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or check the Aseasuk website <http://aseasuk.org.uk/4/a/join-us>

Cover: Image provided by Tito Imanda, it was taken during research and production of his documentary film "The Reunion" (release 2016).

Contents

NOTES FROM ASEASUK'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ASEASUK Conference: We were delighted to join the team from the School of Oriental and African Studies, at the University of London, in welcoming over 300 delegates to our conference in mid-September. This was the largest ASEASUK conference ever, and it was excellent that it was one of the commemorative events for the centenary of SOAS. A full conference report will be published in the next edition of ASEASUK News.

Website: Our new website - www.aseasuk.org.uk - is up and running, so do please have a look. There will be frequent changes and updates as we improve it, and we welcome comments and suggestions for additions. Please contact our Hon. Secretary, Dr Janet Cochrane, on j.cochrane@leedsbeckett.ac.uk.

Treasurer: In the last edition of ASEASUK News we announced the appointment of a new Treasurer, John Earle. We are very sorry to announce that shortly after taking up the post, John fell seriously ill and died at the end of August. We are currently seeking a replacement, so if you feel you have the necessary time and skills - or if you would like to find out more about the role - please let us know. In the meantime, Janet Cochrane has agreed to stand as Acting Treasurer.

Register of Members: We include a Register of Members on the website so that people with interests in Southeast Asia can locate researchers with similar or relevant fields of knowledge. If you would like to be included on the Register or update your record, please email aseasuk.memsec@gmail.com with the details. Do please follow the format shown on the website.

Legal status: Our efforts to register ASEASUK as a Charity continue. We have re-written the Constitution and are in consultation with the Charities Commission. The process is rather a lengthy one, and we hope that this new status will be in place by the time the time ASEASUK News 61 appears.

A REMINDER

The Association will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in May 2019. We celebrated our fortieth anniversary at our conference in Swansea on 11-13 September 2009. I also wrote A History of ASEASUK: On its 40th Anniversary to lend additional importance to the occasion. It may seem a little premature but I thought that the Association might want to have a generous period of time to discuss what it might do in 2019 to mark this anniversary, and perhaps consider organising a grander event than our usual conference with keynote speakers. It might also be worthwhile producing a revised and updated history of the Association, though I am not at the moment volunteering for this task. If we did decide to issue a fiftieth anniversary publication then it would certainly require us to assemble materials covering the decade from 2009 to 2019, and it raises the question of whether or not we are keeping our minutes of meetings and other relevant documents together to enable us to do this and render them easily accessible. I recall that I had considerable difficulty locating some of the Association's papers going back over forty years from 23 May 1969, when the Association was founded; it turned out that some materials were unavailable.

There could also be a problem if there is a EUROSEAS conference in 2019, in that we usually coordinate with EUROSEAS and do not organise a separate national conference; on the present schedule EUROSEAS 2019 looks likely. We might then consider organising an event under the auspices of the European Association. Given these potential complications perhaps a sufficient period for discussion and a gentle reminder are necessary. (VTK)

NEWS

UK SOUTHEAST ASIANISTS

At the 12th International Burma Studies Conference: Traditions and Challenges at the Burma Studies Centre De Kalb Illinois, USA (7-8 October 2016) **Dr Susan Conway (SOAS, University of London)** is presenting a paper on 'Textiles and the Supernatural: Protection. This is part of a panel titled 'Ethnic Shanologies in Shan and Tai culture'.

Professor William G. Clarence-Smith (SOAS, University of London) currently researches Middle Eastern and South Asian migrants in SE Asian history, Histories of crops, animals, slavery, and pearling as well as Manufacturing in the Global South. He is a member of *equipo de trabajo* of the research project 'Replanteamiento de la política colonial española en el siglo XIX: la modernización de Filipinas, 1868-1898,' coordinated by María Dolores Elizalde (CSIC, Madrid), in the framework of the Proyectos de Excelencia y Proyectos Retos, financed by MINECO, within Spain's Plan Nacional de Investigación. Their grant covers 2016-18. William's research for the project is on industrialization in the nineteenth-century Philippines.
On 4 May 2016, he gave a paper titled 'Donkeys, mules and hinnies in the making of England's empire' at Aberystwyth University, History Staff Research Seminar. At the SOAS elephant

conference, Centre for Ecological Sciences, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, India, 4-6 April 2016 he presented a paper on 'Elephants in Islamic history,'
In late 2015, William became one of the three-person directorate of the 'Commodities of Empire' project, funded by the British Academy, and centred in the School of Advanced Study, University of London.

Ekky Imanjaya (University of East Anglia and Bina Nusantara University Jakarta) is currently a PhD candidate School of Art, Media and American Studies at the University of East Anglia. He is also a Faculty Member of the film program at BINUS INTERNATIONAL at Bina Nusantara University, Jakarta, Indonesia. His research is conducted in English and Indonesian. Ekky can be reached here: E.Imanjaya@uea.a.cuk.
Links:
Binus: http://international.binus.ac.id/media-communication/people/imanjaya/
UEA: https://www.uea.ac.uk/community-university-engagement/awards/ekky-imanjaya

Professor Matthew I. Cohen (Royal Holloway, University of London) was on sabbatical as a Visiting Research Professor at the University of Connecticut in January-April 2015, researching shadow puppets and shadow plays internationally with the Ballard Institute and Museum of Puppetry as his host and performing together with Harvard University's Si Betty Gamelan Group under the direction of Jody Diamond. He was in Thailand for a symposium at Thammasat University in June 2015 and visited Indonesia in September 2015 and May-June 2016, with funding from the British Council's Second City Higher Education Partnerships Travel Grant, developing collaborations with Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia (ISBI) Bandung in West Java and Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta. He also paid visits to Jakarta, Cirebon, Tegal and Solo. In February 2016 he was in Stuttgart, Germany, where he performed two *wayang kulit* plays together with Gamelan Kridha Budaya Sari at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart in conjunction with a major exhibition on shadow puppetry. The exhibition Shadow Puppet Theatre from Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, which he co-curated with Dr Alexandra Green, is at the British Museum from 8 September 2016 until 29 January 2017. Matthew will be giving a gallery talk on 8 December and performing the *wayang kulit* play *Arjuna's Meditation* together with an ensemble from ISBI Bandung on 4 November. Further information is available on the British Museum website. Matthew was recently appointed as the first director of the Centre for Asian Theatre and Dance at Royal Holloway, University of London. This Centre is intended to provide a supportive framework for research, teaching, mentoring, external consultation, performance activity, public engagement, networking and dissemination of research in this vibrant field of research and practice.

Below is a list of papers Matthew gave in the period 2015/16:

- 'Collaboration, Propaganda and Performing Arts in Japanese-Occupied Indonesia', 2016 Southeast Asian Studies Invited Lecture, Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, Seoul National University, 21 June 2016.
- 'Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia'. Paper delivered to the Sogang University Institute for East Asian Studies 'Rethinking Southeast Asia' seminar series, Sogang University, Seoul, South Korea, 16 June 2016.

- 'Peran Mangkunegaran dalam Perkembangan Seni Pertunjukan: Antara Modernitas dan Tradisi di Indonesia Zaman Kolonial'. Invited lecture at the Akademi Seni Mangkunegaran Surakarta, Indonesia, 9 June 2016.
- 'Seni Pertunjukan di Antara Modernitas dan Tradisi'. Invited lecture to the Postgraduate Studies programme, Institut Seni Indonesia Surakarta, Indonesia, 8 June 2016.
- 'Cirebonologi and Cirebon Studies'. Invited lecture at Cirebonese Corner, IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon, Indonesia, 1 June 2016.
- 'Southeast Asian Performance on the Global Stage'. Paper presented at the closing panel of the SEA ArtsFest, Regents University, London, 13 December 2015.
- 'Seductions of tradition: A lecture-performance with puppets'. Inaugural lecture, Caryl Churchill Theatre, Royal Holloway, University of London, 23 November 2015.
- 'Popular performance and modernity in Colonial Indonesia'. Inaugural research seminar for the Popular and Comic Performance Research, University of Kent, 22 October 2015.
- 'Wayang in Modernity: Traditions of Puppet Theatre in Colonial and Post-Colonial Indonesia and Internationally'. Talk to the Anglo-Indonesian Society, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, London, 27 September 2015.
- 'Permainan bayangan'. National seminar at Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 10 September 2015.
- 'Art and its "beyonds": Modernity and tradition in colonial Indonesia'. Keynote address to the national conference Arts and Beyond, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 5 September 2015.
- 'Arts, Culture and Local Wisdom in Indonesia'. Keynote address to the international seminar Arts & Cultures on the Basis of Local Wisdom. ISBI Bandung, Indonesia 2 September 2015.
- 'Global modernities and shadow puppet theatre in Southeast Asia'. 8th EuroSEAS conference, Vienna, Austria, 14 August 2015.
- 'Tradition and post-tradition in Indonesian performing arts'. Invited presentation at symposium on Contemporary Theatre and Performance in ASEAN: Trends and Development. Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand. 27 June 2015.
- 'Theatre and Islam: Tradition and reflexive modernity in colonial Indonesia'. Talk to the Comparative Muslim Societies Program, Cornell University, USA, 16 April 2015
- 'Problems and possibilities of the "intercultural" in performance: Indonesia'. Guest lecture for the Department of Theatre and Performance Studies at Brown University, USA, 14 April 2015.
- 'Inventing the performing arts: Modernity and tradition in colonial Indonesia'. Southeast Asian Studies Brown Bag Seminar Series, Yale University, USA, 18 February 2015.
- 'Playing with shadows in the dark'. Puppet Forum Series. Ballad Institute and Museum of Puppetry, University of Connecticut, USA, 11 February 2015.

Dr R. Michael Feener (Oxford University) presented two papers. At the Religious Competition and Creative Innovation conference, Sogang University, Seoul, August 2016, he spoke about 'Religious Competition and Conflict over the longue durée: Christianity and Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago'. At the event Studying Religion in Times of Crisis, organized by the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore in June 2016 Michael presented a paper on 'Audiences and Obligations'.

Dr Fiona Kerlogue (Horniman Museum) recently returned from West Sumatra where she was researching the collections of a Czech traveler held in the Naprstek Museum, part of the National Museum in Prague. This is part of a project she is undertaking together with Dr Dagmar Pospisilova of the Naprstek Museum, which will result in a publication. Research has already been undertaken in Bali and Java relating to the collection.

Sebastian Rumsby (Warwick University) is currently undertaking fieldwork on the research of 'The Developmental Impact of Christian Conversion among Marginalised Ethnic Minorities of Vietnam's Highlands'. In November 2015, Sebastian presented a paper at the American Academy of Religion in the USA on 'The Changing Dynamics of Millenarian Movements in the Ethnic Politics of South East Asia'.

Luqman Lee (SOAS, University of London) is currently working on his PhD on **'**Malay Culture and Minority Cultures: Performing Malay on *Senario*'. He is a Fellow with the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and worked as a consultant for Malaysian culture in film and television for Space Doctors, Brighton. At the ASEASUK conference in September 2016, he presented a paper on 'The Televisual *Senario* of Race and Nation'.

