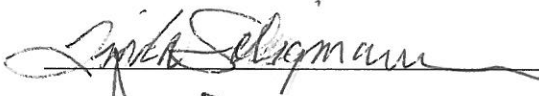


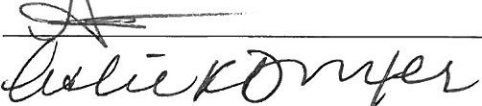
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TOBACCO IN INDONESIA: HOW "TWO FIRES
FELL UPON THE EARTH"

by

Melissa C. Mitchell
A Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the degree
of
Master of Arts
Anthropology

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Date: May 3, 2013 Spring Semester 2013
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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who have supported me during this process. To my amazing parents, thank you for supporting me unconditionally throughout my education. And, thank you to Aran for walking over the keyboard, keeping me awake, and generally, messing things up. Dr. Seligmann as Director of my thesis committee, thanks for your invaluable feedback, support, and for making this a challenging and positive learning process. Drs. Bickford and Dwyer, thank you for your time and vital feedback. Finally, I would like to express gratitude to the people of Indonesia who allowed me to conduct research about their lives and practices, specifically in Denpasar, Bali.

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Abstract

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TOBACCO IN INDONESIA: HOW “TWO FIRES FELL UPON THE EARTH”

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By tracing the history of tobacco in Indonesia, while focusing on production and consumption, tobacco provides an avenue of exploration into processes of Dutch colonialism and the trajectories that have been set forth, creating the present-day health crisis. This multifaceted history has shaped contemporary processes, revealing Indonesia as a country with one of the largest populations of tobacco consumers. Taking into consideration history, political economy, symbolic and gender frameworks, the impacts of intensive tobacco production under the Dutch regime are explored by outlining the shift from local consumption of the betel quid to a preference for tobacco among males, leading to the emergence of *kretek* cigarettes. Alternative modes of discourse, modernity, nationalism, independence and gender ideologies have thus been produced in Indonesia. To adequately address these dynamic tobacco-related processes, issues of health must be intertwined with that of symbolic, social, cultural, economic, and political significations.

Introduction

“The discovery and reception of the Tobacco Plant forms a singular chapter in the history of [hu]mankind. In whatever light it is viewed, there is something to interest the historian, the botanist, the physician, and even the philosopher; but it is more immediately connected with the advancement of navigation and of commercial enterprise” (Dr. Murray 1836:2).

Across the vast and diverse country of Indonesia, one can locate commodities that over time have become accessible to most, linking people together through shared experiences of consumption and production. Tobacco falls within this category as a commodity that remains a constant in everyday life. Due to this persistence, tobacco provides a means to gain perspective on the past, while tracing its powerful momentum into the future. By exploring tobacco production, consumption, and subsequent transformations in it, the substantial impacts on the people of Indonesia can begin to be better understood. Situating these transformations in a historical context and illuminating their manifestations through political, economic, symbolic and gender frameworks, explanations about the trajectory of tobacco in Indonesia begin to surface. In combination with the social, cultural, economic and political implications of tobacco in Indonesia its gendered consumption and production draws necessary attention to the varying experiences of women and men. This thesis contributes to the immense and

wide-ranging scholarship on tobacco by focusing first on the ways that knowledge about the substance was produced in line with Eurocentric epistemologies that shaped what is known in present-day as the history of tobacco. In addition, the ways that particular colonial policies and practices impacted the social, political, economic, and symbolic dimensions of tobacco are explored, revealing the dynamic shift from betel consumption to an overwhelming preference for tobacco among males in Indonesia. Throughout this exploration, myriad transformations influenced by the Dutch colonial regime are juxtaposed to the Indonesian trajectory toward Independence. The subsequent emergence of *kreteks* as cultural symbols of a unified and strengthened Indonesia is a product of this movement. In exploring these issues, it is generally hoped that gaps in knowledge are filled, encouraging ongoing explorations of tobacco in Indonesia that will eventually lead to addressing its impacts in more effective and culturally relevant ways, understanding that tobacco is one of leading causes of *preventable* death and illness in the world (Nichter et al. 2009:300; WHO 2010).

“Tastes sweet, like candy.” These were the words I used to describe my first taste of a Sampoerna *kretek* cigarette. The unique flavor and scent dictated that I would not forget this initial engagement. *Kreteks* most closely resemble what Westerners refer to as clove cigarettes. They are distinctly different from any other cigarette that I had consumed or been in the presence of, due to the sweet and savory flavor profile. *Kretek* cigarettes left me feeling relaxed, calm, acutely aware and focused, a perfect match for an anxious graduate student. Embarked on an intense experience researching and traveling in Indonesia, I quickly discovered that any tensions between me and a *kretek* were easily

subdued by the lure of saccharine on my palate, coupled with the comfort of being enveloped by the seemingly natural aroma of its fragrant fumes. It was, as if, the fragrance that emanated from the *kretek* whispered sweet nothings that resonated through scent instead of sound. Gazing back on my experiences with *kretek* cigarettes, it is a wonder that after departing Indonesia, I was able to leave the relationship behind.

Romanticized narrative aside, the unique fusion of tobacco, cloves, spices, and additional elements in the *kreteks*' "sauce" made it stand out from more conventional cigarette forms that I was previously accustomed to. It was not only its distinctive and pleasant flavor, it was the way *kreteks* were introduced to me as a product of Indonesia, clearly differentiated from "Western" cigarettes. Given that most people I encountered smoked, I was quickly made aware of the constant presence of tobacco in the Indonesian context. This fact hit me each time I was engulfed by a cloud of tobacco smoke.

As the smoke cleared, I was able to hone in on the multiple levels of tobacco's meaning and utilization in Indonesia. Most obvious, was its significant role in social relations. Cigarettes were used to facilitate social interactions and served as a point of comfort, providing a means of support for the individual smoker, simply by having a cigarette in hand. Drawing from Nichter et al.'s study on tobacco habits in Indonesia, within social settings tobacco's multilayered "symbolic utility" is employed by individuals to support and express notions of their identity (Nichter et al. 2009:305). "Identity projects" are maintained through tobacco consumption in social settings as a means to "...appear more mature, masculine, modern, carefree, sophisticated, successful, [and] in control..." (Nichter et al. 2009:305). Coupled with reinforcing aspects of

individual identity supported by the cigarette's physical presence, tobacco's physiological effects heighten these perceptions creating a dependency. Nichter et al.'s findings support this relationship, stating that cigarette's "affect regulation utility" by stimulating particular and desired feelings within smokers through "the physical act of handling cigarettes and the ritual of smoking..." (Nichter et al. 2009:306). At the level of social facilitation, I was often drawn into interactions with women and men by being asked for a cigarette, or requesting one myself. Being an outsider in a new environment, this proved to be a common tactic that was utilized and that I employed to engage people. As a female, one tends to be viewed as less threatening than males, due to perceptions of gender and sexuality. This, at times, made it easy to enter into social interactions. When asking for a cigarette or being asked for one, there were always interesting social and cultural subtleties to process, visually and mentally.

Throughout my observations and experiences with tobacco in Indonesia, I became interested in how the substance had become transformed into a highly used commodity. This central question remained a focus for my observations, but it was not at the forefront of my experiences because tobacco was not my intended object of study while I was in Indonesia. Later, after I had returned to my native country and embarked upon writing my master's thesis, I became aware of a different, yet interrelated practice called betel chewing¹. Once a revered practice that cut across such social hierarchies and cultural

¹ Betel is also commonly referred to as "*siri*" or "*sirih*" throughout historical documentation (Reid 1985; Rooney 2003). *Siri* is a Malay word in origin.

constructions as class, sexuality and gender, betel consumption was a central component to Indonesian life. Learning about betel's central role posed a quandary for me, due to not having witnessed it while in the country. I quickly established there were reasons for this and that they were, of course, multilayered and complex. Historically, betel chewing as a practice declined across Indonesia beginning in the late-19th century. Changes in consumption occurred with relative speed, first among males and then, gradually in more contemporary times, females (Reid 1985:539). Although, women of older generations still partake in the practice, it was not, by my observation apparent within the sometimes fluid spaces of the public/private divide (Locher-Scholten 2000:33). In many ways, tobacco replaced betel chewing as a cultural object that was assigned a place within daily social interaction and consumption. Where the two substances diverged was in the symbolic associations, meanings, and activities attributed to each, enriching its status as a cultural symbol. In addition, betel chewing was never set within a trajectory of commodification by the Dutch colonial regime, like tobacco. The differences and similarities between betel and tobacco inspire significant questions about the historical path that each was set within and guided by various social, cultural, political, economic, and symbolic processes.

In the opening paragraph to this discussion, I characterize my experiences in Indonesia as "intense." I was not exaggerating. Like other international experiences that I have had, my time in Indonesia stimulated critical reflections on issues of positionality, intersectionality, power dynamics between East/West and developed/underdeveloped, colonial history and processes of neocolonialism, and the ways in which otherness has

developed over time and continues to be a factor in human relations. Alongside these reflections, I took account of my contributions to and experiences with these processes. While I do not want this discussion to be a source of a collective yawn over yet another person doing research that is really just a consideration of themselves, I recognize that the complexities of individual experiences gives insight into the way that people approach particular subjects. Part of the process necessary to defining one's interest in a research topic or project is personal meditation on why and how this particular issue is relevant to them. Tobacco is a multifaceted global issue that has historical, social, cultural, political and economic implications that can be approached through a variety of theoretical frameworks and perspectives. What makes tobacco so interesting is the diverse ways that it permeates the lives of most people within the world. Conversely, this same fact is why tobacco, as a subject of research, remains a critical area worthy of investigation, not least because of its proven detrimental impacts in the areas of health and economy. There are few people who could claim to never have been impacted by tobacco's wide-ranging effects. In retrospect, I believe that I continued to be interested, if not fascinated by tobacco due to changes in my personal tobacco habits that were taking place while in Indonesia. At a deeper level, in thinking about why I was drawn to this particular topic, Johannes Fabian's assertion, "...our ways of making the Other are ways of making Ourselves. The need to go there (to exotic places, be they far away or around the corner) is really our desire to be here (to find or defend our position in the world," sparked reflection (Fabian 1991:209). Without getting caught up in the philosophical quandary regarding the pervasive human search for identity, Fabian illuminates the important

question of why, how, and what anthropologists choose to make their subjects. This proved inspirational to my continued interest in tobacco.

Kreteks were introduced to me as being uniquely Indonesian, they were positioned as a point of otherness; a commodity created from outside of the Western/familiar framework (Fabian 1991:209). In the United States, I was not what one would call a habitual smoker, but while in Indonesia in a new and “unfamiliar” experience abroad, I found myself more than willing to partake in the practice of smoking (Fabian 1991:230). I recognize that we as human beings are products of our environments and not exempt from the influences of our own historical, social, cultural, economic and political situatedness. Was I positioning *kretek* cigarettes, an Indonesian cultural object and symbol, as a means to consume, or become more familiar with a perceived other? On the dualisms of there/here, familiar/unfamiliar, and sameness/otherness, Fabian elucidates, “constructions of otherness...are already built into our very presentations of identity/sameness as an exclusive ‘here and now’ which we accept without much questioning” (Fabian 1991:230). What I was processing “there” in Indonesia was linked to my experiences “here” in the United States (Fabian 1991:230). For Fabian, this involves a process of identifying the “here and now” with a notion of familiarity, thus “there and now” is understood through a lens that constructs and perpetuates notions of otherness (Fabian 1991:230). For Fabian, otherness and constructions of identity “sameness” are linked to events (Fabian 1991:229). I recognize my first time consuming a *kretek* as an event, simultaneously linked to perceptions of otherness, while in the context of “utility” being connected to my attempts to locate and

become grounded in a sense of familiarity within a foreign and unfamiliar environment (Nichter et al. 2009:306). The juxtaposition between Indonesian and Western cigarettes and the open manner in which I found myself responding to *kreteks* was rooted in my interest in knowing Indonesia.

The ways in which I sought to express my unfamiliarity with the *kretek* was through such social actions as verbal expression, but also consumption as a means to comprehend difference. I consumed this foreign, uniquely Indonesian commodity, cultural object and symbol. Over time, I recognized *kreteks* as an Indonesian practice that in many ways represented an aspect of a shared Indonesian identity rooted in the historical trajectory of the country. In the process of smoking, I was consuming a particular Indonesianness, trying to gain a deeper understanding of the unfamiliar commodity and the social, cultural, and historical context from which it originated. In doing so, it opened up certain social channels and allowed me to access bits and pieces of information that I would later reflect upon and reassemble.

The need to classify and categorize interactions, be it, with a person or an object such as a *kretek* is similar to what is known in anthropological discourse, as the need to know the other, the exotic, and the unfamiliar. Much of this need is built into the epistemological foundation of the Western/Eurocentered knowledge system that exists at the foundation of American institutions and sociocultural, political and economic structures, which organize our everyday lives. Was I trying to consume otherness? Possibly, but my yearning to understand and engage difference and my observations of tobacco in Indonesia led me to this endeavor, examining the historical trajectory of

tobacco within Indonesia, looking at the shift from betel consumption to tobacco and transformations in political and economic processes that over time have contributed to the overwhelming presence of tobacco in the lives of Indonesians.

Throughout this thesis, I refer to the country as Indonesia and the people within it as Indonesians despite historical context². On the word of Adrian Vickers, the concept of Indonesia as a unified country did not emerge until 1945, linked to economic and political transformations facilitated by Independence from the Dutch (Vickers 2005:9). I recognize that Indonesia is an incredibly diverse country and in no way does this examination seek to minimize differences between its peoples and cultures³. The theoretical frameworks and analyses employed to gain insight into the historical trajectory of tobacco in the region, were not, for the most part, focused on specific cultural, ethnic, racial and religious populations. Instead, I utilized a political economic approach to consider issues of tobacco production in conjunction with large processes such as colonialism. In doing so, the focus remained on the interplay between changes in

² In addition, I have chosen to reference Holland as the more expansive, the Netherlands. The Netherlands is the geographical representation of a unified Dutch nation that transpired in 1815 in the form of a kingdom (Gouda 2008:40). Holland is split into North and South regions, comprising but one of twelve provinces that make up the Netherlands. During colonialism Holland acted as the epicenter of governmental and political activities of the Dutch state.

³ Purposefully, the word culture(s) is used in its plural form to highlight the vast diversity of the country. In parallel, it must be stated that the ways different cultural and religious groups experienced colonialism varied, for instance the immense Muslim population and smaller Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian populations (Vickers 2005:2).

production and shifts in political and economic processes instigated by the Dutch. As a secondary, but no less important analysis, I looked at how these larger transformations impacted consumption patterns, considering the symbolic role of betel, tobacco, and *kreteks*. As a future project, from an anthropological and historical perspective, the impacts that transformations in the political economy of tobacco have had on specific cultural, ethnic, racial and religious populations within Indonesia would be a useful addition to the discourse of tobacco in Indonesia.

The Long and Turbulent Path: Tobacco in Indonesia

Sweet aromatics of clove and tobacco, mixed with hints of cinnamon and vanilla dominate the air in Indonesian public spaces. Recalling my own intimate experience with *kreteks*, the staggering number of its consumers is somewhat predictable. More than one third of the country's estimated 239 million inhabitants are tobacco users and upwards of 97 per cent prefer *kreteks* over what are known as "white cigarettes" (tobacco only) (Barber et al. 2008:7; Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). Living in this smoke haze, I could not help but to draw comparisons to my own cultural context in the United States. Over the last decade, increasing restrictions on smoking in public spaces, both inside and outside of establishments, have drastically altered social environments. Coupled with an effective and visible anti-tobacco lobby and the production of a publicized medical discourse on tobacco's adverse health effects, over the last ten years the public landscape in the United States has been virtually transformed from smoke-filled to smoke-free. In stark contrast, Indonesia's smoke-filled public spaces offer visual proof of statistics that situate it as one of the highest cigarette consuming countries in the world. Alongside this

visual representation of the vast amount of tobacco consumers in any given public space, the respiratory impacts on nonsmokers or occasional smokers are unavoidable and inescapable.

Indonesia is the seventh largest tobacco producing country in the world. It is a central player in the increasingly lucrative global tobacco market. Production of tobacco has increased 24 per cent in less than a decade; production is increasing as is consumption (Ericksen et al. 2012:52). At the same time, the cost of cigarettes has decreased making smoking more accessible to consumers (Ericksen et al. 2012:48). In 2011, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), Indonesians spent \$369,948 Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) (\$38.49 US dollars) on tobacco products per month (WHO 2011). To put this monetary output into perspective, consistent with the same report, the average annual income in Indonesia was \$3,572,000 IDR (\$3,716 US dollars). Almost 11 per cent of annual income is devoted to tobacco consumption, creating a financial burden in relation to basic needs. Indonesia ranks within the top five highest cigarette consuming countries, along with Russia, the United States, China, and Japan (Ericksen et al. 2012:54). An estimated six trillion cigarettes including *kreteks* are produced globally each year (Ericksen et al. 2012:52). Tobacco and specifically, *kretek* cigarettes play a major and multifaceted role in the lives of Indonesians. This thriving tobacco consumerism attracts foreign investors seeking to profit from the tobacco industry. According to *The Tobacco Atlas* published in 2012, combined annual profits of the top six tobacco corporations exceeded \$346 billion dollars, including that of Phillip Morris International (PMI) and British American Tobacco (BAT), both of which have long ties

to the Indonesian economy (Ericksen et al. 2012:57). For a moment, ponder these statistics as they represent myriad tobacco-related issues old, new, and emerging.

From a global perspective, the tightening of rules and regulations in the United States' tobacco industry has redirected the industry's attention away from Western consumers of tobacco to the rest of the world (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii96; Korhman & Benson 2011:332). The shift has many consequences including increased pressure on the tobacco labor force in Indonesia - comprised of men, women, and children - as the tobacco industry seeks out new spaces to exploit (Amigo 2010:35). Indonesia represents an opportunity for multinational corporations and investors to capitalize on the potential of the growing tobacco market. While attention to new markets is neither revolutionary nor new to capitalist enterprises, it remains crucial to explaining the increasingly complex and broadening impacts of a global commodity like tobacco due its health risks. In addition, it remains an important factor to exploring the social, cultural, economic, political and historical processes that have assigned tobacco its meaning and value.

Since the early years of colonialism, Indonesia was established as a point of interest to foreign entities, seeking to benefit from the possibility of a flourishing market. When examining the history of tobacco, one period proves particularly instrumental in carving out the future of the country's economic development. Beginning in the 1940s major socioeconomic and political transformation was seen throughout the world. The Cold War and the success of anticolonial movements in Africa and Asia acted as critical demarcations in the trajectory of Indonesia's economic development. This was a time when a multitude of foreign investors, supported by a growing discourse on global

capitalist expansion, began strategizing ways to establish themselves in Indonesia and secure highly advantageous relationships with its government and military. Initially, what they encountered was a country on alert, struggling to resist processes that resembled Western imperialism of the not too distant past. Protective barriers were formed around Indonesia's industries in the attempt to foster a sense of independence and empowerment, which had been shattered during the years of colonialism. Not until the 1960s was foreign intervention linked to Cold War politics able to effusively pierce the country's economic infrastructure. The tobacco industry was a highly sought after piece of the Indonesian economy.

Relationships created between multinational corporations that represented foreign interests, and the Indonesian government, ranged in political, economic, social and cultural motivations, most of which did not and have not benefitted the Indonesian people. The increase in foreign participation in the Indonesian economy acts as a narrative revealing how the country became a place of interest to multinational corporations seeking to increase their profits. It simultaneously speaks to the adverse impacts of foreign intervention influenced by capitalist expansion and the resulting unlimited access to Indonesian tobacco consumers granted to corporate entities. In the pages that follow, the discussion will focus on the events of the 1960s that halted the momentum of independence from foreign intervention. Briefly, it was a shift in governments facilitated by the combination of a militaristic push for power internal to the country, in collusion with foreign intervention from Western governments. In the context

of Cold War politics, these interconnected processes contributed in complicit and implicit ways to Indonesia's current tobacco epidemic.

From the onset of colonialism anticolonial movement and resistance to the Dutch ebbed and flowed. With Independence, leaders such as Sukarno, the first elected president of Indonesia, promoted a postcolonial discourse that empowered Indonesians to take control of the social, cultural, political and economic momentum of their country. Sukarno was known for his promotion of independence and decolonization through resistance to imperialism. He focused on rebuilding a nation devoid of the oppressive forces of foreign intervention experienced in the past. Sukarno's national leadership spanned from the 1940s to 1965, a period dominated by Cold War politics. In simple terms, the Cold War divided the world into real and perceived factions of communists and capitalists; each supported by rhetoric that materialized in varied ways depending upon the country.

Throughout many regions of the world, violence was seen as a means to solve the tensions and conflicts that erupted from differences in ideology and associated interests. Often, major players in the conflict, most notably the United States and the Soviet Union were involved in the perpetuation of violence within countries existing in the so-called non-western world. According to F.X. Baskara T. Wardaya's "A Cold War Shadow: United States Policy Toward Indonesia, 1953-1963" during the years of the Truman administration the divide between the U.S. and the "Eastern Bloc" was exacerbated by the assumption that, "...the 'Soviet Bloc' and the 'Free World' were incompatible..." (Wardaya 2001:6). Here, the East/West dichotomy took on new meaning as the West

represented the “Free World” and the “Eastern Bloc” or “Communist Bloc” was viewed in opposition to the supposed freedoms in the West (Wardaya 2001:6). While the “Eastern Bloc” referred to the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, the underlying otherness of peoples and cultures in the world that did not reside within the realms of the “Free World” resulted in these countries being viewed as enemies or potential enemies of the West. There is a large body of research that connects the aforementioned countries to blatant tactical organization and funding of state-sponsored violence and repression around the world, all in name of furthering their sociopolitical and economic agendas (e.g. Klein 2007; Chomsky & Herman 1979; Wardaya 2001). This is a critical aspect to the history of tobacco in the Indonesian setting because during the Cold War, the country was linked to communism and therefore was a site of foreign intervention that had interests in capitalist expansion.⁴ These interests were focused on penetrating economic infrastructures and to do so the political, social and cultural realms of society had to be manipulated and controlled.

Sukarno’s vision of an independent self-sufficient Indonesia acted as a sign, one that indicated resistance to the inherent exploitation that accompanied capitalist enterprise and expansion. This nationalistic vision was reflected in Sukarno’s ideological and political doctrines. His ideas held great sway over Indonesians, many of whom desired to

⁴ The United States has a long history of direct and indirect intervention in the Indonesian economy, according to Frances Gouda the relationship shifted from the background to the foreground of American interests in the 1920s (Gouda 2002:66). A connection to Indonesia began even earlier in the late 19th century due to American imperialism in the Asia region, specifically occupation of the Philippines.

break free from the confines of colonial oppression. In the midst of an economic crisis and foreign intervention Adrian Vickers explains, “Sukarno wanted to instill a sense of revolutionary will in Indonesians that would overcome all obstacles to development” (Vickers 2005:146). In other words, in a postcolonial setting attention to philosophy was necessary when considering the long span during which colonial perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors were internalized by the population. Unfortunately, the Sukarno government failed to reach a balance between doctrine and tangible change, especially in the context of immense poverty.

The goals of Indonesian Independence were deeply engrained in the collective conscious of Indonesian society, transforming the ways that future generations would conceptualize their identity and relationship to state and nation. Because of the power of Sukarno’s message and influence, he represented an obstacle to the self-proclaimed “Free World” that was in the process of reshaping imperialism to meet the social, cultural, economic and political climate created by the Cold War. Any romanticization of the Sukarno doctrine aside, Vickers points out that the trajectory of the leader’s actions toward an independent Indonesia devastatingly resulted in “...a chain of events that led to the fall of his own government, the deaths of as many as 1 million people, and the creation of a military, centralized, rule that would last until the end of the twentieth century” (Vickers 2005:144). Sukarno was removed from power in October of 1965. In the course of this period, an Indonesian military general named Suharto played a pivotal role with support from the United States in taking control of the country and assuming the role of president. It is a position he would hold for 32 years, from 1966 to 1998.

Months after the coup, political state-sponsored violence plagued the country resulting in the 1965-66 massacres that left an upwards of 1 million people dead (Robinson 1995:274; Chomsky & Herman 1979:208; Vickers 2005:144).

The coup was not a straightforward removal of a leader; instead it was a less obvious process that indicated the workings of multiple players with varying interests and opportunities. Ultimately, there was more than one faction making an attempt to seize power (Robinson 1995:280). Through a subsequent process of “delegitimization” of the Sukarno government, General Suharto took control of the country (Roosa 2006:4; Robinson 1995:280). Geoffery Robinson points out that while it is difficult to “...establish definitively the extent of U.S. complicity, it can be demonstrated that U.S. policy contributed substantially to the seizure of power by the military under Suharto and the massacre that ensued” (Robinson 1995:282). The United States government along with other entities played a pivotal role in the upheaval of an anti-imperialistic leader who was a perceived communist. Realizing this agenda set the stage for privatization of the country’s industries with the profit benefiting foreign economic interests and a rising Indonesian elite. Chomsky and Herman spell out the agenda quite clearly, “the U.S. global effort to maintain and enlarge areas with a favorable investment climate has necessitated regular resort to terror, directly...and more often indirectly through subsidy and support for repressive clients” (Chomsky & Herman 1979:205). Many agree that the U.S. intervened in Indonesian politics to gain access to the countries resources and industry (Robinson 1995; Chomsky & Herman 1979:205; Vickers 2005; Klein 2007; Wardaya 2001). This intervention was a long spanning and convoluted process. These

imperialist interventionist practices that were perpetuated under the guise of nation-building and spreading democracy have proven influential to the progression and transformation of Indonesian society from the time of Independence to the present day. The violent and repressive means by which access to the Indonesian economy was granted has created long term social and psychosocial, cultural, economic, and political consequences for the Indonesian people.

During President Suharto's regime, economic restructuring policies repositioned Indonesia to participate in the global capitalist economy. Economic restructuring was influenced by strategic foreign intervention that sought to rid the world of communism and expand capitalism's reach. Each of these goals was interdependent and interconnected. The events and massacres of 1965 - 66 throughout areas of Indonesia show that the removal of Sukarno's government was central to securing economic restructuring. In fact, in 1908 British American Tobacco (BAT) became one of the first multinational corporations to establish a presence in Indonesia producing "white cigarettes" (BAT 2012). Post-colonial transformation facilitated by Sukarno involved "briefly seizing" BATs production facilities in 1964, putting a damper on the corporation's operations in the country (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). It was not until 1966 that BAT was able to gain back control of their Indonesian "subsidiary" (Dun's Review 1969:5). The intersection of the sociopolitical and economic climate of Indonesia in the early-1960s weighed heavily on the relationship between BAT, *kretek* producers, consumers, and the changing Indonesian government.

Lawrence and Collins explain that “a more sympathetic attitude toward transnational investments was anticipated following the military coup of 1965-66” (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). Clearly, foreign intervention and the clashes between communism and capitalist expansion played a role in the atrocities that unfolded, eventually leading to the opening of the Indonesian economy. After the coup, BAT positioned itself strategically in line with the Suharto regime. Based on BAT’s meeting notes from a management liaison meeting, in 1967 the company was welcomed back into the country by the Sukarno government, pending negotiations (BAT 1967:1). At this time Phillip Morris (PM), a major player in the global tobacco industry had invested in production in Indonesia as a joint venture with BAT (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). The momentum of economic and political change in Indonesia was magnetic, attracting diverse foreign capital that had been waiting to seize the opportunity to either establish or intensify their presence in the country’s economy. Once Suharto’s position was assured, the opening quickly expanded into a gaping hole. At “a conference in Geneva in November 1967 whereby Suharto’s economists and leading transnational corporations carved up the Indonesian economy sector by sector” (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). During this same period, the country was linked to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) both global financial institutions commonly described as “instruments of United States hegemony and power” (Marshall 2008:140; Kivimäki 2003:216). This description derives from similar interpretations of each institution as extensions of colonial domination (Marshall 2008:140). Through these instruments long-term foreign intervention in the Indonesian economy was secured.

In the context of the contemporary tobacco market, the 32 year period of Suharto's reign led to the ability of multinational corporations to begin their uncharted movement into the country. It is this continually unfolding history that sheds light on processes that have led to the creation of a favorable environment for multinational corporations seeking profit from the sale of tobacco. Consequently, this period in Indonesian history marks a critical moment in the making of a tobacco epidemic responsible for exorbitant numbers of tobacco-related deaths and illnesses per year. Opening up the country to foreign economic interests has had varying and at times devastating impacts on the Indonesian people, yet a connection to the world through economic ties is hardly new. Indonesia has long experienced the impacts of globalization from the time of the Dutch East Indies Company's (VOC) colonial enterprises in the early 17th century to even earlier connections to complex global trade networks (Hollander 2008:4)

Indonesia's burgeoning increases in tobacco use per year and its status as the seventh largest tobacco market in the world sets the stage for exploitation of its growing population of consumers (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). This exploitation manifests in varying ways, including its impacts on the health of present and future generations of Indonesians. Yet, like so many other commodities, the absence of tobacco would also substantially impact the social, cultural, economic and political climate of the country. It is this paradox that begs for an in-depth study of the relationship between Indonesia and tobacco.

How did tobacco become such a vital part of the Indonesian economy positioning it as the seventh largest producer in the world? How, over time, did it permeate the daily lives and practices of Indonesians - women, children, and men? What changes has tobacco experienced over time and space, specific to its symbolic meanings in the Indonesian context? How have these changes influenced the ebb and flow of tobacco's significance in Indonesian cultures? Changes in the tobacco economy during colonialism gave rise to changes in the relationship between Indonesians and the betel quid. How did these changes unfold? This exploration into Indonesia and tobacco seeks to address these complex and historical inquiries.

Approaches to Tobacco: The Creation of a Discourse

The history of tobacco is located within a grander nexus of social relations that connects peoples and cultures throughout the world. From any given site of consumption, tobacco can be traced as a commodity that is historically situated and socially, culturally, politically and economically relevant to daily life. In exploring the multidimensionality of tobacco, Jordan Goodman quotes a tongue-in-cheek description that represents tobacco's omnipresence, "it is now proved beyond doubt that smoking is one of the leading causes of statistics" (Goodman 1993:1). This seemingly humorous statement alludes to the depth to which tobacco has permeated the lives of human beings, variously impacting the health and well-being of present and future generations. Tobacco has caused, what the WHO and other health-related institutions regard as an epidemic, due to its detrimental impacts via first-hand and second-hand exposure (WHO 2010; World Bank 2011; Ericksen et al. 2012). Drawing from Goodman, this epidemic is

multilayered, unfolding as a global health concern due to its health-related impacts, but also the detrimental effects on the social, cultural, political and economic realms of human life. Tobacco as a topic of research is constantly influx due to increasing numbers of consumers per year and the innumerable and unforeseen tangential impacts that emerge. One example is seen alongside the growing number of women who consume tobacco. Children are becoming an increasingly prevalent subject of study as their tobacco habits become more visible within the public domains of social life (WHO 2010).

One of the primary approaches to the study of tobacco is related to health and medicine. This approach examines sociocultural, political and economic issues, along with systems of signification linked to tobacco. Nichter et al. provide a strong case for the necessity of furthering the tobacco discourse,

one in 3 adults worldwide (>1.1 billion people) is a smoker and 80% live in low- and middle- income countries. At present, tobacco use is responsible for approximately 5 million premature deaths each year and if current patterns...continue, the number is estimated to reach 10 million per year by 2030. At least 70% of these deaths will occur in low to low-middle income countries, the majority occurring in Indian, China, and Indonesia (Nichter et al. 2009:298).

The importance of these statistics lies in capturing the enormity of tobacco's impacts across the world. Whatever approach one uses, the gathering and analysis of quantitative data is critical to visualizing the roles that tobacco has over time come to play. Statistics such as those presented throughout Nichter et al.'s research are mirrored in tobacco specific publications that focus on a range of subjects such as gender, women, children, regional and global consumption patterns, economics and production. Reliable

publications are produced by the World Health Organization, The Tobacco Atlas, an annual publication, and the World Bank (WHO 2008 & 2010; Ericksen et al. 2012; World Bank 2011). Although reliable, each publication should be viewed critically in terms of the data that it chooses to present. For example, the World Bank is a lender to many of the “low to low-middle income countries” that Nichter et al. makes reference to (Nichter et al. 2009:298). In short, it is necessary to consider the politics of tobacco and health-related publications.

As a “leading cause of statistics,” tobacco not only causes disease and illness, it changes family dynamics and kinship structures brought on by premature deaths of parents and older generations (WHO 2010; Nichter et al 2009:298). Aside from early and preventable death, long-term illness challenges the economic stability of households as people inflicted with tobacco-related disease become increasingly, and often unexpectedly, dependent during earlier stages of life (WHO 2010). These are just some of the ways that tobacco universally impacts lives across the globe.

Health-related issues are not new problems, they are rooted historically. Properly identifying disease and illness depends, in part, on technological and medical advancements, as well as political influence (Nichter et al 2009; Baer et al. 2003; Ng et al. 2006; Barraclough 1999). While conducting research for this thesis, I attempted to seek out disease-related statistics to try and gauge women’s interactions and relationships to tobacco during the Dutch colonial period – an area where there exists a gap in research. The only pieces of literature that I located were two oblique references to the opening of a cancer institute in Indonesia in the 1920s, as a part of the Dutch Ethical

Policy (Tjindarbumi & Mangunkusumo 2002; Pyenson 1988). To support these claims, I located a report published in 1935 that documented high occurrences of uterine, ovary, cervical, breast, lip, mouth, jaw, neck and liver cancers among women and men in the region (Bonne 1935:814). Contemporary studies show that these forms of cancer can be caused by exposure to tobacco, but there is little historical evidence to make absolute determinations about colonial Indonesia. While the connection to tobacco, or betel consumption was inconclusive, through further interdisciplinary research, arguments could be made linking the prevalence of these specific forms of cancer to tobacco or betel consumption and prolonged second-hand exposure. This is an example of the need for an increase in historical research on gender, health, and tobacco during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia.

In exploring issues related to tobacco in Indonesia it is helpful to structure the engagement into thematic clusters. One of the most pertinent aspects of Jordan Goodman's exploration of tobacco is the use of a framework that consists of "...four principal dimensions: [1] botany, [2] chemistry and pharmacology, [3] economics – production and consumption – and [4] history" (Goodman 1993:3). These four dimensions provide a useful organization structure within which to examine the fluid impacts of tobacco on the various aspects of human life (Goodman 1993:3). Taking account of these four aspects, the principle literature relevant to this thesis will be explored that bears on the 1) history of tobacco and the production of knowledge 2) systems of signification 3) political economy and tobacco 4) gender, women, and tobacco. While the literature review that follows is not exhaustive, it attempts to present

the most relevant approaches that have been employed to analyze issues involving tobacco.

