

'Holding hands', a photograph by Jos van Calen



45 Transnational marriage in Asia



NEWSLETTER

Living Apart Together Cross-border marriage, Riau Islands style.

“He’s everything to me. Because when I’m with him, I’m respectable. I’m a success now (*jadi orang*). Before I was scum, always being taunted by people, being laughed at, being sneered at because of my work, my immoral work. That’s why I’m so grateful – truly grateful – to have my husband”.

Former Indonesian sex worker, Ani.

LENORE LYONS AND MICHELE FORD

Former Indonesian sex worker, Ani, was 24 years old when she met her husband Ah Huat on the job in 1999. Ah Huat, a 57 year old Singaporean Chinese widower, paid S\$2,000 to Ani’s Madam to release her debt with the brothel where she worked in Tanjung Balai Karimun, part of the Riau Archipelago in Indonesia. She now lives with her child from a former marriage in a house that Ah Huat bought for them in Tanjung Balai Karimun. He provides Ani with Rp. 4,000,000 house-keeping money per month, and pays

for other expenses when he visits from Singapore. He used to visit once a month when he was working full-time, but now he is semi-retired and spends more time in Tanjung Balai.

Ani is one of many women in the Riau Islands married to Singaporeans. While some Indonesian women met their husbands through extended family or while working overseas in factories or as domestic workers, a significant number of women with Singaporean spouses living in the Riau Islands are former, sometimes still-practicing, sex workers. For the former

sex workers, international marriages provide a means to escape the drudgery and risk of their work. But more significant than financial gain is the social standing that they obtain by virtue of being married. The social stigma attached to sex work is very strong in Indonesia and marriage provides sex workers with a means to become ‘respectable’. Although Ani married an older Chinese foreigner, her status as a married woman restored her confidence and allowed her to finally establish a comfortably-off ‘real family’ with her child.

Working class Singaporean men like Ah Huat are increasingly choosing international marriage because of the difficulties they face in finding suitable spouses at home. The tendency for women to ‘marry up’ and men to ‘marry down’ has limited the marriage opportunities for two groups of Singaporeans – tertiary educated professional women, and working-class men with little education. Marriage opportunities diminish further as individuals age, or if they are previously divorced or widowed. In these circumstances, international

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Director's note

Building bridges to, from and with Asia

It goes without saying, networking is crucial for communication. Of course there is a business overtone and some direct motive, but there are strategic considerations too: It is good for your career, or it adds to your power and influence if you know many people in important positions - if you know the 'right' people. In the business world such motivations are understood by everybody and more or less accepted as necessary PR and a regular component of your work.

In academia we are catching on fast. Every year academics the world over travel to conferences in far flung places, attend receptions, participate in workshops, sit on learned committees, returning home with our pockets full with new business cards and contacts. For those of us trying to cut down on our global emissions, the internet and email is making building bridges and crossing borders easier than ever.

In this issue of IIAS Newsletter, we look at the consequences of people crossing borders and making connections with our theme on Transnational Marriage in Asia. The collection of articles hopes to offer new insights into marriage and migration, the impact on communities and the difficulties of building trust and genuine relationships in a cross-cultural environment.

Building trust and genuine relationships brings us back to networking, of course. Following the recent convention in Kuala Lumpur, ICAS has proved itself to be a prime example of an Asian Studies network that is successfully building bridges across regions, disciplines and subject areas. I am also pleased to report that IIAS has become an observer to an agreement founding the European Consortium for Asian Field Studies (ECAAF). You can read more about this exciting initiative from the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO) in the Institutional News pages of this issue. I also suggest you read the article 'Forging Links Between Distant Lands' (p 41) on the new addition to the Asian Studies fold - ASIS, The Icelandic Centre for Asian Studies. This surprising setting for the Asian Studies curriculum results from an explosion in trade, tourism and cultural exchanges between Iceland and Asian countries in recent years.

These are just a few examples of the bridges that are being built to, from and with Asia and by carrying on this trend and investing time in each other, I am convinced Asian studies will reap the rewards.

Max Sparreboom
director



The International Institute for Asian Studies is a postdoctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Our main objective is to encourage the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia and to promote national and international cooperation in the field. The institute focuses on the humanities and social sciences and their interaction with other sciences.

IIAS values dynamism and versatility in its research programmes. Post-doctoral research fellows are temporarily employed by or affiliated to IIAS, either within a collaborative research programme or individually. In its aim to disseminate broad, in-depth knowledge of Asia, the institute organizes seminars, workshops and conferences, and publishes the *IIAS Newsletter* with a circulation of 26,000.

IIAS runs a database for Asian Studies with information on researchers and research-related institutes worldwide. As an international mediator and a clearing-house for knowledge and information, IIAS is active in creating international networks and launching international cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, the institute functions as a window on Europe for non-European scholars and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

IIAS also administers the secretariat of the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance: www.asia-alliance.org) and the Secretariat General of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS: www.icassecretariat.org). Updates on the activities of the Asia Alliance and ICAS are published in this newsletter. ◀

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Transnational marriage in Asia

MELODY LU

Guest Editor

In today's rapidly globalising world, marriage as a contract between two individuals based on love and commitment to each other is increasingly considered a norm. The degree of women's control over their marital decisions and choice of mate, based on individual traits rather than the family's socio-economic status, is seen as a measure of whether a society has embraced modernity. In reality, marriage involves many actors with complex decision-making processes and multiple considerations. In many Asian societies, being and staying married, for both men and women, is a social and family obligation and a criterion of social standing. Kin members, the state, marriage intermediaries (institutional or individual) and commercial sectors are all involved in decision-making. This is particularly the case of cross-border marriages, with the state deciding and controlling who is allowed to marry, whether spouses are allowed to enter or reside in the receiving societies, as well as their naturalisation and assimilation process.

As well as a rapidly increasing intra-Asian flow of marriage migration, there is a continued growth of Asian women marrying and migrating to the West and 'in between' diaspora communities. For the most part, it is women marrying (and 'marrying up') and migrating to wealthier countries. The dominant view is that women enter cross-border marriages for economic gains, and generally in order to extricate themselves (and their families) from poverty.

Scholarship on cross-border marriages in Asia has been vigorous in recent years. Two terms indicating rather different conceptual emphases are used: cross-border and transnational marriage. These two terms are used interchangeably but often not defined clearly. To make it more confusing, both terms can be used to refer to cross-ethnic/cultural or same-cultural marriages. The term *cross-border marriage* emphasises geographical, national, racial, class and gender and cultural borders constructed in the hosting societies. These borders are mainly mediated by the states as well as other social actors in order to differentiate the 'we' and 'the others'. This stream of scholarship concerns the impact of marriage migration on the host societies in terms of population pressure and social security, the political and social citizenship of marriage migrants and their integration and acculturation. Particular attention is paid to studying how to empower migrant wives in exploitative situations, such as domestic violence and commodified marriage brokerage. There is also a growing scholarship on the actors' strategies of crossing these borders.

The term *transnational marriage* emphasises a transnational network and space created by the actors themselves; as well as the transactions of economic resources, symbols and political and cultural practices between the sending and receiving communities (see Panitee Suksomboon's article 'remittances and 'social remittances': their impact on cross-cultural marriage and social transformation, p 6); and how these transactions influence local development, social practices and cultural norms in both sending and receiving societies. The term 'transnationalism' by no means suggests the end of the nation-state; instead, it focuses on how actors' opportunities and choices are mediated by the state and other transnational actors. (Willis et al., 2004, see list of further reading). The articles in this theme issue follow this framework on transnationalism. They address diverse aspects of transnational marriages and challenge assumptions made by earlier scholarship, particularly the social actors other than the state.

Lenore Lyons and Michele Ford's article tells of couples comprised of Singaporean men and Indonesian wives in the Riau Islands. The men choose to live in Singapore, however they do establish a base in the Riau Islands and make regular visits to their wives. On the one hand, their choice of residency is shaped by the restriction of immigration policies imposed by both the Singaporean and Indonesian governments. The immigration policies of both governments are tied up with labour policy and class status. The husbands of cross-border

marriages have to prove to the state that they are of sufficient means to support their wives and thus will not become a welfare burden. On the other hand, the state's intervention does not seem to matter much for the couples in their daily experiences. For them, the choice of residency is clearly a lifestyle choice. As well as benefiting from an immediate improvement in their economic situation, Indonesian wives also experience class mobility. Their marriage to Singaporean men allows them to move into the lower-middle class. Equally, the working-class Singaporean husbands who are marginalised in Singaporean society can enjoy a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in the Riau islands. Lyons and Ford make the point that the wives do not wish to live in Singapore, a place they consider to be stressful and isolated.

Like Lyons and Ford's article, Shuko Takeshita's essay on transnational families of Pakistani men and Japanese women shows that aside from the economic motivation (job opportunities or wealth) and cultural practice (patrilocality), there are other factors affecting the transnational families' decisions and choices of residency. In this case children's education and the transmission of cultural and religious values. Takeshita studies the importance of religion in children's education and socialisation. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) are chosen as the migration destination of Japanese wives and their children instead of the couples' countries of origin. Pakistani men establish a transnational, kin-based business network trading used vehicles between Japan, UAE and Pakistan. Japanese women favour a home in the UAE over Pakistan because of the modern lifestyle and less control from their husband's family, yet they can still enjoy the social support of some kin members. The transnational kinship network therefore provides business opportunities, social support and helps maintain religious and cultural identities. Japanese women are active agents in this multiple migration process by choosing the destination, forming a support network among themselves, and developing educational strategies for their children who learn English and Japanese while being socialised in an Islamic environment.

Panitee Suksomboon's article gives a nuanced picture of Thai women who marry Dutch men and live in the Netherlands. These women actively maintain social ties with their home communities, and by doing so, they create a transnational space. This transnational space is important for Thai women not only in terms of social support, but also because their class mobility only exists in their home community and not in the host society (as Riau Islands wives in Lyons and Ford's study). To maintain their new-found social status Thai women transfer economic resources to their natal families either by economic remittance or via cultural practices such as gift-giving or paying for holidays for the whole family. They also disguise their economic and emotional hardships, creating an image of a happy life in Europe. This image, together with the socio-economic disparity between families with and without women marrying foreign men, fuels the desire of more women to marry abroad, thus triggering a chained migration. Suksomboon shows the linkage between the movement of people, transaction of economic resources as well as the cultural ideas and practices flowing in between this transnational space.

All three articles give pictures of marriage migrants as active agents in the migration process. Their choices challenge the assumption that marriage migrants marry either for economic gains, citizenship and welfare or lifestyle in an affluent society. However, as Lyons and Ford warn us, their choices are limited by the existing gender ideologies and their dependency on their husbands, which is strengthened by the economic disparity between the host and sending countries. While marriage migrants actively create a transnational space, not all of them can engage their husbands in it. While Singaporean and Pakistani men enjoy the advantages of the transnational space, Dutch men appear to have greater difficulty in appreciating the cultural practices of the wives' community and do not enjoy the social status and respect that their wives 'win' for them.

Parents in many Asian societies are heavily involved in the marital decision and mate choice of their children. This is also the case in cross-border marriages. Hsing-Miao Chi's article addresses an

understudied aspect of transnational marriages in the current literature - the inter-generational relations. This generation of mothers-in-law in Taiwan is 'caught in-between', in the sense that when they were young they were expected to fulfil the role of obedient daughters-in-law; now that they are old they are expected to do domestic work and care for young grandchildren when their Taiwanese daughters-in-law enter the job market. Previous research shows that one of the motivations for Taiwanese parents to choose a foreign wife (mainly from Southeast Asia) for their sons is that Southeast Asian women are considered to have 'traditional virtue' of gender roles and to be more obedient. Despite such expectations, Chi's study shows that the Taiwanese mothers-in-law of local marriages and those of cross-border marriages may have the same experiences. Having a foreign daughter-in-law does not necessarily increase the power of the mother-in-law. On the contrary, the unfamiliarity of the language and cultural practices of their foreign daughters-in-law makes them suspicious of daughters-in-law's intentions and creates what Chi calls 'emotional burden'.

A large number of intra-Asia cross-border marriages are intermediated either by institutions or individual matchmakers within the actors' kin and social network. These marriages are termed 'commodified marriages' and at times equated to trafficking. Michiel Baas's article problematises the dichotomy between 'love' and 'arranged' marriage in the context of India's IT industry. IT professionals in Bangalore tend to choose their marriage partners within the industry, regardless of their caste. On the one hand this is due to the fact that the transnational business practice of the industry is based on meritocracy - the IT companies deliberately discourage employees from following the cultural practices of the caste system. On the other hand, migration experiences, both internal and international, uproot IT professionals from their social and kin networks and place them in an isolated working environment that demands long working hours and flexibility. The IT professionals are able to break away from the practices of arranged marriage within the same caste and choose their marriage partners with the families' permission (what Baas calls 'arranged love marriage') due to the economic benefits and social prestige associated with the industry. However, rather than based on romantic love, their mate choice is a result of practical considerations such as maintaining the lifestyle the transnational business practice requires.

Further reading

Constable, Nicole ed. 2005 *Cross-border marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Lu, Schoonheim and Yang eds. (forthcoming) *Cross-border marriage migration in East and Southeast Asia: socio-demographic patterns and issues*. Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam.

Palriwala, Rajni and Uberoi, Patricia eds. (forthcoming) *Marriage, Migration and Gender*. Series of Women and Migration in Asia, no. 5. Sage: New Delhi.

Piper, Nicola and Roces, Mina eds. 2003 *Wife or workers? Asian women and migration*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Willis, Yeoh and Fakhri 2004 Introduction: transnationalism as a challenge to the nation, in Brenda, S.A. Yeoh and Katie Willis (eds.) *State/Nation/Transnation: Perspectives on Transnationalism in the Asia-Pacific*. Routledge: London and New York.

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Karimun brothel village. Photograph by Lenore Lyons, 2004



Karimun streetscape. Photograph by Lenore Lyons, 2004

marriage allows Singaporean men to fulfil their desire to marry and to meet their social and family obligations as married men.

Significant numbers of these couples live their lives on opposite sides of the border – the women remain in Indonesia and the men visit them with varying degrees of frequency from their homes in Singapore. In some cases, this pattern is explained by Singapore's immigration regime. Under Singaporean law, the foreign wives of Singaporean citizens only have access to the right to permanent residence if their Singaporean husbands can demonstrate that they have the financial means to support them. Working class men find it difficult to obtain visitors' passes, work permits, and permanent residency permits for their for-

ign spouses and children because their incomes are deemed to be too low. Residency is even more elusive for women who have previously held work permits to enter and work in Singapore. Singapore's Marriage Restriction Policy prohibits current work permit holders from marrying Singaporean citizens or permanent residents without the Ministry of Manpower's approval. If the marriage takes place abroad, the work permit holders are barred from re-entering Singapore. As a consequence, some Indonesian wives of Singaporean men find themselves confined to the Indonesian side of the border. The Singapore government claims that the purpose of this restriction is to prevent large numbers of low-skilled foreign workers settling in Singapore through marriage and placing a potential welfare burden on the state.

Lifestyle choice

But immigration restrictions do not always explain why husbands and wives live separately rather than cohabiting in one country. For example, for Ani, the Singapore state's tight control on unskilled migration does not figure in her decision making. She asserts that if she wanted to migrate to Singapore to live with Ah Huat she would simply do so, without problem. At this stage of her life, however, other considerations have taken precedence. Ani's natal family has expressed strong opposition to the possibility of Ani moving to Singapore with her son. In addition, her son could not migrate without being adopted by Ah Huat, which is difficult since his father (Ani's ex-husband) is still alive. Ani also sees her decision to remain in the Riau Islands as a lifestyle choice. At first she was impressed by Singapore's orderliness and beauty, and the vibrancy of the nightlife compared with Tanjung Balai's sleepy provincial atmosphere. Her visits increased in frequency and length after the wedding, but soon she tired of Singapore. She dislikes the pace of life, has difficulty communicating in English or Chinese, and found her long days at home alone in their flat in Singapore boring, and the cost of living too expensive. She enjoys the extra living space that their Tanjung Balai house provides and the slow pace of life in the Islands.

Ah Huat has also not considered migrating permanently to Indonesia. Under Indonesia's 1992 Immigration Law, foreign citizens who wish to live in Indonesia must obtain a stay permit for the purposes of work, business or tourism. Indonesian women are not permitted to sponsor their husbands so in most cases they must be sponsored by an employer, which leads to numerous problems, particularly when husbands lose their jobs. Naturalisation is not an option. Ah Huat would never consider naturalisation in view of Indonesia's unstable social and economic conditions. Singaporean citizenship provides him with access to a range of services, including preservation of superannuation funds and medical care, which would not be attainable in Indonesia.

These cross-border marriages are the particular product of life in the Indonesia-Singapore borderlands. Ani and Ah Huat can successfully live apart, and yet together, because the close proximity between the Riau Islands and Singapore means that

travel to and from the islands is relatively fast and cheap. Travel times vary between 40 minutes to one and a half hours depending on the destination, and return ferry tickets cost as little as S\$25. Ah Huat can come and go as he pleases since Singaporeans are permitted to visit Indonesia without a visa and stay for up to 30 days on a tourist pass.

The close physical proximity of Singapore and the Riau Islands means that the couples can see each other regularly while at the same time taking advantage of the economic opportunities presented by living on different sides of the border. Men like Ah Huat have much greater earning capacity if they stay in Singapore, and their families have a much higher standard of living if they remain in Indonesia. For working class men and women who are economically, (and in some cases socially), marginalised in their countries of birth, cross-border marriages allow them to experience a degree of upward class mobility in Indonesia.

Differential class mobility

Understanding this particular kind of cross-border marriage as a form of class mobility requires a shift away from conventional views, which attribute the class of unwaged women solely to the class position of the main male income earner, (usually a husband or father). The strong association between a woman's marital and employment status and her class position means that women can experience significant class mobility during the course of their lives. Indonesian women in Riau Islands-style cross-border marriages experience a shift in their class location so long as they continue to reside in the Islands. For these women, the economic benefits of cross-border marriage are immediate. Favourable exchange rates between the Singapore dollar and the Indonesian rupiah, combined with the lower cost of living in the Riau Islands, allow them to visibly consume a lower middle class lifestyle. The women (and their children) are not only better off financially than if they had married working class Indonesian men, but also far better off than if they had migrated to Singapore.

Their husbands do not experience class mobility in the same way; for the men the economic advantages to be gained from the differential exchange rates are usually deferred. While their wives and families immediately enter the ranks of the lower middle classes in Indonesia, the men retain their marginal status as poor, working class men in Singapore. They appear to be satisfied with their living arrangements because it saves them money or provides them with greater personal freedom. On their visits, they enjoy a comfortable lifestyle including spending time in a relatively large house, and the chance to indulge in food, such as seafood, which is normally quite expensive in Singapore. These working class men, economically marginalised in their home countries, can 'live like kings' in the Riau Islands. They look forward to their visits to the Islands, and to retirement, when they will be able to live with their wives in Indonesia and enjoy their financial investments in property and consumer goods. In the meantime, however, their families' ability to retain their new class location is dependent on the male breadwinner's ability to earn more than a subsistence wage in his home country.

For centuries Indonesian women have become involved in relationships with men whose primary residence is in another

country. What is new about the kinds of relationships women experience in the Riau Islands is that their partners live close enough to permit frequent short visits – and the community in which they live is fluid enough to allow them to enter the ranks of the lower middle class on the basis of economic resources alone. The women also benefit from greater levels of personal autonomy because their husbands live abroad. However, it would be a mistake to view these women's lives as reflective of a new form of women's agency. They are still subject to the same gendered ideologies that shape the lives of other Indonesian women, including expectations about women's roles in marriage. Their foreign husbands also hold entrenched ideas about sex roles, and there is some evidence to suggest that men seek out wives and mistresses in the Riau Islands because the women are regarded as more 'traditional' and therefore submissive towards their husbands.

Most importantly, however, women's life choices as cross-border wives are constrained by gender imbalances that reflect the economic differences between Indonesia and Singapore. As the primary breadwinners their husbands control the household finances, and determine when the couple will be together and when they will live apart. Ultimately it is also the men who possess the power to withdraw from their cross-border relationships, leaving the women with little legal recourse in relation to maintenance or division of assets, unless the couple has purchased a house in the wife's name. Ani's story and those of other women like her demonstrate that cross-border marriage Riau Islands-style opens up new opportunities, while at the same time entrenching old oppressions.

Note: This research is based on in-depth interviews conducted in the Riau Islands between November 2004 and August 2006 with Indonesian wives and Singaporean husbands. Pseudonyms are used at the request of informants. ■

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Lenore has published widely on the women's movement in Singapore (see *A State of Ambivalence: The Feminist Movement in Singapore*, 2004. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden) and civil society activism in support of migrant workers in Southeast Asia.

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Lenore Lyons and Michele Ford are currently working on an Australian Research Council Project titled "In the Shadow of Singapore: The Limits of Transnationalism in Insular Riau" which examines transnational encounters between Singaporeans and people living in Insular Riau (see <http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/research/intheshadow/>).

Since the latter half of the 1980s, a large number of Muslims have come to Japan from countries such as Pakistan, Iran and Bangladesh in order to work. In the 1990s there was an increase in the number of Muslims marrying Japanese women and forming families in Japan. The children of these families are now reaching school age and educational problems among second-generation Muslims are emerging.

Muslim Transnational Families:

Pakistani husbands and Japanese wives

SHUKO TAKESHITA

I conducted a case study analysis of families comprising Pakistani husbands and Japanese wives. These families, faced with the difficulties of bringing up their children with Islamic values in Japan, chose instead to relocate the wife and children to Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Japanese schools have an atmosphere of conformity in which pupils generally eat the same lunch and wear similar clothing. Elementary schools and junior high schools provide school lunches using (processed) pork. Many Muslim mothers obtain lunch menus from the school in advance, and prepare lunches that look similar to those provided by the schools. However, some children say they don't want to be the only ones eating a boxed lunch from home when all the other children are eating the lunch provided by the school. Equally, some parents worry about their child being isolated or bullied, so they let their child eat the lunches provided by the school, the same as the other children.

Japanese junior high school regulations do not permit girls to wear a veil, because students are required to wear a specific school uniform at both public and private schools. More than 30 mosques throughout Japan provide some classes teaching the Koran and Arabic to Muslim children in the evenings and at weekends. It remains difficult, however, for Muslim children, who are subjected to the problems of school lunches and clothing and spend most of the day at Japanese schools where it is hard to pray, to form a Muslim identity from the social, cultural and systematic perspectives. Therefore, when the first children of 'mixed' marriages reach school age, we observe an increase in the number of transnational families – cases where the Japanese wife and children relocate to an Islamic country for the Islamic education of the children while the non-Japanese father remains in Japan to work.

I conducted a survey through interviews during August and September 2005, targeting 23 Japanese wives living in Sharjah. Their husbands are Pakistani, and are used vehicle exporters in Japan, with offices in Sharjah and Dubai.

The majority of husbands in the study were aged 30-39 and 40-49, with 11 cases in each age group (47.8% each). The major-

ity of wives were aged 30-39, with 12 cases (54.5%), followed by 40-49, with 7 cases (31.8%). The total number of children in the study was 58, with an average age of 8.8 years. The average duration of the marriages was 12.4 years, and the average length of residence in Sharjah was 3.8 years.

Relocation to Sharjah

UAE, and Sharjah in particular, is the most popular third-country location for Japanese wives and children relocating to Islamic countries. In about one third of the cases in this study, the wife said, "I wanted to come to Sharjah rather than go to Pakistan." Among the reasons noted were: "Sharjah is safer than Pakistan"; "I'm free to go out on my own"; and "I don't have to live with my husband's family." It appears, then, that the wives feel some resistance to relocating to Pakistan. Although initially, many of the husbands wanted to raise their children in Pakistan, their wives disagreed with the idea, and eventually, relocation to Sharjah came about as a compromise.

With regard to living with the husband's kin, several wives who returned to Japan after relocating to Pakistan noted an inability to adapt to the local lifestyle. They also mentioned other factors such as the family's refusal to respect Japanese customs when it comes to child raising, even if it is permitted by Islam, or excessive interference from the husband's kin. Women are expected to bear the major burden of child-care, but at the same time, because of their position as a foreigner and as a woman, they receive considerable intervention from the husband's family with regard to the way they raise their children. These women therefore experience conflicts in Pakistan as a result of being a complex minority with the dual factors of gender and ethnicity. This problem is alleviated, however, in the case of a nuclear family living in Sharjah.

The husbands in this study had established used vehicle export businesses in Japan, and relocated their brothers living in Pakistan to operate offices in Dubai or Sharjah. These offices acted as bases for their business of importing used vehicles from Japan. The husbands' kinship networks can be seen not only as an extension of Pakistani society, where kinship ties are very strong, but also influential in terms of life strategy and business strategy: The husbands have developed life and business strategies which enable them to provide work for their brothers living in

Pakistan. In turn, this allows them to leave the operation of used vehicle imports from Japan to their brothers, whom they trust. In terms of the relocation of the wife and children, the husband's kinship network provides a place to live upon arrival, and also a valuable support system helping the family settle into their new environment. In this way, the kinship network reduces both the costs and the risks involved in relocation. Furthermore, by entrusting his wife and children to a brother, the husband is able to remain in Japan with peace of mind.

Social Networks

In Sharjah, there is a support network composed of about 30 Japanese Muslimas. Homogeneous networks give individuals a feeling of security and belonging, and assist the individual in maintaining their Japanese identity as a part of a complex self-definition. This network also functions as a source of mutual support – for example in terms of exchanging information and advice on schools and education, medical facilities, and providing assistance when problems arise – and this ties into a sense of empowerment. Because the husbands visit Sharjah an average of once every three months and the wives' kin do not live nearby, these Japanese Muslimas use the practical and mental support obtained through this network to assist one another in their daily lives.

In the case of the children as well, and particularly when the period of residence in Sharjah is short, gathering with other children in the park or in private homes and playing while speaking in Japanese provides a release valve for the stress that even young children experience. It functions as a venue for maintaining their Japanese as a conversational language.

Semilingualism

By relocating to Sharjah, the parents fulfil their initial goal of raising their children in an Islamic environment. However, because this involves relocation of school age children the problem of language must be faced. As public schools in Sharjah are limited to children with UAE citizenship, all of the children covered in this study were attending international schools and receiving education in English. The Koran and Arabic are both required studies at these international schools, and Urdu, the official language of Pakistan, is an elective subject, so children are able to learn their father's native tongue. After three to

five years of living in Sharjah, there is a tendency for the language used among siblings to shift from Japanese to English, but in all of the families covered in this study, the mother and children communicated in Japanese. Up until the fourth year of residence in Sharjah, about half of the mothers interviewed were teaching their children to read and write Japanese. Japanese language education is not only undertaken to ensure a means of communication between the mother and children, but also as a means of maintaining the identity of being Japanese, as part of a complex self-definition.

After five years of living in Sharjah, all cases of home study in Japanese reading and writing disappear. A number of reasons are cited: (1) As the children move into the upper grades in school, they are busier with their schoolwork, and have less time for extra studies; (2) It is difficult for mother and child to keep the relationship of teacher and student; and (3) As the stay in Sharjah grows longer, the possibility of returning to Japan becomes less likely. As a result, the children find it difficult to maintain the academic level of Japanese they possessed on leaving Japan, although they do maintain their conversational language.

The development of proficiency in primary language can promote the development of second- or even third-language proficiency. Therefore, Japanese plays an important role as a primary language when the child acquires English as a bilingual, or yet another language as a trilingual. However, the development of this primary language is hindered by relocation and an abrupt encounter with the language of the host country before the primary language is sufficiently acquired. Moreover, it takes about five years for children to reach the level where they can study effectively using their second language. When a child growing up in a bilingual environment is unable to supplement their primary language with reading and writing skills before acquiring an academic level in a second language, the child may not achieve a level typical of his or her peers in either language. This is referred to as a 'temporary semilingual phenomenon'. If relocation of the child takes place during infancy, then the overall development of language is delayed. If relocation takes place at about 10 years of age, there is a delay in the development of abstract vocabulary and the ability to think abstractly. Children suffer psychological stress and frustration, albeit temporarily,

and become unstable emotionally. The end result is that as the stay in Sharjah grows longer, an increasing number of parents come to see it as acceptable for Japanese to be learned solely as a conversational language, and instead place an emphasis on the child's ability to acquire English as an academic language.

Among the subjects in this study, there were families that wanted to live together in the near future, but had not determined when and where that would be. Muslims operating used vehicle export businesses in Japan do not necessarily have bases only in Japan; in many cases, these businessmen have extensive worldwide networks, with business activities spanning several countries. It is clear however, that in relation to forming a family, these businessmen are more likely to relocate to a country where they can apply their transnational networks more advantageously to their educational and life strategies. The parents willingly invest in their children's English education, seeing it as an invaluable resource - no matter where the family lives in the future. They have selected an educational strategy which they believe will assist the children in attaining a higher social position.

Children acquire the internal conditions appropriate to the society of their host country through relocation. Although it is possible to predict that they will form a Muslim identity, they may end up with the problem of being semilingual if the relocation takes place during their school years. The first priority in the educational strategies of the families in this survey is the formation of a Muslim identity, and the second is their English education. The longer a family lives in Sharjah, the more likely the parents are to acquiesce in the loss of Japanese as an academic language. More attention should be focused on the possibility that the loss of Japanese as an academic language could trigger chronic semilingualism. I intend to conduct a follow-up study to examine how living locations and the structure of the family changes for these families, and how the children's identities are formed as a result of these changes. ■

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Last year, almost 9,500 Thai women were living in the Netherlands, many married to Dutch men. Rather than assimilating and transferring their loyalty exclusively to Dutch society these Thai women still maintain strong social linkages with their families and local communities in Thailand, in particular through material contribution.

Remittances and 'social remittances':

Their impact on cross-cultural marriage and social transformation.

PANITEE SUKSOMBOON

Thai women have increasingly participated in international migration, particularly to Western European countries such as Germany, Denmark and Switzerland. In the Netherlands, it is estimated that there were about 13,112 Thai migrants in 2006 and of these, 9,483 were women. The number of Thai women living in the Netherlands has steadily increased and has, in fact, now exceeded that of their male counterparts (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2007; this statistic excludes Thais already possessing Dutch citizenship and those who live illegally in the Netherlands). Instead of transferring their loyalty exclusively to Dutch society and becoming completely assimilated, Thai women still uphold social linkages with their family and local community in Thailand. Apparently, an intense contact exists in the form of material contributions. The Thai women I interviewed sent either regular or irregular remittances back to their family in Thailand, ranging from € 100 to € 700 a month. Occasionally, they may remit extra money for medical expenses and for a special family occasion or life passage event such as a wedding or an ordination. The overseas income the women send home not only improves the family's financial security and well-being, but it is also used to support development projects within the local community. However, these remittances also generate a socio-economic disparity between those families with migrating women and those without. Moreover, they lead to economic competition and, as a result tensions among female villagers who have managed to realise cross-cultural marriage-cum-international migration to Europe.

False impressions

The migrant women receive regular requests for remittances. Their families have high expectations in this regard, assuming that because they have a new life in Europe, and they are successful and continue to achieve upward economic mobility. However, the reality is that the women are in unskilled jobs that do not offer them a well-paid income. The cost of living in the Netherlands is also expensive. Therefore, most of the women only have a small amount of savings, or even no savings at all. Although the reality of their situation is that they do not experience the achievements of the 'successful' pioneer models who left Thailand before them, to some extent, they manage such pressure by applying 'impression management'. During their visits home, (usually

once or twice a year), many of the women arrive in their village in a fashionable outfit, wear golden jewellery and have designer shoes or handbags. They offer brand name products, chocolate and souvenirs from the Netherlands as gifts for their family. During their stay, the women arrange all-expenses paid trips to other provinces in Thailand for their family members. Nit, for instance, spent nearly 300,000 baht (around € 6000) when she and her husband visited her family and sons in Thailand in 2005. She bought lot of clothes for her sons and took them out to many restaurants. She arranged a trip to Pattaya, a city located at the Gulf of Thailand, for her parents, sons, an older sister and a brother-in-law. She paid all the expenses such as accommodation, the hire of a van with a driver, and food. Since her savings were not enough to cover all these costs, she borrowed € 3000 from a Thai female private lender in the Netherlands. On her return, she had to pay back this debt.

It is not just the women themselves, but also their Dutch husbands who, intentionally or unintentionally, are involved in creating an exaggerated impression of success. The Thai parents anticipate that their European son-in-law is well-off and able to provide a monthly allowance to their daughter, which will include remittances to them. Such expectations lead the women to remit money to their parents from their own income, while letting their parents believe that the money is provided by their Dutch husband. Without realising the truth, the parents praise their foreign son-in-law for his generosity and readily share their appreciation of him with their relatives and neighbours.

The women's construction of their material success can lead to conflicts with their Dutch partners. The husband can accept that his Thai wife must take gifts for her parents and children, but he does not comprehend why she needs to spend large sums of money on buying presents for the wider family, or even for close neighbours in the village. Because of the perception of wealth in European society, the parents of the women misconceive the socio-economic status of their foreign son-in-law. They fantasise that he must be affluent. As a consequence he is obliged to pay for all expenses when the women's parents and other relatives accompany him and his Thai wife on a trip. Some of the Dutch men I interviewed reported their unease with, and dislike for, this state of affairs. They believe it is unfair

and unreasonable for them always to have to pay for all their Thai wife's relatives whenever they have outings together. Nevertheless, if they refuse to do so, they know it can cause their wife to be unhappy. Tensions between Thai-Dutch couples arise easily because the refusal of the Dutch husband to pay causes loss of face for the women and suggests financial failure to their parents and relatives. Some women simply have to explain this to their husband, while others find a solution by letting their husband pay first and then reimbursing him later.

'Social remittances'

Transnational practices involve not only the geographical movement of people, but also multiple transactions of monetary resources, goods, symbols, and political and cultural practices (Faist 2000; Guarnizo and Smith 2002). The term 'social remittances' is suggested by Levitt (2001: 54-60) to refer to the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from the host society to the sending country. They are the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them to the receiving country. Equally, 'social remittances' are ideas and practices that are transformed in the host country and transmitted back to original communities, generating new cultural products that emerge and challenge the lives of those who are left behind. These social remittances are intentionally and unintentionally transferred by migrants when they return, when non-migrants visit migrants in the receiving country, or through the exchanges of letters, videos, cassettes, e-mails and telephone calls. With regard to the Thai migrant women in the Netherlands and the non-migrants who remain behind in Thailand, the 'social remittances' clearly influence shifts in attitude, cultural practices and social values regarding international migration in the community where the women originally come from. The image of economic success from overseas income that the women present through their contact with or visits home serves only to strengthen the already high opinion non-migrants in Thai society have of living abroad. Instead of overthrowing the misconception of affluent Europe, the migrant women consciously or unconsciously conform to it by displaying the trappings of financial success. To save face, the women generally do not tell their parents and relatives in Thailand about the reality and the hardship of their life in the Netherlands. Rather, they prefer to let their family members believe that they are doing well by sending regular remittances. This 'deception' means the cycle is destined

to be repeated by the many non-migrant women who come to think of international migration and living overseas as a dream, and something they wish to experience, at least once in their life.

Significantly, the migrant women almost never share the difficulties they have encountered - such as adapting to a marriage relationship with a partner from a different culture, the hardship of adjusting to a new society and the experience of ethnical and occupational discrimination - with potential immigrants. These valuable experiences could be useful orientation and preparation tools before women depart to the receiving country. As long as the financial advantages of living abroad are exaggerated, and the physical hardship and emotional costs played down, it is unsurprising that so many newcomers experience an uncomfortable clash between their dream and reality after arriving in the Netherlands.

Marrying 'up'

Cross-cultural marriages of Thai-Dutch couples result in a transformation of marriage choice in the rural community. The representation of financial success, increased social status and successful international marriage stimulate many young female rural villagers to follow this 'successful' model by undertaking intermarriage and migration. Compared with a foreign man, marrying a local one is seen as less preferable. It gives less opportunity for upward social and economic mobility, (Ideally, women in Thai society tend to marry a man who is socially and financially better off than they are). Moreover, the image of Thai men is often a negative one because many migrant women have bad experiences with a Thai former husband. As a result the Thai man is often reconstructed as somebody who abandons his wife and children, is financially irresponsible, has a mistress, and is addicted to gambling or alcohol. A study on cross-cultural marriage of Thai women in the North-eastern Thailand (The National Culture Commission Office cited by The Nation, August 28, 2006) reveals the preference of parents to have a foreign son-in-law, since he is seen as better able to support the family financially than a local man. Because of the popularity of cross-cultural marriage-cum-international migration among the village women, informal matchmaking - through kinship- and friendship-based social networks - between a potential bride and a foreign man, and giving assistance in the migration procedures, has become a lucrative business for pioneer migrants.

If the foreign man finally agrees to marry a Thai woman and brings his bride to the Netherlands, the informal matchmaker will receive a payment from either the foreign man or the Thai woman. According to the data from fieldwork, this payment ranges from € 1000 to € 3000, depending on the agreement that was made and the level of assistance, (for example, whether it is only establishing the contact or arranging plane tickets and visa application). Some Dutch men, who witness the cross-cultural marriage of a male friend with a Thai wife, might also like to follow this route. They request the Thai wife of their friend to introduce a woman to them. Others make contact with a Thai woman when they accompany their married friend to Thailand. Through the social networks of family and friends, and the preference of some Dutch men to marry Thai women, several migrant women from the same local community in Thailand can end up migrating and settling in the same city in the host country. It can be predicted that within a few decades, specific villages of returned migrant women will be noticed in Thailand. ■

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* This article is a part of a paper 'Remittances and 'Social Remittances': Their Impact on Lived Experiences of Thai Women in the Netherlands and Non-Migrants in Thailand', presented at the conference on International Migration, Multi-Local Livelihoods and Human Security, The Hague, the Netherlands, 30-31 August 2007.

In traditional Chinese society, the older generations of women in kinship relations had more power than the younger ones. However, with the transformation of Taiwanese society and family form, contemporary mothers-in-law are often described as the generation of women 'caught in between', no longer commanding the privilege and authority of their mothers-in-law's generation, but with high expectations of their own daughters-in-law.

'Daughter-in-law for the second time':

Taiwanese mothers-in-law in the family of cross-border marriage

HSING-MIAO CHI

Women's issues have always been related to the family but the definition of gender hierarchy between men and women is insufficient to explain the issues among women themselves. This is the reason for my choice to discuss the position of Taiwanese women in the context of cross-border marriages. Most existing studies concentrate on the inferior status of foreign brides. Although most Taiwanese researchers who work in this area mention the role of the mother-in-law in the family of cross-border marriage, they do not make her a focal point. They also fail to address the interaction between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law and they make no attempt to explain these interactions in term of wider social processes. My study, however, shows that the mothers-in-law I interviewed were more or less involved in their sons' marriage process. I have classified their involvement in four ways: (a) persuading the son to get married (b) matchmaking; (c) helping son to select a bride; and (d) providing all or part of the costs. On the surface it appears that these women exercise considerable control over their sons' marriage, and the lives of their foreign daughters-in-law in Taiwan. Does this necessarily mean, based on traditional Chinese ideology, that they reinforce their authority in the family? I try not to judge who holds the dominant position, or who shares the relatively inferior status in this relationship, but rather to understand the complicated and multiple functions of patriarchy and culture operating on women's everyday practices in the context of cross-border marriages in Taiwan.

The study undertook qualitative analysis based on in-depth interviewing with individual cases. The interviewees were mothers-in-law, aged between 57 and 86, the majority of whom (11) helped with agricultural work undertaken by the family, in Yunlin County, on the west coast of Taiwan. Seven women had Vietnamese daughters-in-law, five had Indonesian daughters-in-law, and one had a Cambodian daughter-in-law. Two of the interviewees have more than one foreign daughter-in-law.