Professor Roy Ellen (University of Kent) presented a paper on 'Landscapes of exchange' at the Workshop on 'Domesticated landscapes and the Politics of Nature', Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Finland, 21 April 2016. He also gave a talk on 'Environmental threats to sustainable living in low-lying reef systems: biodiversity preservation and Moluccan trading networks between 1600 and the present' at the RAI conference on 'Anthropology, Weather and Climate Change', British Museum, 27-19 May 2016.

Professor Angela Hobart (UCL) is currently researching Social Wellbeing in Bali, Indonesia. She presented a paper on 'Wellbeing and spirituality through theatre in the Balinese village community' at a seminar on Techniques of Spiritual Experience: West and East at Centro Incontri Umani Ascona, Switzerland, May 27 – 29, 2016. She also participated and acted as hostess at the Conference on 'Egalitarianism: Forms, Processes, Comparison', chaired by Professor Bruce Kapferer, at the Centro Incontri Umani Ascona, Switzerland, 8 – 12 March 2016. She will be participating in the new MA on Health and Humanities at UCL, starting this autumn term 2016.

Professor Peter Riddell (SOAS and Melbourne School of Theology) is Southeast Asia Editor of 'A Bibliographical History of Christian-Muslim Relations', University Birmingham & Brill Publishers (plus series of articles for the same). Furthermore, he is a Member of the Editorial Board for 'The Encyclopedia of Christianity in the Global South' (plus series of articles for the same). Peter is currently preparing the book 'Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qurʾān in 17th Century Aceh' for Brill publishers in Leiden. In June and September 2016 he travelled to Malaysia, respectively Brunei. He gave a seminar on 'Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qurʾān in 17th Century Aceh' at the Sultan Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Centre for Islamic Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Brunei, on 13 September 2016.

Professor Victor T. (Terry) King (School of Oriental and African Studies and University of Leeds) delivered a keynote address on 'Southeast Asian Studies: from Euro-American Centrism

to Asia-Centrism? Or is Culture and Identity the Way Forward?' at the International Conference ISEAS/ BUFS, 'Revisiting and Reconstructing Southeast Asian Characteristics', Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Busan University of Foreign Studies, 26-28 May, 2016. He also chaired a panel comprising four of his former PhD students on 'Contesting Southeast Asian Society and Culture'. He paid two visits to the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Chiang Mai University, in June and October 2016, where he is Senior Editorial Adviser for the Center's monograph series 'Critical Perspectives on Regional Integration' published by the Research Administration Center, Chiang Mai University Press. Whilst there he presented a paper at RCSD and the Faculty of Social Sciences on 'Academic Publishing in International Journals: the Main Issues', 15 June 2016.

SOUTHEAST ASIANISTS ABROAD

Fathimah Fildzah Izzati is currently working as a researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and the Research Centre for Crisis and Alternative Development Strategy (Inkrispena). She is an editor for Indoprogress, an online journal connecting progressive scholars and activists in Indonesia (see http://www.indoprogress.com). Her bachelor thesis was awarded as one of the best by the Department of Political Science, University of Indonesia, and published as a book titled *Politik Serikat Buruh dan Precariat: Pengalaman Tangerang dan Karawang* (in English: Trade Union Politics and Precariat: Tangerang and Karawang Experience). Her research and study focus on political economy, labour politics, and feminism. She can be reached through fildzah.izzati@gmail.com.

Dr Sravasti Guha Thakurta (Jogesh Chandra Chaudhuri College, Kolkata, India) is interested in research work relating to partition, migration and rehabilitation of refugees. At the ASEASUK conference at SOAS, University of London, in September 2016 Sravasti gave a paper titled 'Uncharted Ordeals: Trials and Tribulations of Refugees from East Pakistan'. She can be contacted under sravasti.gt@gmail.com.

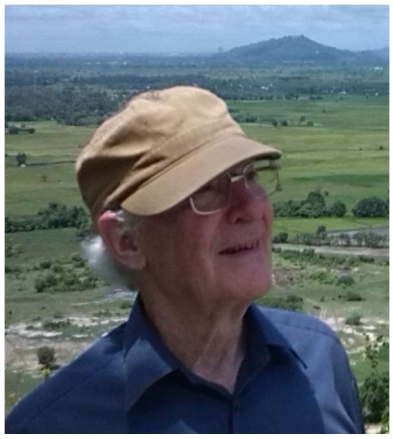
Dr Alfred Gerstl (Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna) is currently researching the territorial disputes in the South China Sea and the effects of China´s One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative on Southeast Asia. In 2016, he presented two papers. In April 2016 he talked about 'Washington´s Multilateral and Bilateral Relations with Southeast Asian Actors: ASEAN, the Philippines and Vietnam' as part of the panel *The U.S. Pivot to Southeast Asia: Prospects and Pitfalls*, Project Southeast Asia 2016, University of Oxford. At the ASEASUK conference in September 2016, SOAS, London, Alfred presented a paper on 'Sovereignty and Borders in Southeast Asia: Defending the Principles of "Westphalia"'.

Valerie Mashman (Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan, Sarawak Malaysia) is currently a PhD Candidate at the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan, Sarawak Malaysia Her PhD topic is 'Oral history of a Kelabit longhouse: Narratives of Lun Tauh. Our People.' In 2014-15, Valerie was a visitor at the School of Archaeology & Anthropology, The Australian National University and a Research Associate on the ARC-funded project 'Beyond Allied Histories: Dayak Memories of WWII. [Principal Investigator Associate Professor Dr Christine Helliwell, School of Archaeology & Anthropology, The Australian National University]. Her current research includes oral narratives, and history in the Kelabit highlands

1860s-1940s (PhD. Thesis) as well as indigeneity, ethnicity, resource management, material culture, and *dayak* food.
In 2015-16 she gave the following presentations:

- 'Becoming like us –from nomads to Christian padi-farmers at Long Beruang, Sarawak East Malaysia.' 29th ASEASUK Annual Conference. School of African and Oriental Studies London. September 2016.
- 'The story of Lun Tauh, Our People : narrating ethnicity in the Kelapang, the Kelabit Highlands.' Tenth Malaysian Studies Association Conference, Universiti of Malaysia, Sabah. August 2016.
- 'The S.ong of Dayang : Reflections on Value in the Kelabit Highlands.' 8th Euroseas Conference at the University of Vienna. August 2015.
- 'Stones and Power in the Kelapang: Ngurek and Kelabit narratives.' International Conference on Access to Justice for Indigenous Peoples, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. April 2015.

PROFESSOR JUSTIN WATKINS [SOAS] TRIBUTE ON PRESENTATION TO MR. JOHN OKELL [SOAS] OF THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LITERATURE HONORIS CAUSA ON 29 JULY 2016



John at Thakhinma Taung. Courtesy: John Okell

Burmese has been been taught at SOAS since 1916 for a century, and more than half of that time it has been by John Okell.

His major contributions to the field of Burmese studies are his language teaching materials and resources.

He published a major reference grammar of Burmese in 1969, and more recently in 2001, he wrote a Burmese Dictionary of Grammatical Forms, (co-authored with Anna Allott), a landmark work which provides an exhaustive list of Burmese grammatical words and particles with consistent, clear explanations and translations, from the most rudimentary verb ending to the most obscure conjunction or mood particle one might find in hard to understand literary style Burmese.

John has produced three Burmese language courses, of which the most substantial is Burmese: an Introduction to the Language, a vast four-volume work which takes learners by the hand from the beginnings of learning the beautiful round shapes of Burmese script and through every detail of the grammar of Burmese up to intermediate level. More recently, a shorter course Burmese by Ear has become the standard Burmese language course for the increased numbers of people learning Burmese since the country opened up substantially in 2012.

John has also published important articles on diverse topics such as Burmese dialects, bilingual Burmese-Pali nissaya texts, and Burmese music.

John is also an authority on the complexities of computing in Burmese: he created one of the very first computer fonts for Burmese in the 1980s.

When John applied to work at SOAS in 1959, apparently to escape a career in advertising, he was taken on by the School to be trained in Burmese and linguistics and to work with his teacher Professor U Hla Pe on a huge Burmese Dictionary project, which sadly never saw completion. As part of his training, he made long trips to Burma where he immersed himself very deeply in the language – even for a time travelling round Burma with a cabaret troupe performing the role of a stern colonial officer.

John at SOAS. Courtesy: John Okell

John's knowledge of the Burmese language astonishes all he meets, and he remains devoted to keeping up with new developments as the language adapts to meet the needs of a fast-changing country.

Being a language specialist rather than a political scientist, John largely avoided the political controversy surrounding Burma during the darkest years of military rule. However, when it mattered, he included a picture of SOAS alumna Daw Aung San Suu Kyi alongside a text about Human Rights Day in one of his textbooks, a decision which led him to be blacklisted and banned from Burma for a few years – certainly a badge of pride.

In fact, John was Aung San Suu Kyi's PhD supervisor for a while in 1987 when she started a PhD in Burmese literature at SOAS. He set her a Burmese language exam, fearing that her international upbringing might have left her Burmese language skills neglected. Happily, Suu Kyi passed, though of course the PhD was never completed: events took a different path and Suu Kyi now single-mindedly heads Burma's newly elected government as State Counsellor of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar.

Since John retired formally from SOAS in 1999, he has been freed of the shackles of university administration, and the time he spends teaching Burmese has simply increased. He teaches students at SOAS and for the Foreign Office, but also teaches for the sheer enjoyment of it, devoting time and travel to the organisation of intensive Burmese language courses in Thailand, Spain, Burma and Australia.

John's style is distinctive and he is, I make no bones about it, a cult figure in the close-knit world of Burmese language learning, as well virtually a household name among academics and writers in Burma.

John's language courses include recorded material, in which John himself is the narrator, so that many who have not met him know well the mellifluous voice in which he presents speaking drills and exercises in the recordings. He keeps students' attention even when speaking drills might become repetitive and boring. So engaging is his turn of phrase that students have been known to use his recorded instructions for their own mobile phone voicemail greeting: "make the standard responses to the usual overtures".

In 2014 John's contribution to Burmese studies was honoured with the award of an OBE in the civil list, for achievements and publications such as the ones I've mentioned. But the true extent

of his contribution to Burmese studies goes undocumented.

Many students pass through his hands, and few are untouched by his patience, eye for detail, generosity and persuasiveness. He maintains high standards: the relatively small field of Burmese language studies and the rather small number of students are no reason for compromise. Written homework comes back with copious comments – or even a neatly printed post-it note clarifying a point of grammar or vocabulary. It's extremely hard not to try your best for a teacher like John.

His devotion to SOAS, to his students and to Burmese studies shows no signs of abating.

