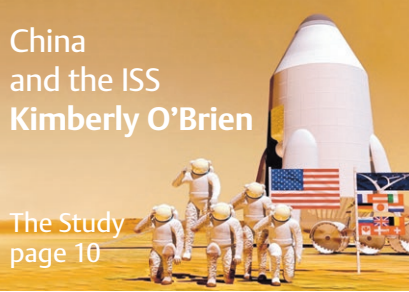


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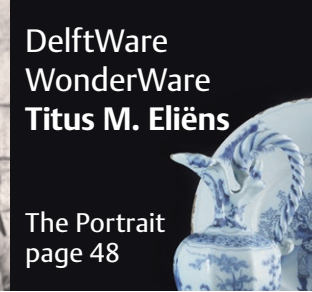
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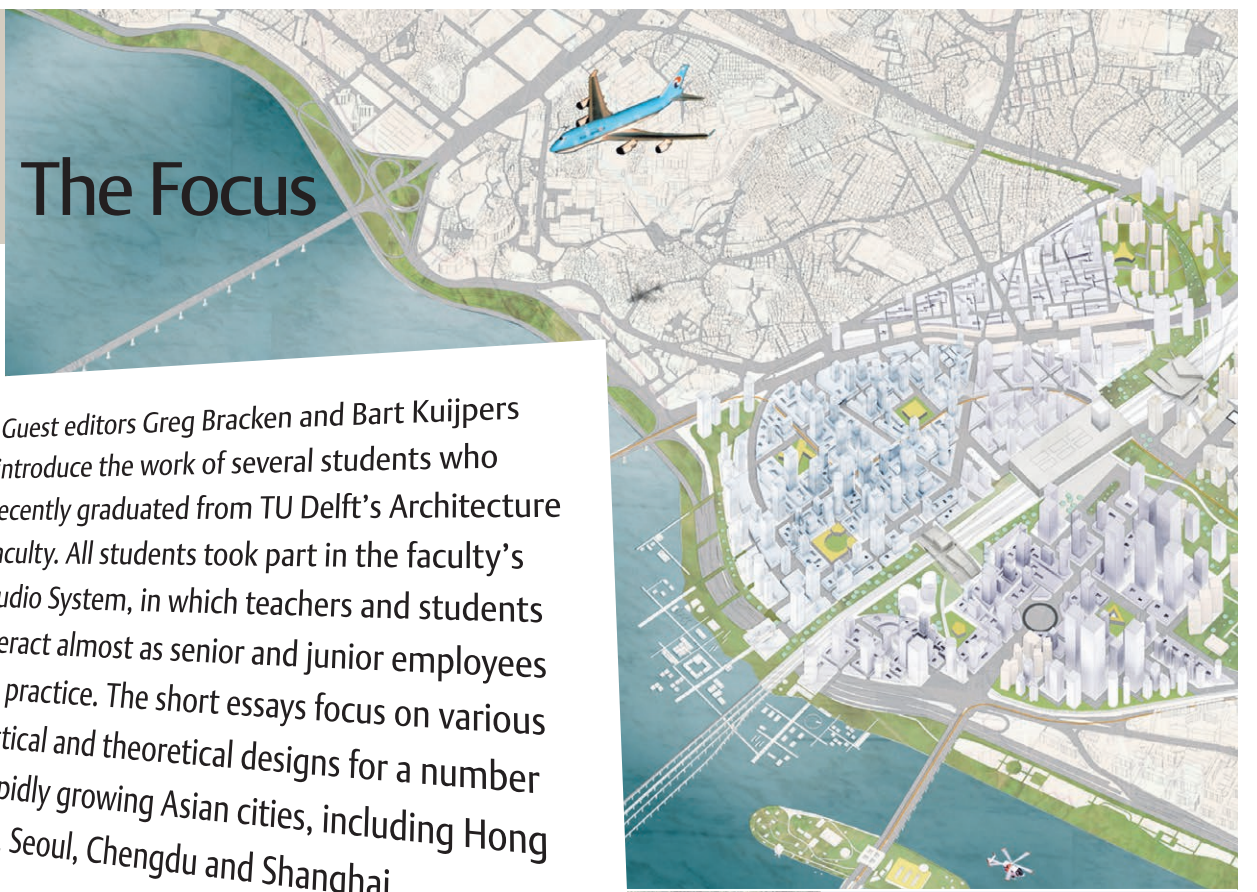
Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia

63
New Designs
for Asia



Asia's remarkable economic and political growth has led some to believe that future historians will be calling the twenty-first century the 'Asian Century'. One of the most important factors fuelling growth is the region's rapid urbanization. Urban Studies and Architecture are important disciplines for anyone interested in trying to pragmatically direct this growth, and help to improve people's lives. In the Focus section of this issue, guest editors Gregory Bracken and Bart Kuijpers present 'New Designs for Asia' - student work from the Architecture Faculty, TU Delft, the Netherlands.

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The Focus

Guest editors Greg Bracken and Bart Kuijpers introduce the work of several students who recently graduated from TU Delft's Architecture Faculty. All students took part in the faculty's Studio System, in which teachers and students interact almost as senior and junior employees in a practice. The short essays focus on various practical and theoretical designs for a number of rapidly growing Asian cities, including Hong Kong, Seoul, Chengdu and Shanghai.

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Guest Editors

New Designs for Asia



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Two teams from the **Vertical Cities Asia** competition present their winning designs. The first team takes an holistic approach to aging (of people and the city) and seeks to renew the city pattern of Seoul whilst maintaining its authenticity. The second team puts forth that the much needed densification of the old city does not have to mean the obliteration of existing urban life.



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The chief innovation of **Elsa Snyder's** design is the subtle reinvention of traditional shared family space in Hong Kong. By making clever use of historical Chinese spatial dynamics, she has presented us with a viable alternative to the ubiquitous 'pencil' tower.

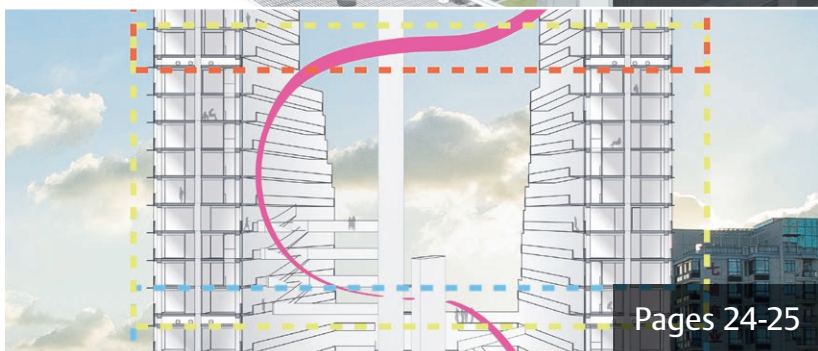
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Bart Kuijpers' contribution seeks to breathe new life into the old alleyways of Shanghai, particularly the now vanishing shikumen houses. The project's design allows for plenty of scope for the rich social interaction that typically takes place in the older neighbourhoods of the city.



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Jasper Nijveldt's elegant scheme shows a profound understanding of the underlying principles of Chinese urbanism. His large-scale housing project, located in Chengdu, seeks to nurture the everyday human experience of space in a Chinese city.



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Jonathan van der Stel's design is in essence one for a new university in Hong Kong, yet it is also an expression of the city's impact on a newcomer: its 'bigness' has a beauty to it, but it can simultaneously leave one with a terrifying sense of insignificance.



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Ting Wen's contribution critiques neoliberal policies and the urban regeneration, and gentrification, that result in social exclusion for those unable to partake in this brave new world of globalized capitalism. Her case study looks at the old Kai Tak Airport site in Hong Kong.

Building community

With an average of 60 postdoctoral fellows per year, from various nationalities, disciplines and backgrounds, IIAS can rightly claim to be supporting one of the most significant communities of Asia scholars in the world. The impressive numbers are primarily the result of the diversity of fellowship programmes offered by IIAS.

Philippe Peycam

TO START WITH, the institute sponsors a number of positions usually earmarked for one of its three thematic clusters: Asian cities, Asian heritages, Global Asia. (There is also an 'open' slot for projects that fall outside the three defined categories.) These IIAS-sponsored fellowships represent the large majority of the 1-to-10 month positions on offer.

To their number can be added the joint **IIAS-ISEAS** fellowship position with its unique transregional character. The position was first filled by two fellows, Elizabeth Chandra and Albert Tzeng, who focussed on 'intra-Asian connectivity'; the next timeslot for this position will focus on a Heritage-related subject.

Another collaborative project is the one supported through IIAS by the **Gonda Foundation**. It is meant for researchers working on Indology and who need access to the invaluable collections at Leiden University. Thanks to this programme, IIAS remains one of the most active gatherings of South Asian classicists in the West.

Similarly, the **Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)** and IIAS have been collaborating for nearly a decade to facilitate exchanges between Dutch and Chinese academic institutions. We, as a result, regularly receive scholars from China who join the larger group of IIAS fellows in Leiden.

Two new and exciting fellowship partnerships are also worth describing here. One relates to the **Urban Knowledge Asia programme (UKNA)**, for which IIAS serves as the coordinating institute and full member. IIAS welcomes a number of scholars from India and China working on urban-related subjects; at IIAS in Leiden they work closely with their colleagues attached to TU Delft, also member of UKNA. The second new initiative recently developed is the joint programme with the **African Studies Centre (ASC)**, on the subject of Africa-Asia relations. This pioneering programme will ensure that IIAS and ASC, in line with their involvement in the establishment of a lasting Asia-Africa academic exchange platform, will be on the forefront of this emerging interregional dialogue.

I will not mention the self-funded positions nor will I go into detail about some of the 'historical' research positions that have been granted to a few individuals for multi-year periods. What I should add here, however, is that ever since we decided to revise the fellowship programme and implement the three thematic clusters – a process that has meant the reallocation of funds and the reorganization of workspace (especially after the closing of the IIAS facilities in Amsterdam) – a new dynamic has taken root among the fellows in residence in Leiden. This sense of community, shared with the IIAS team, has taken many forms: dinners at the institute, film screening sessions, brown bag lunches, lecture training exercises, cultural outings, etc. All activities contribute to closer ties between fellows, knowledge exchanges, interactions with the IIAS staff, and sometimes direct contributions to the shaping of new IIAS initiatives.

The secret of this chemistry? The endless commitment of the IIAS staff, including Fellowship Coordinator Sandra van der Horst. Sandra is more than a coordinator. She plays the role of cultural ambassador, broker and facilitator for the numerous issues and experiences encountered by newcomer fellows. Well done Sandra, and thank you!

Philippe Peycam, Director of IIAS

The Newsletter and IIAS

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a post-doctoral research centre based in the Netherlands. IIAS encourages the multi-disciplinary and comparative study of Asia and promotes national and international cooperation.

The Newsletter is a free quarterly publication by IIAS. As well as being a window into the institute, The Newsletter also links IIAS with the community of Asia scholars and the worldwide public interested in Asia and Asian studies. The Newsletter bridges the gap between specialist knowledge and public discourse, and continues to serve as a forum for scholars to share research, commentary and opinion with colleagues in academia and beyond.

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The Newsletter #63 Spring 2013
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Regional editor: Lee Hock Guan
The Network pages editor: Sandra Dehue
Digital issue editor: Thomas Voorter
Design: Paul Oram
Printing: Wegener Grafische Groep, Apeldoorn

Submissions

Deadline for drafts:
Issue # 65 is 1 June 2013
Issue # 66 is 1 September 2013
Issue # 67 is 1 December 2013

Submissions and enquiries: iiasnews@iias.nl
More information: www.iias.nl/publications

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Contemporary trends in the Mongolian folksong tradition of *urtyn duu*

In 2009, three young singers, who had met at the conservatory and had studied a traditional folksong genre called *urtyn duu* (long-song), created a folk pop-group. Like the pictures provided in the liner notes, which were unusually commercialized for a traditional folk genre music, their music was unexpected and provocative for the majority of the Mongolian folk music audience. This new direction was unusual not so much because of the melding of Western instruments such as piano and synthesizer with a traditional vocal genre, but rather because of their unique acoustic ‘harmonizing’ of independent, ornamented and melismatic vocal solos, while retaining the traditional singing style and improvisation, and using mostly traditional songs.

Sunmin Yoon



THEY NAMED THE GROUP SHURANKHAI. This is a Mongolian word that defines a vocal technique used in the traditional *urtyn duu* genre, and whose characteristic articulation is achieved through the elongation and ornamentation of vowels. *Shurankhai* generally appears in the middle of a song and also often expresses the climax of the song. The technique is similar to Western falsetto, but aims to create more of an abrupt, shorter, sharper and higher vocal sound. *Shurankhai* is not simply a vocal technique, however; it has become a standard by which the ability of singers may be judged, and so is a constant source of discussion among *urtyn duu* singers – from old to young, and from countryside to city.

Long-song on the move

Urtyn duu, often translated into ‘long-song’, is one of Mongolia’s solo folksong genres. Mongolians believe it originated from the period of Chinggis Khan (13th century), and according to Mongolian understanding, it has been around for ‘a long-time’. *Urtyn duu* is traditionally practiced among Mongolian shepherds while herding, and at feasts. Mongolians traditionally roam the open steppes as nomads, moving around with the seasons. Music in Mongolia, especially long-song, was thus not practiced as an art form, but as a part of life.

The songs are based on Mongolian poetry or on Mongolian legends and stories reflecting the natural world. Most of the vocal techniques imitate animal sounds; the melodic contours follow the topology of the land and the vocal acoustics come from practicing out in the expanse of the steppes. For this reason, this genre of song is often considered to be and presented as the genuine article, which can rightfully represent the Mongolian people’s national and especially nomadic identity, particularly in post-socialist contemporary Mongolia.

In the 1990s, Mongolia underwent the transition from a socialist to a democratic and free-market system. The country moved into new socio-economic and political directions, but also towards a redefined or reconsidered cultural identity. Traditional music and arts were promoted as the ‘real’ identity; all cultural activity imported from the Soviet Union, such as ballet and opera, was less encouraged, as a counter reaction.

Chinggis Khan was, and is, admired and believed to have been the unifier of Mongolia. He didn’t originate from the socialist past, but from a more historical era, the ‘deep past’ as Caroline Humphrey puts it. Long-song originates from the ‘deep past’ as well. In 2006, during Naadam (national holiday), 800 long-song singers were invited to sing together to celebrate the 800 year anniversary of Chinggis Khan’s unification of Mongolia into an independent nation. Long-song is not designed to be performed by a choir of 800 singers, and, while this way of performance indeed did not produce the best musical outcome, the show was definitely visually spectacular. And it most certainly presented the long-song as a national pride.

New tradition, new identity

It seems now that the new Mongolia requires, in terms of culture, not only the ‘old’ tradition, but also a ‘new’ tradition, which can attract audiences both inside and outside Mongolia. In response, fusion groups such as the long-song group *Shurankhai* have experimented with introducing new elements into the traditional music. Altan Urag, most likely the first folk-pop group in Mongolia, and later groups such as *Domog*, *Borte*, *Hunnu*, and *Khusugtun*, came from a younger generation of folk musicians, and were academically trained in Mongolian traditional music as well as in Western musical theory and history, by either Russian teachers or Mongolian teachers who had studied in the Soviet Union. They therefore easily cross the boundaries between traditional and non-traditional music.

During the 1960s and 1970s, when traditional musicians started to train professionally, there was clearly a cosmopolitan and transnational movement among cultural groups in Mongolia. Mongolian intellectuals and artists, through study and performance travels, enjoyed frequent contact with ‘outside’ cultures from the rest of the Soviet bloc. Mongolians had begun, even then, to position themselves on the international world map through their music and culture. In post-socialist Mongolia, such cultural movements continue either through the promotion of traditional, and ever more ancient music, or through a constant negotiation between traditional and non-traditional, as well as through the invention of non-traditional sound from traditional sound.

In recordings and interviews with numerous long-song singers, both in Ulaanbaatar and in the countryside, made between 2006 to 2012, I found that these traditional long-song singers were constantly looking for a “real and authentic (*jinkhene*) tradition”, such as those rare songs that survived in the remote countryside. The stories reveal how the culture that thrived between 1920 and 1990 is no longer considered part of ‘authentic’ tradition. Notwithstanding the variation of folk influence, which exists in every kind of Mongolian music, folksong has now assumed two forms. First, there are songs that conjure powerful images of the countryside as homeland (*nutag*) and life as a nomadic herder, yet which have been, since the socialist period, sung only in the remote countryside. Second, there is the non-traditional folk music, with the inclusion of modern elements, which can easily be presented to contemporary audiences in Ulaanbaatar.

Shurankhai released their second and third albums simultaneously, in 2011. One is a collection of traditional long-songs, including rare versions and old songs, such as lullabies. The other contains exclusively fusion/non-traditional songs, which maximize the Mongolian ‘folk’ sound in pop and electronic arrangements. These two quite different albums reveal the polarization of current traditional music. On the one hand, the traditional folk music, including long-song, is used as a transnational feature, with the folk musical sound

Above: Mongolian summer.

Inset: Dad'süren, a singer from Dundgov' aimag.

simply a medium for the creation of new music. On the other hand, tradition becomes a reinforcement of the ‘ancient’, yet ‘authentic’ traditional world, as part of a new Mongolian identity.

Continuity as cultural heritage

Back in 2006, I met a singer named Dadsüren, who lived in the remote countryside of Dundgovi province. He was a nomad, and I had to track him down, with the help of other herders I encountered on the way. He was one of those singers who had been left behind, yet who carried an immense amount of knowledge of the long-song and who sang these songs so beautifully in his *ger* (yurt). At that time, Dadsüren and other ‘old’ countryside singers maintained their nomadic ways and still lived as herders; as a result, they were not regarded in the same light as urban singers and received neither respect nor recognition as skilled and professional musicians. However, when I returned to Mongolia in 2012, Dadsüren had been designated, ahead of the urban singers, as a cultural intangible heritage asset. Not all the countryside singers will be promoted in this way, but it certainly shows Mongolia’s change of heart toward what remains and how Mongolians now understand their own tradition.

When I was out following singers on the open steppe, I learned that Mongolians have a great sense of distance and direction. There is no compass, there are no signposts on the steppe, but Mongolian drivers always know where the road is and in which direction they must drive. Mongolians have had unpredictable lives; a nomadic history, a socialist experience, a transition into a democratic free market, bordering Russia and China, in the heart of Inner Asia. They have always been on the move, and have continuously defined and redefined who they are and where they are going. As their most recent transformation shows, Mongols are extremely adaptable to the circumstances, yet entirely focused on identity. They negotiate so as to survive, and thrive by holding on firmly to this sense of identity. Such has also been the case for the long-song tradition. One simple long-song often taught to beginning singers is *Khöörkhön Khaliyn* (A beautiful bay horse). In the two verses of this song, the lyrics talk of how Mongols deal with change.

*The beautiful bay horse is timid
In order to catch it, you should kneel by its legs.
A foreign [new] land [environment] is difficult
In order to adjust to it, you should wait
and patiently bide your time.*

Sunmin Yoon is an ethnomusicologist and currently teaches at the School of Music at Kent State University OH (syoon@kent.edu).

Notes

1 Humphrey, Caroline. 1992. “The Moral Authority of the Past in Post-Socialist Mongolia”, *Religion, State and Society*, 20(3&4).

The 1876 Chinese post office riot in Singapore

The 1876 Post Office Riot is often lumped together with other nineteenth century Chinese secret society riots in Singapore, but it was in fact the owners of Chinese remittance agencies who instigated the riot to defend their new business practices against an intrusive colonial state trying to regulate modern transportation and communication networks.

Lane J. Harris

AT 7:30 IN THE MORNING of 15 December 1876, an Indian police officer of the Singapore colonial government noticed a crowd of Chinese reading a placard at the corner of Philip and King Streets. The placard offered a 100 tael reward for the decapitation of two Straits-born Chinese, Ong Kong Chang and Ong Kong Teng, who were opening the new Chinese Sub-Post Office (華人小郵局) to handle letters and remittances to China, at 81 Market Street at 8 o'clock that morning.

Less than an hour later, someone in the crowd gathered outside the Sub-Post Office threw a brickbat inciting the 'mob' to ransack the office. Having demolished the premises, rioters attacked the Ellensborough New Market Police Station where the police fired into the crowd killing three and wounding several others. Police arrested 40 rioters, most of whom received a caning and a term of 'rigorous imprisonment'. Deciding that the dead men were secret society members, the colonial government ordered the arrest of Lim Ah Tye, the leader of the Teochew (Taizhou) branch of the Ghee Hin (義興) secret society. The government also detained a number of Chinese merchants involved in remitting letters and money to China, locally known as 'towkays'.

The next morning, Chinese merchants throughout the city shuttered their businesses in a general strike against the 'Red-Haired Barbarians'. Shopkeepers refused to re-open until the towkays were freed. Defiantly, the colonial government marched the towkays to Boat Quay and placed them on the *Pluto*, which steamed out into the northeast monsoon swell. Two days later, the colonial government returned the towkays, green with seasickness, when they compliantly agreed to pay a bond guaranteeing their good behavior. Convinced that Lim Ah Tye was behind the riot, the government deported him. Local shops reopened on Sunday and by Monday morning the owners of the Sub-Post Office, 'in a considerable funk', cleaned up their office as police patrolled the block.¹

Colonial officials and newspaper reporters portrayed the riot as a conspiracy of secret society 'evil winded rascals' who 'duped' the 'coolies' into rioting against the government. Sir William Jervois (1821-1897), Governor of the Straits Settlements, described the 'coolies' as 'unfortunate dupes of these crafty leaders'. Scholars have followed these contemporary accounts by arguing that the riot 'emanated from some leaders of the secret societies' or was 'fomented by Chinese secret societies'.² Emphasis on secret society involvement in the riot, however, distracts attention away from the broader political context and slights the significance of the postal issues at stake.

Overseas agents in the South Seas, 1850-1870

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the emergence of new communications and transportation technologies transformed the information infrastructure around the world. In Singapore, the colonial state used the new technologies to interfere in existing communications and transportation networks under the guise of creating a state postal monopoly. For overseas Chinese involved in the remittance trade, the new networks allowed them to create more efficient profit-making strategies, but their very success brought them to the attention of the colonial state. The 1876 post office riot, then, was not a secret society affair, but a clash over control of the remittance business, Chinese resistance to the rise of the interventionist state, and a misunderstanding by colonial officials about how the remittance agencies earned their profits.

A surge in Chinese emigration began in the mid-nineteenth century as tens of thousands of coastal Chinese sought economic opportunities in the mines and fields of Southeast Asia. They entered local indigenous states whose rule was weak, diffuse, and decentralized and an economic system increasingly dominated by the colonial powers – the Dutch in Batavia, the British in Singapore, and the Spanish in Manila. The inconsistencies of direct/indirect local and colonial rule, the lack of demarcated territorial boundaries, and the gradual transition to capitalist-oriented production left open enough space for overseas Chinese to thrive as middle-men, within this hybrid economic system, from their bases in the polyglot cities scattered throughout mainland and archipelagic Southeast Asia.

Circumambulating independent contractors known as Overseas or South Seas Agents (水客/南洋客) linked seaward China, the entrepot of Hong Kong, and colonial cities and towns in Southeast Asia through informal letter and remittance networks.³ The financial linchpin holding together their junk-traversed networks was a ten percent surcharge on all remittances. The structure of their letter and remittance networks, and the agents' profit-making strategies, rapidly changed in the 1860s and 1870s with the arrival of new communications and transportation technologies.

Networking empire, nation, and colony

The arrival of steamships in the 1840s, the expansion of the submarine telegraph network, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the inauguration of modern postal services, helped usher in the era of high imperialism in Southeast Asia, but they also allowed overseas agents to increase their profits. To take advantage of these opportunities, overseas agents transformed themselves into Qiaopiju (僑批局), literally Overseas Letter Offices, specializing in mobilizing and transporting labor overseas, shipping goods and letters throughout the diasporic network, and providing remittance and other banking services to overseas Chinese.⁴

The Qiaopiju firms also developed a set of new business practices. To limit their liability, Qiaopiju owners stopped transmitting currency and shifted to small slips of paper known as pixin (批信) representing the amount sent by each remitter. They placed the slips inside a small parcel, referred to as a 'clubbed package' (總包), and entrusted it to the supercargo of a China-bound ship. Instead of charging large remittance fees, the firms used this procedure to retain the remittances as a form of temporary capital over the time it took the supercargo to reach his destination. The capital was used to purchase goods in Southeast Asia, sell them in Hong Kong or

Cabinet Photograph of Sir William Jervois (1821-1897), Governor of the Straits Settlements (1875-1877).



coastal China, and then pay the remittances. Qiaopiju owners also used the funds to engage in exchange rate speculation between currencies in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, and China to make their profits. Lastly, to protect the remitter, the Qiaopiju also provided huipi (回批), a return receipt, that not only verified delivery, but also included a short note from the recipient as a check against fraud. This new business model increased profit margins, allowing Qiaopiju firms to expand to new locations, and provided more security for remitters.

The Singapore colonial government and the Qiaopiju in the 1870s

In the 1860s and 1870s, national and colonial officials throughout the world sought to define and enforce state postal monopolies to control and regulate communications and transportation networks. In Singapore, Postmaster General Henry Trotter (served 1871-1882) first broached the subject of closing the Qiaopiju firms in mid-1872, claiming they were violating the terms of the India Post Office Act of 1866, making the post office a government monopoly. The Qiaopiju not only violated a state monopoly, Trotter argued, but siphoned off a significant portion of state revenue. The Singapore Legislative Council considered the proposal, but the Attorney-General rejected it on the grounds that the Indian Act only dealt with postal matters within the jurisdiction of colony, which included Singapore, but not China.

The Legislative Council's discussion sparked the interest of two Qiaopiju owners in Penang, Ong Kong Chang and Ong Kong Teng, who volunteered to act as a monopoly agent for the Singapore Post Office in collecting remittances for China. Andrew Clarke, then Governor of Singapore, gladly accepted their offer in the fall of 1874, arguing that the private Qiaopiju system not only infringed the state monopoly, but that they were inherently corrupt and inefficient; Clarke was unaware of the new *pixin* and *huipi* system created by the Qiaopiju.⁵ Remaining uncertainty about international postal law, however, left the agreement in abeyance.⁶

In mid-1876, Governor Jervois created a modified system that made the Ongs salaried colonial sub-postmasters thus circumventing uncertainty about international postal law. Under Jervois' scheme, the Ongs did not have a monopoly on the collection of remittances, but did have one on their transmission. As Jervois explained, any Chinese firm could collect remittances, but all remittances and letters had to be 'stamped and sent either through the Sub-Post Office, or through the General Post Office'. Jervois' fundamental mistake was in believing the Qiaopiju profited on remittance fees, but he was unaware that their new business practices required control over transmission time. By transforming the Qiaopiju into remittance collecting agents of the state, Jervois removed their ability to use the new communications and transportation networks to profit on remittances as a form of temporary capital. The owners of the Qiaopiju firms, using the secret societies to organize the protest, instigated the riot against the interventionist state to defend their new profit-making strategies.

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Notes

- 1 The above narrative and quotes that follow are based on the *Straits Times* (16, 23, and 30 Dec. 1876, 19 May and 4 Aug. 1877), *Straits Times Overland Journal* (27 Dec. 1876, 11 Jan., 8 Feb., and 1 Sept. 1877), and the *Straits Observer* (20 Dec. 1876).
- 2 Ong Siang Song. 1923. *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*. Reprint: University Malaya Press, 1967, p.185; Leon F. Comber. 1959. *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya: A Survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900*. Locust Valley, NY: JJ Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, p.235.
- 3 The earliest description of overseas agents in Singapore is: UC Siah. 1847. "Annual Remittances by Chinese Immigrants in Singapore to their Families in China," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and East Asia* 1:35-36.
- 4 Other general names for Qiaopiju include Letter Agency (批信局), Money Letter Office (銀信局), Overseas Letter Office (僑信局), Remittance Office (匯兌局), Remittance Letter Office (匯兌信局/莊), Overseas Letter Shop (僑批館), and Letter Shop (批館).
- 5 Despatch by Andrew Clarke, 9 October 1875, cited in Wong Lin Ken. 1980. "The Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore: A Review of Lee Poh Ping's *Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century Singapore*," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 11(1):178.
- 6 T. A. Melville. 1921. "The Post Office and Its History", in Walter Makepeace et al (eds.) *One Hundred Years of Singapore: Being Some Account of the Capital of the Straits Settlements from Its Foundation*, 2 vols. London: John Murray, pp.135-36.

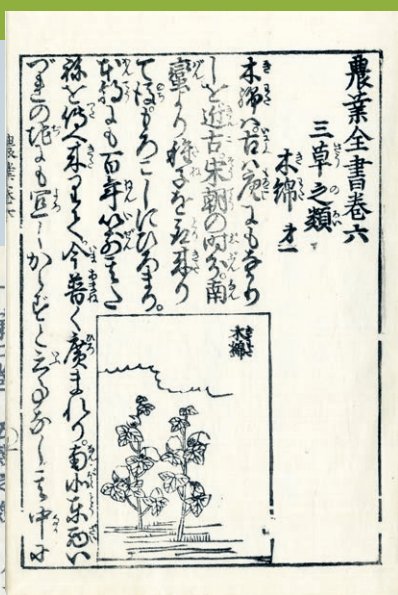
Breaking the plough

Economic and social developments significantly stimulated both quantity and genre variety of the literary production in Tokugawa era Japan (1603-1868). Hitherto most western academic discussion shows a strong affinity to philosophical treatises and economical theories of prominent scholars, records of the ruling class and the popular literature of the townspeople. Studies about works classified as *nôsho*, writings concerning agricultural matters, are notably scarce. One may assume this lack of interest would simply reflect an absence of intellectual depth within these most diverse texts, but a closer look reveals quite the opposite and shows links to current global struggles.

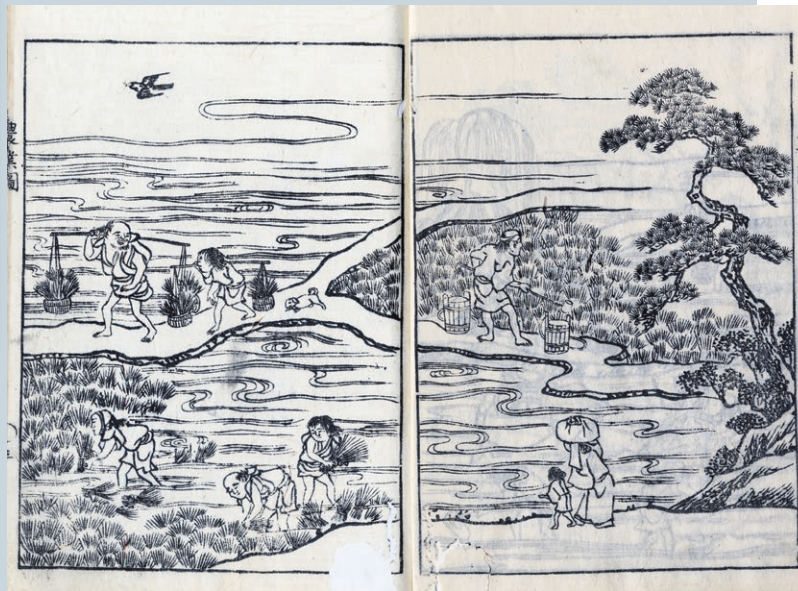
Stefan Jeka



1.



2.



3.

TAKING THE CULTIVATION OF CROPS as the basis of nearly any given society, in the past as well as in the present, classical Chinese writings frequently stress the importance of agriculture:

When the granaries are well filled, the people will obey the laws and the rules of courtesy. When garments and food suffice for their needs, they will distinguish between honor and shame.²

Thus, farming is crucial to the building of a society for it secures people's livelihoods by providing food, clothes and shelter. In the end, it is required for maintaining peace and works as the foundation for education. This view on farming is located at the very heart of Confucian philosophy and understanding of agriculture's impact on political actions and vice versa.

Chinese writings were the main authoritative sources of knowledge in Japan for a considerable time and books imported from the continent dealing with agriculture can be traced back to the 9th century.³ But access to these works was limited to an elite group, who were uninterested in detailed information about farming itself. Therefore, elaborate works like the *Qí-mín yāo-shù* [Main Techniques for the Welfare of the People; around 550] were mainly used by court physicians for adopting the botanic-pharmacological *honzôgaku* [Teachings on materia medica], and by scholars of the related *meibutsugaku* [Teaching about the naming of things] to assign Chinese characters to plants and herbs growing on the Japanese archipelago.

Writings about agriculture composed in Japan can be dated back as early as the 8th century, when Empress Genmei (661-721) ordered the compilation of the *fudoki* [Chronicles of Wind and Earth] in 713. The *fudoki* contain geographical, mythical and ethnological information, as well as content about farming and agricultural products of all provinces. Compiled solely for being used at court they cannot be described as *nôsho*. So what then exactly can be classified as *nôsho*?

The genre trouble

The aforementioned works are of a rather encyclopaedic character used by a small elite group, or are concerned

with the administrative aspects of agriculture and other knowledge necessary for government officials. In contrast, many *nôsho* show a more practical approach to farming and are mostly packed with down-to-earth advice for tax paying farmers. This can be described as one key feature of the *nôsho*; simultaneously, it gives us a hint about who authored them, and reflects the time they came into being.

The historian Richard Rubinger states, about the spread of popular literacy in early modern Japan, that most commoners in the countryside obtained rudimentary reading and writing skills (*tenarai*) through the hands of temple and shrine priests, or at private writing schools in urban areas. But as the village leaders' function was to mediate between the peasants and government officials, they required advanced literacy training at a competitive high level. Such sophisticated education was received within these elite families during most of the Tokugawa period, which is why many of the texts now classified as *nôsho* emerged from the strata of the rural elite. As handwritten documents they were initially passed down from one family head to his successor and possibly considered as secret wisdom, carefully preserved to secure the family's prosperity.

Due to differences in the individual family's engagement in agribusiness, local and social background, access to and participation in market places and, of course, the authors' literary skills, content and form of these *nôsho* vary greatly. In addition to advice about cultivation they even include diaries about farming activities, calendars and weather conditions, accounting books showing expenses for tools, seed and fertilizer, prices and revenues of crops, but also essays on (Confucian) morals and ethics.

Similarly, the language used in the documents ranges from Chinese (*kanbun*) and epistolary style (*sôrôbun*) to the most frequently used mixture of *kana* syllables and Chinese characters with their readings (*furigana*) given additionally. Handwritten texts on morals and ethics may have been used as a family's private teaching materials and house records were hardly intended for readers from outside. However,

the illustrated woodblock-printed manuals in a comprehensible style were obviously meant for a wider audience. They were most possibly addressed to (other) village headmen, for they were able to read and explain their content, thereby spreading advanced knowledge about economics and farming to the semi- and illiterate.

The emergence of *nôsho*

According to the historian Tsukuba Hisaharu, Japan's written culture was without *nôsho* well until the early modern times. In this time peace prevailed under the Tokugawa hegemony, but Japan was largely secluded, by governmental edict, from nearly any direct contact with the rest of the world. Likewise, the worlds of the former landowning warriors and peasants became separated, transforming the first group into a bureaucratic elite, paid in rice stipends to be produced by the latter. But commercial growth, the spread of the monetary system and diversification of economy paved the way for the emergence of written essays focusing on the needs of the peasantry.

The samurai Doi Seiryô (1546-1629) of Iyo province on Shikoku, for example, states in his *Seiryôki* [Chronicles of Seiryô; published around 1629-54], that it is the ruler's obligation to stipulate agrarian output in order to relieve people from hunger and suffering. This stipulation has to be made effective by educating the farmers. The *Seiryôki* is considered to be the first *nôsho* of its kind and the first work registered in the *Nihon nôsho zenshû* [Compiled Nôsho of Japan; 1977-1999], which lists more than 300 works from before the year 1888. So to say, the *nôsho* of Japan rooted in the grounds of agriculture already conducted for a great many of centuries and also sprouted off the ideological seeds of Confucian ethics and thinking about economy, but came into bloom only quite recently.

The Compendium of Agriculture

Of all *nôsho*, the *Nôgyô zensho* [Compendium of Agriculture; 1697] by Miyazaki Yasusada (1623-1697) stands alone as the great prototype of early modern Japanese treatises on agriculture and went through several reprints during the whole Tokugawa era. Miyazaki was of samurai descent and the son of a commissioner for forestry affairs (*sanrin bugyô*) in the territory of Aki province on Kyushu. He became acquainted with the subject early on, and possessed the literary skills to consult authoritative Chinese works, most specifically the *Nóng-zhèng quán-shū* [Compendium of Agricultural Administration; 1639] by Xú Guāng-qī (1562-1633).

Even though its structural influence is evident in Miyazaki's own Compendium, his endeavour went beyond a mere repetition and transportation of Chinese knowledge. He travelled the countryside, interviewed the old and skilled peasants (*rônô*), and built up his own empirical farming experiences during almost forty years. This enabled him to review the Chinese texts, select the most useful information, and adjust them to the conditions in Japan. It is one of the most striking features of the *Nôgyô zensho*, for it reflects Miyazaki's approach to a synthesis of theory and practical experience; an approach adopted by later authors, like Sunagawa Yasui for the compilation of his *Nôjutsu kansaiki* [Accurate record of the mirror of agricultural techniques; 1723].⁴

In ten volumes, Miyazaki provides basic information on soil preparation, selection of seeds, the right time of sowing, irrigation, harvesting and the like – familiar issues of cultivation. In addition to the common practice of using manure and waste, Miyazaki promotes the use of commercial fertilizers such as dried fish and seed cakes left from oil pressing. This demonstrates the high levels of commerce that Japanese agriculture was involved in; at least in the most advanced areas in the south-west, or close to cities and suburbs. Regional and climatic differences are acknowledged by, for example, Hosoi Yoshimaro (?-1788), who takes information from the *Compendium* and adapts it to his home region in his *Nôgyô toki no shiori* [Bookmark for the time of farming; 1785].

The eleventh volume was added by Kaibara Rakken (1625-1702), older brother to the famous Neo-Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), and deals with the administrative aspects Miyazaki skipped almost entirely. Miyazaki's focus on the needs of peasants, and the practical use of a revised theoretical knowledge transmitted in vernacular Japanese, shows that the *Compendium* was not intended to be a text for scholarly discussion or government officials, but to be a guidebook for the economic benefits of the Japanese farmers. Although Miyazaki's outstanding role in the history of Japanese writing on agricultural matters is widely acknowledged and perpetually mentioned by Western scholars, his impact on many of the following authors of *nôsho* (throughout the Tokugawa era) regarding content, structure and even methodological approach is not thoroughly recognised.

On studying agricultural guidebooks of early modern Japan¹

Fig. 1: *Nōgyō zensho*, woodblock-print dated 1815. Table of content listing the first seven out of eleven chapters with the heading of each section and number of plant specimens contained.

Fig. 2: *Nōgyō zensho*, woodblock-print dated 1815. First page of the 6th volume titled *San sō no rui* [Varieties of the three grasses (shrubs)], with instructions for the proper cultivation of the cash-crop cotton (*kiwata*).

Fig. 3: *Nōgyō zensho*, woodblock-print dated 1815. Two pages from a series of ten scenes called *Nōgyō no zu* [Images of farming], depicting the cultivation of rice: preparing the paddy fields, planting the rice seedlings, irrigation, harvest and finally the measuring and taxation of the threshed rice by officials. The pages shown demonstrate severe damage done by bookworm.

Fig. 4: *Nōgyō zensho*, woodblock-print dated 1815. Two pages from a series of ten scenes called *Nōgyō no zu* [Images of farming]. The pages shown demonstrate severe damage done by bookworm.



4.

As expressed at the beginning of this article, the limited interest of western scholars for *nōsho* seems to reflect the belief that agricultural writings in general are not a prolific source. Additionally, in spite of being subsumed under one generic category, their diverse content and style may perhaps confuse and discourage interested scholars. Yet they are a treasure trove ready to be discovered.

