

especially the rebels, enabled her to gather facts unavailable to other writers. Anecdotes give faces to the otherwise grim façade of the rebels as shown on the television. The photo gallery provides a glimpse of how the key players looked like then; it also shows photographs of a young Danilo Lim, rebel then, rebel now.

Reading the book, one gets the impression of spoiled military men who will stage a mutiny if they are not allowed to have their way. And juxtaposed with what happened and what is happening, the impression might be more than justified, because instead of the military being beholden to the people, the one in power is afraid of the army, lest he or she incurs the displeasure of these brats. People in uniform elicit fear, not respect. Things have not changed much. If the results of the 2010 national election are of any indication, the people behind those unrests, recent or otherwise, are still around. And are still in power. The United States of America still play a big role in our affairs.

It is said that the people are the true heroes, unless everybody realised this, army men, will always think of themselves as saviours, and this book might yet need another updated version.

Urbanization and Formation of Ethnicity in Southeast Asia

Edited by Toh Goda

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At first glance, the title of the book appears to involve the entire Southeast Asia, which is just illogical and absurd since there is no way that a single book can encompass the ethnic groups in the whole Southeast Asia in its 200-plus pages. However, reading the preface, the editor states that only four countries, namely: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam would be the focus of this volume. Consisting of 11 chapters in total, the first four chapters focus on the Philippines, followed by two articles regarding Malaysia, then one on Indonesia, and two chapters concerning Vietnam. The contributors are all Asian, mostly from Japan—seven, and Vietnam—two. A profile of all contributors can be found after the bibliography section of this volume.

Toh Goda, the editor of this book, *Urbanization and Formation of Ethnicity in Southeast Asia*, is professor of social anthropology at the

Graduate School of Intercultural Studies in Kobe University, Japan. While he was a doctoral student in Tokyo Metropolitan University, he received a grant in the University of the Philippines from 1974 to 1976. Since then, his study concentration has been on the Cordillera region of the Philippines. He has written three ethnographies and edited several books. His interests include the theory of anthropological study in politics, ethnicity, urbanisation and culture change.

The book presents comparative field data of the urbanisation and formation of ethnicity in the four aforementioned countries. This subject is important due to the swift proclivity of globalisation, since according to the editor, people in developing countries are dealing with the pressures in achieving economic stability, efficiency and high productivity, and to adapt to this, people have been moving to urban regions or other countries in search of employment.

To understand the complexity of the matters, Goda submits the triangular prism model of society, which has three phases: the first and upper phase is that of nation-states, which involves the government, civil society and market economy; the third phase at the bottom of this prism is that of traditional society (i.e. traditional leadership, gift exchange and self sufficiency economy); and lastly, the second phase, which intercedes the two aforesaid phases, is the triangular fields of intermediate phase. This includes the local government, ethnicity and market economy. An example of this second phase is reciprocated aid funding and microcredit between traditional gift exchange and market economy.

Since the urbanisation in the Third World is tightly related to the second phase, this book's major concern is the formation and transformation of this phase. This can be illustrated by the nature of citizenship—non-citizens or half-citizens (e.g. squatters and temporal immigrants in the prime city) in the urban environments in Southeast Asia. Concerns such as whether or not they are assured of citizen's rights like pension and health insurance, squatters' rights of residence, indigenous peoples' rights to their ancestral domains, or how the government can deal with these matters are only some of the problems arisen from the intermediate phase.

This collection aims to clarify and highlight the ideological level of nation-states and the structure and function of the traditional society, and most of all on the intermediate phase of the two different phases—nation-states and traditional society. Additionally, this book analyses the various

realms of urbanisation in Southeast Asia.

