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"Landscape of the Past – NW Himalaya, Nanga Parbat Region"/
Astor Valley, Northern Pakistan (NE–SW View from Los, 2,660 m);
Part of a panorama taken by Carl Troll on 5 June 1937.
Photo (detail): Irrigated fields of Astor Village (centre), Patipora (foreground), Eidgah (centre left) and Tuke Dar (centre right, upper morainic terrace);
Wet conifer forest (*Pinus wallichiana*, *Picea smithiana*) and shrublands (*Juniperus semiglobosa* and other deciduous bushes) on east-facing slopes of Bulan ridge (background); in the vicinity of settlements lower timberline has moved from 2,600/2,700 m to 2,900/3,000 m because of human impact; old Astor Road (centre right, below Tuke Dar).
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Orientalist Representations of Resource Use in Shimshal, Pakistan, and their Extra-Discursive Effects

David Butz

Abstract

Western visitors to Shimshal, northern Pakistan, have historically represented community members as incapable stewards of their natural environment. This Orientalist discursive formation is currently reproduced and employed by metropolitan agencies to justify their intervention into Shimshali resource use. Shimshalis have responded and resisted by articulating an alternative discourse of responsible and meaningful stewardship.

1. Introduction

Metropolitan projects to imperialise, colonise, modernise, and 'develop' subordinate 'others' – what could be called projects of cross-cultural intervention – necessarily rely on some prior and ongoing justification. For interventionary projects to sell well in the metropolis both 'self' and 'others' must be represented in ways that justify and naturalise metropolitan intervention, and apart from the brute political and economic benefits they promise the metropolis. As Said's (1978, 1993) treatment of Orientalism demonstrates, the cultural work of representation precedes and accompanies – indeed, makes imaginable – more overtly political and economic projects of intervention and incorporation. He shows that academic Orientalism paved the way for other forms of European cultural production to unselfconsciously represent the Oriental as "irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, different," and the Orient as "aberrant, undeveloped, inferior" (Said 1978: 40, 300; see Minear 1980: 507). Orientalist representations, while not internally consistent over time and across cultural contexts, nevertheless manage to maintain what Said calls a "flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him [*sic*] the relatively upper hand" (1978: 7), and which thus justify all manner of Western interventions in the Orient.

As Foucault (1980) reminds us, this process of representing 'others' is one of producing authoritative knowledge about them; knowledge which is manifest in discourses of self-evident truth, power, and 'power over'. Orientalism is best understood, therefore, as a systematic and interconnected –

albeit flexible and heterogeneous – discursive formation of power/knowledge, created and wielded by the metropolitan West to facilitate and legitimise its control over the so-called Orient. The full political implications of Orientalism as a discursive formation are encapsulated in Foucault's description of discourse as "a violence we do to things" (quoted in Brantlinger 1988: 180). Numerous authors have followed Said's lead in tracing how Orientalist knowledge is created, and how it is utilised and refined in the related extra-discursive projects of colonialism, imperialism, and modernisation. Many, while adopting Said's general argument, have insisted that Orientalism is less monolithic and homogenous than Said allows (e.g., Breckenridge & van der Veer 1993; Jewitt 1995; Lowe 1991; Oddie 1994; Pinney 1989; Sprinker 1992). The best of this work goes beyond the textual/discursive and colonial-era emphasis of *Orientalism* (Said 1978) to describe the political and material *effects* of Orientalist discourses for colonial *and* post-colonial (and indeed metropolitan) subjects (e.g., the essays in Breckenridge & van der Veer 1993; Bayly 1994; Chakrabarty 1992, 1994; Mitchell 1988; Said 1993). As Breckenridge and van der Veer emphasise in their introduction to *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, "the challenge of Orientalism is precisely the challenge of a discursive formation that has complicated extra-textual and non-discursive implications and consequences" (1993: 5), a challenge which includes recognising Orientalism as a formation sufficiently malleable to produce and incorporate knowledges useful for particular metropolitan objectives, tracing the extra-discursive and post-colonial effects of Orientalist representations in the daily lives of contemporary subaltern populations, and emphasising the ways that Orientalist knowledges coexist, integrate and conflict with indigenous self-representations (for a detailed summary and critical review of Said's writings on Orientalism see Butz, in press b).

In this paper I draw upon a century of outsiders' textual representations of Shimshal, an indigenous mountain community in northern Pakistan, in order to respond briefly to this challenge. Remarkably, while the critique of Orientalism has been central to scholars' understandings of colonised and post-colonial societies throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, it is virtually absent in scholarship on the former principalities of montane northern Pakistan (but see MacDonald, in press a & b; Butz 1993, in press a). Discussion in this paper is limited to discourse pertaining to Shimshalis' interaction with their natural environment – in contemporary lingo, their

'resource management system'. This is a fruitful focus for three reasons. First, textual representations of Shimshal, as of mountain communities elsewhere, dwell disproportionately on local adaptations to 'harsh and inhospitable environments' – an enduring legacy of environmental determinism (Hewitt 1983). Second, human/environment interaction is a preoccupation which has grown with the transition from colonial to tourist and development-oriented literature on montane northern Pakistan. Third, given the contemporary emphasis on rural development in northern Pakistan, metropolitan representations of indigenous resource management have direct and obvious extra-discursive implications for the material existence of Shimshali villagers and their neighbours.

The paper has two main sections. In the first I suggest that textual representations of Shimshal's 'resource management system' from 1889 to the present are continuously Orientalist, despite the fact that these representations are drawn variously from published accounts of early explorers and colonial travellers, unpublished 'guest book' entries of contemporary adventure tourists, and non-governmental development agency reports. It is not my aim in this section to provide a detailed or exhaustive critique of historical or current textual representations of Shimshal (see Butz, in press a), but rather to follow briefly one strand of an Orientalist discourse which is multi-stranded, even when referring to so limited a topic as resource use in Shimshal. Specifically, I wish to emphasise the extent to which most representations of Shimshal, and surrounding Hunza, rely on and produce a body of knowledge that portrays locals as incapable stewards of their natural environment, in need of metropolitan moral and technological guidance. I argue that this discursive convention metamorphoses over the century, relying initially on a strategy of portraying villagers as *pathetic* in their inability to overcome environmental constraints, and later as *reckless* in their disregard for those constraints.