Guides for the world of today

While Miyazaki complained in his 1697 *Compendium* that highly educated government officials or scholars have neither interest in nor knowledge about agriculture and therefore are not capable of educating the people properly in these matters, the farmer and philosopher Fukuoka Masanobu described quite a similar view in 1975: "Because the Ministry of Agriculture has no clear idea of what should be grown in the first place, and because it does not understand the connection between what is grown in the fields and the people's diet, a consistent agricultural policy remains an impossibility. [...] Until now the line of thought among modern economists has been that small scale, self-sufficient farming is wrong – that it is a primitive kind of agriculture – one that should be eliminated as soon as possible."⁵

Fortunately, the situation may start to change as international organisations involved in development cooperation, like the United Nations, today openly discuss how current systems of extensive agriculture create more problems than they are able to solve in the short term. But in spite of scientific evidence and experiences from around the globe, the most prevailing view is still that small scale, intensive farming is unproductive and that indigenous knowledge is backward; this view also continues to be promoted by multinational corporations.⁶

In this respect, it is not my opinion that the *nōsho* of early modern Japan show us a way 'back to paradise'; scholars and statesmen in China and Japan alike tried to abandon a money-economy along with its negative side effects, and return to the past conditions of a mythical golden age of the sages, and failed. Nevertheless, early modern Japanese *nōsho* reveal attempts to respond to the intertwined social,

environmental and economic problems such as partial rural depopulation, speculation, soil erosion, etc., which are major reasons for increasing poverty, and issues of food security and food sovereignty. These topics are ones that can also be found in today's newspapers, and which can easily be expanded into discussions about social and ecological sustainability and challenges for energy supply, as was done recently in The Newsletter by Mairon Bastos Lima.⁷ The *nōsho* of early modern Japan might shed some light on current global challenges from a historic perspective and help us to modify the pejorative view on small-scale agriculture.

Looking at early modern Japan, with its secluded economy heavily dependent on agriculture and the cultivation of crops, with the taxes and salaries of the bureaucratic officials paid in kind – essays that enhance the agricultural output in various ways touch on every economical, social and cultural aspect of everyday life then, and continue to do so today. Although only described briefly here, the statements made so far don't question why one should study the agricultural writings of early modern Japan, but why they aren't studied more. Like the popular literature of the townspeople was once too profane for scholarly attention, the various *nōsho* still appear to be purposely overlooked; I do hope that one day they will be reconsidered and recognised as objects for further study.

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Notes

- I deeply acknowledge my debt to Professor Klaus Müller, whose unpublished thesis about the agricultural writings of early modern Japan of 1976 encouraged my studies and the writing of this article.
- T'an, Po-fu (et al.). 1954. *Economic dialogues in ancient China: selections from the Kuan-tzū, a book written probably three centuries before Christ*, Illinois: Maverick, p.31.
- As listed in the *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku* [Catalogue of books currently in Japan] compiled in the 9th century.
- Most possibly a pen name, life dates unknown. See Tokunaga, 1994: 403-404.
- See Fukuoka, 2009: 108.
- Crops of the Future - How to feed the world in 2050?* Documentary by Marie-Monique Robin, shown on the German/Francophone programme ARTE on 4 September 2012.
- Based on a chapter of *Secure Oil and Alternative Energy* (Amineh & Yang 2012), Mairon Bastos Lima points out the importance of involving small-scale farmers in national programs to reduce rural-urban migration and thus fighting poverty for Brazil. Bastos Lima, M. 2012. 'The Brazilian biofuel industry: achievements, challenges and geopolitics', *The Newsletter*, Vol. 62, Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, p.35.

All pictures courtesy of Professor Wolfgang Michel.

More on Singapore's Bukit Brown

The Opinion



There is pressure world-wide concerning how societies, and nation states more specifically, manage their dead. On the one hand, there is the practical consideration of body disposal at the time of death. On the other, there are social and cultural considerations that link to beliefs and identities and which are important for social stability and cultural sustainability within and across communities. Such value systems are under threat because of the infrastructural and spatial needs of growing populations, particularly in urban spaces.

Ian Leonard Cook

SINGAPORE IS NO EXCEPTION, and neither is Sydney where I live. On ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission) radio, 22 December 2012, Tom Nightingale reported that: "Sydney cemeteries are set to run out of space in just over 20 years and authorities are hinting at the possibility of reusing old graves." He also commented that legislation would most likely be tabled in the New South Wales (NSW) State Parliament in early 2013.

Further afield, a recent post on the 'illicit-cultural-property.blogspot.com.au' (16 January 2013) reports on an Associated Press story where "In Egypt at the Dahshour necropolis, modern cemetery expansion and looting are putting the much older pharaonic necropolis at risk." Such urban pressures are not a recent phenomenon, and they were not always about burial space per se, but space for purposes such as civic amenities and infrastructure development. For example, the principal cemetery for the colony of NSW (1793-1820) made way for the construction of Sydney's Town Hall in the 1860s and the exhumation of some 50,000 graves from Singapore's century-old Bidadari (Christian, Muslim and Hindu) Cemetery was undertaken from 2001 to build public housing.¹ The history of reclaiming cemetery land in recent times in Singapore goes back to the 1820s, which is not surprising (the total land area of the island is about 700 square kilometers with an expanding population and commensurate infrastructure requirements). The pressures to reuse cemetery land to meet population growth continue because it is conveniently accessible, inexpensive to recycle and to date, associated with low political risk.

World population stands at a little over seven billion people and the annual global mortality rate is approximately 56 million. This represents about 0.8% of the total population and by any reckoning represents an enormous number of bodies to be disposed of in one way or another. Moving from the global to the local, Singapore's population in 2012 was 5.31 million and included 3.82 million residents consisting of 3.29 million citizens and 533,000 permanent residents.² The total number of deaths in 2011 for Singapore was 18,027 (approximately 0.5% of the resident population) and while not all these peoples' remains stayed in Singapore,

one would think that the majority were cremated or buried on the island and that is where they will stay, or will they?

Connections, corridors, and communities

I was fortunate to attend the 3rd Conference of the Asian Borderlands Research Network held last September in Singapore (see the conference report in The Network pages of this publication). The theme of the conference focused on the exploration of ideas and research associated with 'connections, corridors, and communities' in the borderlands context. Cemeteries in general and more specifically, memorials, graves and columbariums are borderlands of a sort. Out-of-session conference chatter can prove very useful and the Singapore conference was no exception. During an after-dinner conversation, Michiel Baas (IIAS/ARI) suggested that my wife and I visit the Bukit Brown Cemetery while we were in Singapore.³ In retrospect the experience seemed particularly relevant to the conference program.

Bukit Brown provides connections between important aspects of Singapore's past and present, an ecological corridor linking key green areas on the island as well as a doorway into the intricacy and complexity of Chinese culture, especially that associated with migrants from Fujian and other Southern Chinese provinces. Bukit Brown provides a wonderful window into the Chinese clan system, filial piety and geomancy. It is a valuable genealogical resource and a gateway into Singapore's recent history and Chinese relations with the colonial administration up to the time of independence and in the early years of post-independence.

Bukit Brown cemetery is the largest Chinese cemetery outside China. With approximately 100,000 graves it is a remarkable historical space, even in international terms.⁴ While the cemetery has been closed since 1972 and neglected to some extent over the last forty years, it has had its enthusiasts. Recently there has been a renaissance of interest because its integrity is under immediate threat from road building and its longevity is in doubt because of plans to use the cemetery for a housing estate. A quick Internet search on Bukit Brown

reveals the extent to which the cemetery has become a site for community engagement, a place for recreation, reflection and celebration – all important ingredients for identity-making and nation building and hence cultural sustainability. Hui Yew-Foong's article in the winter 2012 issue of *The Newsletter* (issue #62, p.44) frames many of these issues very clearly. And even on a first visit it is evident that the cemetery holds a vast amount of historical, cultural and social information that could provide a multi-layered and rich resource for local, regional and international researchers and scholars for many years to come.

Intergenerational ethics

Bukit Brown is in danger because of the competition for space in Singapore. This includes space for both housing and infrastructure. The Urban Redevelopment Authority announced that Bukit Brown Municipal Cemetery was earmarked for housing in 2011.⁵ In a response to a Government announcement in March 2012 regarding the construction of an eight-lane road, including a vehicular bridge, through Bukit Brown cemetery, the Singapore Heritage Society commented: "While we acknowledge the efforts to minimize disruption, the Singapore Heritage Society still has the following reservations. The 8-lane highway will destroy almost 4000 graves as well as the key landmarks of the internal road network, such as the main roundabout and the main gate, all of which form a central part of people's social memories of Bukit Brown."⁶

Protecting historical spaces as an anchor for memory, identity and local distinctiveness is an issue about integrity and authenticity; so snipping off bits of the whole interferes with the significance of the whole, devaluing the space and consequently impacting on its intrinsic value, social wellbeing and social function. It also impacts on potential instrumental values related to economic opportunities such as tourism, as well as education and the broad foundation of nation-building. Such discussion can be approached through the lens of heritage management and that will be pursued shortly, but before then, I would like to reflect on Bukit Brown's future in the context of intergenerational ethics. Essentially,

do we (as insiders or in my specific case, outsiders) owe those that have contributed to the building of Singapore, or more generally the world we live in, any special consideration regarding the protection (maintenance of the integrity) of their burial sites? And should this apply universally or only in special circumstances? I'll get back to this.

Stephen M. Gardiner's discussion of intergenerational ethics with respect to climate change, in his book *A Perfect Moral Storm: The Ethical Tragedy of Climate Change*,⁷ is appealing in his argument about the responsibilities of the current generation (especially those in developed and rapidly developing nations) regarding the wellbeing of future generations that very probably will bear the brunt of our current behavior with respect to the production of carbon dioxide through the unbridled use of fossil fuels. Is this thinking relevant to the Bukit Brown case/situation? Is there an ethics associated with those who have gone before us that is beyond identity making and nation building and if there is, why should we behave ethically? There will be no repercussions if we behave badly, or will there be?

I can't help thinking that Bukit Brown does fall under the umbrella of issues that Gardiner associates with 'a perfect moral storm' and our responsibilities to future generations. If this is true, how should we approach such a problem, and is the past so fundamentally linked to the present and the future, that past, present and future generations cannot be treated without proper regard in the way nations are managed today? My view is that if you cannot respect the ideas, values and actions of those who have contributed to our present through respect for their places of burial, then we are on shaky grounds for leading an ethical life now, and for protecting the interests of those that will follow us.

Heritage, symbolism, significance

In looking at Bukit Brown through a heritage lens there are two further issues that are worth consideration. The first relates to heritage and the utilitarian value of Bukit Brown, in particular the significance of the cemetery as a heritage place both in terms of tangible and intangible heritage and the second, concerns the powerful symbolic meaning of the place, particularly at a personal level.

While Bukit Brown's fate might be decided, there are many questions that seem relevant still. For example:

- What intrinsic and instrumental values does Bukit Brown display or reveal?
- Does it provide a breathing space in a highly urbanized environment?
- Does it represent an outstanding entry way into Chinese and in particular Hokkien and Teochew culture: geomancy and feng shui, etc., and is this important?
- Does Bukit Brown have economic/utilitarian value other than space for housing and infrastructure/transportation development and if so what might those benefits be?
- Could Bukit Brown contribute to local environmental sustainability?
- Can it play a part, even if a small one, in contributing to climate change mitigation?
- Could Bukit Brown form a cornerstone in Singapore's commitment to protect the lives and ways of living of future Singaporeans by acknowledging this particular, past population of residents who have contributed to the building of the nation and how might this be done?

If Bukit Brown has both environmental and cultural significance, possibly of substantial value or even outstanding universal value, then an integrated environmental impact assessment for both the planned roadway and the flagged future housing estate would have been, or would be, meaningful in terms of the 'moral storm' argument. Similarly, the economic contribution of the road development and future housing proposal could have been, or could be, usefully assessed by alternative cost benefit strategies for keeping or destroying Bukit Brown. One might enquire, for example, whether current approaches to meeting transport needs, with their focus on the automobile (influenced by international thinking from as long ago as the 1930s, from the likes of Robert Moses in New York),⁸ continue to be relevant, notwithstanding tensions between population growth, infrastructure needs and evolving community aspirations for high standards of living with strong links to private automobile use.

A key question that is worth exploring is whether the current fabric of Bukit Brown is of sufficient significance that it could be listed on the World Heritage List (WHL)?⁹ And if it were, what would be the benefits to Singaporeans in economic and social terms. The latter being part of a separate, but associated symbolic value argument for the long-term sustainability of the nation from tourism earnings (in its broadest definition – cultural and educational) as well as political, diplomatic and strategic benefits.



Fig. 1: Bukit Brown: a cultural landscape of outstanding significance.

Fig. 2: A sign in Bukit Brown locating the proposed road through the cemetery and outlining procedures to register a claim on a grave prior to exhumation.

Fig. 3: Just one in 100,000. The grave that moved me to write the article.

Fig. 4: Simplicity in form - transcendental in value. One of many graves in the profoundly rich cultural landscape of Bukit Brown.

Fig. 5: A detail of one of the pair of beautifully carved 'demon scaring' lions protecting the grave.

World heritage site

The Nature Society (Singapore) advocates that the entire 233 hectares of Bukit Brown be designated as a heritage park with the cultural and nature/ecological components integrated as one entire entity. They also state: "The heritage park could eventually be proposed to the UN as a UNESCO World Heritage site to attract tourists and other visitors, but more importantly to showcase the surprising cultural, historical, and biodiversity wealth that Singapore holds."¹⁰

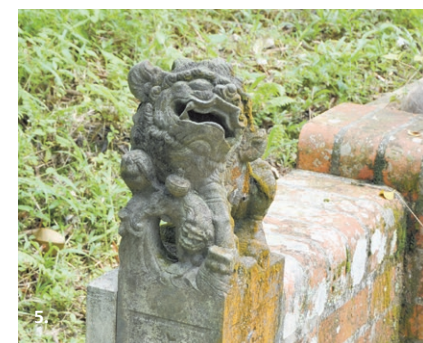
In the press release announcing the Singapore Heritage Society's position paper on Bukit Brown Cemetery,¹¹ the Society states that "Among other things, the paper puts forth three recommendations, namely, gazetting Bukit Brown as a heritage site for legal protection; full documentation of Bukit Brown; and turning it into a heritage park for Singaporeans to enjoy." These recommendations represent a valuable first step for securing the integrity of the place and working towards examining the feasibility of World Heritage listing. In this context it is worth reviewing what appear to be the most relevant criteria for assessing the appropriateness of a WH proposal. Of the ten criteria¹² the following may be relevant:

- to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

Furthermore, the World Heritage Committee states that the protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations. Since 1992 significant interactions between people and the natural environment have been recognized as cultural landscapes. If Bukit Brown has outstanding universal value it will be as a significant global cultural landscape. Notwithstanding the above, is the heritage value of Bukit Brown also important for Singapore's nation-building effort? And if it is, then it needs to be protected formally through legislation whether or not WH listing is seen in a positive light and achievable.

Personal reflection

I have asked myself why my short visit to Bukit Brown made such a strong impression? It is a special place where immediate engagement is possible despite temporal and cultural differences. My impressions of this heritage landscape reflect both the cultural landscape and the beauty of the natural park-like setting and its associated flora and fauna. Some of the trees are truly majestic and I had the good fortune to stumble across a fine monitor lizard carrying out its daily round. Bukit Brown is a place where one can reflect on the human condition – how we respond to the past, present and future. The aesthetic and historical character of this cultural landscape is both rich and substantial. At Bukit



Brown there are many graves, some beautiful, some humble and some reflecting the power and wealth of their occupants. There was one grave that proved pivotal to my Bukit Brown experience – it moved me to write this piece. I don't know who this woman was or what she did in her life, but I do know that her life was important in the way that all our lives are important. I do hope her resting place will be shown the respect it deserves.

Before ending I would like to return to the beginning and the dilemma of the remains of the dead and where, whether and how they should be preserved. In particular, is there a position between the pragmatics of recycling cemeteries for various purposes – from health management to the pressing needs of growth – and an appropriate ethics of respect that acknowledges the interconnectedness of past, present and future, and which is more than mere tokenism? If there is, how might it be shaped and applied. Could such an approach accommodate a scope that is universal rather than just for special cases such as Bukit Brown? Somehow an ethic for 'sometimes' doesn't seem right, yet there seems to be no other option considering the immensity of the problem. Pursuing what can be preserved when it can has its shortcomings from the perspective of a global intergenerational ethic concerning the remains of the dead. Such an ethic, nevertheless, may provide a useful reference point for the way communities might consider or frame their actions to protect what they hold dear.

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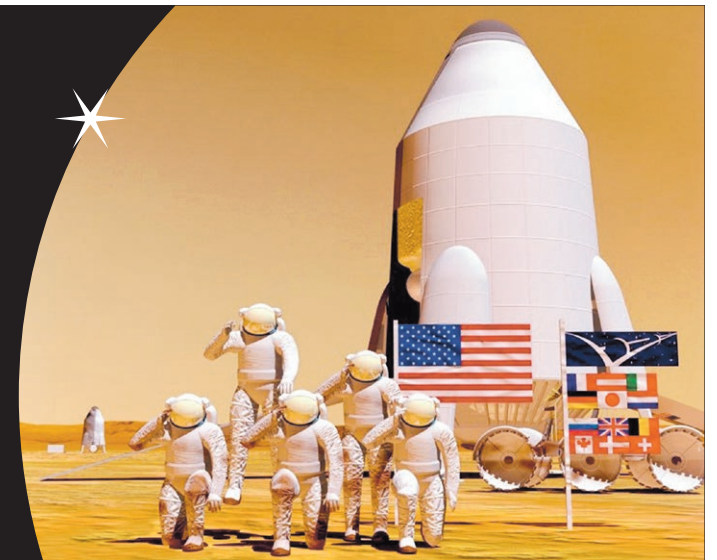
Notes

- 1 Tan, Kevin YL. 2011. 'Introduction: The Death of Cemeteries in Singapore', *Spaces of the Dead*, p.18; Williams, S. 2011. 'The Bidadari Christian Cemetery', *Spaces of the Dead*, p.114-169.
- 2 *Population Trends 2012*, Department of Statistics, Singapore. In addition to the figures quoted there is a non-resident population of 1.49 million.
- 3 Bukit Brown Cemetery actually consists of two cemeteries – Bukit Brown and She Ong Cemetery. For the purpose of this article Bukit Brown is used generically to stand for both places.
- 4 *Position Paper on Bukit Brown*, Singapore Heritage Society, prepared by Terence Chong, January 2012.
- 5 *Ibid*, p11.
- 6 *SHS response to announced road alignment at Bukit Brown*, Statement by Singapore Heritage Society, 21 March 2012.
- 7 Gardiner, SM. 2011. *A Perfect Moral Storm. The Ethical Tragedy of Climate Change*, Oxford University Press.
- 8 Burns, Ric (director). 2001. *New York: A Documentary Film. Episode 6: City of Tomorrow*. A Steeplechase Films production.
- 9 The irony here is that World Heritage listing is the business of UN member states. There is no opportunity for citizens to propose a listing. It must be made by the appropriate state.
- 10 *Nature Society (Singapore)'s Position on Bukit Brown*, 12 December 2011.
- 11 *SHS Press Release: Position Paper on Bukit Brown published!*, February 2012, available at www.singaporeheritage.org (accessed 6 January 2013).
- 12 whc.unesco.org/en/criteria (accessed 25 January 2013).

China and the International Space Station (ISS): China's distance from the project

According to most historiography regarding ISS partnerships and policies, China's involvement with its creation and on-going development has been insignificant despite it being the first major cooperative space science project in history. As the third country to establish a substantial human space exploration program using viable manned spacecraft, China's association with other spacefaring nations confirms the technological linkages and political climate, which suggests significance between the Chinese space program and political dynamics.

Kimberly O'Brien



TO UNDERSTAND THE CAUSES of the strategic political relationship between the United States and China, one must understand the underlying socio-political mechanisms that led to China's isolation from the Project. Had a partnership between the United States and China transpired sooner, progress within the foundational years of the ISS life span, to include its financing and technical capabilities, would have allowed for the U.S.-China cultural/political relationship to stabilize and cultivate a space partnership. Government-to-government talks would have provided mutual and cost-effective outcomes.

International essence

With the space station being the first and largest international scientific project, its history produces a wide-range of mixed perspectives and meanings. At present day, the ISS is managed and maintained by multiple nations as it orbits the earth with added modules and segments from different partners around the world. The ISS view reflects an international essence with the Russian Soyuz spacecraft, Zarya Control Module, Zvezda Service Module, and Unity Node; Japanese Kibo laboratory, robotic arm, and Experiment Logistics Module Exposed Section; Italian-built Node 2, Harmony pressurized module, ESA's Columbus research module; Canadian Dextre robotic device and Canadarm2; in addition to American components.¹ Yet, China is not among them. China's seclusion amidst the global enthusiasm and accomplishments may be explained by the political framework and global environment that was in place prior to the development of ISS.

Long before the International Space Station secured its title in 1998, the U.S. was acclimating to the idea of a collaborative space project, while China remained seemingly withdrawn. Before the formation of the ISS, U.S. initiatives for foreign participation and technology sharing set the precedence for the first and largest scientific undertaking under peaceful auspices. Because the origins of the ISS political framework were U.S.-oriented, compatibility with U.S. policies made it difficult for China to obtain an invitation to the Project.

There are two theoretical frameworks that best examine the American-Chinese political construct between the two nations: *military strategy versus civil cooperation and U.S. influence on space policies and space technologies*. These themes illustrate the ISS as an instrument for foreign policy making, especially for the U.S.

U.S. influence on space affairs

U.S. success during the formational years of space policy and ISS history had much to do with the international socio-political setting. In the years leading up to the Cold War, U.S. space policy was dually conducted for separate objectives – one towards national security and the other towards civil activities. Conclusion of the Cold War meant new possibilities for space cooperation. International cooperation was very important for nations to be successful towards space-related initiatives because of funding and required advanced technologies. The early years of space collaboration, though complicated to say the least, helped align international policies and agreements towards outer space objectives for leading spacefaring nations. The ISS represented this kind of cooperation through science. Because the ISS was historically assembled through international cooperation, China's selective nature in the international setting and inaccessible space program during those years were some of the principal factors that kept the country from gaining a substantial role in the making of the ISS. The U.S. became the choice partner for space-related activities not only for its expertise, but for its willingness to share information. Clearly the foundation was set for potential partnerships in space-related ventures, but the task proved to be arduous work. During the development of a U.S.-led space station, it was difficult to obtain a consensus on how to systematically provide terms and solutions with

potential partners. The European Space Agency (ESA) eventually accepted the U.S. invitation to the space station project, as long as it would be looked upon as an *international* space station rather than a U.S. space station (though the U.S. viewed this differently and remained in the leading role). The U.S. understood the importance of ESA's partnership because of their, compared to other potential partners, stronger financial and political position. Furthermore, most notable space initiatives during this time were U.S.-led, which meant that international cooperation was inherently partial to U.S. interests.

Military versus civil objectives

U.S.-China space cooperation can be best described as a causal relationship. With such vast dissimilarities between the governments and internal management, both nations have answered each other's space mission successes with strategic reaction. In order for space cooperation between the U.S. and China to evolve, national security concerns surrounding sensitive technologies must be addressed. In the early 1970's, the U.S. lifted its technology embargo against China, but no real progress was made at that time. The U.S.-China relationship in science and technology (S&T) began in 1979 with the Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology, which offered a tangible opportunity for cooperation. Unprecedented in their political background, the China-U.S. S&T agreement eased strict technology transfer and export controls, though it was short-lived. In the report *Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China*, submitted by Representative Christopher Cox, the PRC transfer of ballistic missile technology to Pakistan (a non-Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) country) in 1991, caused the U.S. to apply sanctions through the MTCR Annex and denied export licensure.² Such sanctions were also enforced on China's aerospace industries, Chinese Academy of Space Technology, China Aerospace Corporation, China National Space Administration (CNSA), and other related organizations. New legislation and policies post Tiananmen Square also led to the prohibition of export licenses for U.S.-built satellites on PRC rockets, munitions, and crime equipment.

China's close relationship between military and civil ambitions has been the greatest factor impeding China's partnership with the ISS. In China, satellite and space technology usage often have dual purposes. Since space control systems have proven to be vital during wartime efforts, global competition for space control and resources has escalated. As an economic venue and military outpost for surveillance/targeting, the military threat and supremacy within the space domain continues to be a critical factor for space partnerships.

In order for China to be able to address the challenges for ISS partnership, the political setting must first adjust to information sharing, commercialization and NGO-management of the ISS as it departs from its military roots. First of all, NGO administration would provide China with opportunities to engage with U.S. organizations more receptive to cooperation, though they still have to adhere to agreements and regulations at the state-level. Secondly, commercialization has provided external funding from spin-offs on space technology. Finally, China's involvement in space cooperation for non-military objectives has been important for the country's image, especially if China hopes to join the ISS partnership in the future.

Involving countries such as Brazil, Italy, Germany, Russia, Argentina, Chile, Japan, Britain, and Ukraine, China's history of space cooperation has included technology development, scholarly exchanges, and commercial space services. China's role in space accountability and multilateral cooperation continue to be beneficial in networking and connecting it within the global space community, such as the United Nations

Above: From the Johnson Space Center collection: digital artists' concepts promoting future collaboration and the International Space Station. (NASA/courtesy of nasaimages.org.)

Office of Outer Space Affairs. Through such global forums, the strategic relationship between China and the U.S. can yield socio-political solutions on civil cooperation versus military objectives.

The surviving China-U.S. Understanding on Cooperation in Space Technology agreement has given both nations the opportunity to use peaceful approaches for outer space activities. The U.S. and China have participated in other space-related activities such as geodynamics/plate tectonics research projects and multilateral cooperation for the Committee on Earth Observation Satellites. The Alpha-Magnetic Spectrometer (AMS) program, a research experiment program from the ISS involving the Chinese government-sponsored researchers, NASA, and the U.S. Department of Energy, has also brought the nations closer to space cooperation.³ AMS has been able to link China and the U.S. together towards ISS participation on a small-scale.

In contemporary challenges, Irene Klotz' *New Scientist* article mentioned how NASA modified the Orion module of the ISS to be technically compatible with Chinese spacecraft when the agency looked ahead to the Shuttle replacement, as well as extended space tracking services to assist China's Shenzhou missions to avoid debris.⁴ It is apparent that U.S.-China space cooperation will improve. Both the indirect and direct benefits from China's space program to the ISS have shown that cooperative efforts can achieve important solutions for ISS future capabilities. If the risks associated with Chinese commercial and technical involvement are comparable to tolerable losses from Russian or other ISS partnership shortfalls, it is arguable that China could be an acceptable benefactor of the ISS project.

Conclusion

In summary, the transformation of foreign policies and space program objectives, from the start of the twentieth century to the modern space age, has been closely aligned with the state of political affairs, particularly national security. Concerns that contributed to China's isolation with the ISS included their economy, foreign policies, ideology, and military aims. China's steady progress has strong implications for the ISS, particularly as ISS administration and support continually adopts innovative technical, commercial, financial, and cooperative solutions. Earlier involvement with China could have greatly improved the ISS' life span and technical capabilities, improved U.S.-China's cultural/political relationship, and relieved some financial strain on the Project. The likelihood that China would have accomplished significant developments in space as well as provided the ISS meaningful contributions is plausible considering the history of both nations' tenacity to succeed.

Kimberly O'Brien, an associate faculty member of Ashford University, holds her M.A. in Global History. She is also a member of the History of Science Society and Global Mentor Network for students (dont.stop@live.com).

Notes

- 1 Susan Wells. "International Space Station Overview," Boeing Defense, Space and Security, accessed 15 January 2013; <http://tinyurl.com/76ou4pw>.
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China's software struggle: five lessons from the Indian experience



China's remarkable state-led growth and rapid industrial development continues to beguile and amaze. It has brought plaudits from across the world and has even spawned a new development model – the Beijing Consensus. But away from the headlines there is one industry in which state intervention appears to be having little or no effect. An internationally competitive software services industry centered on large, domestic firms – prioritized by the Chinese Communist Party since 2000 and targeted accordingly – remains elusive. India's success in the same industry, however, provides several pointers for Chinese policymakers as to how their current software struggle could be overcome.

Jyoti Saraswati

DRAWING ON EVIDENCE from the successful development of the software services industry in India, this article identifies five policy lessons that may hold the key to China eventually succeeding in its bid to become a software services superpower.

Lesson 1: FDI is an outcome, not initiator, of software success

At the centre of Beijing's software strategy is Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in software services and also IT-enabled services (ITES), such as call-centers. The Chinese government believes such FDI will act as a catalyst for the growth of a wider and more advanced software services industry. Accordingly, it has sought to attract this FDI via the construction of an array of cyber-parks, replete with advanced telecommunications infrastructure and an array of subsidies and tax breaks for would-be exporters of software services and ITES.

The rationale for this strategy is the belief that IT-related FDI in cyber-parks ignited the rapid growth of the Indian software services industry. The belief is based on a 2001 report from the World Bank-affiliated International Finance Corporation titled *Leapfrogging? India's Information Technology Industry and the Internet*. The report, which has influenced IT policies from Beijing to Nairobi, asserts that "software exports, the earliest harbinger of a more widespread IT expansion, began only in 1985 when Texas Instruments established its subsidiary in Bangalore."¹

The problem is that this claim is erroneous. Software exports from India by local firms began in 1974, over a decade before Texas Instruments' Bangalore subsidiary was established, and facilitated by the Indian state's 1972 Software Export Scheme. Moreover, while Texas Instruments was certainly the first foreign transnational

corporation (TNC) to establish a software development centre in the country, IT-related FDI only began arriving in India *en masse* from 2000 onwards, once the success of Indian software firms had unequivocally demonstrated the viability of the country as an export platform for software services. As IT-related FDI was an outcome of India's software success, and not its initiator, Chinese policymakers need to re-evaluate the importance they give it.

Lesson 2: The domestic market is the spring board to export success

As the software services market in China is nascent, while the global software and ITES market is huge, exports have been seen to offer a more tantalizing and easier trajectory to growth. However, this policy position ignores the fact that an important precondition for the export success of Indian software firms was their earlier experience of serving the domestic market. The first Indian firm to export software services, Tata Consultancy Services (TCS), won its initial 1974 software export contract with the Institutional Group and Data Company, on the back of its experience of software provision for 15 Indian banks. Similarly, Computer Maintenance Corporation (CMC) won highly lucrative contracts with the London Underground and various P&O ports around the world on the basis of its earlier experience in major infrastructure-related software projects in India. Moreover, TCS and CMC are not anomalies. All other major Indian software firms also benefited from experience derived from domestic software service provision in some way or other. Beijing therefore needs to consider how China's internal market can be better utilized to enhance the competitiveness of local firms.

Lesson 3: Call-centers don't lead to higher-end software service exports

In terms of subsidies and tax breaks, the Chinese state has shown no distinction between call-centers serving Western customers and firms engaged in the export of software services. This is despite the former being little more than a glorified production line (white-collar sweatshops) and the latter being a higher value-added sector. The reason for this lack of discrimination is the assumption – based on Beijing's understanding of the Indian experience – that call-centers and other ITES provide the first step on a ladder to more advanced software service exports.

Again, this assumption bears no resemblance to how the software services industry developed in India. First, ITES exports via call-centers began at the turn of the century, more than 25 years after TCS first exported software from the country. Therefore call-centers, such as General Electric's New Delhi call-center, and Indian customer service companies such as Daksh, EXL and Spectramind who provided third party services for firms such as Amazon and Citibank, could not have been the first step in a transition to a software services industry. Moreover, these call-centers have not evolved into higher-end software services. The Indian third party customer service providers, for example, never developed into software service firms. Rather, most were acquired by software service firms, as such firms sought to integrate call-centers within their widening services portfolio.² And as overseas firms have shown a marked preference to keep higher-end services in their country of origin, the India-based TNC call-centers have also not witnessed any upgrading in the services they export. Thus, given that call-centers serving Western customers are unlikely to develop into units engaged in higher-end software service exports, Chinese policymakers need to reconsider whether such firms should still be entitled to the same benefits as companies engaged in the export of software services.

Lesson 4: Conducive market conditions are key to any rapid transformation of software firms into major industry players

The Chinese state has focused on getting its internal conditions 'right' with the assumption this will lead seamlessly to the growth of large, internationally competitive Chinese software service firms. The Indian experience, however, suggests that facilitative market conditions also play a key role in any rapid transformation of small software firms into significant industry players.

Most importantly, major Indian software firms such as TCS, Infosys and Wipro could not have transformed from niche operations to industry leaders were it not for the spectacular growth of the US software services market in the 1980s and 1990s, due to both the PC revolution and the growing phenomenon of firms outsourcing their non-core operations. In addition, the provision of basic software services to medium-sized businesses was relatively new and commercial relationships had not yet been cemented. Moreover, this was a market segment generally neglected by the major software service firms. As such, the market was wide open and provided an easy entry point for small, ambitious but well-run software service firms.

Finally, Indian software firms faced little competition in tapping this rapidly expanding and relatively open market. Advances in telecommunications allowed – in theory – firms from all over the developing world to undercut Western rivals by providing services by remote delivery from their home country. However, due to the Indian government's pioneering initiatives in developing a software industry, the only firms in the developing world with the capabilities and contacts to effectively exploit this opportunity were from India. It was these highly conducive market conditions that provided the basis for the best-managed Indians software firms to rapidly expand and transform themselves into major international players. China's timetabling regarding the growth of large domestic software service firms must, therefore, take into account market conditions.³

Lesson 5: There are hidden, and counter-intuitive, costs that come with software services success

The Chinese state assumes that the development of a thriving software services industry will boost IT diffusion (understood as the uptake of information technology by firms, schools and other institutions). This view is, however, overly simplistic. In poor countries it is important to appreciate that software piracy is the chief mechanism by which IT diffusion occurs. Moreover, the uptake of IT increases productivity and competitiveness for domestic firms, making IT diffusion an important facilitator of development. And so, governments with developmental agendas have tended to turn a blind-eye to software piracy, which can be a significant impediment to attracting IT-related FDI, or even a hindrance to the development of a software industry in general. There is, therefore, policy tension between promoting the development of a software services industry on the one hand and facilitating IT diffusion and its developmental returns on the other.

In India, this tension was resolved in favor of further developing the software services industry. Thus, the Indian government in New Delhi and the state governments with major IT hubs (e.g., Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh) have clamped down on software piracy with deleterious effects on IT diffusion. The software services industry in India was thus booming, but the country's international ranking in IT diffusion was plummeting.⁴ And within India, states with major Indian software hubs have seen their IT diffusion rankings fall *vis-a-vis* other Indian states with no software hubs.⁵ As such, Chinese policymakers need to acknowledge that success in software services can come at the expense of IT diffusion and the government needs to have an open and honest debate regarding the potential trade-offs involved in becoming a software services superpower.

From lessons to plans – a conclusion of sorts

For China to replicate Indian success, and also avoid or limit the costs that have come with it, a much closer reading of the Indian experience in software services is required. Only by understanding the historical, institutional and technological conditions by which the software services industry developed in India, can the appropriate lessons be drawn and a policy framework, specifically suited to the Chinese context, be devised.

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Notes

- 1 Robert Miller. 2001. *Leapfrogging? India's Information Technology Industry and the Internet*. Washington D.C.: International Finance Corporation, p.15.
- 2 For example, Spectramind was acquired by Wipro in 2002 with Daksh being purchased by IBM two years later.
- 3 These conditions have long since dissipated. The market has matured and major software service firms have started to concentrate on the lower-end market and have developed close relationships with clients. Moreover, as a result of the success of the Indian software services industry, there are now a myriad of developing country firms competing for contracts and destinations clamoring for investment.
- 4 United Nations Commission for Trade and Development (UNCTAD), <http://tinyurl.com/bnjzpef> (accessed 1 December 2012).
- 5 Bhubanandini Das. 2010. 'Across Indian States: Diffusion and Determinants of Information and Communications Technology,' PhD Workshop, Chennai, 19 March, <http://tinyurl.com/bszjakj> (accessed 1 December 2012).



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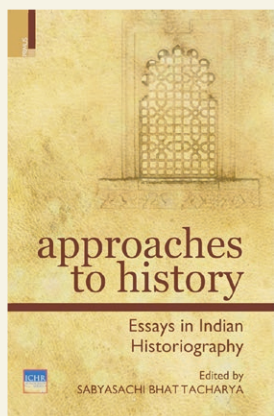
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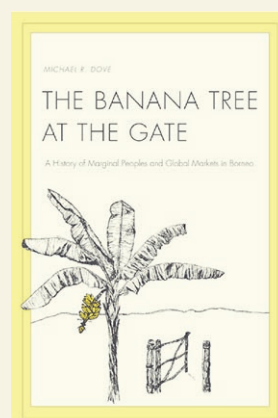
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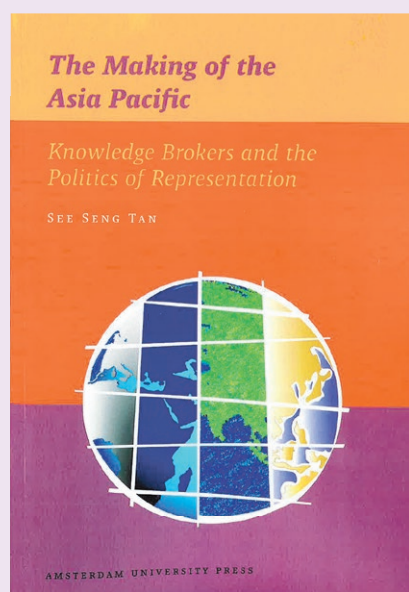
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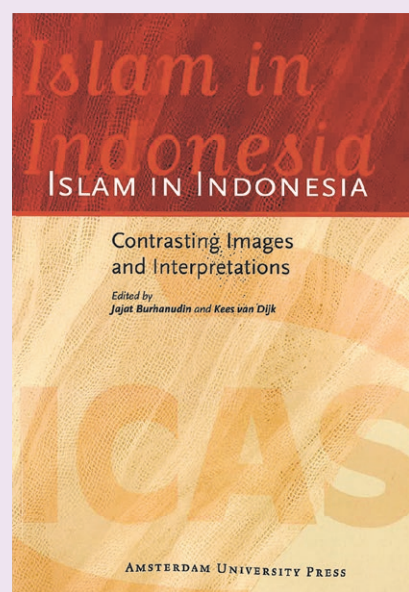


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Reassessing Qing provincial power

In recent years historians began the process of diverging from traditional, imperial-centric narratives within the historiography of China to address political, economic, social, and cultural variations at regional, local, and individual levels. The works that came out of this reassessment highlight how a singular, grand account of Chinese history overlooks peculiar and unique events that often do not fit precisely into the traditional mold. At the same time many of these 'bottom-up' works often failed to provide any historiographic relevance to larger historical patterns and events, leaving historians to debate the value of seemingly esoteric contributions to the scholarship. In *Qing Governors and Their Provinces*, R. Kent Guy attempts to bridge the imperial-local divide by studying the creation, maintenance, and flexibility of provincial bureaucracies – particularly the role of governors – during the early to mid-Qing dynasty.

Mathew Brundage



Reviewed publication: Guy, R. Kent. 2010. *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. xii + 445 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-99019-4 (Paperback)

HIS WORK FOCUSES ON ADDRESSING the disconnect between state-level demands and local-level events through the analysis of the appointment of and actions by governors, thereby creating a richer and much more detailed explanation of Qing governance through broad statistical analysis and a selection of specific examples.

Defining the development of bureaucratic practice and protocol

Utilizing official records and imperial biographies, *Qing Governors* is divided logically into two parts. The first half of the text looks at the process of provincial administration itself – its adaptation from Ming to Qing dynastic protocols and boundaries; the procedures by which emperors and/or bureaucrats selected, maintained, promoted, and demoted provincial leadership; the impact of 'unexpected' events on this system; and the overall movement from gubernatorial selection via imperial preference to a more bureaucratic system mostly free from the whims of Beijing. The second half breaks China into four distinct regions based on larger trends in imperial governance. These distinctions are defined by their 'spatial diversity', or the differences in the needs and methods of appointment to the regions and the practices within provincial governance (352). Guy shows how political requirements initially necessitated strong, more direct imperial influence in the north and northwest – the symbolic centers of Han and Manchu power. The lower Yangzi river region and the eastern coast underwent brief periods of micro-management, but their economic and geopolitical importance led them to be rapidly incorporated into the larger Qing polity.¹ Guy describes the upper Yangzi and the southeastern regions as important linchpins in Qing rule. He illustrates how stability resulted in provincial administration and promotion being based mostly on routine rather than imperial intervention as areas with fewer social or environmental problems (or with more economic clout in the case of Guangdong) experienced less outside interference from authorities in the capital. In the final chapter the author shows how direct influence, in the usage of the palace memorial system, allowed emperors to create unique relationships with governors through more frequent and detailed communications. These relationships aided in the expansion of Qing authority to the southwest through the transfer of knowledge that the memorial system facilitated.