Memories of being a daughter-in-law

"Being a daughter-in-law in my generation was very difficult. My mother-in-law was really dominating, she wanted to control everything and she always scolded me. Being a daughter-in-law is now more flexible, you can

sleep as long as you like, you don't have to bother with cooking. Before, if I didn't wake up at 3 o'clock in the morning and prepare to cook, my mother-in-law would make a noise by building the fire in the stove...you cannot complain about this [sigh], if you do then you will be treated nastily. Really! It is difficult to speak out." (Ping, aged 86)

This account shows that women in Chinese society have been imbued with cultural rituals and norms which lead them to believe that they are obligated to perform a particular role in the family. It also points out women's oppression related to age, ability, gender and class. For instance, another interviewee, Mèng (aged 57), told me that she was taught to be an ideal woman who follows the 'three obediences and four virtues'. The three obediences are to: obey her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her son after her husband's death. The four virtues are: moral discipline, proper speech, modest appearance and diligence. Mèng follows this doctrine unflinchingly. She believed it was natural for women to obey their parents-in-law and husbands. That said, most of the interviewees did mention becoming aware of their inferior situation as daughters-in-law, but they chose to remain reticent in order to avoid conflict. These subordinate experiences of the past, help the women try to reduce hierarchical relations between themselves and their own daughters-in-law today. Despite this, all of them still expressed a desire to have compliant and diligent daughters-in-law:

"The fine line between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is no longer definite [laugh]. If you really want to compare, this one [Vietnamese daughter-in-law] is better than my oldest [Taiwanese] daughter-in-law, she rarely helps me to cook. But this one [Vietnamese daughter-in-law], everyday, when she returns from the fields, she rushes to prepare the meal in order to catch up with dinner time. I hardly need to tell her what to do, she works very hard [laugh]." (Táo, aged 60)

As a result of knowledge from past experiences, women build up expectations and begin to create an ideal image of what a proper daughter-in-law should be. This ideal reflects assumed cultural expectations about how daughters-in-law should act. Women tend to think that the requirement of domestic work does not necessarily mean their foreign daughters-in-law will be ill-treated, just that they will, (and should), experience the same

circumstances as they did when they were someone's daughter-in-law.

When foreign daughter-in-law arrived

Differences in cultural practice and aspects, as well as the language barrier, were significant factors - both physical and emotional - in the relationship between mother- and daughter-in-law. Only four of the interviewees felt they had a satisfactory relationship with their foreign daughters-in-law. These perceived smooth relationships were based on the fact that they had compliant daughters-in-law. Three patterns emerge from the women's experiences of being mothers-in-law:

1) Grandparenting

With regard to childcare responsibilities within cross-border marriage families, the division of labour between mothers- and daughters-in-law, to some extent, mirrors the traditional household division of labour in China (Chen, 2004). Half of the women interviewed look after their grandchildren when their foreign daughter-in-law is at work, not always willingly:

"She wants to work, if I cannot help her look after the child who can [sigh]. I said it is really bothering me to look after the child. My work is harder than hers, really. I have to bring up this one and also cook for the family. If she is off work, she takes her child out to have fun and I still need to cook. Every piece of my bones are damaged now." (Shuei, aged 65).

2) Domestic labour

The term mother-in-law is commonly understood, in the Chinese context, as meaning having the authority to exert influence over a daughter-in-law. Mothers-in-law are seen to have a particularly strong influence on the way domestic roles are viewed. Domestic work has always been considered to be a feminine role and women's responsibility and thus the obligation is seen to fall upon the daughter-in-law. However, most of my interviewees suggested that such expectations were rarely met, as their foreign daughters-in-law were often reluctant to accept 'their' work load. This meant that much of the domestic work was being left in the hands of their mothers-in-law:

"I often started to work in the early morning, she has to sleep until just before nine o'clock, then she goes to work. My son always helps her to set the washing machine, if she doesn't hang the clothes up, then I have to help her." (Shù, aged 70).

3) Work outside the home

In this context, economic circumstances were the main reason for the mothers-in-law to take on work outside the family. Half of the women questioned were working in the family fields and received a wage as an agricultural worker. In addition to expecting their earnings to help balance the family expenditure, the women also expressed the desire to appropriate money for their sons, to help with various expenses. This included buying flight tickets so that their daughters-in-law could visit family in their own countries, paying for things for the children and school fees.

Emotional burdens

Having particular expectations of how a foreign daughter-in-law should behave had considerable emotional impact on the mother-in-laws. Some of the interviewees were aware of the cultural differences between themselves and their foreign daughters-in-law, especially when they adjusted and negotiated variations in lifestyle, usual domestic practice and ritual obligations. However, when foreign daughters-in-law began to practice some elements of their own culture, these women somehow failed to understand and actually felt threatened by such practices, seeing them as undermining the family. For example, one of my interviewees acquired a red braid from the local temple for her grandchild to wear on her neck. The red braid is seen as a symbol of being blessed by God. Two weeks later she found that her Vietnamese daughter-in-law had changed the red braid to a white one. Significantly for the mother-in-law, the colour white is considered by the Chinese to represent misfortune. My interviewee misinterprets this as a malicious action and draws the misinformed conclusion that her foreign daughter-in-law is plotting against the family.

There is no decipherable boundary or guideline to provide both mothers-in-law and foreign daughters-in-law with a clear picture of how to adapt to their cross-border marriage situation. Furthermore, the language barrier also adds to the emotional difficulties. As Ying said:

"She [her Vietnamese daughter-in-law] is off-hand and also mischievous, you know? I have never heard that people offered a raw chicken to the ancestors, she bought a cock and a hen, raw! [her emphasis] ...I told her no one would do this, you should cook [the chicken], she replied that this is their custom. I asked the people from Vietnam who are working here,

to see whether this is true, [they said] "No, always cooked!" Someone said, she seems to be practicing some black art, so we [Ying and her husband] and the younger generation are afraid of her". (Ying, aged 68)

Some mothers-in-law, especially those sharing close relationships with neighbours and the community, acquire a general suspicion of all foreign daughters-in-law. They start interpreting ordinary practices as conspiracies - suspecting that the daughter-in-law is planning to harm the mother-in-law or the family. Such suspicions are compounded by the mothers-in-law considerable worries over their sons' future. They fear that in their absence the daughter-in-law will take advantage of their sons, particularly with regard to finances. This accentuates the idea of an 'insecure marriage' and as a result adds to the women's emotional burden.

The title phrase 'daughter-in-law for the second time' stems from my interviewees. They used this phrase to explain how they feel about their current situation in the context of the cross-border marriage family:

"My two foreign daughters-in-law are such well-behaved women, they wait for me everyday to come home from the fields and cook for them. They are not like my neighbour's foreign daughter-in-law who always goes off somewhere and is never at home in the evening, because I cook, you know I cook for them,... no wonder people were saying that I am the daughter-in-law for the second time". (Mèng, aged 57).

Even though the women are aware that they cannot expect to share the same authority as their mothers-in-law's generation, they still hope that they can maintain the dignity shown by their own mothers-in-law in the past. ■

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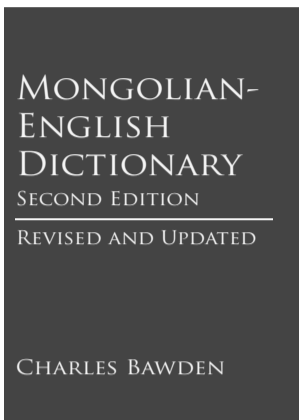


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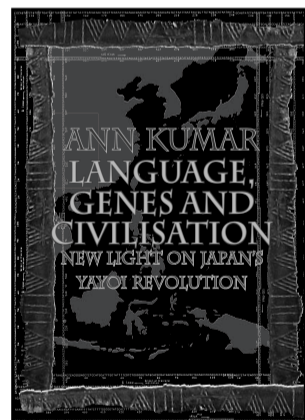
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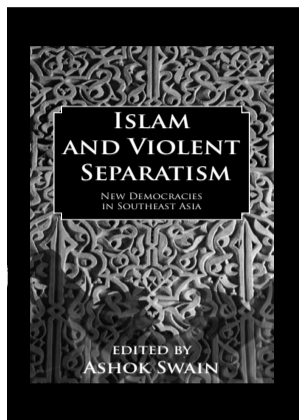
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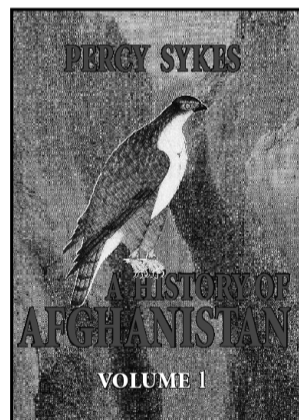
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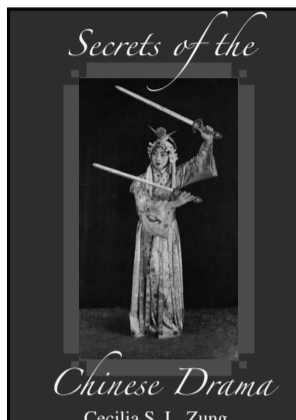
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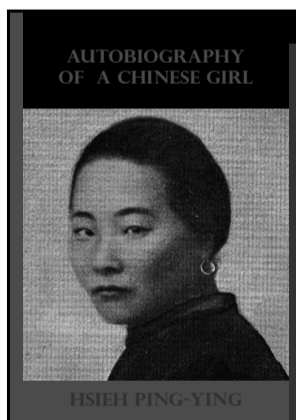


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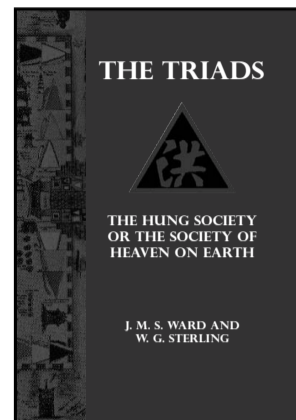
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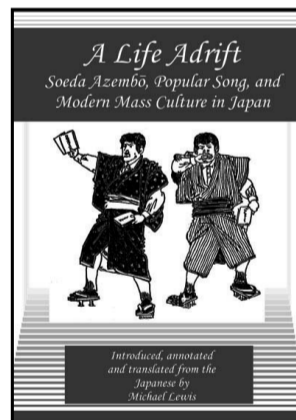


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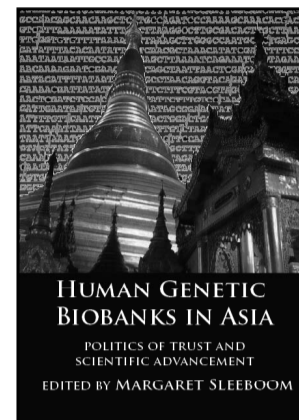


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In India, 'love' and 'arranged' marriages appear to be at opposite ends of the spectrum, but Michiel Baas argues that this 'opposition' is being challenged by IT professionals in the South India city of Bangalore.

'Arranged Love':

Marriage in a transnational work environment

MICHEL BAAS

Marriage, at least the way the West understands it today, is largely a product of developments that occurred during the 18th century and thereafter. As Stephanie Coontz writes, around this time the spread of the market economy and the advent of the Enlightenment wrought profound changes in record time.¹ Before the 1700s things such as personal choice or love hardly figured in the event of a European marriage.² Today it is 'love' that defines marriage, at least in the Western world. This is most definitely not the case in India, a country associated with the system of 'arranged' or 'caste' marriages. In these unions, factors such as personal choice or love are seen much less as a solid basis for marriage. Yet, as this article will show, this traditional view is being turned on its head by IT professionals in the South Indian city of Bangalore, a place where love marriages are becoming increasingly common.³

My research shows that although many Indian IT professionals may prefer the idea of a love marriage, the fact that many of these marriages are 'accepted' by the rest of the family often hints at particular 'arrangements' that are convenient to the situation and the interests of the family. In this sense one can argue that such love marriages actually take the form of (semi-) arranged marriages. The results of my study also show that the increasing number of love marriages is a direct result of the specific working conditions of the Indian IT industry. Transnationalism plays a central role in this as IT companies typically operate in 24-hour work environments. This demands a rather particular flexibility from employees. As a result of this, and the fact that many love marriages in India are also inter-caste marriages, it will be argued that we can speak of the establishment of a new caste which is highly upper-caste in nature and which consists of higher-educated people who work in the local IT industry.

Those IT professionals who are originally from Bangalore generally live with their families. However, the majority of workers do not originate from Bangalore and tend to live with friends met before moving into the area. The accommodation they share is sparsely decorated (giving away the transient nature of the situation), and in most cases they are far away from family. Consequently, the social lives of these young professionals are not what they would be, had they remained in the place where they were born and brought up. Family is not there to keep an eye on them and, perhaps more importantly, their social life is determined by the colleagues with whom they interact on a daily basis and with whom they often work long hours meeting deadlines.

As the IT offices are open 24 hours a day and the working hours are flexible, most young IT professionals spend many hours in the confines of their workplace. Their lives revolve around their work, and this is how they usually live as singles in the city. But then the time comes to get married. On the whole Indian marriages are arranged, meaning that the parents and other family members will find their daughter or son a spouse. Almost without exception this means that the person they will marry will be somebody of their own caste.

It is important to realise that, traditionally, an arranged marriage is not about whether the couple are actually in love, "in fact, in the case of Hindus, it is geared around the assumption that ideally the girl and the boy are strangers to each other and that it is their obligation to their parents that makes them sometimes reluctant, though consenting parties to the marriage."⁴

A Transnational Work Environment

IT professionals come to Bangalore from all over India. They are mostly male graduates who were recruited by an IT company while still at university, or they come to stay with friends already in the industry in the hope of using contacts to find an IT job themselves. They usually arrive in Bangalore as bachelors which makes them an attractive proposition for IT companies since they are able to make long hours without having the responsibility of family at home. Working days averaging ten to twelve hours are not uncommon in the IT industry, and quite often weekends are worked too. Because of this the office becomes an important place for social interaction.

Bangalore, with its large number of pubs and restaurants, offers the perfect environment for the young, highly educated, well-paid professional. A 'fresher' within an IT company knows that they should make the most of these attractions, as within a few years he will almost certainly receive marriage proposals from his community and he will no longer be free to have the lifestyle he once did.

What lies behind the increasing number of IT professionals choosing to marry for love? Bhavya, for instance, is a software programmer in his mid-twenties and belongs to a *Kshatriya* (warrior) caste. He has a girlfriend who is from a *Brahmin* (priestly) caste. Bhavya wants to postpone ideas of marriage for as long as possible: "My parents are very particular about community." According to Bhavya, ideas about marriages are changing "dramatically" as more and more people marry outside their communities. He himself has little interest in the caste system or anything associated with

it. He knows he will marry his girlfriend one day. That said, he remains fearful of his parents' reaction. When I asked him why he wanted to marry this girl he explained that he likes the fact that she is also working in the IT industry and that they have similar jobs.

By describing such unions as love marriages, it gives the impression that these arrangements are primarily of a romantic nature. However, they are often also about these young men being able to maintain their bachelor lifestyles. Although one might think that this is mostly about being able to continue visiting Bangalore's many pubs, it is in fact much more about the liberty of being able to make as many hours at work as necessary. It is the type of flexibility a job within the Indian IT industry demands and a love marriage with another IT professional is much more able to facilitate this. Asked how Bhavya thinks he will be able to



Bangalore. Photograph by Revati Upadhya

convince his parents, he explained that he will try to make clear how compatible their lifestyles are. Moreover, he added that his girlfriend also makes quite a bit of money, something which the whole family will benefit from. There is no question that caste will remain an issue in their relationship, though there are also things both have in common. For example, both belong to upper-caste communities, only eat vegetarian food (at home), and generally pray to the same Gods. Both describe negative experiences as a result of their upper caste backgrounds. Bhavya, for instance, claims that he failed to get into medical school because of the 'reservation system' (positive discrimination of lower castes). His girlfriend had experienced something similar. It is experiences such as these that have caused the dichotomy between upper and lower castes to become sharper and conse-

quently to create a stronger 'them and us' feeling among upper-caste Hindus.

Caste Away

Anish Vikrant is a manager at a medium-sized IT company of American origin located in Koramangala. He explained that: "We are a merit organisation and in such an organisation, caste has no place." This appears to be the way most IT companies in Bangalore run their business. A director at a much larger IT company confirmed this. "The IT industry is a meritocracy. Those who have shown merit will get the promotion." In a meritocracy there is no place for alternative motives to hire somebody or to give somebody a promotion. The caste system and religion are deeply embedded in Indian society, yet IT companies have made a point of giving these factors as little room to manoeuvre as possible.

On the whole, IT companies in India are dominated by upper-caste Hindus as my own and other studies show. It is clear that their employees limit their interaction to other upper caste Hindus with similar jobs. The result is a very specific world in which, on the one hand, it is claimed that caste does not and should not play a role; that merit is the key to getting on; on the other hand, it is a world dominated by upper caste people with similar backgrounds and opinions, and everything happens in a specific upper caste context.

The IT Caste?

In the past an educated, upper caste, middle class person of marriageable age would have no involvement in the process of finding and choosing a partner. Over time this has been changing. The marriage stories of IT professionals in Bangalore show that this group has gone one step further: In other parts of the country it may be that the person in question is asked for his opinion or may even be allowed to take his future wife to the movies for instance. The community, or at least direct family members, would still be very much involved in this. In Bangalore, the community is simply not present. Whereas in other situations a bachelor's life would largely revolve around family and community, in the IT industry of Bangalore this is simply not the case. Young men live with bachelor friends, spend most of their time inside IT offices, working in an environment defined by transnational business processes.

While love marriages among the IT professionals of Bangalore are quite common, the assumed difference between arranged and love marriages turns out not to be so great in this industry. Like an arranged marriage, a love marriage is a marriage within the own community – that of the IT professionals. Within that community people

become friends with each other, start living together and eventually get married. It appears that love is not the only reason why people choose to make this commitment. The fact that both partners work in the IT industry and their lives, interests, working hours, and so on, fit perfectly together should not be underestimated. Often when I asked the young people in my study if they found it problematic that their wives were not from the same caste (and often not even from the same region or state), they would answer with a rather surprised "no, of course not, she/he is also in IT."

Marrying somebody within the IT industry could be called an 'arranged love marriage'. Although the prospective partners find each other in college or on the workfloor, both families and/or communities still have to approve of the marriage. They have to be convinced that besides personal compatibility, there is also social compatibility in the sense that both belong to the same world. It is not a question of following your heart, but following your path: a path that leads to promotion within the IT industry and, of course, more money which both families and their respective communities will profit from as well. And for that reason, a new caste is born, one with its own set of rules and rituals. In this caste, the caste of the past no longer matters as the industry itself communicates both to the employees and the outside world that it has no place there. What matters is that they are IT professionals and belong to the IT community.

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Notes

- Stephanie Coontz. 2005. *Marriage, a History, from Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage*. New York: Viking, p. 146.
- Ibid.
- In 2003 I conducted intensive anthropological fieldwork among Indian IT professionals in Bangalore for the duration of five months. I gathered data on a little over fifty IT professionals; some whom I interviewed only once, others with whom I would meet up more regularly. After this fieldwork I remained in close contact with some of my informants, following their lives by e-mail, and meeting up with them during later visits to Bangalore.
- Mody, Perveez. 2002. 'Love and the Law: Love-Marriage in Delhi'. *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol. 36, No. 1. I should acknowledge Mody here for providing a theoretical analysis of the concepts of arranged and love marriages. Quote: p. 225.

Until recently, the trend in development policy circles has been to focus on the question of poverty, and to suggest that inequality is interesting, but that perhaps it really does not matter. In the 2007 Wertheim Lecture, Jomo K.S. re-examined the role inequality plays in development and human welfare.

Making Poverty History? Unequal Development Today *

JOMO KWAME SUNDARAM

In 2005, a couple of things happened which changed the debate on the relationship of poverty to inequality. Very prominently, the World Bank published the *World Development Report* on the question of equity. Before that, the United Nations had published its biennial *Report on the World Social Situation* entitled *The Inequality Predicament*. Both these volumes focused on the question of inequality and advocated equity, despite very important differences between the two: the World Bank report advocates what it calls 'equal opportunity', whereas the UN report puts a great deal of emphasis on the structural determinants of inequality in the global system. Nonetheless, the impact of these two volumes was to re-legitimise attention to the question of inequality. There has also been some very important work completed recently at the World Institute for Development Economic Research in Helsinki on the question of wealth inequality. This research, a preliminary estimate on wealth inequality, shows that the levels of concentration of wealth throughout the world are much higher, and have been growing perhaps even faster, than the concentration of income.

Does inequality matter?

Despite these important studies and important findings, we find that there are

very influential people who continue to insist that inequality doesn't matter. For example, Professor Xavier Sala-i-Martin from Columbia University, who has written a bit on the question of inequality, has made this kind of argument. Moises Naim, the former foreign minister of Venezuela, a self-proclaimed social democrat and editor of the influential journal *Foreign Policy*, makes a similar argument. Let me emphasise that income inequalities have undoubtedly grown very considerably over the last couple of centuries. It is true, of course, that there have been significant inequalities over the millennia. Economic historian Angus Maddison has made important arguments about the growth of inequality over the last two thousand years and suggests that the ratio of inequality between the richest economies and the poorest economies of the world was barely more than two to one until about five centuries ago. It only began to accelerate about two hundred years ago at the time of the industrial revolution - initially in the United Kingdom. In this regard, it's important to refer to the work of the Indian economic historian Utsa Patnaik who has shown the significance of capital transfers from places such as the Indian subcontinent and the British West Indies to Britain, and how important such capital transfers were for the initial capital accumulation which contributed to the industrial revolution. Others emphasise what might be

called the imperialism of free trade, from the middle of the 19th century, after the industrial revolution had consolidated British manufacturing hegemony.

Unfortunately, there is no straightforward way of talking about economic and social inequality. Like poverty, it is multidimensional and not confined to one value or one region. Many inequalities exist in society and at all levels - from income, wealth and resources, to gender, ethnicity, access and opportunity. I think it is useful for us to remind ourselves of what people mean when they say they are talking about global inequality. For some, they are simply talking about average per capita incomes, usually national averages. Another approach weights national averages by population. So, for example, a country like China, with more than one billion people, would be weighted differently to a country like Suriname with its very different population size. This is the most common method being used. A third method - pioneered by Branko Milanovic at the World Bank - is to compare individual or household incomes globally. Because of his access to household surveys for many countries in the world, he has been able to estimate what these household incomes would look like.

Palliative or developmental aid?

There is a strong tendency to talk about aid and development in terms of mitigat-

ing the worst elements of poverty and human welfare. I would like to suggest that while this is certainly important from a humanitarian point of view, this kind of approach tends to be palliative. It doesn't necessarily enhance the economic capacities and capabilities of the economies and people concerned. One must distinguish between these palliative approaches on the one hand, and a much more developmental approach on the other. There is now a broad consensus that no 'one size fits all', that there is no single unique model of development, and that what we really need to do is to look at the context in which development is to take place before addressing appropriate policies. A couple of years ago at the UN, the heads of government came together in September 2005 and committed themselves to formulating and implementing national development strategies. One might think this typical international rhetoric, and to some extent, it might well be, but its significance is twofold: firstly, national ownership of public policies, affecting development, is not something which one should presume or take for granted, especially in many poorer and smaller countries. Most public policies adopted by many developing country governments are policies imposed upon them by the international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Secondly, the scope for all public

policy initiatives has been very severely constrained by the many developments which have taken place in international economic governance, e.g. through the World Trade Organisation (WTO) which is significantly different from its predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). So, the ability to elaborate and implement truly national development strategies is not something which is without significance.

Let me now turn to recent trends in inequality. It is quite possible, with the many different definitions available, for inequality to be reduced by one measure, but not another - e.g. by using inter-country in contrast to inter-household comparisons. There has been much higher growth in some countries (especially in Asia) with relatively large populations, most notably, China, India and Indonesia before the last decade. Even though you may have increasing inequality in each of these three countries, you can have overall global inequality going down by various measures. And this is precisely what has actually happened. Overall inter-country inequalities have gone down because we are looking at national averages, rather than looking at the inequalities within each country. This might seem counterintuitive for a moment, but if you think carefully about it, it wouldn't surprise you. Hence, for people like Branko Milanovic, Bob Sutcliffe and





others, what one can conclude about global trends in inequality depends crucially on one's definition of inequality.

Income inequality has undoubtedly increased in most countries in recent decades, and for the 1990s, it has increased in all major groups except a few Northern European economies characterised by relatively lower inequality, and a few economies in the Middle East and North Africa with much higher inequality. For the rest of the world, wherever evidence is available, it is quite clear that intra-country inequality has grown. What has this meant for human welfare? Growth during the last two decades of the 20th century (for which we have data) has been much slower compared to the previous two decades: the 1960s and 1970s - the period associated with the Keynesian 'golden age'. Welfare improvements have generally been much more modest since the 1980s. Poverty reduction has therefore been slower, with reduced growth and with worse distribution. It is true however, that the last five years have seen increased growth, including in many developing countries. This has been an exceptional period, and much of it is due to two factors: 1) increased prices of primary commodities, and 2) the lower cost of finance because of the US Federal Reserve's efforts to reduce interest rates in the US since 2001, affecting the entire international financial system. As a consequence, there has been higher growth in many developing countries, but inequalities have increased and poverty persists. There has been little significant reduction in overall rates of poverty. Another contributing factor is the new phenomenon often called 'jobless growth'. In other words, there has been relatively little employment growth despite overall economic growth. And without employment growth, it is very difficult to conceive of poverty being reduced on a sustained basis.

Now, we come back to the significance of Asia. If you look at global trends in inter-country inequality, there is no clear trend when you include China. But once you take China out of the picture, the picture changes radically and you have a huge increase in inequality at the global level. So

the apparent lack of a clear trend in global inequality is largely due to China. The role of India is much less significant.

Defining poverty

Earlier, I suggested the significance of the definition of inequality; it is also important how we define poverty, and poverty is defined variously by different important protagonists. For example, Martin Ravallion of the World Bank defines poverty using the 'dollar a day' benchmark. Surjit S. Bhalla, a conservative economist in India, points out that the national income accounts are not compatible with income surveys. He claims that this incompatibility is a very recent phenomenon, and then argues that the World Bank is exaggerating the extent of poverty in the world to keep itself in business. In contrast, Amartya Sen suggests that it is not useful to use any kind of money-metric measure of poverty. Instead, he suggests that needs-fulfilment is the more useful measure.

Following from this, we then have very different understandings of what constitutes pro-poor growth. Martin Ravallion from the World Bank suggests that any growth (it does not matter how much) which increases the welfare of anyone considered poor, should be considered 'pro-poor'. Nanak Kakwani, until recently at the International Poverty Centre in Brasilia set up by the UNDP, suggests that for growth to be considered 'pro-poor', the share of growth accruing to the poor should be at least equal to the poor's share of income. So, if, for example, the poor get 10 percent of total income, for growth to be considered 'pro-poor', over 10 percent of growth or additional output should accrue to the poor. Woodward and Simms from the New Economics Foundation (nef) in London have a different definition which most mainstream economists would have great difficulty with. They suggest that for growth to be considered 'pro-poor', the share of growth should be at least equal to the poor's share of the population. So, if the poor in a country constitute half the population, at least half of the additional output should accrue to the poor for it to be considered 'pro-poor'. That, of course, is very unlikely to happen.

Making poverty history?

There is a tendency for poverty to contribute to a vicious cycle. When conditions are desperate, the likelihood of civil conflict taking place increases, and there seems to be a very strong relationship between poverty and the likelihood of civil conflict occurring. In 2005, the UN summit made a strong commitment to what are called the internationally agreed development goals, including - but not only - the Millennium Development Goals. The member states of the UN felt that there was a need to re-commit to the broad range of commitments made during the 1990s and the first half of this decade. A strong commitment was made to encourage national development strategies which should involve far more national ownership and policy space, and not to simply rely on the so-called poverty reduction strategies associated with the World Bank and the IMF. This was as a result of a general recognition that the Bretton Woods institutions' macro-economic framework is really wanting - in terms of economic development and growth as well as in terms of human welfare. More than 75 percent of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers do not even have an employment component. It is inconceivable how one seriously expects to reduce poverty without increasing employment. Unfortunately, however, we find that the global economic agenda continues to be dominated by the powerful countries in the world and the international institutions they control. Moreover, the agenda items often emphasised in world trade negotiations include questions such as trade liberalisation, foreign investment protection, capital account liberalisation, financial liberalisation more generally, and strengthened intellectual property rights - all of which contribute to slowing down development and exacerbating inequality and poverty. Meanwhile, the issues considered important to developing countries rarely make it to the international agenda for negotiations. The Doha round is now recognised as not being, in any serious sense of the word, developmental; the Washington consensus is certainly not considered to be developmental or equitable. International economic stability is generally acknowledged as having actually



worsened in the last quarter century. There has been some progress in debt relief, but it is not very meaningful. Capital flight continues to be a huge problem, and the idea that international financial liberalisation can reverse capital flight is recognised as being far from reality. It is like opening a bird cage and expecting more birds to fly in, than to fly out. Finally, we find that the agenda for international economic governance continues to be dominated by the rich. So, if we are serious about making poverty history, we really need to study the history of development. There is a need to recognise what is developmental, as opposed to what is palliative and welfare oriented (as important as that might be from a humanitarian point of view). There is a need to recognise that one size does not fit all. There is a need to eschew the mainstream orthodoxy and to favour common sense, and to proceed with what might be termed cautious experimentation. For this, national ownership and policy space are crucial. Growth is necessary, but certainly not sufficient, and the questions of distribution and accountability are generally recognised as important. National and international activism, I would like to suggest, are crucial. Coalitions involving civil society, especially from both the North and the South, can make a huge difference in shaping things - we have seen how discussions

of international economic governance have changed, especially since Seattle. I think we owe Professor Wertheim a great deal in this regard. He stood for original and independent scholarship, but also a sustained partisan engagement and advocacy to which we are all indebted; and very importantly, an element which I personally most appreciate - especially because it is so rare in academic circles - a humility and modesty, despite his greatness.

Jomo Kwame Sundaram

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This is an extract from the Wertheim Lecture delivered in Amsterdam on 21 May 2007. Listen to the full lecture online at: <http://www.iias.nl/index.php?q=audio>

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the dumbing-down of development

Goals set for the Poor, Goalposts set by the Rich:

ASHWANI SAITH

An apocryphal anecdote comes to mind: the first Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, on one of his tours into the countryside, stopped and asked a peasant: "Tell me, how have things improved since the British left India?" The poor peasant looked nonplussed: "Oh, have they left?" he asked! As the clock ticks past the half-way mark to the 2015 end-point for the fulfilment of the MDG targets, one wonders how many peasants of the world would even know what the MDGs really are, let alone what (little) impact they might have had on their lives since they were adopted in 2000. Tellingly, in 2005, an EU-commissioned survey on perceptions of aid policy¹ revealed that 88 percent of the sampled population in the EU-15 countries had not heard of the MDGs at all.

The MDG intervention has shifted the goal posts of development discourse and policy, and implicitly privileged and legitimised an uncritical acceptance of the neo-liberal globalisation playing field for the development game. The message is that the 'goodness' of development is to be judged in terms of the fulfilment of the MDGs. This statement could also be stood on its head to assert that so long as MDGs are met, all else is acceptable in the global development game. That is indeed the interpretation generated by the new discourse around MDGs and development. The bottom-line subliminal message flashed incessantly by this new discourse reads: neo-liberalism is fine so long as absolute poverty is reduced.

For the well-meaning, guilt-scarred, good citizen of the northwest, supporting the MDGs might be a sincere expression of existential solidarity with the deprived of the world, with the intervention welcomed as a sign that the managers of development had finally begun to pay serious attention, rather than the usual lip service, to the needs of the poor. However, it is imperative to resist an unquestioning slide into accepting this reductionism. The MDG exercise has been adopted much too uncritically by academics and activists alike. This makes it all the more necessary to scrutinise and to interrogate it with the traditional scepticism and tools of the social scientist's trade.

A win-win game plan?

Apart from the basketful of banana skins that comprise the methodology - or perhaps more aptly, the messology - of the MDG exercise, there is a wide array of inherent foundational and substantive weaknesses. Some of these are highlighted briefly below.²

Exclusions: out of sight, out of mind

One might ask why, in such a lengthy list, no place was found for some fundamental development deficits. For instance, the problems of the aged go unacknowledged; this is curious considering the inexorably rising share that the elderly form of the total population for a very large and growing number of countries. The same applies to persons with disability which are roughly estimated at one in ten globally. The invisibility of these and several other vulnerable and socially excluded groups in the MDG template replicates reality faithfully. It is nonsense to presume that the wellbeing of socially excluded groups can be read from national averages. The implications of making such issues invisible can only weaken their prioritisation at the policy and resource allocation levels.

Poverty reduction through definitions

A prime example of a dubious concept, one that forms the cornerstone of the MDG edifice, is income poverty reckoned in terms of the World Bank's dollar-a-day poverty line. This measure is widely acknowledged as being terminally flawed, but holds its monopolistic position on account of the institutional power of the lobby that has created it. It consciously adopts and defends methodologies that make a lot of nutritional, health and educational needs invisible, thereby significantly understating the extent of poverty. While the percentage incidence of poverty according to this measure has steadily declined and stands in the low 20s at present, independent national family health and nutrition surveys reveal a very different reality where one half of children are born with low birth weight and where the majority of rural women are anaemic. Similar contradictory trends are also to be found with regard to various nutritional variables. For China too, the official estimate of the incidence

of poverty is laughably low and bears little connection with well-documented ground realities where a significant section of the rural households find it impossible to meet their basic needs for health and education.

Is poverty a ghetto located in the South?

Do the rich countries not have their own home-grown evergreen version of poverty? Absolute poverty, defined with respect to the historical living standards of the rich countries, is far from negligible. It hovers around the 10 per cent level in many OECD countries, and is dramatically higher for the unemployed, the aged, single-parent families. There are extensive new forms of vulnerability and insecurity engendered by globalisation that cannot be ignored even in rich countries. Since the MDG exercise calls for domestic policies to be designed explicitly with reference to their poverty reduction impact, this ghettoisation of poverty absolves the governments of the northwest from equivalent obligations with respect to their own poor citizens. This is hardly a global vision deriving from shared, universal values. The poor in the north, many of whom are themselves from historically excluded populations, are rendered invisible and silent. Why?

Destinations without pathways

The MDG list is just that - a template of goals, targets, and indicators. There is no mention of process, of policy, of pathways or of politics involved in achieving these outcomes. This generates an uncomfortable impression of a lack of intellectual gravity about the exercise. Take the example of the target to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers. Leaving aside the slippery definitional loopholes with regard to defining slum dwellers and what might constitute an improvement, there is no real effort at linking the question of slums to in-migration and to the atrophy of the rural sector that creates the pressure in the first place. Nor is there any linkage to the desire of governments to model their major cities to reflect their rising national aspirations and self-esteem, as for instance in India and China, a process in which slum dwellers do have a (relocated) place, but one that is usually far beyond the distant horizons of the city's boundaries.

And how is the long list of health related targets to be met in the absence of the ability of the poor to pay for privatized health services, and the simultaneous market-led withdrawal of health services from large parts of the rural sector. Nurses and doctors favour the major cities and richer countries? Will the market reverse these market-induced trends? How exactly?

Another example concerns assumptions made about how technology can help the poor. But will it? What are the lessons of history in this regard? ICTs might have a powerful impact in the enhancement of wellbeing, but their direct impact on poverty reduction is yet to be demonstrated on any credible, let alone global, scale. Such linkage of ICTs to the MDG agenda has been roundly criticised by specialists, who argue that this has the danger of distorting the policy agenda which have a powerful potential development impact.

And how, one might wonder, is that famous income of a dollar-a-day to be generated in the absence of any explicit analytical linkage to the employment outcomes of investment and growth processes and policies, including the relative role of foreign as against domestic investments, or of the different sectors of the economy, especially the decaying agricultural sector where the majority of the poor struggle to survive. Even if we agree on the objective of reducing income poverty appropriately defined, do we automatically also agree on how to achieve this desirable state? All the perennial and present disagreements over pathologies and policies are swept out of sight under the carpet; but they cannot be made to disappear.

Development is being converted into a sustainable profit-making business - the ultimate win-win scenario that eluded all till now. Global multinationals penetrate the markets of the poor through 'base-of-pyramid' operations; global banks confirm the bankability of the poor through extending their lending chains all the way to the poor village woman paying real rates of interest of up to 20 per cent for micro credit, with the act of repayment unquestioningly, and dubiously, taken as proof of profitability.

Perhaps the implicit assumption which might account for the 'policy' silence of the MDG frame is that we have reached the end of alternatives, that there are no serious macro choices left, and that public-private-partnerships - the disingenuous euphemism for corporate control over development - constitute the only open pathway; hence the exclusion and suppression of any debates over policy 'alternatives'. None exist. Any such reading, however, might be a hasty one, since it must demonstrate the sustainability of such success in eliminating poverty through the private sector within the prescribed time frame. There exists no credible demonstration yet that this can work on a mass scale beyond the tiny enclaves of profit making for such corporate pioneers out to conquer the last frontier - the poor as a market.

Do as we say, not as we do

The new compact which underlies the design, and oversees the implementation, of the MDG template prominently links assistance from the northwest to the policy performance of aid-receiving countries in the southwest. The latter have been made primarily responsible for delivering on the MDGs. Strings of implicit and explicit policy conditionalities apply for the developing economies of the southeast. But what about the developed economies of the northwest? Do they have any culpability in this regard? Leaving aside the emotive, historically rooted, issues of the impact and legacies of colonialism and imperialism, there are more contemporary focal points of double standards that are conveniently ignored.

The first concerns agricultural subsidies in the northwest.³ These amount roughly to US \$200 billion annually, or twice the estimated resource cost of meeting the MDGs in the entire southeast. This unethical and hypocritical position is brazenly maintained year after year while at the same time insisting on market based rules in the poor countries, involving the withdrawal of agricultural subsidies there. A major US aid agency, CARE, recently criticised the WFP's use of US food surpluses as 'aid' to Africa, and rejected \$45 million of US Government food aid on grounds that this harmed local



agricultural development and the livelihoods of African peasants.⁴

The second pertains to the linkage between good governance and military expenditure. The arms trade adds up to over a trillion US dollars per year, or about ten times the total annual MDG estimated resource cost. While new developing economies have entered this game as suppliers, the vast percentage of the trade is controlled and supplied, with financial credits, by the rich countries with the full acquiescence if not connivance in questionable governance practices of their own governments.

A third major example is the environment. The northwest, with some honourable exceptions, has consistently shirked its responsibilities and looked the other way as the planet suffered. The United States, the single largest contributor to global environment deterioration, chooses to remain outside any committed time frame to a programme of responsible environmental control. The arrival of the newly emerging countries has only complicated the search for global solutions, with the rich countries taking refuge behind the reluctance of the emerging economies to control their growth without compensation.

On inequality, a deafening silence

The MDG template of targets cares not a bit about inequality and says not a jot about social exclusion. To the contrary, the poor are repeatedly read litanies from high and distant levels that inequality does not matter so long as absolute poverty is reduced. The majority of the world's population is asked to ignore, acquiesce to, or even to welcome, dramatically high and rising levels of inequality in most parts of the world. The legitimising discourses are simultaneously ingenious and disingenuous.

