# Pacific Geographies

Research | Notes | Current Issues from the Asia-Pacific Region
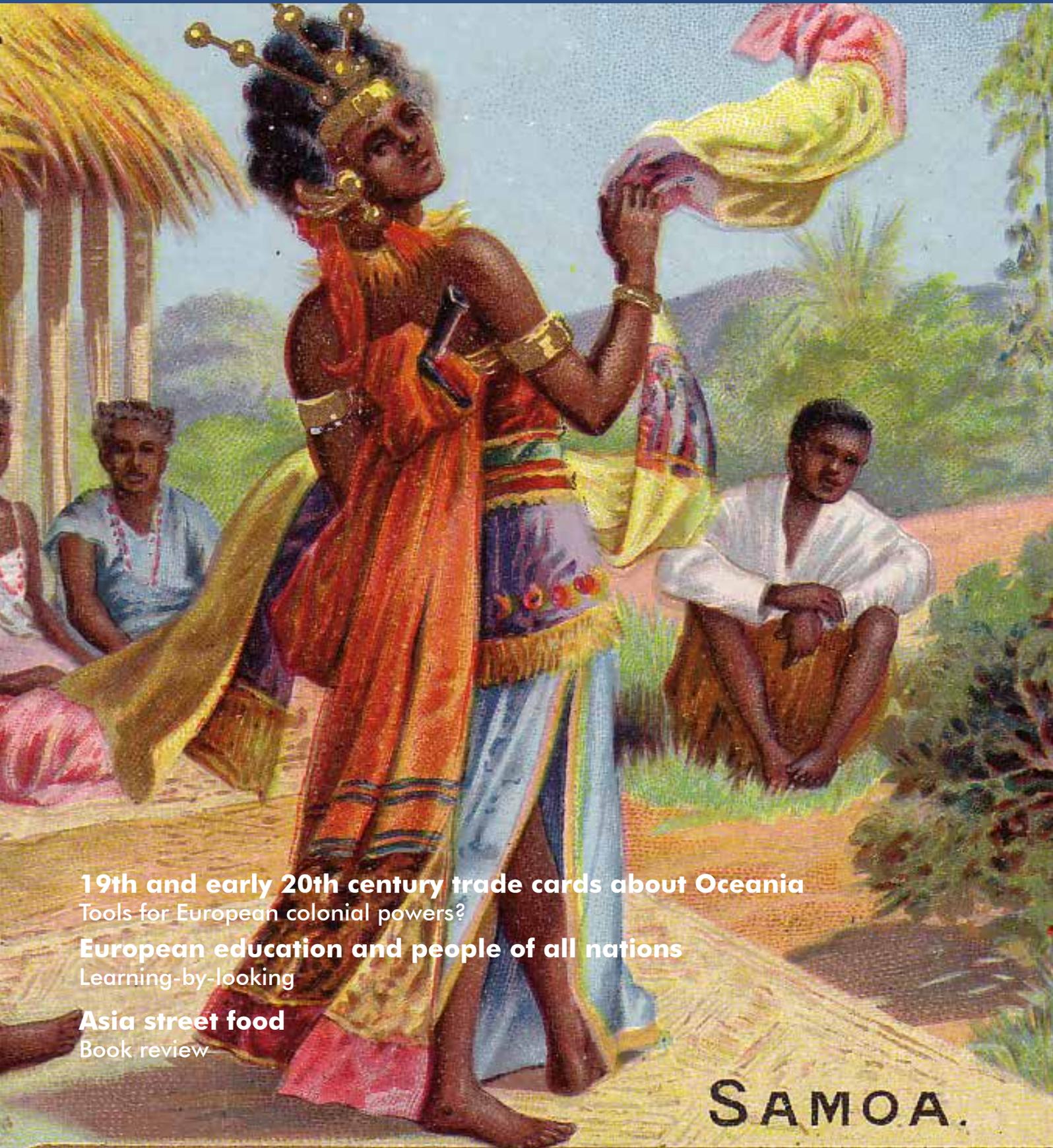
19th and early 20th century trade cards about Oceania
Tools for European colonial powers?

European education and people of all nations
Learning-by-looking

Asia street food
Book review

SAMOA.

LIEBIG'S FLEISCH-EXTRACT.

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

This issue of Pacific Geographies covers a wide and interdisciplinary range of topics. We hope that you find them interesting.

Two papers addresses the colonial period in the Pacific Islands region from an anthropological viewpoint. In his colourful and well illustrated article, Hermann Mückler discusses 19th and early 20th century trade cards about Oceania and their uses for information, education and as propaganda for European colonial powers. He highlights their role in creating a specific image of the Pacific Islands as a region worthy of colonization, missionary activity and exploitation. Max Quanchi's paper explores the role of illustrated serial encyclopaedias of the early 1900s.

The paper by Luzile Satur deals with climate change and inefficient implementation of socialised housing policies for the urban poor in Cagayan de Oro, Philippines. She argues for attention to environmental justice in housing.

Finally, you will find a book review on Asian Street Food.

Enjoy your reading, with our geographical, historical, anthropological and culinary insides.

We hope you enjoy this new issue of *Pacific Geographies*.

Dr. Matthias Kowasch, on behalf of the editorial board

Pacific Geographies

Pacific Geographies (PG), ISSN (Print) 2196-1468 / (Online) 2199-9104, is the peer-reviewed semi-annual publication of the Association for Pacific Studies. From 1992-2012 it was labelled Pacific News (ISSN 1435-8360). It is published through the Department of Human Geography of Hamburg University, Germany. The PG provides an interdisciplinary platform for an academic discussion of social, cultural, environmental, political and economic issues in the Asia-Pacific region.
In order to uphold scientific standards, the PG is implementing a peer-review process. Articles marked as „scientific papers" have been peer-reviewed by two external reviewers. Articles marked as „research notes" have been peer-reviewed by one external reviewer and a member of the editorial board. All other articles have been reviewed by the editorial board.
APSA-Members receive the Pacific Geographies at no cost as a membership benefit.