The second section traces some extra-discursive implications of this discourse, by describing how Orientalist representations of Shimshalis matter to villagers' contemporary daily lives. I suggest that this particular Orientalist discursive tradition helps to justify at least two specific sites of intervention in Shimshalis' daily affairs: the pending incorporation of most of Shimshal's pastures into a restricted-use national park; and the involvement of Shimshal in a development agency initiative to "revolutionise livestock herding in the Northern Areas of Pakistan" (AKRSP 1992: 51). Each of

these initiatives relies on an Orientalist assumption that Shimshalis are incapable of living sustainably in their environment without outside intervention, and without abdicating control of local resources to metropolitan institutions. The full extra-discursive significance of these interventions for Shimshalis can only be glimpsed from within the context of Shimshal's indigenous pastoral ecology. Therefore, this section includes a brief description of the material and symbolic dimensions of herding in Shimshal, and a summary of Shimshalis' alternative to dominant Orientalist discourses. Specifically, I offer the example of Shimshalis' indigenous foundation story as exemplary of an alternative body of knowledge about the community's interaction with its environment. This alternative discursive tradition obviously predates Orientalist textual representations and their material ramifications. However, in its current form it is at least partly a response – a form of resistance – to Orientalist representations, and the instrumental rationality underlying them. This is evident in villagers' use of their story to contrast what they see as a duality of symbolic/instrumental concerns, to the strict instrumentality which characterises most outsider representations of resource use by Shimshalis.

2. Reckless and Pathetic Shimshalis

Shimshal is a farming and herding community of about 1,300 inhabitants, situated at the north-eastern extreme of both the former principality of Hunza (now part of Gilgit District), and the modern state of Pakistan. Shimshal settlement occupies the upper portion of a valley of the same name, which descends west into the Hunza Valley at Pasu. The three Shimshal villages are situated on a series of fans that form a broad strip between the river's floodplain and steep mountain slopes to the south. These fans have been terraced for several hundred years. They are irrigated by the meltwater *nalas* which formed them, and which currently dissect them. The lowest terraces are irrigated from the river itself. The cultivated area lies between 3,000 and 3,300 m a.s.l., at the upper limits of single crop cultivation. The inhabitants of Shimshal complement irrigated agriculture with extensive herding of sheep, goats, cattle, and yaks. The community's only communication with Hunza and the rest of Pakistan is by path along the Shimshal River to Pasu and the Karakoram Highway. Despite its location 40 km and two days walk from the nearest road, the community of Shimshal interacts extensively with the outside world. Since 1985 all households have

belonged to one of three Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) Village Organisations (VOs) that have formed in the community. For a decade the three VOs laboured to construct a road from Pasu to Shimshal settlement, an endeavour which has recently been assumed by government contractors. In addition, many households have members working and/or studying in lowland Pakistan, or in the Middle East.

Shimshal was spared Western textual representation until relatively late in Britain's imperial enterprise. Indeed, the small mountain kingdom of Hunza, in which Shimshal was situated, was not visited by European travellers until Biddulph, "the first official (British) secret agent to set foot in Dardistan, started north from Gilgit into the Hunza gorge on August 13th 1876" (Keay 1979: 90-91). He did not reach Shimshal. To my knowledge the first written European language reference to Shimshal was in Drew's *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (1875), in which he makes passing reference to damburst floods on the Shimshal River. That reference is followed by brief comments in Biddulph (1880) and Lockhart and Woodthorpe (1889), on Shimshal's importance as a staging point for caravan raiding. The first eyewitness account of Shimshal territory was provided by Younghusband, who crossed Shimshal Pass in 1889, but who did not visit the permanent settlement. He remarks briefly on the presence of two shepherd villages near the pass, and provides a brief description of the people he meets as "rough, hard, determined-looking Kanjutis, in long loose woollen robes, round cloth caps, long curls hanging down their ears, matchlocks slung over their backs, and swords bound to their sides" (Younghusband 1904: 229).

In December 1891, two years after Younghusband's visit, Hunza was subdued by a combined British-Dogra expeditionary force, and was henceforth friendly territory for the military officers and other adventurers who visited with increasing frequency. Shimshal, however, remained off the beaten path. Indeed, I am aware of only 10 European visits to Shimshal territory between 1889 and 1975, when Roland and Sabina Michaud visited the community, and wrote about it in *National Geographic* (1975). Since then outsiders have travelled to Shimshal more frequently, although it remains one of the least visited communities in northern Pakistan; according to the foreigner registration book in Shimshal, fewer than 90 foreigners passed through the community between July 1991 and August 1995. Tourists comprise the majority of recent guests, although occasionally social scientists or development agency employees also find their way to Shimshal. Most recent travellers to

Shimshal have limited their written comments to brief entries in visitors' books at Shimshal or Pasu, with the notable exception of scientists involved with either Khunjerab National Park or the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme. My interpretation of textual representations of Shimshal draws from all these types of accounts.

When attempting to convey the Orientalist characteristics of a body of representation, it is tempting – and usually very easy – to assemble a broadside of quotes which exemplify insensitivity, racism, condescension, and misrepresentation, all familiar tropes of Orientalism. My intention here is more selective and more subtle; it is not to prove that Western accounts of the Orient are Orientalist, but rather to trace a small strand of Orientalism from colonial-era to development-era representations, and eventually to the material lives of post-colonial subjects. I want to begin by providing a few, perhaps not immediately offensive, quotations from published and unpublished travel accounts and development literature to demonstrate the existence of three tropes that combine to forge an enduring portrayal of Shimshali villagers as pathetically unable to thrive in their harsh mountain environment. I will then discuss a fourth trope, which surfaces in some accounts around the mid-1970s, and which blames the victims more directly for their supposed inability to thrive in their environment.

