active and reflexive manner; they respond "fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong 1999: 6); they experiment with a variety of lifestyle options (Giddens 1991: 225) to enrich themselves materially and experientially. We may consider this response a model of empowerment. We see this response among some Tibetan exiles in Nepal, wealthy carpet factory owners, in particular, who travel relatively unproblematically between China, Nepal, India, Switzerland, and the United States on many different passports. When Tibetan exiles describe themselves with the phrase "we are like bats," they convey the idea that they are empowered by global change, that they respond actively and reflexively to the challenges of identity formation in a global context.

Other people respond in an anxious and defensive manner to the challenges of identity formation. They feel victimized by the characterizations others use to make sense of them. They criticize the ways in which these characterizations marginalize them and their views. We may consider this response a model of disempowerment. We see this response in the way in which Gómez-Peña (1988: 132), for example, writes about the myths the American media, in particular, promotes about Mexican-Americans like himself:

> We lack ontological existence and anthropological concreteness. We are perceived indistinctly as magic creatures with shamanistic powers, happy bohemians

> with pre-technological sensibilities, or as romantic revolutionaries born in a Cuban poster from the 1970s. All this without mentioning the more ordinary myths, with link us with drugs, supersexuality, gratuitous violence, and terrorism, myths that serve to justify racism and disguise the fear of cultural otherness [that] obstructs true intercultural dialogue [and] homogenizes true cultural diversity.

We see this response, as well, in the ways in which some Tibetan exiles criticize the myths international patrons use to make sense of them. Tsering Shakya, for example, argues that the myth of Tibet as Shangri-La, in particular, has "influenced the Western perception of the Tibetan political struggle, and has obscured and confused [its] real nature" (1992: 15), that it has reduced Tibetans to an endangered species (1992: 16) and rendered Tibet "a lost cause" (1992: 16). "If the Tibetan issue is to be taken seriously," he writes, "Tibet must be liberated from both the Western imagination and the myth of Shangri-La" (1992: 16).

Within the context of late twentieth-century industrial society–whether we consider it modern (Appadurai 1996), late modern (Ong 1999), or postmodern (Harvey 1990)–states provide one center for the continuous reconstruction of the self toward identification with a national community. Within states, welfare entitlements provide one mechanism for promoting the idea of a national identity. States are continuously challenged, however, by other organizations that encourage alternative identifications of the self with other communities. International assistance organizations are one example. They provide incentives for people to identify, affiliate, and act in concert with groups alternative to their local and national communities. Individuals and communities that receive assistance from international organizations often find themselves in a situation that encourages identification with multiple repertoires of identity. Collective answers to the questions "Who are we?" and "What are our interests?" become more difficult to construct.

The entitlement model of global-local relations may be used to analyze the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance. We may expect the same issues–sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity–to emerge no matter which states or international organizations are involved. Examples of organizations that may be involved include development organizations, such as the World Bank or UNDP; refugee assistance organizations, such as UNHCR or ICVA; human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch; bilateral intergovernmental organizations, such as USAID or SDC; or single-interest non-governmental organizations, such as the International Campaign for Tibet or the Free Romania Fund. The entitlement model of global-local relations helps us to analyze the normative dynamics of the relationship between any of these organizations and the recipients of their assistance. It helps us to analyze the role that international organizations play in promoting alternative norms and values worldwide.

The Anthropology of the International, the Transnational, and the Global

The entitlement model of global-local relations can be situated within a more general field of inquiry within anthropology described elsewhere as the anthropology of globalization and transnationalism (Kearney 1995: 547). The general question addressed in this literature is how can anthropologists analyze processes that transcend local communities when intensive local research is the basis for anthropology as a discipline. What are the research methods that enable anthropologists to access data beyond the local level? What are the theoretical frameworks that enable anthropologists to contextualize localized data within larger social fields, whether characterized as international (between nations), transnational (across many nations), or global (beyond the context of the nation)? How can anthropologists analyze the effects that international, transnational, and global social processes have on the local communities that are the basis for anthropological research? Many solutions have been proposed, which I discuss under the categories of economic, cultural, and institutional approaches to global-local relations. The institutional approach to global-local relations is the closest to the entitlement model I propose, as it asks how organized social action and the transaction of global norms and values interrelate. Economic approaches to global-local relations overemphasize organized social action to the detriment of the analysis of global norms and values. Cultural approaches overemphasize the transaction of global norms and values to the detriment of the analysis of organized social action. The analysis of the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance, I argue, requires the analysis of how organized social action and the transaction in global norms and values interrelate. That is what I seek to analyze through the entitlement model of global-local relations.