The previous Dutch minister⁵ for development cooperation declared that the poor woman in the Jakarta slum should not be concerned about overnight millionaires generated by the stock exchange, so long as she had the money to send her child to school. Jeffrey Sachs, arguably the centre-forward of the UN MDG team, has likewise stated that the leaders of the developing world, in adopting the MDGs, had agreed that they would focus on absolute poverty and give up on the issue of inequality *per se*. Arjun Sengupta, a senior Indian economist, and a defender of the rights-driven

approach to development, has recently argued that it would be fine to leave the top 20 percent undisturbed to enjoy their wealth, and for government policy to focus separately on the bottom 80 percent. This creates the false impression that the two sub-economies and populations live in independent, unconnected countries, if not worlds. But do they? Does the consumption of the rich have no fallout for the resource squeeze, or environmental stress and degradation for the rest of the population? Does it not crowd out the space for the rest in the health and educational systems? Indeed, does it not subvert the process of governance and government itself?

Others, relying on the tired ghost of Pareto, attempt to ethically legitimise such extreme inequality in the current growth process asserting that even extreme inequality should be acceptable so long as the poor do not lose out in absolute terms; anyone rejecting this position is then pejoratively labelled a 'spiteful egalitarian'. But if Pareto's ghost could borrow a voice, it might point out that Pareto might be equally contented with the diametrically opposite scenario, where all the benefits of new growth went entirely to the poor, so long as the rich did not suffer a drop in incomes!

And several have argued an instrumental defence of inequality on the grounds that it leavens the wheels of commerce and creates the wealth that then might trickle down to the poor. This has been read as *carte blanche*, almost literally, on how far inequality should or could be allowed to go and be accepted. Last year, the annual bonus of one young manager of a top hedge fund was more than the total national income of a short list of poor countries. The rule book of the neo-liberal game tells us that controlling inequality would preempt growth; slay the goose called inequality, and there will be no more proverbial golden eggs.

Separately fiscal redistributors have argued that while the primary economic process should be allowed to work in an unrestricted fashion in free markets, even if it generated high inequalities; there could subsequently be a correction at the secondary, post-tax, stage through fiscal redistributions in favour of the poor. This is a popular position of convenience but it does demand one interesting paradox or contradiction to be overlooked: that the rich classes which were unwilling to accept egalitarian interventions at the

primary stage would be ready to accept similarly motivated interventions and final outcomes at the secondary level!

The fact remains that inequalities have multiplied dramatically across the world, accompanied by new forms and rising levels of vulnerability, insecurity and exclusion. This is recognised explicitly even by an organisation such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in its last research report, where it warns of the dangers of the trends towards sharply rising inequality⁶. There is a substantial body of research which credibly argues that lower levels of inequality might actually be beneficial for growth; interestingly, the ADB report makes an acknowledgement of the soundness of this policy position favouring more egalitarian growth. But the MDGs will have none of it. There is scarcely a mention of inequality in the entire exercise. The one indicator that is used, the income share of the bottom quintile, is a very partial one and is fraught with problems of interpretation. Much breath, though not expenditure, is expended in lip service paid to the possibilities of pro-poor growth, but the structural pre-conditions for more egalitarian and probably rather slower growth retain an untouchable status, rather like the dalits who might be the potential beneficiaries of such a policy paradigm.

Endgame for Poverty?

The MDG book is rather like a sumptuous pre-summer holiday brochure full of beckoning destinations. But if you examine it long or carefully enough, unease sets in: why have so many destinations gone missing? Why can we not visit, for instance, the issue of inequality? Or, the abode of absolute poverty within rich countries? Or, the country of rights? What about mapping a route to get to flatlands of global democracy? How shall we take along the elderly, and the handicapped on the journey - or shall we surreptitiously and conveniently leave them behind? Then we are told that many desirable destinations, like universal secondary education, or better universal health care, or decent universal pension schemes, or full employment at a reasonable minimum wage, are too expensive, or that the road atlas supplied by the agency does not carry route maps for them - shall we accept such censorship without question? Is there just one travel agency in town?

The MDGs constitute a fundamental intervention in development discourse and

practice. Disguised as these might be, the MDG phenomenon is hardly devoid of a latent rationale and potent agenda. Who, in their right minds, would not welcome the achievement of the goals listed? And yet, it is an intervention that dumbs down development discourse through colonising the space for critical vision and challenge; it disempowers by straitjacketing the development rights and options of the poor and the disenfranchised. It lobotomises the intellectual and political imagination and replaces alternative pathways to egalitarian democratic development by pushing, through mass advertising campaigns, a universal-cure-all formula: neo-liberal globalisation + MDGs = development. The MDG phenomenon is intensifying, if not creating, powerful tendencies towards the technocratisation, bureaucratisation, de-politicisation, and the sanitisation and securitisation of the development process within an emerging and rapidly integrating hierarchy of decision-making, controls and responsibilities. As such, it represents the end of development understood loosely as a process of conflictual contestation between elites and excluded classes over the nature of the process of societal change both vying for control over resources, institutions and power. However, in this project, it is unlikely to succeed whether at the level of discourse or direct intervention. This new propaganda of neo-liberal development might be effective in hiding the larger issues for a while for a few; but it cannot make the foundational structural and political fissures disappear in their entirety, or for long, or for the majority. Reality has an incurable habit of striking back at illusion. ■

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Eurobarometer, *Attitudes towards Development Aid*, Special Eurobarometer 222, EU; February 2005.

- 2 For a detailed interrogation, see Ashwani Saith, "From Universal Values to MDGs: Lost in Translation", *Development and Change*, Vol. 37, No.6, November 2006; p.1167-1200. <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2006.00518.x>
- 3 Of course, geographically deep southeast locations, Australia and New Zealand, remain prime northwest club members in politico-economic terms.
- 4 Story from BBC NEWS: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/1/2007/08/17_10:00:39_GMT Published: 2007/08/17 10:00:39 GMT
- 5 Van Ardenne-van der Hoeven, "Its About Poverty", speech at the launch of the UNDP Human Development Report 2005; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 5 September 2005; available online at: <http://www.minbuza.nl>
- 6 Asian Development Bank, *Key Indicators 2007: Inequality in Asia*, Special Chapter on Inequality; Manila, 2007.

Since the mid-1990s, Japanese and American museum curators have experienced a firestorm of criticism for their exhibits on the Second World War, highlighting the relationship between museums, their audiences and the professional responsibilities of curators.

Curating controversy: exhibiting the Second World War in Japan and the United States since 1995

LAURA HEIN

Until the public battle over the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum's 1995 exhibit on the Enola Gay airplane and a series of conservative attacks on Japanese peace museums that began in 1996, curators had faced little criticism over exhibits related to the Second World War in either the United States or Japan. Both countries have many museums that unabashedly celebrate military actions. Usually founded by military units or veterans groups, they emphasise military strategy, the heroism of commanders and soldiers, and the ingenuity and sheer force of military technology. Other museums reject the legitimacy of war altogether. The oldest and best-attended of these is the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. While there is nothing on the scale of the Hiroshima Museum in the United States, the Peace Museum in Chicago proclaims a very similar message.

The Japanese municipal museum with one of the most profoundly self-critical analyses of the Asia-Pacific War is the Osaka International Peace Center, or Peace Osaka, which opened in the Osaka Castle Park in 1991. (The Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum is similarly critical.) The museum evolved out of efforts by local citizens groups to remember the impact of the war on Osaka, particularly the approximately fifty American air-raid attacks. In order to explain why the city was attacked so many times, the planners agreed on an exhibit that portrayed Japan as not only the victim but also the aggressor in Asia. The exhibit also explained that Osaka Castle Park was used as a munitions factory during the war. While this information was absolutely accurate, mention of it acknowledged that Osaka had been a military as well as a civilian target, potentially justifying the American bombardment. Their fundamental message was that war should always be avoided.



In 1996, conservative groups began attacking Peace Osaka. While the museum had opened with wide support within Japan, the museum currently makes little effort to mobilise this substantial political constituency, and instead tries to avoid controversies at any cost. For example, Peace Osaka has prohibited their own oral history narrators from talking about subjects other than

their personal experiences. It has also withdrawn educational worksheets for school children after receiving criticisms that they were 'too biased'. The museum staff obviously has decided on a defensive posture to maintain the status quo.¹

Curators and their audiences

Other museums have handled the problem of criticism in a variety of ways. One is to limit war-related exhibits to uncontroversial aspects of any given subject. This often means focusing on the experience of civilians and emphasising daily life on the home front or front lines rather than battle strategy. A second common strategy in both countries has been to present a pastiche of individual experiences rather than one overarching narrative - collecting memories rather than collectivising them. This strategy has been particularly useful for acknowledging the sensitive history of race relations in the United States. Curators can no longer choose one white soldier to stand in for everyone; the simple act of organising an exhibit as a collection of varied stories immediately highlights the specific experiences of non-whites. American museum exhibits on the Second World War now routinely discuss what the D-Day Museum in New Orleans calls the 'lamentable American irony of World War II', that the armed forces were racially segregated throughout the war.² Similarly, 'A More Perfect Union' at the National Museum of American History, which opened in 1987, treated wartime internment of Japanese Americans as a violation of civil rights that diminished constitutional protections for all Americans.³

In the United States, the controversy over the Enola Gay exhibit spurred museum professionals to negotiate more with the public. Many of them have concluded that there is a single correct interpretation of an event as major and complex as the Second World War. As Lonnie Bunch, now Director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, explained, "Museums must not look to educate visitors to a singular point of view. Rather the goal is to create an informed public."⁴

This attitude is less prevalent in Japan, in part because most peace museum staff members are not professional museologists, especially those at public museums. Rather, they are career civil servants, who just happened to be appointed to the curatorial division of a peace museum as a part of their regular rotation through local government, doing such jobs as issuing vehicle licences and managing national health insurance. They knew little about operating a museum or the history of the war, making it difficult for them to defend their institutions. While many Japanese museums provide personal testimony for visitors' perusal, they generally present personal narratives as illustrations of a typical experience rather than using a set of them to

sketch out the full range of differing individual experiences. The Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum is a significant exception, in that it has incorporated the oral narratives of forced labourers from Korea.



Confronting irreconcilable differences

Yet, while essential, reshaping the museum-audience relationship into a more collaborative endeavour will never be enough. The real challenge is to negotiate between irreconcilable groups within the public. In both nations, the ugliest fights have occurred when the audience in question is young people. Rather than allowing them to reach their own conclusions about the war, both American critics of the Enola Gay exhibit and Japanese ones of Peace Osaka wanted sole interpretive authority. American veterans who opposed the original Enola Gay exhibit resisted displaying Japanese civilians in a sympathetic manner - people who indisputably had been harmed by American state action - because they feared that viewing it would turn young Americans against their own government. Tom Crouch, one of the Enola Gay curators, recalls that one of the key moments in the negotiation process with the American Legion occurred over precisely this point. A Vietnam War veteran told Crouch that he had given the first script of the exhibit to his 13-year-old daughter to read and she had been horrified by American use of the bomb on civilians. The veteran then told Crouch "I can't let you mount an exhibit that does that."⁵

In Japan, too, most controversies about war memory focus on shaping the attitudes of young people. Initially Second World War museums were peripheral to this issue, because so many of them were originally conceived of as a religious memorial or to console survivors. Yet an increasingly large share of Japanese history museum-goers are school children. Echoing the anxieties of their American counterparts, Japanese critics of peace museums fear young Japanese will accept what they think of as a "Tokyo Trials view of history". In both cases, the critics argued that the state has the right to present its own actions in the best possible light to its own younger citizens, even by withholding information that has been common knowledge for decades. More fundamentally, in both nations these celebrants of state power deprive young people of the opportunity to engage exhib-

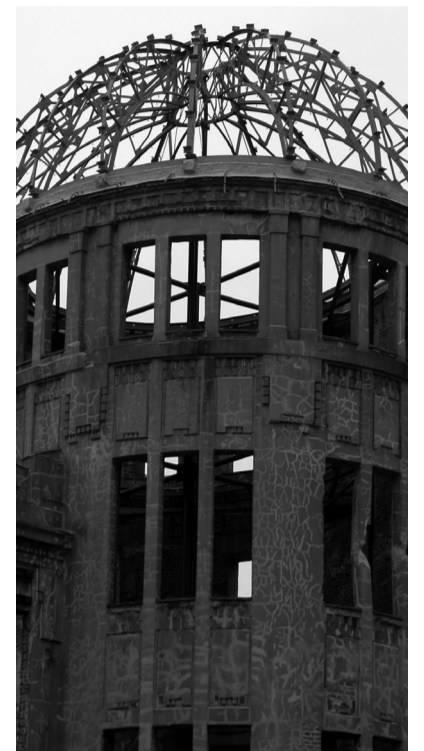
its through their own ethical and historical questions, leaving them ill-equipped to face a morally ambiguous world.

Museum exhibits on the Second World War have another largely neglected audience - international visitors. Japanese museums try harder to accommodate foreign visitors than do American ones, for example with bilingual or multilingual signage. The Hiroshima Museum demonstrates its concern for international visitors by offering no opinion on whether the United States committed a war crime. The museum's silence is almost certainly out of sensitivity to American attitudes. Because, in contrast to the United States, the near-universal opinion in Japan is that the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were clearly war crimes under the definitions incorporated into law at the Nuremberg and Tokyo War Crimes Trials.

By contrast, American Second World War exhibits have not included foreigners in the same way that they have come to include the perspectives of non-white Americans. Yet the simple act of shifting one 's' imaginative focus to individuals rather than nation-sized protagonists makes the nationality of those individuals seem far less important. The National D-Day Museum in New Orleans collects reminiscences of the war from all participants - including Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese - not just American, and acknowledges that racism played a large role in intensifying the violence on both sides in the Asia-Pacific theatre. Moreover, attention to the humanity of Japanese-Americans automatically calls attention to Japanese nationals, since immigrants were not permitted to become U.S. citizens because they were not white.

Further, simply documenting the troubling history of global genocide, war crimes, state terrorism, and systematic cruelty itself encourages comparative thinking. The International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, a "world-wide network of organisations and individuals dedicated to teaching and learning how historic sites and museums can inspire social consciousness and action," explicitly presents the subjects of state terrorism, human trafficking, and racism, among others, as equivalent across national boundaries. This website links thirteen museums, including the Terezin Memorial in the Czech Republic, the District Six Museum in South Africa, and the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. While each museum focuses on a specific history of persecution, the international coalition effectively uses the global technology of the world wide web to pose the question of comparability of experience across national borders.⁶

Finally, to return to the history of the atomic bomb, many Americans have never been comfortable with the official narrative because it never fit well within a framework



of proportionate retribution. Indeed, people come to look at the Enola Gay airplane because they already see it as a complex symbol. If, as museum professionals now emphasise, visitors bring their own meaning to exhibits, display of the Enola Gay will forever provide an invitation to debate the moral and strategic legitimacy of the use of the bomb in August 1945 even though the exhibit itself attempts to assert only one point of view. ■

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Notes

- 1 Akiko Takenaka interview with Ltsuki Kazuko, February 3, 2005
- 2 See website of the National D-Day Museum in New Orleans at <http://www.ddaymuseum.org>
- 3 <http://americanhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/experience/index.html>
This exhibit is now only on line.
- 4 Lonny Bunch, Fighting the Good Fight, Museum News, (March-April 1995), 32-35, 58-62.
- 5 Tom Crouch interview with Laura Hein, June 29, 2004.
- 6 <http://www.sitesofconscience.org>.

This is a much abridged version of 'Exhibiting World War II in Japan and the United States since 1945', Laura Hein and Akiko Takenaka, *Pacific Historical Review* 76.1 (February 2007): 61-94.

Can economic growth in the industrialised world, and burgeoning industrialisation in the developing world, continue without access to fossil fuels? The short answer is no, because the survival of societies, and thus states, depends on economic dynamism and technological innovation, which are impossible without access to raw materials and fossil fuels. This is why, since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the vast gas and oil reserves of the Caspian Region have become the object of the latest phase of the 'Great Game'.

The 'Great Game' continued: Central Eurasia and Caspian Region fossil fuels

XUETANG GUO AND MEHDI P. AMINEH

Post-Cold War geopolitics has been characterised by unipolar military power (America) and global economic tripolarity (North America, the European Union and East Asia). Competition over access to fossil fuels, meanwhile, has intensified owing to increased scarcity, geographic concentration, domestic demand and import dependence, forcing energy – and, indeed, foreign – policy to emphasise strategies that secure energy supplies. Thus today's major power politics revolve around access to natural resources.

Thanks to the war in Iraq, American military borders and geopolitical power now extend from southern Europe to the Middle East to a particularly resource-rich region that American strategy aims to cut off from Russia, Europe and China: the Caspian Region. A long-term American military presence could open it to American business and non-governmental organisations, which might empower America to shape the region's societies and control access to its oil and gas. This would give the lone superpower indirect control over the economic and technological development of regional contenders such as China, India and Russia. Whether or not it succeeds, the American effort is already inducing responses from both near and far.

The object of the game

The Caspian Region (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Russia) is home to 45% of the world's known gas reserves and 10% of its oil reserves. This vast yet concentrated wealth has transformed the Caspian Region and the whole of Central Eurasia into an intersection of interstate rivalry, enterprise competition, and intervention by regional state and non-state actors.

Aside from Russia and Iran, the region is not in the territorial sphere of the security institutions of any one of the major powers, hence there is no 'agreed upon', and thus 'stable', zone of influence. Extra-regional state and non-state actors compete to exercise power and influence over the politics and societies of their hosts by searching for allies among local actors. Given this complex matrix of social forces, competition and cooperation are ad hoc, complex and even ambiguous. Uncertainty and unpredictability are the rules of the game. As all major powers are involved and regime legitimacy is at stake, competition here has the potential to destabilise the entire world system.

For example, China in particular must tap these resources to secure an adequate energy supply, which brings it into competition, if not confrontation, with America. In recent decades, the Chinese economy has been growing at a rate substantially above that of the world and is becoming

more dependent on imports, especially fossil fuels. America's oil production, meanwhile, peaked way back in 1970-71; if its oil imports are interrupted, it has no spare capacity for its European and East Asian allies. Both powers want into a fossil fuel-rich region that is essentially Russia's backyard.

Pipeline politics

America's main obstacle to expanding its role in the Caspian Region is Russian influence, particularly over the main transport routes of oil and gas to the European Union. In the late 1990s, the Americans became involved in determining the location of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline. Backed by the Clinton Administration and constructed in 2002 by an international consortium in which British and American oil companies played the leading role, the BTC is an important part of the East-West energy corridor. It circumvents Iran and Russia in order to minimise both countries' influence, and is the first major oil export route connecting Caspian oil to European consumers. Oil from Azerbaijan began flowing through the BTC in May 2005 to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Ceyhan, located near the massive American military base at Incirlik.

As though in response, Russia concluded deals for gas pipelines into its territory at the May 2007 Ashgabat gas pipeline summit. These included the construction of the Caspian Littoral Gas Pipeline from eastern Turkmenistan and a parallel pipeline from Kazakhstan, and the rehabilitation and perhaps expansion of the Central Asia Centre Pipeline from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These pipeline agreements have reinforced Russia's regional political influence by increasing its control over energy exports and forestalling rival routes to the West.

China, too, is contending for influence on pipeline location and construction, motivated by its overdependence on Middle Eastern oil and its own perception that it lacks control over market and strategic factors in times of emergency. China currently imports 60 percent of its oil from the Middle East, and the region's political instability coupled with the possibility of military confrontation with America over Taiwan makes China nervous, as it lacks the military capability to protect oil shipments over its long-distance marine route, especially at the chokepoints of the Hormuz and Malacca Straits. In other words, China fears an American blockade of its Middle Eastern oil imports in the event of irreconcilable conflict. Diversifying supplies by seeking overland oil transportation routes from Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region is an attractive alternative. Thus in late 2006, China and Kazakhstan agreed to build the second section of the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline, and gas-rich Turkmenistan agreed to a gas pipeline to China through Kazakh territory.

Rising China

China's recent engagements with Central Eurasian and Caspian countries, namely Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, have unsettled the Americans. The region's political turbulence, and the geopolitical energy rivalry instigated by the Americans, have propelled Russia and China to build regional strategic partnerships, the most important of which is the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). Led by China and Russia, its members include Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and four observer states, Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan and India. Under the SCO framework, bilateral and multilateral energy cooperation will play a significant role in counteracting American ambitions. Meanwhile, America's plans to deploy a missile defence system in East European countries and Japan may spur closer military cooperation between Russia and China within the SCO.

A politically stable and economically developing Central Eurasia and Caspian Region is in China's interest, as it shares a 3,000 km border with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan and a 4,300 km border with Russia. China once had disputed borders with all four countries, which could have fuelled a separatist movement in China's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and damaged China's national security interests. By signing the Agreement on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions in 1996, the first multilateral security agreement between them, and bilateral and multilateral border agreements later that decade, the disputes have been resolved. Moreover, since establishing diplomatic ties in the 1990s, China's trade relationship with the region's countries has been growing sharply. From 1992 to 2005, total bilateral trade between China and the five Central Asian countries has increased 190 percent from a mere \$459 million to \$8.73 billion.

Meanwhile, multilateral energy cooperation has been active since the 2006 SCO summit meeting in Shanghai, where Russian President Vladimir Putin spurred the creation of an energy club to expand transportation and communication cooperation. Whether bilaterally or multilaterally, China's energy involvement in Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region is deepening, and this deeply concerns Washington.

An oil-lovers' triangle: Russia and the future of Sino-American relations

China's strategic demand for supply security and its active energy engagement policy alarm Washington. Four factors will fundamentally determine the nature of Sino-American relationship with respect to Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region.

(1) China's role in SCO over the next ten years. China owes its deepening relations in the region to the increased

military, political and economic cooperation among SCO members. Whether SCO exists as regional balancer or global balancer, China will be a great power to be reckoned with in the region, but the uncertainty of SCO cohesion in the face of American challenges could undermine China's geopolitical influence.

(2) China's energy cooperation with Central Eurasian and Caspian states. If China's bilateral and multilateral energy cooperation moves forward too rapidly, an already wary America might respond more aggressively.

(3) How Russia defends its backyard against penetration by other great powers, particularly America and China. Russia's current defence policy in the region, like the Soviet Union's during the Cold War, uses China as a balancing power to counter the strategic offensive of America's war on terror. The uncertainty of such triangular relations not only affects the long-term strategic partnership between China and Russia, but also future geopolitics between China and America.

(4) The American regional military presence and its ongoing geopolitical consequences. While unilateral American military penetration has resulted in turbulence and instability, China bilaterally and multilaterally seeks to promote multi-polarisation and to balance powers by working with SCO countries. So far, American power projection has induced geopolitical backlashes from Russia, China and the region, such as calling for the withdrawal of American troops and closer military cooperation within SCO.

A new Cold War?

Oil and gas are sources of energy, and thus sources of wealth and power, including the capacity to project military power into the world's energy-rich areas. Existing resources are decreasing rapidly while newly discovered ones disappoint. Major oil consumers will have to implement more active policies in order to satisfy their oil needs and intervene militarily to safeguard oil production. Export will become more intense. This will have enormous implications for global peace and security.

In this new 'Great Game', each of the main powers – America, Russia and China – is backing a different pipeline project and seeking to draw the region's governments into its respective orbit. Many fear a new Cold War, as it is not yet clear whether the main powers will see each other as rivals, allies or as combinations of the two. America could use political, economic and perhaps military pressure to expand its influence and remove any obstacles to the safe flow of oil. Unable to compete with the Americans militarily, China will try

to avoid confronting Washington head-on and ally with local powers to defend its regional interests. Russia, meanwhile, might continue to work with China politically and militarily to defend its backyard from American geopolitical challenges. Each main power's nightmare is finding itself alone against an alliance of the other two. The world's nightmare is direct confrontation among any of them. ■

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Asian New Religious Movements are attracting converts in every continent. They offer members a comprehensive cultural system of beliefs, rituals, daily routines, diet, dress styles and patterns of relationship. While often based on pre-modern Asian values and practices, these are accepted by converts from a global sweep of cultures without modification. As agents promoting the truly global application of holistic cultural systems, they warrant our attention.

Asian New Religious Movements as global cultural systems

WENDY A. SMITH

New Religious Movements (NRMs) present holistic social systems of beliefs and values, rituals for coping with crisis and uncertainty, daily routines, codes for dress, diet and relationships, ways of speaking, greeting, annual festivals and rituals for birth, marriage (where appropriate) and death, to converts across the globe. Joining such organisations radically changes a convert's cultural perspective on life. But even more important is the fact that many NRMs have made this impact across a global sweep of cultures with little perceivable variation in the way converts from different national origins accept the new system. This phenomenon is especially striking when the NRMs are from Asia and introduce radically different ritual and daily life practices from those found in the West.

My aim is to compare the NRMs with multinational corporations (MNCs) in terms of their global presence: the scale of their operations, membership numbers, property holdings and human resource management (HRM) practices, and their impact on the cultures of daily life. MNCs too have had the power to override traditional cultural values and practices through their globalised systems of production and consumption. For instance, young Muslim factory women in Malaysia leave their families and go unescorted into the night to work the third shift for multinational semiconductor corporations, transcending strict Islamic values about the supervision of unmarried women by their male relatives. Working class Malaysian families take their children for a 'status' outing to a KFC outlet, even though the deep fried chicken drumsticks sold at roadside stalls may be tastier and cost one third of the price. But these are still piecemeal responses to global culture. It is only at the level of middle class affluence that the global values of consumer culture are imposed as a total lifestyle, as people cut traditional ties and consolidate their efforts to achieve prosperity for the nuclear family as the main unit of consumption.

The power of multinational economic organisations to transcend local traditional cultural values and material lifestyles is well documented, but I wish to focus attention on the similar role of multinational or 'global' NRMs in having equal, if not more, power to transform the behaviour, values, material cultures and patterns of social relationships of people in both traditional and modern cultures with a uniformity and universality which is striking. Their effect is even more powerful than the piecemeal power of the MNCs because active membership frequently involves a total transformation of one's daily lifestyle and relationships. In this way the NRMs present a comprehensive

cultural package to their followers. What is even more striking is that this cultural package will be taken up equally by followers all over the world, and from every socio-economic stratum, often when it is quite different or even antithetical to their original cultural background.

These global NRMs frequently originate from Asia, in which case their beliefs and rituals are grounded in the Asian culture of origin, often in its pre-modern form. This makes for quite an extreme form of cultural dissonance with followers from the West, Africa and Latin America. Yet converts accept the total package of doctrine and lifestyle and modify their persona, personal values, daily routines, kin and voluntary relationships, not to mention diet, speech patterns and dress, in order to embrace their new spiritual path. And this happens to the same degree among all the members within one NRM, uniformly, across a global sweep of cultures both east and west. Because the NRMs are 'new', hybridity of practices and beliefs have not had time to develop, as is the case in the established religions.

NRMs as MNCs

Organisationally, it is also significant that these NRMs can be compared to MNCs on many levels. Firstly, in terms of their global reach, many of them have branch centres in the capital cities and other major regional cities of countries in all continents. Moreover, some of them were constituted to have this global focus from the outset and their very name reflects this. For instance, a neo-Hindu movement based at Mt Abu, Rajasthan, India, is called the Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University (BKWSU) and a Shintoistic NRM based in Japan, is called the Church of World Messianity (*Sekai Kyusei Kyo*).

The global focus is more than in name however. Many movements have pilgrimage places which attract members from all over the world, and it is a thought-provoking sight at a time when globalisation has become a cliché, to see members from widely disparate geographic and cultural regions mingling together, totally unified by their common adherence to the faith. In this sense, the 'corporate culture' of the spiritual organisation acts strongly to dominate national or ethnic cultures of origin. (Smith 2002). The services are conducted with simultaneous translation in many languages. But the global mindset of the organisation is not just a matter of making the doctrine available in foreign languages. It stems from a philosophy that all humanity is one, albeit with Japanese or Indian culture as the original culture. Often NRMs frame themselves as supra-religions, which, they assert, transcend the established religions and avoid their narrow and limiting conceptualisations. This philosophy is built into the name of



another Japanese Shintoistic NRM, *Sukyo Mahikari* (Supra Religion of True Light).

A striking example of a NRM with a global approach from the outset is *Tenrikyo*, with two million followers, 500,000 outside Japan, served by 200 overseas churches. *Tenrikyo* is Japan's earliest major new religion, founded before the Meiji Restoration by Miki Nakayama, a 41 year old woman from a peasant family, after she received divine revelations in 1838. It established its own library, university and ethnological museum in the 19th century, in order to aid the missionary activity of its early adherents. The Tenri Museum displayed the daily artefacts of the countries where missionaries would be sent so that they would be familiar with the cultures they would have to interact with. The Tenri University was set up as an institution for teaching foreign languages to missionaries, and so strong is the movement's outward gaze that its religious texts were published in 16 foreign languages from the early days. All these institutions are located in Tenri City, established 1881, which is a pilgrimage place for members from all over the world.

As MNC style organisations, NRMs also have extensive property holdings. They usually have a headquarters complex which includes sacred spaces, often able to seat very large gatherings of tens of thousands of people, administrative offices and accommodation for pilgrims. Often the organisations include philanthropic institutions such as hospitals and environmental projects such as ecologically sensitive farms – *Sukyo Mahikari's* Yoko agriculture, or beautiful parks such as *Sekai Kyusei Kyo's* gardens in Japan, (see www.moa-inter.or.jp/english/shinsenkyo/shin.html).

In line with their extensive property, is the magnitude of the NRMs financial revenue, with the turnover of capital in the form of donations and events management – the BKWSU regularly feeds 10,000 pilgrims

attending its ceremonies, for instance - demonstrating organisational expertise which rivals that of very large scale business enterprises. Like MNCs they have the challenge of recruiting, training and retaining good administrative staff, many of whom qualify primarily in terms of their spiritual stature and have to be trained thereafter to run an organisation or centre in a secular context. However, the nature of the belief system makes staff posted to foreign centres more easily able to transcend the cross-cultural issues which bedevil corporate managers on overseas postings - as the NRMs 'corporate culture' which is shared by everyone, becomes the culture of interaction. Indeed the NRMs have policies to actively post their spiritual leaders and administrators to countries foreign to them. For instance in the BKWSU, which has 800,000 members worldwide, served by over 5,000 centres in 128 countries, the country coordinator in Greece is Australian, in Italy is British and in Japan is Indian.

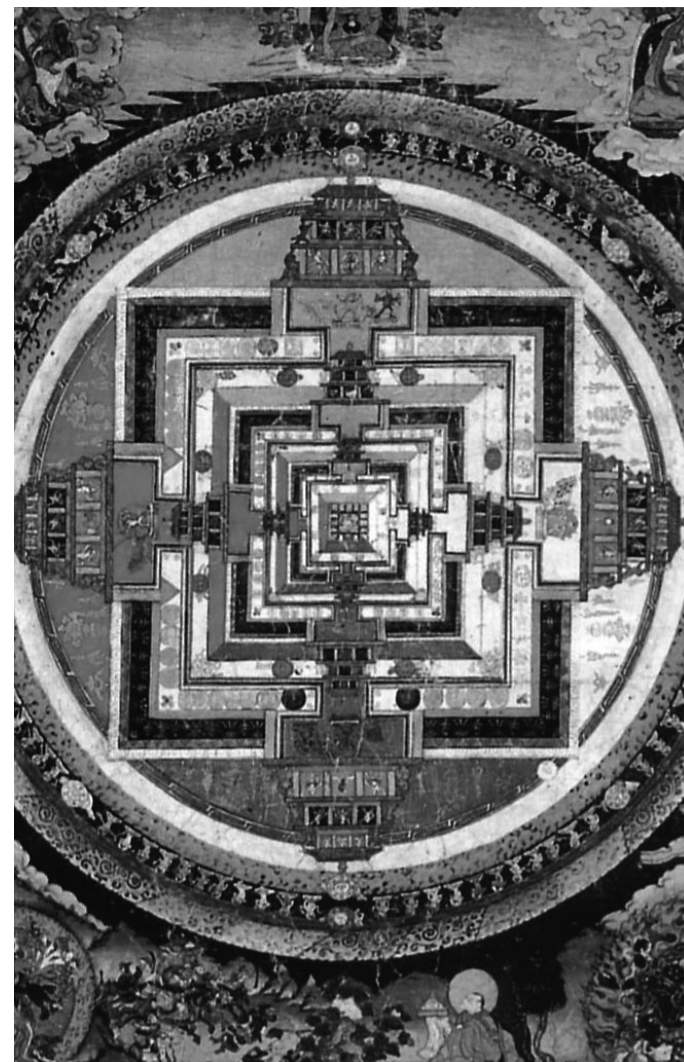
NRMs as agents of truly global forms of culture

It is the ability of these global NRMs to provide a total cultural system to their members which distinguishes them from MNCs and gives them a higher level of global status. Conversion often involves members changing their daily lifestyles and even leaving long term relationships. Conversion to the religion is on an individual basis, taking the individual away from established community patterns of worship and belief. Often other family members may follow although this is not always the case and it can impose hardship if the dramatically altered lifestyles and values cannot be accepted or adopted by relatives or friends of the convert. Brahma Kumaris in the inner, committed circle, are vegetarian, celibate, and rise daily at 4am to practise raja yoga meditation. This lifestyle gives expression to the Indian spiritual traditions of *brahmacharya* (celibacy) and the *satvic* (pure) diet. Married converts have often had to forgo their

marriage partnership. Strict adherence requires that they only eat food cooked by themselves or other Brahma Kumaris in order to benefit from the pure vibrations of the person cooking the food. This has meant that some members do not eat food cooked by their mothers or other relatives who are not in the movement, thus challenging one of the most basic social activities which fosters social relationships, eating together.

Brahma Kumaris attend their local centre for meditation, the reading of a revealed text and class discussion from 5.30 until 7.00 am. In earlier times, Brahma Kumaris around the world dressed in white, a colour of spiritual practice in India and other Asian cultures, even during secular activities, but this has now been modified outside India. Yet the benefits of such a lifestyle include enhanced soul consciousness and a sense of peace which those from outside the movement notice and comment upon. At the same time, members are encouraged to participate fully in secular society and many hold full-time professional, clerical or manual jobs and remain incognito as far as possible.

Sukyo Mahikari does not impose dietary or marriage restrictions, but members are encouraged to come to the centre each day and engage in the practice of *mahikari no waza*, the transference of Pure Light or divine energy. The centres are very Japanese in style: members must wash their hands, as one does when visiting a Shinto shrine, and remove their shoes before entering, kneel on the floor and bow to the shrine and to each other, as in Japan, in many social and ritual contexts. Behaviour and attitude are very formal and emphasis is on thoughtfulness to others. The prayer which precedes the giving of Light, *Amatsu Norigoto*, is recited in archaic Japanese in a loud voice and all members have memorised it. I have observed centres in Japan, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, and everywhere, the atmosphere and practices are the same, despite the



fact that some of these practices are very alien to the members' native cultures. It is also significant to observe, for instance, young women giving Light to elderly gentlemen, Indians to Chinese, in other words, not only ethnic boundaries but also gender and age differences are transcended to an unusual degree in an Asian cultural context. Moreover, at home, members are encouraged to maintain an ancestral altar and offer food to the ancestors several times a day, a practice which has overtones of Japanese Buddhist observances in traditional households. In *Sukyo Mahikari*, these practices which focus on purification, are associated with the occurrence of miracles in the healing of major illnesses, and other aspects of members' lives regularly turn for the better, (Tebecis, 1982), but the relationships and social activities of the members gradually drift away from pre-conversion patterns and come to revolve around the centre and other members.

Speech patterns are also modified through membership of NRMs. Brahma Kumaris refer to other people as 'souls', and male and female members as 'brothers' and 'sisters'. *Mahikari* members speak with reference to their gratitude for everything that happens to them, both good and bad, and preface accounts of their own doings with "I was permitted to ...", thus showing respect for the divine plan of Su God. In order to speak within the community of members, one must make a mental adjustment to the rules of discourse of the movement. This is of course easier if one is only interacting with other members but if one is moving in and out of secular society, it is a reminder of the layers of culture within which one exists.

These outward speech patterns are a manifestation of an inner transformation which has taken place in terms of members' understanding of the divine underpinnings of human life. Hence the Shinto emphasis on cleanliness, and the Hindu emphasis on purity in food, and *brah-*

macariya, which are mainstream elements of these global NRMs, have been adopted without question by committed members of these religions, regardless of the degree of disparity between these ideas and practices and those of their original cultures or socio-economic and socio-political backgrounds. ■

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Since the colonial era, Chinese businesses in Malaysia have adapted to economic and political changes by evolving from tin-mining and rubber cultivation to commodity production, banking and finance, construction and property development, and industrial and advanced technology manufacturing. Simultaneously, intra-ethnic and Chinese family businesses have evolved into inter-ethnic and plural enterprises in order to adapt to government policies that favour indigenous people. With the onslaught of globalisation, Chinese entrepreneurs have transformed anew, proving once again that Chinese entrepreneurship is not static but dynamic.

From tin to Ali Baba's gold: the evolution of Chinese entrepreneurship in Malaysia

CHIN YEE WHAH

Tin men, rubber men, middle men: Chinese entrepreneurs under British rule. The Chinese dominated tin-mining in Malaysia before Europeans introduced dredging technology in the early 20th century. Subsequently, Chinese mining companies lost out to European joint-stock companies with more sophisticated technology and capital. Moreover, colonial government discrimination and intervention favoured European companies over Chinese firms (Jomo 1988).

In the early 1900s Chinese entrepreneurs incorporated rubber-production into their established gambier and pepper economic networks. In the 1930s, following the development of rubber plantations and trading and the inter-war expansion of manufacturing, they established banks to address the financial needs of Chinese businessmen (Tan 1953, Tan 1982). All early Chinese banks were clan- and ethnic-based and possessed only limited amounts of capital.

Most Chinese manufacturing during the inter-war years consisted of raw material-processing that required simple technology to produce rubber sheets, foodstuffs such as breads, biscuits, sweets and beverages, building materials and metal goods, and to process tin ore (Huff 1994). Chinese also monopolised rice mills in northern Malaya (Wu 2003), and, by 1955, owned an estimated 80-90% of the two minor sectors of manufacturing and construction (Wheelwright 1963).

Manufacturing activity, however, was small-scale owing to the British policy of importing most manufactured goods and to Britain's reluctance to promote large-scale industry alone. After the war, between 1947 and 1957, most Chinese manufacturing remained in agriculture and commodity-processing such as rubber-milling, rice-processing, pineapple-canning, tin-smelting, and coconut oil- and palm oil-refining. The Chinese also controlled the export-based timber industry (Puthuchery 1979) and played the important role of 'go-between', linking European importers to the rural and urban populace. Nonetheless, the British owned or controlled the economy's major sectors.

From miniscule to 'manufactory': independence and Chinese business expansion

With independence, the new government adopted a *laissez-faire* economic system that aimed to encourage foreign direct investment (FDI). This helped create many small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs). The government's greater national orientation in its development programmes, and the Malaysian Chinese Association's (MCA) role in preventing excessive bureaucratic interference in

private business, further enhanced the growth of Chinese businesses.

In the 1960s, Chinese participation in the manufacturing sector mostly remained small-scale and focused on food, plastic, rubber and wood-based industries. Most of these businessmen lacked the capital, technical know-how and managerial skills to compete with foreign interests. Moreover, with limited government incentives and support, Chinese companies remained small and were often dependent on foreign technology (Khor 1983:25). But their earlier success in rubber and tin allowed them to diversify in the financial sector, thereby spurring additional industrial and property development activities. Scores of banks were incorporated in the 1960s, all substantially controlled by Chinese with the exception of Bank Bumiputera (Hara 1991, Tan 1982). In the absence of a strong Malay entrepreneurial class, Chinese contractors and developers played the most significant role in the construction and property development of both private and state projects (Jesudason 1989, Lim 2004, Tan 2006).