The first trope, which is evident in almost all colonial-era descriptions of Shimshal and surrounding villages, is the existence of *a direct, natural and self-evident causal link between the natural environment, and the minds and habits of its inhabitants*. Perhaps the most striking example of this trope is found in a quote from Visser-Hooft, who attributes an alleged difference in personality between Hunzukuts and Nageris to their different habitats:

> [Nagar] is less well placed than Hunza, which has the advantage of lying on the sunny side of the valley: this, it is said accounts for the cheerful disposition of the inhabitants [of Hunza] and their fine physique. It is true that we afterwards observed that our Hunza coolies were far superior to their Nagar brethren, both as regards strength and endurance.
>
> (Visser-Hooft 1926: 31)

Visser-Hooft's is merely one in a long line of almost identical descriptions (see Durand 1900; Neve 1913: 179; Lorimer 1938: 180; Shipton 1938; Schomberg 1936; and Staley 1982). As Gregory notes, "orientalism was inherently citationary: it re-presented the Orient less as a place rooted in

history and geography than as a chain of references embedded in the library" (1995: 51). Traces of this discursive trope remain evident in guest-book entries of contemporary travellers to Shimshal, as well as in development reports:

> The hardships the Shimshalis face in everyday life bind them together in the common struggle to survive.
>
> (Shimshal Guest Book, no date)

> To survive in this rugged environment, villages and families have developed social institutions that promote interdependence in the management of limited resources and in coping with shocks ... Life is hard and risks arising from the natural environment and uncertain climate are great.
>
> (World Bank 1990: 94)

This initial trope of environmental determinism does not lead directly to representations of villagers' relationships with their environment as pathetic or inadequate. Neither does the second trope – familiar to students of mountain scholarship – of *the extreme desolation, ruggedness, and destructive power of the natural environment*. The best examples of this trope that refer to Shimshal are found in Cockerill and Visser-Hooft, but has a long history in northern Pakistan:

> The next 50 yards we followed an ever-narrowing ledge of rock over which the cliff bent closer and closer, until forced to our knees and then compelled to wriggle like serpents, until finally we dropped feet foremost into a rocky little cup formed by a summer waterfall, and from thence onto further ledges from which at last we reached the river-bed again. In no other valley of the Hindu Kush is anything wilder or more desolate to be found. Not a gleam of sunshine reaches the bottom of the gorge ...
>
> (Cockerill 1922: 101)

> It has aptly been described as one of the most difficult fields of exploration in the world. The northern side of the Kara-Korum especially deserves this definition: it is impossible to imagine a scene of more terrible and magnificent splendour ...
>
> (Visser-Hooft 1926: 1)

> Strength sapping, foot rotting, head banging, sweat drenching, ankle taping, back snapping, bottom blasting SHIMSHAL.
>
> (Shimshal Visitor Book, August 1987)

> The mountain ecosystems tend to be relatively unstable, unresilient, and of low inherent productivity. The area is also subject to sudden mudslides and rockfalls that can cut roads and irrigation channels at any time.
>
> (World Bank 1990: 91)

The passages taken from travellers' accounts, when put in the context of their genre, are evidently intended to serve a purpose quite incidental to the portrayal of villagers' relationship to their environment. They emphasise the traveller's own fortitude, spirit of adventure, and accomplishments on the trail. The quote from the World Bank, with its allusions to stability, resiliency and productivity, is more directly related to the Orientalist discursive project of preparing part of the Orient for metropolitan intervention.

That project is completed in the third trope, which combines and extends the others to describe Shimshal and its neighbours *as pathetic communities whose inhabitants have insufficient – or marginally sufficient – intellectual, material, and technological resources to thrive in the harsh and isolated environment that created them.* Some authors employ an embryonic version of this trope, which asserts merely that a harsh and isolated environment produces negative qualities in its inhabitants:

> [The Shimshalis] wore always a grave, hard look, as of men who lived in a constant struggle for existence, and were too much engrossed by it to think of any of the levities of life. I afterwards found that in the lower valleys of Hunza the people are fond of polo and dancing, but these I first met were men from the upper valleys, where the struggle is harder ...
>
> (Younghusband 1904: 230-1)

> [Shimshal] must be almost the most remote and inaccessible inhabited place in the Indian Empire, cut off as it is from the outer world, and hardly visited by anyone, native or foreign. The community is quite self-contained, and the many faults and disagreeable qualities of the people are aggravated by this undesirable isolation, for they do not live the ordinary life of hillmen [*sic*] but pass a squalid if contented existence.
>
> (Schomberg 1936: 38)

More common among travellers is the full assertion that these mountain villagers are incapable of thriving in their environment:

> The wretched hovels where they lived contained absolutely nothing except the wooden bowls in which they kept the milk, and a few cooking

pots ... Human life in these barren Kara-Korum valleys is a continuous struggle for existence: a struggle not only to force the sterile soil to yield enough to keep them from starvation, but also a struggle against the terrible menace of Nature. On every side these men [*sic*] see the devastating phenomenal forces at work ...

(Visser-Hooft 1926: 79)

... the continuous struggle to eke food and clothing from the tiny, terraced valleys that sparingly dot the Hunza River gorge.

(Hendrickson 1960: 23)

The crowded summits fade into gloomy clouds, withdrawn from life. It is incongruous that the infinitesimal spot of green at their base can be a village, that humans have struggled and won there without being swallowed by the elements.

(Schaller 1980: 75)

One wonders why and how people ever came to settle in such a violently inhospitable region, where climate and terrain are equally opposed to human survival.

(Murphy 1977: 50)

Finally, representations in recent development literature (over-) extend the trope of the pathetic villager by offering it as legitimation for extra-discursive projects of intervention, mainly, as in these examples, by describing the villagers' plight in terms of inefficiencies that can, by implication, be overcome by Western expertise:

Nevertheless, northern Pakistan remains a relatively backward area, highly resource constrained, with low incomes, growing unemployment among youth, high population growth rates and persistent poverty.

(AKRSP 1995a: 3)

Despite effective investment in land development in the last decade, the region's natural resources remain inadequate relative to the pace of population growth, particularly farm land and pastures.

(AKRSP 1995a: 5)

> A relatively poor natural resource base, rapid population growth, appalling communications, narrow-based banking facilities, and the lack of employment opportunities have resulted in poverty of a severe nature.
>
> (Jaffrey 1990: 1)

> Another cause of poverty is a restricted or declining resource base. People may not have access to land, or the land may be of such poor quality that existing low-capital technologies cannot provide an adequate income. This situation also characterises the Northern Areas. The land base is limited to fan-shaped areas of flat or terraced land along rivers and some high, mountain-top pastures. The water supply is restricted to irrigation from snow or glacier melt because of very low rainfall. The soils are thin, and the whole natural environment is fragile. Livestock quality is poor, food for livestock is scarce, and crop varieties are generally low yielding.
>
> (World Bank 1990: 35)

I wish to stress that while only these last representations come close to directly advocating metropolitan intervention in indigenous resource use, they all contribute to a discursive formation which naturalises a portrayal of Shimshalis and their neighbours as incapable of thriving in their environment without metropolitan intervention. Authors have cited, paraphrased, and built upon one another's remarks to this effect for a century, thus lending these assertions a sufficient aura of self-evident truth so that they can be used as starting points for contemporary development work.