History of Tobacco and the Production of Knowledge

As a product and an extension of the natural world, tobacco has been assigned and reassigned meanings and symbolisms by the cultures and peoples that have created a space for it in their everyday lives. Goodman explores tobacco generally, touching upon the emergence of the plant in the 16th and 17th centuries as a traveling commodity, moved throughout the world through trade networks, eventually being intensified by the spread of colonialism. There is consensus among those who have incorporated a historical approach in their examination of tobacco including Ericksen et al., Goodman and Reid, all of whom declare that by 1630, tobacco gained an established presence across the globe facilitated by the Spanish (Ericksen et al. 2012:57; Goodman 1993:51-52; Reid 1985:535). Within each setting, tobacco was incorporated differently as a product of consumption that had profit-making potential. The spread of tobacco throughout the world occurred at varying levels and at different times, Goodman explains that “the precise timing of tobacco’s appearance in other cultures remains obscure as do the routes of transmission” (Goodman 1993:50). What is known is that the plant was readily accepted as an object of consumption to be chewed, smoked or added as an addition to other cultural forms such as the betel quid, explicated in detail by Anthony Reid, one of the few scholars who has attempted to piece together how the shift from the betel quid to tobacco transpired in Indonesia. In addition to issues of consumption, tobacco was a product of great importance to the peoples of the Americas before it was “discovered” by

Europeans (Goodman 1993; Reid 1985; Todorov 1999). It held a place within the economic structure specific to the culture in which it was consumed, produced, and commoditized. In Goodman's historical examination of "cultures of dependence" he details the varied roles of tobacco in the lives of people and cultures of the Americas specifically that of Cuicuru, Haida, Tlingit, Siuslawans, and Warao, among other Native North and South Americans and First Nation peoples (Goodman 1993:19-36).

When exploring tobacco's role as a cultural symbol and commodity, it is important to contextualize how it has been positioned over time and space. In seeking out the history of tobacco, dominant historical narratives emerge that over time have been shaped most exclusively by European epistemologies. Common among literature about the history of tobacco is the use of a theme of European discovery as the beginning point by which to shape the trajectory of tobacco throughout the world. Eric Wolf's approach is relevant and useful in understanding that history is a cultural construction, explaining that "...both the people who claim history as their own and the people whom history has been denied emerge as participants in the same historical trajectory" (Wolf 2010:23). His reconstruction of history as an interconnected process links peoples and cultures throughout the world facilitated by the spread of capitalism. He considers history as a culturally constructed body of knowledge that is itself historically and culturally contingent (Wolf 2010). Wolf argues that the cultural construction of history as a linear narrative of progress defined within the creation of Eurocentric knowledge has resulted in the negation of non-European peoples in shaping the world – seen in historical narratives of tobacco (Wolf 2010:23). In looking at some of the early historical accounts of tobacco

such as W.A Penn's The Sovereane Herbe, Jerome E. Brooks' The Mighty Leaf, and E. R. Billings' Tobacco, all created in the early 19th century, the negation of non-Western peoples in the spread of tobacco around the world is evident. What these works illuminate is the perpetuation of dichotomies of East/West, non-European/European, and non-Western/Western set along a linear trajectory that privileged Europe over the rest of the world (Wolf 2010). Likewise, these narratives exemplify the creation of otherness that ran parallel to the creation of the history of tobacco.

In exploring the historical trajectory of tobacco, it is important to first understand the history of how the world came to know about the substance. Looking closely at issues of knowledge production, the mode of tobacco's movement throughout the world was connected to the tradition of European voyages and narratives of discovery. More broadly, this knowledge production was linked to the development of European epistemologies that privileged Europeans such as Christopher Columbus. Columbus was positioned historically as the "harbinger of civilization" in contrast to the dominated "other" (Obeyesekere 1992:11). The other is a critical point of analysis located in dominant narratives of how tobacco was commodified, conceptualized, and incorporated within colonial enterprises. Tzvetan Todorov's exploration of the relationship between the "self" and the "other" reveals an interplay between the two categories; one that worked to produce otherness in the writing of history (Todorov 1999:3). Todorov's engagement with the discovery of the Americas contests representations of a perceived European superiority that was embedded within long-spanning epistemological traditions that gave way to the production of history as a discourse. By detailing the contradictions

and confusions faced while in the process of “discovering” America, characters such as Christopher Columbus were reimagined outside of what Gananeth Obeyesekere identified as the pervasive European “myth model” that has actively influenced the construction of a Eurocentered history (Obeyesekere 1992:10). Turning this lens to the broader history of tobacco reveals how narratives of the history of tobacco have been positioned and constructed over time. Utilizing this framework, the history of tobacco is then a product of a Eurocentered perspective that gave way to conceptualizations of otherness, while also defining tobacco in similar ways, as wild, seductive, dangerous and sexual (Pollard 2004:42). Obeyesekere and Todorov employ similar and complementary approaches to Wolf in rethinking the construction of dominant historical narratives and perspectives.

For Obeyesekere, articulations of the European myth model have been utilized over time to shape social relations between Europeans and non-Europeans (Obeyesekere 1992:11). The Columbus myth model served as a means to structure narratives of the history of tobacco that were disseminated throughout Europe as knowledge that would inform Europeans about the rest of the world. Elucidation of the relationship between Columbus and pre-existing myth models proves analogous to the ways that myths simultaneously influenced and were constructed by those who later embarked upon the writing of the history of tobacco. As the history of tobacco was being produced from within a Eurocentered perspective, the process occurred in conjunction to what Peter Mancall explains was the emergence of printed books. This emergence occurred at the same time as Columbus’s exploration in 1492, influencing the production and dissemination of knowledge about tobacco’s presence in Europe through a historical

perspective (Mancall 2004:659). There was a documented increase in knowledge production about tobacco, where it originated from, and the peoples and cultures that assigned it meaning during pre-Columbus times. It is here, in tracing the written history of tobacco, that the plant emerges as a topic of historical discourse. Tobacco as a topic is written about in similar ways that people and cultures from which the plant derived were characterized and defined in these same books. The emergence of printed books is linked to the spread of the Columbus myth model as a means to structure how Europeans viewed the world through a particular Eurocentrism that defined non-Western peoples and cultures in opposition to Europe.

Underlying the trajectory of European epistemology and the creation of a European myth model, Michel Foucault's articulation of the relationship between power and knowledge provides a framework to understand how the production of the history of tobacco was formulated through a particular lens. Foucault's assertion that "...it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power," foregrounds the broader processes of transformation occurring through political and economic relations (Foucault 1980:52). The history of tobacco reflects particular power relations and social transformations occurring at the time in which the history was written, alluding to the rise of colonialism in Indonesia. Foucault's "power and knowledge" highlight connections between the production of the history of tobacco and the conditions under which it was appropriated, and subsequently, commoditized via colonialism (Foucault 1980:52).

Systems of Signification

Much of the literature on tobacco and symbolic meaning is situated in relation to political and economic processes, but also colonial practices and policies such as the Dutch Cultivation System and the Ethical Policy. In Indonesia, tobacco as a cultural symbol and object of consumption was preceded by the betel quid. Anthony Reid and Dawn Rooney are two of the primary sources for understanding the role of betel in the Indonesian context (Reid 1985; Rooney 1993). The betel quid has endured a long presence in the Southeast Asian region, dating back to the second century B.C., and more specifically, in Indonesia between the sixth and ninth centuries (Reid 1985:530). From this time, betel was incorporated as an everyday practice for Indonesians – women and men – acting as a facilitator for social interactions, holding a central role in ritual practices and traditions, and being imbued with sexual connotations that facilitated unions between couples (Reid 1985; Rooney 1993). Rooney connected betel to having, “medicinal, magical, and symbolical purposes,” supporting its wide-spread role in everyday life (Rooney 1993:12). The central role of betel in Indonesia is without question and its symbolic role supported sociocultural structures that shaped Indonesian life.

Tobacco became deeply embedded within Indonesian symbolic structures, but in different ways than the betel quid. According to Reid, tobacco symbolized, “...the expanding modern sector of the economy which is dominated by men,” and betel, “...an older agricultural market economy in which women were prominent” (Reid 1985:542). These distinctions reflected the positioning of men and women in the public and private

spheres of the “modern” Indonesian society imagined by the Dutch. They became reified in practice as men were linked to tobacco and women remained more closely associated to betel. Monica Arnez, who traces the emergence of the *kretek*, also questions why “...betel chewing [has] increasingly been replaced by smoking *kretek* cigarettes?” (Arnez 2009:49). As the Indonesian tobacco habit increased, it coincided with transformations in political and economic relations introduced by the Dutch colonial regime. Adrian Vickers’s examination of the history of Indonesia connects the particular promotion of Dutch modernity to a rise in tobacco consumption in the public sphere, specifically that of *kretek* cigarettes (Vickers 2005:65).

Modernity and modernization of the economy were interconnected processes that impacted Indonesia. Tobacco was situated as one of the most important cash crops for export and it became a symbol of the “modern” citizen in Indonesia: male, educated within the colonial educational infrastructure, and exhibiting “modern” values defined by the Dutch. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten contributes this modernizing agenda to such colonial mandates as the Dutch Ethical Policy that sought to improve and develop the country in line with Europe (Locher-Scholten 2000:32). At the foundation of the desire to modernize Indonesia socially and culturally, while developing it politically and economically, Locher-Scholten, Gouda, and Bloembergen agree was a form of “ethical imperialism” (Bloembergen 2006:159; Locher-Scholten 2000; Gouda 2008).

Tobacco was assigned and reassigned meaning, eventually being produced in the form of the *kretek* cigarette. Mark Hanusz provides an overview of the history of *kreteks* in Indonesia. During the colonial push toward modernity, the juxtaposition between

“white cigarettes” smoked by the Dutch regime and *kretek* cigarettes emerged. Hanusz discusses connections between *kreteks* and growing nationalism in Indonesia that was poised to gain independence from the Dutch and later, from the Japanese during occupation (Hanusz 2000). The *kretek* as a cultural symbol was imbued with symbolic associations linked to experiences under the Dutch regime, hence the contrast between *kreteks* and “white cigarettes.” Similarly, during Japanese occupation, Hanusz shows that *kreteks* and smoking in general were viewed by some as “...a good way to fend off hunger pains” (Hanusz 2000:XIV). Over time, *kreteks* came to represent Indonesia as a nation.

In the field of health and medicine, discourses of tobacco change rapidly in accordance with cultural and symbolic factors. Much of the recent health-related literature such as Nichter et al. is based on notions of cultural competency and “bridging differences” as a means to produce effective and culturally relevant tobacco cessation programs (Nichter et al 2009). Through the utilization of anthropological methodology, specifically ethnographic field work, researchers gather necessary data through participant observation supported by such questions as, “Why do people smoke” (Nichter et al 2009:308). In gathering data of this kind, the focus is on perceptions, behaviors, motivations, and overall, the social functions or “utilities” of tobacco (Nichter et al 2009). While engaging in field work, health-related methodologies are employed to support qualitative data. This is seen in gathering quantitative data by measuring symptoms of withdrawal when a person is trying to quit smoking. Through an anthropological lens that recognizes cultural differences and the importance of situating knowledge about the

health impacts of tobacco within the specific cultural framework of the research site, issues of public health can be more adequately addressed. As a starting point, this interdisciplinary approach provides an important foundation for how to approach a topic that has such wide-spanning impacts. It is also a means by which to engage the shifting and changing symbolic meanings that are assigned to tobacco, *kreteks* and the betel quid (Ng et al. 2006).

Political Economy

One of the main points of Goodman's exploration of tobacco is that the plant "is of enormous economic importance to many countries of the world, both developed and developing" (Goodman 1993:6). In approaching tobacco as an object of research, this reality should be addressed along with an understanding of the intersections between tobacco's social, cultural, economic and political roles in human life. While there are in fact vast interconnections between European colonization and the spread of tobacco around the world, it is equally important to think about tobacco as a product that existed outside of the realm of colonial history. By doing so, tobacco can be examined in a way that fully represents its complexity as a product that is consumed in multiple ways and holds various social, cultural, economic, and political meanings throughout the world.

Sherry Ortner's analysis of theoretical traditions in the field of anthropology offers a critical quandary linking changes within large scale economic and political processes to transformations in daily practice. Ortner poses two important questions that aid in framing the exploration of tobacco in Indonesia: "1. How does the system shape practice? 2. How does practice shape the system?" (Ortner 1984:152-54). In exploring

the history of tobacco, colonialism was a large-scale transformation that sought control through political and economic channels. Ortner's central questions are relevant to viewing symbolic meaning as dynamic, constantly in flux, and linked to the effects of colonial policies and practices that shaped political and economic relations in particular ways.

By 1950, Anthony Reid asserts that betel consumption had declined in most parts of Indonesia. This change was related to the Dutch push toward modernity, best seen in the implementation of the Ethical Policy (Reid 1985:538). Men became the primary consumers of tobacco while women, both Indonesian and Dutch, continued the practice of betel chewing. Reid questions how and why tobacco became a "supplement to betel" (Reid 1985:538). He focuses on similarities in physiological effects between betel and tobacco stating that each had "...the same calming effect on tension, pain, and hunger while stimulating the appropriate mood for agreeable social intercourse" (Reid 1985:532). These similarities supported substituting betel for tobacco. Coupled with tobacco being viewed as a sign of Dutch modernity, the relationship eventually gave way to a preference for tobacco over betel (Reid 1985:539). Aside from the social, political, and cultural effects of a preference for tobacco, what economic factors were influential to the shift from betel to tobacco? In what ways did specific economic and political transformations influenced by the Dutch colonial regime contribute to the shift? These are questions that Reid did not address in his exploration of the transition from betel to tobacco in Indonesia yet they remain highly relevant to gaining a better understanding of the constantly evolving relationship between Indonesians and tobacco.

Sidney Mintz's examination of the production of sugar as a commodity and its relation to historical process helps to shed light on the shift from betel to tobacco. At the onset of tobacco's presence in Indonesia, it was an object consumed by the Javanese elite. It was at the royal court where it became associated to the betel quid. During this time, tobacco was out of reach for most Indonesians. Tobacco became part of the royal aesthetic, attracting attention from the rest of Javanese society and exposing many to the substance (Reid 1985:535). As tobacco was spread throughout Java, it became a commodity that was produced and consumed locally. Similar to sugar, tobacco moved throughout Indonesia in a top-down manner, starting with the Javanese elite and then becoming a highly sought after commodity by the rest of society (Reid 1985:536). Utilizing Mintz's framework, issues of class and access to commodities can be applied to the changing status of tobacco in Indonesia, including its relation to the betel quid. It is through this lens that Reid's work on the shift between betel and tobacco can be furthered, when considering the notion of access, and broader economic changes that it facilitated.

To aid in carving this path, Richard Robison's detailed development of the Indonesian economy is useful. Robison illuminates the emergence of "the Dutch state" and the trajectory of the plantation economy that was intertwined with the development of full-scale capitalist modes of production (Robison 2009:9). These modes were directly related to multinational movement into the country (Robison 2009:9). All of these processes were occurring simultaneously, impacting the shift between tobacco and betel. Building on Reid's work, Monica Arnez explores the presence of multinational

corporations in the Indonesian tobacco industry and their links to the Indonesian state. Lawrence and Collins similarly illuminate the relationship between the contemporary Indonesian state and multinational corporations (Lawrence & Collins 2004). The politics of the Indonesian economy are laced with what Lawrence and Collins refer to as “endemic nepotism and corruption” (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97).

Interrelated to political economy is the cross-disciplinary medical anthropological approach employed by Baer et al. (Baer et al. 2003). A medical anthropological approach “...concerns itself with the many factors that contribute to disease or illness and with the ways that various human populations respond to disease or illness” (Baer et al. 2003:3). While the primary concern of this thesis does not directly focus on “disease or illness,” the medical anthropological framework reveals health and medical-related disparities between developed and underdeveloped nations (Baer et al. 2003:3). These disparities speak to economic and political processes that have been set forth creating conditions of poverty in Indonesia, along with limited access to health and medical technologies equal to that of developed nations. The approach also allows for a detailed examination of specific sets of populations that are disproportionately impacted by disease and illness. One glaring example is the urban/rural divide and the ways that access to effective medical care is often limited the farther one lives away from urban, city centers. This is similarly true in the case of access to critical health-related information.

Gender, Women and Tobacco

Gender analysis is one of the most important approaches to the study of tobacco. There is a fascinating body of work on the construction of race, gender, and sexuality during colonial periods. An important feature of this work has been to trace the emergence of the socially constructed colonized women as hypersexual, fertile, exotic, and deviant (Bloembergen 2006; Comaroff 1989; Cooper & Stoler 1989; Locher-Scholten 2000; Stoler 1989 & 2002). Characteristics such as these were to be contained, controlled, and owned by colonial and Native men alike, thus categories of difference such as race, gender, and sexuality were constructed and reconstructed in the interest of gaining control over the colonized population, at various points in time (Stoler 1989). While contemplating the ways that socially constructed categories were regulated, it is important to consider the fluidity of these categories and similarly, the variants that existed among the range of colonial regimes (Comaroff 1989; Cooper & Stoller 1989; Loomba 1998; Stoller 1989 & 2002). The relevance of this information is critical to interpreting Indonesian colonial history. Interestingly, little specific knowledge regarding relations between women and tobacco in Indonesia's colonial setting is available.

In more recent times, two scholars have addressed this gap, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Siddharth Chandra. Locher-Scholten explored the presence of female agricultural laborers active during the time of Dutch colonization. In her work, she expounds on female economic activities showing that "...economic necessity led to a tradition (or institution) of female economic participation" (Chandra 2002:105). This

tradition of female economic activity is rooted in the tobacco industry, influencing the shared view of it as a place of “women’s work” (Barraclough 1999:327; Chandra 2002:105). Chandra supports the claim that there is a gap in knowledge about women’s economic activities and roles during the colonial period. She notes that “one of the least studied aspects of colonial economic history is the role of women in the economy” (Chandra 2002:103). In addressing this gap, she focuses on the industrial sector of the colonial economy and women’s participation in it. Both scholars utilize quantitative data that reveal women’s overlooked labor contributions to agriculture and industry such as tobacco production. These studies raise important questions about women’s participation in the tobacco economy. And, they illuminate the curious relationship between women’s active participation in tobacco production, juxtaposed to the small figures of women’s tobacco consumption. Simon Barraclough’s study of contemporary female tobacco consumption alludes to the historical prevalence of female labor, claiming the tobacco industry to be “traditionally” known as a place of “women’s work” (Barraclough 1999:327). Barraclough also addresses possible reasons for an increase in women’s tobacco consumption. His findings provide insight into some of the challenges of collecting data on women’s tobacco consumption. Women face barriers to smoking in public and are less likely to divulge information on their smoking habits.

Looking forward, female labor participation in Indonesia has been characterized as a result of the feminization of the labor force, a process associated with economic liberalization, globalization, and capitalist expansion. Teri Caraway explores the feminization process, noting that the Indonesian tobacco industry is among those that

employ the greatest numbers of female workers (Caraway 2007). Caraway challenges the notion of feminization as an inherently negative process for women, illuminating the limited freedoms that labor opportunities can provide when women are active outside of the home (Caraway 2005). Maria Florencia Amigo takes a similar perspective, but hones in on tobacco production and the common use of child labor (Amigo 2010). In Amigo's analysis she highlights the inequality faced by women and children in tobacco labor, based on disparities in wages compared to that of men (Amigo 2010:39). These disparities reflect broader issues of what Amigo terms as, "the subaltern position of women and children in Indonesian society" (Amigo 2010:39). The contemporary movement of multinational tobacco corporations into the tobacco economy of Lombok has perpetuated the use of contract labor, while also drawing attention to the drawbacks of this form of labor for women and children. Amigo's exploration represents contemporary issues within the tobacco industry, raising questions surrounding increases in multinational ownership and control in the Indonesian tobacco industry. This shift represents a whole new set of issues and problems that will be faced by women, who are the primary laborers in the industry.

Chapter 1. Tobacco's Beginnings: An Eurocentric Mystery

“The first man who ate an oyster is proverbial; the inventor of the roast pig is enshrined; but the first smoker is unknown” (Penn 1901:1).

Tobacco is deeply embedded within the social and cultural fabric of Indonesia. As Jordan Goodman states, “Tobacco exists in four principal dimensions: botany, chemistry and pharmacology, economics – production and consumption – and history” (Goodman 1993:3). And, within with these principle dimensions, lies answers to fundamental questions regarding the long spanning relationship between human beings and tobacco.

Before delving into tobacco's long presence in Indonesia, an introduction to the broader history of the plant is useful. Given that there are some generalities that aid in contextualizing how tobacco became the commodity it is today. Tobacco emerged in different parts of the world in the 16th and 17th centuries. Drawing on historical records, it is thought that the Spanish facilitated its introduction after being exposed to the plant in the Americas (Goodman 1993:51). Global commoditization of tobacco was facilitated by early colonial economic interests. As a commodity, it has experienced the ebb and flow of social acceptance and changing cultural meanings as it permeated through social classes across the world, at different points in time. It was regarded differently within cultural contexts. For example, according to Goodman, in Europe, tobacco in the form of

snuff or ground tobacco leaves was consumed long before the transmission of cigarettes across social classes. This particular consumption pattern differs from the top down incorporation of products commonly seen in the history of commodities such as sugar, tea, and coffee (Goodman 1993:47; Mintz 1985:95 & 1994:970). Examples of top down movement in the context of tobacco consumption are found in the Indonesian cultural setting where tobacco was first presented by Dutch colonialists to the Javanese royal court (Reid 1985:536). The introduction of tobacco at the level of the royal court preceded both regional and class dissemination (Reid 1985:536).

Around the world, tobacco's momentum was increased in what were later to become major areas of production and consumption – the Middle East in the early 1500s, India around 1595, Java in 1600, Japan in 1605, China between 1530 - 1600 and later in Africa around 1630 (Ericksen et al. 2012:57; Goodman 1993:51-52; Reid 1985:535). Prior to this movement, tobacco did indeed have a presence in Europe, but more focus was on its perceived medicinal properties than its potential as a global economic phenomenon (Goodman 1993:131). From Europe, the plant spread to Asia, where it was first cultivated in the Philippines. Goodman points out that “the precise timing of tobacco's appearance in other cultures remains obscure as do the routes of transmission” (Goodman 1993:50). It is difficult to trace specifics about tobacco's movement outside of the European context due to the lack of information derived from non-European cultural settings.

Before commoditization in the context of early capitalism, tobacco held great importance as a product traded locally amongst people of the Americas hence, tobacco as

a commodity was critical to diverse economies that existed prior to European “discovery” (Goodman 1993; Brooks 1952). This is an important factor to consider in the rethinking of who and what is privileged within the dominant narrative of history. Eric Wolf’s Europe and a People Without History traces globally interconnected processes in which capitalist expansion occurred, while valorizing some, but not all commodities. The title of the book itself illustrates one of Wolf’s most critical points relevant to the history of tobacco, “...both the people who claim history as their own and the people whom history has been denied emerge as participants in the same historical trajectory” (Wolf 2010:23). It is Wolf’s insight into the ways history has been compartmentalized and constructed as a Eurocentric body of knowledge that inspires the following discussions on how the history of tobacco was produced.

The quote that begins this section calls attention to a mystery surrounding tobacco. Expressed poetically in early 19th century written accounts of tobacco, this mystery is not one of geography; tobacco is widely known to be a plant native to the Americas, specifically South America, with later movement into the North (Penn 1901:2). Its contact with human beings has been dated to around 5000 – 6000 B.C. and according to Joseph C. Winterit’s Tobacco Use by Native North Americans: Sacred Smoke and Silent Killer it is thought to have evolved into the presently used species through processes of “natural and cultural selection” between 4000 – 5000 B.C. (Winterit 2000:324). There is scientific consensus on the evolutionary development of tobacco, in addition to its chemical and pharmacological structure. What gives tobacco its effect is a mixture of alkaloids including nicotine and nornicotine, both known to be addictive

“mind-altering psychotropic chemicals” (Winterit 2000:326). However, less agreement arises regarding how tobacco emerged in parts of the world such as Australia, where it has been used by Aboriginal groups for long spans of time (Winterit 2000:90). This lack of consensus is based on different hypotheses focused on the “route and timing” of tobacco’s presence in the Australian landscape (Winterit 2000:90). Some lean toward the propensity to locate *who* introduced the plant to the region, while others ponder a less anthropocentric scheme to explain the plant’s presence in a place so far from the Americas. Alongside these debates, and coinciding with the rewriting of history that occurs in periods of technological advancement, new theories of tobacco’s global movement are honing in on its possible presence within ancient Egypt; the latter argument offers a counter narrative to Christopher Columbus as the starting point for the history of tobacco in the world (Gonsalves 2010; Mair 2006).

Tobacco belongs to the genus *Nicotiana*, part of the *Solanacea* or “nightshade” family (Winterit 2000:90). With upwards of 65 species, only two are known to have been cultivated – *tabacum* and *rustica* – both are annuals harvested by seed and require extreme care throughout the cultivation process (Goodman 1993:2). Tobacco seeds are minuscule in size. Ensuring that each seed is properly injected into the soil thus requires time and skill. In the preparatory planting stages, seedlings are tended to by hand and this intensive production requires an extensive labor force. Out of the many species, *tabacum* and *rustica* have higher levels of nicotine than noncultivated or wild species of tobacco, making it the most desirable for human consumption (Goodman 1993:4). *Tabacum* is the dominant and larger of the species cultivated and processed into

cigarettes, with *rustica*, a smaller variety limited to areas in Eastern Europe, India, Pakistan and North Africa (Goodman 1993:3). The biological and evolutionary history of tobacco would be incomplete without an understanding of its interaction with the people who first cultivated it and those who have transformed it into a global commodity.

Columbus and the Other: Tobacco's Movement throughout the World

In keeping with Eric Wolf's notion that there are peoples and cultures that have been excluded from the writing of history, one questions why and how such tunnel vision could overshadow the vast connections that have shaped the interconnected world of present. If history is to be thought of as multiple, nonlinear, converging and diverging intersections across time and space, how do we begin to address the history of tobacco within this framework? More importantly, how did the production of historical discourse become increasingly focused on one point in time and space, from which the rest of the world was excluded?

In the following discussion, I draw upon Gananeth Obeyesekere's articulation of a deeply engrained and multifaceted European myth model, one I connect to repeating narratives of Christopher Columbus found in chronicles that attempt to document the history of tobacco. Tzvetan Todorov's work on the interactions between Native North and South Americans and Europeans such as Columbus also provide a supporting perspective, one that challenges dominant narratives that over time have been shaped most exclusively by European epistemologies.

Tobacco was a part of daily life and practice in the Americas long before documented European contact (Goodman 1993:20). For Native Americans the plant

proved beneficial medicinally and spiritually; to some, it facilitated a relationship between human and spirit worlds (Goodman 1993:20-21). Similarly, ethnographic studies have shown other substances, such as coca, to have multiple symbolic meanings and roles that facilitate relations between human beings and nature (Goodman 1993:49-51, Allen 1988). Remarkably, despite the long relationship between Native populations and tobacco, early historical writings about the plant are overwhelmingly focused on one event and person - Christopher Columbus in 1492 (Billings 1875:65, Penn 1901:39). Jerome E. Brooks' The Mighty Leaf illustrates this exact focus, referring to Columbus's introduction to tobacco by Native populations as "the discovery" (Brooks 1952:11). "October 12, 1492 is a conspicuous date in the history of the tobacco. For it was on that day that tobacco was first seen by Europeans and commented upon by the man who found the New World" (Brooks 1952:11). Columbus is the personification of an event that occurred in 1492; the documented arrival of Europeans to the Americas – Hispaniola it is thought - and the exchange of tobacco leaves, which at the time were not given much attention by Columbus and his party (Goodman 1993:37). What this structure reveals is a critical point at which event and its personification acted as the foundation for a particular, selective construction of the history of tobacco. At a time when European history was being documented in written form, Columbus acted as a focal point from which to comprehend Europe's place in the world. While the Spanish and Portuguese did ultimately facilitate tobacco's movement throughout the world, what proves thought-provoking are the ways Columbus became a representation for Europe and acted as a

point to then define the rest of the world in opposition. Dr. Murray who penned A General History of the Tobacco Plant in 1836 remarks,

The period of our written history is extremely limited...Henceforth, it becomes our duty to adhere only to positive and authentic chronicles of the Plant...The honour of this discovery has been justly awarded to Christopher Colon, a native of Genoa, better known to us by the name of Christopher Columbus... (Murray 1836:10).

Columbus represented authenticity and truth in the narrative of European history. It was this European truth of discovery that acted as the foundation upon which narratives of history and more specifically, the “New World” and tobacco were built.

Columbus’s central positioning in the dominant narrative of tobacco illuminates other social and cultural processes that were occurring synchronously in the European context. Engrained in the collective psyche, 1492 symbolizes European dominance, expansion, exploitation and oppression for those in the Americas. Simultaneously, it represents connections forged among peoples that resulted in transmissions of cultural practices later seen in tobacco consumption. Furthermore, the dominant narrative celebrates European arrival and Native subjugation within social relations framed by the primitive/civilized dichotomy. Focused on Europe, early writers represent tobacco as a product of Natives that did not gain particular value until Columbus was introduced to it. Certainly, tobacco held value within Native cultures, but it was understood at the time to be in a less revered context of spiritual and medicinal practice, deemed alien by those unfamiliar with Native knowledge systems. The emergence of alternative non-Eurocentric narratives of this time period have since begun to challenge this written history of the “Columbus narrative” of tobacco, exemplifying how history is shaped,

formed, and manipulated from within dominant bodies that represent specific interests of state and nation.

Peter Mancall examines the commodification of tobacco in the European setting while calling attention to the parallel emergence of printed books (Mancall 2004:659). Mancall connects the time period of Columbus's exploration in 1492 to an increase of printed "pamphlets and books," one of the most popular being a detailed account of Columbus's journeys (Mancall 2004:649-659). In it, Columbus included a description of tobacco, its uses, and those who were witnessed consuming it – indigenous Americans (Mancall 2004:649). Rapid spread of the written word provided Europeans with a structure through which to understand the rest of the world, in contrast to Europe itself. As the demand for this knowledge grew, so too did the number of printed books and by the 1600s myriad works on the Americas and tobacco had been produced, all from a European epistemological perspective (Mancall 2004:659). Mancall explains, that the construction of these narratives of voyage, and contact with humans and nature allowed for a process of "commodity fetishism" to occur, separating the plant from its non-European roots (Mancall 2004:650). In this disconnection, tobacco was reimagined and reconstructed in the context of the European knowledge system while Columbus was positioned as the epitome of Europeanness.

Knowledge constructed on the topic of tobacco was born from within European traditions and focused on the country as the site of invention, discovery, and world making. Useful in this context is the work of Gananeth Obeyesekere's The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific. Captain Cook aside, what proves

interesting and useful is Obeyesekere's challenge to the discourse that privileged Europeans within the civilized/primitive dichotomy. Obeyesekere's conception of the "myth model" acts as a framework to construct social relations between Native populations and Europeans based on "explorer cum civilizer who is a god to the natives" (Obeyesekere 1992:10). This model is witnessed repeatedly in the wider production of historical knowledge (Obeyesekere 1992:10). Looking at the formation of knowledge on tobacco, Columbus was constructed as personification of this model. Myth models are used by Obeyesekere in two relevant ways, "first, an important or pragmatic myth may serve as a model for other kinds of myth construction. Second and more importantly, a "myth model" refers to an underlying set of ideas (a myth structure or cluster of mythemes) employed in a variety of narrative forms" (Obeyesekere 1992:10). In Obeyesekere's usage, the concept of myth is expanded beyond traditional associations of "myth with sacred stories" (Obeyesekere 1992:10). Columbus emerges from this model as the European civilizer, first to discover what would later become a critical social, cultural, economic, and political resource to Europe. This characterization structures the way in which history post-Columbus was constructed by providing a lens to comprehend European and non-European social relations. Ideas that shape this myth model are based on concepts of the European savior and "harbinger of civilization" (Obeyesekere 1992:11).

The reading of myth models in Obeyesekere's sense helps explain the ways that dominant historical narratives were formed. Myths of the voyager/discoverer/hero exist within the historical trajectory of tobacco as *the* event that gave meaning to tobacco itself

as a product first used by Natives and then improved upon by Europeans (Mancall 2004:659). Columbus has been positioned as the personification of European values of civility, masculinity, and industriousness; the myth model not only builds the historical narrative centered on this figure, it then employs dualisms to construct all non-European peoples. What one finds, is that within the myth model of European discovery, tobacco is written about in a similar way that non-Western peoples were documented, classified, and categorized; all within a Eurocentric epistemological trajectory that created “the other.” In the context of the Columbus myth model, tobacco is defined as exotic, seductive, wild, bewitching, and mysterious; all attributes used to construct otherness. Upon its arrival to Europe, tobacco was only known in association with the Americas. It therefore was first defined and subsequently, redefined as a product fit for European consumption. In this process, one can see the glimmers of commodity fetishism at work (Mancall 2004:650).

Obeyeskere contends that “myth may serve as a model for other kinds of myth construction” (Obeyesekere 1992:10). Building on his argument, myths therefore are continually being constructed, reimagined, and retold in correlation with transformations that occur in the various realms of sociocultural, political, and economic life. As changes were taking place in the European context, pre-existing myth models served to guide the actions, perceptions, and behaviors of Columbus and his entourage (Obeyesekere 1992:10). These myths constituted their culturally and historically specific ideological worldviews. Columbus and his party were driven by a Eurocentric and Christian-centric epistemology based on the right to drain resources and wealth from the rest of the world, granted by a professed divine charge (Todorov 1999:14). This structure, in combination

with deeply engrained notions of European superiority provided, “an underlying set of ideas” that could be drawn upon to make sense of that which was unfamiliar to Columbus (Obeyesekere 1992:10). Therefore, Columbus set off on a voyage of discovery, acting in accordance with a myth model that shaped interactions between his party and unfamiliar people he would encounter. Reflecting what Todorov defines as an unprecedented engagement with human difference, the events of 1492 occurred within a process influenced by pre-existing myth models (Todorov 1999:5). These myths inspired the later creation and reimagining of myths about European supremacy, further embedding and articulating ideas of otherness within historical discourse related to the history of tobacco.

Todorov’s exploration of the relationship between the “self” and the “other” reveals an interplay; one that produced otherness in the writing of history (Todorov 1999:3). When writing of the other, the self was positioned as central, in some ways fixed. This fixity allowed for the opposite of the self to be identified and defined within the dichotomy of difference/sameness. Central to this process was the act of distancing (Todorov 1999:185). Distancing facilitated the interplay between the “self” and the “other,” while symbolically reflecting the distance between Europe and yet to be known peoples, cultures and landscapes. Here, distancing takes on nuanced meaning, reflecting a particular process that created space between Europe and the rest of the world, severing notions of interconnections (Wolf 2010:23). In the writing of the history of tobacco, those that participated in creating and disseminating this information distanced themselves from the subject of their inquiry, perpetuating otherness. On otherness,

Johannes Fabian writes, “Constructions of otherness....are already built into our very presentations of identity/sameness, as an *exclusive* ‘here and now’ which we accept without much question” (Fabian 1991:230). Columbus and his crew set forth on a voyage, founded on ideals of domination of that which did not adhere to the familiar, or in Fabian’s words, “sameness” (Fabian 1991:230). Human beings and the natural environment they were to encounter were viewed as realms located outside of the purview of European “identity/sameness” (Fabian 1991:230; Todorov 1999:14). Fabian connects “identity/sameness to ‘here and now’ and difference/otherness to ‘there and now’,” (Fabian 1991:230). Moving outside of the realm of here/Europe/sameness Columbus experienced a dualistic distancing that was both physical and psychological (Fabian 1991:230). This contributed to the dehumanization and subjugation of those he came into contact with. In addition, it shaped the relationship between Columbus and products of the natural environment such as tobacco.

