NO. **81**

The Newsletter

Building the
New Silk Road

A collective and interdisciplinary analysis of social progress

Building material
knowledge through
conservation in
Indonesia

I A S
International
Institute for
Asian Studies

25

Celebrating 25 years of the International Institute for Asian Studies

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A collective and interdisciplinary analysis of social progress

Olivier Bouin

The recent decades have seen a decline in world poverty and an extension of democracy in many countries around the world. Nevertheless, many people have the feeling that this has also been a period of social setbacks, and there is a general atmosphere of skepticism regarding the possibility of long-term substantial social progress. A new report compiled by the International Panel on Social Progress (IPSP) seeks to gain insights into what the current main risks and challenges are, and how institutions and policies can be improved if the plagues of inequality, segregation, intolerance, exclusion and violence are to be fought. This Focus shares the message of hope found in the IPSP report: A better society is indeed possible, its contours can be broadly described, and all we need is to gather forces toward realizing this vision.

The Newsletter is a free periodical published by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). As well as serving as a forum for scholars to share research, commentary and opinion with colleagues in academia and beyond, The Newsletter is also a window into the Institute.

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a global Humanities and Social Sciences institute and a knowledge exchange platform, based in Leiden, the Netherlands, with programmes that engage Asian and other international partners. IIAS takes a thematic and multi-sectoral approach to the study of Asia and actively involves scholars and experts from different disciplines and regions in its activities. Our current thematic research clusters are 'Asian Heritages', 'Asian Cities' and 'Global Asia'.

Information about the programmes and activities of IIAS can be found in the Network pages of each issue of The Newsletter.

In this issue

From 13 October onwards IIAS will be celebrating its 25th year of existence. We aim to make this year a memorable one, starting with our Annual Lecture on 20 November 2018 and culminating in ICAS 11 (16-19 July 2019), which will return to the Netherlands, where it had its first instalment in 1998 (page 4-5). Also cause for celebration is '200 years of Oriental Studies in Russia' (page 51). On page 42, attention is given to scholarship in Cambodia. Closer to home, on page 49, you may read about the new IIAS research project 'Building the New Silk Road: China's Belt and Road Initiative in context'. Furthermore, included are two workshop reports (pages 43-45), an article by Manpreet Janeja about her book *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty* (page 48) and finally, two pieces on the digital resources of the East Asia Resource Library in Slovenia and 'Naval Kishore Press –digital' in India (page 50).

IIAS research programmes, networks and other initiatives are described in brief on pages 54-55. Information about the IIAS Fellowship programme can be found on page 53 and on our latest announcements on page 52.

Second Africa-Asia Conference in Dar es Salaam

Boundless Circulation of Knowledge

Philippe Peycam

iias.asia

International Institute for Asian Studies

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) were honoured to serve, once again, as one of the principle facilitators of the second edition of the international conference 'Asia-Africa, A New Axis of Knowledge' which took place in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 20-22 September 2018. The other key partners in this endeavour were our host, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), and the Association for Asian Studies in Africa (A-ASIA). This partnership stems from a continuing commitment of IIAS to collaborations beyond boundaries of any kinds, which must include academic, cultural, public and social actors, particularly those from the two most populated and dynamic 'southern' regions (or continents) of the world: Africa and Asia.

As three years ago in Accra, the event in Dar es Salaam celebrated the existence of alternative circuits of exchanges in which the usual 'periphery' became the dynamic agent or vector of new knowledge. Nearly 400 participants joined approximately 100 panels and roundtables held at the UDSM Business School. The events were preceded by two outstanding and very personal keynotes by Prof. Zulfiqarali Premji, from Tanzania and Prof. Oussouby Sacko, from Japan in the university's majestic Nkrumah Hall.

I must say something about the organisation of the event; it was only possible thanks to the work and dedication of our colleagues from UDSM, especially Dr. Mathew Senga, our main counterpart from the College of Social Sciences. Mathew was aided by a number of organisational committees made up of young UDSM faculty and graduate students who delivered one of the smoothest and most heartfelt events we at IIAS have ever been involved in. I want to thank them all and with them Prof. William Anangisye, Vice Chancellor of UDSM, for his enthusiastic support.

Our symbiotic collaboration with UDSM was not limited to organisational and logistical matters. Like us, they worked hard to raise awareness among scholars, especially within the Tanzanian and East African academic community. And like us, they did their utmost to raise resources to ensure that the event would be as open and inclusive as possible. Together with the IIAS-ICAS team, whom I want to thank for yet another example of their exceptional engagement, our UDSM colleagues worked in unison to shape the whole programme, to organise the panels according to 9 broad themes, to choose the keynotes, etc. It was a real partnership.

The result was an increase in the number and quality of contributions from participants coming from very different horizons. We saw participants from regions that were not present in Accra: from North Africa and the Maghreb, from Central and Eastern Europe, from Southeast Asia, the Middle-East, Western Asia and Central Asia. We saw more participants from francophone African countries – though still too few from lusophone areas. We had participants from Latin America, North America, Oceania, South, and East Asia, and from Western Europe. This Africa-Asia axis of knowledge has become a truly global space, an original method

of engagement that inspires even beyond the spatiality of the two continents.

Another special feature of the conference in Dar es Salaam was the number of universities, institutes and even academic journals that went out of their way to support the event and its plurality by funding people in need of assistance. Their collective effort amounts to a clear rejection of the current logic that coerces institutions into competition with one another or that prioritizes narrow quantifiable outputs against the act of providing open and free spaces of intellectual exchanges, one of the essential missions of humanistic academia. Among them were Calicut University, University of Ghana, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Henry Luce Foundation, Michigan University, Réunion University, National University of Singapore, Social Sciences Research Council, Leiden University, IIAS, Andrew Mellon Foundation, the academic publisher Taylor and Francis, *Itinerario* journal, and of course, University of Dar es Salaam.

There were other organisations whose members worked hard to get their presidents, deans or heads of department, often against tight financial constraints, to sponsor or contribute to the cost of a panel or a roundtable. I cannot name them all but I would like here to pay special homage to our colleagues from University Gaston Berger (Senegal), Airlangga University (Indonesia), Ibadan University (Nigeria), Vietnam National University, University of Zambia, and Kasetsart University (Thailand). In this list of supporting institutions, we saw African, Indian and Pakistani, Chinese, European, Japanese, American, Southeast Asian universities working together to ensure a maximum plurality of participants regardless of institutional, disciplinary or national backgrounds.

For all these reasons combined, the Dar es Salaam event must be seen as pertaining to a novel kind of trans-regional 'area studies' platforms, one which saw a first occurrence at the memorable Accra conference in September 2015. Those who participated in one (or both) of these conferences can testify to their transformative appeal. A sentiment, shared by many during the events and after, is that something new and critically important was happening. They experienced first-hand the exhilarating feeling one encounters when we step out of our comfort zone and are forced to reach out to counterparts from totally different backgrounds or horizons, and how this experience can be extremely rewarding, especially when we confront ourselves with an all-different historical, cultural and geographical reality.

This exercise not only helps to better situate one's scholarship by testing our ideas on new grounds. It also inspires us to draw new, hitherto unseen comparisons, to search for otherwise hidden connections, or simply to fine-tune our narratives or argumentations so that they attain the kind of resonance that transcends particularities. A subtly subversive displacement occurs that can help us embrace any realities in a decentred-yet-connected manner and allow us to shift our paradigms. With it, is the possibility of forging new intellectual alignments, of apprehending new sensibilities, of testing new analytical approaches, transcending hierarchies or categories we had long thought

immune to changes. These may be rooted in deep-seated beliefs and mental – ideological – constructions delineated by value systems often imposed by institutions, national narratives, or the fragmentation of knowledge into disciplines.

One kind of unfounded value judgement that the successes of Accra 2015 and Dar es Salaam 2018 swept away is the so-called African 'disconnection' from the larger spectrum of knowledge circulation and debates of the world. This derogative conception is equally held toward other supposedly peripheral places like for instance South or Southeast Asia. Before the two African events, we the organisers, were warned about the 'risks' we would face – the supposed lack of local academic and intellectual infrastructures; the Ebola pandemic; the fact that this event was unnecessarily taking place in Africa (instead of Europe), in Ghana or Tanzania (instead of South-Africa); that its focus should primarily be on the continent's exclusive relations with China, or of global security or economic concerns, subjects for which institutional money from northern programs abound. All these disparaging or reductionist comments, many rooted in an antiquated conception of the world in which meanings and concerns should remain the primacy of a few (northern) centres of gravity were brushed aside in Accra in 2015 and in Dar es Salaam in 2018.

What came out of these periphery-turned-centre events, is that new agencies only emerge if they emanate from truly inclusive trans-regional forums, and that for them to arise free from existing constrains, they need to do so outside the mainstream institutional or geographical circuits. Indeed, by moving away from the traditionally confined and located 'academic territories' usually populated by self-defined 'specialists' of the two regions, the Africa-Asia events of Accra and Dar es Salaam openly disrupted the implicit restrictive function presiding over academia in the global economic-political order and its hierarchized division of labour. It is in fact at the time when we are all experiencing a deep crisis of the Western-dominated 'grand narrative', with human, ecological but also epistemological impasses everyday clearer, that this kind of Africa-Asia forum, by mobilizing multiple ways to 'be in the world', can prove its full worth. Not only can it engage critically with the relations of power at the heart of old epistemologies, but it can offer new angles to apprehend the world through a shared, inherently kaleidoscopic language.

For these reasons, on behalf of the Organising Committee, I would like to thank all the participants, individuals and institutions present in Dar es Salaam, who brought to Tanzania such a rich and diverse group of people and such a wide range of subjects of discussion. In a world of shrinking horizons and growing insecurities, their expanding presence and engagement is a testimony to a shared resolve to see scholarship continue to adhere to the universalist tenets of inclusive exchanges and encounters; to believe in what the Cameroonian scholar Achille Mbembe calls "the articulation, from Africa, of a thinking of circulation and crossings" (Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, 2013, p.8).

Philippe Peycam
Director IIAS

International Institute for Asian Studies

25 years

connecting knowledge and people

Current IIAS staff in front of the offices on Rapenburg in Leiden

In 2018-2019, we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the International Institute for Asian Studies. The official opening of IIAS took place, almost to the day, 25 years before the publication of this issue of The Newsletter, on 13 October 1993. Throughout the year, we are planning various activities, starting with our Annual Lecture on 20 November and ending during ICAS 11 in Leiden, the home of IIAS.

Digitalising the (IIAS) Newsletter

Another constant feature of IIAS since its beginnings has been the 'IIAS Newsletter' – since issue #50 in 2009 simply 'The Newsletter'. Published three or four times per year, The Newsletter has become an IIAS flagship and one of the most important mediums for the exchange of ongoing and new research, reports on workshops and conferences, reviews of books, etc. To mark the 25-year anniversary, we plan to also digitalise the earliest issues of The Newsletter, from the first issue up to and including issue #26.

Alumni meetings

Throughout the 25 years, our fellows have always been an important part of IIAS. They came from all over the world to pursue their studies, and their stay in Leiden (or Amsterdam) was for most of them a memorable and very productive time. Recently, we have sent out emails to more than 700 of our alumni, inviting them to the large ICAS conference, in Leiden in July 2019, to present the results of their studies and to meet other alumni. We will allocate several spaces for the 'IIAS alumni club', for current and former fellows to meet and reminisce.

Pie chart: Home regions of the IIAS alumni
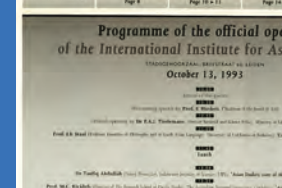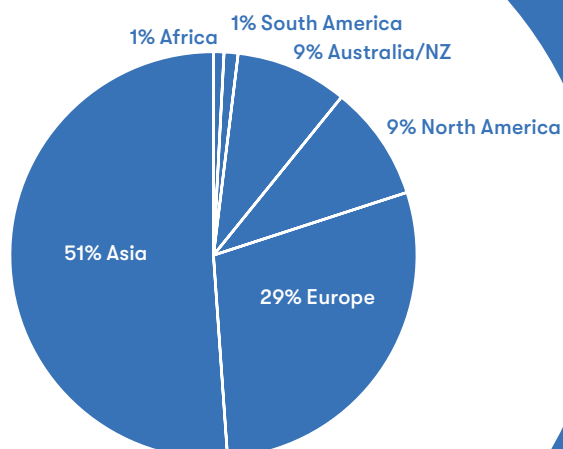
- 1% Africa
- 1% South America
- 9% Australia/NZ
- 9% North America
- 29% Europe
- 51% Asia

'Selfie', photo by Klienne Eco, submitted to IIAS Photo Contest 2014

Photo contest

© Merijn Doomernik

IIAS Annual Lecture with Ruben Terlou

As we did during our 20-year anniversary, we will again be hosting a photo contest in the coming year. The theme will be that of ICAS 11, namely 'Asia and Europe. Asia in Europe', and the winning photos will be exhibited during the convention in Leiden in July 2019. Keep an eye on our website and email updates for more details.

Chinese dreams: the human face of changing China
Rode Hoed, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
20 November 2018, 15:00-17:45

In this jubilee year, the International Institute for Asian Studies Annual Lecture will be delivered by Ruben Terlou. Ruben Terlou is a Dutch photographer, documentary filmmaker, and medical doctor. He studied Mandarin in China and Medicine at the University of Amsterdam. He has worked extensively as a photographer in China and Afghanistan, winning several Dutch Silver Camera Awards and the prize for Innovative Photojournalism. He is also well known for his television documentary series 'Along the banks of the Yangzi' and 'Through the Heart of China'. Terlou's endearing personality, combined with his fluent Chinese, resulted in deeply personal portraits, offering a

very intimate view of the human face of contemporary China.

In his address, 'Chinese dreams: the human face of changing China', Ruben Terlou will share his thoughts on modern-day China, his personal experiences and his photographs. Most importantly, he shows what fascinates and drives him most: the human condition, the adaptability of the people to the enormous changes taking place, while simultaneously showing how they stay faithful to their culture and all things in which they believe.

If you would like to attend our Annual Lecture please register here: https://iias.asia/chinese-dreams

The International Convention of Asia Scholars
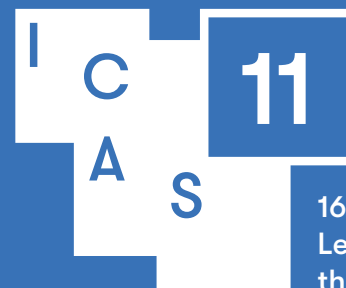
I C A S 11
16-19 July 2019
Leiden
the Netherlands

ICAS 11 will be organized by Leiden University, the International Institute for Asian Studies and GIS Asie (French Academic Network on Asian Studies). ICAS 11 will be held in Leiden, the Netherlands, from 16-19 July 2019. The convention will draw on the historically rich Asian and global connections of the city, along with its renowned research institutes and museums. For further information visit: https://icas.asia

The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) engages participants from all continents in dialogues on Asia that transcend boundaries between academic disciplines and geographic regions. ICAS is an active accelerator of research.

Since 1998, ICAS has brought more than 20,000 academics, civil society representatives, administrators and artists together at 10 conventions. Publishers, institutes and NGOs converge to display their products, services and research outcomes in the ICAS exhibition hall. The ICAS Book and Dissertations Carousel offers (future) authors a platform to launch their publications. With all these activities ICAS has contributed to the decentring of Asian studies by including more 'Asian voices', while successfully convening a global space in which Asia scholars from the whole world can directly interact.

The ICAS Book Prize (IBP) 2019

The biennial ICAS Book Prize (IBP) is a global competition that provides an international focus for publications on Asia in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The IBP received in excess of 500 entries in 2017 (300 books and 200 dissertations). In addition to the original English-language Prize, the IBP 2019 will include 5 other language editions: French, German, Chinese, Korean, and Spanish/Portuguese. The IBP awards will be presented during the ICAS 11 opening ceremony.

Submit your title

The English and French editions have already closed their online submissions forms, but the deadline for the other language editions are: German: 1 Nov 2018, Korean: 15 Nov 2018, Chinese: 1 Dec 2018, Spanish/Portuguese: 15 Jan 2019. Visit https://icas.asia/en/icas-book-prize to find guidelines and the submission form.

Asian Studies Book Fair

Publishers and academic institutes are invited to exhibit at the Asian Studies Book Fair at ICAS 11, to present their publications, projects and programmes to the large number of attendees. The Book Fair will also host events such as manuscript pitches, author meetings and book launches. Exhibitors or advertisers email: icas11.exhibition@iias.nl

Universiteit Leiden

International Institute for Asian Studies

GIS ASIE
French Academic Network on Asian Studies

Imaginaries of Jurong Industrial Estate, Singapore[1]

Loh Kah Seng

Jurong Industrial Estate is a symbol and metaphor for Singapore's transformation from a colonial entrepôt port to an industrial export economy in the 1960s and 1970s. It is regularly referred to as 'Goh's Folly', so-named after Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's Minister for Finance at the time and the architect of the project. Used in the context of Jurong's development into a vibrant industrial hub, the epithet repudiates accusations of bad economics and demonstrates the sound thinking of Goh, and by extension the Singapore government. This official imaginary of Jurong is central to Singapore's economic history.

Lee Kuan Yew (middle) and other Singapore officials in Jurong, c. early 1960s. Photo is obtained with permission from Alex Tan Tiong Hee.

In his memoirs, former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew recounted an epic story of Jurong in multiple initial failures and eventual success; of Goh's alleged folly, Lee imagined that "He was not that self-deprecatory when Jurong was barren".[2] Current Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong recently retold this narrative in hailing the role of the statutory board most closely associated with Jurong's history – JTC Corporation (formerly Jurong Town Corporation) – at the 50th anniversary of its formation in 1968. While Jurong's narrative arc is well-known, less so are other early imaginaries which helped realise the government's vision of industrial development. The first was the work of international experts who advised the government on industrial policy around the same time in 1960-61: Albert Winsemius on the feasibility of Singapore's industrialisation; Y. Yanagisawa's team of Japanese experts on heavy industry in Jurong; and Philippe Schereschewsky's response to a proposed iron and steel project. The other imaginary lay in the origin of Jurong's showpiece heavy industry: National Iron and Steel Mills, a product of the imaginaries of the Singapore government, local investors, and foreign advisers.

Jobs, Jurong, and politics

Singapore's industrialisation was not a purely technical matter but one shaped by the socio-economic and political contexts arising after the Second World War. The impetus for manufacturing was the belief that it would provide more jobs than the existing entrepôt trade. Unemployment and under-employment had been part of the socio-economic land-scape of colonial Singapore, but with the rapid growth of the population after the war, had become problematic for the future of postcolonial Singapore. Between 1947 and 1957, as families settled down with multiple children instead of returning to their home countries, Singapore's population grew at a rapid rate of 4.5% per annum. These settled families and locally-born children could no longer be repatriated in an economic downturn, and the entrepôt trade would not likely supply the jobs they needed, especially as newly-independent states in the region began to develop their own ports and industries, bypassing Singapore.

In the late 1950s, the British colonial government launched estates for light industries at Redhill and Tanglin Halt, which obtained their workforce from residential areas nearby. An Industrial Promotion Board was set up in 1957 to promote and develop manufacturing. The British also commissioned the first expert surveys of industry, including a 1958 study by F.J. Lyle, who endorsed the prevailing sentiment for the island to establish a common market with the Federation of Malaya. Singapore and Malaya, despite having long-standing political and economic ties, had been separated into two administrative units after the war. These late-colonial efforts constituted the first imaginaries of Singapore's industrialisation.

In 1959, Singapore became a self-governing state. The newly-elected People's Action Party (PAP) government managed domestic – including industrial – affairs, while the British retained control over foreign policy and security.

By this time, many of the 'baby boomers' had reached working age. The PAP declared a policy of industrial expansion to create jobs for the general population, which was implemented with the 1961 State Development Plan. For various practical reasons, the industrialisation programme centred on Jurong, a largely-undeveloped region in the western part of Singapore. The state owned most of the land there, and the population was sparse, comprising of farmers and fishermen, which minimised the task of resettlement. Unlike the much smaller existing industrial estates, the development of Jurong was a milestone: it would be built from scratch, mainly for heavy industry and with no catchment population residing nearby.

> Jurong was a milestone: built mainly for heavy industry, with no catchment population nearby

The politics of the early 1960s were embedded in the industrialisation programme in several ways. The government was expected to fulfil its electoral promises in order to succeed at the next polls. (This pressure was the political factor that, as we will see, shaped the work of Winsemius and Schereschewsky). There was also the question of the common market with the Federation of Malaya, which the government endorsed. Although the island's politicians looked upon the reunification of Singapore and Malaya as a matter of faith, the Malay-dominant Federation government was less keen, fearing the political influence of Singapore's majority-Chinese population and by extension, the PAP. The third political issue was a growing rift between the Fabian socialists and left wing socialists within the PAP. The party had won the 1959 elections largely because of the left's support among workers, Chinese-stream students, squatters, and farmers. However, the leftists were not given a major role in the government, which was controlled by the Fabians led by Lee Kuan Yew and Goh Keng Swee. Still, the leadership was under pressure to demonstrate its anti-colonial and anti-capital credentials. Industrial programming had to negotiate difficult questions on the nationalisation of industry, relationship between capital and labour, and dominance of British capital.

Singapore in international society

Outside of these local contexts, Singapore's industrialisation also took place against a broader backdrop of what Akira Iriye has termed a "global community" and an "international society" after the war.[3] The end of war heralded a move away from the intense national competition that had brought about the global conflict towards technical cooperation on developmental matters. In the 1950s and 1960s, Singapore received much technical assistance from the United Nations (UN) and Colombo Plan, and from Britain and Japan.

Key to the collaboration were the technical experts who routinely advised the governments of colonies and newly-independent states. In the current literature, they are often criticised for imposing their narrow experiences, usually drawn from their own countries, or ignoring local conditions, often with underwhelming results. Singapore's encounter with the experts

was more nuanced. The PAP government was, from the start, willing to consult experts who were not doctrinaire socialists. To the extent that the city-state eventually became an 'Asian Tiger', the experts emerge as generally positive and benign influences. As an economist noted in the early 1970s, the industrialisation policy was guided by international expertise, some of it tracing to the late-colonial period.[4] It is, however, instructive to examine how the experts negotiated the socio-economic and political dimensions of Singapore's industrialisation.

Albert Winsemius

The first expert discussed here is also the best known in Singapore – Albert Winsemius, the Dutch economic planner credited with his country's economic recovery after the war. Winsemius led two UN teams to study the feasibility of industrialisation for Singapore in October-December 1960 and March-May 1961. He possessed no knowledge of the city-state, which was "neither an underdeveloped, nor a half-developed or a highly developed country." Winsemius concluded that Singapore should, and could, industrialise, as the country's "greatest asset is the high aptitude of her people to work in manufacturing industries. They can rank among the best factory workers in the world."[5]

Two of Winsemius' economic recommendations became policy. First, Singapore should manufacture for the world rather than the home market. On the potentially tricky question of the common market, Winsemius deftly sidestepped it by positioning it as one of several regional export markets Singapore should cultivate. Winsemius also proposed that industrialisation be led by foreign private capital, rather than state capital. This proposal was opposed by the leftist chairman of the Industrial Promotion Board, James Puthucheary, who advocated state ownership of heavy industry. But Winsemius was able to convince Goh Keng Swee to limit the state's role to only providing infrastructure and a conducive environment for industry, and in ensuring stable relations between capital and labour.

However, interestingly, Winsemius delved into political matters. He felt that his unwritten mandate was to help the government win the next elections. Privately, he advised Singaporean leaders that industrialisation hinged on two non-technical factors: retaining the statue of Stamford Raffles (the British founder of Singapore) as a gesture to foreign investors, and getting rid of the communists who controlled the militant unions. Lee Kuan Yew laughed at the second suggestion, though his government soon broke with the left.

Winsemius is the only expert among the trio to have rendered political advice and stepped beyond the UN's narrow terms of reference. Remarkably, his opinions were well-received, and he became an unofficial economic adviser to the Singaporean government for two and a half decades.

Y. Yanagisawa

Winsemius provided a blueprint for industrialisation, but the site for it still had to be determined. The role of Japanese experts led by Y. Yanagisawa, an engineer, in the physical planning of Jurong industrial town in November 1960 has long been forgotten. The team endorsed the prospects for heavy industry in Singapore: "the possibility of success is very high."[6] This was a bold statement, for Winsemius had initially been sceptical about heavy industry and had preferred that Singapore focus on light industry, although his report did make technical studies for the shipbuilding/repair, metal and engineering, electrical, and chemical industries.

The Yanagisawa team's frame of reference was thoroughly Japanese (as Winsemius' was Dutch). The team assessed Jurong's waterfront to be suitable for heavy industry, as it was similar to Japan's southern coasts. It also advised on other technical matters that later became policy: land reclamation and

levelling of the hills to develop the coast for heavy industries and shipyards, while the deep waters off Jurong suited the construction of a port for industrial cargo (which became Jurong Port). Jurong would be zoned as a complete town, not only with industry and housing, but also a civic centre, social amenities and green areas for a large population of up to 200,000 people. The Yanagisawa team presented only a preliminary report to the government, but it became the basis of a five-year crash programme in the State Development Plan to develop the first phase of Jurong. The plan, put together by Goh Keng Swee, reiterated the team's assessment, explaining that Jurong was "probably the only waterfront area in Singapore that possesses all the necessary conditions for development as an integrated town with sea access."[7]

However, British officials believed that the Japanese intended to use Singapore as a 'foothold' and 'stepping stone' for their industry to expand into the region.[8] The Japanese appeared to have been particularly interested in iron and steel, an industry widely viewed as the backbone of a modern industrial economy. Following the Yanagisawa survey, Fuji Iron and Steel, a major Japanese steel company, indeed despatched a team of experts to Singapore to study the feasibility of a steel mill. This brings us to the third imaginary of Jurong.

Philippe Schereschewsky

The UN had already organised an iron and steel study for Singapore led by French industrialist Philippe Schereschewsky. Although, like Winsemius, Schereschewsky had little knowledge of Singapore, he claimed relevant expertise from his experience in Latin America. His role, forgotten like Yanagisawa's, was critical, for the government had made iron and steel separate from the remit of the Winsemius mission. An earlier study in 1954 by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had deemed the industry impractical because Malaya and Singapore

Winsemius is the only expert among the trio to have rendered political advice

lacked coking coal. In November 1959, Goh Keng Swee revisited the subject by asking the UN for a feasibility study for an iron and steel plant, based on imported iron ore and coal from the region and to be established over two or three stages. The plant would act as a catalyst to industrialisation by creating secondary industries and jobs.

In July 1960, the month that Schereschewsky carried out his preliminary study, the government announced that the "proposed iron and steel plant will be the core of the medium and heavy industry centre in Jurong, around which ancillary industries...can be established."[9] The envisioned plant consisted of two parts: a large blast furnace of at least 500,000 tons, producing pig iron for export, primarily to Japan, and an integrated steel mill of medium size (60,000 tons) producing for Singapore and the immediate region. Schereschewsky assembled a team to undertake a full study, which supplemented its fieldwork in Singapore with trips to shipbreaking and rolling mills in Japan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Australia. The team concluded that the iron and steel project was on the whole viable, but was to be broken into three constituent projects by order of feasibility. The most realistic undertaking, based on the precedent in Hong Kong, was a rolling mill for scrap. Though having a modest annual capacity of 20-30,000 tons and producing mostly for the local market, it would have important knock-on effects on industrial activity. The mill would expand Singapore's small shipbreaking industry, which would provide the scrap, and thus generate jobs. Schereschewsky deemed this mill, despite not being in the government's initial plan, "the indispensable base of the new steel industry," and called for it to be implemented promptly.[10]

On the proposed larger projects in the government's mind, the Schereschewsky study preached caution. The integrated mill merited further research, though raw materials were available in the region: iron ore from Malaya and coal/coke from Australia and Indonesia.

Subsequently though, UN officials judged the project to be unsound. They urged no immediate action on the blast furnace, though this was the project on which the Singapore government was the most keen, as it depended on investment from "a Japanese iron and steel group."[11]

National Iron and Steel Mills

The imagined Japanese role highlighted how financial and political considerations underpinned the iron and steel project. From the beginning, the government was anxious to ensure that the plant was self-supporting. Politically, the left saw in the project the question of British economic influence in Singapore. In December 1960, James Puthucheary expressed what colonial officials deemed to be "wild ideas" to obtain Japanese investment for the purpose of "smashing British capitalism" and establishing socialism.[12] Goh Keng Swee assured the officials in February that the Yanagisawa mission was free of charge with "no strings attached."[13] But they still reckoned in September 1961: "We are right at the heart of the politics of Singapore's industrialisation ... The Government are well known to be, for political reasons, in a hurry to get some form of iron/steel started ... are known to be suspicious of British 'economic imperialism' and to favour some spreading of the net among foreign capitalist interests".[14]

As it turned out, this policy proved difficult to implement, and the Singapore government encountered considerable difficulty in finding Japanese investors. From August 1960 to the following spring, the government commenced preliminary discussions with Japanese steel companies, and Goh Keng Swee spoke with steelmakers in Tokyo. As Schereschewsky intimated in his 2nd progress report in early 1961, the Japanese government made an informal offer to help Singapore establish, through Fuji Iron and Steel, a steel plant. Fuji sent three successive missions to Singapore that year, and at one point was ostensibly prepared to help build the mill. In April 1961, Goh Keng Swee appeared to confirm Fuji's involvement in a public speech.

Henceforth, however, the matter unravelled. At the end of September 1961, two local establishments were in the running with Fuji to set up the steel plant: Sim Lim, a company with interests in importing building materials and in shipbreaking, and Tat Lee, a rubber import-export firm. The government had difficulty reaching an agreement with Fuji, which initially wanted 70% holding of the mill while the government was only willing to allow 50%. Although the Japanese did agree to this, the main problem, according to a Sim Lim representative, was that "Fuji was not interested in the Singapore project, as such." British officials surmised that Fuji was only interested in setting up a small scrap mill, not a large smelting plant. The search for investment, the Sim Lim representative suggested, had been protracted because the government favoured a local firm, but "For political reasons ... they were set upon quick and spectacular results", and initially doubted Sim Lim's ability to deliver.[15] It may be that Tat Lee's involvement was decisive in this regard. The British noted the Singaporean government's parting ways with Fuji in March 1962.

In August 1961, National Iron and Steel Mills (NISM) was incorporated with a nominal capital of $50 million. It was funded mainly by local and Indonesian-Chinese, rather than Japanese, capital. Sim Lim and Tat Lee contributed equally towards 80% of the capital. Soon Peng Yam of Sim Lim was appointed NISM's chairman, while Goh Tjoei Kok and Goh Seong Pek of Tat Lee became the vice chairman and managing director respectively. The company's driving force was Goh Tjoei Kok, an Indonesian-Chinese businessman who had settled in Singapore from Jakarta in 1949. The Economic Development Board (EDB), a government agency responsible for Singapore's industrial development, contributed 20% of the capital, aligned with Winsemius' call for a minor government role in investment. The mill would initially employ 200 workers.

Conclusion

The three teams of experts worked productively with the Singaporean government through 1960-1961. While their imaginaries of

Jurong were rooted in external worldviews of industrial development – Dutch, Japanese, Southeast Asian, Latin American, and elsewhere – their advice was often reconciled with the Singaporean context. This involved accommodating the political as well as socio-economic circumstances and sentiments prevailing in the city-state, including disagreements between the government and the left, the question of the common market, and Britain's role in the economy.

Subsequent to the work of the three teams, Jurong slowly took shape as an industrial estate. The government allotted $45 million – or 13% of the industry and commerce budget – in the State Development Plan to the development of Jurong. The EDB carried out the initial development of some 500 hectares, resettling farmers, levelling hills, filling mangrove swamps and prawn ponds, and building factories, infrastructure, public housing, and social amenities. As the Yanagisawa team had endorsed, the heart of Jurong was the heavy industries lining the seafront. Central to this swathe of industry was NISM, close to which were coastal lots for shipbreaking. The company duly implemented Schereschewsky's proposal for the rolling mill, which began processing scrap from ships in 1963. It employed 400 workers at the time. The light industries were located further inland near the first residential neighbourhood, Taman Jurong.

In 1968, the development of Jurong was passed on to the Jurong Town Corporation, which expanded it into a better-settled garden industrial town with a town centre and additional social amenities and green areas. By this time, Singapore's merger and common market with Malaysia had failed, the left was excised from domestic politics, and the island had become a sovereign state in single-minded pursuit of global capital investment, as Winsemius had urged. From 1969, Jurong grew rapidly, welcoming an influx of investors; a decade later, it had become the preferred site for the majority of them. By then, some 5600 hectares of land had been developed and allocated to over 1200 companies, which employed 93,000 workers. Goh Keng Swee's project had become a major industrial estate for multinationals and a new town for a young, growing population.

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The lingering corpse in the Chinese urban

Qin Shao

In recent decades, an unusually large number of long dead bodies have overcrowded funeral homes and hospital morgues from major cities to county seats in China. Some of them have remained unclaimed for decades and others are contested. Among the contested corpses, some have been made to disappear by the local government. This phenomenon reflects the tension generated by China's economic reforms and urban development that now extends from the living to the dead. This study uses media sources and material from my own field research in Shanghai to shed light on the challenge for the Chinese state to manage the dead in this increasingly complex society.

Ghost Money. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of Jan on Flickr.

The overflow of corpses

In the past few years, the Chinese media has reported on a 'shocking' crisis: the overflow of long dead bodies in China's funeral and hospital facilities. A 2014 investigation by *Southern Weekend* labeled such bodies as 'long-term residents' of morgues. Cheng Xinming, the editor-in-chief of *China Funeral and Interment Weekly*, confirmed that this phenomenon is widespread. This investigation provided specific cases in Xinxiang (Henan province), Jiaxing (Zhejiang Province), and Fuzhou (Fujian province) where the long dead were kept in various facilities.[1] A 2016 report indicates that there were hundreds and even thousands of corpses in some of the morgues. In Inner Mongolia, there were about 200 bodies in the city of Hohhot alone and, on average, ten of them in each county hospital in that region. Cities such as Kunming (Yunnan province) and Jinan (Shandong province) have each housed 70-80 such 'long-term residents' in their facilities. Morgues in Guangzhou have reportedly stored 1300-1400 bodies due to the concentration of a 'floating population' in that city. Most troublesome is the length of time these bodies have lingered. Many have been kept for years; the longest for more than two decades.[2] These reports may have only revealed the tip of the iceberg. My research in Shanghai has uncovered similar cases, yet there has been virtually no report on this issue in Shanghai.

The accumulation of these long dead bodies has caused a number of problems. First, it has led to the shortage of available mortuary (refrigerated) cabinets. In 2017, in the northeastern city Shenyang, about 110 of the 170 mortuary cabinets at one funeral home were used to keep long dead bodies.[3] In the same year, nearly half of the 15 cabinets at the Central Hospital in the city of Xiangtan (Hunan province) were occupied by unclaimed bodies, some of which dated back to 2007.[4] The lack of space at official facilities has spurred a new and often unregulated business in storing the dead. Most hospitals in Beijing have subcontracted the care of corpses to private, often unprofessional entrepreneurs.[5] A county hospital in Shan'xi province outsourced the storage of bodies to a village where a residential cave was converted into a morgue. This cave-turned-morgue caused apprehension, fear, and an uproar among the villagers.[6]

Storing the corpses has also imposed burdens on other resources. Refrigeration involves expensive electricity. The 2017 report on the case in Shenyang pointed out the acute need of electricity in the heat of the summer and the ongoing consumption of electricity by the long dead. The corpses have to be maintained to prevent them from decaying, and must be relocated if the cabinets malfunction. For example, the Shenyang hospital has in the past ten years relocated the long dead bodies more than five times due to facility breakdowns.[7] All this amounts to enormous expenses; one corpse in Xinxiang reportedly cost the funeral home 550,000 yuan (more than 80,000 US$). The financial burden usually falls on hospitals, funeral homes, and the local government. Disputes over financial responsibilities have unsurprisingly led to lawsuits.[8]

Causes for the lingering corpses

There are generally four types of situations that have resulted in this accumulation of long dead bodies. Unidentified corpses (for example, the homeless, migration workers, or victims of a crime) is one. The second concerns bodies kept in storage due to an ongoing criminal investigation. The third involves family disputes over the responsibility for the burial. The fourth situation is more complex. Sometimes families are involved in a long-standing conflict with the authorities over issues involving, for instance, medical malpractice, forced demolition and relocation, property seizure, corruption, state violence, and other perceived injustices.[9] In these cases, the affected family often uses the corpse as leverage to protest and compel the authorities to resolve their issues.

However, none of the four situations seems to warrant the extraordinary length of time thousands of bodies have been kept across China. The phenomenon reflects deep issues in the 'reform era' of Chinese society: the loopholes in regulations and laws; the gap between regulations and social reality; the heightened consciousness among people in terms of their rights on the one hand, and the widespread mistrust of the law and government by not only the survivors, but also the officials themselves, on the other.

The central document that governs this matter is the "Regulations on Funeral and Interment", issued by the State Council on 21 July 1997, and revised and reissued on 1 January 2013. This document contains detailed limitations to earth burials, but only two brief provisions regarding the corpse: the body has to be handled in a way that ensures public and environmental safety, and a death certificate must be issued by a public security bureau or by a medical institution before cremation can take place.[10] The document does not specify which of the two should sign the death certificate under which circumstances. It also does not provide any guidelines for dealing with abandoned or disputed bodies. And so, in December 2013, the Ministry of Health, the Public Security Bureau, and the State Council together issued a new document: "Announcement of Further Standardization of Medical Certificate of Population Death and Information Registration and Management". This document stipulates that as of 1 January 2014, a standard medical death certificate should be used.[11] It places responsibility for dispensing death certificates on medical institutions, but remains mute on the issue of disputed and unidentified corpses.

Provincial and local governments have tried to fill the gap. The "Municipal Regulations on Funeral and Interment" in Hohhot (Inner Mongolia) specifies that the public security bureau will issue a public notice for abandoned bodies, and give 60 days for anyone to claim the body. Beyond the 60 days limit, the bureau will issue a death certificate and the body will be cremated. However, in practice, the local public security bureau often failed to exercise its authority, continuing to leave bodies in the mortuary beyond 60 days after the public notice, in fear of family members coming forward to claim the body and sue the bureau. The fear of lawsuits is the main cause of inaction by the public security bureau.[12] This situation reflects both the heightened awareness of rights among the Chinese people, and the lack of trust in regulations by the public security bureau.

Medical institutions and physicians, whom the Chinese state entrusted to issue the death certificate, are also not a neutral party in the management of death. The financial interest of the hospital is often its utmost priority.

Just as some Chinese hospitals have withheld newborn babies from their parents to force payment of hospital bills,[13] some hospitals have leveraged their authority in issuing death certificates to collect payment first: no payment, no death certificate. In one of the cases I studied in Shanghai, a family evicted from their home sent their 80-year-old sick mother to the Central Hospital of Xuhui district in 2006, where she later died. The son refused to pay her bills, on the grounds that the district government that evicted his parents should foot the costs. As a result, the hospital denied the family the death certificate and has withheld the mother's body ever since.[14] This case demonstrates how the officially designated certifier of death can stand in the way of a death certificate, a key element in processing the dead.

Compared with the U.S. 'Standard Certificate of Death', which involves only two entities/persons and their signatures – a physician as the medical certifier and a funeral director[15] – the Chinese death certificate requires more extensive family involvement, for instance, in the investigation of the cause of death and in dealing with the public security bureau to cancel the household registration of the deceased. If the family with a conflict of interest refuses to provide necessary information about the dead, it is almost impossible for the authorities to process the case.

One family in Shanghai lost their 95-year-old mother in 2017, more than a decade after she had been physically removed from her privately-owned home. The family petitioned the eviction from the start. On the day of their mother's death, the family told the district authority that they would not cremate her before the housing issue was resolved. That night, the body disappeared. When the family reported her body missing, local authorities admitted that they had taken the body away but have since refused to give them any specifics.[16] In this case, the woman's corpse had come to embody a long standing housing conflict and the government simply removed the body to avoid the housing issue.

Clearly, all the regulations on death, from Beijing to provincial and local governments, have not helped to ease the overflow of long-dead bodies. The mounting tension generated by urbanization and economic development, the weakness in the enforcement of regulations, the pursuit of economic interests above all else, and the public's mistrust in the government have together crippled the Chinese state's ability to manage the dead. The thousands of corpses lying in wait in funeral and hospital facilities across China speak to this failure.

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Fig. 1 (above): Damaged black/white photo of the Wichers' house and studio in North Bandung, late 1930s. In late 1945 the house and its contents were confiscated by Indonesian irregular militia. Private Collection.

Fig. 2 (top right): Portrait painted by Hal Wichers of an unidentified co-internee in the Japanese civilian camp at Cimahi, West Java, 1944. Chalk drawing, size unknown, signed right bottom. This is the only drawing known to remain that Wichers made in the camp. Private Collection.

Fig. 3 (right): 'Paddy Fields' by Hal Wichers, dated 1926, oil on panel 19x29.5 cm, signed right bottom. This sample of Wichers' pre-War style is owned by the author.

Fig. 4 (left): 'Bandung Landscape' by Hal Wichers, dated 1931, oil on canvas, size unknown, signed right bottom. Sample of Wichers' pre-War style, which came into the possession of a Dutch family before the war. In collection of Tjieke Deuss-Wichers.

Fig. 5 (above): Some of Wichers' family members in front of their house and studio in North Bandung.

Fig. 6 (below): Wichers at a later time in life.

A besieged artist: Hal Wichers in the Netherlands Indies

Louis Zweers

Many artists from the West found their own little paradise in pre-War Netherlands Indies, and played a significant role in the local and international art world. However, the Japanese changed all that when they invaded in 1942; European artists and their artistic products and thinking did not fit in the occupier's anticolonial frame of mind, or indeed in the immediate aftermath of WW II. So what happened to the artists who got caught between the cogwheels of the war and Bersiap period that followed? And what happened to their art work? This article presents one case of art looting.

Hendrik Arend Ludolf Wichers was born in 1893 at Tarutung on Lake Toba on Sumatra, where his father (from Groningen in the north of the Netherlands) was in garrison, and eventually promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army. In the early years of the 20th century the family returned to the Netherlands, where the young Wichers graduated from the National Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam, followed by a study in tropical agriculture. He sailed back to the Indies in 1919 and worked first at a tea estate, then at a cinchona plantation, but in the end he chose to become a full time painter on Java. Wichers did indeed show considerable talent in the many impressionist portraits and landscapes that he made, not to mention volcanos, paddy fields, townscapes, flame trees or Balinese temples; he had many exhibitions and his works sold well. Among his friends were other artists of renown, like Carel Dake, Ernest Dezentjé and Leo Eland, all of whom were members of the prestigious Art Association of Batavia, established in 1902.

Wichers was soon able to commission the build of a large villa, 'Eagle's Nest' (Arendsnest), which had a spacious studio; the house stood in what was Berg en Dal, now Ciumbuleuit, in the North of Bandung. A grand driveway led to a generous garden with purple bougainvillea and red hibiscus that embraced a big pond and a rock garden; the gardens also boasted fruit trees and a kitchen garden, and there was even a private bomb shelter, just in case. From the terraces of the house there was a terrific view of the lush Bandung landscape, which ended at the foot of the Tangkuban Perahu volcano, and old photos show Wichers in comfortable tropical gear working in the garden or in his studio adorned with paintings.

During the Japanese occupation, Wichers and his eldest son were put into the Cimahi camp for men. His wife, Nicolette Henriëtte Bleckmann (related to the famous Willem Bleckmann (1853-1942), the painter who first introduced impressionism to the Indies) used her German maiden name to steer clear of internment. Nicolette and the younger children managed to continue living in their own house, but had no income and their bank accounts were frozen by the Japanese. They relied on the sales of personal items, such as clothing and crockery, just to feed themselves. Japanese soldiers would frequently visit unannounced upon hearing Nicolette's piano playing; they were also enamoured by her children. In the house, she had also stowed away – at considerable risk to her own life – two other little ones, Peter and Truitje, grandchildren of Charles Welter, the former Secretary of Colonies. Their mother, acting in fear, took them back in due course, and the three of them ended up in a civilian camp. In addition to the children, two men – Wil Kaptein and Walter Walraven – managed to remain hidden in the house throughout the war and came out alive. Hiding from the Japanese enemy was very difficult for people who, like the Dutch, were so conspicuous in terms of skin colour and size. It was also very dangerous, as those who were discovered and captured were commonly beheaded on the spot.

In the civilian camp Wichers had a few bits of chalk and some pencils, and would be compelled to draw portraits of the hated Korean guards; he also captured the images of his fellow prisoners, and gave them the drawings for free. Both Wichers and his son survived internment and were reunited with their family. After the end of the war, and Japanese surrender, their worst fears came to pass: Indonesian thugs came from their villages to the villas up on the hills to attack and plunder the Europeans and anyone who looked European; bodies were thrown into the Cikapundung River nearby. As their house was very isolated, the Wichers' situation became extremely precarious and they were forced to flee, leaving everything behind – all their possessions, including the large collection of paintings. Initially they were given shelter by friends, the Neervoort family, but the local thugs came there as well and shot the oldest daughter Nicolette through the door that she was attempting to barricade. There was little choice but to flee the country, and the unhappy family embarked for the Netherlands on the passenger ship SS Johan de Witt. Back in Europe they were taken in by the Bleckmanns in their house in Nijmegen.

