Acknowledgments

I am blessed. I am blessed because there are scores of people who have supported, aided, and given themselves to this project over the past fifteen years. This good fortune, however, presents me with a dilemma. To those I neglect to mention here, please know that this book is a product of your influence and support.

To all those on the streets, in party and student union offices, at political rallies, in classrooms and campuses, jails and hospitals, ministries, and parliament, thank you for opening your world to me. It would be impossible to name you all, but you are a part of my research, just as you are a part of Nepali political history. Your knowledge, perspectives, and actions made this project rich and deep. To the five students whose narratives tie this book together, you will go unnamed here but not unrecognized by me or many who read this book. Thank you for sharing the past decade and a half of ups and downs. It has been an adventure.

My research project was generously funded by a USEF-Nepal Fulbright fellowship (2003–4), a Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies grant (2005–6), a Fulbright-Hays research fellowship (2006–7), a Wenner-Gren research fellowship (2007–8), Cornell Sage fellowships (2005, 2008–9), and an Economic and Social Science Research Council (ESRC) grant (2012–16). I also received travel grants from the Einaudi Center for International Studies, the Society for Humanities at Cornell University, and the South Asia Center at the University of Washington. Michael Gill and Peter Moran supported me in their capacity as directors of the USEF-Nepal Fulbright Program, opening doors in the field and providing insight until the end. Constance Colding-Jones at the US embassy in Nepal supported my research even when the embassy was wary of it.

I am thankful to Cornell University's Anthropology Department for initially supporting my research and the University of Washington's South Asia Center, Tribhuvan University, and Oxford University's School of Geography and the Environment and Anthropology Department for providing me institutional homes and scholarly communities. I thank the University of Washington's Friday Harbor Laboratories and the Whiteley Center for

generously hosting me as I worked on the manuscript. I am deeply grateful to Sunila Kale, Priti Ramamurthy, Cabeiri Robinson, Keith Snodgrass, and Anand A. Yang at the University of Washington's South Asia Center for continual opportunities that have allowed me to finish my book in Seattle.

I received formative academic guidance from David Holmberg, Kathryn March, Hiro Miyazaki, and Annelise Riles, which initially shaped this project. David Holmberg and Kathryn March trained me to be an engaged, empathetic ethnographer. Shambu and Banu Oja's and Krishna Pradhan's language tutelage enabled me to connect with my interlocutors and discern subtle elements of Nepali political culture. I have continued to be intellectually challenged on multiple continents. I thank David N. Gellner for his mentorship in Nepal and at Oxford and for his close reading of much of this manuscript. This book benefited from keen insight from my ESRC team, Jane Dyson, Craig Jeffrey, Dhana Hughes, and Jonathan Spencer. And interactions with Vibha Arora, Jo Boyden, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Anne De Sales, Deborah Durham, Nick Evans, Martin Gaenszle, Krishna Hachhethu, Michael Hutt, Lola Martinez, Filippo Osella, Tracey Skelton, Gérard Toffin, and John Whelpton have contoured this book's theoretical framework. I also received invaluable feedback from colleagues at the South Asia Research Cluster (SARC) and the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford and in Kathmandu at the Social Science Baha, Martin Chautari, and Tribhuvan University's Anthropology Department.

