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Cover: Village craftsman, Lao PDR; photo by Jonathan Rigg.

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NEWS

UK Southeast Asianists

Dr Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London) is wrapping up two research projects that have occupied him for the last three years. The first is on the domestic impact of international economic sanctions, with Myanmar as a case study. The second is on the politics and governance of non-traditional security in Southeast Asia, with Shahar Hameiri of Murdoch University. Two book manuscripts are almost complete. From July he will take a well earned sabbatical and start to do some preliminary research on rising powers and the use of markets as an instrument of international governance.

Lee will be presenting two papers this spring: 'International sanctions for peace-making? Reflections on South Africa and Palestine', Global Conflict and Conflict Management: Israel/Palestine and Beyond, Oxford, 18–19 May 2014; 'Governing non-traditional security in Southeast Asia', European Workshops in International Studies, Izmir, Turkey, 21–24 May 2014.

He has delivered the following papers: 'Non-traditional security governance and the rescaling of states' (with Shahar Hameiri), International Studies Association, Toronto, 26–29 March 2014; 'How do sanctions (not) work? Lessons from Myanmar', SOAS, London, 29 January 2014; 'Regulatory regionalism and anti-money laundering governance in Asia' (with Shahar Hameiri), Workshop on 'Regionalisation, regionalism and the rescaling of economic governance in Asia', Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Perth, 3 October 2013; 'Governing the haze: struggles over the rescaling of environmental governance in Southeast Asia' and 'Economic sanctions and domestic politics: lessons from Myanmar', Australian Political Studies Association, Perth, 30 September–2 October 2013; 'Explaining Myanmar's democratisation: the periphery is central', workshop on Challenging Inequalities: Contestation and Regime Change in East and Southeast Asia, Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia, 12–13 July 2013; 'Sanctioning apartheid: comparing South Africa and Israel BDS campaigns', Boycotts – Past and Present,

International Consortium for Research on Antisemitism and Racism, Pears Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, Birkbeck, University of London, 20–21 June 2013; 'Non-traditional security, political economy and state transformation: the case of avian influenza in Indonesia' (with Shahar Hameiri), Workshop on Political Economy, State Transformation and the New Security Agenda, Queen Mary, University of London, 7–8 March 2013, and workshop on Southeast Asia and Regional Security in the Context of Sino-US Rivalry, SOAS, London, 7 June 2013: 'The political economy of Myanmar's transition', conference on Inequality, Conflict and Political Regimes in East and Southeast Asia, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, 22–24 November 2012; 'Understanding Myanmar's political transition', Asian Studies Seminar, St Antony's College, Oxford, 6 November 2012; 'Sovereignty, intervention and social order in revolutionary times', at a workshop on Intervention in the Modern World, LSE, 17 September 2012; 'How do economic sanctions "work"? Towards a historical-sociological analysis', British International Studies Association/ International Studies Association joint conference, Edinburgh, 20–22 June 2012; 'The political economy of securitisation: explaining the governance of non-traditional security in Indonesia' (with Shahar Hameiri), International Studies Association, San Diego, 1–4 April 2012 as well as at Forum on Asian Studies, Stockholm University, 5 June 2012, British International Studies Association/ International Studies Association joint conference, Edinburgh, 20–22 June 2012, Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia, 28 June 2012; 'Hazy governance: the politics of environmental securitization', at the Symposium on Current Issues in Southeast Asia, University of Oxford, 10–11 March 2012 and British International Studies – International Studies Association conference, 20–22 June 2012; 'ASEAN, sovereignty and intervention', at the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, University of Nottingham, 23 February 2012.

Dr Anne-Meike Fechter (University of Sussex), senior lecturer in anthropology at the University of Sussex has been awarded a a Leverhulme Research Fellowship for a project entitled, 'Alternative actors in development: understanding: the role of do-it-yourself aid' The project will focus on new actors in the global arena through investigating a recent phenomenon, described as 'Do-It-Yourself Aid'. This consists of individuals from the Global North who set up their own development initiatives in low income countries. The project aims to assess their role as alternative actors on the margins of the established aid system, as well as probing their significance in the broader framework of neo-liberal development agendas and practices. Fieldwork is being carried out in Cambodia.

Professor Roy Ellen (University of Kent) has received a British Academy grant (SG13159, £9,942) for his research on 'Demography, kinship and ritual reproduction: Nuaulu cultural resilience in the "New Indonesia"', for the period April 2014 – March 2016. Roy presented the following papers this year: 'Demography, kinship and ritual reproduction: Nuaulu cultural resilience in the "new Indonesia," at the Austronesia Seminar, London School of Economics and Political Science on 3 March 2014; and 'Tools, agency and the category of "living things"', at the international colloquium on 'Des êtres vivants et des artefacts: L'imbrication des processus vitaux et des processus techniques', Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, 9–10 April 2014.

Dr Alexandra Green (British Museum) is preparing an exhibition called 'Power and Protection: Religious practices and Buddhism in Burma and Thailand' that will open at the British Museum in late September 2014 to early January 2015.

Dr Annabel T. Gallop (British Library) reports that the first year of the Malay Manuscripts Digitisation Project has been completed, in collaboration with the National Library Board of Singapore, funded by William and Judith Bollinger. A full list of 56 Malay manuscripts in the British Library which have been digitised, from the historic collections of the British Museum, can be found at <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/malay.html>. In 2014 a further 53 Malay manuscripts, mostly from the India Office collections, will also be digitised. In October 2013, Annabelvisited Japan and gave three lectures: 'Malay seals as sources

of history' at Osaka University on 15 October; 'The art of the Qur'an in Southeast Asia' at Sophia University, Tokyo, on 18 October, and 'East and West: cultural interactions in Islamic manuscript art of Southeast Asia' at the NIHU Program for Islamic Area Studies Symposium on Islam in Cultural Interactions: Manuscript Art, Stories, and Dress in Southeast Asia, Sophia University, Tokyo, 19 October 2013.

Professor Robert Taylor spoke on 'Continuity and change in the politics of the Myanmar military' at the Observatoire Asie du Sud-est, Asia Centre, Paris, on 10 April 2014. He will take up a Visiting Professorial Fellowship at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, from 1 July for three months.

Dr Margaret Coldiron (University of Essex) has been in performances of Balinese *Topéng* in a number of settings including a street theatre at the Surbiton Festival in September 2013; a version of *Little Red Riding Hood* with maskmaker, researcher and PhD candidate, Tiffany Strawson at Indonesia Kontemporar, SOAS in October; and at LSO St Luke's with Gamelan Lila Cita in November 2013 and March 2014. Margaret also presented the following papers: 'Jokasta: Greek tragedy reconfigured as a transnational, transcultural *kreasi baru*', International Federation for Theatre Research, Institute del Teatro, Barcelona, Spain in July 2013; 'Being a woman being a man: gender in Balinese *Topéng*', Symposium on Women in Asian Theatre, University of Lincoln, UK on 14 September 2013, and 'Starting from neutral: creating a curriculum for world performance', Helsinki Platform on Performer Training, University of the Arts, Helsinki, Finland in January 2014.

Dr Adam Tyson (University of Leeds) visited Bogor Agricultural University and the Centre for International Forestry Research in Indonesia in December 2013, and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, in January 2014. He presented the following papers: 'Indonesia after *The Act of Killing*' at Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung, 3 December 2013, 'Attfield and *The Good of Trees* revisited' at Bogor Agricultural University, Bogor, Indonesia, 17 December 2013, and 'Indonesia and the end of the Communist Party' at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China, 14 January 2014.

Dr Angela Hobart (UCL) will be presenting a paper at the University of Bergen in May on 'Reclaiming the tragic dead through ritual: after the genocide in Indonesia/Bali' after three years of research. Her next project will be on temple festivals and rituals of regeneration in Bali.

Centre of South East Asian Studies, SOAS, University of London

Professor Ian Brown is currently writing a history of SOAS, to be published in time for the centenary in 2016–17.

Professor William Clarence-Smith continues with several strands of research covering mules in early modern global history, *c.*1400–1850 CE; equids in World War I; Middle Easterners in the colonial Philippines; Rubber and World War II; Islamic slavery. William presented a paper on 'Rubber & World War II – a strategic commodity,' at the Department of History, University of Birmingham, 5 February 2014.

Dr Monica Janowski co-curated with museum curator Dr Mark Elliott, an exhibition on 'The Cultured Rainforest' at Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 4 April–1 June 2013. She also convened the panel on Stone and Cosmic Power in Southeast Asia at the EUROSEAS conference in Lisbon, July 2013.

Professor VT (Terry) King, Professorial Research Associate (and Emeritus Professor at the University of Leeds) gave several public lectures arising from the ASEASUK/British Academy-funded programme of research on UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia: on 'UNESCO World Heritage, identity and economic development: Southeast Asia compared', at the Institute of Philippine Culture, Southeast Asia Program, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila, 25 September, 2013; as a keynote address on 'World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia: problems and prospects', at the International Conference on Tourism and Culture in Asia, Chiang Mai University, Thailand, 17–18 November 2013; on 'Cities of splendour: UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia', History of Art series, University of Hull, 28 November 2013; and on

'UNESCO in Southeast Asia: World Heritage Sites in comparative perspective' at the South Asian Decorative Arts and Crafts Collection Trust (SADACC) in Association with the Sainsbury Institute of Art, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 4 March 2014.

Terry examined PhD theses at the University of Bath and Universiti Putra Malaysia, and an MA by research at Universiti Brunei Daurssalam. From 15–18 March 2014, with Professor Vincent Houben of Humboldt University, he undertook a review of the work of the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies at the University of Lund on the invitation of the university; whilst there they both conducted a staff and postgraduate seminar in the Centre on 17 March on 'Interdisciplinary Area Studies: Problems and Possibilities'.

Recent and ongoing PhDs

Koh Sin Yee (London School of Economcs and Political Science) successfully defended her dissertation on 'British colonial legacies, citizenship habitus, and a culture of migration: mobile Malaysians in London, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur' (supervisor: Dr Claire Mercer) in January 2014.

Alexander Wain (University of Oxford) is completing his DPhil thesis on 'Chinese Muslims and the Nusantara's conversion to Islam.' This project seeks to comprehensively evaluate the possibility of profound Chinese Muslim involvement in maritime Southeast Asia's (or the Nusantara's) Islamisation between the 13th and 17th centuries. Since the publication of a reputed *Peranakan* Javanese manuscript entitled 'The Malay Annals of Semarang and Cirebon,' which claimed Chinese Muslim communities established by Zheng He helped convert Java, this possibility has captured the scholarly imagination. The doubtful provenance of that manuscript, however, has limited the debate. Alexander's thesis, however, successfully traces that provenance for the first time; it thereby lends greater weight to both the manuscript and its claims. Building on that discovery, the thesis draws upon recent research to reposition the 13th- and 17th-century Nusantara within an intense commercial relationship with Southern China (rather than the Indian Ocean). It is proposed that this system acted as a conduit through which Chinese Muslims (dominant in Chinese trade during the relevant period) acted as a catalyst for cultural change. Within that context, the histories of various key locations, such as Samudera-Pasai, Melaka, Demak, Cirebon Brunei and Patani, are re-examined. Accessed through both written texts (European and non-European) and archaeology, they are seen to reveal compelling evidence for early Chinese Muslim involvement in the Nusantara's Islamisation. He will be presenting a paper on his research, 'Possibility of Chinese Muslim involvement in the Islamization of maritime Southeast Asia between the 13th and 17th centuries,' at the Zheng He Conference, University of Victoria, Canada, 22–24 August 2014.

Phill Wilcox (University of Hull) will be in Laos on fieldwork for 2015. His research in social anthropology concerns questions of societal memory, heritage and legitimacy in Laos.

Abroad

Dr Ku Kun-hui (National Tsing-hua University) is researching indigenous citizenship in Asia (Taiwan, Philippines and Malaysia). She gave a paper, 'Burning bush: an untold linkage between Taiwan and Sarawak' at Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), on 13 March 2013. This year she spoke on 'Preliminary investigation on indigenous citizenship in Asia' at the University of Glasgow's Scottish Centre for China, 13 March 2014.

Dr Koh Sin Yee, postdoctoral fellow, **City University of Hong Kong**, is researching 'Alpha-territoriality in Hong Kong and London: the local implications of transnational real estate investments by the super-rich'. She presented a paper on 'Geographies of education-induced migration', at 'The Road Less Travelled: Mobility in Southeast Asian Societies' workshop, Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darulssalam, 31 March –1 April 2014.