In Bandung, the Wichers house, including all its contents, had meanwhile been confiscated by the Indonesians. Not a single rupiah was paid for the house or for the many (unregistered) objects and paintings stored in the house. There is not a trace left of these items. In fact, after closer inspection it appears that even the house itself has disappeared! Now in post-war Netherlands, Wichers remained silent about their dramatic years in Indonesia, but he did continue to paint and exhibit his 'beautiful Indies' and the familiar themes from a past gone forever.

'Sonic Traveler' is a jazz fusion band from Hong Kong
that combines Western and Chinese instruments.

China's country music: China wind

Milan Ismangil

Chinese Pop music in greater China (Taiwan, HK and China) saw a turn towards the traditional in the early 2000s with the arrival of a new genre called China wind. This genre, created and popularized by Taiwan based artists quickly grew in popularity and since its inception has seen many artists emulate a similar style. China wind as a genre has a high political potential due to its depiction of Chineseness, which makes it an easy choice for promoting the idea of One China and one (global) Chinese culture shared by all ethnically Chinese people.

China wind or *Zhongguofeng*[1] in Mandarin, is known mainly for its music, but is sometimes used as an umbrella term to denote a Chinese style applied to anything from cheerleading to the design of book covers. Most well-known is the musical variant of China wind, which has its origins in the Taiwanese superstar Jay Chou (*Zhou JieLun*) who popularized this genre in the early 2000s. The songs released around this period were demarcated by their use of instruments, lyrics, singing techniques and, in the accompanying video clips, the usage of décor and costumes evoking a sense of Chineseness.

While it has been argued that different depictions of this genre, hailing from Hong Kong for example, have the potential to disrupt the notion of a 'Hegemonic' mainland depiction of Chinese culture,[2] I argue that while multiple versions *do* exist they still contribute to the overall notion of a unified Chinese culture. Comparable to how, for example, the 16th century Italian composer Palestrina, and 19th century Polish composer Chopin, are both classified (at least in popular, common usage) as '(Western) classical music' solidifying the idea of a seemingly homogenous Western classical music tradition.

China wind constructs, corroborates and reinforces the idea of Chineseness, building

upon popular narratives surrounding the conception of Chinese culture and history. China wind is a musical pastiche that builds upon cultural Chinese myths to (re)construct a Chinese sound, a self-orientalist view of what Chinese music (and China) is supposed to be. It at once creates a unified past by glorifying depictions of 'the ancient', and unifies the present and future as all fall under the umbrella of Chinese people or culture. In this article I compare different conceptions of China wind and situate these as being part of a growing Chinese confidence on an (inter)national stage since China's opening up (*Gaige Kaifang*) in the late seventies.

Chinese popular music

To understand the popularization of a *Chinese style* in recent years once must consider the past two hundred years. Starting in the 19th century, China's 'century of humiliation', in which it lost multiple wars and faced great social upheaval, has had a great influence on how the state of China defines itself. The subsequent period of modernization, starting during the late Qing dynasty (19th century) and culminating in the Cultural Revolution, saw a by and large consistently negative attitude of the Chinese government towards pre-modern Chinese culture and

history, either doing away with it entirely or trying to bring it in line with 'the modern world'.

The time period from the late 19th century to the 1960's saw great changes in China's formal musical culture. The region that is now China has a rich history of local folk music, which was and is an abundant source for formally trained composers to draw upon. Many musicians studied Western music or studied abroad (the Soviet Union was a popular destination for a time). This had the effect that many instruments were adapted to play in a Western style; for example, changing the tuning system to be able to more smoothly play with Western instruments or adapting compositional and instrumental techniques.

In the early 20th century, for example, the composer Liu Tianhua used different compositional forms and techniques borrowed from the violin to transform the erhu (a 2 stringed Chinese bowed instrument) into a solo instrument similar to the violin. Another famous example that marries Chinese and Western idioms is the Yellow River Piano Concerto. With idioms I refer to the way in which the piece is composed to best suit the idiomatic qualities of certain instruments, music traditions and other elements. This concert piece, written in the 1960's during the cultural revolution by *Yin Chengzhong* and *Chu Wanghua*, uses one of the most popular Western concert formats of

the piano concerto and combines this with Chinese idioms in its instrumentation, melodies and other musical aspects.

The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) saw the large scale destruction of cultural artefacts and a restrictive government that firmly controlled the public cultural domain. Popular music was forbidden and all music had to serve an (ideological) purpose in forwarding the revolution. Around forty years later, however, it seems that China is learning to appreciate its historical heritage and uses it to wield soft power both domestically and abroad. State propagated programs that promote the Chinese language and culture, such as the Confucius Institutes, or the One Belt One Road program, showcase a China that is more than willing to promote its culture to the outside world.

This (re)appreciation of Chinese idioms can also be tied to an increasing nationalist discourse propagated by the communist party in China. Examples include multiple popular television series depicting the Three Kingdoms (a particularly bloody period in China's history that has been greatly romanticized), as well as the many historical television dramas set in imperial China drawing on popular historical sagas and intrigues. Videogames and novels also play their part. While the Chinese video game industry is still an up and coming market, mobile games inspired by the Three Kingdom mythology are hugely popular throughout East Asia. In addition, a thriving online literature scene has paved the way for numerous novels mythologizing and historicizing China's imperial past.

Since China's opening up, modern Chinese pop music has taken a different path from other forms of popular media in China. While television and novels quickly adopted and drew inspiration from the idea of 'ancient imperial' China, popular music artists have engaged with this only fairly recently, since the mid 2000's. This is not to say that popular music (at its advent the mainland market was dominated by Taiwanese and Hong Kong based artists) has not treaded this ground earlier. The immensely popular Taiwanese artist Teresa Teng (*Deng LiJun*) has featured songs that incorporate Chinese elements. Listen, for example, to the 1978 song 'Story of a Small Town' (*Xiaocheng Gushi*), for the fusion of Chinese instruments with smooth Western orchestral lines.[3] In another case, one of China's first heavy metal bands, Tang Dynasty, formed in 1988, used song names and lyrics as well as their music videos to evoke a mythical historicized China through the modern genre of heavy metal. They draw upon the past,

and sometimes use Chinese musical idioms, while their music itself can be firmly placed in the heavy metal camp. Nevertheless it could be argued that this also constitutes a form of China wind, depending on the definition one might take.

There is no pre-defined set of features that make up China wind. There are many different definitions and the term itself is contested as well. Even though it is a recognizable genre in Chinese popular music since its popularization (many would say creation) by Taiwanese superstar Jay Chou, many ambiguities still remain. In several interviews held with Chinese music listeners I asked about the particularities of China wind, especially with regard to its political potential in mainland China and the fact that it came from Taiwan, a region with its own political and cultural history. One interviewee said that China wind promotes the idea of the (global) idea of Chineseness, in which it can be argued that China wind can be made by (Chinese) people all over the world, drawing from different inspirations, but all drawing from the root source: mainland China. Regarded within this frame, the fact that China wind hails from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia or even further afield is only a boon to the power of creating a unifying idea of one global Chinese people and culture, which like the Chinese dream perhaps gains its strength from staying vague and inclusive.

Music with Chinese characteristics

What is China wind exactly? Is China wind simply the adaptation of selected musical idioms put into a (mainly) Western invented popular music idiom? Furthermore, whose China is being represented by this music? Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong as well as other locations with large Chinese diasporas feature musicians who make Chinese style music that is not necessarily called China wind. The term China wind can also be taken to be a misnomer, akin to 'Western music'. If we take Western music to include any popular music in the area conceptualized as 'the West', then it would be impossible and pointless to define. A more interesting question than that of definition is how this music is used and conceptualized by its audience and its producers.

An article by Chow refers to an alternative name for this genre, namely: *neo minzu gequ*, or new folk songs with a nationalistic flavour.[4] China wind can be placed in a larger discourse of 'national music' (*guoyue*), a term with an uncertain terminology. Wu discusses the historical conception of the term national music since the early 20th century.[5] According to Wu, national music has been conceptualized as

everything from any music made by Chinese people to a more liberal music made by anyone with Chinese instruments. Interesting to note that this article states that Hong Kong cannot (and does not) use the term national music but rather Chinese or Sino music, which the author states is in fact just another term for national music. An article by Zhen frames China wind within a trend of 'traditionalization' (*chuantonghua*) by which Chinese popular music can distinguish itself and develop a (unique) style of Chinese pop music.[6]

China wind has been described as constructing a global idea of what Chinese is supposed to be, building on popular (and often CCP sanctioned) narratives and cultural ideas such as China's long history, the Three Kingdoms and the idea of an 'ancient (imperial) China'.[7] As de Kloet argues, however, the idea of Chinese wind is used by artists in Hong Kong to 'hybridize' or challenge who is able to define this notion of a Chinese style of music, pushing back against 'hegemonic versions of Chineseness'. This is further muddled by the fact that Taiwan is a major driving force when it comes to the creation and popularization of this Chinese style of pop music.

For China wind there do seem to be more precise requirements than simply being made by 'Chinese'. One of the hallmarks is the use of lyrics that evoke a sense of the 'ancient culture'; this can be done either by, for example, adopting classical Chinese phrases or by simply taking (well known) poems and other writing from China's imperial age and re-contextualize them as song lyrics. As several Chinese academics also argue, China wind is a music style which 'embodies the ancient culture', and allows a new audience to experience and appreciate ancient or traditional Chinese culture in a new way, bringing traditional culture to a young and modern audience.[8] On the other side of the coin are commentators criticizing China wind for these very reasons as it cheapens and commercializes the richness of the traditional culture, which should be valued for its own merits.

Reading between the lines, however, several common characteristics of China wind do emerge. Firstly, the issue of appearance, both musically and visually (many songs feature music videos) the song has to come across as Chinese. This is done by using some traditionally Chinese instruments and mixing them with more traditional pop elements. Music videos are often situated in the idea of 'ancient' China or feature elements regarded as Chinese. Aside from superficial engagements, artists can, for example, borrow vocal techniques from Chinese opera, make allusions to ancient poetry or literature or draw from the numerous folk music traditions inhabiting China.

The immensely popular song 'Blue and white porcelain' (*Qinghuaci*) is an ideal summation of what characterizes the China wind style.[9] Musically it features a mix of traditional pop music and Chinese instruments, with the Chinese instruments used for emphasis. It is still very much rooted in Western pop music though, both in the structure of the song as well as the musical content, with a famously used key change utilized by the likes of Michael Jackson at the end of the song to increase the emotional impact. The music clip features Jay Chou singing interspersed with a dramatic story resembling a classical Chinese drama, and many literary allusions to create a sense of ancient China. The lyrics of this song were written by Vincent Fang (*Fang WenShan*), a well-regarded Taiwanese lyricist and writer. Fang wrote many of the songs Jay Chou is well known for and is acknowledged for the literary quality of his prose.

China wind – a Chinese Americana?

China wind is a musical style that is hard to define. I would myself probably identify any song that tries to emulate a Chinese style as being China wind. It is perhaps best comparable with the musical genre known as Americana; a musical genre in the United States that is a collective term for music influenced by traditional American popular music genres such as country, blue-grass and rhythm and blues. If we compare the two genres, both share a similar reference to a mythological past: ancient, imperial China with its court intrigue, flowery speech, costumes and staging, versus the rugged, pastoral existence of the 'all-American' cowboy. Both have a flexible working definition in which various musical and non-musical idioms are combined to create an end-product that is recognizable within the genre. Lastly, while China wind can boast more historical legacy with its ties to Chinese folk music and opera I argue that both have little historical reference to draw upon musically as they have to (re)-invent the sounds of the tradition they are based on.

As discussed, China wind, with its links to the representations of Chineseness can also be easily adapted into a political tool for promoting the unified idea of a Chinese people. Liu et al. argue that popular China wind singers have been invited to the Chinese governments spring gala exactly for this reason as songs in this genre promote the unified idea of the One China policy.[10] I argue that like Americana, China wind both shapes the visual and auditory imaginary of the past, as well as creates a unified feature of what 'distinctly' Chinese popular

Jay Chou.

music is supposed to sound like. In recent years the Chinese government has focussed on shifting the Chinese economy from a production to a knowledge economy, with slogans such as "from made in China to created in China" and an increase in discourse surrounding Chinese creativity. The idea of a Chinese, homegrown style of pop music is an enticing notion. Especially one that evokes ideas of unification and glorification of a past 'ancient' culture. China wind as a genre can be contextualized within larger narratives of 'China's global rise' in an economic and cultural sense. Regardless of the original message of China wind at its inception in Taiwan, China wind today and its treatment by those in power can tell us much about how popular culture articulates the past and shapes a popular imaginary endorsed by an increasingly autocratic regime.

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Notes

1 China wind is the literal translation into English; another could be China/Chinese Style.
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3 https://tinyurl.com/TTSmallTown
4 Chow, Yiu Fai. 2009. 'Me and the Dragon: A Lyrical Engagement with the Politics of Chineseness', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 10(4):544-64, see p.546
5 吴学忠. "关于对'国乐'一词的解析". 音乐天地 42, nr. 12 (2004):40-42.
6 郑超群. "中国风_在流行音乐中的特色发展", 2014, 142.
7 Ibid., note 2
8 刘佳馨. "试析'中国风'". 艺术论丛, nr. 2 (2013): 204.
9 https://tinyurl.com/JCBlueWhite
10 Liu, Chen, Ning An & Hong Zhu. 2015. 'A Geopolitical Analysis of Popular Songs in the CCTV Spring Festival Gala, 1983–2013', *Geopolitics* 20(3):606-25.

Malaysia's fusion ensemble 'Eight-Twelve' deftly brings together elements of Chinese and Western music to create innovative compositions.

African Studies in China

Cheryl M. Schmitz

A few years ago, I sat in on a graduate seminar on ethics and globalization at a major university in Beijing. The course was taught by a Chinese professor who had done extensive fieldwork in locations ranging from Angola to Ethiopia. More than half of the students in the classroom had also lived in various African countries. They had spent years working at construction companies, charity organizations, or diplomatic offices, and they were now being trained as a new generation of area studies experts.

Scholars gather for discussion at the Center for African Studies, Sun Yat-sen University.

Center for Global Asia at NYU Shanghai

The Center for Global Asia at NYU Shanghai serves as the hub within the NYU Global Network University system to promote the study of Asian interactions and comparisons, both historical and contemporary. The overall objective of the Center is to provide global societies with information on the contexts for the reemerging connections between the various parts of Asia through research and teaching. Collaborating with institutions across the world, the Center seeks to play a bridging role between existing Asian studies knowledge silos. It will take the lead in drawing connections and comparisons between the existing fields of Asian studies, and stimulating new ways of understanding Asia in a globalized world.

Asia Research Center at Fudan University

Founded in March 2002, the Asia Research Center at Fudan University (ARC-FDU) is one of the achievements of the cooperation of Fudan and the Korean Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS). Through the years, the center is making all the efforts to promote Asian Studies, including hosting conferences and supporting research projects. ARC-FDU keeps close connections with the ARCs in mainland China and many institutes abroad.

The beginning of the twenty-first century saw an explosion in popular and academic publications on connections and reconnections between China and the African continent. What has attracted less attention, however, is how Chinese academic interest in African Studies has grown alongside diplomatic relations and commercial ties. Africanists in China are building unique academic programs, often based on fieldwork or other on-the-ground experience and in collaboration with African scholars and institutions. Programmatic emphases are often explicitly contrasted against Western traditions of studying Africa, said to have been closely linked to colonial or neo-colonial projects.

In China, the first academic institutions devoted to the study of Africa or of Afro-Asian

A corner of the Institute for African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University.

connections were set up in the 1960s, with the official aim of supporting anti-colonial liberation movements. Recent years have seen the opening of a number of new African Studies centers and institutes, amounting to at least twenty, with over half established within the past two decades. These centers host meetings for scholarly exchange and facilitate the dissemination of written publications and visual media related to Africa and Africans. The Belt and Road Initiative has been accompanied by government support for the study of the Global South, opening up resources for collaborations with African universities and new possibilities for overseas fieldwork by Chinese researchers.

The contributions to this issue of *China Connections* provide a range of perspectives on recent developments in African Studies

in China. The authors highlight some themes that distinguish Chinese Africanism, such as Chinese business and migration networks in Africa or African commercial activity in China. They also raise important political and theoretical questions about the future of the field. Indeed, contemporary Chinese connections to Africa can no longer be thought of as restricted to the economic sphere. Scholars based in China continue to actively produce knowledge about the African continent, and it will be important to consider the implications of this intellectual work.

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Amidst a China-Africa cultural boom

Ehizuelen Michael Mitchell Omoruyi

Communication between China and Africa has become more frequent in recent years, as many Africans move to China with the hope of fulfilling their dreams. China and Africa, both of which possess a rich cultural heritage, learn more about each other and in turn develop a mutual appreciation and fondness. Out of the common aspiration to further strengthen traditional ties of friendship and promote mutually beneficial cooperation between Africa and China, the Institute of African Studies at Zhejiang Normal University stands out by serving as a platform for cultural exchange and by contributing to a new historical stage for the development of China-Africa cultural relations.

Last year, I wrote an article for the *China Daily* where I described how students at Jinhua Qiubin Primary School in Zhejiang province, China, leapt into the air in a typical African dance routine. The dance was accompanied by the sounds of African instruments, ranging from the mbira from Zimbabwe to specially-designed West African congas. These instruments were so loud and clear that visitors from Africa momentarily forgot they were in far-away China. This is the power of cultural diversity.

Recently, Chinese activities in many African nations have expanded from economic to cultural exchanges, allowing Chinese people to gradually learn more about Africa and its people. The African museum at Zhejiang Normal University and the Jinhua Qiubin primary school both contribute to

the blossoming of China-Africa cultural relations. Since 2015, the primary school has adopted a special type of education that focuses on African culture, the first of its kind in China and a symbol of the symbiotic relationship between Africa and China. The African museum at the Institute of African Studies was the first to be established at a higher education institution in China. It has the largest collection of African artifacts and foreign art at any university since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. I was amazed the first time I came to the Institute to find such a museum in China. Through cultural exchange, the Institute of African Studies is able to teach Chinese people that Africa is not only a cradle of civilization but also a rising continent.

From afar, one sees that the building housing the museum is itself a piece of art. When entering the structure, one encounters diverse artifacts offering various perspectives. This is how traditional African landscape paintings should be experienced, through free shifts of perspective. China and Africa need new possibilities for aesthetic appreciation

and spiritual fulfillment. The Jinhua Qiubin Primary School, meanwhile, has embraced all aspects of African culture, including face painting, designing tribal clothing, manufacturing African musical instruments, and constructing thatched huts. The pupils make masks out of cardboard using designs from different parts of Africa. Anyone who visits the primary school will be amazed at what the pupils do with African arts, fabrics, hair weaving, sculpting, and African musical instruments. The Institute of African Studies has been behind these cultural efforts, trying to show to the African people how the Chinese people respect and appreciate their arts and culture. As people from China and Africa continue to communicate, there will be a cultural awakening, and the Chinese and African people will soon be able to appreciate the great cultural heritage of both sides.

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China Connections
African Studies in China

Regional Editor
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The Region

Fishermen in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Reproduced under a CC license, courtesy Rajesh India on Flickr.

A Chinese migrant in Tanzania: Jackey Zhou

LI Xiangyun

Jackey Zhou studied French at Yunnan University in the early 1990s. After graduation, he worked for a pharmaceutical company in Kunming. In 1999, the young Jackey Zhou was sent by this company to work in, what he would later describe as, "the mysterious continent of Africa". Thus began his life in Africa, which lasted for nearly two decades.

When he first arrived on the continent, Jackey Zhou worked as a salesman of artemisinin, an antimalarial. He still remembers the experience of being robbed for the first time. On the morning of 9 April 2000, he was walking on Karl Marx Street in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, taking photos of the scenery. Suddenly, three young black men rushed forward, pushed him to the ground, and stole his camera. At first he was scared, but then he jumped up and chased after the men to get his camera back. The price he paid was a seriously injured right thumb. Later, he settled in Tanzania to marry and have children. He no longer impulsively chased thieves.

Jackey Zhou has two children, a handsome boy and a pretty girl, both born and raised in Tanzania. They study at international schools and are fluent in Chinese and English. To maintain the children's Chinese language skills, Jackey Zhou and his wife speak Chinese with their children at home. He has also invited Chinese students from the University of Dar es Salaam to teach his children Chinese at home. In addition, he takes his children back to his hometown every year. Besides visiting relatives and friends, he has also traveled with his children all around the motherland.

Jackey Zhou is a warmhearted person. He has several good Chinese friends in Tanzania. They all came to Tanzania in the 1990s and struggled from youth to middle-age. During the Spring Festival, they gather at Jackey Zhou's home. His virtuous wife prepares a full table of dishes. Everyone drinks wine, talks about the world, and enjoys each other's company. Jackey Zhou's home also serves as a temporary hotel for good friends visiting Dar es Salaam, or for those who have had too much to drink. Every Chinese scholar who has done research in Tanzania in the early 21st century knows of Jackey Zhou.

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This essay is based on the author's fieldwork in Tanzania, conducted in 2016, for the project "Chinese Immigrants in Tanzania".

The Center for African Studies at Yunnan University (CASYNU) is an academic institution specializing in African research and talent cultivation. Currently there are 7 full-time researchers and 10 part-time researchers, with 26 Master's and Doctoral candidates at the center. The center has also invited experts and scholars to form an academic committee, which is chaired by Professor Liu Hongwu.

A summary of research on Africans at SYSU in Guangzhou, China

Daming Zhou

Guangzhou. Reproduced under a CC license, courtesy of Xiquinhosilva on Flickr.

Known as the pilot site of China's reform and opening up, and the 'workshop of the world', Guangzhou is attractive for its low cost of living, proximity to manufacturing suppliers, and as host to the Canton Fair. Contemporary African immigration to Guangzhou began in the late 1990s and reached its peak in the year 2010. According to official statistics, there were 11,000 Africans living in Guangzhou, while the number of inbound African tourists was over 500,000 in 2016. At Sun Yat-sen University, researchers from a variety of disciplines such as Public Management, Economics, Urban Planning, Sociology and Anthropology have conducted a number of studies on migration.

Before 2010, when Guangzhou hosted the Asian Games, most Public Management studies focused on foreigners' illegal entry, illegal residence and illegal work (termed the 'three illegals' for short) and their negative impacts. Since 2009, LI Zhigang and his team have studied the socio-spatial features and the organizing principles of African ethnic enclaves from the perspective of residential segregation.[1] Urban Planning scholars have examined how African immigrants explore and make sense of places like the business area of Xiaobei or religious sites such as the Sacred Heart Cathedral. A number of sociological works examine the collective life of these groups through the lenses of social networks, social adaptation and mutual perceptions between non-African Guangzhou citizens and African immigrants. In his doctoral thesis, XU Tao conducted a qualitative analysis of African merchants' adjustments to changes that took place in 2010. LIANG Yucheng (2013[2]) examined the mechanisms of African migrants' transnational migration and collaborated with LIU Lin et al (2015[3]) to study their living conditions in local communities, both using the survey data.

While some social scientists have viewed the African community in Guangzhou as a more or less homogenous group, anthropologists ZHOU Daming and XU Duotian have in their recent work (2017[4]) emphasized ethnic heterogeneity and explored certain groups such as shopping-guide brokers. African Muslims in Guangzhou were one of the main topics of MA Qiang's doctoral thesis (2005), in which he proposed the concept of a 'mobile spiritual community' (liudong de jingshen shequ) based on Islamic belief. NIU Dong (2015) focused on Africans' household, neighborhood and associations, and raised a new analytic framework of 'the transient (guoke)' that highlights transnational mobility and minimal integration among these sojourners. Among the various research methods applied in the studies of African migrants, sociologists have mainly used large-scale social survey data, and anthropologists have begun to conduct in-depth fieldwork through which abundant qualitative information can be collected. Indeed, the qualitative approach seems to have gained popularity recently, as geographers and urban planning researchers, such as the team led by LI Zhigang, now use both questionnaires and interviews in their research.

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Notes

1 Zhigang Li, Desheng Xu, Feng Du, et al. 2009. 'The Local Response of Transnational Social Space under Globalization in Urban China: A Case Study of African Enclave in Guangzhou', Geographical Research 28(04):920-932
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3 Lin Liu, Yucheng Liang, Guangwen Song, et al. 2015. 'Migration Patterns and Its Influencing Factors of African Immigrants in Guangdong Province', Chinese Journal of Population Science (01):115-122+128
4 Daming Zhou & Duotian Xu. 2017. 'Research on the Social Network of Guide Brokers in Guangzhou in the Perspective of Structural Hole', Ethno-National Studies (03):41-49+123

Above: African Museum at ZNU. Right: Jinhua Qiubin Primary School; both photos courtesy of IASZNU.

An African perspective on African Studies in China

Kwesi D.L.S. Prah

'African Studies' in China is a relatively recent scholastic initiative and tradition.[1] This is not to say that general knowledge on, or interest in Africa is new in China. Nevertheless, the recent pursuit to build and grow expertise in 'African Studies' has become a source of interest and focus of the Chinese academic community and government over the past 60 years. However, the challenges Chinese scholars face with regard to the tradition and relevance of 'African Studies' mirror those faced by Western scholars.

Despite the major strides being made in adding to the repositories of knowledge at various higher learning institutions across China, and the growing number of scholars interested in engaging in scholarship on Africa and about Africans, there is a continued 'othering' of Africans, their ideas, realities and scholastic traditions. Maurice Duverger, Edward Said, and Archie Mafeje all argued that researchers engaged in the social sciences are bound by particular value systems which are then reflected in the way they conceptualize and frame their research, hypothesize, or collate information.[2] This is no different in China, where most Chinese scholars studying Africa, African peoples and their thoughts or realities are primarily informed by Euro-American scholarly traditions. Furthermore, some of them are funded by, and follow, policy directives from government. The totality of these experiences means that a lot of time is spent regurgitating, reformulating, or replicating often biased, racist, and outmoded epistemological and empirical research frameworks.

Scholars such as Tandeka Nkiwane and Paulin Hountondji make it very clear that social sciences such as Ethnology or International Relations need to strip off the Eurocentric epistemic lens upon which they heavily rely.[3] This is exemplified in research on Africa-China relations, through an over-reliance on 'experts' who are divorced from the political, social or economic realities of Africa, but who then claim to speak on behalf of all Africans. It is also crucially important that Chinese scholars preserve a sense of academic freedom, in order to provide more incisive critique, research and debate on the political economy of Africans around the world.

Most importantly, although Mafeje was optimistic that 'African Studies' would open paths for the veracity and value of Africanity and African scholarship, there are still indications that efforts to develop this field of study within Chinese academic discourse serves particular interests. As an African scholar in China, I can only hope that these interests are mindful of the subjective bias, epistemological flaws, and often racist nature of 'African Studies' and its traditions worldwide. This mindfulness would create a healthy culture of self-reflexivity and critique within Chinese academic discourse, which would complement scholarship by Africans, African and Africanist ideas, histories, and realities.

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Notes

1 I put African studies in inverted comas because although it is commonly used to demarcate an area of scholarship, it is also subject to intense criticism from African scholars regarding its scholastic traditions and epistemologies.
2 Duverger, M. 1968. *Sociologie Politique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp.11-12; Mafeje, A. 2008. 'Africanity: A Combative Ontology', *CODESRIA Bulletin* 3&4:59-115;109-110; Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, pp.2-4.
3 See footnote in Hountondji, P. 2009. 'Knowledge of Africa, Knowledge by Africans: Two Perspectives on African Studies', *RCCS Annual Review* 1, National University of Benin, African Centre for Advanced Studies, p.4; also see, Nkiwane, T.C. 2001. 'Africa and International Relations: Regional Lessons for a Global Discourse', *International Political Science Review* 22(3):279-290; Zondi, S. 2015. 'Decolonial Humanism and Africa's Presence in International Diplomacy', *CODESRIA Bulletin*.

Bridging the gap: blackness and Sino-African relations

Keisha A. Brown

A 2016 television commercial for a Chinese laundry detergent featured an African man who, after being placed in a washing machine, emerged with white skin.

In 2017, the Hubei Provincial Museum exhibit entitled 'This Is Africa' displayed a series of diptychs, each one containing a photo of an African person juxtaposed with the face of an animal, such as a monkey, giraffe, or lion.

A skit in the nationally broadcasted 2018 CCTV Chinese New Year celebration program centered around the theme of Sino-African relations. Although it was meant to promote and praise ongoing economic and political developments, the execution of the theme was especially problematic in terms of its depiction of Africans. An African woman was performed by a Chinese actress in blackface with exaggerated physical features. This portrayal of African women was accented by African men costumed as animals, including monkeys and zebras.

In each of the above examples, African identities were replaced by whiteness, Chinese caricatures, or animals resulting in the misrepresentation of Africans, the erasure of racial identity, and the denial of humanity. Furthermore, these images were presented in Chinese spaces where they would be consumed by a vast audience of Chinese citizens, resulting in the widespread dissemination of problematic portrayals of Africans imbedded with racist connotations and stereotypes. Surprisingly, these incidents are occurring against the backdrop of increased Sino-African relations and the continual growth of African Studies in China. In the last decade, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and other related bureaus of the Chinese government supported the creation of numerous academic spaces in China devoted to African Studies. Just at the moment when there has been a steady increase in new scholarship by Chinese Africanists demonstrating the vitality and potential of African Studies, trade between China and various African nations has also increased, thus leading to more contact between these peoples. Considering these developments, how have such stereotypes and misunderstandings persisted? What role can an understanding of Black identity play in shifting these discourses?

To fully address the complexities and nuances of Sino-African relations, centering identity, specifically around the concept of Blackness, would enrich African Studies research by Chinese scholars. Blackness is not just a racial categorization based on skin color, but also encompasses history, culture, society, and politics as it relates to the struggles of peoples of the African diaspora. The performance of race as identity is a constant negotiation of disavowal, affiliation, and exclusion. Treating race as performative allows one to differentiate between audience and performer to discuss the racial frameworks in China shaping perceptions and representations of Blackness, as well as how said frameworks and beliefs are upheld or challenged. Chinese Africanists' critical engagement with the performativity of Blackness could reshape discourses in two crucial ways. First, critical engagement with the ways in which Blackness has been depicted and commodified by non-Blacks, especially in colonial or oppressive spaces, would lead to a recognition of how racializing the 'other' has historically shaped representations or conceptualizations of Blackness. Second, examining the ways Africans choose to express their own Black identities can both counteract and widen the narrow historically constructed representations by inserting the multiplicities of African identity into scholarly conversations. In concurrence with other existing and newly emerging scholarship, work that engages Blackness as an analytical frame would draw attention to the national and transnational aspects of Sino-African relations and has the potential to connect political and economic trends to social and cultural contexts to reflect the unique ways these components intertwine and continue to take shape.

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African Studies with Chinese characteristics? A perspective and a vision

XU Liang

African Studies in the United States gained momentum after the passing of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 (Title VI), followed by a substantial expansion of federal funding for area studies. Two years later, as the world celebrated 'the Year of Africa', the appointment of a Joint Committee on African Studies by the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies officially marked the coming of age of Africa as an area field in the US academy. This postwar burgeoning of area studies was in part prompted by the Cold War competition between the superpowers.

African Studies in China is still in its infancy. While African Studies programs in China can be traced back to the early 1960s when the Institute of West-Asian and African Studies and the Institute of Asian and African Studies were established at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Peking University, respectively, research outputs and government support were modest until the end of the previous century. The rapid proliferation of African Studies programs over the last decade or so coincided with the rise of China on the global stage and, in particular, its increasing presence and influence in Africa since the beginning of the new millennium.

With the recently launched Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese government support to area studies centers will only continue to expand. However, the numerical growth of programs and centers does not necessarily bring about a genuine flourishing of scholarship. Often, it masks and belies a false blossoming of research. As the old Chinese idiom goes, "it takes ten years to grow a tree, but a hundred to nurture the people." A good educational program takes time to develop and mature.

Looking forward, I am confident that the prospects of African Studies in China are bright. However, it should not become a replica of Euro-American African Studies. While much remains for Chinese Africanists to learn from their foreign colleagues, they could contribute more to the field if they approach Africa from a different standpoint and fully leverage the history and experience of the Chinese society. For example, urbanization in Africa bears similarities with Chinese urbanization in multiple dimensions. Job creation and the shortage of affordable housing are shared challenges facing numerous cities both in Africa and in China. There is a pronounced tendency amongst Chinese Africanists to believe that the experience of China's development over the last four decades offers a model for Africa as the continent aspires to develop and prosper.

In my view, issues such as post-conflict reconstruction, long-term rule of governing parties, religious and ethnic policies, the decline of marriage and family, and rapid industrialization provide an essential common ground for China and African countries to learn from each other. Although exploring these subjects in Africa does not produce an immediate solution to similar problems in China (or vice versa), it does help Chinese scholars and practitioners better appreciate and acknowledge such issues from a global and transnational perspective.

While it is legitimate for Chinese scholars and government officials to promote various merits of the China Model, it is equally critical for us to realize the invaluable experience that African countries offer to China. As a Chinese Africanist, I often say to myself as well as to my students: In many ways, Africa is a mirror, which forces us to stare at ourselves, bring the entire world into view, and build a shared moral conscience for all of humankind.

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The Peking University Centre for African Studies was founded in 1998 as a university-wide, interdisciplinary institution for comprehensive African research. It consists of faculty and research fellows from different departments and institutes, who specialize in African politics, economy, and cultures. Currently, the Center is collaborating with the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences to develop an African Studies certificate, the first of its kind in Chinese universities. This new curriculum program will enhance the education and research of Africa among Chinese university students. The Center's two flagship publications are the *PKU African Tele-Info* (a weekly newsletter) and the *Annual Review of African Studies in China*.

The Newsletter No. 81 Autumn 2018

News from Northeast Asia
Maritime interactions and
the East Asian world

Regional Editor
Ilhong Ko

The Region

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Maritime interactions and the East Asian world

Ilhong Ko

The 'East Asian world' is a lived reality, maintained through cultural, historical, and economic interactions that began in prehistoric times and continue strongly into the present day. The seas have played a pivotal role in facilitating such interactions, allowing people, resources, and knowledge to be exchanged throughout this extensive region.

In this issue of News from Northeast Asia, we examine the various forms of maritime interactions that took place in the past and which contributed to the formation and reproduction of a common East Asian community.

The nature of these maritime interactions, and how they developed over time, is overviewed here by Jun Kimura of Tokai University, in 'Formation of an East Asian cultural, economic, and historic sphere through maritime interactions'; in 'Investigating

Neukdo Island. An ancient hub of maritime interactions', Ilhong Ko of Seoul National University introduces the results of excavations undertaken at the site of Neukdo, which illustrate how this ancient port functioned as an international hub of maritime trade around the turn of the first millennium; the way in which Chinese ports, products, and institutions shaped the nature of maritime interactions in the region is discussed by Haiming Yan of the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage in 'The formation and fruits of East Asian maritime interactions'; and finally, Jong-Ho

Kim of Sogang University discusses the way in which Chinese merchant communities contributed to the formation of a trans-border economic network in the region, and the distinctive nature of their practices vis-à-vis Indian merchant communities, in 'Modern maritime interactions of Asian merchant communities'.

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Formation of an East Asian cultural, economic, and historic sphere through maritime interactions

Jun Kimura

Excavated Song period merchant ship (Nanhai No.1)

Ship excavated from Wando, a Goryeo Dynasty coastal trader considered to be a descendant type of a Silla merchant ship.

The formation of maritime trading networks gradually developed in early Asian history and the subsequent integration of separate maritime entities contributed to the extensive growth of socio-economic and cultural development in the region. As a result, people and goods traveled long distances through these maritime networks among early polities in East and Southeast Asia.

The tributary system developed by the Chinese imperial courts was a channel for the exchange of commodities produced throughout the country, and is regarded as an early form of central government controlled trade. An example is the kingdom of Funan (68–550 CE), located at the tip of the Indochina Peninsula, and one of many entrepots located in the region. Funan sent homage to the Chinese court in the form of items such as pearls, coral, aromatic woods, spices, and precious goods from the Far West. Funan served as a shipping hub between the West and the East, which was confirmed by the discovery of Oc-Eo in the Mekong Delta, a site where Roman coins were once discovered during an archaeological investigation. Given the fact that land roads and sea routes for trade extended over vast regions, it is not surprising that scientists at Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (in Japan) have found glass products from archaeological sites dated to the 5th century, which originated from the Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean territory.

Using both land and sea routes, long journeys were undertaken in order to acquire Buddhist scriptures and relics from within India, which were then spread rapidly, particularly during the Six Dynasties (222–589), Sui (589–618) and Tang (618–907). The accounts of Buddhists who traveled between China and India are a good resource for understanding the improvements to navigation and the water transportation system which were facilitated

by pilgrimages aiming to spread doctrines. An account of an early pilgrimage was written by Faxian (337–442), who successfully reached the Gupta Empire in northern India in the fifth century and returned via sea routes to Ceylon, then onto China in 413. His account depicts how perilous a voyage crossing the South China Sea could be, when rudimentary navigational techniques were used, sailors were inadequately trained, and seagoing vessels poorly constructed. On the other hand, from a detailed account of a pilgrimage by Yiching (635–713), we learn that maritime transportation in the seventh century was much safer. Yiching embarked at Guangzhou in southern China for the Kingdom of Srivijaya, located in modern Palembang in eastern Sumatra, Indonesia in 671. He then traveled on a ship from Palembang to India, safely returning to Guangzhou in 695. The rise of the new maritime Kingdom of Srivijaya increased the traffic along sea lanes between Guangzhou and Palembang, and when travelling this route Yiching was probably aboard a Persian ship, on a trip that took him twenty days.

Persian and Arab sailors who had sophisticated navigation skills and knowledge about monsoons and tidal currents voyaged to Guangzhou by the late seventh century, with Guangzhou becoming a gateway of the

Maritime Silk Route. This route linked China with the port cities of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. The trade items that moved along the Maritime Silk Route varied, including not only silks but also other export goods such as ceramics, and consequently Chinese ceramics became a popular commodity in the Northeast Asian markets. At Korokan in Hakata in northern Kyushu in Japan, Chinese Changsha ceramics have been excavated, as well as Korean ceramics produced during the Unified Silla period (668–935). Hakata was a prominent international port during this time.

In the East Asian maritime world before the tenth century, Silla merchants dominated the trade along the northern Chinese coast and in the Yellow Sea. Silla occupied a geographically important position in the inter-regional maritime trading network, and Silla trading communities were additionally formed along the Chinese coast. The records of Silla merchants' activities represent an early form of a private trading system, and they also began to be involved in transit trade. Jang Bogo (787–841) was the most powerful figure of the Silla cliques. His activities especially impacted on the amount of Silla trade with Japan, peaking around the ninth century. Jang Bogo regularly dispatched ships to Hakata, which at the time was the only
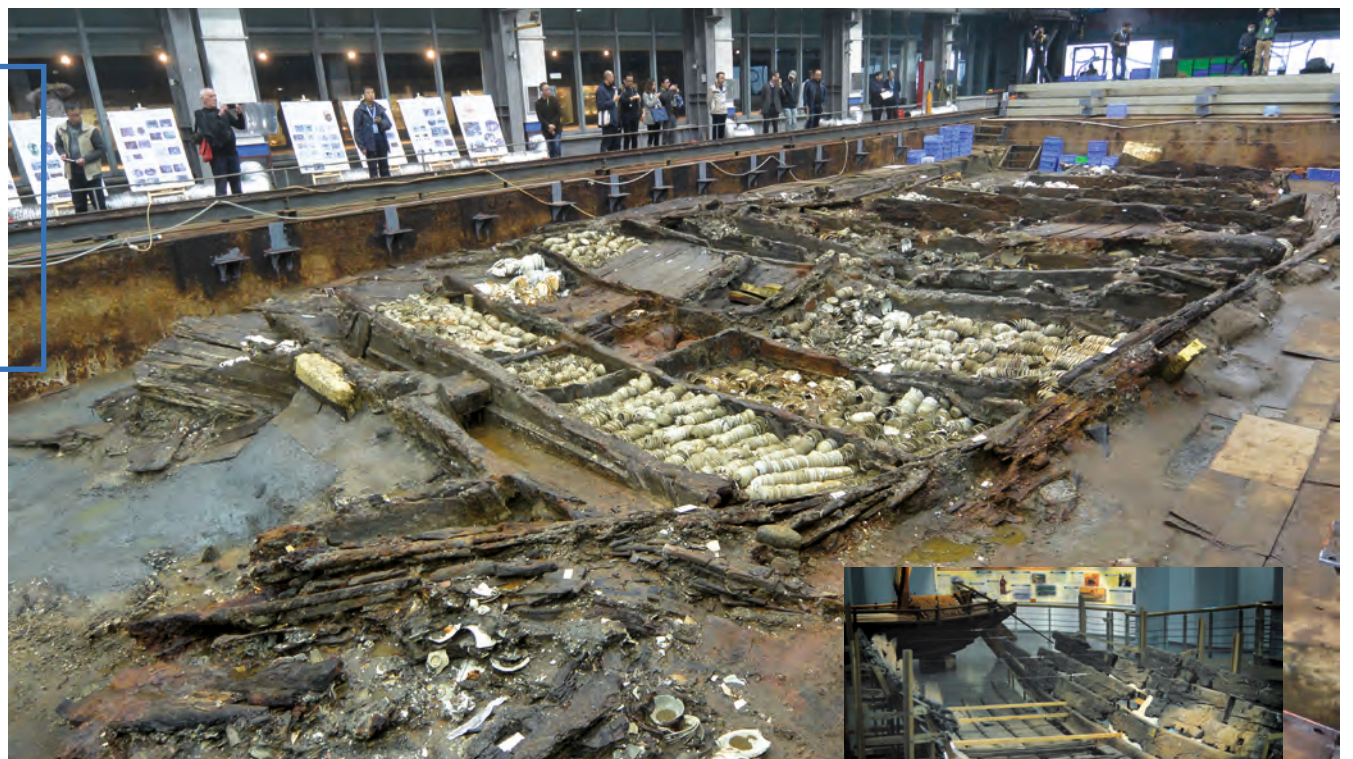
Japanese port open to overseas traders. Silla-Japan trade, however, fell into decline after the death of Jang Bogo.

In China, the rise of the Song Dynasty (960–1279) was characterized by industrial development. The commercial revolution during the Song period coincided with the expansion of a monetized economy, which led to improvements of the taxation system. A significant portion of the Chinese socio-economy started to rely on taxation generated by maritime trading. The growth of maritime industries such as shipbuilding and water transportation was also accelerated. The greater engagement of Chinese voyagers in overseas trade had begun and would foster maritime commerce in East Asia. The Song period shipwrecks found in China are a testimony of this phenomena.

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The Region

News from Northeast Asia
Maritime interactions and
the East Asian world

Regional Editor
Ilhong Ko

Investigating Neukdo Island.
An ancient hub of maritime interactions

Ilhong Ko

An often overlooked yet key component of ancient maritime interactions in the Northeast Asia region is the coastal route that was established along the western and southern coastlines of the Korean Peninsula. This route played a key role in establishing links between the ancient communities of China, Korea, and Japan up until the seventh century CE. Due to treacherous tidal currents, the successful navigation of this coastal route would have depended upon an in-depth knowledge of these waters – knowledge that would have been accumulated through the input of seafarers from diverse regions. These seafarers would have met and exchanged information and goods at 'hubs' along this coastal route, one of which was located at Neukdo Island, at the southeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula.

Neukdo is a small island, covering an area of approximately 46ha, which was excavated between 1985 and 2003. Archeological investigations revealed that humans were present at the site from the Neolithic Period (6000-2000 BCE), but it is the material remains of approximately two centuries of occupation, extending from sometime in the second century BCE to the first century CE, that have been the subject of great scholarly interest, for this evidence reveals that the island functioned as a key trade port in the region.

Map presenting the locations of Neukdo (1) and other relevant East Asian ports such as Harunotsuji (2), Hakata (3), and Guangzhou (4).

A wide array of archaeological features have been revealed that can shed light on the nature of daily life at this bustling trade port, including round and square-shaped dwellings, structures built on piles that may have served as storage buildings, middens, and burial grounds. Evidence of harbor infrastructure has yet to be identified, but the discovery of an ancient stone anchor points towards the possibility of future findings. The presence of iron slags and fragments from furnace walls and tuyères, whale spine bones that appear to have been used as turntables for ceramic vessel forming, and numerous spindle whorls indicate that various forms of crafts production also took place at Neukdo. However, the most important activity on the island was trade, as is evidenced by the discovery of Chinese coins (*Banliangqian* and *Wushu*), a variety of stone weights, and an inkstone and knife which were used to keep records.

The goods that were traded at Neukdo attest to the international nature of this port. Artifacts that have been found include sword pommel pieces, bronze arrowheads, bronze mirror fragments, and various types of Chinese pottery that came from the Lelang Commandery or Han China; Japanese Yayoi pottery; and glass beads and cowrie shells that likely originated in Southeast Asia. A diverse range of people may have resided at this port, as is evidenced by the material remains of their foreign practices. For example, Yayoi pottery unearthed at the site comprises not only storage vessels but also ritual vessels, and a ritual clay figurine and miniature clay mask similar to examples from the contemporaneous Japanese trade port at Harunotsuji were discovered. This seems to indicate that a series of Japanese ritual practices had been carried out by Japanese inhabitants at Neukdo.

