

introduction, Boellstorff candidly reveals much about himself and his politics. The reader learns, for instance, that before becoming a cultural anthropologist, the author originally trained as a linguist; he is also a dedicated activist and a gay, white male. This book, in so many ways, is reflective of all of this. The author is careful in his use of Indonesian terms that describe, categorize or give a name to the diversity of genders and sexualities. He also writes with empathy. He hopes to leave his Indonesian- and English-speaking readership with an 'appreciation for the lives of gay and lesbian Indonesians'; he hopes to have raised new questions that 'could point to new visions of social justice'; he hopes that he has not merely provided an intimate and provocative account of Indonesian sexual culture, but opened a serious enquiry into 'how human social relations come to be, are sustained, and change over time'. Finally, he hopes to convey the camaraderie and creativity, as well as the despair and the pain, of homosexual Indonesians. This Boellstorff does well.

Kathleen M. Adams, *Art as politics; Re-crafting identities, tourism, and power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, xi + 286 pp. ISBN 9780824830724, price USD 25.00 (paperback); 9780824829995, USD 57.00 (hardback).

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Tana Toraja District in South Sulawesi Province is among the areas in Indonesia most widely known among tourists. Millions of foreign and domestic tourists have visited it since 1970. Its key attractions are material objects like ancestral houses (*tongkonan*), and 'traditional' cultural expressions like death ceremonies, at which large numbers of buffalo are slaughtered. All set in a landscape of steep cliffs, verdant rice terraces and bamboo groves. Early in the New Order period, tourism became the hope of this resource-poor and densely populated area. The number of visitors continued to grow every year until 1995. From 1996 – two years before the demise of the Soeharto regime and the tensions and conflicts associated with his fall – there was a sharp drop. Later conflicts in nearby Poso have only worsened the situation. According to Office of Tourism statistics as quoted in the book reviewed here (p. 16), the number of tourists visiting Tana Toraja is now back at the level of the late 1970s.

Kathleen Adams has done extensive research on tourism in Tana Toraja since 1984. The book is based on several long periods of anthropological research on the relationships between art and other cultural expressions, identity, and tourism. If only because it deals with an external force of global

proportions that has decisively influenced the social, political and cultural life of the Toraja highlands in recent decades, Adams's work is a crucial addition to scholarship on Tana Toraja and the wider region. It is, moreover, very informative and written in an accessible style.

Adams's work is extremely valuable for other reasons as well. First, Adams has not run into a trap in which so many tourists get caught: that of regarding Tana Toraja as a 'traditional culture' frozen in an unchanging (pre-)historical state, and its inhabitants as 'authentic' and 'close to nature'. Instead, conceptualizing art as an 'affecting presence' (p. 11) with a strong emotive force, Adams focuses on the various ways in which art objects and other forms of cultural expression become important in shaping, strengthening, or changing identities. Second, rather than analysing the Toraja as passive and powerless onlookers, Adams shows that they actively mobilize the global interest in Toraja culture to strengthen their own identity, prestige and power.

Adams analyses several cultural domains to illustrate this constitutive role of art and other cultural expressions in internal and external social relationships. Attention is given to the ancestral house (*tongkonan*), mortuary effigies (*tau-tau*), ceremonials, cultural displays and museums, the national and transnational use of Toraja icons, and the emergence of new conceptions of community from the uncertainties, tensions and conflicts of the post-Soeharto era. In the concluding chapter, Adams illustrates the role of Toraja people as agents and strategists (rather than victims) of globalization by describing their efforts to get the village of Ke'te' Kesu' placed on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites.

Identity and identity politics are a key theme throughout the book. With the societal changes of the past decades, erecting a *tongkonan*, formerly a privilege of the Toraja social elite, came within reach of lower-status Toraja with money to spend. Tourist sector demands for easily digestible displays of elements of Toraja culture, dissociated from their cultural meaning and context, met with protests from the elite against this violation of Toraja tradition. At the same time, competition for formal recognition of *tongkonan* as 'tourist objects' – a designation regarded as a proof of high status and prestige – fuelled elite rivalry. The carvings on *tongkonan*, meanwhile, serve as comments on social and political life: statements about colonial oppression, status, ethnic identity, religion, or political party affiliation. The presence of mortuary effigies (*tau-tau*) at death ceremonies leads to conflicts with the (Protestant) Toraja church, which is bent on restricting such non-Christian practices. The Indonesian government, on the other hand, encourages continuation of such cultural expressions, which help to confirm the unique and 'traditional' image of Tana Toraja. For the Toraja, the *tau-tau* represent family pride and status; for tourists, evidence of unchanging tradition; and for thieves and art dealers, opportunities for making money on the global art market.

Identity politics are particularly prominent in the sensitive relationship between the Toraja in the highlands, and the Bugis and Makasarese in the lowlands of South Sulawesi. The presence of Toraja culture in the provincial capital, Makassar – in the shape of decorative carvings, architecture, and dance performances – is not only a source of Toraja pride. Some Toraja interpret it as a lowland attempt to outcompete their region on the tourist market by appropriating Toraja culture and making tourists consume it (and spend their money) outside Tana Toraja. The Makasarese, in their turn, are sometimes critical of this increased presence of Toraja culture in the lowlands. Both groups, in other words, are engaged in ‘an architectural battle being waged for symbolic preeminence’ (p. 182). After the political changes of the late 1990s there was a real danger that ‘silent symbolic ethnic battles’ (p. 209) in Tana Toraja and its surroundings would turn into violent confrontations fuelled by ethno-religious sentiments. This same period, however, also saw the creation of stronger bonds between Toraja and ethnic Chinese in the highlands via the bridge of a common (Christian) religion.

There is nothing that better illustrates the ambivalence of Toraja culture and identity, Adams rightly concludes, than the recognition of Tana Toraja by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. While UNESCO intends this to help preserve a ‘traditional’ lifestyle, for the Toraja it is primarily an opportunity to make more money from tourism, boost their own prestige, and win another battle with the lowlanders.

Aris Ananta, Evi Nurvidya Arifin and Leo Suryadinata, *Emerging democracy in Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005, xviii + 166 pp. ISBN 9812303227, price USD 19.90 (paperback); 9812303235, USD 32.90 (hardback).

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Since 1998, Indonesia has experienced a rapid transition from a centralized, authoritarian regime towards a decentralized, democratic system. These changes were accompanied by a series of democratic elections at national, provincial and district levels, held in 1999, 2004 and 2005.

This book analyses the elections held between April and September 2004. In April, elections were held for national, provincial and regional parliaments, while in July and September, for the first time in history, a new