Dr Lim Peng Han, Visiting Research Fellow at the **University of Malaya,** presented a paper in Indonesia recently on 'Achieving excellence in badminton: shifting from indigenous culture to application of

sport science and management culture' at the International Seminar of Sport Culture and Achievement: The global issues of sport sciences and sport technology development, 23–24 April 2014, Yogyakarta.

LSE new Southeast Asian Centre

The London School of Economics and Political Science has received a significant donation from Professor Saw Swee Hock to establish a new academic centre focused on Southeast Asia.

The Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre will bring together researchers for interdisciplinary analysis of policy questions facing Southeast Asia, while strengthening further LSE's research and engagement with the ASEAN region. Academics affiliated with the centre will benefit from a range of specialist resources, networks, and funding opportunities.

The new centre will be led by Professor Danny Quah as Director Designate. Danny Quah is Professor of Economics and International Development at LSE and is a leading expert on the rise of eastern economies.

The creation of the centre was announced at the LSE Asia Forum 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. LSE plans to officially launch the Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre in the new academic year for 2014-15.

The donation and establishment of the Southeast Asia Centre further cements Professor Saw's philanthropic relationship with LSE. Earlier this year the School opened the spectacular Saw Swee Hock Student Centre, described by the *Architects' Journal* as 'inviting, imaginative and memorable'. The iconic building was named after Professor Saw in appreciation of his generous donation towards its construction.

A PhD graduate and now Honorary Fellow of LSE, Professor Saw has also given towards the School's Library, the New Academic Building, scholarships for LSE Singaporean students and previous LSE Asia Forums in Singapore and Beijing.

PROFESSOR CHARLES FISHER: ADDITION·

Terry King saw this article in the Sheffield newsletter *EastAsia@Sheffield* and thought it might be of interest to ASEASUK readers in that it adds further information on the early development of Asian Studies in the UK. Charles Fisher, an eminent geographer of Asia, and particularly Southeast Asia, also played an important role in the development of Japanese Studies at Sheffield.

*Professor Charles Alfred Fisher, the founder**

Dr Gordon Daniels, who before his retirement was a pillar of both the School of East Asian Studies and the History Department, has been researching the man who was largely responsible for the initial plans to establish Japanese Studies at Sheffield, and has come up with a fascinating story with both personal and academic elements.

In its first fifty years (1905-55) Sheffield University provided no courses in Japanese, Chinese or Korean, and had no staff specialising in the history, politics or culture of East Asia. Even as late as 1960 when the Government's Hayter sub-committee on Area Studies approached the University, the Vice-Chancellor and Registrar showed no interest in Asia. So, how, in 1963, did the Centre for Japanese Studies, from which the School of East Asian Studies grew, come to be established? In this strange process, a single individual, Professor Charles Fisher, played the crucial role.

In 1935 Fisher entered St Catharine's College, Cambridge and proved an outstanding student. He gained a double first in Geography and was remembered as a cellist, linguist, public speaker and comic mimic. On graduation he began research on Ireland, but following the outbreak of war he joined the Royal Engineers and was posted to Singapore.

· This article first appeared in *EastAsia@Sheffield* (January 2014, issue 22, p.7) published by the School of East Asian Studies at the University of Sheffield. Aseasuk thanks Dr Gordon Daniels and Professor Tim Wright, editor of the Newsletter for permission to reprint it.

When British forces in Singapore surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942, Fisher became a

Professor Charles Fisher

prisoner of war. Within weeks, and still only twenty-five, he became a leader in establishing two universities for prisoners in the Changi camp. In October he was transported to Thailand to work on the infamous Thailand-Burma railway. As an officer Fisher may have escaped the worst Japanese treatment of prisoners, but he suffered from tropical diseases and poor nutrition.

Despite indifferent health he continued some academic activity. He read widely in European languages and secretly worked on a PhD thesis. Unfortunately, when Japanese behaviour became more frantic and violent, Fisher feared that he might be severely beaten; and handed his manuscript to his captors. They promptly burnt it.

In August 1945 the Pacific War ended, and in January 1946 Fisher returned to Britain, where over the next few years he lectured at Leicester, Aberystwyth and Oxford. He spent the year 1953-54 at Yale University where he was 'one of the ablest scholars ... concerned with the Asian Tropics'. In 1959 he became Professor of Geography at Sheffield, where he was a dynamic and enthusiastic teacher and researcher and wrote extensively on South-East Asia and Japan, in particular his 400,000 word book *South-East Asia: A Social, Economic and Political Geography.*

Like many ex-prisoners of war Fisher suffered psychological damage and had little admiration or affection for Japan and the Japanese; until, in 1961, a social meeting led to a profound change of attitude. At the annual dinner of the Geographical Association Fisher found himself seated next to the Japanese Ambassador Ono Katsumi. In their conversation Fisher showed a detailed knowledge of Japan and, when pressed, mentioned his experience as a prisoner. The Ambassador then invited him to visit Japan as an official guest.

That autumn he spent a month touring major cities and rural areas, and meeting a wide range of Japanese scholars and officials. After returning to Britain he wrote 'my attitude towards the Japanese had undergone a complete volte face … I was now resolved to do all I could by writing, teaching and public speaking to persuade my fellow countrymen to discard their outdated and all too often distorted views about Japan.'

In February 1962 the Hayter sub-committee published its Report on Area Studies, stating that 'two centres covering South Asia, South-East Asia, and the Far East should be supported in the provincial universities ... but these centres should not provide language teaching unless ... this proves essential.' Regarding Far Eastern languages the sub-committee suggested it 'would like to see one university in the north provide these studies, if so Durham would be the obvious candidate.'

Fisher bought and read his own copy of the report. He then drafted proposals for 'the setting up of a Centre for South-East Asian Studies' in Sheffield. He also met Sir William Hayter, the sub-committee's chairman. Fisher was told that other universities had already made claims for a similar centre. Despite his disappointment he now formulated and submitted a new proposal, advocating a 'Centre for Japanese Studies' in Sheffield. After all 'no other university had put forward proposals for such a centre' which was 'a serious omission'. He also suggested undergraduate instruction in Japanese 'at an early stage'.

On 9 May 1962 the Chairman of the University Grants Committee wrote to Sheffield University broadly accepting the Fisher proposal. Funding followed and the first two academic appointments were made in 1963. In 1964 Fisher left Sheffield for a Chair in London, but without his vision and initiative it is unlikely that East Asian Studies would have found an academic home in Sheffield.

OBITUARIES

C.D. Cowan (1923–2013)

Professor C.D. Cowan, photo by kind permission of SOAS Library (SOAS/SPA/4/73).

Jeremy Cowan was a founding father of ASEASUK. Together with Charles A. Fisher, Maurice Freedman and E.H.S. (Stuart) Simmonds, he was a signatory to the circular letter of 23 May 1969 announcing the launch of 'The Association of South-East Asian Studies', as it was then styled. He played a large role in its formative years, for example in drafting the first constitution and in convening its first conference,'The Purposes and Problems of South-East Asian Studies' (London, March 1973). From 1990 he was closely involved in the London management of the British Institute in South-East Asia (Singapore and Bangkok) and from 1990 to 1998 he was chair of its successor, the British Academy Committee for South-East Asian Studies.

The following obituary was published in the *Times*, 23 October 2013:

C.D. (but almost invariably Jeremy) Cowan was Director of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) from 1976 to 1989. His predecessor, Professor Sir Cyril Philips, was a near-impossible act to follow. He had led the School through two decades of remarkable growth, overseeing the creation of new departments in the social sciences, a large new building to house the School's library and a substantial increase in student numbers. Even in the most favourable circumstances, Philips's successor would have had the less spectacular task of consolidation — and Cowan faced far from favourable circumstances.

University finances, which had begun to tighten in the mid-1970s, fell off a cliff in the early 1980s. State funding to SOAS was slashed and the Thatcher government's policy on overseas student fees hit the school hard. SOAS lost well over a third of its income and had to tighten its belt. A quarter of the academic staff had to be persuaded to retire early. This was painful for the individuals concerned, of course, and for the School, which lost a large number of its most experienced staff, many world authorities in their field. It was painful for Cowan himself, not least because the inevitable resentment was often directed towards him as director.

In fact, the contraction was managed with considerable skill, not least because SOAS took the opportunity to re-examine and re-order its teaching and scholarly priorities. This process laid the foundation for recovery from the late 1980s. That SOAS survived these blows and even renewed its sense of purpose and confirmed its importance was above all Cowan's achievement.

Charles Donald Cowan was born in North London in 1923, the son of a senior railway manager. After Kilburn Grammar School, he went up to Cambridge, to Peterhouse, in 1941 to read history. The war then intervened. Between 1942 and 1946 he served in the Royal Navy, for most of these years as a liaison officer in Dutch submarines, mostly in the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea, and the Java Sea. He went back to

Peterhouse to complete his degree in early 1946, and then returned to South East Asia, to a lectureship at Raffles College in Singapore (which in 1949 became the University of Malaya). In 1950 he was appointed to a lectureship in the History of South East Asia at SOAS.
He confirmed his reputation as a historian of modern South East Asia with his doctoral thesis on the origins of British political intervention in the Malay States from the 1870s. Published in 1961 as *Nineteenth-Century Malaya* it is a beautifully crafted, elegantly written piece of historical scholarship and remains a standard text on the subject. In the same year Cowan was appointed to the chair in the history of South East Asia at the University of London.

In later life he admitted that he had found scholarly writing difficult. That was not an admission of weakness – it is difficult – but a declaration of the extremely high standards he had set himself. More importantly he may have felt that his subject was shifting away from him. He had built his reputation as an imperial-diplomatic historian, seeing the modern history of South East Asia from that perspective, but that approach was being discarded by a new generation of South East Asian historians, in favour of a focus on local societies, sources and languages.

Also it was apparent that Cowan was a gifted administrator, and he moved steadily up through the School's administration – notably he chaired the library committee when its new home was being planned and constructed – to become director in 1976.

Jeremy Cowan had a natural authority. He could be direct and imposing and on occasion might appear distant but generally his manner was avuncular and reassuring, qualities sorely needed at that time. Those colleagues who came to know him well, found an engaging and often highly sociable man. With his raffish hats, pipe, and, in his earlier years, his racy sports car, he had style.

Stepping down as director in 1989 did not mean retirement. Among other posts, he served as deputy vice-Chancellor of London University, he chaired the British Academy Committee for South East Asian Studies, and he was a governor of Dulwich College. There was also the convivial company at the Dulwich and Sydenham Hill Golf Club until his health deteriorated – this, supported by the companionship of Veronica, he bore without complaint.
He married, first, Mary Vetter (dissolved in 1960) and then Daphne Whittam (who died in 2004). He is survived by a daughter from his first marriage. Another daughter from his first marriage predeceased him.

Professor C.D. (Jeremy) Cowan, CBE, historian and university administrator, was born on November 18, 1923. He died on September 3, 2013, aged 89.

Jeremy Kemp (1941–2014)

Jeremy Hugh Kemp, who was a specialist in Thai studies and the social organisation of rural lowland Southeast Asia, died at his Kentish home in Faversham on Sunday 13 April after a long illness.

Jeremy was born in 1941 and brought up in Shropshire. He learned his anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and went on to undertake PhD studies with Stephen Morris, Raymond Firth and Maurice Freedman in 1963. It was through this route that he participated in the London-Cornell Project for East and Southeast Asia, under whose auspices he held a fellowship at Cornell during 1964–5, being supervised by Oliver Wolters, William Skinner and Lauriston Sharp. At Cornell he learned Thai, formed a connection with other anthropologists working in Thailand such as Gehan Wijewardene, and undertook library research that formed the background to his ethnography, and which more immediately led to the publication in 1969 of *Aspects of Siamese kinship in the nineteenth century.*

Following fieldwork in Thailand (1966–7), Jeremy was offered a position in the new School of Social Studies at the University of East Anglia where he taught social anthropology and the sociology of non-industrial peoples with, amongst others, John and

Marie Corbin. This established a pattern of research and teaching interests – namely rural social organisation in an interdisciplinary social science setting – that was to continue throughout his career, and that was to blossom at the University of Kent in Canterbury.

University of Kent Centre for Southeast Asian Studies (c.1981), back row left to right: Barry Hooker (Law), Jeremy Kemp (Anthropology); front row left to right: John Bousfield (Philosophy, Religious Studies), Richard Vokes (Economics), Roy Ellen (Anthropology); Bill Watson (History, Literature, Anthropology).

