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## Indonesian Souvenirs as Micro-Monuments to Modernity: Hybridization, Deterritorialization and Commoditization

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definition rendered not by its peoples but by its governments for political ends, with the energetic involvement of a number of agencies of the state including national tourism organisations' (ibid.: 109). Yet governments are working within and responding to both local and global pressures and demands, and a major future challenge for a comparative anthropology is precisely to embrace, within its vision and endeavours, the study of culture at the local, national, and the global levels.

# 3

## *Indonesian Souvenirs as Micro-Monuments to Globalization and Modernity: Hybridization, Deterritorialization and Commodification*

Kathleen Adams

*I set out to explore Ubud. The reason I chose this town was because in Bali, Ubud is known for it's [sic] arts & crafts. And boy howdy, were there a lot of art galleries all over the place. My friend Mike warned me that the art in Bali was amazing, but I had no idea what was ahead of me. Masks, statues of wood & stone, carvings, paintings, what the hell – do any of these people do anything besides create?? I felt like a kid inna candy store, and spent the next few days finding all sorts of amazing pieces of art. I managed to max out ALL of my credit cards. I bought so much crap that I had to have it all packed into a giant crate & shipped home by sea freight. When my 'shop till you drop' frenzy finally let up (aka. no more money), I packed my bag and headed for the north coast to a group of seaside villages . . .*

(Travel blog posted by a male Californian in his twenties<sup>1</sup>)

As the above post suggests, souvenirs and handicrafts are an intrinsic dimension of Southeast Asian tourism. Few visitors to this region return home without at least one or two local handicrafts or tourist trinkets tucked into the corners of their suitcases. And some visitors, as in the case above, find themselves transformed into frenzied consumers of tourist arts. Likewise, as hinted above, both domestic and foreign tourists' pursuit of mementos of their Southeast Asian travels has transformed the physical and economic landscapes of the places they visit. Many destinations along the Southeast Asian tourist trail – from Bali to Yogyakarta to Chiang Mai – have emerged as tourist magnets for the acquisition of local arts and handicrafts. In such locales, streets and lanes once lined with homes



and businesses oriented towards local household consumption needs now host rows of art galleries and tourist shops. Some of these tourist-oriented businesses present museum-like displays of spotlighted 'tribal' sculptures and glittering bejeweled items, while others are more akin to bazaar stalls, crammed with hand-made baskets, reproductions of antiquities, brilliantly-colored *ikat* textiles, wooden masks, and other trinkets. In this chapter I suggest that these artistic handicrafts, whether produced by local artisans or by more distant factories, can be productively examined as micro-monuments to modernity, embodying some of the salient characteristics associated with globalization and modernity.

Whereas early academic discussions of souvenirs and tourist-oriented arts tended to dismiss such products as bereft of meaning and value, pioneering work by Nelson Graburn (1976) and Paula Ben-Amos (1977) prompted anthropologists to reassess these assumptions. Ben-Amos's article, 'Pidgin Languages and Tourist Arts', made the compelling argument that souvenirs were more communicative than had previously been assumed and that they should be considered akin to pidgin languages, embodying elementary, often-stereotyped versions of producers' and purchasers' symbolic repertoires. In essence, she pushed for scholars to recognize that touristic trinkets can carry simplified messages between peoples of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Likewise, Graburn's edited volume, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, illustrated not only how different historical circumstances resulted in the emergence of these new artistic forms, but also how a range of meanings were embodied in these 'arts of acculturation'. As he and others later helped to illustrate, tourist arts can play a powerful role in sculpting outsiders' images of the places and peoples they are visiting (Graburn, 1976; 1987; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000). In addition, artisans have drawn upon their tourist-oriented arts to renegotiate, or in some cases reaffirm, outsiders' stereotypes of their identity and situation in the world (Graburn, 1976; Adams, 1998a; 2006; Causey, 1999; 2003; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000; Forshee, 2001). Since this pioneering work by Ben-Amos and Graburn, numerous anthropological and sociological studies have explored how souvenirs and commodified arts/handicrafts are directly and indirectly tied to notions of ethnicity, gender, authenticity, and cultural heritage (cf. Cohen, 1983a; 1993; 2000; Stewart, 1993; Shevan-Keller, 1995; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000; Hitchcock, 2003). In this chapter, I draw on some of this prior work as well as my own field research to suggest that handicrafts and material culture found in tourist stalls and markets across Southeast Asia can be seen as material testaments to some of the dynamics of accelerated globalization.