In addition, the burial grounds of Neukdo have yielded evidence of widely differing burial postures and burial structures. One of the most interesting burials to have been discovered at Neukdo, but which has yet to be formally published, comes from the Area C burial ground. It is said that the deceased was buried facing the ground, which is an atypical burial position not identified in prehistoric contexts on the Korean Peninsula. Another set of interesting burials comes from the Area A burial ground (No. 92-1 & 95), in which a single cowrie shell had been placed upon the chest of the deceased (with the absence of a hole indicating that it was not worn as a necklace) who had been buried within a double-jar coffin. As the placement of cowrie shells as grave goods has not been observed on the Korean Peninsula, these burials and the Area C atypical burial indicate that the dead buried in the Neukdo burial grounds may have been multi-cultural in nature.

Finally, some of the Neukdo round-houses were found to have been furnished with indoor heating facilities, made in the style first used by the people of the Russian Primorye region around this time, and the technology gradually spread southwards. Strangely enough, in southern Korea, it is at Neukdo that these facilities first appear. Such houses with indoor heating facilities therefore seem to indicate the presence and influence of people from the Russian Primorye region on the island.

The above strands of evidence make it possible to suggest that, from the second century BCE to around the first century CE, Neukdo may have been home to individuals from various regions of East Asia who resided at this trade port whilst maintaining their own cultural practices. As an international port where seafarers from various regions could meet and possibly share their diverse experiences, Neukdo was an international hub where not only goods but also knowledge, ideas, practices could be shared, thereby contributing to the foundations of a common maritime interaction network in ancient times.

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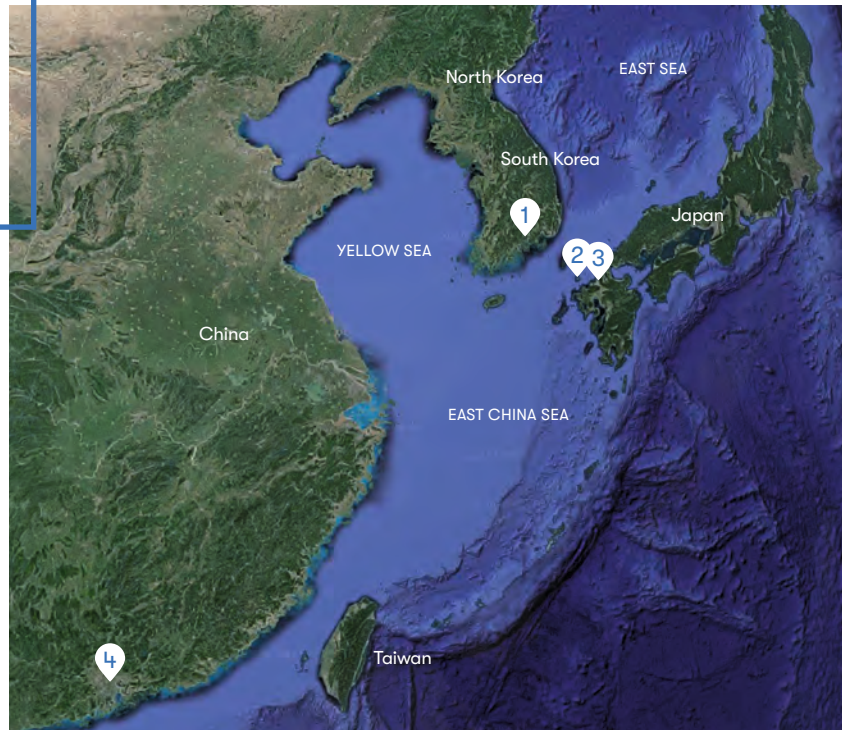
Inlaid glass bead from Neukdo which may possibly have Southeast Asian origins. From Samgang Institute of Cultural Properties, 2006, *Neukdo Shellmidden III – Area 3 burial ground*, p. 130.

The formation and fruits of East Asian maritime interactions

Haiming Yan

While the Eurasian overland trade and cultural routes have been extensively explored and identified as World Heritage Sites, the maritime routes have yet to be widely investigated. In fact, exchanges via the seas may have been more sustainable and influential, and uninterrupted maritime interactions may have created a common memory of East Asian civilization.

Simple trade activities existed among different areas in the East Asian region as early as 2000 BCE. Around the first century CE, maritime connections within the region became institutionalized. Initially, the navigation routes were located along the coastline, with islands and the mainland in visible range. Military conflicts between Baekje and Goguryeo made it difficult to sail along the coastline, resulting in the creation of a new route across the Yellow Sea, which started at Wendeng in the Shandong Peninsula, reached Baengnyeong Island in the west of the Korean Peninsula, and terminated at Hakata, Japan.

Before the eighth century, official communications – diplomatic envoys from Silla and Japan – were the main reason for travel. After the eighth century, private trade started to play a more influential role. Between the tenth and thirteenth century, private trade flourished thanks to the commercially open mindset of China's Song Dynasty. There were two major routes from China to the Korean Peninsula: one across the Yellow Sea, and the other between Mingzhou (today's Ningbo) and the southwest of the Korean Peninsula. After the Mongols occupied China, official exchanges between China and the Korean Peninsula mainly used the land passage, while private trade continued using the sea routes. The prosperous regional exchanges started to decline from the fifteenth century, due to embargos all over the region. The Ming rulers banned private trade; Japan left only the port of Nagasaki for foreign trade; and the Joseon Dynasty put a ban on maritime trade. However, cultural communication was sustained and left behind a number of heritage sites which bear witness to the collective memory of the peoples of the region.

Chinese porcelain had been exported to foreign countries from the ninth century, but became more popular during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Kilns specializing in export porcelain were founded in the southeastern coastal areas, and inland kilns were relocated to the coastal areas to boost export. Also, early Korean celadon imitated, in terms of glaze color and shape, similar vessels produced in Zhejiang's Yue Kiln. The Korean technique of pottery became increasingly more sophisticated, culminating in its own worldly famous brand, Korean celadon, which was introduced back to China. The prosperity of porcelain trade has been extensively explored by scholars, and is regarded as a fundamental basis for the sustainability of the Maritime Silk Road.

Celadon from Yue Kiln

The Newsletter No. 81 Autumn 2018

News from Northeast Asia
Maritime interactions and
the East Asian world

Regional Editor
Ilhong Ko

The Region   17

Modern maritime interactions of Asian merchant communities

Jong-Ho Kim

From the nineteenth century, East Asia and Southeast Asia were affected by the expansionism of European empires and the technological advancement of transportation. This expansionism was regarded politically as an invasion of external powers, but for Asian merchant groups it provided an economic opportunity. The Western empires in Asia, along with their advanced technologies, made it possible to form and maintain trans-border economic networks. For instance, many Chinese merchants in British Malaya and the Straits Settlement accumulated their fortunes through the influence of the British Empire and its modernized institutions. Within this economic environment emerged Chinese and Indian merchant groups with trans-border business networks within Asia.

In the earlier stage of Chinese migration, overseas Chinese were not regarded as imperial subjects and therefore none of the political regimes (including Qing, the Europeans, and local rulers) were concerned with them. Later, Chinese people attempting to depart imperial territory by crossing the South China Sea and to make a living overseas were regarded by the Qing government as criminals, and were often executed by officials. The Qing government's stance on this matter changed by the mid-1870s, as Qing elites began to realize the economic potential of the Chinese living abroad.

In 1876, the Qing government decided to dispatch ambassadors to Europe, America, and Singapore for the protection of these overseas Chinese groups. In 1893, Emperor Gunagxu announced that "From now on, Chinese people and merchants abroad are allowed to come back to their hometowns as well as to go overseas freely".[1] In the period following the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, the Beiyang

government was again not very interested in the circumstances of overseas Chinese communities, but Sun Yat-Sen established the Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau in Guangzhou in 1924. Sun fully acknowledged the contribution of the overseas Chinese patriot remittances and their economic potential. The Nationalist Government soon followed suit and tried to attract the fortunes of overseas Chinese merchants.

Despite the changed attitude of their home regimes, overseas Chinese merchants decided to be 'international orphans',[2] in contrast to the overseas Chinese laborers who maintained strong and unilateral connections with their home villages. The overseas Chinese merchants in Southeast Asia had to hold dual connections with their home country and host country, which resulted in their having dual – and sometimes even multiple – nationalities as they dealt with the trans-border business network.

On the other hand, Indian merchants who conducted business between South Asia and Southeast Asia migrated worldwide by the end of the nineteenth century, following the incorporation of India into the British-dominated network of trade and finance.

The British-occupied Asian territories, such as Burma, Malaya, the Straits Settlement, and Hong Kong, became the main areas of their migration. Furthermore, the opening of China caused by the Opium War allowed Indian merchants to do business in the International Settlements of Chinese treaty ports. In the period 1844-1931, over 300,000 Indian traders moved from India to Malaya.[3] Unlike the indentured Indian labor migrants, they were a spontaneous migration group that targeted economic profits.

Based on the caste system and regional identity, rather than nationalism, diverse Indian communities became involved in a varied range of international business networks. For instance, the Indian merchant communities from the Sind region formed a notable international banking network throughout Asia. In particular, they adopted a *hundi* system (a type of cheque or draft system that was a convenient form of remittance from one place to another) in which their networks were maintained with the use of *hundis* as a major currency. Interestingly enough, the hundi system was remarkably similar to the exchange draft system used within the overseas Chinese remittance network, *Qiaopi* (僑批). Chinese and Indian merchants thus appear to have operated a similar system of payment within their respective business networks.

Because the Indian merchant network had been riding alongside the expansion of the British Empire, it strongly relied on the growing imperial territories. These Indian merchants were controlled by the British Empire as colonized subjects. Paradoxically, this allowed them to form networks more easily as they

had the protection of being British subjects. The business activities of Indian merchant communities were spontaneous and free from the political intentions of the British Empire but their activities were facilitated by the influences of the British Empire.

In mapping the economic activities and networks of East Asia in the modern period, the movements and networks of Asian merchants who participated in maritime interactions must be drawn as complicated lines that transcend boundaries. The lines denoting the movements of Indian merchants should accompany the expanding territories of the British Empire, which provided them – the imperial subject – which a geographical limit and a stable business environment. On the other hand, Chinese merchants could not depend upon their home country (i.e., China during the late Qing dynasty and the Republican Era) to provide them with a stable political status and conversely were faced with the demand to support their home country. As a result, Chinese entrepreneurs engaged in the international business network had to constantly adapt, react, and survive under diverse empires and regimes, without any stable political or social status. That is why their business network was spread over diverse regions, including the British Empire, French Indochina, the Dutch Indies, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea. This widespread trans-border network provided Chinese merchants with diverse economic opportunities and information, and their unstable positions within foreign countries meant that they were able to sensitively react to external circumstances and naturally adapt to the political changes of their host countries. Due to these survival strategies Chinese overseas merchants have been able to maintain a presence within the modern Asian economy, whereas for Indian merchants, the fate of their business was, to an extent, tied to the rise and fall of the empires to which they belonged.

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Notes

1 *Qingshigao* (清史稿, Draft History of the Qing Dynasty), Vol. 23.
2 A term used by Reynolds to refer to the Chinese in Thailand during World War 2 but which I believe is also applicable to the entire history of the overseas Chinese merchant community. Reynolds, E. B., R 1997, ""International Orphans": The Chinese in Thailand during World War 2", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 28 (2).
3 Markovits, C., 1991, "Indian Merchant Networks outside India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A preliminary survey", *Modern Asian Studies* 33 (4), p. 895.

Chettier Moneylender in Singapore (1890). A sculpture by Chern Lian Shan, depicting a Chettier-originated Indian merchant dealing with Chinese and Europeans. https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/556968678893541801

In the middle of the sixth century, Buddhism was introduced from China to Silla and Japan. After the eighth century, many Japanese and Silla monks went to China to study Buddhism, while Chinese monks also spread Buddhism eastwards. For instance, the Buddhist Monk Jianzhen arrived in Japan during the Tianbao Period of the Tang dynasty. He founded Risshū, one of the six schools of Nara Buddhism in Japan, which also influenced the establishment of the Tendai school. During the Song and Yuan dynasty, after visiting China,

Japanese monks usually returned home bringing with them elements of scripture, tea ceremony, poems, calligraphy, and painting. For example, two Japanese monks, Yosai and Dogen, returned by sea with the Dharma acquired from Tiantong Buddhist Temple in Mingzhou, and founded the Rinzai school and the Soto school, respectively. Many Chinese monks also visited Japan during the Ming and Qing dynasty, partly because of the continuous domestic wars in China. Confucianism, which originated in China,

was also widespread in Japan and Korea. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the main agents of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange were Chinese scholars. In 1619, Chen Yuanyun settled in Japan, where he introduced Chinese literature and martial arts, and created Judo. Zhu Shunshui arrived at Nagasaki in 1659, where he actively introduced Chinese culture, namely Confucianism. He was honored by Japanese scholars as a 'sage of culture'.

Heritage sites are witnesses to the formation of common culture in East Asia, represented especially by Buddhist temples. Chinese traditional architectural techniques, manifested in Buddhist temples, reached Japan and Korea through the maritime routes. Buddhist temples of the Song dynasty, exemplified by Tiantong Buddhist Temple in Mingzhou, exerted huge influences upon Buddhist architectural technology and art

in Japan and Korea. By the middle of the thirteenth century, monks from Japan visited famous Chinese temples in the Jiangnan region. They drew The Map of Five Mountains and Ten Temples, which presented the architectural layouts of various temples and was subsequently used as the blueprint for the organizing and building regulations of Japanese Buddhist temples. Simply put, a number of traditional Chinese-style buildings with deep cultural origin, which presently exist in China, Japan and the Korean Peninsula, show the common values of the ancient East Asian cultural sphere that are linked by Buddhism.

The East Asian maritime sphere was the outgrowth of ancient peoples using traditional sailing techniques that opened up connections through maritime passages. Based on coastline nodes and navigation technology, people were able to trade and exchange elements of cultures. The region has been tightly connected via the maritime interactions, by which collective memories and common cultural sphere have been formed.

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Tiantong Buddhist Temple, Jiangnan, China.

The Vietnam Studies Program

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Unity
Through
Understanding

2018 marks the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute's 50th anniversary. Initiated in 1968 by then Deputy Prime Minister Goh Keng Swee, ISEAS has since been dedicated to research and scholarship on Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam Studies Program at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute is dedicated to the study of Vietnam, a very important Southeast Asian country due to its growing and dynamic population of more than 90 million and a GDP growth rate of over six per cent for the past few years. The Vietnamese people are also widely known for their diligence and mettle in face of intractable difficulties.

Apart from these socio-economic strengths, Vietnam is of considerable strategic importance due to its history and location. In view of its past history of either being colonized/occupied by or being overly dependent on bigger and stronger powers, Vietnam today pursues a multi-directional foreign policy which offers useful references for other countries. Vietnam is also a key player in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other ASEAN-centred regional architectures.

The Vietnam Studies Program has two key research thrusts. Firstly, it focuses on domestic issues such as Vietnam's leadership renewal, political jostling and infighting, the anti-corruption campaign and socio-economic developments within the country. Secondly, it examines developments on the external front including Vietnam's foreign policy orientation, relations with major powers, its ASEAN neighbours and regional organisations. Cambodia, which just concluded its July 2018 general elections, and its relations with Vietnam and the big powers also fall under the scope of the Vietnam Studies Program. Mekong development initiatives such as the Greater Mekong Sub-region funded by the

Asian Development Bank and the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation led by China are further areas of interest as they draw attention to the role of outside powers and institutions and the responses of the Mekong countries to these external players.

To provide a flavour of the type of issues that the Vietnam Studies Program cover, we would like to present three articles written by our experts. These three articles cover separate but inter-related areas. The first article looks at Vietnam's reactions to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) unveiled five years ago in 2013. Although it has welcomed the BRI, Vietnam remains cautious about the economic, political and strategic implications of this initiative for the country. This cautiousness is driven by a number of factors including Vietnam's past history of being occupied by imperial China, its desire not to be over-reliant on any major power, the poor record and public perception of Chinese projects in Vietnam as well as the lingering distrust between Vietnam and China in the South China Sea. Therefore, while the BRI may seem to be offering abundant opportunities for growth and prosperity, there are challenges to be overcome if BRI projects are to achieve their intended outcomes in Vietnam.

The second article highlights the important role of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) in steering the country forward. The CPV plays a pervasive role in setting the direction and agenda for the country as had happened when Vietnam embarked on *Doi Moi* (renovation or economic reforms) in 1986. To further industrialize and modernize the country, the Party recognizes that the quality of its personnel matters the most. Hence, a key emphasis of the Party at the just concluded seventh plenum in May 2018 was on raising the quality of its personnel. Personnel management also has to be seen in the wider context of the anti-corruption drive launched by Vietnam's General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong. Keeping corruption in check is crucial for the Party's long-term legitimacy, thereby ensuring that it continues to play a leading role in Vietnam's development.

The third article examines the growing number of Protestants in Vietnam which highlights the interesting nexus among religious revivalism, communism and capitalism. The rise of Protestantism among the Hmong ethnic minority in the rural areas is a means to alter the ethnic group's marginal status in Vietnam. However, the unconverted Hmong see conversion as a betrayal of Hmong

ethnicity. The situation is further complicated when local authorities intervene to persuade Protestant Hmong to discard their new found faith and return to their folk traditions. As a result, a large number of evangelized Hmong have migrated, partly to escape such interventions, and partly in the hope of escaping poverty. In the urban areas of Vietnam, the state also keeps a watchful eye over the Protestant community due to their ability to attract converts through dispensing of welfare services, their strong foreign links, and their call for greater religious freedom.

There is a common thread in these three articles, i.e., Vietnam is still a developing country that has to grapple with development challenges. Although the CPV remains influential, it has to deliver, like governments in other countries, socio-economic progress to ensure its legitimacy and ability to stay at the helm. At the same time, the CPV and the government of the day that it directs has to navigate an ever changing and challenging external environment. This is a constant challenge.

Liang Lye Fook Senior Fellow and Co-ordinator of the Vietnam Studies Programme

The Belt and Road Initiative in Vietnam: challenges and prospects

Le Hong Hiep

Vietnam stands to benefit from China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) due to its growing demand for infrastructure investments to fuel the country's growth. At the moment, Vietnam is facing challenges in meeting this demand because of the decreased inflow of official development assistance following its attainment of the middle-income country status in 2009, difficulties in promoting Public-Private Partnership projects due to tightening financial and legal regulations, and limited state-funded investment due to budgetary constraints. Based on one estimate, Vietnam's infrastructure needs (in terms of road, rail, airports, ports, telecoms, electricity and water) would reach a staggering US$605 billion from 2016 to 2040. It will need to actively seek different sources of funding including from the BRI.

Vietnam has endorsed the BRI and the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank but is cautious about the economic, political and strategic implications of this initiative. There remains lingering distrust between the two countries and rising anti-China sentiments in Vietnam due to recent tensions over the South China Sea disputes, especially following

the 2014 oil rig crisis. On the one hand, Vietnam has expressed formal support for the BRI as it is Chinese President Xi Jinping's signature foreign policy initiative. On the other hand, Hanoi seemed more concerned with how this initiative is implemented. While Vietnamese President Tran Dai Quang welcomed the BRI when he attended the Belt and Road Forum in Beijing in May 2017, he also emphasized that cooperation under the initiative must ensure "sustainability, effectiveness and inclusiveness, openness, mutual respect and benefits, and compliance with the UN Charter and international law".

Although China is keen to fund projects such as steel mills, coal-fired power plants, high speed railways and highways, Vietnam is unlikely to consider getting Chinese loans for these projects as a top priority. Some observers have pointed out that securing Chinese loans is neither cheap nor easy. China also normally imposes conditions on their preferential loans including the use of Chinese technologies, equipment and contractors. Moreover, Vietnam's experience with the poor record of Chinese contractors and technologies in various projects will dampen its willingness to take on Chinese loans.

Vietnam is open to funding from other sources including loans from international financial institutions and ODA partners especially Japan. In general, Japanese contractors and technologies are perceived by the Vietnamese public as being more trustworthy than Chinese ones. Vietnam is also keen to promote the Public-Private Partnership, especially the Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) model. Public-Private Partnership projects will continue to be a major avenue for Vietnam to meet its infrastructure needs as they can help relieve the state of financial burden and international obligations.

Given Vietnam's cautiousness, the implementation of the BRI in Vietnam is likely to be slow. So far, no new infrastructure project in Vietnam has been officially labelled as BRI-funded, although the Cat Linh-Ha Dong metro line in Hanoi, which has been under construction since October 2011, has been categorized as such by both sides. In the coming years, whether the BRI will be successfully implemented in Vietnam will continue to depend on Hanoi's evolving perception of the initiative. Vietnam may apply for one or two 'pilot' projects to get a better assessment of the upsides as well as downsides of BRI loans. However, due to rising public debt, Vietnam may refrain from applying for government-to-government loans. Instead, it may encourage domestic private investors to apply for BRI loans, especially from the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, to construct infrastructure projects under the BOT model. This approach will reduce the political and strategic implications of BRI loans for Vietnam.

Line 2A, Hanoi Metro.

In sum, the implementation of BRI in Vietnam faces significant challenges. China should acknowledge these challenges and work with its domestic stakeholders and Vietnamese partners to address them. Although the actual implementation of the BRI in Vietnam may be slow, it is most likely that Hanoi will continue to lend diplomatic support to the initiative as a means to strengthen overall relations with China.

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This is an extract from Le Hong Hiep's 'The Belt and Road Initiative in Vietnam: Challenges and Prospects', *ISEAS Perspective* 2018/18; https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective

The Newsletter No. 81 Autumn 2018

News from Southeast Asia
The Vietnam Studies Program

Regional Editor
Terence Chong

The Region

19

Personnel issues at the CPV's seventh plenum

Le Hong Hiep

The seventh plenum of the twelfth Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), which convened from 7 to 12 May 2018, discussed and made decisions on three key issues, namely the CPV's strategic personnel planning and management, salary reforms and social insurance reforms. Of the three issues, personnel policy decisions and changes at the plenum has attracted the most attention given their important implications for the country's political prospects.

Guided by the late President Ho Chi Minh's dictum that "cadres are the foundation of all works", the CPV has consistently put a strong emphasis on its personnel management. In the context of economic reforms under *Doi Moi*, the Party regards personnel works as an essential element in its efforts to industrialize and modernize the country. Over the years, the Party has formulated and implemented various plans and policies to improve the quality of its cadres, especially those at key levels. However, such plans and policies have not translated into expected outcomes. The Party has acknowledged that weaknesses still remain in its personnel works, including the lack of effective mechanism for appraising cadres and recruiting talents, as well as the prevalence

Secretary Kerry meeting with Ho Chi Minh officials

of corrupt personnel practices such as political patronage, nepotism or bribing for power and positions. The CPV's on-going anti-corruption campaign, which saw the prosecution of various high-ranking officials at both the central and local governments has further reinforced the importance of personnel works for the Party's legitimacy.

Against this backdrop, a draft blueprint on the Party's personnel strategy up to 2030 and beyond was presented to the Central Committee's seventh plenum for its deliberation. The blueprint is divided into five sections. The first outlines the theoretical and practical basis of the blueprint. The second reviews the current status of the Party's personnel works. The third proposes guidelines, objectives and solutions to improve the Party's personnel works. The last two sections assess the blueprint's impact once implemented and propose measures for its implementation. Some of the key measures include reforming the

procedure and methods for appraising cadres; strictly controlling cadres' power, putting an end to the practice of bribing for power and positions; introducing the rule that the party secretary of a given province or district must not be a native of the same province/district; reforming salary policies to incentivise cadres' performance and attract talent into public institutions; and, improving mechanisms to strengthen ties between cadres and the people. Once implemented, the blueprint envisions that the quality of Vietnam's bureaucracy will be strengthened and the efficiency of the entire political system will be improved. It also expects to alleviate the government's budgetary deficit by reducing the number of officials, cadres and state employees.

The blueprint served as the basis for the CPV Central Committee to adopt a resolution on the Party's personnel works at the end of the plenum. While it remains to be seen whether the CPV can successfully implement the measures proposed by the blueprint, the move demonstrated the Party's will to strengthen the quality and integrity of its cadres as well as the resilience of its political system. The adoption of the resolution should also be seen in the light of the CPV's recent efforts to crack down on corruption and to further institutional and economic reforms, both of which will hardly be successful without a cleaner and more capable cadre system, especially at the leadership level.

The seventh plenum was also widely expected to elect additional members into the Politburo, the highest decision-making body of the Party. The additional members were expected to replace Mr Dinh La Thang, who was removed from the Politburo in May 2017 on corruption and economic mismanagement

charges, and Mr Dinh The Huynh, who is seriously ill. Instead, the plenum saw the election of additional members into the Party Secretariat: Mr Tran Cam Tu, Standing Deputy Head of the Central Committee's Inspectorate Commission, and Mr Tran Thanh Man, Chairman of the Vietnam Fatherland Front (VFF). Mr Tu was also elected Head of the Inspectorate Commission after Mr Tran Quoc Vuong vacated the position to focus on his other post as Standing Member (i.e., Executive Secretary) of the Secretariat.

Since December 1993, the Party's Inspectorate Commission has always been headed by a Politburo member. As such, the Party's assignment of the position to Mr Tu rather than an existing Politburo member suggests that Mr Tu will likely be elected into the Politburo in future. His current appointment will give him the necessary authority to oversee the Party's anti-corruption campaign. Similarly, Mr Man also stands a good chance of being elected into the Politburo as the VFF in recent decades has normally been headed by a Politburo member. Mr Man's rather young age (56) and Southern origin may also play to his advantage as the Politburo is currently dominated by Northerners while the Party normally seeks a relative balance in the regional representation of its top decision-making body.

Le Hong Hiep Fellow at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute

This is an extract from Le Hong Hiep's 'Personnel Issues at the CPV's Seventh Plenum', *ISEAS Perspective* 2018/29; https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective

Evangelizing post-*Doi Moi* Vietnam. The rise of Protestantism and the state's response.

Chung Van Hoang

Protestantism is one of the fastest grow-ing and dynamic faiths in Vietnam. The Protestant community in Vietnam, present since 1911, has been a small one until the last decade of the 20th century. For a long while, Protestant churches, missionaries, pastors and followers in northern, central and southern Vietnam experienced difficulties in conducting missions and dealing with different political regimes. Until 1975, the total number of Protestants was around 200,000 and this number did not vary much over the next decade. However, since *Doi Moi* reforms in 1986, Protestantism's growth has been phenomenal. In 2013, the religion was found to be present in 62 out of 64 provinces and in 2015 the total number of followers was roughly 1.5 million, a seven-fold increase from 1975. Despite its rate of growth, Protestantism faces many difficulties in terms of theology, religious competition, cultural conflict and response from the political regime.

One of the foremost tasks of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) is to maintain national solidarity and ethnic unity. This has been challenging because of the desire of some ethnic minority groups for autonomy, as well as the distrust between ethnic minorities and majority. Of the total 54 ethnic groups in Vietnam, 53 are minority groups which account for only 14 per cent of the total population of 92 million. Most of these groups are scattered in remote and mountainous areas (except the Khmer and Cham). The inhabitants in these areas are saddled with an underdeveloped infrastructure, high poverty rate, low-quality education and an inadequate healthcare system.

A key source of distrust between the state and Protestant ethnic minorities stems from issues of Hmong identity and autonomy. For example, two thousand-strong protests erupted in the Central Highlands in 2001 and 2004. These were reportedly provoked and financially aided by the Montagnard Dega Association with assistance from members of the United Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Races (FULRO). The protestors wanted state authorities to return

their ancestral land that was taken away by the Kinh (the majority ethnic group) and to expel the latter from the Central Highlands. They also demanded religious freedom and autonomy for all ethnic minorities in the region. Another protest took place in 2011 in the mountainous province of Dien Bien in the North with hundreds of Hmong participants demanding land allocation to welcome their returning king. The majority of protestors in 2001, 2004 and 2011 were new evangelical Protestant ethnic minorities.

Another challenge is the internal conflict between ethnic minorities who are Protestants and those who are not. Conflict and separation between the evangelical and non-evangelical Hmong, for example, are not unusual, often resulting in discord within families, bloodlines and between communities. The most contentious issue was the refusal of Protestants to continue the tradition of ancestor worship. The converts view Protestantism as the only way to alter the ethnic group's marginal status in Vietnam while the unconverted Hmong see conversion as a betrayal of Hmong ethnicity.

Another layer of complication has resulted from local authorities' active intervention to persuade Protestant Hmong to return to their folk traditions. In response, a large number of evangelized Hmong have migrated, partly to escape such interventions, and partly in the hope of escaping poverty and conflict.

In the urban areas, Protestantism is also growing among the middle-class Kinh. Churches in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi are busy during the weekdays and always full during Sunday services. To cater to the growing numbers, different divisions are set up for different ages from teenagers to older people, to facilitate Bible studies or to encourage members to provide social services. One million copies of the Bible were printed and distributed in Vietnam by the Religion Publishing House in 2014 alone. Notably, an increasingly number of Protestant church leaders and members have joined political organizations such as the People's Committee and the Vietnamese Fatherland Front. These activities signal the state and the public's open recognition of the Protestants' contribution and initial steps taken by Protestants to engage in politics.

Protestant communities in urban areas are also known for helping marginalized and vulnerable urban residents afflicted by social dislocation, family break-ups, illness and deprivation. Some Protestant services have successfully rehabilitated thousands of criminals, drug addicts, prostitutes and HIV patients, with many of them becoming converts in the process. While recognizing that

Protestant welfare services have a role to play, there is concern among local authorities that more Vietnamese will convert to Protestantism after receiving such welfare services.

There remains a stigma attached to Protestantism. While the actual number of Protestants only accounts for over 1 per cent of the population, many ordinary people still keep a distance from them because they believe that the government continues to keep a watchful eye over the Protestant community. The Protestant faith stands out due to the more visible ways it carries out its mission, its close association with Western values and its active participation in social issues. The state is also wary of Protestants because of their strong foreign connections. Furthermore, two-thirds of the 700 or so international NGOs presently active in Vietnam are faith-based organizations. Moreover, some of these Protestant-based NGOs explicitly promote religious freedom, which opens the door to more intense evangelization, further heightening the concerns of the state. As such, the state is expected to maintain a watchful eye over Protestant activities.
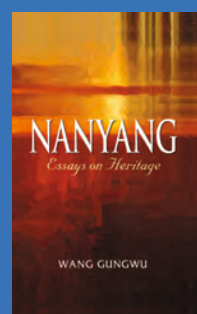
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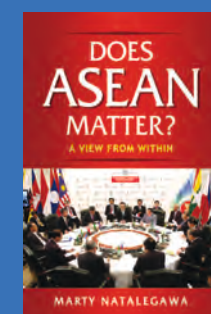This is an extract from Chung Van Hoang's 'Evangelizing Post-Đổi Mới Vietnam: The Rise of Protestantism and the State's Response', *ISEAS Perspective* 2017/34; https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective

News from Australia and the Pacific
Cultural materials conservation in Asia
and the Pacific

Regional Editors
Ana Dragojlovic, Edwin Jurriëns
and Andy Fuller

Cultural materials conservation in Asia and the Pacific

For *News from Australia and the Pacific,* we ask contributors to reflect on their own research interests and the broader academic field in Australia and the Pacific of which it is a part. We focus on current, recent or upcoming projects, books, articles, conferences and teaching, while identifying related interests and activities of fellow academics in the field. Our contributions aim to give a broad overview of Asia-related studies in Australia and beyond, and to highlight exciting intellectual debates on and with Asia in the region. Our preferred style is subjective and conversational. Rather than offering fully-fledged research reports, our contributions give insight into the motivations behind and directions of various types of conversations between Asia and the region. In the current issue, we highlight the topic of Cultural materials conservation in Asia and the Pacific. We would like to acknowledge Nicole Tse and Eliza O'Donnell's invaluable support for this collection of essays.

Articles are edited by Ana Dragojlovic ana.dragojlovic@unimelb.edu.au and Edwin Jurriëns edwin.jurriens@unimelb.edu.au, with assistance from Andy Fuller fuller.a@unimelb.edu.au, from the Asia Institute in Melbourne arts.unimelb.edu.au/asiainstitute

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

The Asia Institute

The Asia Institute is The University of Melbourne's key centre for studies in Asian languages, cultures and societies. Asia Institute academic staff have an array of research interests and specialisations, and strive to provide leadership in the study of the intellectual, legal, politico-economic, cultural and religious traditions and transformations of Asia and the Islamic world. The Institute is committed to community engagement and offers a dynamic program of academic and community-focused events and cultural exchanges that aim to promote dialogue and debate.

APTCCARN: Working towards a network of shared material conservation actions

Nicole Tse

How long cultural records, cultural assets, art and antiquities last, and approaches for their care, arguably differs across values, geographic place, timescales and knowledge systems. Having worked in the Asia Pacific region for twenty years, I have witnessed how knowledge, which is produced and validated to inform conservation actions in museums in the Asia Pacific, is still dominated by the promotion of universal standards that are unsuitable for tropical climates and a diversity of values in Southeast Asia. From experience, institutions, communities and materials conservation practices have thereby struggled with "a long-standing epistemological debate about the nature of knowledge and expertise between dominant positivist and alternative non-positivist approaches".[1] What works in various geographical contexts is poised against an inherent tension between object centred and scientific processes, to those that simply work, are value based and socially situated alongside differences in institutional cultures, developmental histories and disciplinary leader's foci. Knowledge gaps and asymmetries therefore provided an impetus for the founding of a collective network of engaged heritage workers to form the Asia Pacific Tropical Climate Conservation Art Network (APTCCARN).

Launched in 2008, APTCCARN was inaugurated at *Balai Seni Visual Negara* in Malaysia - then *Balai Seni Lukis Negara* (National Art Gallery), which focussed on the theme of '20th Century Art Conservation Research' evolving from my doctorate research with partners in Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines. By 2009, an 'Online web portals for Art Conservation and Curatorial Research' was hosted at the University of Melbourne, which garnered impetus for 'The Conservation of Material Culture in Tropical Climates: The 3rd APTCCARN Meeting' at Silpakorn University, Thailand in 2012 to claim a focus on materials conservation in the region in its own right; and then 'Embracing Cultural Materials Conservation in the Tropics: The 4th APTCCARN Meeting' at Cheng Shiu University in Taiwan in 2015. In 2017, following a number of extreme natural disasters effecting cultural heritage,

'Natural disasters and cultural heritage in the Philippines: Knowledge sharing, decision making and conservation', was co-hosted with the National Museum of the Philippines to share responses, recovery and conservation actions in a region that is facing unpredictable, uncertain events and the dynamics of change at different scales.

These APTCCARN meeting themes may mirror the tension between a material-based approach and a dialogic and socially situated examination of cultural materials conservation. The chronology of meetings first acknowledged a point of difference in the practice of cultural materials conservation in the region, which required a translation of decision making frameworks grounded in regional relevant research. Quite simple discussions on the longevity of materials in hot and humid climates and the climate controls in museums in the region were discussed. Such persistent discussions were not so different from those raised by OP Agrawal[2] in the 1970s and SEAMEO SPAFA's platform on Heritage & Conservation: Conservation in the Tropics.[3] From a materials science conservation perspective, clearly there were few scholarly studies on the risks to objects and their rates of decay, while discussions on perceptions of damage, cultural rights and material lifetimes evolved. So, while the early APTCCARN meetings did

'Natural disasters and cultural heritage in the Philippines: Knowledge sharing, decision making and conservation, 5th APTCCARN Meeting', with the National Museum of the Philippines and SEAMEO SPAFA in the Province of Bohol, the Philippines.

bring people together to talk primarily of material matters, it recognized the binary knowledge divide between science and the social, east and west, and expertise versus cultural rights, and was a platform for collective dialogues. We acknowledged that the promotion of expensive materials and scientific methods fosters dependency without developing capacity and empowerment. We started talking about how an object's value, materiality and care is culturally and geographically determined, and how to establish this, thereby drawing the transcultural links between materials and the social.

Such thinking prompted a certain mindfulness among APTCCARN members and an evolving ethos. With limited conventional textual sources available and an acknowledgement that information asymmetry existed, dialogues vested in people and the embodied

knowledge of heritage professionals, artists, curators and cultural practitioners were important steps towards the development of a "shared thought style".[4] APTCCARN's goal to support an Asia focused cultural materials conservation, prioritised the concept of 'relationships' as a cultural practice, its own diversity and claims to knowledge, to foster alternative approaches. Resonating throughout APTCCARN meetings, and more particularly the meeting in 2017 in the Philippines, was the importance of an iterative practice working within a social space and a diversity of technical solutions to reach mutually agreeable goals. But in framing such a holistic practice of conservation in the region, acknowledging the lines of accountability and how flexible do technical approaches need to be, is another evolving tension. Some 10 years on, APTCCARN as a maturing network, knows the importance of reflexivity and connectivity.

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Notes

1 Beebeejaun, Y. et al. 2013. ''Beyond Text': Exploring ethos and method in co-producing research with communities', *Community Development Journal* 49 (1):37-53, p.2.
2 Agrawal, O.P. 1975. 'An Asian view of conservation', *Museum* 27(4):157-160.
3 SEAMEO SPAFA. 2014. 'Heritage & Conservation: Conservation in the Tropics'; http://www.seameo-spafa.org/heritage-conservation/; accessed 5 Aug 2018.
4 Ibid. note 1, p.5.

'Embracing Cultural Materials Conservation in the Tropics: The 4th APTCCCARN Meeting' with Cheng Shiu University in Taiwan in 2015.

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The Region

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Lost visual histories. China's Tang dynasty (618-907) tomb mural paintings

Tonia Eckfeld

China's Tang dynasty (618-907) tomb mural paintings are rare finds and study of them has grown since the first archaeological discoveries and excavations in the early 1950s. Although thousands of minor Tang graves and about 400 tombs have been discovered, so far only around 60 Tang tombs have been found to contain mural paintings. While many questions are still to be answered, each new discovery contributes to knowledge in this important field.

The importance of tomb mural painting is stressed in the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (Revised 2015)*, which highlights the rapid development context in which these mural paintings exist and the need for sound conservation principles to be applied to preserve their artistic values, materials and technical methods.[1] Consistent with these *Principles,* this Australia-China project is researching mural paintings and archaeological site conservation. Collaborative work involves the University of Melbourne, Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, Henan Provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage, Zhengzhou University and the Australian Synchrotron. Technical study is providing data to increase understanding of the materials, techniques and working methods used by the Tang dynasty tomb painters and their workshops, and in turn to inform contemporary conservation methods.

Inscribed epitaph tablets found in most of the tombs provide exact dates and names and biographies of the deceased tomb occupants (many of whom are also recorded in the Tang official histories). In this way the tomb murals provide visual first-hand records of Tang dynasty history, politics, court life and society. Examples of high status imperial Tang tomb mural painting programs have been visually documented, described and analysed in numerous archaeological reports in *Wenwu, Kaogu, Kaogu yu wenwu* and other Chinese journals, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China (618-907), The politics of paradise,*[2] *The Complete Collection of Murals Unearthed in China* (Shaanxi Province)[3] and other recent detailed volumes on individual Tang tombs in Shaanxi and Henan. These have led to the accepted premise that the Tang tomb murals were subject to a strictly regulated system of mortuary entitlement where the subject content and length of a mural program was required to match the status of the deceased tomb occupant. Reserved for extremely high status individuals – members of the Tang imperial family such as princes, princesses and dukes, and exceptionally distinguished civil or military officials such as ministers or generals – about half the Shaanxi tombs with murals were located within the 17 cemetery complexes of the Tang emperors to the north of the Chang'an, the primary Tang dynasty capital (present-day Xi'an in Shaanxi Province), with only six discovered so far near Luoyang, the secondary Tang capital (in Henan Province).

As most of the mural paintings are located near the Tang capital cities where the Tang dynasty had its political and cultural base, and can be accurately dated, they also provide visual evidence of important lost but described master artworks. In the Tang dynasty, mural painting was the major painting form, prevalent in high status buildings such as palaces, government buildings, temples and elite mansions. Information about these no longer extant murals is known through Tang dynasty artistic texts.[4] Although not all mural programs have survived in their entirety, due to collapse, destructive environmental conditions or plunder for example, the known repertoire of painting is extensive, stylistically sophisticated, vivid in subject matter and adept in methods of technical production. Analysis reveals that the murals have parallels with those listed in the 9th century catalogues and it can be speculated that they were either the work of famous artists or strongly influenced by them. Their secular content, style and non-canonical approach makes them an important category of painting distinct from the Tang dynasty Buddhist murals discovered at the dawn of the 20th century at Dunhuang and other sites along the Silk Road.

A number of recently excavated Tang tomb mural programs, comparable in date, official rank and therefore mortuary entitlements, reveal new evidence about patronage, aesthetic styles and subject matter. The tombs of two imperial concubines of Emperor Zhongzong (r.684, 705-710) – Tang shi and Cui shi Anguo Xiang wang furen – were excavated in 2005 and recently conserved.[5] These two tombs were built and painted in 706 near Luoyang, the same year as three imperial tombs at the Qianling mausoleum complex that belonged to Crown Prince Zhanghuai (d.684), Crown Prince Yide (d.701) and Princess Yongtai (d.701). All five had met untimely deaths under the orders of the ruthless female Emperor Wuzetian (r.690-705) and were accorded grand reburials under her son and successor, Emperor Zhongzong, on his ascent to the throne. Visual observations reveal that all five of the Qianling and Luoyang murals programs have sequences typical of high status Tang tombs. The subject matter is largely conventional – directional animals (dragon and tiger), processions with fine horses, honour guards, palace attendants and entertainers. The mural paintings in the tombs of Zhanghuai and the two concubines tombs have similarities in both the style of painting (especially in the brushwork and portraits) and subject matter (with the inclusion of camels and entertainer dwarfs) in all three tombs. These similarities may indicate that the same workshop groups worked in both the Tang primary and secondary capitals (more than 1300 km apart). This proposition is being explored.

While evidence thus far indicates that the 7th and early 8th century tombs adhered closely to a standard system of mural programs based on rank, new discoveries suggest that the situation changed around the mid-8th century with more freedom to express highly personal interests. Important examples currently being analysed in this project include the tomb murals recently excavated in Shaanxi Province belonging to two chancellors of the Tang court – Li Daojian (d.738, tomb excavated in 2017) and Han Xiu (d.739, excavated in 2014). Comparable in date and status, and neither within an emperor's mausoleum complex, both contain impressive mural programs including the earliest illustrations of landscape paintings on screens (six-panel folding screen and single-panel respectively). While Li Daojian's tomb mural program is sombre, refined and subdued in palette, Han Xiu's is lively and full of vivid colour, using large quantities of yellow.

While following standard format and the mortuary entitlement system these two mural programs are highly individual, expressing the life interests and achievements of each deceased tomb occupant. Both included a retinue of staff, and lively musical, singing and dancing performers. Li Daojian, a member of the imperial family, former diplomat, Minister of Rites and Head of Royal Household Affairs, had distinctive murals included in his tomb. His murals perhaps in reference to his diplomatic travels and extremely high status, include a lion from the West on a beautiful fringed carpet, and three African attendants. Attendants carrying a paintbrush and water basin for brush washing indicate Li's personal interests as a painter. Hui Xiu's tomb has palanquin bearers transporting large lacquered chests perhaps containing his treasured art collection.

Research undertaken in this project currently points to a centralised entitlement system and set subject matter program for Tang dynasty mural paintings, with the coordinated employment of artists and artistic practices across both the Tang capital cities. The relationship between these practices and works by named masters in the Tang catalogues is being explored. The variations in individual mid-8th century high status tombs, compliant with the official mural painting entitlement system, need further analysis based on recent discoveries. Analysis of materials and working methods will shed further light on artistic masters and workshops as well as contributing to the conservation of the Tang dynasty tomb mural paintings into the future.

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Tonia Eckfeld examining Tang tomb *sancai* horse and rider at the Luoyang Cultural Relics Bureau

Camel and foreign groom, mural painting from Tang shi's tomb (east wall of tomb passage, 2m high), 706, Luoyang, Henan Province China. Photo courtesy of the Luoyang Cultural Relics Bureau.

Notes

1 ICOMOS. 2015. *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China.* ICOMOS China and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Beijing; https://tinyurl.com/icomoschinaheritage; pp.67 & 69-70.

2 Eckfeld, T. 2005. *Imperial Tombs in Tang China (618-907), The politics of paradise.* Routledge-Curzon.

3 Xu Guangji. 2011. *The Complete Collection of Murals Unearthed in China, Volumes 6 & 7,* Beijing: Science Press.

4 Zhu Qingxuan. c.840. *Tang chao minghua lu (Record of Famous Painters of the Tang Dynasty);* Zhang Yanyuan. c.847. *Lidai minghua ji (Record of Famous Paintings of All the Dynasties).*

5 Luoyang City Second Cultural Relics Task Force. 2008. *The Mural Tomb of the Concubine of King Anguo Xiang of the Tang Dynasty.* Zhengzhou: Henan Meishu Chubanshe; Luoyang Cultural Relics Bureau and Luoyang Ancient Arts Museum. 2010. *Luoyang gudai muzang bihua.* Henan: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe.

