

passing judgement. Nevertheless, powerful descriptions of her informants' psychic pain leaves us with no doubt that she understands just how horrific the period could be.

While the book should not be reduced to the single issue of DK marriage, this is where she most clearly questions standard interpretations. She criticises standard references to DK 'forced marriages'. What she describes is something more nuanced, where there were varying degrees of coerciveness in a process where state authorities assumed roles traditionally taken by relatives in arranging marriage, typically performed in mass ceremonies. For at least some participants, these marriages were positive to the degree that they entailed greater hope of survival. (I find her argument convincing, although I suspect that many scholars and journalists will continue to use 'forced marriages' as short-hand for the peculiarity of the practice.)

Just as central to her argument is her detailed description of psychic pain caused by the ways the regime divorced people from ceremonial practices (many involving spirits) which gave meaning to their lives — at a time when death and disruption made such practices all the more necessary. LeVine's disciplinary training as a clinical psychologist is evident. Although she touches on questions of why the *ritualcide* occurred, she is finally more interested in what occurred and its effect on people. The book includes a discussion of her own 'atrocious saturation', samples of her field diaries while conducting research, and, most importantly, pictures of sculptures she created as part of her own attempt to deal with her research experience. I am usually wary of this type of public introspection; nevertheless in the end it was effective in underlining the painful interactions coming into play in the research process itself.

Not everything in the book rang true to me. I agree with LeVine that the word *angkar* (literally 'organisation') came to be almost personified in DK usage and was used metonymically to refer, not just to the Party organisation but different, sometimes intangible aspects of it. I feel she goes too far in suggesting that Cambodians related to it as a spirit, or that it could link to medium practice.

On one occasion she criticises one of the standard histories for referring to Khmer Rouge 'puritanism'. Granting that the word 'puritanical' may be too Western in its implications, DK killings for sexual offences are well documented. It would have been relevant to her discussion to explore this.

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Indonesia

Maskulinitas: Culture, gender and politics in Indonesia

By MARSHALL CLARK

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In this wide-ranging and intriguing study of Indonesian arts, especially those that appeared during the first 10 years following Suharto's fall, Marshall Clark looks at

diverse genres: the novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Ayu Utami; films — some art house, some more popular — by a number of important new directors; and works by a controversial poet, Binhad Nurrohmat. In each case, he asks how men are represented and what we can learn in light of those representations about contemporary Indonesian attitudes toward masculinity. In particular, he wishes to learn whether conventional expectations of the idealised male are undergoing re-evaluation. Has there been any loosening of the screws that keep Indonesian males fastened to a New Order take on gender, wherein men are in control of themselves and everyone else, and women are subservient, supportive and focused on the family? Or to say the same in a different idiom, has the radical questioning that the end of the New Order occasioned reduced the power of Javanist patriarchy and heteronormativity?

Clark frequently invokes Bakhtin as he examines materials that deal much more frankly and provocatively with sexuality and 'lower bodily strata' than has been customary in recent Indonesian culture. Like Bakhtin, he celebrates the anti-authoritarian tenor of what comes from the 'marketplace': the way that exchange of all sorts challenges the order and stasis of institutionalised power. Yet there is a risk here, one that Clark does not completely avoid, of taking representations of the lowly or non-normative as critiques of the high and mighty or the normative, when the point may simply be to emphasise their differences. Pramoedya, certainly, challenged hierarchical assumptions at their foundations. Yet many of Clark's other examples, particularly those from film, are equivocal. As Clark admits, many popular films reflect men's sense of being under threat from assertive feminism. But they do so by reaffirming stereotypes of women's baleful power and retelling tales of men's violent responses. Directors who fall back on these standard tropes may simply, and cynically, exploit young male spectators' taste for such violence. But their films' popularity suggests no rethinking of conventional (and destructive) masculinist attitudes.

Clark's claims are modest. He phrases his interpretations as suggestions, not definitive pronouncements, about current debates concerning masculinity in Indonesia, and such modesty is becoming. Readers should understand in any case that this is a work of cultural studies, not sociology. That is, it uses techniques from literary criticism and film analysis rather than ethnographic methods to reflect on current developments in ideas about masculinity in Indonesia. Fair enough: Indonesian artists, as Clark notes, have long played an important role as activists in political and cultural matters. Their influence makes it all the more important to attend to what they are saying about the state of things. Yet it is hard not to wonder about the impact of artists whose work's appeal is often extremely restricted.

Rather than appealing to a broad swathe of the Indonesian population, many of Clark's materials address a narrow band of highly educated, cosmopolitan people. As Clark (following Meier) notes, Pramoedya's novels attract a great deal of interest outside Indonesia but go largely ignored within it. Difficult, complex novels like Utami's *Saman*, and films such as *Kuldesak*, provide intriguing alternative takes on masculinity, as Clark makes clear. But do they suggest that Indonesians outside the rarefied circles of these creators and their audiences have really grown interested in challenging, or even reflecting upon, conventional ideas about masculinity? These people may represent a vanguard, a small but influential circle whose ideas and imaginings will eventually become widespread. Yet Clark seems to think that their work can be

used as a diagnostic of ideas abroad in Indonesian society today. This strikes me as optimistic, although I sympathise with Clark's hope that Indonesia's current cultural tensions will result in greater flexibility in gender roles.

Thoughtful and informed by a thorough knowledge of contemporary Indonesian cultural expression, this book constitutes an important meditation on the contradictory and inchoate manifestations that thinking about masculinity currently takes in Indonesia. If the conclusions Clark reaches are tentative, their provisional status reflects the fact that such ideas are always in flux, and never more so than in a society undergoing shifts as fundamental as those that Indonesia has experienced since Suharto's fall.

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Tra Zehnder: Iban woman patriot of Sarawak

By HEW CHENG SIM and ROKIAH TALIB

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Tra Zehnder: Iban woman patriot of Sarawak represents a worthy effort to document a female public personality in the state of Sarawak in Malaysia. As noted by the authors in their preface, the biography is 'the first of its kind to be written about an Iban woman leader in Sarawak' (p. i). Divided broadly into two parts, the readable book presents the private life of Tra Zehnder (1926–2011) in three chapters followed by two more on her public roles in her community, and in politics. The short concluding chapter sums up the overall impression of the authors on Tra's perspective of her own life.

During her lifetime, Tra Zehnder was arguably the highest profile Iban woman leader in the state of Sarawak. She was the first woman appointed to head the Sarawak Council for Customs and Traditions (1996–2002). The council advises the state government on matters related to native customary laws in Sarawak and makes recommendations to the government on their application, codification, publication and enforcement. Tra Zehnder was also the first woman to be appointed as the *Temenggong* or Paramount Chief for the Kuching Division Iban community (1988–1996). She was also one of the founding leaders and held various leadership positions of the Dayak Women's Association of Sarawak (Sarakup) founded in 1957, an association concerned with the socio-economic uplift of the Dayak community and the preservation of their cultural heritage.

In 1960, Tra Zehnder was appointed as the first woman (nominated) member of the Sarawak State Legislature, till Sarawak attained independence from Britain within the framework of the formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. She also represented the Sarawak Dayak National Union in 1962 at the Cobbold Commission consultation for the formation of Malaysia. In 1966, the removal of Stephen