

vor: "... über diese farbsymbolische Figuration eines zum Problem gewordenen 'Intellektualismus' wird der Weiße Europäer im anthroposophischen Denkmodell letztlich mit symbolischer Schwärze belegt – eine Negativierung des nun verdunkelten Logos, die aber eben gleichzeitig eine rassentheoretische Privilegierung, nämlich die exklusive Fähigkeit des Weißen Europäers zur Vernunft und Abstraktion festschreibt" (252). Beklagen nicht die unterschiedlichsten psychotherapeutischen Richtungen die "Kopflastigkeit" der modernen (westlichen) Menschen? Warum dies also gerade Steiner angelastet werden muss und ausgerechnet den "Weißen Europäer" mit einer "symbolischen Schwärze" belegen soll, ist mir unklar.

Ich möchte noch auf die Waldorfpädagogik eingehen, weil ich mich frage, ob ich meinen Töchtern zu- oder ab-raten soll, wenn sie überlegen, ob sie ihre Kinder auf eine Waldorfschule schicken wollen. Der praktischen Anwendung des anthroposophischen Denkens in der Pädagogik widmet die Autorin nur wenig Raum. In dem Kapitel "Aktuelle anthroposophische Positionen" ist ein Unterkapitel von 4 Seiten "Waldorfpädagogik und das 'dunkle Herz des Materialismus'" titulierte. Doch werden hier weniger die Ziele der Waldorfpädagogik erläutert, als vielmehr die Frage diskutiert, ob Steiners Gedankengut in den Schulalltag einfließt. Es würde mich überraschen, wenn dies nicht der Fall wäre. Exemplifiziert wird dies am Beispiel des Geographieunterrichts der Oberstufe. Wenig bedenklich scheint mir allerdings der folgende Inhalt, der aus einer anthroposophischen Schrift zitiert wird: "Beide, Natur und Kultur eines bestimmten Raumes, stehen möglicherweise unter einer gemeinsamen, höheren Ordnung ... Rudolf Steiner hat auf die außerordentliche Bedeutung hingewiesen, die der Einfluss der Naturumgebung einer Region auf den Menschen hat ... Wir stehen mit der Entzifferung dieses Zusammenhangs erst am Anfang" (346). Diese "höhere Ordnung" wird andernorts in dem Symbol des Kreuzes gesehen, "das in der geographischen Formgebung der Erde erkenntlich sei. Die christliche Symbolik wird hier als überzeitlich vorgestellt, eine abstrakte, symbolische Ordnung materialisiert sich sprichwörtlich als Naturordnung" (346). Ich möchte darauf hinweisen, dass die renommierte Prähistorikerin Marie E. P. König in ihrem Buch "Am Anfang der Kultur" das Kreuz als die erste formgebende Symbolik der frühen Kulturen entzifferte.

Ich widerspreche Jana Husmann nicht, wenn sie in Rudolf Steiners Schriften eine Geschlechterordnung und einen Umgang mit dem Begriff der "Rasse" sieht, der nach den Rassenzuschreibungen und den daraus gerechtfertigten Verbrechen an der Menschheit durch den Kolonialismus und den Faschismus für uns völlig unakzeptabel ist. Doch sollte Steiner zugutegehalten werden, dass er den deutschen Faschismus nicht erlebte. Er stand mit seinem Denken in der Tradition des Evolutionismus, den wir heute kritisch sehen. Aber das trifft auch auf geistige Größen wie z. B. Spencer und Frazer zu, deren Theorien, wenn auch kritisch rezipiert, als Meilenstein in der Geschichte des abendländischen Denkens angesehen werden. Steiner, der zu seinen Aussagen nicht durch Deduktion, sondern aus der "Innenschau" gekommen ist, gebührt eine ebensolche Würdigung. Das sage ich nicht etwa, weil

ich Anthroposophin wäre. Die Begegnung mit anthroposophisch ausgerichteten MedizinerInnen und PädagogInnen hat mir allerdings gezeigt, dass hier eine große Hochachtung vor den einzelnen Menschen in die Praxis umgesetzt wird. Jana Husmann war mir in ihrer Argumentation zu wenig ausgewogen, als dass ich aus ihren Argumenten eine Einstellung zu der Frage hätte ableiten können, ob ich Kinder auf eine Waldorfschule schicken würde oder nicht. Aber sicher war es nicht ihre Absicht, Anregungen zum Handeln zu geben.

