C. Lowe
The magic of place; Sama at sea and on land in Sulawesi, Indonesia

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 159 (2003), no: 1, Leiden, 109-133

CELIA LOWE

The magic of place

Sama at sea and on land in Sulawesi, Indonesia

Marine worlds and the question of place

> How are understandings of locality, community, and region formed and lived? To answer this question, we must turn away from the commonsense idea that such things as locality and community are simply given or natural and turn toward a focus on social and political processes of place making, conceived less as a matter of 'ideas' than of embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistances. (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:6.)
>
> People can try to discredit a person and his experiences – and for that there is an entire arsenal of reasons ready for use, especially for people with access to money and power (Toer 1999:xi).

Southeast Asian marine worlds are inherently regions of travel bringing together peoples, languages, trade, politics, and religions, and tying together histories from multiple sites.[1] The seas and coasts in Sulawesi, Indonesia, for example, are

1 My thanks to David Lindroth for drawing the maps.

CELIA LOWE is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington and obtained her PhD from Yale University. She has previously published 'Global markets, local injustice in Southeast Asian Seas; The live fish trade and local fishers in the Togean Islands of Sulawesi, Indonesia', in: Charles Zerner (ed.), *People, plants, and justice; The politics of nature conservation*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, and 'Social science, development, and indigenous minorities in Thailand; An interview with Chayan Vaddhanaphuti', in: Tani E. Barlow (ed.), *Positions; East Asia cultures critique*, Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming. Professor Lowe may be contacted at the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington, Box 353100, Seattle, WA 98195, USA.

Map 1. Sulawesi

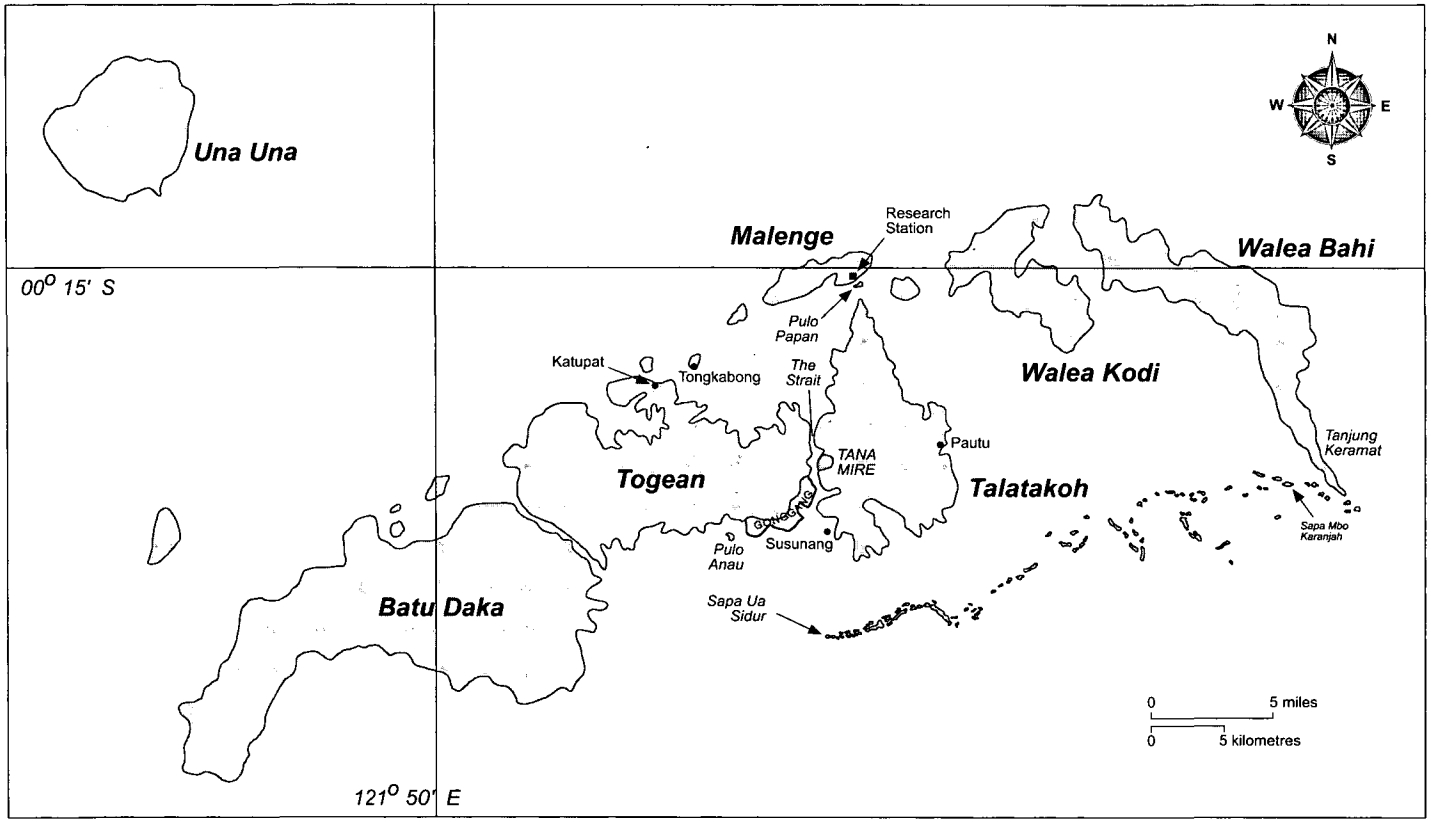
known as Indonesia's long-distance voyagers; their large wooden *penisi* ships carry valuable inter-island cargo, such as wood from Kalimantan or bags of Javanese cement and flour from Singapore in the west to Irian in the east (see Ammarell 1999). Likewise, Mandar are known for their smaller boats and coastal trade in products such as cloth and water jars and for their small-scale commercial fishing off the Mandar coast (Zerner 2003). Sama peoples,[2] alternatively, are known for their distinctive communities of stilt houses standing above the water and for living aboard small canoes for extended periods of time, moving from coral reef to mangrove swamp to coastal beach, gathering strand and reef products. By those on shore, water is frequently overlooked as a 'place' and the idea of place invariably evokes terrestrial metaphors like 'rooting' and 'grounding'. Yet, Southeast Asian waters prove, in fact, to be 'places' that one can inhabit in diverse ways.

In this article, I explore the 'senses of place' of Mbo Dindê, Puah Hamid, Mbo Nur, and other Sama people I know in the Togean Islands of Central Sulawesi. I argue for Sama senses of place in the context of two ethnographic facts. First, after the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, Sama are territorially the most widely scattered ethnic group in the region, living along the coasts of much of insular Southeast Asia.[3] Unlike Bugis or Mandar, who have well defined homelands, Sama communities are found all over eastern Indonesia, Sabah, Malaysia, and the southern Philippines. In addition to the unusual fact of being all over the place, Sama people are known for a particular lifestyle that seems exotic to nearly every outsider, that is, they occasionally make their homes aboard small canoes in which they travel to collect sea cucumber and other marine products. From this, many infer that the land is unimportant for Sama lifestyles.