Economic Approaches

Economic approaches to the study of global-local relations overemphasize the analysis of organized social action to the detriment of the analysis of global norms and values. We may take Wallerstein (1975, 1982) as our example. His model, world system theory, is very useful for analyzing organized social action, and in particular, the organization of production and exchange. He proposes the existence of a single economic system, global in scope, whose component parts (core, periphery, and semi-periphery) are bound in continuous ever-shifting relationships of capitalist accumulation and unequal exchange (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982: 42–47). Core regions work continuously to accumulate capital through unequal exchange (valuing their manufactured products more than the agricultural and mineral products exported by peripheral regions) and to use their accumulated capital to

expand their exchange relationships further, to encompass the globe. Peripheral regions find themselves continuously bound to core regions through the organization and reorganization of their production processes, always in service to the core (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982: 50). Semi-peripheral regions act in some ways as core regions, in some ways as peripheral regions (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982: 47). Together, these three regions constitute a world system that may change in terms of the products and production processes involved, that may expand and contract in scope, yet that remains continually bound together through exchange relations (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982: 43).

Anthropologists have found world system theory very useful for analyzing such processes as the organization of production for world markets (Nash 1981: 397); the organization of immigrant labor markets (Nash 1981: 406); and the establishment of mines, factories, and consumer goods stores where once there were none.[27] What world system theory has been less useful for is analyzing how these forms of organized social action relate in any way to the negotiation of global norms and values. World system theory does not accommodate the discussion of how global norms and values are constructed and contested, as it rests fundamentally, yet implicitly, on the idea that all human beings act based on rational self-interest, irrespective of whatever other norms and values they may uphold.[28]

If we apply world system theory to the analysis of the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance, what we see are self-interested forms of international assistance and self-interested aspects of the assistance relationship. We see, for example, the ways in which certain forms of international assistance encourage recipient communities to become dependent on foreign aid or foreign exports (thereby contributing to capital accumulation through unequal exchange). We see inappropriate forms of assistance sent only to dispose of overstock and to secure tax write-offs (Hancock 1989: 12). Not all forms of international assistance are grounded in this way in rational self-interest, however, and even for those that are, to analyze international assistance as if rational self-interest were the only normative framework involved, misses out on the ways in which international assistance is legitimated. The analysis of the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance requires a model that combines how global norms and values and organized social action interrelate. Only then can we understand why and how recipient communities accommodate the norms and values of those who assist them.

Cultural Approaches

Cultural approaches to global-local relations fare no better for analyzing how global norms and values and organized social action relate. They

overemphasize the analysis of global norms and values to the detriment of the analysis of how those norms and values lead to organized action. They are largely concerned with the question of how individuals, and the communities they construct, create meaning in a world characterized by intensive global interaction. We may use them to identify what ideas are transacted at the global level and how people respond to, and interpret, those ideas. What they are less useful for is analyzing how those ideas influence action. Three distinct models may be discerned. Malkki (1994) proposes that global-local relations are constructed around a single idea–the idea of a family of nations (1994: 42). She locates the idea of a family of nations in such forms as national flags, the Olympic Games, Disneyland's "It's a Small World" ride, the Miss World and Miss Universe pageants, and UNICEF's people of the world dolls (1994: 49–52). All of these forms, she argues, help us to imagine ourselves not just as members of particular nations but also as members of a family of nations. The idea of a family of nations, she argues, underlies the global moral order (1994: 42). Malkki (1994: 61) uses the idea of a family of nations to speculate on how relationships of international assistance operate; she argues that the idea of a family of nations renders migrants, refugees, and other stateless peoples liminal; and that therefore there is a danger that people who administer refugee assistance may interpret the refugees' liminality as a sign of their lesser humanity. The analysis raises only the potential that anyone would or could use the idea of the family of nations in this manner, however. As a cultural approach to global-local relations, it does not engage organized social action.