In the introduction, Goda explores the problems and prospects in the anthropological study of the urbanisation and formation of ethnicity in Southeast Asia. He first defines urbanisation based on the characteristics listed by Keensing, including its limitations such as religion and the type of government, and Tambiah's emphasis on the importance of the formation of ethnicity in urban environment. Goda places great importance in the relation of the two (urbanisation and the formation of ethnicity) since he believes that the nation-states are "a result of multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious condition." As further highlight to urban ethnicity, the editor chooses to consider the different kinds of cities to scrutinise the shared relations between government policies for ethnic minorities and the effects of these policies to the people. He defines *city* in a general sense, which is "an administrative unit based on population", and which varies from one country to another's legal definition. He mentions Low's classification of cities in accord of the social, functional, historical and symbolic indexes: *Ethnic City*, *Divided City*, *Gendered City* and *Contested City*. On an economic view, cities are divided into three sets: *Deindustrialized City*, *Global City* and *Informational City*. Another perspective—the urban planning and architecture views, cities have three classifications: *Modernist City*, *Postmodern City* and *Fortress City*. Based on religion and culture, the two types of cities are *Sacred City* and *Traditional City*. And based on the cities in Southeast Asia, Goda also adds two more models, namely, *Primate City* and *Hill Station City*.

Moreover, Goda discusses the triangular relations of politics, economics and communities in traditional societies and nation-states, involving its ideologies, which reflects in parallel in the two (e.g. redistribution of wealth: in nation-states, through taxation and public investments while in traditional societies, this is portrayed by tributes and ritual feasts of merit). And due to traditional societies being incorporated into the nation-states and world economic systems, an intermediate arena was created due to the relations of the two. The intermediate arena includes the local government, NGO (Non-Government Organisation) and NPO (National Preservation Office), and the Informal Sector. He then combines these three domes, creating a triangular prism of its relations to one another.

Another portion of Goda's introduction is a brief exposition on the theory of culture change, involving the approach of functionalism, functional-structural approach and the conflict theory. He, however,

stresses that this book will disregard the functional integrated society, but will more revolve around the common relation between the traditional society and nation-states, centring on the ethnicity and process of adaptation of ethnic groups to urban environment.

And lastly, Goda succinctly addresses the contents of each contributor's articles as a sneak preview before he ends his introduction.

The first chapter is written by Yasuaki Tamaki, entitled *City, Civil Society and Minority: The Case of the Aeta and the City of Tayabas and Lucena, Quezon, Philippines*. His focus is on the relationship of the Aeta with the cities and 'civil society'. In the first section, he discusses the historical background of the Aeta living in Tayabas and Lucena. This consists of a brief history of the two areas, and the mention that the Aetas were already present in the areas when the Spaniards arrived—according to a Spanish document. He also shortly describes how the Aetas became a minority and how their nomadic lifestyle changed through time due to different factors (e.g. to provide school education to their children).

The second section is about the Aeta and the cities, which is divided into two parts: survival and subsistence in urban setting and Aetas and the two cities (Tayabas and Lucena). As the title of the first part states, it is about how the Aeta make their living in the region, depicting their vending business and their target areas, their difficulty in maintaining their incomes and customers, and the role reversal of the Aeta men and women. The various organisations that reached out and aided these people are also included in this part. Somehow, there is a tinge of bitterness on Tamaki's part as he states that there are several communities of poor people all over the Philippines yet has had not received any attention or aid as the Aetas. The fact that "Aetas are a minority and 'indigenous people,' and they live close to the city," thus making them (the Aetas) "good to aid and easy to approach for students, NGOs and other civil organizations." On the other hand, the second part talks about the fact that the cities of Tayabas and Lucena has no influence whatsoever on the Aetas' lifestyle and identity—that even though they reside there, they are neither a 'citizen' of the two cities at first. After the administrative intervention, where the Aetas registered as residents and voters, several problems arose, with the Aetas at a disadvantage. This part also includes the discrimination and negative views of the Aetas by the majority of the residents of the cities.

The third section is about the relationship of the Aeta community and 'civil society,' and how Aetas became actors of civil society. As

mentioned above, the Aeta community became an easy target for NGOs and other organisations. Again, Tamaki tartly states that even though these volunteers aided the Aetas, they never empowered them to rely on themselves. Thus, consequently rendering these people dependent, powerless and unstructured. But on the lighter side, the second part of this section notes how the Aetas changed the perspectives of the Tagalog people regarding their group.