In 1971 the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies had been established at Kent for only a few years (as a result of Hayter funding), under the directorship of Dennis Duncanson on the recommendation of Maurice Freedman. Jeremy was the first social anthropologist to be appointed to the Centre, where he held a joint post with Sociology. At the Centre, Jeremy was part of a small group that included, in addition to Duncanson (an expert on contemporary Vietnamese politics), Roger Kershaw (also a political scientist, who had worked in Thailand) and Barry Hooker (an expert on Malay *adat* law), with the remit to promote a social science approach to Southeast Asian studies. Here Jeremy developed courses in Southeast Asian societies, and pursued his interest in the analysis of the peasantry through new intellectual alliances with the Kent sociology and anthropology group, under the influence of Paul Stirling and John Davis. His work during the Kent years focused on a small number of themes that emanated from problems he encountered during his fieldwork in Hua Kok, and radiating out into broader Southeast Asian issues: critiques of the 'loose structure' model associated with John Embree and with the received concept of community as applied to village studies, and with more sophisticated ways of understanding kinship in relation to other modes of association, such as neighbourhood, patron-clientage, and social stratification. His approach to anthropology was always rooted in empirical detail with a strong commitment to ethnographic accuracy and straightforwardness. In his most productive years – during the 1980s and early 1990s – Jeremy had forged important links with colleagues in Bielefeld (Hans-Dieter Evers) which led to *Community and state in modern Thailand*, 1988; with Jan Breman in Amsterdam, which led to *Seductive mirage: the search for the village community in Southeast Asia* (1988), and with Frans Hüsken, then at Nijmegen, with whom he co-edited the important collection on *Cognation and social organization in Southeast Asia* (1991). A revised version of his PhD thesis (1976) was published in 1992 as *Hua Kok: social organisation in north-central Thailand*. Jeremy was not a prolific author, but everything he wrote was sharp, thoroughly considered and to the point, and although his theoretical interests evolved he never abandoned the particular vision of social anthropology that he had encountered at the LSE.

Jeremy retired in 1999, and moved to France with his second wife Mary where he enjoyed a new life in Seine Maritime, revolving around his love of gardening, wine, good food, cooking and violin restoration. During this time he developed a new interest in the First World War artist Paul Mansard, an illustrated edition of whose work he saw to print in 2012. A decline in his health brought him back to Kent in the few years before his death, though his *joie de vivre*, sense of humour and winning smile accompanied him to the end. He is survived by Mary, and his two children Aysha and Laila by his first wife Zarine.

Roy Ellen
University of Kent

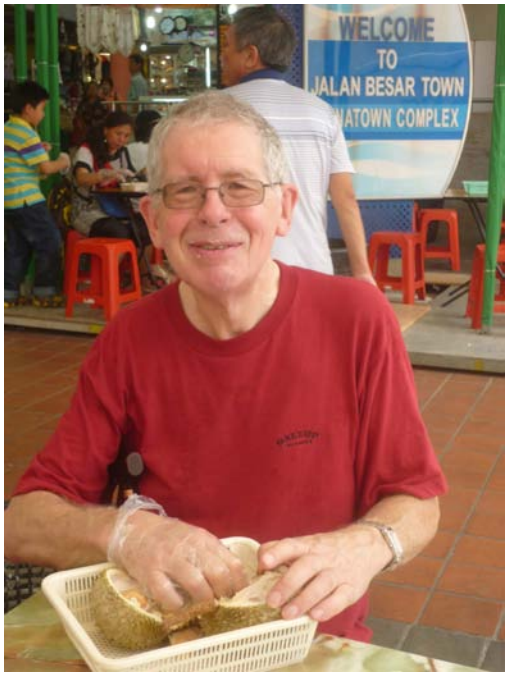
As I remember him

Thinking back, I cannot recall when I first met Jeremy Kemp. It must have been about 1968–9 after he had returned from fieldwork in North-Central Thailand and before I went to Indonesia. Subsequently we bumped into each other regularly. After he moved to the University of Kent, we became good friends. Academically South East Asia was the Cinderella among the world's regions. And I recall us comparing notes on how we used to reply to colleagues who wondered what on earth was worth studying there. For some reason, telling them that it undermined all existing anthropological certainties did not go down well!

As his choice of region perhaps suggests, Jeremy was an intellectual with a strong independent turn of mind: precisely the kind of person who forms the backbone of serious scholarship. This emerged clearly in his writings on Thailand, where he took issue with the current orthodoxies from the constitutive role of patron-client relations to the centre-periphery model of the so-called 'South East Asian State'. Jeremy also rejected the comfortable assumption that expert academic knowledge was always superior to that of the locals. He designed a course in regional ethnography that started with indigenous texts and other sources. It was a brilliant idea that was – and probably still is – virtually unique. It was also far ahead of its time in questioning the hegemony of the Western academic machine.

Although Jeremy was not a natural rebel, his intellectual honesty often put him at odds with institutional trends. When most of us tamely accepted the growing *dirigisme* and corporatization of universities, with its attendant politics and managerialism, Jeremy rightly bridled at what was happening to the University of Kent. Over a bottle of malt whisky, we would compare horror stories about our respective institutions with a certain gallows' humour. When academics became complicit in the transformation of universities into aggressive profit-making corporations with scant regard for standards and scholarship, Jeremy took the honourable path and retired.

Jeremy however was far from a plaster saint. He had a wonderful, at times wicked, sense of humour. An anecdote makes the point. The human sciences suffer from the absence of a serious philosopher. So Jeremy and his colleague John Bousfield filled the gap by inventing Victor von Klöpp, whose enigmatic utterances they would drop into lectures and seminars. The students became so taken with von Klöpp that Jeremy and John found themselves having to fill in details. First they had to account for von Klöpp's lack of academic publications. They did so by



Jeremy Kemp in Singapore, 2012

making him a radical nihilist, who refused the straightjacket of 'the text' and even had anticipated the Derridean move of erasure, by crossing out everything he has written. So only aphorisms survived (which they would dream up the night before a lecture). One of von Klöpp's much-repeated sayings was: 'Nothing matters; and matter's nothing'.

Von Klöpp was such a hit that Jeremy and John had to create a back-story, in which von Klöpp emerged as a syphilitic dwarf from Rügen in North Germany. The demand for more information led eventually to Jeremy and John inventing a younger sister who lived in Bradford. She had, they said, been persuaded to show a select group of students around her house, which was full of memorabilia, with the added promise of some new aphorisms in von Klöpp's own

hand. One wintery late January morning, the students stood waiting for the charabanc to Bradford, which of course never arrived. Although this story might seem cruel, it made a didactic point. Jeremy held that students should learn to be critical and never to believe what their supposed elders and betters told them – himself included. Jeremy was a scholar and a gentleman, who had an enduring dislike of the hypocrisy, cant and pomposity that came to permeate so much university life.

Only Jeremy could have decided to expire at a pub named The Phoenix. Is this perhaps an omen? Was he warning us, like The Terminator, 'I'll be back'?

Mark Hobart
Emeritus Professor of Critical Media and Cultural Studies, SOAS, University of London

CALL FOR PAPERS

Wailalak Journal of Asian Studies

The new *Walailak Journal of Asian Studies* invites English-language submissions in any aspect of Asian studies, extending from the Middle East to East Asia. It is especially interested in contributions from Southeast Asia and/or Southeast Asianists. Articles should ideally be 5,000–8,000 words. Submissions should be in Microsoft Word, and sent directly to the editor, Edwin Zehner, at zehner1234@aol.com

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Thailand

6th Southeast Asia Update
International Institute of Social History (IISH)
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20 June 2014

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CONFERENCES

28th Aseasuk conference
University of Brighton, UK
12–14 September 2014

The conference provides a first class opportunity to share research and network with established and early career scholars of South East Asia from across a wide range of academic disciplines in a convivial and friendly setting. For details and registration, go to http://aseasuk.org.uk/3/aseasuk-2014-conference

Conference highlights

- Conference dinner at Brighton's famous and iconic Royal Pavilion – an extravagant Orientalist pleasure palace built in the 18th century for the Prince Regent.
- Film shows and performances featuring performers from Southeast Asia.
- Panels spanning the breadth of Southeast Asian Studies, including museology, tourism studies, new media, history, politics, geography, performance studies and research methodologies
- Panels for emerging and early career scholars
- International publishers' display of recent contributions to Southeast Asian Studies
- ASEASUK Annual General Meeting – get involved in fostering Southeast Asian Studies in the UK.

Themed panels include:

- Framing South East Asia: The role of the Museum. Contact: Helen Mears, helen.mears@brighton-hove.gov.uk and Susan Conway sc66@soas.ac.uk
- Southeast Asian Performing Arts: Tradition in Modernity. Contact Margaret Coldiron (mcoldi@essex.ac.uk) and/or Matthew Cohen (matthew.cohen@rhul.ac.uk)
- Malay/Indonesian Manuscript Studies. Contact: Dr Mulaika Hijjas, mh86@soas.ac.uk
- Shan Studies: Manuscripts, Arts, Beliefs and Current Affairs. Contact Susan Conway sc66@soas.ac.uk
- Digital/Ritual: Southeast Asia and new global media. Contact: d.c.mckay@keele.ac.uk and jco10@leicester.ac.uk

- Contemporary architectural and urban practices in Southeast Asia. Contact: Ofita Purwani s0912002@sms.ed.ac.uk and Wido Prananing Tyas w.p.tyas@ncl.ac.uk.
- Resilience and responsibility in tourism. Contact: Dr Janet Cochrane, Leeds Metropolitan University, j.cochrane@leedsmet.ac.uk
- Assembling Infrastructure: Development, Counterinsurgency and Political Struggle in Myanmar/Burma. Contact: Robert Farnan robert_a.farnan@kcl.ac.uk and Arash Sedighi as124@soas.ac.uk
- Political ecology, resilience and environmental justice in a changing Southeast Asia. Contact: Becky Elmhirst r.j.elmhirst@brighton.ac.uk
- Conceptualizing political modernity in Southeast Asia. Contact: Carlo Bonura cb84@soas.ac.uk
- Illiberal Pluralism in SE Asia's Economic Reform Experience. Contact: Thomas Jandl thjandl@yahoo.com
- Contemporary Politics in Cambodia. Contact: Prof Jörn Dosch joern.dosch@uni-rostock.de
- Constitutional Politics in Burma/Myanmar. Contact: Andrew McLeod andrew.mcleod@law.ox.ac.uk
- Gender, Migrations and Racialisation in Southeast Asia. Contact: Julien Debonneville Julien.debonneville@unige.ch
- Rethinking Gender and Development in Southeast Asia: Methodological Entanglements. Contact: Becky Elmhirst r.j.elmhirst@brighton.ac.uk
- Emerging Scholars Panel. Contact: PJ Thum pingtjin.thum@history.ox.ac.uk
- Open panel. Contact: Becky Elmhirst r.j.elmhirst@brighton.ac.uk

Early Bird conference rates ASEASUK 2014

Online registration will be opening shortly and an 'early bird' rate will apply until 30 June 2014. The conference fee covers access to all academic panels, roundtables, workshops, performances and the publisher's display; lunch and refreshments, and a delegate pack including the conference programme. The fee also entitles delegates to a one year membership of ASEASUK. The cost of the conference dinner and the evening meal on Friday is for meals only: wine and other alcoholic beverages may be purchased at the event.

Conference fee:	*ASEASUK member*	£126
	ASEASUK student member	£90
	Non-member	£150
	Non-member student	£104
Bed and Breakfast:	*Friday night*	£42
	Saturday night	£42
Friday evening meal:		£22
Conference dinner:		£41

Bursaries of £100 are available for UK-based postgraduate students who will be presenting papers at the conference. For a bursary application form, please email: r.j.elmhirst@brighton.ac.uk

Conference venue

The conference will take place at the University of Brighton's Falmer Campus, located a short distance from Brighton city centre on the edge of the South Downs. All conference rooms are fitted with built-in audio-visual equipment including PCs, microphones and data projectors.

Accommodation is on campus in single en-suite bedrooms which are a convenient walk from conference meeting rooms. Breakfast, lunch and dinner on Friday night will be in the refectory on campus. Falmer has its own train station. It is an eight-minute journey from Brighton train station on the Brighton/Lewes/Hastings line. Falmer station is approximately 10 minutes' walk from the campus. Buses run regularly to and from Brighton city centre. Free car parking is also available on site.

With the generous support of the Henry Green Foundation, part of the conference, including dinner on Saturday night, will be held at the Royal Pavilion in the centre of Brighton.