Much has been written about the socio-economic transformations wrought by globalization. Scholars concerned with the arts have tended to concentrate on documenting how global socio-economic interdependence has prompted new trade movements of indigenous arts, reconfigured the value of so-called 'tribal arts', or transformed the phys-

ical forms and symbolic meanings of local crafts (Steiner, 1994; 1995; Marcus and Myers, 1995; Errington, 1994; 1998; Phillips and Steiner, 1999; Chibnik, 2003). Building on this work, I draw on examples from Indonesia to show how commoditization, hybridization, and deterritorialization – all features associated with globalization and modernity – are part and parcel of much of the material culture produced for sale to tourists.

Before turning to discuss specific Indonesian tourist-oriented arts, a brief survey of the terrain of globalization theory is necessary. Whereas early discussions of globalization tended to posit cultural homogenization as a leitmotif of globalization, more recent analysts have rejected this claim (cf. Robertson, 1994; Tomlinson, 1999). As numerous scholars, like the Dutch sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2003), have recently argued, a more common dynamic of globalization is what has been referred to as cultural 'hybridization'. For Nederveen Pieterse, hybridization can be thought of as 'global mélange' or 'global cultural interplay' (1993: 9), involving a mixing and merging of cultural forms from diverse locales. Homi Bhabha's writings also discuss hybridity, although his emphasis is on hybrid identities rather than art forms. His work underscores how hybridity is an area of tension produced by splits between two cultures in colonial contexts, as well as 'the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities' (1994: 112). The notion of cultural hybridization shares some terrain with the concept of 'glocalization', pioneered by Roland Robertson (1995), among others. As an amalgamation of the terms 'globalization' and 'localization', the expression is said to be derived from the Japanese business term for adjusting global products for specific local markets. According to Shinji Yamashita (2003b: 6), the term derives from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, which translates as 'living on one's own land', and initially was used to describe adjusting one's agricultural techniques to local conditions. In recent years, a number of anthropologists have embraced this concept in their analyses of tourism dynamics (cf. Raz, 1999; Yamashita, 2003b; Ness, 2003). In many cases, today's tourist arts of Southeast Asia are hybridized and glocalized, as I will illustrate shortly.

As with hybridization, deterritorialization has also been spotlighted as an important cultural dimension of globalization (cf. Tomlinson, 1999). According to Mexican theorist Nestor Garcia Canclini, deterritorialization is 'the loss of the "natural" relation of culture to geographical and social territories' (2001). Ulricke Schuerkens defines this process as a kind of restructuring of space that entails 'the disappearance of fixed links of human beings to towns, villages and national frontiers' (2003: 212). As Schuerkens declares, 'spatial distances [now] include the world as a space' (Schuerkens, 2003: 212). In Southeast Asia today, as the examples that follow will show, cultural products sold to tourists embody this dimension of globalization as well.

Before proceeding to the ethnographic illustrations, a caveat is necessary. In arguing that we can productively approach Southeast Asian tourist trinkets as mini-monuments to a contemporary post-modern world in which travel, displacement and

commoditization are salient themes, it is important to underscore earlier observations made by Anthony Reid (1988; 1993; 1994), Forshee, Fink and Cate (1999) and others regarding long-term dynamics in Southeast Asia. As these authors have compellingly illustrated, travel and the inter-regional marketing of local products are deeply-rooted and ancient traditions in Southeast Asia, although, as Reid has observed, 'Southeast Asia was not "discovered" by world trade systems' until more recently (1994: 268, cited in Forshee, 1999: 2). In short, the selling of material culture and handicrafts to travellers is not as recent a phenomenon as has been imagined. However, with the ease and affordability of travel brought by jumbo jets and charter flights, as well as with the projection of material images of destination handicrafts on the internet, the marketing and elaboration of Southeast Asian handicrafts have expanded dramatically. In the course of this recent expansion, then, Southeast Asian touristic trinkets have come to embody many of the key themes of the post-modern global world.

I now turn to embark on a whirlwind tour of some of the souvenirs emerging from parts of Indonesia. Like all tours, this one tends to favour certain destinations. This chapter concentrates primarily on examples from Tana Toraja, in upland South Sulawesi. However, I also make occasional, brief comparisons to work done by other scholars elsewhere in the region (including the Toba Batak region of Sumatra, the Eastern Indonesian island of Sumba, and East Timor). Since the 1980s, my research has concentrated on art, tourism and identity in the Toraja highlands, hence my focus on examples from this area. However, it is clear from the work of other scholars in other parts of Southeast Asia (cf. Cohen, 2000; Forshee, 2001; Causey, 2003) that the dynamics chronicled here are also relevant to the touristically commoditized arts of other regions of Southeast Asia.