As Columbus was separated further from Europe and closer to the unknown, what existed ‘there’ was consciously kept at a distance, and subsequently positioned as the other/unfamiliar/foreign. According to Todorov, many of Columbus’s writings, most notably regarding language systems, expose the process of conceptualizing difference as one of his largest obstacles (Todorov 1999:30). To Columbus, who was operating from within the cultural, social, economic and political context of the late 15th and early 16th century Europe, the presence of difference was a signifier of absence (Todorov 1999:38). In other words, an absence of similarity to the European context was understood as proof of European superiority (Todorov 1999:38). Todorov points out that Columbus’s

writings demonstrate how he represented his “self” in relation to the “other”; done so through a process that was often contradictory, misguided and illusory of the issue or experience at hand (Todorov 1999:30). As articulating difference proved challenging to Columbus, he relied upon conceptualizing the foreign and unfamiliar from a vantage point that further perpetuated the myth of European superiority and non-European otherness. Consequently, these presumptions were embedded within historical discourse that later constructed the voyager/discoverer/hero myth, one that prevails within countless dominant historical narratives on the history of tobacco. Elucidation of the relationship between Columbus and pre-existing myth models proves analogous to the ways that myths simultaneously influenced and were constructed by those who later embarked upon producing and codifying the history of tobacco in the European setting.

In conclusion, in the reading of the history of tobacco it is important to recognize how narratives have been positioned and constructed over time. Within the European myth model and its personification, Columbus, 1492 acts as an event that marks the beginning of global domination and in many ways the entrenchment of ideas of European superiority. Columbus himself was influential to the conceptualization of European superiority as he was guided by a preexisting, yet interconnected myth model formed from within the epistemological foundations of Europe. It was his writings and reflections that supported and informed the creation of the Eurocentric history of tobacco. As the Columbus myth model was being concretized and legitimized within the European knowledge system, and disseminated through print, tobacco itself as a product of nature was being defined in particular ways (Mancall 2004:659). Tanya Pollard’s *The Pleasures*

and Perils of Smoking in Early Modern England touches upon the anthropomorphizing of tobacco and what I would argue is the feminization and sexualization of the plant using characteristics of otherness (Pollard 2004:42). Pollard points out early 17th century associations of tobacco as a “mistress” and its effects on consumers as “fantasticall [*sic*], bewitched, sensual, even exotic...” (Pollard 2004:42). What was created by this Eurocentered focus provides insight into processes of social and cultural construction that were occurring during times of colonization – the creation of the “other,” formulation of written historical narratives privileging Europe over the rest of the world, and the making of a commodity seen in tobacco. What all of these processes have in common is the need to distance Europe from non-Western peoples and tobacco from nature in order to facilitate domination. A contradiction begins to emerge within historical narratives of tobacco. As the plant begins to be distanced from nature non-Western peoples are constructed closer to it as bodies to be civilized.

The History of Tobacco: An Object of Knowledge

“If there are connections everywhere, why do we persist in turning dynamic, interconnected phenomena into static disconnected things? Some of this is owing, perhaps, to the way we have learned our own history...that there exists an entity called the West, and that one can think of this West as a society and civilization independent of and in opposition to other societies and cultures” (Wolf 2010:5).

The process by which a society learns its history is unquestionably linked to the history of this knowledge itself. While this may seem like a never-ending and circuitous debate, within the round and round one begins to recognize, what Wolf points out as

“static” entities that have been constructed as symbols of dominance and “opposition” (Wolf 2010:5). Symbols such as “the West” and “the East” have been conceptualized from within broader historical discourse that governs the ways that objects of this knowledge are shaped and formed (Wolf 2010:5; Hall 1997:44). Tobacco is but one of these objects.

Many narratives about the history of tobacco read as the history of European exploration, colonialism, and imperialism. Writings produced from this perspective have long been disseminated, and in present day, they continue to be influential to the creation of that which is deemed history. A common and underlying theme present within this knowledge is Columbus as the voyager/discoverer/hero; personification of European domination. Following this thread, what is found is the parallel creation of otherness, and the long spanning privileging of Eurocentered epistemologies. In addressing Wolf’s question of why historical connections are constantly bypassed for more linear understandings of historical process, part of the answer lies in the relationship between discourse and knowledge.

History as a discourse has been produced from within a dynamic field of power relations, based on human social interactions over vast time and space. Michel Foucault argues that, “...it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power” (Foucault 1980:52). Linkages between power and knowledge prove critical to examinations of the written history of tobacco, produced from within the European context. To Foucault, this is due to the “rules and practices” that govern specific cultural circumstances at a particular time and space; all of

which shapes discourse and sets boundaries that define knowledge (Hall 1997:44). Within these boundaries, meanings and representations are defined, as are parameters by which knowledge about the history of tobacco was conceptualized and articulated (Hall 1997:44). In this relationship, the history of tobacco is itself an object of knowledge, produced from historical discourse that has constructed the topic of tobacco and those who have interacted with it (Hall 1997:44).

The exotic and primitive “other” and the creation and perpetuation of the aforementioned Columbus “myth model” are examples of how historical discourse and its specialized knowledge constructed *the* history of tobacco. From here, how is the interplay between the history of tobacco and the broader discourse of history itself to be approached? How do we begin to deconstruct social and cultural representations of otherness, described in historical text and narratives of tobacco? Specifically, engaging written historical text, how do knowledge and discourse work together to facilitate processes of social and cultural construction? An exegesis of tobacco allows for an examination of its roles as commodity, cultural object, and historical marker in relation to human beings. It likewise facilitates an understanding of colonialism and the ways in which its subjects, in this case non-Western peoples, and tobacco were conceptualized and constructed from within a European context⁵.

⁵ The category “non-European” or “non-Western” is used throughout this body of work to denote populations of people who were actively shaping and reshaping relations with Europeans, while not actually deriving from Europe (Wolf 2010:xxvi). Most importantly, it must be stated that in no way does use of the term “non-European” privilege Europe over any other people or culture; its usage is however, a

Historical accounts of tobacco allow entry into the social, cultural, political and economic context of the society being written about, but also the period in which the account was written. By looking at historical writing from the 19th and 20th centuries it becomes clear how narratives of tobacco were created using a lens centered on European exceptionalism. W.A. Penn's The Sovereane Herbe: A History of Tobacco is an example of these types of narratives in its prose, language, and voice; one that is communicating from a position of Eurocentrism. E. R. Billings' Tobacco and Jerome E. Brooks' The Mighty Leaf employ a similar lens. The following passages are drawn from each of the author's written texts on the history of tobacco. Each is chosen for its specific use of the Columbus 'myth model' as structure for the narrative in relation to the primitive "other."

Billings explains,

“originally limited to the natives of America, it [tobacco] attracted so much attention of Europeans who by cultivation increased the size and quality of the plant. But not alone has a plant improved in form and quality, the rude implements once used by the Indians have given way (even among themselves) to those of improved form and modern style...That a plant primarily used by savages, should succeed...is a fact without parallel” (Billings 1875:217).

Penn writes,

“what civilization owes to tobacco can never be known. That a plant once used by only the savage aborigines of America should be now the solace and inspiration of all sorts and conditions of men, not only of the vast mass of humanity but of the brightest and intellectuals and greatest men that this world has had...” (Penn 1901:258).

pertinent reminder of how particular language has been constructed over time, born from within Eurocentric knowledge systems.

Lastly, Brooks proclaims, “the hedonistic uses of tobacco are very likely to have begun through chewing. It is a natural thing, a primitive reflex, thus to test a leaf for taste, natural with aborigines and with presumably small civilized boys with world over” (Brooks 1952:19).

The quote from Billings begins in the Americas, locating tobacco’s origins. Employing the Columbus ‘myth model’, the plant is seen as shifting in quality and value by means of interaction with a “modern” Europe (Billings 1875:217). As part of historical discourse, the history of tobacco was produced as a narrative of evolutionary development from Native/savagery to Europe/civilized. By the same token, in Penn’s narrative, tobacco’s valorization is defined in opposition to its origins as once being a product consumed by only Native groups. Now as a product of wider consumption, tobacco is revered in its effects. Penn calls attention to the social hierarchy in European society, as tobacco is used by the masses, but likewise consumed by the intellectual elite. Brooks utilizes the Columbus “myth model” to hypothesize changes in means of consumption from Native groups to Europeans, by placing the transformation in the context of linear evolution. His logic calls on the animalistic characteristics associated with primitiveness; a perceived condition of society that has been defined in opposition to that of European modernity. Chewing tobacco is deemed animalistic by Brooks, but also, it is seen as a “natural” action associated to childlike behavior (Brooks 1952:19). Not only are the first consumers of tobacco deemed primitive, they are referred to as less psychologically advanced than adults in the European cultural setting. This infantilization is a common theme within processes of otherization of non-Western, non-

European peoples and cultures. Drawing from historical discourse, the history of tobacco was written as linear evolution from primitive to civilized. The passages from Billings, Penn, and Brooks are productions of historical discourse that have worked to define the history of tobacco as an object of knowledge.

In the production of the written history of tobacco, beginning with the time of Columbus, the chosen mode of representation has reflected aspects embedded within the primitive/civilized dichotomy. These features have manifested into the perpetuation of a narrative that positions Columbus as the “harbinger of civilization” in contrast to the dominated “other” (Obeyesekere 1992:11). The guiding principle of this representation has been the perceived superiority of Europe and the West, in relation to those that are deemed different, unfamiliar, non-European, or non-Western. From this history, Europeans who had access to these written narratives adopted this knowledge as truth, informing their perceptions of peoples and cultures in other parts of the world (Mancall 1994:659). The history of tobacco was produced in terms of broader historical discourse created from within a Eurocentered perspective. Understanding this process is relevant to examining tobacco in the Indonesian setting. Tobacco’s movement into Indonesia was facilitated through Dutch colonialism. This process was set in parallel to knowledge production around otherness as a point in which to shape social relations.

From Betel to Tobacco: The Multiple Meanings of Practice

The history of tobacco in Indonesia is a multilayered narrative of transformation, from small-scale local cultivation to intensive high yielding plantation production.

Initially, this shift in production was established under the rule of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC). Later, it was guided by a nationalized Dutch colonial system, eventually falling under the purview of private, mostly European (foreign) and Western companies⁶. Changes in tobacco's production unfolded over time through social, cultural, economic, and political upheaval stimulated by the fluctuating interests of the Dutch colonial entity. While these shifts were occurring in the Indonesian context, a view from above shows tobacco being anchored within the global economic nexus, setting the stage for intensive production and consumption: plans for large scale cultivation in North America were underway in the early 1600s, the same was occurring in South America and both were set to fruition nearly a decade later. By the 1650s it spanned the entire world (Goodman 1993 & 2005).

Colonialism is linked to the introduction of a tobacco economy in Indonesia, one that expanded the country's position within a global economic nexus.⁷ Within this nexus, each space of production bears a unique, yet interconnected point from which to examine the multidirectional impacts of the plant. It is at this point that lines can begin to be drawn and connected, from local to global events that facilitated broad sweeping and multilayered transformations. Colonialism as an event concretized within historical

⁶ Ownership was primarily dominated by European and Western companies, but there were very few Chinese owned entities that took part in the plantation economy. Those of Chinese ancestry also took on major roles in management of plantations (Robinson 2009:9; Fasseur 1992:168).

⁷ This global link was present during pre-colonial times at a local, small-scale level, as Indonesians had long spanning trade networks that linked the country within the broader global economy.

discourse offers a solid point of convergence in which to illuminate and reflect upon these transformations.

A critical facet of the political economy of tobacco is set within colonialism as a large-scale historical process juxtaposed to small-scale changes that were occurring at the level of daily and ritual practice (Ortner 1984:158). Drawing from Sherry Ortner, in using this particular lens two critical and wide-ranging questions arise: “1. How does the system shape practice? 2. How does practice shape the system?” (Ortner 1984:152-54). Colonialism shaped practices of Indonesian tobacco consumption in multiple ways. As a historical process, it likewise shaped the relationship between Indonesians and betel. The sections that follow engage practice as a means to delve into processes of Dutch colonialism. This approach helps to guide an exploration of the relationship between colonialism, tobacco, and its predecessor, betel. It also allows for the reverse; a look into how practice shaped the Dutch colonial system influencing such aspects as policy seen in the implementation of the Cultivation System from 1830 - 1870.

With betel, a semantic approach is useful to comprehend how it is linked to practice that spans the historical, cultural, social, political and economic realms of Indonesian life. The 17th and 18th centuries mark the rise of tobacco alongside other preexisting and established methods of altering the mind and body. From the onset of tobacco’s introduction to the country, Indonesians’ relationship to betel ebbed and flowed between harmony and dissonance. In the Indonesian setting, betel was consumed long before tobacco, deeply rooted in the social and cultural fabric of Indonesia. As a social and cultural practice, betel dates far back in the history of Southeast Asia. It was a

routine part of daily life in the 10th century, but its consumption in the region dates even further back to “prehistoric times” (Rooney 1993:20-21). Betel was to Indonesia as tobacco was to the Americas and coca to the Andean region (Allen 1988:36). Like tobacco and coca, its consumption was inspired by human interaction with the material world through a process of locating, in this case, a mixture of substances derived from the earth to enhance the human experience. Part of this enhancement is connected to health and well-being. It is shared knowledge that the various components of the betel quid have medicinal properties, again, akin to tobacco and coca.

The practice of chewing betel has been documented throughout the Indonesian country; a vast archipelago. Betel and areca, two primary ingredients to the betel quid are native to the region (Reid 1985:529; Rooney 1993:14). Betel derives from the “*Piper betle* pepper plant” and the leaf is used to encase the betel quid’s ingredients (Rooney 1993:24). Drawing from Dawn Rooney’s Betel Chewing Traditions in South East Asia in which she meticulously details the history, uses, and symbolisms of the quid, its English name is rightfully called out as a misnomer, “early Europeans called the custom ‘betel-nut chewing’. The term, though, is incorrect because an areca-nut, not a betel-nut is chewed. Although ‘betel-nut’ continued as an entry in many English language dictionaries until recently, nowadays the custom is defined correctly under ‘betel’” (Rooney 1993:12). The quid itself is comprised of three natural elements found in lime, the seed of the areca palm, and the fresh leaf of the betel vine, although other spices are added (Reid 1985:536; Rooney 1993:12). Additions to the quid are regionally specific, and as betel is consumed throughout the world, ingredients vary according to cultural

context and geographical location. In the Indonesian setting, lime and areca nut were inserted into the betel leaf and chewed multiple times per day in a variety of social interactions and settings.

While symbolism and meaning impregnated in the betel quid varied among regions in Indonesia, one could find similarities in the quid's role in daily and ritual practice. Offerings of betel were distributed amongst people to signify and facilitate particular social bonds. Betel was at the core of social interactions and ritual practices, "undoubtedly represent[ing] complementarity and balance, particularly as areca is seen as "hot"...and betel leaves are seen as "cool" (Reid 1985:531). Reid provides an example of its use during and after childbirth as betel and the quid's ingredients were used to "heat during pregnancy and cool after it" (Reid 1985:532). These complementary associations facilitated relations across class, gender, and sex. Betel secured social bonds, seen in its use in Timor between mother and future daughter-in-law (Reid 1985:532). In this interaction, "the groom's mother chews betel in the house with the bridal couple on their first night together," representing a newly formed familial unit (Reid 1985:532). Furthermore, during the Dutch colonial period, the chewing of betel crossed race and ethnicity, and many Europeans viewed it as beneficial to adopt the Indonesian practice.

The earliest account of betel chewing was written, according to Anthony Reid, in second century B.C. in reference to Vietnam (Reid 1985:530). Subsequent mention of the practice taking place in Indonesia, date to the T'ang period in China, between the sixth and ninth centuries (Reid 1985:530). In the 12th century, betel was described as an object of social performance (Reid 1985:530). "Men and women take areca-nut and

betel-leaf, and mix them with lime, made from clam shells; their mouths are never without this mixture...When they received passing guests, they entertain them, not with tea, but only with areca-nut” (Reid 1985:530). Men and women regularly consumed betel, as did children of a certain age. For children, being able to consume betel represented movement into adulthood linked to ritual practice (Ng et al. 2006:798)⁸. Aside from gender and generational differentiation, betel also carried sexual inferences. The nut was crucial in relations between women and men; it facilitated sexual intercourse and foreplay (Rooney 1993:33). Chewing the mixture helped to ease unpleasant odor emitted from the mouth, permitting close encounters. In thoughts of unions or pairs, betel symbolized “two perfectly matching halves” (Reid 1985:531). In the context of dualisms, the coming together of two pairs logically had its opposite. As a past practice, betel was, according to Rooney also, “...used to confirm the separation of two people...” (Rooney 1993:33). Its role in social intercourse and cultural practice was immense, but it was not limited to these particular spheres of social relations. Betel was also used as a marker of time and distance when in the process of travel (Allen 1988:131). Phrases such as, “about a betel chew” and “about three chews” were used to indicate the amount of time needed to get from one place to the next (Rooney 1993:12).

Undoubtedly, betel was of great importance to the diversity of groups that consumed it. The mixture had been part of the cultures of Indonesia as early as the sixth

⁸ It has been documented in present day, as having a role in some circumcision rituals in rural Java (Ng et al. 2006:798).

century. How then, does one account for Anthony Reid's declaration that, "Virtually everybody chewed betel in 1900, and virtually nobody did so in 1950" (Reid 1985:538)? Reid argues that a number of social, economic, political, and cultural factors contributed to the subsequent demise of betel as a deeply embedded cultural practice and tradition. These changes materialized differently depending upon the region and the impacts of colonialism in that specific area (Reid 1985:538). Some of these factors included the introduction of tobacco to Java, stigmatization by the Dutch colonialists within the context of modernization as betel fell out of favor among European males in the mid-18th century, and the introduction of *gambier* to the mixture replacing areca with tobacco (Reid 1985:537). Reid's statement is not entirely accurate that "nobody" chewed betel in 1950 (Rooney 1993:51). The male population in Indonesia was the first to shift away from betel consumption, in favor of tobacco. Yet women continued to chew betel and many can still be found in present-day (Rooney 1993:51). Likewise, as tobacco became commonly used, European women in Indonesia continued the practice of betel chewing as European men eventually shifted to tobacco, shunning the substance they once found beneficial to consume (Reid 1985:538).⁹

Interestingly, while betel chewing declined as a practice among males, there is evidence to support its continued use in the context of ritual practice and in conjunction with tobacco (Reid 1985:539). This has been recognized by Eric Crystal in a study

⁹ Reid notes that European men first consumed "Manila cigars" in the beginning of the 19th century, then transitioned to imported cigarettes in 1845 (Reid 1985:538).

conducted in the late 1960s in Toraja, a village in South Sulawesi, along the eastern archipelago (Crystal 1974). Crystal documents that after the group's "mid-day meal" they finished "with betel and cigarettes" (Crystal 1974). Toby Volkman's observations of "planting rituals" in Toraja shows that betel was used as a central offering, noting, "...we give the ancestors betel nut and bones" (Volkman 1978:3). Volkman also makes reference to a man's "betel pouch," a purse-like object that he wore over his shoulder (Volkman 1978:4). Similarly, Peter Goethals' research in a farming community in the western uplands of Sumbawa, an island located in the province of West Nusa Tenggara, mentions tobacco use in combination with betel "by older men and women as part of their betel chews" (Goethals 1975:136). The combined use of betel and tobacco was described by Goethals in the context of a social gathering where "...men and women...share[d] their tobacco or betel, and volunteer[ed] their assistance with one another's unfinished tasks..." (Goethals 1975:152). Betel and tobacco were viewed as complementary to one another, used simultaneously in a variety of social interactions.

While this continued use does not dispel Reid's notions of an overall decline in betel, it illuminates differences that manifested between rural areas like Toraja, Sumbawa, and urban centers, such as those in highly populated Java, an area that during the times of colonialism had the greatest Dutch presence in comparison to other regions in Indonesia (Reid 1985:538). Not only does this raise questions about variations in betel consumption among men and women in rural and urban areas, it also highlights a continued relationship between men and betel, in the specific context of ritual practice and in combination with tobacco after 1950. Indonesian male's sole consumption of the

betel quid did recede yet betel's role as a wide-spanning cultural symbol and object remained dynamic, transforming over time. The shift from betel to tobacco did not occur overnight. It was a long process linked to transformations in the colonial economy and modes of production of tobacco, in combination with changes in the sociocultural and political structures in Indonesia.

The Rise of Tobacco: Leaving Betel Behind

“In the same year [as King Senopati's death] was the first tobacco; when it had appeared was the beginning of people smoking, and ‘two fires fell upon the earth’ (Reid 1985: 535).

The time of King Senopati's death was 1601. This date marks the appearance of tobacco in Indonesian historical discourse, specifically in Central Java (Reid 1985:535). After Senopati's demise, his great-grandson Amangkurat I took the throne, maintaining the connection to tobacco by incorporating it within the royal aesthetic. According to Anthony Reid, Amangkurat I was known to travel with a female entourage, all of whom were assigned designated roles in relation to tobacco and betel. “There was one to carry his pipe and tobacco and another to carry the fire to light it. Yet another carried his betel set” (Reid 1985:535). In the court of Amangkurat I women played a performative role in producing the aesthetics of power that supported his position as sultan (Andaya 2008:22). These aesthetics communicated complex symbolic meanings linked to the royal court's history and cultural influence. Some of this meaning expressed the societal hierarchy that positioned the sultan as one to be revered. As part of this royal imagery, tobacco represented a product of consumption out of reach of the rest of society. From here, in a

place so inaccessible, how did the plant spread across class hierarchies? It occurred with relative speed and in a top-down manner.

The sultan ruled from 1646 - 1677 and little more than ten years after assuming his position as successor, the emergence of tobacco consumption was documented outside of the realm of the royal court (Reid 1985:536; Hanusz 2000:10). As tobacco was transmitted across class, differences manifested in methods of consumption. Those in the royal court practiced smoking tobacco by means of a pipe. In contrast, the vessel used to consume tobacco by those excluded from the royal court took on a different form. Reid notes that the year 1658 marked the emergence of the “*bungkus* (lit. bundle),” tobacco shredded and encased in “a dried leaf of maize or banana” (Reid 1985:536). From this time forth, the *bungkus* was regularly smoked throughout Java. With relative accuracy, it can be deduced that the royal mode of representation was a factor in garnering interest in consuming tobacco. Through its consumption, those within the lower echelons of society could be linked to a practice associated with the royal court. Once it was consumed, tobacco quickly became an important aspect of Indonesian life.

As tobacco was incorporated into the Indonesian cultural landscape, it became connected to the practice of betel consumption. At the beginning of tobacco’s presence, it was consumed separately, seen in its use by sultan Amangkurat I, who preferred his betel and tobacco carried, each in its own container (Reid 1985:535). Reid explains that “guests at royal banquets appeared to have been offered the choice of smoking or chewing betel after the meal” (Reid 1985:535). Physiological effects of each substance were somewhat similar and both were offered within the same social contexts.

Therefore, it is not incorrect to assume that during this period in the mid-17th century, the practice of mixing betel and tobacco took hold (Reid 1985:535; Hanusz 2000:23). Due to their similarities and compatibility in the context of consumption, tobacco and betel were complementary commodities.

The ease with which tobacco could be cultivated accounts for Reid's proclamation that by the 18th century, it was grown by small-scale farmers throughout the region (Reid 1985:536). Cultivated and consumed by the Javanese, tobacco became part of daily practice alongside betel, but in divergent ways. Looking at the manner in which tobacco penetrated Indonesia through the elite class, how did it become more popular than its predecessor betel? How did class relations affect the shift from betel, to the mixing of the two substances, to a widespread preference for tobacco? Sydney Mintz's Sweetness and Power examines how commodities are produced within historical process and is a reminder of how history, as process, can be extracted from the exploration of a single commodity. In Mintz's examination of the relationship between sugar and power, he coins the terms "intensification" and "extensification" to refer to the processes that define sugar as meaningful in contrast to "something ordinary" (Mintz 1985:173). Intensification was a down and outward moving process in which the elite exercised class power by simply having the "ability" to access sugar (Mintz 1985:173). In contrast, "extensification" was the process by which increasing masses of people had gained access to a commodity, deeming it less special and more accessible (Mintz 1985:173). In the course of expansion, meanings and symbolisms attributed to the commodity also changed.

In Indonesia, the practice of smoking tobacco originated in the royal court among the elites in Java and useful comparisons with Mintz's model can be made. Interestingly, Mintz's dynamic of "intensification and extensification" illuminates the differences between betel and tobacco, in the way that each was assigned meaning and symbolism within Indonesian culture. Betel held rich symbolism and meaning that supported social structure, ritual, and ceremonial practice across classes. One would assume that if tobacco took the place of betel, it too would acquire some of the cultural meanings assigned to the quid. This assumption proved far from true. Tobacco did indeed gain more popularity than betel, but it did not fully occupy what Rooney refers to as the four levels of use or meaning that betel did - "food, medicine, magical, and symbolic" (Rooney 1993:12).

Tobacco was first introduced to the royal courts in Java. During this period of intensification, it was coveted by the sultan and the royal court as an object representative of "economic ability" (Mintz 1985:173). For Mintz, when looking at sugar, "economic ability" was juxtaposed to "status right" with the former being more important in the context of access (Mintz 1985:173). In the Indonesian setting, "economic ability" combined the notion of wealth and class as a means to access tobacco. At the onset of tobacco's presence in the country, it was ultimately "class ability," a privilege solely afforded to those within the royal court that gave them access to its consumption (Mintz 1985:173). Although, there was conflict in the early period of colonization between the sultan and the Dutch, tobacco was a crucial part of the sultan's royal aesthetic. It represented access to external powers like the Dutch that peasants did not have. Hence,

“class ability” represented a particular relationship to the Dutch colonialists based on class (Mintz 1985:173). The royal court was central to the colonial strategy of gaining control, whereas the merchant class and peasantry were those masses the Dutch were intent on exploiting. It was only through the royal court that indirect rule could occur.

The ability to access tobacco was once only a privilege of the elite. Yet, like tobacco, betel did not experience intensification. However, some traces of intensification are revealed in the objects used to store and transport betel. Among the elite, betel was carried in elaborate containers of “silver, metal, and porcelain,” materials that were not accessible to the lower classes (Rooney 1993:43). Costs of these materials proved exorbitant to those that did not have certain levels of wealth. These containers became markers of “class ability,” a way to distinguish one group from another in the practice of betel consumption (Mintz 1985:173). An interesting example, stemming from another betel consuming culture comes from Thailand. Although a different cultural context and class structure, those deemed to be in the upper class were known to apply ointment “to their lips and nostrils” prior to chewing betel (Rooney 1993:44). As part of intensification, this substance became the point by which to separate and decipher “class ability” (Mintz 1985:173). The ointment was solely associated with noblemen and in a similar manner to the Indonesian context, betel consumed by those within the upper class was carried in decorative luxury containers (Rooney 1993:44).

However differentiation between tobacco and betel manifested, it is safe to assume that the decline in popularity of betel was set within multiple processes occurring over time and space. Drawing from Richard Robison’s Indonesia: The Rise of Capital,

the 17th and 18th centuries were marked by economic processes set forth by the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) and the expansion of Dutch influence by means of “tightening controls of trade monopoly and forced delivery of crops” (Robison 2009:9). The period, roughly between 1800 - 1870, was marked by the nationalization of the VOC by the Netherlands, or in other words “the Dutch State,” and the implementation of policy and practices that set the stage for the creation of a plantation economy that was part of the growth of a full-scale capitalist mode of production in Indonesia (Robison 2009:9). Privatization was key to the plantation economy, giving way to the diversification of ownership that facilitated the movement of corporate entities into the country. These entities were comprised of “Dutch, British, American estate corporations and associated trade and banking institutions,” including the development of a “Chinese merchant bourgeoisie,” which had a role in the management of the plantation sector (Robison 2009:10). Linking these economic processes to the relationship between betel and tobacco over the course of three centuries of Dutch rule illuminates tobacco’s position as one of the leading producers of capital. Consequently, its place within Indonesian life was inextricably linked to the colonial economy. Betel was not. In ways that were directly and indirectly connected to the colonial system, the practice of betel chewing overwhelming declined.

By 1870, the Dutch Cultivation System, a policy of forced planting was abolished; restrictions on small-scale tobacco production were lifted; and small holder tobacco producers were able to gain a minute share of the local tobacco market, while being supervised by the colonial government. The impacts of this system were so far-

reaching and instrumental in explaining the trajectory of tobacco in Indonesia, that the next section is dedicated to a more extensive discussion of the Cultivation System. Here, it is important to state that the policy's abolishment was favored by the colonial government, which sought to privatize and codify new land laws that supported corporate, foreign-owned plantations. In multiple ways abandoning the Cultivation System benefited the colonial government, giving way to the accumulation of greater profits and increased control. Facilitated by the eradication of the Cultivation System, the Indonesian tobacco market opened up allowing for the local population to have increased access to tobacco, thus accounting for its rise in popularity, which would eventually, exceed that of betel (Mintz 1985:148; Reid 1985:535).

The opening up of the Indonesian tobacco market had simultaneous and unforeseen impacts. It supported the growth of a cottage industry driven by Chinese and Indonesian entrepreneurs, yet it also created a fertile environment where local consumption could flourish. In support of this view, Peter Boomgaard points out that one of the effects of the Cultivation System was that it culminated in all Indonesians being intimately familiar with tobacco (Boomgaard 1999:58). Under this forced system, the threat of taxation and the steady tax increases of the colonial government ensured that most available land included a designated parcel for tobacco (Boomgaard 1999:58). This familiarity, coupled with the addictive properties of the plant and its place within the sociocultural realms of Indonesian life, helps to explain tobacco's trajectory up to its present-day status as a facilitator of a global health epidemic and product of exploitation for multinational corporations.

One could view the end of the Cultivation System in 1870 as the beginning of “mass consumption” or, at the very least, it created the conditions necessary to begin to situate tobacco as “a virtual necessity” (Mintz 1985:148). Mass consumption is connected to mass accessibility. The Cultivation System ensured that as a society, most Indonesians were familiar with the commodity, either through various forms of consumption or production. While Peter Boomgaard is explicitly interested in the comparative development of small holder tobacco operations in the lowlands and highlands of Indonesia, his explanation paints a picture of how the industry began to secure its roots and meet the demands of mass consumption.

Non-governmental tobacco production, supervised by European entrepreneurs under various contractual relations started in Java between 1855-1865 producing the still well-known trade names...the first shipments of tobacco for the European market appeared in the late 1840s, but it was not until the early 1860s that production took off. Around 1855 Europeans started to invest in tobacco... (Boomgaard 1999:58).

Only one of the known trade names was able to succeed, but this marked the beginning of a long-lasting tobacco industry fueled by foreign capital. Boomgaard states that tobacco production in Java increased during the 20th century through small and large tobacco enterprises (Boomgaard 1999:58). Looking back to Mintz, he attributed decreases in the price of sugar during the 1800s to a vast increase in consumption. During that time the popularity of sugar was secured. Those who had not had prior access could then purchase the commodity because of its low price, even if there were gaps in access. Applying this same logic to tobacco, prices dropped in the 1860s and again in the 1870s (Bosma & Raben 2008:123). This would have opened up access to tobacco in Indonesia. During this period, Taylor notes that in the area of Lubuan, there was an active push by

the ruling sultan to increase tobacco harvests, showing that tobacco was continuing to be spread throughout Indonesia, perpetuating the relationship between Indonesians and the substance (Taylor 2003:263). Combined with tobacco's addictive properties, it is likely that these conditions cemented securely the relationship between consumer and tobacco. While Indonesians did not gain caloric benefits from tobacco, they did experience desirable physiological effects similar to those of betel - heightened awareness, calming effects, suppression of appetite. Over the next fifty years or so, in combination with the stigmatization of betel consumption by the Dutch, tobacco emerged as one of the most important and highly consumed substances in Indonesia.

Chapter 2. Dutch Cultivation System: The Beginnings of a Plantation Economy

Addressing why particular areas of the world succumbed to colonial domination and others did not is never a straightforward process. Java is an island located off the Southern coast of the expansive Indonesian archipelago. The Dutch designated this region as the center of the VOC's operations, although some areas did remain strongholds of resistance to the colonial regime (Fasseur 1992:27). Part of the strategy was to capitalize on the island's location, an area that allowed for maximum exploitation through maritime access, and subsequently, facilitated ease of global trade. Securing an ideal location from which to rule was a calculated move that ultimately worked in favor of the Dutch.

Just as geography played a critical role in facilitating colonial control, the infiltration of class hierarchies, specifically by way of the ruling elite, offered the Dutch introduction into Indonesian society. Tactically maneuvering to tap into the existing power structure and indirectly rule through its influence was a common colonial strategy, exhibited by myriad colonial entities (Bloembergen 2006:30). In Java, the Dutch adhered to this strategy by forging relationships with the ruling sultan to secure control over the population and eventually rule through the royal class. By penetrating the upper echelons

of society, essentially those with control over wealth and resources in Java, the Dutch initiated a process of domination. The seeds of this domination were dispersed across a range of landscapes proving effective in facilitating control and building infrastructure that mutually reflected immediate and long-term colonial interests.

For the Dutch, the creation and implementation of policy proved to be a complex process of action and reaction. At times, it was influenced by a strategy that sought to control and manipulate social, economic and/or political processes see in, for example, the formation of a policy of forced cultivation. At other times, Dutch policy evolved out of a desire to alter preexisting practices or traditions, either implicitly or explicitly. Dutch colonial policy played an important role in the decreasing in betel consumption. Likewise, Dutch colonial policy influenced directly the intensification of tobacco consumption in the country.

One of the most influential policies responsible for introducing and intensifying the plantation economy in the Java region was the Cultivation System. This series of agricultural, land, and labor mandates was enacted mostly within Java and some areas that fell under direct control of the Dutch (Fasseur 1992:27). The policy lasted from 1830 to roughly 1870, placing directives on the local peasantry that instituted forced labor and compulsory planting. Faced with a failing economy in the Netherlands, the Cultivation System forced the growing of profitable crops like “coffee, cane sugar, and indigo” (Fasseur 1992:26). Coffee proved to be the most successful and at different points throughout the policy’s duration, other crops such as “tea, tobacco, pepper,

cinchona, cinnamon, cotton, silk, cocheneale...” were integrated (Geertz 1963:120-21).