Sama people have lived in eastern Indonesia, including Sulawesi, for centuries, and perhaps a millennium. Colonial records locate Sama villages in the Togean Islands by at least the 1880s, and there is strong evidence that they were there much earlier (Verschuer cited in Sopher 1977:150; Van Hoëvell 1893). Just as the sea is not imagined as a locality, Sama people are believed to have no substantial attachments to the land or to any particular locality.

2 'Sama' is an autonym that Samalan-speaking peoples who live in the coastal areas of Sulawesi and other parts of eastern Indonesia use for themselves. Ethnographers and other non-Sama usually refer to them as 'Bajau'. H. Arlo Nimmo has also adopted the Sama autonym in his recent ethnography (Nimmo 2001). Indonesian Sama people do not make the ethnic distinction between boat-dwelling and shore-dwelling people that is found in Philippine Sama/Bajau communities.

3 From at least the eleventh century, Samalan speakers migrated from the southern Philippines in search of marine products, mainly sea cucumbers and sharks' fins, which they sold to land-based rulers for trade with China. From Mindanao they worked their way down the Sulu archipelago and through Borneo, reaching the Makassar Strait and spreading into eastern Indonesia before the colonial period. See Fox 1993.



Map 2. Togean Islands

Because Sama live in many widely scattered places and are experienced in living aboard boats, they have been labelled 'sea nomads' and characterized as 'unsettled' and 'mobile'.[4]

Many cosmopolitan Indonesians are considerably ambivalent toward human mobility, which they presume to be politically destabilizing and un-modern. Watching television reports in Sulawesi of the ethnic fighting between Dayaks and Madurese in Kalimantan in 1997, an Indonesian friend said to me: 'On this issue, I'm for the Dayaks, because they're the *penduduk asli* [original inhabitants], and the Madurese are just transmigrants'. Appealing to the concept of *asli*, many Indonesians link their sympathies, and their understanding of rights, to what they conceive of as the primordial influence of place on society. In this way of thinking, an essential quality of people is the fact of being or not being 'local', while mobility decreases legitimacy.

This classification fits in with both historical and contemporary metaphors for marginalized mobile peoples across Southeast Asia. For colonial administrations, the stability and legibility of settled communities was a political, economic, and social ideal. Thus Tania Li (1999) describes the efforts of the Dutch to control the movements of upland peoples throughout the Indies (see also Aragon 2000:55-65). From the nineteenth century, the 'household', the 'village', the land survey, the census, the map, and the school, were among the technologies of rule used by the Dutch colonial administration in its attempts to control people's movements. Control of the coasts and the seas was also important in this regard. Eric Tagliocozzo (2000) describes the contribution of lighthouses, beacons, and buoys to British and Dutch colonial state formation. For nearby Semporna, in Borneo, Clifford Sather (1997:44-68) describes how in 1901 the British North Borneo Company introduced boat licensing and registration with a view to controlling marine traffic, collecting taxes, and inducing coastal people to acknowledge Company sovereignty.

In contemporary discourse, Sama are constructed as an extra-terrestrial 'other' – both living beyond the land and alien. Indonesian bureaucrats and non-governmental development workers share the view that the Sama people would be better off living on land. In the 1980s and 1990s there were multiple attempts in the Gulf of Tomini to move Sama communities from pile houses above the water to upland locations on dry land.[5] The term 'sea nomad' distracts many from recognizing Sama investments in subsistence

[4] This seminal term 'sea nomad' was introduced in American scholarly literature by Sopher (1977). See also Bottignolo 1995 and Sather 1997.

[5] A description of one such attempt can be found in *Tempo*, 15-3-1999, 'Orang Bajau, dalam untung dan malang'.

farming, forest use, or cash crop production. Biologists involved in Togean nature conservation believe Sama people to be responsible for damaging the marine environment. They are concerned about whether people who are just 'passing through' will want to preserve biodiversity and whether human mobility may endanger a locally fixed, immobile nature. Sama people do not fit into biologists' category of environmentally friendly citizens – a category whose properties, not coincidentally, overlap with those used by the state to define 'modern' and 'developed' citizens. For colonial officials, cosmopolitan Indonesians, and biodiversity conservationists, domestication requires fixity of people in place.

A reconfiguration of marine worlds as cultural spaces and a consideration of Sama investment in place, however, allow us to rethink both Sama identity and the construct of place. The attachment of Sama people to the Togean Islands runs counter to the perception of Sama as drifters. Travel, naming, work, political experience, and memory have created intimately familiar home spaces for Sama peoples. The way in which the Togeans have gained physical and social definition and contours and Sama people have gained local experience is premised on movement, not stasis. The acts of drifting and moving – crossing from here to there, coming and going, bodies in motion – are prerequisites for domestication and localization.[6]

In much of the anthropological literature on place, supposedly bounded, stable ethnic groups share a putatively common, coherent sense of place. So Steven Feld (1982) explains how 'Kaluli' expressions for sound embody 'Kaluli' sentiment, and Keith Basso (1996) describes 'language and landscape among the Western Apache'. However, as Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 2) explain, 'studies of ethnographic writing have revealed the apparent boundedness and coherence of "a culture" as something made rather than found; the "wholeness" of a holistically understood object appears more as a narrative device than as an objectively present empirical truth'. It is true that Sama people do share some common histories, including a history of political marginalization and the objectification of their group as 'sea nomads', as well as certain orientations toward the physical world, including a long-standing tradition of procuring marine products in an ancient marine resource trade. While 'Sama' senses of place have some general features, place-making practices and senses of place may vary considerably among individuals as a matter of individual experience. Perceptions of the same place may vary from person to person: you and I might have a very different 'sense' of the same place. Therefore the same points in space may become different 'places' to different human subjects, whether between one person and the next, between Sama and non-Sama, or between different groups which call themselves Sama.

6 For a theorization of this, see De Certeau 1984.

Additionally, anthropologists often describe places as circumscribed localities unaffected by the place-shaping influences of distant places. Yet, all places are shaped by links with other localities: a particular place becomes meaningful through its relationships with other locations.[7] Marine worlds are connected to terrestrial worlds, for example, as people move across the porous boundaries between them. Land and sea come into being together where inhabiting the one implies inhabiting the other. Further, senses of a place are formed through contrast – by imagining what it is not – and through the location of a place in a wider context. Contrastive associations are always political and hierarchical. The Togean Islands are regarded as a backwater in Indonesia in the context of modern urban development, for instance (Tsing 1993). A sense of place is determined not only by the natural surroundings of a particular place, therefore, but also by the social relations between it and other places.