### Tourism and Commoditized Arts in Upland Sulawesi, Indonesia

Hailed as the 'second tourist stop after Bali', the Sa'dan Toraja homeland of upland Sulawesi attracted growing numbers of international and domestic tourists in the 1980s and 1990s. Whereas in 1972 only 650 foreigners visited the Toraja highlands, by the mid-1990s over 230,000 tourists were traveling to Tana Toraja annually.<sup>2</sup> However, in 1998, when Indonesia plunged into a period of political and economic unrest, only 24,626 foreign tourists and 38,187 domestic tourists visited the region. In the post-September 11th world, on-going Muslim-Christian violence in certain areas of Indonesia and the infamous October 2002 Bali discotheque bombing took a further toll on Toraja tourism.<sup>3</sup> However, Toraja entrepreneurs have not let the plummet in foreign tourist visits inhibit their promotion of their homeland and its artistic products: the internet sports multiple Toraja web-sites offering carved Toraja handicrafts and imitation Toraja antiquities for sale to those who are inclined to remain in their armchairs at home (Adams, 2006). Thirty-five years ago, carved Toraja



Figure 3.1: Toraja effigies of the dead (*tau-tau*)

kindred houses (*tongkonan*) and sculpted Toraja effigies of the dead (*tau-tau*) were known only to Indonesians, anthropologists and missionaries. Today no Southeast Asia travel log is without at least a paragraph devoted to the Toraja and their ritual and material culture. As a *Sunset* article declared, 'Here [in Tana Toraja] you can get an anthropologist's glimpse of an ancient culture, fantastic building styles, unusual burial customs and possibly witness a festive funeral' (Holdiman, 1985). Through tourism, travel shows and internet promotion, then, these images have rapidly become international icons of a seductively exotic culture. For many tourists, the purchase of a miniature carved ancestral house, a wall plaque sporting incised Toraja motifs, or an imitation Toraja effigy of the dead represents not only a physical memento of travel experiences, but also a physical embodiment of assorted ideas about the 'Other'.

The explosion of tourism in the 1980s and 1990s and the attendant commoditization of Toraja material culture have coloured the relationship between the Toraja and their material products, most notably their effigies of the dead (*tau-taus*) (see Figure 3.1). Brochures and posters issued by the Indonesian Office of Tourism, as well as popular guidebooks, all feature images of Toraja burial cliffs and effigies of the dead. For those Torajas who continue to practice Toraja traditional religion (*aluk to dolo*), the *tau-tau* is thought to be inhabited by the spirit of the particular ancestor it represents: in exchange for periodic offerings, the spirit offers protection from ills. For Torajas, these effigies are also closely associated with noble identity, since only elite Torajas were traditionally permitted to have sculpted wooden effigies at their funerals. However, for foreign visitors, *tau-taus* soon became haunting symbols of pan-Toraja identity and animism. By the 1980s local carvers had begun accommodating the tourist interest in these effigies. Some started sculpting miniature, stylized *tau-taus* clothed in bits of well-worn sarong fabric. Others experimented with suitcase-sized carvings of burial cliffs, complete with small balconies holding troll-like effigies. Still others began to make what has become known as *patung model Bali* (Balinese-styled sculptures), small doll-sized sculptures of Toraja villager 'types' (see Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: Doll-sized tourist carvings of Toraja 'village types'

Lolo was one of the first Kesu' area carvers I knew to recognize the potential income to be had from carving fake effigies. After years of working on Java, Lolo returned to the Kesu' area in the early 1980s and decided to try his hand at carving. He was inspired by a tourist who had arrived at Ke'te' Kesu' wanting to buy a statue (effigy). Over the next decade, he and the two assistants he had trained sculpted dozens of statues and fake *tau-taus*, many of which were purchased by tourists. Such were his skills that he has even been hired to sculpt two *tau-taus* for American museums. As Lolo did not have a family to support, he worked sporadically, largely to support his passion for cock-fighting. Despite his erratic involvement in carving, Lolo devoted much energy to creating authentic-looking weathered patinas for the effigies he and his assistants carved. In the late afternoons I would occasionally come upon Lolo and his assistants splattering their carvings with a mixture of palm-wine and rice grains, then turning their roosters loose to peck at them. On other days I would find them pouring urine on their sculptures. To further accelerate the aging process, they would bury them for several weeks. Their carvings emerged looking suitably haunting and were often sold in the family's tourist stall or in the art shops in town.