Cornelius Fasseur explains that the policy,

...could be described as that form of agricultural-industrial exploitation of Java in which the government used its authority and influence to form the peasantry to grow tropical export products in return for payments that were unilaterally fixed and low; these products subsequently were sold for the benefit of the treasury (Fasseur 1992:27).

Intensive mass production was inspired by the desire to compete within the global market, specifically that which was occurring in the Americas, where slavery was the mode of labor acquisition (Van Niel 1992:8). The goals of the policy were clear. Java was to be used as fertile ground to create profits, benefitting the colonial government and their home country, the Netherlands. Forced cultivation of specific crops hindered the planting of traditional crops like rice, critical to the basic sustenance of the people (Fasseur 1992:27). The Dutch colonial government attempted to work within the context of *adat* law - customary laws and practices defined by local knowledge. Village leaders were responsible for overseeing land reorganization and distribution, to meet the stringent requirements of the system (Fasseur 1992:27). Furthermore, the pre-existing land tax structure that forced Javanese to compensate the colonial government for use of their own land was still in operation and being collected in some areas, depending upon the success of that year's crops¹⁰ (Van Niel 1992:17). The initial attraction of the Cultivation System

¹⁰ According to Van Niel, this is a highly debated aspect of the policy. In some areas, taxes were thought to be collected on top of the required amount of crops, whereas in other regions it was not. In practice, the collection of “landrent” tax varied as did how the policy was followed and enforced region by region (Van Niel 1993:).

was that it could be implemented via the existing “landrent” structure (Van Niel 1992:20). What this implies is that some villages faced a dual collection of land tax and crops to meet the requirements of the policy. If crop cultivation met the goals, then landrent did not have to be paid, but if faced with an unsuccessful harvest, the village was responsible for making up the difference, placing enormous pressures on people who were often struggling to subsist (Van Niel 1992:20).

Aside from the obvious socioeconomic effects of forced cultivation, there were environmental impacts because of the intensity with which crops were grown and harvested. The Cultivation System varied in its impacts, depending upon the region. Fasseur remarks that environmental consequences could be seen in a combination of soil depletion, clear-cutting of trees, and a lack of available water to fuel the intense system (Fasseur 1992:27). Concurrently, these same factors can be linked to the policy’s instability, which ultimately culminated in “1840 when devastating crop failures caused widespread famine, epidemics and death” (Gouda 2008:47). Colonial mismanagement brought about scarcity and starvation. In combination with droughts and floods in two separate periods, in the 1840s and 1850s, the situation in Java became dire (Boomgaard 2001:93). By introducing a plantation economy, the Dutch set in motion a downward spiral that established high rice prices and decreased production of food crops.

In Indonesia, the Cultivation System and its focus on the production of cash crops put into motion processes that altered the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics of colonial society. How did the shift from the production of cash crops to food crops transpire? What were the mechanisms used by the colonial government to

ensure that the peasantry adhered to demands introduced by the Cultivation System? Drawing on Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins's "Why Can't People Feed Themselves," colonial entities employed two common strategies that led to the conditions described above in Java (Lappé & Collins 1978:40). The first entailed shifting production from food crops to cash crops.

The first strategy was to use physical or economic force to get the local population to grow cash crops instead of food on their own plots and then turn them over to the colonizer for export. The second strategy was the direct takeover of the land by large-scale plantations growing crops for export (Lappé & Collins 1978:40).

To implement these strategies, the Dutch employed multiple forms of violence and economic mechanisms of control such as forced labor, land rent, taxes, and land appropriation (Lappé & Collins 1978:40; Stoler 2002:30). Prior to the implementation of the Cultivation System, the colonial regime had made previous advancements in controlling land through complex taxation structures. Under this new regime, the use and threat of physical violence and economic force was instituted within daily practice as a means of enforcement. This was true during the times of the Cultivation System and also later in the context of private plantations. Under the Cultivation System, violence was more of a threat, materializing into physical force as the conditions of production became more stringent, controlled, and situated within one space – the plantation. Adrian Vickers recalls the constant threat of violence used to gain access to and maintain participation by labor forces on tobacco and rubber plantations, "Coolies from China, India, and later Java, who were imported in the tens of thousands, were controlled by regular floggings and a regime that resulted in high death rates" (Vickers 2005:19). Violence was

institutionalized within the plantation structure, Vickers cites a quote from a management manual stating that successful managers, "...will be useless...if [they]...[do]...not know how to exact obedience" (Vickers 2005:19). The colonial regime's propensity toward violence intensified under the plantation system as did relations between laborers.

Violence took multiple forms and was expressed heterogeneously, influenced by the tightly regulated mode of production and conditions of labor perpetuated in the plantation setting. Ann Stoler's Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate In Colonial Rule also illuminates violence between laborers over sexual access to women (Stoler 2002:30). Men were the primary actors in the direct production of cash crops, while women occupied more private spheres as concubines, providing sexual and domestic services for laborers and managers at the facilities (Stoler 1995:30). Plantations were patriarchal institutions that mutually exploited male and female labor. Stoler characterizes life on the plantation as regulated through a form of "social violence" that altered "sexual, familial, and labour relations, where possible, around imperatives of expansion" (Stoler 1995:44). While physical violence was used as a strategy to maintain labor participation, it also appeared as a tactic to evade and resist the daily exploitation of plantation life. As Pierre Bourdieu and Ann Stoler have shown, violence pervaded symbolic, social and economic domains of plantation life (Bourdieu 1977:191-92; Stoler 1995:44). Plantation workers of all genders and similarly, managers (European and non-European), were subjected to multiple forms of violence in daily life.

The Cultivation System was, in effect, a policy that facilitated a state-run monopoly that led toward full-scale privatization and liberalization of the economy.

Along this path, the appropriation of land was a long-lingering aspiration of the colonial regime constituting Lappé and Collin's second colonial strategy, the shift from food crops to cash crops (Lappé & Collins 1978:40). The economic policy driven by what Clifford Geertz refers to as "administrative capitalism," the Dutch "regulated selling prices and wages, controlled output, and even dictated the processes of production" (Geertz 1963:118). Through the latter, access to large quantities of land for plantation operations were obtained (Geertz 1963:118). In taking control of land, taxation was a major factor in gaining labor participation. Through these processes, populations were displaced, exemplifying control through "economic force" (Lappé & Collins 1978:40). Javanese were manipulated into giving up their land and participating in plantation labor through taxation (Geertz 1963:118). This process entailed an offer to decrease land tax by either giving up a portion of one's land to cultivate cash crops or working on a plantation for 66 days out of the year (Geertz 1963:119). The extensive taxation structures introduced by the Dutch offered little choice for how people's land or bodies would be used in the context of labor. Through the exertion of physical and other forms of violence, economic force, and strategies of land appropriation, the Dutch forever altered the relationship between Indonesia and commodity production at a global level.

Forced Cultivation to Large-Scale Plantations: The Intensive Production of

Tobacco

"...a former kontroleur from Rembang...published an 1857 letter from the regent of Bojonegoro, which he had in his possession. In that letter, addressed to a district chief,

the latter was instructed to make it clear to the people, ‘with a little coercion,’ that it was in their own interest to cultivate private tobacco” (Fasseur 1992:184).

The intensive production of tobacco, along with other crops such as sugar, indigo, coffee and rubber, caused great stress on the Indonesian population. Tobacco production was mandated as part of the Cultivation System in 1843. On a small-scale, private tobacco production for export to Europe emerged shortly after in 1855 (Fasseur 1992:178). Once tobacco expanded beyond small-scale production, it proved to be a burdensome crop to cultivate (Fasseur 1992:178). The labor intensity it required meant that, “...crop payments were too low to be a reasonable compensation for the labor performed” (Fasseur 1992:178). Consequently, the emergence of a private industry offered the possibility of larger compensation to laborers to cultivate tobacco at a more reasonable scale than what the Cultivation System demanded (Fasseur 1992:178). Despite the colonial regime’s reactive attempts to halt the relationship between private tobacco producers and local villages, it continued. This persistent affiliation, raises the question as to what motivated local villages to participate in the private tobacco industry, prior to the establishment of plantation production? According to Fasseur, it was a combination of immediate payments and coercion (Fasseur 1992:184).

The quote that opens this section reflects a communication between an agent of the colonial regime and a village head responsible for the production output of his people. The letter alleges that coercion was utilized as a tactic to gain labor participation in the private sector of tobacco production. Under a system of forced cultivation tobacco planters were yet again forced into participating in the private sector. Coercion was not

only a tactic used to manipulate the mode of production within the village; it also shaped social dynamics between the colonial regime and village heads. In the context of forced production of cash crops, village heads had little to no say in demands made of their people.

The letter establishes a common denominator in the relationship between peasant, (and later coolie laborers), the colonial regime, and its association with the later emergence of foreign investors. Much remains unsaid in the statement, “with a little coercion” (Fasseur 1992:184). Nevertheless, what is clear is the long history of relations and shared economic interests between the colonial government and foreign investors in the Indonesian context. It was this relationship that gave momentum to the shift from a state-monopolistic, forced cultivation policy to a private, corporate plantation structure and the further intensification of tobacco production for export in Indonesia.

Prior to 1843, tobacco was integrated into the local economy. Compulsory planting had a major impact on tobacco production in the region. Recalling Peter Boomgaard, it was this forced relationship that supported the foundation of the present-day tobacco economy in Indonesia (Boomgaard 1999:58). It also secured an intricate and deeply embedded connection between Indonesians and the practice of consuming tobacco. Incorporation of tobacco into the Cultivation System sparked divergent and unforeseen paths in all realms of social, cultural, economic, and political life. Agriculturally, tobacco was well adapted to the climate conditions in Indonesia. On a small-scale, the plant thrived. Over time, communities developed specialized knowledge that allowed tobacco to be cultivated with other food crops, ensuring that its production

was sustainable (Taylor 2003:263). Small-scale production proved successful for peasant farmers. Similarly, merchants were able to profit in the context of the local market and through regional trade. By the 18th century, the cultivation of tobacco was integral to local production, as was rice, both for personal consumption and as commodities. Anthony Reid remarks, “there [was] virtually no inhabited area of the Netherlands Indies...where more or less tobacco is not cultivated by the native populations for their own use or for the native market” (Reid 1985:536). In short, tobacco was being produced and consumed at levels that met local demand. Once the Dutch took control of tobacco production in the region and gained hold of large parcels of land, the shift from small to large-scale production resulted in multiple changes: there were transformations in the modes of production of tobacco, social relations shifted between the Dutch, Indonesians and new populations of migrant laborers; and as explored in the section titled, “The Rise of Tobacco: Leaving Betel Behind” changes occurred in the daily practice of betel chewing and later tobacco consumption.

Administrative capitalism created an oppressive environment that relied upon intensive production of the plant, in place of traditionally cultivated food crops (Geertz 1963:118). A fervent demand for tobacco in the Netherlands increased exponentially from the 17th century, where the “widespread use of tobacco by all social classes...” was noted (Goodman 1993:60). Goodman found that “tobacco was being mass-consumed in Holland and possibly even earlier than in England” (Goodman 1993:60). While the desire to be competitive within the global market was at the core of the Cultivation System, the presence of a strong pool of tobacco consumers in the Netherlands influenced

the movement from a state-run monopoly to privatization of tobacco and other cash crop plantations, after 1870. The potential of a booming export market so closely linked to the colony caught the attention of foreign investors.

Tobacco was the first, but not the most successful cash crop for export to be cultivated in plantations (Taylor 2003:262; Fasseur 1992:27). Periodic rotation of plantation production was necessary due to soil depletion that occurred when tobacco was cultivated as a single crop (Taylor 2003:262). Often, this undertaking disrupted the cultivation of food crops. People were displaced and unable to stay in one location long enough to yield a successful harvest (Taylor 2003:264). The intensive production and scale that tobacco plantations required resulted in the proletarianization of the mass labor force and restrictions on the local population's relationship to tobacco through mandates on who could sell the commodity.

All of these factors contributed to the Cultivation System and its trajectory toward the creation of a privatized corporate plantation economy. Within this process, two important transformations were occurring, both of which had major sociocultural, political and economic implications for the future. First, the VOC's cultivation policy depended upon the forced labor of peasants, taking people away from their previous livelihoods. This mandate situated the peasantry in a position, defined by J.I. Bakker, as "immobile" (Bakker 1995:284). The relevance of this immobility is seen in the transition to a plantation economy, where the labor force became inextricably linked to the site of production, where workers were housed or were located very near. Rendering labor "immobile" was a practice, according to Bakker, that the colonial regime was

“particularly successful [at] during the cultivation system in Java” (Bakker 1995:284). It was also a necessary step toward developing a full-scale plantation economy. Eric Wolf best explains the structure of a plantation, “...defined formally as a capital using unit employing a large labor force under close managerial supervision to produce a crop for sale” (Wolf 2010:315). Under the plantation system, human dimensions of labor manifested as slavery and exploitation due to the strict rules and “military-like” supervision that this form of production required (Wolf 2010:315).

The second transformation was predicated upon creating a mass labor force, an effort that resulted in an influx of racial, ethnic, and culturally diverse laborers. This so-called “coolie” labor constituted a racialized labor force that was seemingly unskilled and derived specifically from the Asia region (Yu 2008:7; Bragard 2008:38)¹¹. In the Indonesian plantation setting, most of the workers hailed from China, Southern India, and parts of Indonesia itself, were characterized as a site of coolie history. Indonesian tobacco plantations are thus a complex historical site where processes of domination, acquiescence, and resistance to exploitation occurred. As tobacco and rubber plantations emerged in Sumatra and Bali, this particular form of labor was central to the production of cash crops for export. Specifically, in North Sumatra, along what was known as the “plantation belt,” this area became a multinational site with a variety of European owners of plantations (Stoler 2002:26). This multinational array of capital operated for a long

¹¹ The use of “coolie” reflects specific historical and sociocultural meanings that have manifested over time in relation to people deriving from Asia, primarily China and India. In present day, for some populations of people, the term represents an insult with racial connotations (Bragard 2008:39).

period of time without interference from the colonial regime in terms of “labor conditions and labor relations” (Stoler 2002:26). Stoler argues that plantations in this region have been characterized as places of overt and harsh discrimination in relation to the rest of the country (Stoler 2002:26). These same plantations housed a large percentage of coolie laborers predominately bound to the operation by contract labor.

Conditions of coolie labor were defined and confined by means of a contract. These agreements, as elucidated by Lisa Yu, were “exacerbating the conditions of exploitation, given the hyperdisposability and circularity of contract labor, conditions of language and the perverse situation of racialized contract laborers dependent upon contracts” (Yu 2008:117). Within the plantation setting, upholding the conditions of contracts was at the whim of managers, and more broadly, the owners of production. Here, coercion reappears as a common theme within the interaction between laborers and those that dictated the conditions of their labor. Contracts facilitated this coercion, further limiting autonomy and acting as a form of social control that sought domain over the lives of newly arrived ethnic and racial groups.

The strengthening of the plantation system and the increase in its production and labor force resulted in a rise in racial, ethnic and religious diversity within colonial Indonesia, an already heterogeneous country¹². Marieke Bloembergen traces this

¹² Prior to this surge in heterogeneity, the establishment of Chinese communities within Indonesia has been documented as early as the 11th century. Chinese history within Indonesia is a complex narrative of a group situated within the margins of society as minorities. Over time and space, many ethnic Chinese have maintained a connection to their Chinese roots, creating new identities bound within the category of

expansion of diversity remarking, “In 1848, dualism was enshrined in legislation for the first time...in racial terms” (Bloembergen 2006:45). Although, conceptualizations of race had played a central role in constructing relations between the Dutch and Indonesians, the increasing heterogeneity of Indonesian society challenged Dutch authority. The challenge was to articulate conceptualizations of difference in relation to what was upheld as the dominant norm – white, male, Christian, Dutch colonialists. In other words, it facilitated new processes of social constructions of race and ethnicity as a common identifier within colonial society. The official codification of racial classifications was instilled within the colonial system through dualistic language such as “Europeans and persons regarded as equivalent to them,” in contrast to “natives,” and “Foreign Orientals” (Bloembergen 2006:45). Categories of difference were also linked to religious identity. Bloembergen explains that through this intersection, the relation between “us” and “them” was evaluated in connection to Christianity (Bloembergen 2006:45). In the process of “figuring out” where people resided in categories of race, ethnicity, and religion, the colonial regime institutionalized these categories establishing the parameters for further inequality within the colonial system.¹³

Chinese-Indonesian. Conversely, Chinese held jobs as managers and laborers within the plantation system. As followed, once the Dutch opened up access to tobacco, Chinese entrepreneurs had a hand in building the tobacco economy as owners of production.

¹³ Increasing diversity that evolved from the offspring of different racial and ethnic classifications of people further complicated colonial taxonomies setting forth the creation of more socially constructed

To conclude, over the course of 40 years, the consequences of forced cultivation were broad. For the Dutch, the policy exceeded profit expectations benefitting the Netherlands, moving the country away from the brink of economic collapse (Gouda 2008:47). The Dutch government was reliant upon profits created from within Indonesia, as it accounted for 19 per cent to 31 per cent of the country's revenue between 1830 - 1880 (Gouda 2008:47). During the latter years, nearing the end of a formal Cultivation System, the number dropped to an estimated 13 per cent (Gouda 2008:47). Rewards for the Dutch were gained through the exploitation of the Javanese peasantry, who were driven to a point where cultivation of basic food crops proved challenging. After 1870 a shift in those "responsible for making the system work" moved away from the government and into a process of privatization that involved the centralization of the modes of production necessary to the formation of an intensive plantation economy (Wolf 2010:335). For Wolf, this period marks, "the worldwide fall of the planter class" and the beginnings of multinational corporate movement into the country, fueled at the time by early conceptions of capitalist expansion (Wolf 2010:335).

In order for the Dutch to institute a policy so reliant upon the intensification of agricultural production, investments had to be made to improve upon "irrigation and transportation networks" in Java (Gouda 2008:47; Van Niel 1992:79). Many of these investments mirrored that which was occurring in the Netherlands funded by profits

labels and identities. These multiracial and multicultural individuals have a complex history within the Indonesian setting (e.g. Stoler 2002 & 1989; Gouda 2008; Bloembergen 2006).

created by the Cultivation System. While some of these infrastructural improvements were beneficial to developments in the trajectory of the Indonesian agricultural sector, it was clearly not a priority of the colonial government, nor was it an intended result. Contradictions like these illuminate the unpredictability inherent in the colonial system. Intentions behind the Cultivation System and its ensuing effects have defined it as one of the most blatant displays of “systematic exploitation” during the times of Dutch colonial Indonesia (Gouda 2008:47). This exploitation continued to be perpetuated after the eradication of the Cultivation System through the implementation of new policy and practice linked to the movement toward intensifying the plantation economic sector. It was through this channel that the Agrarian Land Law of 1870 was instituted, deeming all “uncultivated land...waste land-property of the state” (Lappé & Collins 1978:41). By using the language of “waste land,” property was appropriated by the government and sold to foreign investors (Lappé & Collins 1978:40).

Chapter 3. It is All in a Name: The Politics of *Cultuurstelsel*

The politics of naming is an area of scholarly discourse that has received considerable attention for its symbolic associations to domination and ownership, much of which occurred in the context of European “discovery.” With this in mind, the title of the policy itself – Cultivation System – provides a point of entry from which to examine the varied cultural meanings of the policy. “Naming as a form of possession” was a process carried out by colonialists as they interacted with difference in landscapes, resources, and peoples (Taylor 2009:147). Under Dutch rule this “form of possession” is seen in the naming of *Batavia*, given to present-day Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia (Taylor 2009:147). When the Dutch took control of the city, the name *Batavia* represented Dutch heritage and Germanic roots, while simultaneously signifying assuming control and ownership of Indonesian land, people, and resources (Taylor 2009:147). The naming of place as a framework can be used to explore the naming of policy in the context of Dutch colonialism.

In exploring naming during the course of colonial rule, one is confronted with complexities, resulting from misleading and/or inaccurate translations from Dutch or

Indonesian to English (Van Niel 1992:6)¹⁴. The act of naming and translation is inherently political and represents specific power relations. It cannot be separated from the time and space in which either process transpires. Translation can prove problematic because it is this form of knowledge production that represents dominant narratives about the sociocultural, economic, and political relations between colonizers and colonized. Drawing from Tejaswini Niranjana, “Translation thus produces strategies of containment. By employing certain modes of representing the other - which it thereby also brings into being – translation reinforces hegemonic versions of the colonized...” (Niranjana 1992:3). Contextualizing Niranjana’s “strategies of containment” within the creation and dissemination of the term Cultivation System, one finds that the term has shaped and formed particular narratives that represent those who participated in the system, irrespective of force or coercion (Niranjana 1992:3). In the context of the sociocultural, economic, and political relations between Indonesians and the Dutch, the English translation “Cultivation System” is misleading. Not only does the name not represent the complexity of meaning embedded within the original Dutch term *cultuurstelsel*, Fasseur

¹⁴ The politics of translation are interconnected to the process of knowledge production. There are particular power dynamics at play in the translation to English including who is doing the translating and from what social, cultural, economic and political context they derive. Positioning is critical to take into account in the act of translating. Robert Van Niel points out that historical information about the Cultivation System has been highly misinterpreted, specifically on the topic of landrent. This misinterpreted information has been utilized as accurate source material for scholars producing knowledge in the English language (Van Niel 1992:6).

and Van Niel illustrate that, in effect, the Cultivation System did not constitute a system (Fasseur 1992:26; Van Niel 1992:97). Instead, in practice it operated as an inconsistent policy and, more accurately, should be viewed as “a series of local, interlocking arrangements that varied among villages” (Van Niel 1992:93). Each arrangement was different, unstable, and changed according to the capacity of people and resources within the village. Aside from this irregularity, the policy did not operate with a set of organized “laws and regulations” (Van Niel 1992:97; Fasseur 1992:26).

Examination of scholarly texts written on the policy illuminates an underlying and subtle dispute regarding the use of the term Cultivation System versus Culture System (Fitzpatrick 2000:117; Wardaya 2001:47; Cribb & Khain 2004:98-99). Across the board, different scholarly disciplines utilize both terms, with Cultivation System prevailing. The term Cultivation System has, over time, been concretized within historical discourse that has informed the writing of Indonesian and Dutch history in the English language. However, the term does not reflect the intricate significations of *Cultuurstelsel* (Gouda 2008:52)

The term *cultuurstelsel* did not seem to be formally referenced, in what Fasseur defines as “constitutional regulations” until 1854 (Fasseur 1992:26). It was then that the policy was alluded to as “cultivations introduced on high authority” (Fasseur 1992:26). These “constitutional regulations” established codes of practice in the colonies, linking the Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands within a nexus of state-based power, centered in the home country (Fasseur 1992:26). Initially, the lack of formally naming the policy in constitutional documents was connected to a conscious attempt to represent conditions

and social relations in the colonies as “...a series of discreet cultural transactions and intricate ‘natural’ adjustments” (Gouda 2008:52). Relating this to Niranjana’s “strategies of containment,” the eventual English translation of the term was part of a historical process influenced by the origins of *cultuurstelsel* (Niranjana 1992:3). As “strategies of containment” are produced through translation, this relationship is part of a grander nexus of interconnected knowledge production situated in the manufacturing of Eurocentric historical discourse, or what is known as history itself (Niranjana 1992:3). Granted, the notion of a strategy evokes a conscious effort, yet containment was part of a larger process – conscious and unconscious - entrenched within the trajectory of Western and European epistemology. While the policy was obliquely referenced in written “constitutional regulations” created and maintained from within the Netherlands, in Indonesia the colonial government did refer to it as *cultuurstelsel* (Fasseur 1992:26). *Cultuurstelsel* was part of the official language of the colonial government specifically in the colonies. And, for Indonesians the policy was referred to as *Tanam Paksa*.

Tanam Paksa can be translated as “forced cultivation,” reflecting the positioning of Indonesians within the system (Wardaya 2001:47).¹⁵ The presence of force defined the ways Indonesian labor, land, and resources were to be exploited by the colonial

¹⁵ Variations of English translations of *Tanam Paksa* that I located are listed as, “compulsory planting” and “forced cultivation system” (Bahramitash 2005:108; Prasetyaningsih 2007:98). The emphasis in these translations is on the inclusion of force which is in contrast to its blatant absence of representation reflected in the term “Cultivation System”.

government. Similarly, it alludes to the experiences shaped by the compulsory system, and the restraints placed on the expression of autonomy, enabled by its mandates. The presence of force alludes to an absence of choice. Juxtaposed to the English translation, the term Cultivation System in no way reflects the exclusionary space that Indonesians occupied in the economic strategy of the colonial government. *Tanam Paksa* emerged as part of Indonesian historical discourse as a way to represent the system of force that drastically effected lives.

As in any form of discourse, Indonesian historical discourse is shaped and formed by particular power relations over time and space. *Tanam Paksa* is part of the lexicon of *Bahasa Indonesia*. *Bahasa Indonesia* was established as the official language in 1945, coinciding with the presidency of Suharto. Thereby, the language is linked to the creation of a post-colonial society, associated processes of nationalism, and acts as a mode of decolonization. According to Benedict Anderson, *Bahasa Indonesia* has undergone a multiplicity of politicized changes beginning in the 1920s as a “national unifier” of the Indonesian peoples (Anderson 2006:139). Throughout colonial times, the language exhibited dualistic qualities as an instrument to *resist* the Dutch, while simultaneously being utilized as a mode of expression *by* the Dutch to exert control (Anderson 2006:139; Woodward 2011:6). Deriving from the colonial setting, *Tanam Paksa* can be viewed as a product of the politicization of the Indonesian language, connected to a dynamic strategy of resistance established as part of decolonization.

In contrast, *cultuurstelsel* offers a different meaning that centers on the experiences and intentions of the Dutch colonial regime. Drawing from Francis Gouda,

the term does indeed refer to a cultivation system, but one that is specifically related to culture. Gouda insightfully traces the multiple meanings of culture in the Dutch colonial context, pointing out that it was conceptualized differently during the time *Cultuurstelsel* was enacted (Gouda 2008:54). In the Indonesian colonial setting,

Culture...was typically associated with the creative agency of Europeans: it referred to agricultural enterprise on a technological, profit-maximizing Western model, while plural cultures alluded to the cultivation of rubber, tobacco, coffee, tea or sugar on European plantations; the term culture as in 'culture paper' or 'cultuurstelsel' denoted particular forms of financial credit or signified the compulsory production of cash crops exported via government monopolies (Gouda 2008:54).

Within the Dutch lexicon that developed in the Indonesian colonial setting, the term *cultuurstelsel* reflected very specific economic goals and aspirations reified through the implementation of forced cultivation (Gouda 2008:54). It was more than a cultivation system. *Cultuurstelsel* was about authority and its exertion within the economic realm of the colony. It was about economic relations linked to modernization and civilizing the Indonesian economy, which meant, in association its people. Undoubtedly, the terms connection to the word culture explains where issues with English translations have originated from, eventually creating two terms to refer to the policy – Cultivation System and Culture System. Both terms are related to the original Dutch meaning, yet do not account for the complexity within the culturally and historically specific meaning of culture. While these nuances in word and meaning may seem slight, Niranjana explains that they raise important questions about “representation, power, and historicity” (Niranjana 1992:1). Furthermore, in the relationship between Dutch and Indonesians, they speak to situated knowledge based on experience and perspective. *Tanam Paksa*

refers to a forced system; *cultuurstelsel* makes no reference to force, but instead is centered on notions of modernization and economic advancement (Gouda 2008:54).

Such a specific notion of culture related to “deliberately contrived bundle[s] of economic and political relations” evolved out of the time and space of the VOC (Gouda 2008:54). The VOC’s purely economic goals were reified through colonial hegemony. Inez Hollander’s Silenced Voices: Uncovering a Family's Colonial History in Indonesia establishes a lens in which to understand the operations of the Dutch East Indies Company. Quoting historian Mike Dash, she writes,

In the first half of the seventeenth century the VOC was not only the most important organization, and one of the largest employers in the United Provinces of the Netherlands; it was also the wealthiest and most powerful company on earth. It had become powerful and wealthy by putting trade and profit ahead of every other consideration (Hollander 2009:3).

Part of reifying the VOC’s goals involved linking the Dutch colonialists living in Indonesia to the economic needs of their home country. Culture was associated with the creation and perpetuation of a national identity that sought to connect Dutch residing within the colony to the Netherlands. This identity was fluid and dynamic while fueling motivations in the colony. It acted as a reminder of why they were in Indonesia.

The VOC was eradicated and nationalized in 1900. Looking back, the formation of a national identity was part of a process that eventually gave way to the creation of *cultuurstelsel*. According to Francis Gouda, the notion of “Dutchness” emerged as a way to represent a national identity (Gouda 2008:19) “Dutchness” defined both the intent of the VOC and its connection to the Netherlands as a nation (Gouda 2008:19). Viewing identity as a process, Gouda states was a “historical necessity” that connected past,

present, and future in the Netherlands, while existing as malleable and influx, changing across time and space (Gouda 2008:19). Embedded within this identity was the “essence of Dutch political culture relative to that of others” (Gouda 2008:19). This relational identity drove the colonial project while maintaining a connection to home. It also provided a foundation in which to build new colonial identities within Indonesia’s colonies. Part of the problem that arose within this process was that by defining the Dutch “essence” relative to other colonial powers, the atrocities committed in the act of domination likewise were viewed relationally. By linking the VOC’s economic goals with Dutch national interests, “Dutchness” maintained the colonial project by putting economic needs before all others to ensure that the motherland continued to thrive through the birth of such policies as *cultuurstelsel*.

Gouda illuminates the way that connections to the Dutch nation were maintained. An example can be seen in the production of language, in “daily discourse (*dagelijkse wandeling*) it was called ‘Our Indies’” (Gouda 2008:237)¹⁶. The term “Our Indies” refers to the politics of “naming as a form of possession” (Taylor 2009:147). By evoking this perceived ownership in daily conversation, it kept the colonial economic and political goals at the forefront of social interactions while linking colonialists together despite differences in Dutch hierarchy within the colony. The lexicon specific to the colonies paved the way for the conceptualization of *cultuurstelsel*. Language reflects the

¹⁶ *Dagelijkse wandeling* is the Dutch term for daily discourse, referring generally to daily interaction. Therefore, in everyday talk, Indonesia was referred to as “Our Indies” (Gouda 2008:237).

historical, social, cultural, economic, and political processes occurring in any given time or space. Romanticization of this new extension of Dutch ownership, property, and major area of production was normalized and legitimized through the production and practice of language (Gouda 2008:237). In turn, such policies as *cultuurstelsel* reflected at their foundation a sense of inherent authority and ownership.

Conversely, as the production of “Dutchness” was occurring, Indonesians were experiencing similar processes that would later lead to the creation of a national identity. This they too developed through language and naming discourse. Indonesian identity gave rise to cultural practices that were representative of that which was uniquely Indonesian – a broad and expansive identity, yet one that over time bound people together supported by a common language *Bahasa Indonesia*. Colonial contact produced new cultural practices, seen in the *kretek* cigarette, new categories of people born from sexual unions between the Dutch, Indonesians, and a multiracial, multiethnic and multicultural population harnessed as cheap and exploitable labor (Gouda 2008; Bosma & Raben 2008). Throughout these myriad and interconnected processes, tobacco became interwoven throughout all realms of Indonesian life.

Chapter 4. The Betel Quid, Tobacco, and *Kretek*: Systems of Signification

“Some years ago I brought myself to the decision not to smoke any more. The struggle was hard, and in truth I did not care so much for the *taste* of the tobacco which I was going to lose, as for the *meaning* of the act of smoking...to smoke is an appropriative, destructive action. Tobacco is a symbol of ‘appropriated’ being...manifested symbolically by the transformation of the consumed solid into smoke...tobacco symbolized the landscape...appropriating the tobacco was the symbolic equivalent of destructively appropriating the entire world” (Sartre 1968:330).

Jean-Paul Sartre’s reflections on the symbolic nature of tobacco exposes the multifaceted qualities of the plant, its varied significations, and the importance of a symbolic approach when exploring the relationship between Indonesians and tobacco. “To appropriate...[tobacco] is then to appropriate the world symbolically” (Sartre 1968:330). Through various modes of signification, Indonesians, influenced by specific economic and political processes, set tobacco along a path to become what it is in present-day – a cultural symbol and object of consumption.

Sartre’s framework of appropriation characterizes the act of smoking as an “appropriated destructive action,” one that is historically rooted in tobacco’s movement

throughout the world. Following through with his perspective, tobacco was first appropriated along a process of genocide in the Americas and introduced to numerous regions of the world through European voyages and early processes of colonialism. Specific to Indonesia, it was the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) that began forced tobacco production, under restrictive and oppressive labor conditions. This history has inadvertently shaped social, cultural, economic, and political relations between Europe and the rest of the world. Each inhale and exhale of smoke represents this history, linking people and cultures within a nexus of “appropriated destructive actions” (Sartre 1968:330). In the process of smoking tobacco, methods of violent appropriation both symbolic and physical are evoked, linking the individual smoker to this history. With this stated, interpretations of cultural symbols such as tobacco are fluid, dynamic, and constantly transforming. This is why, while continuing to employ Sartre’s framework, I propose yet another interpretation of tobacco in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, tobacco was an appropriated object that through a process of hybridity came to encompass Indonesian Independence and nationalism. Tobacco was combined with components of the betel quid and this relationship persisted even as betel was deemed unacceptable in the Dutch “modern” context. Later, tobacco was used in *kreteks*, a cigarette formed by a mixture of cloves and tobacco, conceived in opposition to dominant power structures that attempted to limit Indonesian socioeconomic and political growth. *Kreteks* eventually facilitated the economic development of a cottage industry that, over time, has positioned *kreteks* as the most highly consumed form of cigarette in the country, in relation to Western “white cigarettes.”

The common thread that links these narratives together is the power of interpretation when approaching semiotics. Underlying this thread are the realities of what the World Health Organization (WHO) terms a “global health crisis” caused by tobacco (WHO Report 2008). Tobacco’s known addictive properties have facilitated an exponentially growing number of consumers, Indonesians ranking among the highest. It was my intention to propose two variations of interpretative narratives of tobacco to show how multifaceted tobacco is and how it, as a cultural symbol, impacts all facets of Indonesian life, past and present. Tobacco’s centrality in Indonesia reveals an important history of resistance to the Dutch, while simultaneously exposing its “destructive appropriation” that has given way to unforeseen, yet reversible damages (Sartre 1968:330). A better understanding of tobacco’s symbolic role in everyday life is but the first step in addressing myriad material consequences of its consumption.