The Association for Pacific Studies (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Pazifische Studien e.V., APSA) was founded in 1987 at the Department of Geography of the University of Technology in Aachen. Activities include workshops, conferences, public lectures and poster exhibitions. The book series Pazifik Forum was initiated in 1990. In 1992, it was complemented by the publication of the journal Pacific Geographies. The latter has developed into the major activity of APSA in recent years.
The APSA sees itself as one of the largest scientific networks in Germany for academics and practitioners with an interest in the Asia-Pacific region as well as academic exchange.

19th and early 20th century trade cards about Oceania as tools of information, education and propaganda for European colonial powers

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Abstract: From the mid-19th century on, trade cards became a significant medium not only for advertising consumer products, but also for promoting and distributing political messages such as the idea of colonization. With regard to the Pacific Islands, the article highlights the role of trade cards as a channel to create a specific image of the Pacific Islands as a region worthy to be colonized, missionized and exploited. A core symbol of this idea figured in the South Seas stereotype which was widely used to merge visions of unspoiled, peaceful island societies and dreams of a paradise on earth, with goals of establishing political control over the islands in the context of the race for colonies of the Western powers in the age of imperialism.

The message of the "South Seas"-trade cards

Trade cards with explicitly South Sea motifs appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Britain, France and – with some delay – Germany, started to divide the South Pacific among themselves into spheres of influence, step by step with establishing protectorates to incorporating islands as colonies. The British and the French had already acquired colonies around 1850 (Britain: Pitcairn 1838, New Zealand 1840, Fiji 1874; France: Tahiti 1842, New Caledonia 1853), and after 1885 when Germany appeared on the scene and established protectorates over parts of New Guinea, Micronesia and later in Samoa, a partition of almost all Pacific territories (except Tonga) took place during a short period of time. Since that time, motifs from the region increasingly emerged on trade cards.

Comparing trade cards from Britain and the United States with those from France and Germany of the period 1860-1900, the printing quality of the latter is by far better. The chromolithography used there offered an intensity of colourfulness and brightness unknown to other forms of print mass media of those times. The technology was far more developed on continental Europe, especially in Germany, compared with Britain and the USA (apparent in the two cards showing the hoisting of the flag). Formats and sizes were also different in various countries. The French and German trade cards, issued from 1853 on, were often bigger in size (11 x 7 cm), the typical "Sammelbilder" or "carte commercial." The prototype of this type of trade card is the so-called "Liebig-Kaufmannsbild," named after the famous Liebig Company, the producer of a meat extract, a process invented by the German chemist Justus von Liebig, which could concentrate and preserve the essential nutrients and flavours of beef in the form of paste or bouillon cubes. The British tended to a smaller format (7 x 3,5 cm), referred to as "cigarette cards". In Britain in 1887, the tobacco importer W.D. & H.O. Wills was one of the first companies to include advertising cards with their cigarettes, but it was John Player & Sons in 1893 that produced one of the first general interest sets. Often these cards were produced and issued in series of four, six (see figure 1), or even more cards, which formed a set relevant to one subject. The trade cards depicting Oceania can be divided into four sub-categories: 1.) those which provide ethnographic information about people and cultures of the Pacific islands (see figures 1, 2, 3, 7b-d, 12), 2.) those which underlined the colonial claim over the particular islands (see figures 10, 11), 3.) those which transport(ed) stereotypical South Sea images and clichés (see figure 5), and 4.) those images which show animals, plants, and topographic features (see figures 2, 7a). Sometimes two or more aspects are merged in one image.

To the first group of images belong those which allow assumptions about native decoration, tattoos, indigenous forms of architecture, boat-building and art, as well as those which provide information about spiritual features and ritual characteristics of a native tribe. Especially tribes in island Melanesia as well as the highlands of New Guinea showed such a variety of distinct cultural expressions, which were often seized for picturesque motifs. Do trade cards contain accurate or veridical information? Not necessarily. A Liebig-card series about Samoa shows tree houses in the Samoan islands which never ever existed there. Only in New Guinea such tree houses could be found, and then only in

Figure 1: A series of six trade cards showing traditional appearance and rituals of Pacific Islanders.

some distinct places. Also, music instruments such as the arched harp, that originates in East Africa, can be seen on one of those cards despite being an instrument that was never used in the context of traditional Samoan culture (see figure 8). Sometimes the mixture of different features together in one card creates strange images: while it is true that surfing was a tradition on the Hawaiian islands, crocodiles were not a threat (see figure 5). Some of these mistakes occurred because the person who made the original (stone-) engraving often had to rely on photographs and personal comments from travellers to the Pacific but was not in the position to verify or falsify ethnographic details. On the other hand, drawings (or bet-

ter printed engravings) about traditional tattoos are often very accurate and provide indeed useful information about native decoration styles, as they were usually based on already published material from Western explorers, early travellers, and anthropologists (see figures 3, 4). Nevertheless, the use of trade cards for contemporary educational purposes was guaranteed only to some extent, as the element of subliminal or frank propaganda about the colonized people was an integral part of most of the images. To target children as collectors and consumers, subtextual messages were included to spark interest in those whose generation would potentially populate and govern the colonized territories. Today, each of

the trade cards has to be analyzed separately in its contemporary time frame and context, regarding its political and economic intentions and the needs of various involved protagonists. Thus the value of trade cards for contemporary enterprises and governments was based much more on the second categories aspects: to provide contemporary information about the potentials of the recently acquired colonies. Flag-hoisting scenes legitimated the colonial authority over the islands and their peoples (see figures 10, British flag hoisting in British Papua, figure 11, German flag hoisting in Samoa). The depiction of modern infrastructure, such as post offices, (see figure 6) intend to encourage settlers from the mother country
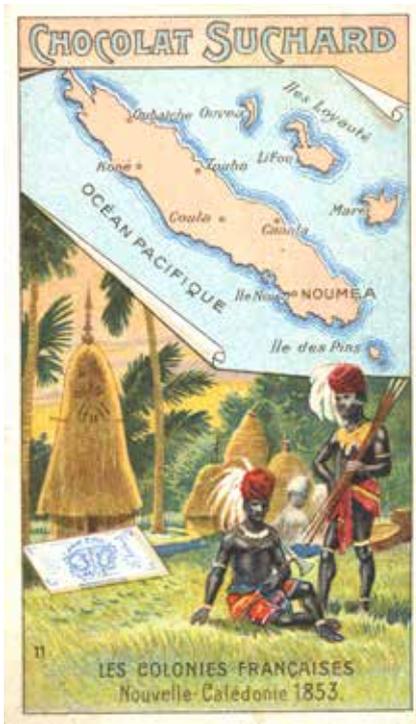
Figure 2: Maps on the cards often underline colonial authority over the islands.

