



Vicente L. Rafael. *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, 231p.

Studies on the origins of Philippine nationalism have sought to address, with varying degrees of emphasis, the role of economic developments, demographic and sociological changes, political movements, and discursive constructions in laying the foundations for the emergence of nationalist thought and action. The achievement of Vicente L. Rafael's *The Promise of the Foreign* lies in its defamiliarization of these leitmotifs, its ability to develop while also recomposing the leading, recurring themes of Philippine scholarship to produce a reinterpretation of one of the key questions in Philippine history.

Rafael is not interested in simply retailing the "figures of modernity" — the restructured colonial economy, the emergent middle-classes, print capitalism, 1872, the Propaganda Movement, Jose Rizal's *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, the Katipunan, *La Revolución Filipina/Himagsikang Pilipino* — that both embodied and catalyzed the decisive social, economic, and political transformations from the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

He is concerned with how nations grapple with the fact that they are constituted out of contingent historical forces (of which the above "figures of modernity" are convenient abbreviations) which are global in scope and therefore not necessarily confined to the particularistic bounds of the nation. This intimate but ambivalent relationship to the "foreign" is a fundamental feature of Filipino nationalism. Viewing their precolonial past through texts written by their Spanish colonizers, Filipino nationalists did not

define themselves by positing a "pure" indigenous identity that was profoundly distinct from that of the colonizers. Instead, they wrought their visions of community out of strategies of substitution and estrangement, "appropriating and replacing what is foreign while keeping its foreignness in view."

There is a reason why Rafael refers to this double process of substitution and estrangement as "translation." *The Promise of the Foreign* focuses on how nationalism's politics of inclusion and exclusion were underwritten by the "violent heterogeneity of the historical and the non-human agency of the technological." A crucial but much-overlooked property of anti-colonial nationalism is its reliance on "technics" of transmission capable of breaching the geographic, linguistic, and social barriers within an "imagined community." Foremost among these technics, and chief of Rafael's concerns, is language. *Ilustrados* (lit., "the enlightened") found in Castilian, the language of the colonizers, a medium that enabled them to communicate with each other regardless of their ethnolinguistic and regional affiliations. Castilian was also the language with which they spoke to, of, and against the colonial state. Equally important, it was the language with which they engaged the Spanish state and public in the European metropole. In effect, Castilian served as the linguistic medium of a nascent public sphere that was national(ist) as well as (for lack of a better word) trans-oceanic in scope.

Rafael argues further that, far from being merely a favored instrument of the *ilustrado* elite, Castilian also had a transformative effect on the vernacular languages of the Philippines. Rafael looks at the vernacular drama, in particular the *comedia*, with its declamations in a mixture of Castilian and vernacular, its settings in imaginary, "faraway" places, its battles between Christians and Moors (*moros*), and its non-native

costumes and props. Derided as “un-Filipino” by some ilustrado critics, this contaminated genre is in fact a preeminent form of staging the foreign, one in which the “colonial uncanny” transmutes what is foreign into something familiar and vice versa, and in so doing, reconfigures the categories themselves for political use. This explains why the missionizing/colonial content of the plays may be simultaneously affirmed and short-circuited by audiences who were primed to expect “alien appearances” in a local context but who accorded at best intermittent attention to these protracted performances.

It is perhaps no accident that Andres Bonifacio, founder of the secret society Katipunan, was said to have been interested in vernacular theater and even acted in the *moro-moros*. The Katipunan appropriated Castilian—for instance, the term *pacto de sangre* (blood compact)—and invested it with meanings beyond colonial apprehension and the purview of colonial authority. By detaching Castilian from its accepted referents, fellow conspirators—and the Spaniards—saw in Castilian an index to hidden sources of power capable of forcing the revolutionary equation of “Filipino freedom” with “Spanish death.”

Because language is rooted in communities of speakers but remains the property of no one individual, because the contexts in which it is spoken and understood are shaped by the vagaries of time, circumstance, and individual capacities and inclinations, communication and its effects are neither predictable nor transparent nor necessarily harmonious. If Castilian offered the possibility of communication and creation of commonalities across boundaries and allowed nationalists, invoking “Free Europe” (as Rizal did), to claim themselves equal if not superior to the Spanish colonial authorities, it created as well internal hierarchies and generated exclusions that carried the risk of failure of communication, the failure to establish a common ground

for debate and action among Filipinos (this failure, too, would haunt nationalist efforts at promoting Tagalog in place of Castilian). If Castilian provoked violent reprisal from the Spaniards who viewed the Filipinos’ claim to Castilian as a threat to the colonial dispensation, its violent othering by nationalism as the language of colonial privilege also carried the risk of nationalist vengeance itself “spiraling out of control” into death unredeemed by sacrifice.