The fourth section deals with land rights of the Aetas, and their relationship with NCIP (National Commission on Indigenous People) officials. Since Aetas have no permanent residence, there is a difficulty concerning the first matter, as they appear to be not recipients of benefits of the IPRA (Indigenous People Right Act). On the second part, there is an elaborated discussion on relations and conflicts between the two parties (Aetas and NCIP officials) as the two try to come to an understanding in how both would benefit from their relation.

To end this chapter, Tamaki concludes to continually observe the fates of the Aetas as they continue to live in a rapidly developing environment that greatly affects their life-long ways of living.

Goda himself wrote the second chapter, which is entitled as *Formation of Igorot Village in Cainta, Rizal Province, Philippines*. Here, Goda considers the culture change upon migration. He begins with the recognition of the Igorot Village, mainly occupied by the Igorots (Bontok and Kankana-ey) in San Juan, Cainta, Rizal. He describes the village to be a fort-like community, surrounded by a tall wall, and that no outsider can easily enter the village without being scrutinised by the residents. Goda also mentions that there are non-Igorot residents in the community, but these residents are not 'formal members' of the community. Furthermore, Goda examines the cultural traits and trans-regional ties they maintain (e.g. traditions, rituals). There is also an analysis of the people's reaction regarding the IPRA, and the deduction that ethnicity has been toughened through daily activities to develop their livelihood.

The third chapter, *Urbanisation Among the Waray Squatters of Tacloban City, Leyte, Philippines*, is written by a Filipino, Artemio C. Barbosa. His introduction talks about the housing plans of the National Government due to urbanisation, discussing the catalysts of this programme in detail. For his focus of study, he first describes Tacloban City, its location, logistics, and the like before he turns to his main topic: the Waray Ethnicity.

He depicts the Waray ethnicity in the urban setting wherein the Warays have maintained their identity. He greatly illustrates some of their celebrations such as weddings and dances. He also describes their way of life, livelihood and their family relations. As Tacloban City is going through urban development, the slum settlements were demolished to pave way for infrastructures and other government projects, forcing the affected communities to move to the outskirts of the downtown in the city. Barbosa states that there are struggles between the people and the government due to such changes. But then again, the Waray community has very much integrated themselves within the ways of the city. They became proactive with regards of economic activities, with some searching for domestic and overseas employment. For those who could not find work outside the city, they had settled for jobs that they could find within the city. Some even ventured into entrepreneurship. And due to the city promoting the culture and traditions of the Warays, this in turn made the Waray's knowledge of their cultural heritage help the city in promoting tourism in the province.

In his conclusion, Barbosa affirms that changes and progress are a continuing process, and that conflicts cannot be easily avoided since urban planning is not an immediate process, but a long-term one.

The Contemporary Rural-Urban Linkages: A Case of the Philippines is the fourth chapter, authored by Itaru Nagasaki. As the title indicates, Nagasaki focuses on the contemporary rural-urban linkages in the Philippines within the environment of the current socio-economic situations in Metro Manila. He has two sets of fieldwork data: one was conducted in the village of Salpad in Ilocos Norte, and the other was done in Metro Manila, however the interviewees were originally from Salpad. He also has a short discussion on the history of migration from the Ilocos Region and Salpad to Metro Manila.

His paper focuses on the die cutting industry in Metro Manila, wherein people from Salpad and its bordering villages entered the industry in the early 1960s. He discusses on how it began with a single man, who was later joined by his cousin in working in a die cutting factory, and how they founded their own factory after acquiring the set of skills. Nagasaki pays special attention on the fact that the workers hired by these two Ilocanos were either a close kin or a fellow villager. He also shows that due to this, a pattern emerged from this. Young and less educated men relocated to Metro Manila to work in those factories, and then later, some of those men consequently opened their small-scale factories (after

acquiring the necessary skills). Then these owners would hire their relatives and fellow villagers, and carry on to be connected with their kin in their homeland to respond to the demands for labour.