Qing control vs. bureaucratic flexibility

The author positions his book within a similar provincial-level analysis to that found in Philip Kuhn's *Soulstealers*.² But whereas Kuhn sees an epidemic of sorcery accusations in the late eighteenth-century northeast as an example of an organizational breakdown within the system of imperial control over its provincial appendages, Guy presents a picture of a much more organized and dynamic structure, capable in most instances of overcoming the challenges posed by the 'spatial diversity' of each posting. He shows how this organization even extended to machinations of officials through unofficial channels of influence. Guy highlights a fascinating array of statistics showing how officials feigned illness, or caught the 'bureaucratic flu', when they wanted to get out of a troublesome appointment and still maintain their prestige. This tactic also worked when officials wanted to remain temporarily un-appointed in hopes of a promotion when a more desirable position was about to be vacated (141).

Guy identifies and utilizes shifts in bureaucratic protocol surrounding the assessment and transfer of provincial governors as a barometer for understanding the broader history of China during the Qing dynasty. He illustrates how the means and timing of provincial appointments reflected not only traditional bureaucratic systems and imperial prerogative, but also how local needs, national emergencies, and the whim of the emperor tested the built-in flexibilities of Qing rule. He concludes his text – by his own design – before the turn of the 19th century, as he admits that the shifts in the capability of the Qing to manage their empire declined significantly for a number of internal and external reasons. Perhaps one of the author's more striking conclusions is how he attributes this decline partially to that of crises forcing mid-Qing emperors, who relied more heavily on established bureaucratic procedure, to assign and promote officials utilizing the older method of emergency, individual appointments, thereby disrupting the status quo of the system.

Painting by Giuseppe Castiglione -
The Qianlong Emperor in Court Dress.

Beyond the surface of discourse



Edo Castle, from where the Tokugawa Shogunate ruled. Image reproduced under a Creative Commons license courtesy Flickr.com

Greater debate

A downside to the complexity and detail Guy presents is that the depth of the work is sometimes overwhelming, warranting at least a second read so as to fully grasp the overarching principles of the system and the examples that fit within these models. The author does not shy from highlighting the exceptions to the rules as well, creating a broad 'grey area' where unique events overrode general administrative patterns. If anything, the dynamism that Guy highlights in the ability of Qing provincial leadership to adapt to fluctuating imperial needs makes selecting examples that are relevant to more than one reign exceedingly difficult – though it does not make his selections (particularly accounts of intrigue and corruption) any less engrossing.

In the conclusion Guy briefly compares Chinese absolutism with that of contemporaneous European absolutist rulers. While accurate, in a text that inherently focuses on the internal dimensions of Qing rule, the comparisons to Europe seem tacked-on. They briefly address a topic that could comprise an entire comparative volume in its own right and add little to the main arguments beyond addressing Euro-centric scholarship that often dismisses the value of studying other political systems.

In the end Guy manages to muster and refine a daunting array of data into an extremely useful contribution. *Qing Governors and Their Provinces* certainly succeeds in creating linkages between imperial, regional, and local narratives, and Guy's more positive outlook on the capabilities of the Qing provincial bureaucracy is sure to spark greater debate over the true impact of Qing rule through the eighteenth century and beyond.

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Notes

- 1 Meyer-Fong, T. 2003. *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Tobie Meyer-Fong's work reinforces Guy's assertion of local integration in the east. Fong shows how imperial touring and patronage of public space allowed the central government to gradually, but effectively, co-opt the elite of Yangzhou into supporting Qing rule.
- 2 Kuhn, P. 1990. *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1786*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

As a society ruled by status, life in Tokugawa Japan was highly compartmentalized. People, food, clothing, books, everything was organized into discrete hierarchal categories. Even though research has already shown that *in practice* these categories were more fluid than previously assumed, rigid compartmentalization continued to be at the core of political discourse throughout the period. What should we make of this discrepancy between reality and discourse? Incompetent rulers simply fooling themselves? Not likely. After all, they did manage to squeeze out more than 250 years of enduring peace. In Roberts' new monograph, we are presented with a compelling answer to this conundrum as he sets out the 'cultural logic' through which apparent contradictions between political reality and discourse were reconciled and, in fact, made perfect sense to contemporaries.

Niels van Steenpaal

Reviewed publication: Roberts, Luke S. 2012. *Performing the Great Peace: Political Space and Open Secrets in Tokugawa Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 263pp + xiv, ISBN 978 0 8248 3513 2 (hardcover)

ROBERTS DISCERNs THIS 'CULTURAL LOGIC' in the distinction made between *omote* (outside) and *uchi* (inside) spaces. By delegating the authority over domains to warlords, the Tokugawa government had created a feudal system; a polity of "sealed-off spaces" that "permitted interiors and exteriors to be incongruent" (p.5). Whereas previous research, influenced by modern conceptions and expectations of a penetrating and all powerful state, have interpreted this incongruence as a sign of weakness on part of the *bakufu* (shogunate; military government) to enforce its policies, Roberts argues that to contemporaries it constituted an "ideal form of politics" (p.196). As long as domains showed subservience in the *omote* adherence to official regulations, the *bakufu* was not concerned with the details of its *uchi* politics. Any incongruence between the two was simply acknowledged as an "open secret", a "mutually arranged management" of disobedience (p.7).

Open secrets

The image that Roberts paints is that of a performed political order. "The ability to command performance of duty – in the thespian sense when actual *performance* of duty might be lacking – was a crucial tool of Tokugawa power that effectively worked toward preserving the peace in the realm" (p.3). Each of the chapters in this book is a case study of one particular occasion in which this performance is used to negotiate discrepancies between *omote* and *uchi*. Although some of these performances might already be familiar to specialists of premodern Japanese politics, Roberts' treatment brings much added value; his extensive use of original archival sources has resulted in vivid narratives brimming with detail. The glimpses that these narratives offer into the "open secrets" of the day are as entertaining as they are enlightening. We learn for example that the *daimyo* (lord) of Tosa, in order to prepare for the *bakufu* Touring Inspectors, ordered that where rest houses should be built for the convenience of the Inspectors "old wood should be used so that they look like they have been there a long time" (p.62). Similarly, the domain officials of Tahara "had the roads swept but made sure that the broom marks were erased" (p.66).

The (mal?)practices of adoptions provide yet another example of the same kind of apparent idiosyncrasies. One of the Grand Inspectors, responsible for making sure the lord was alive while making his adoption request, all too frankly admits that "usually they were all dead and cold, but the family would lay him out on a futon behind a folding screen just as if he were alive. I act as if he is alive ... Some relative from behind the screen presses the lord's seal to

a document as if he did it himself" (p.79). By demonstrating that these open secrets only make sense when filtered through the 'cultural logic' of the *omote/uchi* dichotomy, and furthermore, by doing so through case studies from the early Tokugawa period when the power of the *bakufu* was at its prime, Roberts convincingly makes his case that the discrepancy between reality and discourse was at the heart of Tokugawa political culture, and did not *necessarily* signify waning authority.

Shared knowledge

As Roberts certainly succeeds in his aim to "create a space of acceptance for a certain cultural approach to interpreting the politics of the Tokugawa world" (p.198), it will be up to others to explore the details and limitations of this approach. Perhaps the most pressing issue in that regard is the question of formation. In contrast to the 'sealed-off' nature of *uchi* space, *omote* space requires a pool of shared knowledge amongst multiple 'Others', the formation of which, in a period of still immense cultural differences amongst geographical regions, poses a problem; who decided on the shape and content of *omote*, and how did people come to share these conceptions?

Previous scholarship has already demonstrated that these conceptions certainly were not created unilaterally by the *bakufu* at the start of the Tokugawa period. The *omote* identity of *meikun* (benevolent ruler), for example, came into being only in the specific socio-political conditions of the latter half of the seventeenth century, and only as the result of a dynamic discourse between *bakufu*, regional lords, and carriers of literary/philosophical tradition. Although Roberts has highlighted the *omote* 'performance' of regional lords vis-à-vis the *bakufu*, the origin of the script, as well as the roles of the other actors still remain to be clarified. In that sense, Roberts' work is one small piece in the puzzle of Tokugawa political culture, but it certainly is an important one, and will undoubtedly cause many of us to tread more carefully when dealing with the 'deceptive' nature of *omote* sources.

Comparative approach

Roberts has delivered an outstanding work. The research is thorough, the thesis is compelling, and the writing is clear. Add to that the variety of topics handled in the case studies, and one must conclude that this is a work that deserves to be read not only by specialists of political culture, but everyone with an interest in premodern Japanese culture and society. Roberts' emphasis, that although the *omote/uchi* dichotomy is appropriate to the Tokugawa setting, it "easily could be used to analyze and create a dialogue with the premodern histories of some non-Japanese places" (p. 197), is surely an invitation to scholars of other cultures to engage in a comparative approach as well.

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Not only dragons and lotus blossoms

This catalogue presents the impressive collection of Vietnamese ceramics in the Museum of Art in Birmingham, Alabama, published in conjunction with their exhibition, which opened in January 2012. The museum had started collecting Vietnamese ceramics less than forty years ago. Along with a steady stream of gifts and purchases – among them, also some from the Hoi An shipwreck – the museum was fortunate to receive as a major addition an important private collection in 2005 and 2007.

Brigitte Borell

Reviewed publication:

John A. Stevenson and Donald A. Wood, with Philippe Truong. 2012.

Dragons and Lotus Blossoms. Vietnamese Ceramics from the Birmingham Museum of Art. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Museum of Art, 264 pp., ISBN: 9780295991627 (paperback).

THREE ESSAYS, accompanied by a chronological table and a map, precede the catalogue. John Stevenson, the co-curator of the exhibition, gives an overview of the development of Vietnamese ceramics as an art form, including the earliest glazed wares of the Han-Viet period (111 BCE to the late second century CE), the flourishing production during the Ly and Tran dynasties in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, the fifteenth and sixteenth century blue-and-white wares intended for Islamic markets from Indonesia to Persia, and the sixteenth and seventeenth century ornate wares for use in Buddhist monasteries.

Philippe Truong offers brief information on the state of research of Vietnamese ceramics, including archaeological work and finds from shipwrecks, in particular, the five important shipwrecks identified along the Vietnamese coast between 1990 and 2002, with dates ranging from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries: the Hon Cau Island wreck (aka Vung Tau wreck), the Hon Dam Island wreck (aka Phu Quoc II wreck), the Cu Lao Cham wreck (aka Hoi An wreck), which is particularly important for Vietnamese blue-and-white export wares of the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, and the Ca Mau and Binh Thuan wrecks. In addition, he explores the intricate matter of forgeries of Bleu de Hue, though the catalogue contains none of these special Chinese blue-and-white porcelains ordered for the Vietnamese court in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He distinguishes three phases of reproduction, each spurred by different collectors' interests: a first phase in the nineteenth century, which comprises a variety of pieces copying the characteristic eighteenth century Trinh marks; a second phase in the 1990s to feed a new collectors' market with a fresh esteem for these wares, generated by academic publication on the subject; and a quickly-following third phase of excellent twenty-first century copies not easily recognised as forgeries.

The essay by Donald A. Wood, the museum curator, is devoted to the decorative motifs on Vietnamese ceramics. He includes an abundance of information for the reader to promote understanding and appreciation of the motifs and their intrinsic meaning, with emphasis on Vietnamese traditional legends and folklore. In particular, he highlights the meaning of Buddhist motifs and the Buddhist context of many types of wares.

The catalogue comprises 219 objects, covering the full range of Vietnamese ceramics, all accompanied by excellent colour illustrations (167 objects with full catalogue entries, the remaining 52 added at the end, with shorter texts and smaller illustrations). A great number of the pieces (over 40%) were already included – often with different or additional



illustrations – in the publication on Vietnamese Ceramics edited by John Stevenson and John Guy (*Vietnamese Ceramics. A Separate Tradition*, Chicago: Art Media Press, 1997); at that time, some were already in the possession of the Birmingham Museum of Art, others were still in private ownership. However, bibliographic references for the individual pieces are generally omitted, although these would have been useful for the lay – and the academic – reader of the catalogue, as they are part of each piece's research history.

The ceramics from the period of the Ly (1009-1225) and Tran (1225-1400) dynasties, often esteemed as the most creative and distinctive period of Vietnamese ceramics, form the heart of the collection with about half of the total catalogue numbers. These include a number of pieces of great beauty, in particular among the pieces with ivory-coloured glazes. Worth mentioning are the unique ewers (cat.23-26), which are also remarkable for the lightness and thinness of their potting, the pair of brown-inlaid jars (cat.17 and 18), assumed to have been a pair for at least seven hundred years. Also well represented are ceramics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, among them, some excellent blue-and-white pieces, painted with the freshness and spontaneity that characterises Vietnamese ceramic art. Notable is the *kendi* (cat.125) showing unusual scenes with human figures, and

the charming water dropper in the shape of a pair of nestling ducks (cat.137). Most spectacular are two pieces decorated with underglaze-blue painting enhanced with overglaze enamels: the plate (cat.120), another example for the rare depiction of human figures in a landscape, and the large jar (cat.121), famous for its representation of various mythical creatures.

In addition to these Vietnamese wares, which were all made in the north, in the Red River valley and Thanh Hoa Province, the collection also includes a few ceramics that were produced in the Champa kilns in central Vietnam.

The catalogue entries are subdivided following different topics – chronological, typological, thematic, temple use, everyday use – each preceded by a brief introduction, thus pointing out different interesting accents in the ceramics' development, for instance, the decoration in underglaze iron-brown preceding that in underglaze cobalt-blue (cat.110-114). It is a splendid collection of Vietnamese ceramics and a delightful catalogue for ceramic enthusiasts, indispensable for collectors and researchers of Southeast Asian ceramics alike.

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Pull-out supplement

theFocus

New Designs for Asia

Student Work from the Architecture Faculty, TU Delft, The Netherlands

Asia's rapid and remarkable economic and political growth, and the region's increasing importance in the world has led some to believe that future historians will be calling the twenty-first century the 'Asian Century'. We are already beginning to see a shift from the centuries-old Atlantic-centred weltanschauung to an increasingly Pacific-centred one. One of the most important factors fuelling Asia's remarkable growth is the region's rapid urbanization. As a result, urban studies, and its sister science architecture, are important disciplines for anyone interested in trying to pragmatically direct this growth, and improve people's lives in the process.

Gregory Bracken and Bart Kuijpers

New Designs for Asia *continued*

THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE at the Technical University of Delft has seen an increase in the number of students from Asia in recent years. Design studios that deal with Asia attract a majority of Asian students, particularly from China. These students come to TU Delft to learn Western ways of doing things (and to get an internationally recognized qualification), but they are primarily doing so in order to be able to apply what they have learned back home. Studios that deal specifically with Asian topics are, as a result, very attractive.

TU Delft's openness to Asia can also be seen by its involvement in the IAS-led Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA), which began in 2012. In fact, the Architecture Faculty hosted the first annual general meeting of UKNA in November of that year.

The studio system

TU Delft's Architecture Faculty operates what is known as a studio system. This is very like an atelier or office, where

teachers and students interact almost as senior and junior employees in a practice. Students develop their designs and teachers give them one-to-one feedback; the semester is punctuated by a number of more public presentations, known as crits, where the student presents their work to a wider audience and receives a very public critique (hence the name).

Architects and urbanists communicate primarily through the medium of drawing. These drawings can be made by hand, but increasingly they are made by computer (drawings are also often augmented by models). The work presented here in this Focus section of The Newsletter is accompanied by written descriptions of the various projects' origins, programmatic requirements, chief design decisions, and why these were taken, as well as, in some cases, the theoretical research that informed these decisions.

With this in mind we invite you to first 'read' the drawings and then turn to the written articles. We have selected drawings that will be the most easily read by people with a non-technical background, concentrating on maps and perspective renderings. No architect or urbanist can communicate without being able to

effectively gather and present their material in a drawing, but many of them are also becoming good at expressing themselves verbally. Some even do it quite well, as you will see when you go through the design projects presented here.

Gregory Bracken is a studio master at the Architecture Faculty, TU Delft and a Research Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies (gregory@cortlever.com).

Bart Kuijpers recently completed a Masters in Architecture in the Explore Lab at TU Delft, graduating cum laude, and is currently working as an architect in Shanghai (bart@bkuijpers.com).

All images have been produced by the individual authors themselves, unless otherwise specified.

The projects

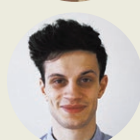
Vertical Cities Asia is an annual urban-planning competition, which is held between a number of prestigious universities from North-America, Europe, and Asia. TU Delft has participated in every edition of this annual competition, usually sending two teams. The projects 'The Open-Ended City' and 'Lifetime City' won joint first prize last year (and, interestingly, Jasper Nijveldt, one of the other authors represented in this Focus, was one of the second-prize winners in this competition the previous year). Organised under the auspices of the Architecture Faculty's Urbanism Department, with Prof Henco Bekkering, the design teams were led by Mitesh Dixit.



Team A, 'The Open-Ended City', consisted of Stef Bogaerds, Samuel Liew, Jan Maarten Mulder, Erjen Prins, and Claudio Saccucci. Their aim was to propose a development that is able to retain the authenticity of the city while extending the dialogue between what exists and what is to come.



They wanted to uncover and intensify what already exists, while renewing the city pattern. Their master plan was based on the premise that not just 'everyone ages' (the theme of the competition) but that everything ages. Their intervention seeks to address the problem of ageing in an holistic way, paying attention to the particular needs of the elderly in Korea, while also operating within a broader framework which takes cognisance of the fact that cities, too, are constantly ageing, and growing. Located at the heart of these new communities are hybrid school centres with elderly healthcare facilities that use rare open plots of land to provide a new type of public space. This clever combination of East-Asian veneration for not only the elderly, but also for education, should serve as a catalyst for urban regeneration and growth, as well as allowing meaningful interaction between old and young.



From top to bottom:
Stef Bogaerds, Samuel Liew, Jan Maarten Mulder, Erjen Prins, Claudio Saccucci.



Team B, 'Lifetime City', which consisted of Laura Dinkla, Katerina Salonikidi, Maria Stamati, Johnny Tascon Valencia, and Qiu Ye, identified the inherent characteristics of Seoul's Yongsan district (the site for the competition) and used them as the point of departure for their design. They saw existing urban life as being combined with a new way of understanding the role of the street in their proposal (with its focus on traditional neighbourhoods, which they saw as places where people and the city have evolved together). They posit a high-density proposal for the area that does not necessitate the wiping out of existing urban life. Densification (a neologism you will see mentioned again in some of these projects) can, rather, be a process where the neighbourhoods' urban life can continue to evolve. In fact, by using densification instead of replacement, urban life in the neighbourhoods can even be protected and enhanced.



From top to bottom:
Laura Dinkla, Katerina Salonikidi, Maria Stamati, Johnny Tascon Valencia, Qiu Ye.



Elsa Snyder's project seeks to redefine the Hong Kong housing typology. This small- to medium-scale development is a sensitively nuanced alternative to the rampant gentrification in this part of the city. Located on the site of the former Police Married Quarters on Aberdeen Street, one of the project's key aims was to provide affordable housing. There is a densification, but not too much, and the entire development maintains an excellent relationship with its surroundings. A vibrant mix of functions (including cultural facilities, public sitting-out space, and a covered market), combined with sensitive use of materials, create a design that works well in Hong Kong's sub-tropical climate. The project's chief innovation is the subtle reinvention of traditional shared family space. By making clever use of historical Chinese spatial dynamics, particularly the siheyuen or courtyard house, and skilfully avoiding the pitfalls of merely copying stylistic elements (which would reduce the project to a mere pastiche), the designer has presented us with a viable alternative to the ubiquitous 'pencil' tower.



Bart Kuijpers' contribution is another housing project, this time in Shanghai. It seeks to breathe new life into the old alleyway neighbourhoods of the city, particularly the now vanishing shikumen houses. By designing a bold reinvention of the typical high-rise apartment block, Jade Well Apartments recreates the rich diversity of the alleyway street life and should act as a welcome home for their former residents (the shikumen will simultaneously be upgraded for new up-market residents). This design will enable the shikumen's former residents to stay close to their old homes, while allowing them to keep in touch with friends and neighbours. The project's design also allows for plenty of scope for the rich social interaction that typically takes place in the older neighbourhoods of the city.



Jasper Nijveldt's large-scale housing project is located in Chengdu, China and seeks to nurture the everyday human experience of space in a Chinese city. This is a bold and imaginative scheme which, like Elsa Snyder's, borrows intelligently from China's venerable and fecund urban traditions. This elegant scheme shows a profound understanding of the underlying principles of Chinese urbanism and can act as a timely reminder of what is being lost, but also what can be achieved by those intelligent and sensitive enough to take the trouble to design well.



Jonathan van der Stel's 'Sublime and Heterotopic Landscapes' is, on one level, a design for a new university in Hong Kong, but on the other it is an ambitious essay that seeks to spatially articulate the Kantian notion of the Sublime in tandem with the Foucauldian notion of the Heterotopia. These concepts suggested themselves to the designer as he made his first site visit to the city. The sheer 'bigness' of it all had a kind of beauty, while leaving the newcomer with a terrifying sense of insignificance. The drawings here are less technical in nature than usual (especially Fig. 3 which contains a disorienting amalgam of vanishing points). The sheer vertiginousness of it all, its dislocation, are intended to intimate feelings of the Sublime, while its unifying strangeness, such a strong contrast to the Otherness of the city (which it alternatively jumps and hovers over) is what gives it its Heterotopic quality. Visitors can literally lose themselves here. The dark slab of mega-building brooding over the city is also an intriguing contrast to the rest of the 'come-and-get-it' neon more usually associated with Hong Kong.



Finally, **Ting Wen's** written contribution is less about trying to straightforwardly describe her urban intervention in the Kowloon City district of Hong Kong, but is more a thought piece that situates her project within a wider politico-intellectual context, particularly its critique of Neoliberal policies and the urban regeneration, and gentrification, that results in social exclusion for those unable to partake in this brave new world of globalized capitalism. This piece should help to clarify some of the socially driven decisions that were taken during her design process. Its point of departure is for her scheme to act as an alternative strategy for the redevelopment of the old Kai Tak Airport site, which is located nearby, and which is intended to become a new Central Business District (CBD) for the Territory. It also seeks to capitalize on some of her site's favourable factors, including its lively food culture, the result of years of inter-Asian immigration. Finally, it also illustrates how new life can be breathed into existing housing stock, particularly the shophouse. The resulting design scheme should see benefits for everyone, even the global capitalist.

Vertical Cities Asia 2012, Yongsan, Seoul: The Open-Ended City



Architecture is by its very nature a product of its broader socio-economic and political context. Spurred by what has been dubbed the Bilbao effect, developers and city planners have come to see iconic architecture as playing a central role in attracting such investment in the form of tourism and Big Money, resulting in the production of architecture that is in favour of visually consumable forms. Our aim is to propose a development that is able to retain the authenticity of the city while extending the dialogue between what exists and what is to come.

Stef Bogaerds, Samuel Liew, Jan Maarten Mulder, Erjen Prins, Claudio Saccucci

a sea of tight-knit developments) were the only open plots and provided an opportunity for a new type of open public space. This was an interesting overlap, because it was not just an opportunity for a new form of mixed programme utilizing the existing open space, but also because of the high priority that Korean society places on education, with families moving to particular locations primarily because of certain attractive schools. Serving as a catalyst for urban regeneration and growth, these hybrid centres would attract more people to live in surrounding areas whilst serving the people and allowing the elderly to share their experience and knowledge with younger generations.

In addition to catering to communities, the leisure seekers form another important user group in the Yongsan area, as the newly formed park and surrounding museums and water-front districts are developed. This will liven up the whole area and create a buzz that most residential neighbourhoods lack. The event core comprises cultural and leisure programs that are situated between the communities, binding them together, but also creating a strong connection to the park and the water front from the Yongsan station, which is situated in the middle of the site.

THE ARCHITECTURE OR MASTER PLAN does not have to announce itself, or be sensationalised, but should focus primarily on creating the ideal backdrop for the flourish of activity. We sought to uncover and intensify what already exists, renewing the pattern of the city based on the city itself. Our master plan hinges on the premise that not just 'everyone ages' (as outlined in the competition brief) but rather, 'everything ages'; we addressed the ageing issue in an holistic way, understanding the needs of elderly people in Korea and catering to this need by the provision of easy access to the programme and the creation of more opportunities for interaction, all within the broader framework of the fact that cities are constantly ageing and growing too.

A substantial amount of time was given to understanding the needs of Korean people, and the importance of strengthening community ties. We explored the idea of community through programmatic circles, as a means to organize programs in a meaningful way, which would provide for the needs of an ever-ageing population within a walkable radius of five minutes. The potential of these communities is that they disperse functions, as opposed to create agglomerations of one particular kind of activity.

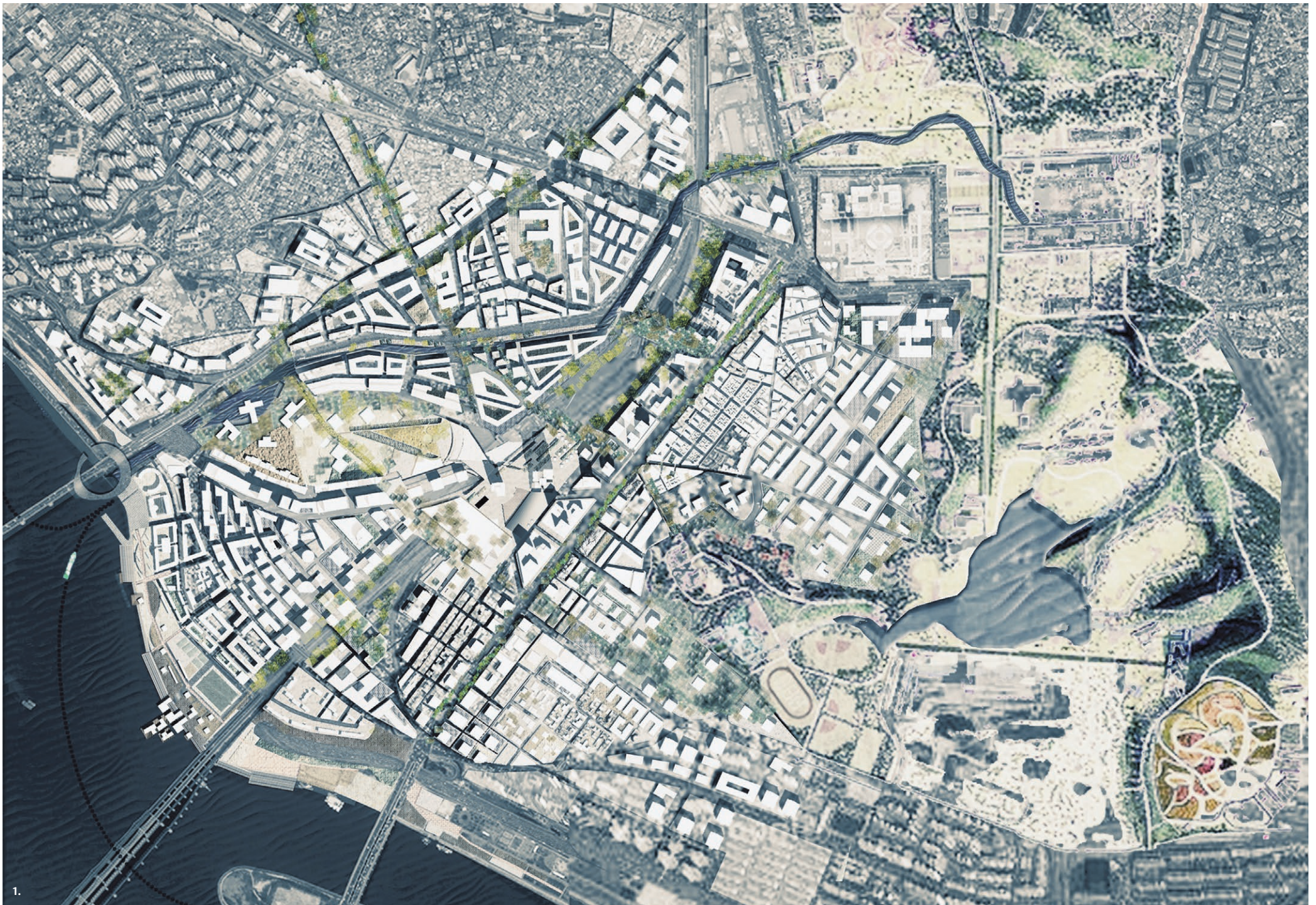
At the heart of the communities are the hybrid centres that extend the functionality of a typical school to cater for elderly healthcare needs too, while the school yards (located amidst

Fig. 1: Axonometric.
Fig. 2: Master plan superimposed on Yongsan.
Fig. 3: Hybrid Centre.

By prioritizing the long term growth of Yongsan in the design process, the strategy primarily focuses on creating conditions and rules that will guide the growth of the city. By varying this set of rules – the permeability of the block, the height of buildings, setbacks and plot coverage according to the specificity of the site – we were able to define and differentiate four communities. This broad framework allows for the preservation of qualities that make cities interesting and at times unpredictable and unique places, whilst embracing the high densities required in the brief.



Vertical Cities Asia 2012, Yongsan, Seoul: Lifetime City



Walking through the city of Seoul is a vibrant experience. People eat, drink, walk through shops or sit in a park. They live and grow old in a city that lives and grows old with them. Not just everyone ages, but everything ages. Activities, buildings, emptiness, centralities, high density, all together create different atmospheres in different places. As part of the Vertical Cities Asia 2012 competition, we worked on identifying the inherent characteristics of Seoul's Yongsan district and used them as a starting point for the new design of the site. Existing urban life and a new way of understanding the role of streets merge in our proposal.

Laura Dinkla, Katerina Salonikidi, Maria Stamati, Johnny Tascon Valencia, Qiu Ye



KOREA HAS FLOURISHED in the twentieth century. Its economy grew, so did its population. From 1963 until the mid-1980s, Seoul's population rose by more than 10 million. However, this demographic growth did not see an expansion of the city borders. Therefore, the city has densified within its borders. At the same time, the elderly population has increased dramatically. Estimates say that by 2050 more than 50 percent will be 55 years or older. How should a city be designed in this ageing context?

In recent decades Seoul, as well as many other Asian cities, has seen an increase in urban density, which has meant the removal of hundreds of traditional neighbourhoods. Developers demand space for modern, luxury apartment complexes. These complexes are often serialized high-rise apartments that do not represent the identity of the city, but merely market requirements. These complexes are located throughout the city, generating high-density areas towards its borders, as well as increasing the use of automobiles and increasing commuting time.

The answer, while also addressing the above-mentioned issues, was to be found in the traditional neighbourhoods. In these places the people and the city evolved together. As a result, the urban shape, its vitality and its atmosphere, spontaneously reflect people's needs. This fact can be perceived in the accessibility to basic urban services. From the analysis of successful residential areas, it is clear that people have, within convenient walking distances, basic destinations such as grocery shops, hair salons, churches, community centres, public transport stations, parks, friends' houses, and so on. According to the International Longevity Centre, this condition is one central characteristic of what they call Lifetime Neighbourhoods: "Lifetime neighbourhoods are those which arrange their services, built environment and public spaces in such a way so as to facilitate access by those with reduced physical abilities" (ILC, 2007). One basic design premise for the present work is that if the city works for an elderly person, it works for everyone.

A high-density proposal in Yongsan does not need to result from the wiping out of the urban life that has evolved over the years in the form of neighbourhoods, replacing them with high-rise serialized apartments and office complexes. Densification can be a process within neighbourhoods where urban life evolves over the years. By using densification instead of replacement, the urban life in neighbourhoods can be protected and enhanced. In order to face the social challenges of ageing in Seoul, we propose Yongsan to be a city of neighbourhoods; a city where everyone, whatever their age, can find a place to settle, to live, and to be part of an on-going local process. A process that did not begin with this project, but that this project will reinforce.

The proposal

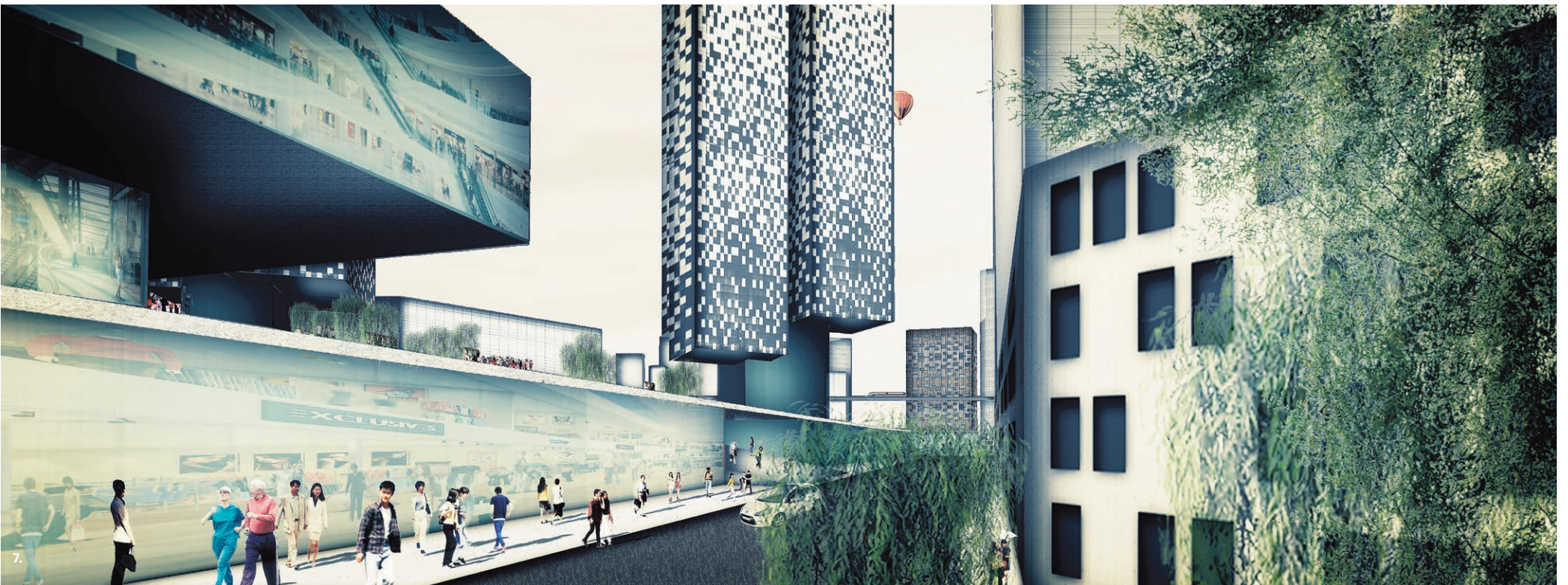
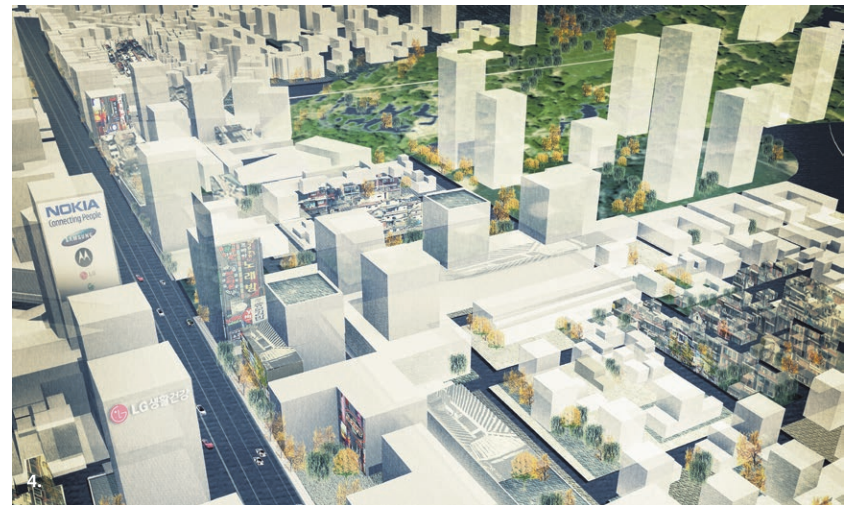
We focused on existing elements in the site and the context, such as streets, green areas, and water. After researching neighbourhoods in different cities around the world (and in Yongsan as well), we identified a specific neighbourhood structure and a hierarchy between the streets. We came to the conclusion that the most important part of the neighbourhood is its streets, starting from the neighbourhood's backbone that contains all kinds of local functions such as grocery, bakery, hairdresser, and so on. Some secondary streets provide functions at a larger

scale and link the local backbones to the primary roads, which in turn connect the neighbourhood to the city. Our most important strategy was to identify the existing neighbourhoods, with its street pattern, and densify the site by adding further neighbourhoods and using the above-mentioned street structure.

The site, Yongsan, is a strategic part of the city in which to implement this strategy. It used to be the southern border of Seoul in the 1940s, but with expansion south of the Han River, Yongsan rapidly found itself located in the geographic centre of the metropolis. Nowadays it is a vibrant mixed-use area surrounded by residential neighbourhoods and Seoul's three Central Business Districts (CBDs). A highway to the south of the site provides direct connection to the rest of the region by car, as well as to Incheon International Airport. Yongsan Station provides urban transportation by train, metro, and bus. This infrastructural linkage constitutes the reason why commercial attractions, such as the electronic market or the recently built I'Park shopping mall in Yongsan Station, are located here. Proximity to the United States Army Base Yongsan Garrison is another characteristic of the area surrounding our site. These facts have had consequences for the structure of the neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods to the west of the site have turned into commercial dependencies of the electronic market since it arrived here in the 1990s; neighbourhoods to the east spontaneously mix local people and immigrants, particularly those related to the military base.

After researching these and other functions, we based our new program for the different districts on a mix of existing and proposed functions. In this way each district can have its own character. After all, our master plan is proposed as part of the evolution process of the structures and communities identified in Yongsan. This way, neighbourhoods become supporters of the daily life that underpins our proposal. Our design will make sure that this is still possible in the future when even more people live in the city and grow old. People will be able to live in Yongsan for a lifetime. It can become a Lifetime City.

Fig. 1: 'Lifetime City' master plan.
 Fig. 2: Section. Bridging the site.
 Fig. 3: The atmosphere of the city.
 Fig. 4: Increasing density on the site.
 Fig. 5: Revealing the water stream.
 Fig. 6: New electronic market as seen from the park.
 Fig. 7: New Yongsan Station.



Redefining the Hong Kong typology

The concept of the global city is taken to extremes in Hong Kong. In many ways the city epitomizes the definition of what one might consider a truly global city in the contemporary context. Despite the highly global nature of Hong Kong, there remains a strong sense of the local that provides contrast and friction to some of these globalizing forces.