Figure 3: Traditional full-body tattoo from Nukuhiva, Polynesia.
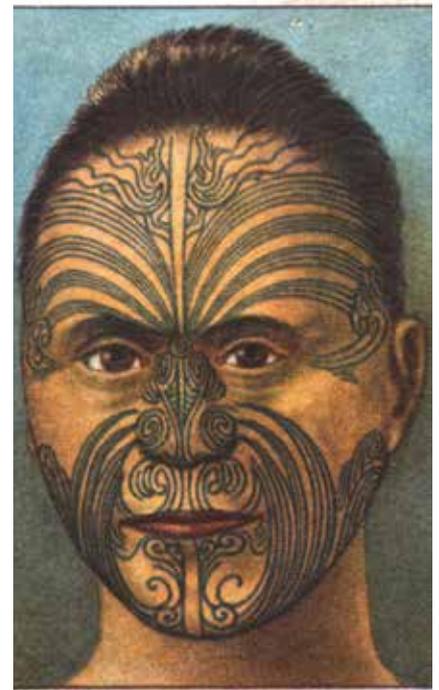
Figure 4: Traditional face tattoo "moko" of the New Zealand Maori.

to move to the French, and to some extent in the German South Sea colonies for economic engagement and permanent settlement. The intention was to convey the impression that potential settlers would not lament the absence of Western conveniences. Warships and soldiers often symbolized the presence of state authority and transported the idea of security for those who wanted to move to the South Sea colonies.

The question if and how state authorities were involved in the creation and selection of motifs for trade cards cannot be easily answered as there exists no serious scientific investigation to date. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the trade cards acted as a means to justify and even glorify colonialism. Directives usually came from the companies themselves, which allowed cards to be produced in independent studios. Their objective was to raise the appeal of the cards for the increase of the visibility of the advertised products and thus for the sales figures. This could be best obtained with motifs that depicted South Sea stereotypes already diffused in the tar-

geted population. Motifs with abundant lush vegetation and willing beautiful young maidens are among those clichés, which were used repeatedly to create a (sub-) tropic atmosphere of relaxation and satisfaction for those representatives of white western civilization, who had to travel to and live on these islands (see Sturma, 2002; O'Brien, 2006). Although not immediately detectable, often attributed prejudices were underlying these "easygoing" surface-elements, such as idleness, naivety, and backwardness, and thus create an ambivalent atmosphere. Such trade card motifs satisfied the expected exotic element of overseas territories and invited the collec-
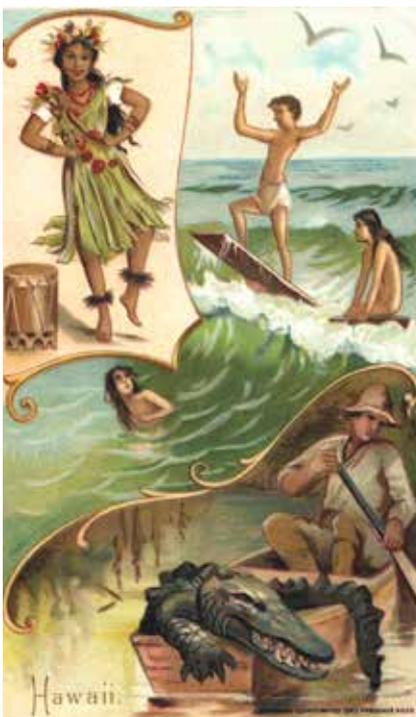
Figure 5: Hawaiian Islands with hula-dance, surfing and a crocodile.

Figure 6: German Post officer in Apia, Upolu, Samoa.

Figure 7: Four cigarette cards from different British companies.

tors of such cards to dream about the South Sea as a peaceful and promising place. The last and fourth category underscored such intentions of "exotism" with colourful illustrations of birds of paradise, landscapes of atoll islands and lush flowering island vegetation.

Often it was stated that trade cards were produced especially for children. Although true in general, we have to take into account that the products, to which the trade cards were attributed, were comparatively expensive. Chocolate, cacao, meat extract, tobacco, coffee, tea, and chemical products like floor polish, were expensive products in the late nineteenth century and by tendency affordable rather for middle-class families, not for the working class. Thus the collection of trade cards was a hobby of a relatively wealthy minority, as the middleclass was indeed emerging rapidly at those times, but not fully established as the main social class in European and US societies. This partially limited the scope for the companies that issued trade cards and lead gradually to cheaper production modes. On the other hand, trade cards and the products that they advertised were increasingly far apart, as the trade cards were sought after and collected as an end in itself. The series produced numbered into the thousands and the scrapbooks where the cards were carefully preserved required a steady flow of new series with a wide range of motifs. The advertised product thus became of subsequent importance for the buyers. Trade cards were often collected in albums that acted – in our case – as textbooks to describe the colonies and their indigenous popula-

tions to a broad general audience.