8th Euroseas conference 2015
Vienna
11–15 August 2015

The event will be organised by the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna, in cooperation with the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and other academic institutions based in Vienna. Scholars and PhD students from all academic disciplines with a research interest in Southeast Asia are invited to participate. The call for panels has been announced via the EuroSEAS website and is open from early April until 30 September 2014. <http://www.euroseas.org/content/conference>

Confirmed speakers:
Professor Benedict Anderson (Cornell University)
Ayu Utami (Komunitas Salihara)

CONFERENCE REVIEW

3rd Southeast Asian Studies Symposium
Keble College, Oxford
22–23 March 2014

The contest for democracy in Southeast Asia's transitioning economies and the changing political landscape were the prevailing themes at the symposium which is the world's largest annual Southeast Asian Studies conference. It was attended by 310 participants from 32 countries, and saw some 166 papers presented in 32 panels on subjects ranging from museology and classical literature to the contemporary political economy of Southeast Asia. Seven thematic roundtables saw academics engaging with cabinet ministers, NGO activists, diplomats, politicians and business leaders. The ambassadors of Indonesia and Viet Nam, and representatives of the Malaysia, Brunei, Philippines and Thailand governments were also present.

In his keynote address, **Stephen Lillie** (Head of the Asia Pacific Directorate of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office), outlined the UK's involvement in development and humanitarian aid in the region, particularly in Myanmar and the Philippines (Hurricane Haiyan). Lillie emphasised the UK and Southeast Asia's 'shared history' as the basis for British investment and the promotion of democracy in the region. He stressed that the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office is sensitive to the challenge of corruption and electoral tensions which could undermine Southeast Asia's economic development and the establishment of 'free societies'.

Malaysian Democratic Action Party MP and opposition leader, **Tony Pua**, delivered the second keynote address on the challenge of democratic action in mainland and maritime Southeast Asia. Locating the principal challenge in the overlooked urban-rural divide in Thailand and Malaysia, he discussed the way in which gerrymandering and bribery by ruling parties in poorer rural communities deprive voters of political choice and social welfare. Pua cited corruption and mismanagement of natural resources in East Malaysia as the principal motor for the deepening rural-urban divide where rural populations develop a dependency on handouts by parties in return for votes.

An interesting discussion followed, moderated by Sir Tim Lankester.

The roundtable on **50 years of the Malaysian dream and the future of Malaysia** generated a lively discussion on Malaysian identity. Chaired by the co-founder of Project Southeast Asia, Dr PJ Thum, it featured Senator Dato' Sri Abdul Wahid Omar (Minister in the Prime Minister's Department for Economic Planning, Malaysia; Founder-CEO of Maybank), Tony Pua (Democratic Action Party Member of Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara, Malaysia), Dr Graham Brown (University of Bath), Dr Alice Nah (Centre for Applied Human Rights, University of York), and Clare Rewcastle (Founder, the Sarawak Report). The roundtable agreed that a fixation on ethnicity impeded socio-political progress and concluded with an urgent call for a Malaysian identity that transcended ethnic and party boundaries. Nah stressed that Malaysian politics need to rethink the concept of citizenship as a way of moving beyond parochial contestations over identity. Pua argued that the fixation stemmed from the politics of exclusion, where the ruling coalition

perpetuated differences between ethnic communities as part of its strategy for maintaining its rule. Senator Dato' Sri Abdul Wahid, offered a robust defence of his government, arguing that existing policies were highly targeted and had vastly reduced poverty levels.

Other highlights include:

The environment and natural resources panel arranged and chaired by Professor Jeff Burley. The group agreed that there were many common features about the environment and natural resources of Southeast Asia. These included the needs for defined and updated government policies; establishment of local and community partnerships in management of natural resources and marketing of products; updated education (content and methods of delivery) related to integrated resource assessment and management; development of small and medium enterprises to enhance the productivity, efficiency and profitability of land management systems that can yield environmental services as well as direct financial benefits.

A roundtable on **Regime transitions in Southeast Asia: lessons for Myanmar?**, organised by Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London), which compared Myanmar's current transition from military to civilian government with the experiences of Indonesia, East Timor, and Cambodia.

A panel on **The Bangsamoro (sub)state: its identity, nature, struggle and movement**, organised by Nassef Adiong of Co-IRIS and Middle East Technical University, brought together the problems facing southern Philippines at both an academic and intensely personal level.

A roundtable on **The energy future of Southeast Asia**. Organised and chaired by Dr Nigel Gould-Davies (BG Thailand), it brought together academics, energy industry professionals, NGOs, and government representatives to examine how governments, business and civil society can work together to meet Southeast Asia's rapidly growing energy demand with secure, affordable, and environmentally sustainable supplies

Reflecting the keen interest on Myanmar, there were a number of panels on the country, including **Myanmar: ethnicity, memory and identity**; **Burma and drugs: national problems, regional solutions**; **Evolution or revolution: imagining a future for Burma's rural economy**; **Tangled crossroads: flows of ideas, commodities and people through the Thai-Myanmar borderworld**; and two roundtables, **Myanmar in transition: primary care and public health** and **Why have there been no 'gender turns' in Myanmar/Burma research: Why and how does it matter?** The latter, moderated by the chair of Oxford's International Gender Studies Centre, Dr Maria Jaschok, brought together scholars and activists from Myanmar to discuss the imperative of the 'gender turn' in Burmese studies. Misconceptions of gender equality in Burmese culture have unwittingly reinforced entrenched discrimination against women in development, political mobilising, and the peace-building process.

The symposium also featured panels on security; political economy; comparative law; political, economic and security issues surrounding the Mekong region; the continuing impact of colonialism; the politics of art and culture; ASEAN; religion; and identity, among other topics.

Dr Philip Kreager (Somerville College, Oxford) delivered the closing speech on the future of Southeast Asian studies in the UK, noting that its fate is far less certain than Stephen Lillie's hopeful review of Britain's diplomatic progress in the region. Kreager nonetheless identified several optimistic trends evident at the symposium, including the panel on primary healthcare in Myanmar, which fostered discussion between local and global experts in medical service provision, highlighting the key role of bottom-up collaboration between local practitioners, health interventions, scholars, and activists.

The 4th symposium will be next held in March 2015. Please visit www.projectsoutheastasia.com for updates.

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BOOK REVIEWS

MICHAEL D. BARR
The ruling elite of Singapore: networks of power and influence
London: IB Tauris, 2014
xvi, 140pp., ISBN 978-1-78076-234-0, hb £58

Reviewed by Lee Jones
Queen Mary, University of London

Although work on Singapore's political economy and political system is fairly extensive, the narrower question of how its ruling elite was created and operates in practice has largely been neglected – until now. *The Ruling Elite* is a useful and thoroughly researched account of elite formation and maintenance in the city-state since the 1960s. It provides ample empirical evidence of the deliberate, elitist and racist strategy pursued by Lee Kuan Yew and others to build a self-reproducing elite in their own image. The book clearly demonstrates how rulers smoothed the ascendancy of hand-picked individuals – overwhelmingly ethnic Chinese –thoroughly debunking the myth that Singapore is a meritocratic society where ethnic groups enjoy equal opportunities. It is likely to become a standard reference point for scholarship on Singapore, though its wider applicability is limited.

Barr's main thesis is that Singapore's ruling elite is the product of a deliberate strategy pursued by Lee Kuan Yew, based on Lee's peculiar reading of Toynbee. Confronting a situation in the 1950s where 'quality' elites numbered fewer than 150, Lee set out to forge a new socio-political class capable of governing the city-state in perpetuity. Barr argues that elite formation was driven by education, in elite schools and via government scholarships; socialisation, particularly into selective norms of 'Chineseness'; the assumption of a dominant economic role by the state; and patronage, particularly directed by the Lee family. Sketching Singapore's networks of power, Barr argues that the Lees now sit entrenched at the centre, running the city-state like a 'family business'. In the inner core are key ministers and People's Action Party (PAP) leaders, senior bureaucrats in ministries, quasi-state entities and statutory boards, military officers, the chairs and CEOs of key Government-Linked Companies (GLCs), the Government Investment Corporation, Singapore Press Holdings and MediaCorp, and the three major Chinese banks, particularly OCBC and UOB. There is then a 'subordinate elite' which mainly implements the inner core's policies while keeping social groups in line: the National Trades Union Congress, and various corporatist social and religious bodies. The interlocking memberships and revolving doors between these institutions keep the elite remarkably autonomous, coherent and consistent in its worldview, making any serious external challenge practically doomed to failure, Barr argues.

Overall the book provides solid evidence for how the elite has grown and consolidated into an unrivalled system of rule. This is a difficult topic to research, and Barr has undertaken some excellent detective work. To demonstrate that the system really does 'work' as many suspect, he pieces together fragments of publicly available evidence to illustrate, for example, that the sudden government decision in 2004 to relax language qualifications for government scholarships was driven by Lee Kuan Yew's grandchildren being poor at Mandarin (p. 91). The book contains some intriguing insights on the rising preponderance of elites with a military background, and some very reasonable (albeit very pessimistic) prognostications about Singapore's future without Lee Kuan Yew.

Nonetheless, there are some real problems with the book. The most obvious is Barr's choice to present his material chronologically, portraying the rise and consolidation of Lee's project and the 'changing of the guard' to a younger generation. Although this central narrative is framed by some short, more analytical chapters, these do little more than summarise the intervening material, leading to substantial repetition. An analytical explanation for *how* such a coherent elite could be forged is never coherently presented. Indeed, the book is utterly atheoretical; there is not even a definition (let alone discussion) of 'elitism' as a social phenomenon, and nowhere are the key explanatory drivers of Singapore's elite formation ever set out clearly in one place. Instead, brief explanatory points are dispersed throughout the text. Thus, for instance, the crucial rise of the GLCs – which

provided an 'almost inescapable vehicle of elite patronage and power' – is discussed in just one paragraph midway through a chapter on the 1980s (pp. 58–9). Particularly since this – along with Singapore's small size – are cited as the explanation for Lee's success, this is grossly insufficient. To get any explanatory traction, the reader themselves must glean Barr's narrative for such morsels. A natural and very unfortunate consequence is that the book's immediate value to those studying elites in other countries is very limited. Barr dismisses early work that interpreted Singapore through a 'core executive' model drawn from political science, but at least this approach tried to draw out factors potentially common to multiple societies. By contrast, this book's narrative style often lends the text an episodic, journalistic, even gossipy flavour as Barr relates yet another micro-story of elite manoeuvring. The text is laden with footnotes (36pp of notes for a 140pp book), but the notes are often concerned to prove that some particular individual was behind a specific decision or shenanigan. In doing his detective work, Barr has arguably pressed his nose too far against the window.

A second and partly related set of criticisms concerns the specifics of Barr's argument. The failure to really explain *how* rival elites could apparently be so easily crushed or co-opted into the PAP-centred one is particularly problematic when it comes to the business community. Barr points out that the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCC) was initially a powerful and autonomous body. Nonetheless, the CCC was – somehow – persuaded to fund the creation of GLCs that then out-competed them, then 'marginalised' in the 1960s (pp. 33–4). Why would they accept this? Barr does not say. A more analytical account (say, one provided by Garry Rodan) might point to the political weakness of the bourgeoisie – its inability to organise its own political front – and the Cold War context, which led a fearful business elite to side with anyone capable of destroying the left. Furthermore, despite the CCC's alleged 'marginalisation', two major Chinese banks (one of them the driving force behind the CCC) are subsequently described as retaining 'autonomy' and being the 'only viable alternative power base for any alternative elite' (p. 37). Barr notes that the banks and government regularly exchange personnel, making it questionable whether 'OCBC people who have been in government ... are OCBC people in government, or PAP people in the OCBC' (p. 37). This is an intriguing question, raising the issue of the fusion of state and business power in Singapore; it would suggest that the elite is *not* as 'autonomous' as often supposed but is in fact tied to large-scale capital (mostly state and international, but also local). This would explain why the bourgeoisie has tolerated the PAP's ascent, and why trade unions have been so thoroughly neutralised while some big businesses retain apparent 'autonomy'.

A descriptive account of 'elitism' cannot get at these issues in a way that, for example, a Marxist account of the Singaporean state could, not least because it neglects societal dynamics almost entirely. The ballot box occasionally intrudes into Barr's smooth account of elite consolidation, but there is no account of *why* voters have increasingly moved against the PAP since the late 1980s, *why* Lee Hsien Loong has shifted to a quasi-liberalising reform agenda, *why* this does not seem to be working, and so on. There is no account of rising popular concern with the cost of living or mass immigration – a by-product of the PAP's development strategy – and how this is feeding into rising opposition support. Nor is there any mention of the emergence of an evangelical Christian segment of the elite, whose activities have been highly divisive. The dialectical relationship between social forces and ruling elites, and the contradictions between elite strategy and elite sustainability, are entirely neglected. The elite is simply the brainchild of Lee Kuan Yew, and Lee 'answered to no one' (p. 65). That Barr makes this claim is particularly ironic because he highlights that the idea of Lee as Singapore's 'national father' was a myth deliberately fostered in the 1990s. He quotes approvingly from other authors' criticisms of a rash of books that 'give the wrong impression that Lee built up Singapore almost single-handedly' (p. 88). Yet on page 130, Barr himself suggests that Lee 'almost single-handedly turned the Singapore political system into his domain' (p. 130). Barr thus ends up reinforcing the same myth which he criticises.