Appadurai (1996), likewise, proposes a cultural model of global-local relations that does not engage organized action. His focus is on the work of the individual imagination in the construction of the subjective self (1996: 3). He argues that the imagination is the key component of the self in this new global order (1996: 31). He outlines five global cultural flows that serve in the construction of the self (1996: 33); they are ethnoscapes (people with whom we have social relationships), technoscapes (the technology we use), financescapes (configurations of global capital), mediascapes (newspapers, magazines, television, film), and ideoscapes (freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty). Appadurai (1996: 31) proposes an infinite variety of ways in which individuals may use these "-scapes" to configure their sense of self. He sees these individual configurations as "subversive micronarratives" that undermine the power of the state (1996: 10). Appadurai's (1996) analysis alerts us to the potential that individual acts of imagination could combine in such a way as to undermine the power of the state, yet it provides no way in which to understand how that could happen. His analysis proceeds only on the level of ideas; it does not engage organized action.

Hannerz's (1987, 1992) model of global-local relations comes closer to engaging the analysis of organized action, yet it, too, is essentially a cultural model. His model (1987: 555), based simultaneously on Wallerstein's (1975)

world system, on the linguistic model of creolization, and on the metaphor of a river or stream, proposes the existence of multiple communities of ideas that intersect in different ways in different places throughout the world:

> The world system, rather than creating massive cultural homogeneity on a global scale, is replacing one diversity with another.… Along the entire creolising spectrum, from the First World metropolis to Third World village, through education and popular culture, by way of missionaries, consultants, critical intellectuals and small town storytellers, a conversation between cultures goes on.… [This] creolist view of contemporary Third World cultural organization … suggests that different cultural streams engaging one another in creolisation may all be actively involved in shaping the resultant forms.

Hannerz (1987, 1992) analyzes the role that all participants in the global system play in the construction not just of their own individual imagined worlds yet also in shared worlds of meaning. He proposes a "distributive view of culture" (1992: 37) to accommodate the role that "a multiplicity of perspectives and voices" plays in the construction of global meaning (1992: 34). He (1992: 37) locates four sites through which we negotiate meaning–they are form of life (relations of everyday working and living), the market, the state, and social movements–and as such, he leads us closer to the analysis of the ways in which norms and values relate to organized action. The analysis of the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance, however, requires a model that combines even further the ways in which global norms and values and organized social action relate.

Institutional Approaches

The institutional approach to global-local relations is the closest to the entitlement model I propose, as it analyzes how global norms and values and organized social action relate. Meyer et al. (1987), Boli (1987), and Ramirez (1987), the authors of the institutional approach, focus on how global norms and values (progress and justice, in particular) become institutionalized (Ramirez 1987: 317; Meyer et al. 1987: 12). They define institutionalization as "the process by which a given set of units and a pattern of activities come to be normatively and cognitively held in place, and practically taken for granted as lawful" (Meyer et al. 1987: 13); and as "the building of relationships that organize action, on one hand, and locate action in expanding cultural theories and ideologies, on the other" (Meyer et al., 1987: 37). Their focus is on how states, through their relationships with each other (as through their participation in international organizations and transnational treaty-making processes) promote the values of progress and justice; and on how states, through their relationships with their citizens, institutionalize progress and justice in such instruments as state constitutions, citizenship

legislation, educational policies, and state welfare policies (Meyer et al. 1987: 33–35; Ramirez 1987: 326).

What I take from Meyer et al. (1987), Boli (1987) and Ramirez (1987) is the idea of institutionalization and its application at the global level. What I do differently is to apply the idea of institutionalization to the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance rather than to relationships states maintain both with each other and with their citizens. I argue that international assistance constitutes an institutional mechanism for the negotiation of global norms and values.

The Entitlement Model

The entitlement model of global-local relations analyzes the normative dynamics of the relationship between international assistance organizations and the recipients of their assistance. It analyzes how international organizations legitimate the assistance they provide, and it analyzes how recipient communities legitimate their claims to assistance. It argues that recipient communities learn to legitimate their claims to assistance through the same norms and values as the international organizations that assist them. That is one way in which global norms and values are constructed and contested not just on an individual level, yet on a collective level so that they serve to organize social action.

Norms and values transacted through relationships of international assistance have the potential to conflict with norms and values transacted at other social levels, such as at the level of the state or even among local communities. When that happens, we may expect sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity to emerge as issues for negotiation. The entitlement model of global-local relations analyzes the ways in which international assistance organizations promote global norms and values and the ways in which those global norms and values influence the negotiation of issues of sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity.