While the potential but incalculable political effects of language use and transmission are the main concern of the book, Rafael does not confine himself to the linguistic domain. He repeatedly alludes to the communicative reach and scope of “analogous” phenomena as diverse as money, the telegraph, the subversive, and the secret society. Capital, technology, *filibustero*, and organization—like language—blur the divide between human and *techne*, often to the point that they become a kind of “second nature”: this is how “Chinese” can become synonymous with money and why someone like Jose Rizal paid with his life for his public reputation as a subversive. Like language, they are subject to multiple uses (and abuses) while also exceeding the wishes and intentions of those, whether colonizer or colonized, who deploy them.

While the issue of how “foreign” Castilian remained to Filipinos after nearly four centuries of interaction between colonizer and colonized (surely the answer is that Castilian ran the whole gamut from mother tongue of a few to second language of some to a language that, at its minimum, many could “fish” from, to use the suggestive metaphor from Rafael’s first book, *Contracting Colonialism*) has been raised by Benedict Anderson and Ramon Guillermo, the idea of nationalism-as-translation works best when the “foreign” is not assumed to lodge in Castilian per se, but rather, results from the “colonial uncanny” process of familiarization and defamil-

iarization whereby what is “foreign” can become naturalized and what is taken as natural can become “foreign.”

The Promise of the Foreign invites readers to reflect on questions regarding the possibilities and limits of freedom and community, the by-words of nationalist discourse and practice. Rafael writes about the origins of Filipino nationalism more than a hundred years into the “future” of that past, in the shadow of a Philippines troubled by deep economic inequality and social divisions. His project is shaped by the reality of a compromised nation in perennial political and social crisis. The radical potential unleashed by the Philippine revolution was “recolonized” by the Filipino elite at Malolos and repressed or else rechanneled into “democratic tutelage” by American colonialism. Yet, for all that the Philippines has not witnessed the thoroughgoing, redistributive transformation promised by nationalism, the dissemination of Tagalog-based Filipino by market forces alongside its promotion by the Left over the last twenty years points to the formation of a national, and globally dispersed, lingua franca, the political possibilities of which may be exploited or maximized for different ends, including progressive ones. In this sense, “the promise of the foreign” is meant to be read ironically: its declaration of expectation, assurance, and commitment acquires a redoubled sense of urgency—tantamount to an incitement to think and act—precisely because the “future” it foretells is so fragile, so fraught with risk and hope.

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Mark Bray and Seng Bunly. *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia*. CERC Monograph Series No. 4. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong, 2005, 113p.

Provision of basic education free of charge is usually seen as both a government responsibility, because everyone has the right to at least a basic education, and an investment in the people. It is strange therefore that more than three million children in Southeast Asia do not attend school, according to the 2008 Unesco Education for All Global Monitoring Report. This is because governments of less-developed countries have great difficulties in financing education. Powerful economic and social arguments have been made about how to meet the costs of schooling and how to balance the financing of education. *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia* is a handy book written by Mark Bray, Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, and Seng Bunly, Director of BN Consult in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The authors present their comparative study on financing education and take Cambodia as a case study because of the country’s turbulent past and its current difficulties in financing basic education. The book argues that while households have to contribute resources in order to bridge the gaps, government efforts should be made to alleviate the burden on the poorest and to promote accountability between schools and their communities.

This book is a continuation of Mark Bray’s 1999 *The Private Costs of Public Schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia*. The 1999 book was based on a survey of household and community costs of education that was commissioned by UNESCO and by UNICEF in conjunction with the MoEYS

in Cambodia. The present book updates the analysis in the primary school sector and adds data on lower secondary schooling, which increases burdens on households at high levels of the system. According to the introduction, “balancing the books” is the term used in accounting to refer to the need for expenditures to match incomes. The authors broadly address the concept of balance between household and government financing of education and its policy implications for Cambodia and internationally. In Cambodia, according to the empirical data presented here, household costs for primary and lower secondary schooling are especially high, while the government’s capacity is constrained and its resources insufficient to meet all needs. In the late 1990s, households and communities in Cambodia were meeting only 59% of the total resources needed for primary schooling. This forced poor families to undertake cost-benefit analyses to decide whether to send their children to school.