So far I have described the main theme in a discursive tradition that portrays Shimshalis as incapable exploiters of their environment. It depicts a group of people who are pathetically unable to master a harsh and demanding habitat. In the most recent passages cited above – especially in frequent finger-wagging references to over-population – it is possible to discern the echoes of a fourth trope, which follows from the others, and which portrays villagers as not merely pathetic, but also *reckless* in their environmental stewardship. This supplementary discursive theme became prominent in the late 1970s, and is linked to an emerging characterisation of the Karakoram environment as fragile/passive as opposed to threatening/active, and a concern for the degradation of that fragile environment. Schaller, in his book *Stones of Silence*, provides the best early indication of this emerging theme:

> To me the most startling discovery was the extent to which the mountains have been devastated by man [*sic*]. Forests have become timber and fire-

wood, slopes have turned into fields, grass has vanished into livestock and wildlife into the bellies of hunters.

(Schaller 1980: 97)

Other naturalists and wildlife biologists have expanded on this initial representation:

A naturalist or an interested tourist from the West visiting the mountains of northern Pakistan will easily recognise the endangered status of most of the large mammals living there and interpret it a consequence of direct elimination by humans. To a European with his cultural background it seems paradoxical that many Pakistanis do not recognise this situation or, if seeing it, they are not concerned.

(Hess 1990: 1)

The ignorance of local mountain people regarding the status of wildlife seems to be one of the main factors causing danger to, or even local extinction of, the large ungulate species in northern Pakistan.

(Hess 1990: 1)

The park is in crisis in that the local people insist on grazing their cattle on the park's pasture lands despite the laws prohibiting them. The situation was critical in the Shimshal valley where the local people were not even aware that the area was prohibited for grazing of cattle and they refused to recognise the park.

(Al-Jalaly & Nazeer 1995: 81, Box 3.1)

The preceding passages are all taken from documents that relate to the planning and management of Khunjerab National Park (KNP). Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) sponsored documents are less strident but maintain the theme of villager recklessness:

Agricultural productivity is low, both in terms of labour outputs and yields. While population has increased at about twice the rate of increase of cultivable land, not much has been invested in the rural sector during the last one or two decades.

(Hunzai 1990: 1)

> Currently, the most serious environmental problems arise from the increasing pressure of growing human and livestock populations. Some of the production systems which were valid in the past are no longer sustainable once the appropriate ratios of people and animals to land and critical natural resources are exceeded ... For animals, degradation caused by overgrazing is a clear indication of unsustainable numbers with present practices.
>
> (World Bank 1990: 56)

> Over the last twenty years, the rapid changes in the human situation are beginning to threaten the delicate ecological framework of the area.
>
> (Malik & Kalleder 1995: 1)

What the trope of recklessness adds to the overall discursive formation is a credible assertion that human/environment interactions in places like Shimshal are not just 'their' problem, but the West's problem as well. By invoking the language of ecological fragility, species degradation, and unique environments, textual representations are also able to utilise the full moral and scientific authority of the influential contemporary discourse of global ecological sustainability, and its roots in the 'global village', 'lifeboat ethics', and the like. The message is conveyed that metropolitan intervention is necessary for 'our' sake as well as theirs. The gradual, but always only partial, move from representing villagers as pathetic/passive to representing them as destructive/active requires a selective inversion of the two founding tropes of the discursive formation, a strategy which Said recognises as characteristic of Orientalism's flexibility. The environmental characteristics that *were* harsh and inhospitable *are now* fragile and unstable. The people that *were* sorry products of this harsh environment *are now* also sorry stewards of a fragile environment. The discursive ground is covered: Both pity and blame justify intervention; both philanthropy and self-interest require action.

This is not to say that all authors who contributed to the discursive formation had this outcome in mind. A discursive formation such as this serves many purposes, not least to reassure travellers of their own intrepidness at surviving in such an environment, their ingenuity at surviving comfortably there, and their power to induce locals to provide the comforts of 'civilisation' in the face of villagers' own poverty. Schomberg, for example, explicitly rejects metropolitan intervention in Shimshalis' affairs:

> [The Shimshalis] have, however, one priceless advantage, and are much to be envied. They are, happily for themselves, out of all reach of that well-meaning but misguided interference that is such a curse to many communities ... they are the one community of any land most likely to be left alone ... They are happy and contented, surly, intractable, and quite untrustworthy. There is nothing to be gained by improving them ...
>
> (Schomberg 1936: 48)

And some accounts of Shimshal totally reject the discursive formation discussed in this paper. Shipton, for example, represents Shimshali human/environment interactions in highly complementary terms, as do several guest-book entries in Shimshal:

> In all our dealings with the Shimshalis, we met with kindness, courtesy and good humour. In this we were agreeably surprised, as we had not been led to expect these qualities. The community of Shimshal is remarkable for its isolation and independence of support from the outside world. Very few of the Shimshalis go out of their valley. From any direction their country is difficult of access, but they have sufficient arable land and grazing to support a much larger population than exists at the present day. They grow barley, wheat and peas, the flour of which, with cheese, butter and curd, is their staple food. They have no tea, sugar or tobacco, and they do not grow many vegetables. They are a strong and healthy race; far superior in this respect to the people of Askole ... They are a happy community leading an ideal existence in magnificent surroundings.
>
> (Shipton 1938: 265-66)

> As perhaps the last still intact native cultural unity in the region, this town (and its people) may be more unique and important than all its surrounding magnificent peaks. Absence of a road has, and the gradual approach to completion of the road over a decade or so will, help to see that the inevitable introduction of 'modernity' to this native culture is slow enough to be significantly absorbed into the prevailing native culture.
>
> (Shimshal Visitor Book, November 1987)

Traces of these sentiments are also found in the texts which, in other places, perpetuate the representations discussed throughout this section. Therefore, it is important not to imply that the discursive formation described here is the only discourse of Orientalism relevant to Shimshal and its neighbours, or even to imply that this formation forms part of a consistent and coherent

Orientalist whole. As many authors since Said have insisted, the hallmarks of Orientalism are continuity and flexibility, not coherence and consistency. Nevertheless, I would argue that the continuous portrayal of Shimshalis as incapable stewards of their environment, while admittedly partial, represents an outcome of a process of producing authoritative knowledge about Shimshal, knowledge which is manifest in a discursive formation of self-evident truth, and power, and power-over, created and wielded by the metropolitan West to facilitate and legitimise its control over this portion of the so-called Orient. This will become more evident in the following discussion of its extra-discursive implications, especially in the interventions of AKRSP and the Directorate for KNP (DKNP).