Lolo is not the only carver crafting such tourist treasures. Today, miniature hunch-backed men with canes, sturdy youths toting pigs, roughly hewn elders cradling cockerels, and old women bearing funeral offerings all crowd the shelves of local tourist shops. While domestic Indonesian tourists rarely purchase these sorts of souvenirs (possibly due to Islam's disinclination to represent human forms), these sculptures tend to spark the interest of foreign tourists. Even more intriguing to these tourists are the carved reproductions of grave-related antiquities, which they could fancy to be authentic.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, tourism's showcasing of the Toraja not only promoted the *tau-tau* as an emblem of generalized Toraja identity (rather than personal elite identity), but also played a role in transforming the *tau-tau* from a ritually significant entity into a commodified art object of economic significance.

By the 1980s, a wave of *tau-tau* thefts plagued the Toraja highlands.<sup>5</sup> Since that time, hundreds of *tau-tau* have been stolen and sold to European, American and Asian art collectors. Burial cliffs once crowded with effigies were pillaged, leaving local villagers anguished and perplexed. At some burial sites frequented by tourists, the Indonesian government has funded the carving of replacement effigies of the dead, prompting local controversy. At other sites, villagers have enclosed their remaining *tau-taus* in cliff-side cages, to insure against further thefts. Despite international repatriation laws,<sup>6</sup> stopping the drain of *tau-taus* to Europe, the United States and Canada seems a hopeless matter, particularly in the wake of the Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s and the political turbulence that has followed. As prices for basic goods spiralled and tourism dwindled to a trickle, economic desperation inspired new thefts. In addition, the nation's political instability and inter-ethnic violence rendered pursuit of *tau-tau* smugglers a low priority. As Torajas confided, there are obstacles to stemming the flow of effigies to the West at every level – international, national and local. International art dealers assert that the

*tau-taus* they sell were 'legally acquired', and those *tau-taus* that are recovered frequently become entwined in lengthy legal processes. Stolen effigies that are acquired before leaving Indonesia often end up languishing in police warehouses, where they become 'evidence' awaiting the capture and trial of the thieves. And at the local level Torajas are themselves sometimes reluctant to reclaim their stolen *tau-taus*, as returning them to the graves requires traditional religious rituals that many Christian Torajas are reluctant to undertake, as well as the installation of new security systems. Both of these courses of action cost money at a time when cash is in short supply. Thus a number of the *tau-taus* that have been recovered continue to reside in crowded police warehouses.

Today, the Torajas' relationship to the *tau-tau* has come full circle: once 'protected' by these effigies, Torajas now find themselves in the reluctant role of *tau-tau* guardians. The Toraja experience is emblematic of the changing relationship between ethnic groups and their sacred art in other parts of Southeast Asia. Paul Michael Taylor's edited volume *Fragile Traditions: Indonesian Art in Jeopardy* (1994) chronicles parallel trends elsewhere in Indonesia. Likewise, a recent thought-provoking article by Jill Forshee discusses tourists' and international connoisseurs' collecting of stolen objects of value from Eastern Indonesia and East Timor in the 1998–2002 period (2002). In discussing stolen sculpted figures from East Timor and Sumba that made their way to tourist shops in Kupang, Bali and Jakarta, she observes that 'images of "violent" societies perpetuate a peculiar type of international value attached to arts, from image-charged places like Oceania or Africa, or from historical head-hunting societies in Sumba and Timor' (Forshee, 2002: 69). Elaborating on this increasing flow of often sacred collectible cultural objects to Indonesian tourist market centers, Forshee further reflects,

I imagined that this commerce was laced with tragedy, finding an outlet in an international demand for what were in truth spoils of war. Underscoring this market was an ongoing state of mass violence that continuously produced charred or partially destroyed objects that enlivened the sales pitches of traders of arts. Burn marks or machete hackings characterizing carvings said to originate from East Timor attested to their authenticity in the arts boutiques catering to tourists in Bali, hundreds of miles to the west of Timor Island.