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The Region

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Materiality, making & meaning. Building material knowledge through conservation in Indonesia.

Eliza O'Donnell

The top of the cliff isn't the place to look at us; come down here and learn of the big and little currents, face to face.[1]

During a conservation residency in Indonesia earlier this year, I attended the *Bacaan (Terpilih): Menuju Kepulauan* ([Selected] Readings: Towards the Islands) exhibition at Kedai Kebun Forum (KKF), an alternative art space in Yogyakarta. Experimenting with the presentation of theoretical discourse in an exhibition context, the walls of the KKF gallery showcased a selection of publications addressing themes of life and challenges faced in the archipelago, the Pacific Region and throughout the equatorial region. The above quote from Mary Kawena Pukui's 1983 publication on Hawaiian proverbs was included in the exhibition as an excerpt from Teresia K Teaiwa's reading, 'L(o)osing the Edge' (2001), addressing critical issues associated with Native Pacific Cultural Studies. Teaiwa references the proverb as a rejection against "perspectives from the edge", leaning away from non-inclusive methodologies for cultural studies and inviting an intimate "face to face" approach to knowledge exchange, production and understanding.[2] These ideas of cross-cultural research practices grounded in interpersonal collaboration were central to the aims of the conservation residency as a platform to foster cultural interaction and exchange between art professionals in Australia and Indonesia.

From March–May 2018 I participated in a three-month conservation residency in Yogyakarta, working with the painting collection of Dr Melani Setiawan and based at RuangDalam Art House. The residency was supported by the Australia Indonesia Arts Forum (AIAF), in partnership with *Project 11* and the Grimwade Centre for Cultural Materials Conservation at the University of Melbourne. The inaugural AIAF residency program aimed to provide a cultural exchange based on painting conservation knowledge sharing, drawing on my experience as a paintings conservator working in South East Asia and my PhD thesis focusing on Indonesian cultural production and building the artist record. Each year a number of art houses and independent organisations in Yogyakarta facilitate residency programmes which provide an opportunity for artists from abroad to interact and engage with artistic production in a local context. Building on this model, the conservation residency adopted a practice-based interdisciplinary approach to knowledge sharing in Yogyakarta by providing a collaborative framework for engagement with local collections, art collectives and communities. Working with art students from *Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta* (ISI), curators, writers, artists, cultural material practitioners, collectors and members of the local community to examine artistic production in the region and explore the potential for collaboration at the intersection of these disciplines.

The residency began with a visual condition assessment of Melani's painting collection by members of the residency team at *Rumah Melani* (Melani House). Melani's culturally and historically significant collection consists of approximately 600 paintings, sculptures and drawings, as well as an extensive archive of photographic documentation and research material. Part of the significance of her collection lies in the personal relationships Melani establishes with the artists themselves. Melani does not identify as a 'collector',

rather a close friend and support network to many artists in the Yogyakarta art community, and her collection and archive is a testament to the strong relationships she has built. During the assessment period a large-scale triptych by Entang Wiharso, contemporary Indonesian artist and close friend of Melani's, was selected as the focus for treatment and exhibition.

'Landscaping My Brain'

Wiharso painted the oil on canvas triptych 'Landscaping My Brain' (3 panels of 200 x 97 mm) in 2001 at Melani's home while he was visiting Jakarta for his solo exhibition *Nusa Amuk* at *Galeri Nasional Indonesia* (National Gallery of Indonesia). This painting was chosen as the focus for the project due to its personal significance to Melani's collection, level of deterioration, the availability of conservation materials to undertake the treatment and the opportunity to interview Wiharso during his visit to Indonesia in April. The lack of conservation-grade materials in Indonesia limits what can be achieved, therefore, we adopted a treatment methodology based on minimal intervention including stabilisation, surface cleaning and minor retouching. Visual and technical examination, archival research and knowledge gained from interviews with both Wiharso and Melani provided an understanding of the paintings history, the materials and techniques used and the mechanisms of deterioration.

Knowledge gained through these interdisciplinary avenues of enquiry informs a holistic understanding of the artwork and its materiality, creating a historical narrative which contributes to the artist's oeuvre and the cultural record of the collection. The residency concluded with an exhibition of the painting at RuangDalam arthouse. Presenting the painting in an 'active state of conservation', the exhibition aimed to highlight the conservation process and raise discussions around perceptions of damage and to what level artworks should be conserved. Approaches to conservation are values based and culturally grounded decisions, and lead to notions of authority and role of technical-conservation expertise, what approaches, work best, who should do the work and what knowledge informs it.

Going forward

The conservation residency presented an opportunity to critically question and expand disciplinary frameworks and methodologies for conservation knowledge sharing in Indonesia, raising questions of how our knowledge of the artwork and the artistic process can contribute to creating an authentic cultural record, and why a secure artist record is important. As an outside researcher new to Indonesian studies, the residency provided a welcoming and inclusive space to form friendships and close ties with artists and cultural practitioners, relationships that cannot develop from 'the top of the cliff', but must occur 'face to face'. These outcomes emphasise the importance of Australia-Indonesia inter-personal knowledge exchange, relationship-building and action-based research based on a prolonged and collaborative approach to knowledge making and production. The success of this project was grounded in establishing relationships based on mutual trust, respect and understanding, paving the way for further projects that strengthen Australia-Asia engagements with a focus on developing collaborative platforms for skill and knowledge exchange.

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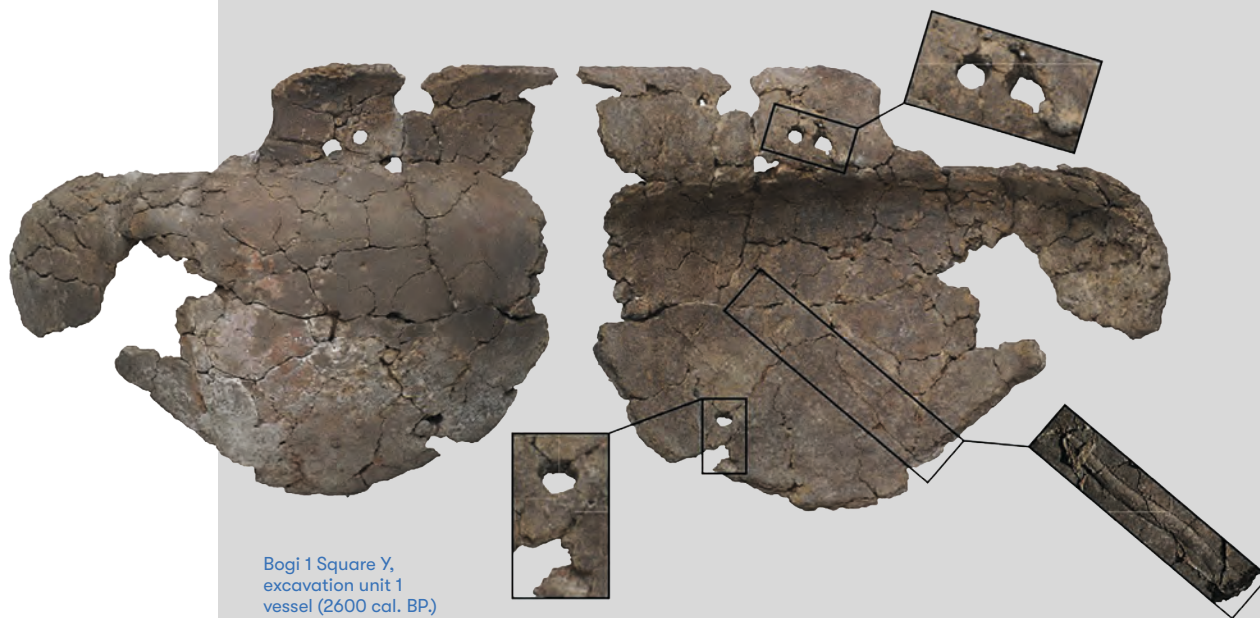
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2 Teaiwa, T. 2001. 'L(o)osing the Edge', *The Contemporary Pacific* 2(1):343-365.

Eliza O'Donnell and Andrea Gani Hidayat aqueous cleaning Entang Wiharso's 'Landscaping My Brain' (2001), panel one. Photograph by Harry Arafat, 2018

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Bogi 1 Square Y, excavation unit 1 vessel (2600 cal. BP.) after conjoining and reconstruction. Photo by Steve Morton.

Moiapu 1 Square F, excavation unit 55 sherds. The Moiapu 1 sherds demonstrate the crumby nature of the ceramic fabric prior to conservation intervention. Photo Holly Jones-Amin.

Tanamu 1 Square N, excavation unit 2 vessel (2800-2750 cal. BP.) after conjoining and reconstruction. Photo by Steve Morton.

Why does the conservation of low-fired Caution Bay Lapita pottery matter?

Holly Jones-Amin

In 2009-2010 Monash University (Australia) undertook a large archaeological survey and excavation program at Caution Bay, on the south coast of Papua New Guinea (PNG) revealing readily identifiable dentate stamped Lapita ceramics from 2900 years ago.[1] In late 2010 I was asked to conserve two recently excavated highly fragmented very low-fired Lapita vessels from Caution Bay. Both vessels were presented concealed in plaster jackets that had been used to encase, support, lift and transport the fragile fragmented pots from the excavation trench in PNG to Melbourne.[2] Prior to treatment commencing, research revealed that there was scarce literature on the conservation of low-fired archaeological ceramics; the literature that was found was in agreement that low-fired ceramics are difficult to conserve and lift in the field and often do not make it to the laboratory. At this time, I had been working as a conservator for 15 years in the laboratory and in the field on archaeological excavations. I had seen, handled and conserved countless artefacts. The complex deterioration challenges and significant conservation issues presented by these vessels was new.

Pottery remains one of the most abundant and enduring materials found on archaeological sites. The limited durability of low-fired archaeological pottery means that it is largely overlooked and rarely identified. This durability issue obscures the archaeological record creating misleading histories and knowledge of past people. Furthermore, poor endurance has meant that low-fired pottery

has not been conserved, creating a knowledge gap for research that informs archaeologists, conservators and source communities. I felt that I could contribute to bridging this gap by undertaking a PhD that conserves and analyses the Caution Bay ceramics.

Lapita pottery-making and pottery-carrying colonisers of the western Pacific are famed for their expansive travels across 4500km of seascape from the Bismarks to Samoa approximately 3400 and 2900 years ago. For over 40 years the lack of material evidence resulted in researchers positing that the colonisers of the western Pacific never made it to the south coast of PNG even though Lapita peoples were known for their extensive sea travel. The discovery of Lapita pottery by Monash University was unexpected and contrasted with the written record. The discovery revised the archaeological narrative of Lapita people and a new story began to be told that connects across Melanesia. My research and conservation of Caution Bay ceramics brings increased understanding of the materiality of archaeological material in Australasia, interdisciplinary collaboration with archaeologists and demonstrates how early conservation intervention can increase the understanding and survival of low-fired pottery all over the world.

Lapita pottery (c. 2900-2550 cal BP) from Caution Bay was fired in open bonfires at very low temperatures (500-600°C). Some of the low-fired pottery is super-fragile; it does not fracture but it crumbles and delaminates. The ceramics have often undergone severe chemical degradation,

affecting their consistency. For example, the super-fragile sherds lifted by hand can collapse during excavation or transport, and a three-centimetre long sherd can break into four to ten fragments and friable sections. The highly crumbly fragments are difficult to interpret, and without conservation cannot be reported or displayed in a museum for public access. Each fragment requires time consuming conservation and it is not until each fragment (often < 3cm in size) has been cleaned, consolidated, and adhered back into its original sherd, that it can be reconstructed to become a perceptible vessel.

So, why does the conservation of Lapita pottery from Caution Bay matter? Conservation in the form of stabilisation and reconstruction makes the intangible tangible. The reconstructed tangible vessel helps archaeologists and conservators tell stories. These stories include those which relate to the age of human activity at a site, the organisation of production and exchange/trade, mechanisms of cultural interaction, socio-economic change, discard behaviour (including fragmentation and enchainment), and post-depositional processes (e.g., degradation). The process of conserving Caution Bay Lapita pottery is establishing protocols for conservators and archaeologists that will increase the number of low-fired vessels surviving other excavations and the potential for analysis to tell a multitude of stories about people from all over the world.[3, 4] Lastly, the conservation of individual sherds and vessels from Caution Bay contributes to a hitherto unknown area of Lapita people

on the south coast of PNG and the conserved ceramics are of international academic worth, and of immeasurable cultural value to their country of origin and to local communities whose ancestors made the pottery.

Holly Jones-Amin PhD Candidate Australian Research Centre of Excellence for Australian Biodiversity and Heritage (CABAH), Monash University, Australia; Senior Objects and Archaeological Conservator, The Grimwade Centre for Cultural Materials Conservation, The University of Melbourne.

Notes

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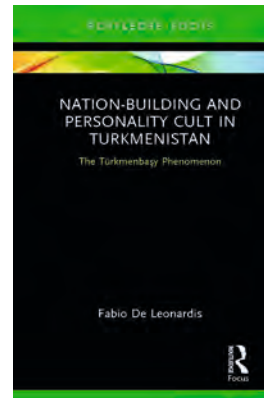
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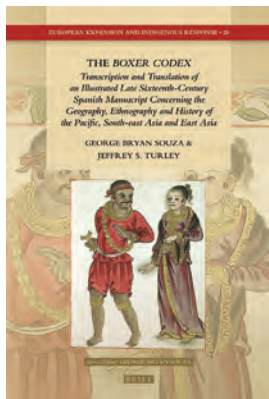
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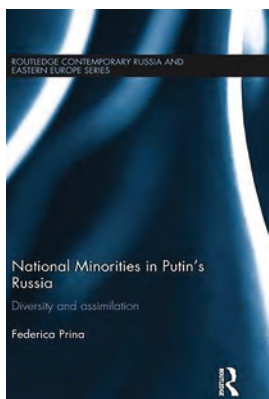
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New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books
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https://newbooks.asia/review/medical-plurality
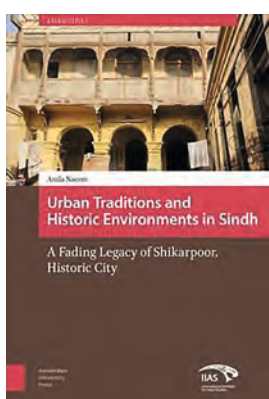
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Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
ISBN 9789462981591
https://newbooks.asia/review/shikarpoor
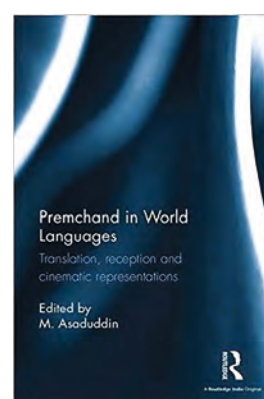
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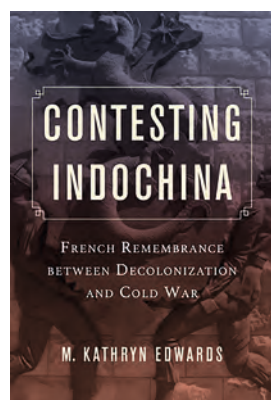
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– Ronald Bruce St John

M. Kathryn Edwards. 2016.
Contesting Indochina: French Remembrance between Decolonization and Cold War
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ISBN 9780520288607
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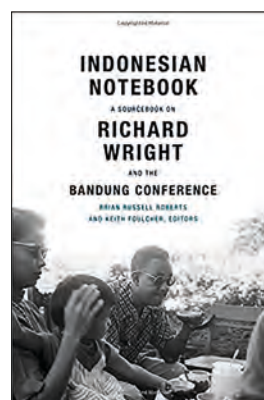
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Durham, NC: Duke University Press
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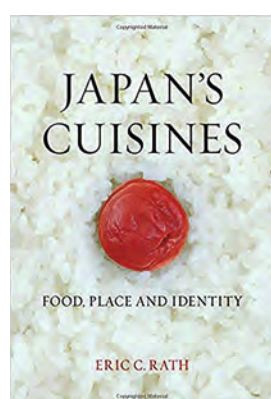
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– Rowena Ward

Eric C. Rath. 2016.
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ISBN 978178023643
https://newbooks.asia/review/japan-cuisines
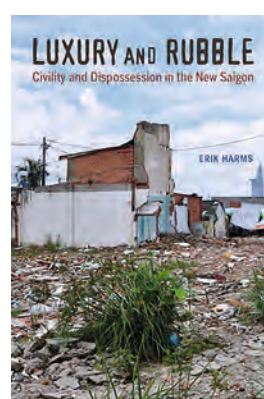
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https://newbooks.asia/review/changed-myanmar

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Soe Tjen Marching. 2017.
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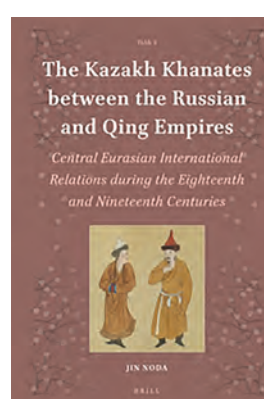https://newbooks.asia/review/end-silence
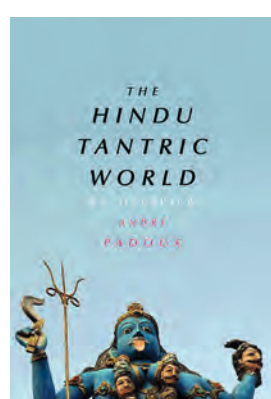
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– Sofia Sundstrom

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The Review

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Trajectories of memory embodied in memorial and historical sites

John Kleinen

Chan Kim Srun and her baby before she got a name (left, above). Display of mugshots in Tuol Sleng. Photo taken by John Kleinen in May 1991.

Dossier Cambodge. Tuol Sleng ou l'histoire du génocide en chantier / Tuol Sleng. A History of the Cambodian Genocide Under Construction

Special Issue of *Mémoires en Jeu*, enjeux de société / *Memories at Stake*, Issues of Society

Issue 6 (2018), pp.44–110.
https://tinyurl.com/memory6-2018

Scholars, artists and eyewitnesses participated at a conference in Utrecht in 2017 to discuss the history of memory embodied in Tuol Sleng, a Phnom Penh secondary school converted into a special interrogation and execution place by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. They discussed the memorial museum itself, but also artifacts, pictures, movies, theatrical productions and paintings that contain tangible and intangible traces of the Khmer Rouge's mass slaughtering, which turned Cambodia into an enacted utopia between 1975 and 1979, inspired by Maoist China. The results of this conference are now bundled in a special issue of the French magazine *Mémoires-en-Jeu* that deals with trajectories of memory embodied in memorial and historical sites. It also tries to analyze what it means in contemporary society to memorialize a divided past that produces asymmetries in rethinking and mastering memory.

The no longer mysterious Communist Party of Cambodia went on a rampage against its own population. By compartmentalizing their self-created adversaries into enemies and giving others licenses to kill, Pol Pot and his henchmen provided the motives and orchestrated the means of the killers.

The special issue, edited by a French-Spanish editorial board (Stéphanie Benzaquen-Gautier, Anne-Laure Porée and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca) devotes much space to the well-known collection of mugshots that the Tuol Sleng prison guards left behind when Phnom Penh was liberated on January 7 by the Vietnamese army and a small group of defected Khmer troopers. A small unit accompanied by a Vietnamese cameraman discovered a place euphemistically called Security Office 21 or S-21, which served as the main interrogation center for KR-cadres of the Pol Pot regime. The thousands of photographs made by the Khmer Rouge in the prison became an impressive memorial for the victims who were executed 15 kilometers from Tuol Sleng/S-21 at Choeung Ek. The prison was the summit of a system of 197 interrogation centers that together formed the center of the Killing Fields of Cambodia. In Tuol Sleng alone an estimated number of 18.000 people were interrogated, tortured and killed. Just a dozen male prisoners and four children survived. Pol Pot's reign of terror between 1975 and 1979 was accountable for the death of at least 1.7 million people.

Nowadays Tuol Sleng is open to the public as a genocide museum. It plays a role in the painful 'heritage' left by the former regime, for imagining a past that is remembered, but nearly lost. As proof of an atrocity it tells a narrative that is elsewhere created. The contributors of this special issue reflect upon this legacy in a kaleidoscopic way. Important is that local voices are included here, like the former and present directors of the museum, Chey Sopheara and Chhay Visoth, who give the reader an intrinsic Cambodian perspective upon a painful past. They also tell of the laborious way the museum had to struggle with the help of foreign donors to engage with the institutional technology of representation. Rachel Hughes' article about the role and function of visitor books is a refreshing contribution to this field.

Much attention is devoted to what Tuol Sleng has been made known for outside Cambodia: the more than 7000 pictures of mostly anonymous victims taken by their torturers, at a certain moment before their execution. By combining the images with written documents that were left in the prison archives, researchers have been able to provide names and sometimes background information for those taken to S-21. Journalists, playwrights, artists, photographers and filmmakers have dealt with this collection. Playwrights Catherine Filloux and Randal Douc show in their contributions how the traces of genocide have inspired their work in different situations. Cambodia's most famous film director Rithy Panh discovered one prisoner's name and background: Hout Bophana, the wife of an important KR-cadre, who remained loyal to her husband when he fell out of grace and was brought to the interrogation centre. Vicente Sánchez-Biosca tells the story of how her portrait became a source and a medium of agency, even until today. A well-known iconic image is the photo of prisoner number 462, a mother and her child; she too had her name returned to her. Chan Kim Srun became the symbol of the way the Khmer Rouge crushed innocence and reduced people to dust.

The display of photographs also played a pivotal part in the outreach work of the extraordinary chambers in the courts of Cambodia (ECCC). While the verdicts of judicial cases against the main perpetrators might have been a deception for many who suffered from the Pol Pot regime, the criminal

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A Problem of Scale: Food Safety in China

Sacha Cody
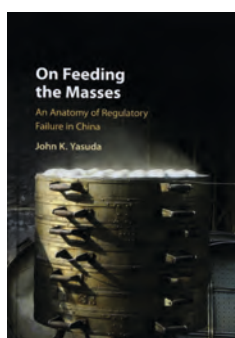
On Feeding the Masses: An Anatomy of Regulatory Failure in China

John Yasuda. 2018.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
ISBN 9781107199644

Ten years have passed since China experienced one of its worst food safety incidents. In July of 2008, melamine, a resin used to manufacture plastics, was discovered in several infant milk formula products. It was illegally added to increase the products' apparent protein content. Six babies died and up to 300,000 were affected, many with kidney stones. Twenty-one companies were implicated. As time has passed, more food safety incidents have occurred and systemic regulatory failures have been identified.

There has not been a shortage of analysis and commentary on, as well as efforts to improve, China's food safety problem. Regulators have promoted 'tried-and-tested' methods from the West to bring China up to global standards. Meanwhile, social scientists have situated food safety problems within questions of morality and social trust amidst rapid urbanization and industrialization of the nation's food economy.[1] Yet problems continued, and we have been waiting for a more definitive and book-length assessment of the situation.

John Yasuda's new book *On Feeding the Masses: An Anatomy of Regulatory Failure in China* is worth the wait. The book's basic premise is that food safety in China suffers from 'scale politics', a conclusion Yasuda reached after conducting over 200 interviews with academics, conventional and organic farmers, food processing center staff, food safety auditors, and government officials working in the domestic, export and organic farming sectors across three provinces and in three food categories.

Yasuda takes his interviewees seriously when they say they want to solve food safety problems yet are unsure where to start or what to consider. He dismisses easy explanatory targets, such as authoritarianism, corruption, local obstructionism, lack of political will or even the argument that food safety is a problem developing countries have that is eventually solved. For the quantitatively-minded reader, Yasuda supports these dismissals with robust data at several points in his book.

It is easy to think of scale politics along the following lines: "Of course, China is a big country, so there are bound to be problems of scale". Yasuda's sophisticated analysis goes much deeper. 'Scale' does not refer to geographical scope or population size.

process is, like Sarah Williams argues in her contribution "only one dimension of an ongoing process of remembering" (p.75). Julia M. Fleischman, however, suggests that the results of forensic medical anthropology in the form of human remains are used quite late during the trials of former Khmer Rouge leaders. Her findings are supported by the contributions of Chhay Visoth (about explicit graffiti) and Magali An Berthon (about textile and clothing), who also make an appeal not to dismiss these forms of evidence.

This special issue dealing with the Cambodian genocide – still a term that requires explanation – also gets its weight from the visual material it presents (including archive photos of the museum itself) and the various interviews the editors held with Cambodian and non-Cambodian artists, who were asked to share details of their relationship with Tuol Sleng and the ways in which their work is influenced by the past.

The interview by Stéphanie Benzaquen-Gautier with American anthropologist Eve Zucker concludes the section with a fascinating account of memory practices of villagers who try to cope with the horror in their community. It also reflects on the fieldwork she conducted in Cambodia – an experience she recounts in her book *Forest of Struggle: Moralities of Remembrance in Upland Cambodia* (2013) – as she tracked the recovery of a village community in the southwest of the country, a site that was a Khmer Rouge base and battleground for nearly thirty years. The interview opens up the question of the remembrance of Khmer Rouge atrocities beyond Tuol Sleng and the urban environment. It points to a nationwide traumatic landscape, which in turn helps to better understand the role of the museum in today's Cambodian memory politics, and to imagine alternative forms of memorialization of a historical period that continues to haunt generations of Cambodians. This closing paper reminds the reader of the limited space most of the authors have contributed to debates about theoretical issues. Ever since Jean Lacouture's inapt verdict about the Khmer Rouge as an expression of tropical fascism, allusions to the Gulag or Laogai systems have been scarce. As said, the Khmer Rouge's mass slaughtering as a means to create an enacted utopia, inspired by Maoist China, comes closer to realities than the many references to Nazi-Germany. An approach as proposed by Dutch sociologist Abraham de Swaan in his book *The Killing Compartments* (2015) might be a way-out to understand and to compare the tragedy that struck the inhabitants of Cambodia between 1975 and 1979.

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Child's Play

Gwyn McClelland

Monju-kun, Cartoon character as protestor.

Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan

The burgeoning field of the history of emotions has continued to develop in scholarship out of Europe and the United States over the last decades. One fascinating segment of this field describes children's emotions, or emotions directed towards children in history. However, within such emerging research, there is much less consideration of Asia, and Japan specifically, and this is the gap addressed by this new book, *Child's Play*. In this collection, Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall perform the somewhat complicated task of 'combing' periods of Japanese history in order to highlight issues such as how children were distinguished from adults in Japan and how the study of children and childhood may be analysed in this particular context for emotion, affect, and sensibility. At first glance the scope of the collection appears wide and the subject matter eclectic. Essays muse on wide ranging issues including, for example, the social position of male acolytes in medieval Japanese Buddhist monasteries, boys' androgynous qualities, and male–male love affairs; the identification of conceptions of childhood for Taisho

period designers of furniture in Japan; or the intricacies of the ideological dynamics of the Asia Pacific War, including ways children's individual emotions were suppressed and the so-called 'emotional capital' of children was utilized in propaganda. Such topics and more, revolving around the concept of childhood and the history of emotions are examined from the perspective of Japanese history, albeit for the most part in recent periods. In short, the editors aim to make understandable the relationship of various identifiable phenomena to our understanding of the history of children and childhood and experiences of affect.

Certainly, this book offers an opportunity to at least partially correct the common bias, which is to examine childhood and children predominantly through a European-American lens. The essays presented were initially outlined at a workshop held at the University of California on 27-28 February 2015. Frühstück and Walthall arrange the essays by historical period and the contributors offer cross-disciplinary and varied viewpoints and methodologies.

A limitation is that the majority of the writing within the volume covers the early 20th century, with the exception of three essays couched as premodern, including two from the Edo period and one from the 19th century. Despite this gap in the contribution toward understanding pre-18th century Japan, the approaches of the authors in Part 2 are compelling, including Jinno Yuki's study of material objects of the Taisho period and Harold Salomon's discussion of childhood films in wartime Japan. Salomon surveys films released from 1932 to 1941, a period which reflects the emotional proclivities of the generation immediately before. The materials are sourced from an earlier period, perhaps explaining why the editors decided to place Salomon's essay in the early 20th century section rather than the proceeding wartime series. Of course, the initial Japanese invasion of Manchuria took place in 1931.

The last section of the volume considers contemporary issues that children encounter in Japanese society, ranging from a discussion of the relationship of childhood development to a wider discourse about soccer and the nation, to two ethnographic studies of the treatment in Japan of children with developmental challenges. Kathryn Goldfarb writes about a group of children and institutionalisation, using the case study of Chestnut House, a child-welfare institution located in Tokyo.

It seems no collection on Japan is complete without a reference to the nuclear age, and the final essay provides an example of protest in the shape of a cute character – Monju-kun, a cartoon character modelled after a reactor in Fukui after the 2011 Fukushima disaster. Noriko Manabe discusses how Monju-kun became a symbol of protest, subverting propaganda and disrupting silences around irradiation and the health of mothers and children. In my own oral history research, when I interviewed survivors of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, my interviewees were children themselves in 1945. Having grown up in the Taisho and Showa eras, these survivors remember their own negotiation of adulthood over a time of great tumult and disruption. As a result, I read with interest about the reflections of the scholars in this collection on how understandings of childhood and children have been imagined and exhorted within Japan over disparate time periods. Japan-ologists, historians, and those who have an interest in finding out more about childhood from an East Asian perspective will certainly benefit from reading this book. The editors achieve the cited aim of re-orienting discourse about childhood by considering new, worthwhile and important perspectives from Asia.

Gwyn McClelland
Monash University, Australia

It is, rather, relational. Specifically, scale concerns how "size interacts with the way individuals perceive and relate to space, jurisdiction, knowledge, time, networks, and management styles". Scale politics is "the fierce conflicts that emerge when policy communities operating at different levels – national, provincial, municipal, prefectural, county, and township – are forced to integrate to develop a unified regulatory system" (p. 4).

Yasuda finds in China an inability to nest differing scales inside a multilevel regulatory framework because of three perennial problems: an inability to determine the scale of the problem; persistent mismatches across scales of governance; and a lack of sensitivity to scale externalities. The real problem lies with China's domestic food supply, the largest by volume and strategically important for social stability in China. Yasuda shows how regulation and better food quality found in the export sector does not scale down, while regulation and better quality found across grass-roots sustainable food movements does not scale up for these three reasons. To make his conceptual model and policy

framework as robust as possible, Yasuda tests his findings against other industries in China (environmental protection, fishery management, and aviation safety) as well as food safety regulatory frameworks elsewhere (the European Union, India, and the United States). Yasuda's recommends the EU model as offering the best learnings and hope for China's future.

Yasuda has big ambitions for his scale politics framework. Food safety in China seems to be his first case in what is an ongoing research agenda to "unveil the root causes of the world's worst regulatory failures, and the solutions to address broken systems of governance".[2] Indeed, Yasuda sees similarities between his research in China and significant incidents elsewhere including the Fukushima meltdown, the BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill, and the Global Financial Crisis.

A research programme such as this aspires to inform and influence regulatory frameworks, governance and policy at a national or international level. Naturally, Yasuda has had to make trade-offs between presenting high-level macro analysis and findings versus revelling in detail. As an anthropologist reviewing this book, I can

only imagine the fascinating insights and stories that are contained in the presumably hundreds of pages of interview transcripts Yasuda used to build his conceptual framework.

Thus, for readers like myself who are also looking for 'thick description' surrounding the dynamics of various actors involved in food regulation in China, or for those seeking an investigation into a particular element of the political economy as it pertains to food in China, we will need to listen to Yasuda present his work – presentations I heard are bursting with fascinating stories from the field – and consult other material.

One book that can be read alongside Yasuda's is Guanqi Zhou's recently published work *The Regulatory Regime of Food Safety in China: Governance and Segmentation*.[3] Zhou discusses regulatory segmentation in China, and both he and Yasuda are in broad agreement regarding its ill effects. Yet while Yasuda briefly touches on the topic and dismisses it as a failed strategy in managing scale, Zhou builds his entire analysis around it and argues that regulatory segmentation dating back to the 1950s – when redistributive politics allowed food to be siphoned off cheaply from rural collectives to urban work-

units – is the root cause of China's food safety problems today.

Part of the appeal of Yasuda's conceptual framework is its ability to incorporate so much analytical territory. Overall, Yasuda's book will appeal to political scientists and policy analysts researching China, as well as anyone researching or working in the food industries in China. It is also an excellent teaching resource for undergraduate and graduate courses on food and governance in China.
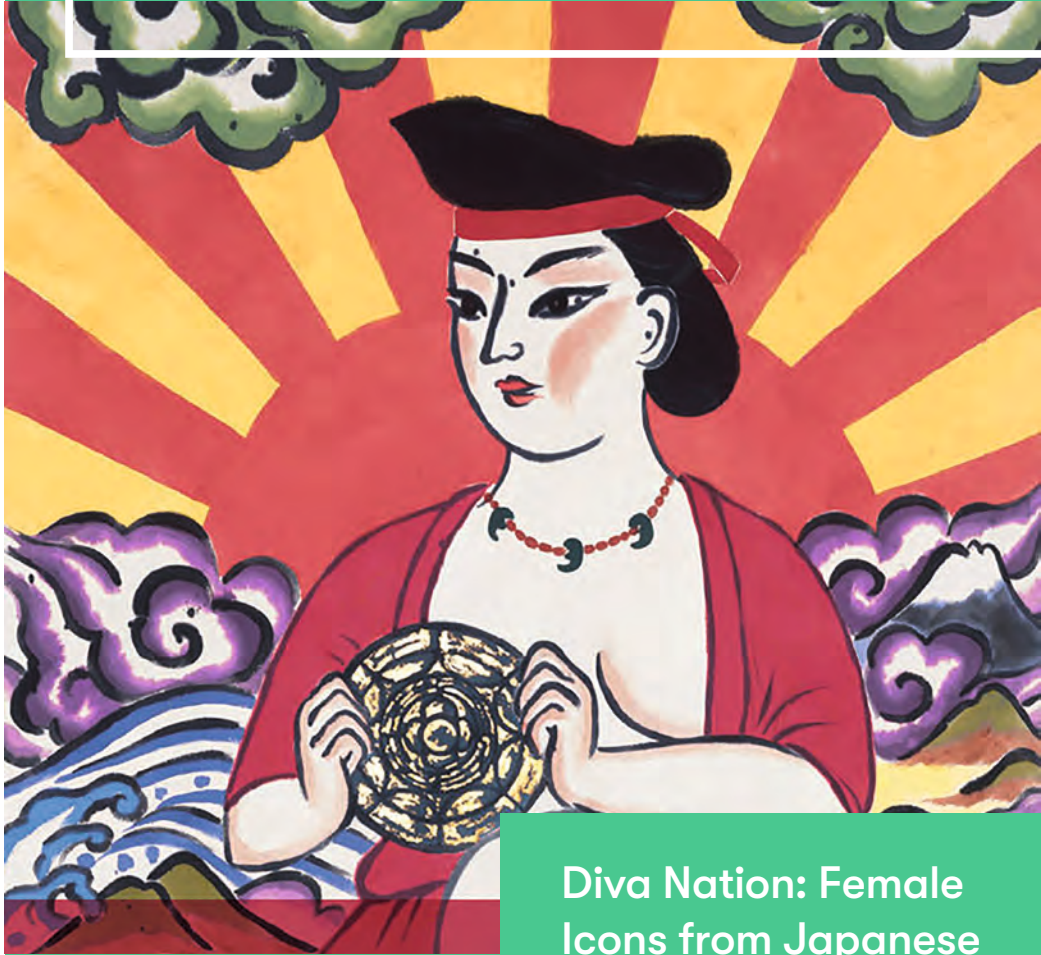
Sacha Cody Australian National University, http://sachacody.info

Notes

1 Yunxiang Yan. 2012. 'Food safety and social risk in contemporary China', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71(3):705–29.
2 See John K. Yasuda, http://www.johnkyasuda.com, accessed 2 May 2018.
3 Guanqi Zhou. 2017. *The Regulatory Regime of Food Safety in China: Governance and Segmentation*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
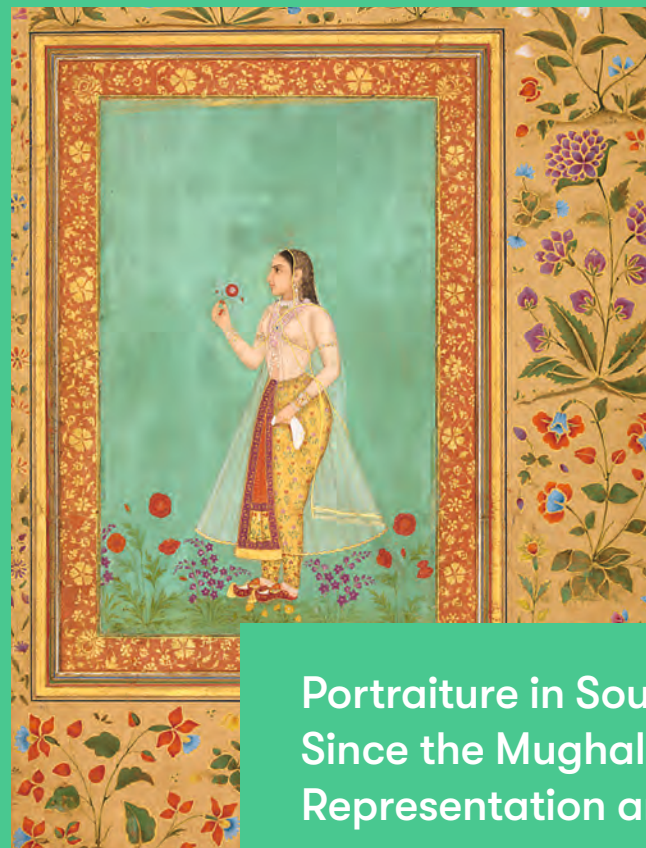
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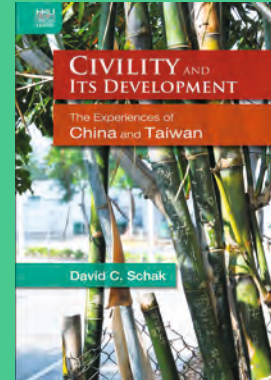
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Above:
International Panel on
Social Progress (IPSP)
Book cover (detail).

A collective and interdisciplinary analysis of social progress

Olivier Bouin and Marc Fleurbaey

The recent decades have seen a decline in world poverty and an extension of democracy in many countries around the world. Nevertheless, many people have the feeling that this has also been a period of social setbacks, and there is a general atmosphere of skepticism regarding the possibility of long-term substantial social progress, not to mention a deeper transformation overturning the prevailing social injustices.

Most intellectuals shy away not only from utopian thinking, but from any long-term prospective analysis of social structures. The crisis of social democracy after the collapse of the Soviet empire seems, in the West, to have generated a decline of hope for a just society precisely when the conditions of life of hundreds of millions of people in emerging economies (especially in Asia) have dramatically improved. These countries, however, have also abandoned the search for a different path to development: the trend is to mimic the developed countries, rather than

inventing a new model, and social hardships reminiscent of the early phase of Western capitalism are widespread in these countries.

Yet neither the collapse of illusions nor booming development in most Asian developing countries should mean the end of the quest for justice. Given their special competence, social scientists ought to think about the transformation of society, together with scholars from the humanities and the hard sciences. If hope for progress is possible, they should provide it – if it is not possible, they should explain why. Social scientists

have never been so well equipped to assume such a responsibility, thanks to the development of all the relevant disciplines since WWII. But the expansion of disciplines, their growing specialization, and the globalization of academic production have made it impossible for even the brightest mind to grasp, on its own, the complexity of social mechanisms and make serious proposals for changes in institutions and social structures. Such a task must now be collective and it must be cross-disciplinary.

International Panel on Social Progress

The IPSP (www.ipsp.org) was developed to address this task. It brought together more than 300 academics (of all relevant disciplines, perspectives, and regions of the world – including 65 from Asia) willing and able to engage in a true interdisciplinary dialogue on key dimensions of social progress. Relying on state-of-the-art scholarship, these social scientists reviewed the desirability and possibility of all relevant forms of long-term social change, explored current challenges, and synthesized their knowledge on the principles, possibilities, and methods for improving the main institutions of modern societies.

> A better society is indeed possible, its contours can be broadly described, and all we need is to gather forces toward realizing this vision

The Panel is a truly collaborative effort, in its organization as well as its multi-sourced funding. It seeks to work in a way that is true to the key values and principles underlying its mission: well-being and freedom, security and solidarity, as well as pluralism and toleration, distributive justice and equity, environmental preservation, transparency and democracy. The group has produced a three-volume report – "Rethinking Society for the 21st Century" – which covers the main socio-economic, political, and cultural dimensions of social progress, and explores the values, the opportunities and the constraints that underlie cutting-edge knowledge on possible improvements of institutions and policies. The report covers global as well as regional issues (including numerous references to Asia, Asian experience and Asian perspectives) and considers the future of different parts of the world – the diversity of challenges and their interplay.

The IPSP report seeks to gain insights into what the current main risks and challenges are, and how institutions and policies can be improved if the plagues of inequality, segregation, intolerance, exclusion and violence are to be fought. The full IPSP report is available at www.ipsp.org.

The purpose of this Focus

This Focus is written for a wider audience interested in Asia to share the message of hope of the larger report: *A better society is indeed possible, its contours can be broadly described, and all we need is to gather forces toward realizing this vision*. Although it largely relies on some part of the report, it does not seek to summarize it with all its wealth of topics. It is an invitation to take these issues to heart and to explore them more deeply with the help of the full report.

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Rethinking Asia for the 21st Century

Ravi Kanbur

Inequality and development. In China the speed of urban transformation can be seen in a single picture. As in this image on the outskirts of Jiangyin (Changzhou city, Jiangsu province) China. © Joan Cane, submitted to the IIAS photo contest 2014.

The Report of the International Panel on Social Progress (IPSP) acknowledges and celebrates the considerable progress that has been made globally along different dimensions of social progress in the three quarters of a century since WWII. But it highlights the huge challenges the world now faces in continuing this progress into the next century, warns against complacency engendered by past successes, and questions whether the mechanisms and arrangements which delivered past successes are now fit for the new purpose. The Report calls for a rethinking of society for the 21st century.

It is remarkable how well the general messages of the Report resonate with Asian experience and with Asian challenges. The Report is at pains to emphasize that the world is not homogeneous, but that nevertheless some broad themes can animate our discourse on social progress. Similarly, Asia is not homogeneous, and detail and context matter in diagnosis and design of specific policies. But some broad themes on social progress do emerge which mirror global themes.

The first and most obvious theme is the remarkable progress along different dimensions in Asia over the past several decades. Indeed, when exemplifying global progress, Asian countries are often 'exhibit A'. It took a thousand years up to 1950 for world per capita income to multiply by 15, but it took only 60 years for it to multiply by almost 4 between 1950 and 2008. The story of the big Asian economies of China and India is even more spectacular, and indeed the foundation for the global story. In 1978 China's per capita GDP was roughly twice its level in the year 1000. But thirty years later, in 2008, it was six times its value in 1978. At independence in 1947, India's per capita GDP was 20% above its value 1000 years before. During the next sixty years of independence, it increased almost five fold. Many other Asian countries fit this pattern – Malaysia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Thailand, Singapore, etc.

Of course average income is not and should not be the only yardstick of progress. But similar trends are seen for extreme poverty using the World Bank standard of $1.90 per person per day in 2011 Purchasing Power Prices. For the world as a whole poverty fell from 35% to 11% over the quarter century from 1987 to 2013. For South Asia the fall was from 48% to 15% while for East Asia it was from 58% to 4%.[1] Global life expectancy rose from 48 years in 1950 to 71 in 2013. In Asia it rose from 42 to 72 over the same period.[2] Once again, Asia is a leading example in the global story.

These successes of the past few decades could breed the seeds of Asian complacency. Why worry about the future when the recent past has seen so much progress on so many dimensions? And why the need for change? Surely if we go on doing the same we will continue to have the same successes? The same questions could be put at the global level, but they would belie the angst and anxieties felt around the world, and no less in Asia.

One cause for concern emphasized by the IPSP Report at the global level but with Asian implications, is rising inequality. It is true that income inequality *between* countries has fallen as poorer countries (mostly in Asia) have grown faster than richer ones, but inequality *within* countries has risen for many countries in the world. These include the big countries in Asia such as China and India. An Asian Development Bank Report estimated that had within-country inequality in Asian countries stayed at the same level as it was a quarter century ago, economic growth would have lifted a quarter of a billion *more* people out of poverty.[3] Spectacular as it has been, poverty reduction in Asia would have been even greater had inequality been kept in check. For the future, the forces of trade and especially technology making for greater inequality are a global phenomenon and are also playing out in Asia. The move away from basic to skilled labor and capital, contrary to the pattern of expanding demand for basic labor which was the foundation of Asian success, is now as much the reality of trends in China and India as it is in the USA and Europe.