Finally, there is another issue at play in Togean senses of place: nature itself, is an agent with the ability to act upon and transform a place.[8] Nature's tendency to change and transform itself, or that of plants and animals to appear or remain concealed, has a magical quality to it. The sea cucumbers that Sama go in search of do not always appear where they are expected to. The birds that nature lovers and eco-tourists in the Togean Islands look for through their binoculars, often only appear as shadows. The ability of nature to startle, or of one natural phenomenon to suddenly become another, is reminiscent of the way people too occupy places. The Togean Islands are not predictable or inevitable for Sama people or for visitors. For all kinds of people a sense of Togean place is an achievement, recalling a past haunted by memory and positing a future determined by conjuncture and coincidence.

For heuristic purposes, I have divided this article into different sections on the sea and the land. In the section 'At sea' I look at the multiple modalities (such as generic and specific place names) through which a sense of marine place emerges. Although all people may speak generically of places, it turns out that specificity provides a richer way of understanding Sama senses of place. A sense of marine place also develops via the interface between sea creatures and experience – collecting, observing, and telling tales about things found in the sea. In order to really know a place, it is necessary to

[7] See Appadurai 1996, Cooper and Stoler 1997, Lavie and Swedenburg 1996, and Massey 1994.

[8] Recent work in science and technology studies explores the idea of nature and non-humans as cultural actors. For example, Haraway (1997:226) writes about OncoMouse, 'this little murine smart bomb is also a cultural actor. A tool-weapon for "stalking cancer", the bioengineered mouse is simultaneously a metaphor, a technology, and a beast living life as best it can.' See also Latour 1999.

have a story to tell about it and to have spent some time there. The sea is also an anthropogenic space, where Sama people modify its topography and composition and distribution of species to satisfy human needs and aesthetic ideals. People unfamiliar with the sea often expect it to be relatively empty of human traces and that their tracks will be covered in their wake.

In the section 'On land' I describe Sama associations with the Togean landscape. In imagining the Sama as 'nomadic', conservationists, bureaucrats, and others expect landscapes to be of little relevance to Sama people's lives. Sama people do have an attachment to land, however. As an example, I will consider the sago palm swamp, or *gonggang*, where we can detect an extensive Sama landscape history. I will describe movement through this swamp and the making of sago itself to demonstrate how landscapes are anthropogenically produced and how place may also become embodied as a consequence of human movement. In additon to a sense of a place coming to reside in the body, identities are also structured through ideologies of place. Sama people become subjects of spatial ideologies that presume hierarchical relationships between urban centres and rural peripheries or that prefer stasis to mobility. By looking at how Sama people use the land, we will discover how bodies and subjects emerge in relation to the physical world around them.

At sea

> [...] there is the intimately known and precisely inventoried space of home: for Sinik, 'the lands of Lau Cih, founded by Karo mergana [...] that is, Urung Sepuluh Dua Kuta, the gateway to Medan, the turn-off to Binjei [...] our fields at Kilometer Eleven'. And whether or not you and I know where Kilometer Eleven is, we are nevertheless assured by the knowledge that there is such a place, eleven kilometers from somewhere, and that someone once farmed there. This assurance is a part of what I mean by the magic of landscape. (Steedly 1993:144.)

Looking out to sea from the shore of any Togean island, the marinescape presents itself as an unvarying blue expanse. This is especially true to the north, where the mainland of Sulawesi is too far off to be seen. To the south the coastline of Central Sulawesi, twenty miles across the sea, is vaguely visible, with the mountains of its interior coming into and fading from view in the perpetual haze. To people with an orientation towards the land, landlubbers as it were, these waters are empty. To Sama fishers, with their intimate knowledge of the Togean waters, however, the coral reefs and shoals, and even the mid-ocean depths under the water's surface are 'intimately known and precisely inventoried' home spaces.

Generic places

One way of knowing a place is generically. We may know tropical seas through a number of different types of coral reef, for example. Sama language divides coral reefs into six geomorphic types. A *sapa lannê* is a kind of reef that rises from a great depth and is visible above the surface of the water. A *sapa timpusu* also rises from a depth but is invisible on the surface. A *sapa palantoh* is a reef that is visible at low tide. A *sapa patindeng* is a reef that is always covered by water and rises from a lesser depth. A *sapa bungeng* is a flat reef that is never covered with water. And a *sapa bapusu* is a coral rock rising up in the air from a coral sea bottom.

This way of knowing coral reefs is different from that of a geological approach using the English language. Charles Darwin first described coral reefs with the aid of four generic terms: 'atoll', 'patch reef', 'barrier reef', and 'fringing reef'. The organizing principle of this classification derives from Darwin's interest in the rise and fall of volcanic islands in the Pacific. As volcanic islands recede into the sea, a coral fringe develops around their edges. An atoll is the coral residue left after the island in the centre has completely subsided. While Darwin's terms describe reefs in relation to the land that they border or that they have replaced, Sama terms describe reefs in relation to the sea bottom and the surface of the water. One type of Sama reef, *sapa bapusu*, would even be described as 'land' and not 'reef' in English. Rising from the coralline sea bottom, *sapa bapusu* sometimes have clusters of trees growing on them.

Generalization is an important heuristic device – it allows for prediction based on pattern. I would argue, however, that a 'sense of place' results more from embodied experience than from cognitive abstraction. Reef taxonomies were not terribly important for Sama people in developing a sense of place in the Togean Islands. Their way of referring to reefs was historical and specific, avoiding generalization. Coral reefs are not kinds of places, but very places themselves. In an intimately familiar world there is less awareness of types than of tokens, and more need for exact places than for abstractions of kinds of places. Proper names give specificity to an intimately familiar world.

Specific places

Proper names, like 'the lands of Lau Cih' or 'Kilometer Eleven', Mary Steedly tells us, assure us that something once went on there, at that point of the landscape, such that people cared enough about it to give it a name. Two miles off the south coast of Talatakoh Island is a chain of reefs running eastward towards Tanjung Keramat on the southern tip of Walea Bahi. I learned about these reefs south of Susunang, the Sama village where I lived

and worked in 1996 and 1997, from Puah Hamid, who insisted he was the person who knew them best.

Unlike names on a map or a nautical chart, which fix, standardize, and institutionalize place names (Scott 1998), Hamid's names relate to his experiences travelling to and working in Togean places. His claim that he knows the reefs best is a claim to experience, and his experiences produced his knowledge of Togean reefs. Reefs acquire names as a result of someone building a reef house or fishing there regularly, of some unusual occurrence, or of the presence of certain striking features. When he was younger, Hamid said, he travelled regularly with his parents along this particular stretch of reef on collecting trips called *pongkat*, catching fish and collecting sea cucumbers. He would sleep with his mother and father and one or two siblings on the floor of their boat with the fish they had caught piled on a cloth on top of them. Wherever they went, people would recognize them as Sama because they smelled like their drying fish.