The trade cards shown in this article are extracted from the author's collection which contains photographs, postcards, engravings, maps, posters, ephemera, and collectibles of popular culture exclusively engaging with the Pacific Islands and their particular traditions and cultures. Among these items are about 2,000 trade cards with "South Sea"-representations that are suitable for analysis and can be interpreted as a mirror of Western perception of Oceania. So far only one book in the German language deals explicitly with the aspect of colonialism in relation to the trade card (Zeller 2008), and another book contextualizes trade cards in their capacity to create time frames for the addressed time periods (Weyers/Köck 1992). The trade cards depicting the Pacific Islanders and

their cultures provide details about Oceania and its cultural diversity, but it tells even more about Western perception, thinking and acting towards the Pacific Islanders in the age of imperialism.

Trade cards as an advertising medium

Trade cards were produced in great quantity and variety during the last third of the nineteenth century and constituted a new and significant marketing strategy in advertising. A trade card is usually defined as a single piece of medium weight paper slightly smaller than a post card, printed with decorative images that directly or indirectly promote a commercial product, service, or event. Trade cards were thus a cross between modern-day business cards and advertising flyers. The typi-

Figure 8: Liebig-card showing a Samoan dancer. There is no arch harp in Samoa!

Figure 9: French trade card showing Marist/Picpus missionaries preaching to Melanesians.

cal card showed a picture (usually in colour) on one side and a paragraph or two on the reverse to describe the product or service. Many years before popular magazines began to produce any substantial visual advertising in either black and white or colour, trade cards proliferated in Europe and the USA into even the most remote areas by means of free distribution, directly from retailers and wholesalers to their customers. Trade cards were the first widely used form of colour advertisement. Other names for trade cards are: collector cards, advertising cards, Sammelbilder, Kaufmannsbilder, card commerciale, to mention only a few. The format was popularized alongside of the development of lithography, and more importantly, chromolithography in the mid-nineteenth century. Trade cards as advertising ephemera offer today many directions of research. Important for providing information on products, prices, and distribution networks, they also originally offered insights into everyday life through images of store displays, street scenes, and domestic interiors. Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, they broadened their message-portfolio in covering almost all aspects of daily life, including the presentation of overseas territories and colonies and their native populations as well as the illustration of colonial achievements by the respective European powers. Consequently, the backside of the trade cards not only advertised products but also provided more detailed explanatory information about the motif on the front side (see figure 13). Thus the trade cards gradually turned into an informing and even educational instrument, which could properly be used as a tool for propaganda.

The items range in date from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, displaying a range of printing techniques and advertising strategies, and represent the shift from hand-crafted to machine-made products. Industrialization, urbanization, and commercial expansion in Europe and the USA had altered in the nineteenth century the social and economic landscape and contributed to the rapid development of new consumer markets. Manufacturers began to vie aggressively for consumer spending. It was the advertising trade card that met the need for an effective mass advertising medium, heralding the arrival of an extraordinary variety of manufactured goods newly available to the Westerners public. With the invention of chromolithography they became even more popular and made printing items cheaper. The size became more standardized to better fit into small product packages as an extra reminder to consumers to continue buying. Trade cards (and labels) have been collectible throughout their history; early ones as engraved prints, later ones as material for scrapbooks. Dave Cheadle, expert on Victorian trade cards once stated: "a historian would have to be blind to miss the power that trade cards have in telling their own stories, and a writer would have to be pure mercenary to catalogue cards and assign prices without at least occasionally noting the historical significance of some of these cards" (Cheadle 1996). The use of trade cards declined only in the twentieth century as magazine advertising became more popular. Today trade cards as an advertising medium are no longer in use.

There are differences in the quality of the trade cards. The invention of the "Steindruck" by Alois Senefelder in 1796 marked the beginning of this technique. Printing was from a lithographic limestone with a smooth surface. A new process developed by the Frenchman Godefroy Engelmann in 1837, known as chromolithography, introduced multi-colour printing. A separate stone was used for each colour, and a print went through the press separately for each stone. The main challenge was to keep the images aligned. Thus the so-called twelve-colour chromolithography was the peak of this meticulous technology, which guaranteed colourful images – the trade cards thus often called "chromos" – at times where almost all printing output was in black and white (see Mielke, 1982; Ciolina/Ciolina, 1985).

One of the many functions of this type of early print mass media, aside from informing, entertaining, or persuading various segments of society, is cultural transmission. Whether the various forms of mass media intend to or not, they reflect and uphold the culture that they serve – the trade cards are no different. Embedded within advertising are usually the blueprints for the dominant cultural ideology, as James Chan (2015) once underlined. The advertising media, like all other media, have a target audience, and for the historical trade cards, which are thematised here, it were the populations in the mother countries of European overseas colonialism. Hence, advertising in the respective countries has always mirrored white superior male cultural values as well as attitudes toward other cultures. As Chan noted: "If one can
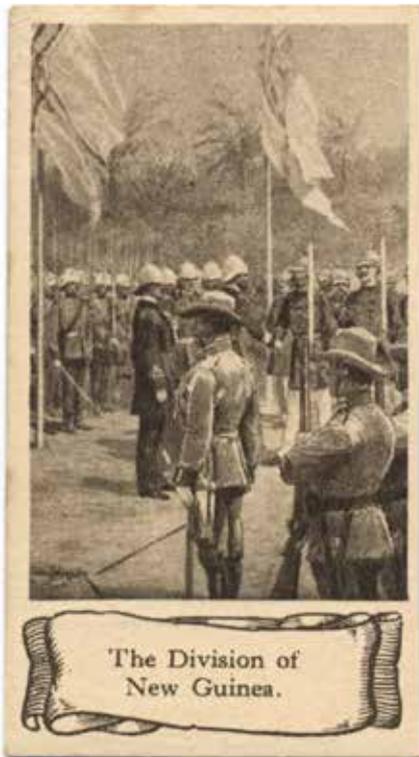
Figure 10: British flag hoisting in Port Moresby, New Guinea, in 1884.

Figure 11: German flag hoisting in Apia, Upolu, Samoa Islands, in 1900.

understand the cultural attitudes of a society through its advertising, then one can also understand past cultural attitudes by analyzing advertising from a society's past". At the height of their popularity during the latter half of the nineteenth century, trade cards mirrored the social, cultural, and political attitudes of European societies of that era. In the so-called era of imperialism, the "race for colonies" and the idea of "civilizing heathen peoples," trade cards not only transported stereotypes – in our case about the South Sea Islands – but also justified colonial actions to conquer, exploit and control foreign countries and peoples.