Mostly small-scale, but a few Chinese conglomerates did emerge. For example, the Kouk Group used capital accumulated in rubber, sugar, rice, tin and trading to build



large manufacturing plants, such as Malaysia's first and largest sugar refinery, Malaysian Sugar, mainly through partnership with foreign companies and the government. Loy Hean Heong, who accumulated his capital from speculating in rubber estates, ventured into manufacturing by acquiring a fledging carbide company, an adhesive tape and rubber band company and an aluminium foil lamination company (Jesudason 1989). The Hong Leong group, originally from Singapore, also exerted a strong presence in the manufacturing of construction materials (Tan 1982). In 1968 the late Loh Boon Siew, the sole distributor of Honda motorcycles

and vehicles, established the first-ever fully Malaysian 'manufactory' and launched production well before the country's first industrial development push (Flower 2006). Meanwhile, the Tan family, who controlled the Tan Chong Group, the franchise-holder for Nissan vehicles in Malaysia and Singapore since 1958, and the Chua family, who controlled the Cycle & Carriage Company, became aggressively involved in the automobile industry (Troii 1991).

These large-scale Chinese manufacturers acquired knowledge and technology in related businesses by partnering with foreign companies, while the majority of Chinese entrepreneurs were small, family-based, possessed minimal capital and had limited access to sophisticated technology. That said, overall Chinese involvement in the economy clearly showed a notable shift from primary production to manufacturing.

Malaysian policy, Chinese response: the makings of the Ali-Baba alliance

Following the racial riots of 13 May 1969, the Malaysian government implemented the New Economic Policy (NEP, 1971-1990) 'to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function'. Its ultimate goals were 'the emergence of a full-fledge Malay entrepreneurial community within one generation' and increasing Bumiputera ownership of the corporate sector to 30% by 1990. In accordance with this affirmative action policy, ethnic quotas were introduced. Consequently, Bumiputeras were favoured in the awarding of government contracts, tender, loans and credit.

One of the controversial NEP regulations was the 1975 Industrial Coordination Act (ICA). Firms with more than RM100,000 in shareholder funds and more than 25 employees were required to employ a workforce that was 30% Malay and to reserve 30% of their equity for Malay interests. The ICA had its greatest effect on SME family-based businesses, but large companies were not spared. The Chinese business community responded in five different ways.

First, they shifted investment from the manufacturing sector to commerce, finance, construction, property development and other sectors that could generate quick returns and were not subject to the ICA (Jesudason 1989; Hara 1991; Yasuda 1991). Second, large companies relocated their headquarters and shifted most of their capital abroad, resulting in 'capital flight'. Third, those who stayed in Malaysia changed their business strategy to accommodate NEP requirements by incorporating influential Bumiputeras and integrating Bumiputera capital into their family-owned businesses (Gomez 1999, Searle 1999). Fourth, scores of companies maintained their paid-up capital just below the limit that required a company to offer 30% of its equity to Bumiputera shareholders.

Finally, Chinese businessmen maintained their economic position by forming 'Ali-Baba' alliances. 'Ali', or the Malay partner, was the less active or 'sleeping partner', contributing his political influence and connections. 'Baba', or the Chinese partner, was the more active half of the alliance, contributing his capital, skills and technical know-how. This kind of partnership gave Chinese access to licenses and lucrative government contracts reserved for Bumiputeras, especially in the construction and transportation sectors (Nonini 1983). In the wholesale and retail sector, Chinese entrepreneurs demonstrated their business network power and control by boycotting Bumiputera attempts (with government support) to cut off Chinese wholesales and retail access to the fruit market (Kuo 1991).

Equal partnership: 'new wealth' and the indispensable Bumiputera 'technopreneur'

Thus we can identify three types of Chinese wealth. 'Old wealth' includes businesses that developed into conglomerates before the NEP. 'New wealth' emerged in the 1990s after businesses successfully conformed to the NEP. 'Declining wealth' refers to those business groups that lacked entrepreneurial drive when the second or third generations took over and did not try, or failed, to adapt successfully to the NEP, and as a result either stagnated or declined (Heng and Sieh 2000).

At the corporate level, the new NEP-Malay capitalist class is closely integrated with Chinese 'new wealth' in various joint ventures. Consequently, in the 1990s, the concept of interdependence and the practice of complementing each other developed at the elite level. This new inter-ethnic corporate culture marks an important structural shift from Chinese family-based organisations to Sino-Bumiputera alliances (Gomez 2003, Searle 1999, Heng and Sieh 2000, Wazir 2000).

When the NEP officially came to an end in 1990, the National Development Plan (NDP, 1991-2000) was implemented to pursue the NEP's 'unachieved objectives', one of which was to advance the formation of the 'Bumiputera Commercial and Industrial Community' (BCIC), a Malay or Bumiputera entrepreneurial class. The NDP aimed to transfer entrepreneurial skills to Bumiputeras at the micro-level by encouraging joint ventures between them and non-Bumiputera or foreign investors. Bumiputera 'technopreneurs' would then become active in technology-based industry (Malaysia 2000). Scores of formal Sino-Bumiputera partnerships materialised in the late 1990s. These new 'strategic' partnerships, officially endorsed as 'genuine' joint ventures, signalled a major evolution in Sino-Bumiputera partnerships, occurring in industries such as tin-mining (Badhrol 1999), food-catering and shoe manufacturing (Rugayah 1994) and combine rice-har-

vesting (Rutten 2003). Partnerships shifted from construction to manufacturing and resulted in significant Bumiputera acquisition of technology, knowledge and skills. Knowledgeable and capable Bumiputeras created more value for their companies in technology-based industries, showing that government policies influenced both Chinese and Bumiputera business culture (Chin 2004, 2006).

Following the emergence of a capitalist and new Malay middle class (Abdul Rahman 2002), Chinese entrepreneurs began to see Bumiputera participation as crucial to enhancing business development, especially to placing the company on the fast track to public listing (*Sin Chew Jit Poh* 5 November 1995). The changes within these two ethnic societies, and high economic growth, gave birth to the Sino-Bumiputera 'equal' partnership. As a result, Chinese entrepreneurship has become more plural in the post-NEP and post-NDP era. Even though exclusive or intra-ethnic practices persist, Chinese business culture in Malaysia is gradually breaking away from intra-ethnic partnerships.

Adapting to new challenges in the global economy

The economic liberalisation that began in 1986 signifies a gradual lifting of ICA regulations. Since 1990, SMEs are no longer subject to the ICA stipulation of Bumiputera equity participation. This change indirectly encouraged Chinese-dominant SMEs to expand in terms of production scale and revenue. Thus Chinese entrepreneurs not only adjusted to Malaysia's changing environment but also to global capitalism, weathering the 1997 financial crisis through state assistance and their own responses (Chin 2003). Although the crisis is over, advances in science and technology and the liberalisation of trade under the Asian Free Trade Area and World Trade Organisation (WTO) regimes present new challenges, particularly to SMEs, which have yet to prove capable of withstanding global market demands and technological change. In this advanced technological age, Chinese Malaysian entrepreneurs continue to draw on their own resources – cultural values, acquired knowledge, accumulated experiences, skills and social network – to remain globally competitive. Their success has varied, but their adaptation, like the change that makes it necessary, has been constant for a century. ■

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In the centre of Port Louis, the capital of the Indian Ocean island nation of Mauritius, stands a statue of Adrien d'Epinay, the renowned forefather of the island's white minority known as Franco-Mauritians. For many Mauritians d'Epinay represents the resistance of the colonial elite white plantation owners to the abolition of slavery, and many islanders call for the statue's removal as often as they criticise the privileged position of d'Epinay's descendants. Nevertheless, both the statue and the white elite are still standing.

Still standing: the maintenance of a white elite in Mauritius

TIJO SALVERDA

Mauritius was completely uninhabited until the Dutch settled there in 1598. They abandoned the island in 1710, and a few years later the French took it, imported large numbers of slaves from Africa and established a sugarcane plantation economy. The whites who settled during this period were the pioneers and main ancestors of the present-day Franco-Mauritian community. Adrien d'Epinay himself was born during this period.

However, d'Epinay mainly lived under British authority, as the British captured Mauritius in 1810, during the Napoleonic Wars, in order to establish a strategic presence in closer proximity to their interests on the Indian peninsula. Since the British were interested only in controlling the island and considered the well-established Franco-Mauritian elite a valuable asset, they allowed them to stay almost entirely on their own terms: they kept their land, elite position, culture and language throughout the entire British colonial period. As a member of this privileged elite, d'Epinay was one of the first advocates for freedom of the press and a democratic Mauritius the positive influences for which he is remembered. But when the British decided around 1830 to abolish slavery, he also successfully campaigned for financial compensation to slaveholders the negative influence for which he is remembered and which is often viewed as reflecting his own pro-slavery beliefs.

When slavery was officially abolished in 1835 and compensation paid by the British colonial government to the white elite for the loss of their slaves, the newly free left the plantations, leaving plantation-owners without labour. The elite quickly turned to another British colony, India, and indentured labourers arrived en masse to work Franco-Mauritian plantations. They were the island's present-day Hindu and Muslim community's ancestors, and it was during the British colonial period that the current population's composition was established: Hindus (52%), Creoles (28%), Muslims (16%), Sino-Mauritians (3%) and Franco-Mauritians (1%).¹

After the Second World War, Hindus began to compete for dominance with the Franco-Mauritian elite. Toward the end of the colonial era, democracy, originally inspired by d'Epinay, became a more authentic notion as the true majority, Hindus, began to dominate politically. After nearly two centuries of hegemony, Franco-Mauritians were losing ground and had to accept the Hindu demand for independence. Franco-Mauritians fiercely campaigned against independence and wanted to remain part of the British empire, because they feared Hindu authority over the island. However, the Hindu-dominated pro-independence block won the 1967 elections and cleared the road for independence, although the



Colonial plantation-owners home, now serving as a museum. Courtesy Tijo Salverda

narrowness of the victory appeared to indicate general ambivalence over transferring power to the Hindu majority. In 1968 the British granted independence and left the island to its divided mishmash of ethnic groups.

Land

Notwithstanding their loss of political power, Franco-Mauritians are still an elite, mainly because they still own what made them dominant in d'Epinay's day: land and the sugar economy. Franco-Mauritians control four of the five largest business groups and about two-thirds of the land devoted to sugarcane (which takes up much of the island). They also invested well. After independence new economic sectors emerged in which money originating from the sugar industry was heavily invested: tourism all large locally controlled hotel chains are in Franco-Mauritian hands – and textiles. Competition was more fierce in the textiles industry, and today in general Franco-Mauritians are far from the only ones involved in the private sector. They may control a substantial stake but, as succession and consolidation have limited the number of Franco-Mauritian families in control, it is not enough to explain how virtually an entire minority has maintained its elite status.

Franco-Mauritians have always been potential employers for all citizens because they create many more jobs than there are Franco-Mauritians. However, Franco-Mauritians have an advantage: Franco-Mauritian businessmen, when asked about employing their own kind in upper management positions, often refer to the benefit of a shared culture and an inherent trust emanating from familiarity with the employee's family. Consequently, Franco-Mauritians have had an historic inside track to management positions. But owing to a nationwide focus on merit and a higher education standard, more and more Mauritians occupy positions previously reserved for Franco-Mauritians.

During much of the colonial period Franco-Mauritians had the advantage of a qual-

ity education because they could afford to send their children to school. In the early 20th century, other ethnic groups began vying for enrolment in the country's most prestigious school, the Royal College in Curepipe. In response, many elites transferred their children to Catholic missionary schools, the best of which were dominated by Franco-Mauritian pupils. But the state gained control over these schools, so when competition for enrolment increased in the 1970s, Franco-Mauritians were forced to compete for admittance with all Mauritians based on merit alone. Yet again the elite anticipated this, and today the majority of their children attend a small number of French private schools, which are known for providing a quality education and, despite English being the country's official language, many other Mauritians also attend.

Because Franco-Mauritians have manoeuvred so well, securing the education necessary to maintain their privileged place in the labour market, others continue to perceive them as elite managers who favour kinship ties over merit when it comes to hiring. In spite of some changes, this perception is not far off from reality. On average, the Franco-Mauritian community is indeed well off, and when told this its members often defensively point to poverty in their own community, but it is hardly comparable to that of the country's other communities. Besides, those they point to tend to receive financial aid from wealthy fellow Franco-Mauritians.

Love

Marriage is at the core of any minority's capability to maintain a distinguished group profile in a multi-ethnic society. Clearly, for Franco-Mauritians, marrying outside the community has never been well perceived and has often led to disinheritance and virtual banishment.² Skin colour was once the predominant marker of group identity and corresponded largely with class boundaries, thus marrying outside the community was considered marrying down. This hasn't always reflected reality owing to island-wide social stratifi-



Statue of Adrien d'Epinay with protest board saying 'guilty, condemned by history', Port Louis, Mauritius. Courtesy Tijo Salverda.

cation, but Franco-Mauritian endogamy is persistent – though marrying white foreigners is not considered a breach – because it still pays to be part of the Franco-Mauritian community. By marrying 'white' you keep your stake in the island's richest economic network and increase your chances for a prosperous life.

Because love does not always conform to economic reasoning, marrying outside the community is not completely unheard of. Furthermore, Franco-Mauritians are more conscious today of the racist connotations of their marriage politics and defend their marriage patterns by instead referring to class, which in theory leaves open the choice to marry 'outside'. In practice, however, it is still an anomaly, and not only because of the economic aspect. Love simply does not easily find its way outside the Franco-Mauritian community. Social life is strictly organised. For example, the community maintains several white-only sport and social clubs, like the Dodo Club.³ The national rugby team is virtually all-white, as the only islanders playing the sport are members of Franco-Mauritian clubs. A nightclub catering to Franco-Mauritian youngsters tends to refuse entrance to anyone else. In these ways, the 'irrational' facet of partner choice is eliminated by the limits of social life: the elite tend to date the elite. This guarantees ethnic separation and intensifies the high visibility of whiteness in an overwhelmingly non-white society, which creates other problems.

Persist or perish

The inescapable difference of skin colour that distinguishes Franco-Mauritians often self-defined as *blancs*, 'whites' combined with colonial history and income inequality is a recurring issue. Franco-Mauritians are the living vestiges of colonial injustice, and many islanders perceive them as the agents of its maintenance. During celebratory abolition commemorations every February, politicians do not limit themselves to calling for the dismantling of d'Epinay's statue; they also directly, and frequently, target Franco-Mauritian

wealth, its historic origin and its owners unwillingness to share it. They lament the advantaged position of d'Epinay's descendants and campaign for financial compensation for the disadvantaged position of slave descendants.

D'Epinay and his statue are easy targets, but his descendants are fallacious ones: while they may be symbolic of the injustice of slavery, there is in fact hardly any uninterrupted line of wealth among Franco-Mauritian families and most of their present-day businesses cannot be blamed for slavery. Nor is slavery the sole reason why many slave descendants are disadvantaged. It seems that politicians are sometimes more interested in scapegoating for their own electoral profit than in truly redistributing the island's unequal share of wealth, which only reinforces the sense among the elite that they have to stick together.

It is obvious that many factors influence the maintenance of elite positions in general, and Franco-Mauritian elitism in particular. Past economic privilege is crucial, but it is only a starting point; perpetuating privilege is the key, and the Franco-Mauritian drive to stick together culturally and socially achieves a degree of exclusion that is highly effective in maintaining economic privileges. In fact, not excluding themselves from other communities would lead to the ultimate disintegration of their own, at least as they have known it. For this elite – for this 1% – it is either persist or perish. ■

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Notes

- Figures are approximate. They are based on the last official ethnic census, in 1972, which was abolished thereafter because, according to the government, ethnic classifications reinforced a sense of ethnic belonging, which was no longer seen as desirable in a 'new' Mauritius. Furthermore, the four census categories were a simplification of the actual ethnic groups. For instance, the ethnic category General Population referred to those Mauritians who had first arrived in Mauritius, of whom many were Catholics and whose members did not belong to the three, more clearly defined ethnic categories. Thus the General Population consisted of Creoles, considered the descendants of slaves, and Franco-Mauritians, considered the descendants of slave masters.
- Actually, endogamy is a common Mauritian practice, but its financial consequences differ accordingly from group to group.
- Other ethnic groups also maintain clubs restricted to their ethnicities. In all cases it is not officially sanctioned but rather the consequence of unwritten, yet commonly known and accepted, membership policies.

Research into a group of 350 elderly Chinese migrants in the Netherlands examines who amongst them expect to return to the homeland, who will regularly commute between China and the Netherlands and who will, most likely, never leave their adopted country. A look at self-reported health within this group sheds light on the question, 'is migration bad for your health?'

No place like home?

Return and circular migration among elderly Chinese in the Netherlands

DAVID ENGELHARD

There are more than 40,000 first generation Chinese migrants from the People's Republic and Hong Kong in the Netherlands. Of these, about 18,000 are 40 years or older, and 10,000 of them are 50 plus (CBS Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics). The numbers are relatively small compared to elderly Surinamese (more than 60,000 aged 50 years and older) or Turkish migrants of a similar age, (about 40,000). Nevertheless, it remains a significant group of people if we consider that they migrated to the Netherlands a generation ago with the idea of returning to their homeland in old age. Now this generation has reached old age however, it appears that rather than returning to China, they are choosing to stay in the Netherlands or divide their time between the two countries, in effect having two homes. So what happened to make them change their minds?

There has been little research carried out into migration, both return migration and

circular migration. According to Cassarino, in an attempt to revisit the conceptual approach to this subject, 'we still need to know who returns when, and why (Cassarino 2004:254; Engelhard 2004, 2006). Circularity or circular migration is seen as the migration strategy of having a home in two or more places. Up to now, circular migration has been neglected in migration studies. Undeservedly so, because circular migration is popular among migrants. For example, many Turkish and also Chinese migrants spend part of the year in their country of origin, and part of the year in the country of migration (Yerden 2000; Schellingerhout 2004).

Notions of home

The idea of circularity or 'commuting' between two countries is very personal, as each migrant may have his own idea about 'home'. I interviewed a married couple in their sixties, who have been living in the Netherlands for decades. They have four children, three of which now own their own restaurants. For some years the couple have been spending six months of every

year in China. The man feels like he is on holiday when he's in China; when he flies back to Holland, he feels like he's coming home. For the woman, though, it is just the opposite: flying to China is going home, and she equates staying in the Netherlands as being abroad.

We know that approximately one quarter of all elderly migrants in the Netherlands think about returning to their homeland. (Van den Tillaard 2000). Approximately one third of a sample of Chinese 'heads of family' expressed a desire to return to China, and about two thirds of them actually have plans to do so. Almost half of all 'heads of family' do not foresee a return to their country of origin, and the remainder are indecisive (Vogels et al 1999). Little is known about the numbers of Chinese living in the Netherlands planning to adopt a circulatory migration strategy, how often and how long they would return to their homeland and the interconnection with health and health care issues of elderly Chinese.

As part of my PhD research I questioned about 350 elderly Chinese in the Netherlands. I prepared a bilingual questionnaire and gave one to every elderly Chinese attending a National day for the Chinese elderly in Rotterdam on September 13, 2006. A little over a thousand Chinese attended the day, which gave a response rate of approximately 32 percent. We carried out an additional follow-up interview with 10 of the respondents. Our short questionnaire included three aspects of return and circular migration: (1) desire to return to homeland permanently; (2) frequency of circulation; (3) duration of circulation. There was a separate question dealing with the problems experienced when travelling. In addition, the questionnaire included one validated item on self-reported health (SF 12 questionnaire). Health can be evaluated in many different ways, for example by carrying out blood tests. Alternatively, health can be evaluated by simply asking someone how they feel. This is called self-reported health and it has proved to be a very reliable evaluation tool.

Of the respondents, one third is male; 23 percent comes from the People's Republic of China, 62 percent from Hong Kong, and the remaining come from a variety of countries, such as Suriname or Indonesia. The mean age is 61 years, and on average the respondents have already lived in the Netherlands for 30 years. (Hong Kong Chinese slightly longer than migrants from the PRC, which reflects the migration history of both groups in the 1970s.) Almost all of those questioned have family living in the Netherlands, and many also have relatives in the country of origin.

'But now we are still in good health, so we can commute. When our health falls back, we of course will stay permanently in China.'

women (69), originally from Wencheng

Is migration bad for your health?

So what about their health? An old man living in the centre of Amsterdam, showed me huge bags full of Chinese medicine. These herbs 'had prevented a surgery and killed the pain'. On the small Chinese altar in the middle of the room laid many boxes with Western medicines.

More than half of the respondents (54 percent) indicate experiencing less than good health (poor or bad). By way of comparison: only 35 percent of the native Dutch population older than 55 years report poor or bad health, whereas for Dutch-Moroccans it is 81 percent and Dutch-Antilleans

44 percent (Schellingerhout 2004). So the self-reported health of elderly Chinese in the Netherlands is quite bad, but not worse than that of other migrant groups.

Age as such has no significant effect on self-reported health; but it appears that age at time of migration does. Our survey showed that the younger a person was at

'My health? According to Chinese medicine, it's pretty bad; but speaking in Western medical terms, the problems are not yet affecting my kidney functioning.'

women (66), originally from Shanghai

the time of arrival in the Netherlands, the better the self reported health; or in other words: migration at a mature age (after the age of 30 or 40), negatively affects the self reported health at old age. At the same time, the conclusions of the self-reported health survey suggest the longer one lives in the Netherlands, the better.

With regards to the desire to return, one third of the older Chinese migrants think about a permanent return to their country of origin (either Hong Kong or the Mainland). Less than half of the people (40 percent) travels once or more per year to their country of origin, and slightly more than a quarter (28 percent) stays for more than two months in China or Hong Kong.

We can summarise the results as follows: 'younger' elderly Chinese - in terms of both the current age and the age at the time of the initial migration - still think about a future return to the homeland. These plans are abolished the older they get. At this stage they start commuting. And 'older' elderly Chinese make longer visits to China than their younger counterparts. Migrants with a good self reported health consider returning permanently more often and commute more frequently.

The only gender difference is in the duration of stay, not in the desire to return and frequency of circulation. This is remarkable, since it is often assumed that men and women will think differently about return, as variables like family attachment and social status at old age are likely to be differently balanced. Also remarkable is the non-significant effect of the duration of stay in the Netherlands. Assimilation theory would predict that the longer people stay in the country of migration, the less inclined they are to return. Yet a study on Mexican migrants in the USA concludes

Variability in desire to return, frequency and duration of circulation			
Variable	Desire for permanent return	Circulation: frequency	Circulation: duration
Sex	ns	ns	men stay longer than women
Current age	younger migrants think more about permanent return than older migrants	ns	older migrants stay much longer than younger migrants
Country of origin	Migrants from HK think more about return than those from PRC (ns)	ns	ns
Age at time of migration	Those who migrated at younger age think more about return than those who migrated when older	25-35 age group less often than both < 25 and > 35 age group (as)	ns
Duration of stay in the Netherlands	ns	ns	Those resident longest in NL make longer visits to the homeland.
Self-reported health	Migrants with good health think more about return than those with bad health (as)	Migrants in good health return more often than those with bad health	ns
Family	Migrants without children in NL think more of return than those with (as); and those with siblings in NL more than without	Migrants without family in CoO return less often than those with	ns

ns = not significant (at 95% level); as = almost significant (at 95% level); NL = The Netherlands; CoO = Country of origin; HK = Hong Kong; PRC = People's Republic of China.
A more statistical version, including the odds ratios, is available from the author.



*‘When we get older, we all want to go back.
Even after death!’*

man (70), originally from Wencheng, Zhejiang Province, China

that duration of stay in the USA has no significant influence on the decision (Bernabé-Aguilera 2004) – this concurs with the outcomes of this study. One would assume that having your family in the Netherlands is an incentive to stay, rather than return. Therefore it is remarkable that migrants

encounter during their commute or holiday in the country of origin. These problems were marked as follows: Travelling is expensive (46 percent); no health insurance in the country of origin (35 percent); no suitable place to stay in the country of origin (23 percent); travelling is tiring (19 percent); no (good) medical doctor in the country of origin (18 percent); the journey is difficult to organise (12 percent); other problems (3 percent); no problems at all (18 percent).

For elderly people, the availability of a medical doctor is of course even more important than for younger generations. While elderly Chinese may have a general trust in the Dutch medical system, including the medical staff, they find it difficult to talk to doctors. Many elderly Chinese cannot speak Dutch well enough to visit the doctor without help. As a rule, the doctor should arrange an interpreter, but in practice the patients bring their children. That is quite a burden for both the children and the parents.

Travel expenses – including medical care – are one of the main problems of commuting, as well as having a place to stay (especially for Hong Kongese) and the tiring aspect of all the travelling. More profound questions we have to deal with include the organisation of elderly care in transnational families. Both at the stage when the older generation can still travel back and forth, and at the stage when health problems obstruct further commuting, migrants and their children have to deal with a difficult decision making process. ■

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with siblings in the Netherlands more often consider a permanent return than those migrants without. My guess is that migrants with large families in the country of migration can afford more easily to risk the hazardous venture of return migration. If things don't work out, there is still family in the Netherlands to fall back on. Further qualitative research will shed more light on this matter.

The questionnaire included a short list with possible problems that migrants may

The East to South transfer of Chinese medical technologies, people and know-how counters usual globalisation trends from the West to the rest.

Chinese medicine in East Africa and its effectiveness

ELISABETH HSU

The current practice of Chinese medicine in East Africa takes place primarily in the informal sector and has a short history of one or two decades. It coincides with economic reforms in the People's Republic of China (PRC). If not a consequence of these reforms, Chinese medicine certainly feeds both African and Chinese economies. The practice of Chinese medicine in East Africa is primarily a cultural phenomenon, as it has, as yet, little relevance for public health. In Tanzania and Kenya it is currently offered in about forty medical practices, mostly in the suburbs of Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. There is an historical context and also a local cultural pattern that works favourably towards adopting it into the multi-cultural fabric of East Africa. Furthermore, we should consider the medicine's effectiveness, its meaning response (the effects of the symbolic on the physiological in the treatment of an illness), its social efficacy (the effects the medicine has on the social environment), and ritually induced body transformative effects (the bodily experienced and materially manifest effects of a medical intervention). The latter depends on the optimal interplay of the 'three Ps' - patients, practitioners and ritual paraphernalia (like drugs, needles, the physical features of the medical practice, etc.).¹

Five fields of Chinese medical care in East Africa

Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's first president, (1962-85), was socialist in orientation and cultivated contacts with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in collaborations that extended to the medical field. At one stage, the PRC despatched over two hundred expert teams of Chinese biomedical doctors to government hospitals in the country's major cities on an annual basis. Most teams included an acupuncturist, since Chinese medicine - and acupuncture in particular - belonged in the package of world socialism that China then exported.² However, by 2001, the number of Chinese medical teams had diminished to only about four in Tanzania.

The Chinese doctors who have lived on most vividly in the memory of Tanzanians, are the general practitioners on the Tazara railway project. (The project to build a railway line from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka was financed and executed by the PRC). These doctors were fewer in number, probably not as expert in their speciality (they were employees of the Ministry of Railways and not of the Ministry of Health), and they worked in Tanzania for one or two year spells from 1965 to 1976, the decade in which the line was constructed.³ Their main objective was to guarantee the health of the Chinese railway workers but they did not shy away from treating the locals too.

A third and less well-known Chinese medical impact on African health care has been

mediated through the World Health Organisation (WHO). There are suggestions that the way socialist China dealt with its indigenous *materia medica* became a model for the WHO, (although to my knowledge no one has, as yet, extensively researched this issue), and the modernised traditional Chinese approach, rather than the European one, appears to have been implemented in several WHO traditional medicine programmes. Thus, African medicinal plants were recorded and researched according to the criteria of the modern Chinese *materia medica*, sometimes under the guidance of Chinese experts.⁴

The fourth field of Chinese medical activities in Tanzania arises from Chinese-Tanzanian government collaborations to provide stipends for medical students to train in the PRC. Medical education was based on the Maoist vision of combining Western and Chinese medicine, and during six years in China (one year of language learning and five years of medical training), students were obliged to attend a course on acupuncture for at least one semester.⁵ In contrast to any other country in the world, all students had to attend compulsory courses on traditional medicine. As a result, some returned to Tanzania with an entirely different attitude to traditional medicine: it need not be backward and superstitious. In fact, some considered it more 'advanced' than biomedicine, an attitude which may have reflected political convictions that socialism is more advanced than capitalism.⁶ Perhaps, such an anti-Imperialist attitude, combined with a certain pragmatism, ignited the collaboration of the Chinese and Tanzanian Ministries of Health, which in 1989 led to the institutionalisation of a long term Traditional Chinese Medicine research programme on HIV/AIDS at Muhimbili Hospital in Dar es Salaam. To date, no results have been published in English. An earlier public statement of renowned senior Chinese doctors who lacked in statistical understanding had apparently upset the medical profession. However, although discredited in research, the programme appears to have had an impact insofar as the antiviral drug *Aikeji* that it developed, which consists only of natural ingredients, is now sold at a very high price in the private sector.

This brings us to the fifth field of Chinese medical doctors' activities in Tanzania, which since 1996 is mostly in the private sector. Restrictions on private practice had been removed in the early 1990s,⁷ as the World Bank put pressure on the government to privatise health care. The Chinese doctors who, due to these altered health care policies, immigrated into Tanzania differ in important ways from those described previously. Firstly, they are private entrepreneurs.⁸ Secondly, their training in Chinese medicine varies: some are highly qualified but in the early 2000s the majority were 'learning by doing'. Thirdly, they operate in

fields marked by rigid bureaucratic structures and 'red tapism', and this impacts on how they offer their services.

Cultural and consumer patterns

In order to 'do business', Chinese medical doctors have to find clientele. In contemporary East Africa, foreign and exotic medicines exert a strange attraction. This cultural pattern was described by the Africanist anthropologists David Parkin (1968) and Susan Whyte (1988) long before Chinese medical entrepreneurs populated the informal sector.⁹ Whyte asks what the choices are that people have for managing misfortune and illness, and she finds that they basically have two. They can take recourse to 'medicines' - African herbal remedies, talismans, Koranic spells and/or the ingestion of holy water as well as Western pharmaceuticals - or to 'the healing powers of elder kin, ancestors, and spirits'. The former provides a quick fix, the latter gets at the root of the problem. Chinese medicine in East Africa falls into the former category.

It is not the Chinese medical decoction of herbal 'Chinese drugs' (*zhongyao*) that East African clients seek but 'Chinese formula drugs' (*zhongchengyao*). The latter consist of powdered *zhongyao*, usually a mixture of several different kinds, to which further ingredients, like vitamins or steroids, are sometimes added. Some come as tablets or capsules, others as tiny seeds or pellets. While a patient who takes *zhongyao* needs to simmer them over a small fire for about twenty minutes twice a day, formula drugs are easy to consume. Some are swallowed, others are dissolved in water and imbibed. They are designed to treat 'complaints' - pain in the joints, irregular menses - not the constitution of a person. In general, the dispensing of 'Chinese formula drugs', *zhongchengyao*, requires significantly less sophistication than the prescription of 'Chinese medical drugs', *zhongyao*. However, to understand the recent popularity of Chinese medicine in East Africa one has to go beyond the patients' perceptions and their attraction to the exotic.

Questions of effectiveness

One could say Chinese medicine has a placebo effect, as it is perceived as an exotic medicine in East Africa. However, many anthropologists have now criticised the 'placebo' as a flawed analytical concept for the social sciences; it is an ethnocentric tool fit for answering questions raised by the medical profession. Within limits, it suits biomedical criteria but it cannot explain social phenomena. Moerman (2002) proposed instead to investigate the 'meaning response', which is inherent to any medical substance or service regardless of whether the standards of the double-blinded randomised controlled trial have been met.¹⁰ Whyte et al. (2003) emphasise the 'social efficacy' of treatment choices as people tend to resort to a certain therapeutic service or substance



Chinese medical doctor and Kenyan patient (Nairobi, 2005). Courtesy Elisabeth Hsu

because of its effectiveness from the point of view of maintaining unstrained social relations. For example, a mother may be fully aware that the cough syrup she gives her child is not medically efficacious, but it has a social efficacy; the child's reduced coughing relaxes the husband, and giving her child the same medicine as the neighbours give their children, reassures the mother.¹¹ Hunt & Barker (2001) mention issues of taste and distinction, which determine the choice of any consumer item and commodity, and accordingly also of the consumption of medical services and substances.¹² In Dar es Salaam, members of the upwardly mobile urban middle classes, caught between a critical stance towards tradition and an anti-Imperialist sentiment, distinguished themselves from others by venturing into trying out this medicine.

The perceived bodily effectiveness of Chinese medicine should not be underestimated (although these effects may be of a different order than the pharmacologically active ingredient and often work 'indirectly', by for instance enhancing what biomedicine calls 'self-healing properties'). Although initially perceived as a quick fix, Chinese medications given during the first consultation are often part of a longer process of healing. Several formula medicines have instant bodily effects: the patient needs to urinate more frequently, or sweats heavily the first night, the colour and/or smell of the urine or faeces changes. If the doctor predicts this will happen, and then it does, an initial bridge of trust between the Chinese doctor and the client is built. After a few days, the client may return. The doctor now prescribes a different medicine. It may look different and have another taste, and it may be meant to evoke different bodily effects: increased sleep, feelings of relaxation, deeper breathing. As doctor and patient embark on a journey of several stages, the effect of a Chinese medical treatment, - which the doctor often assesses primarily in terms of *qi* - which means breath, vapour, energy etc. - can easily be mapped onto the patient's subjective self-assessments of treatment. I noted that the locals are very much aware of their bodies and have a remarkably fine perception of its changes. The site within which the interplay of patients, practitioners and their paraphernalia is experienced is the body.

There is no doubt that history and culture, politics and socio-economics, as well as the ritually induced, body transformative effects within the patient, are key to understanding the phenomenon of Chinese medicine in East Africa. It is a phenomenon that is not entirely uncontroversial. If Chinese medicine in East Africa is to make a valuable contribution to health care in the future, the ways in which it is regulated must account for the multiple layers of its effects. ■

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Notes:

- Fieldwork was carried out in eight visits each of about one month between 2001-06.
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- See also Monson J., 'Liberating Labor? Constructing Anti-Hegemony on the TAZARA Railway in Tanzania, 1965-76', in D. Large & al. (eds). *China Returns to Africa: A Superpower and a Continent Embrace*. Hurst. To be published February 2008.
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Taking traditional knowledge to the market

MAARTEN BODE

In February 2002 the Arya Vaidya Sala, a manufacturer of Ayurvedic medicines, celebrated its centenary. On this occasion the provincial town of Kottakkal, situated in the hills of Kerala a few hours drive from the coastal city of Calicut (Kozhikode), was flooded with three thousand invitees. Among them were key figures from the Ayurvedic world such as Devendra Triguna, the chairman of the All India Ayurvedic Congress, and Ashok Vaidya, a renowned pharmacologist by training, scientific advisor to a large Ayurvedic company, and head of the Mumbai branch of the Centre for Indian World Culture. The Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare, C.P. Thakur, and M. M. Joshi, the Union Minister of Science, Technology and Human Resource Management added lustre to the occasion. People were honoured for their achievements in the field of Ayurveda and the gathering certainly had a national ring to it. In between the speeches and the distribution of awards to people who had provided 'service to Ayurveda', Indian classical music was played. Many of those present had travelled hundreds or even thousands of miles to celebrate that exactly one hundred years previously P.S. Varier had started the industrial production of Ayurvedic formulas in a small building that still stands on the premises of one of the factories of the company.

The size of the Arya Vaidya Sala does not justify the fact that its centenary was celebrated as a national event. With a turnover of US\$16 million and 600 employees the firm is relatively small. At stake though, was the status of Ayurveda and the construction of a national Indian identity that includes both tradition and modernity. In many speeches the superiority of Indian medicine and culture was juxtaposed with Western medical materialism and commercialism. P.S. Varier, the founder of the Arya Vaidya Sala, was presented as a cultural hero. Varier was a medical broker and a moderniser of tradition. Trained in both Ayurveda and Western medicine he freely made use of modern technology and the modern medical insights of his times. When he began the production of Ayurvedic medicines at the beginning of the 20th century, Varier had to deal with criticism from the Ayurvedic authorities of his time who opposed the industrial production of Ayurvedic formulas on epistemological and technical grounds. These Ayurvedic purists argued that standardisation of medicines contradicts the individual approach of Ayurveda and that the use of modern production and preservation techniques violates what has been written in the Ayurvedic canons. In short, according to these *pandits* (cultural authorities) the large scale production of indigenous medicines, the standardisation it involves, and the need for conserving the medicines to extend their shelf life, is an unwanted diversion from the tenets of Ayurveda.¹

Medicines and identity

In many of the speeches given at the centenary, Ayurveda was presented as the antipode of Western medicine. This Indian medical tradition was contrasted with its Western counterpart frequently criticised for its 'unbridled commercialism' and side-effects. "One man's illness should not be another man's celebration" was how one of the keynote speakers at the centenary expressed this to me in an interview I had with him in 1996. Repeatedly high consultation fees and unnecessary use of expensive diagnostic tests are given as proof of the assumed money mindedness of Western medicine. According to the Ayurvedic practitioners and managers working for Ayurvedic manufacturers that I interviewed, Western medical treatment is like "shovelling dust under the carpet" and can be compared to "printing money in times of inflation, an activity that makes the problem worse." In contrast, *vaidyas* (Ayurvedic physicians) are represented as redeemers of physical and mental suffering. Western medicine and science are seen as exploitative, while Indian knowledge traditions such as Ayurveda are said to advance somatic, social, psychological and spiritual well-being. Ayurveda is associated with the non-violence ascribed to the Buddhist emperor Asoka - under whom India was united for the first time in the 1st century B.C. - and M. K. Gandhi, the father of the nation.

In India, Western medicine is linked to exploitation and material gain at the expense of health and well being of the society and its individuals. Other oppositions that are used to describe Western versus Indian medicine are nature's exploitation versus ecological awareness, outside versus inside, and materialism versus spirituality. Indeed, India's medical traditions share in the good, truth and beauty ascribed to tradition.

