

## Chapter 1

### **Religious and Cultural Revitalization: A Post-Modern Phenomenon?**

*Thomas Reuter and Alexander Horstmann*

A pervasive sense of displacement and insecurity has arisen and provoked a cultural and moral crisis in Asia and beyond. This crisis reflects radical transformations of local economies and the erosion of relatively secure traditional social and value systems due to rapid industrialisation and urbanisation and increasing participation in a global capitalist economy. New ways of practising and thinking about religion and tradition have emerged in response to the challenges of this new way of life and in this volume we explore some of their innovative, post-modern features. Contemporary forms of religiosity and tradition, we argue, do not simply reflect people's changing personal and social needs under the condition of late modernity we experience today. New global trends in religion point beyond the paradigm of (late) modernity insofar as they have the capacity also to inspire the societies of tomorrow.

Some of the defining features of the late modern socio-cultural experience include a profound sense of social isolation or lack of community, growing individualism and consumerism, heightened exposure to cultural difference through the electronic media and increased mobility, together with an unprecedented degree of cultural and religious self-awareness at the level of local society. These factors can and often do generate a self-conscious desire to strengthen and defend local traditions, but also a desire to adjust and adapt such traditions to better suit the realities of national – and increasingly, global – webs of economic interdependence and cultural exchange. Local people thus use traditional religion not only to overcome cultural crisis and social suffering, but also as a creative way to meet their current needs and express their aspirations for the future. Rather than being only a response to the forces of national and global market integration, religions should be interpreted as cultural and political projects to question and reconstruct the moral and social order of society.

Certainly, we do not want to romanticise movements for the revitalization of local cultures. We are keenly aware that religion has also been used and is continuously being used to promote religious and ethnic nationalisms and chauvinistic and exclusionary agendas. Yet, the contributors in this volume emphasize the creativity and ritual innovation members of local revitalisation movements employ to give renewed meaning to their respective social and cultural universes, to reconstruct broken community ties or connect to imagined local and transnational landscapes and pilgrimage routes.

The attitudes of local people towards traditions, however, are not shaped by cultural and psychological concerns alone. The revitalizations of local religious identities that are currently taking place in many parts of Southeast Asia are also pragmatic and strategic political responses to a growing sense of disenfranchisement. A growing sense of economic loss arises from widespread misappropriation of local material resources and from systematic assaults on local systems of moral and political authority, either by the nation-state or by multinational capitalist ventures. Many educated Southeast Asians view this as a contemporary form of economic and cultural colonialism, and revitalize local culture in order to establish an independent moral sphere from which to mobilize political resistance. In many cases, national elites are perceived as “captured,” and hence as collaborators as well as internal colonizers in their own right. Revitalization thus can also be a response to the interventions and modernist agenda of the nation state.

Revitalization, broadly defined, is the conceptual adaptation and practical reapplication of elements of an established local way of life with the aim of remedying certain aspects of a changed life situation that are considered undesirable. While this definition implies that people maintain a sense of continuity and avoid change because they value much about their own established way of life, it also suggests that change tends to be very welcome to the extent that its effects are perceived to be favourable. Most people engaged in revitalization understand that there is no hope and no need to recreate the exact conditions of the past. Change is a part of life and history is not reversible. Rather, revitalization movements arise when people contemplate recent change and arrive at a sense of being under threat or having already suffered a great loss, in one way or another. This kind of scenario produces revitalization movements, especially when the sense of loss is matched by a sense of having a reasonably good opportunity of restoring what is under threat or has been lost.