In reality, no one does anything single-handedly. Social phenomena demand social explanations. But the focus on a handcrafted elite system provides few explanatory resources to account for how that system was enabled to flourish, or the dynamics that cause it to transform.

SARAH TURNER, ed.
Red stamps and gold stars: fieldwork dilemmas in upland socialist Asia
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013
308 pp, ISBN 9780774824934, hb $95

Reviewed by Mandy Sadan
SOAS, University of London

This book is a very valuable multi-authored work diligently edited by Sarah Turner. It is divided into three parts, the first of which outlines some of the theoretical issues arising from the book and gives general historical background, while the second (the largest) covers a range of fieldwork experiences, with three chapters in the final section being concerned with 'Post-Fieldwork'. In all, 14 contributors each write reflectively about their experiences working in different fieldwork sites, often over extended periods. As Turner notes in her useful introduction, the question of positionality is critical in any reflexive account of fieldwork experiences and each of the contributors works hard to delineate the social, political and economic spaces in which their personal field research developed. The 'messiness' of the social, economic and political status of the external field researcher is not shied away from but rather constitutes a key point of reflection in the chapters. This messiness also arises from the overarching framework of the book in which all the contributors describe fieldwork in communities considered 'ethnic minorities' or ethnic nationalities by their respective nation states, which are themselves defined as being of Socialist Asia: China, Vietnam and Laos. The multiple political, economic and social tensions that emanate from interjecting oneself as an 'outside' researcher between states and their minorities means that work such as this can never be straightforward. Turner defines the principal theme as being the dilemmas and resulting negotiations that arise as a result of working in ethnic minority communities in Socialist countries and this connects all of the chapters in a variety of interesting ways. Many contributors discuss their decision-making about whether and how formal official approval might be sought and obtained for research; others describe the need to keep many political balls in the air while respecting the sense of vulnerability to the political implications of research that many communities feel. Yet this focus on complexity and 'messiness' creates coherence within the book as a whole; it facilitates a breadth of comparison and contrast that is helpful in drawing out common themes, while each chapter is distinct in its own right.

The appeal of the book also comes from the fact that such a range of foreign (albeit predominantly western) researchers are included, the names of which will be familiar to students who have read contemporary ethnographically framed studies on these areas. Jean Michaud, Oscar Salemink, Steven Harrell and Janet Sturgeon all write interesting chapters that range over the comparative history of ethnic policy in this part of Socialist Asia, to the challenges of working in more than one of these states when conducting multi-sited field research or navigating the political and social minefield of dealing with post-fieldwork representation. Harrell, writing with his colleague Li Xingxing, and Salemink write insightfully and in a thought provoking way upon the discomforting realities that emerge around the complex political and social relationships that have to be built and upon which access and information have to be constructed. The book includes an admirably wide range of western researchers who are highly respected in their areas of research: Stéphane Gros, Magnus Fiskesjö, Candice Cornet, Jennifer Sowerwine, Christine Bonnin, Pierre Petit, Karen McAllister, and Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy. Each brings a particular voice, personality and distinct approach to discussing their particular research site and experiences, yet each chapter contributes well to the whole.

It is interesting that two local female researchers, Chloe and Vi who worked with Candice Cornet and Christine Bonnin respectively, have their thoughts transcribed by Sarah Turner in a chapter that aspires to give a sense of local perceptions of the outside

researcher. The obvious 'lack' in this book is that such voices are relatively absent. In addition, the experiences and perceptions of more non-western researchers would help to make the positionality of the researcher even more vividly drawn. The editor and the contributors are obviously not oblivious to this, but the self-reflection of western academics could be made less central allowing fieldwork to be viewed through many other lenses: the gatekeeper, the Red Stamp granter, the Japanese ethnographer, the Chinese academic working in their own right. All of these are problematic to represent and reflect an aspiration rather than a genuine empirical criticism of the book, but if we had these insights, they would add to the theme of the complexity and highly negotiated nature of research and its experiences. A further question that is raised by the book but not answered fully by many contributors is how their field research experiences have subsequently influenced their writing and the representations of the knowledge that was produced. The fact that the final part of the book, dealing with 'Post-Fieldwork' is the shortest, reflects the fact that many researchers still have a great deal more to do in terms of laying out the ways in which their knowledge is constructed in the process of representation and writing, not just delineating the relationships upon which access to and management of fieldwork sites are negotiated. The positionality of the resultant texts could also be reflected upon to great advantage. I shall certainly be setting many of the chapters as reading for my students before they read the written work of many of the contributors so that they can approach ethnographically framed research texts not as bounded sites of knowledge but as problematic discourses produced from highly particular encounters and experiences. This kind of integration from field to text could have been extended further in the analysis of many of the contributors, although clearly this was not part of their rubric.

This book should be required reading for any researcher hoping to head out to the field in these or similar areas. It will prepare them for the fact that little with be straightforward and a great deal will be discomforting. However, it should also be required reading for those members of Research Ethics Committees who are inclined to take a more blunt approach to how fieldwork with 'human informants' has to be negotiated, or who try to minimise attention to local specifics and dynamics as if 'Ethics' were a simple monolithic concept. In short, this is a welcome and very useful book that should provoke many interesting discussions among those who are thinking about engaging in field research or who wish to reflect more upon their own experiences in understanding how their knowledge has been constructed.

DEIDRE McKAY
Global Filipinos: migrants' lives in the virtual village
Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2012
264pp, ISBN: 978-0-253-00205-1 £17.99; e-book £23.99

Reviewed by Rebecca Elmhirst
University of Brighton

As Deirdre McKay's book makes abundantly clear, since the late 1970s, overseas migration has emerged as a definitive part of the Philippines story, and what it means to be Filipino in the world today. Supported by government policy that marketed its citizens as a global workforce, by the mid 2000s, Filipinos were the world's third largest group of temporary migrant workers, after India and China, with 10% of the country's population working overseas. Money remitted by these migrants was supporting around half of the country's households; a total sum that outstripped overseas development assistance and foreign direct investment combined (p. 5). This book examines this phenomenon through a closely observed ethnography that follows the lives of two migrants – Luis and Angelina – who left the village of Haliap in Ifugao, northern Philippines to become overseas contract workers. Their respective stories (and those of others from Haliap) are woven together to provide an intimate account of the changes and continuities of globalisation and global migration in the Philippines, particularly with respect to how they carried with them histories and subjectivities that were transformed through their encounters with states and host societies as well as changing relationships and affective ties in and with their home village.

The book opens with a discussion of a village parade, an event organised by officials to narrate and represent the progress of the village through various historical phases, from a stone-age precolonial past, through anticolonial warfare to a stage of state-led agricultural development, before reaching its apex with an age of overseas contract migration. McKay develops her thesis by unpacking the parade's vignettes (including the responses of onlookers) and what these reveal about villagers' desire to be a part of an imagined global realm through migration, and how such desires are refracted (albeit unevenly) through the public rituals of Filipino culture and village life. Migration is situated within the insecurities produced historically in the village, which not only follow from livelihood shortfalls, but that are also wrought through the politics of indigeneity whereby indigenous identities have been re-crafted and reasserted as social categories that enable resource access. Global migration thus is a strategy villagers can draw on in order to transcend the limited futures offered by a reinvigorated tribalism in Ifugao. At the same time, the village – and the affective social ties that make up the village – remain writ large in the practices, desires and imaginings of migrants as they sojourn from the Philippines in Hong Kong and onwards in Canada.

Each chapter of the book focuses on a particular dimension of the migration experience, working through closely textured participant observation and reflecting this through current debates around migration, development and globalisation. Chapter 2 seeks to understand how village women become overseas migrant workers and here, the author interweaves the personal stories of Angelina and her friends with a wider analysis of discourses around women's migration in the Philippines, seen not as a discourse around aspiring professionals on the move (how migrants initially narrated themselves) but rather through the idea of migration as 'sacrifice': which sits more easily within idealisations of Filipina femininity. Chapter 3 centres on the meaning of migration as a force for development in Haliap and surroundings. Places identified as 'progressive' in the minds of respondents were those with many workers abroad, rather than those that had been subject to conventional development initiatives. Villagers tended to be rather sceptical of the latter, seeing them as representing outsiders' self-interested visions for village futures. Migration instead gave them 'ownership' of a future life, with the expectation that remittances could be used for rice fields, a modern house, a car and education for their children: projects that were not always in alignment with the aspirations of development 'experts'. From this analysis of the village and its remaking through migration, McKay then follows Luis and Angelina to Hong Kong, which presents an opportunity to examine how villages ties are maintained through remittances, texting, phone calls and sending boxes of gifts (chapter 4) and photographs (chapter 5), sustaining neighbourhoods and allowing migrants to remain engaged in everyday intimacies and thus to create a virtual village sense of place (p.103). McKay's close friendship with her respondents allows her to examine the affective dimensions of these personal ties as respondents become modern and cosmopolitan whilst at the same time being virtual villagers.

Chapter 6 shows how Luis and Angelina's village lives endured even as each of them moved on: they continued to depend on a fragile set of caring relations that were village-based, and their experiences and subjectivities as migrants were shaped by the exigencies of the Philippine national government in the village as it sought to regulate their exchanges with kin and investments in property and businesses at home. In chapter 7, the interplay of migrant subjectivity, village style social networks and different kinds of states (Philippines, Hong Kong and Canada) is explored through the experiences of Luis: a migrant's eye perspective on Canadian migration and employment regimes, and their associated forms of governmentality, that produced Luis as a particular kind of subject somewhat at odds with Luis' own sense of self. The book concludes by returning to the parade that it opened with, focusing on the concept of the virtual village, its everyday connections and how migration enables the village to come into being in people's minds just as its imagining sustains villagers (like Luis in Canada) through the disappointments and hardship of migration.

This book is a refreshing departure from more conventional tales of Filipino migration, which either centre solely on the experiences of migrants abroad, or concern themselves with state policies to manage migration and remittances. Rather, taking an avowedly anthropological approach, inflected through a geographical perspective that is attuned to the importance of 'place' and the remaking of places, McKay's book builds from a village study; she examines in detail individual life histories set in a wider village context, and made up of the affective ties that are central to Southeast Asian subjectivities, but then she takes this global. Globalisation, mobility and migration, far from dissolving the importance of social ties to peoples' sense of self, solidifies the village, reworks peoples' attachments to places and to each other. Migrants carry the village (as an affective sense of place) with them as they move across the world. The book is an important contribution not only to debates on migration and development, but also as an exemplar of multi-sited ethnography and the study of emotion and affect. The author has managed to weave together so many dimensions of migration and the contexts in which mobility and migrant subjectivities take shape, any one of which could be seen as an opener for further research and exploration in the Philippines and beyond. For me, that is the book's key strength and why this text should be required reading for scholars of migration and development, and indeed for anyone wishing to learn more about the implications of global mobilities in a globalising Southeast Asia.

ANTON LUCAS & CAROL WARREN, eds.
Land for the people: the state and agrarian conflict in Indonesia
Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2013
408pp., ISBN 9780896802872, pb £22.99

Reviewed by Rebecca Elmhirst
University of Brighton

Although conflicts over land and livelihood have a very long history in Indonesia, it was the economic crisis at the end of the 1990s and the end of the New Order regime that sharpened the focus of international attention on the injustices of access to resources and on the waves of popular protest that were intensified by the disappointments of the *reformasi* period and the intensified land speculation and dispossession that followed. Although globalisation, industrialisation and urbanisation have progressed rapidly in the country, Indonesia remains a country of farmers, and agrarian conflict is a defining feature of decentralised electoral politics, protest and, to some extent, national identity. Struggles over land tenure and access reflect tensions between elites and the poor, between regional and central governments, between national and transnational capital. As the editors of this important volume point out, at every significant juncture in Indonesia's recent history, land issues have played a pivotal role: from the 'Land for the People' catchphrase of the peasant actions supported by the Communist Party in the post-revolutionary period to the anti-communist massacres of the 1960s and the establishment of the New Order, whilst more recently, land conflicts contributed to the popular sentiments that eventually saw the overthrow of Suharto's authoritarian rule. Land conflicts continue to resonate through struggles for social justice and legal certainty across the country.