The symbolic is intertwined with economic and political processes that transformed Indonesian society. Cultural symbols such as the betel quid and tobacco can be analyzed to gain insight into these processes. The various systems of signification associated with the practice of betel chewing were discussed in Chapter 1. Betel served to initiate social interactions among people and in family units, across class hierarchies, between men and women, and it conveyed sexual meanings. From betel to the introduction of tobacco in Indonesia, the mixing of the two substances was a dynamic process of creating, maintaining, and reproducing symbolic activities, meanings, and representations. In the sections that follow, I will show how particular political and economic policies and practices were linked to systems of signification. The trajectories

set forth by these connections created alternative modes of discourse, modernity, nationalism, and Independence. Furthermore, these varied processes projected and influenced gender ideologies in Indonesia. Gender, women, and tobacco are topics I shall discuss in Chapter 6.

The Betel Quid and Tobacco

Through Eric Wolf's articulation of modes of production, one can begin to grasp the similarities and differences between the betel quid and tobacco, in terms of production and consumption. This is important to exploring the relationship between the two cultural symbols and how humans have shaped and defined them. The betel quid was constructed by components of Indonesia's natural environment. Key ingredients were areca-nut, later gambier (sap from the gambier tree), betel, and lime (Rooney 1993:16). Other components such as cloves were added, based on personal preference (Rooney 1993:16). These additional ingredients varied across time and space, in terms of accessibility and more pointedly, status (Rooney 1993:26). Dawn Rooney explains the importance of the relationship between each ingredient,

...an areca-nut, a leaf of the betel-pepper, and lime—are essential for betel chewing....The leaf is first daubed with lime paste and topped with thin slices of the nut, then it is folded or rolled into a bite-size quid. The interaction of the ingredients during chewing produces a red-coloured saliva...most of the betel juice is spat out” (Rooney 1993:12).

All of the components were individually grown and harvested, and linked to ritual and daily practice (Rooney 1993:16). Over time, each ingredient became part of a reciprocal relationship to humans as well as to the other individual components. As a whole, they represented an Indonesian practice that ultimately became a signifier of “Indonesianness”

in the eyes of the Dutch, and other European observers. The quid's modes of production that Wolf defines as, "the ways in which human beings confront their world in order to modify it in their favor," shaped Indonesian life in multifaceted ways. It is not known if betel and the components of the quid were indigenous to the ecology of Indonesia, but it is a fact that their presence far preceded the introduction of tobacco (Rooney 1993:19-20).

The following two narratives were written by Europeans in 1811 and 1858. Each respectively describes landscapes in Borneo and Java, shedding light on the abundance and wide-spanning presence of the betel quid's ingredients. "The environs of Batavia [Java] produce only a little corn, maize, and rice. The fruit trees are the cocoa, areca...[and] much betel, a creeping plant, whose aromatic leaf is chewed by all..." (Stockdale 1811:270). A description of Borneo describes, "Cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees, durians, bananas, with their large leaves, and other fruit-trees encompassed the whole" (Roth & Low 1896:359)¹⁷. The ingredient's plenteousness provided the backdrop for everyday life. From this constant presence, the betel quid and its ingredients became reflected in Indonesian symbolic structures, activities, and meanings.

Traditional economic production of betel began at the level of the household. Where betel's economic production expanded outside of this realm was in the structure of the *warung* (food stall) and the "traditional market," both critical aspects to the Indonesia

¹⁷ Betel-nut trees are actually the areca palm tree that produces areca-nuts. The areca nut is wrapped in betel leaves, mixed with lime, and then, chewed as the betel quid.

informal economy (Wallach 2008:50-52)¹⁸. Drawing from historical evidence, Reid tangentially mentions a market in 1596, “where betel ingredients were sold” (Reid 1985:537). Betel’s presence in *warung* was illustrated in the context of ritual practice, “...the *warung* were busy selling betel nut and tobacco for use in offerings” (Volkman 1979:3). Throughout Wolf’s work he illuminates, “the basic notion that social life is shaped by the ways human beings engage nature through production” (Wolf 2010:386). Taking this into consideration, betel was placed in a symbolic ritual structure that combined the material environment with the spiritual realm, as a means to make sense of the surrounding world. “The earliest symbolical use of betel was most likely as a sacrificial offering for animistic worship” (Rooney1993:30). Betel’s communicative role within Indonesian cultures influenced its connection to “...the spiritual, or supernatural forces and the social and sexual relationship between a male and a female” (Rooney 1993:30). Its social role as a means of communication often acted as an equalizer between genders, having the ability to, at times, counter various mechanisms of gender inequality.

By growing and harvesting betel, people were actively facilitating a connection between the material and spiritual realms. These connections were supported and maintained through ritual practice. “Betel quids and rice are typical offerings used for the ties associated with ancestors” (Rooney 199:32). In Java, during the 17th century, ancestors were provided with offerings of the betel quid “on every significant ritual

¹⁸ See Chapter 5 for a description of the *warung* (stall).

occasion” (Reid 1990:44). Throughout Indonesia, the offering of betel is seen in Buddhist, Hindu, and Indigenous ritual and religious practices, including that of the Dayaks in Borneo (Rooney 1993:30)¹⁹.

The Dayaks have been long documented using betel as a means to ward off spirits that were associated with causing death and illness (Roth & Low 1896:260; Rooney 1993:30)²⁰. “Betel spittle is considered especially powerful in dealing with illness” (Rooney 1993:31). Roth and Low’s study of Borneo tells of children being “...covered with filth, having been squirted with betel juice, and daubed with a kind of red ochre” (Roth & Low 1896:298). This description was expressed by European observers in 1858 and it clearly conveys a particular frame of thought, one that guided perceptions based on the primitive and civilized dualism; with the observer being situated as the civilized. Pertinent information missing from this description supports an understanding of the context. The spitting of betel was a form of treatment performed by a “medium” that first “receive[d]s an omen” and then, acted accordingly (Rooney 1993:31). Directing “betel spittle” at a person signified a washing away of sickness or disease (Rooney 1993:31).

¹⁹ Borneo is an island, located north of Java. It is historically a place conflict that has resulted in the island being split into three countries - Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia. The latter holds the largest territory and instigated direct rule over the people in 1860 during the period of the Cultivation System. Like other places located with Indonesia’s wide-spanning archipelago it is home to diverse betel and tobacco consuming cultures. As a note, I also found the spelling of Dayaks to be listed as Dyak

²⁰ Betel has also been documented as a means to ward off or attract the attention of spirit’s in Thailand (“spirits of the soil”) and Malaysia (“spirits of the water”) as well (Rooney 1993:30).

As a curative mechanism, the casting of betel out of the mouth represented its healing force. Betel's sacred signification in ritual structures transcended the profane, as betel was used to treat illnesses brought on by evil spirits *and* everyday maladies (Roth & Low 1896:394; Reid 1985:533; Rooney 1993:12; Erickson & Murphy 2008:80; Durkheim 2001). In common occurrences of pregnancy and giving birth, "A midwife, for example, spits the saliva of her quid on to the stomach of a newborn baby" (Rooney 1993:31). The sacred and profane were intersected through betel as an object that facilitated group unity (Durkheim 2001:36; Erickson & Murphy 2008:80).

As the Dutch intensified their presence in Indonesia, symbolic activities such as betel spitting and the associated medicinal meanings were transformed. The practice of betel chewing benefited the Dutch for a time, but as the colonial gaze broadened and Indonesia felt the pressures of colonial practices and policies focused on agricultural production, social and cultural change in line with Europe, and economic modernization, anticolonial sentiments were expressed publically in new ways. A narrative written in 1845 describes a situation where Gusti Ktut Jelantik an Indonesian regent, who fought against the Dutch regime, "spat his *sirih* [betel] on a Dutch sea pass" causing an agent of the colonial regime to declare, "...our authority in the Indies is gone" (Nordholt 1981:38). In this moment, betel's communicative signification was used to express indignation toward the colonial regime. This shift in meaning from healing and facilitating social interactions to expressing a form of sociopolitical and economic conflict represented the dynamic tensions between the colonial regime and Indonesians, as control mechanisms were increasingly established. The spitting of betel as an event

was documented in 1845, one year before the Dutch began the invasion of Bali. These anticolonial sentiments had been set within trajectories that were continuously operating from the beginning of Dutch colonialism in the early 17th century to eventual Independence in 1949.

The spitting of betel as an act of resistance put forth so publically, represents the opposite of what James Scott refers to as “tactical prudence” (Scott 1990:15). Yet it illustrates the vast continuum of symbolic and material resistance that occurred in Indonesia against the colonial regime. Within this continuum, of course, lies “contradictions and possibilities” (Scott 1990:15). More representative of “tactical prudence,” however, is Scott’s quoting of George Orwell’s narratives of living in Burma, a betel chewing culture. In the context of relations between the Burmese and the British colonialists, betel spit played an active role in colonial resistance. “Anti-colonial feeling was very bitter. No one had the guts to raise a riot, but if a European women went through the bazaars alone somebody would probably spit betel juice over her dress...” (Scott 1990:14). This example shows betel’s symbolic role in the expression of anti-colonial attitudes. Likewise, the act of spitting itself has been shown to be used as a means of resistance in such oppressive conditions as slavery in the North American south, spanning the 17th - 19th centuries and into the 20th century in the context of race relations throughout the country (Kelly 1996:20). Conversely, it was used by those promoting white supremacy as a tactic of dehumanization (Kelly 1996:63). In the Indonesian context, betel spit took on multiple symbolic meanings that were transformed over time.

In human interaction with the material world, “idea-systems” are born linked to the ways modes of production are formed (Wolf 2010:390). Wolf points out that these idea-systems are often in conflict with one another and involve the “exertion of power” (Wolf 2010:390). For consumers of betel, the idea-system worked to connect people socially and culturally (Wolf 2010:390). As the Dutch began to interact with the Javanese elite, in the early years of establishing colonial power, betel played a similar role. Betel chewing connected the Dutch to the elite as a means of necessary social engagement conducted within a familiar symbolic structure for the Javanese. Moreover, it allowed particular access to the elite by facilitating social interactions that played into Dutch domination. The Dutch understood betel to be a practice that facilitated social interactions, but the symbolic meanings behind these interactions were processed through very different cultural frameworks.

Wayangs, gamelans, dancers, and distributions of food and of betel form the regular programme of the fêtes which the notables and the wealthy [Javanese] offer to the people [Dutch] on occasions which are as varied as they are numerous. The birthdays of the Queen-Mother and the Queen of Holland, and that of the little Princess Juliana, give the highly placed Javanese an opportunity of testifying his loyalty and of giving pleasure to the people (Cabaton 1911:130).

Within the celebratory structure of the Javanese fêtes, social interaction was to be facilitated through the consumption of betel. Offerings of betel, “... a social necessity for every adult in society,” and food, were provided as a way to ingratiate and possibly, placate the Dutch (Reid 1985:531). Simultaneously, it was a strategic show of extravagance, wealth and power, emitted by the Javanese royal court. For the Dutch, in turn, these events were viewed as the pacifying of the Javanese, and the acceptance of the

Dutch into Indonesia. The transaction of meaning that occurred in the act of consuming betel, between the Dutch and the Javanese, symbolically represented a struggle. Betel eased the social engagements, while the motivations behind them remained hidden by its use.

The introduction of tobacco in the early 17th century brought on transformations in Indonesian social, cultural, political, economic and symbolic structures. These transformations impacted the ways that the betel quid and its various components were integrated into Indonesian life. Tobacco chewing became a common practice linked to that of betel chewing (Reid 1985:537). Reid notes his inability to locate sources that refer to the chewing of tobacco and betel together, prior to “the second half of the eighteenth century” (Reid 1985:537). Given that Indonesians became familiar with tobacco during the mid-to-late-17th century and taking into consideration the human propensity toward experimentation and creativity, it is safe to assume that chewing a mixture of betel and tobacco developed rather quickly (Reid 1985:538). The symbolic development of betel in Indonesia was based on various unions between sexes, represented by the bringing together of areca nut and the betel leaf. Adding tobacco to the quid, symbolized Indonesian’s acceptance of the substance, secured by the familiarity of the betel leaf. Early 19th century observations of this practice by European’s deemed the uniting of tobacco and betel as a “...peculiar manner” (Reid 1985:537). “The tobacco is finely shred, and a portion of it, in this form, is pretty constantly held between the lips and teeth, adding, in either case, greatly, in the opinion of a stranger, to the disgusting effects of the betel and areca preparation” (Reid 1985:537).

Moving away from Java, to the Dayak in Borneo, tobacco and betel occupied similar roles in ritual practice. The emergence of tobacco resulted in the creation of alternative modes of practice in ritual and symbolic structures. Betel and tobacco were viewed as complementary when mixed together in the betel quid and in treating various illnesses. Tobacco's emergence in this context became intertwined with that of betel, seen in the betel quid's continued use as a medicine, even with the addition of tobacco as an ingredient. In rituals relating to death, tobacco and betel were used similarly, and in substitution for one another, in the form of offerings to the dead or soon to be deceased (Roth & Low 1896:141,152).

In late 19th century Borneo, betel and cigarettes were deposited as offerings to the dead. Tobacco was buried with the deceased along with betel and rice as symbols of a blessed afterlife, based on the belief that "they might prove useful" (Roth & Low 1896:141). During this same period, the production of tobacco was shifting into a full-scale plantation system throughout regions of Java and beyond. In Borneo, the Dutch had had a long, but unofficial presence that dated back to the early 17th century. The implementation of the plantation system in the late 19th century was accompanied by the Dutch attempting to exact processes of direct rule in Borneo. The island offered the Dutch a different set of exploitable resources, with rubber being one of the most sought after, along with coal, minerals, and other raw materials such as gold, silver, and diamonds (Cabaton 1911:321). The Dutch push toward gaining control was partially a reaction to the British presence in Northern Borneo, which posed a threat to the potentialities of economic gains for the Dutch empire. Throughout this time, the Dayak's

were producing tobacco for personal use, and for those who required help with their harvests, “payment[s] of wages [were]...made in rolls of tobacco” (Roth & Low 1896:421).

In addition to being added to the quid, tobacco was consumed on its own, in the form of chewing or smoking. John Joseph Stockdale’s accounts of Javanese life in the early 19th century, illustrates the intensifying relationship between betel and tobacco. “They are almost continually chewing betel...and likewise a sort of tobacco produced here [Java]...which they also smoke, through pipes made of reed...” (Stockdale 1811:35). Frank Marryat observed different groups of Dayak’s “...chew and smoke tobacco, but they do not use pipes for smoking ; they roll up the tobacco in a strip of dried leaf, take three or four whiffs, emitting the smoke through their nostrils, and then they extinguish it” (Marryat 1858:78). Tobacco was incorporated as an object of consumption used in multiple ways. In Stockdale’s observations of women’s betel and tobacco use, he continues with his ubiquitous and non-descript use of “they.” “They chew...betel...they likewise masticate the Java tobacco, which makes their spittle of a crimson colour; and when they have done it long they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths very disagreeable...” (Stockdale 1811:112).

European observers in Indonesia most commonly commented on the visible manifestations of betel chewing on the teeth as a shock to their frame of visual reference (Stockdale 1811; Reid 1985; Rooney 1993). “If a person speaks to you while he is chewing his ‘quid’ of betel, his mouth looks as if it were full of blood” (Rooney 1993:12). Such a visual would have contrasted sharply with the desired image of

modernity that was promoted and intensified in the 19th and 20th centuries - colonial master, white teeth, in a commanding European styled uniform. For Europeans, black or red stained teeth were perceived as signs of being unhygienic, and for Indonesians, as well as many cultures in the Asia region, stained black teeth were considered a signifier of beauty (Rooney 1993:28; Reid 1985:533). At the same time, coming from the European context, the visual of a person with black teeth and red saliva produced from betel chewing, was at first encounter, perceived as threatening, eliciting nightmarish images that could be linked to notions of evil. These experiences added to the many fears and insecurities that Europeans transported with them to other parts of the world. They aided in creating further distance between Europeans and Indonesians, to perpetuate domination and control (Todorov 1999:185).

In conclusion, the Dutch colonial encounter was primarily focused on maximizing profits in the colonies to best satiate the Netherlands' economic and political desires. In Indonesia, the Dutch administered an economy comprised of three modes of production, described as, "a subsistence agricultural sector, a petty commodity production sector, and a capitalist sector which took the form of enclave commodity production and export of crops... and increasingly of oil and minerals" (Robison 1981:19). With the exception of the Indonesian elite, most of society was relegated to surviving off of small-scale subsistence agriculture, leaving the Dutch to reap the benefits from the rest of the sectors. For the Dutch, the betel quid did not carry the same mass marketability as tobacco did due to many factors including the visible marker betel chewing produced. This impacted

its potential profitability in the global context²¹. For the Dutch to attempt to replicate and spread the practice of betel chewing to Europe, production would have had to be organized in such a way as to include the multiple ingredients that constituted the betel quid. To assume complete control over the production of the quid's components would have proved difficult for the Dutch. It would have been analogous to the mid-17th century Dutch East Indies Company's (VOC) violent attempts at monopolizing clove and other spice production in the region (Turner 2004:290).²² Instead of repeating these methods, a less physical and more psychological approach was engaged, defining betel consumption as counter to modernity and progress. In this way, all those who consumed betel were considered primitive and savage. This association had real impacts on those that attempted to incorporate themselves within colonial institutions, often a necessity for gaining access to basic human needs.

Later in the colonial strategy, it was betel that was redefined within a contradictory idea-system, hence its gradual association with a perceived heathenism and inability to progress. Even though access to tobacco became restricted in terms of

²¹ However, in the 17th century local merchant's betel became a profitable export, strengthening the economy in the Ache region.

²² Beginning in the 1600s and lasting until the 1800s, the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) monopolized clove production (Gupta 2001:118.) This was a two-fold process done through environmental degradation and persecution of Indonesians caught attempting to produce or sell the spice. Trade in spices around Asia is known to have suffered due to the immense impact of the VOC's violent efforts (Gupta 2001:118.)

producing it as a local good to be sold for profit, defining betel consumption as counter to “modernizing” was part of a larger process that would eventually contribute to an overwhelming preference for tobacco over betel. While Indonesian men were being influenced to move away from betel chewing, Indonesian and Dutch women kept pace with their consumption of betel. In the early 17th century, during the times of the VOC, the flow of Dutch men into Indonesia was not accompanied by the immigration of Dutch women because it “...was explicitly restricted for the next two hundred years” (Stoler 2002:47). According to Ann Stoler there was an ongoing and multifaceted argument against bringing women to Indonesia ranging from “high transportation costs” and potential illnesses to the fear that women “might engage in private trade,” therefore threatening the VOC’s monopolistic aims (Stoler 2002:47). Due to these debates, the presence of Dutch women in colonial Indonesia persisted at relatively low numbers from the 17th - 19th centuries. As an ongoing “experiment” conducted from the Netherlands, women were sporadically brought into the country to create a pool of potential spouses and sexual partners (Stoler 2002:47). Dutch women that did make Indonesia their home faced multiple challenges by means of their own subjugation to Dutch men. They then replicated this subjugation in relations with Indonesians.

Despite the emergence of negative associations to betel chewing, it played a social and symbolic role in the lives of Dutch women in Indonesia from the 17th - 20th century, “...women always chew it when they go out, even in church; and that’s how these ladies piously say their prayers. It is an infamous sight, for their mouths are full of red spittle, as if their teeth had been smashed” (Taylor 2009:41). Within the hierarchy of

the European elite, there was “a sharp distinction between women born in Europe and the locally bred ladies,” with the latter being more prone to participating in the practice of betel chewing (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172). Betel chewing became a point of demarcation for Dutch women who were born in Indonesia. This created fractures based on associations of the practice with Indonesians, who were deemed unequal to Europeans in the colony (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172). “[It] was primarily a women’s affair among the European elite of Batavia at the end of the eighteenth century...” (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172). Betel chewing served to distinguish Dutch women by being incorporated into their public aesthetic.

“...‘her slave follow[ed] behind to carry a parasol or sunshade above her against the fierce heat. Many of these have great hanging silken flaps embroidered with golden dragons and ornamental foliage’...In addition...[they] would be...carrying their mistress’s...betel box, and cuspidor” (Taylor 2009:41).

Upon arriving to Indonesia, Dutch women replicated the Javanese royal aesthetic by exhibiting ornamental and elaborately decorated betel boxes, held by their slaves and personal attendants (Taylor 2009:41). Betel chewing and betel boxes were signs of status to be expressed to the general public, but also as a competitive and equalizing show to other Dutch women of the elite.

Betel remained associated with social interactions and due to Dutch women primarily being situated in the private sphere, betel chewing as a shared practice, facilitated social engagements between European women in the colonies, “...Dutch women were focused on, and enclosed within, their households, families and the social relationships among Europeans” (Lochter-Schloten 2001:30). For a time, Dutch

women's connection to betel chewing outlived that of Dutch men. As tobacco became the substance of choice for Dutch males, Dutch female's betel chewing practices were overwhelmingly the subject of speculation and ridicule, creating further divisions and inequalities between them (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172; Taylor 2009:41-42). Within various structures of social and cultural interactions and hierarchies, betel was positioned as a point of exclusion in the colonial infrastructure, leaving it at odds with newly introduced symbolic representations of modernity (Wolf 2010:330).

Taking Hold of Indonesia: The (Un) Ethical Policy

“Technical and economic changes as well as a...mix of both Western superiority and social concerns resulted in a renewed sense of a ‘civilising mission’ and a more active colonial policy. Inspired by the contemporary popularity of the term ‘ethical’ and the normative culture of that period, it was named Ethical Policy, the Dutch variant of the British ‘white man’s burden’ and the French ‘*mission civilisatrice*’. Its architects aimed at the development of both the land and its people...” (Locher-Scholten 2000:16).

The Dutch, stirred by a crisis of conscience, linked to a sense of Dutch nationalism led the colonial regime in Indonesia to attempt to improve upon and develop the country (Bloembergen 2006:22; Locher-Scholten 2000:32). Employing a familiar strategy, the regime used colonial policy as a method of control and a tool to facilitate sociocultural, economic, and political transformations. The Ethical Policy was professed to have “honorable intentions of creating more schools for Indonesians, delivering better health care, and bringing about political decentralization” (Gouda 2008:23). Underlying the impetus to change the perspective of dominance, and focus on ‘helping’ Indonesia to

modernize was fear of a growing anticolonial movement (Gouda 2008:24). Coupled with pressures from a growing discourse in the Netherlands on the atrocities committed by the Dutch in various colonies, the Ethical Policy was an abstract approach to the pervasive exploitation of people and resources (Gouda 2008:24). Many members of Dutch society, “journalists, scholars, and politicians from both sides of the ideological spectrum” were beginning to recognize the means by which their home country was being funded – “blood soaked *batig slot* (surplus income)” (Gouda 2008:24). The Dutch attempted to institutionalize a false sense of honor, giving, and debt. This trifecta of concepts was embedded in the foundation of the Ethical Policy. Its contradictory aims sought to support and nurture Indonesian society in ways deemed fit by the colonialists.

Pierre Bourdieu theorizes that a sense of indebtedness and obligation combine to form the notion of giving as “...a way of possessing” (Bourdieu 1991:24). Debt is viewed as an individual means to gain power over others, binding people together within an unequal exchange (Bourdieu 1991:24). To Bourdieu, it is a symbolic gesture that “enables relations of domination to be established and maintained through strategies which are softened and disguised...” (Bourdieu 1991:24). At the group level, the concept can be applied to the structuring of social relations. In Indonesia, this symbolic gesture was articulated and extended by the Dutch to Indonesians, predicated upon a new found sense of giving that derived from ethical contemplations of existing social relations in the colonies. The exertion of power was legitimized through paternalistic legal discourse perpetuated by the Ethical Policy (Bourdieu 1991:24). Borrowing from Bourdieu, the policy was “established and maintained” through positivist “strategies” connected to

Dutch articulations of modernity, modernization, and overall progress that would benefit the future of Indonesians and their country. This was supported by an illusory promise of self-governance to the Indonesian people that was only to come about under the paternalistic scrutiny of the Dutch. Under these “softened and disguised” justifications for the policy, the real purpose was to foster a sense of indebtedness, and ultimately, further control over society. It was to be a “giving” of modernity where the Dutch positioned themselves as honorable and responsible for the future of the country. Likewise, the Dutch were to become models for a particular modernity, one that Indonesians were expected to follow. Symbols of this modernity were attached to such objects as cigarettes that became part of the process of reproducing a social order, where Indonesians adopted the aesthetics of Dutch modernity. These intentions were wrought with expectations, specifically toward the elite who were positioned as the main benefactors of the policy and its mandates on education and building health care infrastructures. The Ethical Policy succeeded in extending colonial hegemonic power, even if only minutely. It served as an exercise of symbolic domination, facilitated by notions of rule and law as unchallenged mechanisms that structured everyday life.

Despite the policy’s inability to live up to its name due to conflicts that arose out of forced migration, increased poverty, vast inequalities within the newly established educational infrastructures and subsequent furthering of a gender divide between men and women, the focus on a European-demarcated modernity provides an avenue to examine the emergence of multiple and simultaneous symbolic processes. One such representation defined betel consumption as a deterrent to what colonial education

promised to provide – a Dutch defined culture of “modernity.” Modernity has an aesthetic quality to it, for instance, the shunning of betel chewing in favor of smoking tobacco. The aesthetics of betel chewing’s effects on the teeth and mouth was set in contrast to a proliferated image of sophistication and “modernity” linked to the colonial regime (Reid 1985:539). This image was represented through the practice of smoking tobacco. Underlying this contrast was a set of ideas about what constituted normality, superiority and overall progress (Locher-Scholten 2000:32). Through the practice of smoking a cigarette, preferably that wrapped in “modern” white paper, an individual stood out within the public realm of social life. The newly made and imagined citizens of the colonial state could also better integrate themselves within colonial infrastructure by publically choosing to consume a cigarette rather than chewing the betel quid.

Colonial conceptions of modernity as a point of social and cultural transformation yielded cross-cultural impacts. One such case is seen in Thailand. In the first half of the 20th century, during the same period that the Ethical Policy (1901 - 1942) was active, the government of Thailand banned betel chewing by classifying it as illegal²³. In Indonesia,

²³ Japanese colonial powers took hold of Indonesia from 1942 - 1945. During this relatively short period in Indonesian history, the Japanese focused on altering the economy and modes of production through forced cultivation to fuel the country’s war efforts in the region. One result was the shift from tobacco production to rice production, using the same land (Ricklefs 2001:249). This period is often referred to as brutal in the colonial history of Indonesia, yet placed within the context of colonialism’s intent, the word and its violent association can be used to describe any and all periods of colonial

the Dutch regime did not take the route of criminalizing betel consumption. They did, however, use political and economic policies and practices to attempt to rid Indonesia of the practice. Thailand, like Indonesia, had a long relationship to betel, evident in its rich signification as a cultural symbol, made meaningful in the practices of daily life. Although Thailand was what Penny Van Esterik calls a “non-colonized, but informally colonized nation,” different from other countries in the region, Eurocentric representations of modernity were influential in the country’s vision of future sociocultural change, which included dismantling traditions and practices such as betel chewing. In contrast to Indonesia, Thailand “had no colonial elite to set fashions, but rather borrow[ed] selectively for her own purposes, and not as part of a colonial agenda” (Van Esterik 2000:27). In the absence of direct colonial control over a nation, cultural traditions were compared to those emerging within a European-dominated “modern” context. There was a process in Thailand that at once defined betel as uncivilized, yet also attempted to position it as a practice that represented “traditional” Thai culture to the outside world (Van Esterik 2000:122). In Indonesia, in contrast, the Dutch intended that betel was to signify the traditional past, represented as uncivilized and primitive. It was to be left behind, only referenced as a point of departure toward a modern Indonesia.

Throughout the period of the Ethical Policy, tobacco became deeply anchored within the cultural fabric of the country, and betel was seen to be falling out of favor. An

intervention in the region. It must be noted that the British gained control over Indonesia from 1812 - 1818.

abrupt end came to all Dutch colonial policies and practices with the arrival of Japanese Occupation from 1942 - 1945, but the impacts had already been made. For younger generations of Indonesians, this modernizing push was influential to how groups would adapt to and maintain cultural practices related to betel and tobacco. Moreover, it defined how systems of signification related to betel and tobacco would be reinterpreted and redefined.

Modes of modernity such as hygiene and objects of representation like betel, tobacco, and the cigarette took on new sociocultural and symbolic meanings (Stein 2009:550; Taylor 2009:193). In the context of the Dutch educational curriculum and the Ethical Policy's focus on public health, concepts of hygiene became symbolically linked to modernity (Stein 2009:550). "Personal cleanliness developed into a real mania in Europe and the United States in the early twentieth century" and spitting, one of the undeniable effects of betel chewing, was a topic of this discourse (van Dijk 2011:11). Through a European produced discourse of cleanliness, the public domains were actively being shaped into "advancing shame frontier[s]" (Taylor 2011:45). Chewing of betel came to represent improper hygiene. Tobacco consumption, in contrast, was deemed acceptable. Over time, for Europeans, the act of spitting became one of the major deterrents to adopting and continuing the practice of betel chewing. "To the European, nothing seemed more emotive a demonstration of the inferiority of the Indonesian than his habit of chewing betel, spitting the saliva on the roadside or even the house..." (Reid 1985:538). For Indonesians, important significations of the betel quid involved the aesthetics of the colorful saliva that was produced from chewing it. To see betel spit

lying around places where people lived or on one's home was part of everyday aesthetics. It symbolized home and the everyday.

As Indonesian youth adopted the colonial discourse on hygiene, it provided a new lens to reflect upon the ways of life they had always known. This discourse was dialectical. A proper way of practicing hygiene would necessarily be distinguished from improper forms like betel chewing and its effects. Economically, there were consequences of not adhering to the overall modern agenda, placing Indonesians at risk. Gaining employment within any "modern sector of the economy" was dependent upon meeting criteria associated with the aesthetics of modernity (Reid 1985:539). Reid associates this demand with an increasing gap between women and men in the country (Reid 1985:539). In short, new pressures were placed upon women that had not historically been relevant prior to this time.

Pressures of conformity spread throughout the country and people responded in different ways. Betel chewing as a practice was affected by the exertion of power by the Dutch, yet it was also a point of resistance for Indonesians. For example, on Turnate, an island in East Indonesia, people adopted a tactic of continuing betel consumption as part of daily practice, yet its use was limited to avoid acquiring certain aesthetic markers. "In the 19th century it was still customary on Turnate to chew betel, though the teeth were not permitted to become black from it, as in the days of the Dutch East Indies Company: now they had to remain pearly white, conforming to the European ideal of beauty" (Bosma & Raben 2008:164). Despite the push toward idealized notions of beauty, hygiene, and social acceptability, a strategy was conceived to allow for the betel tradition to continue,

relatively unnoticed. Drawing from this example, the colonial encounter was continuously met with different forms of resistance. Not everyone within Indonesia subscribed to the modernizing ideologies and practices. Instead, they crafted tactical responses to maintain long practiced traditions, while finding ways to ease the pressures of conformity. In ways, this was an alternative articulation of modernity from an Indonesian cultural lens. Set within a framework that acknowledges the traditional/modern dichotomy, changes seen in betel chewing practice on Turnate was progress. It was an adaptation to the new challenges, conditions, and social relations instigated by the colonial regime. There was conformance, yet resistance that transcended the traditional/modern divide. A cultural object transformed over time, the betel quid was redefined in practice. It was necessary to effectively reproduce the social order defined by the modernizing colonial project. This was facilitated by continuing betel as a tradition, while altering levels of consumption to mesh with the social conditions of the colonial context.

The Emergence of the *Kretek* Cigarette: Defined Through Sight and Sound

Cultural symbols shift and change in meaning parallel to transformations in political and economic relations. Historically, conflicts that have arisen from these shifts are often represented as struggles over authority, but much more is located within these undercurrents of change. James Scott clarifies, “it is also a struggle over the appropriation of symbols...” (Scott 1985:xvii). Scott’s insight into the significance of symbolic meanings illuminates the decline in betel chewing, the introduction of tobacco

to Indonesia, and the emergence of *kreteks* as manifestations of different forms of struggle in the Dutch colonial context. These struggles ranged from those in relations between women and men and those between Dutch and Indonesians.

Conceptualizations of modernity were grounded in a masculinized and gendered imagery positioning males at the forefront of society (Arnez 2009:51). This divide intensified an ongoing struggle that was actively pushing women into the backdrop of the public domain. “Men gave up betel chewing earlier than women and replaced it by using tobacco because smoking white cigarettes was a symbol of keeping pace with development. Smoking gave them new perspectives and opportunities for advancement and prestige” (Arnez 2009:51). Smoking was but one symbolic marker of this power (Arnez 2009:51). The Ethical Policy’s focus on building a highly skilled and specialized labor force of doctors and civil servants influenced specific gender ideologies that separated Indonesian and Dutch, women and men, in connection with the continued practice of betel chewing (Gouda 2008:24; Hollander 2009:46). Women and their contributions to society were excluded from the policy’s focus (Hollander 2009:47). In the modernizing scheme, the place of women remained dictated by patriarchy. Men adapted to the practice of smoking “white cigarettes,” deemed the epitome of Europeanness and modernity. They adjusted to this new practice as best they could because access to “white cigarettes” prior to local manufacturing, was limited due to cost. Imported cigarettes or cigars were a novelty item for upper-class Indonesians, and were at the onset, economically out of reach for the majority (Reid 1985:539). Highly ornate and luxurious betel sets no longer indicated wealth and prestige. These symbolic associations

were shifted to objects of modernity, seen in the tightly bound “white cigarette.” This was an image that contrasted drastically with the *bungkus*, a homemade cigarette wrapped in unprocessed material such as corn husk or banana leaf (Reid 1985:542; Hanusz 2000:10). Smoking the *bungkus* represented a “rustic” lifestyle linked to rural environments (Reid 1985:539). Urban and rural became categories of difference, symbols of the modern/primitive divide.

The modern association to the cigarette was mostly due to its appearance, within the well-bound, white wrapper (Reid 1985:542; Hanusz 2000:10). Tobacco rolled in this manner was an object popularized in Europe during the early 1830s and spread by the French (Goodman 2005:144). Cigarette, a French word in origins, was the name assigned to the white form (Goodman 2005:144). Prior to the emergence of the cigarette, Jordan Goodman explains, “tobacco in the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly either chewed, snuffed, or smoked in cigar or pipe form” (Goodman 2005:145). It was not until the 1880s, coinciding with the industrial revolution that mechanization changed forever the way humans consume tobacco (Goodman 2005:145). While changes in the means of production of tobacco were occurring in Europe, major interconnected shifts were happening in Indonesia with the advent of *kreteks* and improvements in the production of tobacco at the local level.

Centered in Kudus, Central Java, *kreteks* took hold as a popular cultural symbol in the late 19th century between the 1870s and 1880s, through the fusion of two important sociocultural objects – clove, once an addition to the betel quid, and tobacco. The trajectory of the mixture began from the *bungkus* to a similar product, the *rokok* (tobacco

wrapped in dried leaf of the *nipah* palm) to the *kelobot* (corn husk wrapper) and eventually the *kretek* (Hanusz 2000:10). According to Mark Hanusz, the terms *bungkus* and *rokok* are utilized in everyday *Bahasa Indonesia*²⁴ to reference a pack of cigarettes and the latter, a single cigarette (Hanusz 2000:10). *Rokok* derives from the Dutch term *roken*, which loosely translates to smoke or smoking (Hanusz 2000:10). Within this translation one can see the cultural influence of the colonizer. The cigarette as a culturally constructed object of consumption bears the marks of colonial linguistic influence. What Bourdieu refers to as a process of legitimate language necessary to symbolic domination and violence was at play in the naming of the cigarette in the Indonesian context (Bourdieu 1982:452). Reproduction of legitimate language was facilitated by such strategies as the Ethical Policy and the Cultivation System; all statutes related to modernity, modernization of the economy, language, and education.