Puah Hamid named and described the reefs to the north, south, east, and west of the village of Susunang for me. I list below the names of only some of these, namely the reefs running from reef (*sapa*) Ua Sidur in the west to Cape (*tanjung*) Keramat in the east, a stretch of five nautical miles. An interesting feature of coral reefs is that they are only visible when one looks directly down at them from above. When one looks at a reef, its borders or edges are not obvious in the way that those of a field or forest path might be. Because of this physical attribute of reefs, the detail in which Puah Hamid was able to remember this submerged geography was remarkable.

Sama	*English*
Sapa Ua Sidur	Father Sidur's Reef
Sapa Alo	Atoll Reef
Sapa Gussoh ma Buka	Open Sea Grass Reef
Sapa ma Tilla'	Bright Reef
Sapa Buntar	Round Reef
Sapa Aloang	Lagoon Reef
Sapa Kulapei	Kulapei Fish Reef
Sapa Sahê'	Sahê' (a kind of satan) Reef
Sapa ma Rintas	Sharp-edged Reef
Sapa Mbo Mawar	Mbo Mawar's Reef
Sapa Basar Batu nê	Big Rock Reef
Sapa Pai Najê	Papa Najê's Reef
Sapa Si Datei	Si Datei's Reef
Sapa Banderê	Flag Reef
Sapa Pai Jai	Papa Jai's Reef
Sapa ma Taha	Long Reef

Sapa Mbo Junung	Mbo Junung's Reef
Sapa Tarias	Tarias Reef
Sapa Ko'ko'	Ko'ko' (a kind of satan) Reef
Sapa ma Tilla'	Bright Reef
Sapa Aloang	Lagoon Reef
Sapa Karangang	Coralhead Reef
Sapa Boe Disalu	Fresh-water Reef
Sapa Bajangang	Bajangang Reef
Sapa Mbo Karanjah	Mbo Basket's Reef
Sapa Ua Jabir	Father Jabir's Reef
Tanjung Keramat	Spirit Cape

To know these places the way he does, Puah Hamid insisted, one has to have experience of the *pongkat* and of living on these reefs. Reefs receive their names from experience and event. Sapa Pai Najê, for instance, is called this because Najê's father built a reef house there. Sapa Banderê is named after a flag marker for passing ships that you can see while fishing there. Sapa Tarias is named after the many *tarias* fish caught there. Ko'ko' is the name of a kind of demon that pulls out your eyes which inhabits this reef, so that one should not utter animal names here for fear of attracting the demon. Sapa Karangang is named after the jutting coral rocks used for drying fish on. Sapa Boe Disalu is close to land with fresh water. Mbo Karanjah was a foreigner who placed a basket-shaped navigation marker on the reef in question, which already appears as a fixed feature on the Dutch hydrographic chart of 1929. Tanjung Keramat, finally, is a Malay name; a *keramat* cape is a place where dangerous spirits dwell.

These were the names Puah Hamid knew. Unlike official names on maps, characterized by permanence and universality, however, different Sama people use different place names. This depends on where they have been and what they have done there. For example, Hamid and his fishing companions used the name 'Father Sidur's Reef' for a reef referred to by many younger people as 'Rizal's Reef'. Rizal had recently built a reef house and started fishing regularly in that place. New travels and experiences give places new meaning, and so names of places tend to change over time. Changes in place names indicate not only that different 'cultures' or 'ethnic groups' have different specific names, but also that a sense of place is determined as much by experience as by ethnicity, as much by specificity as by generality.

Place and marine life

Knowledge of Togean reefs involves knowledge not only of coral formations and geomorphologic features, but also of the marine life which inhabits them. When speaking of sea creatures, Sama people can and do mention their generic locations, but what is more important than types of location is where and when exactly they are to be found. As Puah Mus told me on a *pongkat* in the vicinity of the strait separating the Togean and Talatakoh Islands, for example, 'when the moon is full, there really aren't many sea cucumbers here. But at full moon they are numerous near Pulo Layang and to the east of Sunang and beyond, in the direction of Kalea and Pautu. There are also lots of sea cucumbers to the west, near Bangkagi and Tongkabong.' Even at the time when his grandfather was collecting, these were the places where his grandfather would take him. Mus said that 'good' coral was coral with lots of holes for sea cucumbers to hide in. But while he was able to say something about the quality and characteristics of general locations, he was more eloquent when it came to specifics. When I asked him in what types of environment I would find each species of sea cucumber – mud, rock, coral, deep or shallow, and so on – in what *kinds* of places Puah Mus and others replied by mentioning *specific* locations. He pointed out to me that there are many *balê alolo* (*alolo*, a kind of sea cucumber) in the sandy spots around the island across from where we were.

I had a similar experience many times over. Hamid informed me that Graveyard Island is a good location for *gamma' batu* (one of the more expensive varieties of sea cucumber) and *balê karidau* (*karidau*, sea cucumber), as well as for the pearl shell and top shell that is sold for making buttons. Sahabong told me that the straits directly behind his village used to be filled with *gamma' batu*. I linked these statements to others I had heard, such as that by Mbo Lillê that there are plenty of *kikire* (a kind of giant clam) on a reef just north of Malenge. Likewise Puah Rizal told me that his reef used to be known for Napoleon wrasse. Ratna said that there are always pythons in the mangrove trees on the way to her garden. Lidjê pointed out the rock that hides the giant eel that is 'all head and neck and no tail and that eats people'. Mbo Dindê, as well, had warned me to watch out for the underwater cave near Pulo Anau where a man-eating grouper fish lives.

A sense of place emerges from the interaction between experience and location. The experience could be building a house, travelling to a garden, or the threat of an encounter with a man-eating fish. Certain features of the marinescape are invisible to those who lack experience with them, such as to people who have not moved through a particular place. Emplaced and embodied sensibilities, as we see, develop only in practice.

The biophysicality of marine worlds

Places are created not just through ideas and language, they can also be produced and re-fashioned biophysically. Human fabrications of place are often invisible to everyone but their creators, however, and outsiders imagine that what they are looking at is wild nature. Travelling along Togean channels by boat, I, like most newcomers, saw 'forests' rather than 'gardens'. This tendency to misread the physical world is especially common in relation to the marine world. Those unfamiliar with the ways in which Sama people improve and nurture Togean marinescapes will only see the seemingly impenetrable blue surface that hides the marine world below it. They will believe they are looking at a wildness.