Identity, Community, and Entitlement among Tibetan Exiles in Nepal

The Tibetan exiles in Nepal maintain relationships with a multiplicity of international assistance organizations. They include Swiss intergovernmental organizations, U.S. intergovernmental organizations, and friends of Tibet organizations, among others. Each of these many organizations promotes its own set of norms and values that legitimates the assistance it provides to the Tibetans. Swiss intergovernmental organizations, for example, promote self-sufficiency; U.S. intergovernmental organizations promote global democracy; friends of Tibet organizations promote liberal humanism. The challenge for

the Tibetan exiles is to accommodate these norms and values without losing sense of what it means for themselves to be distinctly Tibetan.

The Tibetan exiles discuss their approach to the challenge in terms of the metaphor of a bat. Being a bat means accommodating the norms and values of others only on the surface–to gain access to resources–while maintaining one's own norms and values at the core.[29] The bat metaphor overstates the degree to which the Tibetan exiles in Nepal can control the process of accommodating the norms and values of the international organizations that assist them, however. It may be an apt metaphor for the way in which some Tibetan exiles in Nepal negotiate the transaction of norms and values at the individual level. What it obscures are the challenges of negotiating norms and values at the collective level. The normative dynamics of the relationship between the Tibetan exiles in Nepal and the international organizations that assist them challenge their efforts to define themselves as a community; they challenge their efforts to reproduce a collective sense of Tibetanness over time and across generations. They do so by providing incentives for the Tibetans to identify, affiliate, and act in concert with groups alternative to their local and national communities.

We see this dynamic most in the challenges that relationships of international assistance pose to the efforts of the Dalai Lama's exile administration to construct and maintain a Tibetan exile community. Exile officials promote the idea of a unified and distinct Tibetan exile community in a number of ways. They publish books, pamphlets and posters that emphasize the unity of the Tibetan exiles and the role of the Dalai Lama's exile administration in governing them. They convene public meetings in all Tibetan exile settlements to discuss their activities. They sponsor public events, such as the Dalai Lama's birthday celebration, Tibetan National Day, and the Tibetan New Year. They issue a type of identity booklet, called green books in English, due to the color of their covers, or freedom passes (*rangzen lagteb*) in Tibetan, because of the office that issues them, that identifies their owners as Tibetan citizens (*yulmi*) who are entitled to apply for the scholarship and resettlement opportunities that international assistance organizations make available through their offices.[30]

International assistance organizations, in some ways, help the Dalai Lama's exile administration in its efforts to maintain a unified and distinct Tibetan exile community. They provide the scholarship and resettlement opportunities, for example, that the exile administration makes available to members of the Tibetan exile community. They also, as in the case of U.S. intergovernmental assistance, provide the funds that maintain the exile administration itself. At the same time, however, these relationships challenge the Dalai Lama's exile administration to accommodate alternative norms and values. They challenge them to accommodate their own view of what it means to be Tibetan. Nawang Dorjee, director of education for the Tibetan Children's Village Schools in India, for example, explains. He criticizes his

fellow Tibetan exiles for mistaking the goals of the international organizations that assist them for their own:

> [W]e have done really well in creating a community in exile with the infrastructure and programmes to care for our people and preserve our culture and identity. But can we honestly say that they are getting the job done? We pride ourselves [in] establishing one of the most successful resettlement programmes in modern history, as if the final goal were to live as "proud refugees." Our goal is to regain freedom for Tibet. Or have we changed our course? Surely our goal is not to be "model citizens of the world" … We are so drunk with being the "best refugees" in the world that we are delirious. As long as we are able to do our petty business, get our salaries [on] time, and generally go about eking out the pleasures of life at the individual level, we don't seem to care. Over time, we seem to have lost the collective psychology, and the sense of urgency, to get our freedom. We have become model settlers and resettlers!—as pliant and flexible as rubber without the steel in it. (1992: 11)