Uniting the pre-colonial practice of betel chewing with tobacco inspired the *kretek* cigarette, born as a hybrid cultural object. The act of mixing as a cultural practice was part of betel culture, seen in the incorporation of tobacco as an additive to the quid. This played a role in the embrace of *kreteks*. Its hybridity was reflected in the mixing of indigenous cultural symbols and objects with a colonial introduced commodity. At the beginning of its conception, *kreteks* were referred to as *rokok cengkeh* (clove cigarette).

²⁴ *Bahasa Indonesia* is the official language of Indonesia. In everyday interaction, most refer to it simply as *Bahasa*. The term *bahasa* loosely translates to the English word language. The use of a lingua franca was promoted in the Dutch colonial period because of the Dutch the desire for a “single vehicle of communication for its heterogeneous empire” (Anderson 2006:167).

As the cigarette increased in popularity it became known by its contemporary name, *kretek*. The word *kretek* is onomatopoeic, deriving from the sound the early form of the cigarette, wrapped in corn husk, made after being ignited (Hanusz 2000:3; Arnez 2009:53). As a cultural object created through a process of hybridity, *kretek* as a name lost its Dutch linguistic reference and instead was labeled through sound, interpreted by Indonesians. Borrowing from Homi Bahaba, *kreteks* were defined outside of the Dutch/Indonesian lexicon in an “active moment of challenge and resistance...” (Wolf 2000:134). Useful here is Michaela Wolf’s examination of Bahaba’s perspective on the relationship between hybridity and colonial authority, “he sees hybridity as ‘a sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifts and fixities’ and as a moment in which the discourse of colonial authority loses its univocal claim to meaning” (Wolf 2000:134). The renaming of *kreteks* embodied the trajectory to its later elevation as a nationalist, post-colonial symbol. In the process of renaming, Indonesians challenged colonial authority. *Kreteks* represented quintessentially an object mixed with components of the betel quid, despite colonial condemnation of betel chewing.

Kreteks emerged as alternative representations of modernity. According to Adrian Vickers, “if wearing shoes made you equal to the Dutch, then the new sensation of smoking Indonesia’s unique clove cigarettes marked you as someone who had city sophistication. Modern people gave up old fashioned habits of chewing betel” (Vickers 2005:65). Although smoking *kreteks* represented an urban and modern aesthetic, it was a practice that remained linked to the past in many ways. This link was formed through the relationship between betel, tobacco, and cloves, as a long spanning additive to both

cigarettes and the betel quid. Incorporated into the modern aesthetic, this symbolic link to the past was rendered invisible to the colonial regime. Its temporal association could be evoked by the individual, at will, or acknowledged in various ways by other Indonesians. One subtle and nonverbal method of acknowledgement was through simple recognition of the unique scent emitted by the burning of cloves. This aromatic differential set *kreteks* apart from other modern forms of the cigarette.

Kreteks as a Cultural Symbol: From Japanese Occupation to Independence

With the onset of Japanese occupation in 1942, the primitive/modern dualism that shaped prior relations between colonizer and colonized was altered through a specific ideology of de-Westernization, employed to counter processes of Westernization and modernity. The notion of de-Westernization was a product of modernity similar to how modernity gave way to a concept of tradition (Nordholt 2000:102). The Japanese articulation of de-Westernization set Indonesia within yet another struggle; one in which Japan exerted power through political and economic relations. Japan facilitated the complete upheaval of “economic as well as political order” (Vickers 2005:92). The occupying regime commandeered all foreign owned enterprises taking over large portions of tobacco plantation lands to convert for rice production (Vickers 2005:91; Stubbs 2010:57). Prior to the period of occupation, according to Jean Stubbs’s study of the connection between Cuban cigar production and Indonesian tobacco, the Dutch, in preparation for war, “...were already turning cash-crop plantations over to food production, in effect starting what has been described as the Japanization of rice farming in Indonesia” (Stubbs 2010:57).

In one specific agricultural area called Besuki Residency, this subtle change was exacerbated by the Japanese who intensified rice production (Stubbs 2010:57). Besuki Residency was a “target for the highest quota of forced rice delivery...to feed troops and for wartime self-sufficiency” (Stubbs 2010:57). Generally, this period is defined by what Vickers’ describes as “chaos,” wherein the Japanese utilized extreme violence to address disorder initiated by the occupation (Vickers 2005:91). As this chaos ensued, the drastic “reorientation of commodity production” disconnected the immense pool of labor needed to fuel the plantation system from their previous source of livelihood, however exploitative (Stubbs 2010:57). The “reorientation of commodity production” altered Indonesian’s relationship to tobacco on multiple levels including in the areas of production, consumption, and as an important cultural symbol rooted in the sociocultural and historical trajectory of the country.

How did this short period of de-Westernization influence tobacco as a cultural symbol? This is a difficult question to answer. However, this period where the relationship to tobacco production was transformed has been described as “...cement[ing] the foundation for independence and nationalism” (Stubbs 2010:57). A decrease in tobacco and clove production occurred during this period, thus production and consumption were both reduced to unfamiliar levels (Hanusz 2004:142). Under the Japanese compulsory system, Indonesians were permitted to produce tobacco solely for domestic use. The majority of the country’s agricultural yields went toward sustaining the Japanese military (Hanusz 2000:XIV). This transformation in power relations

instigated the production of new meanings, associated with tobacco and *kreteks*. Indonesian author Pramoedya Ananta Toer recalls of this time period,

I began to smoke more and more. During the Japanese occupation, you couldn't always even find cornhusks to make cigarettes with, so people used all different kinds of leaves. Cloves were very hard to find, and expensive when you did. Even when I couldn't get enough to eat, I kept on smoking....Smoking was a good way to fend off hunger pains (Hanusz 2000:XIV).

Hunger was widespread, causing the death of numerous people in the country due to malnutrition and starvation. In Pramoedya's narrative, he illuminates another dimension of Indonesia's reliance on tobacco. For many, smoking, similar to betel chewing, was a means to ward off hunger, and it acted as a coping mechanism to deal with the daily trauma of occupation (Hanusz 2000:XIV). Smoking tobacco became a way to connect to a past practice of more stable times. Pramoedya exemplifies this in his statement, "*kretek* helped me get through some of the most difficult times" (Hanusz 2000: XVI). Reflecting upon Pramoedya's narrative of the role of *kreteks* during occupation, one sees how this specific form of cigarette was transformed into a national symbol. Difficulty accessing cloves and the subsequent limitations on producing *kreteks* without a key ingredient were experiences that became embedded within the systems of signification that defined the cigarette. These circumstances were linked to occupation as a historical event. Once occupation had ended, the bringing together of tobacco and cloves to create *kreteks* symbolized an event in time and space, one when Indonesians were nearing independence, and idealistically, moving away from the confines of outside intervention. Through struggle and oppression, smoking became a means to ward off the physical and psychosocial impacts of occupation. Furthermore, the act of smoking was, in ways, an

act of resistance and defiance against new and old occupiers. Tobacco was assigned new meaning that derived from transformations brought about by the Japanese in the political and economic realms of Indonesian life.

Kreteks became a marker of Indonesian identity, one that was in direct opposition to “white cigarettes” smoked by Europeans. Through *kreteks*, Pramoedya defines his narrative, recalling, “Only city people would smoke *kretek* wrapped in paper. There weren’t any machines back then, so all *kretek* were made entirely by hand. The only people who smoked Western-style cigarettes were Westerners. They wouldn’t have touched a *kretek*” (Hanusz 2000:XII). The contrasts between “white cigarettes” and *kreteks* emerged between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. “White cigarettes” were defined in opposition to indigenous forms such as the *rokok* (tobacco wrapped in dried leaf of the nipah palm), *kelobot* (corn husk wrapper) and *kretek*. *Rokok putih* is the Indonesian phrase for Western cigarettes, translating to white cigarette or white smoke. The Indonesian titled “white cigarette” is a distinctive way to reference Western forms of cigarettes and literal use of the phrase seems to be limited to the country. Ultimately, the term *rokok putih* has remained within the daily vocabulary of Indonesians speaking Bahasa Indonesia. This is despite changes in the production of *kreteks* in the late 1960s coinciding with mechanization and the use of white paper as a binding agent for the tobacco.

The prevalence of the term “white cigarette” in the Indonesian lexicon has influenced its use in much of the written history about tobacco in Indonesia. The term has been adopted to reference the Western cigarette. With its usage, the “white cigarette”

has gained nuanced meaning established through an association of the commodity to Europe. “White cigarettes” have consistently been defined in tobacco discourse using the terms conventional, standard, modern, and Western (Cox 2000:281; Reid 1985:539; Oxford Business Group 2010:119; Collin 2003:72). There are implications of these associations linked to the primitive/modern dualism as well as a general sense of the East/West dichotomy. On one side, the Indonesian cigarette has been constructed as unprocessed and unmodern, wrapped in organic materials that are a regular fixture in Indonesian landscapes (i.e. exotic). At the opposing side is the “white cigarette,” representing a standard or norm that derived from the European context (i.e. modern). From this relationship, the “white cigarette” has been positioned as the model by which to define all other forms of cigarettes as alternative or different.

Exegesis of White: Cigarettes in a Racialized Society

The term “white cigarette” seems to have appeared within tobacco discourse as a linguistic opposition to *kreteks* (Cox 2000:281). Howard Cox’s The Global Cigarette states that white “is the term used to distinguish them from *kreteks*” (Cox 2000:281). Diametrically positioned are indigenous forms of cigarettes as unconventional and irregular, all signifiers of difference. Through these classifications, the exegesis of the “white cigarette” represents a broader epistemological view that impacted relations between Indonesians and European colonialists. White was used to denote that which was deemed Western, foreign, and non-Indigenous. This meaning shifted and changed as tobacco transformed from an object of consumption by an elite group, to the whole of the

country. Imported “white cigarettes” became a staple within the public sphere around 1845 in Batavia, the colonial name for present day Jakarta (Reid 1985:538; Hanusz 2000:25). “Once European males, the highest social caste of colonial society became firmly committed to the smoking of cigars or cigarettes, it was only a matter of time before the whole society adopted the habit” (Reid 1985:538). “White cigarettes” were part of the colonial aesthetic representing elitism, power and Dutch modernity. Reid’s assertion speaks to the underlying control colonialists had over political and economic processes in the country as Indonesians adopted a habit, partially to gain particular access in colonial infrastructures. During this same period, when the “white cigarette” emerged, racial classifications were being codified for the first time in 1848 in the Dutch colonial system (Bloembergen 2006:45). Although, race had played a role in the organizing of colonial society, its reification within colonial law created a new mechanism of control - the category of race.

As a cultural object associated to the Dutch, the “white cigarette” acted as a point of demarcation for Indonesians. Tobacco was at once a cultural object infused within Indonesian culture, while simultaneously existing as part of the Dutch “modern style” that was being promoted within the country (Reid 1985:539). The promotion of “white cigarettes” as modern, opposed to betel chewing as primitive, played into the creation of a broader tobacco discourse born from within a Eurocentric epistemological tradition. Through this discursive process, “white cigarettes” took on meaning that included notions of conventional, modern, and standard. This was within a context where the

modern/primitive dualism held constant in the backdrop of social life, utilized as a lens to conceptualize and articulate emerging relations within the colonial context.

I contend that the modern/primitive dualism acted as the framework by which the history of tobacco as a discourse was conceptualized and articulated. This lens was a familiar one to the colonial encounter and the documenting of history. Its constant focus was preoccupied with categorizing non-Western peoples and cultures based on linear Eurocentric notions of progress. To further support this claim, the distinction of the cultural context in which “white cigarettes” and *kreteks* were to be compared was historically one that had been defined as the exotic, primitive, other. Previously existing dualisms conceptualized within the European framework contrasted “white cigarettes” with the *kretek*, *rokok* (tobacco wrapped in dried leaf of the nipah palm), *kelobot* (corn husk wrapper) and any non-Western derivative of the cigarette through a knowledge system predicated upon the primitive/civilized distinction. Hence, the scholarly references to “white cigarettes” are supported by notions of normality, modern, standard, while other forms of the cigarette conceived by Indonesians are consequently alternative, different, and in many instances rooted in supposed primitive traditions.

Although part of the aesthetic marker was the tangible white paper the cigarette was wrapped in, whiteness as a racial distinction was indeed a factor in the conceptualization of difference between “white cigarettes” and Indonesian forms, specifically the *kretek*. Mark Hanusz argues the opposite, stating, the “...white cigarette...derives its name not from its most common consumers, but rather the color of the paper” (Hanusz 2000:13). While Hanusz’s explanation appears simple enough and

quite feasible, he lacks historical context or a discussion of the conditions and circumstances in which the “white cigarette” was defined in opposition to the *kretek* (Cox 2000:281). The distinction in itself was an event within a larger social, economic, cultural and political process of demarcation, of that which was Indonesian in contrast to the Dutch colonial power. At work here was a long trajectory of rigid economic control over how ordinary Indonesians accessed tobacco as an object of production, consumption and as a potential profit making commodity. This regulation was done so through colonial policy. Reid’s claim that “white cigarettes” emerged as a staple in 1845, coincides with the institutionalization of racial classifications modeled in relation to the concepts, “Europeans and persons regarded as equivalent to them,” “natives,” and “Foreign Orientals” all distinctions that were then intersected to Christianity as the standard religious identity (Reid 1985:538; Bloembergen 2006:45). The official codification of race within the colonial system positioned the culturally constructed category at the forefront of relations between the Dutch, Indonesians and various populations of migrant laborers in the country. As the “white cigarette” emerged, the naming of this “modern” colonial aesthetic was much more complex than a visual association of color of the outside wrapper.

To claim that naming the “white cigarette,” the opposite of the *kretek*, a unique Indonesian invention, did not have political connotations or implications ignores the historicity of tobacco in the region. It denies historical and social preconditions that carved the path toward Indonesians taking control over the means of production of tobacco (Marx1978:221-293). As a foreign commodity, the “white cigarette” in its

contemporary form was given birth somewhat early on in the stages of capitalism. The Dutch had created an economic environment in the early 1900s that was, according to Frances Gouda, an inspiration to the global community, specifically America (Gouda 2002:66). What was considered “admirable” was the vast monopolist hold the colonial government had over industry (Gouda 2002:66). This fact is important to the contextualization of the environment in which the *kretek* was introduced. As a commodity, entrepreneurs had to adapt to this context in order to become competitive within the preexisting tobacco market.

The relationship between *kreteks* and “white cigarettes” exists at various levels. “White cigarettes” encompass symbolic meaning associated with the foreign entity that introduced the commodity to Indonesia and, likewise, the capitalist economic system that defined its value. It combined economic worth with a notion of social value that deemed the “white cigarette” a standard or normal form. It is in this context that *kreteks* are consequently defined as alternative or abnormal. The “white cigarette” in the Indonesian context has characteristics that speak to conceptualizations of us/them. It was us (Indonesians, Native, non-western) that created the *kretek*. Toward the beginning of the end of colonial domination the *kretek* was juxtaposed to “white cigarettes,” a cultural symbol representative of them (Dutch, foreign, western). Although this statement relies upon the us/them dichotomy created from within the western epistemological foundation, it properly illuminates the power dynamics at play in the process of naming the opposite of the *kretek*.

Race in colonial Indonesia was a culturally constructed category of difference established in the context of unequal power relations between the Dutch colonizers and the colonized. It was utilized by colonialists as a mechanism of control and domination. Racial distinctions among non-colonialists were evident in institutional structures, for example, the Ethical Policy's focus on education and its use of racial classifications to organize classrooms (Taylor 2003:286). These distinctions were part of colonially conceived and intensified racial divisions across a wide range of diverse Indonesians and migrants from countries like China (Tong 2010:118). Race was not only used in educational infrastructure; it also acted as a means to divide labor, hence the presence of a racialized labor force in Indonesia seen in the plantation economy and the influx of 'coolie' laborers. Conceptualizations of race played a role throughout the colonial project, from the creation of the other, to the colonialist regulation of the behaviors and activities of other colonialists within the colonies (Stoler 2002:13). As Ann Stoler points out, race was utilized as a mechanism of control among colonizers and was a "central organizing principle of European communities in the colonies" (Stoler 2002:13). Stoler argues that in the context of race, "...racial thinking was part of a critical, class-based logic that differentiated between native and European and that was part of the apparatus that kept potentially subversive white colonials in line" (Stoler 2002:13). There was a clear sense of racial consciousness in Indonesia, linked to the Dutch colonial project. Racial classifications and hierarchies in the country were based on a notion of whiteness as a contrast to Indonesianness. These conceptions were intertwined within the symbolic domination of the country maintaining a certain sense of order among Indonesians and in

line with Stoler, the white colonialists themselves (Stoler 2002:13). Whiteness, Indonesianess, and gender as categories are dynamic, fluid, performative and symbolic, yet yield very tangible cause and effect in daily life.

I argue that within this context in Indonesia, the naming of “white cigarettes” in opposition to Indonesian forms, specifically the *kretek*, was part of a sociopolitical, economic and symbolic process challenging the colonial power structure and eventually leading to struggles for independence from the Dutch. This process was entangled within the racialization of Indonesian society. Furthermore, the naming of the “white cigarette” was also a contradictory act. Smoking “white cigarettes” brought Indonesians closer to a modern image; one that relied upon the maintenance of whiteness as a dominant category. Smoking the *kretek* or Indonesian cigarette was similarly performative and linked the consumer to a sense of Indonesianness, even more so as this conscious choice was a rejection of the “white cigarette” and all that it represented. Gazing forward to Indonesia’s post-colonial society, what did it mean to express Indonesianness? What did it mean to be Indonesian? The *kretek* is part of the answer as a cultural object and symbol that has, over time and space, represented a specific aspect of Indonesian society. Indonesians were able to take a colonially introduced product and transform it into a commodity. This commodity was understood as a “quintessential Indonesian product that was conceived in Indonesia by Indonesians and then developed into a commercial enterprise by native entrepreneurs and their ethnic Chinese counterparts” (Hanusz 2000:XVII). The contemporary Indonesian tobacco industry is dominated by *kretek* cigarettes with “white cigarettes” making up a small portion of the market. In 2008, an

upward of 97 per cent of tobacco users preferred *kreteks* over other forms in the country (Barber et al. 2008:7).

Chapter 5. Tobacco in Indonesia: Ethnography of Daily Praxis

Bali is one of the many thousand islands that make up the vast Indonesian archipelago. With the largest Hindu minority in Indonesia, the province is also home to Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists. Hindu ritual is tightly woven into the practices of daily life, and is one of the most publically visible of religious systems on the island. Balinese Hindu women can be observed creating and distributing labor intensive offerings that are central to religious practice. The complex ritual economy linked to Hinduism in Bali ties mainly women's labor, to ritual practices. Tangible offerings are regularly placed on temples, in front of homes, storefronts, hotels, and within vehicles. These offerings are habitually made twice per day in the early morning and late afternoon. This ritual economy is constituted by what Christian Wells explains as "...the process of provisioning and consuming that materializes and substantiates worldview for managing meaning and shaping interpretation (McAnany & Wells 2008:3). Thus, the daily ritual is not only a means by which to conceptualize and articulate the symbolic and material realms, it is also linked to economic processes of consumption and therefore, the broader capitalist system. The importance of acknowledging the presence of a ritual economy in Bali facilitates the beginnings of an understanding of the, "...circumstances under which power is amassed and the means by which it may be consolidated..." (McAnany & Wells 2008:2).

The social, cultural, and religious environments in Bali have historically attracted anthropologists en masse, seeking to conduct ethnographic research. Anthropologists' contributions, along with the broader structuring of relations between colonialists and colonized, have influenced the creation of Bali as a discourse that reflects a people, culture and geographical place of otherness, romanticized and exoticized, while being characterized as primitive and savage (Bruner 1996:157). These representations are linked to the development of anthropology as a discipline and correspond to early contact with Europeans that set the trajectory for later colonization. The depictions have overshadowed Bali, shaping dominant perceptions about the island yet in more recent times, scholarly practice has sought to counter these representations from both inside and outside of Bali and more broadly, Indonesia. Investigation of the political economy of tourism on the island has resulted in studies of the unequal power relations that transpire when a country, specifically located outside of the Western world, is deemed one of the most desired vacation destinations. In Edward Bruner's exploration of tourism in Bali, he remarks, "Bali...is depicted in the tourist literature as...a tropical paradise of haunting beauty, an unspoiled beach, an isle of mystery and enchantment...where the people live untouched by civilization, close to nature, with a culture that is artistic, static, harmonious, and well integrated" (Bruner 1996:157). The romanticization of Bali is embedded within the minds of tourists from all over the world. These expectations accompany the millions of bodies that travel to the island per year, perpetuating notions of otherness, but "also...a culture that never existed" (Bruner 1996:158). Many aspects of Balinese culture, including unique artistic and musical traditions, or captivating ritual

practices unfamiliar to foreigners have been historically represented and dualistically interpreted from within categories of tradition/modern and primitive/civilized, both of which are linked to colonial processes that sought political and economic hegemony over the island and Indonesia as a whole (Bruner 1996:158). Balinese are acutely aware of how the island, peoples, and cultures that reside within it have been constructed over time, as the primitive other. As a group, Balinese have arrived at complex strategies of contestation of these images, but also appropriation of these historical representations as a means to survive within the global capitalist economy (Bruner 1996:159). Bruner explains that "...tourism is a route to economic development and a means of livelihood" (Bruner 1996:159). What transpires from the creation of this path toward development is a saturated economy, whereby the primary means of subsistence is to provide labor to the tourist industry. All other avenues are extremely limited or nonexistent.

Bali is a complex piece of the larger puzzle that is Indonesia. The Balinese fought off colonial domination for hundreds of years. In 1849, the Dutch started a long and difficult campaign of ascendancy, successfully occupying Bali in 1908 (Lewis 2009:17). Overall, during the long period of colonialism, the Dutch did have a hand in political and economic processes of Bali by working through the Balinese elite. One way this relationship unfolded was through the trade of human slaves and resources. The island played an important role in the colonial economy, with smallholdings of coffee, indigo, rice, sugar, tobacco, and coconuts. Bali's place within the tobacco economy was fortified through the development of plantations (Vickers 2005:15).

I arrived in Bali, Indonesia toward the end of June 2011 to participate in an experiential research course focused on ethnographic field methods. The final product of our chosen ethnographic research was to be communicated as a presentation to the community where we had conducted our research. I was anchored in *Kesiman*, a small sprawling area located in the fast-growing capital city of Denpasar, graciously hosted by a Balinese-Hindu family, in a small compound located off of *Jalan Supratman*, a busy intersection bustling with people, cars, and motorbikes. I quickly became familiar with the surrounding community after my numerous voluntary, and at times, involuntary explorations of it. Mostly motivated by the need for sustenance, many of my trips ended in my getting lost, walking around for hours. This proved to be an excellent way to get acquainted with my new geographical surroundings. And, these excursions provided me with the opportunity to practice the few words that I had absorbed in *Bahasa Indonesia*, taught to our group during an early morning linguistic class. Upon settling into a new environment, one tends to orient oneself in relation to where basic necessities can be obtained. In the general vicinity, one could find many *warung* (small, often family run stalls or shops). These stalls exist throughout Indonesia, and according to Jeremy Wallach, are the center of the informal economy. Speaking of Jakarta *warung* Wallach notes, "...owners do not try and make their businesses stand out but rather strive to make them resemble the other *warung* in their category...standing out is to be avoided in the informal economy; in contrast, the formal sector in Indonesia and elsewhere relies on brand-name recognition..." (Wallach 2008:50). Wallach points out that the process of blending in is facilitated by naming these establishments "humble names" that are simple

and to the point, even “self-effacing,” expressing humor (Wallach 2008:51). *Warung* in Denpasar conform to this pattern and many are indistinguishable from one another. The only way to differentiate them is to memorize their location, identify small signage, and get to know the sellers. One of the most frequented food *warung* in the *Kesiman* neighborhood was casually known as the “soccer *warung*” based on its interior décor of European football teams. There were also *warung* that sold *pulsa* (calling cards used for cellular phones), drinks, snacks, toiletries and cigarettes. It was the latter product that eventually came to interest me as both a researcher and consumer.

Tobacco *warung* are known as *warung rokok*, “cigarette stall.” As tobacco has penetrated Indonesian life, the tobacco economy thrives at both the informal and formal level. “Nearly everyone buys cigarettes from street-side cigarette kiosks “*warung rokok*” and purchases bottled water, cigarettes and snacks from roving salespeople...” (Wallach 2008:50). In my time in Denpasar, I observed this to be true, frequently encountering cigarettes sold in *warung*, next to other goods such as beer, snacks, and bottled water. There was a multipurpose *warung* connected to *Taman 65*, a space in Bali of political and social activism, located within the borders of a family compound. This space was a meeting point for our research group and also acted as a social gathering spot for the group of Indonesian youth associated with the research program. Many in the group had family ties among themselves and with those in the compound. This particular *warung* was run by an elderly woman who resided within the compound. She sold typical goods like cigarettes, beer and bottled water, but also homemade dishes like *Nasi Goreng* and *Nasi Campur*, both staples in Indonesian cuisine. The stall opened to the exterior of the

building, so that passersby could easily access and purchase the goods. From within the compound, the store could be accessed through a back door next to a living area. This arrangement created fluid boundaries of the *warung* as a living and working space. On many nights one could find a group of younger men hanging in front of the *warung* talking, eating and smoking *kreteks*. In some cases, seating was provided outside *warung*, thus attracting more clients (Wallach 2008).

In comparison to *warung* that operate outside of the formal economy in Indonesia, in the nearby city of *Sanur*, a beach front tourist destination, the *warung rokok* was present, but in a different form. *Sanur* was the first resort area in Bali and is known as one of the quieter and more relaxed tourist areas, attracting families with children and people from older generations. Hotel chains like the Hyatt have designated private strips of beach along the coastline. Here, in *Sanur* *warung rokok* are uncommon and tend not to take the form of stalls. From my observations, the closest comparison in the United States would be a locally owned business, like a neighborhood corner market. In addition to these corner markets, there are large corporate entities that have made their way into the tourist areas as points of familiarity. Most people purchase their cigarettes from corporate conglomerates like *Circle K*, which has multiple locations in the area. I encountered three in about a two mile radius. From my observations, the *warung rokok*'s in *Denpasar* carried only a couple of brands of *kreteks* including *Gudang Garam*, *Sampoerna*, and *Djarum*, all major players in the *kretek* market. In contrast, the selection at any one of the *Circle K*'s in *Sanur* had an entire wall dedicated to a variety of

international tobacco brands including *kreteks* and “white cigarettes.” Clearly, the stock was selected with Western tourists in mind.

Tourism remains a way to close the space between “the self” and “the other” (Bruner 1996). This involves a complex balancing act, so that Western tourists feel safe among ‘the other’ “...as long as they are in their proper space/place” (Bruner 1996:160). Much is done in tourist areas like *Sanur* to make the environment as exotic as possible, while still maintaining a level of familiarity. In the case of Circle K, Western familiarity linked to notions of safety, is facilitated through consumption. As Western tourists walk into the minimart with the motivation to buy cigarettes, they are given a seemingly exhilarating choice that parallels their yearning for the exotic and the authentic. Either they may purchase an Indonesian form of cigarette, such as the *kretek* or, if they wish to consume the familiar, they may choose the “white cigarette,” a commodity that connects them back to their home.

I witnessed a similar array of international tobacco brands sold on *Gili Trawangan*, the largest of three small bodies of land that comprise the picturesque Gili Islands. *Trawangan* is known in tourist discourse as the more party-oriented island, in comparison to the other two of the Gili Islands – Gili Meno and Gili Air. The Gili Islands, and the closely situated Lombok, have local populations that are predominately Muslim. My time on the islands was during the holy period of Ramadan and I was told that the atmosphere tended to be more reserved out of respect for the Islamic tradition. From what I could gather, activities like drinking, smoking, public nudity and near nudity, still occurred despite signs that were posted in various languages, informing

tourists of the holy tradition, and specifically asking that a level of modesty be exhibited. Due to the island's reliance on the tourist economy, alcohol and tobacco were readily available at all times. Here, the *warung rokok* took the form of free standing stalls, many of which were easily made mobile. One of the main *warung rokok*'s was operated by an older Muslim woman. Her *warung* was smartly and conveniently situated on the busy strip of the island, nearest the beach front where one could purchase cigarettes by the pack, half-case, or as singles. Gili Trawangan's close proximity to Lombok, an island within the West Nusa Tenggara province of Indonesia, accounted for her diverse offerings of cigarette brands. Lombok is a place where both domestic and multinational private corporations can be found, which fuel the tobacco economy through their use of contract labor (Amigo 2009:37). The island has a stable tobacco economy and historically, it was the site of lucrative tobacco plantations, some of which are still in operation.

Historical Consciousness in a Tagline: "It's Indonesian. It's an Indonesian Cigarette."

Kretek cigarettes and tobacco were not the focus of my research in the ethnographic research methods course in Indonesia, but they did however, fill the backdrop to my everyday experiences. My chosen research topic was a collaborative effort to explore the role of social and political activism located within the space called *Taman 65*. The space was created to commemorate the period in Indonesian history where 500,000 – 1,000,000 Indonesians were brutally murdered in the context of political violence. Those who fell at the hands of the perpetrators of this violence were killed for

being alleged communists. It was a time of immense suspicion and confusion perpetuated by the Suharto government, in an attempt to consolidate a military regime. Fear permeated the country, causing violent fractures in all aspects of societal organization. Families, neighbors, and entire communities were divided, between victim and perpetrator.

State-sponsored violence divided people through the guise of an anticommunist movement, intent on what Chomsky and Herman define as an “attempt to consolidate authoritarian power” (Chomsky & Herman 1979:205). The deliberate consolidation of power through state-perpetuated violence created a “culture of silence” (Dwyer 2009). This silence bolsters historically rooted romanticized perceptions of Bali as conflict-free and “harmonious.” Indirectly, the silence acknowledges the powerful economic interests that explain why the Indonesian state would actively work to thwart public recognition of such a tragic event (Bruner 1996:157). Anthropologist Leslie Dwyer explains that this silence is “...a cultural and political creation that takes place in particularly contoured settings, which certain interlocutors – or eavesdroppers, or informants – in earshot or mind” (Dwyer 2009:134). In an attempt to break this silence and recognize the atrocities that have plagued not only Bali, but the entire country, *Taman 65* was conceptualized as a first step. *Taman 65* is a complex space that straddles the public and private divide. It is located in a family compound comprised of several family homes, yet at times, it is also a public space for art, music, and events centered on political and social issues. As processes of remembering and forgetting transpire in Indonesia, politicized places like *Taman 65* remain few. Public discourse on the history of this conflict and violence

remains sparse; its silence is glaring. During the duration of the research course, *Taman* 65 played a critical role in my research, including serving as a place for tangential observations of tobacco consumption.

Tobacco plays a vital role in the daily life of Indonesians, even for those who do not consume tobacco products. It was a constant in everyday social interactions yet shortly after arriving to Bali, tobacco began to disappear into the backdrop. As a non-habitual smoker, the initial barrage of sweet smoke exhaled into my facial region proved to be a distraction. Yet, I quickly acclimatized to the constant barrage of cigarette smoke. The ease with which I was able to adjust sparked many questions about the role of tobacco in Indonesia. I wondered how tobacco penetrated Indonesia so deeply that it was now part of everyday life, virtually invisible. I was curious about what *kreteks* symbolized to its consumers. What did smoking it express and how was the history of tobacco in Indonesia connected to that expression? One insight that I arrived at while researching in Bali was connected to the verbal messaging that accompanied smoking *kreteks*: when in the presence of someone smoking, a person that you were somewhat acquainted with, it was common to be offered a cigarette as a courtesy. This gesture, in turn, was supposed to be recognized, remembered, and reciprocated at a later time. I was constantly offered tobacco, specifically in the form of *kreteks*. In receiving these offers, they were accompanied by the tagline, “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette.” This simple phrase contains within its bounds of information and knowledge about the historical, social, cultural, economic and political locus of tobacco in Indonesia. I

continued to ponder the dynamic discourse long after having returned to my own cultural context.

In marketing lingo, a tagline is meant to be a brief statement, one that communicates the power of a product and its impact on the consumer. The effective and succinct branding of *kreteks* was present in most exchanges predicated upon the offering of a cigarette. I reference the phrase, “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette” as a tagline because, despite the person doing the offering, this phrase acted as a universal marketing slogan, intended to incite consumption. It was not branding in the business sense, but branding in the cultural sense, activated by consumers themselves. The desire for a foreigner to try a *kretek* was not about selling a product. The intention was not to make a profit. Rather, it was associated with identity, an Indonesian identity linked to the *kretek* as a product born from an “indigenous industry” (Lawrence & Collins 2004:97; Guss 2000). Similarly, it was about sharing a part of Indonesian culture and bridging the gap between cultural differences, and any other perceived culturally constructed differences such as race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality; categories that are often not so easily identifiable.

Remarkably, the phrase “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette” stuck with me as a marker or tagline, if you will, of historical consciousness. Through a particular framework that combined history with daily practice in the Indonesian social, cultural, economic and political realm, the *kretek* was given specific meaning as uniquely Indonesian and this message was expressed in offerings of the cigarette. As a Westerner and furthermore, as a researcher in Indonesia, I desired to understand what was deemed

so truly Indonesian to my Indonesian informants. Without actually tasting a *kretek*, how would I ever begin to approach the subject? Once my lips had wrapped around the pleasantly perfumed cigarette, I was able to gain enough information to discern what makes the *kretek* different. For one, the taste is much smoother than a “white cigarette” or Western brand of cigarettes that lacked cloves and the special sauce. It was accompanied by a sweet flavor that filled the lungs, keeping the mind focused on the taste, instead of the burning sensation that occurred within the chest. Smoking a *kretek* was a pleasant experience, yet what makes it “Indonesian”?

The highly politicized context of our research course and topics illuminated the connection between smoking and the expression of historical consciousness linked to the events and atrocities of 1965 - 66. Although most of the participants of the course – staff and students – were of the next generation roughly between 20 and 30 years old, the event remains central to transformations in societal relations throughout the country. I argue that the *kretek* cigarette, a hybrid Indonesian cultural symbol and object acts as a vessel to express Indonesian identity and as a marker for historical consciousness. The verbal contrast or slogan, “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette,” evolved out of the need to create an opposition to “white cigarettes” as they became commonplace in the Indonesian economy, initially as a marker of colonial modernity. The Dutch push toward a particular modernity and modernization set the *kretek* along a path that linked it to various political and economic struggles of opposition. Indonesian author Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s recalls the role of *kreteks* during Japanese occupation, “I began to smoke more and more....Smoking was a good way to fend off hunger pains” (Hanusz

2000:XIV). Likewise, smoking was a means to ward off symbolic and psychosocial pains from a not too distant violent past, perpetuated by family on family and neighbor on neighbor. In this way, smoking connects back to the issue of silence within Indonesian cultures, a silence that stems from 1965, but that also has been reinforced by state mechanisms of control, which permeate the social, cultural, political and economic realms of the country.