This case study is enormously essential to understand the urbanisation in Southeast Asia since it is associated to the socioeconomic conditions of the contemporary Metro Manila. Nagasaki provides a concrete example of the constant significance of kin and village system in rural-urban migration and people's livelihood in the cities in contemporary Southeast Asia.

The fifth chapter no longer speaks about the Philippines, but of Malaysia. Toshihiro Nobuta's *Urbanisation and Indigenous People: Development among the Orang Asli, Malaysia* centred on the issues of development amongst the Orang Asli, an ethnic minority in Malaysia. He mentions that there are presently three main ethnic groups in Peninsular Malaysia: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. Additionally, various ethnic minority groups also reside in Peninsular Malaysia; Orang Asli, being one of these ethnic minority groups. Nobuta studies the possible destruction of the Orang Asli due to the rapid and drastic urbanisation in Malaysia as they are in danger of losing their ethnic identity and cultural traditions. However, efforts are being made in maintaining or regenerating these.

Nobuta centres particularly on the issues of development amid the Orang Asli as urbanisation might be defined as development in their case. He outlines the present conditions of the Orang Asli, and discusses the issues regarding the developing projects and how some of these negatively affect the ethnic group, especially when it comes to their traditional territories. The Orang Asli has even organised their own NGO for the purpose of reconstructing their autonomy. Although there are foreign NGOs, the support of both this and the government is not sufficient enough, forcing the Orang Asli to accept the unjust circumstance of being the victim of development. In his conclusion, Nobuta discusses what the future might hold for the Orang Asli.

Chapter Six revolves on *The Development of Miri City and the Ethnicity of Minority Groups in Northern Sarawak* by Masao Ishii. In this essay, Ishii focuses on the history and ethnicity of Miri and its surroundings, concisely explaining the development of Miri City, their migration, and the distribution of a variety of ethnic groups related to the development of the city. Through this, he discusses the altering conditions

of different ethnic groups (i.e. merging, dissolution, forming and reforming, self-assertion of ethnic groups) in relation to urbanisation.

The rapid growth of urbanisation in Malaysia has completely altered the sense of ethnicity of Northern Sarawak. In recent years, most of ethnic movements are concentrated in the urban area, led by the younger generations. It is also worth noting that despite the wide range of ethnic groups living in Sarawak, there have not been a single case of ethnic conflict and ethnic violence. Ishii concludes that ethno-localities through the emphasis on the richness of cultural variety highlight the positivity and the centrality of urbanisation.

Hisashi Endo opens his essay on *The Location of Ethnicity and Spatial Segregation in Metropolitan Area, Malaysia* with a short narrative of two films, showing the urban life in Malaysia back then and the mono-ethnicity or the lack of multi-ethnicity in Malay cinemas. This observation is possibly what made Endo examine how the multi-ethnicity and ethnic spatial segregation have been constructed in the metropolitan area of Malaysia.

A brief history of Kuala Lumpur is discussed, mainly showing that the town is divided into a Chinese Quarter and a Malay Quarter, which are separated plainly by a street. The China town is located on the southern side, where many Chinese people reside in the surrounding area, and the Malay population stays on the northeastern side of Kuala Lumpur. Additionally, on the right side of the Klang River—the Garden City is where the Westerners mainly resided. This is the way the spatial segregation was established. The films he had first described in his introduction can now be said that they truly mirror the situations in Kuala Lumpur.

Endo concludes that the critical defining moment to reform the Malaysian nation is the revision of land laws concerning the Malay reservation and the reconstruction of social spaces in progress in the metropolitan area.