HAROLD COLYER CONKLIN, 1926-2016 – AN APPRECIATION BY ROY ELLEN

Harold Conklin (L) with Roy Ellen (R) at a conference in Atami, Japan, 1992. Courtesy: Roy Ellen

Harold Colyer Conklin died on 18 February this year. Hal was a linguist and cultural anthropologist who had his main impact in the fields of formal semantic analysis, ethnobiology, and the study of agricultural systems. He was in that generation of scholars who were deeply affected by their experience of the Second World War in the Pacific, in Conklin's case taking him to the Philippines, but also to other parts of island Southeast Asia. He was much later to document this part of his early career (Conklin 1980), listing the people he met and who advised, supported and influenced him with the same care and detail that became a hallmark of his writings, say, about the uses of a Hanunóo plant or an Ifugao pond field, and which served us well in his meticulous editing of Raymond Kennedy's field notes for the Human Relations Area Files.

Born in Easton, Pennsylvania on 27 April 1926, Harold Conklin grew up in Patchogue on Long Island. Anthropologically precocious, at high school (1941-3) he was taken under the wing of Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, where he served as a young volunteer. In 1943 he enrolled at Berkeley, where he was taught by Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, Edward Gifford and Carl Sauer amongst others, and where he also learned Malay from a cook at the Berkeley Cyclotron. In 1944 he joined the army, living in the Philippines for the next four years. He arranged to be discharged in 1946 in the Philippines, which allowed him to begin fieldwork, and where he taught Tagalog to serving US soldiers, met a lot of local and international scholars and travelled widely, spending time with the Hanunóo on Mindoro and with Tagbanuwa on Palawan. Among the Tagbanuwa he was introduced to ethnobotany under the tutelage of Harry Bartlett, collecting for the Philippines National Museum. Towards the end of 1947 he travelled around Southeast Asia and in the archipelago as far east as Sulawesi, returning to the US via Europe, where at the London School of Economics he met Raymond Firth (whose hospitality he considered generous) and Edmund Leach.

Hal completed his undergraduate degree at Berkeley in 1950, and moved to Yale for graduate school in the same year, where he published a catalogue of his Hanunóo bamboo manuscripts as well as a 600-page dictionary. At Yale, he was supervised by Floyd Lounsbury, who was to go on to initiate componential analysis in linguistics, and where he was much influenced by his contemporaries and life-long friends William Sturtevant and Charles Frake. He returned to the Hanunóo for further fieldwork in 1952-4, completing his PhD in 1954, immediately afterwards taking-up a teaching post at Columbia – where he met amongst others, Claude Lévi-Strauss. All told, he worked among the Hanunóo between 1947 and 1958, and among the Ifugao between 1961 and 1973.

Conklin's doctoral dissertation, The relation of Hanunóo culture to the plant world (1954) was in retrospect a major event in the emerging anthropological study of ethnobotany, transforming it from the theoretically sterile listing of 'useful' plants to the linguistically-informed study of a cultural knowledge system. Remarkably – although a few papers were later to appear based on this work (e.g. Conklin 1962) – the dissertation was never published as a monograph, circulating only in photocopied, microfilmed and latterly digital versions, like some 'samizdat' copy to be inspected with difficulty and only available to the intellectually curious. Not only did the approach and methods outlined in his dissertation kick-start an interest in ethnobiological classification in the American ethnosemantics tradition (guiding, for example, the more widely-known work of Brent Berlin), but it was an underlying empirical source for a large part of Lévi-Strauss's argument in The savage mind regarding the 'la science du concret', following on from that original contact at Columbia.

For a young British anthropologist, such as myself, grappling with current issues in environmental anthropology and the cognition of the natural world in the late 1960s, Conklin's work could on occasions seem challenging, austere and technical. But – equally - for those appreciating this from afar there was an excitement (so it seemed to us) in the sometimes recherché and obscure subject-matter and manner of publication, but most of all in a recognition that this work was evidently important, bringing a new degree of 'seriousness' to the task of ethnographic description and analysis of the ordinary. By 'thinking through things', and through a profound respect for the knowledge of their producers and guardians, Hal anticipated a more recent generation of fieldworkers, who more controversially have re-asserted the importance of research practices which challenge us to respect the ontology of the other (see e.g. discussion in Chua 2012).

In the connected area of environmental anthropology Conklin was the first to comprehensively bring together and critically interrogate the disparate literature on shifting (swidden) cultivation, insisting through his own landmark monograph on Hanunóo agriculture (1957) on the importance of an 'ethnoecological approach', that is one which highlighted local categories and understandings. Indeed, he probably invented the term 'ethnoecology'. By the same token, his defence of intelligent swiddening as a knowledgeable and sustainable form of land use was prescient, a warning against the dangers of overgeneralization in how we characterize agricultural systems, and against the simplistic ways in which these are often appropriated to the agendas of a certain kind of economic development policy.

Of all Hal's writings and research projects, the tour-de-force must surely be his Ethnographic atlas

of Ifugao (1980). This is a wonder to behold and a monument to the marriage of ethnographic ground-truthing, the cartographic arts and map-production technology, the culmination of half a career's fieldwork. In demonstrating the means by which an entire terraced and irrigated wet rice landscape was created through local knowledge and skill, and in its innovative use of photographs to illustrate continuity and change, it remains an extraordinary achievement in historical ecology and participatory mapping. While proudly displayed in the local museum in Banaue (at least in 1998) as a celebration of Ifugao engineering skill and indigenous heritage, it was problematic only in its failure to translate into an analytical and interpretative scheme with a wider impact than it might have been thought to deserve (Ellen 1982) in methodological terms. Indeed, the Ethnographic atlas of Ifugao is in several ways a perfect contrast to Hal's PhD on the Hanunóo: the first charmingly low-tech, unconventionally disseminated but with high long-term impact, the latter high-tech in its research methods, production and publication, yet of restricted influence.

Hal published relatively little by way of conventional monographs and journal papers compared with other influential anthropologists of his generation, and much of what he did publish was out of the mainstream. Fortunately, some of the most important pieces were gathered together by Joel Kuipers and Ray McDermott in 2007 under the title Fine description, a term coined by Charles Frake as a way of evoking the essence of Conklin's distinctive style, compared to Clifford Geertz's notion 'thick description'. Given this, and his modesty about the significance of his writing achievements, it is therefore even more remarkable that Hal should have not only left his mark in so many intellectual fields, but have been a pioneer in them as well. These fields included ethnobiology, of course (and in particular folk classification), the underpinning of ethnoscience as a formal approach, the study of colour categorization (cognitive anthropology),and what came to be known as 'indigenous knowledge systems'. Moreover, he embarked on a fundamental rethink of how we should make sense of data on kinship terminology ('ethnogenealogical method'), and documented a form of literacy that runs counterintuitive to some of the grand narratives of how writing evolved socially and how we should gauge its cognitive implications. His impact was always, however, through the example of his ethnography rather in any extravagant claims he might make for a particular approach – and he seldom wrote about 'theory' in the abstract – his being always of the 'grounded' variety. His focus on ethnographical detail did not always make him friends and it was unfair that his role as the standard-bearer for the 'new ethnography' and an anthropology of the ordinary, should make him a scapegoat for what Marvin Harris rudely called 'the science of trivia'. Hal's genius was to take cultural data that others had assumed to be trivial and demonstrate through 'fine description' new ways of looking at data. What is remarkable about his work is its empirical scope, and his ability to bring the same thoroughness and care to everything, whether it was the analysis of Hanunóo gong metallurgy or Ifugao orthography, 'linguistic play' or early Philippine scripts.

Hal was also a dedicated museologist and student of material culture. Not only did he build a comprehensive Philippines collection at the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale in his role as Curator of Anthropology between 1974 and 1996, and collect 1,500 objects for the American Museum of Natural History, but he also contributed collections to both the museum of the International Rice Institute in Los Baños, and to the Banaue museum in the heart of Ifugao land. He was an ethnographic film-maker, ethnomusicologist and bibliographer, and to all these additional activities he brought the same intellectual rigour as well as providing helpful tools to enable others to better undertake their own scholarship.

Hal's unique qualities as an anthropologist and person were recognized and celebrated during his lifetime. In 1984 he received the Fyssen Foundation prize, in November 1991 there was a special symposium in his honour at the American Anthropological Association meeting, and Fine description appeared in 2007. This latter, ostensibly a collection of selected essays, also comprised a series of tributes from academic authorities at the top of their various fields who owed Hal a debt of gratitude - a 'festschrift' in the true sense of the term. Harold Conklin was an intellectual hero of mine long before I first met him in 1992 in Japan, though we had corresponded intermittently. I came to know him as a warm and humane person, and his work was not only path-breaking but life-affirming. This latter might not have always been evident from the close-grained scrutiny that typified some of his technical writings, but it is absolutely there in celebrations of family life in Ifugao authored by Jean Mieko Conklin (2002), in his essay on 'Maling, a Hanunóo girl from the Philippines' (1960) and in his delightful piece 'A day in Parina', which he included in a 1953 report to the American Social Science Research Council, and which concludes:

23.45 I spread out my mat, check the fire, say good night to Badu', and retire. But first 'Nungu,' Balyan, and I discuss indirect manners of speech in Hanunóo and end up having a riddle contest in which, of course, Balyan and I come out losers.

It is difficult to imagine including such prose in the kinds of reports that we are today expected to submit for audit to funding bodies, but in this piece we find a truly 'Conklinesque' combination of humanity and consummate professionalism. Hal showed us how new ways of thinking about ethnographic practice might contribute to anthropology as a science, not only of comparative social systems and the universal character of cultural cognition, but also to an understanding of what makes us human(e) as well. It is absolutely appropriate that we should discover that the Hanunóo have invented the word konkirin (a transliteration of 'Conklin') to mean 'things related to knowledge'.

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[This appreciation is also appearing on the websites of the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Society for Ethnobiology]

CONFERENCES

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Discover the British Museum's collection of shadow theatre puppets from Southeast Asia. Learn how shadow theatre has been produced and performed, and find out how shadow puppet imagery is reused in the region.

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http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/exhibitions/shadow_puppet_theatre.aspx

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BOOK REVIEWS

CHIARA FORMICHI and MICHAEL FEENER (EDS.)
Shi'ism in South East Asia: 'Alid Piety and Sectarian Constructions
London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015
xvi + 368pp., ISBN 9781849044363, £40.00

Reviewed by Sasan Aghlani
SOAS, University of London, and the Shi'ah Institute

The scope of this book allows it to make valuable contributions to the study of Islam, and even beyond. In providing broader (but at no point generalised) perspectives of 'Alid piety beyond the confines of legalism or categories of theology that have become reified according to modern definitions of sectarian identity, the works of the authors presented here offer a timely antidote to many of the rather formulaic discussions today over Shi'i beliefs and practises. The end result is a grander account of how devotion to the *ahlulbayt* is expressed in the geography beyond West or South Asian contexts, which does not locate agency in forming religious doctrines and narratives solely with Arabs or Iranians.