Elsa Snyder

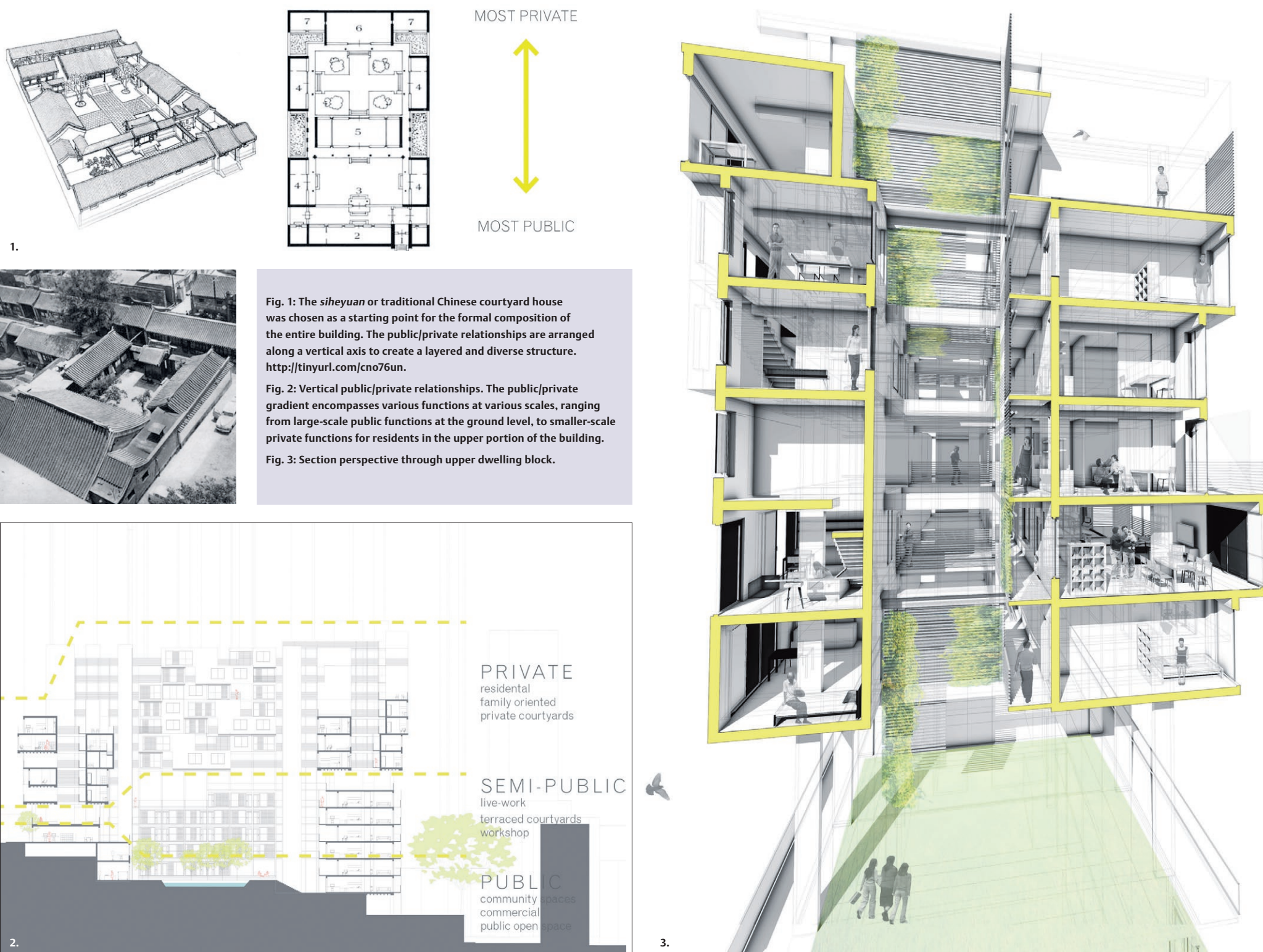


Fig. 1: The *siheyuan* or traditional Chinese courtyard house was chosen as a starting point for the formal composition of the entire building. The public/private relationships are arranged along a vertical axis to create a layered and diverse structure. <http://tinyurl.com/cno76un>.

Fig. 2: Vertical public/private relationships. The public/private gradient encompasses various functions at various scales, ranging from large-scale public functions at the ground level, to smaller-scale private functions for residents in the upper portion of the building.

Fig. 3: Section perspective through upper dwelling block.

GIVEN THE RAPID political and economic changes that have taken place in Hong Kong since the 1960s, the built environment has become a prime example of the conditions under which the city operates. In his book, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, Ackbar Abbas describes one of these conditions as a "culture of disappearance", which he asserts is a direct consequence of speed related to globalization.¹ Disappearance and speed can also be applied literally with respect to changes and development on the urban scale, as in many cases the sense of permanence in Hong Kong is subverted due to rapid redevelopment and alterations of the city landscape.

Today, Hong Kong's urban environment can be read as a palimpsest of the changes and influences it has been subject to through colonialism, capitalism, neoliberalism and the technological boom of the late twentieth century. Although many of the major transactions and exchanges appear to occur on a global scale, these networks and flows also have physical implications on the built environment of the city. Therefore, examining how these global forces have in turn shaped the local environment of Hong Kong was a key component to the research undertaken.

The increase in luxury accommodations in the centre of Hong Kong, combined with the redevelopment of older neighbourhoods, and increasing cost of living, has led to a growing asymmetry of development within the city. As an example, in the last thirty years, agencies such as the Land Development

The increase in luxury accommodations ... the redevelopment of older neighbourhoods ... and increasing cost of living, has led to a growing asymmetry of development within the city.

Corporation (now known as the Urban Renewal Authority) have worked with developers to manipulate the urban environment. After its introduction in 1988, the LDC had slated almost all of the older districts of Hong Kong Island for renewal, save the Central Business District.² Many of the current renewal projects have moved across Victoria Harbour and are now concentrated on the Kowloon Peninsula, such as the Kwun Tong redevelopment, which will see the displacement of 4829 individuals. Government land policy encourages the proliferation of high-end residential developments, while a growing disparity of wealth is forcing poorer residents out of the city and into the poorly connected peripheral New Towns. In this global space of flows, architecture is an object as much as it is conduit for both global and local networks.

Located around the border of Sheung Wan and Central, the study area chosen for the site is one with a considerable number of older buildings from the mid-twentieth century, more specifically, four-to-eight storey *tong lau* shophouses. High land prices in Hong Kong have sandwiched the study area between two distinct development zones, the Central Business District to the north and a high-end, high-rent residential area to the south, moving upwards towards the Peak. As a result, this older neighbourhood fabric has been increasingly under threat from redevelopment and many *tong lau* are being demolished in favour of 40-storey high-rise towers. Alternately, smaller scale gentrification projects are also becoming more common in the area. Although often well intentioned, these projects also increase the possibility of raising prices, forcing

existing residents out of their own neighbourhood. The site for this design is the former Police Married Quarters at 35 Aberdeen Street, one of the oldest parts of the city. The building has been vacant since 2000 and has been used for various exhibitions since then. The most recent redevelopment scheme for the block had it transformed into an arts and culture hub, but it fails to address the pressing need for affordable housing.

There are several open spaces in the area, ranging from recreational parks to small sitting-out areas. However, there is still a shortage of open public space given the density of the area. Programmatically the area is quite varied, but clustered into a few distinct groups. SOHO and the area around the Mid-Levels Escalator is a large entertainment hub with many bars, restaurants, and boutiques. Further west there are more community-oriented functions such as churches and schools, while Hollywood Road is a hotspot for galleries and antique stores. At the westernmost part of the study area, Tai Ping Shan Street is home to many small-scale design firms, boutiques, and creative outlets. During my site visit I identified several user groups who frequented the area, namely the young creative class, business people, tourists, children, and elderly residents (especially women).

Using this experience of the site (and the research I undertook prior to visiting Hong Kong), I developed a few key points which drove the research and design process:

- What is the new Hong Kong typology and how can it fit the needs of present and future Hong Kong?



4.



5.

Fig. 4: Perspective of entrance courtyard off Staunton Street.

Fig. 5: Entrance with market terrace.

Fig. 6: Communal space of the vertical courtyard network.

Fig. 7: Family duplex unit. Given that it is not uncommon in Chinese culture for parents and children to live together for longer periods than in the West, this unit is designed as a duplex, with a 41m² unit for an elderly couple, combined with a 140m² unit for a family of up to four. The configuration also provides a 22m² outdoor terrace which acts as an extension of the indoor living spaces.



6.



7.

- Existing housing typologies in Hong Kong do not address the complexities of the urban condition in the city and sever ties with the city's vibrant street life.
- Increasing development of old building stock into luxury high-rises will displace existing residents and make the neighbourhood unaffordable.
- There is a large number of elderly, young, and disabled residents – combined with the aforementioned issues this points to an acute need for affordable housing in the city centre.
- What is the balance between gentrification and redevelopment?
- The site is located between areas of activity; how can it better bridge these areas?
- Lack of community amenities for all ages and/or groups (green space, community centres).
- Given Hong Kong's climate and environmental concerns, sustainability should play a large role in the project (e.g., dealing with microclimates, mediating pollution, sustainable energy/materials).

In terms of an urban strategy, the site was envisioned as a node within a larger network of creative and green spaces that would act to strengthen the overall coherence of the area and give it stronger identity. When determining the program for the design project, it was important to keep in mind the user groups that I had observed while in Hong Kong. Affordable housing would be the main component of the program and would cater to families, the elderly, the young creative class,

and students. Workshop space and studios would also serve the above-mentioned groups, while small-scale commercial enterprises would be an opportunity to get business people involved in the development. Much needed open space would be an amenity for all groups, as well as a flexible exhibition and community space for the arts.

One of the first steps in moving forward with the design work was to investigate some traditional Chinese dwelling typologies. The two most interesting were the *siheyuan* and the *tu lou*. The *siheyuan*, or courtyard house, has a public to private gradation that I thought could be successfully manipulated to suit a new urban context in Hong Kong. The courtyard house was taken as a starting point for further formal exploration and the public/private relationships were arranged along a vertical axis, instead of horizontally. By vertically separating the upper and lower massing, a space for semi-public vertical courtyards is created.

A series of 11 unit types were designed to fit with the user groups defined at the outset of the design process. Arranged in various configurations throughout the building, these units form the main component of the design. The units are compact but flexible enough to allow changes in family size/user needs. One of the more important units is the family duplex unit. Given that it is not uncommon in Chinese culture for parents and children to live together for longer periods of time than in Western culture, this unit is designed as a duplex, with a 41m² unit for an elderly couple, combined with a 140m² unit for a family of up to four. The configuration also provides

This reconceptualization of the courtyard house provides a new alternative ... and infuses public space, green space and flexible dwelling typologies into the design.

a 22m² outdoor terrace, which acts as an extension of the indoor living spaces. Additionally, the rental scheme for the apartment complex could facilitate the needs of families by giving priority to those already living in the dwelling to rent or buy units to suit changing configurations of their family structure over time.

Along with designing the courtyard spaces throughout the building, roofscapes became an important part of the design as well. Rooftops can be used as terrace spaces for the residents, gardens for growing food and other plants, as well as infrastructure for water collection. The modular design and simple unit layouts makes the project affordable, while the series of vertical courtyards and open circulation spaces encourages passive cooling and reduces the required energy loads for the building. This reconceptualization of the courtyard house provides a new alternative to the isolated high-rise typologies prevalent in Hong Kong, and infuses public space, green space and flexible dwelling typologies into the design.

Elsa Snyder completed her Masters in Architecture at the Hong Kong studio in July of 2012, graduating with an honourable mention. She is currently working as an architect in the Netherlands (elsa.snyder@gmail.com; www.elsasnyder.com).

Notes

- 1 Ackbar Abbas. 1997. *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.9.
- 2 Christopher De Wolf. 2010. 'Rethinking Urban Renewal in Hong Kong', *Urban Photo*, <http://tinyurl.com/bjtrcva>.

Updating Shanghai: life from the ground up

This project is located in Shanghai, China's biggest city, and the fastest growing city in the world. The social structure of two common but opposed housing typologies has been researched: the old alleyway neighbourhoods of Shanghai, and the contemporary residential high-rise tower. This project aims to use the good characteristics of the alleyway neighbourhood and apply them to residential high-rise design, while also trying to maintain the alleyway neighbourhood's social structure and its architecture.

Bart Kuijpers

From shikumen to high rise

In 1842, after the First Opium War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking (now Nanjing), Shanghai became one of the treaty ports where the British were allowed to trade with the Chinese from within 'their' territory. Shortly afterwards, the French and Americans signed similar treaties, also setting up their own concessions, as these territories were known. Shanghai consisted of three separate areas: the Old Chinese City, the French Concession, and the International Settlement. The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) saw great numbers of Chinese flee to the safety of the foreign concessions. In order to house all these refugees, thousands of wooden barracks were built in rows. None of these have survived (they proved to be fire hazards and were extremely uncomfortable), but they served as a precedent for the shikumen, a type of alleyway house which combined elements of Chinese, British, and French culture; in many ways just like Shanghai itself, with its distinct mingling of cultures.

Three major types of alleyway house can be distinguished: the Early *Shikumen*, the Later *Shikumen*, and the New Style *Lilong* (a *shikumen* is a particular type of alleyway house, while a *lilong* is a cluster of them – which may or may not include *shikumen*). From the 1870s to the late 1930s thousands of these houses were built, giving homes to local Shanghaiese and migrants from the surrounding provinces. They also slowly densified as time passed.

Shanghai's development was halted by the Second World War (which started in 1937 in China), and this was followed by nearly three decades of neglect by the Communist government in Beijing after 1949. Shanghai was stuck in a time warp with little or no urban renewal until the 1980s and Deng Xiaoping's Open Door policy, since which time Shanghai has been in the grip of a construction boom of unprecedented proportions. In 2000 Shanghai had approximately 3,500 buildings of eight storeys or taller; this number grew to over 20,500 by 2010, with nearly 4,000 of them being 20 storeys or more. A large number of these have been built in the former foreign concessions, land that used to support alleyway neighbourhoods. As the alleyway houses fell into disrepair, high-rise towers became the preferred housing typology for both the Shanghaiese as well as immigrants.

A typological analysis

In recent decades, millions of square metres of alleyway houses have been destroyed to make way for high-rise towers. In this process, not only the buildings but also the lifestyle and social structure that resided within these neighbourhoods have been destroyed. Research into the social structure of both the alleyway neighbourhoods and residential high-rise towers was carried out, using four aspects of environmental psychology: 1) Distance in Man, 2) Territoriality, 3) Privacy Zoning, and 4) Environmental Appraisal and Assessment (from Robert G. Gifford's *Environmental Psychology*).

Figs. 1 & 2: The journey from public to private for an alleyway neighbourhood and a small residential high-rise compound. The graph shows the amount of people one can encounter in comparison to the distance over which they are encountered. The openness of the spaces is also displayed.

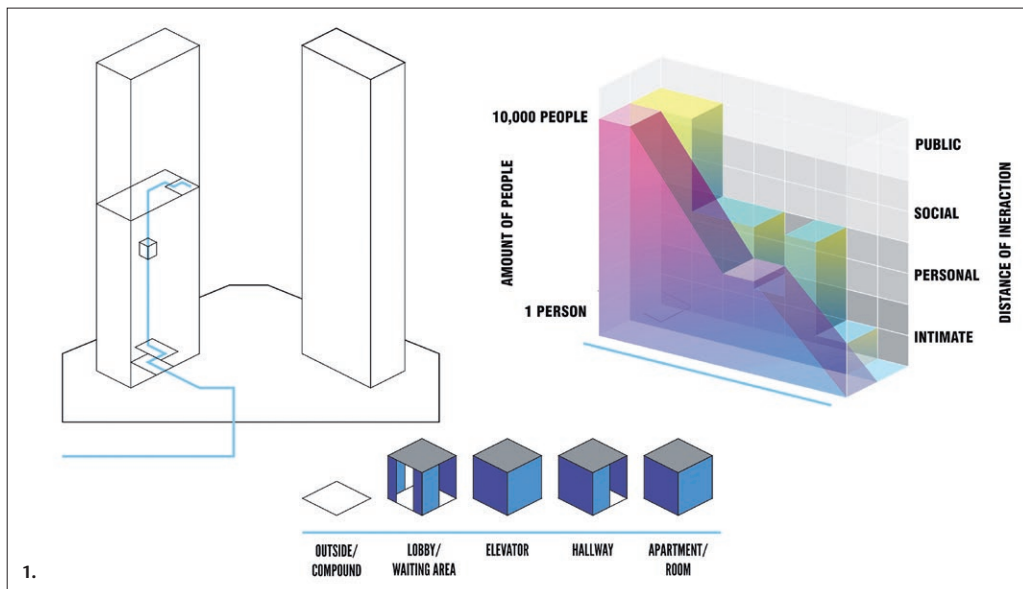


Fig. 3: The high-rise design next to the renovated Shenyu Li, as seen from the public area.



Fig. 4: The redeveloped project location as seen from a nearby tower. The three areas are clearly visible: the renovated alleys to the west; the new tower to the east; and the public area connecting everything.

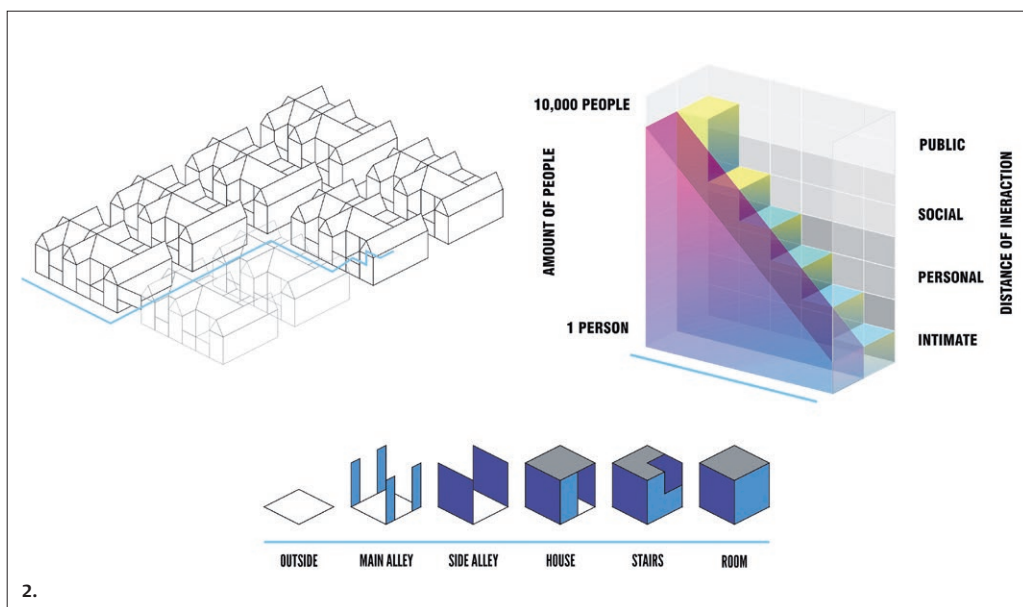


Fig. 5: An impression of the sky-bridges in the centre of the tower.



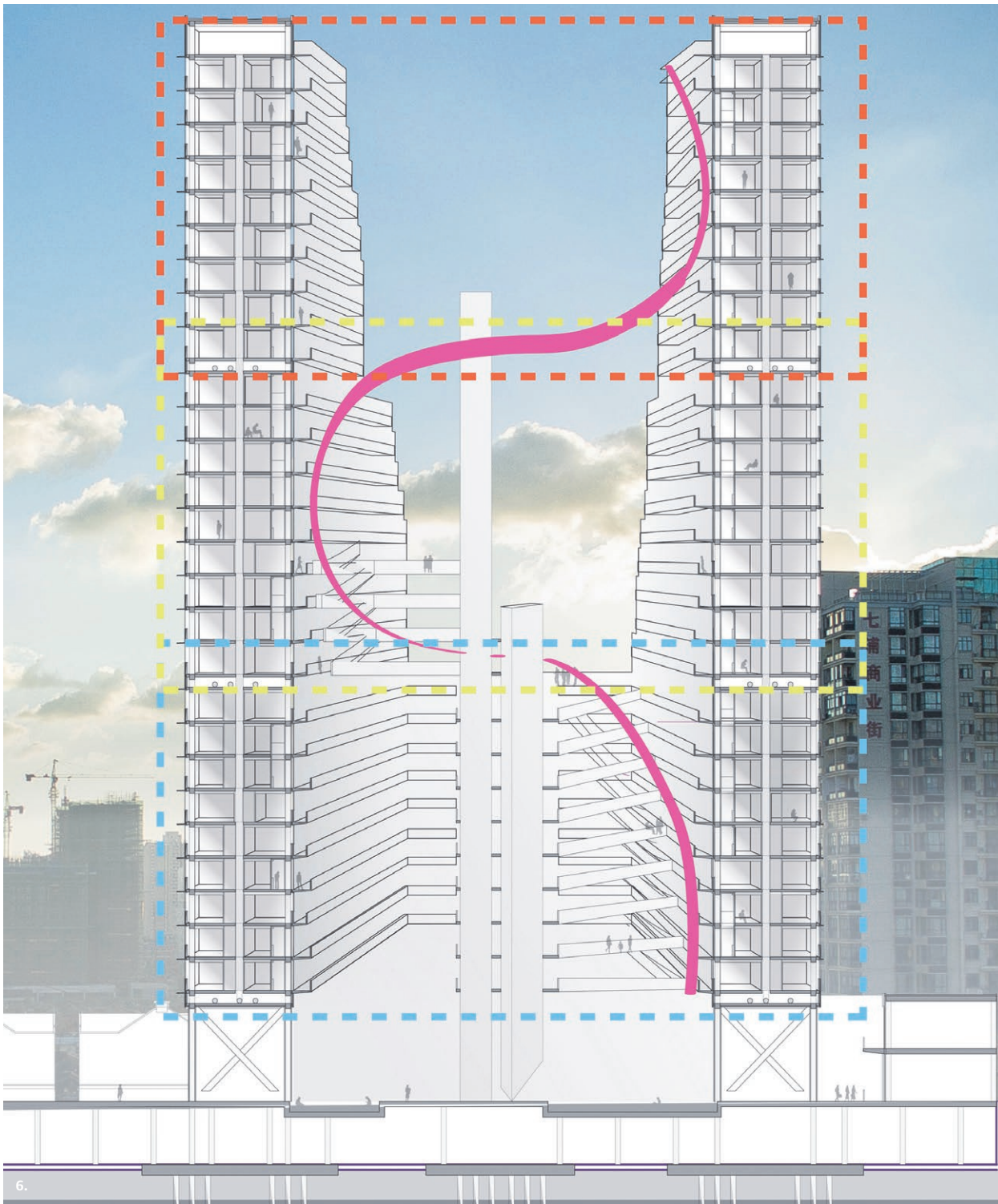


Fig. 6: A sectional view of the tower. The three 'vertical alleys' are shown, as well as the two overlapping areas where bigger social spaces will be located. The pink swirl shows the connection of all the sky-bridges.

Fig. 7: The research graphs applied to the new tower design, again showing the journey from public to private.

Fig. 8: The three transitional zones within an alleyway neighbourhood which can be considered social hotspots.

Fig. 9: An impression of the galleries in the design, also showing the direct connection of the galleries and the courtyard, which act as a transition zone between the semi-private and private spaces.

The design: Jade Well Apartments, 玉井公寓

For the design, two major goals were set:

- 1) maintain and renovate the remaining *shikumen* on the site and 2) maintain its social structure and keep the original residents on site. The chosen location, Nantang Xiaoqu, is located in Zhabei District, just north of Suzhou River, and consists of a number of *li*, some of which have already been destroyed. The project consists of three areas:
- 1) Maintaining and renovating the three alleys on the west, which will provide housing for the new and fastest growing class in China: the upper class, 2) A high-rise tower, located on the eastern part of the site will be the new home of the original *shikumen* residents, 3) A public area, consisting of shops and a park and accessible to everybody, and will connect the above functions.

The main focus of this design has been the high-rise tower, which uses the concept of improving social structure by using the characteristics of the alleyway neighbourhoods. Most residential high-rises are south-facing slabs with the elevator on the northside, but in this design a hexagonal building surrounds the centrally located elevator shafts, creating a large light well. The elevator 'lobby' is completely open and directly connected to the public areas. The slightly raised slabs are divided horizontally in three, allowing the elevators to be divided in three as well, limiting the number of people one can encounter, and making the elevator a slightly less awkward experience.

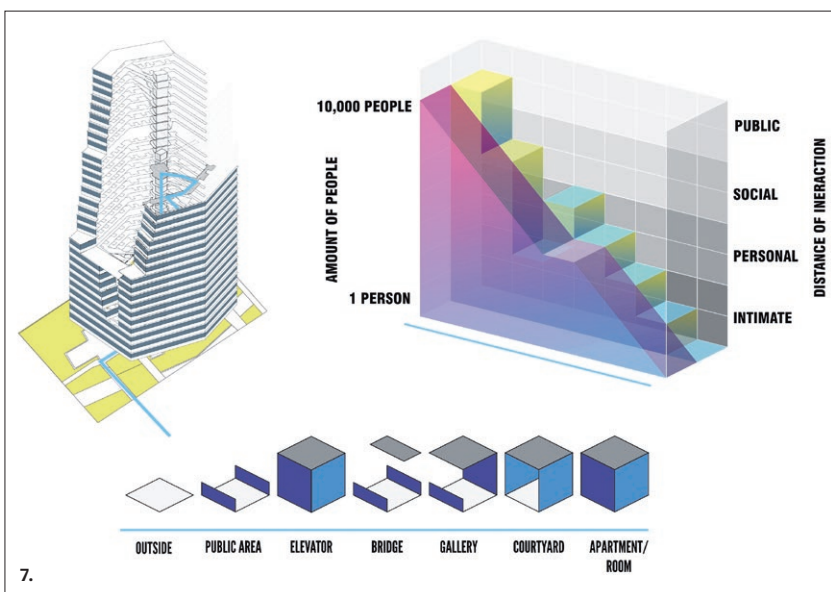
The elevators are connected to the residential slabs via a series of sky-bridges that function as a transition space, but which are large enough to be used as a social space as well. The sky-bridges also connect to one another, both visually and physically, creating three vertical alleys (image 6). The sky-bridges give access to a gallery, which in turn connects to a small courtyard: small semi-private-to-private outdoor spaces. Each apartment has its own or a shared courtyard.

Residents are able to personalize these spaces, within certain limits. The apartments are also organized from public to private with the living rooms facing towards the central 'light well': the spaces enclosed by the hexagonal building where all the social spaces are located. This space is very open and is organically shaped. The bedrooms, which are located on the edge of the building, are the most private spaces, being farthest away from the central social spaces. Being the most private and facing outward to the most public city, the outside of the building is very straight and angular. As the intended residents for this tower are the former alleyway-house residents, mostly from lower socio-economic groups, the apartments are modest in size, the majority being between 40 to 60 square metres. In total the tower is 27 storeys, with 9 storeys per 'vertical alley'. Where two alleys meet, a larger social space is constructed, with a large deck allowing for small commercial and social activities. The three transitional areas identified in the social structure of the alleyway neighbourhood can also be located within this design: namely the open elevator lobby on the ground floor, the sky-bridges, and the courtyards.

In conclusion

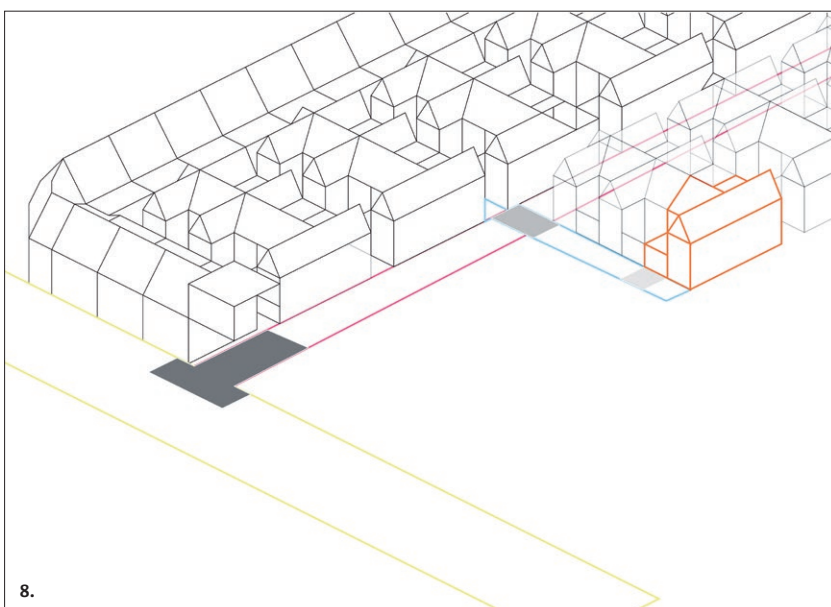
One of the most interesting aspects of China is that the past and future are happening at the same time right next to each other. In this design, an alternative reality is created, bringing the futuristic lifestyle of the new upper classes to the colonial-era alleyway house, while bringing the old-fashioned lifestyle of the alleys to a contemporary high-rise tower. It is impossible to say whether the spaces designed will be used as intended, but the most important aspect is the provision of these spaces, which are lacking in regular high-rise towers. And we must not forget the original residents, most of whom are real Shanghaiese. Now they can stay in their own neighbourhood, with their friends and acquaintances, instead of being relocated far outside the city centre.

Bart Kuijpers recently completed a Masters in Architecture in the Explore Lab at TU Delft, graduating cum laude, and is currently working as an architect in Shanghai (bart@bkuijpers.com).



7.

The alleyway neighbourhoods are known for their lively atmosphere and the life that takes place within them. A typical alleyway neighbourhood is enclosed by a line of shophouses that are directly connected to the street. At several points, this line is punctured, most notably on the north and south, where a large entrance gives access to the main alley: the *li* (里) or 'lane'. This alley connects the entire neighbourhood and is a place where all residents can meet as well as where small-scale commercial activity can take place. From this semi-public main alley, there is access to semi-private side-alleys: the *longtang* (弄堂) or 'neighbourhood hall'. As its name suggests, this space is almost used as an extension of the house and all kinds of activities take place in it, from playing cards to washing vegetables and, most importantly, gossiping. The side alleys are connected to the courtyards of the houses. These are private, but because of the high number of residents living in one house (a house of seven rooms can contain up to seven families) it is not as private as the residents might wish. Combined with the fact that the amenities and building quality are completely outdated, it creates an uncomfortable indoor atmosphere, so it comes as no surprise that so much life takes place outside. As a conclusion to this analysis, three 'social hotspots' have been identified, these are the transition areas between each of the different zones: from public to semi-public, semi-public to semi-private, and semi-private to private.



8.

When comparing this fluidity of space-use to the high-rise towers, it is clear that there is a big difference. High-rise compounds are guarded, effectively shielded from the rest of the city; only residents have access to the compound and in smaller compounds there is little space available for social interaction. In the towers themselves, the biggest problem is the elevator. A large number of residents are able to use the elevator, but due to its cramped dimensions users will almost always experience it as a violation of personal space. Of course, quality and comfort in these contemporary high-rise apartments are a lot better than in the alleyway houses, but it is the lack of social space that creates a more individualistic and isolated lifestyle.



9.

Everyday human experience of space in the Chinese city

Enclosure – with the wall as its most prominent architectural element – represented for centuries a key human experience of space in Chinese cities, but is today regarded as a relic from the past. Yet enclosing walls provide a structure for one's position in space, time and society and a tangible spatial reference for everyday life. Walls were therefore crucial elements in the development of cities. This worked on every scale, from country and city, to house and bedroom. The Wall, my masters' graduation project, presents a contemporary interpretation of this in an urban-architectural design, for the city of Chengdu in Western China.

Jasper Nijveldt

Radical transformation

Since China formally adopted market-oriented economic policies in 1978, levels of urbanization and GDP increased enormously. The Chinese city has become hyper-adaptable to the demanding market forces, resulting in a permanent state of change. The city works as a pragmatic flywheel for improving living standards. Some authors acknowledge that due to radical transformation a modern hybrid society is rising, enabling mobility and individual freedom of choice, and resulting in the idea that identities and places are more loosely related.¹

However, a number of other authors argue that radical urbanization and transformation has not only changed the environment, but also the relationship and interactions of people within it. In the new Chinese city, finely meshed networks of courtyards, pocket parks and pedestrian-friendly streets are rapidly being replaced by a modern urban landscape with distinct travel ways, loosely defined open spaces, free-standing towers and privatized compounds. The focus tends to be on the spectacle, the object, and abstract bird's-eye designs, than on space itself or the daily human experience from eye-level. Miao, among others, argues that this radical and tactless reconstruction leads to a decline in the quality and use of ordinary public places, and, on a subconscious level, to a feeling that cities are becoming 'placeless'.²

Perception of space

The question arises of how to design meaningful places in the radically transforming Chinese urban society? One of the clues in answering this question is that the way people use and value places is highly influenced by their perception of space. It becomes significant to have a broader view on the environment and the human body. Therefore it is crucial to understand the Chinese perception of (public) space, in order to know how to structure it in cities. This is almost the exact opposite in Western cities. It is even more significant, since Chinese people, more than Westerners, tend to see the world in a more perceptual and intuitive way (Xiaodong and Kang Shua, 2007).

China progressively developed its perception of space for centuries by a process of accumulated evolution rather than outright revolution. Before the recent modernization, Chinese cities were conceived as a whole, and were usually based on a plan that was consistently applied to the existing topography. It was a collective work of art. A few principles were systematically applied following ancient precedents (see the perceptual city-forming principles listed below). These shaped the perception of space for centuries, but are coming under increasing influence from Western urban and architectural models.

Alternative urban-architectural design in Chengdu

What if we revive these principles as a basis for city form? In this project the city of Chengdu is used as a case study. This city is at the very heart of China's dramatic transformation. It is also a city under pressure from the enormous number of new migrants from rural areas. Like many Chinese cities, recent growth has been explosive, and a lot of valuable arable land has been lost. If the population growth of the city continues in the same space-consuming manner as during the last decade, it will need to double its size in the next twenty years, resulting in urban sprawl, traffic congestion and a further increase in air pollution. Chengdu will become more congested and will decrease in liveability and efficiency. The current urban model is no longer sustainable. The city has reached a crossroads.

Enclosing the city

By 'enclosing' the city via a 300-kilometre-long by 1-kilometre-wide urban zone at the current city border, the city will cater to a greater population without compromising the quality of life. This 'Wall' guides the city towards compact sustainable growth, giving at the same time a sense of 'place' to the millions of new migrants. By connecting the existing metro system with The Wall, public transit will be expanded, thus decreasing the dependency on cars. The Wall also encourages densification along important axes in the city. On each location The Wall takes on the specifics of the local soil, micro-climate, vegetation, and existing land-use patterns and interprets the perceptual principles mentioned earlier.

... the way people use and value places is highly influenced by their perception of space. Therefore it is crucial to understand the Chinese perception of (public) space, in order to know how to structure it in cities.

New paddy-township

A new township is being designed as part of The Wall and will house 60,000 inhabitants. The landscape on this particular site is terraced to accommodate agricultural lots that produce rice, wheat, vegetables, tea, medicinal herbs, tobacco, silk, beef, and pork. The valley, the hills with bamboo thickets on them, and the ponds that store water, will be incorporated if possible. The existing roads will be upgraded to become primary roads for the township. New secondary lanes are added in an east-west direction, bringing hierarchy to the network. These lanes follow the edges of the terraced rice paddies. These lanes, open to the south, will take full advantage of the (scarce) sunshine in winter and of the prevailing winds in summer. Small public spaces are organized in a linear manner along the lanes. What results is a hierarchical system leading from the public to the very private. The hierarchy is emphasized by varying the width of the lanes.

This framework defines zones for building. Within these zones, walls are gradually erected on plot lines, to further enclose urban spaces. In this way building lots are created for a variety of dwelling typologies. Certain plots are reserved for semi-public spaces and for access. Walls on these plots will be perforated to allow penetration into the block. Entrances of the individual units are from these communal spaces. The subtle distribution of local materials, plants, and streaming water contributes to the quality and sensorial experience of the urban spaces. The township is canopied under trees rising out of small open areas.

The township is formed by the existing characteristics of the location, and holds an interpretation of fundamental perceptual principles of Chinese culture. It offers a series of enclosed worlds with humanly scaled courtyards, gardens, and small open areas. The township looks rather chaotic from a bird's-eye perspective, but at eye-level shows a movement through a clearly understandable series of enclosed worlds. Space is experienced via a crossing of various enclosures and different spatial sequences; from the very public all the way to the private bedroom. Space is presented little by little. The next space is always unpredictable, which creates a sense of mystery and a human experience of space.

Perceptual city-forming principles

Based on Chinese literature, five crucial city forming principles are formulated: Linearity, Hierarchy, Unity, Human Scale and Enclosure.³ In China's old cities, space is organized in a linear and hierarchical manner with small and scattered nodes along the street, while in the West (mainly Europe) big central static nodes play an important role (fig. 1) in a non-orthogonal lay-out (fig. 2). Chinese buildings are also oriented inwards, with more focus being placed on family ties and kinship, instead of being transparent and individualistically oriented towards the street (fig. 3). Open space and nature is broken into smaller pieces and distributed evenly through-out a human-scaled and horizontal city, while Western culture groups open space into bigger pieces, distributing it via important nodes in a vertical-oriented city (fig. 4). Finally, the enclosing of spaces touches the essence of the Chinese perception of space. Space is fundamentally perceived as a series of enclosed worlds, and the smaller units repeat the forms of the larger one, on a reduced scale (fig. 5).



Fig. 1: Linearity.

Left: Chinese linear public space.
Right: Western central square.
(after Miao 1990)

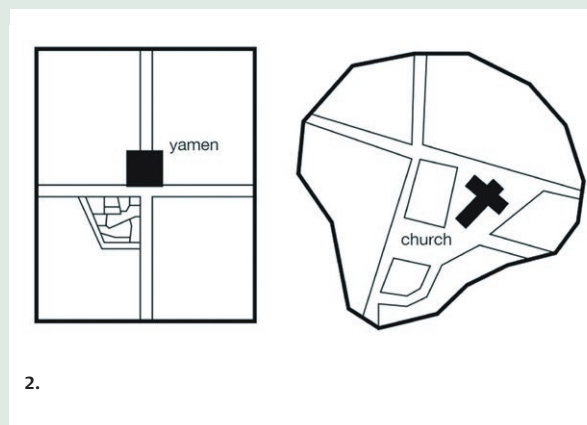


Fig. 2: Hierarchy.

Left: Chinese hierarchical organization.
Right: Western non-orthogonal urban tissue.
(after Miao 1990)

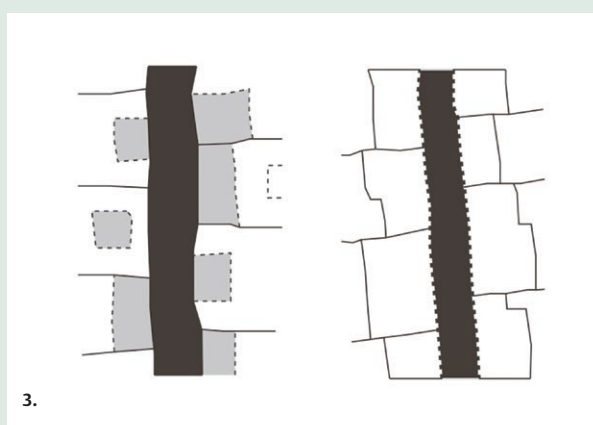


Fig. 3: Unity.