The sense of loss that drives revitalization may be unrealistic at times. We have short memories and often forget that what we may value about the past may have come at a cost. The sense of opportunity too can be unrealistic for similar reasons, to do with the systemic interdependence of different elements of a way of life, which may make the reapplication of individual elements of a previous way of life to a new situation quite difficult, too costly, or simply impossible. Social engineering or ‘conscious social change’ of any kind – be it state-endorsed or driven by social movements – is marked by such difficulties, but that does not mean that revitalization is a mere pipedream. Rather, it means that revitalization always creates more social change, rather than simply undoing earlier changes. The outcome of experiments with revitalization is difficult to predict because deliberate social change is always accompanied by unintended and unexpected

consequences. Such consequences are largely unpredictable because perfect knowledge even of the current social system – in all its infinite complexity – is not attainable, even for insiders, and probably less so for social scientists.

Given that the impact of every social change is uneven, revitalization – like every other form of deliberate intervention in the dynamic interplay of change and continuity in a society – will always have implications for the distribution of political power, wealth and prestige. The impact is also differentiated. Change of any kind – be it modernisation and revitalization – has different effects on different people. Revitalized traditions can be expressions of class formation in which powerful people on the local level symbolically express their ritual potency and business acumen, or they can be an assault on new elites. Even when the effect of revitalisation is ostensibly the same, it can be viewed differently; as a positive change by some groups and as a negative one by others, depending on the values they apply. Under what political circumstances then do revitalization movements gain ascendancy?

In most cases the revitalization of local values and practices is aimed at protecting or regaining local autonomy in situations where change has been involuntary and imposed by outside forces, such as corporate globalisation or the nation state – usually with a concomitant loss of power, resources and prestige for the majority of local people. Such conditions create a negative perception of recent social change and make revitalization a popular option. Even then, however, some members of the local society, most notably the new modern elites, will tend to oppose revitalization efforts because they have collaborated with and benefited from the imposition of earlier changes, and from the disenfranchisement of the majority. Others again may have been extremely marginal under the earlier *modus operandum*, and may oppose revitalization because the new, modern situation has rendered them less underprivileged than they had experienced before, even if this change is only slight. Suffice to say that these processes follow some fairly common sense principles. They also respond to historical and systemic complexities that are immensely difficult to untangle and appreciate, especially for outsiders. In-depth empirical research is therefore an absolute requirement for understanding revitalization and similar local manifestations of social and religious change.

Revitalization is not conservative; it is a form of social change – indeed a deliberate and premeditated act of social engineering. All such actions have unintended consequences and there can be considerable dangers. On the other hand, it is completely reasonable for local people anywhere to grasp opportunities to gain greater autonomy from outside forces and, hence, to take

charge of shaping their own future. The desire consciously to shape one's own future lies at the heart of revitalization efforts of all kinds, and explains their essentially utopian character.

Early studies of revitalization movements tended to produce negative characterisations based on the assumption that the people involved are irrational and stuck in the past (e.g. Wallace 1966, Stewart & Harding 1999, Stewart & Strathern 2000). While Wallace's (1956) five stage model, for example, did recognize revitalization as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a group to create a 'new culture,' he rated the impact of revitalization on society at large to be very low. For Wallace, revitalisation thus becomes synonymous with the adaptation of small cultural minority groups to the overwhelming external influence of Western culture and, within that, mainstream society. This may be correct in some cases and, clearly, the likelihood of religious revitalization turning the tables on globalization in a given place and time depends on many specific local, national and global factors. Conditions are not always broadly supportive of such movements. In broader historical terms, however, there are times leading up to a global paradigm shift when such movements not only succeed in maintaining local autonomy but may catalyse a cultural transformation within a hitherto hegemonic social order. Note that the transformative work of revitalization movements is often hard to detect even in retrospect, because their causes often disappear from the public agenda and they may even cease to exist as movements once their ideas have become mainstreamed and their demands for change have been met.

Revitalization efforts in Asia are diverse even within single countries, let alone within the region. They include new Buddhist groups, Islamic missionary movements, prosperity churches and Pentecostal summer camps. Migrant churches and charismatic Buddhist monks may appeal to vulnerable segments of the population, foreign migrants and refugees, who in turn contribute to the expansion of their congregations with their enthusiastic support (Horstmann 2010). Elsewhere, revitalisation may be about re-empowering local elites, and be opposed to an influx of labour migrants and foreigners with different religious traditions.