3. The Difference it Makes

In this section two main points will be developed. First, both DKNP and AKRSP explicitly employ the discursive formation outlined above to legitimise intervention in local resource management systems, especially livestock herding, within their programme area. Second, these interventions, if successfully implemented, will have substantial material and symbolic implications for the people of Shimshal, implications that will hasten Shimshal's incorporation into a sphere of metropolitan political, economic, and cultural influence, and threaten much of what the community considers to be "Shimshali."

3.1 Saving Wildlife/Helping Farmers

Khunjerab National Park was created in 1975 after a brief field survey in 1974 by field zoologist George Schaller (see Schaller 1980). The park's primary purpose at the time it was created was to protect the habitats of rare species of Asian mountain wildlife, especially the endangered Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon polii*) (Knudsen 1995). In keeping with this purpose it was designated an International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) Category II park, defined as including "one or several ecosystems not materially altered by human use" which visitors may be allowed to enter "under special conditions for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreative uses" (IUCN 1985; in Nelson 1987: 294; also see Thorsell & Harrison 1992). The park's 2,300 km^2 has been interpreted by administrators to include most of Shimshal's pastoral territory, as well as the communal pastures of six other villages (Knudsen 1992: 98). However, as

the rigid standards of a Category II park have not yet been successfully enforced, Shimshal continues to graze its pastures as always. Other villages have agreed to accept compensation for their loss of access to traditional pastures (*Civil Case File No. 64* 1990; Knudsen 1992: 100).

From the first tentative suggestions that the Khunjerab area might make a suitable national park, its existence has been legitimised by the trope of reckless and destructive locals:

> To me the most startling discovery was the extent to which the mountains have been devastated by man [*sic*]. Forests have become timber and firewood, slopes have turned into fields, grass has vanished into livestock and wildlife into the bellies of hunters ... Some day man may want to rebuild what he has squandered ... This can best be done in reserves where the fauna and flora can prosper with little or no interference from man ... Any new reserve will automatically conflict with local human interests, and one can but hope to find areas where such interests are minimal. The traditional rights of local people must thus be considered. Villagers cannot be evicted unless alternative means of earning a living are provided. I felt that northeastern Hunza would make a perfect national park.
>
> (Schaller 1980: 97-8)

This passage exhibits several characteristics of many explanations for the activities of DKNP: (a) the destructive practices of locals; (b) the requirement to intervene to stop these practices; (c) the admission that intervention must proceed firmly but humanely, because of local dependence on park resources; and (d) the conclusion that alternative employment can resolve conflicts between locals and park regulations. These characteristics are duplicated in whole or in part in the following quotations. Note that the starting point is always an assertion that locals interact inappropriately with their natural environment. A remarkable indication of the discursive authority of that representation is provided by the implication, in one passage, that villagers' centuries-old practice of grazing their own pasture lands is somehow unnatural, a bad habit or addiction, that villagers need to be "weaned" from with expert help.

> Khunjerab National Park was established to protect and preserve the fauna and flora in its natural state. The long term continuation of generally severe to extreme grazing use resulting in intense adverse effects to soils, vegetation, and wildlife has prevented the stated objectives from being

achieved ... A program is needed to alleviate the grazing pressures and at the same time provide alternate forage for livestock. Three possible solutions were considered by the group; 1) cash compensation paid to the graziers ... 2) protective staff increased and properly equipped to enforce grazing restrictions ... and 3) domestic livestock allowed to graze in separate zones (this was considered impractical in view of the damage caused by overgrazing, poaching, lopping, felling of trees, killing of fire and disturbance to wildlife).

(Goodman Bell 1989: 21)

Graziers in the National Park cause substantial damage to the fauna and flora by overgrazing, poaching, lopping, felling of trees, shooting carnivorous species, and building fires. It is the considered view of the workshop participants that the purpose and objectives of the park cannot be achieved as long as the graziers and their livestock are present in the Park. It is proposed that alternative opportunities for respectable livelihood be developed in area villages through appropriate welfare, conservation and development projects over a period of 5-10 years. Simultaneously, it is proposed that a technical training school be established in the area. An educational program for nature conservation in general and KNP preservation in particular should be initiated in the school. It is expected that a team of expert motivators in the school would succeed in weaning the majority of the graziers from the Park in 5-7 years.

(AKRSP in Goodman Bell 1989: 25-6)

In keeping with AKRSP's mandate to increase the productivity and market orientation of mountain agriculture, authors of AKRSP-sponsored documents are less concerned with prohibiting grazing, and more interested in increasing the productivity and sustainability of local grazing practices, but they reproduce the same link between destructive indigenous practices, agency intervention, and employment in the cash economy:

Feed shortages, particularly during the winter months, are a major constraint in increasing the productivity of the livestock sector in the region. While disease control and new breeds do bring some immediate benefits to the farmers, these can only be maximised and sustained, in the long run, when there is sufficient feed of good quality. Feeding level in winter is below maintenance, leading to animals losing weight, health of the animals deteriorates, leading to low milk production, slow growth, and low fertil-

ity. The challenge for NRM section is to break this vicious cycle in future if animal production sector is to be made commercially oriented and economically viable.

(AKRSP 1995b: 64)

Increased grazing by growing animal populations has degraded grazing lands around villages and is changing the species composition of the high alpine pastures. This process will be reversed only if grazing pressure is reduced by keeping animals away and allowing regeneration. Such a change would require collective and systematic action by all villages using a particular region, a challenge that will test the strength of the village organisations. Reduced labour availability to shepherd animals is likely to result in fewer animals being taken to the pastures, but to maintain animal production, increased fodder production will be required in the villages. This will require substitution of some wheat lands, increased cropping intensity, and use of new lands made available by the construction of productive physical infrastructure or other collective village organisation action. Stall feeding of animals and the abolition of free grazing in the village will be necessary to enable increased cropping intensities.

(World Bank 1990: 56)

Natural resource management will be reoriented to make better use of remaining opportunities and be more market oriented.