Sama fishers taught me to see things differently, however. Puah Hamid had made a sea garden under his stilt house by bringing anemones and clams from the reef there. He found it useful to have edible sea creatures close to home for days when fishing was impossible, but his sea garden was also an aesthetic achievement, and many people described it as beautiful. Other changes had been made on more distant reefs to improve the marine world for human use. Fishers fixed stakes there from which they suspended nets and then caught pelagic tuna by driving them into the narrow opening. The reef floor was generally lined with fish traps made of coral rocks or bamboo. The reef slope was sometimes levelled in the strictly limited places where people set off bombs to catch the large schools of fusilier fish that frequent them.[9] Reef houses were erected in reef shallows, and navigation markers fixed in the coral. And in deep-water areas where the bottom of the sea is invisible, fish concentrators, or *rakit*, rode at anchor attracting first algae and then tiny fish in the shadow of the platform, and then the larger sardines swimming around the smaller fish in schools of thousands or even millions.

The strait

Many writers have described about the productive reconfiguration of anthropogenic landscapes, but the sea is less frequently considered in this way.[10] While some anthropologists have identified the sea as full of the traces of human activity, such ideas have not trickled out beyond the academic world to affect popular, touristic, bureaucratic, or conservationist

[9] Blast fishing is a very controversial subject in Indonesia and there is no doubt that it is a destructive fishing method. According to my observations in the Togean Islands, however, fishers use this technique only to catch particular species of fish (such as fusilier fish) and thus restrict it to specific parts of the reef. One might argue that this transformation of the marine environment is a productive one, in the same way as clearing a section of the forest to make a garden.

[10] There are some exceptions among Southeast Asian and Pacific Island scholars; see Hviding 1996; Johannes 1977; Zerner 2001.

thinking. For most people, the sea is still a space inspiring romantic notions of unspoiled nature, or an unruly space that needs to be controlled, while signs of creative human activity are overlooked. In a world where people find it hard to appreciate the hybridity of human and natural worlds and falsely imagine that nature alone is capable of beauty and magic, it is easy for Sama people's productive and aesthetic achievements in the marine world to be overlooked.[11] In the example below, I trace one instance of marine place-making as I accompany Mbo Dindê and Mbo Lillê through a narrow mangrove-lined strait.

> Early in the morning one day in 1996, Mbo Dindê, Mbo Lillê and I paddled their *soppe* (a kind of canoe) northward from the village of Susunang toward Malenge Island through the strait between Talatakoh and the Togean Islands. As soon as we entered the calm waters of the strait, Mbo Dindê began to tell stories about particular places we passed. She began to narrate our passage, inspired by particular places along our route, around the interface between these localities and particular species.
>
> 'When I was younger, that is where we would pick sea grapes, from between those roots there', she said. Sea grapes are the tiny berries of a fluorescent green brachiated seaweed. Mbo liked to eat them with lime and chilli. 'And that place over there', she said, 'is especially good for mud clams'. The species of clam she referred to is the Manila clam that has been introduced to the northwest coast of the United States. Mbo Dindê told me that, to get at the clams hiding in the mud she would squeeze in between the thorny mangrove roots at low tide. She scrunched up her face and hunched her shoulders to show me how little she could make herself as she made her way among the roots.
>
> After some more paddling we came to the entrance to one of the many waterways into and through the mangrove forest that people had cut over the years. These passages are only accessible at high tide. Mbo told me how in World War II everyone had hidden there when the Japanese soldiers arrived. All the children had turned red from the tannin in the mangroves, which rubbed off onto their skin as they played among the trees. She had been married at the time when they were hiding among the trees, and she didn't get to have a wedding party because no one *had* anything in those days. There was not even any cloth available, because the traders were no longer travelling around; all the people wore clothes made of pounded tree bark.
>
> As we rowed a bit further, she showed me the place where she said she had collected sea cucumbers. I hadn't realized that sea cucumbers were also found among the mangroves, believing they occurred only among sea grasses and coral reefs. Mbo said, 'No, this kind is called *boto pendaga'*. I wrote the name down in my notebook and repeated it aloud, like the enthusiastic student I was, over and over again so I wouldn't forget it. Only later did I find out that I had been paddling along reciting 'Trader's penis, trader's penis, trader's penis'.
>
> We passed a spot on the shore named Tana Mirê, 'Red Earth', where a multinational logging company had cleared the hillside and rolled back the forest like

11 On human/nature hybridity see Latour 1999.

the lid on a sardine can. 'Where does the road go?' I asked. Mbo Lillê rested his paddle so it wouldn't slap the water or go clunk on the side of our boat while he talked. He answered 'It's a place where they've cut down the trees'. We could see remnants of the gargantuan felled trunks which the loggers had left. They had come with tractors with big wheels and claws that tore up the trees and carried them off to waiting barges. But now both the loggers and the trees were gone.

Mbo Lillê told me that *palapi* (a huge dipterocarp) provides the best wood for making canoes but that the big canoe-sized trees are gone. I asked if the logging company had hired any labour from the village to help with the logging. 'No, no, we didn't work there', Mbo Lillê answered. Mbo Dindê told me that the loggers had a house in the woods, but no one stayed there now because ghosts had entered the forest in the loggers' wake. Some loggers had been killed, she revealed, and the ghosts were a residue of these deaths. The origin places of the logging companies – Jakarta, Japan – are what Doreen Massey (1994) calls 'significant elsewheres'; these 'elsewheres' are other places that reconfigure home spaces for Togean people.

We left the strait and headed for Malenge Island across a passage exposed to the winds from the east. Mbo Dindê and Mbo Lillê both thought there was a real possibility of the boat being swamped by the waves so far out to sea. One day I had seen humpback whales diving and leaping in this stretch of open water. Mbo Dindê found whales terrifying creatures, but I remembered this place because of the beauty of the whales and my excitement at seeing them. Arriving safely at the far end, we passed some Sama fishers from the village of Pulo Papan who were fishing with a net. Mbo Dindê told me to ask them for some fish. Since she and Mbo Lillê would not be able to do any fishing that day, they might be hungry later on. It is rude to refuse someone who asks for fish or other food. Mbo Dindê also realized that the fishers would be surprised by a 'tourist' speaking Sama and so would be generous. I called out '*Melaku dayah*' (I ask for fish), and the fishers swam over and dropped several large reef fish into the bottom of our canoe.

As we travelled through the strait, Mbo Dindê and Mbo Lillê told stories about particular places by referring to particular species found there. Places without interesting species became gaps in the landscape, unable to inspire stories. Seaweed, mud clams, mangroves, a variety of sea cucumber named 'trader's penis', trees for canoe building, ghosts, whales, and a gift of fish became mnemonic devices for things doubly passed — for what we had physically gone by, and for what was history. The opposite was also true – as one passed particular places, these places themselves inspired and demanded stories and memories of particular plants and animals. Movement was necessary to make the strait a familiar place – both for incidents to happen, and for stories about what had happened there before to be told. Former journeys had given rise to meaningful events, and present journeys re-created events as meaningful. Stories about whales and a gift of reef fish had created a sense of Togean place for me as well.