Secondly, the IPSP Report highlights the interconnections between rising inequality within a country and lack of responsiveness of the polity and the government to the needs of the vast majority of the people. Rising inequality is also detrimental for social cohesion and thus indirectly for investment and growth. A survey of Asian policy makers found that in response to the question "How important do you think it is to have policies in place to prevent rises in inequality in order to maintain stability and sustain growth in your country", 57% said it is 'important' and 38% said it is 'very important'.[4] Thus Asia's stellar growth and poverty reduction performance in the last three decades should not lull the polity into a false sense of security. Proactive measures, tailored to local realities of course, are needed to mitigate the trend of fast rising inequality. More generally, however, responsiveness of government (or lack thereof) is the concern. The question is whether an institutional structure of governance which has paid dividends in the past decades on economic growth can be reformed rapidly enough to meet the new challenges.

A third cause for concern emphasized by the IPSP Report is environmental degradation within countries, and climate change at the global level. Of course, climate change will also have deep consequences at the country level. Asia's coastline countries are particularly vulnerable to sea level increases and to weather volatility. Rising temperatures will negatively affect agriculture closer to the Equator. More generally, air pollution deaths in Asia are the highest in the world and rising. In 2016 close to 3 million deaths in Asia could be attributed to ambient outdoor pollution of particulate matter and ozone, up from nearly 2 million in 1990.[5] Alerts and emergency measures on air pollution are now a ritual in big Asian cities, and in South-East Asia the cross-country spillover effects of forest fires in Indonesia, being burned to clear ground for plantations, are a frequent occurrence. But the consequences of Asian carbon emissions extend beyond Asia. Asian countries are a major global contributor of carbon emissions, whose effects go beyond localized air pollution to impacts of global climate change. China, India and Indonesia between them contributed 13 billon tonnes in 2014, compared to 5.6 billion tonnes for the USA.[6] Asia is part of the global problem and so has to be part of the global solution.

We come then to a fourth concern expressed in the Report, the lack of institutional innovation at the global level to address the new cross-border issues, whether they be climate change, financial contagion, refugee and migrant flows, tax shelters catering to mobile capital, and spread of infectious diseases, to name a few. The global institutional architecture still reflects the economic and power structures of 1945 rather than of 2018. The emergence of regional institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and strengthening of existing regional institutions like the Asian Development Bank, is a step in the right direction. However, these institutions can, at best, only address cross-border issues within Asia while the present conjuncture highlights that Asia cannot stand alone in addressing problems which are global but with Asian consequences. Can Asia take the responsibility commensurate with its economic weight in the world, to not only fashion and strengthen Asian institutions, but to contribute to redirecting the architecture of economic and environmental global governance?

The IPSP report ranges over a very wide set of topics in its three volumes, including socio-economic transformations; political regulation, governance, and societal transformations; and transformations in values, norms, cultures. But across this breadth of canvas emerge some core themes. If Asia is to avoid the complacency trap, even more so than the rest of the world because of the sheer impressiveness of Asia's achievements in the last few decades, Asian policy makers and populations will have to address the looming issues of equity, government responsiveness, and environmental sustainability. Only then will social progress not be stalled or even go into reverse, but stand a chance of continuing on its remarkable path of the last three quarters of a century.

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Notes

1　See chart 'Share of the population living in extreme poverty, by world region' presented in Roser, M. & Ortiz-Ospina, E. 2018. 'Global Extreme Poverty', *Our World in Data*, https://ourworldindata.org/extreme-poverty (first published in 2013, with substantive revision in March 2017), accessed 20 Aug 2018.

2　See chart 'Life expectancy globally and by world regions since 1770' presented in Roser, M. 2018. 'Life Expectancy', *Our World in Data*, retrieved from https://ourworldindata.org/life-expectancy accessed 20 Aug 2018.

3　Asian Development Bank. 2012. *Asian Development Outlook (ADO) 2012: Confronting Rising Inequality in Asia*, retrieved from https://tinyurl.com/ADO2012 accessed 20 Aug 2018.

4　Idem

5　Ritchie, H. & Roser, M. 2018. 'Air Pollution', *Our World in Data*, retrieved from https://ourworldindata.org/air-pollution, accessed 20 Aug 2018.

6　Ritchie, H. & Roser, M. 2018. 'CO₂ and other Greenhouse Gas Emissions', *Our World in Data*, retrieved from https://ourworldindata.org/co2-and-other-greenhouse-gas-emissions, accessed 20 Aug 2018.

A collective and interdisciplinary
analysis of social progress

Social justice and well-being: lessons for Asia

Hiroshi Ono

Countries strive for economic growth because they believe that it will elevate the well-being of their people. Higher income entails a higher standard of living and enhanced life satisfaction. Economic growth will lift all boats, and assures the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, so it has long been believed. Underlying the growth objective was the unquestioned assumption that income and happiness are closely related.

But it has become equally clear that economic growth can be very problematic from the viewpoint of social justice and well-being. First, higher economic growth has not necessarily led to greater happiness. For example, GDP per capita in the U.S. increased four-fold between 1945 and 2010, but happiness levels remained flat throughout the same period. This pattern, i.e. the disconnect between material and subjective well-being, was observed consistently across countries, and became known as the Easterlin Paradox.[1]

Second, and even more troublingly, economic growth in the twentieth century did not lift all boats, but increasingly favored only a select few. Without a doubt, technological innovations and efficiency gains have led to significant advances in standards of living and quality of life, *on average*. But the dispersion of progress has turned out to be extremely uneven. Inequality intensified within and between countries especially after the 1980s, as the gap widened between the haves and have-nots, and between the protected and unprotected. It was a far cry from achieving happiness for all people.

Welfare states, communist countries and happiness

The postwar period also saw the rise of the social-democratic welfare states in many developed countries. These have come closest to securing social justice and well-being for the people. By means of redistribution and universal model of social insurance, the welfare states have empowered people and reduced inequality. In contrast to the market-centered approach typically found in the U.S., the social-democratic model – evolved in the Nordic countries – is state-centered. The social-democratic welfare states, notably Norway, Sweden and Denmark, consistently rank among the happiest countries in the world. Historically, these countries have also recorded low within-country income inequality (as measured by the Gini index) in comparison to continental Europe and the U.S. The successful performance of the Scandinavian welfare states illustrates that the state can play a pivotal role in advancing social justice and well-being.

If a state-centered approach can lead to greater happiness, then what can we say about the performance of the communist or the transition economies? Were people happy under communism? Did they become happier after the transition? In the West, the conventional wisdom is that life under communism was full of misery and grief. People lived in dire conditions, under state control and with little freedom. Surely, many assumed, the transition from communism to capitalism must be a necessary condition for achieving greater well-being. Liberated from the iron grip of communism, the people would come to realize that meritocracy and market capitalism are the path to true happiness. But the experience of the transition countries diverged from expectations. Almost without exception, happiness in the post-communist economies *declined* following the transition. To be sure, life under communism was far from happy: a survey taken in the Soviet Union before the transition showed that happiness there was lower compared to their Western counterparts.

Yet, the same survey showed an even lower level of happiness after the transition. Why? The explanation is rooted in social injustice and inequality. A deep sense of injustice prevailed following the transition. People's expectations of meritocracy and the fruits of market capitalism were largely unfulfilled. Optimism was replaced by powerlessness and hopelessness; widening inequality between rich and poor instilled feelings of unfairness. Surveys taken after the transition (in the 1990s and 2000s) consistently rank the post-communist/East European countries, e.g., Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia, among the unhappiest countries in the world. Among the transition countries, it is not uncommon for the elderly to reminisce about the communist past. People had jobs, access to healthcare and education. They had a sense of social security and felt protected. As the countries transitioned out of communism, people lost their safety net to an often dysfunctional market-based substitute. Unemployment rose as jobs were no longer guaranteed. Corruption and organized crime flourished as loopholes in regulations were exploited. Unsurprisingly, the post-communist countries rank low in the 'trust index', owing to widespread corruption. In former East Germany, resentment of the present is so strong that a new expression became commonplace, *ostalgie*, a combination of *ost* meaning east and *nostalgie*. In Bulgaria, people still ponder the Stalinist past; in China, the Mao regime, and so on.

In sum, the promise of capitalism fell short in many of the transition economies. These countries continue to struggle as they transition to a more meritocratic, market-based system. The experience of the transition economies inform us that advances in well-being and social justice must be achieved through the right mix of capitalism and democracy.

What then are the lessons for Asia?

First, many Asian countries are vulnerable to a large-scale social transformation that is taking place: the weakening of family and intergenerational ties and the diminishing social support system that accompanies it. According to Esping-Andersen,[2] there are three types of social safety nets: (i) the state-centered social democratic welfare state, primarily found in Scandinavian countries, (ii) the market-centered system, as in the case of the U.S., and (iii) a family-based support system typically found in Asian countries, and in Mediterranean societies such as Spain, Italy and Greece. Under the family support system, caring for small children and older parents is conventionally resolved through the immediate or extended family, without relying on the market or the state.

But history informs us that a shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* and the transition from personal to impersonal ties is a natural part of the process of modernization. The Asian countries are not immune to this social change. Family and intergenerational ties are weakening. Take the example of Japan where women traditionally care for the children, and young adults care for their elderly parents, often times co-residing. In recent years women are more likely to take part in the labor force rather than stay at home. Young adults are now less likely to co-reside with their parents. As a result, Japan faces a dire shortage of childcare and elderly care facilities. The transformation came swiftly, and demand for care facilities far outweighs supply. The state is scrambling to increase supply but will not be able to meet the surge in demand for years to come. The shortage of childcare lowers the well-being of parents and would-be parents. Some women may even opt out of childbearing and choose to continue working, spurring the problem of low fertility and declining population in Japan. The shortage of elderly care will likewise lower the well-being of older people, as they may be forced to live alone without support. Nevertheless, Japan's case illustrates that the state must act to fill the void left by the weakening family support system, and mitigate the negative effects of modernization on well-being.

Second, and similarly, transition countries such as China, Vietnam and Cambodia must ensure that a well-functioning safety net be in place as they transition towards market capitalism. The experiences of the former Soviet states provide ample evidence that the safety net is a vital source of well-being for their citizens. The higher relative standing of the Scandinavian welfare states provide further support that a state-centered universal social insurance can be effective in improving people's happiness.

The Easterlin *et al.* study of China's transition provides important insights.[3] China exhibited a growth pattern consistent with the Easterlin paradox, and social justice and well-being fell following the transition. Between 1995 and 2004, real income in China expanded 250 percent, but life satisfaction remained low or even worsened. This decline is concurrent with rising unemployment, widening inequality and the dismantling of the state-centered social insurance. Yet, rather than prescribing a return to central planning under which life satisfaction was presumably higher, the authors instead advocate jobs, income security and a social safety net as the essential pathways to fostering higher life satisfaction. Interestingly, China appears to be embracing such a strategy, along with the policy principle that strong state intervention can shore up a country's efforts to bring about greater social justice and well-being. Other parts of the world, which seem currently to be retreating from this principle, should take note.

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Notes

1 Easterlin, R. 1974. 'Does Economic Growth Improve the Human Lot? Some Empirical Evidence', in P.A. David & M.W. Reder (eds.) *Nations and Households in Economic Growth: Essays in Honor of Moses Abramovitz.* New York: Academic Press, Inc.
2 Esping-Andersen, G. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
3 Easterlin, R.A., R. Morgan, M. Switek & Fei Wang. 2012. 'China's life satisfaction, 1990–2010', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109:9775-9780.


Getting older but still happy. Photo © Albert JR, submitted to the IIAS photo contest 2014.

Values and principles for social progress

Henry S. Richardson

Prayer tablets hanging in the Confucian temple in Pingyao.
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To comprehensively assess the social progress of some locality, nation, or the globe, how many different evaluative dimensions does one need? Nothing important should be left out. Some dimensions might potentially be reduced to other ones. Items important only as means to other ends may be dropped; for instance, economic growth is merely a means to enhancing individual welfare and security and the society's ability to secure people's basic needs and promote cultural goods. Some items may be reasonably grouped together under one rubric; for instance, avoiding hunger and promoting health might be grouped as basic needs. Together with thirteen colleagues from around the world who collaborated on the framing normative chapter of the IPSP's report, *Rethinking Society for the 21st Century*,[1] we identified and defended twenty-one values and principles irreducibly relevant to assessing social progress – coincidentally, 21 for the 21st.
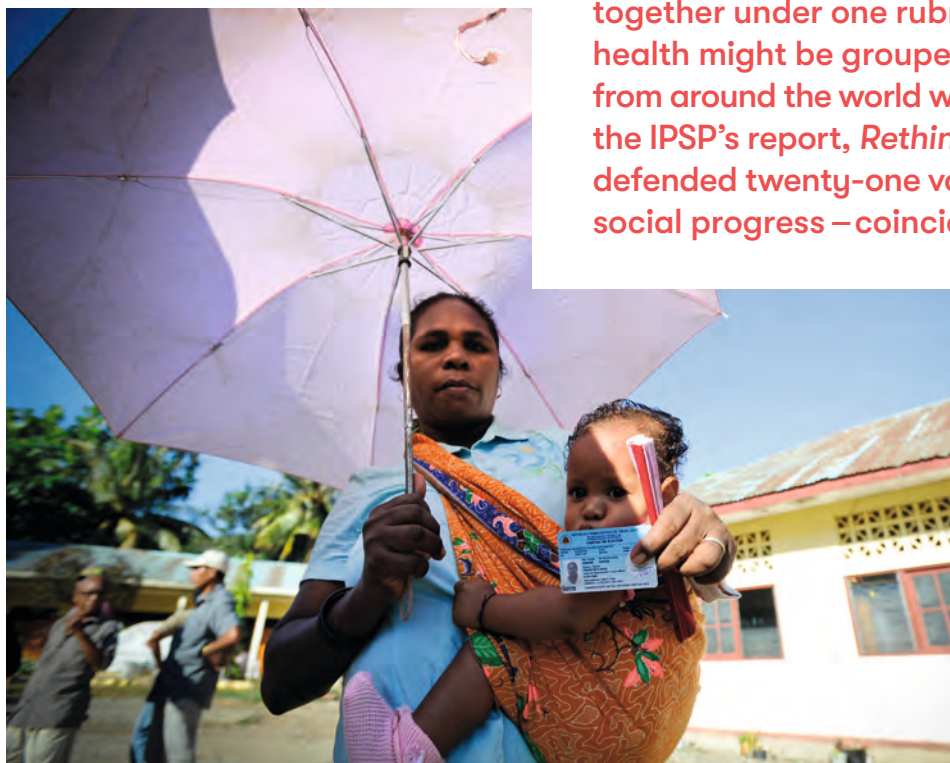
Woman Votes in Timorese Presidential Election. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of UN Photo on Flickr.

Suppose that one seeks to judge the extent to which China has made social progress between 1950 and today. To do that, it suffices to make, as best one can, a relevant assessment of Chinese society at each of these two points in time. And, as almost always happens, a society that moves forward in many respects may also move backward in some. Yet costs endured only in the intervening time raise a different issue. If some of the intervening work to achieve social progress came at great, but relatively temporary cost that does not directly affect this retrospective assessment of progress – say, because some of the gains resulted indirectly from some of the harsher abuses of the Cultural Revolution – one could aptly say, "much progress was achieved, but at considerable cost". By contrast, if one looks forward, and assesses alternative policies as pathways for making social progress, one will have reason to treat some of the expected interim costs in a different way. Suppose that laissez-faire treatment of expanding agribusiness would boost economic growth in India between now and 2030, but at the cost of severely threatening the subcontinent's already depleted supplies of groundwater, one could argue that this cost provides strong reason for taking that option off the table. To be sure, some of this cost will be felt by those alive in 2030, but it will also cause trouble for a long time afterwards.

Our diverse group of authors quickly agreed on the outlines of our approach. We would be guided by a fundamental commitment to the equal dignity of each human being and a respect for the deep pluralism, around the world, of views about values, morality, and religion. We agreed to abjure any trace of the Enlightenment faith that human society is destined to progress. We also rejected the related thought that there is some single, privileged pathway to social progress. Instead, we intended our

catalog of dimensions of social progress simply to support the kinds of retrospective evaluation and prospective policy choices described in the previous paragraph. To reflect the difference between simple evaluative dimensions and ones that register the kinds of costs that may put some options off the table, we distinguished between fundamental principles, which have this extra feature, and fundamental values, which do not. To avoid redundancy, we sought to limit ourselves to values and principles of non-derivative importance: ones whose importance cannot securely be derived from some other value or principle. In the end, we offer two orienting, cross-cutting principles, nine fundamental values, and ten fundamental principles (see fig.1). Intent on guiding those who are diving more deeply into specific social issues – including both policy-makers and other scholars – we thought it best to err on the side of including a dimension.

Why so many dimensions? Many economists will be used to admitting just two: welfare and distributive justice. Notoriously, focusing solely on maximizing total (or average) welfare is compatible with fostering unacceptable levels of economic inequality. It might be thought that once justice has been added to welfare, these two dimensions are enough. After all, the idea of welfare or well-being is quite capacious. The subjectivist approach to the idea of welfare that was dominant in economics through the middle of the last century is giving way to more substantive understandings of well-being. This shift is in no small part due to Amartya Sen's

pioneering development of the capability approach, which distinguishes multiple dimensions of well-being.[2] Taking advantage of this development, the 2009 report of the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission focused on just two main dimensions: well-being and sustainability.[3] Yet the dimension of well-being, its authors suggested, could in turn be broken down into eight sub-dimensions (material living standards, health, education, personal activities, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, environment, and security). This report did not ignore distributive justice, but made a rather strained effort to suggest that it could be accounted for under the heading of political voice and governance (as if there existed any system of governance that both gives the people a serious voice and guarantees that measures generating unjust inequalities will not be adopted!). In our chapter of the IPSP report, we instead pull out distributive justice for detailed separate treatment.

The treatment of sustainability in the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi report valuably emphasized the importance of keeping track of capital stocks, including stocks of social capital. Remember that progress is naturally judged by comparing things at two different points in time rather than by integrating all the data over a long period. Looking at capital stocks importantly adds to the time-slice information in a way that helps assess a society's resilience – the likelihood that it will withstand shocks and support future improvement.

We implicitly distinguish three different kinds of social capital, broadly understood. First, and most abstractly, it characterizes the value of *security* not as itself an element of well-being but as a contextually-assured robustness in people's enjoyment of its elements – a robustness that will withstand at least many types of misfortune. Security of this kind requires that settled practices and institutions are in place to help people when they get in trouble – with their health, for example.

Second, the dimension of *social relations* is worth recognizing as an independent dimension in part because it combines present enjoyment with a set of informal practices that embody social capital. If an innovative form of social media or an addictive new video game erodes social relations in a given society, even if the short-term effect on

people's enjoyment is a wash, the weakened social relations would undercut people's resilience in dealing with unexpected setbacks. It would tend to deprive people of support networks. For this reason, the value of good social relations is not well captured in the current well-being accounts. Additional, of course, there is a strong case for thinking of friendships and various other healthy forms of social relations, which in their nature go beyond a single individual, as being valuable for their own sakes.

Third, the dimension of *cultural goods* similarly combines intrinsic value, current enjoyment, and a significant standing as a social capital. In characterizing this dimension, we had in mind quite broadly the fruits of scientific endeavor, insights of creative and scholarly reflection, stores of memories and historical knowledge, and diverse modes of artistic and religious expression. Each of these builds up over many centuries, with innovations sometimes erasing and writing over what came before but always building on it. Because the well-being and the potential progress of future generations depend in important respects on the current generation's guardianship of this heritage, and because, again, the concept of progress suggests that we compare two time-slices, the value of cultural goods should be recognized as a distinct dimension for judging social progress. If a society achieved high well-being at the cost of neglecting all maintenance and enhancement of its cultural heritage, this neglect ought to count against its claim to having progressed.

These last two dimensions, social relations and cultural goods, come together in an interesting way in the Chinese regime's attempts to cope with the downsides of modernization. It has been widely noted over the past decade that the regime has at least been exploring the revival of Confucianism as a means of combating the normless individualism that has come from rapid industrialization and broadening capitalism and exacerbated by the one-child policy. These changes have somewhat eroded the familial ties that had traditionally been central to social relations in China. Rebuilding social relations in a way that fosters solidarity (another of our fundamental values) over individualism is no easy thing to do. A nation cannot simply import, lock, stock, and barrel, ways of living life that have worked elsewhere. The relevant types of informal social practice need to put down roots organically, a process that takes a very long time. Hence, it makes perfect sense that the Chinese regime, in seeking to combat the ill effects of excessive individualism arising from modernity, turned to an indigenously well-established set of cultural norms: the Confucian tradition,

… guided by a fundamental commitment to the equal dignity of each human being …

Dimensions for Evaluating Social Progress

Cross-cutting, orienting principles

– The principle of equal dignity
– Respect for pluralism

Basic values

– Well-being
– Freedom
– Non-alienation
– Solidarity
– Social relations
– Esteem and recognition
– Cultural Goods
– Environmental Values
– Security

Basic Principles

Of general applicability:
– Basic rights
– Distributive justice
– Beneficence and generosity

Applicable to governments:
– The rule of law
– Transparency and accountability
– Democracy
– Giving rights determinate reality

Applicable to civil society:
– Toleration
– Educating and supporting citizens

Applicable to global institutions:
– Global justice

Fig. 1

with its emphasis on filial piety and ritual propriety.[4] Whether such an effort can work in a top-down way is another matter.

Institutions may be looked at in the same light, for they cannot be set up overnight, and often need to exist for generations before they earn the trust of those who participate in them and interact with them. In introducing the distinction between values and principles, above, we focused on a moral-philosophical distinction: when looking forward, principles serve to put options off the table in a way that values do not. That is in part because principles directly indicate how some agent should or should not act, whereas values do so only via some process or principle of weighing or reasoning. Seven of our principles are framed as applying only to a specific range of human institutions: to governments, to civil society, and to global institutions. Principles are especially at home in application to institutions, for institutions are themselves constituted on the basis of rule or principles. Consider the role of the principle of the *rule of law* in characterizing the core requirements of a well-functioning legal system. Governments typically rest on constitutions, written or unwritten, that give them shape. Civil society, being so heterogeneous, is less obviously rule-constituted than either governments or the law; but civil society arguably exists only against the backdrop of a government that is at least minimally effective and that sufficiently protects basic liberties for a diversity of civil-society organizations to arise.

One of our chapter's principles, relevant to assessing a society's progress, is the principle of *democracy*: all governments should be democratic. Given the size of modern nations, democracy therein must clearly be indirect, involving the election of representatives, rather than assembling all citizens for a large meeting. Democracy is important to treating citizens as free and equal persons, which calls for giving them a role in ruling themselves. To allow citizens to do so in a way that allows them to respect one another as free and equal persons, the process should afford them an opportunity to give and to hear one another's reasons for and against alternative laws or

policies.[5] In discussing this, we emphasized that the idea of democracy has roots all around the world. For example, legislators were elected in Ashoka's India.[6] In Africa, the Oromo people of Ethiopia developed a complex democratic process involving a system of checks and balances.[7]

Relatedly, there is no uniquely preferred way to implement democracy. Different forms of democracy will be appropriate in different places. This was made vivid to me when I participated in a conference in Paro, Bhutan in 2009 on Deepening and Sustaining Democracy in Asia.[8] One point brought home to me was that the United States could be described as being stuck with Democracy 1.0, with all its faults. Given how hard it is for the U.S. to amend its constitution, we essentially cannot upgrade. Newer democracies have a chance to design democracy better, and in ways that suit their circumstances. Bhutan, being a monarchy, is by no means fully democratic; but the king, like Emperor Ashoka before him, had decided that the country should adopt democratic mechanisms. It was exciting to see how thirsty the Bhutanese organizers were for ideas about how to do democracy better. For instance, they lapped up voting theorists' state-of-the-art ideas about how to design voting processes to minimize strategic voting.

Just as there is no one privileged path to democracy, there is also no one privileged way to combine the twenty-one dimensions so as to reach an overall assessment of achieved or expected progress or decline. It will be said that weights (or more sophisticated aggregating functions) need to be applied to the dimensions in order to produce an overall score. That doing this is sometimes useful for public-relations purposes is shown by the competitive incentives generated by the Human Development Index's rankings, annually released by the U.N.D.P. But this is just one simple use of a multi-dimensional understanding of how well a society is doing. For many other purposes, it will be more important to work first to specify some or all of the dimensions more fully before doing any aggregation or assessment.

Generalizing the line of thought just suggested about the local adaptability of the idea of democracy, for some purposes it might be apt for locally appropriate specifications first to be reached before any weighting is contemplated. In addition, there are many contexts – both in policy-making and in social-scientific study – in which there is no need to attend to the full range of values and principles that would be relevant to judging a society's overall progress. Our compass chapter was intended in part to be of use to the authors of the twenty chapters that follow ours in the IPSP report, and to other humanists and social scientists working in their wake. These chapters cover a huge diversity of topics, including cities, the future of work, wars and violence, media and communications, democracy, families, health, and education. Different ones of our twenty-one values and principles will be salient in each of these distinct areas of concern. When doing scholarly work or policy assessment on one of those issues, it will be perfectly apt to select the dimensions most worthy of attention and to elaborate them, as needed, by specifying them or disaggregating them. For instance, work on assessing individual deprivation will sensibly set aside the dimensions that apply only to collective or institutional achievement and will disaggregate the basic needs so as to bring to bear more detailed data. In principle, however, all twenty-one dimensions are relevant to overall social progress if causally impacted, intentionally or not, by the actions taken or policies adopted in any arena. This is of course true of effects on well-being and distributive justice; but it is true of the other nineteen dimensions as well.

The complexity of the idea of social progress implied by the multiple dimensions needed to capture it also indicates that there is room to interpret it different ways in different places. By differently interpreting the various dimensions and differentially prioritizing them, nations may arrive at their own conceptions of progress. What is to be hoped is that, in so doing, they do not either neglect any of the twenty-one dimensions distinguished in our compass chapter and that they work out their conceptions of progress via processes that respect the equal dignity of all persons.

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Taiwan 2016 presidential election. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of Studio Incendo on Flickr.

Notes

1   Richardson, H.S. et al. 2018. 'Social Progress: a Compass', *Rethinking Society for the 21st Century: Socio-Economic Transformations, Report of the International Panel on Social Progress Vol. 1*, Ch.2, pp.41-82, Cambridge University Press; https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108399623

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5   See Richardson, H.S. 2004. Democratic Autonomy: Public Reasoning about the End of Policy, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, ch.5.

6   Sen, A. 2009. *The Idea of Justice*, Harvard University Press, pp.329-32.

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8   The proceedings of this conference were published in *Beyond the Ballot Box: Report from the Deepening and Sustaining Democracy in Asia Conference, 11-14 October 2009*, Thimpu, Bhutan: Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2010.

Wind turbines at night. Courtesy Asiastock on Adobestock.

Forest Rangers patrol the Tripa peat swamp, Aceh province, Indonesia. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of Dita Alangkara/CIFOR on Flickr.

Economic growth, social progress and planetary welfare

Purnamita Dasgupta

The call to revisit and assess how economic growth is contributing to well-being is a recurring theme and a very valid one too.[1] In the IPSP report, it sits within a specific context, namely, its role in social progress and in ensuring planetary welfare. All three are interlinked not just conceptually but also empirically, as substantial evidence garnered over this century seems to suggest. Their inter-relationship poses opportunities for win-wins as well as challenges that need to be carefully reasoned and mitigated.

Coastline pollution. Courtesy Stéphane Bidouze on Adobestock.

On one hand, improvements in life expectancy, real wages, health and poverty reduction have been positively associated with economic growth, with convincing evidence in recent decades (for instance, in the case of poverty reduction in East Asia). On the other hand, the resultant reorganisation and restructuring of economic activity under rapid economic growth, along with the abuse of power under insufficiently regulated markets, have led to increasing inequality, environmental degradation, alienation and undermining of social well-being across and within economies. This has at times led to a questioning of the role of economic growth itself in promoting sustainability and well-being.

Our collegial contribution to the IPSP report aims to move this discussion forward, assessing the conditions under which economic growth can lead to a transformation in the modern day context. A transformation that accords centrality to sustainability and sustainable development, and thus, prioritises reduction in poverty and inequality, while reconciling climate protection with economic growth. Asian economies with success stories of high economic growth (India, China) are faced with developmental challenges of high environmental degradation and the eradication of poverty in all its forms (air pollution in cities in China, India). The key objective here is to assess what are the key lessons to be learnt from past experiences, particularly with regard to large parts of the developing world, including Asia.

Economic growth through the lens of social progress

The history of debates around the relationship between economic growth and social progress is well known and possibly as old as history itself. The idea of social progress is itself a dynamic one, as it is a composite of the many changing dimensions that impact welfare. Often it is centred around a dominant narrative of achieving 'equity'.

A range of normative criteria can be used to evaluate economic growth from the perspective of social progress: what matters to society is important, as is the question of what distributive principles are to be applied in evaluating the criteria. While what matters to society can be defined in varied ways – ranging from preference satisfaction, happiness, capabilities to function,[2] status consumption to the meaning of life – the application of distributive principles to evaluate whether economic growth contributes positively to these is more complicated. Utilitarianism advocates maximizing the good (or discounted utilitarianism) while Rawlsian logic rejects this; applying egalitarian principles raises debates on geographical boundaries and intertemporal dimensions for benchmarking (in)equality; sufficientarianism has implications for where the threshold should be drawn and so on.

A specific concern, which also has implications for several economies in Asia, is the accumulating evidence that socioeconomically deprived groups and sub groups of population especially in developing countries are subjected to environmental injustice, leading to a call for specific focus on these vulnerable populations.

Economic growth from the perspective of well-being, distributive justice and planetary welfare, involves an evaluation of what it can deliver in terms of the quality of economic growth. Economic growth itself is impacted by natural, social, institutional and political capital, and distributional concerns are important to take on board for sustaining economic growth over the long run. Welfare is multidimensional and normative and encompasses values which are easily quantifiable as well as those which are not. Economic growth can impact some dimensions positively and others negatively.

It is important to recognise the links between growth and inequality here. The relationship between inequality and economic growth is relevant for understanding social progress. Addressing inequality through redistributive measures that result in tax distortions can suppress growth in terms of physical capital accumulation. On the other hand, allowing inequalities to persist negatively impacts the accumulation of human capital, especially where there are large numbers of poor; a reality for many Asian economies. Economic growth can increase wealth creation alongside the appropriation of economic rents by wealthy agents, facilitated through political changes. Similarly, technological change can enhance inequality when it favours high skill workers although it is a driver of overall economic growth. Given the reality of path dependencies in social and natural systems and the experience with irreversibilities in nature, economic and social institutions have to strive towards reducing inequalities across time and space. The global commons for instance need to be protected using principles of intergenerational justice.

Economic growth through the lens of sustainability

The issue of sustainability of economic growth, as far as depletion of natural wealth is concerned, evokes considerable consensus in the public domain and brings together varied aspects ranging from the sheer exhaustability of resources, the side effects of producing and using them (deforestation, biodiversity loss, air and water pollution, to name a few highly relevant to developing countries in Asia) to the global concerns of climate change and breaching of planetary boundaries.[3] Strong correlations have been observed at the global level between greenhouse gas emissions, economic growth and natural capital depletion. There has been a proliferation of writings in the last half a century, some according centre stage to climate change, and some more directly to fundamental concerns such as the preservation of life support systems including but not only restricted to climate change impacts.

How does limiting the overall scale of activity relate to the scary implications of climate change and for long run sustainability? The evidence here is not that straightforward as outcomes are complex, being dependent on dimensions of uncertainty in both biophysical and human systems. Differential impacts by time and spatial scale complicate matters. Conventional ways of understanding the relationship between economic systems and ecosystems are inadequate. Economic systems

and ecosystems are both complex adaptive systems with substantial uncertainties.

Yet, there is still scope to ponder about the relationship. Data indicates that while high growth phases are usually correlated with high rates of environmental degradation (air and water pollution, water scarcity, species extinction, climate change and ozone depletion), higher economic growth can be useful for generating the resources that enable the adoption of cleaner technology and willingness to invest in environment friendly R&D, policies and practises.

For resource-constrained, low and middle income economies in Asia and elsewhere, with multiple pre-existing stressors such as poverty, malnutrition, lack of basic amenities and health care services, dealing with climate change implies new demands on resources and prioritization within a sustainable development agenda. Tackling climate change has become in some sense the single most dominant paradigm for ensuring planetary welfare as evidenced through global initiatives such as the Paris Agreement, its mainstreaming into the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. In a sense, it has played a role in focusing attention of policy makers on the importance of distributional concerns from the perspective of political prudence.

It must be noted though that the fundamentals for operationalization of sustainability remain far from resolved, in spite of recent attempts to articulate these, for instance in the form of SDGs. Social progress for most economies in Asia, involves not just redistribution of an existing pool, but active engagement to improve the livelihoods of specific sections and sub-populations that suffer from multiple deprivations. This exacerbates the distribution issue, and also lends credence to the need for enlarging the size of the cake for several countries in the region. For sustainable human development, both have to go hand in hand.[4]

Enabling social progress and planetary welfare with economic growth

The evidence so far is undoubtedly in favour of furthering economic growth, in particular for regions and economies where a lack of goods and services persists. An increase in output contributes to increasing the share of those who are deprived, provided of course distribution is a high priority. Evidence also clearly indicates that the challenge lies in integrating dimensions of well-being into an economic growth agenda, and certainly not in arguing for the de-escalation of economic growth itself for Asia for instance. While reducing growth may

have an appeal at the global level, its relevance for the region is debatable.

The inadequacies of economic growth as a measure of social progress, and dissatisfaction with GDP in particular,[5] has led to the emergence of several alternative measures, including attempts to measure non-marketed aspects of well-being. The main limitations of GDP are its inability to take note of distributional aspects, changes in stocks of natural capital, household production of services and inclusion of certain activities that actually are harmful to certain dimensions of social well-being. The Social Progress Index, Green Net National Product (or extending the national accounts more generally), Measure of Economic Welfare, ecological footprints, and so on have rightly therefore become a part of today's conversations. A dashboard of indicators need to be generated and used for public policy decision making.

But this needs to be explored further. Notwithstanding which of the philosophical debates can best explain status or conspicuous consumption, from achieving societies to affluent societies to analyses based on the role of the burgeoning middle class, the reality of growing inequalities in the very same economies who aspire to eliminate multiple prevailing deprivations is alarming. Some of the larger economies in Asia today, are grappling with this reality. China and India for instance make interesting contrasts with China moving much faster on poverty eradication but with a relatively higher GINI. In Asia specifically, some countries have experienced economic growth based on their industrial sectors, while for others it has stemmed from the services sector. Both sets have gained from globalization, international trade and capital flows and the availability of technology options, although techno-logical diffusion has not happened at the expected rates always. The point to note is that most economies also put in place policies to regulate openness and guard against market failures and propagation of external shocks. There is a learning that has already taken place in terms of adopting policies to local and regional contexts.

Economic growth is thus not only good or only bad. The how we grow question has gained increasing importance in the context of concerns for good health, air and water pollution, biodiversity conservation, food

security, and social metabolism. Growth itself does not directly translate into poverty reduction, much depends on policies, institutions and public investment, while there are examples of good developmental outcomes being achieved with relatively low per capita incomes (for instance in some states in India).

Enabling institutions

Enabling institutions can do much to promote what is seen as 'socially progressive' and 'just' growth. In fact, recent experiences suggest that the symbiotic relationship between economic growth, distributive justice and planetary welfare can be strengthened for at least some economies. Evidence establishes that differences in institutional quality can explain differences in productivity in the context of Asian economies.

The introduction of market based mechanisms for mitigating climate change is a case in point. A well regulated carbon market, where revenues raised from taxes or an emissions trading scheme are utilised for policies that are targeted towards sectors and sub-populations that may suffer costs from the imposition of such policies promotes well-being in a typical developing economy context. The revenues can be used to reduce distortions in existing taxes or finance new infrastructure and social sector provisioning in health and education. The market design can promote efficiency amongst the economic agents involved, encouraging technological change and resource use efficiency. Success will depend largely on getting the political factors and governance structure right. Environmental policies in general do create winners and losers and specific policies are required to ensure that the livelihoods and consumption of poor and underpriviledged sections of society are not harmed (for instance, the consumption of energy intensive products by the poor when a carbon price is imposed).

Capitalism itself has been credited with enabling innovation, diversity and democratic institutions, when fostered by enabling institutions. In contrast, an absolute focus on the size of the cake alone or 'growth-focused capitalism' leads to increased wealth inequality, overuse of natural capital, unrestricted corporate power and too narrow a focus on material consumption. It is how we grow and not economic growth itself that matters.

> ... dissatisfaction with GDP in particular [has led to] attempts to measure non-marketed aspects of well-being.

Relevant indicators for relevant policies

A major need flagged earlier is to effectively measure social progress alongside planetary welfare. Efforts which seek to empirically take forward alternative indicators to GDP such as the wealth as welfare approach, or promote a mix of monetary and physical indicators, have for the most part been limited. Much more can be done to track and measure the dimensions of well-being that are adversely impacted by economic growth in Asia. A set of welfare indicators should be defined which allow policies to be assessed in terms of their contribution to social objectives. Such indicators would help make value judgements transparent in prioritizing action. International and national agencies could help in accumulating evidence and transferring knowledge on these and setting standards for ensuring the engagement of civil society in determining what aspects of welfare matter most for a specific population.

Given the considerable overlap between the determinants of economic growth and the markers for social progress aligning the two in policy-making could be the best way forward for ensuring planetary welfare as well. These include population stabilisation, the accumulation of human capital and education, enabling technological change, and judicious use of resource endowments. Promoting the right actors, institutions and politics such as those which facilitate collective action or enforce individual rights would also be fundamental for ensuring growth with social progress.

The challenge for policy makers is to mitigate the negative effects of economic growth while preserving the positive effects. It must be recognised that social welfare is itself a composite and the social objectives themselves have synergies and trade-offs which public policy has to be sensitive to. Policy that promotes the quality of economic growth, uses it as a means of overcoming trade-offs and mitigating conflicts among these objectives. Increasing public investment (financing investment in health, education, energy, transport through non-distortionary taxes on externalities for instance), an effective environmental policy (Pigouvian taxes for internalising social costs of natural capital depletion, direct restoration of natural capital), international cooperation (to address abusive corporate power through international standards and agreements) and redistribution policies (reduced inequality of opportunity such as inheritance taxation, reduced rent income, enhanced public investment, workplace democracy) are some ways of making more equitable and environ-mentally sustainable.

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Notes

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Solar Power Project in Thailand. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of the Asian Development Bank on Flickr.

Public health and social progress

Vivian Lin, Britta Baer
and Kate Silburn

Attention to social, economic, environmental and political determinants of health is not new. In the 19th century, scholars such as Friedrich Engels, Rudolf Virchow and others documented the relationship between ill-health, working conditions and poverty. Historically we have seen strides in population health when there are improvements in housing and working conditions and access to food. McKeown, for example, argued that population growth and declines in mortality were due to economic growth and related improvements in socioeconomic conditions, rather than specific health interventions.[1] This broad understanding of health is also recognized by the WHO Constitution of 1946 which defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease. Health is therefore strongly influenced by the broader cultural, economic, political and social environment and in turn influences the attainment of peace, security and economic, political and social development. Good population health improves productivity, sustainability and the economy, across sectors and society as a whole.

These linkages between public health and social progress have been reiterated through more recent scholarship. The WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health drew attention to the 'causes of the causes' – the social factors that determine how people grow, live, work and age – and that needed to be addressed to reduce health inequities between and within countries.[2] The social gradient of health has now been demonstrated to be fairly universal across countries and health conditions and can be mitigated through improved access to primary health care, public policy focused on the social determinants of health and targeted health and social development interventions. This understanding is echoed by many national health strategies and socioeconomic development plans of countries, which have long recognized that health and sustainable development are interlinked and interdependent.

Dramatic improvements in health and the economy

Countries in the Asia Pacific Region made remarkable progress in past decades with many experiencing rapid economic growth and impressive increases in GDP.[3] This economic progress has been particularly notable in East and Southeast Asia, where increases in health status and life expectancy generally went hand in hand with decreases in poverty and improvements in housing and education. This perspective linking poverty, economic progress and health was also core to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The MDGs were programmatic, indicator-driven, led by UN agencies and focused on priorities for which effective interventions were available for scale-up. The idealism at the time was that poverty could be eradicated through scale up of such interventions. Global

investments during the MDG era resulted in great improvements at the population level. The WHO's Western Pacific Region did particularly well,[4] reaching all but two of the health-related MDG targets and making significant progress in the remaining two.[5] For example, the prevalence of underweight among children under five decreased from 13.5% in 1990 to 2.6% in 2014. The estimated maternal mortality ratio decreased by 64% between 1990 and 2015. Malaria cases and TB incidence decreased, access to antiretroviral therapy increased for people living with HIV. Almost 100% of the population now uses an improved drinking water source, up from 71% in 1990. In the WHO South-East Asia Region,[6] progress was more nuanced, with four targets met and progress made in another six.[7] Significant achievements were for example made in the area of communicable disease control and access to safe drinking water.

These achievements set countries up well for future advances in public health and social progress.

However, a range of complex factors challenged the MDG dream – including the political economy, conflict, climate change, and social unrest. In the Western Pacific Region, much of the success in regional targets can be explained by improvements in poverty reduction and life expectancy in China. Experiences from the MDGs also pointed to problems with the approach, including limitations of stand-alone health and disease programmes working in silos, weak health systems and a 'one-size-fits-all' approach that didn't take account of local contexts. By 2015 it became clear that the world had to grapple with these more fundamental issues to achieve economically, socially and environmentally sustainable development.

The SDGs build on lessons from the past

In 2015, UN Member States adopted a new agenda for development to 2030.[8] The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) represent a new era for public health and social progress. They recognize that today's health and development challenges are complex and interlinked. The SDG paradigm addresses past problems with programme specific interventions in health and adopts a 'social determinants of health' framework. Reflecting this, there are 17 goals and while Goal 3 focuses on health and well-being for all, core health issues can be found in other goals. Health influences and is influenced by all SDGs. Moreover, the 2030 agenda is at its core ambitious and does not shy away from 'wicked' problems, but rather embraces their complexity, requiring intersectoral partnerships for action. This is timely given the realities of public health and social progress in countries of the Western Pacific Region.

Stark inequities persist in health and access to care in countries of the Region. Up to half the population in some countries are missing out on essential health services. More deaths of children under 5 occur in poorer or remote households. Populations most affected by HIV are disproportionately in need of testing and treatment. Chronic rural–urban inequities persist in, for instance, access to safe drinking water and sanitation. These inequities are often exacerbated by rapid urbanization and environmental degradation. Even where MDG targets were achieved at the population level, not all groups benefitted equally. Income inequality increased in some countries despite economic growth. Up to 60% of people living in some countries of the Western Pacific Region lack coverage with essential health services, and many households report spending more than 10% of their income on health services, leading to financial hardship.[9] In South-East Asia, over 800 million people do not have full coverage with essential services, and at least 65 million people are pushed into extreme poverty by costs for health care.[10] These and other shortfalls point to need for interventions at a service delivery level, at a community and public policy level and the importance of connecting the local and the global.

Leave no-one behind

Attention to equity in health is central to the principle of leaving no-one behind at the heart of universal health coverage (UHC). Translating this commitment into policy and programme priorities requires working in different ways, including collaboratively across government, with stakeholders beyond government and with affected communities, to both address the social determinants of health equity and to establish systems and service delivery models that are integrated, people centred and equitable. It also means stronger leadership to improve governance at different levels of the system to deliver UHC policies and strategies. The WHO regional framework on "Universal Health Coverage: Moving Towards Better Health", provides a broad foundation for a comprehensive, whole-of-system approach to health and development.[11] UHC is a specific target of the SDG agenda as well as a platform bringing together disparate health and development efforts and for achieving equitable and sustainable health outcomes.

More broadly, the SDGs recognize that in this increasingly complex world new approaches are required to work across sectors, stakeholders and borders to leave no-one behind. Partnerships between health and other sectors can result in multiple benefits. For example, tackling air pollution, a growing challenge in the Region, is a shared interest for both the health and environment sectors. Similarly, promoting healthy diet for children, a public health priority in the Republic of Korea, relies on collaboration between three Ministries and local government and this multi-sectoral approach has led to co-benefits across sectors and for children's health and well-being.

Applying lessons from health in all policies for improved impact

The interplay between multiple social, economic, environmental and political factors, coupled with the rapid pace of change in the Western Pacific Region, highlights the importance of identifying critical junctures where action can be most effective. The opportunity to promote action on the social determinants of health through implementing health in all policies (HiAP) – working across sectors for mutual gain, including in improving population health – has never been better. HiAP is not a new concept, and there is a long history globally as well as many useful lessons that policy-makers can draw on.[12] For example, Thailand is a well-known and comparatively mature example of HiAP, with its National Health Assembly providing a platform for participatory governance, citizen engagement and intersectoral collaboration. In China, Healthy China 2030 frames health as a whole of government priority, with the involvement of over 20 ministries as well as local governments, private institutions and social groups. It is informed by continuous monitoring, experimentation and development to reach "a prosperous society, fulfil the SDGs and modernize society".

Not only do we have significant evidence that such approaches work for health and provide co-benefits for other sectors, we know that the most pressing health challenges can only be addressed if we develop a different kind of approach involving a wide range of partners. For example, the Asia Pacific Parliamentarians Forum on Global Health provides a mechanism to engage directly with parliamentarians to exchange ideas, build political support, strengthen capacities, and foster collaboration in driving sustainable action for health. It is a key component of WHO's long-term strategy to support Member States in the Western Pacific Region to strengthen legal frameworks in the SDGs through whole-of-government approaches.