Project Quit Tobacco is a research program employing interdisciplinary methodology to create culturally appropriate tobacco cessation programs. Indonesia is one of the research sites utilized to conduct an ethnographic study of the role of tobacco in Indonesian lives. Social and cultural factors for smoking were studied in an area of Java. The findings showed that “emotional control is a cultural value, especially for men” and smoking was used to mitigate these emotions and associated behaviors (Nichter et al. 2009:308). Frederick Barth found similar behaviors in Bali. Controlling emotions was deemed an important cultural norm and Barth noted that “high emotions” were to be suppressed (Barth 1993:130). Smoking tobacco was a means to maintain this cultural value of emotional control, yet it also worked as a way to encourage social interaction around difficult issues such as the massacres of 1965 - 66.

In the context of my research setting, tobacco did indeed ward off emotions linked to past atrocities. Yet it was also a mechanism for entering social interactions that were centered on these same difficult issues. The contradiction here lies in the multifaceted symbolic role of the *kretek* cigarette. At once it offered a means for users to suppress their emotions, while simultaneously acting as a facilitator of very difficult and taboo

discussions of political violence. In a culture and society that has instituted silence within its historical consciousness; it is these contradictions that offer a means to begin processes of remembering and reconciliation. In varying ways, silence has long permeated the historical layers of the country, expressed through such symbolic activities as smoking *kreteks*. The action is linked to colonialism. It is an empowered practice predicated on the notion of “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette.” This is not a subtle message. After hundreds of years of domination, in a context where notions of inferiority and primitivism were expressed through the codification of colonial infrastructures and ideologies, to Indonesians the *kretek* has become a symbol that, as a people, they are empowered innovative human beings.

Historical consciousness, including the desire for independence fosters symbolic activity. Jean and John Comaroff’s work with the *Tshidi-Baralong*, a *Tswana* people of South Africa, offers valuable insights into understanding *kreteks* as a marker of historical consciousness (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:191). Their use of the madman as a way to examine “the nature of historical consciousness and its relation to culture” reveals a history of rural to urban movement, introduction into a new labor market, all the while dealing with the pressures of change brought on by colonization (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:193). Jean and John Comaroff note that the *Tshidi* have a rich understanding of contemporary processes in relation to their history (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:193). The *Tshidi* exists within “...a context in which issues of historical consciousness and class consciousness in particular arise in acute form: a black South African people drawn into the labor market and made to eke out an existence from a combination of small farming

and wage work” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:193). This history is present in everyday life and practices as a “dynamic interplay” of disjointed and non-linear periods full of “contrasts” and contradictions (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:193). Viewing Indonesian historical consciousness through this lens illuminates the similarities among colonial processes. Indonesians were forced into a labor market dominated by Dutch interests and conversely were made to subsist from “farming and wage work” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987:193). The vast inequalities and poverty throughout Indonesia are products of these processes of oppressive hegemonic control tied to a capitalist global market. There is no irony lost on the comparisons that could be made between contemporary militaristic government repression and brutal violence employed in Indonesia to meet political gains. The massacres of 1965 - 66 are an example of this violence.

In the Indonesian context, *kreteks* are situated within “web of significance” that give it meaning expressing social, political, economic, cultural and historical shifts and changes (Allen 1988:37; Geertz 1973:5). Symbolic activity located in smoking a *kretek* is but one thread that makes up the historical consciousness of Indonesia. As a marker of history, the *kretek* was born from a hybrid process, linking the colonially introduced tobacco with components of the betel quid, most notably cloves, to eventually form the *kretek* cigarette. In present day, the cigarette transcends categories of difference to be consumed by all within Indonesian society. It presents a cultural symbol and object that can be utilized to explore multifaceted sociocultural aspects of Indonesia but also the country’s history and political and economic relations. From this perspective, the *kretek*

provides a means to view the country's ever-transforming place within the global economy, specifically as multinational corporations take control and ownership of previously Indonesian owned tobacco companies.

Positionality and Kretek Cigarettes

Within the interaction between researcher/subject and Indonesian/Western the expression of historical consciousness through the *kretek* cigarette sustains a dynamic past to inspire present hopes for future transformation. In relation to 1965, this transformation includes genuine acknowledgement by the Indonesian government that the massacres occurred, and that the regime played a central role in facilitating and maintaining the violence. Coupled with this acknowledgement of wrongdoing, is a general desire for the international community to be aware of the atrocities of this time period. The high number of tourists that visit Indonesia, and more specifically Bali, are unaware of the island's history of state-sponsored violence. Events that are often most present in their minds are more recent "terrorist acts" seen in the 2002 bombings in the tourist area of Kuta.

The verbal reminder of the *kretek* as an "Indonesian cigarette" was utilized as a tool to penetrate the unequal power dynamics present due to positionality. In Eric Sheppard's "The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality" he offers a useful understanding of positionality (Sheppard 2002:318). Influenced by feminist theory, Sheppard uses the concept of "positionality to describe how different entities are positioned with respect to one another in space/time" (Sheppard 2002:318). He specifically looks at how individuals and groups are positioned differently

within the global economy (Sheppard 2002:318). The historical inequalities that have derived from European domination and the creation of dichotomous categories of First/Third World and developed/underdeveloped, combined with the material consequences of these classifications, have situated people within particular socially constructed hierarchies. First/Third World and developed/underdeveloped are historical categories. The way in which people “know” the world around them is through epistemological traditions that have defined difference in opposition to that which is viewed as the norm. Historically this norm has been based on a male, white, western, heterosexual, Christian perspective. In other words, there is a particular subjecthood that defines all those who do not fit within these categories. Sheppard extends this difference to where one is located within the asymmetrical global economy that is grounded in a foundation that views normality in terms of a narrow and linear perspective centered on the categories described above.

As a researcher positioned in a new cultural environment these categories matter and require constant reflection on the nature and consequences of one’s interactions. I was an American interacting with Indonesians in Indonesia. Positionality, in Sheppard’s view, not only reflects upon the socially constructed categories that define a person’s difference, but furthermore extends this awareness to “how connections between places play a role in the emergence of geographic inequalities within the global economy” (Sheppard 2002:318). This expansive reflection situates the United States in relation to Indonesia, a country that is considered to be a “developing” nation. Through this same lens, the *kretek* cigarette as “It’s Indonesian. It’s an Indonesian cigarette” has

economically and politically become positioned over the last 10 - 20 years as a product, not of Indonesia, but multinational corporations like British American Tobacco and Philip Morris International. Each has acquired major Indonesian tobacco companies. Within this complex relationship between positionalities, the *kretek* as a cultural symbol and object of historical consciousness is evolving within the context of the global political economy. The implications of this multinational ownership over a commodity understood as so uniquely Indonesian bears vast symbolic and material consequences for Indonesians.

Kreteks became a way to elicit what Johannes Fabian defines as “coevalness” or a sharing of time that has historically been dislocated. The cigarette facilitated a decreasing of symbolic space between me as a researcher and the human beings that were the subjects of my study (Fabian 2002:31). This dislocation is due to Western epistemological domination and the assignment of “otherness” to all non-European peoples and cultures (Fabian 2002:30). It has been a dislocation based on the lack of awareness of history and positionality. In this sharing of time, *kreteks* acted as a means to illuminate the events of 1965-66, bringing them to the forefront of conversation, discussion, and interaction. I acknowledge that this topic is taboo for many Balinese and the politicized context of our research drew out these alternative narratives of a lesser known history. *Kreteks* played a role in facilitating this process. The attempt at Fabian’s “coevalness” was elicited through consumption of *kreteks* as an important cultural object created out of an awareness of power and positionality (Fabian 2002:31). It was in this

space that 1965 was spoken about, while illuminating the central place of *kreteks* within Indonesian culture.

A useful comparison can be made with Catherine Allen's work on coca and cultural identity in the Andes. To Allen "...coca epitomizes the way Andeans are entangled in the meshes of an international economy whose politics and morality affect their lives in ways they can neither imagine nor resist" (Allen 1988:36). Allen's perceptive analysis of the role of coca reveals it as a mediator or "way in" to examine symbolic meaning in the Andes. In this way, coca "ties" people to past and present in a web of symbolic meaning that continues to be made and unmade throughout time and space (Allen1988:226). Within one of the oldest cultivated Andean plants exists an interplay between past, present and future that holds vast knowledge about cultural transformation that has occurred in the Andean region (Allen1988:36). Applying this lens to the Indonesian context helps to illuminate the webs of significance and meaning associated with tobacco and *kreteks*. Allen's participation in coca chewing facilitated a greater degree of access to local knowledge. For me, *kreteks* played a similar role, allowing me to uncover knowledge and experience linked to a particular event. Like Allen's understanding of coca and temporality, I found that *kreteks* were comparably situated within Indonesia, in such a way that it illuminated the relationships between tobacco, colonialism, the makings of a postcolonial society, and constantly evolving state and government economics and politics in present day. Whether it is coca or tobacco, such cultural goods offer a way to transcend temporal boundaries that limit understandings of human interaction and transformation, giving way to recognizing

larger global processes and connections at work. Coca tied people temporally, wrapping them within a shared sense of time and history. I would argue *kreteks* did the same.

Questions of Authenticity: *Kreteks* as Natural

Tobacco provides a paradox in Indonesia. It is a cultural symbol and object that, when consumed, can facilitate silence and stabilize emotions that are perceived to be improper to express. Yet tobacco simultaneously is positioned as an instigator of social interaction, seen in such places as *Taman 65* (Nichter et al. 2009:308; Barth 1993:130). While tobacco is an important cultural symbol and object within Indonesia, its consumption is likewise a behavior, a habit formed from the substance's addictive physiological manifestations within the human body. During my time in Indonesia, I observed what I would deem the overconsumption of tobacco, due to associations of the *kretek* as "natural." Within this naturalness are issues of authenticity, rooted within the statement, "It's Indonesian. It's an Indonesian cigarette." The notion of an indigenous cigarette, unprocessed and closer to nature has impacted perceptions of the *kretek* as more natural than its counterpart - the "white cigarette." Levels of tobacco consumption in Indonesia are alarming and the impacts are multifaceted and often, unforeseen. Mark Nichter and Elizabeth Cartwright point out that, despite cultural context, the impacts of tobacco can be generalized,

...smoking leads to and exacerbates chronic illnesses, which in turn reduces adults' ability to provide for their children. Smoking also daily diverts scarce household resources which might be used more productively. And, third children living with smokers are exposed to smoke inhalation and have more respiratory diseases (Nichter & Cartwright 1991:237).

These consequences are intensely relevant in the Indonesian context, where the average household has limited economic opportunities and resources. In addition, the health impacts of tobacco put pressures on children to care for adults. Even in cultural environments where this responsibility is embedded within the child/adult relationship, the burdens are often felt earlier on due to a shortened lifespan facilitated by tobacco consumption. As children become victims of early onset disease related to tobacco, the cycle becomes even more detrimental to the older generations.

Kreteks have been shown to elicit notions of Indonesian identity and act as a marker of historical consciousness. In interactions with those not affiliated with the research course, I found that *kreteks* were viewed and referred to in similar ways. To illustrate, one night while waiting outside for a taxi I was engaged in conversation with a man that lived in the neighborhood of the homestay. After offering me a cigarette, he began to explain that “*kreteks* were natural” and that they were “Indonesian.” Coming from a background in selling health-related products for a multinational natural health care company, his frame of reference was a discourse of natural health that related ingredients such as cloves to being “natural.” To him, naturalness was defined in association with non-processed ingredients that tend to be promoted by tobacco companies as being used in their whole form. This notion of naturalness is linked to past elements, aside from clove, that were added to tobacco as flavor enhancers, including “banana, cinnamon, vanilla and jackfruit” (Arnez 2009:53). When I asked how *kreteks* were natural and other cigarettes were not, he commented on the lack of chemicals used in the production of *kreteks*. Recalling Ng et al.’s 2006 tobacco study conducted among

male youth in rural Java a similar conceptualization of naturalness emerged. For the youth, locally produced cigarettes - *kreteks* – were viewed as generally doing less harm to the body in comparison to white, foreign or non-*kretek* cigarettes (Ng et al. 2006:799).

They claimed that smoking less than 1 or 2 packs of cigarettes or 12–24 cigarettes per day would not harm their health: ‘I think it’s okay if I smoke just one cigarette because it is too little...The level of nicotine is too low.’ The boys also viewed locally produced cigarettes with no health warning as being less harmful (Ng et al. 2006:799).

The basis of the boy’s claims were related to the absence of warning labels on locally produced *kreteks* that are most likely hand-rolled and packaged in unfamiliar cigarette containers (Ng et al. 2006:799). An association between *kreteks*, locality, and naturalness was supported by a notion of its ingredients being derived from the “natural” local environment.

The connection between *kreteks* as naturally derived has historically developed from the inception of cloves as a treatment for asthma. In relation, cigarettes were viewed as an effective vessel to quickly access the lungs and relieve the symptoms of asthma. Consistent with Mark Hanusz, the *kretek* was first sold through pharmacies (Hanusz 2004:140). Cloves were used as a medicinal agent, specifically due to the presence of *eugenol*, an analgesic and antiseptic derived from the clove itself (Hanusz 2004:140). When inhaled, the smoker experiences, what I refer to as a smooth breath of smoke, due to the subtle numbing of the lungs. Subsequent inhalations are then masked, allowing for the flavor to dominate the experience. Despite these sensations, the *kretek* is far from a natural cigarette. Contemporary brands of *kreteks* add various chemical additives to their particular sauce to preserve flavor. According to a World Health

Organization study, “Clove cigarette smoke contains more nicotine, tar, and carbon monoxide than smoke from conventional cigarettes” (WHO 2010). Unfortunately, strict regulations that have developed from the support of an anti-tobacco discourse in Europe and the United States are not present in such countries as Indonesia, even though it is the same multinational corporations that are producing and manufacturing the cigarettes. The lack of uniform regulations in the global reaching tobacco industry results in vast inequities. For example, “...the median tar level in cigarettes sold in the United States is twenty milligrams per cigarette, while in Indonesia it is almost double this level” (Baer et al. 2003:166). Statistics such as these illuminate the health disparities between the West and countries like Indonesia. It makes the exploration of perceptions of *kreteks* as natural and less harmful even more pertinent.

Symbolic meaning linked to smoking cigarettes and its reinforcement of “Indonesianness” elicits notions of the *kretek* as naturally deriving from the Indonesian landscape. In practice, the *kretek* is a hybrid cultural object constructed by Indonesians, made possible through the material landscape of the country. Defining the *kretek* as natural is predicated upon a particular sense of authenticity that supports “Indonesianness” as an element of identity. Notions of authenticity are related to historical traditions of anthropology, intertwined with the creation of dualisms centered on primitive/modern categories. Authenticity became an implicit concept linked to an articulation of culture as static and fixed. Romanticized searches for the “authentic” consequently situated non-Western peoples and cultures as a static thing to be preserved. This discourse of authenticity was central to museums and anthropology, and to the

preservation of a once-perceived Boasian vision of a vanishing peoples and cultures of the *exotic* world. In this context, authenticity cannot be challenged due to its false association with something pure and untainted.

Authenticity has a temporal quality to it, one that alludes to a particular maintenance of tradition. In this maintenance, authenticity as a process attempts to render change invisible, suspending cultures and peoples in time and space. The ubiquitous search for authenticity performed within tourism is a prime example of this suspension in time and space, as what is yearned to be seen or experienced must meet the expectations of how people, places or things have been historically constructed from the exterior world through knowledge production disseminated through media, print and other technologies. In other words, the tourist does not want to see a “Native” talking on a cell phone or using an iPad. Authenticity is not only created from outside of a cultural environment. In the case of *kreteks*, it is generated from within. The *kretek* is conceptualized as more authentic than other forms of cigarettes, most notable the “white cigarette” due to its derivation from the “natural” Indonesian landscape. As the process of authenticity has worked to define the *kretek* as natural, multinational corporations have acquired ownership and control over large portions of the historically domestic *kretek* industry, therefore challenging its authenticity. Is the *kretek* cigarette still authentic even though it is being produced by multinational corporations who are operating through regional domestic headquarters, a bit reminiscent of the colonial strategy of ruling through the elite?

The politics of authenticity are constantly playing out in the relationship between Indonesians, *kreteks* and their counterparts – “white cigarettes.” In the Indonesian context, connecting the *kretek* to a specific authenticity defined by that which is indigenous and natural, alludes similarly to a cultural object that is pure, and in many ways better than its opposite – the “white cigarette.” For many Indonesians, the *kretek* represents an authenticity and naturalness that should not be challenged. As a product detrimental to the health and well-being of the entire country its status as an authentic product masks its negative impacts. Authenticity in itself is a cultural construction that ironically is the exact opposite of static. That which is authentic changes with the dynamism of culture itself.

Chapter 6. Women, Gender and Tobacco

Tobacco is a commodity of mass production and mass consumption. Whether through first-hand interaction or second-hand passive exposure, tobacco has a presence in social interactions, economic activities, and symbolic processes that tie people together within sociocultural environments. Tobacco's omnipresence in Indonesia dictates that women, men and children are linked together in a nexus of wide-ranging and intersecting relations to the commodity. The plant's pervasiveness cuts across social hierarchies and categories of difference including age, gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity and religion. There are some universal features of tobacco, based on its addictive qualities and the predictable ways that human beings rely on its effects to function within structures that organize human life. At the same time, there are significant differences in how people are positioned to interact with tobacco as producers or consumers. For instance, a 2010 study conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that in Indonesia, 72.6 per cent of boys and 65.3 per cent of girls were exposed to second-hand smoke at home, while 83.7 per cent of boys and 73.1 per cent of girls were exposed to second-hand smoke in public places (WHO 2010:20). Tobacco transcends the public/private divide, equally impacting smokers and non-smokers, cutting across gender lines.

Relations of production are influenced by capitalist logic that over time and space have made the tobacco industry a place of female labor. Siddharth Chandra expounds that female relation to industrial production such as cigarette manufacturing has historically developed out of the colonial era due to a gendered association to women “...especially at the grading and curing stages for cigar wrapper leaf. Specialization of tasks was, therefore, key to determining where and to what degree women were represented in industry” (Chandra 2002:119). This association was intensified by the Dutch push toward modernity and modernization of the economy. By looking at the positioning of tobacco in Indonesia, through a gender perspective, it illuminates the presence of “inequalities determined by the social norms, roles and expectations of men and women” (WHO 2010:15). Differences between men’s and women’s experiences are revealed in relation to the consumption and production of tobacco as a commodity. Likewise, we can see at work the concomitant constructions of femininity and masculinity and the ways that these constructions unfold in particular social, cultural, political and economic domains. Tobacco’s centrality to the Indonesian economy and its status as a cultural symbol in the form of the *kretek* cigarette elevates it as a commodity that provides economic opportunities, while inspiring and perpetuating a national identity. The immense demand that promotes the high level of tobacco production, coupled with the notion of tobacco as “women’s work” in Indonesia beckons an exploration of gender in the context of tobacco consumption and production (Barraclough 1999:327).

Disparities between the high levels of female labor participation in tobacco production in relation to relatively low but increasing consumption levels, provides a paradox within Indonesia. Tobacco production is fueled by a predominately female labor force, yet men are the overwhelming consumers of the product. Why do such differences exist between the domains of women's production and consumption of tobacco? The complex answer is historically rooted in economic and political transformations in the country. Also relevant are the changing relationships between women and tobacco predicated upon Indonesian notions of progress. Revisiting the WHO report that specified women as the primary victims of secondary smoke, the report concluded that a lack of access to information and resources about tobacco's health-related risks is a major factor, adding that consumption is on the rise, "...smoking has become a symbol of women's liberation, many young women are turning to tobacco as a sign of freedom" (WHO 2010:2). This perceived and yearned for "freedom" is linked to dynamic conceptualizations and articulations of modernity and modernization in Indonesia (WHO 2010:2). It is a sign of women's awareness of sociocultural, economic and political constraints placed upon them by means of gender hierarchies. The notion of female "independence" or "freedom" varies among women, defined from within their particular cultural and historical setting. Myriad symbolic representations linked to tobacco consumption, coupled with a lack of clarity within public discourse surrounding adverse health effects of tobacco have contributed to the overwhelming impacts of the substance on women, men, and children in Indonesia.

Structures of Meaning: Consuming Tradition/Modernity

Through dynamic symbolic structures, issues of gender, sexuality, and class are actively engaged through the practice of smoking tobacco. A study conducted in 2006 focused primarily on cigarette consumption among males, places men as the majority of tobacco consumers in the country. There is a tendency in tobacco research to approach consumption in Indonesia as a male phenomenon. This approach often downplays tobacco's effects on women. Usually few statistics, if any, are offered about the relationships between women and tobacco. While there is no reason to challenge statistics that find men to be the majority of tobacco consumers, the data does not reflect the number of women whose smoking habits go unnoticed, are well hidden, or in practice, are acted out within the private sphere of social life. However, this is in fact changing. Mimi Nichter et al. elucidate the changing relationship between women and tobacco in Indonesia, "although it is traditionally considered culturally inappropriate for women to smoke, smoking does appear to be on the increase among affluent and educated women in urban areas, such as Jakarta, and among women working in non-governmental organisations" (Nichter et al. 2009:103). Supported by the results of the Java study, it is clear that women face social and cultural pressures based solely on their female gender identity. These pressures stem from sociocultural expectations of women linked to the home, notions of reproduction and motherhood, religious ideology, and the demands of an associated ritual economy. Coupled with the stigma of participating in a practice that is deemed male-dominated, the act of nondisclosure of tobacco consumption is logical. For this reason, women's tobacco habits remain an area of much needed

research throughout the diverse regions of Indonesia. The ever-increasing tobacco epidemic within the country is not represented by one gender, sexuality, class, religion, race, or ethnicity. It is a widespread health-related crisis that impacts women, children, and men, in a variety of ways, including through consumption, production, and overall exposure to the hazards of secondary smoke (Amigo 2010; Nichter et al. 2009).

Throughout the Java study, gender and sexuality play a prominent role in the shaping of perceptions about tobacco. Many of the symbolic activities linked to tobacco are perpetuated to create and maintain particular gender identities that are also bound up with sexuality. In Indonesia, gender and sexuality permeate multiple categories, contributing to the construction of multiple identities that are defined discursively in relation to dominant ideologies promoted by the state (Oetomo 2000; Boellstorff 2005; Robinson & Bessell 2002; Davies 2007).

Robinson and Bessell's exploration of changing gender norms promoted throughout political and economic transformations ranging from the period of Suharto's New Order to the inception of the first female Indonesian president in 2001, during the time known as post-New Order, provides important generalizations about the construction of gender in Indonesia. Speaking of the New Order period, Robinson and Bessell explain that "gender relations and gender roles were an important dimension to state control. Men and women had clearly defined roles that reinforced particular constructions of identity" (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). These roles were perpetuated within familial structures, passed along generationally, and reinforced in a variety of social interactions, including the practice of smoking tobacco. Conversely, in relation to

tobacco, these roles were similarly upheld by those who did not smoke due to gendered notions of which groups could appropriately smoke and which could not. Within these roles, “the public and private spheres were clearly – and artificially – separated” (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). Women were relegated to the private sphere and men to the public sphere. Within each symbolic locale women and men were expected to perform particular gender roles, in accordance with state conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity, all of which had been set in a trajectory linked to broader social, cultural, economic and political transformations (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). During the 32 years of Suharto’s proclaimed New Order, the dominant image of women in the Indonesian state was articulated as, “domesticated woman” and “mother, wife, and household manager” (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). The construction of this image limited access to economic and political mobility and capital, for women in general, but also groups that did not fit neatly within dualistic categories of gender and sexuality. In other words, these ideals extended to and served as the standard to judge those who were already marginalized within the state apparatus (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). “Working women, unmarried women, lesbians, and gay men, were just some of those excluded...” (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3)²⁵. The pressures of conformity catalyzed contestation,

²⁵ See Dede Oetomo’s “Masculinity in Indonesia: Genders, Sexualities, and Identities in a Changing Society”. Oetomo unravels the “complexities of masculine gender constructions” through an examination of “*Banci/Waria*” as a term that speaks to “nonconforming gender behavior” (Oetomo 2000). Sharyn Graham Davies’ ethnography, conducted among the *Bugis* in Indonesia, also illuminates the

based on the images of conformism promoted by the state. Under these conditions, women and men created openings to begin to articulate alternative gender and sexual identities (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). Nevertheless, the acceptance of multiple sexual identities and gender equality remains a constant struggle throughout Indonesia, intertwined with issues of race, ethnicity, class and religion.

The changing meanings and representations associated with tobacco have culminated into a masculinized cultural form that works to define masculinity, a relative femininity, and perceptions of self in a particular time and space. Informants in the rural Java study were asked pointed questions about their smoking habits and motivations.

They described the hand-rolled cigarettes as being cheap and of poor quality...Cigarettes were used to increase the boys' social status among their friends. If they smoked a 'good', expensive and popular cigarette brand, they felt more confident, more mature and more richer than their peers. To them, smoking and tobacco advertisements were signs of several positive connotations, such as 'a steady life', 'pleasure', 'good taste', 'feel so rich', 'impressive', 'good appearance' and 'attractive' (Ng et al. 2006:798).

With the emergence of "white cigarettes" in Indonesia an association developed between unprocessed cigarette wrappers and rural communities, where inhabitants were perceived to live closer to the earth than those in urban centers (Reid 1985:539). In contrast, "white cigarettes" were viewed as processed, objects of modernization and industrialization, centered in urban areas. Even though the informants might have been from an area in rural Java, the symbolic marker of the cigarette wrapper made them feel modern despite

complexity of gender and sexual identities (Davies 2007). Both authors note the shift to a recognition of a plurality of gender(s) and sexualit(ies).

their sociocultural and economic surroundings. Hand-rolled cigarettes were viewed as “old-fashioned used by only the older generation” (Ng et al 2006:798). This perception was linked to the past, as less modern times when cigarettes were rolled in unprocessed paper and smoked in the form of the *bungkus*. In the contemporary tobacco market, according to Monica Arnez, “one third of the market share for clove cigarettes” is hand-rolled by a predominately female labor force (Arnez 2009:56). The lack of knowledge about present-day cigarette production highlights the embedded stereotypes and perceptions of the interview respondents, linked to the primitive/modern dualism and the rural/urban divide. Set within this contrast are temporal associations of modern with the present and future, and tradition with the past. For the male youth in the group, the past represents a time they are attempting to move away from, hence the desire to feel current or in-fashion by smoking cigarettes that are deemed “modern.” For them, urban represents the highest form of modernity and modernization because of the city landscape and the presence of industry. Rural, in contrast, is linked to agriculture and “...farmers with low socio-economic status” (Ng et al. 2006:795).

During Dutch colonialism, smoking “white cigarettes” as opposed to other forms indicated a certain level of wealth and access to the colonial regime. As *kreteks* became popularized, they replaced the “white cigarette” as the preferred means of consuming tobacco. The trajectory of tobacco consumption has established a connection between modernity and non-hand rolled cigarettes bound by white paper. This modern aesthetic has remained a factor in perceptions of smoking and modernity, especially when the *kretek* began to be produced using white paper. For participants in the study, similarly,

they commented that smoking made them “feel so rich,” temporarily elevating their social status in comparison to those who consumed hand-rolled cigarettes. Analogies can be made with perceptions of betel chewing and its relation to past lifeway’s, forgotten and shunned by some of the younger generation. The study concludes that, “tobacco smoking seems to be one mediator in a process of transformation from a traditional to a more modern society” (Ng et al. 2006:800). Although categories of traditional and modern are in themselves culturally constructed and fluid, they have impacts on how the subjects conceptualize their identity and place within society. The desire to move from “tradition” in the past to “modern” in the future stems from the colonially introduced tradition/modern dualism that has actively shaped relations in Indonesia over time and space.

The symbolic character of the cigarette also plays a critical role in gendered identity in this particular rural Javanese community, “...cigarettes are often introduced to young boys during the traditional religious ritual of circumcision, which in this society occurs at the age of 10–12 years” (Ng et al. 2006:798). While a formal introduction to tobacco occurs at this time, tobacco consumption is also woven into the everyday practices of Indonesian life. Tobacco, in its varied forms, is almost inescapable. Thus, it is part of children’s daily lives in both the public and private spheres of social life. During the ceremony, after males are circumcised, they are given a cigarette, as are other observers of the ritual who are often of the same age (Ng et al. 2006:798). Post-circumcision, tobacco is used as a healing mechanism and given to participants to speed the healing process. Hence tobacco has also become incorporated into the ritual

structure, such that the cigarette occupies the place of “dominant symbol” (Turner 1967:28). The dominant symbol acts as “the basic unit of ritual” to be contextualized within the realm of events that give it meaning (Turner 1967:28). Dominant symbols are to be understood as “multiple, and sometimes contradictory,” contained within dualistic poles of meaning (Ericksen & Murphy 2008:160; Turner 1967:28). Smoking *kreteks* reinforces masculinity and an Indonesian identity, yet it is paralleled by a Dutch-defined modernity located within the visual imagery of consuming the ‘modern’ cigarette. In the case of male circumcision, cigarettes facilitate the passage from youth to adulthood, thereby defining tobacco as an acceptable and expected part of daily practice. Turner views “cultural symbols, including ritual symbols as originating in and sustaining processes involving temporal changes in social relations, and not as timeless entities” (Turner 1975:55). As symbols bear “temporal changes” this same circumcision ritual, had it been witnessed in the 19th or early-20th century would have incorporated the betel quid as the dominant symbol (Turner 1975:55).

Multivocality is understood by Turner to express how symbols like tobacco are interpreted differently among people, even within the same cultural context (Turner 1967:50). An example of this can be seen in interviews with non-smokers. This group perceived smoking negatively, mostly due to adverse physical effects experienced when first trying cigarettes (Ng et al. 2006:799). Symbolic meaning and representation acts as a mechanism for social cohesion, yet symbols are multivocal depending upon an individual’s positioning within society. Males in this study viewed cigarettes as an acceptable practice for men, a category equated with those who have undergone

circumcision. As a visual marker, the cigarette was equated with male authority linked to such figures as teachers and fathers, both social positions that many of the subjects aspired to one day become (Ng et al. 2006:799). The youth readily expressed admiration for mature males, alluding to a sense of indifference for female figure-heads. Promotion of strict gender conformity can account for an absence of mention of women's social roles as positions to aspire toward. In general, women in Indonesia are perceived to be closely associated to the private sphere and domestic related roles (Robinson & Bessell 2001:3). From within the group, smoking was deemed an unacceptable practice for women, yet men who did not smoke were referred to as "feminine" by this particular group of informants (Ng et al. 2006:798).

According to the boys, smoking portrays the image of potency, wisdom and bravery, which they described as...self-confidence'...boys have to be brave enough to smoke otherwise they are seen as having an effeminate manner. The smokers stated: 'If we don't follow our peers and smoke, they will call us feminine.' Thus, smoking enabled them to reaffirm their identity as boys (Ng et al. 2006:798).

Here, the construction of masculinity was maintained within the group by subverting women in general, and more so, women who smoked. Men who chose not to consume tobacco were deemed "feminine," representative of how women and femininity are viewed as weak, devalued, and subordinate. In contrast, men held social roles that were respected and males who smoked were, in effect, strong, valued and dominant, even over other males who identified as non-smokers.

Statistically, males make up the majority of the tobacco consuming population in Indonesia. Women, despite social stigma, nevertheless do smoke. A nationwide study conducted in 1995 found that more women than men above the age of 20 smoked

cigarettes inside the home (Barraclough 1999:330). Further, according to Nichter et al., 2002 marks the year that tobacco advertisements began to specifically target women, using the image of a young, modern, and highly social woman (Nichter et al. 2009:103). This image diverges from historically promoted images of women situating them solely in the private sphere. Tobacco companies are targeting women not only to increase profits, but also to expand their consumer base. These images seek to lure women toward a particular modernity, performed within the public sphere with cigarette in hand (Nichter et al. 2009:103). What can be drawn from these statistics and images is that women are actively consuming tobacco, but based on the low numbers reported, the practice has been occurring within the private realm of social life, away from the perceptions and expectations of the dominant society. This hidden habit is kept invisible due to sociocultural pressures placed upon women, stemming from broader constructions of gender and sexuality.

Male informants in the rural Java study equated female smoking as being, "...common among hookers and bad girls' (Ng et al. 2006:799). They added that, it is uncommon in their sociocultural setting to see females smoking, and those who do did were "impolite and ill-mannered" (Ng et al. 2006:799). Within the dominant structure of gender relations, women that smoke are incapable of meeting the expectations of femininity. Smoking among females intersects with a sexuality perceived as promiscuity. Dominant norms related to sexuality support the domesticated female imagery that has historically been promoted from the Indonesian state in the making of proper male and female citizens. What can be deduced, in association to this image, is that female

sexuality is linked to the domesticated sphere of social life where males are dominant. Clearly, women's smoking provides a challenge to the perception of cigarette consumption and masculinity. If women are to be accepted as smokers in the public realm, what does that say about the codification of masculine identity for these young men? It places their sense of maleness at odds with the reality of women smoking.

The numbers of female smokers may appear quite low, but in combination with the social stigma of smoking in public, it is likely that the numbers are much higher. Figures vary depending upon the region, rural or urban location, and religion of the individual informant. "The national prevalence of smoking (daily and occasional) for Indonesian females aged 10 years or older was 2% and for women aged 20 years or older was 2.6%. By comparison, some 61.3% of males aged 10 years or older were smokers, whereas 68.8% of men aged 20 years or older smoked" (Barraclough 1999:330). The nationwide study found differences among Muslim females, with one area in the east coast of Sumatra having seven times more smokers than among Muslim women in south central Indonesia (Barraclough 1999:329). Smoking cuts across class and religious affiliation.

Historically, tobacco was mixed with the betel quid and consumed by females and males. With colonialism came new taxonomies, categories of difference that worked to position Indonesians within multiple social hierarchies. When engaging gender and sexuality, it is important to recognize the complexity of positionality as there were differences in how women's practices were perceived depending upon their placement within society. As tobacco became increasingly accessible and prevalent, men readily

adopted the practice of smoking, while women continued to consume the mixture of betel and tobacco. Undeniably, women adopted the practice of smoking cigarettes, but it did not take place as publically as it transpired for men. The public/private divide played a critical role in gendered smoking habits in Indonesia that ironically, the tobacco companies are challenging for purposes of making a profit, thus overturning “traditional” constructs of gender and sexuality.