Ich entnehme den umfangreichen Ausführungen Jana Husmanns als Fazit: Steiner stand in der geistesgeschichtlichen Tradition des Abendlandes, die u. a. menschenverachtende Abwege hervorbrachte. Wer Steiners Gedanken gut unkritisch gegenüber steht, ist gut beraten, in ihrem Buch zu stöbern.  
Godula Kosack

**Ishikawa, Noboru:** *Between Frontiers. Nation and Identity in a Southeast Asian Borderland.* Singapore: NUS Press; Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2010. 268 pp. ISBN 978-9971-69-355-8; ISBN 978-87-7694-050-8. Price: £ 16.99

"Between Frontiers" is a marvelous historical ethnography of the Southeast Asian borderland, situated between Sarawak Malaysia and Indonesian Borneo. This monograph leads the reader straight into an exhilarating world of maritime Malay merchants, Chinese coolies, Dayak swidden cultivators, guerilla fighters, and Sambas rubber smugglers who have shaped the local peripheries of the old Sarawak colony over the past 140 years. The author's ambitions for writing this book are apparent. Post-war literature on "nationalism" has been preoccupied with the "nation" as an idea constituted in people's minds, at schools, and on maps, overlooking the "down-to-earth" spatial dimension of the making of the nation-state. With a detailed study of the state-society dialectics in Telok Melano, a village situated at the Malay-Indonesian border, Ishikawa intends to restore the nation to its relationship with the social "everyday" field where it has been abstracted from. The focus on a small Malay border village allows Ishikawa not just to explore the ways early colonial rule, the British occupation, or *Konfrontasi* have shaped people's lives in frontier zones, it also shows the strong interconnectivity between the emergence of national space and transnationalism.

The end result is a masterful account of how first, under the auspices of the Brooke colonial rule, this maritime "transnational" frontier slowly transformed into a peripheral hinterland, where borderland communities became caught between two national spaces. "Between Frontiers" relates about the introduction of the commercial plantation agriculture (e.g., pepper, gambier, and coconut), indentured Chinese labor, migration control, and commodity smuggling in an era where the modern nation-state took shape in the whole of Southeast Asia.

One of the major strengths of the book is the artful mix of scales and time frames, through which Ishikawa connects the rich imperial history of Southeast Asia with the living memories of families in the Borneo borderland. A

beautiful example in that regard is the author's account of the birth and growth of the rubber cultivation and smuggle in the Sarawak kingdom. After a deferred start of the rubber economy in the Sarawak colony in the 1920s, Malay planters saw their prospective profits almost immediately truncated by a very restrictive quota scheme installed under the International Rubber Regulation Agreement of 1934. Ishikawa approaches this event in a very refreshing fashion, linking the economic history of the rubber cultivation in Southeast Asia with the local memories of Malay border villagers who vividly recounted the mushrooming of Chinese smuggler shops in the pre-*Konfrontasi* period. Other examples include the story of Ahmad Zaidi's flee to Indonesia in 1963 and its relatedness with local village politics in Telok Melano, or the "osmotic" pressure of the weak Indonesian currency that fuelled illicit cross-border trade for years.