The SDGs not only aim for mobilizing a wide range of different players, they also stress the importance of taking action at multiple levels of governance. For example, urban health offers opportunities for bringing different government sectors together under a shared vision at the local level.[13] The Western Pacific Region has a long history of promoting healthy cities to create co-benefits between health and other city policies. The important role of cities and communities was reiterated in 2016 by the Shanghai Consensus on Healthy Cities.

Other major priorities for the Region – such as addressing antimicrobial resistance (AMR) and climate change – require action across borders. For example, the Biregional Technical Consultation on Antimicrobial Resistance in Asia and the resulting Tokyo Communique (2016) stressed the importance of tackling AMR as a development issue through systems strengthening and effective national, regional and global governance mechanisms for multi-sectoral collaboration.[14] Similarly, the SDGs and agreements, such as the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Manila Declaration on Health and the Environment (2016), provide leverage points to prioritize actions that produce co-benefits for health and the environment and ensure health as a resource for future generations. This means stronger leadership to improve governance at different levels of the system to deliver policies and strategies across sectors and borders.

Monitoring progress – early lessons from the global level

One of the successes of the MDGs was the consensus on clearly defined targets and goals that could be monitored at local, provincial, national, regional and global levels, with clear divisions of responsibility. The SDGs similarly underline the importance of timely, high-quality data, translating information into policy and action and using it to assess progress and guide planning. At the global level, the High-level Political Forum (HLPF) under the auspices of the UN Economic and Social Council, is a central platform for annual follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda.

Between 2016 and 2019, 14 Western Pacific Region Member States completed or committed to participate in voluntary national reviews feeding into the UN HLPF.[15] Despite the diverse approaches adopted by different countries some common lessons have emerged, including the importance of building on existing policies and structures and fostering strong partnerships across sectors and with stakeholders. Common challenges pertain to achieving policy coherence and implementing whole-of-government approaches. Improving capacities for coordination across sectors and monitoring complex and dynamic trends are shared priorities across countries. Several reviews also emphasise the need to build institutional capacity of local governments who are at the forefront of implementation of many goals.

Monitoring for improved impact on the ground

While the SDGs have provided countries with a new shared global goal, one of the defining characteristics of the 2030 agenda is its emphasis on country ownership and country impact. Early experiences in countries underline the alignment of laws, policies and plans with the SDGs, supported by localised monitoring and financing mechanisms. At least 15 Member States have incorporated the SDGs into their national development plans. The processes of SDG localisation are as much characterised by commonalities across countries and country specificities. For example, in Cambodia, SDG localisation was led by the Ministry of Planning using existing national technical working group mechanisms. Targets and indicators were selected through a multi-partner process and financing and monitoring strategies for advancing these goals and targets were identified. Multiple Cambodian policies and strategies incorporate a focus on the SDGs. In the Philippines, a focus was placed on translating the SDGs into actionable goals and targets under the Philippines Development Plan (2017-2022). SDG 3 falls under the second pillar of the plan on "inequality reducing transformation", and more specifically in relation to accelerating human capital development in recognition that better human development outcomes are attained by reducing inequalities in the Filipinos' ability to stay healthy and continue learning throughout their lives.

More fundamentally, there is a need for more granular monitoring to identify where to focus attention, in what order to tackle public health and social progress questions, where to invest resources, and how to determine what will make a difference. This provides an opportunity for academics and civil society to engage in analysis of what is happening and to draw out the lessons learned for improved country impact. While there has long been evidence of the importance of the social determinants of health, many questions remain about the effectiveness of interventions and their adaptation to different contexts and advancing the SDGs requires understanding what interventions will be effective under what conditions. In addition to intervention and implementation research, better linkages across disciplines and between information systems across sectors will be required. Recent reports on monitoring and evaluation of UHC and the SDGs in the Western Pacific and South-East Asia regions acknowledge the need to expand our understanding of monitoring public health and social progress, including by improving collection, analysis and use of equity indicators, applying a more sophisticated understanding of social determinants and their interactions and building system capacity for equity analysis.[16]

Way forward for health and other sectors

If the 2030 Agenda is to be realised, synergies enabled through whole of government, whole of society action will need to be maximised. To this end and in response to requests by Member States, the WHO Regional Office for the Western Pacific developed the Regional Action Agenda on Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals in the Western Pacific in 2016.[17] This agenda identifies 12 action domains across four guiding questions – on monitoring and evaluation, policy and programme priorities for leaving no one behind, implementation options and health sector capabilities. While this agenda focuses on the health sector, each sector will need to reflect on and develop capabilities to address similar questions. For example, how will monitoring frameworks be revised so to enable collection of data useful for informing action and tracking progress across the SDGs, and in particular for equity focused monitoring and evaluation? How will equity issues be addressed and how can public financing be most effectively utilised for health and social equity? How can enabling conditions and institutional arrangements be structured to maximise conditions for realisation of win-wins through intersectoral action and how can communities and civil society organisations be better engaged to inform development priorities and actions? How can we develop the institutional, workforce and research capacities for these new ways of working?

Conclusions

The SDGs place renewed demands on Member States, on WHO and partners in the Asia Pacific Region. Finding entry points for change is not always easy. Lessons from the social determinants of health and HiAP fields can be adapted and expanded to address the SDGs, and vice versa. This challenges us to look beyond the narrow target that we may be focused on to the broader development challenges that we can only move forward collectively. Reorienting our health systems to better respond to the changing economic, political, demographic and environmental realities in the Region, through timely policies and better coordination and collaboration across sectors without leaving anyone behind, is at the core of progressing the development agenda. The strength of the SDG framework – and arguably its greatest challenge – lies in its emphasis on a different way of thinking and working on public health and social progress.

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> ... health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease.

Notes

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Classroom, Chennai, India. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of UK Department for International Development on Flickr.

Sustainable social progress begins with education: current perspectives on the Asia region

Suman Verma

**Education has been recognized as a fundamental human right.
The transformative power of education is widely acknowledged as a means
for people to realize their capabilities and move towards social progress.
In the year 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) prioritized the
completion of a primary school cycle. Based on the success of the MDGs,
in 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reiterated that
education is not only an end in itself but also a means to achieving the
2030 global agenda. The premise is that societal sustainable development
and social progress is only possible through comprehensive cross-sector
efforts that begin with education.**

The education chapter in the IPSP report highlights how educational opportunities and achievement lead to social progress.[1] The authors examine multiple perspectives and goals of education (economic, civic, humanistic, and equity promotion) including educational governance, institutions, facilitators and barriers, curriculum and pedagogy. Key recommendations include educational governance reforms that are sensitive to the institutional, political, cultural, and social contexts; facilitate transnational processes of communication on evidence-based research connected to societal progress; and professionalization of educators and educational institutions. Since educational institutions have an important role to play in social progress, access to quality education from early childhood years must be assured to all, without any discrimination. The education content and pedagogy is the main shaper of the schooling experiences that have implications for lifelong learning, value formation, a sense of peace and justice, constructing citizenship and civic responsibilities, well-being and preparing for productive adult roles for societal development. Pedagogy has the potential to uphold rights, address complex issues related to equity, peace and justice, and encourage critical thought processes in a culturally sensitive framework. Therefore, curricular reform is required to balance core subjects with new 21st century skills required for the future generation.

In this article I briefly examine some of the recommendations with a special focus on the Asian region along with the recent shifts in the strategic perspectives of the local governments with regard to achieving inclusive quality education for all.

The Asia region: diverse demographic patterns

Countries in Asia have seen widening income disparities. This geographically diverse region is home to close to 60% of the world's population with socio-economic, cultural, and political realities that reflect on the current state of education in many of the Asian countries. The latest United Nations SDG report on the Asia-Pacific,[2] reports that implementation across the SDGs needs to be scaled up substantially, namely on reducing inequalities and on promoting peaceful societies, access to justice and strong institutions. The region has made good progress on eradicating poverty (Goal 1) and promoting good health and well-being (Goal 3), and is on target to ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all by 2030 (Goal 4), provided the existing momentum continues. Efforts to widen the access to pre-primary education and strengthen the quality of teacher training have been particularly successful. However, regional variations persist.

South-East Asia has already achieved the level of quality education (SDG 4) required by 2030 and North and Central Asia are also progressing apace towards this goal. East and the North-East Asia sub-region show that the largest SDG 4 progress gaps exist in reducing gender-related educational inequalities. Progress is slower in South and South-West Asia which is below the regional average in gender equality and access to quality education.[3] South Asia also lags behind on many human development indicators. Many countries in South Asia are fraught with low literacy rates and life expectancy. There are an estimated 11.3 million primary and 20.6 million lower secondary out-of-school (OOS) children in South Asia.[4]

The situation is further aggravated in many low- and middle income countries (LMICs) in Asia with inequalities in access to basic education, low resource allocation in support of quality education, and socio-cultural factors that fail to fulfill the education rights of children, especially girls. There exists an urgent need to address the persisting challenges of OOS children and learning along with early childhood development and gender equity through primary and secondary education and alternative learning pathways. Education policies that promote equity and support disadvantaged students in achieving better academic outcomes need more effective implementation.

Key educational issues in the Asia region

The nature of educational concerns varies across the countries depending upon specific priorities and needs in each country. The reasons are compelling, ranging from economic to geographical to socio-cultural factors such as poverty, lack of resources, social exclusion, inequity, urban-rural divide, lack of adequate education programs, gender disparities, and repressive cultural practices like child marriage that make the picture look bleaker, especially for the OOS children in the region. Enrollment in formal schooling system does not guarantee that learning needs are met. Recent achievement tests show an alarming percent of students who have been in the school for three or more years who still have not mastered the basic skills of reading and writing.

Some of the most pressing issues concern the following:
- provision and access to inclusive quality education services with particular reference to the needs of the marginalized and disadvantaged groups;
- active involvement of the community in the ownership of schools and training institutions;
- greater attention to the role of teachers as agents for educational progress and social change;
- effective use of information and communication technologies in schools;
- updating of the curriculum and pedagogy;
- paying greater attention to the needs of youth by providing quality skill training, relevant and diverse secondary education, since this is a key factor for social and economic development; and
- expansion of higher education with improved vocational and educational training facilities.

As reiterated in the IPSP report, the education curriculum is a key driver for the development of lifelong perspectives among students on issues related to peace, justice, and citizenship among others. A recent UNESCO MGIEP report (2017) on *Rethinking Schooling for the 21st Century* reviews the extent to which concepts and competencies associated with SDG (Goal 4.7) are mainstreamed in education policies and curricula in 22 countries across Asia.[5] Against the backdrop of the political, economic and cultural contexts in Asia, this report provides the state of education for peace, sustainable development and global citizenship across schools. Key findings suggest:
(i) a greater focus on the instrumental role of education in developing national identity and human resources with concepts associated with gender equality, peace, and global citizenship primarily absent from education policy as well as curricular;
(ii) a greater focus on skills and competencies that tend to ensure a flow of human resources for enhancing economic competitiveness such as critical thinking, problem-solving, empathy;
(iii) a need to promote a participatory model of curriculum development; and
(iv) a need to rethink the fundamental priorities of education policy and reassess international emphasis on monitoring and measuring educational outcomes.

Emerging positive trends

The advocacy with the Education for All (EFA), MDGs, and now the SDGs has led to a proliferation of legislation, programs and projects resulting in an increase in resource allocation to education in many Asian countries. Despite these initiatives universal primary education continues to remain elusive even in countries with high participation rates. The gender gap in literacy persists in favor of males. However, despite these challenges, all countries in the Asia region are investing in sustainable human development, justice and equity in all respects with a greater focus on investing in education quality, effectiveness and relevance of education and schooling. The reform is receiving attention from governments in the region.

There is a shift in focus from schooling to learning. The need is recognized that all learning needs must be accompanied

by alternative, tailor-made, non-formal learning methods. This has resulted in some countries (Indonesia, India, the Philippines) experimenting with systems in which participants of non-formal programs are allowed to cross laterally into the formal system. And as the non-formal sector becomes more formalized, conversely the formal sector is becoming more informal or less rigid by adopting mother tongues in the first few years or incorporating an eight week pre-school package at the start of the primary cycle as in the Philippines.[6]

The drive towards universal primary education in Asia has tended to favor quantity or expanded access. However, in the long run this has not translated into more educated students. As evident from many countries in South Asia, there is low participation and attendance when school is perceived to be of little relevance or quality. Paradoxically, improving quality also enhances quantity; providing trained and motivated teachers, adequate learning materials, and most of all curricular content that meets the needs and aspirations of the local communities is the best way to guarantee expanded and sustained school attendance.[7]

Across the Asia region, governments are aware that education reforms face multiple challenges that require long-term vision, political will and ability to innovate, and the financial resources to support the implementation of effective education policies. Policy makers need to have easy access to evidence on the impact of policies and programs designed to improve education outcomes. The Global Monitoring Report 2016 includes studies assessing the impact of 216 programs implemented across 52 low-and middle-income countries (LMICs).[8] It moves beyond examining whether a program works or not by examining multiple factors that influence the effectiveness of education programs, and by getting into the details of the program operations it offers many valuable lessons for all those who are working in the education sector across the world.

From the perspective of the Asia region, which has the huge challenge of making education a real pathway for social progress for its entire people, we need critical insights on the effectiveness of structured pedagogic programs, additional instructional time, remedial education and community engagement. This review of programs provides evidence on the effects of a range of education interventions in LMICs.[9] Analyses of the effectiveness of these interventions in improving children's enrolment, attendance, completion and learning outcomes in primary and secondary school reveal interesting results. The results provide important findings to inform future programs. These results demonstrate that programs can improve school participation and learning outcomes in LMICs. Programs typically improve either school participation or learning outcomes, but not both. The exceptions are community-based monitoring, school-feeding and multi-component interventions. The evidence suggests these interventions have improved both school participation and learning outcomes in some contexts, although more evidence is needed to confirm this finding. There is strong and consistent evidence that cash transfer programs have relatively large positive effects on school participation outcomes, while structured pedagogy programs have the largest and most consistent positive effects on learning outcomes. Children face multiple barriers to school participation and learning. Educational programs may be more effective if the design is informed by an analysis of the main barriers to improved outcomes in a particular context, including the capacity of other parts of the school system closely linked to an intervention. Such analysis will allow new programs to target the main constraints and therefore achieve better outcomes. We need more studies of programs that target teachers, studies that use more rigorous designs to assess the effects of intervention, target different sub-group or populations, as well as studies of process, implementation and costs.

The pursuit of sustainable development and environmental conservation policies, objectives and targets requires the public

Doing his homework. Photo taken in Kolkata, India © Ashok Nath Dey, submitted to the IIAS photo contest 2014.

to be sufficiently sensitized about the multiple dimensions of environment and development. A major concern for education across Asia is environment education. Its pursuit in schools is a relatively new phenomenon. In the context of global warming and climate change, Asia's late industrial growth presents a major challenge to education. Example of Bhutan is inspiring wherein working in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education, the Environment Education Program has developed an extensive network of Nature Clubs. In addition to being a focal point for environmental awareness among school and college students, the Nature Clubs engage local communities in a number of practical conservation activities, including studying and promoting solutions to local environmental issues.[10]

As the national governments work on strategies for meeting the SDG 4 and targets by 2030, the need is there for increased use of evidence when deciding on education investments. To ensure inclusive and equitable access to quality education for all, we need to work both on generating and using more and better evidence.

Concluding comments

Moving towards the goal of sustainability requires fundamental changes in human attitudes and behavior. Progress in this direction is thus critically dependent on education and public awareness. The key to sustainable, self-reliant development is education – education that reaches out to all members of society through new modalities and new technologies in order to provide genuine lifelong learning opportunities for all. Therefore for social progress, all countries need to reshape education so as to promote economic, civic, humanistic, and equity promotion goals conducive to a culture of sustainability. Promoting sustainable development, whose close interrelationship with democracy and peace is increasingly recognized, is one of the key challenges of our time; and education in all its forms is vital to addressing it successfully.

Reorienting education to sustainability requires recognizing that traditional compartments and categories can no longer remain in isolation from each other and that we must work increasingly at the interface of disciplines in order to address the complex

problems of today's world. This is true both within education, where interdisciplinarity is slowly and with difficulty gaining ground, and between the spheres of education, work and leisure as lifelong learning emerges as a key concept for planning and developing democratic educational systems. It is also true as concerns the most important boundary of all: that separating those included in education systems from those who are excluded from them.

In the Asia region, in spite of the considerable progress that has been made, there are still enormous barriers to reorientation of formal education to sustainability, barriers that cannot be addressed by the efforts of individual teachers or even schools, no matter how committed they might be. Effectively overcoming such barriers requires commitment by society as a whole to sustainable development and social progress. Such commitment would involve facilitating democratic processes that include all of society's stakeholders to work collaboratively and in partnership, including industry, business, grassroots organizations and members of the public, to develop policies and processes which integrate social, economic, cultural, and political goals. A socially progressive society will be one in which all aspects of civic and personal life are compatible with sustainable development and all government departments work together to advance such a society towards progress. The role of formal education in building society is to help students to determine what is best to conserve in their cultural, economic and natural heritage and to nurture values and strategies for attaining sustainability in their local communities while contributing at the same time to national and global goals.

Another major area of structural reform is the development of new ways to assess the processes and outcomes of learning. Such reform may be inspired by what people want from their educational system, as well as what society needs. Learning needs to be seen as a life-wide process that empowers people to live useful and productive lives. The reorientation of education along these lines – and in anticipation to the extent possible of future needs – is fundamental for sustainable development, including its ultimate objective not only of human survival but especially of human well-being and happiness. Similarly, there also needs to be a revamping of

the methods of credentialing students. The various ways in which students are judged (testing, report cards, evaluations) and the basis for awarding diplomas at all levels need to reflect the reformulation of outcomes of learning towards sustainability. The competency based assessment in education in Bhutan demonstrates how if education is to be of any relevance and importance to learners of this century, which demands a workforce with diverse skills and competencies, conventional assessment practices must be replaced by competency-based assessment, so that learners are prepared to face globalized opportunities and challenges.[11]

Given that scarce resources are a political reality, better data are essential to target those resources towards the most severe problems and towards context-relevant interventions that have been shown to be effective. There is pressing need for better data on specific barriers that confront marginalized children. These include more rapid and flexible assessment of the needs of children caught up in fast-moving conflicts and greater disaggregation of data to see how gender discrimination shapes school attendance and performance. We need close scrutiny of the ways in which child labor and non-attendance reinforce each other and how the language children use at home can become the language they use at school. Finally, we need a concerted and global effort to ensure comparable and standardized definition of disability, based on social rather than medical models, to end the 'invisibility' of children with disability in the data and classroom.[12] Local governments, schools, and communities have a crucial role to play in identifying and providing coordinated support to OOSC and those at high risk of dropping out. Measures to ensure inclusion and address the specific barriers to children's schooling through the reforms of education systems can only succeed when matched by democratic measures to address wider disadvantage and to smooth out inequities linked to income poverty, gender, ethnicity, language, geographic location and disability.

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Notes

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Rohingya Camp in Cox's Bazar. Reproduced under a CC license courtesy of Mohammad Tauheed on Flickr.

Religion and social flourishing in Asia

Samia Huq

The existence of multiple religions and expressions of faith make Asia a colourful and complex religio-cultural entity. Asia Pacific is the world region with the most religious diversity.[1] Its breadth of religious forms is matched by an expansive geographical landmass. Accompanying the territorial stretch are the histories of communities, travel, exchanges, the struggles for independence from colonialism, and more recently the economic growth and possibilities that shape the contours of this continent. Considering the wide array of issues, and for the purposes of brevity, I will restrict my discussion to a few exemplary events that are entangled with social progress in a way that brings to the forefront the relationship between religion and individual and societal flourishing.[2]

Religion is ever changing; it lives in everyday life and is so embroiled in state, national and transnational politics that the 'religious' cannot be parsed out from the 'secular' in any meaningful manner. These imbrications do not suggest that the religious and the secular are indistinguishable, but rather that both are products of (state) regulation that produces what we understand to be in the realm of the religious and the secular.[3] Thus when an event explodes as religious, there are many kinds of energies that fuel it, inciting different reactions from actors who are inspired by faith, as well as those who are not. Each event, thus, has different roots, different affective attachments and different kinds of solutions brought to it.

In 2017, the 'secular' Bangladesh government lowered the minimum age of marriage for girls from 18 to 16, supposedly to save girls who choose to marry early from the disrepute caused by elopement.[4] Much of the ensuing uproar alleged that the government was pandering to Islamist forces, thereby allowing a Muslim majoritarianism to rise in an otherwise self-avowed secular country.[5] Religious majoritarianism is not unique to Asia, however, the way in which it feeds into gender politics is quite unique to certain parts of Asia where domestic decisions are governed by religious law. Colonialism, which coded personal laws, left a legacy of ossified edicts that continue to pass in religion's name. The legitimacy or the lack thereof to the idea of 'child marriage', is thus linked to the validity of colonial/religious laws on the one hand and the effects of the politics of legal formulation and reformulation on the lives of young

Muslim adolescent girls, on the other. Studies show that practices of child marriage, more prevalent in Asia (and parts of Africa) than other places, causes an education-lag for women, thereby stifling their decision-making and political potential, and increasing poverty through frequent child birth, poor reproductive practices and bad health in general. While many kinds of religious norms have a bearing on early marriage, Muslim customs have a special relevance given the fact that family laws enfold all decisions and negotiations related to marriage. The resulting tenacity of norms that promote early marriage, thus, require various levels of intervention, including those that speak to religious/Muslim family law, social practices and customs that operate on a certain authority as 'religious'.[6] This, however, is no easy task; bringing changes to family laws, especially on women's issues, touch the nerves of too many people, with too many histories.

Another recent case in India, involving legal reform to ban the Muslim triple Talaq (divorce after the triple pronouncement of divorce by the husband) bears testimony to the politics, in this case of a Hindu majoritarianism, that legal reform carries in its wings.[7] However, just as secular and religious forces globally are active in reducing human suffering and promoting human rights and (gender) justice vis a vis early marriage, there are also groups in Asia who work on bringing about changes in religious, family law. Notable amongst these are Majlis in India,[8] and Musawah[9] in Malaysia. However, their encroachment into the 'religious' realm also means that many obstacles are placed in their way, ranging from objections from conservative

religious groups, state forces and post-colonial critics who feel that attempts to change religion (even if through religious law) reeks of colonial practices and privileges a top-down approach to change, that seldom serves the target population effectively.[10] Such attempts to change 'religious' ideas are thus labelled as 'modernist' and are consequently discredited as privileging modern notions of the individual good over more traditional ideas of individuals in collectivities. Groups such as Musawah disavow the allegations to argue that their claims are very much grounded in the everyday realities of women for whom religious customs and laws exert tenacious pressures that are difficult to overcome without a concerted effort. Groups such as Musawah argue that their work constitutes that very effort.[11]

In situations of more pronounced conflict religion intersects with identity politics even more intensely, giving rise to debates around citizenship, and causing displacement and even genocide. Violence entwined with religion is neither exclusively an Asian phenomenon, nor unique to any religion in particular. In fact, the symbolic or physical deployment of violence has been present in all religions and across many historical periods. A recent case in point is the plight of the Rohingya, where over resources and power are deeply intertwined with conflicts over power and identity, leading to the forced displacement of very large numbers of Muslim Rohingya.[12] This crisis of citizenship is rooted in partition realities after the British left the Indian subcontinent, in the military who has systematically privileged a Burman nationalism, in the failed post-colonial attempt at democracy, and in the country's economic interests as it opens its doors to the external world. In addition to the existing humanitarian crisis, it is feared that one of the fall outs of Myanmar's tyranny against the Rohingya could be the intensification of groups such as Arsa, with their increased links to other transnational groups such as Al-Qaida and ISIS.[13]

Religion's use of violence to resist state encroachment spans across Asia, from the Middle East to China. Much of this violence, which causes ethno-religious marginalization, can also be attributed to deep-rooted cultural clefts. In 2015 in Aceh Indonesia, Muslim opponents threatened to burn down churches, which they alleged were operating without permits, resulting in the shutting down of many churches. While incidents such as these are fuelled by Islamist politics, there are also deeper cultural clefts once fostered by colonial processes that still plague the imaginary of religious communities. In Indonesia, Dutch officials wielded their secular authority to demarcate areas according to religion. Therefore, the presence of churches outside their 'appropriate location' incites a sense of righteous indignation.

In many of these places, 'religious' violence is entangled with questions of religious diversity and rights to religious freedom. Studies suggest that in addition to colonial legacies and enduring cultural clefts, the modalities of dispensing religious freedom are also important for an assessment of how 'religious' violence is incited under modern-day conditions, much of which is framed by the self-professed values of a secular modernity. Whether in India or Egypt, modalities and legalities around religious diversity and freedoms are political questions, not only because of the law's failure in becoming partisan to religious politics, but through the manner in which the law has thrived through the legal discourse of secularism. Scholars have argued that the destruction of the Babri Masjid mosque in India, because it stood on the Hindu God Ram's birthplace, served the Hindu right through secular tenets of tolerance and right to religious freedom.[14] Others also argue that religious majoritarianism is not carried forward by the religious right exclusively, but in how they are placed either within secular law or in political systems governed by autocratic regimes.[15] In explaining the conflicts between Coptic Christians and Muslims in Egypt, Saba Mahmood writes, "secular governance has contributed to the exacerbation of religious tensions ... hardening interfaith boundaries and polarizing religious differences".

Digging through many layers of political and cultural history to ascertain the role that religion, politics, and violence play for social progress in Asia, may be discouraging,

however, there are on-the-ground initiatives where faith-inspired actors engage actively for social change and progress. Much of this work involves attempting to advance development goals as well as through inter-faith dialogue and religious peacebuilding. Some notable organizations in Asia engaged in religious peacebuilding are Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute Foundation,[16] CARITAS, World Vision and the Mennonite Christian Commission. In the Middle East, where religious values have exacerbated political and territorial conflicts, there are attempts to mobilize religious values to broker peace by groups such as the Iraq Inter-Religious Congress, Jerusalem Peacemakers, the Mosque Protection Committee in Palestine and Oz'V Shalom/Netovot Shalom in Israel. Many of these groups argue for 'religiorelative' values over 'religiocentric' ones.[17] A change will require broad-based religious literacy as well as less of a divide between the religious and secular worlds.

In Asia, amidst the tide that brings in rapid economic changes on the one hand, and ethno-religious conflicts and marginalization on the other, perhaps a redefinition of secular modernity as it morphs under current global conditions of millennial capitalism, a re-evaluation of secular dispensations through legal frameworks and constitutionalism, and a bringing together of religious as well secular communities, may prove productive in revitalizing religion and placing it in a dynamic conversation with the various contours, approaches and complexities that underlie the meanings of social progress in the 21st century.

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Notes

1   https://tinyurl.com/diplodivers
2   For a longer discussion of how religion may be defined in relation to social progress, see Davie, et al., 2018: 'Religion and social progress: Critical assessments and creative partnerships', *Rethinking Society for the 21st century* vol. 3. Cambridge University Press.
3   See Asad, T. 2003. *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity.* Stanford University Press.
4   https://tinyurl.com/hrwage
5   https://tinyurl.com/bdnage
6   For a discussion of religion's relationship with early marriage, see Karam, A. 2015. 'Faith-Inspired Initiatives to Tackle the Social Determinants of Child Marriage', *The Review of Faith and International Affairs;* https://tinyurl.com/tandfage
7   See Khalid, S. 22 August 2017. 'What is Triple Talaq or Instant Divorce?', *Aljazeera,* https://tinyurl.com/aljdivorce
8   http://www.majlislaw.com
9   http://www.musawah.org
10 For a critique of groups such as Musawah, see Abu-Lughod, L. 2015. *Do Muslim women need saving?* Harvard University Press.
11 For a discussion of the Global Lifestories Project that grounds Musawah's work not in some abstract modernist approach, but in the everyday lived realities of Muslim Women across the Muslim world, see http://www.musawah.org/global-life-stories-website
12 For a review of the current Rohingya crisis, see Abdelkader, E. 2017. 'The History of the Persecution of Myanmar's Rohingya', *The Conversation,* 21 September 2017; https://tinyurl.com/conrohin
13 See Edroos, F. 13 September 2017. 'Who are the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army', *Aljazeera,* https://tinyurl.com/aljrohin
14 For a discussion of how the law ended up serving Hindu majoritarianism, see Kapur, R. 2014. '"The Ayodhya Case" Hindu Majoritarianism and the Right to Religious Freedom', *Maryland Journal of International Law* 29(1), article 14; https://tinyurl.com/mjil14
15 Fox, J. 2000. 'Is Islam more conflict prone than other religions? Cross-sectional study of ethnoreligious conflict', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 6(2):1-24.
16 https://www.mpiasia.net
17 For the place of religion in the Israel-Palestine conflict, see The British Academy. 2015. *The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peacebuilding;* https://tinyurl.com/bapeace

Becoming a scholar in Cambodia: Struggles and ambitions

Kunthea Chhom

Much of the literature about 'Angkor' has been produced by foreign scholars. Academically well educated, yet some of their analyses may lack a valuable local perspective that could be provided by home-grown scholars. With this article, I aim to draw attention to the position of (aspiring) scholars in Cambodia and invite readers interested in my field of research to contact me.

I am a full-time researcher with the Apsara Authority in Siem Reap (responsible for the protection of the Angkor World Heritage site, Ed), specialised in Cambodian and Southeast Asian Epigraphy. Earlier this year, I spent three months at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) with a grant from the J. Gonda Foundation to work on a chapter of my thesis, focusing on Sanskrit elements in the Old Khmer language. A discussion I had at IIAS with the staff, about what it takes to become a humanities scholar in Cambodia, led to this article. Even I, raised in Phnom Penh in somewhat privileged circumstances, would not have been able to arrive where I am now without the special help that came my way. I share my story, both to draw attention to the position of scholars in Cambodia and to my burgeoning initiative to bring Cambodian and international scholars into contact with each other in an international 'Epigraphy Club of Cambodia'.

Cambodia

Much ink has flowed writing about the Khmer Rouge Regime in Cambodia. Yet, the state of education during its aftermath has gained little attention. The Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) devastated the education system, and the study of Sanskrit and epigraphy, which had only just begun to take shape, was abandoned entirely. It should be noted here that, after the fall of the Angkor Empire in the 14th century, Sanskrit ceased to be used in Cambodian epigraphy, thereby largely obscuring Sanskrit culture, although Sanskrit loanwords have continued to be used in the Khmer language as evidenced from written documents, inscriptions and palm-leave manuscripts. Sanskrit was only offered again as a field of studies from the beginning of the 20th century, mainly to Buddhist monks, to be abandoned again in the 1970s. Sanskrit was re-introduced in the 1980s at Buddhist schools and Sihanoukreach Buddhist University and public universities such as the Royal University of Fine Arts and the Royal University of Phnom Penh. However, without considerable support from the government – giving priority to more 'urgent' fields – for such a highly specialised area (and, more generally speaking, the Humanities) it is often quite impossible for scholars in these areas o succeed.

Some children born in the 1980s were lucky enough to receive education from primary school through to a university bachelor level, but they still had to go abroad for postgraduate training, with only a few master's courses available in Cambodia itself. No doubt, in Cambodia, they were exposed to a relatively poor classroom experience, both materially and intellectually. Recall that many intellectuals had fallen victim to the 1975-1978 genocide; it took an enormous effort, repairing buildings and rewriting textbooks (often 'enriched' with communist ideologies).

I was one of the fortunate children to enjoy the above-mentioned communist-oriented education, while many others, especially those in the Khmer Rouge autonomous zone, hid under their houses instead of going to school. In war-torn Cambodia, I went to school, in the morning attending class and in the afternoon receiving private lessons. In 1994, I passed the high school entrance exams. That year, the failure rate was extremely high (over 85%) due to anti-corruption (exam) reforms. I took the national baccalaureate exam in 1997, that year delayed due to the 5-6 July 'coup-d'état'. Next, I passed the entrance exams of the French (1997) and English (1999) departments of the Royal University of Phnom Penh. Admission to the Department of English was especially competitive, with only 100 scholarships for 3000 candidates. I was introduced to Sanskrit and epigraphy during my BA in French (majoring in Linguistics). So moved by the language, I asked my teacher, Prof. Sylvain Vogel, to continue to teach me after graduation (in both fields). The informal classes continued right up to my departure to India in 2005, to pursue my graduate studies there.

MA in India, work in Cambodia

In 2004, I took part in a conference organised by the Center for Khmer Study (CKS) in Siem Reap to raise awareness for the urgent need to train a Cambodian generation of Sanskritists. In my talk, I expressed my wish to study in India. CKS Director Philippe Peycam (now IIAS Director) promptly took me on his motorbike, riding along the enclosure wall of Ta Prohm Temple, which he knew was being visited by then Indian Ambassador H.E. Pradeep Kapur, who might help with a scholarship. It worked, and with the intervention of Professor S. Sahai, former Vice-Chancellor of Magadh University in Bodh Gaya, India, I was admitted to the MA in Sanskrit with a scholarship from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR, Government of India).

In Bodh Gaya, I was at the same time amazed and 'shaken' by this 'diversity-in-unity' country. Immediately, I faced two problems. Firstly, my admission was questioned by the acting Head of the Department of Sanskrit; according to regulations, a BA in Sanskrit was required, which I did not have. I was asked to change studies but persisted.

After much discussion, I was eventually admitted, but the teachers remained sceptical. Fortunately enough, classes were very irregular due to frequent strikes, and this opened an unexpected opportunity to study Sanskrit outside the classroom in a most effective way (more below). Secondly, due to the strikes, I couldn't collect my monthly ICCR stipends, which involved three consecutive cheques between different offices (always a time-consuming process – so much time was lost, but so much patience gained). I only survived thanks to the extra CKS grant.

While classes were suspended, I looked for other ways to learn what I had come for. I was again aided by Prof. Sahai, who introduced me to master Chandrashekhar Mishra, known widely as 'Guru Ji' in his town Gaya, where he ran a Sanskrit school, called 'Samskrit Vidyapitha' ('Seat of Sanskrit knowledge'). Guru Ji was happy to have a disciple from Cambodia, but he had one condition: "Don't ever ask me to teach according to the syllabus of the university. You are here to learn what is to be learned". Now, I was learning Sanskrit the traditional way, counting to and from one hundred in Sanskrit and Hindi, memorising proverbs and songs. After chanting the whole morning, I copied Sanskrit essays with their Hindi renderings and, after class, participated in the Śri Durgā Pūjā (Worship of the Goddess Durgā). I also joined an intensive Sanskrit speaking course at a Hindu temple that made us speak and dream in the language, allowing only Sanskrit and body language. To further improve my Hindi, I promptly accepted Binod Babu's generous offer to come live with his family. His wife, a teacher of Hindi, volunteered to answer all my questions and correct my pronunciation.

By the time the university was functional again, I had caught up with my classmates. Aiming to excel, not just for myself but also out of respect for Guru Ji, I worked twice as hard and challenged myself not to cheat in the exams, as so many students did. As a result, I graduated top of my class, making Guru Ji proud, to whom by Guru-śis ya relation I was his daughter. He told me to be patient about the 'Gold Medal' I won with this; he had to wait (and ask) 27 years before he got his!

After graduation, I started working in Siem Reap for the Apsara Authority, responsible for the protection of the Angkor World Heritage site. I chose to work in Siem Reap because of the presence in this region of the numerous stone inscriptions from the Khmer empire, more than half of which in Sanskrit.

PhD in Paris, work in Cambodia

My wish to pursue a PhD in Sanskrit epigraphy became a reality in 2009, when Prof. Gerschheimer at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, and in charge of the project 'Corpus des inscriptions khmères' project, accepted me as his PhD student. Unfortunately, health issues prevented him from directly supervising my research for many years. Finally, at my request, my case was transferred to Prof. Dominic Goodall, in charge of the Pondicherry Centre (India) of the École française d'Extrême-Orient. Working together intensively, I was ready for my defence in December 2016.

After my PhD, I returned to Cambodia early 1997, where befell me the great honour of a Royal Audience in Phnom Penh. His Majesty the King congratulated me for my perseverance and expressed His generous support for my life mission of 'Sanskrit study and research'. Today, next to my work with the Apsara Authority, I teach Sanskrit to a group of high school teachers and monks, paying particular attention to Sanskrit loanwords in the Khmer language, both at the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh and Wat Reach Bo Buddhist High School in Siem Reap.

Looking into the future

Whenever I am in Phnom Penh, I try to organise meetings between Cambodian epigraphists. It is my further ambition to create an international 'Epigraphy Club of Cambodia' that can link Cambodian and foreign researchers, holding regular meetings between them. Such meetings, I believe, are essential in helping reduce misunderstanding and even antagonism between both groups. The idea of some local researchers that 'foreign scientists lack local knowledge' may be true, but at the same time, some of the same local researchers should also improve their academic skills, and have the means to do so.

When the 'Epigraphy Club' grows and gains recognition on an international level, I intend to organise international seminars and conferences. I hope that my initiative will entice you to contact me and will be met with encouragement from the Royal Government of Cambodia, not only for epigraphic research but also for research, and researchers, in general.

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Kunthea Chhom and other researchers working on a problematic inscription at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

Mapping, sensing, moving: Spatial methods for divided landscapes

Sanderien Verstappen

As Indian cities, towns, and villages are transformed by shifting patterns of residential segregation, researchers addressing these transformations are confronted with violent histories, contended narratives, stereotypes, and with delicate research challenges of method, conceptual-isation, and ethics. These challenges were discussed during a workshop on *New approaches for the study of residential segregation in India* at IIAS on 14 June 2018, with participation from Raheel Dhattiwala (University of Amsterdam), Pablo Holwitt (Leipzig University), Radhika Gupta, Ajay Gandhi, Cristiana Strava, and Sanderien Verstappen (Leiden University). This workshop was part of a two-day conference *Modalities of Displacement in South Asia* (14-15 June) in the framework of the Leiden University project 'Postcolonial Displacement', which is the subject of the second article on this page.

Workshop in the IIAS lecture room.

Beyond implicit assumptions

In India, the Anglo-American phrases of the 'ghetto' – to refer to the clustering of Muslims in the urban peripheries - and the 'gated community' – to talk about class-based forms of segregation in the city – have found their way into the vocabulary of many people. These words signal deepening patterns of residential segregation, which alter and sometimes replace older modes of residential clustering based on occupation/ caste, language, and regional identity. These processes are related with unequal distribution of resources and services, gradual processes of discrimination on the housing market, and exclusive visions of city-making, and with dramatic episodes of expulsion in the form of communal violence, slum removal, and displacement.

While debates about residential segregation in American and European literature stem from concerns about race and class inequalities that become expressed and aggravated through spatial modes of exclusion, a South Asian perspective on residential segregation demands engagement with the regional history of 'Partition' – the separation of India and Pakistan on the basis of the idea that a separate homeland was required to guarantee safety for both Hindus and Muslims after Independence. Given the violent imposition of the 'Hindu-Muslim' binary in the past and its high currency in contemporary politics, with the categories of the 'Hindu' and the 'Muslim' being inscribed onto a range of urban and rural spaces, scholarship into these matters requires a careful handling of the ethics of academic representation, and a particularly critical consideration of the concepts and categories through which interlocutors are addressed.

Is it possible to speak about a politics of separation without reiterating its premises? How can we study, instead of assume, the relations between spatial reorganisation, social-cultural differentiation, and political polarisation? These questions were the starting point for the workshop *New approaches for the study of residential segregation in India*, to discuss the conceptual and methodological challenges of studying residential segregation in India, and to look critically at implicit assumptions that may otherwise remain unquestioned. The discussion stemmed from a desire to move beyond the 'ghetto effect' in urban research – following Radhika Gupta's provocative argument that a 'ghetto effect' is co-produced and even exacerbated by the research methods used by anthropologists.[1] The 'ghetto effect' appears when researchers and/or interlocutors subconsciously apply internalized stereotypes of the 'other' that express and perpetuate power relations, and that structures interactions with the 'other'. When this happens, the risk is that the research reproduces rather than scrutinises stereotypes.

Broadly, two research strategies are available to escape such implicit assumptions. First, history is a way to de-naturalise taken-for-granted categories. Second, attendance to everyday life in all its complexity and fluidity enables attendance to the way in which the Hindu-Muslim binary appears and disappears as one of multiple modes of differentiation – this draws attention to ambiguous moments of unpredictability and instability, to the unfinished character of boundary-making, and to connections that persist despite the politics of division. During the workshop, we explored the potential of *spatial* methods to engage more closely with these everyday experiences. We considered three methodologies of space: cognitive mapping, sensory exposure, and mobile ethnography.

Mapping, sensing, moving

In her presentation, Raheel Dhattiwala explained how she uses 'sketch maps' as a participant-empowered mode of visual data generation in riot-affected neighbourhoods in Ahmedabad.[2] Provided with a blank paper and pen, residents were asked to sketch a line to link their own house with the house of their 'favourite neighbour'. This method of mapping eased the tension of doing research in a violence-affected neighbourhood, because the focus of the interlocutors moved away from the researcher, whose position of 'insider' or 'outsider' was a source of concern for the residents. Mapping also became a valuable alternative to conventional interview methods. While interviews and focus group sessions reveal norms of 'neighbourliness', cognitive maps help to cross-verify these generic responses and to capture in a more concrete way how residents perceive of abstract notions of neighbourliness and proximity.

Pablo Holwitt argued that residential segregation is motivated by attempts to order and homogenise everyday experiences and to keep potentially unsettling sense-worlds at bay. Given the relevance of acoustic, visual and olfactory phenomena in studies on communal violence and ethno-religious enclaves – manifested in debates about noise pollution or the presence of non-vegetarian food – how can sensory methods be used to study these sensorial dimensions further? Pablo discussed several methods of sensory anthropology – e.g. sensewalks, sensory diaries, listening sessions – to assess their applicability in studies of residential segregation. The discussion raised further questions about how to address the fragility of regulatory attempts, and how to engage shared dispositions towards noise and smell.

My research demonstrates how mobile methods can provide much-needed spatial contextualisation in research on residential segregation. Mobile research offers a powerful way of studying everyday practices of differentiation as well as connection. How do people move in and out of different spaces? How do they give names to objects and people encountered along the way? How do they change their demeanour, adjust clothes, express feelings? Experiences of anxiety and familiarity that come within the scope of the research in this manner do not map neatly onto the 'Hindu-Muslim' dichotomy, thus bringing to the surface a wider set of divisions and connections that matter to the residents.

Discussion

How can researchers address a politics of separation without reiterating its premises? Spatial methods are no comprehensive answer to this question – reflection on the researcher's positionality and scruting into the historicity of cultural categories remain a condition for critical scholarship. Still, the methods of mapping, sensing, and moving constitute practical tools and techniques that can contribute new insights into multi-layered experiences, overlapping understandings, and competing narratives that exist in Indian cities and towns, while also forwarding insights into abstract notions of neighbourliness, spatial regulation, and navigation.

Places and pedagogies: rethinking Area Studies through 'Postcolonial Displacements'

Erik de Maaker, Sanjukta Sunderason and Sanderien Verstappen

The project 'Postcolonial Displacements' has been running at Leiden University since 2015, funded by the (Leiden) Asian Modernities and Traditions fund (AMT), with an aim to re-imagine research and pedagogies around 'other places' – framed as 'Area Studies' in the university. Using the thematic of 'displacement', the project seeks to explore new entries into institutional and pedagogical negotiations at the university around subjects and scopes, interdisciplinarity, and theoretical orientations.

We, the project coordinators, Erik de Maaker (Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology), Sanjukta Sunderason (Leiden Institute for Area Studies, LIAS) and project research fellow, Sanderien Verstappen (LIAS/IIAS), have been working with approaches that are drawn from regionally rooted theories and knowledges – not to withdraw into provincialism, but instead to nurture wider transnational conversations. We have been addressing urgent themes that emerge from the various research sites in which we work, to then think from the specificities of these positions about conceptual, disciplinary, and methodological questions.

The conference *Modalities of Displacement in South Asia*, held in Leiden in June 2018 and the course *Displacement and Development: Anthropological Perspectives on South Asia*, running since Autumn 2017, are pilot projects for developing this thematic approach. The critical thematic of 'Displacement' makes us rethink the fixities and tenuousness of 'place' itself as a frame, raising questions about notions of place and loss, practice and labour, temporality and spectrality. The displacement of large numbers of people is a central feature of the rapid economic expansion that characterizes contemporary South Asia. Rooted in violent processes of state formation, including partition, militarization, and the repression of regional secessionist movements, South Asia's modern polities are actively consolidating and incorporating erstwhile economically and politically marginal spaces. These processes of consolidation have been accompanied by religious nationalisms and ethnic identity politics that legitimize the ideological or even physical segregation of 'others', conjoining land struggles and development projects with socio-cultural contestations around home and belonging. To interrogate these complexities, the project stimulates conversations across disciplines and institutes to initiate new understandings about 'displacement' in its multiple vectors, modalities and possibilities.

The conference was supported by the Asian Modernities and Traditions fund (AMT), the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology (CA-DS), and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) at Leiden University, the Netherlands.