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 covers the historical foundations of 'Alid piety in South-East Asia. The opening chapter outlines a few crucial definitions for the rest of the volume, and offers a useful overview of how elements of Shi'ism in the region have been traditionally understood by major scholarship. The following chapter by Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti provides an even further refinement of the definition of 'Alid piety, and anchors subsequent chapters to a useful primer for how devotion to the *ahlulbayt* developed the Arabian and Persian spheres of influence. Part 1 ends on a high note with an entry from Christoph Marcinkowski providing a brief but detailed account of Shi'ism in Thailand from the Ayutthaya period onwards – a process, he argues, was driven by trade initially from the Twelver Persianate kingdoms of India, and then later as an outcome of economic and foreign policies of Siamese kings towards Iran and India [p. 39]. Of particular note to those interested in the history of the Shi'i ulama is a brief account here by the author of Shaykh Ahmad Qumi's rise in the court of Song Tham, where he attained the position of Chularajmontri: a rank designed to match that of Shaykh al-Islam [p. 39].

Part 2 focuses on literary legacies of 'Alid piety in the region, and does so boldly through offering chapters that – for the most part – dissect the figures of Fatima al-Zahra and Ali ibn Abi Talib in the region's didactic texts concerning marriage and sexuality. The chapters in this section lend the volume a wider relevance to the fields of gender studies and anthropology. One exception to

this general theme is Ronit Ricci's illuminating chapter (4) examining depictions of Ali as the Prophet's scribe contained in the Serat Samud. This fascinating and detailed account contrasts the consistent emphasis of Ali as being presented with this unique task in the Javanese texts, with the more inconsistent narrative contained in Arabic sources, and infrequent references to Ali in Malay texts. Chapter 5 tests Wendy Mukherjee's theory that the image of Fatima – as it is contained in *adab* literature – "formed the earliest and chief focus of women's instruction in the manuscript literatures" of the Muslim populations of Nusantara [p. 64]. She contrasts Fatima's special station in this *adab* literature with today's representation of her being one of many figures worthy of emulation. Though generally well researched, this chapter could have benefited from a wider consultation of Arabic and Persian narratives in support of the author's emphasis upon the image of Fatima as an unhappy wife in Shi'i accounts; a narrative implied to be the predominant one [pp. 64-65].

Mulaika Hijjas continues the theme of examining didactic texts, and agrees with the premise that Islam in Indonesia had at one point – before being gradually purged of these elements – leant towards Shi'ism. Distinguishing between the more formal Shi'i motifs associated with Zainab and her daughters, and the more informal 'Alid representations in the Malay manuscript tradition, the author's talents for comparative analysis shine through. Hijjas astutely notes that in contrast with more orthodox Shi'i hagiography of Ali and Fatima centring on their almost miraculous powers, the two figures are represented in Malay texts as enduring almost absolute poverty [p. 91]. Chapter 7 surveys a range of Bugis texts on sexual conduct, and hones in on the prominent motif of Ali and Fatima. The texts examined in this chapter on sexual technique and invocations are presented in rich and even explicit detail and of great value for all those interested in exploring a wider appreciation of devotional acts as they have been conceived beyond the Arabian Peninsula. The focus on sex continues even further in the volume with Teren Sevea's entry on 19th century Malay erotic instruction, who reserves special focus for Pa' Sulong's advice for the *mualad.* Chapter 8 thus provides another detailed account of how instructions, replete with invocations as well as techniques, were presented as a way for the mualad to achieve a higher pinnacle of worship [p. 132].

Part 3 breaks from the theme of didactic texts onto more familiar ground for those interested in Shi'ism: modalities of 'Alid piety and cultural expression in the modern period. Chapter 9 is one of the highlights of the entire volume, and takes a look at Ba 'Alawi discourses concerning the *ahlulbayt* as 'heirs of the prophet' in recent Indonesian history (20th-21st century). Focusing on three scholars (Abdullah bin Muhsin al-Attas, Salim bin Ahmad ibn Jindan, and Jindan bin Nawafal ibn Jindan), the author Ismail Fajrie Alatas demonstrates a good balance of esoteric and exoteric reading into religious authority, and does not reduce his account to pure legalism. Chapter 10 examines the Habib Seunagan, and the question of establishing (formally or discursively) lineage to the ahlulbayt in the context of 'Alid loyalism. This quite technical chapter offers a host of great primary research and ethnographic material, and the observations that Daniel Andrew Birchok makes concerning his inquiries into the *silsila* of the Habib Seunagan make for an insightful read. Michael Feener proceeds in Chapter 11 to trace the emergence and recent history local traditions of Muharram and Ashura commemorations in Bengkulu. In addition to Feener's description (and wonderful photographs) of the commemorations themselves, his explanation of the reasons for why the Indonesian government has sponsored and reinvented them since the 1970's as part of process of nation-building based upon the ethos of 'unity in diversity' is a notable contribution.

The theme of Muharram commemorations is revisited in Chapter 12 by Jan van der Putten, who uncovers the adaptation of the commemorations by some local cultures and communities into 'carnivalesque' celebrations. The section ends in good form with a chapter on ta'ziya in 21st century Malaysia, bringing the practise to life with insights into Faisal Tehrani's locally provocative play entitled Karbala.

Part 4 covers contemporary developments concerning Shi'ism and 'Alid piety in Indonesia. Umar Faruk Assegaf takes a specific look in chapter 14 at the struggle for the social recognition of Shi'ism post-Suharto. This chapter contains a great deal of valuable details concerning the gradual empowerment of Shi'a inside Indonesia, and the section on intra-Shi'i issues and the development of the Ikatan Jama'ah Ahlulbayt Indonesia (IBAJI) is especially fascinating. The section and volume ends in good form with Formichi's chapter identifying factors which led to a rise in conversion to Shi'ism in the between 1960 and 1980, and the impact of such dynamics on manifestations of 'Alid piety in Java.

It would have been easy for the editors to have compiled a volume on Shi'ism in South East Asia covering the regular tropes of studies on the sect. Thankfully, they have selected chapters highlighting a range of themes as backdrops for specific discussions of how Shi'ism and 'Alid piety have developed in the region. The breadth of study here makes the book a valuable resource not only for those interested in Islamic Studies and South East Asia, but also Anthropology and Sociology, and even – particularly in the case of Part 2 – the field of Gender Studies.

CAROOL KERSTEN
Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas, and Values
London: Hurst, 2015
xx + 372pp., ISBN: 9781849044370, £25.00

Reviewed by Kevin W. Fogg
Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies

Carool Kersten in this book has taken on the daunting task of surveying the intellectual history of Indonesian Islam since the fall of Suharto in 1998. This history is fresh, contentious, but also very important for the ongoing developments of democratizing Indonesia. His task is made significantly more difficult because—as Kersten rightly notes—the new wave of Islamic thought is 'less reliant on the guidance of a few very high-profile public intellectuals', the thinkers producing it are 'more inclined to networking and increased cooperative activism across institutional and ideological boundaries' (6), and there is an 'absence of any systematic meta-narratives' (7). In this context, Kersten had the brilliant insight to organize the book around the key anxieties revealed by the famous MUI fatwa of 2005 against secularism, liberalism and pluralism.

The first three chapters, though, just set up this story. Chapter 1 gives a quick overview of political and institutional history over the last thirty years, to set the stage for the intellectual debates that sit at the core of the book. Chapter 2 is then an overview of the intellectual topography of Islam in Indonesia, looking at key institutions, networks, and structures framing discussions. Chapter 3

talks about the ways that recent Islamic thought has built on but also fought back against some previous waves of thinking, especially how Islamic post-traditionalism and post-modernism are fighting against hegemonic discourses.

Starting with chapter 4, Kersten turns to the heart of the theological trends he wants to unpack, starting with the question of secularism. As Muslim political parties and intellectuals have debated whether Indonesia should be an 'Islamic Democratic State (IDES), Religious Democratic State (RDS), [or] Liberal Democratic State (LDS)' (142), one striking feature is that the national ideology of Pancasila has remained relevant on all sides. The reactions to MUI's rejection of secularism were various, but no major players proposed abandoning democracy or Pancasila altogether. A major point of contention about the meeting of religion and the state remained around the issue of Islamic law, which forms the subject of chapter 5. Instead of looking at liberalism per se (this particular subject from the MUI fatwa does not get its own chapter), Islamic law is an interesting proxy because it is so often used as a key barometer by conservatives. Kersten sets up such conservatives as 'Formalists', standing in opposition to 'Substantivists' over questions of how to bring about a more Islamic society. Around 2006 was the apex of pushing for regional regulations of an Islamic character, facilitated by conservative turns in some key institutions, but intellectuals have pushed back by calling for the spirit rather than the letter of classical rules to guide Indonesian society. This chapter seems to mark the fewest victories for progressives, although their ideas remain sharp. The final chapter tackles the most radical theological trend, pluralism, and pairs it with human rights and freedom of thought. The broad lines of the debate are between three groups: 'exclusivists claiming finality for their own religious tradition and its adherents; inclusivists who privilege their own tradition but simultaneously recognize that it can work through other faiths; and pluralists insisting that all religious traditions are equally valid in pointing to the same ultimate truth and leading to the salvation of humankind' (226). Within all these categories, though, Muslim intellectuals have sought ways to protect the human rights of communities who do not follow orthodox Islam, even as those communities have come under increasing threat. One method has been the thorough reformation of Islamic higher education since 1998, pushing towards a less normative approach to Islamic studies that may open up new pathways for religious discourse in the future.

Kersten is not a neutral curator of modern Islamic thought. He puts those intellectuals whom he describes as 'progressive Muslims … at the center of this book' juxtaposed in opposition to those 'presenting or taking up conservative and reactionary positions' (35). Just because most foreign scholars would agree that he has chosen the side of the angels does not mean that these progressives have the upper hand over the last twenty years of intellectual history, and more attention (or, in some instances, less dismissive approaches) to conservatives might be appropriate, especially in areas where they seem to be enjoying victories, such as the regulation of perceived blasphemy. Still, it is refreshing to hear more about scholars who have received very little attention in English, such as Ahmad Baso, the late Ahmad Wahib, and Masdar Mas'udi.
This book is clearly for experts, and those without a strong background in Indonesia and/or Islamic ideas could easily get lost. The ideas are dense, and Kersten cannot be faulted that his prose must be dense in order to accurately capture complex interventions in intellectual history. The names fly fast and furious and would be hard for someone less familiar with Indonesia to navigate. At times, Kersten is also heavily reliant on the work of other scholars, such as Michael

Feener, Ahmad Najib Burhani, and François Raillon, but Kersten still manages to make some key interventions as he surveys the last twenty years.

Indeed, some of his most helpful interventions are fairly straightforward. Kersten identifies 2005-2006 as a watershed year not just for political stabilization but also for intellectual history, Islamic regional regulations, pluralist discourse, and more (84, 201, 229). Pancasila has moved from a government slogan forced upon the pious Muslim community into a heartily-embraced basis for discussion (166). Even the aforementioned drift away from formal institutions to informal networks is an important lesson that the book makes convincingly.