This book is an edited collection of case studies of land conflicts from a range of ecological and socio-political settings in Indonesia, that have been developed from a project on land tenure and law in Indonesia that began in the early *reformasi* period. The editors, both well-known for their contributions to this area of study, have brought together scholars and scholar-activists whose works trace the roots of contemporary land conflicts to the present. Taken together, the chapters offer a 'state of the art' critical resource for understanding land reform and conflict that in my view is indispensable for those working on agrarian or environmental issues in Indonesia. The book opens with an overview chapter by Anton Lucas and Carol Warren that sets out the overall landscape of agrarian conflict in Indonesia over the post-independence period, couched in terms of the relationship between the land, the law and the people. A starting point is the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 (BAL), seen at the time of its launch to assert the

social function of land through land reform and redistribution, but later transformed from its progressive origins into a policy that justified the expropriation of customary lands to become sites for investors under Suharto's developmentalist programme that served the private interests of well-connected elites. The editors show how the ambiguities of the BAL continue to resonate in the myriad documented conflicts they present, drawing on data from Indonesian NGOs and human rights organisations active in this area in the 1990s. They go on to point out how the nature and tone of protests have evolved in the context of wider political changes in Indonesia, laying the ground work for the case studies that follow.

Dianto Bachriadi and Gunawan Wiradi discuss the agricultural censuses taken between 1963 and 2003 and what they reveal about land tenure and land-use patterns under the contrasting policies of the Sukarno and Suharto periods. The former, whilst ostensibly more progressive, made little progress on land reform, whilst the latter used transmigration resettlement to divert attention of land inequities in Java. Chapter 3, by Carol Warren and Anton Lucas, reviews the World Bank-funded Land Administration Project, which during the New Order period, aimed to formalize land tenure through certification. The authors are sceptical about the outcomes of a neoliberal approach to tackling poverty as there is little in the way of safeguarding against the concentration of land in the hands of a few: the social function of land (for the land poor or the marginalised) is therefore lost. Chapters 4 to 9 provide detailed discussions of specific land conflict cases (Anton Lucas on the Cimacan golf course dispute in Puncak, West Java, Afrizal on protests over adat land in West Sumatra, John McCarthy on the impact of Suharto's 'million hectare' megaproject on Dayak communities in Kalimantan, John Prior on land dispute cases in Flores between villages, the Catholic church and the state, Carol Warren on the conflicts around evictions and resort development on the island of Gili Trawangan, Lombok, and Gustaaf Reerink on conflicts around changing commercial land development laws on the urban poor of Bandung, West Java). In Chapter 10, Dianto Bachriadi, Anton Lucas and Carol Warren reflect on the impact of reform era struggles to redress the problems inflicted by the New Order, the rolling out of neoliberal development through Indonesia and the mushrooming of efforts to revive progressive agrarian agendas, led by civil society groups in Indonesia. A concluding chapter, by Carol Warren and Anton Lucas, ties up all the loose ends of the book by considering the likely impacts of current policies for land security for Indonesia's people in the context of wider processes of global food security and environmental degradation.

Whilst each case study reveals the particularities of its respective conflict situation, the chapters all reflect on the ways in which democratization of governance, and regional autonomy legislation have altered the terms on which claims are being made (p.20). A key distinction that may be drawn across the studies is that some focus on questions of equity and the redistributive objectives of land reform in densely populated Java, whilst others show how such policies can be turned against people in contexts where the relationship between local people and the national state is arranged along rather different principles. The studies that make up the book are rich in empirical detail, provide a careful analysis of the implications of different legal instruments and the ways these have played out at different moments in Indonesia's political history. The contradictions inherent in many of today's land reform struggles do not go unnoticed: some of the cases discuss how local people may be drawn into their own speculative struggles that also serve to further marginalise the disadvantaged in particular communities.

Careful editing and attention to detail mean that unlike some edited books, this volume presents a coherent and well-thought-out narrative that leads the reader through the complexities around Indonesia's diverse ecologies, confusing land laws and popular resistance movements. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in land, the environment and agrarian livelihoods in Indonesia – none of which may be understood without reference to the multiple dimensions of land tenure, law and protest. As a reference, this book is second to none in its field. Its importance, however, goes beyond Indonesia in an era where global forces present new

pressures for those trying to retain access to land, and with a narrow range of political tools at their disposal for achieving social justice. A reminder of the significance and political dangers associated with land reform – land for the people – in Indonesia is captured in the haunting cover illustration, a calendar produced by political artist Yayak Yatmaka in the early 1990s, which incorporated a poem by Wiji Thukul. The former remains in political exile whilst the latter disappeared, presumed killed, during the 1998 *reformasi* movement.

NICHOLAS J. LONG
Being Malay in Indonesia: histories, hopes and citizenship in the Riau Archipelago
Singapore: NUS Press; Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2013
xiv, 288pp, ISBN 978-9971-69-769-3, pb £18.99

Reviewed by Victor King
SOAS and University of Leeds

Is there much more to be said about Malay identity (in my terms Malay ethnicity), or as Long prefers 'Malayness'? The conceptual bases and the processes of 'being 'and 'becoming' Malay and expressing that identity have been the subject of intense debate for at least the past 30 years. Many of the prominent luminaries of Malay-Indonesian history, society and culture including Syed Hussein Alatas, Timothy Barnard, Will Derks, Jane Drakard, Joel Kahn, Tania Murray Li, Henk Maier, Virginia Matheson, Anthony Milner, Judith Nagata, Anthony Reid, and Joseph Richard Stimpfl have explored the enigma, or as Long suggests the 'paradox', 'absurdity' and 'challenge' of defining and determining Malayness. Moreover, much has been written on the history and ethnography of the Malays and other populations of Riau and the history of the Johor-Riau-Lingga sultanate, including the work, among many others, of Barbara Watson Andaya, Cynthia Chou, Freek Colombijn, Carole Faucher, Michele Ford, Johan Lindquist, Jan van der Putten and Vivienne Wee (and there is a considerable colonial literature in Dutch as well). What more is there to say? Well, Nicholas Long does have an important voice in Riau scholarship. He has provided us with a well crafted and researched historical and ethnographic study of the Malays of the Riau Archipelago and specifically the regional capital of Tanjung Pinang. His local knowledge and the depth of his understanding of the Riau Archipelago are impressive. He first visited Riau in 2004 and then spent 30 months from 2005 undertaking anthropological research there, resulting in the submission of his doctoral thesis on Tanjung Pinang to Cambridge in 2009; he was in Riau during the exciting times when the new Riau Islands Province came into being and the early years of its formation and development.

Above all Nicholas Long has succeeded in providing an original and illuminating perspective on the debate about Malay identity in Riau, though he admits that it was not his original intention to address the issue of 'Malayness' in what has been referred to as the 'heartland of Malay culture'. His interest in Riau Malay identity was sparked by the position which Riau has occupied as a marginal territory located within the Republic of Indonesia but intimately connected through the 'growth triangle' with Singapore and Johor across the Straits of Malacca (and with the Sumatran mainland), and the consequences of this marginality following on from the post-Suharto Indonesian government's decision to promote political and economic decentralisation and democracy. What has this meant for Riau Malay identity, particularly with the massive influx from other parts of Indonesia of migrants who came to take advantage of the economic opportunities in Batam and Bintan? This is the focus of Long's study which is located in a recent genre of research in Southeast Asia on borders, margins and identities. But more than this Long investigates the unsettled, dissonant environment within which the Riau islanders live out their everyday lives.

Importantly Long's study takes account of the historical and politico-economic context of Tanjung Pinang, though his primary attention is devoted to the emotions, moods, feelings, dispositions, experiences, and what he refers to as the 'affective states' of Riau Malays, and he argues for a conceptualisation of the problem in terms of a 'recombination of Malayness'. This is a step forward. It recognises the concept of

Malayness as hybrid, fluid and absorptive (or in Long's terms 'a set of malleable claims', p. 241, constituting 'multiple Malaynesses', p. 245). But we have to note that, although this is problematical in an Indonesian context in that Malayness has 'proliferated in a startling variety of ways' there (p. 21), in other parts of the Malay world outside Indonesia, specifically in Brunei and Malaysia, there is a much more straightforward way of grasping, defining and delimiting the concept because it is specified in constitutional terms (although this has not meant that the concept of 'Malay' in Brunei and Malaysia is entirely unproblematical).

Yet not only is the concept and status of being Malay in Riau puzzling but, according to Long, it is deeply unsettling. He suggests that the Malays are uncomfortable in their home: suffering 'poisoned histories', and, in inter-ethnic relations, creating 'monstrous alterities'; living cheek by jowl with those who are different and, in an environment of self-doubt and marginalisation, they experience anxiety, suspicion, panics, fears, hidden dangers, alienation, threat, hauntings and 'mysterious happenings'. In his discussion of human resource development issues Long also concludes that the Malay Riau Islanders' engagement with these matters is 'fraught with doubts, anxieties, bad faith, ethical dilemmas, resentments and frustrations' (p. 205). One wonders whether this depiction of the Riau Malay psyche is perhaps a little extreme, though Long does present evidence that his interpretation is well founded. I also wonder whether the deployment of Western analytical categories is sufficiently justified in the explication of Asian interests, perspectives and interpretations: we are invited to consider the relevance of Jean-Paul Sartre's concept of 'bad faith', Sigmund Freud's notion of the 'uncanny', elaborated in Slavoj Zizek's 'spectral uncanny' in ideological discourse, and finally Michel Foucault's construction of 'governmentality'.

There are a few minor bibliographical observations. In an extended examination of Riau Malay identity there is no mention of Al Azhar's paper on 'Malayness in Riau: the Study and Revitalization of Identity' (1997), and though reference is made to other papers in the special issue of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1997) devoted to Riau and edited by Cynthia Chou and Will Derks, perhaps more could have been made of this, including Tim Barnard's important paper in that volume on the politics of historiography in Riau and Vivienne Wee and Cynthia Chou's paper on 'multiple realities'. There are also other publications which might have been referred to with profit, by U.U. Hamidy, *Riau Sebagai Pusat Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (1983) and his other publications on Riau, Jan van der Putten and Al Azhar's edited book *Di Dalam Berkekalan Persahabatan; In Everlasting Friendship; Letters from Raja Ali Haji,* (1995) and the literature relevant to Raja Ali Haji, Timothy Barnard's chapter on 'The Hajj, Islam, and Power among the Bugis in Early Colonial Riau' (2009), Will Derks' paper on 'Poets and Power in Pekanbaru' (1995) and Anthony Milner's early paper on 'Islam and Malay Kingship (1981). A minor matter of factual accuracy – the Chewong are not a population inhabiting the island of Borneo (p. 94).

Long has given us much food for thought in our contemplation of ethnicity in marginal borderlands which have been subject to radical changes in politico-administrative arrangements. It is finely grained and stimulating ethnography at its best.

KATINKA VAN HEEREN
Contemporary Indonesian film: spirits of reform and ghosts of the past
Leiden: KITLV, 2012
xiii+239pp., ISBN 978 90 6718 381 9; pb €31.69

Reviewed by Ben Murtagh
SOAS, University of London

This book is an invaluable contribution to the extant literature on Indonesian film and television. While the early 1990s saw the publication of three English-language books on Indonesian film, Krishna Sen (1994), Karl Heider (1991) and Salim Said (1991), the subsequent demise of the film industry and the challenges brought about by the financial crisis and political changes of the late 1990s led to something of a demise in filmmaking and also in academic interest in Indonesian film. Fifteen years after the events of 1998, just as filmmaking in Indonesia has re-emerged

as a serious cultural force, a number of monographs and edited books on Indonesian cinema are again emerging (e.g. Michalik and Coppens 2009, Michalik 2013, Murtagh 2013). Van Heeren's book, which is based on her 2009 doctoral dissertation from the University of Leiden, is an essential contribution to this new scholarship which not only continues the story of Indonesian cinema outlined by those earlier texts into the post-New Order period. Even more importantly, her careful attention to the history of Indonesian film in the New Order period and before, ensures that hers is a study which is always as mindful of the continuities as of the ruptures which occurred as Indonesian filmmakers, commentators and regulators entered into the era of *reformasi*.

The book draws on extensive periods of fieldwork carried out in 2001–2 and 2002–5 during which time the author attended large numbers of screenings, festivals and discussions across the archipelago. Furthermore she has developed networks and friendships with a number of filmmakers, professionals and commentators, many of whom have been interviewed. She had privileged access to the production and shooting of a film and television series. Her familiarity with the logistics of making and distributing films in Indonesia, coupled with first-hand access to many of the discussions about the film, leads to the principal strength of the book; a profusion of fascinating anecdotal and ethnographic data from the field which taken together create an impressive view of Indonesian contemporary film at the beginning of the 20th century. Given that this book is as much about the working of the film industry and discourse about the film industry as it is about films themselves, van Heeren's book also draws on a wealth of archival research concerning magazine and newspaper reports on such issues as film law, clashes between film bodies, and problems of piracy, censorship and pornography.