The commodification of Asian medicine

I visited the Arya Vaidya Sala, along with other large Ayurvedic and Unani manufacturers in India, during the period from 1996 to 2002. I analysed Indian medicine as a commercial activity and looked at two Indian medical traditions - Ayurveda and Unani Tibb - through the lens of the Indian indigenous medical industry and its products.² My main interest was in the ways the logic of the market has shaped, constrained and transformed Ayurvedic and Unani Tibb. I discovered that nowadays approximately 90% of the Ayurvedic and Unani formulas produced are over-the-counter brands that are marketed to urban middle class consumers. I analysed the advertisements and promotional materials of the manufacturers under investigation and spoke extensively to their marketing personnel. Three marketing themes emerged from this exercise: tradition, modernity and nature. Ayurvedic and Unani medicines are sold as curative and promotive natural remedies that are both modern and traditional at the same time. These substances are linked to the hey-

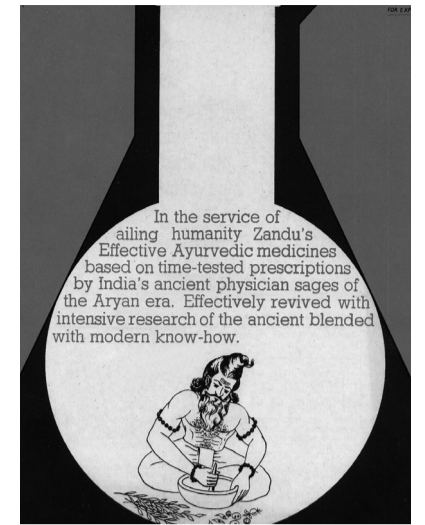
days of Indian civilisation and a humane approach to medicine. At the same time large Ayurvedic and Unani manufacturers use modern science and technology to create a competitive edge and distance themselves from the image of backwardness that also clings to Indian medical traditions. Modern pharmacological research data is used to promote the quality and effectivity of their products. This does not undermine the 'Indianness' of their medicines, because manufacturers denied the epistemological differences between biomedicine and Indian medicine and ignored the fact that modern pharmacology has its origin in Europe.³

The study of medicines and its manufacturers has a lot to offer to social-cultural studies of Asian medical traditions such as Ayurveda, Traditional Chinese Medicine, Tibetan Medicine, to mention the ones that are best known in the West. As I have illustrated, medicines can be vehicles of ideology and identity construction. In other social contexts medicines perform different functions. For example, in the consultation room of a physician, medicines facilitate and steer the professional transformation of non-well-being into a disease entity, which in turn suggests treatment. In the context of the family, however, buying a medicine for a relative can emit a message of love and care. In the modern laboratory Indian medicines are expected to generate proof of their efficacy in terms of contemporary pharmacological explanatory models. Within a religious and traditional framework Ayurvedic and Unani medicines are seen as gifts of the *rishis* (seers) or *tabibs* (Muslim scholars) to ailing humanity and it is said that their medical effect is enhanced by the superior moral status of their designers and dispensers. Finally, on the price lists of manufacturers, Ayurvedic and Unani medicines have become objects of trade and earners of profit.

Pharmaceutical anthropology as analytic framework

Considering the prominence of therapeutic drugs for the practice and image of contemporary Asian medical traditions, one wonders why anthropologists and social historians working on Asian medical traditions have largely ignored medical substances. A bias towards notions and ideas, as well as fear of the theoretical and technical aspects of drug designing and manufacturing, might have deterred them from the study of medical substances. This is a pity as for almost 20 years there has been an analytic framework for investigating the social-cultural aspects of medicines. The first anthropological volume that made medicines its central object of study appeared in 1988 under the title *The Context of Medicines in Developing Countries: Studies in Pharmaceutical Anthropology*.⁴ Medicines, the authors tell us, represent cultural ideas about health and well-being and offer strategies to deal with illness. Medicines are good to think and to act with. Their concreteness puts structure upon the 'untidy' and uncertain

The seer in the test tube symbolises the coming together of tradition and modernity. The image is from a brochure of Zandu Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., one of the largest manufacturers of Ayurveda medicines. The brochure dates from the end of the 1980s or the beginning of the 1990s.



Notes:

- 1 The Arya Vaidya Sala is one of approximately 7,500 Ayurvedic manufacturers with a total turnover in 2002 of about US \$900 million. Nowadays Ayurvedic medicines are marketed as natural remedies against common discomforts such as indigestion, cough, muscle pain, headache, pimples and rashes, menstrual irregularities, whitish discharge, post partum and menopausal ailments. Increasingly, Ayurvedic medicines are purchased by urban middle class consumers for the treatment of 'modern' ailments like diabetes, arthritis, Alzheimer's and Parkinson's disease, heart conditions, obesity, high cholesterol levels and high blood pressure. A variety of tonics, 'to boost the immune system', is another important class of Ayurvedic medical products.
- 2 Unani or Unani Tibb (literally 'Greek medicine') is the term used in South Asia for Greek-Arabic medicine, a humoral pathology that is traced back to Hippocrates and Muslim scholarship of the first millennium.
- 3 Maarten Bode. 2004. *Ayurvedic and Unani Health and Beauty Products: Reworking India's Medical Traditions*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam.
- 4 Sjaak van der Geest & Susan Whyte (eds.). 1988. *The Context of Medicines in Developing Countries*. *Studies in Pharmaceutical Anthropology*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- 5 Sjaak van der Geest, Susan Whyte, & Anita Hardon. 1996. 'The Anthropology of Pharmaceuticals: A Biographical Approach.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, pp. 153-78.
- 6 Arjun Appadurai. 1986. 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value.' Arjun Appadurai, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-63.

The description of the centenary of the Ayurvedic manufacturer comes from my forthcoming book *Taking Tradition Knowledge to the Market: the Modern Image of the Ayurvedic and Unani Industry* (Orient Longman 2008), which is based upon ethnographic research among large Ayurvedic and Unani manufactures in India during the period 1996-2002. In this book I look at two Indian medical traditions, Ayurveda and Unani Tibb through the lens of the Indian indigenous medical industry and their products, and highlight Indian medicine as a commercial activity. As far as I am aware, *Taking Tradition Knowledge to the Market* is the first book that highlights Indian medicine as a commercial activity and applies the insights of pharmaceutical anthropology to analyse the modernisation and commodification of traditional medical knowledge.

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Agarwood is the infected wood of the *Aquilaria* tree. Called 'the wood of the Gods', its uses range from incense for religious ceremonies, perfume for the Arabic world, medicinal wine in Korea and ornamental functions in China. As a healthy tree the *Aquilaria* is worth next to nothing, but wounded its defence mechanisms produce agarwood and the tree becomes a valuable commodity. Gerard Persoon goes in search of the natural and social life of a wounded tree.

Agarwood: the life of a wounded tree

GERARD A. PERSOON

Buddhist monks, Arabic perfumers, Japanese incense producers and Papuan collectors were just some of the cast of the 2nd International Agarwood Conference (March 2007, Bangkok). Participants came from more than thirty countries. The 'world of science' was represented by wood pathologists, anthropologists, foresters, economists and laboratory analysts each with their specific research interests. Alongside the scientists were entrepreneurs from Australia, Malaysia and the United States, potential investors in the opportunities that *Aquilaria* plantations offer. Finally there were nature conservationists concerned with the survival of the tree species. In total more than 120 people, (covering the full agarwood spectrum from production to consumption), came together to discuss the future life of the infected wood of a wounded tree.

Agarwood: its history and its use

Agarwood is the heartwood produced by a number of *Aquilaria* species in Southeast Asia, with Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Papua New Guinea as the main producing countries and Singapore being the main trade centre. The resin-impregnated heartwood is fragrant and, as a result, highly valuable. This resin is produced as a result of pathological or wounding processes. It is also thought that resin production is a response to fungal infection. Interestingly however, not all *Aquilaria* trees produce resin and it is extremely difficult (or even impossible) to judge from the outside of a tree whether or not it is infected. Cutting the tree is the only way to find out whether the tree contains the resin.

Use of agarwood has been reported in many ancient cultures, even though the history of agarwood use is still to be written. The Egyptians are believed to have used agarwood incense as part of their death rituals more than 3,000 years ago. It is also suggested that incense trade was in fact the first international trade route that existed in history. In Japan, agarwood is said to have arrived with Buddhism. In Vietnam ancient texts also refer to the use of agarwood in relation to travelling Buddhist monks.

Today the range of agarwood products and their uses is seemingly endless. Solid pieces of agarwood are highly appreciated as 'natural art' in Japan, Korea and Taiwan. Craftsmen carve raw pieces of agarwood into beautiful wooden sculptures. Agarwood is also turned into beads and bracelets. Most of the wood, however, is processed and either turned into oil which is used in perfumes and other cosmetic products, or the agarwood chips are ground into powder which is used as the raw material for incense making (and sometimes also for special cigarettes).



The oil is also used in the production of traditional Chinese and Korean medicine, in the preparation of (medicinal) wine and various other products.

The oil is mainly used in the Arab world where it is in high demand. It is by far the most precious essential oil with prices reaching as much as ten times that of sandalwood oil. The largest market for top class incense is Japan with its long tradition in incense making. Both the Arab countries and Japan are interested in high quality agarwood and manufacturers in these countries prefer to process the raw material themselves. This also avoids the mixing of high grade agarwood with wood of lower quality.

The oil is extracted from the agarwood through distillation. This delicate process determines both the amount and quality of oil produced. With the exception of large solid pieces of agarwood which are traded as individual pieces, most of the

wood is ground into very small pieces or powder, which are immersed in water and left to ferment over time. Then the material is transferred to distillation kettles and steamed. After heating, the condensed water and oil are captured in a container where the oil floats on top of the water. The water is removed and the oil is tapped. The price of high quality oil can be as much as US\$50,000 to US\$80,000 per litre. This process can be repeated once or twice depending on the quality of the water and the costs of the distillation process. The powder which remains after distillation can be used for low grade incense making. It is estimated that for the production of one litre of oil 100 to 150 kilos of agarwood is necessary.

Wild and cultivated agarwood

In the past most agarwood has been harvested from the wild. Because it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to see whether a tree contains agarwood or not most of the *Aquilaria* trees are chopped

down indiscriminately. High quality agarwood can fetch as much as US\$1000 per kilo. Throughout history there has been an ever-moving frontier of agarwood exploitation across Asia as traders, continuously search for untouched forests containing *Aquilaria* trees (Barden et al. 2000). The trees were fetching high prices and as a result, the news about agarwood harvesting spread like 'gold fever'. Large sums of money and all kinds of luxury items were offered to the forest dwelling communities, the traditional producers of agarwood. Usually this 'fever' was temporary. Once the largest trees were cut, new harvesting expeditions became less successful and just as in the case of gold, the collecting of small quantities of agarwood became a less rewarding activity.

The high prices for agarwood and the local depletion of resources in the wild have led to a variety of efforts to stimulate the growth of agarwood. The most common is the deliberate wounding of trees with large knives or the hammering of nails into tree trunks. In general such efforts do not yield very productive results. The agarwood produced is of inferior quality and can only be used for home consumption. Moreover, high quality agarwood takes many years to develop. It is only during the last few decades that a more scientific approach has been adopted to cultivation. Experiments were set up in several countries including China, Thailand and Indonesia. However, one of the most successful efforts to date has been a project initiated in Vietnam. In addition to laboratory analysis, field experiments were developed by a non-governmental organisation based in Ho Chi Min City. The project, called The Rainforest Project (TRP), is in the Seven Mountains area of South Vietnam close to the border with Cambodia. The experiments were undertaken with local farmers and Buddhist monks who had gained considerable experience in the cultivation of *Aquilaria* trees. Building on their knowledge, experimental plots were developed to stimulate the production of agarwood. The process and experiments were supervised by a wood pathologist from the University of Minnesota, Prof. Robert Blanchette and the Director of TRP, Henry Heuveling van Beek. The main principle of the process was the drilling of holes in the tree trunk and keeping the wound open by putting a small piece of plastic pipe in the hole. A chemical treatment was added to the wound to encourage the trees defence mechanism which stimulates the production of the resin. After years of experimenting with the numbers of holes, the age of the tree, the amount of chemicals and other variables, the first trees were recently harvested and the production of incense made from the cultivated agarwood has begun. The success of the experiment implies that it will not be long before the method spreads to other areas where *Aquilaria* trees are being grown. TRP is also the leading organisation behind the two inter-

national agarwood conferences that have been held so far.

In Thailand a similar process of agarwood cultivation was started by a private company. In the past Thailand has been a traditional producer and consumer of relatively large amounts of agarwood. Over the years trade in a wide variety of agarwood products has developed in Bangkok. Large amounts of agarwood products, not only from the country itself but also from neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, are channelled through the city to markets in East Asia and the Arab world.

The declining supply has led Thai scientists, in partnership with the private sector, to set up relatively large scale plantations. One of these plantations is run by a company called Krissana Panasin in Chantaburi, Southeast Thailand. Over the years it has established a substantial plantation of several hundred hectares, including nurseries, processing and distillation units. The research department of the company has been experimenting with all kinds of techniques to obtain the optimal quality. Moreover, it provides seedlings to interested farmers who can produce agarwood trees on their own farms. The technology to wound the trees in order to start agarwood production is also provided to the small holders by the company. The mature trees are eventually being sold for processing to the company as the farmers usually lack the connections and skills to organise the transport to other buyers. Aside from the cultivation of agarwood, Krissana Panasin also produces a wide range of end products. The company established an extensive public relations department to market these products and reach wholesale traders in consumer countries directly. In this way it tries to bypass the intermediate traders, at least within Thailand but also in places like Singapore and Hong Kong, which mainly serve as import and re-export sites.

A much smaller project to cultivate agarwood is being undertaken by the Catholic Church in Marauke, Papua (Indonesia). Here too harvesting from the wild came to an end within a relatively short period after the agarwood frontier reached the area in 1996. People still try to dig up roots of *Aquilaria* trees that might contain some agarwood, but it is clear that the big harvest is over. The project currently being implemented aims to integrate agarwood trees into the local agroforestry system. This is based on the idea that in the future agarwood may become an additional source of income for the farmers. Methods that are being used are largely based on local trial and error efforts in wounding and treating trees, including inoculation. Processing units are still absent and the farmers are fully dependent on outside traders for market opportunities. As yet the farmers and the church organisation lack the capacity to process the agarwood to add value to



the raw material. But, based on the high prices of agarwood earned in the past the hopes for the future are high.

New areas

The high value of agarwood has attracted the attention of potential investors from a number of countries. Inspired by the success of the plantations that are already established in Vietnam, Thailand and India, new investors are willing to take up

this challenge. New on the scene are the business people from Australia, Hawaii and Malaysia. Having gained substantial experience in the production of sandalwood in Western Australia, some companies are now ready to turn their efforts to *Aquilaria* plantations which could yield even higher prices per production unit. In the meantime, and as is the case with many other expensive products, there is an influx of fake agarwood products onto the

market. These products go by the name of Black Magic Wood (BMW), and in fact are made from non-infected *Aquilaria* wood which has been impregnated with cheap oil. It requires a trained eye and nose to differentiate real agarwood from these fake products.

There are of course a number of questions to be asked in relation to the large scale domesticated production of the agarwood: Can the high prices currently commanded by agarwood be sustained if production is substantially be increased? What will the quality of the cultivated product be? There are also concerns about the consequences of large-scale cultivation for the traditional producers of agarwood, the collectors inside the forested areas. It is generally assumed that the natural top quality agarwood will become rare but remain in demand, particularly in Japan. This 'top end' of the market cannot easily be replaced by cultivated agarwood. At the lower end of the supply quality, it is predicted that there will be an increase in supply from both the traditional producers as well as the new ones. A gradual reduction in price is expected as a result of this increased cultivation. Finally it is assumed that the production, and therefore the value, will gradually move from the original rainforest areas to plantations located in other areas. Similar developments have also taken place in the case of other non-timber forest products such as orchids, rattan and crocodile skins.

Protection

A number of measures to protect the *Aquilaria* trees from excessive logging, and thus ensure the survival of the species, are under discussion. However, some repre-

sentatives of conservation organisations point to an apparent lexical confusion as one of the main obstacles in this area. For some years the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) has listed all *Aquilaria* species in its Appendix II. This implies the need to monitor the trade (both import and export). However, because agarwood is known across the world by many different names (such as eaglewood, aloeswood, jinko, gaharu, and oudh), and because it is used or even disguised in so many different products (such as oil, perfumes, incense, wine, wood dust and chips), tracking agarwood products requires highly sophisticated detection procedures which are not yet in place. This is one of the reasons why the illegal trade in agarwood cannot easily be stopped. One of the challenges ahead will be the differentiation between wild and cultivated agarwood. Without doubt some of these issues will be discussed during the next agarwood conference which will take place in a few years time. ■

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You were nobody in colonial Java if you didn't carry a parasol. The *payung* carried so much weight, in fact, that not only Javanese dignitaries but even Dutch administrators could be seen toting one. You might think someone as necessarily professional as a doctor also carried a *payung*. But the right to carry one was codified, and only in 1882 was the Western-educated Indonesian physician, the so called *dokter djawa*, deemed enough of a somebody to carry one.

The unbearable absence of parasols: the formidable weight of a colonial Java status symbol



The Javanese doctor (*dokter djawa*) Samgarin in the company of his family. Photograph Courtesy of Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies.

LIESBETH HESSELINK

The Dutch East Indies colonial administration employed both Dutch and Indonesian civil servants. Status symbols among Indonesian officials included snuffboxes and spears, but the *payung* was a status symbol only on the island of Java. Carried exclusively on ceremonial occasions, such as holidays or for an important official's visit, it distinguished the highest echelons, and its particular colour and decoration expressed its owner's rank.

Among civil servants in 19th century Java, the *payung* was carried by three groups: indigenous supervisors of waterworks, coffee plantations, vaccinations, and other sectors important to the colonial government; indigenous administrators, such as regency and district heads; and the highest-ranking Dutch administrators, provincial heads and deputies who liked to show off by carrying these originally indigenous status symbols. Among these three groups the *dokters djawa* were not to be found.

Dokter djawa vs. dukun

Since time immemorial the indigenous population consulted the *dukun*, the traditional medicine man or woman, to address personal health problems. *Dukuns* had no formal medical training; their medical knowledge was both practical and technical but also included methods of invoking cosmic and spiritual powers. The Dutch looked down on *dukuns* (even though many consulted them) and this negative attitude was one reason why, in 1851, the colonial government established in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) the School for the Education of Indigenous Doctors. Upon graduation each student earned the title *dokter djawa*, literally, 'Javanese physician'.

The government hoped especially boys from decent families – that is, from indigenous society's higher classes, where the use of a *payung* was common – would

enrol. Thus it might seem logical that a *dokter djawa* would have the right to carry a *payung*. So thought Dr Willem Bosch, the school founder and head of the Military Health Service, who had served as a health officer in Java for more than 25 years. Knowing how important symbols like the *payung* were to colonial society, Bosch wanted every graduate to receive one, not only because he hoped to enrol boys from decent families but also because he wanted the *dokter djawa* to hold high status in indigenous society. His government superiors, providing no explanation, did not agree and, of course, had the final say. Thus graduates were sent *payung*-less back to their villages, ostensibly to replace the *dukuns*. In reality most became vaccinators and some worked as assistants to a European doctor.

Life without a *payung*

Dokters djawa weren't the only ones who were denied a *payung*. So were indigenous teachers, whom the colonial government also began to educate in 1851. These were the first ever such vocational trainings for Indonesians, and perhaps the colonial government wanted to wait and see what became of their investment before empowering them with the symbols of indigenous authority, as in those days endowing the indigenous with a Western education was indeed a novelty. Ten years later, in 1861, for a reason unknown to me, teachers earned the right to carry a *payung*, but not *dokters djawa*. Most of the latter, as vaccinators, served vaccination supervisors – bosses – and as bosses they already had the right to carry a *payung*.

In 1863, Bosch's successor as head of the Military Health Service, Dr G. Wassink, wanted to improve the curriculum of the School for the Education of Indigenous Doctors, mainly by lengthening the program of study from two to three years, and to enhance graduate status by awarding each a salary and the right to carry the coveted *payung*. Until then *dokters djawa* only

received an allowance. The government agreed to all of these proposals but one, and this time it did provide an explanation: it feared that a *payung*-carrying *dokter djawa* would alienate the population.

The government's argument of alienation is quite strange: one wonders why it was valid only for *dokters djawa* and not for teachers. More odd, the government's actions didn't reflect its argument, as it simultaneously empowered *dokters djawa* in other ways. For example, class divisions extended throughout society, determining where passengers sat on trains and boats and how patients were treated in hospital. In 1866, the government decided that *dokter djawa* school students who fell ill should be treated as second-class patients because that was more in line with their status; previously, they were treated as fourth-class. That same year the government began issuing each graduate a box of medicines with which to treat patients; prior to that, they were issued nothing and were forced to ask European doctors for medicines. This shows the government was well aware of the students' status and was investing in them; issuing medicines, in particular, was a government expression of trust when many Europeans still feared that *dokters djawa* could not handle responsibility. Although these measures were costly materially, they might also have been perceived as socially frugal: the government still viewed *dokters djawa* as mere vaccinators – which in reality 50% of them were – and thus perhaps thought they were simply unworthy of the *payung*.

Yet the *payung* continued to be withheld, the consequences of which one former *dokter djawa* school teacher, Dr J. Alken, made clear: 'When graduates are sent back to their villages to work as a vaccinator...they lack any status symbol, such as the *payung*, and therefore they are equal to a simple villager. They see their equals placed in positions as supervisors or assistant district heads or even higher

positions...When they arrive in the villages, they are not like these others who are received with music, because it is not necessary to pay tribute to them. They have no status in indigenous society, because they have no claim to a *payung*'.

From a symbol of 'ostentatious pomp and personal vanity'...

In 1868 two *dokters djawa* officially applied to carry the same status symbol that vaccination supervisors carried. Refusing their request, Governor General Mr. Pieter Mijer explained he saw no reason 'to give the *dokter djawa* esteem in indigenous society by artificial means. Through useful activities they should themselves strive for an honourable position. Ostentatious pomp and personal vanity were not in keeping with their calling. During their stay at the school in Batavia they surely must have learned that being truly magnanimous did not depend on vanity but on true knowledge and diligent devotion to duty'.

That the Governor General considered the *payung* a manifestation of vanity is ironic, given that the government preferred to recruit students for the *dokter djawa* school from among the *payung*-carrying class, whose members were among the few literate Indonesians, and literacy was a prerequisite to enrolment. Quite often a *dokter djawa*'s father, brother or nephew held a position with a right to a *payung* while the *dokter djawa* was denied one, which could not only arouse envy within a family but make the *dokter djawa*'s position in indigenous society unclear: according to his social class he was a *payung*-carrier, but in practice he wasn't allowed to be one. Why wasn't it vain of high Indonesian and Dutch dignitaries to carry the *payung*? It were as though the government regarded the *dokter djawa* as an exception from whom it expected a higher moral standard.

In 1875, after the Dutch and Indonesian press discredited the educational level of the School for the Education of Indigenous Doctors as substandard, more curriculum changes were made: Dutch became the language of instruction and of communication between students, and the course was lengthened to seven years. The *payung*, however, was not addressed, probably because the director, T. K. Semmelink, wanted to Westernise the course: instead of educating many doctors at a low technical level, Semmelink opted to educate a few at a high level, which required Dutch-language textbooks and instruction. Thus he inevitably steered clear of indigenous symbols like the *payung*.

...to a symbol that increases 'faith in their skill and competence'

The *payung* debate fell silent for several years, until 1882, when the *dokter djawa* Mas Prawiro Atmodjo stirred it up again by requesting the privilege from his superior,

the Dutch provincial head, who passed the request on to the director of the Department of Education, who in turn passed it on, with a favourable recommendation, to his superior: the Governor General. This time, three decades after his creation, the *dokter djawa* finally got his hands on the *payung*. In his decision, Governor General Frederik s'Jacob wrote that it was important 'for the government to cooperate in raising the prestige of the *dokters djawa* as considerable money and effort was put into their schooling. In this way the faith in their skill and competence will increase. Furthermore, officially granting the *payung* to *dokters djawa*...will stimulate young men from distinguished families to become a physician'.

The Governor General's justifications expressed nothing new. Over three decades after having come up with the idea, the government had simply finally convinced itself of the usefulness of their own creation – *dokters djawa* – as medical practitioners. Why would the government waste 30 years of 'considerable money and effort' to train them and only now see the *payung* as a tool to help make their investment worthwhile? It remains an unanswered question.

Over time the *dokter djawa*'s professional position improved, but until the end of the colonial period his social position was ambiguous both to himself and in the eyes of others. Because of his education many a *dokter djawa* felt part of the Western world; he was fluent in Dutch and wanted his children to receive a Western education. His salary, however, was not Western: for the same work, he earned far less than his European colleagues. Meanwhile, he belonged to indigenous society and was officially supposed to work among his own people, but most Indonesians either preferred to consult the *dukun*, were too poor to pay the *dokter djawa*, or, given the very few *dokters djawa* relative to the archipelago's 44 million inhabitants, had no one to turn to but the *dukun*.

Thus, from the very beginning, the *dokter djawa* faced an uphill battle when it came to having his authority recognised in villagers' eyes, which must have made him see the *payung* not as an accoutrement but as an indispensable wand that he simply couldn't do without. For 30 years the government held it just beyond his reach, even placed it in the hands of lesser men. Which is why the ultimate irony of its long-awaited professional bestowal seems so cruel: by the time the *dokter djawa* was finally granted the right to carry the *payung*, its heyday as a status symbol was over. ■

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A recent IAS workshop brought together esteemed scholars to look at the production, distribution and collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ancient South India.

Uncovering hidden treasures: establishing the discipline of Indian manuscriptology

DANIEL STENDER

Literary works in India have traditionally been written down on various materials such as palmleaf, birchbark and paper. In South India books - that is to say manuscripts consisting of bundled leaves (Sanskrit: *pustaka*) - have been mainly made from palm leaf; that is, leaves either from the Talipot (*Corypha umbraculifera*, Sanskrit: *āritāla* or *tālī*) or from the Palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Sanskrit: *tāla*). There are various aspects involved in dealing with manuscripts and most of them were discussed when several experts on this subject came together for the IAS workshop "Production, distribution and collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ancient South India," convened in the Sieboldhuis in Leiden on the 20th and 21st of April, 2007. The workshop was organised by Dr. Saraju Rath in connection with her ongoing work on the Johan van Manen collection of South Indian palm leaf manuscripts which has been carefully preserved at the Kern Institute, Leiden, since 1929.

The aim of the workshop was threefold:

(1) to study the production, distribution and collection of palm leaf manuscripts from early to modern times;

(2) to get a better picture of the ancient, pre-modern, and recent history of currently available manuscripts of the smaller and larger, public and private collections inside and outside India;

(3) to place the Johan van Manen collection of circa 400 South Indian palm leaf manuscripts in a larger context.

After an opening recitation and chant from the *R̥gveda* and *Sāmaveda* by Shri Chaitanya Kale, the workshop was opened by the Director of the International Institute for Asian Studies, Prof. Max Sparreboom, and with a brief overview of the Van Manen Collection by Dr. Saraju Rath. The Introductory Lecture, entitled "The Lives of Manuscripts and the Defects of Scribes", was given by Prof. Christopher Minkowski (Oxford). It dealt with the information that can be gleaned from the lines which are often found at the end of manuscripts, (beyond the final colophon), in which the scribe gives information about himself and frequently a statement regarding the possible faultiness of the manuscript, a prayer for its protection, etc. Moreover, Minkowski suggested that the voice of the scribes in the colophons reveals aspects of the history of manuscripts.

Dating dilemmas

Since scripts and writing techniques vary, manuscriptology shares a palaeographical dimension with epigraphy. In South India, Sanskrit texts are usually written in characters of the Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, Nandinagari scripts (Grünendahl 2001) and in various styles of Grantha, for

instance Grantha Tamil. All these scripts are associated with particular regions and periods. As Saraju Rath demonstrated in her lecture, it takes a lot of experience to distinguish the scripts perfectly, but with the help of precise criteria it is possible to determine the period of a certain manuscript by means of palaeographical details. In some manuscripts the scribe concludes the writing process with a date in the colophon. As in epigraphy, the date may include the number of a year in an Indian era such as *saka* or *vikrama*. On the face of it, it would seem easy to convert these dates into a year of the Gregorian calendar since the beginning of these eras is known (Salomon 1998: 168-198). However, Kim Plofker pointed out, in her lecture, the difficulties surrounding the exact computation of Indian dates as they are based on a precise astronomical lunisolar calendar which in fact cannot be calculated easily. A lunar day (Sanskrit: *tithi*) is sometimes also given, and this can help in determining the year. When the year is missing or defective, or if the 60-year Jupiter cycle (Sanskrit: *ṛhaspati*) is used, (as is the case with many South Indian manuscripts), a conversion of the date of the manuscript may not even be possible. Furthermore, the given year may be wrong.

Under Indic climatic conditions palmleaf is constantly threatened by fungus and insects, even if it is kept in under careful conditions. P. Perumal explained in his lecture that it is for this reason that manuscripts in private ownership have been stored in the kitchen of the house because the steam and smoke protect them. Manuscripts in India were normally copied by professional scribes (Sanskrit: *lipikāra*, *lekhaka*). This was done because the lifetime of palmleaf is limited, but also because extra copies could be distributed to other readers. It is well known that copying is a strenuous job and it is natural that the scribes made errors. It is fair to assume that with the number of copies made, the original text would become more and more corrupted. Furthermore, sometimes corrections to the manuscripts were made by scribes that while plausible, were different from the version that the author invented. For this and other reasons, different manuscripts of the same text frequently transmit different readings and recensions. It is the task of textual criticism - a discipline that is intimately connected with manuscriptology - to uncover which variants are original.

Classical philology comes Lachmann's method: a process of comparing and evaluating the variant readings of a manuscript and then classifying them in a stemma tree. In an uncontaminated transmission, missing nodes of the tree can be systematically reconstructed (Katre 1954: 35 ff.). In metrical Sanskrit the metrical schemes give additional evidence for the elimination of errors. The appearance of a manuscript is not a decisive factor, a general rule is that, theoretically, even the youngest

manuscript can carry the best text. Unfortunately this classical method fails when dealing with contaminated texts, i.e. when multiple exemplars have influenced each other horizontally as well as vertically. And it seems that this occurs with regularity in the case of Indian transmission. Vincenzo Vergiani, for example, described how difficult it is for a project to produce a new critical edition of the *Kāśīkāvr̥tti* to bring all the copies into a stemmatic sequence in order to see which are the most reliable variants.

Another approach has been to apply stemmatic methods derived from bioinformatics to textual criticism. In his lecture, about his research on the Ramcaritam written in Old-Malayalam, A.G. Menon gave an example of electronic data processing.

There remain several valid reasons to search for and to read manuscripts even when a text has been edited. One such reason is to compare the editions with the existing manuscripts when an edition seems to be inadequate. Or as suggested above, perhaps a previously ignored manuscript carries a better text. Or one may wish to uncover exactly why various editions differ so significantly. Silvia D'Intino described such a case in her lecture concerning the existing editions of the *Skandasvāmibhā.sya* of the *R̥gvedasamhitā*. Finally, manuscriptology holds the promise of revealing a large number of unedited and even unknown texts. It is always possible to discover hidden treasures.

Manuscript Hunting

In illustration of this, Christopher Vielle described the manuscript stocks in Kerala and Cezary Galewicz described his successful hunt for manuscripts of the *Yāmālā.s.takatantra*, a text previously thought to be fictitious. In his lecture, Masato Fujii spoke about several unknown manuscripts of the Jaiminiya Samaveda tradition in Kerala and Tamil Nadu which have been listed in the preliminary catalogue published together with Asko Parpola. N.V. Ramachandran gave an insight into the new Asian Classics Input Project (ACIP) focussing on Sanskrit manuscripts and the extensive labour of cataloguing and digitising exemplars from libraries and private collections in South India. In this regard, there remain questions about central cataloguing and about standardised cataloguing guidelines, as well as important issues regarding copyright as it applies to the digitisation of manuscripts. Gérard Colas's paper "South Indian manuscripts sent to the King's Library by French Jesuits at the beginning of 18th century," dealt with the establishment of some of the earliest collections of Sanskrit manuscripts outside India.

The workshop demonstrated that there is a particular aspect of Indian manuscriptology which might be sociological manuscriptology. Manuscripts are not

only vehicles of the transmission of texts from the past but also elements of India's everyday cultural life. Maps of manuscript holdings can be translated into intellectual maps, as Kenneth Zysk pointed out in his lecture. Manuscripts have often been stored by collectors, but the relationship between owner and manuscript may also tell us something about its history, as, for example, in the case of the manuscripts from a chest of S.R. Sharma's grandfather. There is a strong association between the pedigree of manuscripts and the family-based religious traditions in South India such as those of the Nambudiris or of the academic community still prevailing in the village of Tiruvishainallur in the Kaveri Delta as described by Dominik Wujastyk in his lecture. The workshop ended with a discussion of the necessity and potential of Indian manuscriptology and its importance for the study of Indian texts and of the social and cultural history of India. A publication on the basis of the papers of this workshop is planned. ■

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The IAS workshop "Production, distribution and collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ancient South India" (Organiser and Convenor: Dr. Saraju Rath) took place in Leiden, from 20-21 April, 2007. The organisation of the workshop was made possible by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS, Leiden), J. Gonda foundation (KNAW, Amsterdam), the Leids Universiteitsfonds (LUF, Leiden), the School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS, Leiden).

MuXiYuan: A neighbourhood untouched in a changing Beijing



The dizzying pace of change in urban China is nowhere more evident than in Beijing. No city on earth is reinventing itself more rapidly than the next Olympic city. Half the world's production of steel and a third of its concrete is feeding the voracious appetite for construction. New apartments, hotels, offices, stations and roads are transforming the landscape of the capital. Old sites are torn down, making way for new ones, in the relentless pursuit of modernisation.

But there are still a few corners of the city that have managed to avoid the bulldozers. MuXiYuan, in the south of Beijing, is one of them. Jikky Lam's photographs offer us a snapshot of the daily lives of the people living in the neighbourhood: doing groceries, running errands, cooking, chatting with acquaintances. A glimpse of mundanity in the face of frenetic change. MuXiYuan's small streets and narrow lanes are hemmed in by new high rise apartments on one side, and a huge overpass on the other. There are no plans as yet for rebuilding MuXiYuan, but surely it is only a matter of time before the 'city that ate the world' swallows up the final traces of its 19th century self. ■

Jikky Lam

is a Bachelor student in Cultural Anthropology & Development Sociology at the University of Leiden, and Asian Studies at the University of Amsterdam





Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

The New EPA-Joint Research Programme

Domestic and Geopolitical Challenges to Energy Security for, China and the European Union

A Joint Research Programme between Energy programme Asia (EPA)-IIAS and the Institute of West Asian and African Studies (IWAAS)-Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in cooperation with the Institute of Industrial Economy-CASS.

The objectives of this comparative research project are to analyse (a) the geopolitical and (b) domestic aspects of energy security challenges for the European Union (EU) and China and their impact on energy security policy strategies. The geopolitical aspects involve analysing the effects of competition for access to oil and gas resources and the security of energy supply among the main global consumer countries of the EU and China. The domestic aspects involve analysing domestic energy demand and supply, energy efficiency policies, and the deployment of renewable energy resources.

The research program is funded by the KNAW for a duration of three years: September 1 2007 - September 1 2010.

The Core Research Team

Dr. M. P. Aminah	EPA-IIAS, Programme Manager
Prof. Yang Guang	IWAAS-CASS, Programme Manager
Dr. Chen Mo	Institute of West Asian and African Studies-CASS
Prof. W. Kemenade	International Institute for Asian Studies
Prof. Dr. Kurt Radtke	International Institute for Asian Studies
Prof. Shi Dan	Institute of Industrial Economy-CASS
Prof. Dr. E.B. Vermeer	Leiden University

Activities:

- The First International Conference of the Energy Programme Asia (EPA), 'The Challenges of the post-Soviet Transition in Kazakhstan', International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, 8 April 2005, the Netherlands.
- The Second International Conference of the Energy Programme Asia (EPA) in cooperation with the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP), 'The Security of Energy Supply in China, India, Japan, South Korea, and EU: Opportunities and impediments', International Institute for Asian Studies' and CIEP, The Hague and Leiden 20 – 21 May 2005, The Netherlands.
- The Third International Conference of the Energy Programme Asia (EPA) in cooperation with the Energy Economic Research Centre, Beijing, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China, Global Cooperation Towards Energy Efficiency: Barriers and Opportunities. Beijing 24 – 25 June 2006, China.

Forthcoming events:

The First research-oriented meeting, the Institute of West Asia and African Studies-CASS, December 14-15, 2007, Beijing-China

The second research-oriented meeting in the Netherlands, October, 19-20, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, the Netherlands

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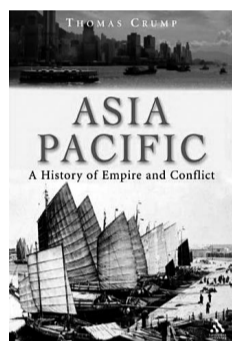
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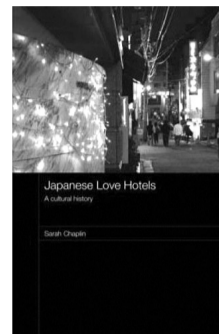
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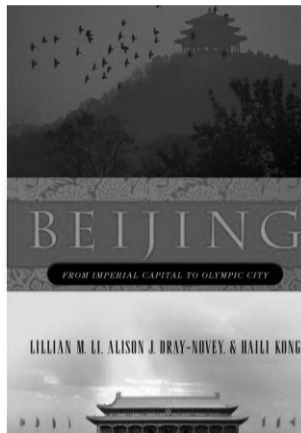
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Beijing: From Imperial Capital to Olympic City

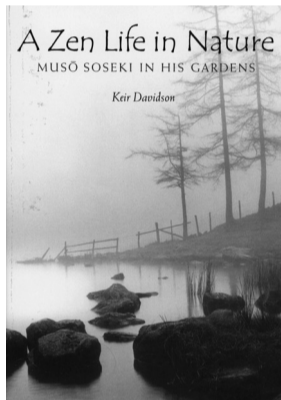
By Lillian M. Li, Alison J. Dray-Novey and Haili Kong
Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. ISBN 978 1 4039 6473 1

Few world cities have a record as long, as fascinating, or as well-documented as Beijing's. A capital almost continuously for more than a thousand years, the city has been Khubilai Khan's Mongol headquarters, home to emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties, and the main stage for Communist-era achievements and upheavals. Beijing is the first book in English to trace this vibrant city's history from its earliest days to the present. It highlights recent changes in the city as its more than fifteen million people live through record-level economic growth and intensive preparations for the 2008 Olympics. Focusing on the lives of ordinary residents and rulers alike, the authors examine the controversial destruction of historic districts as well as the construction of new residential and business districts and Olympic venues. Extensive photographs and paintings, many not previously published, offer a window onto Beijing not only in major phases of its past, but also in its startlingly different present. Compelling and revealing, Beijing arrives just in time for the city's turn in the Olympic spotlight.



A Zen Life in Nature: Musō Soseki in his Gardens

Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan. 2007.
ISBN 978 1 929280 41 4



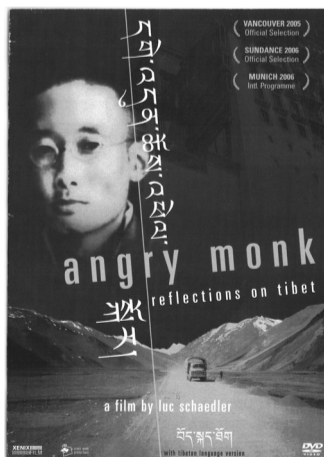
A Zen Life in Nature examines the design style and aesthetic of the medieval Japanese Zen monk Musō Soseki (1275 – 1351), who built gardens as places to meditate and to escape his busy public life. The book begins with a discussion of Soseki's rural upbringing and the spiritual background to it, his quest for enlightenment as a Zen monk, and his role as mediator in the turbulent times that surrounded the Kemmu Restoration and the establishment of the Ashikaga shogunate. Other chapters look in detail at the spiritual and cultural influences that are crucial to understanding Soseki's artistic and design sense and the development of his garden building. Finally, the book provides a detailed look at the beautiful Upper Garden at Saihōji, built by Soseki in 1339. A Zen Life in Nature will appeal to a broad audience, including students of medieval Japanese history and religion, those interested in Zen Buddhism and Zen gardens, and people with a general interest in garden design.