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Notes

1 Gupta, R. 2015. 'There must be some way out of here: Beyond a spatial conception of Muslim ghettoization in Mumbai?' *Ethnography* 16(3):352–370.
2 Dhattiwala, R. 2017. 'Mapping the self: challenges of insider research in a riot-affected city and strategies to improve data quality', *Contemporary South Asia* 25(1):7-22.

Collaborative teaching between cultures and fields

Curation of the photo exhibition 'Dilliwale' in Shanghai

Xiaomei Zhao and Surajit Sarkar

Collaborative teaching program Ambedkar University Delhi, Fudan University, and the IIAS 'Humanities across Borders' program (HaB). 9-13 April, 2018

Scene 1 Teaching between cultures

Surajit Sarkar

It was during a walk with two dozen students through a lilong in the French concession in Shanghai that I learnt that Lu Xun had lived in such a neighborhood. It reminded me of my teaching past in another milieu, when Lu Xun's writing on education suggested a way of looking at teaching-learning in a primary schoolroom in rural Central India.

The old buildings of the lilong, nestled together, human scale and friendly looking, were visually just a hiccup between the high-rises. It was then that a question put forward by a student earlier that week came back, "How are we, living in Shanghai, supposed to make sense of Delhi? We have never even seen the place?" Which begged the question, "How will I as a first time visitor to Shanghai make sense of what I am seeing in the lilong?"

Scene 2 Teaching between fields

Xiaomei Zhao

'Dilliwala' is the common name for a person from Delhi. In plural, it becomes 'Dilli-wale'. We use the plural form to indicate the different stories of the people in Delhi. That's what this exhibition 'Dilliwala: Dilliwale through the lens' is about.

The curation of the exhibition was a task for the students. The instructors presented the exhibition photos in groups according to where they were taken. However, the students, more interested in people's lives and stories rather than physical spaces, did not accept this framework. Gladly respecting the students' perspectives, the final outcome was an exhibition of the lived experiences of the people in Delhi, and how they accommodate themselves in this fast-changing city. The students' interpretation was a pleasant surprise to me, a researcher on architectural history.

The photos of Delhi, on display from 25 May to 9 September 2018 at Fudan University Museum in Shanghai, were collected from local neighborhoods by the Center for Community Knowledge (CCK) at Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD); the photo exhibition was curated by the junior students from the Department of Cultural Heritage and Museology, Fudan University (FDU). It was the outcome of a collaborative teaching program between the two institutes in India and China, funded by FDU and the 'Humanities across Borders' (HaB) program of IIAS, Leiden.

Teaching about urban space between cultures and fields

The current exercise was to develop a method of looking at 'urban space' through the curation of a photo exhibition, allowing students to develop an understanding of

Top left: Workshop interpreting the photos (photo by Xiaomei Zhao, 2018). Top right: Students tour the exhibition (photo by Xiaomei Zhao, 2018).
Below: Students on the neighborhood walk (photo by Surajit Sarkar, 2018).

a lived city in a foreign country, along with its historical pasts. The students would develop a narrative, highlighting an alternative view of the lived city that challenges the dominant narratives in the production of urban space. This exercise, to visually communicate the story of a city and its people, has rhetoric at its heart, and students learn how to develop an imagination required for logical and reasoned arguments.

The challenge of collaborative teaching lies in two perspectives: firstly, the Chinese students acting as curators have never been to the city of Delhi where all the photos were taken; secondly, the students major in museology and lack the knowledge of urban studies. Nevertheless, these challenges are potential strengths. In addition, the students have the empathy of the audience, who are Shanghai residents, unlikely to have visited India, yet interested in India's history and culture. To convert the challenges into strengths, the collaborative teaching combines different teaching methods such as lectures, workshops and city walks, provided by instructors from community studies, architectural history, landscape, museology and anthropology.

Keeping this in mind, the urban space was presented from the perspective of public space analysis, which shows multiple imaginations and representations of space. This includes within it non-discursive forms of meaning-making, like language and images, but also emotion. Both are integral to inventing and composing, and there is a connectedness between cognitive processes and development, and production, as well as imagination. In this way, the teaching process attempted to draw a balance between representing the city formally and informally; between a conventional urban heritage pre-occupation with recovering the past and appropriating the present; and using oral interviews of memory and experience to develop a critical reflection of the present in speculation of the future.

Collaboration objectives – the background

The collaborative teaching exercise was developed to help students at FDU Shanghai curate a photo exhibition of archival photographs of life in Delhi in the twentieth century. The aim was to familiarize students of museology with a conceptual understanding of urbanization and people, and engage them in urban oral histories through interpretations of each photo and walks in their own city that draw attention to processes and practices of everyday life.

As part of this process, a visiting faculty member from AUD Delhi (Surajit Sarkar) would accompany the collection of photographs, to describe these both literally and contextually. Because Surajit was visiting Shanghai for the first time, he had to start his explorations by knowing what to ask. Two sources of information on Shanghai are works of fiction set in the city, and scholarly writings on the city. Yet the best source emerges from the city itself, in the form of a walk into neighborhoods, the smallest social sphere of a city. It is here that we can walk, touch, feel, smell, talk and hear about the spaces of human residential and livelihood settlements. Consequently, a pre-visit discussion between the instructors led to a plan to include a city walk of a neighborhood as a learning method, during which the students would escort the visiting faculty and discuss what they saw. This way, the streets, lanes, shops and residences presented a framework for observation, in which the visiting faculty could learn about an unfamiliar place by asking questions, while the students in turn learned what is worth asking, and from whom. Suddenly, everyone involved discovered how a quiet city street may not be so silent after all.

Urbanization and photographs: making cross cultural comparisons

Recognizing that curating a photo exhibition requires an ability to imagine across cultures, the faculty from both institutions believed that using a hands-on, place-based learning exercise, would help in reading the photographs. The first exercise for the students would be to make a presentation on Urbanization, Heritage and Everyday Life. This would lead to describing Delhi through the typology of its built urban environment – both through history and habitat. A subsequent workshop to describe the photographs, would help draw connections between tangible and lived heritage. It would also bring the cross-national element in by developing a comparative look at urban spaces and transformations from a lived perspective.

The second exercise involved 'Developing Visual Literacy': knowing how to decipher a photograph. This encourages slowing down and paying attention, and demands that students step back from the hyper cultures of the internet age, to look closely, observe and engage. Visual literacy is about understanding what we see with our eyes, our minds, and our hearts. This process began by describing the photographs of Delhi from 1880 to 1980, focusing on the built environment, objects, other tangible worlds and intangible memory, lived histories and experiences. Finding and deciphering visual clues, and recognizing the visual elements in these images, was central to the exercise. Borrowing from urban visual ethnography, we started by discussing the photos that portrayed everyday life in the last century. Guided by specific sets of questions, ranging from Food, Clothing, Housing, Water and Land, the photographs emerged as reading guides for the city. These at times even entered the intangible world, of Memories and Experiences, Stories, Urban Legends and Local Myths.

After it was decided to include a walk as part of the workshop, we needed to select the appropriate location. A neighborhood in the old city, which is encircled by rapid change, was chosen. The preserved historic sites are left standing in the middle of surrounding high-rise buildings; the remaining residents, who are mostly older, find the encroachment to be daunting. The walk provided opportunities for conversations with locals, for example, when students discovered an organic vegetable shop on the street, whose owner lived elsewhere and invited them to meet at a less busy hour. During the walk, the students wondered how 'not so rich' people could be living in buildings of quite some grandeur. They came to understand that the old and the new in the neighborhood had their own story, as many of the not so rich lived in shared accommodations, which looked like preserved heritage properties from the outside, but certainly not on the inside.

Besides the physical buildings or urban infrastructure, the relationships between residents of a neighborhood are equally significant. Residents or families living together in an area for a long period of time experience a very different set of relationships than those found in localities comprising mostly new residents who have little in common culturally or linguistically. Consequently, the students were able to add a layer of lived experience through oral narratives to bring about a human-centered way of looking at the city.

The photo exhibition as the main outcome

The students were divided into five groups, respectively in charge of: content, design, products, communication and educative activities. Inspired by the workshop and the city walk, the students picked up threads of everyday life from the photos, rather than typologies of city habitation. The students placed the photos into six units, each of which gave one perspective of people's lives in Delhi. Some students had pondered, "We've never seen Delhi or India, how can we understand Delhi without comparing with Shanghai?" Therefore we introduced old Shanghai photos as parallel stories to understand lives and lifestyles, so that exhibition visitors could make sense of what they were seeing; to help them bridge the two cities, the two cultures, and also to show how the same process of urbanization has been adapted by residents while creating a new life.

The resulting units were titled: 'The Chair's Revolution', 'A Cobbler's Success', 'When Mules are Unnecessary', 'The Song of Ferris Wheels', 'Celebration of Tilaka', and 'Spiritual Oasis for Wanderers'. A prelude, shown ahead of the six units, displayed the history and demographic information of the city. All units presented

Above: Indian henna tattoos to visitors (photo by Xiaomei Zhao, 2018).

Right: Banner of the exhibition on campus (photo by Xiaomei Zhao, 2018).

the many ways in which people adapt their everyday lives due to rapid changes of society and the city around them. At times they don't just cope, they in fact lead the ever-changing trends, as shown in the first three units. The fourth and fifth units reflected the need to sing for the pleasure in everyday life; they showed games in diverse urban places, and festivals including both the religious events and national memorials. The last unit compared the changes of use in the river and monumental spaces, as a space of reflection. The epilogue was a summary of the stories of the people living in Delhi and Shanghai, reminding the visitors of their own stories in their own cities.

Alongside the exhibition, other academic and educative activities were ongoing, including public lectures about Indian culture, visits by groups of primary school pupils, as well as a photo contest on India and urban life. Indian henna tattoos were applied to the hands of those visitors who wanted to experience more about Indian art.

Inspiration

This collaborative teaching program inspired both the students and instructors. The visiting instructor Surajit Sarkar from Delhi presented his views through lectures about Indian history and culture, while he also talked of how to 'see' a city you do not know. It was his first visit to China and his own experience of an unknown urban place inspired the students to imagine Delhi, reading the city through the photo exhibition. Students learned how to read a city through people, through their everyday lives, through their own eyes and experiences and through the narratives of others. It is about how to respect history and places, and reflect on our own city and neighborhood.

For example, one of the students, half Japanese and half Chinese, living in Shanghai, knows the city well but had never thought about how others see his city. 'Others' does not only refer to immigrants or visitors but also people who have been living here for long and who have witnessed the changes. This student was so inspired by the program that he now plans to interview his family and ask them to tell their stories about their shared memories and places.

We, the instructors, were also inspired by this teaching approach. It connected lectures, workshops and site visits. It linked a city where we live and a city that we have never been to. We worked together to get to know each other and each other's cities. We also worked together to assemble the fragments of the cities in our own fields, the history, the architecture, the monuments and the landscape, thus integrating the fragmentized images of the cities from different fields and views, through the lens of different people who lived, live and will live in these great cities.

Conclusion

With the increasing popularity of global studies and world history, it makes sense to emphasize the unique role that cities play. As urban studies today direct the analytic gaze beyond Euro-America, to cities at the edge of the western world that were once 'off the map', it examines the interconnections and congruence between them. Recognizing the commercial, cultural, and intellectual networks grounded in cities, and capturing their expressions in everyday life, brings together photography and urban scholarship to analyze the history of an uneven global urban fabric.

The process of creating 'Dilliwale', the photo exhibition of the unfamiliar city of Delhi, by students in Shanghai, none of whom had ever seen Delhi, led them to discover other ways of looking at their own city. The process evolved interdisciplinary ways to look at the city – from architecture, history, small trades to crafts, along with images of the city's past made by residents and local associations. In this way, the participants of the exercise, along with visitors, discovered a way of looking at and understanding the city that goes beyond the monumental and the planned.

As an example of collaborative teaching between different cultures and fields, the focus of the Dilliwale exhibition moved on from history and memory, and the politics of representation to what 'counts as knowledge' in humanities and beyond. Even as participants wondered how they would recognize and interpret the cultural differences between the two cities involved, what emerged was the universality of the urban experience - an articulation that was made meaningful as the Dilliwale exhibition drew on portraits of Shanghai to describe the process of city making to an audience, curious about their neighborhood, but unfamiliar with it.

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The weird third thing

Report on a workshop on Chinese poetry and translation

Lucas Klein and Maghiel van Crevel

About halfway through 'The Moving Target', a workshop on Chinese poetry and translation convened by the authors of this report at Leiden University on 1–2 June 2018, Nick Admussen said he found the *community* represented here to be inspirational to his work as a translator, a scholar of Chinese poetry, and a thinker on and through translation. As a recent example he mentioned the *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* double (*JMLC,* issues 14-2 and 15-1, edited by Maghiel van Crevel), with papers presented at Lingnan University last year by several of those who had now come to Leiden. What Nick said about community echoed Eleanor Goodman's earlier observation that her paper was inspired by an essay in which Nick digs into a mistake he made while translating a poem by Ya Shi and the ensuing correspondence with the author—who did *not* consider it a mistake. "Translators translate through their libraries", Joseph Allen said after Eleanor's paper. But it is equally true that translators translate, and scholars write, through personal relationships with one another. The topic of Chinese poetry and translation is a case in point, and the workshop reaffirmed that the community in question is, well—kind of happening right now.

POETRY IS WHAT GETS LOST IN TRANSL—

STICK TO ROAD FORKS, FROST
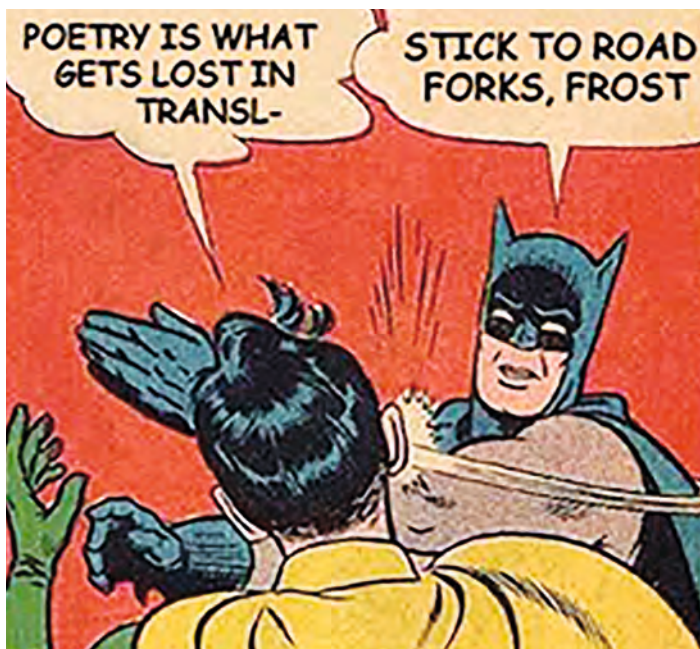
Fig.1: On poetry and translation. By Corinne Tachtiris.

In this way, translation and writing about translation are even more intertextual and relational than is commonly assumed, and our meeting bore this out. Participants comprised poets, translators, and junior and senior scholars from PhD students to emeritus professors affiliated with thirteen universities in eight countries on four continents, with fifteen papers selected from close to forty responses to an open call. Topics ranged from a queer-feminist engagement with some of China's newest poetry to a philologico-philosophical approach to some of its oldest, from Charles Baudelaire and Paul Celan in Chinese to the Song-dynasty lyric in English —and yet all became part of one ongoing, expanding conversation.

So how does this hang together? Of course, we could have chosen to tread safer ground than the vast, fissured spaces offered by the triptych of poetry + translation + Chinese. For instance, by limiting ourselves to a subgenre, a historical period, or the good old question of how to reconcile the phenomenon of poetic form with the arbitrariness of the sign across languages. But what we were after was precisely the *un*-safeness offered by leaving things wide open between three words-and-things people have talked about (and will continue to talk about) forever—and then the dialogue that this might yield.

First, the horizon of *translation* has widened over the past decades, and translation studies is a bubbly, contested, interdisciplinary enterprise whose diversification worries some and thrills others. Witness, for example,

discussions of the translational turn in the humanities. Second, as we observed at Lingnan University and in *JMLC* last year, coupling translation with *poetry* will trigger claims the size of office blocks, all the way from Robert Frost—censored here, as in Corine Tachtiris' astute visual summary of the debate (fig.1), which accompanies this report—to Eliot Weinberger's "Poetry is that which is worth translating", in his *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*. Third, add *Chinese* to the mix, and things get even better. The script and its myths and truths, the question of whether texts used at the imperial court in antiquity are at all relatable to what today's migrant workers post on social media beyond the fact that both are called 'poetry', the stubborn, sheer specialness of the genre in various Chinese settings, and so on.

So the last thing we aspired to was full coverage (a scary notion at any rate). Instead, we trusted the triptych's ability to make us visible and legible to one another and we worked toward establishing connections. One crucial condition was everyone's commitment to submitting a full draft paper six weeks ahead of time—and then reading everyone else's full draft paper at some point in those six weeks. Thus, presentations were brief, with authors just summarizing key points, responding to initial written comments from the conveners, and saying what they would like to get feedback on. This then led up to the real gig, meaning extensive discussion of each paper based on the prep work done by the other workshoppers—and, increasingly as we went along, the exploration of connections between the papers.

We worked through eight papers on day one and seven on day two. Both days concluded with roundtable sessions kicked off by Wilt Idema (Harvard University and Leiden University), which helped us realize how much we were *not* doing (see coverage disclaimer, above; but a useful realization nonetheless). But also, complementing the discussions of individual papers, they showed what might be some of the nodes of the conversation: key concepts that kept recurring and that our work was apparently organizing itself around.

These included *norms, ethics,* and *functions* of translation (with functions including *uses* and *effects,* e.g., what happens in the target culture), *valuation* (e.g., asymmetrical power relations between source and target), but also the all-pervading presence of *gender* issues—in what we study and how we study it, right up to the workshop itself—and a vision of translation as *creative nonfiction*. The latter offered plenty of space for the time-honored genre of reflection by the translator on their strategies, choices, and mood swings.

Looking forward to the edited volume we intend to publish (Amsterdam University Press, 2019), the challenge now becomes creating sensible chapter groupings our key concepts can run through. The sequence of the papers during the workshop loosely traveled from 'Then' to 'Now' and from interlingual to cultural translation, but the dynamic of the conversation gave us the conceptually stimulating design for the book we were looking for—which is what we offer in this report. Of course, multiple groupings of this kind could have resulted from the process that started with the call for abstracts, and we claim no necessity or inevitability or self-evidence for the table of contents now emerging. Nonetheless, the tentative line-up for publication we drew up when debriefing works toward a whole that is more than the sum of its parts, and will interface well with (Chinese) translation studies as well as (Chinese) literary studies. Below, with apologies for the enumerative mode we are about to enter, we introduce the papers along these lines, in three sections provisionally called 'The Translator's Take', 'Theoretics', and 'Impact'.

'The Translator's Take' opens with Jenn Marie Nunes' (Ohio State University) unconventional renditions of poetry by Yu Xiuhua, who catapulted to fame when her blog went viral in 2014—and an elaboration of Jenn's queer-feminist translational approach. This is followed by poet and translator Eleanor Goodman's activist perspective on the *work* of poetry and of translation, noting that literary translation does many things, from enabling the practice of comparative literary studies to the representation outside China of poetry by Chinese migrant workers in today's global-capitalist world. Next, Joseph Allen (University of Minnesota) takes the 'Take' back—and forth—across great distances in space and time, illustrating a range of practical and theoretical issues that come to the fore in his new, in-progress translation of the *Shijing* (also known as the *Classic of Poetry* or *The Book of Songs*), especially intralingual interpretation and commentary. We then bounce back to the contemporary in Christopher Lupke's (University of Alberta) paper on translating poet Xiao Kaiyu, with

special attention to the 'difficulty' of this poetry and its foreign inspirations in the source text, as one example of the catalytic effect that translations of foreign texts have had on modern Chinese poetry per se, a topic that returns in the next section.

'Theoretics' starts with Nick Admussen's (Cornell University) proposal of embodiment as a concept that challenges dated yet popular assumptions of objective method and linguistic interoperability as cornerstones of (Chinese) poetry translation. Next, Jacob Edmond (University of Otago) asserts the (generally neglected) importance of poetic theory in the practice and the study of translation, with reference to Russian formalism and Bei Dao's translations of Boris Pasternak. Zhou Min (who recently obtained her PhD from the Chinese University of Hong Kong) investigates the tendency for translators into English to narrativize their translations of Song-dynasty *ci* poetry, in contradistinction from a widely assumed opposition of lyric and narrative poetic modes. Focusing on Qu Yuan, known as 'China's first poet' even though his life in the Kingdom of Chu predates the empire, Nicholas Morrow Williams (University of Hong Kong) raises the fundamental question of word-level consistency in translation—and says no. 'Theoretics' concludes with a paper by Lucas Klein (University of Hong Kong) that complicates and reorients the authenticity claims that have been built into the discourse around both the *Shijing* and migrant worker poetry, a discourse that contains many moments of intralingual, interlingual, and cultural translation.

Section three, 'Impact', begins with Liansu Meng's (University of Connecticut) linkage of Chen Jingrong's influential translations of Baudelaire to Chen's development of her own eco-feminist poetics in the mid-twentieth century. Another debt owed to translation comes to the fore in Chris Song's (Lingnan University) discussion of the Chinese-language debut of American modernist poetry in Hong Kong and its effect on the local poetry scene, from the early years of the Cold War era onward. The postwar Taiwanese poetry scene is a prime example of the fact that translation and its impact come in 'vertical' (or indigenous) varieties as well as 'horizontal' (foreign) ones, and Tara Coleman (LaGuardia Community College) employs the notion of lyrical montage, with reference to film theory, to consider Ya Xian's poetry in terms of a juxtaposition of equivalences rather than an opposition of 'the original' and 'the translated'. Joanna Krenz (Adam Mickiewicz University) reads three dueling translations of Celan into Chinese for what they reveal about debates on poetry and poetics, and

Fig 2: Pop-up exhibition of unofficial poetry journals from China. Photograph by Erik Weber.

on translation, in mainland China today. Rui Kunze (University of Trier) traces the various cultural translations of Liao Yiwu's poetry into English and German, in a tight entanglement of literature and politics that starts with the suppression of the 1989 Protest Movement in China and extends to a complex dynamic engendered by publishers, prize institutions, and prestigious cultural figures, revealing the difficulty of communicating trauma between East and West. Maghiel van Crevel (Leiden University) shows that Chinese-to-English offers a fascinating case study for the genre of the multiple-author translation anthology, because of continuing tumult on the Chinese poetry scene, foreign readers' unfamiliarity with this poetry, and profound changes in the positionality of anthologists in the early twenty-first century.

The move to push past binaries, then, explains the title of this report, 'The Weird Third Thing'—which will hopefully

Fig 3: The first issue of Not-Not (Feifei, 1986), an unofficial journal out of Sichuan province.

There is much to unite these arguments and more to interlink them, within and across the sections. If the key concepts identified above and the groupings that emerged from the workshop share any underlying themes, these include a resounding affirmation of what we know about binaries in the humanities: they usually don't work. This is not unrelated to our plans to organize the contents of the book under the *three* section headings outlined above. As in Daoism, where it is the three that gives birth to the ten thousand things—after being engendered by the two and the one and, before that, the Dao—in our volume's title a triptych also produces a myriad: poetry + translation + Chinese.

metamorphose into the volume's introduction once the revisions are in and the manuscript is ready for submission. The specifics of the Weird Third Thing come from an anecdote Jenn related during one of the roundtable sessions. In the 'Mamma Mia' episode of the American sit-com *30 Rock*, comedy writer Liz Lemon persuades her boss, Jack Donaghy, to tell his long-lost birth father the truth of his identity. "You're gonna be okay", she tells Jack: his father will either reject him or embrace him. "One of those two things is gonna happen. There's no weird third thing." Liz and Jack orchestrate a contest of three potential fathers (à la *Mamma Mia!* — hence the episode's name) in which the true father will be revealed. What happens, however, is neither all-obliterating rejection nor all-healing embrace. Instead, it turns out Jack's real dad . . . needs a kidney transplant. And guess who he is looking to.

Isn't there always some weird third thing—not least when dealing with translation?

A collection of Chinese and Anglophone poets 'in mutual translation', edited by Yang Lian and W.N. Herbert, is called *The Third Shore*, and as Tara Coleman reminds us in her paper, for Walter Benjamin the meaning of a word exists in a third space beyond (but not above) the two languages that meet in translation. Translation's proximity to transplantation troubles our reliance on simplistic affects of love or rejection. We are not sure which of our categories—poetry, or translation, or Chinese—is the weird third thing, or that any one of them should always be (they could take turns, right?). But we know that there being a third thing is trouble enough, and a wonderful kind of trouble. Thirdness destabilizes the symmetry of the binary, opening up multiple possibilities. There may be two sides to a coin, but there are more than two sides to a coinage, as there are usually more than two sides to an argument—especially an academic argument. The weird third thing relinks translation to Homi Bhabha's 'third space' and the 'in-between' of postcolonial theory, and it articulates our approach: exploratory, in progress, embracing of uncertainty, and nimble, mobile.

Thirdness also means there is more than a simple 'right' and 'wrong', with obvious, immediate relevance to translation. To what extent is the role of the scholar of translation to judge translations right or wrong—technically, ethically, or otherwise? Can a translation wrong a person or party, and can it be right if it does so? If a translation is right, is its rightness forever and for always, or only for a certain purpose, time, or place? What rights does the translator have to respect in order for their translation to be right? What rights does the translator have, full stop—or rather, full question mark? What are the valences of aesthetics, ethics, and philology as they intersect in translation? How audible is the homophony of *right* and *write*—and of *rite*, in a vision of a text's translation as a rite of passage: think recognition, and entry into another community than that which now starts being called the source? Our questions are not uncommon in the field of translation studies as it turns to ethics and aesthetics, but we see the Daoist weird third thing producing its myriad before us. This stuff

explains the full name of our book, which we intend to call *Chinese Poetry and Translation: Rights and Wrongs*, after a suggestion by Jacob when we were brainstorming titles.

Rights and Wrongs may sound like a binary at first, but it is 'rights *and* wrongs', after all, not 'right *or* wrong'. Like the surface dualism under which translation's thirdness hides, then, our subtitle signals polyvalence, a multifacetedness that insists that the binary would be one of the wrongs. Or, there is no one correct or 'right' translation, even if there may be no end to wrong translations. This is not to say that we do not critically assess translations, but we do so with the awareness that we are at some level doing it wrong ourselves if we fail to recognize that the exploration of translation's uses is as interesting, and as important, as the exploration of its ontologies. Juxtaposing 'rights' and 'wrongs' in our title can reveal their duality to be structurally in flux, and productively unstable.

In this way, we hope our title will do what some of the best (Chinese) poetry and some of the best translations do. Ernest Fenollosa, whose notebooks played a crucial role in Ezra Pound's vision of Chinese poetry *and* of modernism, wrote that in the "process of compounding, two things added together do not produce a third thing but suggest some fundamental relation between them". We see this to be that weird third thing.

Waiting and not waiting

Manpreet K. Janeja

The recently published volume *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty* explores the social phenomenon of 'waiting' and its centrality in human society.[1] The book investigates how modes of waiting are negotiated in various ways. Examining the politics and poetics of waiting, it offers fresh perspectives on waiting as the uncertain interplay between doubting and hoping, and asks, "When is time worth the wait?" Waiting thus conceived is intrinsic to the ethnographic method at the heart of the anthropological enterprise. This piece draws on the volume while examining the poignancy that modalities of waiting may acquire when death becomes a form of waiting out time.
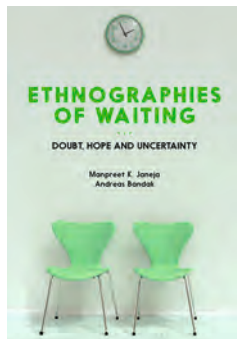
Waiting is a pervasive phenomenon across human societies. We all wait – in traffic jams, passport offices, queues, for better weather, an end to fighting, peace. It could be said that waiting is integral to the fabric of human life. Waiting is a particular engagement in, and with, time. The various modes of waiting can range from a passive or inert waiting to a purposeful or active waiting for something.[2] In other words, the concept of waiting enables us to explore ethnographically what forms of thinking, acting, and relating are possible, or overlooked, in different engagements in, and with, time, across varying social and cultural contexts. What happens when waiting shifts from being a temporary phenomenon to a 'chronic' or more permanent feature, where it even becomes an indefinite way of life itself? When, for instance, the signing of a ceasefire between two warring groups marks the end of a period of waiting for peace, but a peace which is always fragile, with people then waiting for this peace to end any moment. How is waiting itself calibrated and regularized by particular cultural norms, ideals, and gendered roles? How can the ethnographic method, and the various forms of waiting it entails (e.g., waiting for interlocutors to show up during fieldwork; waiting for ideas and projects to mature like old wine and ripened cheese; short, medium and longer term engagements with mind notes, older field notes), be used to explore the social phenomenon of waiting? How are we to assess when something is worth the wait, and how do we act, think, and relate while we are at it?

Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* dwells on the notion of waiting, an indefinite waiting for someone who never comes, and for something that never happens. Franz Kafka's *Before the Law* depicts a man from the countryside who is endlessly waiting to gain entry into the law, but is 'not yet allowed'. The anthropological and, more generally, social science literature, has relatively neglected the concerted study of waiting as a phenomenon, with a few recent notable exceptions which have predominantly focused on the 'politics of waiting'.

Politics and poetics of waiting

Politics of waiting refers to the engagements with the structural and institutional conditions that compel people to wait. The precarious situation of vast swathes of the world's human inhabitants forced to wait, often indefinitely, for food, education, health care, employment, welfare benefits or housing, illustrates this. Or indeed, the case of ever increasing numbers of displaced people – migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers – waiting for rescue in cities such as Homs and Aleppo in Syria, in camps in Jordan, Turkey, Kenya or Bangladesh, or drowning in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea en route to Europe. Thus, waiting, as an imposed form of sanctioning, used to exercise control over other people's *time*[3] or slow down movement across *space* of marginalized groups who are made to wait, emerges as a technology of governance. Waiting can also be an active political strategy of defiance by some migrants for example, or a basis for political mobilization and democratic politics as in the case of Jeffrey's ethnographic study (2010) of 'chronic waiting' among unemployed lower middle-class young men in the Indian city of Meerut, thereby highlighting the mutual interaction of creative agency and broader social structures.[4]

An examination of the politics of waiting must be complemented with a focus on the poetics of waiting, which refers to the existential affordances of the engagement in, and with, time where the outcome is uncertain, where people's doubts coexist with potentials of hope.[5] Whatever has placed an individual or a collective in a situation of waiting, such a situation brings forth different attitudes and social energies, ranging from hope, patience and urgency to apathy, paralysis and inertia, and often leads to existential questions and doubts. As in the case of migrants caught up in protracted periods of waiting, who may find themselves in a situation of 'stuckedness',[6] characterized by invisibility, immobility, uncertainty and arbitrariness, with the act of waiting in transit paradoxically expanding time but compressing space for them.[7] Or the experiences of waiting endured by the parents of a dying child, where "waiting is simply an endurance of time that falls away from illusory circuits of meaning and intent".[8] Fostering a conversation between the politics and poetics of waiting as uncertain interplays between hoping and doubting, without according primacy to one dimension over the other, enables us to critically approach the precariousness of existence.

An auto-ethnography of death as waiting out time

While waiting for the volume to arrive in print from the publishers, the unexpected happened. My 34-year-old brother died in a car crash on 15 December 2017. The politics and poetics of waiting came together in death. Various members of the immediate and extended family in grief and shock entreated airlines and travel agents, rushed to board airplanes, waited at airports, dashed through security checks and passport control queues, uncertain and doubting yet hoping to catch connecting flights and make it to the cremation on 18 December. Flying across, and through, space and time zones, while journeying through a past, and memories of a life together now cut short, we somehow all landed in the city of Calcutta, where the rest were waiting for us. While various others had negotiated different bureaucratic forms of waiting in identifying the body at the crash site in a remote corner of India, signing legal documents after the post-mortem, and arranging for the coffin to be flown to Calcutta. We underwent rituals of purification as we waited for the body bag to arrive at the house, with tea and coffee being served to shore up a semblance of 'normality' in the midst of the ongoing lamenting rituals. We followed the hearse, as it waited in the infamous traffic-jams of the city, to a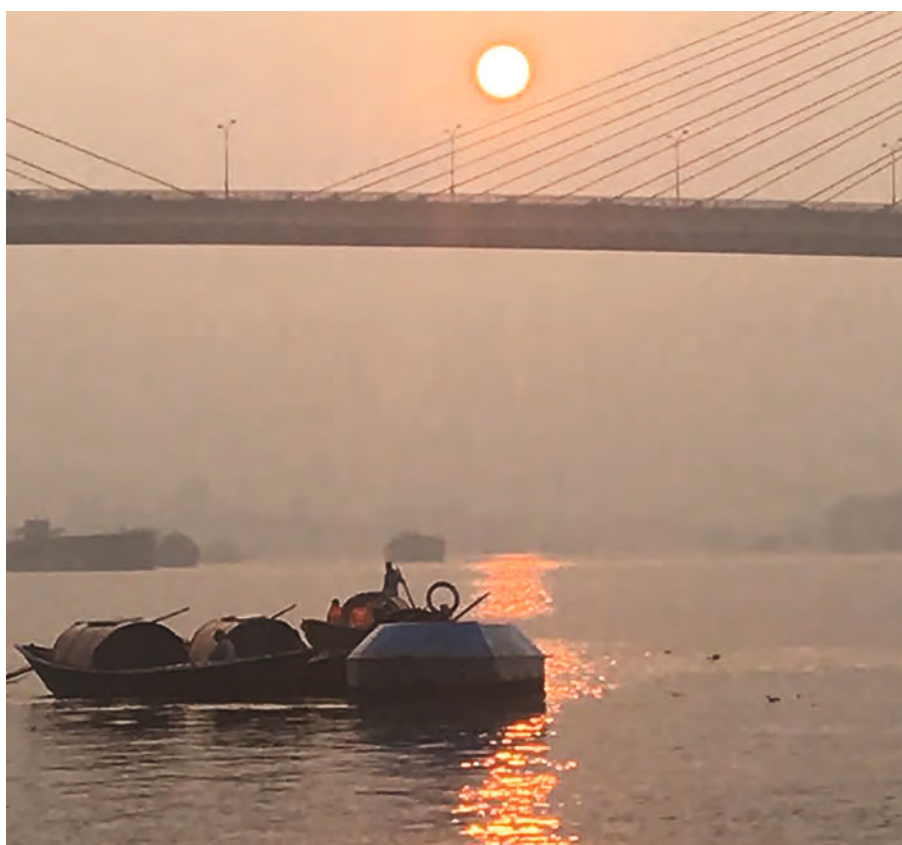rrive at the temple where we waited for the priest to say the final prayers. Walking from the temple, we arrived at the cremation ground, to be told that despite the long queue, our turn would come soon since a relative had 'speeded things up' and had negotiated a VIP cremation slot for us. Not-waiting 'too long' would 'speed up' the cremation rituals and time spent grieving there at the site. The fraught wait, while the elders debated who would perform the last rites, ended with me, as the eldest sibling, being accorded the right to do so, in a stunning inversion of conventional gendered norms that regulate Sikh (and Hindu) cremation rituals, in which women do not cremate.[9] My endless waiting for gender equality, while contesting and negotiating patriarchal norms in a society deeply calibrated by them, ended in a moment when I least anticipated, expected, or indeed, wanted it. I ended up sharing this moment of equality with my two younger sisters, and the three of us performed the last rites with a cousin (brother), my brother's best friend. The performance of the symbolic rites having been completed, the body was swept into the furnace, with the men waiting behind for hours to collect the funerary urn with the ashes. The four of us who had performed the symbolic last rites then set out with the urn on a boat with my mother, waiting for the *majhi* (boatman) to slowly take us to the middle of the river, to pour the ashes into the waters of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly, a (dis)tributary of the river Ganga which is believed to be the Hindu sacred site of mortal, temporal, and cosmic transition for the departed.[10] Together with the families of others who died in the same accident, our Kafkaesque waiting *before the law* continues – for the man who crashed the car, yet survived, to be formally charged.

Care of the dead by "a social network of hands" makes and marks the deceased as "grievable". Life that is grievable is "life that matters",[11] and is socially valuable, resting on a particular notion of the social.[12] Compared to biological death, which takes place in a relatively short period of time, social death takes longer – we have to wait for the tear in the social fabric to be rewoven[13]. This auto-ethnographic reflection on death as waiting out time could be read as such.

Waiting in the boat on the Bhagirathi-Hooghly, Calcutta, 18 December 2018.

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Notes

1 Janeja, M.K. & A. Bandak. 2018. *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury.

2 Marcel, G. 1967. 'Desire and Hope', in N. Lawrence & D. O'Connor (eds.) *Readings in Existential Phenomenology*, pp.277-285. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.; Hage, G. 2009. 'Waiting Out the Crisis: On Stuckedness and Governmentality', in G. Hage (ed) *Waiting*, pp.97-106. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

3 Bourdieu, P. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. London: Polity Press, p.228.

4 Jeffrey, C. 2010. *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India*. Stanford: SUP.

5 'Introduction', in Ibid., note 1, p.3,5.

6 Ibid., Hage 2009.

7 Bredeloup, S. 2012. 'Sahara Transit: Times, Spaces, People', *Population, Space and Place* 18(4):457–467, p.465.

8 Bissell, D. 2009. 'The Poetics of Waiting Without Value: Harold Schweizer, On Waiting', *Time and Society* 18:410-413, p.411.

9 Cf. Clark-Decès, I. 2005. *No One Cries for the Dead*. Oakland: UCP.

10 Cf. Parry, J. 1994. *Death in Benaras*. Cambridge: CUP.

11 Butler, J. 2009. *Frames of War. When Is Life Grievable?* London: Verso, p.14.

12 Allison, A. 2018. 'Not-Waiting to Die Badly: Facing the Precarity of Dying Alone in Japan', in Ibid., note 1, p.189.

13 Cf. Laqueur, T. 2015. *The Work of the Dead. A Cultural History of Mortal Remains.* Princeton: PUP, *p.10.*

Building the New Silk Road: China's Belt and Road Initiative in context

Richard T. Griffiths

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) has recently started a new project of interdisciplinary research aimed at the study of the Belt and Road Initiative of the Chinese government, with special attention on the impact of the 'New Silk Road' on countries, regions and peoples outside of China. The project will be directed by Professor Richard Griffiths, affiliated fellow at IIAS.

Since President Xi Jinping's speech in September 2013 announcing China's 'Belt and Road' initiative (BRI), it has scarcely been out of the news. It has also attracted analysis and commentary from academics and think-tanks throughout the world. In China, the reception has been overwhelmingly positive, rarely straying far from official policy pronouncements. In the West, opinion has been mixed. Most security analysts frame the analysis in terms of 'China's rise' and the threat that it poses to US military hegemony and to the established international order in general. Most economists have been cautionary, highlighting the perceived risks in some countries of over-borrowing. In almost every case, September 2013 is the starting point for analysis, as though China's BRI is the only event of any relevance. China's BRI differs from its earlier 'go global' policy, whereby Chinese firms were encouraged to seek investment opportunities abroad, through its focus on connectivity and infrastructure, and through its restricted geographical definition. China has defined the Belt and Road as involving 64 countries with 40% of the world's population and 20% of world trade. That area includes the entire land mass between China and Central-Eastern Europe and within it, China intends to build roads and railways, ports and power stations and to expedite the movement of goods across frontiers. Of course, much of that infrastructure and much of that trade serves China's interest. As the world's second largest economy and second largest trader, it would be surprising if it didn't. And that is China's 'belt and road'.

Nobody 'owned' the ancient silk roads and nobody 'owns' the new silk road of the 21st century. The trucks journey on existing roads, the trains run along existing lines, the container ships that plough the oceans already exist, and businesses fill them and the transport industry makes it all work. Of course, it can all work better by building better highways, by electrifying railways and by improving the flow through borders controls. Moreover, it is not as though these countries don't need infrastructure. Recently the Asian Development Bank calculated that Asia requires $1.5 trillion a year in infrastructural investment if it is to sustain a viable development trajectory. At present, it is only capable of financing half of that sum itself. China's help is needed, but it is not enough. Indeed President Xi has exhorted other countries to join in building the 'belt and road'. He did not need to do

this. They are already there. For example, international development banks are financing highway construction and railway electrification projects across Central Asia and the Caucasus. The European Union is pouring billions into improving the transport infrastructure of new member states and the western Balkans. Japanese firms hold contracts for the construction of High-Speed railways in India and Thailand as well as for the modernisation of the harbour in Jakarta. By leaving all of this out of the story and concentrating solely on China, we are creating our own nightmare. Add a twist of wicked intention to the mixture, and it is little wonder that we have trouble sleeping.

IIAS is creating a new pillar devoted to interdisciplinary research on the topic of the New Silk Road. In line with IIAS' inclusive, experimental approach, the IIAS New Silk Road initiative seeks to develop a de-centralised, trans-sectoral network of local partners, able not only to work within the Social Sciences and Humanities, but also with practitioners on the ground (municipalities, local stakeholders, NGOs, artists and cultural actors, community organisations, businesses, trade unions, etc.). Moreover, and whenever possible, the projects within this initiative will engage with existing IIAS programmes under the Institute's three thematic clusters: urban, global and heritage studies. Partners involved in network platforms such as the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA), the European Alliance for Asian Studies, the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) and the 'Africa-Asia, A New Axis of Knowledge' and Cultural Heritage Studies platforms, will also be mobilised.

The programme plans to establish formal links with research institutes in China to encourage the widest exchange of information and opinions. It will also create a 'news page' for the notification of seminars, workshops and conferences. In addition, within the programme, IIAS intends to launch a business /academic alliance for sharing up-to-date expertise and insights, and to enhance the effectiveness of policy advice.

In order to promote interest in the subject, IIAS and Leiden University are planning to release a MOOC (Massive Open Online Course) entitled Building the New Silk Road early in 2019. The MOOC will be free, and it will be hosted by the Stanford-based Coursera, which, with 33 million enrolled users, is the largest educational platform of its kind. To further help promote advanced teaching on the subject IIAS will host an 'electronic library' of online resources that can be used as teaching materials and as starting points for student essays and theses. Furthermore, the new initiative will organise strategic meetings during the ICAS conference in Leiden, 16-19 July 2019.

To signal your interest in joining this initiative contact me, with the header 'New Silk Road' at r.t.griffiths@hum.leidenuniv.nl

website: https://newsilkroads.iias.asia

Richard T. Griffiths is an affiliated fellow at IIAS and author of the book *Revitalising the Silk Road. China's Belt and Road Initiative*, Leiden, 2017.

Illustration: 'The New Silk Road' by Luke Sky.

New Titles in the AUP/IIAS Series on Asian Studies

Find full details for these titles, including purchasing options, on www.aup.nl

Urban Development in the Margins of a World Heritage Site: In the Shadows of Angkor

Adèle Esposito

Asian Cities Series
ISBN 9789462983687

This volume addresses the relationship between the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Angkor (Cambodia), and the nearby town of Siem Reap. While previous work on heritage sites has mainly focused on protected areas, this book shifts the attention to the margins, where detrimental, tourism-driven urban development may take place. By delimiting a protected site, a non-heritage space is created in which spatial fragmentation, disruptive development processes, and unjust power plays can occur. In post-war Cambodia, liberalization and collective aspirations for progress have provided a strong incentive for modernization. Controversial interests compete in the arena of urban development, and real estate development prevails over planned growth. At the same time, Siem Reap's marginal position allows for some freedom in architectural and urban design. In the shadow of institutional control, this architectural space expresses alternative visions of the Khmer heritage and connects them with images of urban modernity.

Visual Arts, Representations and Interventions in Contemporary China: Urbanized Interface

Minna Valjakka and Meiqin Wang (eds)

Asian Cities Series
ISBN 9789462982239

This edited volume provides a multifaceted investigation of the dynamic interrelations between visual arts and urbanization in contemporary Mainland China with a focus on unseen representations and urban interventions brought about by the transformations of the urban space and the various problems associated with it. Through a wide range of illuminating case studies, the authors demonstrate how innovative artistic and creative practices initiated by various stakeholders not only raise critical awareness on socio-political issues of Chinese urbanization but also actively reshape the urban living spaces. The formation of new collaborations, agencies, aesthetics and cultural production sites facilitate diverse forms of cultural activism as they challenge the dominant ways of interpreting social changes and encourage civic participation in the production of alternative meanings in and of the city. Their significance lies in their potential to question current values and power structures as well as to foster new subjectivities for disparate individuals and social groups.

Heritage and Romantic Consumption in China

Yujie Zhu

Asian Heritages Series
ISBN 9789462985674

The drums beat, an old man in a grand robe mutters incantations and three brides on horseback led by their grooms on foot proceed to the Naxi Wedding Courtyard, accompanied, watched and photographed the whole way by tourists, who have bought tickets for the privilege. The traditional wedding ceremonies are performed for the ethnic tourism industry in Lijiang, a World Heritage town in southwest China. This book examines how heritage interacts with social-cultural changes and how individuals perform and negotiate their identities through daily practices that include tourism, on the one hand, and the performance of ethnicity on the other. The wedding performances in Lijiang not only serve as a heritage 'product' but show how the heritage and tourism industry helps to shape people's values, dreams and expectations. This book also explores the rise of 'romantic consumerism' in contemporary China. Chinese dissatisfaction with the urban mundane leads to romanticized interests in practices and people deemed to be natural, ethnic, spiritual and aesthetic, and a search for tradition and authenticity. But what, exactly, are tradition and authenticity, and what happens to them when they are turned into performance?