After an introductory chapter exploring key theoretical ideas, the book is divided into three sections, each comprising two chapters. Each section seeks to compare the New Order with the post-New Order period, focusing on film mediation practices, film discourse practices and film narrative practices in turn. The first section, which looks at film mediation practices, is essentially a study of how and where films are shown and what this tells us about different imaginations of audiences and communities. Chapter 1 includes a compelling case study of a particular production company's attempt to make a film in 1999, still in accordance with the regulatory regime that continued from the New Order period. The story of this film that was never made is an intriguing tale of the bureaucratic hurdles filmmakers faced, coinciding with the heightened public passions and emotions of the period. The chapter then goes on to a very useful discussion of *layar tancep* (mobile cinema), the government-sponsored Indonesian Film Festival, and regulation of mainstream cinemas during the New Order to show how attempts to regulate and control, to propagate and represent New Order values and state policies and notions of the Indonesian nation were increasingly characterised by 'charade, affectation and glamour' (p. 49).

Chapter 2 focuses on the important question of underground or, drawing on Gatot Prakosa's term, 'side-stream' channels of distribution and exhibition. This chapter explores the variety of new ways in which filmmakers and production companies sought to distribute their films, focusing on the proliferation of film festivals, workshops and screenings organised around the country, as well as the importance of the new VCD format. The rise of the VCD, and a related growth in piracy, further added to the opportunities for alternative sites of film distribution and consumption. Importantly in the post-Suharto era, van Heeren notes that local and transnational film circulated together, and rather than the geographic origins of the film determining where and how it would be watched, genres and formats became more important in determining where and how a film would be shown.

The second section, looking at film discourse practices, focuses primarily on historical films. Chapter 3 is concerned with film genres which represented the New Order's ideologies and discourses about the past. While discussing the representation of heroism and authority figures in a number of films from the Sukarno and Suharto eras,

the chapter focuses particularly on the well known 1982 film *Penumpasan Pengkhianatan G30S PKI* (dir. Arifin C. Noer). This film played a dominant role in the later years of the New Order in consolidating the regime's version of history and has understandably received considerable academic attention over the years, with renewed interest in the light of the recent documentary *The Act of Killing* (dir. Joshua Oppenheimer). Van Heeren's unique contribution, and one of the most interesting aspects of the book, is her discussion not just of the film, but of the 'monumental framework' within which the film was generally screened, and by which a particular reading of the film was assured by the regime. In discussing the role of that film within the annual Hapsak (Hari Peringatan Kesaktian Pancasila – Day of Commemoration of the Sacred Pancasila) celebrations, or as she also describes those celebrations as a 'media event', van Heeren's chapter makes an essential contribution to understanding the space this propaganda film occupied in New Order Indonesia.

Chapter 4 continues with the theme of representations of Indonesian history and society, though turning to the Reform Era. The first half of the chapter is concerned with a number of documentaries and fiction films based on true stories produced around the turn of the century. As van Heeren shows, a number of filmmakers were concerned to 'set history straight'. In particular the chapter shows that while these films were generally concerned with giving 'voice to the voiceless', with casting the ordinary citizen as the hero, many stylistic and genre specific elements of the propaganda films of the New Order period continued in these early years of reform. It might have been useful here to get more of a sense of who was actually watching these films; the influence of the New Order films on the filmmakers is clear, but there is little sense in the chapter of the impact or reception of these films. The second part of the chapter jumps to the notion of the holy month of Ramadan as a television 'media event', and the emergence of the notion of *film Islami*. These are both fascinating topics, and van Heeren makes important interventions on our understanding of both. Nonethless, in trying to discuss all these ideas under the central organising theme of frameworks and media events, the chapter as a whole is not completely convincing in its coherence.

The third section adopts a somewhat different structure, in that both its chapters combine analysis of the New Order and Reform eras. Chapter 5 focuses on New Order horror films from cinema, mid-1990s horror films for television, and developments in the genre in the Reform Era. As van Heeren notes, Indonesian horror films as a genre have their own format and peculiarities and 'anything can happen in these films and the story does not necessarily have to make sense' (p. 137). In particular, van Heeren explores the combination of humour, sex and religious symbols or religious leaders as protagonists, and the seemingly incongruous situation where sexual images and religious propagation are married into one genre. Of key interest is the role of the *kyai*, or religious teacher, as the *deus ex machina*. While during the New Order period, these films were principally aimed at a lower-end market, the early years of *Reformasi* saw the arrival of local horror films in top-end cinemas. As filmmakers were freed from the constraints of censorship and genre the key figure of the *kyai* disappears from some of these films, though van Heeren notes a new role for the *kyai* in the emerging genre of horror reality shows made for television, with 'old modes of representing the mysterious' re-emerging in new television formats.
The final chapter explores a number of controversial incidents from the early years of *Reformasi*, notably the case of the 2004 film *Buruan cium gue*! (Kiss me quick! dir. Findo Purwono), a teenage film which soon after its release attracted the ire of well known Islamic preacher A.A. Gym. The ensuing protests resulted in the film being banned from cinemas. Taking this as her starting point, and going on to discuss the role of the MFI (Indonesian Film Society) an organisation of film professionals wishing to reform the old New Order structures in the film industry, van Heeren explores 'discourses about the position of Islam in the Indonesian public sphere and its role in the politics of reform' (p. 159). Again, it is not the films themselves that are at the heart of this chapter, but rather the discourses about the films and what this reveals about cultural tensions in post-Suharto Indonesia. Islamic features have become more apparent in audio-visual media post-1998, the

author observes, and given what one Indonesian academic is quoted as describing as 'a cultural war between the conservatives and the liberals, with the silent majority in the middle', van Heeren seeks to explore how Islam has been 'implicated in defining the bounds of post-Soeharto film and television narratives' (p. 160).

Katinka van Heeren's book is as interested in discursive practices around film as the films themselves, in exploring what analysis of this discourse tells us about the 'spirit of reform' and the 'lingering ghosts from the past New Order'. While at times dense in details regarding the operations of the film industry and the numerous organisations representing various governmental, religious and cultural organisations, the study is nonetheless made accessible by its first hand observations on the industry, on certain films, and on contemporary debates about Indonesian film. It seems that the author's original thesis was accompanied by a number of DVDs that contained visual material referred to in the book. It is a shame that none of this material has been reproduced within the book itself, which contains not a single illustration. Nonetheless, the determined scholar can no doubt access the DVDs which are apparently held in a number of academic libraries, among them that of the KITLV. All in all, while not necessarily the ideal publication to begin one's study of Indonesian film, Katinka van Heeren's book will deservedly become a standard text for all those interested in understanding the developments in film, television and media, in Indonesia and Southeast Asia more generally at the turn of the 21st century.

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RÉMY MADINIER & ANDRÉE FEILLARD
Translated by Wong Wee
The end of innocence? Indonesian Islam and the temptations of radicalism
Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011
270 pp., ISBN 978-9971-69-512-5, pb US$30.00

Reviewed by Claudia Merli
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The revised 2011 English edition of Rémy Madinier and Andrée Feillard's work (originally published in French) is a superb study that takes the reader through the historical changes concerning the global representation of Indonesia with a special focus on the period between the end of the 1990s and 2010. It also analyses how Islamist movements reinterpreted this history (chapter 4) and the continuum rather than the opposition between 'openness and intransigence' (p. 267). The perfectly balanced structure of the book comprises five solid chapters, the first two focusing primarily on the political and religious history of Indonesia, chapters 3 and 4 unearthing the internal constitution and dynamics of Islamic movements, and chapter 5 interrogating the relationship between the political and religious dimensions in the past and contemporary Indonesian landscape. Three major fault lines are recognised that triggered radical temptation: first, at the end of the 1950s the repression of political Islam; second, the New Order's 'instrumentalisation of the religious revival'; and third, the post-Suharto 'political, moral and security void' and the related weakness of the state during *Reformasi* (p. 267).

This high quality portrait is secured by deconstructing generalising views with an analysis of the Indonesian chronological context and its religious multifaceted reality, an approach that the authors call 'immediate history' (p. 2). Following the authors' trajectory readers can appreciate the progressive shift in Western representations of Indonesia from exotic land to threatening haven of radical Islamism. The impact brought by foreign political forces is clearly investigated; for example, the role played by the Japanese in the formation of Hizbollah armed militias in 1943 (p. 16), the pressure exerted by the US in the

late 1980s and 1990s concerning human rights (only when Soviet Communism stopped being a threat in the wider Southeast Asian region and globally) (p. 63). The influence of international Islam superseded the identity politics movement of the 1970s, and paved the way for radical Islam during the post-Suharto *Reformasi* period (p. 105ff). But on balance, in 2000 large swathes of Indonesians believed that there was a Western conspiracy of 'breaking up the archipelago' was behind the bloody clashes in the Moluccas, rather than recognising the disintegrating forces within the country (p.157).

Chapter 1 examines the multifaceted political formations, among them the Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) movement which developed in 1943 as a reformist moderate group of progressive Islam into more 'ideological hardening' during the next decade, following the government's harsh repression and the influence of emerging learning religious centres (pp. 23–4), until its dissolution in 1960. Muhammadiyah and Nadlatul Ulama as moderate forces are analysed in great detail in chapter 5. General Suharto's increasing political control with the New Order and its *Pancasila* secularist ideology engaged political Islam often with unintended results. The ambivalent strategy of marginalising the political participation of modernist Muslims, ideological homogenisation, co-opting radical Islam to counter communism and support electoral agendas ended up being difficult to control. A brilliant example is the attempt of the Secret Service (BAKIN) from 1965 to the late 1970s to manipulate and form allegiances with what remained of the1950s Darul Islam (which played a major role in the development of Salafist networks in the 1980s and 1990s, with its splinter groups Komando Jihad and Jemaah Islamiyah). Madinier and Feillard identify two major shortcomings in the government's design of exploitation in the form of underestimating the fact that 'some networks managed to regenerate and subsequently escape dismantlement and . . . [that] radicalism, particularly Islamic radicalism, feeds on its own failure' (p. 41). The most significant achievement of this introductory section is in highlighting the tension between the New Order's attempt of ideological homogenisation and the 1980s Islamic revival as an attempt to counter 'homogenising globalisation' and the Westernisation of the country. The revival is exemplified by the creation of the Indonesian Committee for Solidarity with the Muslim World (KISDI) in 1987 and the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in 1990 (ICMI chairman B.J. Habibie became the country's president following Suharto's fall).

Chapter 2 throws the reader into the internecine clashes of the 1990s, fuelled by at least two decades of resettlement programmes across the archipelago that created a fragile demographic equilibrium especially in the Moluccas and Sulawesi (also chapter 3) and that set in train socio-ethnic and economic antagonism before the outbreak of religious conflict (pp. 150–60). The authors' rhetoric reproduces the sense of shock of the international community witnessing the attacks on Christian communities, the bombs placed at tourist venues, as if radical Islam had come from nowhere. This landscape was the sum result of three factors that paved the way for Indonesian Islamists: a 'slow degradation of social fabric', 'religious quarrels within the military institution', and a 'brutal economic and political crisis' (p. 53). The threefold function of the Indonesian army (military, political, and economic) is pinpointed in the recruitment of cadres in 1965 and 1968; the internal competitions which led to alliances with radical Islamist groups and also to the progressive 'greening' and '*santrisation*' of the army (pp. 55–60). Chinese Indonesians were represented as dominating the country's economy and became the ideal scapegoats together with Christians and new converts who were seen as menacing Islamic predominance in the archipelago. Clashes were exacerbated after the 1997 financial crisis, fuelling a conspiracy theory which accused Indonesian secularists and international economic forces. Suharto's regime imploded in May 1998 amid these social internecine riots.