Most important of all, social scientists need to acknowledge that revitalization has in fact become a ubiquitous contemporary phenomenon, responding to real and extremely serious and widespread contemporary challenges such as environmental degradation, economic inequality, external political domination, community breakdown and social isolation (Reuter 2008). While some of its proponents may at times adopt a reactionary and backward-looking mode of thought, revitalization is predominantly a forward-looking or utopian project. Most contemporary religious or cultural revitalization movements can be described as attempts to address injustices and destructive

tendencies in the all-pervasive process of corporate globalisation, which is often refracted down to the local level via corrupt, dictatorial or pseudo-democratic nation states whose leaders are ‘on the payroll.’ This kind of globalisation may have delivered technological advances and affluence in some cases but also new forms of injustice and human misery, and a consumer capitalist way of life that simply cannot be sustained. Many local empowerment movements thus feature an ecological dimension in addition to, or as an alternative to, religious revitalization (Reuter 2011, Reuter & Acciaioli 2011). With countless revitalization movements around the world sharing a common basic agenda of anti-modernist reform, and growing evidence of such movements joining forces within national and international umbrella organisations, their impact may be multiplied.

At the same time, it is important not to glorify revitalization movements categorically. Some of the legitimate concerns and reasonable aspirations of local empowerment movements deserve our acknowledgement. However, we also need to explore under what circumstances some of these movements, or factions within them, may resort to violent political action that may cause harm to innocent others, or damage future prospects for realising the valid causes of the movements themselves.

The multi-layered revitalization phenomena described in this volume are a manifestation of interconnected global and local efforts of resistance, which seek to discredit and dismantle equally interconnected contemporary power structures operating also at multiple levels. Why is this happening and why are such movements proliferating at this time?

Answers can be found to explain each one of these movements in its own terms and by its own frame of reference, and such explanations do have considerable merit. Seen as a whole, however, revitalization efforts, at this late modern juncture in world history, reflect a rising global and local awareness of an impending crisis of civilisation, a desire to understand the nature of this crisis, and an attempt to create a better future. This is not to say that revitalization worldwide will accomplish the necessary correction to the established modernist perspective on life and associated socio-economic practices. Many of the papers in this volume indeed show that modernism, through the local interventions of nation states and the impact of global capitalism, is still very much shaping the lives of people in Asia on a practical level, and still occupies a hegemonic position in the public media as a master narrative of contemporary experience. In this sense, the contributions to this volume reflect a moment of significant tension in world history.

Comparative social science research is required to shed light on the revitalization of local traditions and the emergence of particular movements, because comparison allows us to pay due attention also to the wider processes of social change, of which these new forms of religiosity are an integral part. At the present stage of revitalisation research, a regional comparison is perhaps the best option because it allows us to provide sufficiently detailed analyses to reveal broader commonalities as well as divergences which together will assist us to build a better theoretical understanding of these processes.

In contemporary Asia, a sense of cultural crisis and fragmentation has been felt with particular acuteness, generating demand for innovative or transformative ideas about a world and a life experience which no longer seems to make any sense. A buoyant consumer market for new forms of religiosity is responding to this demand in Asia, allowing local groups or individuals to shop around for new collective forms of piety and membership in associated social networks, or else to develop a more unique value system and spiritual path on the basis of their individual experience. The need for the support of a community of like-minded others is very strong in the rapidly transforming and often conflict-riddled societies of Southeast Asia, however, and thus motivates many to involve themselves in new socio-religious movements rather than relying on an individualised spirituality. Local revitalization, mass conversions and some of the more ‘organised’ new age movements thus all answer a need for renewed solidarity and provide religious inspirations for dealing with life’s problems in this age of globalisation.