Kersten's Islam in Indonesia is poised to become the authoritative record of major Islamic thinking over the last twenty years, and those thinkers (and institutions) who are included in the book could rightly be proud of 'making the big time'. Scholars of Southeast Asian intellectual history or Islam would do well to study this volume closely.

BIRGIT BRÄUCHLER
The Cultural Dimension of Peace: Decentralization and Reconciliation in Indonesia
London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
xxii + 259 pp. ISBN: 9781137504340, £ 65.00

Reviewed by Yanwar Pribadi
IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Indonesia

This book provides comprehensive details of Indonesia's experience with peacebuilding processes in the Moluccas, an area affected by massive waves of violence that ran through the country after the 1998 political reformation. This account becomes very interesting as the author upholds a critical stance toward the use of 'culture' and 'tradition' in peace studies. Birgit Bräuchler proposes an emerging cultural turn in peace research. The cultural turn implies 'the increasing importance peace studies as well as national and international peace organizations attribute to "culture", "the local", and "local ownership" for peacebuilding—the cultural dimension of reconciliation' (p. 1). Based on extensive periods of fieldwork carried out in 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2011, during which time the author produced extensive works on the Moluccan conflict and its aftermath, this book is clearly an important contribution to peace studies that have long been dominated by political science and law.

In her book, Bräuchler examines the scholarly debate on peacebuilding mechanisms before proceeding to accounts of decentralization, the Moluccan conflict, and reconciliation, devoting a chapter to each. These accounts prepare the ground and culminate in two chapters in which Bräuchler puts forward the importance of culture and tradition as a means for sustainable peace. She concludes that anthropology has the capability and applicable methods to observe the dynamics of culture and to add a comparative viewpoint by embedding a case study in a broader discourse. Given that this book is as much about the working of peacebuilding mechanisms and discourse about peacebuilding mechanisms as it is about peacebuilding itself, this book offers a new approach in anthropology of peace by emphasizing the importance of various local notions of reconciliation and peace (p. 207–208).

Chapter 2 focuses on the decentralization policies introduced after the collapse of the New Order in 1998 onwards and its ambivalences. This chapter explores culture as the only means available to local people to reconcile in the Moluccas. Bräuchler argues that decentralization was not the cause for recent massive waves of violence which actually had its main roots in the structural injustices and marginalization policies of the Suharto era. Nevertheless, the post-New Order administration laws allowed for the emergence of a dimension in those clashes that had been suppressed, the so-called 'ethnicity, religion, race and class' conflicts (SARA) (p. 39). Moreover, she puts emphasis on the importance of *adat* (customary law) in conflict resolution and the restoration of social harmony in Indonesia, and that the revival of tradition and the rising awareness among peace practitioners that reconciliation processes have to be locally contextualized, owned, and driven, and have to adapt to local timing and tempo.

The author throws the reader into the conflict and investigates the history between Islam, Christianity and *adat* in chapter 3, and sketches dynamics of conflict and peacebuilding in the Moluccas. Religion, instead of ethnicity, was a perfect tool in the Moluccas to mobilize people, not only due to their religiosity, but also due to historical entanglements. Soon after the conflict started to spread and escalate to other distant areas in the archipelago, there were hundreds of initiatives to end the conflict that in the end took 5,000 to 15,000 lives and hundreds of thousand refugees. They ranged from international organizations and NGOs, the government, academics, the media, local religious and *adat* organizations and leaders, and common people on the ground. Bräuchler shows that culture played a key role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding in which a broad range of actors was involved, and that all sectors of society must participate in peacebuilding to make it successful and sustainable (p. 81).

Chapter 4 describes the role of traditional alliances (such as *pela*, *gandong*, and *uli*), the *siwalima* philosophy, and traditional leaders (the *raja*) as *adat* concepts used in the revival and peace discourse, as well as economic and family ties, the BakuBae peace movement, the government's stance, and the role of local academics. The author identifies the revival, strengthening, and reconstruction of traditional institutions as the core of the reconciliation process in the Moluccas. Reconciliation and restorations of social relations occurred rather naturally from the bottom-up, by drawing on local resources and institutions, cultural capitals, and social ties in which *adat* appeared to be the only seemingly neutral means available to all Moluccans for reconciliation (p. 101).

The key picture of the cultural dimension of reconciliation and peacebuilding in the Moluccas is secured by deconstructing general views on one-sided Western understanding of reconciliation and justice in chapter 5. There the author discusses the revival, re-emergence and reinvention of traditional village leadership by specifically discussing a revolutionary and unique project, the Majelis Latupati Maluku (MLM – Latupati Council Maluku). The council is supposed to be an overarching *adat* institution, apolitical and independent from the government, and meant to unite the more than 500 traditional village heads of the Moluccas. Bräuchler shows that the council was born out of a marriage of the Moluccan conflict and the implementation of the decentralization laws of the post New Order administration that were meant to empower local political structures and traditional leaders. She, however, argues that the project is problematic due to its contested traditionality; the turbulent, ambivalent, and complex political history of the Moluccas; the

position of the raja; and the vastness of the Moluccan territory and its variety of its cultural repertoire (p. 121–122).

Chapter 6 identifies the social and cultural characteristics of the main actors in conflict and peacebuilding in the Moluccas: indigenous people, migrants, and refugees, who came to compose a fragile demographic equilibrium due to resettlement programmes and migration. Specifically, this chapter discusses individual and cultural human rights as the core of cultural turn of peace research. The author aims to demonstrate that the Moluccan case serves as a window to observe the complexity and contradictions of human rights, cultural self-determination, and multiple citizenship in democratizing Indonesia. She asserts that despite serious challenges, the new law on decentralization still provides a unique and unprecedented opportunity for more self-determination at the local level, and that neither individual nor collective human rights must be blamed for its challenges (p. 177).

Chapter 7 sums up the main argument and proposes the contributions of the book. Bräuchler argues that the cultural turn in both peacebuilding and peace studies goes back to a complex set of developments in the field of academia and politics at the international, national, and local levels (p. 179). She emphasizes the mixture of local and international schemes as key elements in constructing sustainable peace through reconciliation. In the former, the inability of the central government to solve the conflict turned the Moluccas to restrengthen, revive, and reconstruct culture and tradition, while in the latter, international organizations realized that truth commissions and other internationally set up courts often failed, and that consequently they turned to local resources and local culture capital as valuable means.

By offering a multi-layered approach, this book is a very welcome addition to scholarship on the subject matter. This book offers new avenues to engage with the study of local politics and opens stimulating possibilities for novel turn in peace studies. This book provides the reader with straightforward narratives and analyses that will appeal to both specialists and a wider audience who wish to investigate decentralization, democratization, local politics, and peacebuilding in post-New Order Indonesia and will attract both specialists and a broader audience within anthropology, peace and conflict studies, and other social sciences. All in all, while not necessarily the ideal publication to begin one's study of local politics, communal conflict, and peace studies in Indonesia, this book will deservedly pave the way for a deeper and more nuanced understanding of a new anthropology of peace.

GREGORY BRACKEN (ED.)
Asian Cities: Colonial to Global.
Amsterdam University Press, 2015
376 pp, ISBN 978 90 8964 931 7, US$124.00

Reviewed by Ofita Purwani
Universitas Sebelas Maret

The book 'Asian Cities: Colonial to Global' contains fourteen scholarly chapterson global cities in Asia. It is part of the International Institute of Asian Studies seminar series. Using the

methodological frameworks of Saskia Sassen's 'Global City', Manuel Castells' 'Network Society', David Harvey and K. Anthony Appiah, which show the importance of infrastructure to global cities in this information age, this book's theme argues that colonial infrastructure and networks are the foundations for such global cities. Each chapter in this book focuses on a particular case in South, Southeast or East Asia.

This book is structured into three parts, each with a different focus: post-colonialism, networks and cities and buildings. The section of post-colonialism consists of four scholarly essays, two of which focus on the case of Singapore, particularly nation building, modernity and the illegality of gambling as well as pasar malam. The other two essays focus on Macau and Hong Kong, particularly regarding the artificial authenticity of Macau and urban art images in Hong Kong. All of these essays work on the specific period after the end of colonialism, when nation building was on the rise.

The second section consists of five essays focusing on networks. The first essay deals with the media perspective on the geopolitical position of Hong Kong before the end of World War II. The second focuses on Japanese colonialism and the network of urban centres it shaped through the first half of the twentieth century. The third essay focuses on the network of ferry terminals between Dongguan and Hong Kong that allowed passengers from the mainland to bypass Hong Kong customs and immigration. The last two essays deal with shipping, particularly on the global maritime network of the nineteenth century, and the British colonial government's decision to abolish dues in the Strait of Malacca in the early nineteenth century.

The final section consists of five essays focusing on specific cities and buildings. The first focuses on the Ramna area of Dhaka, which is considered as a representative landscape, as it was formed spontaneously by the political situation during the first half of the twentieth century. The next article is about one city in South Korea, New Songdo, and its pick and mix approach on urbanism, which resulted in distress for its inhabitants. From South Korea the focus moves to Singapore and Jakarta both of which are discussed in the third essay, questioning the vernacular city and the heritage discourse in Southeast Asia. The fourth essay discusses the use of cultural heritage as a political, economic and social asset in the case of Yangon and Hanoi. The final essay uses the case of alleyway houses in Shanghai to examine the transformation of Shanghai's inner-city neighbourhoods, to answer the questions about Shanghai's re-globalisation since the 1990s.

All essays in this book work on genealogical tracing of how Asian cities transformed from the colonial to the global. Each article employs an interdisciplinary approach in order to provide a discussion on the cities to provide a wider and more holistic picture. This interdisciplinary paradigm involves urban studies, architecture, politics, sociology, media, history, heritage, economy and development studies. Even though they come from different sets of disciplines, the chapters refer to one another which demonstrate relationships between them.

The authors are experts in their fields, which can be seen from the discussions and the information conveyed in the individual chapters. However, as each article in this book works on a specific case, some readers might have difficulties in understanding parts of the detailed discussions offered. Also, chapters such as Artifice and Authenticity could prove difficult to apprehend for non-specialists due to being too specific in addition to contain an abundance of information. Other essays, in particular those with a wider scope, such as Asian Cities in the Global Maritime Network, are an easier and more fascinating read because the issues discussed are broader and the discussion is not too specific.

The wealth of information offered by this book is beneficial - particularly to those focusing on the study of particular objects discussed in the individual essays. This makes the book suitable for students of any related discipline such as architecture, politics, sociology, heritage, as well as urban studies but particularly to those who deal with the specific cases mentioned in this book. The complexity of the discussions in the publication on hand offers an important account of global cities; specifically those in Asia.

REBECCA STRATING
Social Democracy in East Timor.
London and New York, Routledge, 2016
247 pp, ISBN 9781138885325, US$145.00

Reviewed by Ivona Harčarová
MSc Asian Politics, SOAS

'Social Democracy in East Timor' concentrates on political institutions in East Timor and examines the relationship between social and political spheres before, during and after the process of democratization. The author, Rebecca Strating, is a lecturer and researcher of Southeast Asian Politics and International Relations at La Trobe University Melbourne, Australia.