(AKRSP 1995a: 10)

Quotations from AKRSP and KNP related texts indicate a direct link between the discursive convention of portraying locals as incapable of managing their resources properly, and the process of intervening materially in community management of pasture resources. Many agency documents also imply and advocate a more insidious process of intervention: that of central government and global market economy into what had been, until recently, mainly community-level affairs:

Perhaps the greatest interest in VOs at present is that being expressed by the Government. As a shift takes place from centralised top-down development planning to decentralised participatory local planning, and as the resources needed to maintain development programmes are being sought from a number of sources in addition to government itself, VOs have become an increasingly attractive development partner for government.

(AKRSP 1995a: 14)

My point is not that AKRSP and DKNP are wrong to employ these tropes as justifications for their interventions, given their respective mandates to maintain a restricted-use national park and a rural development organisation. Rather, I wish to emphasise that these Orientalist tropes are the best, perhaps the only, ones available, *precisely because* these organisations – despite their specific benefits to wildlife populations and local people – are themselves the institutional products of Orientalist discourse. That is, they are projects that were designed to, and do, manage, regulate, and incorporate local people, and strengthen and naturalise Western economic, political, and cultural hegemony over the Northern Areas of Pakistan. This is clear both from the policy statements of donor organisations and the governments regulating them (see Carty & Smith 1981), and from the frequent insistence of both institutions that locals be incorporated into a global – that is Western-centred, capitalist – political economy.

3.2 Managing Shimshal/Disorienting Shimshalis

The longevity and influence of particular Orientalist discursive conventions reside as much in what they omit as in what they include. The tropes of pathetic and reckless villagers are useful because they are streamlined; they omit complicating information, such as serious discussion of the practices that are condemned, or sustained consideration of the symbolic and material implications of intervention. Here I wish merely to hint at some complicating information, in order to illuminate some of the extra-discursive implications of AKRSP and DKNP initiatives (for a more detailed interpretation of the symbolic and instrumental importance of herding for Shimshalis see Butz, in press c).

To begin, herding in Shimshal is not a supplementary sideline to other subsistence and market activities. The community enjoys exclusive grazing rights to over 2,700 km^2 of territory surrounding the village. Within that area Shimshalis maintain over three dozen individual pastures, including three large and highly productive alpine areas: Pamir, Ghujerab, and Lupgar. Roughly a quarter of Shimshal's population resides most of the summer at the high pastures, and many others make shorter visits. In 1989, the last year for which I have detailed information, the community herded approximately 6,800 sheep and goats, 460 yaks, and 300 cattle, more than any other community in the Karakoram region (Knudsen 1992: 32-58; Butz 1993). In August 1995 Shimshalis told me that their yak herd now exceeds 1,000 ani-

mals. Next to portering, the sale of livestock outside the community is Shimshali households' largest and most consistent source of cash. According to one Shimshali, "Shimshal depends on livestock at Pamir for anything beyond a lifestyle of meagre subsistence ... what we get from yaks at Pamir allows us to live like humans." The elimination of grazing in the main high pastures as advocated by DKNP, or the reduction of herds and partial transition from alpine grazing to stall feeding advocated by AKRSP, would have substantial implications for the material lives of Shimshalis. Indeed, these implications are sufficiently large that encouraging herd owners "to reduce or sell their herds in exchange for jobs connected with maintaining the park" (Schaller 1980: 99), "improving fodder production" (World Bank 1990: 8), or changing "the attitude of future generations" (Al-Jalaly & Nazeer 1995: 82, Box 3.2) seem feeble solutions.

DKNP and AKRSP documents *begin* to recognise that their interventions will have *material* impacts, although their solutions rely too hopefully on "alternative opportunities for respectable livelihood" (AKRSP in Goodman Bell 1989: 26). What virtually no document acknowledges, beyond token references to "humane implementation" and "generosity of spirit," are the immense *symbolic* implications of following the discourses of pathetic or reckless ecological stewardship to their interventionary conclusions. Indeed, as in the following passage from Schaller's book, *Stones of Silence*, it is often assumed that villagers, unlike Westerners, are motivated only by short term instrumental/material concerns. The quote also shows the ease with which the tropes I have been discussing integrate with the common Orientalist construction of natives as amoral (see MacDonald, in press a & b for a critique of the 'amoral native' trope):

> No one could afford to preserve an area out of compassion. The concept of ethics – the ideas one has about good and evil – rests upon the main premise that everyone must live in harmony with the natural community. But such an argument has no effect on those concerned solely with surviving, it being difficult to explain to villagers that they are consuming themselves and their descendants into oblivion.
>
> (Schaller 1980: 99)

Shimshalis, on the other hand, whatever the ultimate ecological impact of their practices, consider their high pastures to be much more than a means of material survival. Rather, they regard their pastoral economy as a set of

relations among ecological resources themselves, symbolically-embedded herding practices, the material rewards of those practices, Shimshalis' self-identity, and the moral/spiritual yield of using the pastures appropriately. Elders of the community often offer Shimshal's foundation story as evidence of the symbolic embeddedness of their herding practices. Versions of the tale are recited often, and parts of it are re-enacted as skits at community festivals. As a result, all Shimshalis except the very young are familiar with its details, and many refer to it – and offer interpretations of it – in their everyday lives. It is not necessary to reproduce the story here, but a brief rehearsal of its main elements may provide some sense of the symbolic implications of AKRSP and DKNP initiatives (see Butz, in press a and Lorimer 1934 for translated transcripts of versions of the story). By discussing the story's relevance to livestock herding, I hope to emphasise the importance of high pastures in mediating relationships among ecological practice, meaning, and identity.

The 'Story of Mamu Shah' begins with a description of Mamu Shah's escape from Burusho Hunza during a time of civil war, his journey to Sarikol (a Wakhi area of Chinese Turkistan), his subsequent marriage to Khodija, a Wakhi woman, and their escape to the edges of Shimshal territory. These events immediately establish Shimshal as a refuge in an otherwise dangerous and uncertain world, a refuge facilitated by terrain and location. They also situate the community as socially and spatially distinct from – but integrated with – a larger socio-political context. Shimshalis understand that they are what they are, in relation to the rest of the world, because of where they are. I was told on numerous occasions that one could not remain Shimshali for long outside of Shimshal, and during my field work in Shimshal I noticed abrupt changes in the behaviour of my companions when we entered Shimshal territory, and when we went from the village to the pastures. That Shimshalis consider themselves "most Shimshali" in the pastures provides a symbolic rationale for their commitment to herding and pasture life, which relates to later episodes in the story.