The present volume consists of thirteen, in-depth case studies by an international group of researchers. The studies reveal a renewed commitment to local tradition in the face of a massive assault on traditional ways of life, as well as identifying the pressures that continue to erode those ways of life in many parts of the world. Traditional elements of religion and culture are involved in an intensive dialogue with national and global power-knowledge formations, and are thus manifesting as a force for cultural and social innovation.

The case studies presented herein describe this dialogue of reflexive transformation at the intersection of the local and the global – a setting in which local religious revivalist movements often provide new therapeutic forms for healing and new communicative (symbolic) forms to grapple with significant social change. Those who join new cultural and religious movements not only seek the warmth of a tightly knit community but also associate themselves with a spiritual source of healing and spiritual strength, make critical statements about those who are in power, or find ways of re-sacralising the secular environment or even the state itself. Local religious revival

movements may also react to disenfranchisement, social injustice and patterns of exploitation in regional settings, in undemocratic nation-states, or in the neo-liberal, capitalist world order at large.

Together, the papers illustrate the impact of late modernity and globalization on local cultures, while also showing that what happens at this intersection is a reciprocal process in the deepest sense. Religious movements are particularly important as a way for local peoples to articulate their desires, to decide how they wish to live their lives, and to shape their own future actively, while also reflecting their desire to find an appropriate place and status for themselves within a global social and political context of which they have become increasingly conscious and which they also largely take for granted.

Local religious and cultural revitalization movements ally themselves with new forms of religiosity, syncretistic recombination, bricolage or purification to engage arbitrary forms of state power, social anxiety and the loss of local political and economic autonomy, social networks and traditional forms of meaning. We maintain this thesis, although we also acknowledge that modernity has opened up possibilities for social mobility and prosperity to many people in Asia and beyond.

Religion provides an important resource for social networking and for making sense of the world in these turbulent times. We argue that a buoyant consumer market for new forms of religiosity is responding to this demand, allowing local groups or individuals to shop around for new forms of piety and associated social networks. The contributors' research thus supports the argument that new religious movements and revitalising religious traditions both respond to the same major socio-economic and political transformations occurring in the contemporary world (Keyes & Tanabe 1999) and that religious experience is intimately connected with issues of human security and safety (Salemink, Hylland & Bal 2010).

In the process of revitalization, local cultures and religions do not remain unchanged. Looking at processes of mobility, violence and displacement, we emphasize that we are looking at religion as a phenomenon in motion and constant change, and distance ourselves from the idea of fixed cosmologies and from mechanical models of social reproduction. In the case studies presented below, we emphasize that local cultures and religions are undergoing a deep transformation and that, in many cases, cultural and religious boundaries are becoming more pronounced as a result. This is especially the case when different religious traditions and associated movements compete within the same community or territory. Local religious traditions often serve revival movements as a platform for active or passive resistance to the religious and cultural purification campaigns of

nation states or of global missionary organisations. Ironically, processes that are believed to erode local cultural traditions, such as commoditisation, may actually inject new life and energy into the revitalization of local religion while revitalization in turn helps to keep capitalist society “spirited.”

### ***Outline***

Thomas Reuter's paper describes multi-layered religious revitalization movements in Bali, and in Indonesia generally. Reuter notes that the Balinese movement known as ‘Ajeg Bali’ has been instrumental in the reinforcement of cultural boundaries between the Hindu Balinese majority and Muslim labour migrants from other parts of Indonesia attracted by Bali's booming tourism economy. Following the dramatic collapse of former president Suharto's dictatorial government in 1998 and a massive process of political liberalisation and decentralisation, local traditions that had long been undermined by the nation-state were vigorously promoted and reinstated. Balinese revitalization is also a response to a major terrorist attack on Bali by an Islamist group in 2002, whose members are at the radical fringe of a much larger, national Islamic revitalization. Balinese society is by no means homogeneous either, and revitalisation is thus occurring on multiple levels. This paper describes how the indigenous Balinese, or “Bali Aga,” against the backdrop of national Islamic revitalization and a provincial level Hindu Balinese counter-revitalization, have in turn revitalised an ancient regional ritual, which has also aided them in regaining a degree of political autonomy from mainstream southern Balinese society such as they had not experienced in more than 600 years. The unique feature of this case study is that it shows how different layers of revitalization are linked and mutually constitutive, just as are the multi-layered power structures whose injustices these movements are responding to.

