

(1993) und nun in Leh/Ladakh wollten die Veranstalterinnen auf die Diskriminierung buddhistischer Nonnen in diesen Ländern aufmerksam machen und Schritte in die Wege leiten, die Bildung der Novizinnen deutlich zu verbessern. Oberstes Ziel bleibt nach wie vor, buddhistischen Frauen die volle Ordination und damit die Aufnahme in den Sangha zu ermöglichen. (Vgl. hierzu die Konferenzberichte in Vol. 18 (1989), Nr. 3-4, S. 385-391; Vol. 23 (1992), Nr. 1-2, S. 195-198 und Vol. 25 (1994), Nr. 1-2, S. 194-197.)

Bei der diesjährigen Konferenz in Leh kamen 100 Frauen aus aller Welt mit etwa 200 Laien-Frauen und Novizinnen aus dem Himalaya-Gebiet von Ladakh, Zanskar und Spitti zusammen. Sie erhielten wieder viele Anregungen, knüpften Freundschaften, und bekannte Vertreter des Ladakhischen Sangha gaben sehr deutlich zu erkennen, daß sie der Sache der Frauen in Zukunft sehr viel mehr Aufmerksamkeit und Unterstützung geben würden.

Unter dem Motto "Frauen und die Macht des Mitgefühls – Überleben im 21. Jahrhundert" wurden viele interessante und zukunftsweisende Vorträge gehalten zu den Themen: Frauen in buddhistischen Kulturen, Buddhismus und Gesundheit, Buddhistische Frauen und soziale Entwicklung sowie Berichte über die aktuelle Situation der Frauen in den buddhistischen Ländern. Die Konferenzbeiträge der ersten Nonnenkonferenz 1987 sind unter dem Titel "Töchter des Buddha" bei Diedrichs in Köln erschienen. Die Beiträge der nächsten beiden Konferenzen von Bangkok und Colombo werden 1996 in den USA erscheinen, die der Konferenz von Leh sollen später folgen.

Gabriele Küstermann

Cultural and Social Dimensions of Market Expansion

Labuan, Malaysia, 16–17 October 1995

The second seminar in a series of international conferences on "Cultural and Social Dimensions of Market Expansion", sponsored by the Goethe Institute, was held in Labuan, the new international off-shore financial centre of Malaysia. The venue itself was deliberately chosen as a backdrop to the theme of the seminar outlined in a keynote paper by the conference chairman Hans-Dieter Evers (University of Bielefeld/National University

of Malaysia) on "The Changing Culture of Markets". Market forces are widely believed to achieve prosperity, well-being and development. This discourse is in itself part of a culture of markets analysed in his paper. But will the current meaning of markets disappear with the rise of virtual market places, internet shopping and off-shore business? Countervailing tendencies are emerging, nevertheless it can be assumed that the global expansion of markets has reached an advanced stage of development which will lead to the demise of the present market culture.

The Javanese concept of *tegel* (heartless) was used by Sjafrri Sairin (Center for Cultural Studies and Social Change, Gadjah Mada University) to demonstrate how Indonesian political discourse has reacted to the recent market expansion and consumerism, still new to Indonesia. His paper was entitled "Market Expansion, Consumer Culture and the 'Heartless Society'". The topic of consumerism was pursued in three further papers. Chua Beng Huat (National University of Singapore) illustrated in his paper on "Fragments of Consumer Culture in Singapore" the transformation of Singapore from a city of material privation to one of excessive consumption and consumerism. His "fragment" was concerned with the arrival and spread of the American Hamburger franchise McDonald's. Though McDonaldization has elsewhere been interpreted as Americanisation, in Singapore the company has opted to submit to the government-led campaign for Singapore-ness and Asian values. The simplistic equation of product consumption with the imaginary consumption of a culturally de-seired other is thus rejected.