The South Sea cliché and its instrumentalization

A cliché or stereotype is usually a "loaded image," or, in other words, an image that is associated with a set of meanings and generalities which occurs through repetition. Regarding the Pacific Islands, the role of trade cards was to act as a "channel" to create a specific image of the Pacific Islands as a region worth to be colonized, missionized and exploited – remote but rich in resources. A core symbol of this idea figured in the "South Seas"-cliché which was widely used to merge visions of unspoiled,

peaceful island societies and dreams of a paradise on earth, with goals of establishing political control over the islands in the context of the "race for colonies" of the Western powers in the age of imperialism. The South Sea stereotype emanated from the contact of Westerners with Pacific Islands populations, especially in Polynesia. As the main European voyages of discovery into the Pacific took place in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the ideas of the enlightenment and the

search for new and different political and social models around the world dominated the approach to and the interpretation of the Pacific Islands cultures. Such potential models were projected to act as positive alternatives to existing European modes of social organization. Louis Antoine de Bougainville and Samuel Wallis, James Cook and Georg Forster, La Perouse and Dumont D'Urville – all famous for their discoveries in the Pacific – were among the ones whose published records sparked amazement
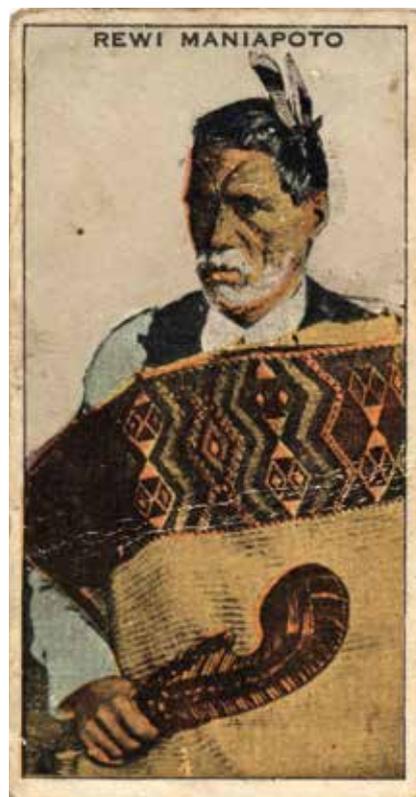
Figure 12: British cigarette card depicting a Maori chief.
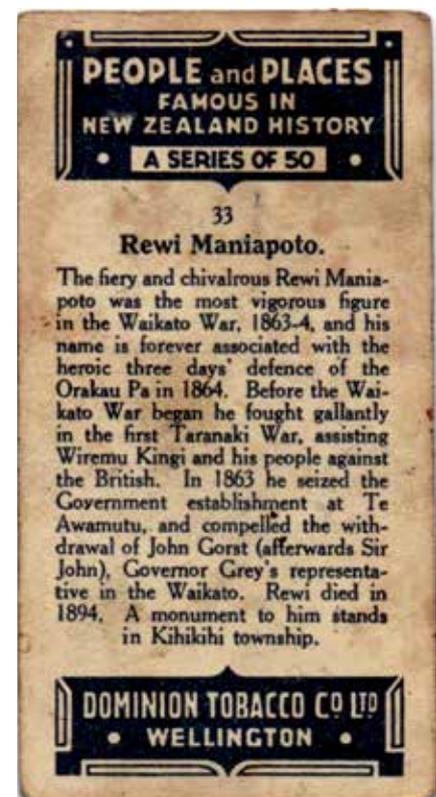
Figure 13: Backside of the cigarette card with the Maori chief.

Figure 14: An example of a "humorous" card, showing a Hawaiian lady in derogatory manner.

and attracted attention. There exists a multiplicity of possible stereotypes about the Pacific Islands, their peoples and cultures, some of them most frequently evoked by writers and artists captivating the European imagination. Such stereotypes included, among others, exotic femininity, which was stressed with the stereotype about primitive female sexuality which held that young girls were sexually mature. Other stereotypes featured the innocence of the indigenous people.

Initially the South Seas were often approached with an attitude not so much of superiority as of envy. It was the "the noble savage"("Le bon sauvage;" "der edle Wilde") that triggered discourses in the European academic circles about the importance of the study of foreign societies and their rules of social organization. The bright skinned Tahitian became a symbol of pureness in the wake of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's romantic philosophical enlightenment ideas, although Rousseau never employed the phrase "noble savage" himself. The "noble savage" as a literary stock character embodied

the concept of an idealized indigene, an outsider, or "other" who has not been influenced and thus corrupted by civilization, and therefore symbolized humanity's innate goodness. With the continuing exploration in Oceania in the nineteenth century and especially the acquaintance of the dark-skinned Melanesians, this image turned gradually into the "wild savage," the "cannibal," the "canaque," who has to be forcibly civilized, missionized ("from heathen to heaven") and to be endowed with the benefits of Western civilization. These clichés, often reiterated by the protagonists who pushed for colonization in those times, was often supplemented by the paternalistic argument that the Pacific Islanders are like children (see figure 14) of which you have the responsibility to take care for their own sake. Colonial administrators (see figure 11), often closely cooperating with missionaries in the field (see figure 9), repeatedly brought forward the argument that their mission was for the benefit of the islanders (see Landsdown 2006). Thus politicians in Western countries that exercised overseas colonialism willingly accepted and created such images which also helped to justify financial investment into remote regions of the world, as the Pacific Islands region is one of them. Trade cards were perfectly suited as the contemporary mass media to transport and diffuse such messages into almost all spheres of society, as the means to obtain active and passive support for the goal of achieving colonies (see Mückler 2004 and 2009). The paternalistic approach as well as those concepts of characterizing the Pacific Islands peoples as the "noble savage" and the "wild cannibal" mentioned above can be found in romanticised or realistic forms in early trade cards. Contrary to historical stereotypical portrayal, Oceania was and is far from simple dichotomies and offered, especially in the nineteenth century, a broad variety and diversity of particular cultures and cultural practices that attracted generations of anthropologists. But assimilation and ursurpation by Westeners created

a narrowed image of the South Seas. As the famous Samoan author Albert Wendt once stated, the South Seas were transformed by Western stereotypes into a "gold-mine for romantic novelists and film-makers" (cf Huggan 2008: 99, see also Brawley/Dixon 2015), but, as we can see here, also for advertising companies and their specific product, the trade card, to support selling efforts of various European and American companies.