(Forshee, 2002: 73)

As examples from Tana Toraja, Sumba, East Timor and elsewhere suggest, as Southeast Asian ethnic arts become increasingly commoditized and coveted by tourists and international collectors, their sacred value competing with their new economic value, more and more groups will find themselves becoming guardians of the spiritually potent creations that once promised protection. In essence, the process of commoditization of spiritual arts has dramatically transformed both insiders' and outsiders' perceptions of these material objects.

## Souvenir Hybridization and Deterritorialization in South Sulawesi

Just as the touristic commoditization of indigenous arts has ultimately transformed peoples' relationships to their material culture as well as bringing about the birth of new 'trinkitized' art forms, accelerated globalization (of which tourism is an intrinsic part), has also produced new hybridized art forms for the tourist art market. Significantly, many of these often hybridized forms are not produced locally, but in other regions of Indonesia. Thus, we find factories in the city of Surabaya (on Java) mass producing imitations of the hand-made *ikat* textiles of Sumba (in Eastern Indonesia), which are sold to tourists visiting Bali and other tourist destinations in Indonesia. And a stroll past the windows of tourist shops in Kuta Beach, Bali, reveals an array of carvings that have little to do with indigenous Indonesian artistic traditions, from carved mini surfboards and paintings of Western pop stars, to sculpted Tolkien-esque ork creatures bearing clubs and hair fashioned from jute.<sup>7</sup> While some of these new art forms are embraced by locals, others prompt trepidation and frustration, as the examples below will illustrate.

When I first visited Tana Toraja Regency in the early 1980s, I followed the path of many tourists and scholars before me. I flew from Bali to the South Sulawesi capital of Makassar (formerly known as Ujung Pandang). This capital is in, and adjacent to, the homeland of other Sulawesi peoples known as Makassarese and Bugis (historically Muslim populations with a long history of rivalry with the largely Christian Sa'dan Toraja of the highlands). After over-nighting in Makassar, like other tourists, I boarded a bus and headed for the Toraja highlands, some eight to ten hours away. Had I wanted to purchase souvenirs prior to or following my trip to the Toraja homeland, an array of tourist stalls could be found in the heart of old Makassar. In the early 1980s, these tourist shops were largely owned by Chinese, Bugis and Makassarese families. Crammed with dusty replicas of Toraja architectural structures, T-shirts, Bugis-made silver filigree necklaces depicting Bugis sailing vessels, an assortment of presumably-antique Bugis *krises* (daggers), *ikat* textiles, and other touristic treasures, these shops offered an overwhelming array of indigenous art items and served as collection depots for crafts and antiquities produced by peoples in and beyond the region.

By the mid-1980s, however, as tourist visits to the island were sky-rocketing, new lines of touristic trinkets appeared in these Makassar art shops. Among these new items were innovative Bugis-made wall plaques decorated with Toraja traditional houses (*tongkonans*) and other Toraja motifs. The decorations on these circular lacquered wooden plaques were composed of rice husks, an artistic technique never seen in Toraja but with a longer tradition in the lowlands of Sulawesi (see Figure 3.3). In addition, in the 1980s Bugis silversmiths began crafting fine silver filigree miniature *tongkonans* and *tongkonan* necklaces. Not only are these Bugis-produced necklaces sold in Makassar shops, but they were soon being marketed in tourist shops in Tana Toraja. These in-