The contents of the book are divided into 11 sections: The introduction describes the perception of the role of governments, education as a basic human right, the full costs of education, the metaphor about balancing the books, and a brief overview of the book. Chapter 2 discusses issues of household financing of education, including mechanisms and types of household financing, in comparative perspective. Chapter 3 is a brief description of the Cambodian social, economic, and educational context, including historical and contemporary perspectives. Some tables and figures showing the Cambodian poverty rate, poverty lines, taxation revenues, school environments, public expenditure, PAP allocations and releases, and population pyramid are given here. Chapter 4 explains data collection methods, and Chapter 5 documents household costs, comparing patterns in primary and lower secondary schooling based on data from

the 2004 survey and comparative data from previous surveys. These findings are followed by chapters on opportunity costs (6) and on government funds and other school-level receipts (7), focusing on incomes received at the school level from the government and other sources. These incomes permit a comparison (in Chapter 8) of the balance between household and government financing. The last two chapters offer policy implications (9) and conclusions (10). The 16 Appendix tables from the authors’ 2004 survey present data of household expenditures on primary education and lower secondary education across the country. The book also provides readers with a list of abbreviations and acronyms, exchange rates, 26 tables and 7 figures, references, and an index.

Household and community financing of education in Cambodia dates to the colonial and initial post-colonial eras, but the Pol Pot regime of 1975–79 practically stopped such practices. Activities were revived in the 1980s, and took new directions from the early 1990s. The Cambodian government and its aid partners have coped with the constraints of development to move towards the goal of Universal Basic Education. In their conclusion, the authors acknowledge Cambodia’s many achievements in the education sector, including both supply-side and demand-side innovations. They question, however, whether it is appropriate for the government to meet all costs of schooling for all households and all levels of education. Countries with good economies and high tax payments, as in Western Europe and North America, can support not only free basic education but even free higher education, whereas Cambodia is challenged to provide universal basic education of even minimum quality. Government resources allocated to lower levels of education are more likely to be pro-poor than higher levels. Other challenges are prevention of early dropout, provision of facili-

ties, recruitment of teachers, management of large classes, and quality of education.

Finally, the authors point out that the search for the appropriate balance is never-ending. Cambodian authorities would be wise to adjust their policies to fit new circumstances and goals and to seek different balances for different populations. This book is strongly recommended for students of comparative education, researchers, educational planners and policy makers in similar countries, NGOs, and international donor agencies.

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関 恒樹、『海域世界の民族誌——フィリピン島嶼部における移動・生業・アイデンティティ』世界思想社、2007、iv+364p.

本書は、ポストモダニズムの乗り越えを目指す諸理論を導入して、フィリピン低地キリスト教社会を解釈しようとした野心的なモノグラフである。当該社会は、長い間、「特筆すべき文化がない」地域と言われ、文化人類学的研究の中で等閑視されてきた。だが、本書は、エイジェンシー論などを手掛かりとして、生業と文化の両面から人々の日常実践の姿を分析して社会像の構築を試みている。その対象は、セブ島ダラギット町出身の移動漁民らが構成しているネットワーク・コミュニティである。それは、同町のほか、ビサヤ海に面した10の集落を含む。なお、本書は、著者の博士学位論文が基礎となっている。

評者は、ビサヤ地方サマール島からの向都移動を文化人類学的に研究している。だが、直接「海」を対象とした研究の経験はない。よって、評者が本書を評するのに適任かどうか疑問なしとはしない。しかし、ビサヤ地方においてフィールドワークを行っており、本書の地獄的背景には馴染みがある。そのような観点から、以下、本書の書評を試みたい。