Left: Walls defined the street in China.
Right: Open façade to the street in the West.
(after Miao 1990)

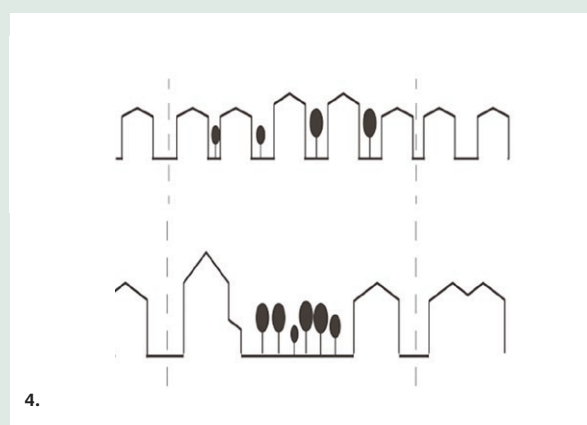
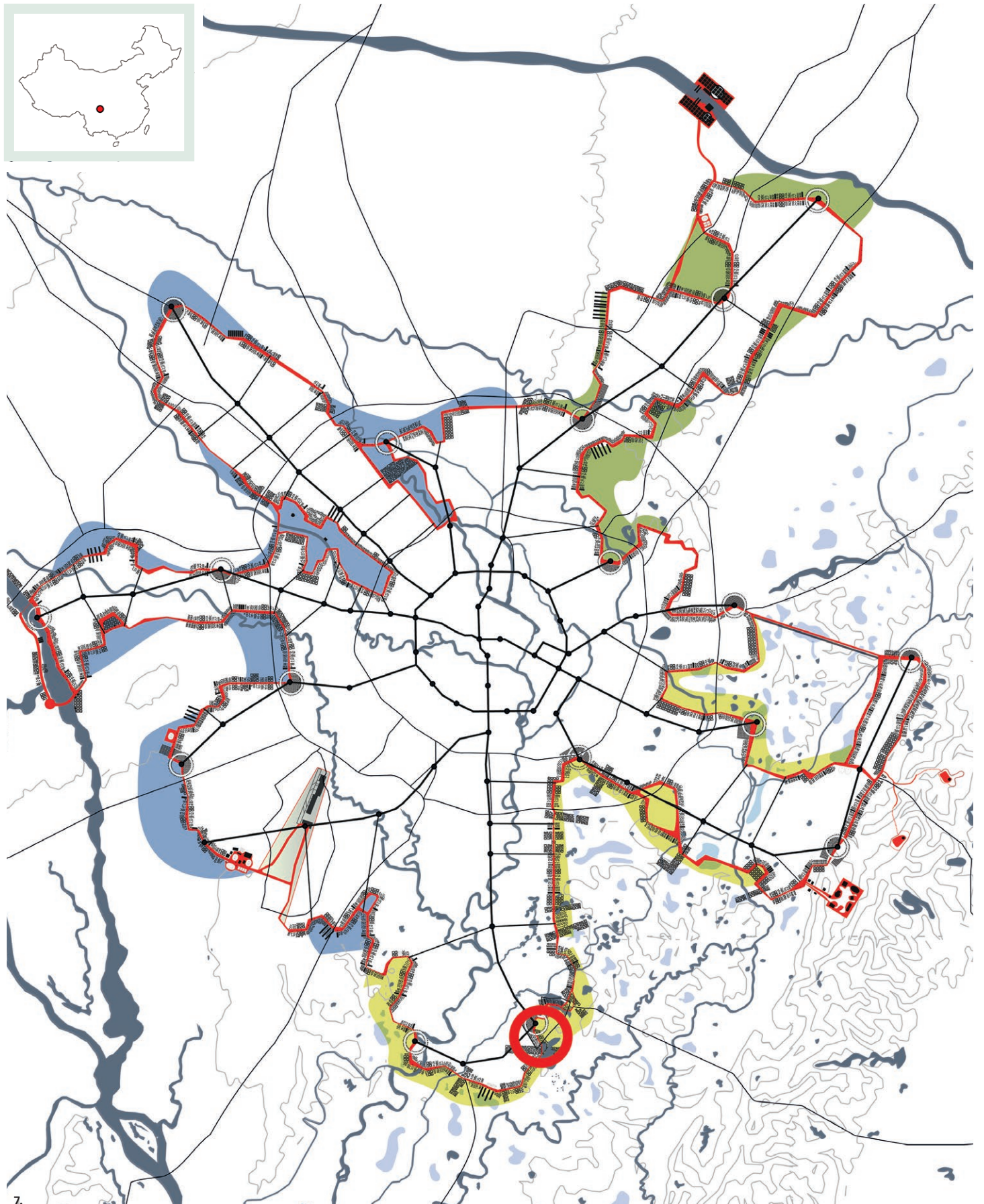


Fig. 4: Human scale.

Top: Evenly distributed, small-scale open spaces in China.
Bottom: Large open space in centre of block in West.
(after Miao 1990)



Everyday human experience

Is falling back on historical city-forming principles a useful step in the rapid modernization of urban China? In China the re-creation of traditional districts is becoming widespread, but mostly with local identity becoming an ornament displayed to attract tourists rather than to shelter communities. Space is seen as an autonomous phenomenon that does no more than form a static 'image' that looks historical. This often leads to closed, sometimes authoritarian, and brittle places. This project did not consider the historical image as being useful, but rather the older *perceptual principles*. As a Western designer it is almost impossible to fully understand the evolution of Chinese cities and to fix its value for today's rapidly changing society, but somehow current urbanization tends to neglect these principles. Public space is not organized in a linear way, and tends to neglect existing topography with a view to designing large over-dimensioned spaces. The relation towards the street is also often problematic. The buildings themselves are more and more conceived of as individual objects, instead of being part of an urban context. By once again incorporating these principles into city-making, this project attempts to contribute to the meaningful everyday human experiences of space in Chinese cities.

Jasper Nijveldt studied Architecture at TU Delft, graduating cum laude as an urban designer. Last year he won the second prize in the Vertical Cities Asia competition (mailto:jaspersnijveldt.com; www.jaspersnijveldt.com).

Notes

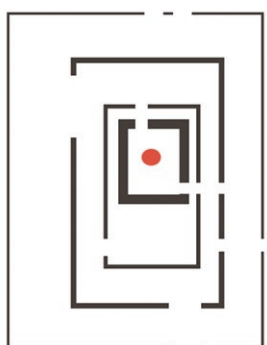
- 1 Faure, G.O. 2008. 'Chinese society and its new emerging culture', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 17, 469-491; Lin, G.C.S. 2007. 'Chinese urbanism in question: state, society, and the reproduction of urban spaces', *Urban Geography*, 28, 7-29.
- 2 Miao, P. 2011. 'Brave New City: Three Problems in Chinese Urban Public Space since the 1980s', *Journal of Urban Design*, 16, 179-207.
- 3 Miao, P. 1990. 'Seven Characteristics of Traditional Urban Form in Southeast China', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 1.2.; Xiaodong, L. & Kang Shua, Y. 2007. *Chinese Conception of Space*, Singapore: China Architecture & Building Press.



Fig. 5: Enclosure.

Series of enclosed worlds.

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5.



8.

Fig. 6: The design is based on existing landscape and use patterns of agricultural lots at the location. Walls are erected on plot lines to create building lots allowing for a variety of dwelling typologies.

Fig. 7: 300-kilometre-long by 1-kilometre-wide urban 'Wall' located at the current city border. The Wall 'encloses' the space of the city. Chengdu is able to double in population without consuming valuable land. One part of the Wall is worked out further into a new paddy-township.

Fig. 8: The creating and ordering of 'empty volumes' leads to a human experience of space.

Sublime and heterotopic landscapes

The current state of the Asian urban environment is characterized by a high level of capitalist policies. Due to land-scarcity and economic benefit, a mass migration surge from the countryside to the coast is taking place in most Asian countries. To handle the influx of these people, many cities resort to a 'maximum profit per footprint' policy. Here the smallest possible piece of land is extruded as high as possible into the air, to be divided into tiny fragments, often not exceeding 20m². The resulting urban situation is that of walking through a canyon-like abyss, shaped by the concrete forest of anonymous towers.

Jonathan van der Stel



1.

The Sublime is an overwhelming experience, both beautiful and terrifying; a Heterotopia is the place of the Other, but serves as a reflection of the 'everyday' world.

Fig. 1: Impression of the building integrating into the skyline of Hong Kong. Its horizontality provides a background and a contrast to the rest of the city.

Fig. 2: Impression of the cutting, jumping and connecting of the building with the city fabric. View taken from the interior of the square.

Fig. 3: Longitudinal section. Different functions require different-sized boxes; these are placed in-between the column structure, keeping the building stable. The 'multiple artificial perspectives' of the drawing enhances the 'sublime' aspect of 'being lost'.

MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, these towers have no discernible architectural features and/or quality. They are placed haphazardly onto the topography, often without regard for the neighbourhood or the surroundings. The result is that developments in Asian cities tend to resemble one another. The city becomes a highly disconnected/disjointed space between the public domain and the private sphere. This project tries first of all to define these aspects in the city of Hong Kong; secondly, it maximizes them in order to (paradoxically) balance them out.

The program of the project is that of a university. In order to get a grip on these characteristics they had to be defined in an abstract sense. This became 1) the Sublime, as expounded by Immanuel Kant in response to Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* and 2) the Heterotopia, a concept developed by French poststructuralist philosopher Michel Foucault in an article entitled 'Des Espace Autres' (published in France in *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* in 1984, but originally introduced by him during a lecture he gave in 1967).

The Sublime can best be described as an overwhelming experience, which is both beautiful and terrifying at the same time. A well-known example would be Caspar David Friedrich's painting *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (1818). Here we see a well-dressed gentleman, overlooking a mist-filled mountain valley; how he got there we don't know. He is standing on the peak of a rough mountain terrain, absorbing the beauty (or maybe getting ready to jump).

A Heterotopia is the place of the Other, a secluded place that can exist by itself and also serve as a reflection of the 'everyday' world; for example, a library, a cemetery, a university, or a prison. These concepts define the experience when first visiting the megalopolis of Hong Kong. The sheer bigness of it all has a kind of beauty, while also the terrifying sense of being utterly insignificant. On the other hand, most recently developed Asian cities have this aspect, this bigness, thus leaving open the question of 'background'. If it is so big, what are we meant to read it against?

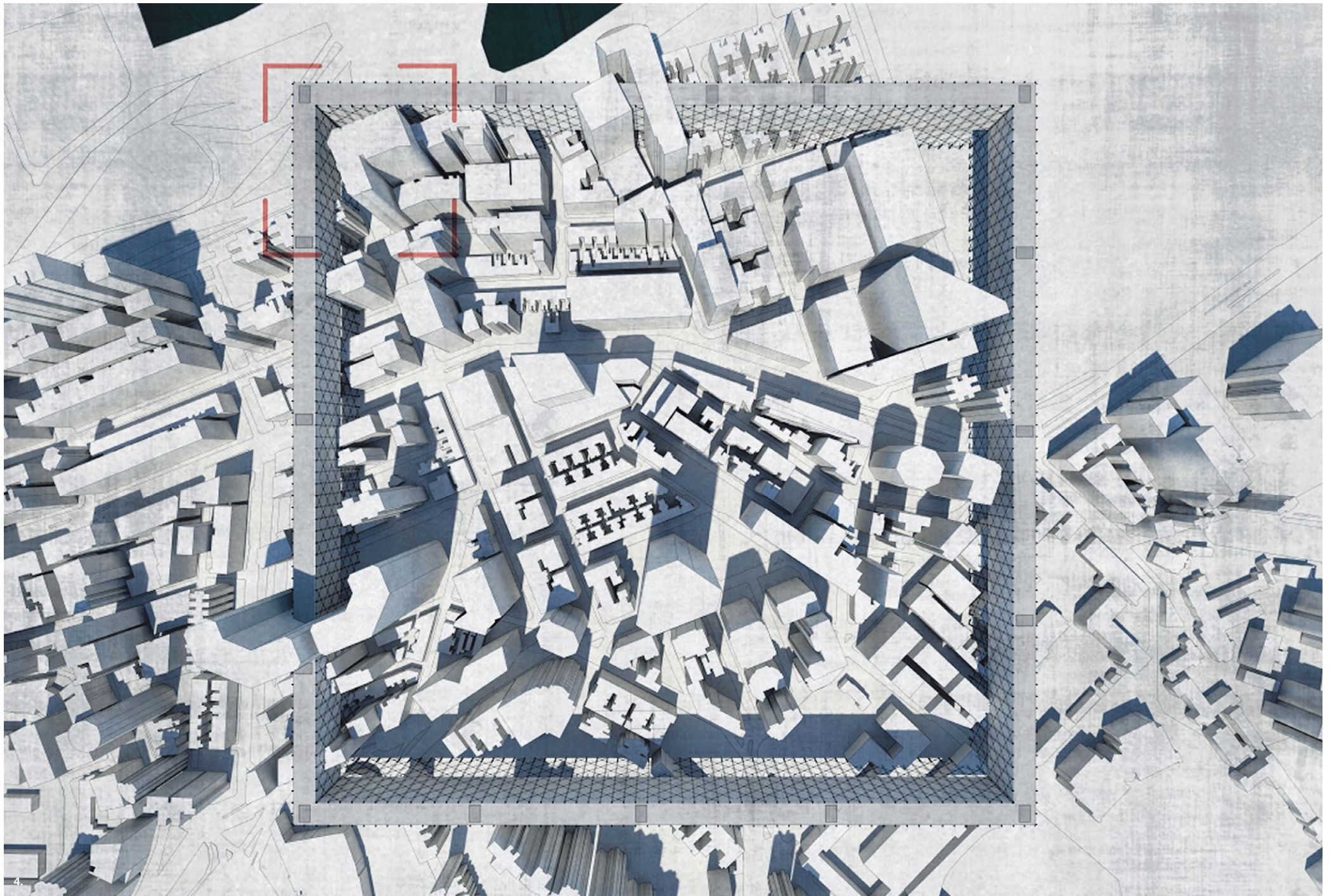
To read the city against a neutral background was the initial concept of this design project, much like the space of a monastery which is conceived as defining the interior space



2.



3.



of the courtyard against the 'wild' nature outside the monastery walls. The building had to become a defining space in the city; giving condition to the inside *and* the outside. (Even though, in a strict sense, there is no such thing). By making the building a closed square, the condition arises out of itself. Taken from a map of the city, coordinate lines are brought into reality. These lines, which help one orientate and navigate the spaces on the map, form the first plan for the square. 560 metres square, with a depth of 18 metres and rising 100 metres into the air, the university is superimposed onto the existing fabric of the city. The structure is build up in such a way that it, despite its abstract shape, leaves all the buildings intact. Where needed, it either touches or jumps over existing buildings thus forming a second landscape in the city.

One can enter the university through a multitude of entry points. Common functions, which are shared by different faculties and the city, are located at the square's four corners. These include, for example, the restaurant, sporting facilities, large auditoria, etc. These main entry points are supplemented by three additional entry points located between them. The connection with the city can happen through a seamless ascension out of the urban fabric. Making use of the existing elevated pedestrian walkways, or cut-away corners, one can move seamlessly up to the first couple of floors. Occasionally, when the structure encounters a building that is too high for it to jump over, it touches the building and integrates with it, sharing connections to the public transport networks or offices. These entrance points are also the clusters through which the structure is organized in a vertical sense. Elevators will carry visitors up to the desired floor where, again, the most commonly used functions, like auditoria or library spaces, are located. Moving from here in a horizontal fashion, the visitor encounters quieter, secretive spaces that can be used for self-study or for private meetings.

Moving horizontal, however, will require some effort. Spaces are laid out in a non-straightforward way. On top of this, the route the visitor has to take often leads through enclosed spaces where people are working or studying. Thus, the experience is a maze-like 'going in and out' of seemingly closed boxes, floating disjointedly above

and below one another. Every space, therefore, exists as an individual entity and simultaneously confronts the surroundings of the block with its presence. Contrasts between these two realities are enhanced by allowing the outside spaces to be exposed to the forces of nature, while the inside spaces are contained, acclimatized, and protected. Lighting conditions will also reflect this relationship, with maximum contrast between the naturally lit, vertical street conditions and the inside spaces, which are either completely dark (i.e., when unused) or brightly lit by artificial lighting. The visitors can lose themselves here, feeling a desperate need for grounding, combined with a twinge of fear: the fear of being lost. This aspect is reflected in the artificially constructed multiple perspectives used in the section drawing of part of the square (fig. 2). Every space has its own vanishing point, thus exists within itself, while all the while relating to the rest of the drawing. Combine this with the shifts in bridges, sudden drops and chasms, and the occasional forceful gust of wind and the new Sublime landscape is created as a city within the city.

Recognizing the fact that existing buildings will abut this new structure, especially the high-rise towers, will provide a new dimension to the city. Inside the university, the different faculties are given shape according to different areas in the city. The morphology is abstracted and reiterated in the university as a synecdoche of the city itself. While in the centre of the square the image will be one of a bright glittering ocean-like canvas behind which sit the buildings that are directly visible. This is due to the system of freely penetrable aluminium panelling that is used. These can move in the wind and play out a game of waves, giving a surreal spectacle of illusionary endlessness. The interior structure will only be vaguely readable, thus contributing to, firstly, the background, and secondly to the Sublime concept. From outside the square, a darker presence is discernible as a black bar crossing between the skyscrapers and the sky. It will only be possible to identify the interior programme of the building by judging the amount of 'roughness' created by the folding panels. With these two clearly distinguishable sides, an explicit contrast between the interior and exterior is created. Enforcing the concept of a Heterotopia, freely penetrable but providing a mirror to itself.

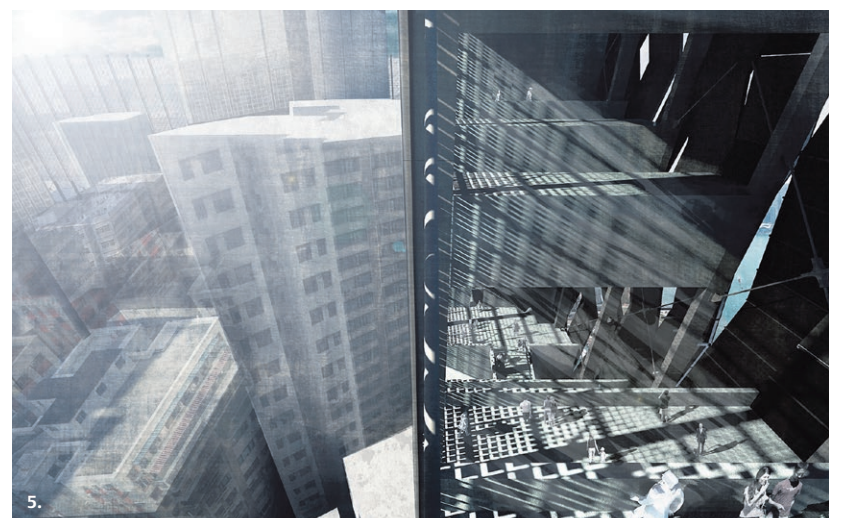
Fig. 4: Floor plan showing the complete square of the building. Vertical cores are placed at regular intervals and the structure stops where it abuts 'bigger' buildings (for example, the Times Square shopping and office complex at the lower right-hand corner).

Fig. 5: This impression shows the contrasting spaces of the interior and the existing city. Light can filter through the moveable panelling on the interior façade of the square, in contrast to the darker, outer façade.

Although the project has a high level of abstraction, the premise is nonetheless brought to a credible level. The structure is modular, as is its contents and programme, thus allowing for a growing and shrinking of the university as required. A system of construction has been designed in order to deal with the narrow spaces of Hong Kong's streetscape. Items of a more concrete nature, such as the financing of the project, or of getting relevant planning permissions, etc., from all land and building owners have not been fully resolved.

The current situation in China is that migrants want the next generation to do better than they have; sending them to a good university is one very practical option for betterment, and it creates a unique opportunity for Hong Kong, which will lose its Special Administrative Region status within China in 2047. Remodelling itself into a 'knowledge city' will give it enough distinction in the Pearl River Delta region. This square of university program will function as an attractor and intensifier of city program, leaving a possible future scenario where banks and offices inside the square are taken over by university program and student dormitories.

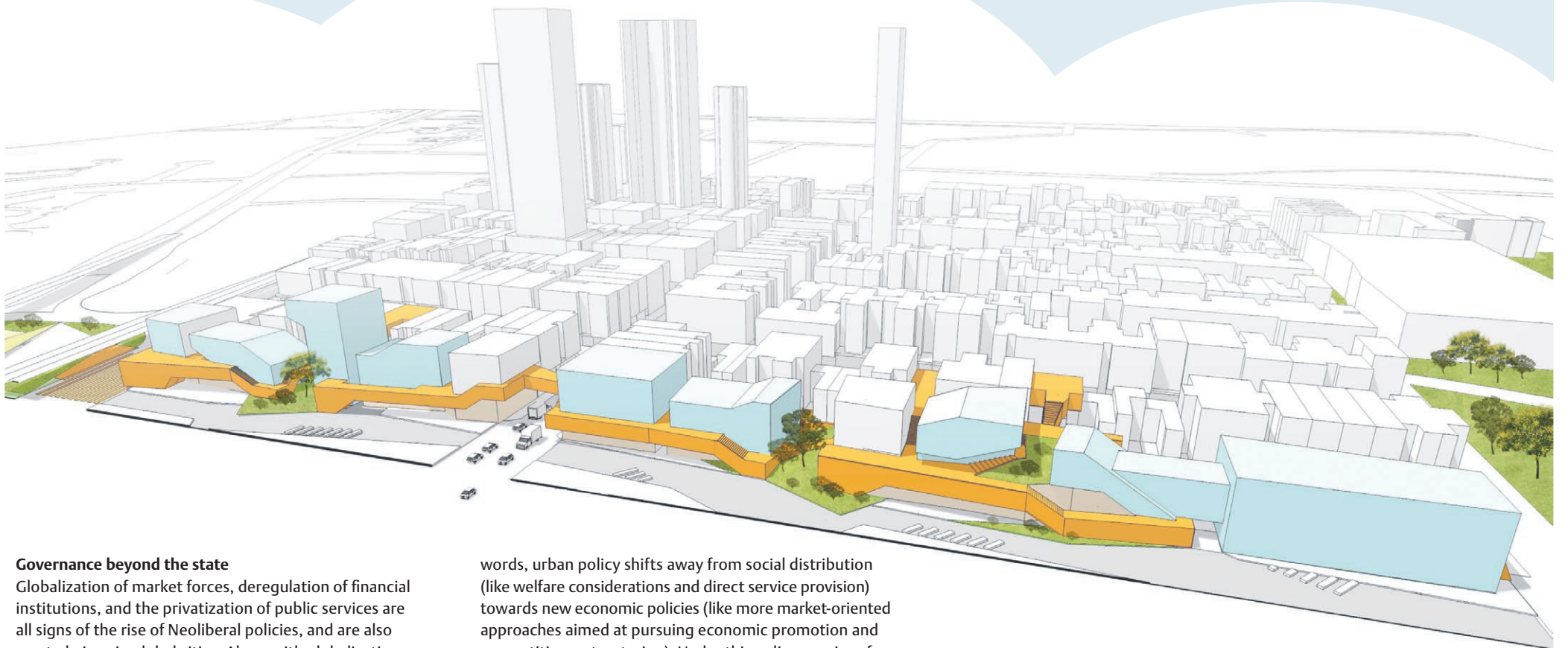
Jonathan van der Stel completed his Masters in Architecture at the Hong Kong studio in October 2012. He recently started working at OMA in Rotterdam (jonathanstel@hotmail.com).



Alternative thinking within the neoliberal framework

With the rise of Neoliberal policies, cities, especially global cities, are experiencing large-scale urban regeneration. During this process, specific social groups are absent from the decision-making processes. There is exclusion of people and territories that, from the perspective of the dominant interests of global capitalism, shift to a position of social irrelevance. Is there an alternative urban solution for the development of these 'black holes'? Kowloon City, one of the urban 'black holes', will be a case study in the Hong Kong context.

Ting Wen



Governance beyond the state

Globalization of market forces, deregulation of financial institutions, and the privatization of public services are all signs of the rise of Neoliberal policies, and are also most obvious in global cities. Along with globalization and the liberalization process there is the emergence of a constellation of managerial practices for governance within a generic Neoliberal frame. Its essence is the Foucauldian notion of governmentality: power working as network. Planners and local authorities adopt a more proactive and entrepreneurial approach aimed at identifying market opportunities and assisting private investors to take advantage of them. In this way, more social actors enter the governmentality, including private agents, designers, architects, planners, non-governmental organizations, civil society groups, corporations, and so on. This new urban governance is defined by Erik Swyngedouw as 'Governance beyond the State'.

Advances in telematics changed capital manipulation and the world market. Decision making does not necessarily have to be in the exchange location but can be situated in better places, with more favourable circumstances. Cities are trying to find their competitive positions in the context of rapidly changing global conditions. Political transformations are initiated in an attempt to align local situations with the requirements of the international economic system. In other

words, urban policy shifts away from social distribution (like welfare considerations and direct service provision) towards new economic policies (like more market-oriented approaches aimed at pursuing economic promotion and competitive restructuring). Under this policy a series of large-scale urban development projects are implemented by a combination of public- and private-sector interests.

Urban regeneration is presented as an opportunity to change economic hierarchies and reposition the city on the map of the global landscape. The city's elite institutions indulge themselves in drawing a splendid image of the 'good business climate' for the outsider, investor, developer, businessman, or the wealthy tourist, and sells the image of being a cultural centre and tourist destination. While the reorientation in attitudes to urban governance that has taken place in advanced capitalist countries, the 'managerial' approach so typical of the 1960s, has steadily given way to 'entrepreneurialism'.

'Pluralistic governance' or 'democratic deficit': the Hong Kong story

Neoliberal policy is celebrated for its co-ordinated action of different actors, the building of network governance, and more efficient forms of urban management. Is it really so perfect? Hong Kong, being synonymous with Neoliberalism, can be a case study.

Above and below: Urban interventions in Kowloon City. Compressed in the most dynamic way to promote street life and the community, orange represents commercial, blue cultural, and white residential functions.

From the positive non-interventionism of the 1970s to the information age of the twenty-first century, Hong Kong has experienced economic take-off due to Neoliberalism. The large-scale construction of physical infrastructure and hyper-concentrated facilities has enabled Hong Kong to offer its intermediaries greater capacity to compete. The city has become a paradise for investors. In 1970, the first supermarket opened and then the first department store. Old blocks were demolished, and massive urban interventions sprang up like mushrooms. However, behind the vivid, booming images of that highly centralized CBD core is a large population being suburbanized in comparatively low-standard accommodation and with income inequality. The so-called shift from centralist, formalized, bureaucratized, hierarchical, top-down planning to decentralized, informal, flexible, bottom-up and networked planning approaches are coming hand-in-hand with increasing urban asymmetry.

In traditional Hong Kong streets, commercial life spills out from the shophouse, with merchandise on the sidewalk. Various street markets and hawker stalls make the street life more dynamic. Sellers often join the lively commercial atmosphere. Buyers and sellers often know each other and may develop longstanding trading relationships. People are embedded in a larger network of social relationships, including family and friends, which engenders loyalty as well as obligations. By comparison, in the new 'business climate', market rules tend to evolve slowly away from the egalitarian and into one form dominated by official controls outside, and more privileged controls inside. Taxes, import regulations, the imposition of pricing structure and the pressure on small businesses becomes too great. Only big company or brand names have the ability to locate in certain places.

In this situation, specific social groups, like those with low-income, racial minorities, immigrants, and certain types of workers, are absent from the city centre or other 'developed' areas. There is exclusion of people and territories which, from the perspective of the dominant interests of global capitalism, shift to a position of social irrelevance. It leads to the constitution of what Manuel Castells calls, the 'black holes of informational capitalism'. The beautiful pictures described by the social elites who indulge in the Neoliberal framework are based on an increasing inequality in the inhabited environment.



Kowloon City redevelopment

Challenges for Kowloon City redevelopment

In order to change the monocentric urban structure and regenerate the 'black holes', the Hong Kong Metroplan Selected Strategy proposed in 1991 a redevelopment framework for the Kai Tak Airport that envisaged a mix of public and private housing, new commercial developments, and high-tech industrial zones. Later on, in the Hong Kong 2011 Policy Report it was pointed out that 'the development of the Kai Tak area, the South East Kowloon has the potential to become the second "Central" in Hong Kong'. Kowloon City, located besides the former Kai Tak Airport, is part of the new CBD framework.

Kowloon City, or *Lung Shing* in Cantonese, is a sub-district and is named after Kowloon Walled City. A large part of the population here are Asian immigrants who came through the Airport. Due to cheap living they managed to settle down. The dominant typology in the area is the shophouse, most with affordable prices. Residents therefore get the chance to start small business (like restaurants). As more and more exotic restaurants appeared, Kowloon City achieved a reputation for its special Food Street.

As time went by, and most of the surrounding areas were regenerated into modern blocks, Kowloon City still retained its old city fabric and lifestyle. The cheaper living costs also attracted more inhabitants, socially excluded from the city centre. On one hand the community successfully keeps the lively social and commercial life traditional to Hong Kong; on the other, outdated infrastructure becomes a big barrier to future prosperity. Statistics indicate that the median monthly domestic household income of the community is HK\$13,600, which is quite low compared to the average standard of the district, which is HK\$20,000. The employment rate, especially for women, is also 6 percent lower than the average. Even among the working population, 20 percent engage in home business and around 43 percent work in the relatively low-income labour industries like manufacturing, construction, wholesale, and transport. More than a quarter of the population is facing difficulty in finding better jobs in more developed districts. They have no choice but to remain trapped in place. Social exclusion, inequality in facilities, and poverty are common problems for residents in Kowloon City, making it one of the biggest of the urban 'black holes'.

South East Kowloon project seems like an opportunity for the area to get rid of this regrettable *status quo*. The splendid regeneration plans will help locals get better connected to the infrastructure network and create more employment.



However, as mentioned above, the dearth of decision making for specific social groups, namely the majority of the local population, will also bring a risk of unequal gentrification. How to balance the demand of development and prevent its valuable identity from being swallowed up by the big Neoliberal urban interventions will be the biggest challenge for the Kowloon City redevelopment.

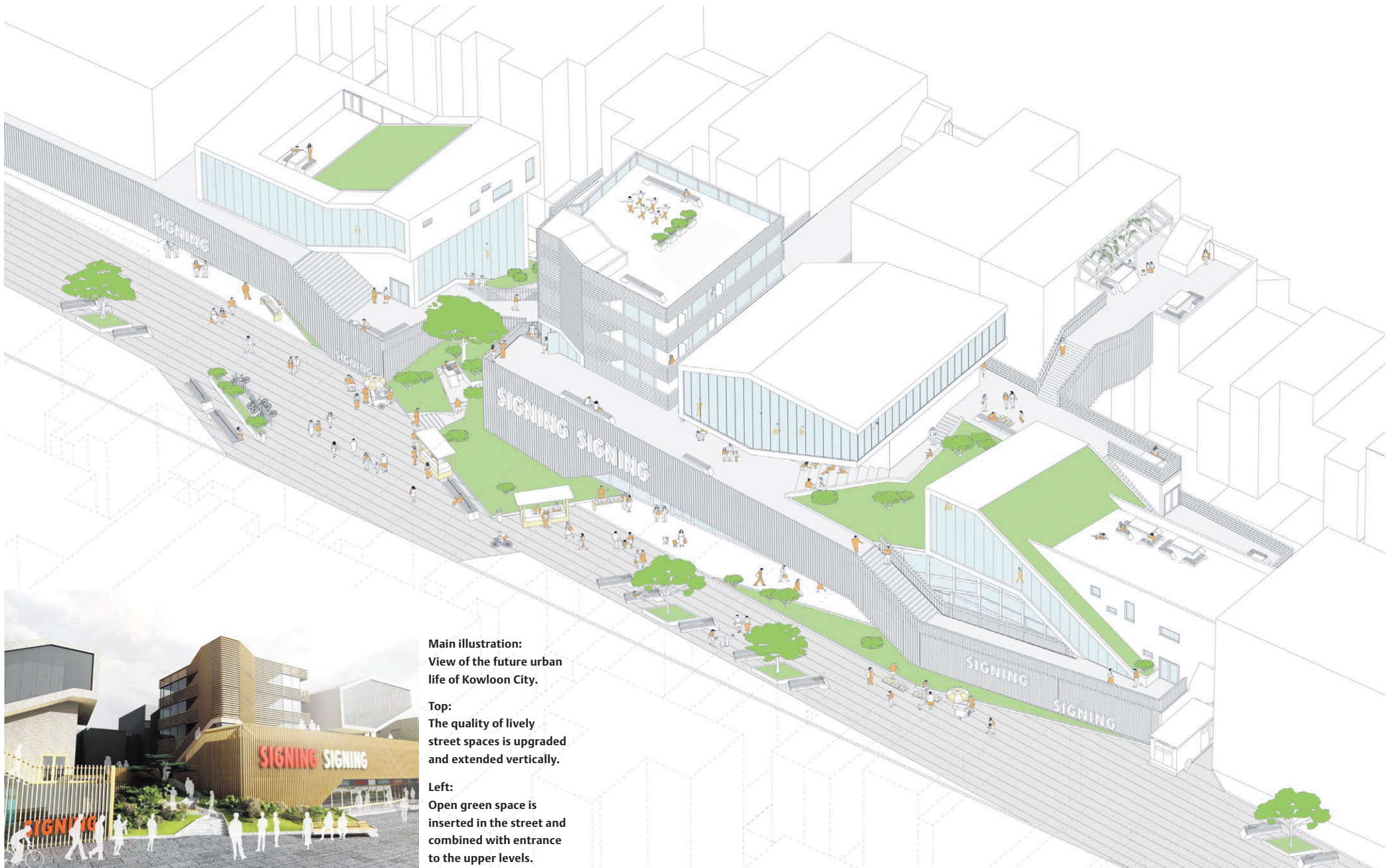
Alternative urban strategies

Responding to the challenges of the Kowloon City redevelopment, the most important consideration of the design is to include local inhabitants in future scenarios and pre-empt their exclusion. The regeneration strategies should be based on the advantages of existing intimate social relations, but without fundamentally changing the social structure. On these principles, the main urban strategies are as follows:

- 1) Compress the scale of the urban intervention, only launching it in the most promoting place,
- 2) Selectively demolish existing buildings,
- 3) When building new ones, avoid big vertical and volumetric extensions as well as re-enforcing the benefits of the present building typology,
- 4) Keep the street spaces as lively social places, extending them by adding more possibility and flexibility.

The final design maintains the dynamic street life of the community and expands it vertically. There will be the insertion of open green space at different levels. The locals will also have more opportunities for starting their own businesses, but also the developers will get better conditions for building new establishments. In this scenario the inhabitants, developers, investors, and tourists can all benefit from the upgraded urban environment.

Ting Wen is a graduate from the Delft University of Technology with a MSc Architecture degree. She graduated from the Hong Kong studio of the Delft School Design department (artmswen@gmail.com).



Main illustration:
View of the future urban life of Kowloon City.

Top:
The quality of lively street spaces is upgraded and extended vertically.

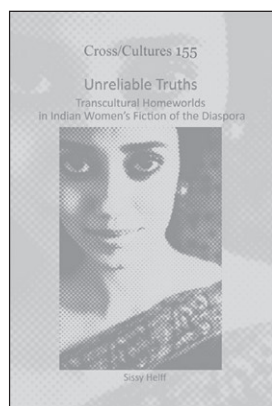
Left:
Open green space is inserted in the street and combined with entrance to the upper levels.

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Unreliable Truths

*Transcultural Homeworlds
in Indian Women's Fiction
of the Diaspora*

Sissy Helff



While many people see 'home' as the domestic sphere and place of belonging, it is hard to grasp its manifold implications, and even harder to provide a tidy definition of what it is. Over the past century, discussion of home and nation has been a highly complex matter, with broad political ramifications, including the realignment of nation-states and national boundaries. Against this backdrop, this book suggests that 'home' is constructed on the assumption that what it defines is constantly in flux and thus can never capture an objective perspective, an ultimate truth.

Along these lines, *Unreliable Truths* offers a comparative literary approach to the construction of home and concomitant notions of uncertainty and unreliable narration in South Asian diasporic women's literature from the UK, Australia, South Africa, the Caribbean, North America, and Canada. Writers discussed in detail include Feroza Jussawalla, Suneeta Peres da Costa, Meera Syal, Farida Karodia, Shani Mootoo, Shobha Dé, and Oonya Kempadoo.

With its focus on transcultural homes, *Unreliable Truths* goes beyond discussions of diaspora from an established postcolonial point of view and contributes with its investigation of transcultural unreliable narration to the representation of a g/local South Asian diaspora.

Sissy Helff is currently guest professor for English literature and visual culture at the University of Darmstadt. Her most recent publications include several co-edited volumes: *Die Kunst der Migration: Aktuelle Positionen zum europäisch-afrikanischen Diskurs; Material — Gestaltung — Kritik* (2011), *Faong the East in the West: Images of Eastern Europe in British Literature, Film and Culture* (2010), *Transcultural Modernities: Narrating Africa in Europe* (2009), and *Transcultural English Studies* (2008). She is currently working on a book dealing with the image of the refugee in British writing and a collection of essays dealing with Alice in Wonderland.

Amsterdam/New York, NY
2013. XIX, 210 pp.
(Cross/Cultures 155)
Paper €50,-/US\$70,-
E-Book €45,-/US\$63,-
ISBN: 978-90-420-3628-4
ISBN: 978-94-012-0898-7

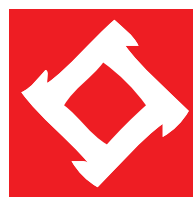
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The re-emergence of medical diversity in India

As the organisers of an anthropology conference on Medical Pluralism held in Rome in 2011 noted, medical pluralism – generally understood as the co-existence of diverse medical traditions in a single setting – is something of an ‘old fashioned’ topic in the social sciences. Although the term itself came into vogue only in the 1970s its emergence as a focus of research dates back to the 1950s, when anthropologists started to observe the expansion of ‘Western’ medicine or ‘biomedicine’ into developing country contexts and examine its effects on indigenous understandings and practices regarding illness.

Helen Lambert

Reviewed publication:

Sujatha V. & Abraham, L. (eds.). 2012. *Medical Pluralism in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 408 pp, ISBN: 9788125045014 (hardcover)

AT THAT TIME there was a prevailing assumption in public health circles that the putatively inherent superiority of biomedicine would automatically lead to major health improvements and the decline of other medical traditions. In the following decades many studies instead documented the continuing preferment of other approaches to managing illness and the coexistence of different therapeutic modalities, but towards the end of the 20th century social scientists turned to the study of more general processes of ‘globalisation’, including the worldwide spread of pharmaceuticals. Yet contrary to modernist assumptions, non-Western treatment forms have not disappeared, but today are assuming growing importance both in Euro-American contexts and within their countries of origin, often in revitalised forms.

In response, there has recently been a revival of interest among social scientists and historians in the nature and character of medical pluralism and this volume marks an important contribution to this initiative. It has particular contemporary significance in light of the Indian government’s recent moves to institutionalise a plural concept of medicine in its national health system by funding certain posts for qualified non-biomedical practitioners and advocating the ‘revitalisation’ of local health traditions.

The present volume contains 12 chapters representing a wealth of scholarship from several disciplinary perspectives and is subdivided into five sections that start with the ‘ancient’ traditions of Indian medicine (defined here in a somewhat exclusive manner as consisting solely of the textually-based or ‘codified’ medical systems of Ayurveda and Siddha) and go on to cover relationships between Indian health traditions and the state, variations within the codified traditions, varieties of subaltern practice outside the official sector (including midwifery and orally transmitted or ‘folk’ therapeutic traditions, both religious and secular) and the indigenous drug manufacturing industry. An impressive introductory overview by the editors usefully surveys the wealth of existing scholarship on Indian medical traditions and introduces the volume’s main themes. It is marred by a few contentious and partisan readings of the work of certain scholars and the occasional error of fact (such as the claim that Britain banned all non-biomedical practices in the 19th century, whereas Britain has always had a relatively permissive regulatory approach to ‘other’ forms of medicine and only use of the title ‘Doctor’ by those not trained in Western biomedicine was prohibited).

Delineating the scope of ‘Indian medicine’

The editors avoid explicitly defining what, in their view, counts as ‘medical’ in their Introduction, but the welcome inclusion of chapters dealing respectively with childbirth, the treatment of psychosocial problems at healing shrines and religious centres, and ‘local health practitioners’, illustrate some facets of the remarkable therapeutic diversity for which India is renowned. On the other hand the fact that half the volume (six out of twelve chapters) is devoted to Ayurveda or Siddha, whereas the numerous unofficial treatment forms across the subcontinent (herbalism, ocular treatment, physical manipulation, bonesetting, use of mantra, and so on) are represented by just one chapter and otherwise scarcely referenced, reinforces the common assumption that ‘Indian medicine’ refers solely to the textually legitimated, predominantly Hindu-origin medical traditions. This issue is addressed from another perspective in a theoretically

rich chapter on the position of Unani medicine post-Independence; Quaiser argues that whereas in the colonial period the indigenous traditions of both Ayurveda and Unani together fought for recognition in opposition to western medicine and the colonial state, after Independence a growing communalism became apparent and Unani became increasingly identified as Muslim in opposition to both Ayurveda and the postcolonial state.

A short review cannot do justice to the many insights and detailed arguments contained in all the individual contributions to this volume, but it is worth highlighting a few cross-cutting themes. One repeated emphasis is the multifaceted and diverse nature found within traditions such as Ayurveda and Siddha that are often portrayed as single unified systems, with distinctive regional variations (Abraham on ‘Kerala Ayurveda’), differences between institutionalised Siddha as taught in Government colleges versus that informally transmitted through families or apprenticeship (Sébastien), and distinctions in the ways biomedical diagnostic tests and patient understandings are negotiated by practitioners who seek to practise ‘authentic’ Ayurveda as compared to those practising a more syncretic variety (Bode).