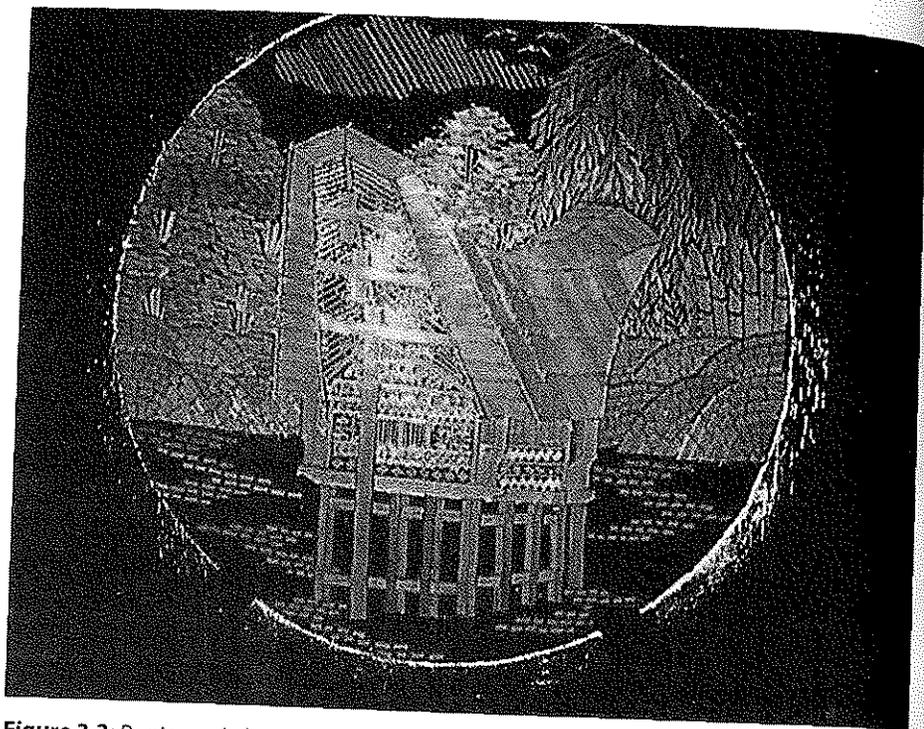


Figure 3.3: Bugis-made lacquered plate with rice husk picture of Toraja *tongkonan* (ancestral house).

novative hybrid art forms were born of Bugis and Makassarese attempts to cash in on the new Toraja-oriented tourist market. Toraja response to these new hybrid touristic creations was varied. Some Torajas purchased the silver filigree *tongkonan* necklaces as gifts for one another while others shunned them. Foreign and domestic tourists, however, were quick to buy them as souvenirs of their Toraja experiences, much to the dismay of Toraja handicraft makers in the highland. These new trends not only exemplify the hybridization borne out of growing tourist markets in Southeast Asia, but also illustrate some of the dynamics of deterritorialization, as arts presumed by outsiders to be Toraja-made are now produced far from the Toraja homeland by non-Toraja artisans.

With regard to this trend towards deterritorialization of Toraja tourist arts, for many of the highland Toraja artisans with whom I work, the most distressing incident occurred in 1995, when a Chinese resident of Makassar reportedly obtained a preliminary patent on Toraja carving patterns. As one Toraja carver told me with indignation, 'He wanted us to pay him royalties each time we carved our own carvings!' Outraged Torajas reportedly rallied, circulated a petition and delivered it to the Makassar judge who had granted the preliminary patent. (According to my Toraja carving mentors, the court eventually ordered the entrepreneur to withdraw his patent request and apologize.)

By 1996 tourist shops in Rantepao not only sold Bugis-made Toraja trinkets, but souvenirs with Toraja motifs produced by foreigners or manufactured in Javanese factories. T-shirt lines had vastly expanded and now included sophisticated composites of *tongkonan* motifs and Paleolithic-looking stick-figure warriors inspired by designs from heirloom Toraja *sarita* cloth. Often bearing phrases such as 'Toraja Primitive', many of these T-shirts are produced in the silk-screening ateliers of foreign graphic artists residing elsewhere in the province. As with the Bugis-made silver *tongkonan* necklaces, these 'foreign-made', icon-embedded clothes prompt various Toraja responses. While some young Torajas wear them proudly, unconcerned by their origins, others are more reluctant to embrace them.

As a case in point, a lively middle-aged Toraja midwife I knew delighted in wearing eye-catching cargo pants fashioned from green cotton cloth covered with small, traditionally coloured Toraja designs. When I admired the pants, she explained that a Javanese doctor who had been working in Tana Toraja for a number of years had 'invented' the new line of Toraja pants. Now manufactured at a factory on the island of Java, the pants are transported back to Sulawesi and sold in her parents' souvenir stall at a Toraja grave site frequented by tourists as well as in Rantepao tourist shops. My friend stood in front of me playfully modeling the pants, while I read the words displayed on the large exterior pocket tag out loud, 'Bayu [clothing] Collection TORAJA'. Joining us, my Toraja research assistant smirked and dismissively declared, 'Those are made by a person from Java, *not* Toraja!' Turning to the midwife, he teased her for being so 'dumb' as to buy a Javanese-manufactured product masquerading as something Toraja. A month later, when it came time for me to return to the United States, my Toraja midwife friend tucked a similar pair of the pants into my arms as a farewell present. With a sly smile, she noted that in the United States no one would give me a hard time for wearing these pants. My research assistant, who was present, remained silent. A few days later, however, he presented me with a striking batik dress shirt. The shirt featured carefully executed traditional Toraja *pa' tedong* (water buffalo) designs drawn from house carvings. 'The Javanese will be mad when they see that shirt', he quipped. 'Now we Toraja are making batik shirts like the Javanese, but replacing their patterns with our own! Soon we'll be selling them in Jakarta!'