'Social Democracy in East Timor' is a long-awaited and needed publication in Southeast Asian Studies. Since the end of the 1980s, there have been many papers and analyses of peace operations and state building in post-colonial countries, mostly discussing whether those were successful or not, and how they contributed to the establishment of democracy. However, the majority sees the process of 'Western' state and peace building in East Timor either black or white. Moreover, most authors evaluate the United Nation's mission as largely successful. This is because the majority of articles or books that focus on this issue are written either by previous United Nations´ employees or co-operators.

This book is looking more into how and why East Timor transitioned to democracy from an inner state point of view. Strating does not leave the United Nations´ missions behind; however, she is looking at those events more objectively with her focus on processes of drafting a new constitution for East Timor, establishing key political institutions as well as social justice but also the new view on citizenship, not only from the point of East Timorese themselves, but also in general academic publications.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first part starts with an introduction which clearly sets the issues East Timor has faced in perspective and explains the country's current situation. The following chapters 1 and 2 could be seen as one unit. In chapter 1, the author describes the long process leading to democratization. The argument of an independence movement being the driving force behind pursuing democracy in East Timor is at the core of this discussion. In chapter 2, Strating subsequently analyses the role of civil society during this development.

For this reviewer, the book becomes more interesting in the second part. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the state in the process of democratization itself. Chapter 3 examines the role of the

international community in East Timor´s state-building process. Here, Strating argues the United Nations´ missions failed to engage East Timorese in the state-building and democratization processes. The argument is nicely followed and explained more deeply in chapter 4, which shows how ´powerful´ East Timorese leaders were, especially during the first constitution writing, and why the citizens rely on their leaders so much.

The third part of the book, namely chapters 5, 6 and 7, refers to the process after democratization. Chapter 5 studies institutions and the electoral system; chapter 6 examines citizenship, and various types of rights given to East Timorese with their first constitution; and chapter 7 looks at social justice in East Timor.

Admirably, the research for 'Social Democracy in East Timor' is based principally on a variety of primary sources such as speeches, official documents, law or memoirs that are completed with a broad range of secondary literature. However, as the book debates the situation of citizens´ rights, field research such as interviews or testimonies from local people, especially about in what way the arrival of the constitution has changed their lives and rights, would be an interesting addition. This fact does not diminish the quality of Strating´s research, quite the contrary, it leaves room for further research. Finally, the book is organized in a thematic way, but there is also a visible time line followed. Looking only at the table of contents, the names of single chapters are too general, which makes searching for particular issues within the book slightly more complicated; therefore, sub-chapters would be helpful. However, in general, the book is user-friendly and gives the reader complex information.

Overall, Dr Strating´s analysis is important material for the study of democracy in East Timor and will particularly be of use for students. It contains a different perspective - as well as a new points of view - on United Nations' missions. Thanks to this, it could become a new standard reference work for those pursuing studies in this field.

FRANCIS E. HUTCHINSON &TERENCE CHONG (EDS.)
The SIJORI Cross-Border Region: Transnational Politics, Economics, and Culture
ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2016
Xxvii+481, 22 maps, tables, figures, ISBN 978-981-4695-58-9, S$ 69.90 (pb)

Reviewed by Victor T. King
SOAS, University of London, and University of Leeds

This is a substantial volume of some 500 pages of text, with 22 detailed maps, 18 chapters and 22 contributors. A special feature inserted into each section of the book is the graphic device of a set of maps, based on the digital map data collection entitled 'Architecture of Territory: Singapore Metropolitan Region' assembled by researchers at ETH Zürich between 2011 and 2015 and held at the Future Cities Laboratory in Singapore.

The book is the first to be published in a series supported by the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute under the umbrella of its 'Floating Frontiers' research programme which comprises three sub-projects focusing on maritime Southeast Asia and connections by sea rather than by land. The first sub-

project, of which this volume is an initial contribution, examines maritime relations between Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, the Growth Triangle of Singapore, Johor and Riau (SIJORI) and the Straits of Malacca; the second turns its lens on the Celebes and Sulu Seas, including relations between Sulawesi, Sabah and the southern Philippines; the third examines the area of the Andaman Sea and its coastlines. Brunei Darussalam appears not to have been included in this set of sub-projects. The architect of the programme, Ooi Kee Beng, Deputy Director of the Institute, has contributed a useful contextual Foreword to the volume.

The formulation and implementation of the concept of the 'growth triangle' and its first expression in SIJORI is well known. The main driving force was the Singapore government and its then Deputy Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong, who introduced the strategy in 1989 to link the city-state with the neighbouring less developed territories of the Malaysian state of Johor and the Indonesian province of the Riau islands, particularly the island of Batam. This was primarily to address Singapore's increasingly urgent need to access land and labour and to upgrade its technological and industrial infrastructure. Goh's concerns were overwhelmingly directed to issues of economic growth and development, though within the political context of a formal agreement and close cooperation between the political leaders, policy-makers and planners of Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. The plan was endorsed in 1990 by the Prime Ministers of Singapore and Malaysia and the President of Indonesia, and by 1997 its success resulted in its extension to three more Malaysian states and six more Indonesian provinces. The immediate result of the trilateral agreement was an upsurge in cross-border linkages and activities, production chains, business networks, joint ventures, and flows of people, goods and capital, and an increase in industrialisation, urbanisation, population and resource exploitation; this had an especially dramatic effect on Johor and Riau.

The edited volume poses two main questions: (1) How have the component territories of the SIJORI Cross-Border Region evolved over the past twenty-five years as a result of deeper interaction? and (2) What will these territories look like in the medium term, if some of the current trends underway continue? To address these questions and several other complex issues generated by sub-regional units the editors have chosen to use the concept of 'cross-border region' rather than other competing analytical devices such as 'growth triangle' or 'growth region'; 'cross-national growth zone'; sub-regional economic zone'; or 'extended metropolitan region'. They present some convincing arguments to justify their choice.

In its original form the concept of a 'growth triangle' quite naturally emphasised the positive aspects of a formal, structured and regulated sub-regional collaboration; all partners stood to gain from participation on the basis of geographical proximity and comparative or competitive advantage. In order to ensure success the project required political commitment and the agreement to encourage and facilitate cross-border movements and linkages, and to develop a supporting infrastructure, including transport and communications, transnational institutions, and utilities and facilities such as industrial parks and ports. However, given the dynamic ways in which SIJORI has developed, the concept of a 'cross-border region' seems to be more appropriate in delineating a clearly defined analytical unit and in exploring the restructuring of nation-state relations. It moves the debate from a preoccupation with economic issues and comparative advantage to one which engages with historical and cultural contexts and a political economy perspective. In other words the concept is explicitly multidisciplinary and recognises the

complexities of cross-border interaction. Furthermore, 'it does not assume parity between the territories in terms of political power' (Hutchinson, p. 458). Nevertheless, the concept does not seem to embrace sufficiently the substantial sociological-anthropological literature on borders and margins. There is reference to borders as 'filters' and 'valves' and not necessarily as 'bridges' and 'channels', and that sub-regional projects both liberalise and regulate borders, but there is little information in the volume on the conception of borders of those people who cross them on a regular basis and what national borders mean in a context in which nation-states decide to restructure transnational relationships; nor does it address the perspectives on borders of the marginalised populations.

It is obvious that SIJORI is dominated by Singapore and its economic and political agenda (including its concerns about security and national sovereignty), being the only nation-state in the triangle, in comparison with the more marginal status of Johor and Riau within their nation-states; although it needs to be emphasised that Johor enjoys greater leverage and promise in relation to the Malaysian economic core areas of Kuala Lumpur, the Klang Valley and Penang than does the now two provinces of Riau and the Riau Islands in relation to Jakarta and the core areas of Indonesia. The volume succeeds in demonstrating the complexities of cross-border relations generated by stakeholders and interest groups, operating at different levels, scales and sites: politicians, policy-makers, bureaucrats, businesspeople, representatives of companies and corporations, migrant workers, local actors and communities, and the poor and marginalised, though there is greater attention paid to some actors than others.

There is no doubt that the achievements of SIJORI are considerable but the volume also draws attention to some of the negative and unexpected consequences of cross-border interaction. The editors choose to investigate these positive and negative effects in four separate sections, with the second, third and fourth sections based on Emmanuel Brunett-Jailly's framework for border regions: (I) 'Understanding the Whole' which examines population dynamics (including gender, age and ethnic profiles) from 1990 through to 2012 with some projections to 2030, the economic structure, growth rates and territorial characteristics (chapters by Francis Hutchinson and Terence Chong, Toh Mun Heng and Jiang Bo) ; (II) 'Policy and Politics' covering issues in political economy, the objectives and perspectives of political leaders, the main interest groups, political tensions and disputes, winners and losers and power differentials, corruption, law and order and security, and comparative advantages and complementarities (chapters by Benjamin Loh, Manu Bhaskaran, Mulya Amri, Khor Yu Leng, Terence Chong); (III) 'Cross-Border Social and Cultural Communities' which addresses historical and cultural issues, including relationships prior to the introduction of SIJORI, borders as social and cultural constructs, borders and changing identities, self-perceptions and external perceptions, ethnic relations, and the social and cultural pressures occasioned by transnational encounters and movements, and illegal and informal activities (chapters by Vivienne Wee, Su-Ann Oh and Reema B. Jagtiani, Rizwana Abdul Azeez, Terence Chong); and (IV) 'Formal and Informal Economies' which considers how cross-border economic relations take place and evolve, and how proximity and different institutional contexts foster the growth of informal activities; substantive subjects in this section include airport facilities, the electronics and electrical industries, water resource agreements, Chinese fish farming, and piracy which comprises both urban-based pirate gangs and local sea-robbers (chapters by Anna Gasco, Leo van Grunsven and Francis E. Hutchinson, J. Jackson Ewing and Pau Khan Khup Hangzo, Guanie

Lim, Eric Frécon}; there is then a Conclusion by Francis E. Hutchinson, and an Appendix relating to the maps by Milica Topolovic, Hans Hortig and Karoline Kostka.

The volume with its wealth of empirical detail and some interesting analytical work will undoubtedly serve as a major reference on SIJORI for some time to come. Yet there are some critical observations which are worth presenting. Much is made of the provision of maps, and though extraordinarily informative, they sometimes do not relate directly to the text, with the exception of section I (which provides visual illustration of economic linkages, the expansion of built-up areas and population growth and projections to 2030) and section IV (with maps on urban activity and connectivity of Changi Airport, industrial parks, water resources and their management, fisheries and aquaculture and acts of piracy and armed robberies). Perhaps this was the intention in some cases – to extend information rather than to graphically illustrate the narrative. Nevertheless, the maps in section II present us with graphic illustrations of free trade zones, and industrial and logistics areas and ferries which seem to have a tenuous connection with the political domain, though the map of parliamentary constituencies is obviously relevant. In section III the maps provide a nautical chart, rural and urban areas, places of worship (there is nothing in the volume which addresses religion), tourism and leisure spaces (again a relatively neglected topic), and modes of transportation and mobility networks. The graphic connection with social and cultural matters again seems to be rather attenuated.