In her paper on "Symbolic Consumption as a Way of Life", Solvay Gerke (University of Bielefeld) dealt with the emergence of a new, consumption-oriented middle class in Indonesia. Based on her extensive field research she claimed that with market expansion, lifestyle and cultural practices are gaining greater significance as marks of social rank, in contrast to class-based socio-economic criteria of classification. Since, however, in contrast to affluent Singapore, most members of the new Indonesian middle class cannot yet possess or consume the items defined as appropriate for them, consumption is symbolically enacted. In this form of "virtual consumerism" the use of some symbolically significant items is substituted for mass consumption. Further evidence for this line of argument was provided by Irwan Abdullah (Gadjah Mada University) in his paper on "The Body", in which he showed the construction of the female body in advertisements of body care items for the new Indonesian middle class.

A further set of papers concentrated more on the negative social impact of market expansion. Mely Tan (LIPI) gave a detailed account of Indone-

sia's economic miracle, which has been greatly praised by World Bank experts.

Nevertheless there is deep concern because of the regional and social discrepancy in gaining access to the spoils of market expansion, which may lead to social disintegration. This theme was further explored by Hamzah Jusoh and Habibah Ahmad (National University of Malaysia) in their research paper on "People's Integration in the Development of Labuan as an IOFC", in which they show that the local population has been largely bypassed by the rapid government-sponsored development of Labuan island. A similar picture emerged from the paper by Tommy Firman and Pradono (Bandung Institute of Technology) on "Socio-Cultural Aspects of Shaping the New Economic Region of Batam" and the paper by Vejai Balasubramaniam (National University of Malaysia) on "Sectoral Imbalances and Political Behaviour in Sabah".

Another important dimension of market expansion was discussed by Heru Nugroho (Gadjah Mada University) in his paper on "Javanese Culture and Expanding Rural Financial Markets". Javanese as well as Islamic values are opposed to incurring debt and money-lending. The various methods Javanese money-lenders and their clients use to circumvent these moral inhibitions are analysed on the basis of extensive field research in Bantul, Yogyakarta.

The frontiers of market expansion were further explored by Yao Souchou (ISEAS) in "The Romance of Asian Capitalism: Geography, Inscription of Virtue, and the Chinese Traders in Belaga, Sarawak, East Malaysia". Hard work and pioneering endurance determine the lives of traders on the fringe of the world market, but this "fact of life" has still to be discursively reproduced in order to make it real. Living in a god-forsaken outpost in the jungle needs narratives of virtue, hard work and danger. A romance of pioneering entrepreneurship is thus constantly recreated in stories told in coffee shops and over dinner to visitors. This form of "Self-Orientalism", which is created by Belaga traders to justify the hard work of market expansion, finds a parallel in the exhortations of Asian values and Asian nationalism by some Southeast Asian politicians.

The emergence of this nationalist ideology is interpreted by Shamsul A.B. (National University of Malaysia) as a reaction to rapid economic development and the broken relationship between individual and society. In his paper on "The Politics and Poetics of Identity in an Expanding Market Economy: The Case of Malaysia" he argues that a variety of nationalistic discourses or "nations-of-intend" can be discerned and that consequently the state can no longer be regarded as the sole guardian of the nation as an imagined community.

The whole debate on the cultural and social dimensions of market expansion can be seen, according to Syed Farid Alatas (National University of Singapore) as part of the process of market expansion itself. In the past decade a political economy of the social sciences has been developed that claims to explain the dependency of Asian social science on the West by using a market analogy. In contrast, in his paper entitled "Academic Dependency, Rhetoric and the Transnational Flow of Ideas in the Social Sciences", Alatas proposes a "rhetorical programme" of social science research that hinges on its ability to capture the attention of its audience. The audience is local and global at the same time and the discourse on market expansion is itself subject to the forces it attempts to analyse.

Reflection on the discourse on the culture of markets may well be a path towards a better understanding of the cultural and social dimensions of market expansion, which ought to be pursued during the next seminar in August 1996 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Hans-Dieter Evers