Maintaining a Tibetan identity, focused on the independence cause, is important to many Tibetan exiles. For Tibetan exile officials, in particular, the Tibetan identity and the independence cause are of critical importance. They maintain their position as representatives of the Tibetan people and as dominant intermediaries in the provision of international assistance to Tibetans. Not all Tibetan exiles agree that the Tibetan identity and the independence cause are of critical importance, however. Some Tibetan exiles, successful carpet factory owners, in particular, explained to me that being good at business is more important. We see in their comments a certain accommodation of the norms and values Swiss officials sought to promote among Tibetan exiles, such as the value of self-sufficiency. One Tibetan carpet factory owner, for example, explained to me that "maintaining an identity as a Tibetan is not as important as how you feel inside," for "If you can do something, you should do it and not waste your time just sitting in camps.… You can always continue to work hard and always continue to find something to do.… There is no limit to progress, no limit to hard work, and no limit to ambition" (personal communication, July 30, 1995). Another Tibetan businessman who conducts trade in many different countries, with claims to many different identities, likewise, reasoned to me that "When you have no country of your own … going from one country to the next is all the same more or less" (personal communication, May 7, 1995).

Other Tibetan exiles expressed disillusion with the exile administration and the values they believe exile leaders promote through the language of the independence cause. One Tibetan exile explained to me, for example, that he was once enthusiastic about the Tibetan cause, but "found that in order to do politics you have to be dishonest or you will not go anywhere" for "people in politics are like wolves in sheep's clothing who are trying to destroy the Tibetan society while they pretend to work for it" (personal

communication, August 30, 1995). We can see in his life how he accommodated the values of the international patrons who assisted him. He founded a number of social welfare projects, funded by international assistance organizations, to provide health care to Nepali people as well as Tibetans. Another Tibetan exile, in a similar situation, founded a social welfare organization specifically to assist women.

The relationships the Tibetan exiles maintain with the many international organizations that assist them challenge their efforts to reproduce a collective sense of Tibetanness over time and across generations. They challenge the efforts of the Dalai Lama's exile administration, in particular, to define the content of the Tibetan identity so as to make claims to national self-determination and to educate the next generation as Tibetans. They do so by challenging the exile administration to accommodate their own view of what it means to be Tibetan. For the estimated 130,000 Tibetans today dispersed throughout India, Nepal, Bhutan, Taiwan, Switzerland, Canada, and the United States, what it means to be Tibetan has become increasingly complex. As birds, rats, and bats, being Tibetan has taken on multiple meanings including multiplicity itself.

Notes

1. Tashi's business advisor, by claiming status as a "true Nepali," was on one level expressing sentiments held generally by the Newar people. The Newar claim descent from the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley (Gellner 1986: 103) and, as such, consider all other residents to be interlopers on their territory (Gellner 1986: 137). By telling me further that he was born at Kasthamandap, he was making a claim to special status even among the Newar. Kasthamandap is the site on which a public rest house once stood on the old east-west trade route through Kathmandu. The word Kathmandu is believed to derive from the word Kasthamandap (Slusser 1982: 88).
2. The U.S. Department of State (1995) estimates a per capita income of $200 for Nepal. Guru-Gharana (1994: 15) estimates it to be below $180 per year. Those who live at absolute poverty level, as defined by Guru-Gharana (1995: 1–2), are those who spend most of their income on food alone, who use a small amount for clothes and fuel, and who have almost nothing left for health and education.
3. Klieger's (1992) project, like Devoe's (1983), is to understand the role that international patrons play in the persistence of the Tibetan identity. Klieger (1992: 16), like Devoe (1983: 65, 75–76, 114), argues that the Tibetans have been successful in maintaining a separate identity due to their interpretation of international patronage through the indigenous cultural frameworks of priest/patron (*chö-yön*) and patron (*jindag*). Klieger (1992: 18) observes, however, that although the separateness of the Tibetan identity has remained the same, its content has changed: "But the ideology of the patron/client relationship has not merely reproduced itself in history, substituting one category of people for another. Rather, with each attempt at systematic reproduction, people's differential assessment of meaning has tended to change the outcome. In action, other aspects of culture may in turn change, often unintentionally." My project is to understand the dynamics of this change.