Chapter Eight is an article by Shamsul A.B. entitled, *Spheres of Control in Postcolonial Plural Societies: The Malaysian Experience*. He deeply delves into the history of Malaysia in its postcolonial period, stating that the nation attempts to find balance between the economic development and political stability. He first illustrates the historical constructions of the different domains of control (from the Malaysian case), and how various laws were established and come to coexist in the present time. He also

provides commentaries on how these different set of laws have played a role to and became the variables regarding the 'domains of control' have occurred in Malaysia—especially on the matter on how a Malaysian nation should be defined and represented and by whom. In his ending, Shambul states that due to the complicated nature of the fundamental rights in relation to one's ethnicity and religion, coupled with what urbanism bring about, the ethnicity in urban Malaysia has become too complex.

The eighth chapter is the last article that deals with Malaysia, and the subject matter has now moved on to Indonesia. In the ninth chapter, Makoto Ito's *Peranakanization, Indonesian-ization and Cultural Citizenship Among the Ethnic Chinese in an Indonesian Town: the Case of Makassar*, the author focuses on the changing identities of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, revolving on those Chinese descendants living or who were once residents in Makassar. He explains briefly the expansion of the Chinese Diaspora in Makassar and how the inhabitants have transformed their identity through time. Ito indicates that the two concepts of peranakanisation and resinicisation are now turning less practical due to its merging and thus becoming a process of Indonesianisation. In Makassar, a new generation arises and grows among the Chinese descendants that could possibly begin to shape a new ethnicity in most of the urban settings in Indonesia.

The last two chapters of this book both deals with Vietnam. Chapter Ten, *The Raglai Social Management and Administrative System in the Bac Ai District, Ninh Thuan Province, Vietnam*, is authored by Hoang Van Viet. He studies the urbanisation process of the Raglai people, who lived chiefly in Ninh Thuan and Khanh Hoa provinces. Originally, he is supposed to study the Raglai people in the Khanh Son district in Khanh Hoa, however due to some initial obstacles, the research site is changed to the Bai Ai district in Ninh Thuan province.

He describes the nine communities in Bai Ai district to be in deep poverty—according to the terms in Programme 135 of the government. But even so, the Raglai people can sustain their meagre lifestyle through cultivation on the mountain fields, hunting, and domestication of buffaloes and poultry. The strong influence of resistance against foreign invasion and attack of industrialisation and modernisation in reform times have changed the face of the whole Raglai community. Viet points out that the organisational and managerial system of the traditional society was completely severed, but the people have maintained strong positive relationships. The organisational and managerial system of the modern

life, however, was strengthened and became the key aspect in the Raglai community, and despite hardships, the Raglai people are steadily adapting to the new way of living.

In the last chapter, *The Suitability of the Khmer Traditional Sociopolitical Institutions in Their Ethnicity Process in Mekong Delta* by Phan An, the author examines the Khmer ethnic group in the Mekong delta to exhibit the compatibility between traditional and current sociopolitical system of an ethnic minority community in Vietnam. This research on the Khmer community undergoing urbanisation has exposed some fascinating developments. In his field research, Phan An discovers that a part of the sociopolitical traditional system is incompatible with the improvement of modern life, however, another part of it has been implemented or improved in modern life (e.g. openness to the public, democracy). And thus, the acceptance of these traditional factors was able to aid the system gain the people's consensus.

All the chapters may appear to be very different from one another, but after reading all through it, common denominators are evident (i.e. urbanisation affects the formation of ethnicity in these countries).

This book has lots of merits. The works are very personal, without appearing informal. The issues each authors have tackled in their articles are well-written, organised, fluid and clear. Despite of the chapters being lengthy, the backgrounds and introduction the authors have included in their works are necessary information to easily understand what they have discussed and what they wished to convey to the readers. Photographs and maps are also appropriately provided, even though some are blurred and indistinguishable due to it being printed in black and white (possibly). The language lacks complexity, as it appears to be intended for undergraduates, postgraduates and practicing professionals. For those who are interested in studying ethnic minority groups in relation to modernisation/urbanisation, this volume is definitely recommended.