The revitalization of local traditions as a strategy of reconciliation is central to Birgit Bräuchler's article on traditional knowledge, ritual and conflict in the Molucca Islands. Bräuchler discusses the use of cultural tradition by social actors in the Moluccas to end the severe interfaith violence that swept the region in recent years. According to her analysis, traditional means to end the violence were used from the very beginning of the conflict. The most well known tools were *pela* and *gandong*, the major elements of a traditional system of inter-religious alliance. Bräuchler notes that the actors do not see these forms of civility as static, but rather as traditions that need to be adapted to modern times, and broadened to meet emerging problems in a rapidly changing society. Bräuchler sees local strategies of reconciliation as a crucial resource that can be tapped by local actors to overcome ethnic or religious violence and hatred fuelled by outside interference. Current re-appraisals of local tradition are being performed against the background of having to overcome this legacy of recent conflict.

As Peter Bräunlein shows in his contribution, new religious practices are also a product of the impact of the post-modern condition on the individual. The practice of crucifixion in the Philippines, which he describes, centres on the body, personal experience and pain. Those who choose to undergo crucifixion are often lay healers motivated by a desire to experience a dramatic identification with Jesus Christ, to enter a state of trance through pain as a religious experience of rebirth, and to improve their powers and reputations as healers. The practice of crucifixion is new, rather than a long-standing tradition, but is embedded in local traditions and ideas about Christian saints. The performance of crucifixion imitates Christ's sacrifice and through this, charismatic authority emerges in an increasingly urban, post-modern social setting wherein more established traditional forms of church authority have been eroded.

The contribution by Alexander Horstmann is concerned with the revitalization of traditional ancestral ritual of multi-religious neighbourhoods in Southern Thailand. Two examples of traditional multi-religious and reconciling ritual are given to illustrate the contestation, polyphony and transgression involved in the dynamic of revitalisation, and the continuous importance of traditional beliefs amidst an atmosphere of religious tension and violence. Even today, against the background of an increasing hardening of inter-religious boundaries, people in southern Thailand believe that they are part of an inherited, imagined community, insofar as they all considered themselves to be descendents of the first Manora teachers. The Manora is, traditionally, a healing ceremony to domesticate harmful spirits. The revitalized Manora dance drama, however, is a hybridized ritual integrating myth, a historical drama, performing art and ritual practice wrapped into one. At the grand Manora ceremonies in Ta Kura and Takae, thousands of pilgrims look for spiritual power by participating and becoming possessed by ancestral spirits. Horstmann provides the example of a woman who, in full Islamic dress, brings her ill child to be cured by the magic of the Manora ancestors. Coming into a Buddhist temple, she ignores the ordination of Buddhist nuns and the Buddhist diviners and spectacle, transgressing her own religious boundaries. In the 'ritual of two religions' the reproduction of core values coexist with subtle competition between Buddhism and Islam. Following Parkin (1992), Horstmann underlines the openness, ambiguity and contradictions of ritual action.