While all the chapters in the volume demonstrate an impressive depth of scholarship relating to their chosen subject, some rehearse quite well-known arguments already familiar from existing literature, such as epistemological differences between understandings of disease etiology and approaches to diagnosis in Indian medicine in contrast to Western biomedicine, or contiguities between indigenous therapeutic traditions and their surrounding cultures with respect to the role of environment and lifestyle in producing health and disease. A few contributions offer rather simplistic stereotypes of Western biomedicine that fail to give weight to the substantial shifts in understanding and practise within this system that have occurred in the past few decades.

Testing policy against the reality of contemporary treatment provision

More original insights to our understanding of contemporary medical pluralism in India are provided in those chapters that engage with current policy perspectives and consider the implications of changing health systems and global markets for Indian medical diversity. A chapter on ‘local health practitioners’ (Payyappallimana and Hariramamurthi) offers a useful historical and policy overview that emphasises how the separation between what used to be termed ‘folk medicine’ and the codified indigenous medical systems is a historically recent result of the setting apart of codified medicine through institutionalisation of training and registration. Presenting current Indian government policy in a wider global context, these authors highlight the inherent difficulties in recognising and revitalising these traditions. Not only is the very definition of a traditional healer problematic, but documenting traditional knowledge (often advocated

as a means of preservation) and disseminating it through formal pedagogical methods may be risky and inappropriate, since much of this knowledge is experientially based and embodied as well as highly diverse.

In India, psychosocial and psychiatric problems are frequently treated in the religious sphere at regionally renowned shrines and temples. Davar and Lohokare describe approaches to treatment at some of these sites, in the light of recent government orders to close all institutions not covered by the Mental Health Act, following an incident where mentally ill people had died as a result of being forcibly confined when a facility caught fire. They condemn this sweeping attempt to outlaw, in the name of human rights, what for many people is the only genuinely available and accessible source of long term care, especially given the lack of biomedical facilities for dealing with mental health issues. Similarly the contributions by Sadgopal and Patel in different ways highlight the potential losses to women’s agency in moving from traditional modes of managing childbirth, attended by relatives or local midwives, to hospital-based or biomedically-dominated approaches. In so doing they also acknowledge, perhaps to a greater extent than other contributions, the inherent relationship between use of indigenous and non-biomedical resources and the formal health care system.

As a whole this volume offers a range of richly detailed case studies of some of the main medical traditions and practices that go to make up the diversity of ways in which health-related problems are treated in India. Despite some inevitable shortcomings it contributes both to our comparative understanding of the nature of Indian medical pluralism as a contemporary phenomenon, and sheds light on the profound potential positive and negative implications of state intervention in shaping this phenomenon. Incorporating historical, sociological and anthropological perspectives, it will be a valuable resource for students, scholars and policy makers alike.

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Winners and losers of development: considerations for Southeast and southern-East Asia

The discourse on globalization (Thai: *lokaphiwat/lokanuwat*, Vietnamese: *toàn cầu hóa*), weak vs. strong states, the nature of socialism, the nature of capitalism or other integration into a neo-liberal economic framework and ‘free market capitalism’, still prevails in many discussions about Southeast and East Asian economies. In particular, discussions about socialist societies (China, Vietnam, and Laos) are too-often labeled ‘post-socialist’, whereby economic integration into the global market and capitalist economy are thought to be the solution to the woes of drastically unequal populations. Statistically more rare are calls for class-based analysis, representations of oral histories, and the concerns of those who are most likely to be affected (for the worse) by the outgrowth of some of the world’s most rapidly developing markets. Nevertheless, a rich literature in the field of Southeast Asian studies, and the potential for a new area of ‘Zomian studies’ – or studies of a relatively common experience in the Asian highland massif – have combined to form a critique of common perceptions imbedded in English language press and certain academic discourse of, as Glassman states, “globalization studies” (5,41).¹

William Noseworthy

Reviewed publication: Glassman, J. 2010. *Bounding the Mekong: The Asian Development Bank, China, and Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 280 pp., ISBN: 9780824834449 (hardback)

SOUTHEAST ASIA is the ‘world’s genetic rice bank’, sporting government subsidized HYV seeds, maize, rising crops of rubber (at plantation proportions) and an increase in black cardamom (*Amomum aromaticum*); all have played integral rolls in supporting food deficiencies (Michaud and Forsyth, 70,112,116). Meanwhile, continuing inequalities of access to drinking water, shelter, basic food supplies, medical care, education, and the ability to make one’s voice heard publicly have evoked questions as to the nature of academic methods. In response, methods of participant observation, oral history, and historical analysis of political economy have been recently recombined through the works of Glassman, Michaud and Forsyth (2011), Baird (2010), and Walker (1999). Together these works bring new light to the discussion of the impact of development in regions that preserve highly valuable biological diversity for the sake of local livelihoods. This study relies upon a reading of this rich body of literature on the topic.

Literature on geographical discourse

Studies of geographical discourse can be linked to communal needs for the preservation of identity. In the history of Southeast Asian studies the discourse of geographies has been linked to the formation of national identities (Thongchai, 1994). Baird has referred to this tendency as “irredentism” or “the doctrine that people or territory should be controlled by a country that is ethnically or historically related to it” (Baird, 167). Therefore, it is not without surprise that considerations of new geographical and historical foci: the South China Sea, Zomia, *Suwannabhum* and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) all come with necessary burdens of historical and contemporary political motivations. One wishes that Glassman had space in this already impressive theoretical discussion to place the GMS in conversation with such other geographically based concepts in Southeast Asia in a way that was not so Thai centered. Nevertheless, Glassman does provide quite adequate critiques of standing and historically Thai centered geographies.

Suwannabhum, for example, is a concept that is quite clearly irredentist in a way that arguably differs substantially from other geographical concepts discussed in this piece. It harkens to the nationalist era of Thailand wherein Wichit Wathakan and Phibun Songkram re-imagined a historical reference to South-east Asia from Sanskrit (‘the land of gold’), as a Thai centered space. This point becomes particularly important to understand as the Royal Institute of Thailand reaffirmed this viewpoint through a selection of *lokaphiwat* (Thai-centered globalization) over the course of *lokanuwat*, a more neutral term proposed by Chai-anan Samudivaniya in the 1990s (Baird, 195; Glassman, 68-69).

The vantage point which one chooses for the centrality of analysis is crucial as Walker has argued that previous territorial ambiguity arose “as a result of spatial competition” (Walker, 34). Therefore, the study of the South China Sea as a geographical unit is generally accepted in all English discourse, and is the recognized name of the region by virtually all Southeast Asian states. However, to take the perspective of the Vietnamese-language sphere, the study of this region would dramatically shift. The Vietnamese name is the *Biển Đông* or Eastern Sea. Simply by shifting linguistic spheres, the focus of the study shifts away from the centrality of China. Similarly, studies of Zomia and the GMS are inherently problematic in the centralities that they presume, although they are not necessarily irredentist. For example, while studies of Zomia often propose to be studies of the highlands in a way that is completely admirable (and necessary), the very name Zomia,

Below: The Mekong Delta. Courtesy Google Maps.



derived from Zo-mi, an old Chinese language term for mountain peoples assumes the centrality of the lowlands. Meanwhile the GMS is even more problematic as Jim Glassman points out in *Bounding the Mekong*.

Bounding the Mekong

Bounding the Mekong is a rich combination of raw data interwoven with excellent narration and backed by a firm theoretical analysis. As Glassman argues, the GMS is simply a brainchild of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which seeks to bring a neoliberal economic miracle to East and Southeast Asia that symbolically trickles down the flow of the Mekong and the Lancang rivers. While the winners in this case will not be the colonial officials of days past, there is, as Glassman argues, an integrated network of elites closely tied to ‘the state’ in each case (Vietnam, Laos, China, Thailand, and Cambodia), although in some cases the highest of elites have also broken from the state. Nevertheless, as Glassman argues, it will be the Southeast Asian, East Asian, or otherwise foreign elites, who ‘win’ from development.

The ‘winners’ are the few individuals who have the ability to support new “regimes of regulation”, to borrow terms from Andrew Walker. Some examples of ‘winners’ include the Royal Family of Thailand; Thaksin Sinawatra and the Shin group; the leaders of the Siam Cement Group (with 130 subsidiaries in China and Southeast Asia by 1998); the richest non-member of the royal family in Thailand, Charoen Sirvadhanabhakdi (head of Thailand’s ‘king of beers’, Beer Chang); the Yunnan Hongta Group (with a 12% share in the Xiaowan dam and a 30% share in the Yunnan Dachaoshan Hydropower Corporations); the advocates of the West to East Transmission Project (WEETP) (China), the Western Regions Development Program (Chinese: *Xibu Dakaifa*) and the *Đổi Mới* economic reforms (Vietnam); and an elite class of businessmen that have benefitted from reforms in the Southeast Chinese provinces from the Deng Xiaoping era onward. They may even include the *Lao Luom* who advocate the Laoization of highland peoples through the adaptation of traditional dance (Lao: *lamvong*) and skirts (Lao: *sin*), and deem the banning of animal sacrifice to be ‘counterproductive’. They certainly include investors in the hydropower and mining industries (mining was the greatest increase in Laos from 1998-2005; Michaud and Forsyth, 55-73; Glassman, 59-62, 71-87, 144). And the advocates of NAFTA and the so-called ‘1%’ of the global north. In Southeast Asia this economic system operates, according to Glassman’s analysis, upon a US-Japanese aligned hegemony, which controls an average of 25% percent of the voting shares in the ADB, effectively forming a block against new member states if they wish. Only three states – Japan, China and the US – are guaranteed positions on the board of governors. Meanwhile, Indonesia is the only country from Southeast Asia that operates with notable power in the ADB (42-44). This structure effectively eliminates those who live within the GMS from the discourse of the path that will be taken in the region’s development.

Glassman argues that, within the GMS, elite classes and national governments have successfully avoided rebellion to date through making mild concessions to the ideals of social welfare, such as the 30 baht health care policy and the million baht village fund program. Other attempts at placating the petitions of formerly ‘rebellious’ groups have been seen in Vietnam with decisions (Vietnamese: *quyết định*) that allowed for the teaching of Cham and ethnic Khmer minority languages, up to University levels in rare cases. The University of Quy Nhơn opened a branch to train teachers of Cham language in 2007 and the Open University in Ho Chi Minh was allowed to hold Cham language classes in 2010-2011. However, funding for such programs remains low, and the preference for English language instruction throughout Southeast and southern East Asia has the potential to flatten the intense linguistic diversity of the region.

Glassman has a clear view of the losers as well. They are the Cham, Vietnamese, Khmer, Chinese, and Malay fishers on the lower Mekong, whose livelihoods will be severely affected by the restriction of water flows on the Mekong River. They are ethnic Lao in Cambodia who have been subjected to decades of Khmerization, and the communities of Khmer in Laos, who experienced the backlashes of Lao officials against this process (Baird). They are the *songtaew* drivers in Chiang Mai, who are often portrayed as a single class, and therefore drivers with loans for their equipment often bear the brunt of trickle down consequences of actions that have created an anti-union atmosphere. They are also the migrant workers that “constitute the backbone of the labor process” (89, 151). Such populations often experience employment biases, as Glassman notes in one case in Thailand, “the head of the Tak chapter of the Federation of Thai Industries (FTI) ... claimed that it is legitimate to pay Burmese workers below minimum wages because their work is of poor quality” (154). Even in Glassman’s work, little analysis is given to their day to day struggles to preserve their livelihood.

In Vietnam, they are members of minority populations who struggle to gain international support for the teaching of their

The art of interpretation

Soo Pieng's *Visions of Southeast Asia* was published in conjunction with the exhibition 'Cheong Soo Pieng: Bridging Worlds' at The National Art Gallery of Singapore (15 Sept-26 Dec 2010). As may be expected of a retrospect of the work of a visual artist, the volume contains a rich repertory of plates and illustrations, an overview of the artist's biography (Xiamen 1917 - Singapore 1983), and, under the title 'Bridging Worlds', art-historian and art-critical reflections on Soo Pieng's impressive body of work. In the 130-page section 'Plates', these reflections are still rounded off with substantive notes on the artist's preoccupation with Southeast Asian subject matter, his use of colour and composition, and his bridging forms and traditions.

Niels Mulder

Right: Cheong Soo Pieng, *Weavers*, 1981. Oil on canvas laid on paper board, 82 x 106cm. Collection of National Heritage Board.

Reviewed publication: Yeo Wei Wei (ed.) 2010. *Cheong Soo Pieng: Visions of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: National Art Gallery. 277 pages. ISBN: 978-981-08-6422-4 (paperback)

WITH A FEW FELLOW ARTISTS of Chinese extraction, Soo Pieng originated what has become known as the Nanyang School, in which the term Nanyang refers to the southern seas or the South China region, of which Singapore and Malaysia are a part. School or Movement stands for the synthesis of Chinese ink-painting traditions, and of styles that centred on Paris, such as Cubism, Fauvism, and Surrealism. The artists concerned, mostly émigrés from China, were overwhelmed by the light, nature, and styles of life along the equator, which inspired a direct way of working, rendering their subjects in their own right or, as Soo Pieng observed, "This is how things are".

language, despite recognized success in the organization of academic conferences, the achievements by students, and a recognized need for the preservation of minority identity. They are Burmese migrants in Thailand who have moved to work as cleaners or to work on rubber plantations. They are the Naxi, a highland minority in China who are "reduced to displaying traditional costumes and performing Dongba music to dance for tourists" (122). They are Thai garlic growers, and individuals like Dr. Yu, who sought to educate about the social impact of development in Zomia and the GMS, and the founders of the Southeast Asia Rivers Network (SEARIN). All of whom have been silenced at one point or another because of their attempts to educate others about the impact of unequal development in Southeast and East Asia.

Conclusion

Although they do not take the need for class-based analysis at the center of their discourse, Michaud and Forsyth present work that substantially adds to the Glassman perspective. Furthermore, their greater attention to the dynamics of Zomia more greatly rounds out Glassman's geographical understandings of the GMS as well, as, although Glassman is critical of Thai-centered concepts, research restrictions have made Glassman's work a relatively Thailand centered narrative. Meanwhile, Michaud and Forsyth provide narratives that engage directly with the Thái, Tày, Drung (Chinese: Quizi), the Tarieng, the Khmu, the Lamet, the Hani, the Tai speaking peoples of Chợ Đồn (Chi Bốn District,

Bounding the Mekong is a rich combination of raw data interwoven with excellent narration and backed by a firm theoretical analysis.



Soo Pieng's work clearly demonstrates his affiliation with the commonplace that he depicted in a personal way of perceiving and doing things. This is obvious in the prominence of everyday life scenes in his work. Whether it concerns a fishermen's settlement along the coast, a rubbish dump somewhere in Singapore, scenes from Malay life, stark portraits, common utensils, and what have you, they are reproduced in a direct manner through the mediation of the inner life of the artist.

Together with his fellow Nanyang Style artists, Soo Pieng emphasised that their work should "reflect the reality of the South Seas" and "the localness of the place we live in", in contrast with the well-known imagined Chinese landscapes of the distant homeland. In their drive to depict 'localness' and 'everyday reality', the adherents of the Nanyang Movement became ethnographers, so to say, participant observers of the Other, which entails the risk of over-interpretation and distorted representations. To watch against this tendency, such artists as well as any experienced field-working anthropologist should submit to conscientious self-reflexivity.

Bắc Kạn Province) and Bản Lược (Than Uyên District, Lai Châu Province), the lower classes of Shilin, Dali, and Sipsongpanna (Chinese: Xishuangbanna). Thus, Michaud and Forsyth fill in the geographical regions of the GMS that Glassman's analysis is not particularly strong in drawing examples from, such as territories controlled by the Vietnamese government and also on the borderlands of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Nevertheless, even in these examples there appears to be a greater drawing from the Thai-Kadai language family than others. In the end, it is clear that only through a combination of these works and others will individuals be able to come to a decisive answer of what future development will look like for Southeast and East Asia.

The aim of this study is not to take a moralistic stance on the nature of the winners of global development, as no doubt, even amongst the 'winners' mentioned in this essay there is a distinct favoritism that will prevail amongst the business oriented elite classes. The future of analysis will be to more accurately provide the historical narratives of these 'losers' in the process of Glassman's "actual globalization", and to strive to provide an analysis of what has been termed "Political Ecology" in the context of both inter and intra-regional development. While this will be the trend in historical analysis, the same trend can be seen (in a few, but notable circumstances) in contemporary states. In Vietnam, petitions for preservations have been increasingly well received and in Thailand, "by the 1980s the Thai state was more amendable to arguments for regulating

All the same, and within the means of their craft, visual artists or cultural analysts' interpretations remain hostage to their personalities and experiences; it remains 'reality as they see it'. Because of his unusual versatility and permanent self-renewal, the vision of Soo Pieng is consistently captivating. In the words of art-critic Sabapathy – often quoted throughout the volume – "Soo Pieng transformed norms, extended limits, created new ways of making art and pointed to directions that still remain to be explored."

For a simple anthropological observer as is the present reviewer, the best part of *Visions* is in the abundant illustrations and reproductions. Even though, during Soo Pieng's stay in Europe (1961-63), he successfully exhibited in London and Munich, his oeuvre – despite it being world-class – regrettably remains virtually unknown to most of us. If you ever have the opportunity to see his work in person, make sure you grab it.

Niels Mulder has retired to the southern slope of the mystically potent Mt. Banáhaw, Philippines, where he stays in touch through <niels_mulder201935@yahoo.com.ph>.

logging than it had been in the past" (69). Thus, even though development studies, at their best, have predicted a long string of crises that Southeast Asia will face as a region, the potential future for the analysis of political ecology as a field remains an open, provocative, and relevant horizon.

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Notes

- 1 All page numbers refer to Glassman, 2010 – unless otherwise specified.

Whip it up!

Art is a foreign country, discovers Winterson one cold December day in Amsterdam.¹ The place of discovery, though, is of no significance; it could very well have been in Manchester, or Bandung. The work of art she saw made her pause, ponder and revisit it. And because the language of art is not our mother-tongue, we have to engage with artworks to learn to passionately appreciate works of art – a part of this learning process is that we slowly learn to differentiate and become able to offer reasons beyond merely liking this, but not that, particular work of art.

Roy Voragen



The Art House

Above: Restu Ratnaningtyas, "Connection no.1", 2010. Acrylic and watercolor on paper, play wood 180x200x40cm
Courtesy of the artist and Cemeti Art House (Residency project HotWave #1, 2010).

Below: Dian Ariany, "Jelly's Chair", 2011. Wood, rattan 170x80x50cm
(Exhibition Beastly at Cemeti Art House, 2011).

EVER SINCE my late teens I have been going to see exhibitions in major art museums and small art spaces; back then I was oblivious of discourses on and prices of art. And it is a journey I continued; I went to provincial towns and capital cities, back alleys and main streets; first in Europe and since 2003 in Southeast Asia. As a fresh graduate from the University of Amsterdam, I came to Bandung to give a workshop at ITB's art school. While my stay in Indonesia now requires periodic visits to an immigration office or the nearest embassy abroad – to fill out forms, get them stamped, signed and photocopied, to get my picture taken and to leave my fingerprints behind again and again – the arts thankfully do not demand visa and other paraphernalia of officialdom.²

I am, however, not saying that art 'speaks' with a unified universal language – art is chaotic and cacophonous. Senior curator and art critic Jim Supangkat claims that art from this region 'speaks' with an accent,³ but he seems to imply that art from elsewhere, say Amsterdam or Manchester, has no accent. Great art is transgressive, not just in the sense that it can violate our visual, stylistic, moral or political conventions, but also in the sense that it could be transcultural. Recently, at a seminar at ITB's art school,⁴ Supangkat analyzed the term global art, which has been *en vogue* the last decade or so. He claims that it's, more than anything, related to how the art market operates in our times of globalization. Is it really a problem, though, if the West only pays lip service to inclusivity? It's the West's loss if it remains ignorant of the many fantastic developments in this region.

Contemporary art from Indonesia is hot: exhibitions around the world attest to that. This hides the fact, though, that the art's infrastructure at home is in a dire state; for example, no university has a department of art history, which is as unfortunate as the fact that Indonesia does not – yet – have a public art museum. Of course, Indonesia has quite a few private art museums. However, a museum should be more than a building with a collection, it should also facilitate research and publications.⁵ Still, when I visit exhibitions, artist studios, artist-initiative spaces and galleries I see plenty that doesn't warrant cynicism, as is the general mood when the arts infrastructure is the topic of conversation.

A home for criticality

Recently, I took a train from Bandung to Yogyakarta – a city famous for its *kraton*, where Sultan Hamengkubuwono X reigns (he is also the governor of the Yogyakarta province), and the nearby Borobudur and Prambanan temples – at the invitation of Ellert Haitjema, an artist visiting from the Netherlands. He picked me up from the station and off we went by motorcycle, by-passing the hectic touristic Marlioboro Street and the *kraton*. Left and right I saw graffiti I hadn't seen on my last visit. Ellert took me to *Rumah Seni Cemeti*, Cemeti Art House, where he had just finished his three-month artist-in-residency. We sat down, talked about his work, sipping sweet coffee and smoking incessantly until dusk.

Cemeti Art House was founded in 1988, and just celebrated its 25th anniversary (first called Cemeti Gallery, changing its name in 1999). It is the brainchild of Nindityo Adipurnomo and Dutch-born Mella Jaarsma,⁶ who are practicing artists as well; the genesis took place at their home within the *kraton* – the living room was turned into an exhibition space. In 1995, the Cemeti Art Foundation was founded for documentation and research purposes, which was renamed Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA) in 2007.⁷ In 1999, Cemeti moved to its current address – architect Eko Prawoto designed the building beautifully – just south of the *kraton*, where it became the neighbor of Kedai Kebun Forum,⁸ founded by Agung Kurniawan.

At the time of Cemeti's founding, Suharto's authoritarian New Order regime was still in power; the regime's extrajudicial executions of petty criminals and the dumping of their bodies in public spaces had only recently come to a halt – Suharto's shock therapy to remind Indonesia who was in charge. There was no way to predict that Suharto would be forced to step down in 1998. Not just the political but also the cultural landscape of the time was different from today. Cemeti was the very first artist-initiative art space in Indonesia. It was established to respond to the difficulty of many to exhibit, especially those working in the media of installation and performance art, because commercial galleries focused on paintings.

Cemeti's domicile might have been modest, but from the onset it was a place packed with ambition. FX Harsono, Agung Kurniawan, Heri Dono, Agus Suwage, Tisna Sanjaya, Eko Nugroho, Tintin Wulia and Jompet Kuswidananto, among many others, all exhibited at Cemeti and are currently all globe-trotting today's art world. Notably, many of the works shown at Cemeti are critical – a criticality considered unbecoming by many. Tisna Sanjaya claims that most art is merely eye-candy to be sold as commodities on the crazy art market.

Nindityo Adipurnomo and Mella Jaarsma lament the apolitical attitude of many in the arts; recently they wrote: "The arts are in crisis, and we hope for a reaction – any initiative that could shake things up. But, to be honest, those in the art community who are voicing concerns are mostly 35 years and older. Meanwhile, the younger generation moves around either in a comfort zone or in confusion, not wanting to be patronized by the previous generation and at the same time not having enemies to rebel against."⁹ Not all art needs to be political. Not all artists need an enemy. However, what's alarming is that many youngsters, not only young artists and curators, have little awareness of politics or its history (what retired generals Wiranto and Prabowo did (or did not do) in the late nineties seems to not worry them).

Residency program

Artist R.E. Hartanto, who exhibited with three Bandung-based artists at Cemeti in 2006, was amazed with the ease and tranquility with which their exhibition was set up.¹⁰ This was the result of years of experience and discipline. During the nineties, Cemeti only occasionally received artists-in-residence, but by 2006 it had developed a structured residency program in the form of 'Landing Soon' (sponsored by the Dutch embassy in Jakarta and Heden in The Hague), which invited artists from Indonesia and the Netherlands to Yogyakarta. In 2010, this residency program was continued as 'HotWave' to include artists from Australia (the latter are sponsored by Asialink) and artists from Asia (who have to bring their own funding).

Cemeti's residency program promotes exchange, research, experimentation and collaboration. It is not just for artists; Cemeti has opened its doors for curators, writers and managers to undertake a residency as well. The program can further one's career – because curators from abroad have found their way to Cemeti – although this is rarely the main motivation to apply to the program. For example, Bandung-based video art collective Tromarama had already exhibited in a dozen countries by the time they participated in the HotWave#4 residency in 2012. For Indonesian artists, Tintin Wulia says, a residency is an excellent way to connect to a local audience.¹¹ And as Ellert Haitjema mentioned,¹² a residency in a new environment sharpens one's senses. He particularly enjoyed using objects of which he didn't understand the use – to put it crudely: a table isn't recognized



Cemeti Art House and 25 years of contemporary art



“Art, all art ... is a foreign country,
and we deceive ourselves
when we think it familiar ...
We have to recognize
that the language of art, all art,
is not our mother-tongue.”

Jeanette Winterson

as a table – and with their utility out of the picture his imagination could run wild. Upon his return to Amsterdam, he was able to revisit his earlier works and approach them anew.

Tromarama saw the interaction with foreign artists as an interesting aspect to the residency,¹³ despite how visual and verbal miscommunications can occur because of different cultural backgrounds and reference points. Another problem might be – at least for Cemeti – the unpredictability of whether the artists will collaborate fruitfully or will actually create a good presentation at the end of the residency. In fact, it is even possible that an artist might discontinue her or his practice after completing the residency. However, it's worth the gamble.

What's in a name?

After 25 years, Cemeti has a solid name; so much so that I never even stopped to think what the word means. In fact, in Sanskrit it means 'whipping up' – as in: creating movement. In the context of Cemeti Art House, it has garnered a new meaning altogether; it now refers to an art space, its programming and all those people responsible for its flourishing. Cemeti has become an institution in its own right, which Mella Jaarsma is reluctant to admit; she writes: “Cemeti is often no longer seen as the 'alternative', but as an established art institution [...]. What are we alternative to, if there is no establishment except commercial galleries?”¹⁴ Sure, Cemeti cannot be an alternative to non-existent public art museums. And for a long

Above: Arya Pandjalu, “Jaga Tanah Ini” (Take care for this Land), 2008 Resin, wood, shoes, car paint 120x53x93cm. Courtesy of the artist and Cemeti Art House (Exhibition Beastly, 2011).

Below: Wimo Ambala Bayang, “Belanda Sudah Dekat” (The Dutch are getting close), 2008. Digital c-print, 120 x 120 cm Courtesy of the artist and Cemeti Art House (Residency Project Landing Soon #7).

time, commercial galleries were not willing to show the works Cemeti was showing; but that is no longer the case, which has naturally hurt Cemeti's level of income.¹⁵ Furthermore, since 1998 quite a few artist-initiatives have been set up, to mention a few: ruangrupa in Jakarta (www.ruangrupa.org), which organizes, among many other events, the bi-annual OK Video Festival; Platform3 in Bandung (www.platform3.net); and Mes56 in Yogyakarta (mes56.com).

Works shown in Cemeti, such as those by Tintin Wulia and Tromarama, can easily find venues elsewhere. Nonetheless, Cemeti might still be considered a prime site for artists to show their work: it offers an alternative for art criticism.¹⁶ Art collector Oei Hong Djen asks for Cemeti's curatorial decisions to be made explicit,¹⁷ but Cemeti already does this by making exhibitions. Cemeti presents not a text-based discourse, but an alternative, visual discourse manifested through exhibitions. And this can be criticized by others – a criticism that can be turned into different exhibitions made elsewhere – after all, a critical discourse requires counter-voices, or, in this case, counter-exhibitions.

Cemeti is the oldest artist-initiative space in Indonesia, which comes with privileges as well as responsibilities. Cemeti's privilege is that it's well connected within an international network, which is advantageous in an increasingly competitive donor environment. Ade Darmanwan, founder of ruangrupa, writes: “As a survival technique, the sustainability of funds [...] only make[s] sense when there are efforts to maintain the continuity of ideas.”¹⁸ And it's exactly the sustainability of ideas, especially concerning the arts infrastructure, where Cemeti recognizes and takes its responsibilities. Cemeti is one of the founders of *Koalisi Seni* (Coalition for the Arts) to lobby the government to support the arts, and the initiator of *Forum Kurator Muda* (Young Curators Forum) to train, and provide opportunities for, young curators.¹⁹ And as long as these ideas flow into exhibitions, Cemeti will live on.

Cemeti Art House
Jalan D.I. Panjaitan no.41, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
www.cemetiarthouse.com,
25years.cemetiarthouse.com

Roy Voragen is a Bandung-based art writer and founder of Roma Arts; he can be contacted at <http://fatumbrutum.blogspot.com>

Notes

1 Winterson, J. 1996. 'Art Objects', *Art Objects, Essays on Ecstasy and Effrontery*. London: Vintage Books, p.4. Winterson: “We hear a lot about the arrogance of the artist but nothing about the arrogance of the [potential] audience.” (p.14).

2 Throughout this essay I deliberately don't use 'Indonesian art', so as to avoid essentializing, anthropologizing and exoticizing art that is made here.

3 Supangkat, J. 2003. 'Art with an accent', *Interpellation, CP Biennale 2003 catalog*. Jakarta: CP Foundation, <http://bit.ly/VX1Clo> (accessed 3-2-13).

4 Voragen, R. 2012. 'Art Histories: The Aporias of Modernization in Southeast Asia', *Tempo Magazine*, pp.76-7. This is a review of 'The Gathering of Histories', an International Seminar on Art History and Visual Culture in Southeast Asia, at ITB's art school, Bandung, 12 November 2012. See <http://bit.ly/S6lkK>.

5 Voragen, R. 2012. 'A right to art: a plea for an art museum in Indonesia', *C-Arts Magazine* 23, <http://bit.ly/LNBLQ2>.

6 www.mellajaarsma.com; from 1-9-86 till 31-8-87, Nindityo Adipurnomo was a resident at the Rijksakademie voor Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam.

7 <http://ivaa-online.org>; Farah Wardani is the director of IVAA, she did an internship at Cemeti Art House.

8 <http://kedaikibun.com/english>.

9 Interview with Tisna Sanjaya, 12 June 2012. Nindityo Adipurnomo and Mella Jaarsma, 'What are we waiting for', *Art Asia Pacific*, <http://bit.ly/SC1zBO> (accessed 13-1-13).

10 The exhibition, *Masa Lalu Masa Lupa*, showed work from R.E. Hartanto (who spent two years at the Rijksakademie in Amsterdam, where he was also my neighbor), Prilla Tania (recently completed a residency in Heden), Sunaryo (founded *Selasar Sunaryo Art Space* in 1998; www.selasarsunaryo.com) and Tisna Sanjaya. Email 29-1-13.

11 Tintin Wulia studied in the US and Australia; her work often deals with the contingency of geopolitical borders. Email 7-2-13.

12 Ellert Haitjema, email 28-1-13.

13 Tromarama, email 28-1-13.

14 Jaarsma, M. 2003. '15 years Cemeti Art House, time for chewing the cud', *15 years Cemeti Art House, Exploring Vacuum*.

15 Cemeti isn't a commercial gallery; sales are made to facilitate program-making, not to make a profit. Jaarsma and Adipurnomo don't receive salaries; when Cemeti was still putting on monthly exhibitions they spent approximately 70% of their time there. Now that Cemeti focuses purely on residency programs, it is around 50%.

16 Situmorang, S. 2003. 'Wanted: Indonesian Art Critic(ism)', *15 years Cemeti Art House, Exploring Vacuum*.

17 Djen, O.H. 2003. 'Is painting marginalized in the era of contemporary art?' *15 years Cemeti Art House, Exploring Vacuum*, p.193. OHD Museum, his private museum, has come under scrutiny after some claim that some paintings (previously) owned by OHD are forgeries.

18 Darmawan, A. 'The Sustainability of Ideas', <http://bit.ly/11YxiO8> (accessed 5-2-13).

19 This forum is headed by curator Alia Swastika, who worked at Cemeti (2004-2008). She curated the Yogyakarta Biennale in 2011; the foundation supporting this biennale was co-founded by Cemeti.

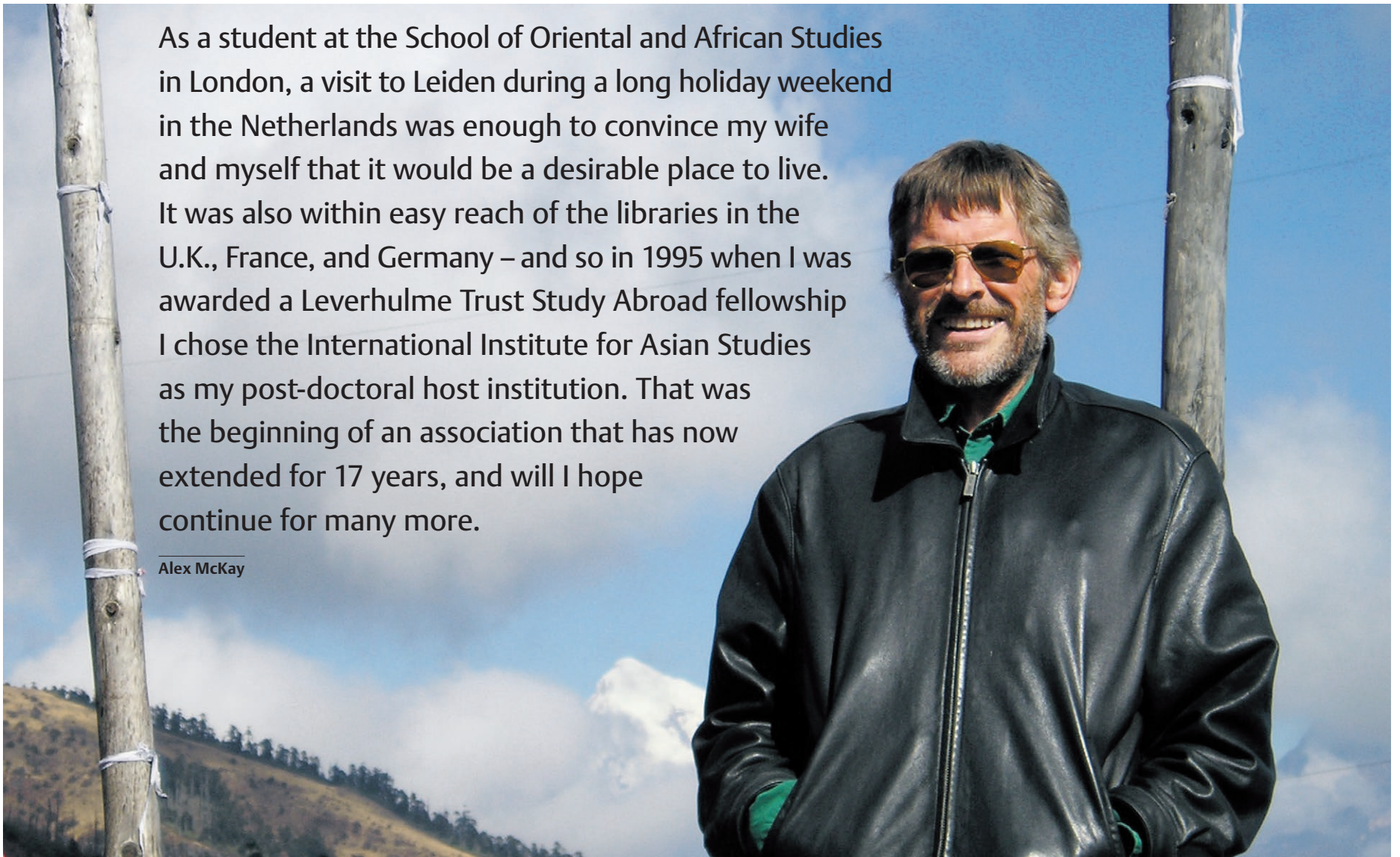


Cakes, canals, and conferences: 17 years of IIAS

The Alumnus

As a student at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, a visit to Leiden during a long holiday weekend in the Netherlands was enough to convince my wife and myself that it would be a desirable place to live. It was also within easy reach of the libraries in the U.K., France, and Germany – and so in 1995 when I was awarded a Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad fellowship I chose the International Institute for Asian Studies as my post-doctoral host institution. That was the beginning of an association that has now extended for 17 years, and will I hope continue for many more.

Alex McKay



WHILE THE INITIAL BUREAUCRACY involved in taking up residence in a new country was time-consuming, the IIAS proved the perfect place to be a post-doctoral research fellow in my field of Indo-Tibetan history, and Leiden proved to be a delightful place to live. I confess to having been a complete novice in regard to my new country, indeed I wasn't even quite sure if Leiden was the same town as Leyden, place of publication of so many of the old books I studied! But I soon began to imbibe the cultural history of this remarkable country, to distinguish its regional traditions, and to glean some inklings into the religious and historical forces that produced the unusual blend of social liberalism and familial conservatism that governs this unique land. I also discovered the depth and antiquity of the Leiden tradition of Asian studies, symbolised by the presence of botanical gardens, museums, and that most distinguished of academic publishers, Brill (with whom I now serve as a series editor for their Tibetan Studies Library).

We quickly adapted to shopping at the Saturday market and – after extensive research – became authorities on the cake shops of Leiden. We also ensured we were punctual and learned not to walk on the cycle paths, qualities essential to integration into Dutch society. We even learned to trust public transport timetables, having been accustomed to their entirely fictional English equivalents.

From our 17th century apartment near the corner of Kaiserstraat and Rapenburg, overlooking the canal from above a convivial restaurant, I had just a hundred metre walk along cobbled streets – or even frozen canals – to the IIAS offices, which were then located in the Nonnensteeg. I was given a room overlooking the gardens of the Hortus Botanicus, which I shared with Michel Hockx, now Professor of Chinese at my old university. We turned out to be perfectly matched roommates, both revelling in the opportunity to devote ourselves fully to our chosen subjects. Mine was a history of the pilgrimage to Mount Kailas, a convenient peg on which to hang whatever enquiries I was making, though I also wrote my first book there, on the British-Indian officials who served in Tibet, and edited another with Paul van der Velde.

One of the greatest joys was the chance to bury myself in the Kern Institute – as remarkable a library as SOAS for the Indologist – and the luxury of heading off on a research tangent. Such tangents arose easily at the Institute, with its eclectic mix of scholars. Lunch was communal, and it was there that you could be introduced into the world of Persian poetry or Japanese hunting rituals. Adding to the attraction of IIAS was that the partners of visiting fellows had access to a handy support network in the shape of the International Centre, which offered a meeting place and a programme of tours and events for those whose partners were working in the Leiden academic world.

IIAS was then still a relatively new institution, not necessarily easily slotted into existing university structures. But it reflected the dynamic personalities of 'founding father' Professor Frits Staal (1930-2012) and particularly the Director, Professor Wim Stokhof. He was the driving force behind the development of a truly international Asian research centre, one that served to facilitate and stimulate the encounter between East and West. Stokhof exemplified that vision and oversaw its fulfilment. He supported an extraordinary series of new initiatives, not least the creation of the International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS). This has become the leading gathering of Asian scholars in the world today, and I was delighted to be present in my capacity as a judge of the ICAS Book Prize, when Professor Stokhof's initiative was formally recognised at ICAS 7 in Honolulu in 2011. ICAS 8 will be held in Macau in 2013, and already the judging process for that book and dissertation competition is underway.

Essentially, IIAS offers its research fellows a place for them to develop their ideas and to build their careers. You are given an opportunity: whether you take it or not is up to you, but the number of prominent IIAS alumni in the world of Asian studies proves the success of the ideal. IIAS has never been overwhelmed by bureaucracy. Requests for support received prompt and decisive answers and there were opportunities also for fellows to repay that support. For example, after presenting my paper at an international conference in Hungary I took up position at a well-equipped IIAS stall from which I duly offered free IIAS shoulder bags and a copy of The Newsletter to anyone passing. After an initial period of wary suspicion that testified to the atmosphere endured for so long by so many of our colleagues in places such as Iran and Eastern Europe, I was mobbed, but left with no doubt that the gifts had raised the Institute's profile from the Persian Gulf to the Siberian hinterland, and added to the considerable uptake of The Newsletter.