4. Some of the many accounts that document the successful resettlement of the Tibetan exiles include Holborn (1975: 753), Goldstein (1978), Devoe (1983) Saklani (1984), Nowak (1984), Gombo (1985), Forbes (1989), Chhetri (1990), von Fürer-Haimendorf (1990), French (1991), Klieger (1992), Hagen (1994), and Norbu (1994).
5. Some Tibetans in Tibet–the Pandatsangs, for example–did have experience with large-scale international trade, yet few Tibetans had any experience with the organization of manufacturing for trade. Tibetan exiles in Nepal had to learn how to manufacture carpets for international markets (Hagen 1994: 297). Carpets, in pre-1950 Tibet, were woven primarily by local craftsmen for local consumption; few pieces ever even left the country (Worcester 1992: 45).
6. The 1961 Industrial Enterprises Act restricted ownership of export businesses to Nepali citizens; the 1964 Land Reform and Ukhada Land Tenure Acts restricted land ownership to Nepali citizens.
7. Swiss intergovernmental organizations helped the Tibetans start the first carpet factory in Nepal in 1961 (Hagen 1994: 267).
8. Carpets accounted for 4.8 percent of Nepal's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1991–1992; 5.6 percent in 1992–1993; and 4.8 percent in 1993–1994 (FNCCI 1995: 29, 66). To provide a sense of what that means in terms of their overall importance to the economy, it may be worth considering that the automobile manufacturing industry in the U.S. comprises only about 1.1 percent of U.S. GDP; only construction (4.1 percent), banking (5.3 percent), and health services (5.7 percent) in the U.S. compare with carpets in Nepal (www.bea.doc.gov/bea/dn2/gposhr.htm). Comparison with the U.S. only goes so far, however, as the U.S. economy is much larger and more diverse than Nepal's. Agriculture in Nepal continues to comprise the largest component, more than 40 percent, of GDP (FNCCI 1995: 30).
9. Statistics from 1994–1998 show an overall decline in carpet sales of about 11 percent since 1993 (www.fncci.org/fncci/text/carpet.txt), yet the industry continues to maintain its overall importance.
10. Few other exile communities–that is, people who were forced to flee their homelands for political reasons–have contributed as much to their host communities as the Tibetan exiles. Fermi (1968), Harris (1979), and Heilbut (1983) analyze the considerable contributions that exiles fleeing from Nazi Europe from the 1930s onward made to economic, cultural, and educational institutions in the United States. Zetter (1992) discusses the contributions that Greeks displaced from Turkish- to Greek-controlled Cyprus made. He analyzes, specifically, how a housing program established for displaced Greeks contributed to post-war economic growth in Cyprus (Zetter 1992: 14). Chambers (1986) argues for more attention to the effects that exiles and other displaced communities have on their hosts. He argues that international assistance programs should be designed so as to assist host communities as well (Chambers 1986). The Tibetan exiles provide an example in which at least some of the international assistance programs initiated to help them did indeed also take into account their hosts (Hagen 1994).
11. Soysal (1994: 32) defines an incorporation regime as the set of legal rules, discursive practices, and organizational structures that define the status of foreigners vis-à-vis the host state. In accordance with her typology, we may characterize Nepal as a fragmental incorporation regime, meaning that the state, although it holds sovereign rule, is organizationally weak, so that it is ineffective in managing the incorporation of migrants into its territory (1994: 39).
12. Sowell's (1996) study makes a strong argument for the cultural approach to economic success, as it analyzes migrant groups who seem to succeed economically wherever they settle. His argument, that their success is due to "the varying kinds and amounts of their cultural capital," is aimed specifically to counteract structural models of migrant performance (1996: 382). The argument, compelling as it is, has two major shortcomings, however. The first is that it relies on somewhat of a black box conceptualization of culture, that is, it

defines culture so broadly as to be of little explanatory value. Culture, for Sowell, includes very specific skills such as clock-making, piano-building, and beer-brewing (1996: 2); more general attitudes toward work and risk-taking (1996: 3); and very general ideas about time, noise, safety, cleanliness, violence, thrift, intellect, sex, and art (1996: 379). Which of these many factors, either alone or in combination, influences economic performance is unclear, and is ultimately, I think, impossible to define in a general way that has any real comparative value. The second major shortcoming of Sowell's (1996) argument is that it overstates just how much culture can explain. Culture cannot explain variation within migrant groups. It cannot explain, for example, why Arabs and Turks perform better in the United States than they do in France or Germany (Weiner 1996: 131). Host country structures (labor markets, immigrant policies, educational opportunities) must play some role. Culture also cannot explain variation between the migrant group and those who remain at home. Indians and Chinese abroad, for example, are far more successful than Indians and Chinese at home (Weiner 1996: 131). Structural differences between host and home countries could also play a role, or alternatively, a principle of self-selection could be involved (Weiner 1996: 131). Those who choose to migrate may be higher risk-takers, for example, than those who stay at home.