Annette Hornbacher's contribution links back to the chapter on Balinese ritual and political revival by Thomas Reuter. Hornbacher explores some of the underlying motivations driving a broader mood of crisis and revitalization of ritual culture that has swept the island of Bali since the demise of the Suharto regime in 1998, along with an unprecedented wave of suicides. Hornbacher utilizes

Ulf Hannerz' notion of transnational cultural creolization in order to explain how Balinese have adapted actively and successfully adjusted their cultural traditions to meet the demands of an international cultural tourism market. But in the shadow of their economic success, and contrary to Hannerz' theory, Balinese are also plagued by a growing sense of cosmic crisis, reflected in a loss of ecological sustainability, appropriate social relations, and spirituality. Current revitalization discourses therefore serve a critical cosmological function; they directly question the value of cultural creolization strategies and of the modern worldview at large.

In his contribution on the 'greening' of Asian religion, Arthur Saniotis describes how religious traditions are evoked, revitalized and also transformed in an effort to address rising popular concern over the evident lack of sustainability of the modern capitalist way of life. Following Linder and Bateson, he argues that a evolutionary shift is required in the way we live our lives and think, and that religions everywhere are responding to this demand because religion is not only paradigmatic of social life but also a locus of paradigm shifts. This mobilization and transformative revitalization of religion is illustrated by reference to two examples: eco-Buddhism and forest temples in Thailand and an ecological movement spearheaded by Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) in Indonesia.

The contribution by Guido Sprenger looks at changes in the religious practices of the Rmeet, a minority in upland Laos, in response to a heightened sense of cultural self-consciousness and reflexivity that has arisen from increased exposure to and closer interaction with cultural others. Sprenger shows that while the ritual spilling of blood is crucial to Rmeet ceremonies, they tend to suppress blood-spilling whenever they receive lowland Lao guests who regard this practice as backwards or barbaric. As Sprenger explains, the suppression of blood spilling in the presence of the Lao visitors is an attempt to mediate and change a hierarchical relationship between the Rmeet and the lowland Laotians within a rapidly transforming social scenario.

The contribution by Eric Davis speaks to Sprenger's study by revealing how blood spilling is not suppressed but features as a prominent element of revitalized ritual for ancestral spirits in Cambodia. In Davis' case study, a Cambodian-Chinese spirit medium is possessed by violent and powerful ancestral spirits. The attendants take home a sacred paper in which the ancestral spell is marked with the spirit medium's blood. Davis explains that the monk here becomes the chief exorcist. Davis argues convincingly that that the Chinese hosts of these rituals assert their new freedom to display their Diasporic migrant identity in Cambodia.

Blair Palmer also considers the impact of mobility on contemporary Asian societies by examining patterns of out-migration in a South Sulawesi community, and resulting tensions between traditionalist and modernist Muslims. In South Sulawesi, poor farmers and fishers aim to escape hardship by sailing to the city of Ambon in Maluku. Many have become successful traders and moderately wealthy or at least maintain a vision of becoming wealthy. Migration and new careers in trade have not only devalued farming back home, but also the spirit beliefs that were closely associated with farming. The new class of traders tie their accomplishments in capitalist petty accumulation to a modernist Islamic revival doctrine, while traditionalist Muslims back home are now associated with poverty and superstition. The farming traditionalists still continue spirit worship in secret, but have quickly fallen to the bottom of the village hierarchy.

Daromir Rudnyckyj discusses an extremely interesting case of Islamic revitalization in Indonesia from above, taking up the example of a 'spiritual training programme' at a steel factory. At the factory, Muslim and Christian employees have had to undergo spiritual development training based on the Quran and the Hadith with the aim of improving their productivity. As Rudnyckyj explains, this spiritual training has replaced the nationalist indoctrination of the Suharto regime, and disciplines the worker's body by subordinating it to a uniform training based on modernist Islam. Spirit beliefs that do not conform to the norms of revivalist Islam have to be exorcised. Capitalist development in Indonesia hence goes hand in hand with modernist Islamic revitalization.