DVD Angry Monk: reflections on Tibet

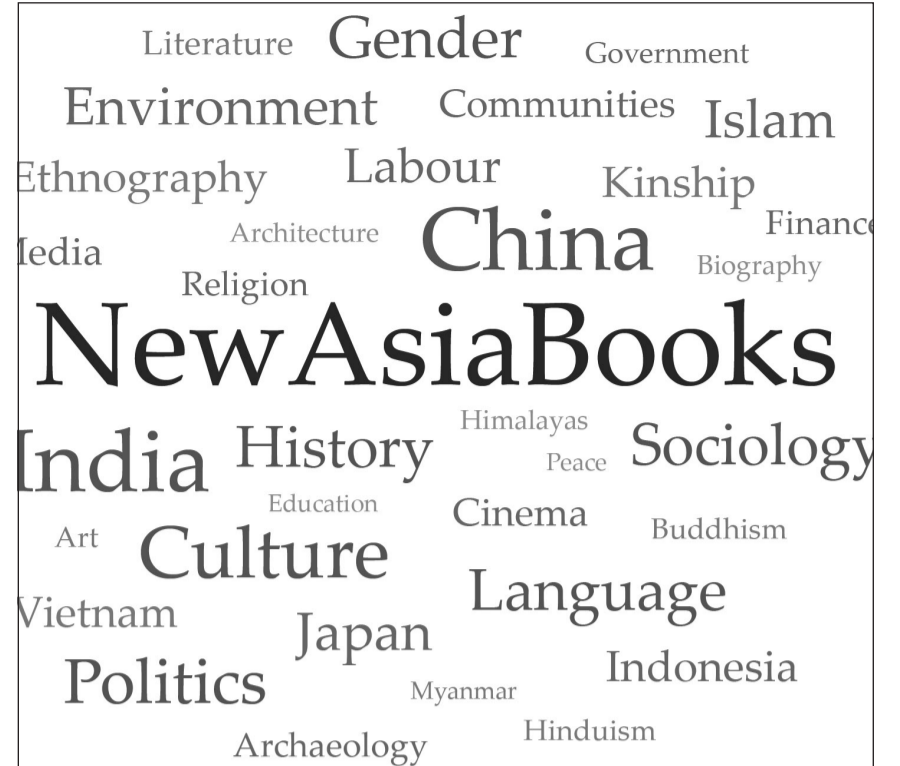
A film by Luc Schaedler
Switzerland 2005
97 minutes
DVD cover

Tibet - the mystical roof of the world, peopled with enlightened monks? Only one of them wouldn't toe the line: Gendun Choephel, the errant monk who left the monastic life in 1934 in search of a new challenge. A free spirit and multifaceted individual, he was far ahead of his time and has since become a seminal figure, a symbol of hope for a free Tibet. A rebel and voluble critic of the establishment, Gendun Choephel kindled the anger of the Tibetan authorities. The cinematic journey through time portrays the life of this unorthodox monk, revealing a face of old Tibet that goes against popular clichés. The film makes an abundance of unique and rare historical footage available to the general public for the first time. But it does not dwell on the past; rather it skilfully oscillates between tradition and modernity. Archival images of ancient caravans and monasteries give way to scenes of discos and multi-lane highways in Lhasa, where pilgrims prostrate themselves as they circle the holy temple. Angry Monk offers a fascinating insight into a country whose eventful past is refracted in the multiplicity and contradictions of everyday life.

Ultimately, this road movie also tells the story of a man who left home to search for something that could have liberated traditional Tibet from its rigidity. An outsider who was always open to new things, he eventually became a stranger in his homeland and homeless in foreign lands — a wanderer between worlds.



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MacFadyen, David. 2006. *Russian Culture in Uzbekistan: One Language in the Middle of Nowhere*. Central Asian Studies Series, vol. 6. London: Routledge. A 162 pages. ISBN 978 04153 4134 9

Anderson, Warwick. 2006. *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*. Durham, London: Duke University Press. 355 pages. ISBN 0 8223 3843 2

Encapsulate everything, grasp nothing:

Russian imperialist discourse in Uzbekistan

NATHAN LIGHT

This idiosyncratic book explores Russian language discourses in Uzbekistan. MacFadyen is one of those unusual writers who packs vast conceptual territory into a small text: a 43-page bibliography buttresses a mere 128 pages. But while MacFadyen quotes some of his sources at length, he also has a lot to say himself, and effectively crafts much of his esoteric argument.

From the ideas of Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek ('Zizek' in this volume), MacFadyen develops the theme of absence and nothingness, hence the 'nowhere' of his title. From the unknown of Islam against which Russia defines itself, through the Russian and Soviet imperial projects, to the loss of Russians from post-Soviet Uzbekistan, he leads us through discursive rhetoric that attempts to encapsulate everything but grasps nothing. As Žižek summarises, 'When I simply see you I simply see you – but it is only by naming you that I indicate the abyss in you beyond what I see' (pp 24, 116). Emptiness in Russian discourse on the other arises from the effort to narrate a future for that other that will converge with and legitimate Russian reality: MacFadyen thus investigates the projective and prospective logic of imperialist discourse.

From Russian imperialism in Uzbekistan to 9/11

In fact, MacFadyen takes on a far larger project than merely describing the predicament of Russians and Russian culture in Uzbekistan. Those who seek the latter in this volume will be somewhat disappointed, because in the author's attention to texts he loses the sense of experience. He only briefly evokes Russian life in Uzbekistan over the past 15 years, at one point calling it a 'mess' (pp 97-104). Because his argument revolves around distortion and loss, he grounds his analyses in the socialist and nationalist texts that most distort lived reality, which leaves the book largely devoid of representations of experience.

Instead of Russian experience, MacFadyen analyses state and imperial projects (American, Russian, Uzbek), terrorism, Soviet discourses about Uzbek and Russian music, literature and culture, and post-Soviet social and cultural changes in Uzbekistan perceived through the Internet. He follows Malise Ruthven and John Gray in suggesting that the ideas and techniques of Muslim terrorists developed from radical European thinking and revolutionaries (pp 110-11). Many may disagree with this narrow lineage for political and symbolic violence, or feel it makes little difference. But MacFadyen and his intellectual colleagues argue that European and American violence and imperialism created current horrors. I find little point in finding a determinate path of responsibility from forebears to heirs, but it matters



Slavoj Žižek advises us to see Islam as having productive sources of resistance to the 'liberalist-capitalist world order'.

to these scholars that lineages for present problems start in Europe.

Somewhat contradictorily, MacFadyen also quotes Žižek's advice not to 'praise Islam as a great religion of love and tolerance that has nothing to do with disgusting terrorist acts', but to see within it productive sources of resistance to the 'liberal-capitalist world order' (p 25). Islam, essentialised in MacFadyen's account, threatens with more narrowly conceived social reform, while Leninist ideology owes more to the revolutionary possibilities of Pauline Christianity and its vision of multifarious social life (p 36).

A slippery narrator

MacFadyen's compact, ambitious account of the Soviet politics of culture in Central Asia challenges the reader with suggestive insights. But because he shows little concern for underlying historical realities, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether he is quoting from others or presenting his own sense of the facts. I assume he does not think Uzbeks existed in the fourth century when he writes, 'Uzbek dance enjoyed an international reputation very early in its history; records exist of Samarkand dancers performing in Chinese courts as early as the fourth century' (p 51); nor that there is truly timeless continuity in the 'domestic and intensely non-professional ancient choreography' that endured despite Soviet interventions (p 54). Because of his compact style, he moves from summarising others' words to his own arguments without sufficiently indicating the transition.

The discussion of dance comes after a long summary of what Soviet academics decided was the 'history of Uzbek music' (p 43). In the subsequent pages of canonical history MacFadyen's own voice only fitfully returns, and it is never fully clear who is narrating until he starts describing the 1951 reform of Uzbek music to suppress fantasy and legend and introduce polyphony. He ties this back to the volume's theme of nothing: at the heart of the inextricable Uzbek triad of poetry, music and dance that resulted from national development, Soviet scholars saw 'nothing in particular', an absence of meaning, subject or theme. What writers described as the 'ineffable charm', plasticity and lyricism of Uzbek

music and dance had to be resemantised with socialist and patriotic content (pp 49-55). This recalls other discussions of the projected emptiness and uniformity of empire-making, such as that found in the essay by Guy Imart.¹

An overreaching narrative

Because he does not mark his voice clearly, some readers may miss his critiques of discourses. Believers in the moral benefits of European elite culture will not see Soviet Russian chauvinism hiding in talk of European music as the most universal, developed and thus fertile for the cultivation of an authentically creative national musical tradition (pp 61-2). Likewise, some may agree that Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Gogol and Chekhov embody the romanticism and realism that Uzbek writers need to reform their literature (pp 66-7).

The sweeping narrative that MacFadyen tells can be difficult to grasp. Over a two-page span, for example: 'colonialist literary discourses must deal with the newness of truth that is always supplement to their presumably stable norms'; despite seeking 'the indescribable and risky', the Soviets 'installed huge institutions' to attain 'literary control', particularly over religious expression; when the Soviet period ends, there is a new openness to literary possibilities and 'run of the mill notions of time and space are being jettisoned', which leads to a 'radical step from real geography and tangible events' that pushes the operation of culture into the virtual world (pp 93-4). Out of context, I would have read this final line as a description of the unreal operations of culture in the Soviet period as well. MacFadyen's writing promises much and often delivers, but it also demands an attentive and forgiving reader who can switch easily among stories and interpretations. ■

1. Imart, Guy. 1987. *The Limits of Inner Asia*. Bloomington, Indiana: RIFIAS.

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Intimate Empire:

Bodily contacts in an imperial zone

CLAIRE ANDERSON

Warwick Anderson's fascinating new book is the outcome of meticulous research into the relationship between colonisation and medical practices in America's administration of the Philippines, 1898 - 1930s. The author argues that as Americans sought to maintain their own corporal and psychic health during this imperial encounter, colonial medicine gradually came to represent Filipinos as a 'contaminated' race, and so attempted to 'civilise' and 'reform' them through a focus on personal hygiene and social conduct. This is a history, therefore, of the development of 'biomedical citizenship' (p 3).

Colonialism, race and medicine

To some extent, the book is firmly embedded within the traditions of the 'history of medicine', and tells us more about the relationship between often unstable perceptions and representations of race and disease leprosy, cholera, hookworm, malaria - in a hitherto unknown context. However, it has further depths which constitute an important intervention into the historiography of colonialism, race, and medicine. First, Anderson studies everyday practices such as the management of human waste and the control of crowds. Second, he tracks the relationship between medical practices and the development of peculiarly colonial perceptions of whiteness and in a particularly interesting manoeuvre - masculinity amongst American doctors and scientists themselves. Third, the book makes an original attempt to grasp the continuities between colonial and post-colonial practices, and to show how U.S. interventions provided the basis for later policies, both in the Philippines and internationally. As such, Anderson speaks to growing concerns within emergent historiography about the intimate effects of empire, and the configuration of America as a colonising or imperial power. It breaks further ground in creating 'a specific genealogy of metaphors, practices, and careers that links the colony with the metropole' and, in an often neglected enterprise, in linking experiences in and of the Philippines with other colonies (p 7).

I would like to focus briefly here on Anderson's fascinating account of the Cullion leper colony (ch 6). Cullion was an 'isolated outpost' in the far west of the Philippines archipelago (p 158), and became the site for the isolation, therapy, and socialisation for lepers from across the islands. Unlike missionary-run leper colonies elsewhere, this was an experiment in citizenship for a 'contaminated' community, and lepers lived in houses, worked, voted in elections, and engaged in approved forms of leisure like theatre, music, and baseball. Cullion had its own form of currency, and there were even bakeries and an ice-cream parlour. Exile

to Cullion was not, as Anderson explains, represented as the deprivation but the creation of liberty (p 178). Such 'civic transformation' was always underpinned with colonial brutality, however. For instance, both leprosy and non-leprosy children were being removed from their parents at an early age. One is left pondering how the Cullion lepers themselves and also their descendents represented their experience of social extrication and civic transformation in this and other respects.

The volume is heavily illustrated with a variety of fascinating photographs ranging from interior views of hospitals and leper wards, a line-pail cholera brigade, doctors and nurses, a hookworm dispensary, toilets, and even a leper brass band. I should have liked to know more about the relationship between such images and the textuality of Anderson's description of medical and hygiene practices. In what context were such photographs produced? Were they published in books and journals, or perhaps made into postcards for widespread circulation? Who looked at them, and where and how? Moreover, what is the relationship between the medical representation of both Americans and Filipinos - and their personal habits and practices - in text and image?

Nevertheless, this fascinating and ambitious book is of broad appeal, and will intrigue and challenge readers interested in the history of the Philippines and American colonial expansion, as well as the history of medicine, 'race', masculinity, confinement, and discipline. ■

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Notes

1. Stoler, Ann Laura ed. 2006. *Haunted by Empire: geographies of intimacy in North American history*, Durham and London, Duke University Press.

Not just nuns and oracles: contemporary Tibetan women

SARA SHNEIDERMAN

With its concise yet broadly sweeping title, Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik's edited volume *Women in Tibet* is a definitive contribution to the literature on women's experiences in Tibetan culture. The volume's composition reflects the breadth of contemporary Tibetan Studies, with chapters written by historians, philologists, comparative religion scholars and anthropologists, all of whom apply their own methodological approaches to a range of chronologically and geographically disparate subjects. This diversity makes for an uneven read: some chapters are in themselves lengthy mini-monographs that present important new ethnographic research (Diemberger, Henrion-Dourcy and Barnett); others are tightly argued pieces clearly situated within the author's own discipline (Schaeffer and Makley); while the remaining chapters list notable women within certain domains of Tibetan life (Uebach; Martin and Tsering).

Although Gyatso and Havnevik's well crafted introduction tries hard to provide a coherent framework by raising overarching theoretical questions about cultural relativism in gender studies and the methodological challenges of accessing women's experiences, the book as a whole does not live up to its promising title as a comprehensive survey of Tibetan women. Instead, as Gyatso and Havnevik themselves admit, the volume 'only provides fragments of the history and diversity of women in Tibet' (p24).

A healthy corrective

In general, studies of the Tibetan world have over-emphasised religion, and the literature on Tibetan women is no exception. In particular, Western Buddhist women (Klein, Shaw, Gross, Simmer-Brown) have written a plethora of books and articles about the feminine principle in Tibetan Buddhism but relatively little about the lives of actual women in Tibetan contexts. This book is a healthy corrective to that tendency, with chapters about women in medicine, the performing arts and politics in addition to the more predictable contributions on nuns, yoginis and oracles. The volume also enters new territory by including the work of several scholars conducting groundbreaking research within the contemporary Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC), rather than relying solely on historical sources or field research conducted in Himalayan areas outside of political Tibet.

The book is divided into two parts, with Part I focusing on 'Women in Traditional Tibet'. Helga Uebach examines how noble women of the Tibetan empire of the 7th to 9th centuries are represented in texts. Of particular note are her analyses of their political roles and contributions to important monasteries such as Samye. Moving ahead chronologically, Dan Martin's article

begins by considering the methodological challenges of identifying religious women in the biographical literature of the 11th and 12th centuries. He then lists all those whom he has identified, placing them in the categories of Best-Known Women, Prophets, Disciples, Lineage Holders, Leaders of Popular Religious Movements, Teachers and Nuns. Finally, he argues that the male teacher Phadampa Sangye and his followers 'advocated a particular kind and degree of women's liberation with strongly Buddhist characteristics' (p 80), which we might even go so far as to call 'feminism'.

Picking up on such analytical themes, Kurtis Schaeffer suggests that the 'earliest datable Tibetan woman's autobiography' – that of the Dolpo hermitess Orgyan Chokyi, who lived from 1675 to 1729 – has a uniquely gendered 'rhetoric of the body' when it comes to the cycle of rebirth and suffering (p 84). In addition, Schaeffer's nuanced presentation of Chokyi's life story provides a fascinating window on the cultural history of 17th century women and men in the western Himalayas.

Real women, right now

Part II addresses 'Modern Tibetan Women', with all five articles focusing on women's experiences within the contemporary TAR (although several of them also incorporate material from exile communities). Hildegard Diemberger's in-depth article on female oracles will certainly become the definitive work on the subject, with discus-

sions of both 'old' and 'new' oracles based on oral histories and extensive fieldwork. Although not all oracles are female, Diemberger argues that 'the ability to resolve personal life-crises and to deal with social liminality by means of spirit possession seems to be connected to a female experience of life in a privileged and specific way' (p 167). Diemberger describes the experiences and practices of this powerful group of women and explores their relationship to contemporary religious and social movements.

Turning to a different but equally powerful role that several women have played within contemporary Tibetan society, Tashi Tsering focuses on the contributions of women doctors to Tibetan medicine. With biographies of Khando Yanga, Lobsang Dolma Khangkar and Tsewang Dolkar Khangkar, this chapter is translated from the original Tibetan and its rhetorical style echoes a traditional Tibetan religious biography. We learn about the key events that defined these three illustrious women's lives, and come to understand them as key figures in maintaining Tibetan medical traditions both in pre-1959 Tibet and in exile.

With a somewhat similar organisational structure, Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy's article profiles six contemporary female singers. The details of their life stories are skilfully contextualised in a broader discussion of the role of performing arts in asserting Tibetan identities, both within the TAR and in exile. Henrion-Dourcy con-

cludes that for the female performers in question, 'ethnicity issues have appeared to have precedence over gender issues' (p 258). This serves as a crucial reminder that even in studies of women, gender may not be the most appropriate single analytical framework; rather, gender identities must always be understood in relation to other identities. For the female Tibetan performers who Henrion-Dourcy describes, ethnic and national identity issues have often been so highly charged that they have eclipsed gender as defining categories.

By contrast, the nuns of Labrang, Amdo, who are the subject of Charlene Makley's theoretically sophisticated article, are defined and often limited by their female bodies. Makley argues that the seemingly androgynous, but ultimately female bodies of these celibate women came to symbolise the 'larger patterns of changing gender practices which locals experienced as baffling and multifarious' (p 284). In so doing, they were perceived as a dangerous affront to existing gender ideologies.

A wealth of data, but none from Tibetan women scholars

Robbie Barnett makes a similar argument about the politicisation of women's bodies, in his extremely detailed review of women in contemporary TAR politics, claiming that ultimately their bodies serve as 'symbols of their cultural distinctiveness and of their identity as a group or nation' (p 362). Owing to restrictions on expression, wom-

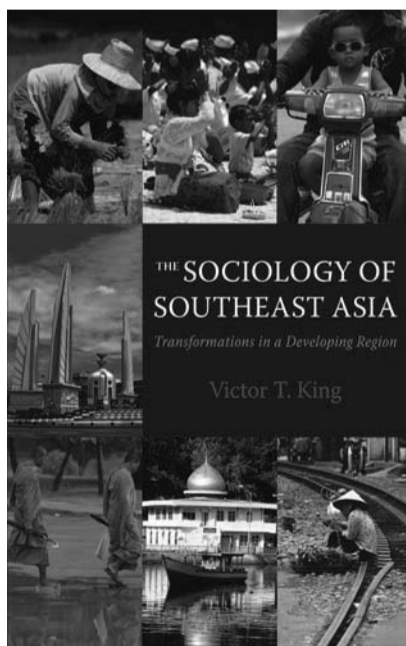
en's bodies have become a primary site for the performance of political ritual, the one location that cannot be policed. Barnett applies this argument to both female Communist Party members and anti-state protesters, and shows how women across a broad spectrum of political roles and affiliations have engaged in politics in an embodied manner. Both theoretically complex and ethnographically rich, Barnett's chapter provides a powerful conclusion to the volume.

On the whole, *Women in Tibet* offers a wealth of data about Tibetan women across time and space. One category that regrettably remains unrepresented is that of contemporary Tibetan women scholars: despite several mentions of the well known Lhasa scholar Tseyang Changngopa, there is not a single contribution from one of the several women of Tibetan origin producing fine scholarship in China, India and the rest of the world. Nonetheless, no single book can be all things to all people, and the excellent individual articles presented in this volume will pave the way for more integrated studies of women's experiences in Tibetan contexts, by scholars both Tibetan and Western, female and male. ■

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Jing-Bao Nie. 2005. *Behind the Silence: Chinese Voices on Abortion*. Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto and Oxford. 294 pages. ISBN 0 7425 2370 3

Chinese voices on abortion



MARGARET SLEEBOOM-FAULKNER

Behind the Silence is a timely work about the historical, cultural, social and political aspects of induced abortion in China, where it is used as a means of controlling population growth. Jing-Bao Nie is familiar with the history of induced abortion (see his *Medical Ethics in China*) and here includes a wealth of data on foetal life, the embryo's moral status, birth control policies and eugenic policy-making. Based on years of fieldwork directed at giving a voice to 'ordinary' people in the countryside and in urban areas, whose views on induced abortion we otherwise would not hear, his work raises issues of gender, ethnicity and religion in a meticulous, nuanced and accessible manner, making the reader doubt whether people's experiences of induced abortion really conform to the stereotypes about which we so often hear.

Nie asks why there is no public debate in China on induced abortion and what this lack of debate means. Public silence, in fact, is a theme that runs throughout this unique work: through descriptions and discussions on the official positions and dominant discourse regarding induced abortion; historical controversies in Bud-

dhis and Confucianism about the moral status of the foetus and the ethicality of coerced abortion; surveys conducted among various layers of society, using variables such as the medical profession, gender, place of residence, religious background, membership in the Communist Party; narratives of women and doctors involved in induced abortion based on surveys and interviews; and a critical discussion on the socio-cultural and ethical issues surrounding coerced abortion and the birth control programme. The book concludes with a call for cross-cultural discussion and a plea for taking seriously China's greatly underestimated internal cultural diversity, with its contesting views on conception, the value of the embryo and induced abortion.

The role of induced abortion in the state's birth control policy

In China, family-planning policy is, in many regions, based on local quotas of permitted newborns and determines how many children a family can have and when it can have them. According to state policies, induced abortion is not part of the state's birth control programme but a remedial measure to correct a violation of family-planning policy, e.g., the consequence of

not taking adequate contraception. Meanwhile, coerced abortion, gender selection and infanticide are regarded as feudal remnants or local deviations from official policy. At the same time the state defends its official policies by denying the moral significance of foetal life.

According to official reports, coercion is not part of the birth-control programme but rather an unintended consequence of failing to implement that programme. Thus 'coercion' in this context refers to practices unauthorised by the state, such as physical force, social pressure, the threat of dismissal and social ostracism. The dominant discourse in Chinese biomedical textbooks, meanwhile, does not recognise induced abortion as an appropriate way to stem population growth and does not recommend abortion at a late stage, as such abortions could endanger the mother's life. However, official discourse dominates dissenting voices and has stifled debate. For this reason it is not easy to find out how people think about and experience abortion.

Voices unheard – until now

Nie tries to find out nonetheless. 'How representative of the views and experi-

ences of ordinary Chinese is the current official discourse?' he asks (page 64). The voices he captures debunk stereotypical views of Chinese people as not having any feelings about induced abortion or as not attaching any moral value to foetal life. True, decades of propaganda have influenced the Chinese population, for the vast majority of Nie's respondents show a nearly unconditional socio-cultural acceptance of abortion, owing mainly to official birth and population policies. But Nie's subjects also express questions, concerns, and feelings about abortion that reflect both abortion's widespread traumatic impact on women and a pervasive respect for the life of the unborn child (nearly 50% of respondents believe that life begins at conception). Women's narratives associate induced abortion with problems such as diminished reproductive capacity, a poor relationship with their partner and guilt over having aborted a child rather than an embryo; they also associate it with coercive birth control policies and poorly trained medical personnel. For instance, Qianqian, who had taken medicine that could damage her foetus, felt that she had to abort it, because she did not want to risk having a disabled child under a policy that requires most couples to have no more than one child. Qianqian described her abortion (which was performed without anaesthetic) as follows:

'Since I work in this medical school, the doctor was very friendly to me. But I complained to her when it turned out that the dilatation and curettage was not performed successfully. The embryonic tissues were not sucked out completely. Consequently, I had to have a second one to clear it up...When the abortion was nearly done, it was so painful that I was almost in shock. The doctor let me see the bloody foetus. It looked like a lock of fine hair. I could only sigh, "Oh, my poor son. How miserable you are!"'

Medical doctors in general regard performing abortions as part of their professional routine; they have no scruples about it. Medical ethics in China is largely influenced by a dominant state discourse that emphasises the welfare of state and country over that of the individual. This, Nie argues, is a historical aberration, as

for many centuries major Chinese medical ethics traditions rooted in Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism held that the primary duty of healers was looking after the individual patient. Thus the 'liberal' view – state-influenced bioethics – of approving of abortion as a blanket procedure, according to Nie, is also a historical aberration: it cannot be justified by the major trends in Confucian and Buddhist traditional ethics (though perhaps it can be justified in 'legalist' terms), but is a consequence of the political environment over the past several decades.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that medical textbooks on ethics expressing diverse reasoning and views on issues such as abortion, euthanasia and cloning are gradually beginning to appear in China. These textbooks also include discussions on the moral status of the embryo and foetus, which many believe to be influenced by Western views. As Nie implies, it is not helpful to interpret Chinese opposition to coerced abortions as an expression of a Western human rights perspective (page 219), as all too often in China women who express the wish not to be pressured into abortion are regarded as tainted by Western individualism, a view that is both politically and socially destructive. Thus Nie regards the issue of coerced abortion as a matter not of cultural opinion but of universal human rights.

Instilling induced abortion as moral justice

As Nie argues, coerced abortion to curb population growth is an example of 'justifying the means by the ends'. Although the government denies coerced abortion is official policy, the birth control programme in practice instils the population with a sense of moral justice – state welfare is more important than individual welfare – that drive it to commit acts whose ends justify their means.

The consequences of China's birth control programme remain underexposed. More research and in-depth fieldwork is needed to acquire a more complete picture of the experience of induced abortion and how its practice is rationalised; on the effect of so many abortions on people's daily lives in villages and cities; on how some of the wealthy manage to have large families in spite of its illegality; and on the social consequences of gender selection and its resulting skewed sex ratio in the countryside. More researchers must have the patience and the heart to listen to China's many different voices on these issues. ■

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James, Helen. 2006. *Security and Sustainable Development in Myanmar*. Abington, UK: Routledge, xvi + 321 pages. ISBN 0 415 35559 1 (hbk), ISBN 0 203 00198 2 (ebk)

Getting beyond image to reality in Burma (Myanmar)

DONALD M. SEEKINS

Written as a companion volume to her *Governance and Civil Society in Myanmar: Education, Health and Environment*, published in 2005, Helen James's *Security and Sustainable Development in Myanmar* asks: Why can't Burma (Myanmar) be treated as a 'normal' Third World country with serious social, economic and human rights problems but also the potential, given international assistance, to gradually evolve into a country that provides its people with enhanced 'human' security, high standards of living and a vibrant civil society as its South-East and East Asian neighbours have done over the past two or three decades?

In light of the perhaps well-intentioned but counter-productive policy of sanctions pursued by the Clinton and Bush administrations, particularly the 2003 'Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act', which banned imports from Burma and caused the lay-off of tens of thousands of Burmese textile workers, this is a question that needs to be answered. Unfortunately, James's arguments for greater humanitarian and economic engagement with Burma are undermined by eye-glazing jargon, political correctness and glaring omissions that compromise the book's value as a study of the contemporary political crisis in this troubled land.

Orwellian doublethink

Its seven chapters are at times difficult reading because of the author's fondness for the kind of language that is popular in air-conditioned seminar rooms, such as 'sustainability' and 'realist and liberal paradigms', and sentences like '...the "we-feeling" at the societal level is already present, nascent, perhaps subdued, but ready to present a more overt community presence both internationally and in the domestic sphere (p 51). She has a penchant for quoting at length a bewildering array of experts whose prose is also less than crystal clear (e.g., 'Deutschian and constructivist formulations', p 49). This gives the book a fuzzy, abstract feel that doesn't so much deny but rather obscures the grim realities of life under military rule in Burma.

The first chapter introduces the key concept of 'holistic security': 'the development and application of public policy which privileges human well-being within the context of state resilience, yet acknowledges "the ongoing centrality that military-related issues play in state and interstate relations" (p 32).¹ At best, this is an oxymoron; at worst, Orwellian doublethink, since Burma's fundamental problem is that the state ensures its own security at the expense of the security and welfare of the people. Chapter two proposes the interesting notion that states might be 'socialised' into respecting human rights: applying pressure simultaneously from 'above' (the international community)



Seeing the light or blinded by it? Ascetic on the Platform of the Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon (Photograph by Donald Seekins, March 2006).

and from 'below' through a 'network' of domestic and international civil society groups' (pp 55, 56).

This notion is connected to her discussion of Burma's contemporary civil society in chapter six: based on the traditional notion of self-help, civil society is more deeply rooted and dynamic in the face of top-down state controls than is commonly acknowledged (pp 153, 154). However, the establishment of the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), a 16 million-member body whose patron is Senior General Than Shwe, and of paramilitary units like the *Swan Arr Shin*, provides the SPDC junta effective tools for keeping civil society and not just the National League for Democracy under tight control. Armed with cash as well as *dah* (swords), the USDA is likely to become Burma's most powerful political-social organisation after a new constitutional order is established, perhaps as early as next year. The USDA was largely responsible for the 30 May 2003 'Black Friday' attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her supporters in Depayin in Upper Burma, in which a number of her people were brutally killed.

Drugs? What drugs?

Chapter three is the weakest, an examination of the armed cease-fire groups located in the poppy-growing areas of eastern Shan State, especially the United Wa State Army (UWSA). James describes her own inspection of Wa-controlled areas in 2004, including photographs of herself posing

with UWSA soldiers, and concludes that significant improvements in infrastructure for health and livelihood have occurred now that the USWA is systematically abandoning the cultivation and export of opiates. But she says nothing in the chapter about the UWSA's manufacture and export of amphetamine type stimulants (ATS), especially methamphetamines, known as *yaabaa* in Thailand, which are a cash cow for the UWSA's top commanders and are causing havoc in Burma's eastern neighbour and reaching other South-East Asian countries, as well as Australia, Japan, Europe and the United States. According to the Thailand-based NGO Altsean-Burma, the made-in-Burma *yaabaa* trade in that country alone is worth US\$1.8 billion annually. The Australian Federal Police Commissioner is quoted by Altsean-Burma as saying that amphetamine type stimulants are the 'biggest emerging drug threat in the region' and that 'in Burma now, the production of amphetamines is just huge'.² Although there is very brief mention of amphetamines in chapter four (p 115), James's overall neglect of this issue seriously undermines the credibility of her book.

The book picks up speed in the final three chapters, which deal extensively with Western sanctions. It is true, as James argues, that sanctions, especially those imposed by the United States government on trade and investment, are the product of domestic political dynamics (lobbying by interested groups, especially Burmese

émigrés, and their connection with powerful members of Congress such as Senator Mitch McConnell) rather than an objective study of their probable impact on the target country; that they constitute a zero-sum game that stirs up nationalism and xenophobia inside Burma (or at least within SPDC circles); and that their economic impact is either inconsequential (because of economic support of the SPDC by China, India and ASEAN) or damaging to ordinary people (the consequences of the 2003 sanctions law, mentioned above). James concludes with the credible point that had American and British Burma policies been better planned, Washington and London might still retain a measure of influence inside the country (p 138).

Sanctions bad, junta worse

However, she neglects to mention another, more crucial point: it is not Western sanctions but poor or non-existent economic policymaking by the SPDC junta that is causing deteriorating human security for the majority of Burmese people, who are subjected to patron-client-based corruption; multiple, politically-motivated *kyat*-dollar exchange rates; rampant inflation caused by a printing-press monetary policy and a poor system of distribution of necessities such as rice; state imposition of low prices for crops that depresses the living standards of farmers; forced cultivation of certain crops (especially *Jatropha*, the plant that yields 'bio-diesel', a current SPDC obsession); reprehensible underinvestment in health and education while

hundreds of millions of dollars are spent acquiring advanced weapon systems from abroad; forced labour and forced relocation; lack of the rule of law in business and other areas of life; and dilapidated infrastructure, especially in Rangoon (Yangon), Burma's industrial centre, including chronic and worsening electricity blackouts. The motivation for the Senior General's decision to move the capital from Rangoon to Naypyidaw in 2005 is to create an ultra-secure environment for himself and his fellow generals at a safe distance from large urban centres, whose populations have become increasingly desperate economically, just as they were in the months leading up to the massive Democracy Summer protests of 1988.

In conclusion, one can agree with James that sanctions are ineffective or even harmful. But Burma isn't a "normal" developing country transitioning from socialism' (p 176). Unlike Vietnam, whose communist regime initiated genuine liberalisation in 1986, the Burmese military elite has not loosened controls over the society or economy or opened up space for the emergence of genuine civil society. The SPDC is a close collaborator, if not ally, of China, which provides it with economic and other forms of support with no concern for political or economic reform. With Beijing's backing, the SPDC can to a large extent ignore the attempts of the international community to 'socialise' a respect for human rights or security. Given the ruthlessly pragmatic geopolitics of China as a rising power, this is a grim situation indeed for Burma's people.³ ■

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Notes

- 1 James's quotation is from D. B. Devitt and A. Archarya. 1996. *Cooperative Security and Developmental Assistance: the Relationship between Security and Development with Reference to Eastern Asia*. East Asia Policy Papers, no. 16. Toronto: Toronto University and York University, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies: p. 10.
- 2 ALTSEAN-Burma. 2004. *A Failing Grade Burma's Drug Eradication Efforts*. Bangkok: ALTSEAN-Burma (November): pp. 59-72, at <<http://www.altsean.org/drug-report.html>>, accessed 16 June 2007.
- 3 The People's Republic of China has become the principal supporter of other so-called 35pariah regimes: North Korea, Sudan and Zimbabwe. Like Burma, the two African nations are rich in natural resources.

Hedman, Eva-Lotta E. 2006. *In the Name of Civil Society: From Free Election Movements to People Power in the Philippines*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, xiv + 268 pages. ISBN 0 8248 2921 2

On the independence of civil society: the case of the Philippines

NIELS MULDER

Over the past two decades, countless pens have been put to paper by the idea of a self-organising civil society as a check on state power and, from a Tocquevillian perspective, an indispensable condition for democracy. While the idea has merit, too often it leads to a mechanical opposition of civil society and state. In the case of the Philippines, state-society dynamics have been obfuscated, even as many analysts have attempted to get at the roots of what is at first glance a strikingly mismanaged state unable to provide basic services (education, health, justice, security, infrastructure). How, many analysts asked, could such an apparently 'weak' state maintain itself?

By asking the right question, namely how bourgeois minority rule is possible under conditions of liberal democracy (in which everybody has a vote), Hedman seems to have found a way that will inspire many to break with the hackneyed schoolbook wisdom that makes much of the study of Philippine politics so depressing. Inspired by Antonio Gramsci's careful observation and critical analysis of Italian state dynamics between 1870 and 1920, her study resulted in a powerful, historically grounded theory to elucidate the vicissitudes of democracy in the Philippines.

The dominant bloc and its appendages

Following Hedman's introduction to Gramsci's theorising of civil society and her subsequent analysis, we learn that 'the ensemble of organisms – civic, religious, professional – called "private"' helps to maintain the hegemony of the bourgeois capitalist state by facilitating rule through the mobilisation of consent. The capacity of its 'universalistic' leadership to mobilise consent through what Althusser called the 'ideological state apparatuses' – school, church, civic associations, even parliamentary opposition – is an adjunct to the power of a dominant bloc of social forces whose acceptance hinges on active participation in ritual performances such as Roman Catholic Mass, elections, and – particularly important in this book – election watch movements and People Power demonstrations.

Seen in this way, popular protest is far less spontaneous than the demonstrators think it is, as the participants, whatever the urgency of their personal motives, have been mobilised *in the name* of civil society. Given endemic electoral manipulation, fraud, violence, graft and venality, the second incisive question thus becomes why this mobilisation is remarkably infrequent and when, where, by whom and how it is mounted.

In the second chapter, Hedman identifies the dominant bloc as composed of the American government, the Catholic

Church and the capitalist class, whose interests are thoroughly intertwined. Since independence, this bloc evolved and was 'Filipinised' so as to absorb societal contradictions and to appeal to active citizenship and civic participation when its authority and companion institution of oligarchic democracy were under severe threat. Such threats, or crises of authority, typically emanated from presidential aggrandisement that infringes on the powers of Congress, and from extra-parliamentary popular mobilisation (the old Communist party and the Huks; the new Communist party and the New People's Army; restive labour and student movements). Although both threats are expressions of 'abiding tensions' in the Philippine polity, they rarely lead to acute mobilisation in defence of liberal democracy.

Moments of mobilisation

The author identifies four, nearly cyclically occurring moments of mobilisation in recent history: the 1953 organisation of the first National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) against President Elpidio Quirino's re-election campaign; the Citizens National Electoral Assembly's monitoring of President Ferdinand Marcos's 1969 electoral shenanigans; the revived NAMFREL in response to Marcos's 1986 'snap' election and the subsequent People Power demonstrations that sent him packing; and the 2001 People Power demonstrations against President Joseph Estrada's gross abuses of his office.

Hedman analyses these critical moments relative to the role of each component of the steadily evolving dominant bloc. As a result, we witness the fluctuations of American foreign policy in response to the international situation and its role in the Philippines; the Vatican's comparable adjustments and the Filipinisation of its personnel; and the economic transition from an agricultural to an industrial and service base, even as the business class becomes less foreign and more indigenous.

A tedious but ultimately rewarding read

In the six chapters that follow, the 'when, where, by whom and how' of these four moments of mobilisation in the name of civil society are painstakingly described. The author has accumulated a plethora of diverse data and effectively uses it to illustrate her theoretical points. We see how action was born, the obstacles it had to surmount, and its structure in terms of the main players, the outreach of mobilisation and the role of international support.

Despite the addition of chapter two, on 'transformism, crises of authority, and the dominant bloc', the study remains very much the dissertation it once was. This is not only evident from the 44 pages of end notes and 21-page bibliography, but also from the steady repetition of the theoretic



One of four moments of mobilisation: 2001 demonstrations against President Estrada's gross abuses of his office.

cal argument and reminders – up to eight per page – that the study is about the Philippines. This can be tedious, but the reader is ultimately rewarded with a sophisticated and plausible interpretation of how bourgeois minority rule maintains itself, and with a simultaneous demystification of the idea of civil society as a purposive

watchdog. Because of these qualities, the book might be most useful in presenting final year undergraduate or graduate students with an enthusiastic, theory-inspired investigation. At the same time, however, it offers anyone interested in the Philippines and all those who argue about civil society a refreshing and sobering exposition. ■

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Further particulars and application forms (272/302 amended) can be obtained at <https://www.hku.hk/apptunit/>; or from the Appointments Unit (Senior), Human Resource Section, Registry, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong (fax (852) 2540 6735 or 2559 2058; e-mail: senrappt@hkucc.hku.hk). **Review of applications will begin on December 1, 2007, and will continue until the post is filled.** Candidates who are not contacted within 3 months from the review date may consider their applications unsuccessful.

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Coats, Bruce A. 2006. *Chikanobu: Modernity and Nostalgia in Japanese Prints*. Scripps College, Claremont, CA, USA, in association with Hotei Publishing, Leiden, an imprint of Brill. 208 pages, 280 colour illus., ISBN 9 074 822 886

Keyes, Roger S. 2006. *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan*. The New York Public Library, New York, in association with the University of Washington Press, Seattle and London. 320 pages, 250 colour illus., ISBN 0 295 986 247

The sophisticated aesthetics of Ehon and Ukiyo-e of a Meiji period master

Two new publications on Japanese prints and picture books highlight formerly underappreciated aspects of these traditions

PATRICIA J. GRAHAM

The great appreciation for Japanese woodblock prints of the Ukiyo-e tradition by collectors and artists in the West is evident in their profusion in Western language publications about Japanese art beginning in the 19th century. Yet only during the past twenty five years have Western (and for that matter, Japanese) scholars and collectors begun to appreciate Ukiyo-e prints created by artists other than those included in the core group of canonical masters (Hishikawa Moronobu, Suzuki Harunobu, Kitagawa Utamaro, Katsushika Hokusai, and Andō Hiroshige being the most well known) active in the city of Edo (Tokyo) between the late 17th and mid-19th century. These newly appreciated artists, most active during the late Edo (circa 1800-1868) and Meiji (1868-1912) periods, had been formerly denigrated or simply ignored. Concurrently, scholars and collectors have also turned their attention to the related field of Japanese ehon (alternately translated as 'art' or 'picture' book) production, both woodblock printed and hand-painted manuscripts, only some of which were designed by Ukiyo-e artists. The two books under review reflect these new collecting and scholarly interests, and significantly contribute to enriching Western readers' knowledge of the astounding creativity of these closely related traditions, which are among the most sophisticated and innovative in the world, and the evolving culture that produced them.