Embedded in the account of Mamu Shah's journey to Shimshal is a description of the pastoral source of his wealth, and his exemplary husbandry of sheep and goats. Shimshal Valley suited Khodija and Mamu Shah's purposes not only for its isolation, but also because of the abundance of its meadows. The excellent grazing allowed Mamu Shah (which Shimshalis translate as "Milk King") to accumulate considerable wealth in the

form of livestock, thus establishing an early link between Shimshali identity and economy, and livestock herding. A detailed description of the couple's migration up-valley in search of more pasture land follows, and explicitly attributes symbolic significance to specific places. For example, Molonguti pasture is significant, and worth caring for, because Mamu Shah did certain things there: grazed his sheep, shot an ibex, argued with Khodija. These specific events (which are remembered, forgotten, invented, and reinvented) root Shimshalis to individual high places. More than that, what Mamu Shah is said to have done, and where, provides a set of guidelines for current ways of living in the environment that are considered uniquely Shimshali. The very words used to tell the story exemplify what Shimshalis consider to be an appropriate attitude toward the landscape.

The story goes on to tell of Mamu Shah's discovery of the site of Shimshal Village, and amazingly, an existing channel. The impact of this discovery was enhanced by the subsequent appearance of Shah Shams, an Islamic saint. Shah Shams appeared over the mountain behind a resting place called Ziarat, and made his way to Mamu Shah and Khodija's household. He presented Khodija with a bowl of milk, and told her his plans to make them the founders of a great community. According to some versions of the story he is the father of Sher, the only child of Khodija and Mamu Shah. Shimshalis can point to the place Shams appeared (and have built a shrine there), which allows them to link the community as a social, spatial, and spiritual entity, to Islam. They also consider it a significant endorsement of their herding economy that Shams' gift was a bowl of milk. In honour of the saint's patronage, the community is called Shimshal, "Place of Shams." Shimshalis consider themselves the symbolic (and perhaps biological) children of Shams. Soon after the departure of Shah Shams a son, Sher, was born to Khodija and Mamu Shah. Sher (meaning strong) was remarkably adept at hunting and building terraces, both appropriate characteristics for the first, and exemplary, Shimshali. When his parents returned to Sarikol to find him a spouse, Sher set off, on yakback, to explore the territory upstream from Shimshal. He hunted a variety of wild beasts, discovered new pastures, and found Pamir. Sher was astounded by the ecological abundance and beauty of Pamir. He found that the area was occupied, and was forced to compete single-handedly in a polo match against several Kirghis on horseback. Against all odds, Sher won the grazing land. The story is quite clear about where these events occurred, and just what area he won. He was aided in his

unlikely victory by two things: the divine intervention of Shams, and the fact that the yak he rode was better suited to high altitude and rugged terrain than his competitors' horses. Shimshalis cite this epic polo match as the foundation of their respect for yaks and, although they no longer play polo at Pamir, claim that yaks would be valued for their ancestor's role in winning Pamir even if they had no other instrumental value. On the other hand, Pamir derives significance as an ideal habitat for yaks. Both yaks and Pamir accrue symbolic value through their association with the divine, and with the community's most important hero. Upon Sher's return to Shimshal he and his spouse had six children, three of whom survived to become the subclan ancestors. The story concludes with a brief synopsis of the community's subsequent social development, which includes a summary of subclan genealogy. This final part links the story's place and ecology-based events to the present social and place-oriented existence of Shimshal. And importantly, it traces the origin and evolution of the present lineage-based herding cycles.

The interpretations Shimshalis give these legendary occurrences influence community members' instrumental use – and definition – of resources, and often recommend practices that run counter to short-term instrumental motives. Two brief examples will illustrate the point. First, the decision, in 1989, of one of the community's leading elders to sell his household's yaks, and concentrate solely on sheep and goat husbandry, was greeted with derision by most Shimshalis. Community members agreed that more money could be made more easily from sheep and goats than from yaks, but still considered the strategy to be foolish and inappropriate, because it was an affront to Pamir, to yaks, to the mechanics of existing herding cycles, and to Shimshalis' self-identity. Second, despite increasing opportunity costs of being away from village activities for long periods of time, Shimshalis continue to send several young men to Pamir on *shpoon* each winter (Knudsen 1992). *Shpoon* is the term given to the practice of wintering at Pamir, cut off from the village from November to May, and subsisting mainly on dairy products in order to take care of most of the community's yaks, and many of its sheep and goats. It is perhaps the most difficult of several solutions to the problem of seeing Shimshal's livestock through the winter, and various alternatives have been suggested by villagers and outsiders. One of the reasons Shimshalis retain the practice is because it re-enacts Sher's initial visit to Pamir and reproduces a link among Shimshalis, Pamir, and yaks. When

men return from *shpoon* they are treated as heroes, and may be given several yaks in thanks for their stewardship of the community's animals (see Knudsen 1992).

When Shimshalis justify their resistance to KNP – and to a lesser extent their ambivalence to certain AKRSP initiatives – they offer an indigenous set of symbols, an indigenous discursive tradition, as a response to what they see as the insulting charge that they are unaware of the non-instrumental value of alpine areas, unconcerned with their conservation, and incapable of looking after them. Perhaps more than others, Shimshalis recognise their high pastures as resources of significant symbolic value in that they have meaning that transcends their current instrumental function. Some of that meaning is related to a remembered history of their instrumental bounty. But much of it resides in the part they play in Shimshalis' shared sense of self-identity, sense of place, relations with the supernatural, place in regional history, and so on: in short, their significance to Shimshal's existence as a thriving and situated "ritual congregation" (the term is Ali's 1983). Any initiatives to consume – or abandon – these ecological resources are tempered by a concern to conserve their symbolic significance. Like Westerners, Shimshalis worry that the symbolic value of these resources will become sullied and degraded if the resources are used improperly. However, Shimshalis consider abandonment of the pastures, or restructuring of herding arrangements, to be improper use.

The story of Mamu Shah is merely a small excerpt from a large, and continuously evolving, body of indigenous knowledge and interpretation, which connects Shimshalis symbolically to their ecological environment. However, it should be obvious, in light of the "complicating information" it provides, that such solutions as alternative employment, improved fodder production, a process of weaning, compensation, relocation, or even compassion and generosity of spirit will *not* resolve the conflicts between Shimshal and the agencies in question. The ultimate symbolic implications, for Shimshalis, of discourses that portray them as incapable stewards of their natural environment are considerable. Their overall effect would be to disorient Shimshalis, to separate them from the symbolic and geographic context of their existence as a community.