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Learning by looking
For example, at Peoples of all Nations; European education and serial encyclopaedia

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Abstract: Photographically illustrated serial encyclopaedia, a boom publishing phenomenon in the early 1900s, had a huge impact of readers and viewers understanding of the world. These monthly instalments, later bound into volumes, were prolifically illustrated and the epitome of learning-by-looking, self-education and modernity, and part of an expanding visual archive available to the European public wanting to know about distant lands and peoples, strange customs, travel and new colonies. As serial encyclopaedia and their barrage of photographs have been largely overlooked by scholars, this essay draws attention to the phenomenon for its role in visuality as well as the context of Imperial expansion, entertainment and European fascination with others.

A photographically illustrated, serial encyclopaedia was the most prominent pillar of visuality or learning-by-looking; equal to or surpassing postcards, International Exhibitions and photographically illustrated weekend editions of daily newspapers, lantern slide lectures, travelogues, advertisements and illustrated weekly, and monthly or quarterly magazines. The prodigious editor of serial encyclopaedia, JA Hammerton, called this onslaught of images a graphic geography. Photographers active in the Pacific Islands at the turn of the 20th century could dream of fame and fortune in Europe achieved by sending their photographs to newspapers and magazines or selling them for use as postcards, book illustrations and advertisements. Another avenue was the boom print phenomenon of the early 20th century - pictorial, or photographically illustrated serial encyclopaedias. The popularity and availability of serial encyclopaedia meant European audiences could learn-by-looking without leaving their armchair or kitchen table as monthly issues arrived in the post, were available at bookshops or in doctors' and solicitors' waiting rooms. I have argued elsewhere that published photography had the power to shape opinion, inform audiences of events in distant colonies and to provide entertainment and at the personal or social level were of topical interest in providing evidence and a focus for parlour-talk or dinner-party conversation. The photographers in the Pacific who supplied these tens of thousands of photographs sought fame as agents of Imperial expansion and experts on new colonies and protectorates, trade and investment, travel and for documenting 'others' through views of distant, tropical villages, savages, natives, and converts. Solicited or not, amateur and professional photographers were sending photographs to editors conscious of public interest in world's faraway, indigenous peoples and new colonies.

Figure 1: Tulafale or professional orator", Photogravure.

Source: People of all nations 4408.

By 1900, as much of the Pacific was already colonised and annexed as protectorates, territories, colonies or Crown Colonies, starting with the French in the Society Islands and Marquesas Islands in 1842, there were still discoveries to made and colonies to be annexed. Photography was a pathway to respect as an expert on 'the Islands' and to membership of the club in Europe known as the Imperialists - the ex-colonists and boosters of Empire who promoted colonial expansion. By sending photographs with scribbled captions often accompanied by short anecdotal articles and pseudo-scientific articles, ambitious photographers hoped by being published, to win the much-desired labels of FRGS, FRAI or FRS. (Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute; Fellow of the Royal Society) Editors were searching constantly for new material; for example, in 1899, *Our islands and their people as seen with camera and pencil*, edited by William S Bryan, contained 1200 photographs and sold 400.000 copies in the USA in the three years after its release. In 1908, *Women of all nations: a record of their characteristics, habits, manners, customs, and influence* contained 772 pages and 700 illustrations. There was a three-volume release in 1915, with further editions continuing through to 1942. From 1913 to 1920, *Customs of the world: a popular account of manners, rites and ceremonies of men and women in all countries* appeared with 1443 black & white and 31 colour photographs. From 1920 to 1922, *Harmsworth's Universal Encyclopaedia*, was published as a fortnightly series and sold twelve million copies throughout the English-speaking world. From 1922 to 1937 *Countries of the world* appeared in 56 issues with 3.000 black and white and 350 colour photographs, and from 1922 to 1926, *Peoples of all nations* appeared with 49 monthly issues, containing 5.000 photographs. This was indeed a visual onslaught and being couched in educational language, suggested to European readers they were learning about the wider world at the same time as being entertained and by association that this visual experience was nurturing them as a well-informed world citizen and supporter of Empire.

The editor of *Countries of the world*, Sir John Alexander Hammerton, no-

ted in Instalment 37 that readers after 3.836 pages had been provided at their fingertips with access to the entire world. Hammerton was an editor, author and complier of many illustrated encyclopaedia and probably the the most successful creator of large-scale works of reference that Britain has known. He claimed, «*Countries* has more than covered all the ground there laid out and that from within the confines of an easy chair» and declared that *Countries* served three purposes, being a «complete encyclopaedia of graphic geography», an «educational work» and a «work of reference» (Hammerton, *Countries of the World* Issue 37, 1926, n.p., inside cover). He overlooked its main audience, supporters of Empire, and its role as propaganda for Imperialism and the global expansion of Western European powers. His description suggests that for editors and readers, illustrated encyclopaedia like *Countries of the World*, were not a single-purpose publication nor motivated by a single ideological viewpoint. They were as Hammerton noted, partly educative and a work of reference and that flipping the pages of serial encyclopaedia and gazing at strange sights was also a modern pastime and form of entertainment. This was education and learning defined by vicarious transfer of self and thought, momentarily, to other worlds. With weekly or monthly editions covering a wide range of themes, countries, nations and peoples, readers were educated, informed and entertained and their existing perceptions, interests and opinions were reinforced or challenged. Subscribing, showing off the latest edition, telling friends about wonderful and amazing sites and sights, and having a complete set leather bound, or cheaper options, was widespread and popular.