Explorations of gender dynamics must also take account of Dutch women in Indonesia. Similarly, in seeking to understand gendered aspects of betel chewing and tobacco consumption, Dutch women are part of the quandary. European women in the colony bore the privileged status and visible marker of whiteness or as Elsbeth Lochter-Scholten states, “Europeanness” (Lochter-Scholten 2000:3). While “Europeanness” may have been, for a time, the most appropriate means to denote one of the ways that privilege was established, whiteness became even more relevant as racial distinctions were codified within colonial law and policies, and used as a mechanism of control (Stoler 2002:13; Bloembergen 2006:45). Gender dynamics between Dutch women and men began as an unequal exchange; women were brought into the colony with specific gender-related roles that supported the positions of Dutch men. In the role of spouse, sexual partner, and reproductive body, Dutch women from the time of their immigration to Indonesia were positioned in subordinate relation to Dutch men. This position was controlled and maintained through colonial practices such as the education of Dutch colonial women (Lochter-Scholten 2000:98). Like many colonial policies and practices, there were inconsistencies and contradictions in the messaging of what constituted a

specific female gender identity. “The Colonial School’s official ideology suggested that the task of white women was broader and nobler than being enclosed in the house” yet in practice, Dutch women remained tightly bound to the home and “socially isolated” (Lochter-Scholten 2000: 99, 30). Accompanied by these gendered responsibilities Dutch women were expected “...to maintain and bolster white prestige [this] was one of the most important tasks of colonial women” (Lochter-Scholten 2000:97).

By the start of the 20th century, the number of Dutch women in Indonesia was at 4,000 and over the course of 30 years, it rose to 26,000 (Stoler 2002:53). As newer generations of Dutch women entered Indonesia, specifically in the early 20th century, long practiced traditions of betel chewing were not as readily adopted as in the past (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172). Chapter 4 discussed the social and symbolic roles of betel chewing for Dutch women in Indonesia. Similar to Indonesians, it facilitated social interactions and communications. For Dutch women, it played a significant role in interactions between European women of the elite. Betel chewing was a shared practice that Dutch women could engage in together, yet it acted as a point of separation when considering class and place of birth as categories of difference (de Bruijn & Raben 2004:172).

As Dutch women entered into Indonesia in the first part of the 20th century, they brought with them practices and “fashions” that were common in the Netherlands, such as tobacco consumption (Lochter-Scholten 2000:97). It is difficult to draw specific conclusions about Dutch women’s tobacco habits in the Netherlands due to a lack of historical evidence (Goodman 1993:60). Yet in piecing together some basic facts we can

come to some generalizations. Jordan Goodman explains that the Dutch were avid tobacco “mass” consumers starting in the 17th century (Goodman 1993:60). “Around 1670 the Dutch consumed about 3 million pounds of tobacco, or 1.5 pounds per inhabitant” (Goodman 1993:60). Drawing from these statistics, tobacco consumption was wide-spread throughout the Netherlands and they “paid less for their tobacco than the English,” alluding to an ease of accessibility (Goodman 1993:60). The trend of mass tobacco consumption continued throughout the centuries, creating a country of rampant tobacco consumers. How does one characterize Dutch women’s tobacco consumption in the Netherlands? Goodman points out that in discourses specifically related to medical practices (which were often contradictory), women were told “...that pregnant women should smoke...tobacco smoke was understood to stimulate gastric functions” (Goodman 1993:61). Conversely, throughout the 17th century, there was a popularized art aesthetic among the Dutch that “often portrayed women smoking” (Goodman 1993:61). From these connections between Dutch women and tobacco, it can be presumed that there were women that consumed tobacco, either by chewing or smoking it. Women that eventually were brought to Indonesia did in fact transport behavior and habits with them. This makes a case for tobacco being one of them.

Dutch women arrived to Indonesia in large numbers during the 20th century. Some most likely brought with them a tobacco habit that would have contributed over time to a decline in betel consumption, specifically by those situated in urban environments that were more influenced by the Dutch push toward modernity. Dutch women were known to combine tobacco into their betel quid’s. They were consuming

tobacco in some form either by transporting the habit or developing one while in the colony. Similar to that of Indonesians, tobacco acted in many ways as a substitute for betel chewing. For Dutch women deriving from the Netherlands, a cultural environment that constantly represented betel chewing as a primitive practice of the other, it would have not been as attractive a practice as that of tobacco. Rural environments, in turn, would not have had the same “modern” pressures that were felt in colonial centers such as present-day Jakarta (colonial *Batavia*). Also, Dutch women in rural areas were more likely to be isolated from other Dutch women. Therefore, betel chewing continued to play an important role in facilitating social interactions in the private spheres between Dutch women and Indonesians. This is seen in Rita Smith Kipp’s narrative of the lives of late-19th century missionaries from the “Dutch Missionary Society” in Northern Sumatra. Kipp details the trials and tribulations of a missionary’s wife, Mrs. Wijngaarden who regularly “carried a betel pouch” (Kipp 1990:107). In an attempt to adapt to the cultural environment in the highlands of *Buluh Hawar*, Wijngaarden strove to learn the local language *karo batak* and to ingratiate herself to her Indonesian neighbors by participating in betel chewing (Kipp 1990:107). Wijngaarden specifically invited women to her home and “first offered her callers betel from a betel pouch,” revealing her awareness of betel’s symbolic role in facilitating social interactions (Kipp 1990:107).

Under these circumstances, Wijngaarden used betel to counter her social isolation and as a means to transcend language barriers through shared betel chewing. While relegated to the private domain, Wijngaarden actively worked to create a place of social interaction on the porch of her home. However, her hospitality was limited as she drew

an invisible line that attempted to separate her Indonesian visitors from entering the inside of her abode (Kipp 1990:107). In interactions with Indonesian women, Wijngaarden hoped to teach notions of gendered behavior that derived from her identity as "...a housewife" (Kipp 1990:107). In doing so, many of the Indonesian women were confused by "...what she did in the house all day" (Kipp 1990:108). Many Dutch women were socially isolated like Wijngaarden, situated in a subaltern position to Dutch men. This makes their continued use of betel that more interesting as they choose to partake in a taboo practice deemed so by men. Their betel chewing practices continued "well into the nineteenth century," long after Dutch men had considered betel incompatible with the modern public image (Reid 1985:538). Part of the reason that they were able to continue the practice was, again their locus in the private sphere, but as shown, it was also a strategy to remain socially connected to others, as best they could. Likewise, tobacco consumption played a role, acting as an eventual substitute for betel chewing.

Processes of Modernization: Women and the Production of Tobacco in Indonesia

Women's economic activities and labor tied to tobacco changed alongside men's, corresponding to transformations in political and economic relations. While there was a theoretical gendered public/private divide within colonial Indonesia, in practice it was fluid, influenced by changing economic demands that fueled the need for labor participation. Locher-Scholten explains that there were "...fluctuating boundaries between private and public, a line which in Indonesian society had never been absolute..." (Locher-Scholten 2000:33). Women's labor participation had historically been a visible aspect of the public landscape, with differences seen between "rural" and

“elite” classes (Locher-Scholten 2000:33). “The relatively high rate of female participation in non-domestic labour in colonial Indonesia was reflected in the writings of the period: British observers in the early nineteenth century, for example, were surprised by the ‘special position’ of women in the workforce and in society in general on Java” (Ford 2002:78). During the Cultivation System, women’s labor, along with children, was dedicated to agricultural production, to aid in meeting the demands of rigid colonial mandates (White 2009:906). This raises questions about the levels of women’s participation in various aspects of tobacco production, from harvest to the manufacturing of cigarettes. Much of the historical writing about labor during the Dutch Cultivation System is focused on the labor activities of men. Hence, clear information on women’s role in early tobacco production is sparse. Based on research conducted by Locher-Scholten, Chandra, and more indirectly by Vickers, we can conclude that women were, in fact, active in the tobacco harvesting and production prior to the 20th century (Locher-Scholten 2000; Chandra 2002; Vickers 2005:44).

One agricultural area where women dominated was in rice production. Vickers’ asserts that in early-20th century Blora, an area in Central Java, “tasks were divided on gender lines, but women usually did 60 per cent of the work of rice farming” (Vickers 2005:44). In the latter part of the 19th century, the Cultivation System had been abolished and the transition to a plantation economy was underway. According to Michele Ford, “As cash crop production absorbed male labour, women were forced to undertake agricultural tasks traditionally performed by men” (Ford 2002:79). The movement of men to the waged-based plantation sector contributed to the high percentage of female

labor output toward rice production. This establishes a link during the colonial period between women and overall agricultural labor.

Women's work was viewed as expansive and due to this, women's contributions to agricultural labor were often not deemed as "work" within dominant paradigms. Because many of these activities occur in the private or domestic spheres, they become naturalized and assumed to be part of women's inherent responsibilities. These assumptions were linked to the construction of gender norms that attempted to regulate social behavior within sociocultural, economic and political structures. Women's work was assumed to be conducted in multiple spheres including "...the work of production...the work of domesticity, of social reproduction and care..." (Ford & Parker 2008:2). The importance of illuminating the complexity of labor, specifically female labor is to foreground the notion that "...work practices are inseparable from other ideological and symbolic systems, the material demands of living and the multiple everyday roles that women play" (Ford & Parker 2008:3). Gender as a framework of analysis enables an examination of not only women's positioning and experiences; it allows for necessary comparisons to be made between men and women's experiences within specific spheres, in this case tobacco production. Such comparisons, shed new light on women's and men's association to tobacco production and the notion of what is considered "women's work" (Barraclough 1999:327).

Contemporary statistics suggest that the tobacco industry is the largest employer of female labor and according to Simon Barraclough, "traditionally tobacco production in Indonesia has been considered women's work" (Barraclough 1999:327). The tendency to

“traditionalize” women’s participation in the tobacco industry is problematic. In Indonesia, as is true of many other societies, there is a constant “...struggle between modernity and tradition...” (Vickers 2005:83). Tradition is temporally associated with the past, something that has always been done, yet the dominance of female labor in the tobacco industry is more of a contemporary phenomenon. Women were active during the colonial period in the industrial sector, but by no means did their labor participation outnumber that of men’s (Chandra 2002:113). By traditionalizing women’s participation in the tobacco industry, the overwhelming preference for female labor and the conditions under which this labor is provided begins to be taken for granted as a natural association. As a process, the abundance of females in the tobacco industry has evolved over time linked in connection to varied processes of industrialization and the view that women constitute a cheaper source of labor than men. This has also given way to the notion that women can be viewed as a reserve pool of workers who can simply recede into the “domestic” household sphere when they are not needed. Intensification of this phenomenon has occurred more recently as a feature of globalization, and various manifestations of late-capitalism in the form of multinational corporate outsourcing of manufacturing and industry related production. Concomitantly, these features are facilitated by liberalization within Indonesia via national economic policies.

In the late 1960s, small-scale *kretek* companies faced a challenging tobacco market. Large-scale producers held multiple advantages. Despite intervention on behalf of the Indonesian government, the relationship that unfolded between small-scale and large-scale producers represented the future direction of the tobacco industry, set within

the development trajectory of the overall country. Mechanization was a critical component of industrialization. With it emerged asymmetrical shifts in gender divisions in the tobacco labor force. Small-scale entities that could not mechanize continued to rely upon “traditional” means of production - hand-rolling cigarettes. Women overwhelmingly held this “traditional” position of manual labor throughout the *kretek* industry, while some men were able to gain employment at management and supervisory levels. The privileging of women in these specialized roles was a process that occurred parallel to the creation of industry within Indonesia, although female labor participation did vary depending upon the region (Chandra 2002:114).

A component of industrialization, and therefore, a factor in overall development, mechanization within the tobacco industry contributed to feminization of the Indonesia labor force, set in motion between the years 1970 - 1998 (Caraway 2005:401). Feminization of labor is but one outcome of economic liberalization. It is a strategy increasingly common to economic restructuring policies, encouraged by foreign intervention in developing countries like Indonesia. The year 1967 marked the beginning of liberalization in Indonesia, connected to the advent of the Suharto regime (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). From this time, economic policy was focused on industrialization. Teri Caraway explains the broader circumstances occurring over the last 30 years, all of which have contributed to the feminizing of labor forces,

Women workers laboring in export factories present one of the dominant images of globalization. As multinational corporations relocated labor-intensive assembly operations to cheaper production sites overseas, and as export-oriented industrialization (EOI) became an important component of industrialization programs in many developing countries, women began to claim an increasing proportion of industrial jobs (Caraway 2005:400).

Industrialization and mechanization were crucial factors to this gendered trend in Indonesia. Like processes of globalization, feminization has manifested differently dependent upon the cultural, social, economic and political context. Feminization occurred in Indonesia because multinational corporations were allowed to house operations at decreased costs, while paying low wages and taxes. “For an equal number of working hours, men are paid 40 per cent more than women and 120 cent more than children...reflect[ing] the subaltern position of women and children in Indonesian society (Amigo 2010:39). While the exploitation of female labor is prevalent, economic development and the subsequent feminizing of the labor force has in many cases opened up employment opportunities for women; facilitated by “improvements in education, reductions in fertility, and increased labor force participation rates...” (Caraway 2007:156). While access has been granted to women, the newly incorporated female laborer in historically male dominated industries continues to experience inequality in the form of wages and working conditions (Caraway 2007:165; Amigo 2010:39) Constructions of gender that are historically and culturally contingent have set forth a trajectory that has interconnected female labor to the tobacco industry in Indonesia, creating emergent and unforeseen consequences that impact the lives of, not only women, but all Indonesians.

Women, Health, and the Production of Tobacco

The need for a gender perspective speaks to the epistemological trajectory of Western knowledge centered on the male experience, as men, maleness, and masculinity

were deemed models of normality. Over time, the history of tobacco in Indonesia has been communicated through the experiences of Indonesian men, or at times, Dutch colonial men. More recently, this history has been challenged by feminist and gender perspectives that are attempting to contest dominant historical, patriarchal paradigms. Throughout this thesis, it has been shown that women, not only played a role in the production of tobacco, they have over time developed a particular relationship to tobacco based in part on their constructed identity as females. As the history of tobacco continues to be played out in the present, women are actively shaping its trajectory.

Women, men, and children in Indonesia have formed varying relationships to tobacco. All are faced with growing health-related issues that derive from exposure to first-hand and second-hand smoke. This is where the need for a gender perspective is illuminated, as women are presented with specific issues as the primary victims of secondary-smoke, along with children, and through direct exposure in the area of production (WHO 2010; International Safety Monitor 2000). Melody Kemp's research on Indonesian women's occupational health has shown that the tobacco industry has created a specific set of issues for women due to "gynecological disturbances and abortions because nicotine dermally absorbed is an abortifacient" (International Safety Monitor 2000:12). Women's primary role as tobacco producers, especially in non-mechanized production puts their reproductive health at risk through the direct handling of tobacco products. The health risks mentioned by Kemp show how critical it is to understand how women and men experience tobacco production differently. Similarly, this is true for how each experiences tobacco consumption in different ways. Tobacco

has created a multilayered and complex health-related epidemic in Indonesia; the impacts are diverse dependent upon gender and other categories of difference. As women make up the majority of the tobacco labor force, their relationship to tobacco as direct and indirect consumers, as well as producers, becomes an urgent area of much needed research and attention.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Indonesia: The Trash Bin of Nicotine²⁶

Indonesia is a paradise, staggeringly friendly toward smokers

...

Indonesia is a vast trash bin that contains all garbage of nicotine
This nicotine trash bin is extraordinarily huge

...

All these, because our gates are open wide
Friendly, politely, we accept all the garbage sent us
Before the airport gates, because of the urgent foreign investment
Because we simply can't resist the mouth-watering fees and bribes

...

With undue respect in huge amount
The nicotine traders from countries far and away in the horizon
Spreading diseases of smoking and bringing the death angels to the children of their
nations

Tangled in webs of lawsuits and buried under piles of evidence
To the third world they have escaped
And in their honor have we rolled out the red carpet
Then the glamour of advertisements deceived our nation
This is the fate of a poor nation and a weak government
Incoming revenues are our orientation, all of us rely on it

(Taufiq Ismail, Tobacco Source Book 2004).

Throughout this thesis, I have shown how the complex relationship between Indonesians and tobacco has developed over time, while also highlighting quantitative data about the high levels of tobacco consumption in the country. Studies have

²⁶ I also found Ismail's poem translated as "Indonesia is the Nicotine Waste Basket" (Deani 2009).

positioned men as primary *kretek* and tobacco users in Indonesia, but this demographic is changing, as are the total number of users per year. Variations between women and men's tobacco consumption is a result of a variety of factors, including the colonial push toward a particular Eurocentered modernity, the subsequent privileging of Indonesian males over females within this vision of a modern society, and the trajectory of a gendered symbolism that normalized male tobacco consumption in the public sphere. In turn, female tobacco consumption was not part of the modern colonial image, hence the continuing relationship between women and betel chewing, a practice deemed unsuitable within a modern social environment. The quantitative data that suggests steady increases in both female and male tobacco consumption per year show a country in crisis. It is a crisis that has been created by an intricate set of historical processes along with social, cultural, political, economic and symbolic transformations.

Indonesians were introduced to tobacco at the start of the 17th century, and from this time momentum was built, creating a population of people who are addicted to tobacco. At the same time, many people in the country have come to rely on tobacco production as a means of survival. Tobacco production in Indonesia warrants attention for peculiarities seen, for example, in a gendered labor force in which 81 per cent of its workers are female (Barber et al. 2008:41). As of 2008, the Indonesian tobacco industry ranked “20th out of 24 manufacturing sectors in terms of wages, amounting to Rp 662,148 (US \$73) per month” (Barber et al. 2008:41). “In comparison with other employment categories, cigarette manufacturing ranks number 48 out of 66 sectors in contributing to total employment nationally” (Barber et al. 2008:41). This number is currently declining,

linked to continuing increases in mechanization in the tobacco industry, threatening the jobs of the predominately female labor force (Barber et al. 2008:41). What this means for women is that their labor is not valued in the Indonesian economy. Once they have lost their jobs, they will remain connected to the private domain, where they are perceived to be responsible for the household, unlike men whose labor potential is linked to governmental attempts to create new jobs. Women are seen as replaceable in the tobacco industry. Gazing back to Taufiq Ismail's poem, statistics are only part of the story for Indonesia.

An Indonesian poet and writer, Ismail conveys a perspective often not heard. His poem "Indonesia: The Trash Bin of Nicotine" represents a counter-narrative to the statistics that show most Indonesians, specifically males, to be consumers of tobacco products. Ismail expresses an Indonesian anti-tobacco perspective, based on tobacco's negative health impacts and the political and economic consequences of tobacco's intensive production and consumption in Indonesia. Despite being categorized as a smoker or non-smoker, Indonesians are *not* universally accepting of tobacco. Some people wish to stop their practice, but find it difficult, due to the multilayered addiction to tobacco and its properties. "Indonesia: The Trash Bin of Nicotine" tells of an Indonesian "paradise," a destination that has been historically defined as an exotic place of otherness. Ismail alludes to the eagerness with which Indonesia has adopted and adapted to this imagery. The most obvious way has been through its lucrative tourist economy and the tactical methods employed to meet the fantastical expectations of travelers (Bruner 1996). Furthermore, his words reflect the political and economic relations between

Indonesia and the “West,” as the country welcomes those who seek to exploit its resources and people. The poem has an important temporal message that tells of the historical trajectory of foreign intervention into the Indonesian economy, creating interdependence between “foreign investment,” Indonesia, and its people (Massey & Jess 1995:224). Over time, Indonesia, like many other developing countries, has become the place where multinational corporations, restricted by tobacco control mechanisms in North America and Europe “...have escaped” (Tobacco Source Book 2004). Similar to those travelers seeking fantastical experiences, multinational corporations are seeking to capitalize on the lack of restrictions in the tobacco industry and, thus far, Indonesia has met their expectations.

National Tobacco Laws: Local Conflict and a Lack of Enforcement

Exposure to second-hand or “passive smoke” is unavoidable in the public and private spheres of social life (Barraclough 1999:330). In the United States, due to legal restrictions and boundaries placed on tobacco consumption, there tends to be a shared cultural norm associated to smoking in the presence of non-smokers. Often, what is witnessed is a smoker gaining permission to smoke in the vicinity of a non-smoker. During my time in Indonesia, this norm was not part of the cultural landscape, due to the overwhelming acceptance of tobacco consumption at both an institutional and sociocultural level. National health laws in Indonesia have established smoke-free spaces on public transportation, in health care and educational facilities, religious places and children’s play areas (Tobacco-Fact Sheet 2012: 1). Designated smoking areas outside of public spaces and places of work are also part of the mandate (Tobacco-Fact Sheet

2012:1). The contradiction of this governmental policy emerges in the conflict between national law and local governments and the lack of enforcement mechanisms. When I was in Indonesia, I observed very few, if any, smoke-free spaces. *Tobacco Free Kids*, a global tobacco advocacy organization states,

...under Indonesian law, local governments must also pass corresponding implementing legislation in order for the national health law's smoke-free provisions to take effect. The national law does not set a deadline by which local governments must act, and some local governments have passed legislation while others have not (Tobacco-Fact Sheet 2012:1).

This scenario is akin to negligence when it comes to restricting tobacco consumption. In the last decade, the country has seen little progress in the implementation of tobacco control mechanisms, mainly in the passage of local and national laws, but many more control mechanisms are stalled due to the complex politics of the Indonesian tobacco industry (WHO 2011; Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). The government has established mandates yet lacks the oversight and power to implement them. Where governmental control mechanisms are in place, the barriers between local and national levels prevent tangible change (WHO 2011). In practice, it is contradictions that account for the overwhelming daily exposure that people have to second-hand smoke. Likewise, it contributes to the normalization of tobacco smoke in all domains of social life.

The relationship between policy and practice in Indonesia creates a foundation for understanding the depth to which tobacco has permeated Indonesian life. It offers a lens through which to view the trajectory of tobacco consumption in the country. The question remains, "How to best approach the eradication of tobacco consumption while considering its multifaceted impacts?" In this thesis, I have traced how tobacco's

economic and political importance can only be understood in light of social, cultural, and symbolic transformations that constitute Indonesia's history. For example, ways to address the tobacco epidemic lies in better access to information about its health impacts. Presently, most messages about tobacco in Indonesia are expressed in the form of marketing and advertisements. Mass consumption of tobacco is supported by the mass marketing of tobacco products, "cigarette advertising visibly saturates Indonesia...[it is] so prolific [that] it almost [becomes]...a 'natural' part of the Indonesian landscape..." (Reynolds 1999:85). This saturation is not regulated equally, when considering marketing control mechanisms in place for those that reside within "industrialized first world countries of the North" (Massey & Jess 1985:224).

Interestingly, when considering how the decline in betel chewing occurred within the Indonesian context, it was partly due to the dissemination of information that defined betel as a taboo in the modernizing Dutch colonial context. This illuminates the power of deeming a substance such as betel unacceptable, or out of fashion, within public domains. Deeply rooted traditions, such as betel chewing, were powerfully affected by the messages society received about them. For example, the shunning of betel occurred generationally as youth were taught European concepts of hygiene. They eventually chose to move away from betel chewing in favor of tobacco (Stein 2009:550; Taylor 2009:193). This raises equally important questions surrounding how the shift in betel would have occurred, had there not been a substitute for it - tobacco. More questions than answers are raised, but it remains critical to engage in discourses about the ongoing relationship between Indonesians and tobacco.

Changing Perspectives: Culturally Relevant Health-Related Information

Statistics have shown that tobacco consumption in Indonesia is currently at exorbitant levels, averaging increases per year (Barber et al. 2008; Ericksen et al. 2012; WHO 2010). It is clear that tobacco has facilitated numerous transformations in Indonesian society, many of which have proven detrimental, specifically in the area of health. One of the universal questions about tobacco consumption remains, “Why do people continue to smoke when they know that tobacco has negative consequences on their health and well-being?” A seemingly basic question, that in all actuality, is quite complex. The historical trajectory of tobacco in Indonesia has shown it to be multifaceted. Tobacco is a deeply rooted commodity linked to present-day economic opportunities; it is a cultural symbol seen in the form of *kreteks*, and an object of various symbolic “utilities” outlined by Nichter et al.’s study on the development of tobacco cessation programs in Indonesia (Nichter et al. 2009). For people to make informed decisions about their lives, including the practices they engage in, they must have access to reliable and germane information. This information would be supported by findings on the effects of first-hand and second-hand smoke. The information must be culturally relevant, which means that what is conveyed must also be contextualized and articulated within a familiar knowledge structure. People must be able to make connections within their own cultural setting, in order to apply information about the effects of tobacco in their lives and to those around them. That stated, human beings’ ability to “interpret” seemingly abstract or unfamiliar modes of information remains dynamic (Nichter 2009:8). Nonetheless, it is important to consider issues of cultural relativity when

dealing with the dissemination of health and medical-related information about tobacco and smoking (Nichter 2009:8).

Disparities exist around the world regarding access to critical health information, specifically when dealing with tobacco. The lack of access manifests into misperceptions and misinformation. One issue that arises is how to present information about tobacco to people in different cultural contexts, whose knowledge systems have created culturally and historically-based systems of signification related to tobacco. Nichter et al.'s study shows that in Indonesia, misinformation about tobacco's effects is rampant. Some of the common misperceptions were,

some cigarettes are relatively safe to smoke...If one finds a brand suitable for his body (Indonesia) then there is no harm...low level smoking is not harmful. Many old people who smoke are healthy, so smoking is okay otherwise. Smoking is okay for healthy people...There are ways to reduce the harm of smoking including diet, drinking a lot of water to flush away toxins, [and] herbal medicine ...Being exposed to smoke is good because your body gets used to it and smoking by others will not bother you. It is dangerous to quit smoking suddenly...(Nichter et al. 2009:316).

In addition, the communities that acted as the study sites expressed that tobacco-related information must be accompanied by "...*specific* information on *how* tobacco causes specific health problems beyond general information about harm (Nichter et al 2008:317). Past models of health education based on Western notions of "empowerment" and "development," and the ways that the giving of information was framed as "us" in the West know better than "them," have failed to facilitate successful modes of social interaction (Gardner 1996). These models are, for the most part, unacceptable forms of education and support. Too often, they have mimicked historical relations between the West and the East that materialized as imperialistic and

paternalistic. Many of these approaches originated from the Western context, linked to non-governmental organization (NGOs) work in developing countries (Gardner 1996; Nichter 2008). While the debate about the relevance and politics of NGOs is outside of the scope of this discussion, it remains a factor in how to best access communities and disseminate critical health-related information (Gardner & Lewis 1996; Nichter 2008). Moreover, the importance of considering myriad relationships to knowledge production and dissemination, in relation to tobacco, is connected back to the universal quandry regarding why people continue harmful practices such as tobacco smoking. It is a complex answer that does not garner a simply explanation, or a singular one at that.

The Flow of Profit: Indonesia's Uneven Development

The lack of reliable and relevant information about tobacco's health effects is intertwined within broader sociopolitical and economic relations between specific locales of wealth and power (developed) and the spaces that are exploited to create and maintain this status (underdeveloped). Massey and Jess have articulated this as a process of uneven development that involved, "differences produced by the inequality of social relations over space (Massey & Jess 1995:224). A prime illustration of these "differences" is witnessed in the flow of profits generated by multinational tobacco corporations like BAT and PMI (Massey & Jess 1995:224). *Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada's* report on the global tobacco economy focuses on the relationship between extractions of resources, labor, and profits, while tracing where these withdrawals end, and who they subsequently benefit. As immense profit traverses space, the differences produced are related to the historical trajectories of countries like Indonesia, that over

time, has been positioned as a site of extraction (Massey & Jess 1995:224). First, in the context of Dutch colonialism, and then, through economic restructuring focused on divvying up the Indonesian economy to foreign investors, who had little interest in seeing the country flourish (Lawrence & Collins 2004:ii97). When this extraction occurs, very little of the profit it generates is channeled back into the country. Often, when it does, it is in the form of taxes that multinational corporations must pay to house parts of their operations. Tax structures vary between countries and many are structured to attract foreign investors. Indonesia does have “preferential tax policies” for domestic and “small kretek firms,” but the country has a history of equating an “increase in government revenue” with the necessity of “promoting higher tobacco consumption among females and youth,” instead of raising taxes overall to increase revenue (Barber et al. 2008:50). Clearly, the government of Indonesia has yet to prioritize the health and well-being of the country’s people. Until this occurs, the impacts of uneven development will continue to unfold.

Massey and Jess illuminate “industrialized first world countries of the North and the poorest countries of the South” (Massey & Jess: 1995:224). Indonesia has become one of the countries in the Global South, where the differences produced have created an “interdependence” that in the context of tobacco illuminates the relationship between multinational corporations, the Indonesian state, and Indonesian production and consumption. By the same token, Indonesia has become reliant on the extraction of labor and profit as a means to participate in the global economy. At the local level, what this

reliance means is that people are afforded economic opportunities, albeit, at times, limited and exploitative.

Mapping BAT and PMI's operations within the Asia Pacific region, the "transnational transfer" or "repatriation" of profits from this specific region, sends back, in the case of BAT, more than \$1.35 billion dollars to the United Kingdom (Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada 2009:7)²⁷. PMI's profit flow starts in the Asia region and repatriates an estimated \$2 billion dollars to the United States, specifically to the financial center of New York, home to the company's North American corporate headquarters (Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada 2009:7). The anti-tobacco lobby in places like North America has proven successful in restricting the actions of the highly lucrative tobacco industry. However, little has been done to address the tangential impacts of these restrictions in countries like Indonesia. Does social responsibility end in one's own cultural and geographic context? I think not. The issue of tobacco's multifaceted impacts is one that exists at the global level and it must be approached as such. While doing so, it remains imperative to consider the cultural and historical specificities of tobacco. Looking at BAT and PMI's profits, the restrictions in North America and Europe have done little to curb consumption. If a roadblock were placed in front of a person, would they remain in one place, or would they seek out alternative paths to get to

²⁷ PMI is the world's largest private tobacco corporation. BAT comes in second to PMI, but ranks first among tobacco companies operating out of Europe (Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada 2009:10).

their desired location? Most would seek out alternative paths, and this is the exact strategy that has been employed by multinational tobacco corporations.

Extinguishing the Fire: Tobacco in Indonesia

Throughout this thesis, tobacco has acted as a vessel for historical and spatial analysis of how the substance was introduced to Indonesia, in a manner that allowed for its eventual spread throughout the country. The Dutch East Indies Company's (VOC) motivations "...[put] trade and profit ahead of every other consideration," subsequently influencing the shaping of social relations between the Dutch and Indonesians (Hollander 2009:3). The convergence of the VOC and the Javanese elite, at the start of the 17th century, provided a useful point to begin the exploration of how tobacco became the commodity it is in present-day. Of course, there were specific social, economic, and political conditions and circumstances that allowed for the VOC to enter Indonesia at that time, and gradually establish direct rule over the country, transitioning into an arm of the "Dutch state" (Robison 2009:9).

Underlying the emerging relations between colonizer and colonized was the production of Eurocentric knowledge about the world, and more specifically, the history of tobacco. In the process of knowledge production, tobacco was constructed as an object that had been dominated, much like the peoples that it was taken from. This otherness was established at the foundation of European epistemologies that aided in conceptualizing and articulating human differences in a time where exploration and technological improvements in travel were bringing people together at faster rates. One of the unique and parallel developments to these technologies was the ability to produce

printed books that could spread information about the peoples and cultures of the world (Mancall 2004:659). These processes of knowledge production and dissemination provided the Dutch, deriving from the European context, with access to a particular lens by which to construct social, economic and political relations based on the perceived otherness of Indonesians. In combination with the economic and political motivations of the VOC, power relations between the Dutch and Indonesians developed into different forms of violence and oppression. These relations established structures that influenced the growth of tobacco in the country. From within these unequal and colonially dominated structures, policies and practices were developed to control tobacco's modes of production and, in turn, regulate Indonesian labor. The trajectory set forth intensified tobacco as a commodity, while also working to deepen the relationship between Indonesians and tobacco.

Tobacco became intertwined with betel chewing and it was assigned meaning within systems of signification that ranged from everyday social interactions to ritual and religious practices. As economic and political transformations occurred, tobacco and betel were defined and redefined symbolically, in ways which were intertwined with economic and political transformations in Indonesia. Over time this influenced the central role of both tobacco and betel in Indonesian life. The emergence of *kreteks* exemplify this process as they represented Independence from Dutch colonialism, and became signifiers of overcoming the collective suffering endured under Japanese Occupation. *Kreteks* have remained a national and cultural symbol in Indonesia due to its history as a commodity and the specificity to each generation's historical consciousness.

In the early 21st century, *kreteks* are utilized performatively to evoke historical remembrance of state-sponsored violence of 1965 - 66.

By tracing the emergence of tobacco in Indonesia, while focusing on production and consumption we have been able to better grasp connections between past and present, and to become aware of the more subtle consequences of tobacco consumption in the country. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that the political and economic change brought on by such large-scale historical processes as colonialism have in many ways contributed to the overwhelming tobacco epidemic in Indonesia. A number of vital issues have surfaced: the impacts of the intensive production of tobacco, at first a compulsory cash crop for export mandated by the Cultivation System, to the transition to an early capitalist plantation system beginning in the late 19th century. Along this path, the shift from local consumption of the betel quid to tobacco occurred, and transformations in symbolic structures, activities, and meanings associated with the substance were seen. Underlying these varied, but interrelated transformations is an intricate web involving multinational tobacco corporations such as British American Tobacco (BAT) and Phillip Morris International (PMI), both of which have gained major control and ownership of the Indonesian tobacco economy. Intertwined within this web are the Indonesian state, consumers, and those who provide labor within the tobacco industry, all existing in a context where few, if any, restrictions are imposed on tobacco production, marketing, or consumption.

The diverse strands that constitute this web, connecting past and present and the troubling trajectory of tobacco consumption, has forced contemplation about the health

and well-being of present and future generations of Indonesians. Looking forward, what is needed to address the increasing tobacco epidemic are enforceable laws and practices that govern not only the tobacco industry, but the ways that Indonesians are able to practice tobacco smoking in public domains. I contend that in addressing the constantly emerging issues related to tobacco in Indonesia, issues of health must be intertwined with that of symbolic, social, cultural, economic, and political significations of tobacco. This thesis has shown the importance of a historical perspective to better comprehend present-day phenomenon. The tobacco epidemic in Indonesia is the result of historical processes that over time have been reproduced and replicated from the times of Dutch colonialism to present-day Indonesia.

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Curriculum Vitae

Melissa C. Mitchell received her Bachelor of Arts from the University of Washington, where she majored in Anthropology and double minored in Human Rights and African Studies. In the spring of 2013, she received her Master of Arts in Anthropology from George Mason University (GMU). While attending GMU, Melissa was awarded a graduate teaching assistantship during the 2011-2012 terms. In her final semester, she was bestowed the honor of receiving the Outstanding Anthropology M.A. Thesis award for, “The Political Economy of Tobacco in Indonesia: How “Two Fires Fell Upon the Earth.”