When I left Tana Toraja a few days later, my encounters with deterritorialized cultural pastiches and appropriations of cultural iconography and designs had not ended. While waiting in Makassar airport, I wandered over to a souvenir shopping island topped with a Bugis-styled roof. As I scanned the small portable gifts intended for the last-minute shopper, my eyes settled on a glass case filled with what looked, on first glance, like the tiny Peruvian worry dolls sold to tourists in Latin America (see Figure 3.4). Arranged in neat clusters were barrettes and pins of various sizes, each adorned with rows of squinty-faced dolls. Their minuscule heads were crafted of balsa wood, each wearing a small, triangular black cotton headdress. The dolls were clad in brightly coloured Bugis silk. I called the young Bugis attendant over for assistance

and asked her about these new creations. As she explained, 'They are from Toraja and have to do with dead people . . . You see, in Toraja they put the dead in cliffs. These are those things they make that look like the dead people . . .' Realizing she meant that these Peruvian-inspired items were intended to depict *tau-taus*, I asked why they were dressed in Bugis silk and not Toraja *ikat*. Whereupon I learned that they were made by lowland Bugis and not Toraja artisans.

The pins were a triumph in hybridity, using a Peruvian souvenir form and classic Bugis silks to showcase *tau-tau*, a Toraja form. As discussed earlier, in recent years a number of scholars have explored the concept of hybridity. Edward Said, among others, has developed the concept in his book *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), which underscores the role of colonialism, and more recently migration, in fostering hybrid identities. For Said, the contemporary conduits of hybridity are often migrants. I suggest that a slightly different form of temporary migrants – international tourists – are often the conduits of artistic/trinket hybridity, along with print and electronic media. Indonesian international travellers, both actual tourists and those who surf the Web, draw inspiration for



Figure 3.4: Bugis-made pins depicting Toraja effigies of the dead (in the style of Peruvian 'worry dolls')

new tourist art forms from visits to foreign tourist destinations and exotic Web pages. The entrepreneurs among them reinterpret and 'localize' these foreign products, crafting indigenized versions of the trinkets they have seen. In this sense, the Peruvian-inspired, Bugis-made pins also offer testimony to the dynamics of deterritorialization.

This chain of invention, manufacture, and sale – spanning islands, cultures and nations – is not unique to Sulawesi. Cohen has chronicled similar dynamics in Thailand, where he documents how Dan Kwien tourist pottery in Thailand was not only initiated by outsiders, but also how outsiders were the 'principal initiators of innovation and diversification' (1993: 138).<sup>8</sup> Likewise, Causey (1999) has also described how a Sumatran Batak carver invented a new-genre tourist sculpture drawn directly from a classic Balinese tourist art form. As he observes, not only was the carver inspired by Balinese tourist arts, but also by discussions with foreign tourists visiting the Toba Batak region. These tourists' presumptions about what 'primitive art' should look like were an ingredient in shaping this Batak sculptor's tourist-oriented products. While the phenomenon of artistic borrowings is not new,<sup>9</sup> the contemporary acceleration of touristic demand for mementoes of their travels has greatly amplified these long-distance chains of invention, manufacture and sale of handicrafts. Thus, as Tim Oakes (1999: 325) has chronicled, we find factories in the People's Republic of China employing rural women to embroider cloth for export to Southeast Asia and, as Hitchcock (2003) describes, we find Indonesian-manufactured batik sarongs decorated with beach motifs for sale to foreign tourists in Cuba.

### Final Thoughts

In sum, a closer examination of the array of objects found in the tourist stalls and art shops along the Southeast Asian tourist trail reveals an assortment of dynamics associated with accelerated globalization, with hybridization and deterritorialization being especially prominent.

Far from being unimportant by-products of tourism, Southeast Asian touristic trinkets such as hybrid *tau-tau* pins, Javanese-manufactured pants with Toraja motifs, and Bugis-made filigree *tongkonan* necklaces are worthy of our attention, as are other commoditized ethnic art objects purchased by tourists and international collectors. The growth of the tourist art market in Southeast Asia has not only transformed the physical landscape of tourist sites in palpable ways, with the mushrooming of souvenir shops and tribal art galleries, but also entails more abstract transformations. In some cases the meaning, significance and treatment of indigenous material culture has undergone dramatic transformations, as we have seen with Toraja effigies of the dead. In other cases, the tourist market has produced new hybridized forms – forms which may be passed off as being rooted in local traditions but are actually the product of intercultural dialogues, sometimes inspired by foreign tourists' expectations of what 'tribal art' should look like.