People of all nations

A typical instalment of *Peoples of all nations* contained half-page or full-page black and white photographs, full-page colour plates, and sepia plates. A typical instalment, for example, covering Palestine, Panama and Paraguay, had 96 photographs including sepia plates, colour and black and white scenes and portraits. Chapters on South Africa and Spain typically included 32 and 53 photographs respectively. The introductory arrangement of photographs in the Samoa instalment included eight

individual and group portraits, with several doubling to provide a view of a fale, the braiding of '*afa* (coconut fibre or sennit) or *siapo* (beaten bark cloth or tapa) making (see Fig. 1). Two portraits doubled as voyeuristic poses and in three portraits, men and women were shown holding weapons. For European audiences, canoes and two photographs of dancing completed a typical gallery, widespread and already familiar to audiences, of 'othering' a country on the far side of the world. This repetition of a 'core collection of standard images', or an 'iconographic imperative' to construct a gallery immediately recognizable by viewers, was well-established by the time serial encyclopaedia became popular as a learning tool. (Quanchi, 2007, 14, 125, 239, 306) In the Samoa chapter, following the opening, location-setting gallery were ten pages of colour plates and photogravure in which content and message was more pronounced because of the use of special paper, processes and colour (see Fig. 2). To viewers in the 1920s, the introductory gallery and then the sepia insert might have suggested an unchanged archaic Samoa, but in the following set of photographs, western shirts, trousers, leather belts, trucks, steel shovels, umbrellas and cotton print '*ie lavalava* (wrap around) were also visible to remind readers that Samoa was now in the 20th century and not a land where time stood still, frozen in the past, or excluded from the modern world. When gazing at a Samoan *tulafale*, (orator) copra industry labourers and the use of motor trucks (see Fig. 3), the reader's understanding moved easily from self-education to pride in Empire, humour, admiration, travel and adventure. European readers may have been fascinated with the old ways, ancient and strange traditions and customs of distant lands, but *People of all Nations* also had a civilising message, that change was underway and that the colonies were albeit well behind, but making progress towards modernisation. The visual content on Samoa and on all colonies, countries and regions in People of all nations conformed to an editorial formula that had rapidly evolved after the halftone process revolutionised photography's use in printing. Each site was depicted using the same composition -- studio portraits in traditional costume, exterior group portraits that doubled as scenic

views by positioning the group in the foreground of a townscape, topographical features, dwellings or villages juxtaposed against symbolic aspects of European colonialism including roads, plantations, public buildings and wharves. In *People of All Nation's* illustrated essays, with emphasis varying on these categories, readers must also have noticed the emphasis on partially clothed women. A third of the twenty-nine illustrations on Samoa depicted partially clothed females and this was typical of the imaging found in most serial encyclopaedia of this period.

Readers' understanding of world geography and politics was challenged by numerous errors such as using outdated names (Savage Island for Niue and Ladronnes for the Mariana Islands), by using the label 'South Seas' for the whole Pacific, publishing photographs taken decades before but presented as contemporary vision and misspellings such as Marianne for Mariana Islands, Mohari for *Maohi* and Adi Cakahan for Adi Cakobau (see Fig. 4). The citing of incorrect dates meant the formation of the *Établissements Français d'Océanie* in 1903 was listed as 1901, the joint Franco-British condominium agreement of 1906 in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) was mistakenly listed for 1907 and the publication date of Herman Melville's best-selling novel *Typee* in 1846 was listed as 'about 1840'.

Viewers of *People of all nations* probably did not realise the content was selective and that it excluded most of the north Pacific, the Cook Islands, Solomon Islands, Nauru, Kiribati and Tuvalu, Tokelau, West Papua and Niue. The North Pacific, then under German control or after World War I under Japanese control as a Mandate, was noticeably missing with Micronesia having only one index entry, compared to many entries and sections for the British Pacific in Melanesia and Polynesia. French territories were similarly marginalised, and treated derogatively in the text, with New Caledonia being described as «the most striking example of the French way of doing the wrong thing in colony making» (*People of all nations*, 1926, 2340). A section on the «South Seas» by Sir Basil Thompson (1861-1939), a British official in the Pacific who had written books on Tonga and Fiji in 1894, on Niue in 1902, and The Fijians: A study in de-

Figure 2: "Girl of princely origin", Photogravure.

cay of custom in 1908. Thompson typically focussed on the British Pacific with twenty-eight photographs, mostly attributed to the Australian photographer, Thomas J McMahon. There was no equivalent essay on the north Pacific. For readers and viewers of Thompson's 'South Seas', the gallery confirmed the imaging of past eras, when the Pacific had been defined by a narrow set of myths highlighting idyllic coastal vistas (pages 3768, 3771), strange 'native' customs (pages 3774, 3775, 3777, 3780, 3781, 3782) and bustling European enterprise and empire building (pages 3772, 3773, 3783,

3784), presenting exactly the 'graphic geography' that editor JA Hammerton extolled for the series.