What is more the section III on social and cultural issues is rather disappointing. With the partial exception of Terence Chong's chapter 12 on Singaporean working class men in search of cross-border sex, food and consumption opportunities in their 'imaginary frontiers', there is very little on tourism and leisure. But this is one of the significant areas of economic development and cross-border activity, with its associated social and cultural consequences, which deserves some deliberation; Johor and Riau serve as Singapore's 'pleasure periphery' but this is not explored to any extent.

The arena of migrant work and the life-chances of migrant workers is also given insufficient attention. The perspectives of migrant workers, their accommodation facilities, their conditions of work, health care and welfare, gender inequalities, ethnic tensions, and social and labour unrest are crucially important dimensions of cross-border movement. Similarly the impacts on the environment of economic growth, urban expansion, industrial and infrastructural development, pollution, and resource exploitation are not addressed in any detailed way. Nor is there an investigation of the consequences of increased environmental pressures on those who live and work in SIJORI, particularly in Johor and Riau.

A final critical point reflects the major impetus behind SIJORI; the dominance of Singapore is reflected in the affiliations of the contributors to the volume. Certainly there are perspectives derived from Johor/Malaysia and Riau/Indonesia, but most of the authors are or have been Singapore-based (working at or temporarily attached to such institutions as ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, National University of Singapore, S. Rajaratnam School of international Studies, Future Cities Laboratory). This is not to say that those scholars based in Singapore and those who are visiting academics to Singapore from Malaysia and Indonesia cannot embrace and project a Malaysian and Indonesian perspective on SIJORI, but my overall impression of the volume is that

it is rather Singapore-centred, and tending towards views from the centre of power and influence rather than from the margins, and from Johor and Riau.

Having said this, the volume makes a considerable contribution to our understanding of sub-regional projects, rich as it is in empirical detail. Its coherence is enhanced by the well written and argued editorial introduction and the concluding chapter by Francis Hutchinson which summarises the major issues explored in the several chapters, revisits the concept of a 'cross-border region', and identifies subjects for further research. Importantly it provides us with a focus and agenda that will encourage future research and help to develop our understanding of the substance, context, complexity and trajectory of sub-regional encounter and interaction.

NATASHA PAIRAUDEAU
Mobile Citizens. French Indians in Indochina, 1858-1954.
Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2016
xx-370 pp, ISBN 978-87-7694-159-1 (hb, £50);
ISBN 978-87-7694-159-8 (pb, £19.99)

Reviewed by Kirsten W. Endres
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

This book is the fruit of many years of committed archival research and ethnographic fieldwork in France, India, and Vietnam. It comes at a time when the "mobility turn" in the social sciences has inspired new perspectives on movements of people, ideas and commodities across the globe to draw attention to a little known chapter of colonial mobility in French Indochina. Pairaudeau's focus is on Indian migrants from the French establishment of Pondicherry who renounced their personal status to become French citizens. As such, they sojourned across the Indian Ocean and took up posts in the French colonial administration of Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos). The case of these *renonçants* not only illuminates a rather 'blind spot' in French colonial historiography, but also sheds light on much larger issues concerning the question of indigenous agency in the negotiation of imperial citizenship.

Mobile Citizens. French Indians in Indochina, 1858-1954 contains eight carefully crafted chapters, an afterword, and an appendix with the text of the presidential 'Decree relative to personal status' issued in 1881. This decree, in essence, stipulated that Indians who no longer wished to adhere to indigenous personal status regulations based on caste, custom or creed would be governed by the same civil and political laws that apply to the French (Chapter 2). The decree was to establish the basis for Indians under French colonial rule to have their status as renouncers legally recognized as French citizenship. Drawing from a wealth of archival material, Pairaudeau shows that this evolved as anything but a straightforward process.

Besides offering Pondicherry Indians promises of equality on different levels, renunciation also provided an opportunity for social mobility within the French colonial system. Indian French citizens worked as policemen, postmen, guardians of public services, tax collectors and legal clerks (Chapter 3). In Cochinchina, the southern part of present-day Vietnam, they were often hired on equal terms in positions that had actually been reserved for Europeans. Other Indian (or,

more specifically, Tamil) migrants to Cochinchina included South Indian Muslim traders, Nattukottai Chettiar bankers and moneylenders, and Tamil Hindus involved in livestock and milk production. The renouncers stood out from the latter due to their French-ness and their role as representatives of French colonial authority. Their political rights as French citizens, however, did not go uncontested (Chapter 4). Whereas electoral rights had been granted to all Indians in the French establishments, no matter if they had renounced their personal status or not, this did not apply to the peoples of Cochinchina. The right to elect a deputy to represent them in the French parliament was instead restricted to French citizens. This apparent betrayal of French republican values sparked a continuing struggle over Indian voting rights in Cochinchina that was, after more than a decade, decided in favour of the Indian renouncers. Their status as full French citizens endowed with legal rights equal to those of their 'masters' throughout the French empire thus finally came to fruition.

But this was not the end of all disputes. In Chapter 5, Pairaudeau discusses the role of French Indians in negotiating the 'boundaries of rule' separating the colonized from the colonizers. These boundaries were in practice not the same for everyone and shifted over time as ideas and conditions changed. How, then, did the Vietnamese react to the presence of Indians and their privileges in the colony? Pairaudeau examines Vietnamese responses to Indian migrants in a variety of contexts (Chapter 6). Such responses ranged from critiques voiced by reform-minded Vietnamese intellectuals who resented the power and privileges enjoyed by Indian French citizens to and racially-charged feelings at the grassroots against Indian moneylenders and tax farmers. On the friendlier side of the scale, interactions between Vietnamese and Indians resulted in the accommodation of Indian religious practice, most notably through the Vietnamese understanding of the Indian goddess Mariamman as an embodiment of the southern Vietnamese deity known as the 'Black Lady'.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Indian French citizens responded to the criticisms put forward by Vietnamese political moderates with efforts to raise the 'hindou profile' and improve their public image (Chapter 7). They were joined by other Indian groups in the colony. Their combined endeavours included the establishment and activities of social organizations (such as mutual aid associations, friendly societies and sports clubs), the engagement with the notion of 'Greater India' and its civilizing force in Southeast Asia (as put forth by European scholarship), and their overall self-representation as a progressive, dynamic and unified group of overseas Indians. The situation of Indian French citizens in Vietnam changed with the political shifts brought about by the Second Word War, the end of French colonial rule in Indochina, and the 1956 Treaty of Cession between France and India (Chapter 8). Their experiences during these tumultuous years spurred an upheaval of belonging among Indian French citizens. Many moved to France only to embark on new ventures in the former French colonies soon after, thus continuing their sojourns as Mobile Citizens in the post-colonial era.

The book does an excellent job in weaving together the nitty-gritty of archival sources to present an intricate and coherent historical analysis of the Indian presence in French Indochina. As an anthropologist, I would at times have welcomed the inclusion of more ethnographic detail from the author's own extensive sojourns to meet with French Indians and their descendants in different parts of the world. But this remark is not meant to diminish the great merit of this remarkable work. Mobile Citizens is a much-awaited contribution to the colonial history of

Vietnam and, more broadly, of Southeast Asia that will be of interest to a wide range of academics and students working in multiple disciplines on issues of citizenship, migration, and identity.

MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN
Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia
Honolulu; University of Hawai'i Press, 2016
XI, 328 pp. ISBN 9780824855567, US $65.00

Reviewed by Michael Hitchcock
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Matthew Cohen is widely renowned not only as a scholar on Indonesian performing arts but as an accomplished puppeteer who performs under the stage name *Kanda Buwana*. This new book is an interesting departure for him as he explores the huge changes that occurred in diverse arts practices between the 19th century and 1949. The cut-off date represents the widespread acknowledgement of Indonesia's status as an independent nation following the 'Round Table' meeting of 1948, though Indonesians themselves see Sukarno's proclamation of 1945 as being the true birth date of the Republic. Cohen takes inspiration from Mark Hobart's critical anthropology who has controversially (and entertainingly) expressed a view that dance as an aesthetic practice did not exist in Bali until the arrival of European administrators, scholars and tourists. This is not to say that dance did not exist before this time as stylised movement could be detected in pre-colonial ritual and dramatic spectacles in Bali, but that what can be viewed today arose out of an interaction between local and external forces. In short, colonial Indonesia was exposed to a wide repertoire of forms of entertainment as communications improved leading to the emergence of new arts forms and – equally importantly – new attitudes to art. The so-called 'seni-man' (artist) was born.

Whether you like or dislike Hobart's position - harking back as it does to Hobsbawm's celebrated introduction to The Invention of Tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) - this book is a must-read as it lays out in very clear detail the kinds of interactions that were taking place in the Dutch East Indies. In fact, as you progress through this book you start worrying less about the veracity or accuracy of Hobart's tantalising proposition and start marvelling at the sheer creativity of the era. This is all the more astonishing when you read that Europeans introduced many forms of performance such as brass bands, balls, tea dances, chamber music, proscenium arch theatres and theatrical lighting as well as posters and programmes, which were not aimed at the local population but were intended to promote a sense of European identity and culture in the colonial tropics. Little did they know that these novelties would end up being selectively hybridized along with longstanding Indonesian traditions. On reflection it is perhaps not surprising given that Europeans never amounted to more than 0.5 percent of the total population and were concentrated in expatriate ghettoes of administrative and commercial centres and military barracks; Cohen is right to remind us of Furnivall's (1939) observation regarding meeting in the marketplace with no attendant combining. But as Cohen points out there was a combination as aesthetic ideas and practices crossed the colonial divide to be embraced in all manner of interesting ways in a population that was later to imagine itself to be Indonesian.

The power of Cohen's writing lies in the fact that he documents very carefully how these processes worked with occasional brilliant insights into that trickiest of all questions 'why'. For example, indigenous Indonesian rulers simply wanted to tap into the power of European art forms such as military music and very swiftly trumpets, fifes and drums were being played alongside hand gongs in processions in central Java's Kartasura courts. It also helped that hungry for status Europeans unlike the Dutch back home were hooked on ceremonials and sumptuous balls and, although few non-Europeans partook of these festivities, they were enjoyed from afar as 'spectacle'. As Cohen points out this hybridization had been springing up around the archipelago for some time and there is an enlightening digression on the history kroncong, a Portuguese inspired musical form, which is associate d historically with Tugu, a small Christian settlement on the outskirts of Batavia founded by freed slaves. Generally speaking, the introduction of Christianity was also a conduit for the dissemination of European music via church choirs and mission schools; some of the missionaries were accomplished musicians in their own right and were doubtless a source of inspiration for the locals.