Islamization from above and the negotiation of Islamic lifestyles in an Islamic nation is also the subject of Gerhard Hoffstaedter's contribution. The success and expansion of the Dawa revitalization movement was appropriated by the Malaysian government, which was engaged in a competition with the Islamic opposition over the question over Islamic piety. In the course of this race, the Malaysian government imposed an increasingly disciplinary and rigid form of Islam on Malaysian Muslims. Hoffstaedter's contribution provides a nice contrast with other, more rural contexts by discussing the tactics of middle-class professionals in Kuala Lumpur. These middle-class professionals endorse the state-proclaimed identity in order to achieve a more stable sense of self-identity for themselves.

In his chapter, Jovan Maud takes us to Southern Thailand in order to show how Buddhism, Chinese religions, Brahmanism and folk beliefs blend and are being revitalized through Chinese tourism in the bustling Thai city of Hatyai. As Maud explains, the presence of Chinese tourists is essential to the existence of certain religious practices. The inflow of religious tourists in Hatyai has boosted and led to commoditization of religions. Drawing on a range of religious activities, from Songkran

New Year celebrations to the tattoos and amulets of the legendary Buddhist saint Luang Por Thuat, Maud illustrates that local religious practices and cults in Southern Thailand are being stimulated, mainly by tourists from Penang and Singapore. The saint worship, tattooing and amulet cult has thus become a truly translocal phenomenon, and not merely a local ritual that is witnessed by tourists.

Shaoming Zhou's contribution complements Maud's paper by showing how ritual practice is faring in mainland China, where religious expression is generally still muted more than thirty years after the Cultural Revolution. The paper focuses on the complex ritual traditions upheld by funeral officiators. While funeral rites have experienced a revival throughout China from the 1980s onward, there has also been much adjustment of ritual procedures to changed economic and political realities. Zhou's case study of rural eastern China shows that funeral officiators, who were trained at Confucian academies in much of classical China, have been prominent laypersons in this region. But the 'laypersons' chosen for this role are predominantly village administrative committee members nowadays, rather than members of old elites. Expenditure on funerals is also restricted by state regulations to avoid 'wasteful' status competition, and family participation in ceremonies is curtailed by the state-sanctioned prioritization of work commitments (the "get rich first" doctrine). Ironically, prioritizing the pursuit of prosperity itself also constitutes a revitalization of Confucian values. Furthermore, administrative committee members are not unsympathetic toward tradition and local people effectively reintegrate them into a tradition elite role by inviting them to preside over their families' funeral rites.

## ***References***

- Horstmann, Alexander (2010) "*Confinement and Mobility: Transnational Ties and Religious Networking among Baptist Karen at the Thailand-Burma border.*" Working Paper, 10-16 Nov. 2010. <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/publications/working-papers/2010/wp-10/16>.
- Keyes, C. & S. Tanabe (2002) *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos*. London and New York: Curzon/ Routledge.
- Salemink, Oscar, Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Ellen Bal (eds.) (2010) *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological Perspectives of Human Security* (Anthropology, Culture and Society). London: Pluto Press
- Reuter, Thomas A. (2008) *Global Trends in Religion and the Reaffirmation of Hindu Identity in Bali*. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute Press.

- Reuter, Thomas A. (2011) "Devastation and Hope in Borneo: Anthropologists' First-Hand Account." *The Conversation*, 23 May 2011. Online: <http://theconversation.edu.au/articles/devastation-and-hope-in-borneo-anthropologists-first-hand-account-2118>
- Reuter, Thomas A. (2011) "Faith in the Future: Climate change at the World Parliament of Religions, Melbourne 2009." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* (TAJA), 22, 2: 6-11.
- Stewart, K & Harding, S. (1999) "Bad Endings: American Apocalypsis," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28: 285–310.
- Stewart, P & Strathern, A (eds.) (2000) "Special Issue on Millenarian Movements in Papua New Guinea." *Ethnohistory* 47(1).
- Wallace, Anthony F.C. (1956) "Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for their Comparative Study." *American Anthropologist* 58(2): 264-281.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C. (1966) *Religion: An anthropological view*, Random House, New York.