The story of Mamu Shah and other indigenous representations of resource use are Shimshal's alternatives to dominant Orientalist formations. The

indigenous discourses are not timeless and unchanging. Rather, they shift and slide as specific discursive elements are remembered and forgotten, invented, emphasised or de-emphasised, interpreted to fit contemporary circumstances, and utilised to legitimise contemporary or historical courses of action. Throughout they maintain direct and changing relations to their discursive (i.e., competing discourses) and extra-discursive context. Shimshalis say, for example, that community members have become more interested in local folklore, ceremonial dancing, and so on – all repositories of a discourse of appropriate resource use, among other things – since the advent of AKRSP and especially DKNP interventions. Village school teachers and others have recently redoubled their efforts to record and transcribe multiple versions of indigenous tales and songs. Locals are finding new uses for this lore, and new interpretations of it, as they respond to DKNP interventions and adapt to AKRSP programmes. It is evident from their responsiveness that contemporary indigenous discourses of resource use are not merely alternatives, but also instances of resistance (and necessarily, accommodation) to the Orientalist discourses of pathetic and/or reckless indigenous stewardship of Shimshal territory. One important locus of that resistance, evident in the story of Mamu Shah, is the community's rejection of outsiders' disregard for Shimshalis' symbolic connection with their landscape and the way they use it. This rejection can be regarded as a critique of the overwhelmingly instrumental rationality implicit in metropolitan representations of Shimshal.

I want to end this subsection by returning briefly to the point that concluded the previous one. DKNP and AKRSP personnel have as their – no doubt sincere – objectives the preservation of wildlife and the increased prosperity of mountain villagers, respectively. But these objectives are incidental to those organisations' main function for Orientalism, which is to render places like Shimshal susceptible to incorporation into a metropolitan political and social economy. That AKRSP and DKNP are complicit in this process of incorporation is evident in their frequent references to government/VO cooperation and alternative forms of cash employment. It is ironic that the proposed interventions will threaten the two forms of relatively *autonomous* market involvement that Shimshalis currently enjoy: portering and livestock marketing. Perhaps this is an indication that state bureaucracy and a market economy most effectively represent metropolitan interests when they are combined. Shimshalis are aware of this threat of incorpora-

tion and subjugation by the Pakistani state and a Western economic system, and variously attempt to resist and accommodate it. This ambivalent response is reflected in the sentiments of one Shimshal elder: "If the government builds us a road and provides us with the things we need, then it is Pakistan's Shimshal. Until then it is our Shimshal."

4. Conclusion

Throughout the paper, I have attempted to show that outsiders' representations of Shimshalis as incapable stewards of their natural environment have been employed explicitly and implicitly to justify metropolitan intervention in the community's affairs, and to incorporate Shimshal into metropolitan projects of management and control.

The discursive formation that these representations comprise is clearly Orientalist, a formation based initially "on an ontological distinction between the Orient and (most of the time) the Occident, as well as a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient" (Said 1978: 2-3). Each of three central aspects of Orientalism – identified by Said (1978: 2-3) as academic, imaginative, and institutional Orientalism – contributes to the construction and maintenance of that formation. Early travellers' characterisations of Shimshalis as a primitive folk who were overwhelmed by their daunting habitat rely on an already dominant *imaginative* construction of Oriental 'others' and Oriental landscapes as essentially different, inferior, and more primordial than the people and landscapes of Europe (and especially Britain). Later characterisations of Shimshalis' recklessness and short-sightedness rely on a similar imaginative construction, combined with a more current imaginative Orientalism that characterises Oriental (especially Himalayan) landscapes as essentially pure in ways Western landscapes are not, and Oriental people as essentially unappreciative of that purity in ways that Western people are not. These imaginative constructions find authorisation in the larger *academic* currents of their times: for example, environmental determinism and Social Darwinism for early characterisations; global sustainability, the 'limits to growth debates', and neo-Malthusian economics for later ones. Academic Orientalism has also had a more immediate influence on the discursive formation in question. Since the mid-seventies most textual representations of Shimshal and its neighbours have been written by experts, with academic credentials in development studies or wildlife management. Thus, these individuals are scientifically authorised to comment on

Shimshalis' backward herding practices and the detrimental ecological effects of these practices, respectively. To a large extent it is *institutional* Orientalism, manifest in organisations like AKRSP and DKNP, which is the beneficiary of imaginative and academic Orientalism, and which translates their proclamations into specific extra-discursive effects, such as those that Shimshal is dealing with. In addition, these institutions represent on the ground, for all to see and feel, Western authority and the political power of Western knowledge. This material presence contributes to the authorisation and naturalisation of the forms of knowledge produced academically and imaginatively. The overwhelming material presence of AKRSP in the Northern Areas, for example, authorises the discursive tropes its personnel employ, and lends their instrumental and extra-discursive effects an air of inevitability to Western experts and locals alike.

The portrayal of indigenous folk as motivated solely by short-term instrumental objectives is a prominent motif in Orientalism, as it is in Orientalist representations of Shimshal. But it is not the only one, and is not everywhere the dominant one in representations of mountain folk. Himalayan peoples have often been portrayed as essentially and overwhelmingly spiritual, emphatically non-instrumental (see Bishop 1989). These representations also exist in early accounts of Shimshal and its neighbours, often alongside the tropes discussed here. But these have not been reproduced, updated, or incorporated into contemporary Orientalist discourse to a significant extent. This suggests that despite its continuity, its "sheer knitted-together strength" (Said 1978: 6), Orientalism is perhaps best imagined as an assemblage of themes, all related, but largely autonomous and often conflicting, any of which may be cited and utilised for particular discursive or extra-discursive purposes, and many of which are forgotten and even denied, perhaps to be resurrected some time later. What I have attempted in this paper is to trace the lineage of one theme that has not been forgotten, but which has rather been developed and utilised to the present. My sense is that an important reason why the discursive formation which portrays Shimshalis as incapable stewards of their environment, has retained its currency is because it is rooted in a rationality that authorises the interventions of modernisation by shifting what had previously been perceived as local affairs out of the community and into the global domain. And, as Shimshalis are learning, this combination of intervention, control, and incorporation into the global domain is Orientalism's ultimate effect.

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