Being(s) out of place

Land and sea creatures are not only known to inhabit specific places, but they can also be out of place. Mbo Dindê warned me that saying the names

of land animals at sea is *pamali* (taboo) and will bring bad luck. Don't say 'goat', 'cat', 'dog', or 'pig' at sea, she advised me. Asar told me not to utter the word *kalomba* (demon) on the water. Another time, Mbo Lillê told me that throwing fruit and vegetable peels overboard was *pamali*. These land species do not belong in the sea. Even general rules may intensify in specific places. Thus Hamid said that it was especially important not to utter the names of land animals at Sapa Ko'ko', or the demon living there would pull out my eyes. Different people felt subject to different prohibitions in different locations. These prohibitions were not so much cultural 'rules' as personal ways of experiencing an agentive and unpredictable nature.

An agentive nature will at times reveal itself and at other times keep its secrets. One day we heard a rumour that Puah Tarias had found sixty balê potei (a valuable white variety of sea cucumber) near a hidden passage on the north side of Togean Islands. This number of white sea cucumbers was worth around two hundred and fifty dollars, or half a year's wages, so Puah Asang and I decided to go and find the place. Tarias was supposed to meet us there but did not show up, so that we started looking by ourselves. We dived into the milky white water and swam along the muddy bottom where the balê potei live, scanning the silt through visibility of only two feet. Whenever we touched or kicked the mud it would swirl up and close in around us. We swam like this for hours, looking to left and right but seeing nothing and fearing that, trapped in the murky water, we just might not be able to find our way back to the surface.

At home, Asang's wife Ridjê informed us that Tarias had waited for us, claiming to have gone to the same spot we were in; yet it would have been impossible for us not to have seen him. Asang's brother speculated that Tarias might have his own place that he did not want to share with anyone. 'That's not the way to do things, is it?' Asang asked me rhetorically – it is selfish and slightly immoral to have a place of your own that you do not share with others. Ridjê supposed that we had not seen Puah Tarias because he had used magic to make himself invisible. The muddy passage had been doubly secret that day, with sea cucumbers and human beings both hiding themselves.

Nature's agency and the ability of different species to appear in and out of place is something also encountered by conservationists. One day, I waited, along with a group of biologists making a survey of Togean birds, for the hornbills we had heard flying overhead to appear. We waited in vain. The land is capable of concealing the species inhabiting it, but the sea seems particularly adept at this. The biologist E.O. Wilson observed that the sea continues to cast up new species of cetaceans, the largest mammals on earth, all the time: thirteen since 1908, and one, the Pygmy beaked whale, as recently as 1991 (Wilson 1992). Sifting through the mud of the sea bottom

in search of sea cucumbers in the Togean Islands is not a very different experience from that of naturalists in search of new species.

On land

> Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body. 'I feel good here': the well-being under-expressed in the language it appears in like a fleeting glimmer is a spatial practice. (De Certeau 1984:108.)

For those without an intimate experience with the sea, land and sea may seem to be two opposed entities. The land is start and finish, the sea is a way to get there. The land is the locus of the world of human history and domestication, the sea a temporary pathway. But in many places with a maritime history – the Mediterranean, the Pacific Islands, the Netherlands – water and land combine in configuring a sense of place. In the Togean Islands, sea and land are interconnected aspects of Sama marine worlds. This relationship is clarified by Sama place-making practices. Those who perceive Sama to be 'sea nomads' cannot imagine them devoting their attention to the land in a productive way. This perceived lack of affiliation with the land has led Indonesian bureaucrats to believe that Sama communities can be easily resettled in new places. In this section I will describe how the land is a medium for Sama senses of place and for Sama creation of a marine world.

I am interested in, among other things, how a sense of place is embodied and how places and subjects come into being simultaneously. Just as places are domesticated and formed through human intervention, bodies are subjected by movement through and experience in space. To be able to understand how this works, we might consider Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1980) – the physical schema that orders human practices in a way both systematic and unconscious:

> *Habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, and tends to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms.

Bourdieu describes a political economy of the body. The human body, in his terms, is a physical reminder of the historical production of the political

norm and 'correct' action. The production of place, and the production of embodied subjects occur together. Moreover, places are linked, both physically and symbolically, to other localities, and localities are hierarchically arranged. Sago production, as I will show, is an activity that places Sama people in a particular symbolic and spatial relationship to people in other locations in Indonesia.

On land, mangrove trees straddle the border between sea and land: the mangrove roots are in salt water and at the same time reach down deep into the soil of the shore. Sama people have turned the land behind these groves into places of historical memory and economic productivity. Bamboo pipes carry fresh water from springs to the shore. Channels cut through and beyond the mangrovs provide access to the land and alternative routes for canoes wishing to avoid the wind and the waves. Yam, vegetable, and fruit tree gardens alternate with nipa and pandanus and commercial coconut and clove stands. In the forest, rattan and bamboo are encouraged to grow and large trees are harvested for canoe- and house-building. Trails reach like tendrils into all parts of the forest.[12]

A particular kind of place that gives the land its special character in the Togean marine world is the *gonggang* (sago-palm swamp). Sago is the staple food of the Togeans. Mbo Lillê used to go on long canoe trips around the islands selling the sago he produced. Fishers always take sago with them on *pongkat* trips because, unlike with rice, no fresh water is needed to cook. In most of Indonesia outside those parts of the eastern archipelago where sago is abundant, rice is regarded as a 'civilized' food while the eating of sago is taken by many as a sign of savagery. In the Togean Islands, however, fresh sago taken from the tree only the night before is much tastier than the poor-quality rice brought here by traders. Pinkish in colour and with a sugary scent, it is fried with coconut into a kind or cake or boiled with water, lemon, and chilli to make a dish much like matzo ball soup. Sago with grilled fish is a favourite dish for many Togean Sama people.

Sago production involves a particular way of domesticating the landscape and structuring the body. People make *gonggang* out of naturally occurring marshy areas or artificial swamps by damming rivulets to inundate patches of low-lying land. While it is almost impossible to see these *gonggang* from a boat from the water, nearly every available low-lying place has been converted into sago-growing land. There are forty-two named and individually owned *gonggang* along the coast east of the village of Pulo Anau. Many Sama people who are active in sago production are able to repeat these names and mention the location of each *gonggang* in the

12 For other descriptions of anthropogenic landscapes in Southeast Asia see Peluso 1996; Rosaldo 1980; Tsing 1993.

order in which they are found along the curving shoreline.

Sago production contradicts the commonly held idea that Sama people are afraid of the land and continually move from one place to another. In the context of sago production Sama mobility is different altogether: it is a circumscribed mobility that revolves around the sago trees, producing a familiarity with and ownership of parts of the landscape. The Berkeley geographer Carl Sauer (1981) might have described Sama sago making as 'the appropriation of habitat by habit'. In the following example I will describe the construction of habitat and *habitus*, as the accumulation of past experiences that becomes manifest through sago-making.