In still other cases, a closer examination of Southeast Asian tourist-oriented arts offers testimony to the process of deterritorialization, with certain objects embodying distant chains of production and distribution. As we have seen via the examples presented here, Southeast Asian tourist objects offer testimony to the broader dynamics of globalization. In essence, they are micro-monuments to modernity.

## Notes

- 1 Downloaded on February 1, 2005 from [people.tribe.net/asshole/blog&topicId=014b7492-5c41-4f18-9eb8-134d00395602](http://people.tribe.net/asshole/blog&topicId=014b7492-5c41-4f18-9eb8-134d00395602).
- 2 Over 75 per cent of these tourists were domestic. These tourism statistics derive from the Badan Pusat Statistik in Tana Toraja Regency. Government tourism officials calculate these figures by comparing the number of tourist ticket sales at the most popular tourist sites with occupancy rates and guest logs at local hotels, inns and home stays (Rombelayuk, personal communication, August 15, 1995). It is probable that the number of domestic tourists is slightly inflated, as many Toraja residing outside the homeland regularly return for family visits and funeral rituals. While in Tana Toraja Regency, they often visit the more celebrated tourist villages to purchase trinkets for friends back home. Some of these returning family members also prefer to stay at local hotels. For an exploration of the factors and dynamics underlying domestic tourists visits to Tana Toraja, see Adams (1998b).
- 3 See Simamora and Nurbianto (2003).
- 4 For a rich analysis of tourists' pursuit of 'real' souvenirs of their travels and the ambivalences conjured up by fakes, see Causey (2003).
- 5 For more information, see Adams (1993) and Crystal (1994).
- 6 Indonesian government laws decree that objects more than fifty years old be banned from export, unless they have been evaluated for their cultural and historical criticality (see Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, 1993).
- 7 I thank Jill Forshee for alerting me to the latest trends in Kuta. As she observes, these cave-man like creatures bear no resemblances to any Indonesian people whatsoever (personal communication, January 30, 2006).
- 8 For a fascinating chronicling of a similar process in Mexico, see Chibnik (2003). Chibnik's book details the origins of the colorful Oaxacan carved wood figures, chronicling how this distinctive folk art is not actually a Zapotec Indian product (despite claims that it is), but rather was invented by non-Indian Mexican artisans for the tourist market.
- 9 See Sekimoto (2003) for a discussion of the long-term history of borrowings involved in comprising contemporary Javanese batik.

# 4

## Terrorism and Tourism in Bali and Southeast Asia

I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michael Hitchcock

### Introduction

Michel Houellebecq's controversial novel *Platform* (2002) manages to combine a lurid account of sex tourism with a horrific terrorist attack in Thailand. The book's protagonist Michel, who coincidentally bears the same first name as the author, falls in love with Valérie, an employee of a struggling tour company. On their return to Paris they embark on a love affair in which Michel persuades Valérie and her boss to devote their company's hotels in Thailand and the Caribbean to sex tourism. The new package holidays prove to be popular, especially with Germans, portrayed in the book as stupid and uncultured. One of Michel's characteristics is his rabid and senseless hatred of various 'others' (e.g. Germans, pork butchers and Protestants), but Muslims are the villains of the story, murderers of Michel's father and his mistress. While Michel's thoughts turn to domesticity and babies, young men with turbans – Muslim terrorists – blow Valérie and the hotel's prostitutes and their customers to bits. Whatever the merits of the book, which was originally published in French in 1999, the author is eerily prescient about how tourist resorts could become terrorism targets in Southeast Asia.

Houellebecq may be concerned with Thailand, which, although it has suffered attacks on nightclubs and centres of entertainment, has not experienced the same level of terrorist violence as other Southeast Asian countries, notably the Philippines. There the militant Islamic group Abu Sayyaf took 21 hostages, including 10 foreign tourists, from a diving resort in the Malaysia state of Sabah. The kidnap earned Abu Sayyaf US\$ 20 million, reportedly paid by Libya (Rabasa, 2003: 54).