Both of these scholarly yet accessible books serve as catalogues of exhibitions of the holdings of single institutions. *Chikanobu: Modernity and Nostalgia in Japanese Prints*, focuses on prints by the Meiji period artist Yōshū Chikanobu (1838-

1912) in the collection of Scripps College, largely assembled under the direction of that college's Japanese art history professor, Bruce Coats, beginning in the 1990s. *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan*, features a selection of Japanese manuscripts and printed art books in the New York Public Library (NYPL), whose special collection curators began systematically acquiring these materials in the mid-20th century. However, the authors of the two books (and their institutions) took very different approaches to their volumes' contents and organisation.

Chikanobu: From disenfranchised samurai to nostalgic nationalist

While Bruce Coats aims to promote appreciation of Chikanobu's art, his book's essays and plate commentary reveal his broader intent: to use this artist's prints, created over a thirty year period, as a window through which to view the culture of the artist's day. Coats remarks that "Chikanobu's prints document a significant shift from advocating modernization in the 1880's to nostalgically promoting traditional values and celebrating Japanese historical figures in the 1890's" (p 6).

Following his introduction, a long essay - 'Chikanobu, An Overview of his Life and Works' - Coats guides readers towards deeper understanding of this enigmatic, little-studied, and prolific artist who was a member of the samurai class loyal to the deposed Tokugawa shoguns. Coats' essay surveys the types of prints that comprise his oeuvre - contemporary military conflicts, warrior heroes, beautiful women, children, geisha, women's life in the old Tokugawa Castle complex, famous sites of Japan, and Kabuki actors - and their sophisticated, restrained aesthetic sensibility. He informs readers about the state of the printmaking business in the Meiji era and argues convincingly for positive reappraisal of Chikanobu in relation to

his more well known peers, Tsukioka Yoshitoshi and Kobayashi Kiyochika. Coats points out that many of Chikanobu's prints contain lengthy texts, which appealed to well educated viewers, and that his subject matter "helped create a sense of nationhood, a shared past that could consolidate the community of Japanese citizens at a time when nationalism was proliferating worldwide and Asian cultures were being threatened by European colonial imperialism" (p. 62). Following this essay are sumptuous illustrations of Chikanobu's early prints, accompanied by extensive explanatory captions (as are most of the illustrations in this volume).

Four shorter essays, on Chikanobu's most representative subjects placed within a historical context, round out the volume. Each section is accompanied by illustrations. The first, by Joshua S. Mostow, "Setsugekka: Snow, Moon, and Flowers," (FIG 1) explores the historical and cultural meaning of this phrase, which Chikanobu took as the name of several large series of his prints of beautiful women (paired with snow, moon, or flower imagery). One such series, comprising fifty sheets, is considered among his finest works and is illustrated in its entirety. The next essay, by Allen Hockley, "New Age Warriors: Redeploying the Heroic Ethos in the Late Meiji Period," delves into the history of warrior prints within the Ukiyo-e tradition and Chikanobu's reinterpretation of it. Hockley remarks that in Chikanobu's day, these images carried a new meaning, in which "the past, especially one associated with Japan's warrior traditions, emerged as a potent ideological force with far reaching implications" (p 109). Kyoko Kurita's essay, "Picturing Women's Spirit: Chikanobu's Prints and Meiji Literature," follows. She explores Chikanobu's portrayal of women from a literary perspective. Some of Chikanobu's prints of women (for example his "Magic Lantern Comparisons" series evoke a new phenomenon seen in



Fig 1 'Setsugekka: Snow, Moon and Flowers', Joshua S. Mostow

Meiji literature, a portrayal of 'interiority', in which the artist attempts to capture both women's appearance and inner thoughts. Unfortunately, some of the author's points are obscured by a lack of illustrations to prints or book illustrations she discusses. The book's last essay, again by Coats, "Chiyoda Inner and Outer Palace Scenes," describes Chikanobu's sympathetic portrayal of "the elegance and quiet sophistication of the shogun's private world" (p 171) with his complementary images of the inside of the women's quarters (the Inner Palace) and the activities of the samurai elite outside the castle walls (the Outer Palace Scenes).

While the content of this book is exemplary, editorial and design decisions somewhat mar its use as a scholarly reference. The essays contain both plates (prints by Chikanobu included in the exhibition) and figures (comparative material by other artists), making individual essays easy to read but difficult to navigate, since authors of multiple essays refer to the same materials, which are referenced only by number and not page location. Further, details from the prints, used as frontispieces to each chapter, are nowhere identified; some of the plate numbers within the essays are erroneous; and, overall, the book includes a surprising number of typographical errors. Given Bruce Coats' extensive research on this artist, an appen-

dix listing all of Chikanobu's known print series and illustrated books would have made an invaluable resource for future studies. Instead, only a list of images from Chikanobu print sets illustrated in the catalogue appear in the first part of the index. The second section, an overly abbreviated 'subject index', lacks citations to most of the general historical and cultural information found in the essays and catalogue entries but includes references to other artists whose works are mentioned and illustrated in the volume. I also found the select bibliography, which includes mainly references to English language publications on print artists, Kabuki theatre, and Meiji culture, too condensed. Providing Japanese characters for titles and names would also have made the book more useful as a reference.

Still, the book's many merits surpass its production shortcomings. The exquisite photographs reproduce many of Chikanobu's prints together for the first time and many captions for illustrations contain text summaries and thoughtful remarks about the subjects, their historical context, and the prints' aesthetics. This commentary skillfully connects the personal viewpoint of the artist to the culture of his time and his place within it, first as a disenfranchised samurai, later in his life as a nos-

continued on page 38 >

Fig 2 People of Yamato 1800, Yamaguchi Soken



talistic nationalist. Bruce Coats ably argues for better appreciation both of this artist and of Ukiyo-e print production during the middle and late Meiji era, a period not usually associated with the production of fine quality traditional-style prints.

Ehon: microscopic worlds in convergence

In contrast to Coats' emphasis on exploring Chikanobu's art within its historical framework, Roger Keyes eloquently implores his readers to better appreciate the aesthetics of the books themselves, as well as the artistic sensibility of their makers. The remarkable collection about which he writes, containing three hundred manuscripts and fifteen hundred printed books, has long been known by scholars, but this publication marks its first broad introduction to the general public, through a selection of seventy works. Books and manuscripts in the NYPL catalogue span the entire history of book production in Japan, from the 8th century to the present. Keyes approaches his topic as a historical survey, and therefore chooses to include in his catalogue two rare books not owned by the NYPL (cat. 23, Yoshiwara Courtesans, illustrated by Kitao Masanobu, and cat. 48, by Satō Suiseki). The last five books included, from the post World War II era, reveal the modernisation and globalisation of this living tradition, featuring two books by Japanese artists, who used Western printing processes and created books in non-traditional formats, and three by Western artists influenced by Japanese print and bookmaking traditions. Keyes describes *The Map* (cat. 66), as "a profound, heartbreaking meditation on nuclear destruction....the most brilliantly designed Japanese book of its century" (p 256).

Keyes' lengthy introductory essays convey the special characteristics of ehon. He notes that the books "spring to life for their readers because their artists carefully create rituals of engagement to attract, absorb, and hold their readers' attention" (p 15), and that they are "sensuous, beautiful, and intelligent. Different as they are among themselves to look at, they share many qualities: stillness, space, wonder, love, delight, play" (p 16). A separate essay explains the components of books: paper, ink, colours, binding, book covers, contents, language, calligraphy, and pictures.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to discussion of each ehon in chronological order, in discrete catalogue entries of several pages in length, most accompanied by two or three illustrations. This order, by the way, does not follow that of the exhibition, which was thematic. But it makes for a well organised reference and aids in appreciation of the books themselves, which as Keyes notes, were "conceived, designed, published, manufactured, and distributed by representatives of many different trades and professions working in collaboration,"

each of which offer a glimpse into "microcosms of individual, social and occupational worlds in convergence" (p 12). As he describes each book, Keyes engages the reader with evocative introductory sentences, then points out their distinctive qualities, including visual differences among editions. We learn, for example, that some artists intentionally linked pictures on adjacent pages, making use of the book paper's semi-transparency (cat. 27, by Chō Gesshō and 30, by Yamaguchi Soken (FIG 2) or visual content (cat. 53, by Ōnishi Chinnen), that rare early editions capture painterly qualities lacking in more hastily produced later ones (cat. 18, after Hanabusa Itchō, and fig. 32.3, by Nakamura Hōchū), and that the NYPL possesses some sole existing copies of printed books (cat. 10, by Hishikawa Moronobu), rare first editions (cat. 16, *The Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*), or exemplary and rare examples of second editions of celebrated printed books (cat. 25, Kitagawa Utamaro's *Gift of the Ebb Tide*, illustrated on the volume's cover and in its entirety in the book). He also includes summaries of textual sections and translations of selected poems to illuminate the context of each ehon's production.

The volume concludes with extensive, invaluable reference material. A long section, 'Bibliographic Descriptions and References', reflects Keyes' years of research on each ehon in the catalogue, providing publication references, detailed descriptions of their contents, known editions and their locations, citations to reproductions in modern editions, provenance, and, occasionally, their purchase price. The next section is an alphabetical inventory of all the NYPL printed books. A comprehensive bibliography and detailed index conclude the volume. Invaluable to scholars, all sections (except for the index) contain characters adjacent to names and book titles.

While very different in scope and intended for different groups of readers (Coats' book will be a boon to educators, students, and collectors, and Keyes' book will be useful for those groups as well as to scholars), unquestionably these two books will help to advance Western readers' interest in underappreciated areas of Japanese prints and picture books. Fittingly, they are both intellectually stimulating and beautiful examples of the art of modern bookmaking themselves. ■

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Kapur, Ashok. 2006. *India – From Regional to World Power. India in the Modern World.* London and New York: Routledge. 253 pages. ISBN 978 0 415 32804 3

The return of Dr Strangelove or: should we really stop worrying and learn to love India's bomb?

NADJA-CHRISTINA SCHNEIDER

'I have a brief announcement to make. Today at 1545 hours (1015 GMT), India conducted three underground nuclear tests in the Pokhran range. The tests conducted today were with a fission device, a low-yield device and a thermonuclear device. The measured yields are in line with expected values. Measurements have confirmed that there was no release of radioactivity into the atmosphere. These were contained explosions like in the experiment conducted in May 1974. I warmly congratulate the scientists and engineers who have carried out these successful tests.'

So announced Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 11 May 1998. Brief, indeed, but with far-reaching consequences, it is this announcement that most vividly recalls Vajpayee's 1998-2004 premiership. In Ashok Kapur's book the nuclear tests that shocked the world and boosted India's position as a regional and international power seem to be nothing less than the *telos* of postcolonial Indian polity. Throughout the book's fourteen chapters, the bomb, or rather the accomplishment of India's present strategic, scientific and military power that it represents, serves as the sole measuring stick of India's post-1947 diplomatic and foreign policy.

Following the neo-realist school of thought in international relations, Kapur makes no effort to disassemble his wholehearted support for the 'coercive diplomacy' behind India's 1998 nuclear tests. Nor does he conceal his admiration for the ideological and political agenda driving that strategy when he concludes, 'Significantly, "soft fundamentalists" with political and military power, not secularists who have slogans and no constituents, have emerged as negotiating partners in Indian foreign affairs' (p 204).

A relentless critique of Nehru's foreign policy record

In his introductory chapter, the author analyses the scope of India's repositioning at three levels of contemporary strategic activity: the international level, where India has significantly increased its presence in the economic and strategic mainstream; on the Asian continent, which in Kapur's words represents 'the centre of gravity of countervailing impulses in the modern world'; and India's 'immediate neighbourhood', that is, the SAARC countries plus Myanmar, Afghanistan and China.

What really follows in the six subsequent chapters is first and foremost a relentless critique of the 'Nehruvian record' of diplomatic and foreign policy, which Kapur later subsumes as Nehru's 'failures'. The only 'innovation' for which he lauds Nehru is the pursuit of India's nuclear option, which in the late 1990s became the main symbol of India's scientific power. While publicly emphasising peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Nehru and his advisers managed to establish links with Canada that 'led to a transfer of critical bomb making technology under a peaceful guise' (p 116.).

Kapur presents Nehru above all as a product of foreign intellectual traditions and ideas (communism, the Soviet model of economic planning, British Fabian ideas and the world peace movement); as a prime minister under whose reign the 'new Indian state disconnected Indian nationalism from traditional Indian philosophy' (p 18); and as the 'shadowy British and Soviet collaborator' (p 37). To a certain extent, this characterisation serves to externalise Nehru from Indian traditions and history, and to associate him more closely with a colonial past and postcolonial situation in which India had not yet been 'emancipated' from foreign domination.

Post-independence India - passive victim of the America-Pakistan-China triangle?

In an equally reductive perspective on Indian history, Kapur maintains that an 'organic link' between Muslim and British power had emerged in the colonial situation, as 'both shared a negative attitude about the potential role of "political Hinduism"' (p 17). After 1947, this 'became an organic link between Muslim Pakistan and Anglo-American policy' (p 22). How and why this alleged 'organic link' came into being and seamlessly took its postcolonial shape is an important question that remains unanswered. Nevertheless, in Kapur's account, the asserted symbiosis of anti-Indian powers and Nehru's inability to overcome it is blamed for the prolonged containment of India's geopolitical and strategic potential. Pakistan, America and China led an 'anti-India coalition' later joined by Saudi Arabia, which introduced 'Wahhabism' and an 'Arabised militancy' into the region and politics of Afghanistan and Kashmir, respectively. More than once, Kapur

depicts India under the 'Nehruvians' as a 'victim' of this American-Chinese-Pakistani policy.

He does give some credit to Indira Gandhi for showing her willingness in the 1971 Bangladesh campaign to use India's military strength to solve conflicts, and for conducting the 1974 nuclear test, but criticises her for ultimately remaining within her father's fundamental parameters. Similarly, Kapur argues that her successors Rajiv Gandhi, Narasimha Rao, V.P. Singh, Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral all remained 'mired' in the Nehru paradigm. Even after the 1971 break-up, Pakistan remained determined 'to balkanise India by supporting insurgency in Indian provinces including areas that were not in dispute as a result of Partition' (p 11). While remaining silent on the interior causes of civil conflicts and separatist tendencies in the 1980s, Kapur portrays not only the escalations in Kashmir but also in Punjab and the north-eastern areas as 'Pakistani-sponsored insurgency' tolerated by the 'UK-US-China' coalition.

'Of course, the whole point of a Doomsday Machine is lost if you keep it a secret!'

In sum, Kapur argues that "'India" or "Hindu India" had been the object or victim of strategic triangles' (p 203). In his view the 1998 nuclear tests were not only a turning point; they were a true liberation from the stalemated situation, creating completely new conditions for Indo-Pakistani, Indo-American and Indo-Chinese relations and helped to finally overcome Nehruvian paradigms of postcolonial Indian policy. What Kapur calls a 'soft type of Hinduism', which he rather questionably dissociates from 'hardcore Hindutva', formed the ideological basis for the new coercive diplomacy and military strategy. In his eyes it was exactly this 'authentic' Hindu/Indian nationalism that finally enabled India to overcome the continued reactive passivity of the Nehruvian era.

But why doesn't Kapur illuminate the whole spectrum of historical causes that brought Hindu nationalism into existence and reinforced it in the 1980s and 1990s? He inconsistently reduces the growth of Hindu nationalism to a mere 'reaction' to the spread of 'Islamic terror' and 'Nehru's policies'. Through his account's incomprehensible selectivity, Kapur reinforces the 'reactive character' of Indian diplomatic and foreign policy, an irony that seems lost on him. ■

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Announcements

Critical Han Studies Symposium & Workshop

April 24-27, 2008
Stanford University

Call for Papers

Han is a colossal category of identity that encompasses ninety-four percent of the population of mainland China, making it the largest ethnic group on earth. Like other immense categories of identity, whether national, racial, ethnic, or otherwise, Han is beset by a host of linguistic, cultural, political, and historical inconsistencies that call into question its status as a coherent community. Despite this, however, Han has managed to fly below the radar of Critical Race Theory and largely above that of History, Ethnic Studies, and Anthropology.

The first-ever Critical Han Studies Symposium & Workshop seeks to bridge this expansive divide, and to bring this fascinating area of research to the attention of a broader, international, and interdisciplinary community of scholars. Participants will help conceptualize an agenda for the nascent subdiscipline of Critical Han Studies and develop materials to be published in two pathbreaking volumes: Critical Han Studies, an edited volume, and the Critical Han Studies Reader, a collection of primary source materials in translation for which the conference organisers have already secured a provisional contract. The conference is made possible thanks to the generous support of Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies, the Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, and the Dean's Fund.

Keynote and Featured Speakers. Mark Elliott, Dru Gladney, Xu Jieshun (Founding Director, Han Research Center, Guangxi Institute for Nationalities), Emma Teng, Frank Dikötter, Uradyn E. Bulag, C. Patterson Giersch, and Nicholas Tapp, among others. (Final itinerary subject to change.)

Conference Topics. The conference is organised with attention to (but not limited to) the following topical areas:

When did the category of Han come into existence, and when did it come into widespread use? Should we date it to the early imperial period, as many do; to the discourse of turn-of-the-century anti-Qing revolutionaries; to some point in between; or to some point after?

What kind of category is Han? Is it an ethnocultural category, a racial category, a civilisational category, or something else?

What is the relationship between the category Han and those indigenous, historical categories of identity which it absorbed (Huaren, Huaxia, etc.)? Likewise, how has the categorisation and characterisation of Chinese minorities shaped the category of Han?

How does the category of Han operate in everyday life and at the local level? Does it matter or is it overshadowed by other axes of identity, such as gender, class, dialect group, and native place?

What is Han when viewed from a regional

and/or transnational perspective? How does the category of Han in China relate to, for instance, the category of Hoa in Vietnam or the Haw in Laos? Can the category of Han be applied to the broader Chinese diaspora, or is it limited to specific national contexts?

How have modern academic disciplines (ethnology, linguistics, archaeology, etc.) configured the form, structure and boundaries of Han?

How does the category of Han relate to the category of Chinese? In the contemporary world, are they treated synonymously? Historically, was it influenced by those colossal categories of identity which foreign observers used to describe the peoples of China ("Chinaman" in turn-of-the-century English language writings, "Shinanin" in Japanese discourse, the "Yellow Race" in Social Darwinian discourse, etc.)?

What insights can a potential Critical Han Studies draw from Critical Race Theory? What insights can it offer in return?

Are there meaningful connections to be made between Han and Whiteness?

Deadlines. The deadline for paper and panel proposals is December 3, 2007, and should include the following information:

- Author's name, address (postal and email), institutional affiliation, and title
- Paper title
- Abstract (250 words)
- Author's biography (up to 150 words)
- Suggestions for 3 or more primary source materials the author feels should be included in the Critical Han Studies Reader

Notifications will be sent out by January 14, 2007. Full papers of accepted presentations are requested by March 14, 2008. Proposals and final papers should be submitted electronically to Professor Thomas S. Mullaney at tsmullaney@stanford.edu

Special Note for Graduate Students. This conference **strongly encourages proposals by graduate students**. The organizers will be able to provide a limited number of Graduate Student Stipends in the amount of \$200 each, with the understanding that students will seek out additional funds from their home institutions.

Conference Committee

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Dalit Agendas: Emancipation, Citizenship, and Empowerment

Conference
December 4-6, 2008
Philadelphia, USA

Call for Papers

The Center for the Advanced Study of India and the Department of South Asia Studies at the University of Pennsylvania will hold a major conference on critical issues relating to Dalit Studies December 4-6, 2008 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (USA). We plan to bring together academics and intellectuals from both within and outside of formal academic institutions, including the many organic intellectuals who have kept alive India's Dalit movement by following Dr. Ambedkar's injunction to "educate, organise, and agitate." The purpose of the conference will be to evaluate strategies for ensuring that Dalit agendas are recognised by and incorporated into mainstream academic dialogue and to assess the various political and social agendas, both contemporary and historical, that have sought to improve the lives of Dalits. These include Dalit political formations; print media and literary movements; colonial and postcolonial governmental practices and policies; initiatives for social and economic empowerment; feminist struggles; critiques of nationalist and radical movements; and diasporic activism. The conference will result in the production of an edited volume that will bring various Dalit agendas into dialogue and examine the conditions and contradictions of Dalit social mobility in contemporary India. We encourage proposals from all disciplinary, methodological, and ideological perspectives. Applications are welcome from independent scholars, postgraduate students, and those working within and outside of formal academic institutions.

Further information can be found on the conference website: <http://casi.ssc.upenn.edu>.

The author of each paper proposal accepted for participation in the conference will receive an honorarium of USD 500 that we hope will help to defray the costs of any additional research that will be conducted for the paper. Travel (international or domestic, as needed) to and from Philadelphia, meals, and accommodation will be covered for all conference participants, and each contributor whose paper is accepted for publication in the edited volume will receive an additional honorarium of USD 500 following the final submission of their paper.

Deadline for Paper Proposals:

November 1, 2007

Applications should include:

- (1) a three-page description of the research to be presented at the conference and its place within your larger work and goals
- (2) a two-page C.V.

Mailing address for applications:

Dr. Ramnarayan S. Rawat
Department of South Asia Studies
University of Pennsylvania

820 Williams Hall
255 South 36th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-2653 (USA)

Email: rawat@sas.upenn.edu

East Asian Calligraphy Conference

June 29 - July 1, 2008
Taichung University, Taiwan

Call for Papers

The 6th International Conference on East Asian Calligraphy Education, co-sponsored by Calligraphy Education Group (CEG) USA, National Taichung University, Mingdao University, and other participatory institutions in Taiwan, will be held at National Taichung University, Taichung, Taiwan, June 29 - July 1, 2008. Its main theme: the globalisation and diversification of East Asian calligraphy education, including the education of East Asian calligraphy culture. Calligraphy educators, researchers, artists, practitioners, and connoisseurs from all countries and regions are invited to present their papers and/or creative works.

Suggested Topics of Presentation:

1. **Globalisation of East Asian Calligraphy Education**
 - a. Globalisation of East Asian Calligraphy Education
 - b. Globalisation of East Asian Calligraphy Culture
 - c. Local Paradigms and Dynamics of East Asian Calligraphy Education in Different Countries and Regions
2. **Diversification of East Asian Calligraphy**
 - a. Children's Calligraphy
 - b. Disabled Persons' Calligraphy
 - c. Senior Citizens' Calligraphy
 - d. Women's Calligraphy

Abstract / proposal submission deadline: January 31, 2008.

Application for display of calligraphy works deadline: February 29, 2008.

Conference details are posted and updated at <http://www.unc.edu/~wli/CEG/conference.html>.

General inquiries are to be sent to Dr. Daan Pan, Chair of Conference Executive Committee, email: dpan@csupomona.edu; Department of English and Foreign Languages, California State Polytechnic University at Pomona.

20th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies,

8 - 11 July 2008
Manchester, UK

The 20th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies will take place between July 8th - 11th 2008 in Manchester, UK. This conference is the official conference of the European Association of South Asian Studies (EASAS), held every other year in a European city. The 19th conference was held in Leiden, the Netherlands, and we are delighted to bring the

conference to University of Manchester for the 20th session. The University has a range of specialists in South Asian Studies across the Humanities and Social Science disciplines, and it has recently launched an MA programme in South Asian Studies which draws on this expertise.

Preparations for the conference are well under way, and you can visit the conference website at <http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/ecmsas/>. The keynote speaker will be Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam of UCLA. Professor Subrahmanyam will address the conference on the theme of 'Cultures of Travel between Anjou and Agra: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern World'. The annual Ambedkar Lecture, hosted by Manchester Metropolitan University, will also be held during the course of the conference; details of this will be published on the website in the near future. A list of 40 panels has recently been selected by the Conference Academic Committee. Examples of the panels to be held are:

- Visual Cultures in South Asia
- Indian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Prospects and Challenges
- Lived Islam in Contemporary South Asia
- Management of Development Projects in South Asian Countries
- Writing the Cities of the South Asian Diaspora
- Legal pluralism and tribal politics in South Asia
- Slavery and the Raj: Representing unfree labour in colonial South Asia
- Religion, Literature and Film in South Asia and the South Asian Diaspora
- Citizenship and education in South Asia
- Disease, possession and healing in South Asia

For a full list of panels, please visit the conference website, where you will also find abstracts explaining panel themes and details of the panel convenors. If you would like to offer a paper in any of the conference panels, please contact the relevant convenor(s), as instructed on the website.

As well as the academic programme, we are planning a lively cultural programme in Manchester. This will include an illustrated talk on the Manchester - India textiles trade, to be hosted by the Whitworth Art Gallery, and an exhibition of contemporary Pakistani religious poster art, scheduled to be held at the Manchester Museum. We will hold our conference dinner in the heart of South Asian Manchester, on the famous 'curry mile' of Rusholme. And of course, a session in Manchester would not be complete without a club night, celebrating the city's recent association with musical innovation. We hope that delegates will enjoy our city and the stunning countryside of the Peak and Lake Districts which are within easy reach. Accommodation will be provided at reasonable rates within the University, although you can also take advantage of the range of hotels the city offers. Again, please check the website for details on this.

We look forward to meeting many colleagues and friends next summer. The organisers of the conference are Drs Nile

Green and John Zavos of the School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester. If you have any further questions, do consult the website or contact us on ecmsas@manchester.ac.uk.

New Cultures of Intimacy and Togetherness in Asia Conference

9 – 10 May 2008
New Delhi, India,

This conference seeks to bring together scholars working across areas such as sociology, gender studies, film/media studies, anthropology, popular culture, and urban studies in order to explore emerging cultures of intimacy and friendship in contemporary non-Western contexts. We are particularly interested in perspectives that relate the topic to the making of social selves at a time of great economic and cultural change in many Asian societies. Socially, 'non-Western' has often been considered synonymous with traditional, conservative, static and illiberal, particularly in contexts of intimate/personal relationships that are expected to conform to certain values, norms and expectations of 'heritage'. However, following modernity at large and contexts of change such as economic liberalisation, globalisation and the worldwide web, there is, increasingly, a perception (if not a belief) that social structures and networks have been affected, and 'new' cultures of intimacy and togetherness are emergent (if not already established). There is a decided conviction that such new structures and networks are visible in day-to-day contexts at work, home and leisure, and that they reflect political, cultural, emotional and intellectual transitions and upheavals.

At this conference, we would like to explore this notion of emergent cultures of 'new' intimacies and togetherness in the contemporary non-Western world, in as varied a social and cultural register as possible.

Some Possible Themes:

Television/Cinematic Intimacies
New/Changing Spaces of Intimacy
New Cultures of Marriage
Intimacy, Togetherness and Class
Non-heterosexual Cultures of Intimacy
Advice Columns and the Reading Public
Intimacies and Consumer Cultures
'Youth' Cultures and Intimacies
The 'New Woman' and the 'New Man'
The Metrosexual/the Uber-sexual
'Friends' Transformed Intimacies in Living Spaces
Sex and the City Intimacies and New Urban Spaces
Changing Workplace Cultures
New Lexicons of Conversation/Communication

Enquiries, abstracts (350 words), and expressions of interest to:
intimaciesconference@yahoo.com

Last date for submission of abstracts:

31st December

Contacts:

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Faculty of Arts
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Australia
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Fax: + 61-3-9251-7851

Brinda Bose
Nehru Memorial Museum and Library,
New Delhi, India

First International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium

29 – 31 October 2007

Paris

The First International Symposium on Sanskrit Computational Linguistics will take place in the Paris-Rocquencourt Center of INRIA, from the 29th to the 31st of October 2007. It will include workshop tracks on standardisation issues related to Sanskrit linguistic resources.

The Paris-Rocquencourt Research Center of INRIA (French National Institute for Informatics and Automatics) recently joined efforts with the Department of Sanskrit Studies at University of Hyderabad and the NLP Department of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Tirupati, to form a joint team in Sanskrit Computational Linguistics. This team will hold its first workshop at the end of October 2007 in Paris. It has been decided to open the meeting to outside researchers, by organising the First International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium at this time. The École Pratique des Hautes Études, through its chair 'Sources et Histoire de la Tradition Sanskrite', and UMR 7528 'Mondes iraniens et indiens', are contributing to the organisation of this event.

Programme Committee

- Pushpak Bhattacharyya, Computer Science and Engineering Department, IIT Mumbai
- Brendan S. Gillon, Department of Linguistics, McGill University, Montreal
- Jan Houben, Directeur d'Études, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris
- Gérard Huet, INRIA Rocquencourt (co-chair)
- Girish Nath Jha, Assistant Professor, Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, J.N.U. New Delhi
- Amba Kulkarni Head, Department of Sanskrit Studies, University of Hyderabad (co-chair)
- Malhar Kulkarni, Dept. of Humanities & Social Sciences, IIT Mumbai
- Alain Lecomte, UFR Sciences du langage, Université Paris 8, Saint-Denis
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- Georges-Jean Pinault, Directeur d'Études, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris
- K. V. Ramkrishnamacharyulu Vice Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Jaipur
- Peter M. Scharf, Department of Classics, Brown University, Providence, RI
- Shivamurthy Swamiji, Sri Taralabalu Jagadguru Brihanmath, Sirigere (Karnataka)
- Muneo Tokunaga, Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Kyoto
- Lalit Kumar Tripathi, Reader, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Allahabad
- Srinivasa Varakhedi, Lecturer, NLP Department, Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati

For more information, including a preliminary programme and details of how to register, visit <http://sanskrit.inria.fr/Symposium>

Spaces of Dialogue

The 22nd Pakistan Workshop

9-11 May 2008

Rook How, Lake District, UK

Call for Papers

The 22nd Pakistan workshop will take place at Rook How in the Lake District from 9th to 11th May 2008.

Each year a theme is chosen for the workshop. The theme is meant as a guide to help participants select aspects of their research for presentation but has never been intended to exclude people whose primary interest may not happen to be that year's theme. This year's theme is Spaces of Dialogue and it is hoped that papers will deal with various forms of dialogue among Pakistanis, between Pakistanis and other groups, and dialogue about Pakistanis, both in the past and in the present, at home and abroad, and the global and local contexts in which these dialogues take place.

This workshop was founded to bring together anthropologists and sociologists whose research involved Pakistan, Pakistani diaspora and South Asian Islam. However, this workshop has also attracted scholars and researchers from a broad range of disciplines including historians, political scientists, economists and applied social scientists. In the recent years, the themes have also included Gender studies, Health studies, History, Literature, Religious studies and Management studies.

We particularly welcome postgraduates from UK and abroad who are working in similar subject areas and wish to receive a friendly feedback from our group of academics and participants. This workshop has also emerged as a joint platform for new (including postgraduate students) and established scholars. It provides them the opportunity to get acquainted with each other in order to motivate and

inspire people working in common fields of interest. This workshop is therefore normally kept small and intimate with a group of 25 or less people.

The venue, Rook How, is one of the oldest Quaker Meeting Houses in Britain and is an important location in the Quaker world. The Rook How offers dormitory style sleeping arrangements which are comfortable and affordable. For those who prefer B&B accommodation, there are several nice places around the area which can only be accessed if they have their own car. The total cost of the Workshop will be £65-70 approximately for those staying at the Rook How (this includes Workshop registration, reception, breakfasts, Pakistani lunches, teas and coffees).

You can register by emailing the convenors at pakistanworkshop@gmail.com.

Due to limited places, we highly recommend an early registration.

A registration fee £30 for the Pakistan Workshop 2008 should be paid either by cheque (payable to 'The Pakistan Workshop') posted to: Stephen Lyon, Department of Anthropology, Durham University, 43 Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HN or through Paypal.

These details are also available at the Pakistan Workshop 2008 website:

<https://anthropology.dur.ac.uk/anthrowiki/workshop2008/Home.html>

[advertisement]

NUMBER 11 SOON AVAILABLE

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Social Science Research on Southeast Asia
Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est

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Muhamad Ali

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Daniel Vermondon

The Fate of Federalism: North Sulawesi from Persatuan Minahasa to Permesta
David Henley

Représentations architecturales et processus identitaires : le cas de l'Indonésie.
Antonio Guerreiro

Of Negotiable Boundaries and Fixed Lines:
Practices and Views of the Border in the Apo Kayan Region of East Kalimantan
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Asian studies is not usually the first thing that comes to mind when considering Iceland. In fact, in the second half of the 20th century Iceland was too pre-occupied with its own European-American identity problem to be able to pay serious attention to a distant region such as Asia. But as Geir Sigurdsson, director of the recently opened Icelandic Centre for Asian Studies explains, the situation has changed rapidly during the last two decades.

Forging links between distant lands ASÍS - The Icelandic Centre for Asian Studies

GEIR SIGURDSSON

Due to the relative geographic isolation of Ultima Thule, the impact of globalisation has arguably been more tangible in Iceland than in most other European countries. Since the early 1990's, there has been an explosion in trade, tourism and cultural exchanges between Iceland and Asian countries that only 30 years ago seemed almost unimaginable. This applies in particular to East Asia, i.e. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and not least the PRC, but also India and parts of Southeast Asia. Iceland's membership of EFTA brought a free-trade agreement with South Korea in 2006, and its non-membership of the EU enabled it to negotiate a bilateral agreement with the PRC, likely to take effect next year. This will be China's first free-trade agreement with a European nation, and without a doubt it will open up opportunities for Icelandic enterprises.

New and distant partners

Trade calls for exposure and communication and throughout history it has often been the vehicle for closer cultural and personal ties between remote areas. The case of Iceland and Asia is no exception. After Icelandic embassies opened in Beijing in 1995 and Tokyo in 2001 a growing need was felt to facilitate the future generations' increased understanding of the new and distant partners. The breakthrough was made in 2003, when a programme in Japanese language and society was established at the University of Iceland with the support of the Japan Foundation.

In December 2005, the two major Icelandic state universities, University of Iceland and the University of Akureyri, jointly established the Icelandic Centre for Asian Studies (Asíuver Íslands – ASÍS). One of the main objectives of ASÍS is to create an environment - through lectures, conferences, exhibitions and other events - conducive to fostering interest in Asian studies and understanding of Asia-related issues among both academics and the general public in Iceland. Besides a series of local events, ASÍS has co-organised two international conferences, the first on the Mao Zedong era in China in collaboration with the Chinese Icelandic Culture Society (KÍM), and the second on Asia-related gender studies in collaboration with the Scandinavian based Gendering Asia Network. It is anticipated that the biannual conference of the Nordic Association of Chinese Studies will be held in Iceland under the Centre's auspices in 2009. Several renowned scholars and researchers have also visited and delivered lectures for ASÍS, including Geir Helgesen (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies), Elaine Jeffreys (University of Technology, Sydney), Mirja Juntunen (Nordic Centre in India) and Chung-ying Cheng (University of Hawaii). Expected visitors during the current academic year include Yuki Ishimatsu (UC Berkeley), Henry Rosemont Jr. (St. Mary's College of Maryland),



Göran Malmqvist (Swedish Academy of Sciences) and Mark Elvin (Australian National University).

Expanding the Asian Studies curriculum

ASÍS is also working towards an expansion of the Asian studies curriculum at the two state universities. Shortly after its establishment, the first Chinese studies courses were offered at the University of Akureyri, where the Centre's main office was located in its initial phase. As of August 1st 2007, the office was moved to the University of Iceland in the capital, Reykjavik, though ASÍS still remains jointly operated by both universities. The first fully-fledged Chinese studies programme was then launched at the University of Iceland in September 2007 with the support of the Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban). A certain combination of Chinese studies with the consistently growing Japanese language and society programme makes up a

major in East Asian studies. Through the close partnership with Ningbo University and the anticipated establishment of the Northern Light Confucius Institute in Iceland in 2008, Chinese studies is proving to be a fast growing field of academic study and research in Iceland.

However, the Centre is also turning its attention towards South Asia and aiming to establish a course in South Asian studies in the near future at the University of Iceland. This decision has been made with regard to the growing importance of the South Asian region in world trade, politics and culture. An Icelandic embassy was opened in New Delhi in 2006 and in early 2007 the University of Iceland became a member of the Nordic Centre in India.

Since its foundation, ASÍS has been looking in particular towards the Nordic region for cooperation in Asian studies. The two state universities became members of the Nordic NIAS Council (NNC) in 2006, a consortium that provides direct access to the Nordic Institute of Asian studies and facilitates contact with the most important Scandinavian educational institutions with a focus on Asia. ASÍS, however, is also working with other European institutes, such as the Centre of Oriental Studies at Vilnius University, Lithuania, and the Irish Institute of Chinese Studies at University College Cork, Ireland, and is eager to construct further networks. In the future, ASÍS is expected to serve as a networking resource for education and information on the Asian region, and an all-inclusive communication centre for Icelandic-Asian interactions. The importance of the mission of ASÍS is acknowledged by some private enterprises in Iceland, e.g. Glitnir Bank and Avion Group, both of which support its operations. ■

The current chair of ASÍS is **Dr. Ingjaldur Hannibalsson** (ingjald@hi.is) and director is **Dr. Geir Sigurdsson** (geirs@hi.is).
<http://www.hug.hi.is/page/asiuver>

Leading European institutions launch a consortium for Asian Field Studies



On 3 September 2007, representatives of leading institutions in Asian studies from the European Union and Asia met at the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, to sign an agreement founding the European Consortium for Asian Field Studies (ECAF). An initiative of the EFEO, the Consortium Agreement will create a unique network out of twenty-one existing research centres across Asia, from Pakistan to Korea. Seventeen of the centres are operated by the EFEO, two by the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO), one by the Asien-Afrika-Institut (AAI) and one by the Asia Research Institute (ARI). The signing ceremony, attended by representatives of several Asian embassies in Paris, was followed by a reception hosted by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres under the auspices of its Permanent Secretary, Professor Jean Leclant.

For the 30 founding members, which include academies, universities, foundations, museums, and research institutes in France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, the principal objective of the Consortium is to increase the capacity of European institutions to conduct Asian field studies through the sharing of resources and the development of joint research programmes. Professor Michael Fulford, Vice President of the British Academy, the UK's national organisation for the encouragement of studies in the humanities and social sciences, described ECAF as a cooperation of prime importance between European and Asian research institutions.

The 10 Asian or non-EU partners, who joined the consortium as associate members, are looking to increased collaboration with institutions and research programmes in the EU. The consortium also counts several EU organisations, such as the Asia-Europe Foundation based in Singapore or the European Science Foundation, Strasbourg, with observer status. Mr Didier Le Bret, Counsellor to the French Secretary of State for Cooperation, Mr. Jean-Marie Bockel, conveyed the Minister's appreciation of the joining of French, European and Asian research endeavours into this partnership that "can only promote a wider appreciation of the results of their research, leading to a deeper understanding of the great emerging strength of Asia".

According to Professor Verellen, Director of the EFEO, "In an international context where the most effective actors in the domain of Asian studies are developing and innovating at a rapid pace thanks to substantial investments and advanced levels of professional and institutional organisation, it is indispensable for European institutions to build alliances in order to maintain their competitiveness and meet new challenges in producing and disseminating knowledge about Asian societies and civilisations".