One day I paddled to land with Mbo Nur and her husband Mbo Jumah to make sago. When we got to the shore we climbed out of the boat, took our implements, and made our way up a hill towards their *gonggang*. Sago production involves travelling to and through the sago swamp, as well as numerous intricate movements that only people with local experience are able to perform. As a stranger to this particular way of knowing a place, I could only stand by and watch – and hope that my shoes would not be sucked into the mud. I watched how Mbo Jumah began by taking up his axe and felling a ripe sago palm. He could tell the difference between a sago palm and a mangrove tree intuitively: striking a mangrove with one's axe gives the body a jolt, while the sago palm's soft trunk will suck in the axe. This knowledge represents an inscription of place on the body, while cutting down a tree is a manifestation of the body on a place.

To obtain sago, one has to scrape the pith from the tree trunk, wash the pith, strain the liquid through a sieve, and skim the excess water off the settling starch. Mbo Nur mounted a sieve above a hole dug in the ground in which fresh water from the swamp collected. She made the sieve from the branches and bark of the newly cut sago tree. To do this she sewed an old rice bag onto the rounded end of a branch with her fingers and something looking like an ice pick. Then she made a basin (called *bibidoh*, 'boat') to hold the wet sago mixture from the bark remains of an already worked tree trunk. She supported the sides of the basin with sticks so that it wouldn't split when full. Mbo Jumah would later strain the starch from the pith by mixing the pith with water and pressing the mixture through the rice bag. The starch would slowly settle in the bottom of the basin, so that the excess water could be skimmed off. The sago would then be scooped into containers also made from sago bark.

Mbo Nur and Mbo Jumah worked on the tree trunk for three full days, arriving at the *gonggang* at sunrise and returning home in the afternoon each day. Jumah's hands and arms flew about as he scraped the pith from the sago trunk. As his pile of white pith (which slowly changed colour from white to red as it became exposed to the air) grew bigger, he carried it to the sieve. He then planted his feet firmly on the ground, bent his back, picked up a bucket of water and poured the water over the sago pith. He kneaded and squeezed the pith to press the starch from it through the sieve Nur had made and into the basin. By the end of the process of separating the starch from the pith, the skin of his (clean) finger tips and (muddy) toes had become wrinkled.

When Nur noticed a *gogomi* beetle feeding on the sago pith, she commented

how this beetle is found only in freshly scraped sago and proceeded to name the other species of bugs she could think of. Then she picked up the beetle and tied a piece of string to one of its legs to take it home for her grandchildren to play with. Later we collected some mushrooms growing from a pile of discarded pith. We also picked the tips of the leaves of a vegetable Mbo called *gangah pako*, a plant with green and red leaves that grow at the edge of the sago swamp.

Mbo Nur and Mbo Jumah were initially reluctant to take me sago-collecting with them. 'We do this kind of work because we are poor', Nur told me. Before government officials and other outsiders sceptical about sago began and trying to persuade the people here that store-bought rice is a more civilized thing to eat, sago was simply something everyone ate; now it is something only 'poor' people eat. Likewise, whereas once the Togean Islands were a place for people in general, now they are a place for 'poor' people. Sago production and consumption entail inscribing onto the body the position of the Togean Islands within a hierarchy of related regions.

'We poor people are forced to eat sago', Nur said to me later, virtually repeating her earlier comment word for word. It was as though she was trying to impress me with her knowledge of ideas from other places. However, she likes the taste of sago better than that of rice and considers sago-making cool, clean work – not like fishing in the searing heat of the sun. Sago production and consumption are practices that give rise to locally experienced subjects. Turning the tables on outsiders, Mbo Nur remarked that no one who is not native to this place can eat sago. The relation of Togean communities to rice-consuming regions and Sama peoples' resistance to these relations is nevertheless embodied in Sama sago production.

Just as land is domesticated and fashioned by human intervention, Togean Sama people are produced as particular kinds of political subjects within the Indonesian polity due to their movement within land and marinescapes. This subjection takes place not only at the level of discourse, but also at the level of the body. Sea and land will produce different kinds of bodies, however. The sea requires people to sit and paddle their canoes for hours on end, to swim, and to use nets, and sometimes even fertilizer bombs. The land, on the other hand, requires people to walk, chop, and hoe. On land there are moments of calm and quiet that one does not experience at sea. Experience with the land tends to form feet that are capable of climbing a muddy slope without slipping, hands that can wield an axe with exactly the right motion to cut down a sago palm or mangrove tree, eyes that are able to recognize birds that predict rain, and memories that enable one to discern dangerous promontories where people have died or which are haunted by spirits. Experience enters a body and gives rise to the existence of bodies that know places, and places that are shaped by these bodies.

The magic of place

> Imagine yourself, then, not in the space of the 'you are there' realism of flat ethnographic description but in an intensely occupied and imagined space, watching to see what will happen. Imagine the sense of being at home in a place caught between a rock and a hard place – at once protected from a threatening outside world and smothering. The sense of groping along in the midst of a mine field of forces, tracking the traces of earlier impacts. Imagine a subjectivity located not in the power to name and evaluate but in the memory/imagination of events and images that just come and stand as reminders of things uncaptured by any sense of an overarching 'order of things'. Imagine the desire to relate an impact, the sudden move 'to incarnate oneself, to become more determined [...] the sudden narrowing of horizon'. Imagine yourself surrounded. (Stewart 1996:158.)

Place has a magic to it. Part of this magic lies in its centripetal force – its ability to draw together memory and experience, history and story, movement and event. Place also has a centrifugal tendency: it has not only its internal features, but also its boundaries, such that particular people and things may be alien to it, not of this place (Casey 1996).

Places, like a strait or swamp or collecting site, emerge – through human agency – like ever-increasing raindrops in a storm. Places multiply, and spread, and stratify, layering synchronous, competing cultural venues over common cartographic points. Places also become manifest through the agency of nature as crops either succeed or fail, wind and waves prevent one from going out in a boat, and sea and land creatures appear and disappear. These various agencies combine to produce a sense of place that transcends the ability to describe or mimetically reproduce. It is, as Stewart says, a sense of 'groping along in a minefield of forces tracking the traces of earlier impacts', a sense that there is no 'overarching order of things'.