Since my initial stay in Leiden I have returned on a number of occasions, as often as possible in fact. In 2000 my visit coincided with the 10th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, organised by another IIAS fellow, my new roommate and now Leiden university lecturer Henk Blezer. For a week at least, Leiden was the centre of Tibetan studies, and with similar influxes a regular event, the character of IIAS and the streets around it constantly changes as it reflects the regional orientation of such gatherings. I had organised a much more modest event in 1996, with a gathering of specialists on pilgrimage in Tibet, and testifying to the lasting links such events can create, five of the twelve who presented at that conference were present when I acted as Convenor of the 2008 Golden Jubilee Conference of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in Gangtok, Sikkim. Those links remain among fellows, too, creating world-wide

networks of scholars. I encounter IIAS colleagues across the globe; Hans Hägerdal in Korea, Tak-Wing Ngo in Hawai'i, Ken Wells in Canberra ... the list goes on.

We have been fortunate enough over the years in Leiden to witness so much of what it has to offer; the wonderful formality and tradition of a doctoral viva, the riches of the Ethnography and other museums, herring, and parties on 3 October, the Netherlands scoring five goals against Germany, and the extraordinary, unique spectacle of the Elfstedentocht. Who could have imagined that a cross-country skating race could be so captivating? Then there is Queen's Day, which happens to coincide with my wife's birthday, and musical memories such as Mozart in the Pieterskerk, a string quartet in a small stone room on Breestraat after a viva, or emerging into the winter snow after a concert by the Aboriginal band Yothu Yindi had almost convinced us we were in the Australian desert.

On my most recent visit to IIAS I felt like a senior scholar, or perhaps a living relic, with only my old friend and colleague Paul van der Velde and the soon-to-depart computer wizard Manuel Haneveld still left from the staff during my first visit. IIAS had moved to a new location on the Rapenburg, with a new Director, Professor Philippe Peycam, and boasted an even more complex coffee machine. But behind the doors new visiting scholars were labouring over their books and computer screens, planning new conferences and publications, and developing new networks. The work of IIAS persists, and The Newsletter maintains its window onto current academic events and subject trends. Long may they continue.

Alex McKay is a specialist in Indo-Tibetan history and culture. He is the author of nearly 40 academic articles, has edited a number of works, including the three-volume *History of Tibet* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), and is the author of two monographs (*Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre, 1904-1947*, Curzon Press, 1997; and *Footprints Remain: Biomedicine Across the Indo-Tibetan Frontier, 1870-1970*, University of Amsterdam, 2007). He has recently completed a third monograph, a history of the pilgrimage to Mount Kailas, and his current interests focus on Sikkim and Bhutan. He has held various fellowships at the IIAS, and research and teaching posts at London University SOAS and UCL.

News from Asia

Tamil merchants in India and abroad (9th-14th centuries)

Risha Lee

BETWEEN THE NINTH AND FOURTEENTH centuries, merchants with ties to India's southeastern Tamil region played a crucial role in facilitating trade throughout the Indian Ocean. They transported India's highly sought after goods – luxury items such as spices, horses, woven cloth, pearls and gems, as well as everyday items, like rice and oil – to all corners of the Asian world, via the southern maritime route. These exchanges linked multiethnic actors into interlocking geographic and cultural networks, and produced a premodern world system. South Indian-style art and architecture and at least nine Tamil language inscriptions have been discovered in Southeast Asia and China, located along the Indian Ocean trade routes that these individuals would have travelled.

Knowledge of intra-Asian contact and exchange from this period has been derived mostly from Arabic and Chinese sources. The preference for these sources can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, they are more abundant in comparison to the sub-continent's dearth of written history. Secondly, written history in premodern India in large part has been limited to inscriptions, carved into the walls of stone temples. These inscriptions are site-bound and only partially published. Inscriptions also generally do not record standard 'histories', such as a recitation of dated chronological events.

Not just royalty

A wealth of non-written history for merchants exists, however, in the form of objects and monuments patronized by them. In south India alone, hundreds of stone temples and some devotional bronze statues of deities bear inscriptions attesting to either the full or partial sponsorship by merchants. This empirical fact has gone largely unnoticed for some time by art historians of India, who have tended to presume that only royal patrons were responsible for creating the majority of objects and monuments. As research increasingly demonstrates, however, many works of art often received patronage entirely independent of any royal source, or from royal/non-royal collaborations. Several recent studies indicate that merchant patrons played particularly active roles in commissioning art and architecture all over India.

Merchants comprised a distinct class of non-royal individuals, whose profession required intense mobility and continual negotiation between local and cosmopolitan identities. There was a huge range of professional differentiation, with merchants specializing in the sale of specific goods at various locales, including local and regional markets, and periodic fairs. Supralocal merchant organizations were relatively common in medieval India, but their structure was highly complex. Indeed, it is unlikely that a central authority existed for them; rather, they had opaque borders that claimed to have power over massive geographical regions. Merchant organizations appear as patrons in inscriptions, from which it is clear that they constantly competed with, incorporated, and subsumed one another. Mercantile associations were structurally complex, characterized by constant change according to time and locality. Although our understanding of these groups is still murky, it seems apparent that extraordinary mobility and transregional identity were defining group characteristics.

One of the largest merchant organizations was 'the Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions of the Four Quadrants of the World' (*Nānādēsi ticai āyirataiṅṅurruvar*), often shortened to *Ainnurruvar* or 'The Five Hundred Members'. Although other merchant organizations proliferated during this period, none were as successful in terms of geographic

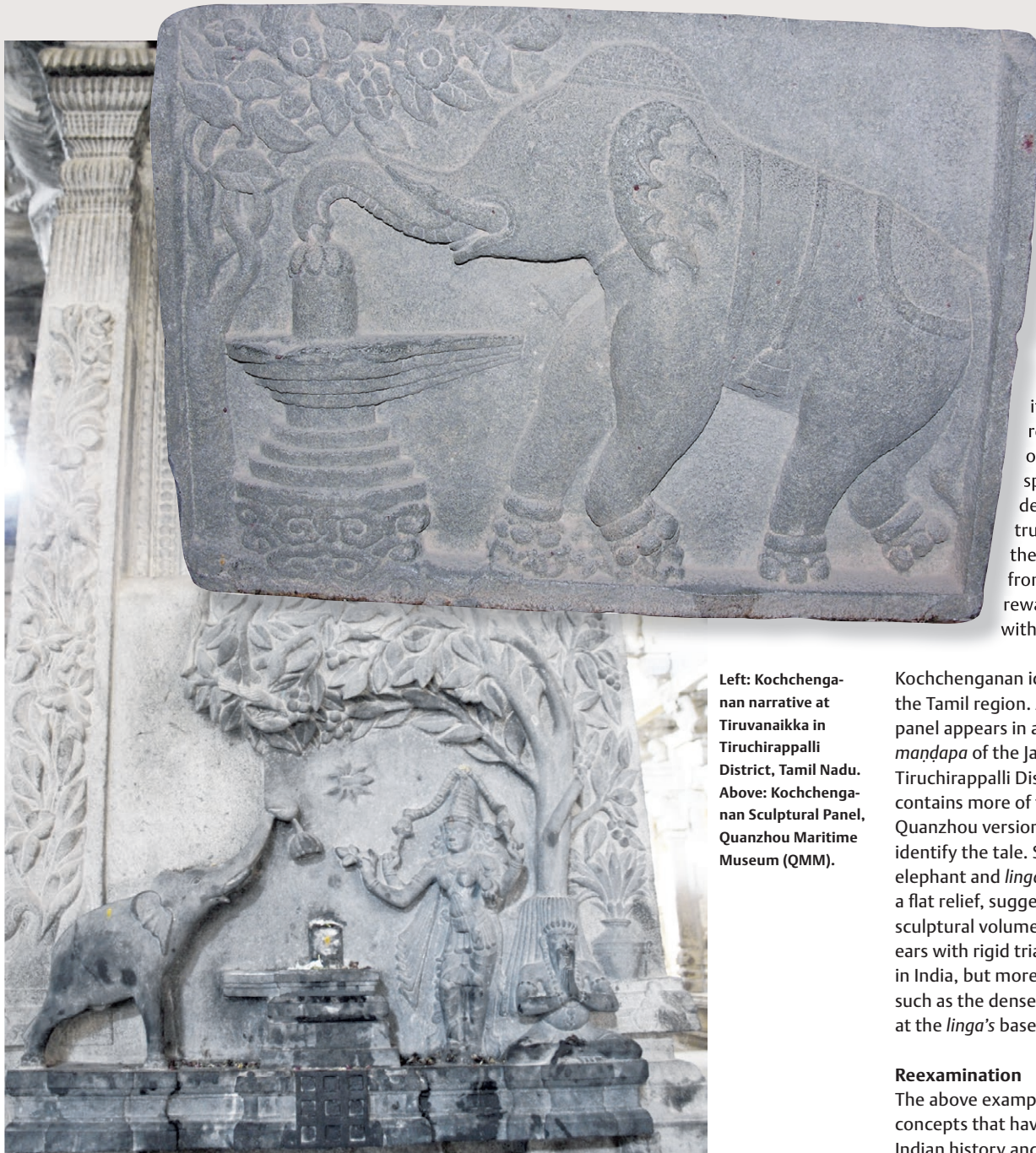
penetration and historical longevity. *Ainnurruvar* inscriptions (9th-17th centuries), have been discovered throughout south India and as distant as Sumatra. The organization's literal and imagined geographical and ideological expansiveness strongly suggests that it would have impacted the policies and behavior of contemporaneous merchant groups.

Asserting their identities

Literary and artistic style both seem to have been crucial devices for shaping mercantile identity both in and outside of India. A common *praśasti* (eulogy) prefaces many of the *Ainnurruvar* inscriptions, appearing in linguistically diverse regions (Telugu, Kannada, and Tamil). The *praśasti* draws on tropes that appear in contemporary *praśasti* authored by kings, such as describing its members as being famous, virtuous, and of divine birth, but also draws on rhetoric from non-elite groups. Farming tools, such as scythes, ploughs, and hammers are often mentioned with reverence, and additionally, the gory feats of soldiers employed as bodyguards by the *Ainnurruvar* are often described in grisly detail. Also, there seems to have been a preference for commissioning temples to be constructed in the Tamil-Dravida style.

By sketching out the broad strokes of mercantile activity and identity in India, we can better interpret mercantile commissions when they appear outside of India. In particular, the ruins of a thirteenth century Hindu temple in Quanzhou (China) show that Tamil merchants transported both iconography and architectural style to the eastern terminus of their trading route. By replicating a Tamil-Dravida style temple, it is possible that they were continuing to assert their identity as they did in south India. Over 300 carvings, when analyzed, reveal that both Tamil and Chinese artisans collaborated to construct a monument that would have expressed a collective mercantile identity to both Quanzhou populations and merchant patrons.

We can demonstrate that the Quanzhou example closely approximated south Indian prototypes by looking at a single carving from the Hindu temple (which was originally dedicated to Shiva). A granite slab depicts a caparisoned



Left: Kochchenganan narrative at Tiruvanaikka in Tiruchirappalli District, Tamil Nadu. Above: Kochchenganan Sculptural Panel, Quanzhou Maritime Museum (QMM).

elephant approaching a *linga* (an iconic symbol of Shiva) underneath the branches of a flowering tree. The relief illustrates a well-known tale of the early Chola king, Kochchenganan. In one of his past lives, Kochchenganan was a spider that wove a daily web to protect a Shiva *linga* located in a forest. An equally devout elephant also paid daily homage to the *linga* by lustrating it with water from its trunk, inadvertently removing the spider's web. The fortunes of both animals changed one day, when the spider, infuriated by the elephant's continued destruction of its work, attacked it and bit its trunk. The elephant smashed its trunk against the ground, killing the spider, but then died from the venomous bite. Ultimately, Shiva rewarded both creatures for their devotion with honorable reincarnations.

Kochchenganan iconography rarely appears outside of the Tamil region. An iconographic parallel to the Quanzhou panel appears in a Nayaka period (16th-17th century) *maṅḍapa* of the Jambukesvarar Shiva temple in Tiruvanaikka, Tiruchirappalli District.² While the Tiruvanaikka relief contains more of the story's narrative elements, the Quanzhou version contains enough iconic elements to identify the tale. Strongly linear in design, the Quanzhou elephant and *linga*, while well proportioned, are executed in a flat relief, suggesting a hand less accustomed to portraying sculptural volume. The artist has depicted the elephant ears with rigid triangular folds, a stylistic treatment unseen in India, but more akin to Chinese ornamental patterns such as the dense and angular cloud motif that appears at the *linga*'s base in the Quanzhou relief.

Reexamination

The above example encourages us to rethink several concepts that have been central to scholarship on south Indian history and society. First, its unexpected location in China demonstrates the artistic patronage of Tamil merchants, who voyaged through the Indian Ocean to arrive there, revising the traditional view of Indian art as an exclusively royal enterprise. Second, it expands Indic visual culture's geographical reach, since the narrative depiction's existence outside India attests to a larger circulatory network within the Indian Ocean. Finally, it points at the cross-cultural transmission of artistic style by expressing a melding of Sino-Indic concepts and techniques, encouraging a reading that emphasizes the artist's and patron's active engagement with aesthetic form, and the transformation of preexisting representational modes.

Risha Lee is Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

Notes

- 1 TN Ramachandran, translation. 1990. *St. Sekkizhar's Periyapuram*, pp.4197-4202. Tanjavur: Tamil University.
- 2 Local legend states that Kochchenganan constructed the original temple in Tiruvanaikka. Balasubrahmanyam. 1997. *Middle Chola Temples*, p.392. Amsterdam: Oriental Press.

The articles on these 'News from Asia' pages were compiled by our regional editor Lee Hock Guan, at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

If you would like to contribute to this section in a future issue, please send your submission to iias_iseas@iseas.edu.sg

News from Asia *continued*

The construction of the Yunnan railway: as seen by a French engineer (1904-1907)

Vatthana Pholsena

THIS ARTICLE HAS ITS ORIGINS in a collection of photographs and letters donated to the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore by Elisabeth Locard; they had once belonged to her great-great uncle, Albert Marie, a French engineer who was sent to work on the Yunnan railway in Yunnan Province, China, between 1904 and 1907. In total, the collection includes 138 photos and 159 letters that Marie produced during his three-year assignment in south-western China.

Albert Marie was born on 25 August 1875 in Viviers in south-eastern France.² After obtaining his degree in engineering, he soon accepted a job offer from the *Compagnie du chemin de fer de l'Indochine et du Yunnan*, which had been recently founded in 1901. He subsequently left for south-western China in June 1904.

Marie's photos and letters from during that time constitute the raw material for this overview, which focuses on a few themes, including the daily lives of the railway company's employees, work on the construction sites, and local inhabitants. It aims to provide a snapshot of a French colonial agent's life in early twentieth century China.

The journey from Marseille to Yiliang

The Sino-French agreement, signed on 12 June 1897, secured France's access to and exploitation of natural (in particular, mineral) resources in the three southern Chinese provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi, and Yunnan, as well as opened up prospects for future projects to improve or build transport infrastructure in the region. Such projects were facilitated the following year by another Sino-French accord (dated 10 April 1898), which effectively bestowed on the French government the right to construct a railway from the borders of Tonkin (today's northern region of Vietnam) to the capital of Yunnan, then called Yunnan-Sen (now Kunming). The construction work began in 1900. Ten years later the line was completed; it covered a total distance of 465 km, stretching from Haiphong (a port city located on the lower Red River on the eastern coasts of Tonkin) to Yunnan. The brand new train station of the provincial capital, then called Yunnan-Fou, was officially inaugurated in 1910.

Albert Marie departed from Marseille on a liner, probably in late May 1904. He arrived in Saigon about a month later, and was instantly overwhelmed by the beauty of the place that materialized before his eyes in the form and structure of French-style urban architecture and planning. He wrote:

— I am still under the charm of everything I have seen thus far. Saigon surpasses all the cities we stopped by, and she duly deserves her name of Pearl of the Orient. Wide and straight roads, with seamless luscious greenery, superb constructions, comfortable hotels, where, for example, everything is rather



expensive. (...) one enjoys again European life here, and the only thing, except for nature, which would make one believe that one is no longer in France is the population that is almost entirely Chinese (...). This country is a dream country. Never would I have thought to see this and my opinion is this: Indochina, or at least what I know of today, Cochinchina, is a marvelous country. Everything will be done when railroads crisscross it in every direction. And the so-much disparaged French administration has achieved wonders here. Official buildings, the post-office, the city hall, are absolute jewels. Pacification appears complete as four of us wandered alone through the city where 20,000 Chinese people live. Hope as I do.³ Saigon, Continental Hotel, 23 June 1904

The young man's enthusiasm related to a shared sentiment among his fellow countrymen at that time: faith in colonialism, then synonymous with "progress and bravura".⁴ The sentiment was a new one, as the armed struggle between Vietnamese resistance and the French army had ended only a few years earlier (in 1895), after four decades of almost continuous fighting. Military operations on the Sino-Vietnamese border had finally succeeded in suppressing Chinese banditry, pacifying the area by 1897. Violent protests would soon break out once again (in 1908), but back in 1904, Albert Marie's optimism continued to thrive as he reached Yiliang (an important base of the Yunnan-Indochina Railway Company situated about 60 km from Kunming/Yunnan-sen) on 6 August 1904, after over a month of travelling through Vietnam and across Yunnan Province.

Life around the Dian-Viet Railway: boundaries and interstices
Marie was based in Yiliang for slightly over a year. His integration into the European community of the small town happened smoothly and quite naturally as the group was composed exclusively of the Indochina-Yunnan railway company's employees, technical staff, and management cadres, from France, Italy and Germany. He rapidly settled into a comfortable and mildly pleasurable, even bourgeois, routine:

Poor maritime connectivity in the Straits of Malacca¹

Nathalie Fau

CONNECTIVITY HAS BEEN A KEY CONCEPT debated by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), particularly since the adoption of the *Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity* (MPAC) in October 2010. One of the MPAC objectives is to enhance regional connectivity by promoting sub-regional initiatives, which usually focus on less developed areas of the ASEAN region with less developed infrastructures.²

The north-south configuration of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore has led to a geographical organization comprising of two sub-regional initiatives, known as the generic term 'growth triangle': the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle (IMS-GT) and the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT). This approach was later enhanced by the introduction of the concept 'growth corridors', a new development tool funded by the World Bank and introduced in Asia,³ Latin America and South Africa.

One of the aims of the development of cross-border maritime corridors is to help twin or sister ports to cooperate, in the same way as twin cities on opposite sides of a land border do. In order to encourage links between these major ports, priority has been given to the improvement of their infrastructures, such as bridges and facilities to handle fast ferries and roll-on roll-off (RO-RO) ships. However, maritime links do not seem to be as efficient as land corridors. This was shown by several studies, including those done by Asian Development Bank (ADB) and by Banomyong.⁴ These studies concluded that the volume of intra-IMT-GT maritime trade was quite small. They also revealed that the weakest points in the economic corridors of IMT-GT were transversal maritime corridors linking the two sides of the Straits of Malacca and the poor logistics integration of Sumatra compared to the linkage between Thailand and Malaysia.

Impediments to development of maritime connectivity

As the Straits is seen as an international transport route rather than an internal sea, this presents several interesting and challenging dynamics. On one hand, the international community pays close attention to navigation safety, environmental protection and security in the Straits, and contributes to the upkeep of the sea lane. This is helpful to the littoral states that do not have the financial and technical means to maintain the Straits by themselves. On the other hand, the international attention presents a serious handicap to the construction of a transnational space within the area. Due to this fact, the littoral states are more concerned about harnessing the economic opportunities presented by the international shipping traffic through the Straits, rather than by regional cross-Straits traffic. Indonesia and Malaysia are especially afraid of being prevented from exercising their national sovereignty over the Straits, in the wake of the criticisms they received from the international users of the Straits over their capacity to fight piracy or eradicate terrorism in the region.

For many years the international navigation in the Straits benefited mainly Singapore. However, during the past decade, Malaysian and Indonesian ports have successfully diverted some of the business their way. The states' rivalry



4.

à Singapour (cours au charbon)

Our life in Yléang [Yiliang]⁵ is rather enjoyable. Here is what my days consist of: I get up at 7 o'clock. Everything is at the foot of my bed - shoes, trousers, tie, shirt, socks, everything's in order. The sink is full, the glass of water, and the toothbrush with the paste on it, my cigarettes case is filled up - and all these clean, thanks to my boy who's truly wonderful. On the table a tomato and cucumber salad, or something like that, and a cup of coffee. (...) at 7.30 I go to the office until 12.30 when my boy comes to tell me that there is "something to eat". Between 1.30 and 2 pm, I go back to work until 5.30. Then, a tennis game with everyone (...). Yléang [Yiliang], 15 August 1904

Marie's gregarious and affable character made him a popular member of the railway company's community. The French man regularly shared with his European fellows a meal - in effect a ritualized event - which played an essential role in nurturing a sense of 'home' for this 'exiled' community. Marie confided to his parents in March 1905 "how important this gathering [was] for all of [them] in regard to [their] morale."

Marie and his companions constructed, to borrow Ann Stoler's expression, "[a] space of the intimate" (from food one eats to the language one speaks at home)⁶ in this remote area of Yunnan province, organized around easily recognizable tenets of nineteenth century European bourgeois domesticity: routine, order, and cleanliness. Consequently, the contrast with the local inhabitants as portrayed by the Frenchman, in letters such as this one, was all the greater:

Yesterday evening, we crossed the Nam Ti (a tributary of the Red River) to go to Song-phong or Ho-Keou [Hekou], the closest Chinese town from here [Lao Cai]. To describe it to you would be too long. We strolled for two hours in small streets of two meters' width, dirty and hilly, swarmed with children, pigs, chicken, dogs. The Chinese wander around in front

has negatively impacted the development of cross-straits connectivity and port complementarities. Furthermore, the lack of attention paid by the Indonesian government to the development of the Sumatran side of the Straits of Malacca has also not helped to strengthen cross-straits connectivity. For example, in 2010, the Indonesian government launched the 2011-2025 Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MP3EI),⁵ whose main strategy focuses on developing national economic corridors with clearly identified economic specializations. Although the definition of the proposed corridors is fairly similar to that set out by ADB, their limits, on the contrary, are very different. In the Indonesian planning, there is no mention of the transversal routes proposed by the ADB to link the two sides of the Straits. In Sumatra, the strategy aims primarily at national integration. The flagship project will in fact entail building a bridge linking Java to Sumatra, across the Sunda Strait.

A comparative assessment of ADB's involvement in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and the Straits of Malacca region highlights the fact that whereas the bank plays a central role in GMS, its involvement in the Straits is just marginal. ADB has actively promoted the development of GMS in order to favour increased commercial exchanges in the Mekong sub-region,

of pagodas or shops where elderly grandfathers and grandmothers spend their day. Many beggars stretch out their hands. Some pathetic soldiers, a mixed bag of the nastiest pirates, sleep under the sun in rags that are their uniforms. A few shops are somewhat clean. The shopkeepers, rich and respected, are fat chaps, puffy with fat and pride, with a magnificent pigtail, braided with exquisite care, which sometimes trails on the ground. All look at us with complete indifference. Only a few, coolies of the line, gave us the military salute. More sociable were the children who came around to grab away our sticks or to look at us like intrigued animals. Lao Cai, 5 July 1904

Yet, in the interstices between these private and public spaces, one senses some grey areas developing that Marie evoked in passing: a colleague who was sent away because "apparently he behaved in a too gentlemanly' fashion with the Kou-Mang [sic] (Chinese women) in the village"; or the European man whose wife was Chinese ('Mrs. Farahili', see fig. 1), and upon whom, a bemused

Marie explained, "... the Chinese law bestows to her husband (!) the right of life and death if she steals or betrays him. (...) If Breuregehem kills her nobody would protest. She's fifteen years old and cost 60 piastres (about 150 francs)... This is not expensive."

Work on the Yunnan railway line: building a legacy

The young man was ambitious, self-assured, and hardworking, as well as appreciated by his supervisors. He did not need to wait very long for advancement; after slightly more than a year, on 23 September 1905, he was officially promoted to chief of the 24th lot, corresponding to a section of track that stretched from km 376 to km 390 on the line. This lot was part of the stretch of line situated in the valley of Tatchenho (in the basin of Pataho), which covered a distance of approximately 130 km (i.e., between km 300 and km 430) and peaked at an impressive height of 2026 meters on the final stretch.⁸

The railway is celebrated for its heroic technical feats (the most famous of which is arguably the 'truss bridge' (*pont sur arbalétriers*) overhanging a 100 meter-deep gorge), but these were accomplished by means of extraordinary human efforts and at the cost of thousands of lives. Out of the 60,000 coolies (from Tonkin and China) who worked on the construction of the railway, 12,000 perished on the building sites (mainly from accidents, illness, and malnutrition), out of which a horrifying 10,000 died in the Nam Ti valley.⁹ Marie was lucky to have survived his time working there. Though themes of violence and death on work sites do not feature prominently in the engineer's letters, they do surface intermittently in his accounts: arms smuggling; bandits murdering Chinese couriers (who also died from drowning in the Nam Ti river or falling into the ravines) and a French colleague while traversing the Nam Ti valley; the murder of a Chinese labourer by a European security guard (who was merely fined and transferred to another building site); and the killing of two Chinese soldiers by two railway company heads of sections

(Marie did not tell what punishment, if any, the latter received). Such events somehow reflect the level of deceptiveness pertaining to the region's political stability and, as such, commercial and economic prospects.

In all, the 463 km-long railway line has 342 bridges, viaducts, and aqueducts, as well as 155 tunnels, amounting to a total distance of 18 km of such structures.¹⁰ By October 1905, Marie was already working on some of these structures, including a tunnel at km 379. On 6 December 1905, he informed his parents that he supervised "1000 coolies a day, 90 bricklayers and 100 stone-cutters". Just 4 months later, the young engineer had as many as 1800 coolies and 23 European employees under his direction, and found himself enjoying the leadership role.

Epilogue

Albert Marie was soon rewarded for his accomplishments and was promoted to deputy chief of a new section in October 1906. But earlier in the year he had already informed his parents of his next prospective assignment abroad in Turkey, to work on the construction of the daunting Constantinople-Baghdad railway line connecting the Ottoman Empire to Mesopotamia; a region that, like the Chinese empire, was the focus of intense imperial rivalry among Western powers (i.e., France, Germany, Great-Britain, and Russia). After leaving Yunnan and Indochina in May 1907, Marie did indeed depart for Constantinople, where he met his future wife and continued his successful trajectory as a travelling engineer in a colonial world.

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Notes

- 1 This is a much-shortened version of a paper I contributed to a project entitled "Views from the Dian-Viet Railway: Transborder Landscapes", coordinated by Stan B-H Tan and partly funded by the National University of Singapore.
- 2 I would like to warmly thank Elisabeth Locard and Odile Bernard, who are both descendants of Albert Marie, for providing these biographical details and for their generous assistance in this project. I wish to extend my thanks to Russell H.K. Heng for his invaluable help in sorting out the photographs, and to the ISEAS library for granting me permission to reproduce some of the photographs from this collection.
- 3 All the translations are ours, unless otherwise stated.
- 4 David W. Del Testa. 2001 (unpublished thesis). *Paint the Trains Red: Labour, Nationalism and the Railroads in French Colonial Indochina, 1898-1945*. Davis: University of California, p.120.
- 5 In quotes taken from Albert Marie's letters, his transliteration of place names is used, in each case followed in brackets by the more common contemporary transliteration.
- 6 Ann L. Stoler. 2002. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power. Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p.6.
- 7 Marie is using 'gentlemanly' in an ironic fashion here.
- 8 Alexandre Vèrignon. 1946. "Le chemin de fer du Yunnan", *Notes documentaires et études*, N. 316, 31 May 1946, p.8.
- 9 François Hulot. 1990. *Les chemins de fer de la France d'outre-mer. 1. L'Indochine, le Yunnan*. Saint-Laurent-du-Var: La Régordane, p.37.
- 10 Charles Fourniau et al. 1999. *Le contact colonial franco-vietnamien. Le premier siècle (1858-1911)*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'université de Provence, p.198.

Notes

- 1 This study is a component of the TRANSITER research program (*Transnational Dynamics and Territorial Reorganisation, a comparative approach: Central America and South East Asia*), funded by the French National Research Agency. A part of this study will be published by ISEAS in 2013 under the title *Transnational Dynamics in Southeast Asia: the Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits Economic Corridors*, edited by Nathalie Fau, Sirivanh Khonthapane and Christian Taillard.
- 2 ASEAN. 2011. *Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity*, Jakarta, ASEAN Secretariat, p.29.
- 3 Asian Development Bank. 2007. *Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle, Building a dynamic Future, A Road Map for development 2007-2011*.
- 4 Banomyong, R. 2006. *Logistics development study of the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT)*. Bangkok: Thammasat University.
- 5 Republic of Indonesia, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs. 2011. *Master Plan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Economic Development 2011-2025*.

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IIAS reports



Workshop report of 'Harnessing counter-culture to construct identity: mapping Dalit cultural heritage in contemporary India'

Ronki Ram

Leiden University, the Netherlands, 7-8 December, 2012
 Convened by Ronki Ram (Shaheed Bhagat Singh Professor of Political Science, ICCR Chair Professor of Contemporary India Studies)

THE WORKSHOP, organized by International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) in Leiden, focused on the emergence of Dalit cultural heritage as a counter-culture to the mainstream culture of upper/dominant castes social structure and world view. The Dalit movement adopts various strategies in its tirade against social exclusion and makes concerted efforts for the emancipation and empowerment of the socially excluded. To begin with, the Dalit movement attempted to find a way out of caste discrimination and social exclusion while focusing on social reforms within Hinduism. In the 1930s the movement moved towards building a counter-culture for the sole purpose of offering the downtrodden a distinct social identity different from their tormentors', based either on their forgotten cultural past or through seeking refuge in an egalitarian religion. For quite some time, Dalit social mobility based on cultural assimilation enjoyed a large following, but a strong alternative emerged on the basis of conversion to Buddhism. Another, equally powerful movement became known as Dalit cultural heritage.

India has a credible reputation in preserving varied cultural heritage centers, yet Dalits hardly figure in this preservation scheme. They often attribute their conspicuous absence to their historic exclusion from civil society as well as to the dominant discriminatory social structures that relegated them to the periphery in the name of their so-called low caste. They also allege that their indigenous cultural heritage was deliberately destroyed as well as made oblivious with the clear purpose of denying them any space whatsoever in the corridors of power.

In the concerted efforts of retrieving Dalit cultural heritage, tradition ceases to be a value of the past and modernity loses its aura in the fast acclimatizing present cast in the images of yesterdays. It is in this critical context that tradition and modernity have been acquiring new meanings and nuances, in the advantage of the socially excluded. This has also led to social conflicts between the ex-Untouchables and the hitherto dominant communities, who find the resurfacing Dalit cultural heritage quite hard to digest.

Presentations

Dr. Ram Narayan Rawat (*Forms of Dalit historical narratives in twentieth century north India: the Chanvar Puranic and Adi-Hindu histories*) built a counter thesis to the mainstream historical narratives while critically tracing the origins of the Chamars in the lost cultural narratives of Dalit histories. He underlined the urgency of locating 'diversity of visions' for a graphic understanding of scattered universe(s) of Dalits.

Prof. Badri Narayan's presentation (*Crossing borders: Bhagait folk ballad tradition of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and Nepal*) argues that an alternative non-Brahminical art and cultural tradition has been developing along the Indo-Nepal border. The author built an interesting thesis that highlights the emerging trajectories of Dalit cultural heritage defying artificial state boundaries that separate people of similar cultural ethos and background.

Dr. Eva-Maria Hardtmann's paper (*Dalit women in poetry, art and in the Global Justice Movement*) was inspired by the famous World Social Forum (WSF) held in Mumbai in 2004. What made this World Social Forum rather unique and historic was the participation of Dalit women, who were doubly oppressed and marginalized by both men in the Dalit movement and by the Indian feminist movement.

Prof. Rajiv Lochan's paper (*Finding a voice, instituting memories – rhetoric and ideas in creating and sustaining 'Bahujan-Mulniwasi'*) dealt with the critical theme of creating a shared memory of repression and suppression through the agency of the non-political *All-India Backward (SC/St/OBC) and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF)*.

Dr. Meena Dhanda (*Adh Dharm Samaj: the social vision of Darshan Rattan Ravan*) spoke of the emerging leadership of the Valmiki community in Punjab, based on her ethnographic study of its locales, personal interviews with its activists and leadership, and readings of the literature produced within.

Mr. Surinder Singh's presentation (*Dalit cultural heritage in Punjab: a study of Jathera Shrines of the Ad Dharmi community*) explored the phenomenon of how the Dalit of Punjab have been constructing and reconstructing multi-storey shrines as an endeavor to create memorial cultural heritage reflecting their sense of pride.

Prof. Ronki Ram (*The other modernity and forgotten tradition: the resurfacing of Dalit cultural heritage in contemporary India*) talked about the concerted efforts of the historically socially excluded sections of the Indian society, who have been engaged with the herculean task of reviving/inventing their lost cultural heritage at the grass-roots and national levels.

Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat's paper (*Rise of Dalit arts and imagery: instrument of protest and hope*) touched on the rich domain of Dalit visual arts and imagery and the ways it has been rather meticulously deployed as a non-violent method of social protest and viable instrument of hope for the ex-Untouchables in India.

Prof. Ashutosh Kumar began his presentation (*Dalit Deras as critical sites of counter culture: explaining why political parties flock to the Deras*) by raising two sets of questions relating to the lack of 'presence' and 'empowerment' of the Dalit community in the corridors of political power.

Prof. Paramjit S. Judge's presentation (*Dalit culture and identity: valorisation and reconstruction of tradition among the Chamars in Punjab*) revolved around the main issue of how 'virtual wars' between the Chamars and Jats are fought on the internet (YouTube) and how the former have engaged in this process to construct a counter-culture.

Dr. Pramod Kumar's paper (*Dalit identity architecture: from selective adaptation of cultural symbols to the nurturing of exclusive sites*) focused on the selective cultural adaptation of dominant cultural standards by the lower castes and how they also nurture exclusive sites to bargain for equitable representation in both the public and private domains.

Notes

1 A full outline and discussion of all the presentations can be found in the workshop report, posted on the IIAS website.

Asian borderlands: connections, corridors and communities

Eric de Maaker

Report of the 3rd Conference of the Asian Borderlands Research Network, held at the National University of Singapore from 11 -13 October 2012.

Organisation

Connections, Corridors and Communities brought together 120 scholars from five continents. The conference was jointly hosted by the Asia Research Institute (ARI) and the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) at the National University of Singapore, and organised with the active support of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS).

Keynote

In his keynote speech, delivered at the opening of the 3rd conference of the IIAS-sponsored Asian Borderlands Research Network, historian David Ludden (New York University) argued that Asia's borderlands are becoming increasingly volatile. As Asia's national state centres gain political and economic clout, the "ubiquitous propriety of territorialism" has its borderlands emerge as peripheral zones. In addition, the "increasingly grotesque inequality" produced by global capitalism creates a rapidly growing number of people who are progressively more deprived and politically marginalised. These social and political consequences of border-making are often overlooked, and Ludden ended his keynote by calling on scholars to explore the link between (impediments to) physical mobility and social and political mobility.

Conference theme and panels

The conference theme emphasised the importance of the movement of people, ideas and goods across Asian borders,

and how such mobility is constitutive and formative towards the emergence of borderlands. *Connections* draw attention to linkages across, as well as among borderlanders. *Corridors* provide paths and networks across and within borderlands. How are these closed, diverted, reopened, or created, and what effects do their dynamics have on the borderlands, as well as beyond? Borderlands produce *communities*. How does spatial location at a border affect community formation and development?

The panels included in the conference engaged with these foci from a variety of theoretical angles and disciplinary perspectives. Panels explored themes such as 'migration and mobility', 'indigeneity, idea flows and media routes', 'landscape, military and diplomacy', 'agrarian expansion and territorial politics' and 'border commodities'. In addition to paper presentations, the conference included two round-table sessions designed for a more interactive format. One of these discussed communities fractured across borders, the other considered the social and political impact of large scale hydro electric dam building across North East India and the Mekong River. All scholarly contributions explored how borders produce marginality and agency, generating both fundamental as well as applied knowledge.

Multidisciplinary perspectives

The desire for an intellectual space that can support the development of multidisciplinary perspectives on Asia's borderlands was indeed a main incentive for the creation of the Asian Borderlands Research Network in 2006. In its search for paradigms that exceed state-centric and region-centric perspectives, the network has received ample support from the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in the Netherlands. The network has consistently attempted to cater to both fundamental as well as applied concerns. This has resulted in sustained engagement with organisations active in the field of international cooperation, such as Panos and Cordaid. In addition, the network has profited from the in-

volvement of scholars located in the regions it focuses on, and of those affiliated with mainstream academic institutions in North America, Europe and Australia. The increasingly large number of submissions that each edition of the conference draws, proves that Asian borderlands are enjoying growing scholarly attention.

4th Borderlands Conference to be held in 2014

Connections, Corridors and Communities received three times more paper proposals than it could accommodate within its three day/two parallel session format. The earlier two editions of the Borderlands Conference were held in Guwahati, India (2008) and in Chiang Mai, Thailand (2010). Given the success of the last conference, bids are now being considered for a 2014 edition – preferably in yet another borderland of Asia.

For more information on the Asian Borderlands Research Network: www.asianborderlands.net and www.facebook.com/AsianBorderlands.

Tina Harris (Sociology and Anthropology department, University of Amsterdam) and Eric de Maaker (Institute for Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology, Leiden University).



IIAS research projects

IIAS research is carried out within a number of thematic clusters in phase with contemporary Asian currents – all built around the notion of social agency. The aim of this approach is to cultivate synergies and coherence between people and projects and to generate more interaction with Asian societies. IIAS also welcomes research for the open cluster, so as not to exclude potentially significant and interesting topics.

Asian Cities

WITH A SPECIAL EYE on contemporary developments, the Asian Cities cluster aims to explore the longstanding Asian urban “tradition”, by exploring the origins of urbanism and urban culture in different parts of Asia and linking the various elements of city cultures and societies, from ancient to modern (colonial and post-colonial) times. Through an international knowledge-network of experts, cities and research institutes it seeks to encourage social scientists and scholars in the humanities to interact with contemporary actors including artists, activists, planners and architects, educators, and policy makers. By bringing together science and practice, IIAS wishes to initiate a productive dialogue where each participant can contribute his or her own expertise, with the potential to evolve into a broad multi-disciplinary corpus contributing to the actual development of Asian cities today.

Asian Heritages

THE ASIAN HERITAGES CLUSTER explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a European-originated concept associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values. This includes the contested distinctions of “tangible” and “intangible” heritages, and the importance of cultural heritage in framing and creating various forms of identity. The cluster addresses the variety of definitions associated with heritage and their implications. It aims to engage with a broad range of concepts including the issues of “authenticity,” “national heritage,” and “shared heritage”, and, more generally, issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage. It will also critically address the dangers involved in the commodification of perceived endangered local cultures/heritages, including languages, religious practices, crafts and art forms, as well as material vernacular heritage.

Global Asia

THE GLOBAL ASIA CLUSTER addresses contemporary issues related to transnational interactions within the Asian region as well as Asia's projection into the world, through the movement of goods, people, ideas, knowledge, ideologies and so forth. Past and present trends will be addressed. The cluster wishes to contribute to a better academic understanding of the phenomenon by challenging the Euro-centricity of much of its current literature, acknowledging the central role of Asia as an agent of global transformations. It also wishes to explore new forms of non-hegemonic intellectual interaction in the form of South-South and East-West dialogue models. By multi-polarizing the field of Asian studies, an enriched comparative understanding of globalization processes and the role of Asia in both time and space will be possible.