Moreover, as Professor Leclant stated in his inaugural speech, "Field work constitutes a vital dimension of the study of Asian societies and civilisations, and federating existing centres in Asia is the most effective way of providing specialists with the necessary facilities and opportunities for conducting in-depth research and training." The Consortium aims to provide field access and research facilities for its members' academic and technical staff, as well as fellowship holders and students, and to encourage the development of joint interdisciplinary research programmes in the humanities and social sciences. It also plans to share documentary resources from centres in Asia, and to pool funding to acquire new digital archives. More generally, it will promote Euro-Asian partnerships and dialogue among scholars and academic communities from both continents. The disciplinary fields range from archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics, to sociology and religious studies.

This initiative is conceived in the spirit of the EU policy to develop an integrated space for research and higher education among member states. As Professor Verellen pointed out, the success of ECAF will be largely about people, their ability to bridge cultural differences, solve logistical problems, meet the challenges of working together and sharing facilities.

For further information, contact elisabeth.lacroix@efeo.net

Jean-François Jarrige, President, Musée Guimet

"Only an organisation of research at the European scale can do justice to the weight of Asia today... The participation of the Guimet Museum offers the prospect of extending the coverage of our joint interests to the civilisations of Central Asia."

Norbert Kroo, Vice President, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

"As the representative of the European Research Council at this ceremony, I feel privileged to express the Council's welcome to this initiative."

Roel Sterckx, Professor and Chair, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

"The new association emphasises the primacy of fieldwork and person-to-person contact in an age too easily seduced by databases and the impersonality of computers."

Silvio Vita, Professor of Japanese Studies, IsIAO

"IsIAO already cooperates closely with the EFEO in Kyoto, including common activities and the joint operation of facilities, and together they outreach to Japanese institutions – such fruitful relations can both strengthen and be strengthened by this new consortium."

Harunaga Isaacson, Professor of Indian Studies, Asian-Afrika-Institute, Hamburg

"This agreement places an existing and most fruitful interaction between the Asian-Afrika-Institute and the EFEO on a firmer and more permanent basis – a child that will far outlive all of us here today!"

John Kleinen, Professor of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam

"Notwithstanding the fact that the French and the Dutch both voted against the European constitution, the Universities of Amsterdam and Leiden and the International Institute of Asian Studies are keen to join this enterprise."

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Director, Centro de História de Além-Mar
"Although new on the scene of Asian studies, Portugal preserves the sources on the earliest contacts between Europe and Asia through its history of worldwide exploration and imperial expansion. Many of these records remain to be opened by translation to Western and Asian scholars alike."

Jan Kučera, Professor, Nuclear Physics Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

"In addition to the Oriental Institute with its long history of study of Asia, the ASCR Physics Institute welcomes the Consortium as a means to disseminate and refine the use of its nuclear technology in the field of archaeology, already under way at Angkor."

Founding Members and Observers

France

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Paris
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Observer)
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en sciences sociales, Paris
Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris
Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris
Musée national des Arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris
Société asiatique, Paris

Germany

Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Observer)
Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung, Halle/Saale

Hungary

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Art, Budapest

Italy

Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome
Fondazione Ing. Carlo Maurilio Lerici, Rome

Portugal

Centro de História de Além-Mar, Lisbon

The Czech Republic

Centrum výzkumu Řež, Rez
Nuclear Physics Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Rez
Oriental Studies Institute, ASCR, Prague

The Netherlands

European League of Non-Western Studies, Leiden
International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden (Observer)
University of Amsterdam
University of Leiden

United-Kingdom

British Academy, London
Needham Research Institute, Cambridge
Royal Asiatic Society, London
School of Oriental and African Studies
The White Rose East Asia Centre, Leeds and Sheffield
University of Bristol
University of Cambridge
University of Oxford

European Union

Asia-Europe Foundation, Singapore (Observer)
European science foundation, Strasbourg (Observer)

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ICAS Book Prizes: 2007 Citations

The Reading Committee ICAS Book Prizes Kuala Lumpur 2 August 2007

For the second time the ICAS Book Prizes were awarded. Established in 2004, this global competition aims to create an international focus for publications on Asia while at the same time increasing the visibility for Asia studies worldwide. All scientific books pertaining to Asia and published in 2005 and 2006 were eligible. Four prizes were awarded: Best study in the field of the humanities; best study in the field of social sciences; best dissertation in the field of Asia studies and the Colleagues Choice Award.

The Reading Committee reviewed 80 books and 10 dissertations. The members of the Reading Committee were: Anand Yang (Chair, director Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and past president Association for Asian Studies), Jennifer Holdaway (Program Director Social Science Research Council), Christopher Reed (Associate Professor, Department of History of The Ohio State University and winner of the IBP Humanities 2004), Guobin Yang (Associate Professor, Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Barnard College, Columbia University) and Paul van der Velde (Secretary, Senior Consultant IAS and Secretary ICAS).

The prizes were awarded on the 2nd August 2007 by Deputy Prime Minister Dato'seri Najib Tun Razak, during the ICAS dinner at the Crowne Plaza Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.

Citations

Humanities

Madeline Zelin,

The Merchants of Zigong (Columbia University Press 2006)

This pathbreaking study of industrial enterprise in 19th and early 20th century China is based on extensive archival research. It focuses on private entrepreneurs in Zigong, the largest industrial town in its time in northern China. Zelin convincingly shows that lineage-based clan groups provided the basis for effective business organisation, capital investment, industrial management, and business innovation. This finding challenges longstanding claims about state monopoly of the salt industry in late imperial China, and it demonstrates the capacity of entrepreneurs to pool financial resources through lineage-based trusts to organise and manage their businesses through customary contracts. Magisterial in scope and subtle and intricate in historical analysis, this work forces us to rethink not only the history of economic development in modern China, but modernity itself.

Social Sciences

Pei-Chia Lan,

Global Cinderellas. Migrant Domestic Workers and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan (Duke University Press 2006)

This is an important contribution to the sociology of international migra-

tion, globalisation and the intersections of gender and class in domestic work. Based on careful ethnographic research and interviews, Pei-Chia Lan provides a rich account of the daily life experiences of foreign guest workers in Taiwan. The analysis of the relationship between guest workers and their Taiwanese employers in the context of immigration policy sheds light on the broader picture of global inequality. The book also shows how the host society draws discriminatory boundaries against the foreign 'other' and how foreign domestic workers, who are poor but often well-educated, negotiate their identities using their cultural capital (such as superior English language skills). The concluding part links the ethnographic story to broader issues of general theoretical concern. Well-written, and full of empathy the book will be read widely.

Dissertation

Karen Laura Thornber,

Negotiating and Reconfiguring Japan and Japanese Literature in Polyintertextual East Asian Contact Zones: Japan, China, Korea, Taiwan

(PhD Harvard University)

Drawing on dozens, even hundreds of works of literature and biography written in Japanese, Chinese and Korean, (as well as a vast secondary literature in multiple languages), Thornber ties together loose cultural, literary, and biographical strands held in memory with many sources she has discovered herself. The result is a polyintertextual East Asian hybridity, competition, and exchange. Never before has the Reading Committee read a dissertation so clearly destined to become an influential book (or two, since it is nearly a thousand pages long!). Starting from the stance that literature travelled widely and was frequently contested and rewritten, Thornber has composed a highly empirical account that shows Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese writers reading, borrowing from, and recasting literary vernaculars in the (semi)colonial context of the 1895-1945 years. Her accomplishment took the Reading's Committee breath away.

Colleagues Choice Award

Nordin Hussin,

Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830

(NIAS Press 2006).

Without doubt Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka is a truly pioneering study of urban history and breaks new ground in the context of Malaysian studies. It is a fine-grained social history, one that we rarely see in Southeast Asia. This study compares Melaka and Penang in the context of overall trends, namely, policy, geographical position, nature and direction of trade, morphology and society, and how these factors were influenced by trade as well as policies. The study is exhaustively researched and the arguments presented are supported by a close study of archival documents that will make new material available to other scholars. By documenting the impact of imperialist ambitions on the economy and society of two major trading centres, this book will provide a point of reference for all future research concerning the period.

Sharing a future in Asia

From 2 to 5 August 2007 the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) took place in the Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre, Malaysia. It was hosted, (under the aegis of the ICAS Secretariat), by the Institute of Occidental Studies and the Institute of the Malay World and Civilisation, both based at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). The local host picked 'Sharing a Future in Asia' as its overarching theme, alluding to Asia's brisk progress.

PAUL VAN DER VELDE AND JOSINE STREMMELAAR

ICAS 2007 was the first time such a large scale event on the humanities and social sciences has taken place in Malaysia. "Yet the humanities and social sciences are critical areas of study especially to a multi-ethnic country like Malaysia", says host Datuk Prof. Shamsul AB. "They are the pivot of Malaysia's well-being... no amount of computers can help us stay together." He added that "it is high time that the social sciences are championed" [New Straits Times, 8 August 2007]. This is just one of the reasons why the ICAS Secretariat believes that it is imperative for ICAS to remain a travelling conference in Asia, drawing special attention to local dynamics of the country where the convention is held.

Triumphalism

"Asia is often proclaimed as the fastest growing region in the world today, in spite of the fact that nearly a billion of its population is still living in poverty. Some social scientists feel that the rapid growth in Asia has perpetuated Asian "triumphalism" which denotes an overwhelming sense of optimism and bullishness in the region" [NST, 8 August 2007]. In his keynote address entitled Towards a Shared Future in Asia: Illusion or Emerging Reality?, Datuk Dr Abdul Rahman Embong (President of the Malaysian Social Sciences Association), was critical of this notion of Asian "triumphalism". "If we want to share a future in Asia, we have to share its problems too, says Abdul Rahman. "Before Asia can begin to blow its own trumpet, it must address critical issues taking place in its own backyard". Shamsul took this argument a step further by stating that Malaysia has "been disadvantaged by Asian "triumphalism". We have 'made it' in some aspects. But in the process of 'making it', we have (prematurely) proclaimed that we are a developed country".

In his opening address Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Razak approached this topic pragmatically by stating that "This will require leadership and looking at Asia today, I don't doubt for a minute that leadership can be brought forth. What is needed is a serious and collective effort of Asian countries towards this end. Whether Asia will succeed in doing so, or whether we will continue to remain a continent united on a map, but not quite in reality, remains to be seen. Of course only time will tell. But all of you, scholars of Asia, can contribute towards the outcome of this question", he said. [NST online 6 September 2007].

Olympics of Asia studies

This debate and many other discussions took place in more than 300 different panels in 22 concurrent sessions convened during ICAS 5 which was dubbed by its local host Shamsul AB as the 'Olympics of Asian studies'. The majority of the nearly 1500 participants were from the social sciences and humanities - scholars, researchers, graduate students and representatives of civil society at large - originating from over 50 countries. Interestingly, the interdisciplinary and interregional nature of the convention has drawn an increasing number of natural scientists from medical and health studies, environmentalists, and engineers whose research specialisations are in Asia. This is an important development for ICAS, as we can only start working towards solutions for global problems by transcending borders and widening our focus.

We hope this trend will be strengthened at ICAS 6. The next torch-bearer is Chungnam National University and its Centre for Asian Regional Studies (CARS) in Daejeon Metropolitan City in South Korea. Daejeon boasts more than one hundred institutes focussing on a wide variety of applied sciences. Daejeon is the capital of science in the heart of the Korean peninsula. It is a major communication and transportation hub with a one-hour bullet train link to the international airport near Seoul. Daejeon merges its long history of culture and tradition with leading research in science and technology. The intriguing intersection of technology and human sciences has been a decisive factor in why Daejeon was chosen above two other cities in Korea to be the next venue of ICAS. For the ICAS Secretariat Daejeon is the embodiment of a trend which was already sensed at ICAS 5 in Kuala Lumpur: the increasing awareness of the interconnectedness of all sciences.



IIAS research programmes, networks & initiatives

Programmes

Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts

In 1929, two crates of 17th and 18th century Sanskrit manuscripts arrived at the Kern Institute, University of Leiden. This Gonda/IIAS project is preparing a scientific catalogue of the roughly 500 South Indian Sanskrit manuscripts written on palm leaves in ancient Indian scripts such as Grantha, Telugu, Malayalam, Nagari and Nandinagari.

Coordinator: Saraju Rath
s.rath@let.leidenuniv.nl

Cross-border marriages in East and Southeast Asia

The past decade has seen a rapid increase in the intra-Asia flow of brides, particularly between Southeast and East Asia. While in Europe intermediated marriages continue to be seen as a form of the commodification of women, recent scholarship in intra-Asia cross-border marriages challenges this dominant view.

Coordinator: Melody Lu
m.lu@let.leidenuniv.nl

Energy programme Central Asia

This programme on the geopolitics of energy focuses on Chinese, Indian, Japanese and South Korean strategies to secure oil and natural gas from the Caspian region (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and Russia) and the Persian Gulf. The programme is institutionally supported by IIAS and the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP), Den Haag.

Coordinator: Mehdi Parvizi Amineh
m.p.amineh@uva.nl

Illegal but licit: transnational flows and permissive polities in Asia

This research programme analyses forms of globalisation-from-below, transnational practices considered acceptable (licit) by participants but which are often illegal in a formal sense. It explores limitations of 'seeing like a state', and instead privileges the perspectives of participants in these illegal but licit transnational flows.

Coordinator: Willem van Schendel
h.w.vanschendel@uva.nl

Socio-genetic marginalisation in Asia

The development and application of new biomedical and genetic technologies have important socio-political implications. This NWO/ASSR/IIAS research programme aims to gain insight into the ways in which the use of and monopoly over genetic information shape and influence population policies, environmental ethics and biomedical and agricultural practices in various Asian religious and secular cultures and across national boundaries.

Coordinator: Margaret Sleeboom-Faulkner
m.sleeboom-faulkner@sussex.ac.uk

Syntax of the languages of southern China

This project aims to achieve a detailed description and in-depth analysis of a limited number of syntactic phenomena in six languages, both Sinitic and non-Sinitic, spoken in the area south of the Yangtze River. The project will systematically compare these descriptions and analyses to contribute to the development of the theory of language and human language capacity.

Coordinator: Rint Sybesma
r.p.e.sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl

Trans-Himalayan database development: China and the subcontinent

The project's main goal is to combine the database of cognate

words in Tibeto-Burman languages, maintained by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) with language data of the George van Driem Himalayan Languages Project (Leiden University) to create a joint, online database of Tibeto-Burman languages with a mirror-site in Leiden. The project's second objective is to continue documentation of endangered Tibeto-Burman languages in China in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology.

Coordinator: Katia Chirkova
k.chirkova@let.leidenuniv.nl

Networks

ABIA South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology index

The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology is an annotated bibliographic database for publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. The project was launched by IIAS in 1997 and is currently coordinated by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology of the University of Kelaniya, Colombo, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www.abia.net. Extracts from the database are also available as bibliographies, published in a series by Brill. The project receives scientific support from UNESCO.

Coordinator: Ellen Raven and Gerda Theuns-de Boer
e.m.raven@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.abia.net

Islam in Indonesia: the dissemination of religious authority in the 20th and early 21st centuries

Forms and transformations of religious authority among the Indonesian Muslim community are the focus of this research programme. The term authority relates to persons and books as well as various other forms of written and non-written references. Special attention is paid to the production, reproduction and dissemination of religious authority in the fields of four sub-programmes: *ulama* (religious scholars) and *fatwas*; *tarekat* (mystical orders); *dakwah* (propagation of the faith); and education.

Coordinator: Nico Kaptein
n.j.g.kaptein@let.leidenuniv.nl

Initiatives

Earth monitoring and the social sciences

The space age has dramatically impacted all nations. In Asia, the 'space-faring nations' of India, China and Japan have successfully developed space technologies and applications. Other Asian nations have readily adopted these applications, including satellites for telecommunications, for gathering data on the weather, and environmental and earth resources. IIAS has initiated a series of workshops on the topic.

Coordinator: David Soo
d.n.soo@let.leidenuniv.nl

Piracy and robbery on the Asian seas

Acts of piracy loom large in Asian waters, with the bulk of all officially reported incidents of maritime piracy occurring in Southeast Asia during the 1990s. This is of serious concern to international shipping, as the sea-lanes between East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe pass through Southeast Asia. IIAS and the Centre for Maritime Research at the University of Amsterdam are currently identifying issues and concerns, and are delineating core elements of an interdisciplinary research programme on piracy and robbery at sea in Asia.

Coordinator: John Kleinen
kleinen@uva.nl

[advertisement]

ANNOUNCEMENT



IIAS Fellow Symposium

To highlight the broad spectrum of research undertaken at the International Institute for Asian Studies, we are organising a symposium during which six researchers will present their work in progress to their professional colleagues in the Netherlands. Each presentation will be critiqued by a discussant.

The symposium is open to all:

MA and PhD students, researchers and lecturers.

Organised by IIAS

Convenors

Dr Gerard Persoon (Chair Academic Committee IIAS)
Dr Manon Osseweijer (Coordinator of Academic Affairs IIAS)

Date and venue

29 November 2007
9.00 – 17.00 hrs
Leiden University

Spectrumzaal, Plexus Student Centre,
Kaiserstraat 25
2311 GN Leiden

For further information

Ms. Saskia Jans,
IIAS, Nonnensteeg 1-3, Leiden,
071-527 2227;
s.jans@let.leidenuniv.nl

PROGRAMME: SEE WWW.IIAS.NL



For more information on IIAS research: www.iias.nl

IIAS fellows

GENERAL

Dr Katia Chirkova (Russia)

Programme coordinator, within the programme
Trans-Himalayan Database Development: China and the Subcontinent, sponsored by CASS and KNAW
1 September 2005 – 1 April 2008

Melody Lu, MA (Taiwan)

Affiliated fellow
Intermediated Cross-border Marriages in East and Southeast Asia
1 February 2006 – 1 September 2008

Dr Prasanna Kumar Patra (India)

Research fellow, within the ASSR/IIAS/NWO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia' (SMAP)
Cross-cultural Comparative Study of Genetic Research in India and Japan
15 December 2005 – 15 November 2008

Dr Ellen Raven (the Netherlands)

Project coordinator, within the network 'South and Southeast Asia Art and Archaeology Index' (ABIA), sponsored by Gonda Foundation
1 June 2003 – 1 June 2008

Zheng Ying Ping, MA (China)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by CSC
Strengthening Asia-Pacific Multilateral Security Cooperation: European Experience
1 January – 31 December 2007

Dr Mehdi Parvizi Amineh (the Netherlands)

Stationed at Leiden and the Branch Office Amsterdam
Project coordinator, within the EPA-IIAS and IWAAS-CASS research programme
Domestic and Geopolitical Energy Security for China and the EU
1 September 2007 – 1 September 2010

CENTRAL ASIA

Dr Alex McKay (New Zealand)

Affiliated fellow
The History of Tibet and the Indian Himalayas
1 October 2000 – 1 May 2008

Dr Irina Morozova (Russia)

Stationed at Leiden and the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung
Conflict, Security and Development in the Post-Soviet Era: Toward Regional Economic Cooperation in the Central Asian Region
1 June 2007 – 1 June 2008

SOUTH ASIA

Dr Sekhar Bandhyopadhyay

Victoria University of Wellington
Affiliated fellow
Meanings of Freedom: Decolonization and Politics of Transition in West Bengal, 1947-1952
1 October – 31 December 2007

Dr Maarten Bode (the Netherlands)

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow
The Politics of Value and the Construction of Cultural Commodities: Marketing, Buying and Criticizing Indian Indigenous Medical Products, 1980-2000
1 February – 1 November 2007

Dr Jyotsna Agnihotri Gupta (the Netherlands)

Research fellow, within the ASSR/IIAS/NWO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia'
Reproductive Genetics and Counselling in India: Decision-making Regarding Genetic Screening and Prenatal Diagnosis
1 September 2004 – 31 August 2008

Dr Dipika Mukherjee (India)

Negotiating Languages and Forging Identities: Surinamese-Indian Women in the Netherlands
1 December 2006 – 30 November 2007

Nathan Porath (UK)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by USIP
Islamic Education, Secular Education and Civil Society in South Thailand
1 March 2007 – 1 September 2008

Dr Saraju Rath (India)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by Gonda Foundation
Catalogue Collection Sanskrit Texts
5 January 2004 – 5 January 2009

Dr Markus Schleiter (Germany)

Affiliated fellow
Localized Statehood: Social and Cultural Practices of a 'Tribal' Development Project in India
1 April 2008 – 30 September 2008

Dr Alessandro Graheli

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by Gonda
Medieval Bhakti
1 November 2007 – 1 March 2008

Dr Silvia D'Intino

Collège de France, Institute d'Extreme Orients
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by Gonda
The Skandasvāmibhāṣya on Rg-Veda. A critical Study
1 March 2008 – 1 August 2008

Dr Igor Kotin

Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by Gonda
Surnamis (Hindustanis) and non-resident Indians in the Netherlands
1 November 2007 – 15 January 2008

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Birgit Abels (Germany)

Rubicon fellow, sponsored by NWO/Rubicon
Sounds of (Be)longing. Islam, Place and Music in the Philippine Sulu Archipelago: The Bajau.
1 September 2007 – 1 September 2008

Dr Greg Bankoff (UK)

Affiliated fellow
Cultures of coping: Community and Natural Hazard in the Philippines
1 September 2004 – 31 August 2008

Dr Hans Hägerdal (Sweden)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by the Swedish Vetenskapsrådet
Early modern Timor; The Meeting between Indigenous Groups and Colonial Interests
1 September – 31 October 2007

Dr Emi Helmiati (Indonesia)

Affiliated fellow
Analytical Study of Intellectual Genealogy and Islamic Thought in the Nineteenth Century

Malay Riau

4 August – 4 November 2007

Wouter Hugenholtz (the Netherlands)

Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS)
Affiliated fellow
Land Rent Tax in Java 1812-1920
1 January – 31 December 2007

Marianne Hulsbosch (Australia)

University of Sydney
Affiliated fellow
Pointy Shoes and Pith Helmets: Dress and Identity Construction in Ambon from 1850 to 1942
15 August – 15 November 2007

Dr Edwin Jurriëns (Australia)

University of New South Wales at ADFA
Affiliated fellow
Radio Active: Broadcast Journalism and the Dialogical Public Sphere in Indonesia
Reflections on the Screen: Televisual Metadiscourse in Australia
1 January – 31 March 2008

Prof. Mashudi Kader (Malaysia)

IIAS Professor, holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies
The Morphology and the Movements of Constituents in the Syntax of Classical Malay
1 October 2006 – 1 September 2008

Dr Nico Kaptein (the Netherlands)

Senior fellow and project coordinator within the programme 'Islam in Indonesia'
Islam and State in the Netherlands East Indies: The Life and Work of Sayyid 'Uthmân (1822 – 1914)
1 May 2006 – 1 May 2009

Dr Ritsuko Kikusawa (Japan)

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by NWO
An Examination of the Genetic Affiliation of the Malagasy Languages: their Internal and External Relationship in the Austronesian Language Family
1 December 2006 – 30 November 2007

Dr Jennifer Lindsay (Australia)

KITLV/IIAS affiliated fellow
Australia National University, sponsored by NOW & KITLV
Performance and Politics in Indonesia
1 September – 30 November 2007

Prof. Lawrence Andrew Reid (USA)

University of Hawai'i
Affiliated fellow
Reconstruction of Southern Cordilleran "Phrase Markers"
1 December 2006 – 30 November 2006

Prof. Hein Steinhauer (the Netherlands) IIAS Professor

Special Chair 'Ethnolinguistics of East Indonesia' at the Radboud University Nijmegen
1 September 1998 - 1 September 2008

EAST ASIA

Prof Chiu Hei-Yuan (Taiwan)

IIAS Professor, sponsored by BICER
Religion, Occultism and Social Change in Taiwan
1 September 2007 – 31 August 2007

Dr Xiaoming Huang (New Zealand)

Affiliated fellow
The invisible hand: Modern Studies of International Relations in Japan, China and Korea
1 December 2007 – 1 Juli 2008

Dr Myungshin Kim (Korea)

Yonsei University, Seoul
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by AKS
The Correlation of Aesthetics and Politics; North Korean literature
16 January 2007 – 20 January 2008

Dr Kato Masae (Japan)

Research fellow within the ASSR/IIAS/NWO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia'
A Comparative Study on Socio-Genetic Marginalisation: Japan in "Asia" in Relation to the "West" as a Reference Group
1 April 2005 – 1 April 2008

Dr Ko Chyong-Fang (Taiwan)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by NSC
Bring Family Back? The Impact of Cross-border Marriages on Host Societies.
20 August – 20 November 2007

Dr Jan-Eerik Leppänen (Finland)

PhD student within the ASSR/IIAS/NWO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia'
Socio-genetic Marginalisation and Vulnerable Ethnic Groups in Southwest China
1 February 2005 – 1 February 2009

Prof. Sakamoto Hiroko (Japan)

Hitotsubashi University, Graduate School of Social Sciences
Affiliated fellow, Amsterdam Branch Office
Research on Intellectual History and Culture of Cartoons in Modern China: From the Points of View of Multicultural Linkage, Media and Gender
1 August 2007 – 31 January 2008

Dr Wang Yi (China)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by CASS
Female Roles in Chinese Novels, 15th-18th Century

20 April 2007 – 20 October 2007

Zheng Ying Ping, MA (China)

Institute of International Information
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by CSC
Strengthening Asia-Pacific Multilateral Security Cooperation: European Experience
15 February – 31 December 2007

Prof. Yu Yake (China)

Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by CSC
Theory and Practice of Regional Integration: A Comparative Study on the Cases of EU and ASEA
1 August 2007 – 31 January 2008



The Amsterdam School for Social science Research (ASSR) and Asian Studies in Amsterdam (ASiA) are proud to announce the launch of the Wertheim lecture website at <http://www.iias.nl/asia/wertheim/>. All previous Wertheim lectures will be available in pdf format for public reference and class use.

The Wertheim lecture was initiated by the ASSR in 1990 in recognition of W.F. Wertheim's major contributions to the European tradition of historical-sociological research on modern Asia. Starting 2006, the annual Wertheim-lecture is jointly organised by the ASSR and ASiA. The ASSR (www2.fmg.uva.nl/assr/) is a national research school and a research institute of the University of Amsterdam where social scientists cooperate in multi-disciplinary research. ASiA is an initiative of the Board of the University of Amsterdam and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden. ASiA's goal is to stimulate, facilitate and broaden research activities on Asia in Amsterdam, and to make the outcomes and insights of research accessible to a wider audience.

International Conference Agenda

OCTOBER 2007

4 – 6 October 2007

Ottawa, Canada
 4th International Conference on Women and Politics in Asia conference
 contact: rcwp.wpao7@uottawa.ca or wpao7@wpaf.org

18 - 21 October 2007

Seattle, United States
 Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS) 8th Annual Conference
 conference
 convenors: Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies
 organised by Central Eurasian Studies Society / University of Washington
 contact: Allison Dvaladze
 cess2007@u.washington.edu
 cess.fas.harvard.edu/CESS_conference.html

19 October 2007

London, UK
 Indian Mass Media and the Politics of Change conference

convenors: Sadmediacow / Centre for Media and Film Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)
 contact: collective@sacredmediacow.com
 www.sacredmediacow.com

29 – 31 October 2007

Paris, France
 First International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium
 Symposium / Workshop
 convenors: Paris-Rocquencourt Research Center of INRIA / Dept. of Sanskrit Studies, Univ. of Hyderabad / Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Tirupati
 http://sanskrit.inria.fr/Symposium

NOVEMBER 2007

1 - 2 November 2007

Guangzhou, China
 The Cold War in Asia workshop
 organised by Centre for Chinese Studies, Manchester Univ. / Harvard University / Zhongshan University
 contact: Catriona Dobson

catriona.dobson@manchester.ac.uk
 www.ccs.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/research/index.html

7 - 9 November 2007

Lund, Sweden
 Culture and the Configuring of Security: Using Asian Perspectives to Inform Theoretical Direction
 conference
 convenor: Alexandra Kent
 organized by Nordic NIAS Council (NNC)
 contact: Alexandra Kent
 alix.kent@swipnet.se
 http://www.asiansecurity.niasconferences.dk

13 – 16 November 2007

Albion, Michigan, USA
 The Conference on the Study of Religions of India (CSRI) Annual Meeting
 conference
 organised by CSRI, Albion College
 contact: Selva J. Raj
 sraj@albion.edu
 www.albion.edu/csri

15 - 19 November 2007

Waikiki, Hawaii
 3rd International Conference of the Social Capital Foundation on Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital
 conference
 convenor: The Social Capital Foundation
 contact: conferences@socialcapital-foundation.org
 www.socialcapital-foundation.org

19 - 22 November 2007

Penang, Malaysia
 The 8th Conference of the Asia Pacific Sociological Association
 conference
 organised by APSA, Captrans, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Univ. of Wollongong, Australia
 dean_soc@usm.my
 www.asiapacificsociology.org

19 - 22 November 2007

Georgetown (Penang), Malaysia
 Asia Pacific Region: Societies in Transformation
 conference
 organized by Asia Pacific Sociological Association
 contact: Asia Pacific Sociological Association
 dean_soc@usm.my
 http://www.asiapacificsociology.org

21 – 23 November 2007

Singapore
 Early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Movements
 conference
 convenor: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)
 www.iseas.edu.sg

22 – 24 November 2007

Lucknow, India
 8th International Conference on Asian Youth and Childhoods 2007
 conference
 organised by Circle for Child and Youth Research Cooperation in India (CCYRCI) / JNPG Degree College, Lucknow
 contact: Vinod Chandra
 ayc2007@rediffmail.com
 http://ayc2007.com/contact.htm

22 – 25 November 2007

Dunedin, New Zealand
 17th New Zealand Asian Studies Society (NZASIA) International Conference
 conference
 convenor: University of Otago, New Zealand
 contact: nzasia.conference@stonebow.otago.ac.nz
 www.nzasia.org.nz

23 – 24 November 2007

Rotterdam, The Netherlands
 International Conference on Peaceful Coexistence
 conference
 convenor: Erasmus University, Rotterdam
 contact: info@gulenconference.nl
 www.gulenconference.nl

27 – 29 November 2007

Butu Malang, Indonesia
 Muslim Youth As Agents of Change In Indonesia
 conference
 convened by: Indonesian Young Leaders Programme
 organised by: Leiden University, the Netherlands / the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Indonesia / Universitas Islam Malang (UNISMA), Indonesia.
 Contact: M.R van Amersfoort
 youngleaders@let.leidenuniv.nl
 www.indonesiayoungleaders.org

28 - 30 November 2007

Berlin, Germany
 Online Education Berlin: 13th International Conference on Technology-Supported Learning and Training
 conference
 organized by ICWE
 info@online-educa.com
 www.online-educa.com

DECEMBER 2007

1 December 2007

Guangdong and Macao, China
 Canton and Nagasaki compared: 1730-1830
 conference
 organised by Zhongshan University, Guangdong, Cultural Institute of Macao and Consulate General NL, Guangzhou
 contact: Evert Groenendijk
 evert.groenendijk@minbuza.nl

6 – 8 December 2007

Oslo, Norway
 Approaching Elections in South Asia: Performances, Principles and Perceptions
 workshop
 convenor: Political Culture in South Asia research project, Humanities Faculty, University of Oslo
 contact: pamelag. Price or Arild Engelsen Ruud
 p.g.price@iakh.uio.no or a.e.ruud@ikos.uio.no
 www.hf.uio.no/ikos/forskning/forskning-sprosjekter/south-asia/index.html

1 – 15 December 2007

Kolkata, India
 Annual winter course on Forced Migration Orientation Course
 Organised by: The Calcutta Research Group in cooperation with the Government of Finland, UNHCR and the Brookings Institution
 Contact: forcedmigrationdesk@mcr.ac.in / mcr@mcr.ac.in
 www.mcr.ac.in

JANUARY 2008

9 -11 January 2008

Bangkok, Thailand
 The 10th International Conference on Thai Studies
 conference
 organised by Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University
 contact: Anucha Thirakanont
 thaiconference@gmail.com
 www.thaiconference.tu.ac.th

[advertisement]

The Sociology of Southeast Asia

Transformations in a Developing Region

Victor T. King

- ✓ First sole-authored introductory sociology text on Southeast Asia that focuses on change and development in the region.
- ✓ Covers a wide range of themes including class, ethnicity, underdevelopment and gender.
- ✓ Uses case studies from across the region.

One of the main problems faced by teachers and students who have a scholarly interest in Southeast Asia is the lack of general, user-friendly texts in the social sciences. The absence of an introduction to the sociology of Southeast Asia is especially unfortunate. It is the aim of this volume to meet these needs. Aimed primarily at undergraduates up to the final year, it will also be a useful reference work for postgraduates and researchers who lack such a general work.

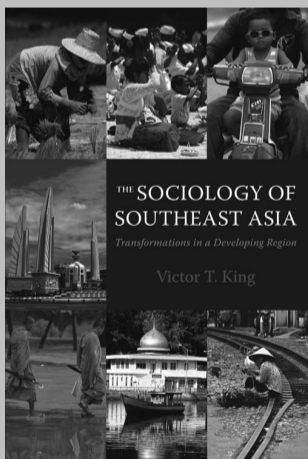
Victor King has produced a lucid, comprehensive and challenging analysis of the state-of-the-art of Southeast Asian sociology. The book is not only an excellent text book for courses on Southeast Asia or development sociology, but also "required reading" for all social scientists embarking on research on the area. I am certain that it will become a long-lasting addition to the standard literature on Asia.

– Hans-Dieter Evers

NIAS Press, October 2007, 352 pp., illus.
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 Pbk • 978-87-91114-60-1 • £16.99

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 E-mail: publish@nias.ku.dk
 Web: www.niaspress.dk

FEBRUARY 2008

6 – 9 February 2008
St Petersburg, Russia

5th Torchinov Conference: Philosophy, Religion and Culture of Asian Countries conference

convenor: Faculty of Philosophy and Political Studies Chair for Eastern Philosophy and Culture, Philosophical Society of Saint-Petersburg

organised by: Saint-Petersburg State University

contact: chteniyazoo8@mail.ru
http://east.philosophy.pu.ru

27 February – 1 March 2008
Lisbon, Portugal

The Asia Network of the European Social Science History Conference conference

organised by International Institute for Social History

contact: esshc@iisg.nl
www.iisg.nl

MARCH 2008

14-15 March
Siem Reap, Cambodia

Center for Khmer Studies International Conference

conference

organised by Center for Khmer Studies (CKS)

contact: cheanmen@khmerstudies.org

APRIL 2008

3 – 6 April 2008
Atlanta, USA

The Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting conference

organised by AAS
www.aasianst.org

MAY 2008

9 - 11 May 2008

Rook How, Lake District, UK

The 22nd Pakistan Workshop: 'Spaces of Dialogue'

Workshop

convened by Department of Anthropology, Durham University

contact: pakistanworkshop@gmail.com
https://anthropology.dur.ac.uk/anthrowiki/workshop2008/Home.html

JUNE 2008

29 June – 1 July 2008

Taichung, Taiwan

6th International Conference on East Asian

Calligraphy Education

conference

convenors: Calligraphy Education Group (CEG), USA / National Taichung University / Mingdao University

contact: Dr Daan Pan, Chair of Conference Executive Committee
dpan@csupomona.edu

JULY 2008

8 – 11 July 2008
Manchester, UK

20th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies conference

convenor: Dr Katherine Adeney
organised by: University of Manchester
contact: k.adeney@sheffield.ac.uk
www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/ecmsas

SEPTEMBER 2008

1 - 5 September 2008

Leiden, Netherlands

The 12th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeology (EurASEAA)

conference

convenor: Marijke Klokke
organised by IIAS
contact: Martina van den Haak
euraseaa12@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.iias.nl/euraseaa12

DECEMBER 2008

4 – 6 December 2008

Philadelphia, USA

Dalit Agendas: Emancipation, Citizenship and Empowerment conference

organised by The Center for the Advanced Study of India and the Department of South Asia Studies at the University of Pennsylvania

contact: rawat@sas.upenn.edu
http://casi.ssc.upenn.edu

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Call for Contributors

The *Encyclopedia of Asian American Folklore* is scheduled to be published by Greenwood Press in 2010.

Asian American Folklore shares a close tie with Asian Folklore, and is growing increasingly important to all Americans. Never before has there been such a broad and deep interest in Asian and Asian American folklore in the United States and Europe. The many different cultures of Asian Americans in all of their specificities offer a rich trove of historical experiences through their folklore that hold continuing relevance and offer wisdom guidance for present living.

Editors Juwen Zhang and Kathy Nadeau seek contributors for entries on different types of folklore, histories and applications of folklore, and analysis. A-Z arrangements.

Principles for establishing entries: to cover as broad as possible the Asian American folklore practice, in particular those that have regional or national basis. When an Asian American culture or community is introduced, its folklore may contain, but not limited to, these aspects:

- Folkliterature; narrative; tale; legend; histories; personal experience narratives; myth; poetry; epic; ballad; song; verse; speech; proverb; riddle
- Names; graffiti; language; dance; music; musical instruments
- Belief systems; medicine; magic; religion; churches and temples
- Behavior; drama; games and play; children games; ritual; foodways; festival
- Material culture; art; products; technology
- Settlement patterns (houses/cultural architecture; interior and exterior designs and decorations)
- Further reading: book and journal publications; film; record and audiotape; websites; ethnography; monographs

Sample list of (working and expandable) table of contents in alphabetical order will be provided to interested contributors.

A letter of intent should be submitted by March 1, 2008. Prospective candidates will receive an assignment, contributor's guidelines, and sample entries by email or postal mail; followed by release form to be sent by postal mail from the publisher to be signed and returned. Complete entries are due by the end of 2008, and are subject to normal editing process required for quality publications and are accepted for publication at the discretion of the editors, advisory board, and publisher. Contributors will receive a free set of this two volume reference book and/or a modest honorarium once it is published.

If you are interested in submitting one or more entries please send a short biographical sketch describing your background and interests in Asian American Folklore and your preferred e-mail and postal address to: Encyclopedia Editor, Kathleen Nadeau, knadeau@csusb.edu

or:
Department of Anthropology
California State University
5500 University Pkwy,
San Bernardino, Ca 92373
Office (909) 537-5503



EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS (EURASEAA)

12th International Conference

Leiden, the Netherlands, 1-5 September 2008

CALL FOR PAPERS

We invite papers on all aspects of Southeast Asian archaeology, including art history, epigraphy, and numismatics. Papers on China and India that closely relate to Southeast Asian themes, may also be presented by agreement and if time permits.

Deadline to send in abstracts: **1 February 2008.**

Abstracts should be no longer than 200 words and accompanied by a short résumé/CV (max. 2 pages).

The registration fee will be

- 110 euro if paid before 1 July 2008
- 130 euro if paid before 1 September 2008
- 150 euro if paid at the conference

Included

A dinner and an excursion. For students, including PhD students, the fee will be 60 euro.

We will apply for grants from various Dutch funding organizations, specifically for travel grants. As there is an overwhelming demand for support, the organizing committee has decided to support mainly young (below 40) and promising scholars from Southeast Asia and eastern Europe. The grant may include: registration fee, (partial) travel costs, and shared hotel accommodation during the conference.

To qualify for a grant

Please submit an abstract of your intended paper, your CV, and a short letter of motivation.

For further information

Website: www.iias.nl/euraseaa12
Email: Euraseaa12@let.leidenuniv.nl

The organizing committee

Marijke Klokke, Leiden University
Martina van den Haak,
International Institute for Asian Studies



> IIAS who & where

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 **NEWSLETTER**

> Colophon

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