Digital Resources

East Asia Resource Library in Slovenia: Open a matchbox and access global knowledge of the region

Zlatko Šabič and Mirjam Kotar

In September 2017 a delegation from a Chinese institution came to visit the location of the East Asia Resource Library (EARL), which is hosted by the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Social Sciences, in Slovenia. This is a modern, spacious building, home to about 3,000 students, researchers and faculty and a venue for countless events at all levels. The delegation could hardly hide their surprise when they realised that the EARL was made up of three rooms which barely exceed 200 square meters. They thought that the entire Faculty of Social Sciences was the 'Library'.

We, too, were taken a bit by surprise by such an observation, but we also took a lesson from that impression. Since then, we never fail to explain to our guests that the word 'space' has different meanings in different contexts. In Slovenia, which given its geographical determinants belongs to a group of smaller countries on this planet, physical size does not matter much. There are many determinants that relativise it. What follows is a story that proves this.

In November 2015, a group of four scholars – synologists, japonologists and experts in international relations from the University of Ljubljana – began to meet regularly to reflect on the academic landscape in Slovenia and the neighbouring countries with regard to studying the East Asian region. They agreed that there were several study programmes devoted to East Asia in the region, however, they have comparatively speaking relatively modest support in literature and in primary sources. To access these (re)sources, students and experts need to travel to East Asia. So the group started wondering: if all these resources are difficult to reach, why not bring them closer to us?

With technological advances, the idea how to make 'smallness' irrelevant seemed doable. After all, digital databases already cover most of secondary sources, and digitalisation of primary sources is progressing rapidly. Hence, with the support of experts on digital databases, a concept of a regional hub for resources devoted to East Asia started to take shape. By the end of 2015, work on the EARL began. Its mission has been embraced and supported by the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Social Sciences. Both faculties are large teaching and research institutions (https://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/en/home; and http://www.ff.uni-lj.si/an). On 17 May 2016, the Deans of the two Faculties signed an agreement to establish the East Asia Resource Library – EARL (https://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/en/library/earl).

The EARL was structured as follows. Symbolically, the EARL signifed a region. It provided designated spaces for each of the participating institutions, which are also called 'corners'. Officially, the 'corners' are named as follows (in alphabethical order): China Corner Reading Beijing, Japan Corner, Korea Corner, and Taiwan Resource Centre for Chinese Studies. Each section is organised differently. Embassies from Korea and Japan in Slovenia serve as facilitators of information and contacts with the Japan Foundation and the Korea Foundation that provide the financial support for electronic databases, books and other resources. The EARL also collaborates extensively with the Capital Library of China, with the Taiwan Resource Centre for Chinese Studies and various nonprofit institutions from East Asia. All these institutions contribute to the unique concentration of knowledge about the region. EARL offers access to several East Asian databases, to over 3,000 titles of printed books and other materials and is also a lively social place, where students, scholars, practitioners and interested public from the region meet.

The EARL is yet another embodiment of the conviction that Humanities and Social Sciences must go hand in hand to understand what is going on around us and how we got there. Interdisciplinarity matters. One might have the most detailed knowledge about politics or social fabric of any corner in this world; yet, if one does not understand the culture and speak the language people speak in one part of the (East Asian) region or the other, one shall never have a full understanding of it. In modern social sciences and humanities, it is safe to say that this kind of thinking has not yet been internalised. The EARL is built on the premise that the 'wall' between social sciences and humanities is not really high if we use the right ladder, the one which is built from the wealth of interdisciplinary knowledge and experience of scholars coming out from the two branches of science.

In conclusion, let us go back to the reflection on size. We see the EARL not in terms of the small, landlocked room, but, in terms of what it *really* offers. It is a large port, with access to the open sea of resources, going into millions of books, articles and historical documents. In international relations, Open Sea signifies a space with no borders. In our world of science and teaching, knowledge is our ocean. This is why EARL's motto is: *knowledge knows no borders*. It is in this vast space that people with knowledge meet, compare notes, and discuss. With this in mind the EARL hosts presentations, lectures, galery, cultural events, and also academic, professional and unoficial meetings. A very special value of the EARL is the unreserved commitment of our partners to provide the EARL with the very best the region *as a whole* can offer. In trying times like the ones we live in today, access to resources and a possibility to compare them is the only way forward to bridge irrational political differences and discuss the region with only one vision in mind: to assure and sustain lasting peace.

Zlatko Šabič Director General of the East Asia Resource Library (EARL).
Mirjam Kotar Head of the Central Social Library, Chief Coordinator of the EARL.

Naval Kishore Press – digital: From hidden treasure to open access

Nicole Merkel-Hilf

The *Naval Kishore Press* was established in the north Indian city of Lakhnau in 1858 by Munshi Naval Kishore (1836-1895). In the following decades it grew to one of India's most important publishing houses. During Naval Kishore's lifetime the press published around 5,000 titles covering literature in Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit on subjects as diverse as religion, education, medicine, school-books, popular editions of Sanskrit literature, and much more. The library of the South Asia Institute (SAI) at Heidelberg University holds a representative cross section of the Naval Kishore Press' publications with 1,400 titles in print and around 700 titles on microfilm.

In order to make this treasure more visible for scholars the *Naval Kishore Press Bibliography* has been set up by using the open source software VuFind. The bibliography is intended as a provenance database and aims to provide access to bibliographic records as well as digitized online editions of works issued by the Naval Kishore Press that are distributed in libraries worldwide – and not only to the SAI library collection. Currently we are enriching the bibliography with 1,200 title records from the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The bibliography will then contain more than 3,500 entries from eight different libraries.

From the mid-19th century onwards wood pulp paper was used for printing which tends to be acidic and therefore paper deterioration is a problem for the printed part of the collection. For reasons of preservation the *Naval Kishore Press – digital* project was initiated by the SAI library and Heidelberg University Library.[1] Within this project, selected Hindi and Sanskrit titles in Devanagari script from the Naval Kishore Press collection are digitized, but the primary aim of *Naval Kishore Press – digital* is to offer scholars more than a digitized image facsimile. The goal is to produce machine-readable texts that can be further edited online by using digital editing techniques.

Suitable OCR software especially for South Asian scripts has long been unavailable due to the complexity of the writing systems and has turned out often to be unsuitable for mass digitization projects. For the *Naval Kishore Press – digital* project two text recognition methods have been used – the OCR software for Hindi and Sanskrit developed by ind.senz and, more recently, a data model trained by Transkribus.[2] For the training of the model 200 pages of a so-called 'ground truth' transcription was produced, i.e. an accurate representation of the text on the image facsimile. The ground truth transcription and the images are then used
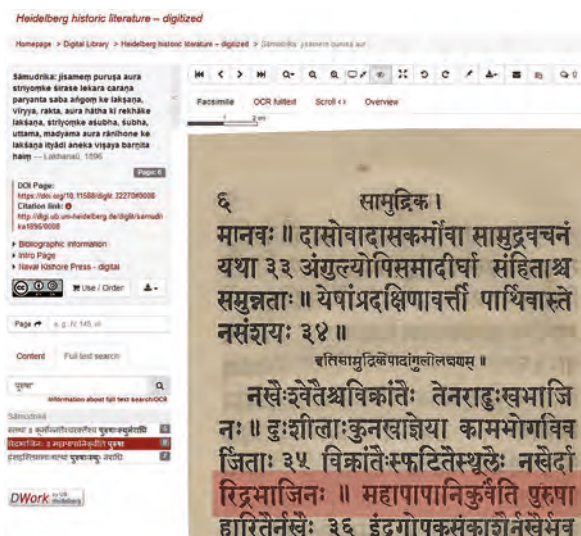
to train a recurrent neural network to get a data model to automatically transcribe more texts from the Naval Kishore Press collection. With an error rate of 5,59% on a random test set the results are very promising and we are using the model now on the digitized Hindi and Sanskrit texts of the Naval Kishore Press collection.

For the web presentation of the digitized images and the OCRed full-texts created with Transkribus the software 'DWork – Heidelberg Digitization Workflow' is used, an in-house development by Heidelberg University Library. It provides a variety of functions for the use of digital copies, such as thumbnail overview, zooming in and out, full text search, and various navigation features as well as components for annotations.

Words or phrases from the Hindi and Sanskrit texts can be searched in Devanagari script or in Latin transliteration and the results are highlighted in the image facsimile as well as the recognized text. Furthermore, users can download a high quality OCR-PDF of the facsimile from the project website where the text is also fully searchable in both scripts.

The annotation tool implemented in DWork allows scholars worldwide to work collaboratively on a text or text corpus independent of place and time. Each annotation can be entered comfortably via a web form, is provided with the name of its author and can be reliably referenced and quoted by being assigned a DOI. Revisions are saved as new versions, while earlier versions remain still visible and can be accessed through the revision history.

Both resources can be accessed on CrossAsia:
https://themen.crossasia.org

Nicole Merkel-Hilf Chief coordinator "South Asia" FID Asien, SAI Library.

Notes

1 *Naval Kishore Press – digital* is part of a larger, three-year project 'Fachinformationsdienst Asien' (FID Asien), funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) until the end of 2018. The FID Asien project is cooperatively carried out by the State Library in Berlin, Heidelberg University Library and the South Asia Institute. The web portal CrossAsia is used as the central access point to the project results and for scientific information in Asian studies (https://crossasia.org/en).
2 https://transkribus.eu/Transkribus

200 years Oriental Studies in Russia

The Institute of Oriental Studies against the background of Russian history

Dina V. Dubrovskaya

This year marks the 200 Years Anniversary of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences, RAS). To celebrate this grand achievement, we gladly share this fascinating account of the history and scope of Oriental Studies in Russia.

In 1818, the Asiatic Museum, founded in the capital of Saint Petersburg as a continuation of Russian pursuits in Oriental research (in Moscow, Kazan and elsewhere), became the new platform of academic endeavour in all things Asian, from numismatics to linguistics, to history. For the Russian Empire, this interest was not recreational. Since before Peter the Great, Russia's orientation was towards the East. It bordered on Turkey, China and Russian Central Asia, embraced Georgia and Armenia, and thus had a burning need to understand 'the East'. The Asiatic Museum's first home was Peter the Great's *Kunstkamera* (1714), one of the oldest world museums. Its first Director was Christian Martin Frähn (1782-1851), who acquired the outstanding Arabic manuscripts, medals and book collection of the French diplomat Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Jacques Rousseau (1780-1831). It was thanks to Frähn that the future of Oriental research could take shape, supporting researchers in both capitals. From this foundation, the Asiatic Museum steadily grew in numbers of researchers as well as materials, including Chinese and Mongolian collections, the Buddhist collection of Pavel Schilling von Cannstatt, those of the Caucasian Fund as well as Armenian and Georgian collections, up to the October Revolution of 1918.

The second Director (1876), Boris Dorn, started the publication *Mélanges asiatiques*, the first Russian scholarly periodical (in French), followed by many other orientalist journals. In 1876, the Third International Congress of Orientalists was held in Saint Peters, and by the end of the century the Russian school could boast scholars of international merit, including Directors Victor Rozen, Ferdinand Videman, Wassily Radloff and Karl Zaleman as well as other eminent scholars.

In order to survive the October 1918 turmoil, 'Oriental Studies', in part, followed the new Soviet government to Moscow, where the Moscow Institute of the Orient (МИВ) was established. In Saint Petersburg, Oriental Studies embarked on a new chapter in 1930 under its present name of 'Institute of Oriental Studies' at the then Soviet Academy of Sciences (IOS/SAS), led by the outstanding Orientalist and Head of the Russian Buddhology School, Academician Sergey Oldenburg (1863-1934).

The 1930s were a very difficult and tragic period for Soviet Oriental Studies, attacked both theoretically by the Leninist-Stalinist demands of Marxist approaches to the Humanities and by up-front attacks: arrests, prosecutions, exiles and executions of scholars, under false pretences. One victim was the next Director of IOS/SAS, Academician/Turkologist Alexander Samoilovitch (1880-1938). Accused of being a Japanese spy, he vanished in 1937 and was shot in 1938. His successor, Egyptologist Wasily Struve, managed to establish a shaky balance between the Humanities and the regime by putting forward the pseudo-Marxist idea of the 'Five-part Theory' of socio-economic formations. It was so highly appreciated by Stalin that Struve was elevated in the Academy 'on the basis of merit'.
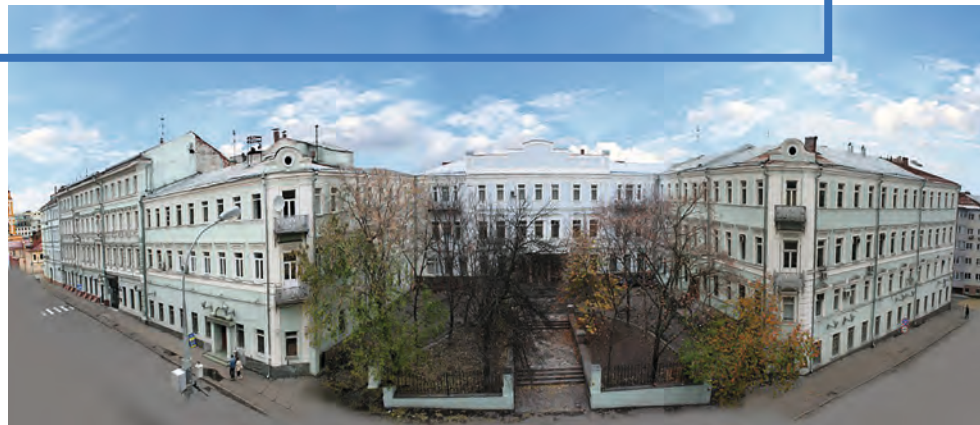
During World War II, IOS/SAS continued its work, both in besieged Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), led by A. Boldyrev, and led by Struve, 'in evacuation', a time passed mainly in Tashkent (Uzbekistan), where Soviet scholars did their best to both carry on their general studies and help the country with up-to-date research, such as *Fascist Escapade's Collapse in Iran* by G. Gelbras, *German Imperialism in the Far East* by A. Guber. Meanwhile, the Moscow Group of IOS/SAS emerged, headed by another outstanding scholar, Academician and Arabist Ignaty Krachkovsky (1883-1951), who soon gathered the main orientalist forces of the country around the Moscow-based research of Asia and Africa, including Iran-specialist V. Gordlevsky, Indologist I. Reisner and Byzantologist N. Pigulevskaya, and many others.

In the summer of 1950, IOS/SAS moved to Kropotkinskaya St.12 on the banks of the Moscow River, as per usual absorbing a number of institutions along the way (most notably the famous SAS Pacific Ocean Institute). After several other directors, it was finally headed, in 1955, by the truly exemplary scholar and Southeast Asia specialist Alexander Guber (1902-1971). Unfortunately, events of the liberating 20th CPSU Congress once again shook the Institute hard when Party functionary Anastas Mikoyan declared that "the Orient has woken up, while the Institute of Oriental Studies still keeps sleeping". He was neither right, nor helpful. Both young and older communists-scholars of the Institute had been discussing Khrushchev and his responsibility in Stalin's terror. Director Guber was forced to resign and Party functionary and Soviet Orient expert Bobodjan Gafurov took over, well-known in the USSR and abroad as a wise man, diplomat and a perfect 'Oriental sage'.

Gafurov's time was the first period after the war that the Institute flourished, profiting from Khrushchev's *Thaw* and blessed with manifold theoretical discussion, new breakthrough scholarly journals, its very own publishing house and a massive increase in personnel. The Institute thrived under Gafurov. Many liberal intellectual leaders (among them J. Brodsky and A. Solzhenitsyn) gave talks at the Institute. Soviet orientalists participated in all orientalist scholarly activities of the time. In 1960, Moscow hosted the 25th International Congress of Orientalists with about 1400 visitors from around the world, and in 1964, 38 Soviet scholars participated in the 26th International Congress in Delhi, publishing their talks and articles in English and French.

In 1977, IOS/SAS moved to the centre of Moscow, where it still resides today in the old spacious mansion on Rozhdestvenka Street 12. This period is marked by scholarly discussion, thousands of publications, the establishment of leading Schools of Sinology as well as Arabic, Turkic, Indian, Pakistani, South-East Asian, Japanese, Israeli, and Middle Eastern Studies. Their activities include research of written

and epigraphic sources, linguistics, literature and culture, vast expeditionary activities, translations of works of the East and Africa and the composition of dictionaries, the most famous being the legendary Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary. After twenty years, Gafurov was followed by a very special person in Soviet history: Evgeny Primakov (1929-2015), brilliant political scientist, journalist, diplomat and the future Foreign Minister and Prime Minister) of Russia, and famous for his drastic U-turn over the Atlantic Ocean during the Yugoslavian Crisis of 1999 (Primakov's Loop).

In spite of Brezhnev's stagnation period, Primakov's years of the second Post War Renaissance proved to be quite productive for the Soviet Oriental Humanities. Producing numerous situational analyses for the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Institute's prestige soared. It became an eminent think-tank, both profiling modern political problems and producing research in the 'traditional cycle' of Oriental Studies. Led by Primakov (from 1979 Academician of SAS), IOS/SAS was awarded the Order of Labour Red Banner, with many of its scholars also winning other prestigious awards and distinctions, both Soviet/Russian and international.

From 1987, the Institute was led by the Sinologist and former Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa (1921-1995). Economic problems had a major impact; together with the whole country the Institute survived rather than thrived. Yet, somehow, Chernyshevsky's principle of 'the worse, the better' proved to be true when the Third All-Union Congress of Orientalists in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, declared its most inclusive umbrella theme 'Interaction of Cultures and Civilizations'. After Kapitsa, the most notable Director of IOS, now part of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was Vitaly Naumkin (presently Scientific Director), established Arabist and Yemeni history researcher and author of the acclaimed 'Corpus of Soqotri language', declared the second most important scholarly achievement of 2014.

Since 2015, the Institute is headed by Professor Valery P. Androsov, notable Buddhologist, Sanskrit specialist and author of many books. Nowadays IOS/RAS holds numerous domestic and international conferences, undertakes expeditions in Egypt, Sudan, Yemen, the Crimea and Central Asia, and publishes multiple journals (among which the *Journal of IOS/RAS*, whose Executive Editor is the author of this article) as well as numerous monographs and edited volumes. Most importantly, the Institute is raising new, young scholars in the field of Oriental Studies to carry on our 200 years of research, service to the Humanities and to the country, and our love for the Orient.

Dina V. Dubrovskaya PhD, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, Moscow. distan@gmail.com

Symposium: Water Heritage in Asian Cities

29 Nov - 1 Dec 2018
Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, China

The symposium is a collaboration between the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), New York University Shanghai and Fudan University, Department of Cultural Heritage and Museology.

Current policy discourses on water in cities tend to treat water narrowly, as a threat and an element to engineer against and overcome, or as a resource to be managed and regulated. What is missing in this rather uni-dimensional and technocratic approach is an appreciation of the multiple engagements between human beings and water in historical context. If water is part of a socio-ecological system, its challenges and opportunities must be addressed in a multi-disciplinary fashion, connected to social, economic, political as well as ecological considerations.

The event features four panels, each of which examines a different dimension of urban water heritage in Asia, in relation to ancient as well as contemporary cities. Each panel is organized by one of the organizing institutions.

More information: https://iias.asia/event/water-heritage-asian-cities

Call for Papers Symposium: Open Pages in South Asian Studies

22-23 January 2019
Gauhati University, Assam, India

Organised by The Centre for South East Asian Studies and the Department of Foreign Languages at Gauhati University, India and The International Centre for South Asian Studies and the Faculty of International Relations and Area Studies at the Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia.

This interdisciplinary symposium cum workshop aims to address a number of critical contemporary issues from the perspective of the respective countries as well as from the perspective of South Asia as a transnational regional entity.

For more information,
see page 51 of this issue.

IIAS Annual Lecture 2018

© Merlijn Doomernik

20 November 2018
Ruben Terlou
Chinese Dreams. The human face of changing China. Rode Hoed, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This year's International Institute for Asian Studies Annual Lecture will be delivered by Ruben Terlou. Ruben Terlou is a Dutch documentary filmmaker, photographer and medical doctor. He has worked extensively as a photographer in China and Afghanistan, winning several Dutch Silver Camera Awards and the prize for Innovative Photojournalism. He is also well-known for his television documentary series 'Along the banks of the Yangzi' and 'Through the Heart of China'.

In his address, Ruben Terlou will share his thoughts on modern-day China, his personal experiences and his photographs. Most importantly, he shows what fascinates and drives him most: the human condition, the adaptability of the people to the enormous changes taking place, while simultaneously showing how they stay faithful to their culture and all things in which they believe.

Also see page 5 of this issue.
Information and registration:
https://iias.asia/chinese-dreams

IIAS Celebrates 25 years

The official opening of the International Institute for Asian Studies took place on 13 October 1993. We will be celebrating the Institute's past quarter of a century during this upcoming year, starting on the same date with the publication of this issue of The Newsletter; followed shortly thereafter by our Annual Lecture by Ruben Terlou on 20 November, and culminating in our biennial conference ICAS, which next year July will return to the Netherlands, where it had its first instalment in 1998.

See page 4-5 for more details concerning IIAS 25 Years.

International Institute for Asian Studies

25 years

connecting knowledge and people

The New Silk Road: China's Belt and Road initiative in context

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) has recently started a new project of interdisciplinary research aimed at the study of the Belt and Road Initiative of the Chinese government, with special attention for the impact of the 'New Silk Road' on countries, regions and peoples outside of China.

For more information,
see page 49 of this issue.

Photography © Ania Blazejewska

IIAS National Master's Thesis Prize 2018

IIAS offers an annual award for the best national master's thesis in the broad 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 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 Oct 2017 – 31 October 2018
• 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.

Submissions should be sent to:
Secretariat
International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)
P.O. Box 9500
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands

Application deadline: 1 November 2018, 9:00 am
For further information email: iias@iias.nl

IIAS Fellowship Programme

Along with the research fellows who are attached to one of the IIAS research programmes, the Institute yearly hosts a large number of visiting researchers (affiliated fellows) who come to Leiden to work on their own individual research project. In addition, IIAS also facilitates the teaching and research by various professorial fellows as part of agreements with Dutch universities, foreign ministries and funding organisations. Meet our fellows at www.iias.asia/page/fellows

In the spotlight
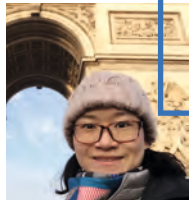
Xiaosen Song

Research School for Southeast Asian Studies, Xiamen University, China
Vietnamese women in the process of modern Vietnam's nation-building

❝ My research concerns the existence, perspective and role of Vietnamese women in the early 20th century to 1975. During which period, Vietnamese women emerged as a power with their own patriotic contributions in the process of modern Vietnam's nation building and nation defending. Various kinds of women's organizations with different purposes and backgrounds appeared. Printing materials such as newspapers and journals as well as memoirs of the people who lived during that period can help us reconstruct the image of women's involvement in that huge undertaking. Considering both personal factors, such as origin, career and marriage, and external factors, including the revolution need and various mobilization propaganda schemes from different regimes in Vietnam, I will analyze the views of Vietnamese women on nation building and nation defending.

Pursuing a PhD at Xiamen University in China, my fellowship with IIAS is a great support. I have access to the extensive collection of books at the libraries of Leiden University, where especially enjoy the new, beautiful and well-equipped 'Asian Library'. IIAS supports me in my wider data collection from various institutions in the Netherlands and in Europe. IIAS Director Dr Philippe Peycam, my supervisor here, helps me to explore the treasure collections at the National Library of France. Moreover, benefiting from the international and interdisciplinary platform that is IIAS, I have the opportunity to meet and communicate with excellent scholars from various fields of Asian studies and to experience the boundlessness of their knowledge.

In addition to the academic glory, Leiden also impresses me with its nature-loving attitude. Ancient buildings and vibrant floral vines bring out the best in each other, even if the 'cute' seagulls can turn to be quite aggressive around the fish stores on the Saturday open market along the canals in the city centre. It is impossible to feel aesthetic fatigue in the Netherlands. Thanks to the outing activities organized by IIAS, we, as fellows, enjoyed various forms of art, from the sculpture garden in the Kröller-Müller museum in the national park 'De Hoge Veluwe' to the tulip fields in the 'Keukenhof'. At the suggestions of the most friendly staff in IIAS, with my public transportation and museum cards, I can visit a lot of great places in the Netherlands. One year's life in Leiden is an extraordinary experience for me. The impact will surely last until the next trip to the same destination.

Daniel Mekonnen

Eritrean Law Society (ELS);
IIAS/ASCL joint fellow
China's First-Ever Military Base Abroad: Implications for Regional Peace and Security in the Turbulent Horn of Africa

❝ My 6-month research project at IIAS is partly a follow-up to my most recent publication dealing with the law of visiting forces in a Pan-African context, a chapter I contributed to a volume edited by Dieter Fleck, *The Handbook of the Law of Visiting Forces* (Oxford University Press, 2018, 2nd. end., pp. 526-532). This contribution focused on the evolving norm of a Pan-African collective military cooperation. My current research project deals with the establishment of the first ever military base of China abroad, which happens to be in Djibouti. Over and above addressing the implications of this development for regional peace and security in the ever turbulent region of the Horn of Africa, my research will also address the other question of: how this issue will be seen in the context of the newly introduced concept of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the umbrella term for the key AU mechanisms for promoting peace, security and stability in the African continent.

The most dominant discourse on Africa-China relations is one, which is mainly concerned about China's aggressive financial flow to Africa. My research makes a conscious departure from this, by emphasising on the unfolding paradigm shift in China's foreign policy. The launch of China's first ever military base abroad (of July 2017) raises critical questions about the fact that the military base is located in a region (the Horn of Africa) described by some experts as the most conflict-ridden part of the world since the end of WWII – at least in terms of frequency of armed conflicts.

This being a joint fellowship of the African Studies Centre Leiden (ASCL) and IIAS, it offers me unique opportunity in terms of benefiting from the broad network of scholars and researchers that are affiliated in different ways with these two major European centres of excellence. They come as ideal host institutions for a comparative study on Africa-Asia relations. The resourceful library of the ASCL is another additional factor, proving my research stay in Leiden rewarding.

Some of my preliminary research findings will be tested in the second edition of the 'Africa-Asia: A New Axis of Knowledge' conference, taking place at the University of Dar es Salaam in late September 2018, paving the way for the targeted end result of a peer-reviewed journal article.

IIAS Fellowship possibilities and requirements

Apply for an IIAS fellowship

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, the Netherlands, invites outstanding researchers to apply for an IIAS fellowship to work on a relevant piece of research in the social sciences and humanities.

Combine your IIAS fellowship with two extra months of research in Paris

When applying for an IIAS Fellowship, you have the option of simultaneously submitting an application for an additional two months of research at the Collège d'études mondiales of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (CEM-FMSH), in Paris, France, immediately after your stay in Leiden.

Application deadlines: 1 March & 1 October

Apply for an IIAS-ASCL fellowship

The IIAS-ASCL joint fellowship is intended for researchers specialising in Asian-African interactions.

Application deadlines: 15 March & 15 September

Apply for a Gonda fellowship

For promising young Indologists at the post-doctorate level it is possible to apply for funding with the J. Gonda Foundation of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) to spend three to six months doing research at IIAS.

Application deadlines: 1 April & 1 October

Information and application forms:
www.iias.asia/fellowships

IIAS Research, Networks, and Initiatives

IIAS research and other initiatives are carried out within a number of thematic, partially overlapping research clusters in phase with contemporary Asian currents and built around the notion of social agency. In addition, IIAS remains open to other potentially significant topics. More information: www.iias.asia

IIAS research clusters

Asian Cities

This cluster deals with cities and urban cultures with their issues of flows and fluxes, ideas and goods, and cosmopolitism and connectivity at their core, framing the existence of vibrant 'civil societies' and political micro-cultures. Through an international knowledge network, IIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities 'in context' and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

Asian Heritages

This cluster focuses on the uses of culture and cultural heritage practices in Asia. In particular, it addresses a variety of definitions associated with cultural heritage and their implications for social agency. The cluster engages with a broad range of related concepts and issues, including the contested assertions of 'tangible' and 'intangible', concepts such as 'authenticity', 'national heritage' and 'shared heritage', and, in general, with issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage.

Global Asia

Asia has a long history of transnational linkages with other parts of the world, thereby shaping the global order, as much as the world at large continues to shape Asia. The Global Asia Cluster addresses contemporary issues related to Asia's projection into the world as well as trans-national interactions within the Asian region itself. In addition IIAS aims to help develop a more evenly balanced field of Asian Studies by collaborating in trans-regional capacity building initiatives and by working on new types of methodological approaches that encourage synergies and interactions between disciplines, regions and practices.

Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA)

The Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) is an inclusive network that brings together scholars and practitioners engaged in collaborative research and events on cities in Asia. It seeks to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the centre of urban governance and development strategies. The emphasis is on immediate problem solving as well as on the identification of long-term, transformative processes that increase the scope for the active engagement of people in the creative production and shaping of the city in Asia. The UKNA Secretariat is at IIAS, but the network comprises universities and planning institutions across China, India, Southeast Asia and Europe. Its current flagship project is the Southeast Asia Neighbourhoods Network (SEANNET).

Next symposium: *Water Heritage in Asian Cities*, Shanghai, China, 29 Nov. - 1 Dec. 2018. See page 52 of this issue.

www.ukna.asia
Coordinator: Paul Rabé p.e.rabe@iias.nl
Clusters: Asian Cities; Asian Heritages

Southeast Asia Neighborhoods Network (SEANNET)

SEANNET is a four-year project (2017-2020), supported by a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation (New York, USA) that seeks to develop a multi-disciplinary body of knowledge on cities in Southeast Asia through the prism of the neighbourhood. Through case study sites in six cities (Mandalay, Myanmar; Chiang Mai and Bangkok, Thailand; Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam; Manila, Philippines; Surabaya, Indonesia), SEANNET seeks to engage the humanistic social sciences in a dialogue with urban stakeholders as co-contributors of an alternative knowledge on cities. It seeks to achieve this through a combination of participatory field-research, in-situ roundtables and workshops, academic conferences, publications, and new forms of pedagogy developed in collaboration with local institutions of learning. The second ambition of SEANNET is to help shape and empower a community of early career scholars and practitioners working on and from Southeast Asia. To that effect, SEANNET research teams in the six neighbourhoods comprise international and local scholars, students from local universities, and civil society representatives, working together with neighbourhood residents.

www.ukna.asia/seannet
Coordinators: Paul Rabé
p.e.rabe@iias.nl
and Rita Padawangi Singapore
University of Social Sciences
ritapadawangi@suss.edu.sg
Cluster: Asian Cities

Indian Medical Research Network

IIAS supports the work of the Indian Medical Research Network, which aims to stimulate social-cultural and social-historical research on Indian medical traditions such as Ayurveda, Unanitibb, Siddha, Yoga and Sowa Rigpa. Of special interest is the integration of Indian medicine in Indian public health and its role as second resort for middleclass Indians and Europeans.

www.iias.nl/indianmedicine
Coordinator: Maarten Bode
m.bode@uva.nl
Cluster: Asian Heritages

Double Degree in Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe

Initiated by IIAS, this programme involves Leiden University in the Netherlands, two Institutes at National Taiwan University in Taiwan and one at Yonsei University in South Korea. Discussions with other possible partners in Asia are ongoing. The programme offers selected students the opportunity to follow a full year study at one of the partner institutes with full credits and a double degree. The curriculum at Leiden University benefits from the contributions of Prof Michael Herzfeld (Harvard) as a guest teacher and the Senior Advisor to the Critical Heritage Studies Initiative of IIAS.

www.iias.nl/critical-heritage-studies
Coordinator: Elena Paskaleva
e.g.paskaleva@hum.leidenuniv.nl
Cluster: Asian Heritages

Humanities across Borders: Asia & Africa in the World

Co-funded by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (New York, USA) this new IIAS programme (2017-2020) for global collaboration on humanistic education is carried out by a consortium of twenty-three leading institutes in Asia, West Africa, Europe and the United States, and their local partners in Asia and Africa. Its goal is to mobilise the development of a global consortium of universities and their local partners interested in fostering humanities-grounded education. Its substantive vision is that of an inclusive and expanded humanities. To this end, the program will initiate methodological interventions in teaching and research to surpass narrow disciplinary, institutional and ideological agendas. The programme facilitates border-crossing meetings, workshops and other collaborative pedagogical formats in its partner geographies. Jointly conducted, these events aim to shape a curricular matrix and framework for humanistic education across borders.

Follow the stories on the Humanities across Borders Blog
www.humanitiesacrossborders.blog

www.iias.asia/hab
Clusters: Global Asia; Asian Heritages

Africa-Asia, A New Axis of Knowledge

'Africa-Asia, A New Axis of Knowledge' is an inclusive transnational platform that convenes scholars, artists, intellectuals, and educators from Africa, Asia, Europe, and beyond to study, discuss, and share knowledge on the intricate connections and entanglements between the African and Asian world regions. Our aim is to contribute to the long-term establishment of an autonomous, intellectual and academic community of individuals and institutions between two of the world's most vibrant continents. We aspire to facilitate the development of research and educational infrastructures in African and Asian universities, capable of delivering foundational knowledge in the two regions about one another's cultures and societies. This exchange, we believe, is a prerequisite for a sustainable and balanced socio-economic progress of the two continents. It is also an opportunity to move beyond the Western-originated fields of Asian and African area studies—something that would benefit Asian, African and Western scholars alike.

www.africasia.org
Cluster: Global Asia


Asian Borderlands Research Network (ABRN)

This network focuses particularly on the border regions between South Asia, Central/East and Southeast Asia. The concerns are varied, ranging from migratory movements, transformations in cultural, linguistic and religious practices, to ethnic mobilisation and conflict, marginalisation, and environmental concerns. ABRN organises a conference in one of these border regions every two years in co-operation with a local partner.

www.asianborderlands.net
Coordinator: Erik de Maaker
maaker@fsw.leidenuniv.nl
Cluster: Global Asia

Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

The latest and second joint research programme of the IIAS Energy Programme Asia carried out with the Institute of West Asia & African Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was entitled *The Transnationalization of China's Oil Industry (2013-2017)*. It analysed 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.

Publication: *Geopolitical Economy of Energy and Environment China and the European Union* (Medhi P. Amineh, Yang Guang, 2017).
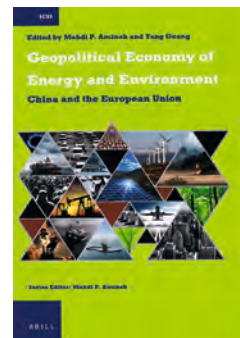
www.iias.nl/research/energy-programme-asia-epa
Coordinator: M. Amineh
m.p.amineh@uva.nl; m.p.amineh@iias.nl
Cluster: Global Asia

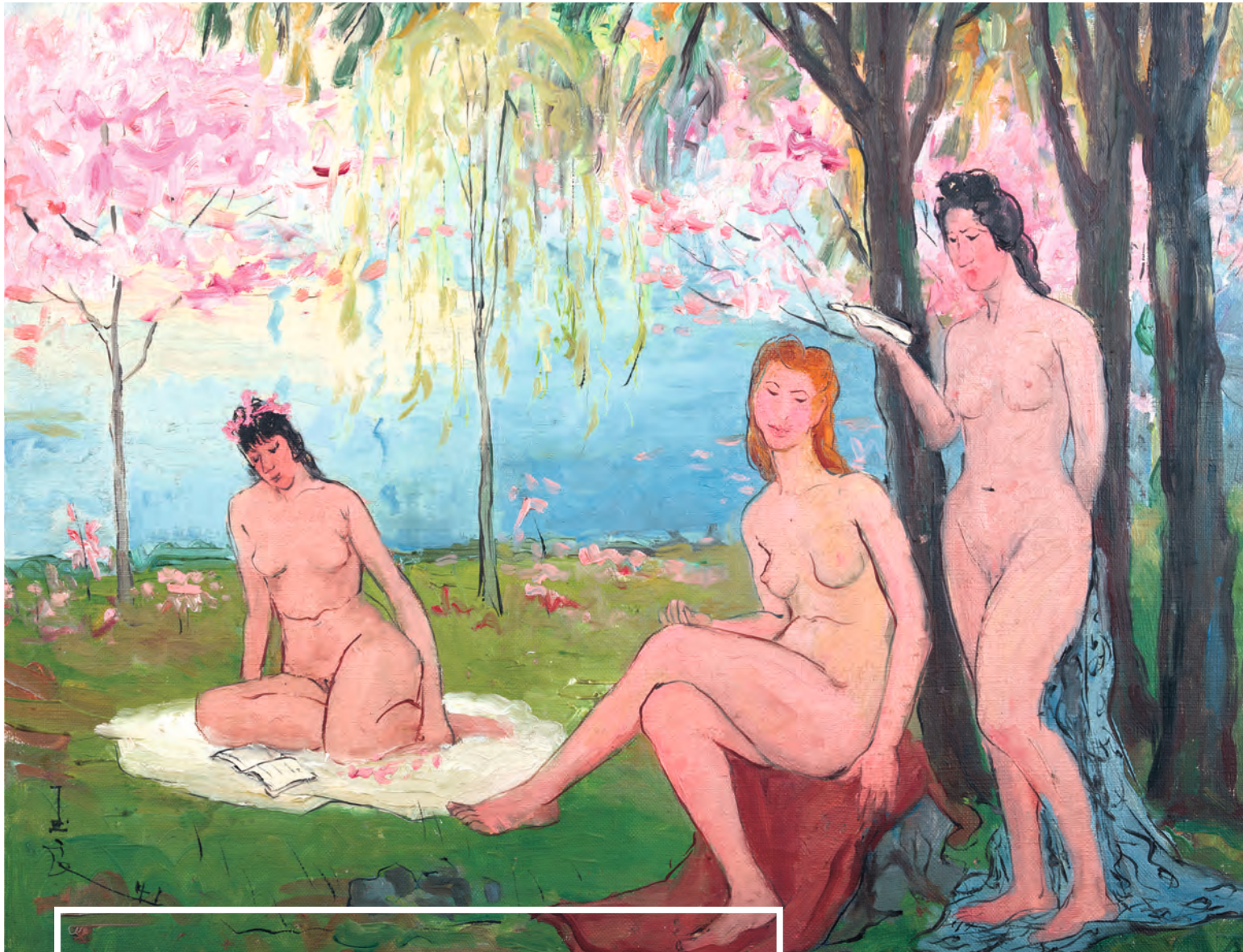## International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)

With its biennial conferences, International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) is the largest global forum for academics and civil society exchange on Asia. Founded in 1997 at the initiative of IIAS, ICAS serves as a platform for scholars, social and cultural leaders, and institutions focusing on issues critical to Asia, and, by implication, the rest of the world. The ICAS biennial conferences are organised in cooperation with local universities, cities and institutions and attended by scholars and other experts, institutions and publishers from 60 countries. ICAS also organises the biennial 'ICAS Book Prize' (IBP), which awards the most prestigious prizes in the field of Asian Studies for books and PhD theses in English, Korean, Chinese, French and German (more language editions are planned for the future).

Ten conventions have been held since 1997 (Leiden, Berlin, Singapore, Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur, Daejon, Honolulu, Macao, Adelaide, and Chiang Mai).

ICAS 11 will be held in Leiden, the Netherlands, 16-19 July 2019.

Website: www.icas.asia
IIAS/ICAS secretariat:
Paul van der Velde icas@iias.nl

Leiden Centre for Indian Ocean Studies

The Leiden Centre for Indian Ocean Studies brings together people and methods to study the 'Indian Ocean World', aiming to co-organize conferences, workshops and academic exchanges with institutions from the region. Together with IIAS, the Centre facilitates an inclusive and global platform bringing together scholars and institutions working on connections and comparisons across the axis of human interaction with an interest in scholarship that cuts across borders of places, periods and disciplines.

www.iias.asia/research/leiden-centre-indian-ocean-studies
Cluster: Global Asia

Centre for Regulation & Governance (CRG)

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 multi-disciplinary 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.

Cluster: Global Asia

Above: Song of Spring (Three Ladies), 1941; 45 x 54 cm, Oil on canvas. Top right: Two Girls Dancing with Fans, Undated; 33 x 24 cm, Oil on wooden board. Below left: Portrait of Three, 1940; 60 x 50 cm, Oil on canvas. Bottom: Self-portrait in Red, c. 1940; 90 x 64 cm, Oil on canvas. All images, courtesy Anhui Provincial Museum.

Song of Spring: Pan Yu-Lin in Paris

12 September 2018 – 6 January 2019
Chantal Miller Gallery,
Asia Society Hong Kong Center (ASHK),
https://asiasociety.org/hong-kong

Asia Society Hong Kong Center's '20th Century Chinese Female Artists Exhibition Series', the first of its kind in Hong Kong, aims to reclaim the story of Chinese female artists. By providing local Hong Kong audiences with important examples of their artistic accomplishments, we hope to honor these female artists with the public recognition they deserve for their contribution to the making of modern China. From a wider community context, 'the Series' fits into the discourse on female empowerment and equality in today's Hong Kong, where research indicates that women continue to face challenges in male-dominated industries as well as gender stereotypes in the media and the workplace.

While the diverse achievements of female talents across different fields have gained better light in recent years, female artists remain an under-represented and under-appreciated segment in many societies and even more so across Chinese communities. Yet the emergence of female artists in 20th century China was a testament to both the country's social progress and the various redefinitions of modernity that were adopted in a historical context complicated by wars and disasters. In scholastic studies and exhibitions, however, attention has been focused on modern Chinese male artists. Exhibitions featuring the creative attainments and influences of their female counterparts from the period are few and far between, and rarely in monographic presentations.

The second exhibition in 'the Series' focuses on the life and works of Pan Yu-Lin, and also includes educational talks and activities targeting participation from the local community; these programs and activities draw upon Pan Yu-Lin's story of great personal resiliency throughout her lifetime to exemplify the perseverance and outstanding achievements of women throughout the ages. Through education programs for children, students, families, and the general public, we will highlight achievements of women in various industries while connecting to the lives and careers of the unique female artists presented in the Series.

The artist: Pan Yu-Lin

Belonging to the first generation of Chinese students to study fine arts in France, Pan Yu-Lin (aka Pan Yuliang, 1895-1977) was a pioneer at a time when it was rare for women to achieve independent careers as professional artists. Pan was distinguished for her individual style that synthesized eastern and western sensibilities as well as her academic contributions as one of the first female art professors in modern China. Unlike most of her compatriots who built their careers back home after overseas education, Pan came to live and develop her individual style in the competitive Parisian art world until her death.

Born in Yangzhou to humble origins, Pan came of age when China underwent rapid

modernization influenced by western science and democracy. During the radical 1919 May Fourth Movement, co-ed higher education was sanctioned and Pan seized the chance to enter the Shanghai Art Academy, thereafter traveled to France in 1921 on government scholarship to study fine arts. She spent almost a decade studying drawing, painting, and sculpture between Lyon, Paris, and Rome. The cornerstone of her western training was life

drawing; she excelled at figure painting, which foreshadowed her signature mature works of female nudes. Yet, it was not so long ago that life drawing was still banned from women, as it was considered morally improper. Art historian Linda Nochlin identifies this restriction as a significant obstacle to women's artistic potential, because the highest forms of painting all require mastery of painting the human figure. The taboo of life drawing in China continued through to the 1930s and Pan constantly had to confront and overcome the contentious emancipation of the female body in her art-making.

The exhibition: Song of Spring

In search of creative breathing space, Pan returned to Paris in 1937 to find new inspiration for her own visual language. The many striking portraits she completed in this period opens the exhibition, entitled: *Song of Spring: Pan Yu-Lin in Paris*. In western art history, portraiture had historically asserted the status of the sitter. The fact that Pan, a Chinese woman artist, often depicted herself at the easel is an assertion of her individual identity and the appropriation of western art modality for new expression in modern Chinese art.

Pan's iconic works of the nude continue the exhibition. Depicted in sketches, ink and color, and oil, Pan's female nudes reveal how she could capture natural expression of the body involved in various activities, with her subjects often oblivious to our gaze, completely at ease in their physicality. Many of Pan's nudes combine the fluid lines of Chinese calligraphy with western pointillist approach to color, creating a unique modern aesthetic that bridges eastern and western sensibilities. Pan also often represented women of color, speaking to her experience as an émigré artist in France. The exhibition concludes with Pan's humanistic vision in a series of dancing women that spotlight free expression of the female body in idyllic visions, and reveal her ability to translate the vitality of three-dimensional human body on canvas.

This first-ever solo exhibition of Pan Yu-Lin in Hong Kong brings treasured works, many grade one cultural relics, from the Anhui Museum to a local audience in a rare presentation. The life and art of Pan Yu-Lin is invaluable for learning about the impact of Western painting on modern Chinese art and the significance of revolutionizing culture in the making of modern China. Pan's embodiment of the learned and independent new Republican woman also speaks to the greater history of Chinese female emancipation and sheds light on contemporary gender discourses that are increasingly urgent today.

With thanks to