13. Saklani's (1984) book is more about issues of cultural continuity and change than about Tibetan success *per se.* In her chapter on economic change, however, she argues that Tibetans, when asked, indicate three reasons for how well they have done economically–that they are hardworking; that their women work as hard as their men, if not more; and that they have a natural instinct for trade (1984: 219). Saklani also mentions "a flow of foreign money too, coming from foreigners who visit the place [Dharamsala] and also from the foreign aid and sponsorship programmes" (1984: 219). My interest is in the role that foreign aid and sponsorship plays in Tibetan economic success.
14. Sherpa are the exception. Sherpa, too, have become economically successful in Nepal through their role in the development of the tourist industry. The reasons for Sherpa success, it would seem, parallel those for Tibetan exile success. Sherpa, too, have long-term patrons who provide them with capital and other resources unavailable in Nepal. A recent ethnography of the Sherpa reports: "Sherpas recruit Western Others to become their sponsors, 'lifelong' friends, and supporters who provide them with gifts, money, advice, employment, and more, in response to Western desires to become part of 'the Sherpa world'" (Adams 1996: 9).
15. Informants within the Nepal government and the Swiss organization responsible for helping the Tibetans circumvent Nepal's legal restrictions both emphasized to me that Nepal's legal restrictions on land and business ownership were intended primarily to prevent Indian entrepreneurs, in particular, from dominating Nepal's economy. Nepali officials helped the Tibetans circumvent the laws, as they did not consider the Tibetans to be as much of a threat to Nepali entrepreneurs as the much more numerous Indian community in Nepal.
16. The MTAC was established in China under the Kuomintang government in 1928 (Goldstein 1989: 215) and re-established in Taiwan after the Kuomintang exile (*Tibetan Review* 1976: 18). According to the *Tibetan Review* (1990: 8), the MTAC, in 1990, allocated four million U.S. dollars, out of a ten million dollar budget, as assistance to Tibetan exile organizations. Correspondence I conducted with a former official of the MTAC confirms MTAC assistance to some Tibetan exile educational and social welfare organizations in Nepal (personal communication, April 6, 1996).
17. The phrase in Tibetan is *pu-ti kha-yi drang-tsi dag.* For an example of its use in context, see Tsering (1994: 1).
18. I take here, as a starting point, the proposal put forth by Handelman and Leyton (1978: 6) that to analyze any bureaucratic organization, it is necessary to take into account at least two different worldviews: "the ways in which supralocal institutions conceive of administrative territories and the ways in which territorially based populations conceive of themselves as

communities." How, they ask (1978: 6), do the social actors involved negotiate the differing definitions of their overlapping situation, "with each definition supported by a different world of experience, institutional frameworks, resources, and goals?" Scott (1998) provides an example of the type of analysis they propose. What I add to the discussion is first, an illustration of what happens when the bureaucratic organizations involved are international in scope, and second, what happens when many different bureaucratic organizations, each with their own worldviews, are involved. What effects, I ask, do any or all of the international organizations involved have on issues of sovereignty, authority, loyalty, and identity?

19. Goodin et al. (1999) borrow their typology of welfare regimes from Esping-Andersen (1990), who uses the United States, Germany, and Sweden as examples of liberalist, corporatist, and social democratic regimes.
20. The number of international organizations worldwide, according to the Union of International Associations, has increased more than ten-fold in the past thirty years, from 3,547 in 1968 to 28,942 in 1988 to 44,128 in 1996 (www.uia.org/uiastats/stybv296.htm). That number includes intergovernmental, international non-governmental, and international religious organizations.
21. International agreements that outline how refugees ought to be treated include the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, along with its 1967 Protocol; the 1966 Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee's Principles Concerning the Treatment of Refugees; the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; and the 1984 Cartegena Declaration on Refugees. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as "any person … who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." The 1951 Convention restricted the definition of a refugee to people who had a well-founded fear of being persecuted owing to events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951. The 1967 Protocol removed those restrictions.
22. Article 33 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees states that "No contracting state shall expel or return (*refouler*) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" except on national security grounds. UNHCR empowers refugees themselves to decide when it is safe to return; for UNHCR, the principle of voluntariness is "the cornerstone of international protection with respect to the return of refugees" (UNHCR 1997: 90, cited in Weiner 1998: 438).
23. The situation described here resembles, in many ways, the position of middleman minorities (Bonacich 1973). Middlemen minorities are immigrants who derive their power in society from a dominant position in some sphere of intermediary economic activity (banking for example); lacking the traditional means through which to legitimate their power, they become the objects of host-state hostility.
24. Hirschman (1970) argues that loyalty to a state is most clearly seen in times of societal dysfunction; it involves either an evaluation of the ability of the state to get back on track or a belief in the state's inherent superiority over others.
25. The sanctuary movement in the United States provides an example. Members of the sanctuary movement support the right to sanctuary as a religious right; they help refugees to remain within the United States, even when the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service rules in favor of their deportation. Some parties view the actions of sanctuary movement members as expressions of disloyalty; the members of the movement themselves