Coordinators:

M. Amineh, Programme Director EPA-IIAS, (m.p.amineh@uva.nl or m.p.amineh@iias.nl)
Y. Guang, Programme Director EPA-IWAAS/CASS
www.iias.nl/research/energy-programme-asia-epa

IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance

The IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance in Asia, is engaged in innovative and comparative research on theories and practices – focusing on emerging markets of Asia. Its multidisciplinary research undertakings combine approaches from political economy, law, public administration, criminology, and sociology in the comparative analysis of regulatory issues in Asia and in developing theories of governance pertinent to Asian realities. Currently the Centre facilitates projects on State Licensing, Market Closure, and Rent Seeking; Regulation of Intra-governmental Conflict; Social Costs, Externalities and Innovation; Regulatory Governance under Institutional Void; and Governance in Areas of Contested Territoriality and Sovereignty.

Coordinator: Tak-Wing Ngo
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PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

The Postcolonial Global City

This research examines the postcolonial cities of South, East and South-East Asia, and how some of them have made the successful segue from nodes in formerly colonial networks to global cities in their own right. This is intended to be an interdisciplinary approach bringing together architects and urbanists, geographers, sociologists and political scientists, as well as historians, linguists and anyone else involved in the field of Asian studies. A key factor in the research is architectural typology. Architecture is examined to see how it can create identity and ethos and how in the postcolonial era these building typologies have been superseded by the office building, the skyscraper and the shopping centre, all of which are rapidly altering the older urban fabric of the city.

Coordinator: Greg Bracken
 (gregory@cortlever.com)

Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA)

Consisting of over 100 researchers from 13 institutes in Europe, China, India and the United States, the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) represents the largest academic international network on Asian cities. UKNA's objective is to nurture contextualised and policy-relevant knowledge on Asian cities. This will be achieved via research staff exchanges and targeted case study based research, focusing on three key areas: heritage, housing and the environment. The programme is funded by a grant awarded by the EU, and runs from April 2012 until April 2016. IIAS is the coordinating partner institute in the network and administrator of the programme.

Partners are:

Ambedkar University; Beijing University of Technology's College of Architecture and Urban Planning; CEPT University; China Academy of Urban Planning and Design; TU Delft Faculty of Architecture; Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture Paris-Belleville; Hong Kong University's Architecture Department; Indian Institute for Human Settlements; International Institute for Asian Studies; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences' Centre for Urban and Regional Studies; Tianjin University's School of Architecture; University College London's Development Planning Unit; University of Macau's Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities; University of Southern California's Sol Price School of Public Policy.

Coordinators:

Paul Rabé (p.e.rabe@iias.nl)
 & **Simone Bijlard** (s.f.bijlard@iias.nl)

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Translating (Japanese) Contemporary Art

Takako Kondo focuses on (re)presentation of 'Japanese contemporary art' in art critical and theoretical discourses from the late 1980s in the realms of English and Japanese languages, including artists' own critical writings. Her research is a subject of (cultural) translation rather than art historical study and she intends to explore the possibility of multiple and subversive reading of 'Japanese contemporary art' in order to establish various models for transculturality in contemporary art.

Coordinator: Takako Kondo
 (t.kondo@hum.leidenuniv.nl)



ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index

The ABIA project is a global network of scholars co-operating on a bibliographic database of publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. It was re-launched in 1997 at the initiative of IIAS in collaboration with international scholars and Asian academic institutes. Partners are the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, India, and the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www.abia.net. Extracts are available as a series of bibliographies, published by Brill. The project receives scientific support from UNESCO and is sponsored by J. Gonda Foundation.

Coordinators: Ellen Raven (e.m.raven@iias.nl)
Gerda Theuns-de Boer (g.a.m.theuns@iias.nl)

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Asian Borderlands Research Network

The Asian Borderlands Research Network focuses particularly on the border regions between South Asia, Central/East and Southeast Asia. A conference is organised every two years in one of these border regions, in co-operation with a local partner. The concerns of the Asian Borderlands Research Network are varied, ranging from migratory movements, transformations in cultural, linguistic and religious practices, to ethnic mobilization and conflict, marginalisation, and environmental concerns.

www.asianborderlands.net

Energy Programme Asia – EPA

The EPA-research programme is designed to study the effects of global geopolitics of energy supply security on the European Union and main Asian energy-consuming countries and their national strategies for securing supply.

New Joint Research Project

Part of EPA is the second IIAS-IWAAS/CASS joint research project entitled: 'The transnationalization of China's oil industry: Company strategies, embedded projects and relations with institutions and stakeholders in resource-rich countries' (February 2013-December 2016). Involving various Chinese and Dutch research institutes, this comparative research project analyses China's increasing involvement with governments, local institutions and local stakeholders in the energy sectors of a number of resource-rich countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America (notably Sudan, Ghana, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, and Brazil). It seeks to determine patterns of interaction between national institutions and Chinese companies, their relationships to foreign investment projects and the extent to which they are embedded in the local economy. A core team of principal authors will present individual studies on various aspects and different countries. The resulting studies will be published in refereed journals such as Energy Policy, Social Aspects of Energy [Elsevier] and China Information and a book volume.

The project is managed by IIAS and the Institute of West Asian and African Studies (IWAAS) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), in co-operation with three other CASS research institutes and four Dutch universities. Funded by the Chinese Exchange Programme of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Social Sciences (KNAW), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and IIAS for the period February 2013-December 2016.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Jatropha Research & Knowledge Network (JARAK)

IIAS has become partner in a new network called JARAK, the Jatropha Research and Knowledge network on claims and facts concerning socially sustainable jatropha production in Indonesia. Jatropha is crop that seems very promising: it can be used as a clean non-fossil diesel fuel and it can provide new income sources in marginal areas that will grow the crop.

Coordinator: Dr. Jacqueline Vel
 (j.a.c.vel@law.leidenuniv.nl)

Senshi Soshō

This project, funded and coordinated by the Philippus Cortis Foundation, aims to translate a maximum of 6 official Japanese publications of the series known as 'Senshi Soshō' into the English language. From 1966 until 1980, the Ministry of Defense in Tokyo published a series of 102 numbered volumes on the war in Asia and in the Pacific. Around 1985 a few additional unnumbered volumes were published. This project focuses specifically on the 6 volumes of these two series which are relevant to the study of the Japanese attack on and the subsequent occupation of the former Dutch East-Indies in the period of 1941-1945.

Coordinator: Jan Bongenaar (iias@iias.nl)

Open Cluster

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Ageing in Asia and Europe

During the 21st century it is projected that there will be more than one billion people aged 60 and over, with this figure climbing to nearly two billion by 2050, three-quarters of whom will live in the developing world. Ageing in Asia is attributable to the marked decline in fertility shown over the last 40 years and the steady increase in life-expectancy. In Western Europe, ageing populations developed at a slower pace and could initially be incorporated into welfare policy provisions. Currently governments are seeking ways to trim and reduce government financed social welfare and healthcare, including pensions systems, unleashing substantial public debate and insecurity. Many Asian governments are facing comparable challenges and dilemmas, involving both the state and the family, but are confronted with a much shorter time-span. Research network involved: Réseau de Recherche Internationale sur l'Age, la Citoyenneté et l'Intégration Socio-économique (REIACTIS) Sponsored by: IIAS.

Coordinator: Carla Risseeuw
 (c.risseeuw@iias.nl)

IIAS announcements

The transnationalization of China's oil industry: company strategies, embedded projects and relations with institutions and stakeholders in resource-rich countries.

New Joint Research Programme

THIS IS A NEW JOINT research programme between the Energy Programme Asia (IIAS) and the Institute of West Asian and African Studies (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences).

This comparative research project will analyse China's increasing involvement with governments, local institutions and local stakeholders in the energy sectors of a number of resource-rich countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America (notably Sudan, Ghana, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, and Brazil). We seek to determine patterns of interaction between national institutions and Chinese companies, their relationships to foreign investment projects and the extent to which they are embedded in the local economy.

China's huge demand and novel, but professedly non-political, approach to investment (including tied aid, loans, and trading credits) sets it apart from European international practices. The effects of investments in these resource-rich economies and societies (transactions, flows of capital, employment and income-generation, etc.), many of which are managed by China's state-owned oil companies, require further analysis. We hypothesize a growing symbiosis between these enterprises and local institutions, and Chinese company and government behaviour that is significantly different between countries because of differences in institutional context and place and time-specific economic opportunities. Our analysis of investments and running operations may provide important insights into the local effects of bilateral and global energy cooperation and the learning curves of international and local oil companies.

Organisation and members

This interdisciplinary research project will be managed by Dr. M.P. Amineh (The Energy Programme Asia – IIAS/UvA) and Prof. Yang Guang (Institute of West Asian and African

Studies – CASS) in cooperation with the following Chinese/CASS and Dutch research centres and universities: the Institute of Industrial Economy-CASS (IIE), the Institute of Latin American Studies-CASS (ILAS), the Institute of Russian, East European & Central Asian Studies-CASS (IREECAS), the Centre for Latin American Studies-University of Amsterdam (CEDLA), Department of Politics and Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology-University of Amsterdam, the Institute for Environmental Studies-VU Free University Amsterdam, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), and Leiden University.

A core team of principal authors will present individual studies on various aspects and different countries. It consists of Mehdi Amineh (Programme Director EPA-IIAS and UvA) and Yang Guang (Programme Director IWAAS-CASS); Eduard B. Vermeer (IIAS-Leiden University); Chen Mo (IWAAS-CASS); Nana de Graaf (VU); Joyeeta Gupta (UvA); Barbara Hogenboom (CEDLA-UvA); Sara Hardus (UvA); Li Xiaohua (IIE); Liu Dong (IWAAS-CASS);

and Sun Hongbo (IIAS-CASS). Four external, independently-funded researchers will provide additional expertise: Raquel Shaoul (Department of East Asia Studies, University of Tel Aviv); Robert Cutler (Institute of European and Russian Studies, Carleton University); Frank Umbach (German Council on Foreign Relations, Asia Pacific Program); and Laszlo K. Maracz (Department of European Studies, UvA).

This project is funded by the Chinese Exchange Programme of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Social Sciences (KNAW) and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences-CASS, and by the International Institute for Asian Studies, for the period February 2013 - December 2016.

For further information

please contact: Mehdi Amineh (Programme Director – EPA-IIAS) (m.p.amineh@iias.nl).

Above: Chinese workers in Venezuela. Photo reproduced courtesy Creative Commons/Flickr.



IIAS PhD platform and discussion group

THE IIAS PhD DISCUSSION GROUP on LinkedIn (www.iias.nl/linkedin-phd) forms part of our 'National Platform for Asia Related PhD Research in the Netherlands'. The PhD platform was recently set up by IIAS as a tool to support PhD students and their supervisors in the Netherlands in their research.

In January 2012, the IIAS conducted a review of PhD research on Asia in the Netherlands (with a humanities and social sciences focus) and this led to the identification of more than 250 projects being carried out all over the country. What struck us most, was the enormous range of subjects studied, and the large number of Dutch universities, research schools and institutes involved.

Subsequent discussions indicated that PhD researchers in the field of Asian studies, linked to different organisations, rarely know of each other's work, even when the respective PhD subjects cover a similar region and/or discipline and co-operation could benefit both parties.

IIAS therefore decided to set up a national PhD platform to help PhD researchers (and their supervisors) in the Netherlands to establish contact, as well as to disseminate information about relevant courses, lectures or,

for example, international visitors (research fellows, visiting professors), etc. The platform may also function as a tool to encourage groups of PhD researchers to initiate workshops, or to invite national and/or international scholars for lectures and seminars, etc.

Join the PhD platform on LinkedIn

To develop the platform, PhD researchers in Asian studies in the Netherlands, and their supervisors, are invited to join the LinkedIn group 'IIAS PhD Platform'. We welcome all comments and recommendations posted to the site, which will help to develop the platform into a useful tool for anyone conducting PhD research in Asian studies in the Netherlands, and who would like to share information and experiences with fellow researchers.

A comparable Facebook discussion site has been set up at: [facebook.com/PhdPlatform](https://www.facebook.com/PhdPlatform)

We hope you will enjoy the discussions and find the information on the platforms useful.

Willem Vogelsang,
International Institute
for Asian Studies, Leiden

Asian Cities: Colonial to Global

Upcoming seminar Leiden, The Netherlands, 23-24 April 2013

The 5th annual meeting of the IIAS-TU Delft Seminar Series on Asian Cities will be a multi-disciplinary investigation into the question how networks laid down during the era of Western colonial expansion in Asia have given certain cities a global edge. It seeks to investigate issues relating to the 'post-colonial' (i.e., the era following independence from colonial/imperial powers) and their effects on the built environment.

During the seminar, scholars from around the world from such fields as the humanities, social sciences, architecture and urban studies, will present and discuss their on-going research. The seminar is also open for anyone interested in the subject and who would like to listen in.

Information

The seminar is organised by IIAS and the Dutch School of Design, Delft University of Technology. Please register if you would like to attend.

More information will be posted on the IIAS website: www.iias.nl/event/asian-cities-colonial-global

IIAS Global Agenda

Submit your event to our online events calendar

IIAS OFFERS THIRD PARTIES the opportunity to disseminate information about their own Asia-related events, research fellowships, grants or job opportunities through the IIAS website.

We invite you to create your own account at www.iias.nl/events and upload your information to our Global Agenda.



Patterns of Early Asian Urbanism

11-13 November 2013, Leiden, The Netherlands
International Conference 'Patterns of Early Asian Urbanism'

Registration information and 2nd Call for papers and panels

IIAS, together with Leiden University's Faculty of Archaeology and the Archaeology Unit of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS, Singapore) will be hosting an international conference, bringing together leading scholars from around the world to explore the theme of 'Early Urbanism' of pre-modern Asian cities, within the much broader context of urban studies, ancient and modern. The conference aims to examine Asian pre-modern cities through three major thematic strands, covering a wide geographic expanse throughout Asia (from Pakistan to Japan) and a time depth of cultural development across five millennia (from the Bronze Age through 14th century Angkor to 18th century East Asia). The three main themes to be explored are: a) processes of urban development; b) urban economy; and c) social fabric of the city.

The conference will provide a multi-disciplinary forum and we invite participation from the fields of archaeology, economy, geography, history, historical anthropology, philology, sociology, as well as (modern) urban planning and urban morphology. The most tangible results of the conference will be a special Focus section of the IIAS Newsletter as well as an edited publication. A more extensive description is available on the IIAS website.

Registration

Registration for the conference is open from 1 March 2013.
Conference fee: 150 Euro (including coffee, tea, lunches and a dinner) with a reduction for PhD students and those who register before August 15.

Call for papers and panels

We are still accepting proposals for papers/presentations and panels. To submit your abstract or proposal please use the web form provided on the IIAS website.

Final submission deadline: 30 May 2013

We invite proposals for papers or presentations of 20 minutes in length. We encourage the submission of papers that address either one of the above-mentioned three themes, or that cross theme boundaries. Proposals that seek to draw comparisons across wider regions or open up new vistas for original research are particularly welcome. Please use the web form provided on the IIAS website to submit your abstracts of 300 words maximum and a short author biography (including institutional affiliation). There is a separate form for proposals for panel discussions (3 to 4 speakers). An academic committee will select and group the proposals into separate sessions. Those who submit a proposal will hear by July 1st whether their proposal has been accepted and to which thematic panel it has been allocated.

Information/web-forms: www.iias.nl/event/patterns-early-asian-urbanism

International Workshop 'Institutional Voids during State Re-scaling'

Monday 13 May 2013, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

ON 13 MAY 2013 over ten scholars from different institutions in Asia, Europe and Australia will convene in Rotterdam with the aim to combine the insights and findings from two previous workshops on institutional voids and state re-scaling.

The goal of the workshop is to look at the interactions and overlaps between these two frontiers of research so as to generate new research questions and scholarly agenda. Specifically, the workshop seeks to examine empirical cases about the process of state restructuring and re-scaling in a globalizing world; identify institutional voids as a result of scaling up or scaling down during the re-territorialization of the national state; analyse the social, political, coalitional, and economic contexts that facilitate the filling of voids by the creation of alternative forms of governance and the consequences; reflect upon existing theories of the state, sub-national and supra-national politics, and institutional

change, as well as conventional concepts about the national-international division, public-private boundary, and the state-market dichotomy.

The workshop will be hosted by the Erasmus Centre for Emerging Markets at the Rotterdam School of Management, and is jointly organized by the IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance, Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud (CEIAS) at CNRS-EHESS Paris, Centre for Governance, Institutions & Organisations (CGIO) at NUS Business School, and Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication.

Attendance

The workshop will be open for attendees. If you would like to attend, please consult the IIAS website for the exact venue and how to register.

For more information, go to www.iias.nl/event/institutional-voids-during-state-re-scaling

Framing 'Asian Studies': Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks

18-19 November 2013, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Organised by International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS, Leiden), in partnership with Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS, Singapore).

Call for Papers: Deadline 30 April 2013

The conference *Framing 'Asian Studies': Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks* aims to examine and critically reflect on the 'social framing' of Asian Studies by focusing on four themes:

1. The influence of *geopolitical factors* on how knowledge about Asia is produced and disseminated;
2. The role of *institutions* in promoting and directing Asia studies;
3. The outlook of knowledge *networks*;
4. *Critiques* on the power structure underlying the observed patterns of knowledge production and dissemination of Asian studies.

A full description of the conference's topic will be made available on the IIAS website.

Applications and time-line

Please use the web form to register, and send an abstract of 300-400 words together with a short biographical note of max. 2 pages before 30 April 2013. We especially encourage young scholars from Asia and Europe to apply.

Successful applicants will be informed by 20 May 2013. Submission of the full paper will be required by 1 October 2013 to allow for circulation among participants prior to the event. Selected papers from the conference will be published in a joint IIAS-ISEAS volume.

For a full description and more information, see www.iias.nl/framing-asianstudies



Photo © Ania Blazejewski

Visit [iias.nl](http://www.iias.nl) to see who won in 2012!

IIAS National Master's Thesis Prize 2013

IIAS offers an annual award for the best national master's thesis in the field of Asian Studies, in the Netherlands.

The Award

- The honorary title of 'Best Master's Thesis' in Asian studies
- A maximum three month stipend (€ 1,500 per month) to work at IIAS, in order to write a PhD project proposal or a research article

Criteria

- The master's thesis should be in the broad field of Asian Studies, in the humanities or social sciences
- The thesis must have been written at a Dutch university
- Only master's theses which have been graded with an 8 or higher are eligible
- The thesis must have been evaluated in the period 1 November 2012 - 1 October 2013
- Both students and their supervisors can apply

Submission

Please submit four hard copies of the master's thesis and a cover letter including the grade awarded and your contact details

Deadline

1 October 2013, 9.00 am
Submissions should be sent to:
Secretariat
International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)
P.O. Box 9500
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
iias@iias.nl

IIAS fellows

IIAS hosts a large number of affiliated fellows (independent post-doctoral scholars), IIAS research fellows (PhD/postdoctoral scholars working on an IIAS research project), and fellows nominated and supported by partner institutions. Fellows are selected by an academic committee on the basis of merit, quality, and available resources. See here a full list of the fellows currently at IIAS, three fellows in the spotlight, and information on how to become an IIAS fellow yourself.

List of fellows

Amineh, Mehdi

Domestic and geopolitical challenges to energy security for China and the European Union
1 Sept 2007 – 1 Sept 2013

Bennett, Gwen

The nation on display: cultural heritage interpretation in China's peripheries and the creation of new national identity narratives
1 Sept 2012 – 28 Feb 2013

Bracken, Gregory

Colonial-era Shanghai as an urban model for the 21st century
1 Sept 2009 – 1 Sept 2013

Cheng, Sinkwan

Conceptual history, the introduction of linear time into the Chinese language, and Chinese modernity
1 Feb 2013 – 1 Aug 2013

Chong, Gladys P.L.

China rejuvenated? Governmentality, subjectivity, and normativity. The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games.
1 Feb 2013 – 1 Aug 2013

Diana, Antonella

Roses and rifles: experiments of governing on the China-Laos frontier
1 Oct 2012 – 31 Mar 2013

Esposito, Adele

Architectural and urban making in Southeast Asian heritage cities: the art of combining endogenous forms and exogenous inputs. Hoi An (Vietnam) as a case study.
1 Jan 2013 – 31 Nov 2013

Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, Vazira

A land in ruins: Gandhara, archaeology and the making of Indian civilization
1 Jan 2013 – 1 Jul 2013

Hoogervorst, Tom

Linguistic evidence for cultural contact across the Bay of Bengal
1 Oct 2012 – 1 Jul 2013

Kawlra, Aarti

Kanchipuram sari as heritage: identity and the politics of culture
15 Sept 2012 – 31 Mar 2013

Kikuchi, Yoshiyuki

Anglo-American connections in Japanese chemistry: the lab as contact zone
1 Sept 2012 – 28 Feb 2013

Kondo, Takako

Translating (Japanese) contemporary art
1 Sept 2009 – 31 Aug 2013

Kragh, Ulrich Timme

An Asian philosophy of history and cultural heritage
4 Jul 2011 – 31 Aug 2013

Mukherjee, Dipika

Negotiating languages and forging identities: Surinamese-Indian women in the Netherlands
5 Oct 2007 – 15 Jan 2013

Ngo, Tak-wing

State-market relations and the political economy of development
1 May 2008 – 1 May 2017

Okubo, Takeharu

The influence of Dutch jurisprudence in late 19th century Japan
1 Apr 2011 – 1 Apr 2013

Paskaleva, Elena

Reading the architecture of paradise: the Timurid Kosh
1 Sept 2012 – 1 Sept 2013

Praust, Karl

Bṛhaspati, the 'Great Lord' of the Rigveda
15 Aug 2012 – 16 Mar 2013

Ram, Ronki

Dalit cultural heritage in contemporary India
1 Sept 2011 – 1 Sept 2013

Rath, Saraju

Indian manuscripts in the Netherlands: from forgotten treasures to accessible archives
5 Jan 2004 – 31 Mar 2013

Scheen, Lena

Urban renewal in Shanghai: social, cultural and mental implications
1 Sept 2012 – 28 Feb 2013

Sysling, Fenneke

Seeing Southeast Asia through Indian eyes. Physical anthropology and travel experience in the Dutch Indies, ca. 1880-1940
1 Sept 2012 – 28 Feb 2013

Tan, Danielle

From Golden Triangle to Economic Quadrangle: connections, corridors, and reconfiguration of a transnational space in the Upper Mekong Borderlands
1 Feb 2013 – 30 Jul 2013

Yao, Huina

International assistance and domestic politics: a comparative study of the Palestine after 1948 and China during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945)
1 Sept 2012 – 31 Oct 2013

Wang, Ping

Zhuangzi, Guo Xiang and Daoism
1 Feb 2013 – 1 May 2013



Aarti Kawlra

The making of a 'craft tradition' and the politics of cloth in colonial and post colonial south India

THE BOOK MANUSCRIPT I am working on focuses on the biography of a culturally valued cloth, the silk and gold contrast-bordered 'wedding sari' from Kanchipuram in south India, and deals with the twentieth century construction of hand-weaving as an inherited 'craft tradition'. I examine the reformist and revivalist agendas of state and non-state actors and institutions, to foreground the politics of cloth within a wider, hegemonic process of traditionalisation of India's techno-culture in modernity. I view the contemporary status of the Kanchipuram sari as the queen among silk handloom saris from Tamil Nadu as a discursive creation, whereby a cherished past is legitimized and canonized as local, regional, national and, more recently, global 'living' heritage.

Taking the case of the Telugu speaking Padma Saliyar community, whose members are at the helm of the production and exchange of hand woven silk and gold saris in Tamil Nadu, my research poses questions such as: How was hand-weaving sacralised (and spatialised) as artisanal heritage in colonial and nationalist discourses? How did some communities come to be labeled as repositories of a commingled past? Do they continue to be implicated in this process of knowledge production as place-holders of culture or do they have any claims of their own?

My work traverses many disciplinary boundaries (Anthropology and Ethnography, Cultural Studies, History, Art, Design and Technology Studies) and relies on the permeability of epistemic borders. The interdisciplinary focus of the IIAS Critical Heritage cluster, in which my work is located is, therefore, very encouraging. IIAS's roundtable format of bringing together multiple perspectives for critical engagement in an open atmosphere is particularly interesting for me. As a participant at the roundtable on *The Cultural Heritages of Asia and Europe: Global Challenges and Local Initiatives*, in Amsterdam in Aug-Sept 2010, and then again on *Ikat Weaving as Heritage for Sustainable Development*, in Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT), Indonesia in October 2012, I was able to witness first hand the effectiveness of such a platform for initiating collaborative research and policy work. Conceiving the IIAS roundtable *Cloth, Identity and Power* during my stay at IIAS for the forthcoming International Convention for Asian Scholars, ICAS 8 in Macau later in June this year, is therefore an important milestone for me.

Finally, regular interactions at informal lectures and events with scholars from Area Studies, History, Archaeology and Urban Knowledge Network Asia have not only been personally enriching but have also contributed greatly to a very convivial atmosphere for independent research at IIAS.



Yao Huina

(Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, PR of China)
International Assistance and Domestic Politics:
A Comparative Study of Palestine after 1948 and China during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945)

DURING MY RESEARCH PROJECT AT IIAS, I explored the mutual influence between international assistance and domestic politics by comparing the situation in Palestine after 1948 to China during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945). My goal is to contribute to a deepened understanding of the nature, operation mechanisms and practical results of international political, economic and military aid. It will also help the recipient countries/areas to receive more and the right kind of assistance: the kind that aids their own development and maximizes effects.

International assistance is one of the important aspects of international relations. In the history of Asia, many countries/areas have accepted short-term or long-term international assistance because of war, unrest, poverty, or other reasons. In many cases, the provided international assistance had significant effects on the political system of the recipient countries/areas, their government functioning, the existing power structures and power relations, and even on the basic social values and societal development paths. In some cases, these effects were even so powerful that they changed the political structure and tradition of the recipients. In other cases, the international assistance was loaded with the national interests of the donor countries or institutions, and conflicted with the political interests of the recipients. On the other hand, the domestic politics of the recipient itself could also influence the nature and amount of international assistance given and the ways in which it was delivered. These effects in their turn were sometimes so powerful that it led donors to terminate

their assistance, or even, in the case of a war situation, to redirect assistance to the other side of the conflict.

There are both similarities and differences between Palestine after 1948 and China during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945). The similarities are, among others: (a) they both fought for the survival of the nation and national sovereignty under very difficult circumstances; (b) they both needed, and accepted, international assistance; (c) in both cases different political factions existed; (d) in both cases the interaction between international assistance and domestic politics was significant. The differences are, among others: (a) China is a big country while Palestine is a small area without an established state; (b) China experienced a large scale war within a period of eight years while Palestine has experienced many conflicts of different sizes, over a long period of time; (c) the international assistance they accepted in various manners differed in nature and quantity; (d) there were differences in the ways in which and the extent to which domestic politics affected international assistance.

My stay with IIAS was a great opportunity to meet and interact with scholars from different countries, cultures and research backgrounds who presented different approaches to similar research questions, which enriched my own study. IIAS provided a stimulating platform for discussion, connecting with peers and enlarging my professional network. I very much enjoyed the comfortable atmosphere and appreciated the kind and open-minded staff.



Shrawan Kumar Acharya
 (UKNA exchange fellow
 from CEPT University, India)
 Inner City Revitalization
 and Heritage Conservation

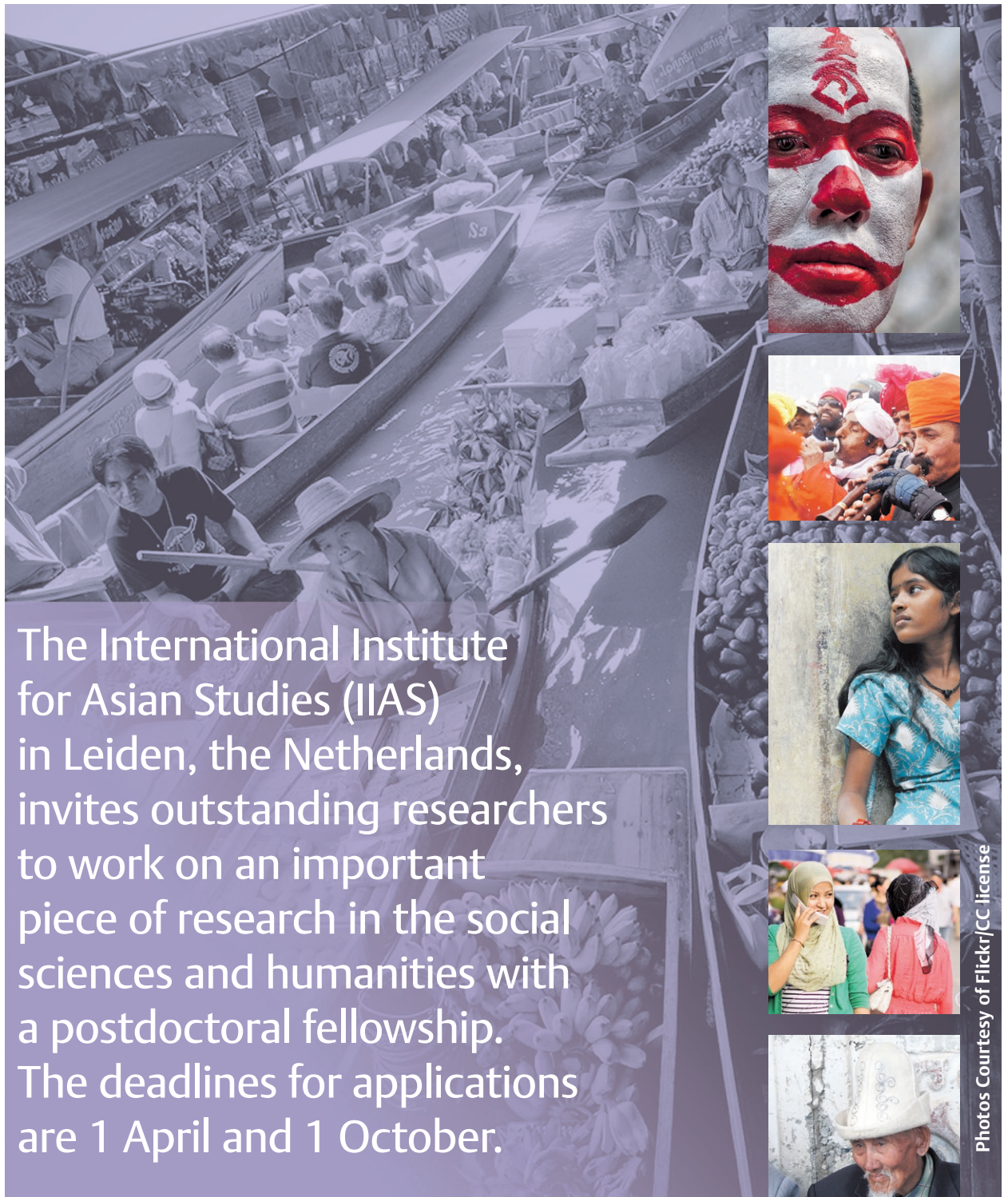
MY WORK AS UKNA FELLOW with IIAS contributes to a larger research project in which I attempt to explore the appropriate paradigm for internalizing heritage in the urban development strategy in emerging economies. During my three-month stay in the Netherlands, I looked at the experience of heritage conservation in urban development policy, in a number of Dutch cities.

High on India's national development agenda is the plan to enhance the competitiveness of urban centers in order to attract investments and to stimulate the economic growth of the hinterland. A prime concern here is the revitalizing and redevelopment of the old city area, which is characterized by high density, congestion and environmental degradation. In this area there is a notable shift from state controlled and planned intervention to neo-liberal market-oriented development strategies, which means that the redevelopment and revitalization of the old city is also being propelled by the advantages of its central location and high land values. Very often the neo-liberal physical revitalization strategies are in conflict with heritage resources, often leading to their destruction and replacement by modern, in most cases western imitation, architectural structures. Such conflicts are common across all countries. Wanton revitalization has adversely affected and destroyed old neighborhoods, mostly low-income housing and associated city heritage.

Of late there is increasing concern for heritage and community conservation, with more cities giving importance to heritage issues in the development strategy. In fact, heritage conservation is even becoming important for neo-liberal urban development policy as 'place marketing'. The attempt to internalize heritage conservation in the development planning process has been considerably influenced by European and American theory and practice. In India, the appropriateness of such strategy is now increasingly a subject for debate. European countries and the USA have a long tradition of heritage conservation, but they have also witnessed large scale city renewal and revitalization efforts, often at the cost of old neighborhoods and communities.

My present research explores the different experiences in these countries as well as the question how they have reconciled the existing conservation and revitalization contradictions. After earlier and similar research in countries such as India, China, Vietnam and the USA, the three-month project with IIAS consisted of detailed case analysis of a number of Dutch cities, involving literature review, discussions with experts and important stakeholders, and field visits.

IIAS Postdoctoral Fellowships



The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, the Netherlands, invites outstanding researchers to work on an important piece of research in the social sciences and humanities with a postdoctoral fellowship. The deadlines for applications are 1 April and 1 October.

Photos Courtesy of Flickr/CC license

WE ARE PARTICULARLY interested in researchers focusing on one of the Institute's three thematic clusters: 'Asian Cities', 'Asian Heritages', and 'Global Asia'. However, some positions will be reserved for outstanding projects in any area outside of those listed.

Asian Cities

The Asian Cities cluster deals with cities and urban cultures with related issues of flows of ideas and goods, cosmopolitanism, *métissage* and connectivity, framing the existence of vibrant "civil societies" and political urban microcultures. It also deals with such issues as urban development in the light of the diversity of urban societies.

Asian Heritages

This cluster concentrates on the critical investigation of the politics of cultural heritage, and explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a Europe-originated concept associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values.

Global Asia

The Global Asia cluster addresses Asia's role in the various globalization processes. It examines examples of and issues related to multiple, transnational intra-Asian interactions as well as Asia's projection in the world. Historical experiences as well as more contemporary trends will be addressed.

Research projects that can contribute to new, historically contextualized, multidisciplinary knowledge, with the capacity of translating this into social and policy relevant initiatives, will be privileged.

For information on the research clusters and application form go to: www.iias.nl



DelftWare WonderWare

For over 400 years, blue and white Delftware has been the Netherlands' most iconic national product. Initially intended as a faithful imitation of Chinese export porcelain, Blue Delft has never lost its appeal. Indeed, it is today attracting more interest than ever and is inspiring a stream of new products from contemporary Dutch designers. At a time when a sense of national identity is being replaced by an increasing focus on developments at the European level, the Delft Blue feeling is proving to be the ideal vehicle for the expression of national pride.

Titus M. Eliëns, Head of Collections

Ongoing exhibition at the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, opened December 2012 (www.gemeentemuseum.nl)

THE GEMEENTEMUSEUM DEN HAAG has one of the most important collections of Dutch Delftware anywhere in the world. A new presentation of this collection opened on 1 December 2012 and is now a key attraction of the Hague museum. Together with the accompanying Dutch/English-language book *Het Wonder van Delfts blauw. DelftWare WonderWare*, the new exhibition offers a fascinating overview of the 400-year-long history of Dutch Delftware.

How Kraak porcelain conquered the Netherlands

Chinese export porcelain began to flood into the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century and had a decisive influence on the development of the blue and white earthenware we call Blue Delft. This Kraak porcelain – also known as 'Wanli' porcelain, after Emperor Wanli (1573-1619) – was made by the Chinese potteries specifically for export and was different in quality from the porcelain they produced for the internal Chinese market. Portugal had been the first European country to have trade links with the Far East and Portuguese traders transported the Chinese export porcelain on ships called caraccas. This term was corrupted to kraaken in Dutch and hence produced the expression kraakporselein (Kraak porcelain).

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese trade monopoly was broken by the Dutch. In 1588, the Northern Netherlands had won their independence from the great Habsburg Empire (which included Spain and Portugal). Shortly before that, the port of Antwerp, Europe's main international trading centre, had been seized by the Spaniards, bringing trade to a halt. To secure the spice trade and in search of new opportunities, the Dutch now looked for their own sea route to Asia. Following the successful 1595-1597 expedition of Cornelis de Houtman and his discovery of the shorter route to the Indies (today's Indonesia) via the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese hegemony was broken once and for all.

Dutch ships regularly clashed with Portuguese caraccas and captured their precious cargos of trade goods.

These included the blue and white Kraak porcelain, which was soon in great demand on the Dutch market. Its popularity was established by two auctions of goods seized from caraccas. When the cargo of the Sao Tiago was auctioned in Middelburg in 1602

and that of the Santa Catarina in Amsterdam in 1604, large quantities of porcelain appeared on the Dutch market for the first time. The success of these auctions persuaded the Dutch trading companies – united in 1602 to form the Dutch East India Company (VOC) – to make porcelain, rather than spices, precious metals and textiles, their main focus of attention. Between then and around 1645, over three million pieces of Kraak porcelain were shipped to the Netherlands.

The development of Blue Delft

The popularity of the blue and white export porcelain inevitably posed a substantial threat to the Delft earthenware industry of the day. With no access to kaolin, the Delft potteries were unable to manufacture true porcelain. However, they did manage to produce a new kind of earthenware that successfully imitated the shiny surface, shapes and oriental-style decoration of Chinese porcelain. The blue and white colour scheme was imitated by coating the pieces of earthenware with a white tin glaze, to which the distinctive blue paintwork was then applied. Blue delft was soon recognised as a good and – at a tenth of the price – much more affordable alternative to Chinese porcelain.

At first, the Delft potteries sought to produce faithful imitations of the oriental shapes and decorations used in China in the successive stylistic periods. Imitations of Wanli porcelain are almost exact copies of the Chinese originals. Image 1 shows flatware and a 'Persian' bottle featuring the typical division of the decoration into vertical panels of varying width, filled with floral motifs and Taoist symbols suspended on ribbons. At the top, the decoration on the largest dish includes the double peach that in China symbolizes longevity.

In the Transitional porcelain of the following stylistic period (1619-1662), these panels disappear. They are replaced by continuous decorative schemes, such as oriental scenes in garden-like settings, and the change is quickly reflected in the products of the Delft potteries (image 3). Among the motifs typical of this Transitional style is the stylised tulip that appears on the neck of the bottle on the left. The jug is an item of European shape, which has been decorated with an oriental tableau by the painter in Delft.

When Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) came to the throne in 1662, the Chinese porcelain factories began to develop a new product range and this, of course, quickly influenced the Delft potteries. A favourite motif of this period is the elegantly dressed oriental woman known as a 'Long Eliza'. She is shown here on two delftware bottles that are direct imitations of Chinese originals (image 2). It is important to realise that the Delft potteries adopted such motifs without any awareness of their original significance.



2.

The fusion of stylistic elements from East and West led to the emergence of what we now call 'Chinoiserie': the fashionable new 'Chinese' style that appeared in Europe around this time. Because of the international popularity of its products, the Delft pottery industry played a major role in both the development and the dissemination of this fashion.

Masters of mass production

Although we now tend to discuss pieces of Delftware as if they were unique items, it should be remembered that surviving examples represent only a tiny fraction of the huge numbers of objects produced by the Delft potteries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Delft pottery industry employed a form of mass production and served a number of different markets. The majority of its products were everyday household objects, but purely ornamental wares also represented a substantial part of its output.

It is hard to say how many pieces were manufactured by the Delft potteries over the years, but it is possible to make a cautious estimate of production capacity per kiln. It took about a week to fill, fire and empty each kiln. A kiln loaded with flatware could hold around 4275 items. Therefore, assuming an annual production capacity of 52 kiln-weeks, each kiln could produce approximately 220,000 plates a year. A 1668 fire brigade inspection report says that there were 26 potteries in operation at that date, with a total of over 41 kilns between them. Assuming, therefore, that all the potteries produced only flatware, they could have produced a total of around 9 million items in that year. This assumption is, of course, entirely unsubstantiated; however, the calculation gives some idea of the annual production capacity of the Delft pottery industry. Its products certainly must have numbered in the millions.

A minuscule proportion of them are now on show in the DelftWare WonderWare exhibition at the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag. For a more detailed account of the history of Dutch Delftware, see M.S. van Aken-Fehmers, T.M. Eliëns and S.M.R. Lambooy, *Het Wonder van Delfts blauw. DelftWare WonderWare*, Zwolle/The Hague, 2012.

Fig. 1: Delftware in Wanli style, 1660-1720.

Fig. 2: Two bottles with 'Long Elizas' in Kangxi style, 1687-1701.

Fig. 3: Delftware in Transitional style, 1680-1685.

Photography: Erik and Petra Hesmerg.



1.



3.