Places may extend beyond their bounds, becoming regions by melting into and fusing with each other. Likewise, places never stand on their own but are based on specific positive relations with elsewheres. Togean connections with logging companies in far-away places or with distant bureaucrats who prefer to eat rice are important for producing local specificity and a sense of Togeanness. One way in which the Togean Islands may be perceived is as not-urban, not-Manado or Jakarta, and not-someone else's place. Sama people also define their lives and their selves in relation to the interaction between social and physical interconnections. Laurie Sears (1996:1-44) describes identity as both 'fantasized' and 'fragile', meaning that the formation of an identity is a creative process that is always subject to dissolution and fragmentation, intensification, fetishization, and occasional coherence. Sama people necessarily fantasize their own identity in dialogue with other people's fantasies and are continually forced to contend with

the gap between representations of who they 'are' and of who they 'should be'. While they do not themselves write the scripts that describe them as 'backward' or 'noble' and in their relationship to most other groups they remain subordinate, Sama people retain an ability to comment on and even refute the stereotypes of themselves which they encounter. One way they do so is by continually re-inscribing land and marinescapes as 'Sama' places.

'Nomadic', as we have seen, is a substantially flawed term for describing Sama ways of life. It ignores village life, gardening and land-based affinities, and the detailed historical construction of place and resource space that Sama people draw upon in their travels. The word 'nomad' implies something rootless, unanchored, unrestrained, and total. In encompassing every domain of existence for those it putatively describes, it implies that everything is constantly on the move. Nevertheless, Sama peoples' houses and fishing grounds are not merely artifacts of the settlement schemes of colonial or contemporary states. Hamid went on *pongkat* trips and Mbo Nur made sago at what were for them familiar and historically established sites. Paddling a canoe through a strait and cutting down a sago palm are activities that are similar in their ability to produce locally experienced subjects. Human movement is fundamental to the creation of a sense of place. Another way of putting this is to say that nomadism – re-defined as the mobile acquisition of detailed knowledges of the world – is the foundation of place-making. Places come into being through the interaction of people with sites, sites with people.

Questions of origin and locality overlap in interesting ways with recent discussions in anthropology about what to make of mobility and how to define mobility in relation to locality. In the present period of productive attention to new forms of identity and citizenship – trans-regional, trans-national, and global – anthropologists and others have concerned themselves with questions of travel, diaspora, migration, and the nomadic. In this context, mobility and travel have become important foci for re-defining the Sama as modern subjects and for considering Sama mobility outside developmentalist frameworks. What to make of a people like Sama, who are perceived as mobile, yet do not really travel very far? And what of those who travel widely, like anthropologists, who nevertheless come to have investments in place? Despite our heightened sensitivity to de-territorializing processes, Sama travels illustrate that mobility is always localized and territorialized, and that movement is also important for producing places and grounding peoples.

REFERENCES

Ammarell, Gene
1999 *Bugis navigation.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. [Monograph 48].

Appadurai, Arjun
1996 *Modernity at large; Cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Aragon, Lorraine V.
2000 *Fields of the Lord; Animism, Christian minorities, and state development in Indonesia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Basso, Keith H.
1996 *Wisdom sits in places; Landscape and language among the western Apache.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bottignolo, Bruno
1995 *Celebrations with the sun; An overview of religious phenomena among the Badjaos.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1980 *The logic of practice.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Casey, Edward
1996 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time; Phenomenological prolegomena', in: Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (eds), *Senses of place,* pp. 13-52. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. [Advanced Seminar Series.]

Certeau, Michel de
1984 *The practice of everyday life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cooper, Frank and Ann Stoler
1997 *Tensions of empire; Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Feld, Steven
1982 *Sound and sentiment; Birds, weeping, poetics, and song in Kaluli expression.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. [Publications of the American Folklore Society, New Series 5.]

Fox, James J.
1993 'Bajau voyages to the Timor area, the Ashmore Reef and Australia'. Paper, International Seminar on Bajau Communities, Jakarta, 22-25 November.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson
1997 *Culture, power, place; Explorations in critical anthropology.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Haraway, Donna
1997 'Mice into wormholes', in: Gary Lee Downey and Joseph Dumit (eds), *Cyborgs and citadels; Anthropological interventions in emerging sciences.* Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. [Advanced Seminar Series.]

Hoëvell, G.W.W.C. baron van
1893 'Bijschrift bij de kaart der Tomini-Bocht', *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 10:64-72.

Hviding, Edvard
1996 *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon; Practice, place, and politics in maritime Melanesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. [Pacific Islands Monograph Series 14.]

Johannes, Robert
1977 *Words of the lagoon; Fishing and marine lore in the Palau District of Micronesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Latour, Bruno
1999 *Pandora's hope; Essays on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lavie, Smardar and Tim Swedenburg (eds)
1996 *Displacements, diaspora, and the geographies of identity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Li, Tania Murray
1999 'Marginality, power, and production; Analysing upland transformations', in: Tania Murray Li (ed.), *Transforming the Indonesian uplands; Marginality, power and production*, pp. 1-44. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers. [Studies in Environmental Anthropology 4.]

Massey, Doreen
1994 *Space, place, and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nimmo, H. Arlo
2001 *Magosaha; An ethnography of the Tawi-Tawi Sama Dilaut*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Peluso, Nancy
1996 'Fruit trees and family trees in an anthropogenic forest; Ethics of access, property zones, and environmental change in Indonesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38:510-48.

Rosaldo, Renato
1980 *Ilongot headhunting 1883-1974; A study in society and history*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sather, Clifford
1997 *The Bajau Laut; Adaptation, history, and fate in a maritime fishing society of south-eastern Sabah*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [South-East Asian Social Science Monographs.]

Sauer, Carl O.
1981 'The agency of man on the earth', in: Carl O. Sauer, *Selected Essays, 1963-1975*, pp. 330-63. Berkeley: Turtle Island Foundation.

Scott, James C.
1998 *Seeing like a state; How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press. [Yale Agrarian Studies Series.]

Sears, Laurie J.
1996 'Fragile identities; Deconstructing women and Indonesia', in: Laurie J. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the feminine in Indonesia*, pp. 1-44. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Sopher, David E.
1977 *The sea nomads; A study of the maritime boat people of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: National Museum. [First published 1965.]

Steedly, Mary Margaret
1993 *Hanging without a rope; Narrative experience in colonial and postcolonial Karoland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Princeton Studies in Culture, Power, History.]

Stewart, Kathleen
1996 'An occupied place', in: Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (eds), *Senses of place*, pp. 137-65. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. [Advanced Seminar Series.]

Tagliocozzo, Eric
2000 'The lit archipelago; Coastlighting and the imperial optic in insular Southeast Asia (1860-1910)'. [Unpublished manuscript.]

Toer, Pramoedya Ananta
1999 *The mute's soliloquy; A memoir*. New York: Hyperion East.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt
1993 *In the realm of the diamond queen; Marginality in an out-of-the-way place*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, E.O.
1992 *The diversity of life*. New York: Norton.

Zerner, Charles
2003 'Sounding the Makassar Strait; The poetics and politics of an Indonesian marine environment', in: Charles Zerner (ed.), *Culture and the question of rights; Forests, coasts, and seas in Southeast Asia*, pp. 56-108. Durham: Duke University Press.