The period of what some scholars refer to as 'high colonialism' that lasted from the late 19th century to the catastrophe of the First World War saw an intensification of technological, political and aesthetic changes within the performing arts, not least through the widely popular Malay-language version of musical theatre called Komedi Stambul which opened up a new vista of entertainment via its modern techniques, structure of feeling and diverse repertoire which owed a lot to Western literary sources and songs. The exchange was not always one way and, though it largely lies beyond the scope of this volume, it is worth noting that Parisian audiences were thrilled by the performances of a Dutch runaway from an unhappy marriage in Medan who took the stage name of Matahari and claimed that her performances were based on the court dances of Java; this reviewer cannot help wandering how many other Matahari-like characters there were at this time? By the inter-war years it would appear that this hybridization had become less accidental and more intentional and one group who put this to good effect were the European artists – Bonnet and Spies – who took up residence in Ubud in Bali. Not only did they include local themes into their art works, but they were actively engaged, notably Spies, in presenting local performances to wider audiences through the media of film and tourism.

This reviewer could say more, but he does not want to spoil the book for future readers as it serves up a veritable treasure trove of wonderful innovation in a series of thematically wide-ranging chapters grouped into three the end thematic areas that lead to a Conclusion entitled 'Performing Arts after Colonialism', the title of a follow-up volume perhaps? The strength of this volumes lies in its careful consultation and interrogation of sources in a variety of languages combined with the practioner's eye for how artistic practices cross cultural frontiers as only one who has actually attempted to master some of these art forms can really understand. It is a formidable, fascinating and thoroughly enjoyable piece of writing – quite the best book on Indonesian cultural history for some time. This reviewer commends it to you enthusiastically as it takes an interesting proposition advanced by Mark Hobart into another dimension by providing a thorough going account of what actually happened.

This newsletter features an op-ed by Elena Burgos-Martinez, FHEA, Anthropology Department Durham University. You can contact the author here if you have any questions or comments: e.e.burgos-martinez@durham.ac.uk

THE *BAJO* OF NORTHEAST INDONESIA: WHY IT IS BAD TO BE CONSIDERED 'INDIGENOUS'.

And why a Western anthropologist decided to avoid Anglo-Western categories and exonyms.

The *Bajo* are part of wider national and international networks as inhabitants of urban Java and other cities in Western Indonesia but the relevance of such connections needs to be addressed within an order of its own; an order that rejects contemporary constructions of 'the indigenous' as powerless and victims of their own environments and countries. The Bajo of Nain Island do not need to be 'empowered' (they are not powerless) but rather acknowledged and considered linguistic and environmental experts to be consulted. This is of paramount importance for the implementation of environmental and disaster preparedness programmes in the area.

However, the manifold layers of Bajo agency and identity are much more complex than outdated syllogisms of the power exchanges of the global, the glocal and the local. A multitude of research is designed on the basis of mapping traditions; where people, languages and spaces are confined to strict imaginaries and speculations. Oversimplifying praxis such as the use of homogeneous categories to identify communities that seem to display the same type of features to the visitor's eye (i.e. as it is common when researching amongst coastal and sea-based communities in Indonesia), is much more common than relevant contemporary research can afford.

During my fieldwork research I spent a year and a half living amongst the *Bajo* of Nain Island in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. As an environmental anthropologist and a sociolinguist I was interested in the connections and intersections between the semantic convergence of environmental paradigms and notions of national belonging and ethnicity. However, after a few months into the field I realised that none of my understandings of 'what language ought to be', and the preconceived importance it had for ensuring the survival of cultural identity, were relevant in Nain Island. During my time on Nain Island (and Manado), I often witnessed how glocal agents such as regional government officials, civil servants, NGO members and urban dwellers referred to smaller island communities using paternalistic tones and attitudes that suggested the existence of a certain power imbalance that was being perpetuated through discourses of 'empowerment' that prioritised certain systems and values over others. Such approaches have operated for as long as stakeholders from Manado (and other parts of Indonesia) have been targeting smaller island communities as 'underdeveloped' minorities. And, while this empowerment paradox feeds on more complex agendas that include those of the inhabitants of smaller communities, the impact of imagining 'the other' is still quite problematic as it operates within a multitude of understandings in what anthropologists call 'the field'.

The Bajo of Nain Island are the largest *'kampung'* of the Bunaken National Park (with almost 1700 inhabitants), which comprises 5 islands: Bunaken and Siladen (both being touristic destinations), Manado Tua (an extinct volcano), Montehage and the northernmost Pulau Nain. All islands are inhabited by Christian communities (Pentecostal), while Nain Island differs in that three different

communities co-habit the small island; two Christian *'kampung'* and the Muslim Bajo. Bajo demographics have increased considerably after 2000, with the inclusion of motored boats and an increase in traveling across the Celebes (particularly between Nain Island and Manado). And while Islam is considered a minority religion in North Sulawesi, and Manado, the Bajo are the most populous community in their area. References to them being a minority strikes them as de-contextualised; *'there are Bajo around, in Arakan (coastal Manado), Talaud (coastal Manado), and other neighbouring islands… even in Talawan (Southern part of North Sulawesi)'*, says Bapak Haji Kasmin.

When sea faring communities in Indonesia are approached by international and national media, they are often portrayed as fragmented, living in constant struggle and as victims of their own environments which are about to disappear. Coastal minority communities in Indonesia, thus, tend to be categorised as unstable and local understandings, accounts and experiences of power and the complexities of their socio-ecological systems are often reduced to stereotypes such as 'the sea-bound fishing community which is by default poor and wants to live at sea, away from "modernity"'. *'The Bajo, the Bajau, the Bajoe, all are the same'*- I hear researchers and journalists in Manado and Yogyakarta say. A very common urban conception that suggests 'all sea-nomads needing preservation to ensure Indonesia looks diverse enough'. Who would have said that epistemologies of 'diversity' could actually undermine plurality? A plurality of being and doing that includes small island communities as key actors and drivers of the changes their languages and environments experience but also influence the entire region and country.
A community such as Nain Bajo, that has been categorised as 'small' by means of geo-political tradition and as 'fragmented' by means of technocratic fashion, displays a plurality of understandings of what being a Bajo and being Indonesian entails. On any day's early evening walk along *Jalan Raya* (the island's only cemented street), one can hear a variety of interweaving utterances in local Malay, Bahasa Indonesia and Baon Sama that suggest poly-linguascapes are much more strategic and complex than the mapping and administrative classifying of cultures, languages and communities allows for.

For the *Bajo*, speaking the local language, *Baon Sama*, and expanding it through the inclusion of lexicon from Bahasa Indonesia and Manado Malay was a normal practice that, by no means, was threatening the survival of their culture and language. A word like *'goyangan'* (meaning 'movement/oscillation' in Bahasa Indonesia) was pretty much a *Bajo* word when put in a *Bajo* context, since its semantics referred to a very specific *Bajo* notion: a certain type of wave. Why would a dictionary claim that word as belonging to Bahasa Indonesia exclusively? Most *Bajo* speak a mixture of Bahasa Indonesia, *Baon Sama* and Manado Malay, but they only call it *Bajo* language, a language of their environment. Does speaking a particular language make you belong to a specific culture? Not for the *Bajo* who have long expanded their environments and sense of belonging through land, water and cultural intersections with other people. Bajo semantics do not rely on the linear and often unrealistic 'one word' in 'a context' equals 'one meaning'. Their language does not share the semantics and semiosis of languages such as English and Bahasa Indonesia do. In spite of this, all development programmes that claim to bring support for the Bajo are introduced in Bahasa Indonesia translations of English paradigms. Does the Anglophone centrism of our research allow for room to register the sophistication and complexities of non-Anglophone spaces?

A strong Anglophone and euro-centric tradition of subjecting world languages to the systems and standards of a handful of Indo-European languages ignores diversity and can be extremely intrusive when communicated as hegemony, a disruption of the flow of intersections and context-based relations and a complexity that the systematic mapping of languages and peoples fails to capture. Having explored local senses of ethnicity amongst coastal communities in North Sulawesi, I have come across different ways in which the contemporary English word 'indigenous', a concept that features in developmental discourses as the Cinderella of 'empowerment' is often deployed by government officials, national and international researchers, and the middle-classes in Indonesia as a way of legitimising their expertise as power that is imposed over non-urban subjects and their environments. In Indonesia, this is due to the fact that categorising people and their environments as 'indigenous' becomes inevitably linked to problematic notions such as 'backwardness', 'cultural isolation', 'simplicity', lack of socio-political power, groups with questionable ability to manage their own environments and communities and entities at perpetual risk. The categorisation of communities as dependant on external aid, granted through the intervention of urban cultures (where most programmes, terminology and planning originates) has often compromised local ideas of 'community', 'citizenship', 'belonging' and 'power' that people like the *Bajo*, whose vernacular notion of peoplehood is regulated through constant intersection with other cultural groups inhabiting the area, has found inconsistent with what they know. Thus, polarising views of 'the indigenous' as 'the other' and 'the outside' continue to negatively impact on the outgoings of recent initiatives that seek the de-centralisation of political powers by the Indonesian government. Greater autonomy to exercise the powers different communities have is undermined by a transfer of governance amongst similar places (i.e. between the officials of central government and regional governments, partner organisations and those who are familiar with their epistemologies).

For the land-based (urban) Manado inhabitant, life at sea can be demanding and not the lifestyle of choice. Imaginaries of islanders as fragmented, isolated and at the expense of sea waters and environments resonates with the ethos of developmental programmes brought about by a variety of Indonesian and non-Indonesian organisations, researchers and others. These actors often seek and deploy local urbanites and governing spheres of the community as 'gatekeepers', with the rest of the members of the so-called 'minorities' as subjects (and objects) to be tamed. These complex system dynamics have long promoted a prevalence of assumedly unifying glocal values and notions over the pluralism of 'the local' and have promoted un-challenged conceptualisations of 'bottom-up' approaches as fairer. The developmental and environmental paradigms (and powers) of international organisations, their national branches and local stakeholders rarely coincide with those of all contemporary non-urban individuals.

The Bajo possess a pluralism of views and approaches to development initiatives coming from outside and they operate these strategically to achieve what they want; the perpetuation of Bajo values in Bajo contexts, even if it requires them to use the exonym 'Bajo' every now and then; It is only used when dealing with fishing businesses in Manado or in the neighbouring islands and also when talking to national TV channels who visit to record the lives of '*orang pingiran'* (people 'of the outskirts'). However, such an exonym is rarely exercised within Bajo spaces that expand around the island and around Manado's harbour, and other areas of the city. Sea routes and spaces are as Bajo as the coastal side of the island, the mountain behind, neighbourhoods in Manado and wherever the so-called Bajo have family ties and seaweed/fishing partnerships.

Challenging taken-for-granted concepts such as 'diversity', 'indigeneity' and 'empowerment' in the context of contemporary policy-making can help achieve a greater sense of how structures, systems and notions operate and their problematic. Certain well-intentioned assumptions and speculations (e.g. the victimisation of local people as powerless and agency-less unless they buy into our semantic systems) can cause much more structural violence than it aims for.
'Yeah, you can use the name Bajo, it's OK for you.' said Ila.