本書は、調査地における生計戦略を描く第I部

(1～3章)と、力にまつわる文化的概念の分析とアイデンティティの構築に関する考察に主眼を置く第II部(4～8章)から構成されている。

序章では、日常実践をキーワードとして、東南アジア海域世界における生活世界の論理を描き出すという目的が述べられている。著者はこれについて、「人々が自己の属するコミュニティに内在する構造や制度、あるいは規範の持つ拘束力とその実在性に常に、既に絡め取られていることを認めつつも、その一方で制度、構造に対する人々の参加、交渉、抵抗、協働などの様々な折衝と働きかけを展開する積極的側面に焦点を当てる」(p. 2)と述べている。

第1章は、漁民たちのネットワーク形成過程を描く。人々は、1920年代ごろを境にして、半農半漁から、集団的漁撈操業を中心とする生活様式へと移行した。近年は、さらに、専門職や海外就労を志向する人々が増えているという。こうした遷移を追うことで、著者は、「漁民の移動性の高さをア・プリオリな与件」(p. 312)とみなし、海洋民の生活様式の独自性と特異性から事象を解釈しようとする先行研究を批判している。これは本書の重要な貢献の一つであろう。

第2章と第3章は、現在の生計戦略に焦点を当てている。第2章は、海という不確実性や危険性の高い外的環境を相手とした人々の生計戦略の詳細を描く。漁法などの技術面よりも、自分たちの持つ社会的資源をいかにうまく組み合わせるかに漁民の工夫の重点が置かれているという著者の指摘は興味深い。例えば、漁撈集団のメンバーシップは決して固定的ではなく、彼らは漁獲量の変動に従って伸縮自在にその編成を組み替えている。さらに第3章では、上記の流動的な組織原理を、アモ(漁撈集団所有者)とタオハン(漁撈集団)の関係から検討し、タオハンが臨機応変に関係をシフトさせ、偏在する「資源」にアクセスしようとする姿が描かれている。

第4章は、調査地における力の概念の基層と考えられる「ドゥガン」を分析している。ドゥガンとは、人と一緒に生まれてくる、目には見えない存在で、各人の力はその強さによって決まるという。したがって、人々は、絶えず強さの異なるドゥガン同士の間引き状態の中に生きていて考えられている。

第5章は、漁民たちと町の名士たちという、明瞭な格差のある関係においてみられる相互交渉を分析し、漁民たちが名士の力に対峙しつつも、移動の過程で得た新たな力の有効性を確認し、提示していくダイナミズムを指摘している。

第6章と第7章は、神、精霊、カトリックの守護聖人等の超自然的存在に内在する力、「ガフム」の概念を軸にして、人々のアイデンティティ構築の過程を検討する。第6章では、故郷の守護聖人との関係を論じる。漁民たちは、故郷の守護聖人のガフムに関する諸知識を用いつつ、その守護聖人との間で相互交渉を行う。その過程で、複数の移動集落と故郷を包む一つのコミュニティが再確認されていくという。第7章は、このガフムが精霊の力に対して用いられる事例に焦点を当てる。故郷の精霊伝承は、漁民たちに故郷のイメージを具体的に想起させ、その中への自らの位置づけを促すと、著者は結論する。

第8章では、人間に附与される超自然的な力、「カラキ」について考察する。ここでは、妖術師と社会的アウト・ローという、いわば共同体の周縁に位置づけられている人々に関する語りを分析している。その結果、双方のカラキとも、漁民たちに何らかの態度表明と位置取りを迫ることで、統合的作用を及ぼしていると論じられる。

終章では、まとめとして次の3点を指摘している。第1に、従来東南アジア海域世界の特徴とされていた「移動ネットワーク」モデルにおける移動とネットワークは、実は構造的・制度的諸要因と漁民の主体との相互規定的関係の間で編み出された産物であること。第2に、ビサヤ海域世界の人々の間でみられる力の観念は、中心から周辺へと放射される一元的なものではなく、「そのような力を具現する他者たちと人々の相互行為を促し、さらにそのような相互行為の過程において解釈し直されてゆく概念」(p.317)といえること。第3に、ビサヤ海域世界の人々のアイデンティティは、このような周囲の力との関係で、自らの位置を決めていく過程の中に見出されるものであること。最後に著者は、自らの研究を、Cannell [1999] や川田 [2003] などとともに、近年始まったフィリピン低地社会研究における社会関係、アイデンティティ、文化概念の捉え直しの試みの一つとして位置付けている。