Chapter 3 identifies the main social and operational characteristics of Indonesian Islamist groups: a focus on preaching and *dakwah* (in its dual expression as 'Islamisation from the top' and 'Islamisation from below' (p. 112)) spread from universities and developed forms of organisation like the *usroh* (in which community life adhered entirely to Islamic rules prefiguring a yet-to-come Muslim society, an Islamic state and eventually an Islamic caliphate); the

founding of *pesantren* networks across the country as training grounds of new jihadists and which interfaced with international Islamic movements (networks like Ngruki, Hidayatullah, and FKAWJ, the latter was to give rise to Laskar Jihad); and heterodox and clandestine groups like Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) with millenarist traits (p. 116). As it emerged from documents retrieved during the arrest of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) elements in 2003 *dakwah* was an initial step in the recruitment of jihadists (p.167). This development interlocked with the Saudi-funded World Islamic League and scholarships for Indonesian students to attend universities in Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Pakistan. Many students went on to join the jihad in Afghanistan. Training in Pakistan, and jihad and training camps were imported to Southeast Asia. The JI which was behind the 2000 and 2003 bombings in Bali and Jakarta grew on the hatred fostered in the *pesantren* networks (pp.131–4). Radical Islam finds expression also in a myriad of militias monitoring morality and cracking down on 'vice dens' (among them Front Pembela Islam, Laskar Jihad, Front Hizbullah, and Amphibi). Supported and antagonised by the police and army these militias are often involved in illegal activities, negotiating protection for gambling outlets, and attacking peaceful demonstrations. In 2000 they were ready to set sail and intervened in the 'jihad' in the Moluccas, after seeking theological support from muftis in the Middle East who issued seven fatwas to this end (p. 160ff). Radical movements were characterised as providing an opportunity to integrate marginal and marginalised people but their tendency to instability and scissions determined their demise, apart from a few cases that became successful in entrepreneurial terms (for example Hidayatullah in the agricultural sector, Daarut Tauhid with its powerful commercial network, and NII with pyramid selling of hygiene products) (p.176ff).

Chapter 4 deals with the ideological dimensions of these movements: from the classical theological texts that most inspired the local Islamic radicals, to the Manichean vision of the world acquired from global influences in the Islamist movement, especially the Muslim Brotherhood. These developments led to a reinterpretation of Indonesian history in terms of 'universal confrontation between Allah's supporters and the "demons in human form" (*syetan manusia*)' (p. 184), with a conspiratorial undertone. Up to the 1950s the Islamic critique had addressed political issues and engaged in theological debate against Christian missionaries but with a vision of multi-faith Indonesia (post-World War II) fighting against Communism and atheism. Paradoxically, during the last decade the spectre of a conspiracy to reduce Indonesia to a godless society changed the target from Marxist atheism to 'Western toxification' (p.203). The refusal of the government to give sharia law institutional recognition (as envisioned in the 1945 Jakarta Charter), started for the radical Muslims a 'rhetoric of paranoia' in which Islam had become a target for suppression (p. 190), at the hands of either Western powers, or internal traitors. In the rather utopian plans of its different advocates practical implementation of sharia remains vague and fragmentary (p. 215ff). Salafist groups thus embraced two strategies: (a) a return to early Islam in conducting one's own life was heralded as the safest way to ensure isolationfrom a corrupted environment and aspire to the universality of Islam, proposing a 'Medina society' and a formalist Islam as opposed to a substantialist Islam that encourages a 'civil society' (pp. 204–6); (b) re-investment in the political field via a critique of parliamentary democracy and a rejection of democracy *tout court* as a form of imperialism (p. 211ff).

This internal divisiveness and persisting confrontation between myriads of currents, moderate and radical Muslims are further examined in chapter 5, with an initial identification of an 'identity-based Islam' closer to the programmes of secular parties, and a 'project-based Islam' as more radical (p. 223). The chapter focuses on the views held by different influential groups on jurisprudence and sharia, theological renewal and the place of women in society that respond to a tension between the liberal tradition of Indonesia and an Arabising Islam. In 2002 the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) proposed a Medina Charter in which 'each religion would receive equal treatment and would apply its own religious law' (p. 224). The electorate seems to favour the moderate secularism and nationalism of *Pancasila* and

contextualised Islam, with the notable exception of Aceh's special status in implementing sharia law (in 2003 the *Qanun Khalwat* forbids proximity of unmarried men and women) and forming a sharia police corps. Following the 1999 decentralisation, other regions adopted sharia-inspired by-laws (*perda sharia*) but the trend declined after 2006 (p. 230ff). In the 2009 legislative elections Muslim parties in the country lost voters, mostly due to corruption scandals and loss of credibility, while secular parties gained public favour as addressing more immediate socio-economic problems afflicting people(pp. 228–36). Muhammadiyah and Nadlatul Ulama's moderate leaders both opposed the introduction of sharia in the Constitution(pp. 244–8). The rest of the chapter examines the historical trajectories of these two major Muslim political groups that opposed radicalism. Muhammadiyah expresses two trends within its ranks, one of a purifying return to original Islam and the other, a modernist reformist aspiration. NU's leader Abdurrahman Wahid since the 1990s has warned about the risks of radicalisation but in 2001, as the country's president, was pressured to approve the introduction of sharia in Aceh; however, he remained a spokesperson for religious liberty and women's rights (p. 252). If Muhammadiyah and NU represent a middle path, two other organisations are at the extreme poles. The first is the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI), a conservative stronghold with its Fatwa Commission and a point of reference for radical Islamists. In 2005 it issued two fatwas declaring the Ahmadiyah movement heretical, and condemning 'pluralism, secularism, shamanism and liberalism' (p. 257). The second, at the far end of the spectrum is the Network of Liberal Islam (JIL) proposing 'an Islam rooted in local culture' and refusing the Arabisation of Islam. Another liberal force is represented by the State Institutes of Islamic Studies (IAIN) striving for a historically contextualised *fiqh* and the creation of a national *madzhab*. Paramadina proposes an inclusive Muslim theology, inter-religious marriages without conversion and re-legitimisation of Shiism in Indonesia. Indonesia seems to have chosen, for the time being, an 'identity-based posture' (p. 269).

The volume includes an appendix section with the biographies of the most notable figures of radical Islam referred to in the book. This is an excellent work serving as a thorough introduction to the topic for students, as well as a solid reference for more demanding scholars.

BETH OSNES
The shadow puppet theatre of Malaysia: a study of wayang kulit *with performance scripts and puppet designs*
Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2010
x, 194pp., ISBN 978-0-7864-4838-8, pb US$55.00

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Wayang Siam, the Thai-derived shadow puppet theatre of Malaysia's northernmost state of Kelantan, would probably today be a dead art if it had not been designated as a national art form at Malaysia's 1971 National Cultural Congress. As a result of this nomination (partly the doing of Amin Sweeney, who wrote a PhD on *wayang Siam* at SOAS and at the time was teaching at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), *wayang Siam* (which today is no longer marked as Thai and is more often called *wayang kulit*), is today taught in arts academies and universities and performed in a truncated manner shorn of ritual aspects at cultural centres and shopping malls in Kuala Lumpur. *Wayang kulit* has not completely disappeared from its home state of Kelantan, though it has been banned on and off by the state's ruling Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), in power since 1990. When I visited Kelantan in 2009, the only public performances on offer in Kelantan's capital Kota Bharu were monthly tourist performances at the Cultural Centre by Eyo Hock Seng, a *tok dalang* (puppeteer) of Chinese descent, who as a non-Muslim was curiously exempt from the ban but also not allowed to enact stories from the *Maharaja Wana* ('Jungle King,' Kelantan's version of the *Ramayana*) due to the epic's Hindu and animistic associations. Reportedly in the hinterlands there were underground performances by Muslim puppeteers, mostly for ritual purposes.

Matters were otherwise when Beth Osnes conducted her research and practical studies on Malaysian

shadow puppetry in 1991. As she describes in her book, *The shadow puppet theatre of Malaysia: A study of* wayang kulit *with performance scripts and puppet designs,* Osnes had stumbled across *wayang kulit* in a graduate-level theatre course at the University of Colorado, and after a summer backpacking around Southeast Asia with her husband was determined to study the 'energetic and raucous' (p. 1) Kelantanese variant of this art (better known internationally from its Indonesian forms). It was in that same summer of 1989 that Osnes met Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof, Malaysia's foremost scholar of traditional Malay theatre, who introduced Osnes to his principal informant on Kelantanese shadow puppetry, Dalang Hamzah bin Awang Amat, and arranged for her to take five months of puppetry lessons with Hamzah on her return to Malaysia in 1991 as a Fulbright scholar. Hamzah was a safe pair of hands, having already served as principal informant and teacher for PhD dissertations by anthropologist Barbara Wright (Yale, 1980) and ethnomusicologist Patricia Matusky (University of Michigan, 1980). Osnes' studies coincided with the period when Ghulam secured Malaysia's very first *seniman negara* (national artist; derived from Japan's 'national living treasure' model) award for Hamzah, made possible in no small part from the kudos attached to teaching puppetry to this string of American researchers.

Osnes offers in her book some detailed glimpses into her studies with Hamzah. These centred around learning the Dalang Muda ('Young Puppeteer') routine, a 40-minute-long ceremonial opener with music, ritual incantations in archaic Malay, a battle between two demigods, a short dialogue between Rama and his court and some puppet dancing, which had earlier been studied and transcribed by Sweeney and Matusky. She also gained an appreciation from Hamzah of the *ilmu dalam* (esoteric science) of the puppeteer, such as the *angin* (wind) which moves puppeteers to take up puppetry as an avocation and the symbolism of the *pohon beringin* (the leaf-shaped 'banyan tree' puppet that plays diverse roles in performance). She recalls the thrill of performing Dalang Muda at Kota Bharu's Cultural Centre before a performance by Hamzah, and particularly how cuing the accompanying musical ensemble made her feel 'like a god changing the direction of the winds or commanding thunder from the sky' (p. 164).
Osnes completed her PhD in 1992 but other than a short interim report published that same year in *Asian Theatre Journal* seems to have published nothing scholarly on shadow puppetry until the appearance of her book. Nor after completing her doctoral fieldwork did she visit Malaysia again until 2008, when she toured in Kuala Lumpur and Penang with a one-woman performance piece about empowering mothers. That is not to say Osnes abandoned her Malaysian puppetry studies. Rather, she implemented them in performances and workshops. She conducted puppet making workshops in schools, created a string of English-language shadow puppet performances based on *wayang kulit* characters and stories, lectured, undertook artistic residencies, consulted.
Her book thus operates in different temporalities and modes of representation, a mix of ethnography conducted in 1991; story summaries of the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and a Panji story commissioned from other writers; a report commissioned from Penelope Cole about shadow puppetry in Malaysia circa 2007; five scripts, associated puppet designs and practical how-to tips from Osnes' two decades of practicing shadow puppetry in the United States; and an afterword about Ghulam's symbiotic relationship with Hamzah based partly on an interview Osnes conducted in Kuala Lumpur in 2008.

The book gives occasional recognition (particularly in Cole's report) that much has changed in Malaysian shadow puppetry since 1991. Many traditionalists feel strongly that there are no *tok dalang* alive today of the stature of Hamzah, who died in 2001, and his great rival Abdullah Ibrahim (aka Dollah Baru Merah, d. 2005), and that their passing marked the end of the tradition. Others see that the re-invention of *wayang kulit* as a secular art form in the arts academies, the involvement of Eddin Khoo and his heritage organisation Pusaka, post-traditional approaches by radical artists such as Fahmi Fadzil and his Projek Wayang crew and the reinterpretation of the tradition in animation and other media as breaths of new life. But these new developments in Malaysia are only noted in passing. It would be fair, I think, to characterise this book as a study of the shadow

puppet theatre *of* or *from* Malaysia but not *in* Malaysia. That is to say, it describes one American practitioner's approach to interpreting and performing a once-popular Malaysian art form for American audiences and students of the arts.

It is clear from the book that Osnes gained little comprehension of the Kelantanese dialect of Malay in which *wayang kulit* is performed from her brief studies in the field. There are a few snatches of standard Malay (*bahasa Malaysia*) in the scripts and some technical terms deployed in the ethnography. Some of these are misspelled (e.g., *agin* instead of *angin*) and some misapplied (for example, referring to the small ensemble accompanying *wayang kulit* as a *gamelan*). As the only detailed descriptions of actual performances focus on visual aspects, students of verbal art will have to look elsewhere, particularly to the work of Sweeney and Ghulam, to gain a sense of how Kelantanese shadow puppetry constructs texts. There are also occasional repetitions in the text that could have been addressed through more careful editing and only token awareness of the debates around the ethics of intercultural practice, and the politics of performing Asia in the United States (a brief discussion of 'ethical considerations' regarding '*orang putihs* [white people] teaching Southeast Asian theatre in American classrooms,' the title of a panel Osnes co-convened at the 2009 Association for Theatre in Higher Education conference).

Osnes' writing is at its strongest when it captures the experience of inhabiting the art from within. She espouses a common belief among puppeteers that 'once a puppet is created, if well designed and crafted, it will pull the performer along, challenging him [or her] to manipulate the puppet in a manner befitting the position and personality of the character, and to give suitable words and texture in the voice' (p. 71). One might question this animistic notion that the puppeteer serves a puppet already pregnant with life, redolent of a quote attributed (probably falsely) to Michelangelo that the sculptor's task is to discover the statue already inside of a block of stone. Such beliefs embolden practitioners to action, however, and give insight into artistic process, relations to materials and the pleasures of making art.