"Between Frontiers" is not written as a comprehensive history of the Borneo borderland. Certain milestones such as the Japanese military occupation or the late-colonial British period have only been briefly touched upon. The theoretical point of this book is solid, however, and deserves wider attention. The study of Sarawak and its borders has clearly shown that nation-state making is far from a homogenizing process only; it also implies processes of fragmentation, peripheralization, and social dislocation. While in Sarawak a range of plantation schemes, labor policies, and modern family law had to prompt the mobilization of people and goods; a sizeable register of restrictive measures were needed to halt cross-border swidden cultivation, run-away-coolies, and contraband smuggling from undercutting the national space. Ishikawa has shown in great detail that the genesis of the nation-state and transnationalism are not mutually exclusive processes. In the Borneo borderland, the creation of the Malay national space austere coincided with the parochial transnationalism in the Telok Melano village. "Between Frontiers" reminds us of the deep entanglement between nationalism, international politics, and transnationalism, and how people experience it "under their feet." "Between Frontiers" is highly recommended to academics, students, or anyone else who is interested in the history of borderlands, nationalism, and transnationalism in a South-east Asian context. Nel Vandekerckhove

**Jackson, Michael:** *Life Within Limits: Well-Being in a World of Want*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011. 230 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4915-0. Price. £ 15.99

At the centre of Michael Jackson's most recent book is his return to Firawa in Sierra Leone, where he conducted his first ethnographic fieldwork almost forty years ago (1969/70). In Sierra Leone – which has frequently been labelled one of the world's "least liveable" countries and is almost exclusively described in terms of its poverty, despair, and violent conflict – Jackson intends to understand what constitutes human well-being and how it relates to our belief that, regardless of the given circumstances, life has more in store for us than what it is revealing at a given time in the present.

Jackson was not travelling alone but in the company of his seventeen-year-old son Joshua who was travelling to Sierra Leone for the first time and whose impressions and reactions reminded his father of his own first experiences in Sierra Leone. The other companion was Sewa, a young Sierra Leonean friend who has lived in London for several years and was visiting home, being increasingly "stressed ... by all the pressures and demands", and, not being able to satisfy them all, encountered "not admiration but suspicion, envy, and resentment." For Sewa, who had emphasized the solidarity, mutual respect, and togetherness among people in his village back home while in London, upon his return to Sierra Leone finds these diasporic idealizations frustrated. His experiences reveal some of the (bitter) ambivalences that are likely to occur in the process of achieving material well-being abroad while losing connection to one's origins at home, or, as Jackson puts it with regard to Sewa: "He had gained a future at the expense of his past."

According to Jackson, the most significant thing in life for the Kuranko is to endure the burdens of life in a dignified manner. Well-being is conceptualized as the outcome of having learnt how to live within the limits set for oneself by the given circumstances and, ultimately, by God. The complex and often contradictory dimensions of well-being – and of the potential to share well-being – becomes particularly clear in Jackson's (and the reader's) encounter with Sira. One night Jackson is sitting in the compound with Sewa, when a group of girls joins them to sing them a few songs, which prove to be rather poetic and insightful and which have all been composed by one of the singers, Sira, who is eleven years of age and also turns out to be able to divine. She tells Jackson that she is regularly visited by djinns who have taught her how to prepare herbal medicines. Jackson visits her home and finds Sira and her mother living in severe poverty in a house that was burned down during the war and is still in a state of ruins. Sira had to quit school after her father had left the family. Despite these obvious deprivations, Jackson convincingly shows that Sira's main worry at this stage of her life is not the lack of financial means and material security, but the lack of love, recognition, and opportunity that she is experiencing.

Jackson explains that in Firawa social harmony has traditionally been of greater importance than material affluence and that – at least during Jackson's first travels to Sierra Leone – poverty was accepted by people as being natural. By contrast, people today believe that poverty must be blamed on those in power who have become wealthy at the expense of others. However, it is not so much the lack of financial means and the restricted access to material resources as such, but the lack of choice and opportunities that make young people in particular want to leave Firawa and Sierra Leone to find a better place to live – a better place not being imagined as the land of milk and honey but as a place where opportunities exist and where choices can be made. In the words of Morowa, an old informant of Jackson: "You have to have money to send your child to school. To buy what they need. Nowadays, the kids insist on going to school. That is why they