さて、90年代以降、ビサヤ地域を対象とする民族誌の数は増えてはきている。その発端となったのは、牛島とザヤスが編集した論文集3巻である[Ushijima and Zayas 1994; 1996; 2000]。これらには、本書の著者や、本書の「あとがき」に名が挙げられている日本人若手研究者らも寄稿している。こうして研究が蓄積されつつある現在、ビサヤ地域の生業と文化の両面を取り上げ、一つのビサヤ・コミュニティ論を打ち出そうとした本書が発刊されたことは、まさに時宜を得たことであり、本書は現時点でのビサヤ海域世界研究の水準を示す好著といえよう。

同時に、本書の資料的価値の高さも強調しておきたい。著者は、フィールド調査で得たデータと感覚を重視し、そこから解釈していく姿勢を本書で貫いている。著者が問題としている「ドッグン」などのいくつかの民俗概念は、評者も調査中にその重要性に気付いてはいた。しかし、どうアプローチしたらよいか分からず、そのままにしていた。これらの民俗概念は、地域で発行されている印刷物等で調べても、ほとんど取り上げられていない。にもかかわらず、著者はこれらを丹念に調べ上げている。その結果、本書は、ビサヤやその周辺地域における基礎的民俗概念に関する手引書にもなっている。

ただ、本書第II部で取り上げられているデータの記述・分析方法に関し、若干の疑問を禁じえない。まず、第II部では、多数の興味深い語りを提示し考察しているが、語りそのものに関する説明が少ないことが気にかかる。一例を挙げると、第8章で、社会的アウト・ローとされる人物のカラキについて複数の語りが示されている。しかし、本章で語り手のうちの一人がこのアウト・ローとされる人物のオイダという情報しか見つけることはできなかった。著者がインフォーマントから語りを聞いたときの状況等も記されていない。

次に、多声性と代表性にかかわる点である。序章で、第II部に関するデータは「限られたキー・インフォーマントに絞って(の)集約的なインタビュー」(p.19)から得たと記されている。キー・インフォーマントの声を様々なトピックから引用していることは高く評価される。だが、キー・インフォーマント以外の人たちの声はどうであろうか。また、

インフォーマントは、集団全体の中ではどのように位置づけられる人たちなのか、といった疑問が残った。

この多声性と代表性の問題は、生業と文化の両側面からの分析を試みるという本書の特色を考えれば、なおさら望まれる点といえる。つまり、第I部と第II部を関連づけた分析の可能性についてである。例えば、評者の調査経験から言うと、邪術者や妖術者などの社会的周縁に位置するごとくに語られる人とその語り手が、集団全体の中においてどのような位置関係にあるかを考慮に入れることは重要と思われる。それは、語り手によって、集団内のだれ(あるいはどの家系)が邪術者や妖術者と疑われるかは異なる場合があるからである。本書の調査地でも、そのような複数の語りかたがあるのかどうかは分からない。仮にあるとすれば、邪術者や妖術者とうわさされる人々や語り手自身は、第I部で描かれている漁業の場においては、どの階層や集団に属しているのか、といった情報や分析がもっとほしいところである。

移動ネットワーク集団の一人ひとりの情報を得、さらに互いの関係も調査することは易しくはないだろう。しかし、記述や分析の方法を再考・工夫することによって、結論の説得力を増すことは可能と思われる。

ところで、語句について1点指摘したい。31ページで著者はowner-operatorを「漁撈集団所有者」と訳している。しかし、同じページで著者は、owner-operatorを「漁船、魚網・漁具を所有し、漁民たちを雇用する経営者」と定義している。つまり、所有の対象は生産手段であって、生産に携わる漁民の集

団＝漁撈集団ではない。これは、一見固定的と思われるがちな支配・被支配関係の中でも、人々は相互交渉によって自らの位置取りとアイデンティティを構築しているという、本書の主張の根幹にかかわる。ここでowner-operatorを「漁撈集団を所有している人」と訳してしまうと、著者の主張との間でずれが出てきてしまうと考えられる。

最後に、本書にはビサヤやその近隣地域を扱った多数の文献が参照・引用されている。これは、今後ビサヤ研究をさらに体系化していく必要性の大きさを示している。本書は、その出発点となるであろう。東南アジア海域世界の文化や社会のありかたに関心を持つ読者にとって、必読文献である。

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