view them as efforts to hold the state accountable to its own norms and values (Coutin 1993; Cunningham 1995).

26. In May 1995, I sponsored an essay contest for students in the seventh grade in schools affiliated with the Dalai Lama's exile administration in Nepal. The essay question involved whether or not, in their opinion, Tibetan exiles should accept citizenship in Nepal. Some students strayed from the topic. This is an excerpt from one of those essays.
27. Nash (1981) summarizes some of the criticisms that have emerged as anthropologists have tried to use Wallerstein's (1975) framework in the analysis of their own field materials. World systems theory, Nash (1981) argues, fails on a number of accounts: It inaccurately depicts core and periphery as homogenous in their modes of production (1981: 396); inaccurately depicts the periphery as passive (1981: 398); overemphasizes exchange relations as the mechanism for dependency relationships (1981: 401–403); and pessimistically depicts the expansion of the world capitalist system as inevitable (1981: 408).
28. The world system framework does contain the seeds for the discussion of the relationship between global norms and values and organized social action. Wallerstein (1975: 347–348) does characterize the world system as, in essence, a "social system" with "rules of legitimization and coherence." He does discuss, in passing, such values as economic efficiency, private ownership, technological progress, global integration, and temporal homogenization (Wallerstein and Hopkins 1982: 54). His discussion of values is only tangential, however; the world system framework does not accommodate other explanations, besides rational self-interest, for organized social action.
29. The way in which the Tibetan exiles discuss this process is very similar to what Goffman (1959) referred to as impression management. Impression management uses the metaphor of a stage performance to analyze the ways in which people reinvent themselves differently in different contexts in order to influence others. It is an instrumentalist way in which to conceptualize the process of identity negotiation. The Goffman (1959) approach does indeed carry a certain amount of explanatory value in the analysis of the relationship between the Tibetan exiles and the international organizations that assist them. Tibetan exiles in Nepal do indeed, at times, quite literally stage performances for the international patrons with whom they interact. As a teacher in a Tibetan exile school in Nepal, I participated in a number of these staged performances. I describe one of these performances in chapter 3. Devoe (1983) discusses a similar process of impression management in her analysis of the relationship between Tibetan exiles in India and their long-term patrons, although she uses the term "intentional strategizing" instead. She writes: "Most donors are invited as special guests to all important Tibetan social functions such as Tibetan New Years (Losar) and the children's annual school picnics. If the donor plans a visit in nonholiday times, Tibetan children are asked to perform Tibetan dances, dramas, or singouts for him.… The community, then, was prompted … to even literally stage shows for donors" (1983: 142). At these events: "The process of showcasing begins by emphasizing one of two separate identities–Tibetan or refugee–whichever is most instrumental in swaying the donor's heart. Refugee identity is typically used to promote Tibetans as 'needy'; Tibetan identity usually serves as a back-up to the aid request, a 'character reference' persuading donors they will be worth it, as clients" (1983: 140).
30. There are three terms the Tibetan exiles use for citizen. The first, *yulmi*, means quite simply a person from a particular area, a native. The second, *nga-wang*, is an adaptation of a term used in Tibet before the exile to refer to subjects of the Dalai Lama who held estate lands in Tibet. The third, *mi-ser*, is an adaptation of a term used in Tibet before the exile for tenant laborers on estate lands in Tibet.