A number of colleagues have provided consistent feedback and friendship in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe, and South Asia: Iván Arenas, Anil Bhatterai, Bronwen Bledsoe, Sarah Byrne, Dambar Chemjong, David Citrin, Cheryl Colopy, Jason Cons, Sienna Craig, Dace Dzenovska, Rebecca Edwards, Rosalind Evans, Tatsuro and Yasuko Fujikura, Peter Gill, Peter Graif, Arjun Guneratne, Ashok Gurung, Susan Hangen, Ian Harper, Sondra Hausner, Pushpa Himal, Heather Hindman, Dan Hirslund, Amy Johnson, Brandon Kohrt, Satendra Kumar, Laura Kunreuther, Mahendra Lawoti, Chiara Letizia, Lauren Leve, Mark Liechty, Mara Malagodi, Andrea Nightingale, Pratyoush Onta, Anastasia Piliavsky, Janak Rai, Katherine Rankin, Jacob Rinck, Simon Robbins, Tom Roberston, Cabeiri Robinson, Jeevan Sharma, Sara Shneiderman, Bandita Sijapati, Anna Stirr, Bert Suykens, Mukta Tamang, Seira Tamang, Deepak Thapa, Mark Turin, Karen Valentin, Luke Wagner, and Ina Zharkevich. I am particularly appreciative for close readings from Bhaskar Gautam and Anna Stirr.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Devendra Neupane, my research assistant and translator. Devendra has worked tirelessly alongside me over the past fifteen years, never frustrated, unless on my behalf. This project would not be what it is if it not for Devendra's commitment and collaboration. I thank him for our many years of synchronous research and friendship. Sudip Gautam's guidance in Parsa district from 2013 to 2015 was an immeasurable contribution to my understanding Nepal beyond Kathmandu.

I would like to thank the following intellectuals and party members for their invaluable contributions to my research: Narahari Acharya, Rabindra Adhikari, Prakash Aryal, Yogesh Bhatterai, Ganeshyam Bhusal, Jitendra Dev, Pradip Giri, Anil Jha, Tanka Karki, Bijaya Kanta Karna, Suresh Ali Magar, Kedar Bhakta Mathima, Balmendra Nidhi, Shankar Pokhrel, Sahana Pradhan, Hari Roka, Yogendra Sahi, and Jhalak Subedi. I am also indebted to those who regularly kept my research from becoming myopic by providing me perspectives beyond mainstream party politics: Aditya Adhikari, John Bevan, Sam Cowen, Bhaskar Gautam, Prashant Jha, Sara Levit-Shore, Anagha Neelkantha, Suman Pradhan, Dinesh Prasain, Ashmina and Basant Ranjitkaar, Sophia and Shivanth Pande, Sushma Joshi, Astha Thapa, Manjushree Thapa, and Akhilesh Upadhaya. The India portion of my research benefited from the guidance and support of Anand Kumar at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Jaya Regmi at the National Archives in Delhi, Alok Kumar of the Benares Hindu University (вни), and Anju Sharan Upadhaya at the вни Nepal Studies Centre. I thank Mona Adhikari, Deepak Bhatta, Rajan Bhatterai, and Dinesh and Pratikshya Prasain for their hospitality and for entrée into the Nepali community in Delhi and INU student life.

I am grateful to Padma Kaimal, Kalyanakrishnan (Shivi) Sivaramakrishnan, and Anand A. Yang, the editors of the University of Washington Press's Global South Asia series, for supporting the publication of this book. Lorri Hagman has been a star in shepherding this project through to publication, and her editorial feedback has been invaluable. And I thank the two anonymous reviewers of the book manuscript for their productive critiques and suggestions as well as their encouragement on this book's contribution.

This project could not have spanned a decade and a half if I did not feel I had places to seek refuge. Thank you Laurie Vasily and Thomas Mathew, Vishwa and Kalpana Thakali, and Hirendra and Prathima Pradhan for making me a part of your families and always providing me a home and community in Kathmandu. To my family, I feel lucky that you are so big

and keep growing. My parents, Mary and Jay Snellinger, and proxy parents, Mimi Dinova and Pam Cyr, have always been proud of me. My siblings—Lucy, Ani, Ann, Chris, Lisa, and Tommy—are mainly a lot of hard scientists and yet continued to support this endeavor even when they did not understand. Arianna, Brian, Cara, Christa, Devon, Grace, Jason, Jen, Kat, and Maija have anchored me while expanding my horizons. My husband, Jon Sequeira, has given me unending patience as I continue to drag him to landlocked places throughout the world. And, most importantly, he has believed in me always.