Women of all nations

Women of all Nations was published in 1908, with two recognized scholars, Athol Joyce and Northcote Thomas, as editors, both citing their Masters Degrees and membership of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The opening three images in *Women of all nations* were a watercolour based on a photograph of a 'Chinese lady' by Norman Hardy, and an unattributed photograph of two Fijian women

Figure 3: "Collecting nuts for copra-making".

weaving a pandanus mat. This photograph had appeared first as a postcard sold by the postcard proprietor, JW Waters of Suva, titled «making baskets». It was later sold as a postcard by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and re-captioned «Making fans and mats» and the females exposed breasts were removed by airbrushing (Stephenson, 1997, 85-90). The third was a photograph of a basket-carrying, grass-skirted Bangala woman from the Upper Congo. The text of *Women of all nations* opened with a chapter on Polynesia by the anthropologist, Alison Hingston, which included 38 photographs. A similar length chapter on Melanesia followed, with thirty-five photographs and full-page plates. A short chapter on the Torres Strait and New Guinea by the famous anthropologist CG Seligman included seven photographs and a full page colour watercolour by Norman Hardy. Half the photographs in Seligman's essay were portraits of partially clothed women. The portrait was the primary means of instruction with a third of all photographs in *Women of all nations* depicting the fully or partially exposed upper bodies of females. A short chapter of nine pages on Micronesia included ten photographs and one full page-plate, with nine showing partially clothed women. All the photographs on Micronesia were attributed to WH Furness, an American who visited Micronesia in 1895-1901 and 1903. Furness's photographs demonstrate a common aspect of image-mobility and cross-over from popular literature to scholarly publication as his

photographs in Women of all nations appeared later in a serious anthropological work, *Man: past and present* in 1920. *Women of all nations*, despite its pretentions of scholarly research and ethnography was primarily voyeuristic and a visual parade of female bodies, partially clothed and posed to depict stature, form and demeanour, clothing or adornment.

The Photographers

A pretence as educational learning or as a scientific reference work is obvious in illustrated serial encyclopaedia with essays being contributed by leading scholars or self-styled experts. The acknowledgement of photographers was rare, with most photographs not being attributed at all, and some identified only as being supplied by postcard companies, studios or image libraries. This contradicted the editorial policy of *People of all nations* which had stated it had gathered 'an entirely new collection of photographs' and that 'photographers in all parts of the world have been at work expressly to enrich our pages' (Hammerton, 1926, iii). In an editorial promoting instalment 38 of *Peoples of all nations*, Hammerton named only the seven authors, describing them as 'an authoritative band' (Hammerton, *Countries of the World*, Issue 37, 1926, n.p., inside cover). Naming the photographers was clearly not an editorial priority. However, the published photographs of for example, Thomas McMahon, EL Mitchell, T Edgeworth David, Baldwin Spencer, and FJ Gillen in Australia, and AJ Tattersall in Samoa, do demonstrate the attempt

to achieve fame in Europe by using serial encyclopaedia to present the South Pacific to European audiences. But fame was minimal and marginal and photographers doubly suffered by being ignored, or if mentioned, often incorrectly. The many thousands of photographs in serial encyclopaedia are therefore mostly an anonymous archive, only identifiable today by laborious cross-checking the visual archive for a photographer's work in private collections, postcards, illustrated newspapers, magazines and illustrated books.

Repetition and Longevity

Many photographs used in serial encyclopaedia in the 1920s and 1930s had been taken well prior to publication. For example, Thomas McMahon's photographs of a decorated Solomon Island canoe appearing on the cover of the 37th issue of Countries of the World, and again in the text, along with all others in the chapter on the «South Seas», had been taken a decade earlier, in 1917 (see Fig. 5). Although there was only a gap of a decade, by the late 1920s the copra industry in the Solomon Islands had much less potential and the Solomon Islands was no longer a 'jewel of the Pacific and planter's paradise' (Quanchi, 2004, 43-58). In another example, in the Samoa entry in *People of all Nations* in 1926, a full plate showed a 30 metre *'alia* (double hulled Samoan canoe) that had been photographed by AJ Tattersall after it was constructed in 1900 as a gift for the German Kaiser to celebrate Germany's annexation of Western Samoa at the turn of the century. Samoans had stopped building these canoes early in the 19th century. After being considered too big to ship to Germany it was subsequently left to rot on a Samoan beach. On the basis of the visual evidence, readers in 1926 could have justifiably assumed that Samoans were still building these magnificent canoes. The use of late 19th century photographs to illustrate 1920s publications demonstrates the longevity of some photographs and their enduring influence on readers long after they were taken.

Modernity

There was a sense of nostalgia in the depiction of ancient, allegedly lost customs and material culture with

links to bygone eras. Readers of serial encyclopaedia were not only looking for titillation, tourist escapades or evangelical motivation in these images. European readers by purchasing or by flicking through copies in waiting rooms were also expressing their desire to know about the «new» Pacific, which by this time included banking, shipping lines, schools, imports and export factories and warehouses, extractive industries and colonial responsibilities, all couched in terms of future colonial progress and prosperity. This was learning-by looking in its most persuasive form - educative, exotic, tropical, voyeuristic and preaching about colonialism and new statehood, and by the act of owning or reading an illustrated serial encyclopaedia, espousing a sense of modernity. As an act of self-education and self-improvement achieved through readily accessible images, European reader's knowledge of the Pacific should be measured not so much by what was read, as by what was seen when the weekly or monthly editions of serial encyclopaedia arrived in the post.

Hammerton, the editor of several illustrated serial encyclopaedias, noted there was considerable discipline demanded of readers as they switched in each instalment, for example, from Samoa to Spain, South Africa, Sudan, Switzerland and Syria. He wondered if readers «ever had some slight sense of discomfort in leaping in the turn of a page from one end of the earth to another ... a certain cogitation is desirable and possible between items in a work of this kind» and suggested to readers the «technical advantage conferred by alphabetisation» meant worrying incongruities would be obscured or mentally set aside (Hammerton, *Countries of the World*, Issue 37, 1926, n.p. inside cover). Hammerton's commentary raises the unresolved question - did readers see an undifferentiated global mass of indigenous peoples, thatched houses and exotic views or did they label and memorise unique characteristics of each geographic region, territory, culture, tribe or clan? By replicating composition and setting, the photographers and then later the editors through captioning, added to the creation of a global stereotype. For example, in instalment 37 of *Countries of the World* both South Africans and the South Sea Islanders were shown sitting in groups in front of natural

Source: Photograph by JW Waters, n.d., Women of all Nations, 117.

Figure 4: "Adi Cakahan; A Fijian woman of high rank".

material dwellings (p. 3739 for South Africa and p. 3777 for Tonga), posing in a coastal vista (p. 3768 and 3771 for South Seas, and p.3735 for South Africa) or carrying out domestic duties and labouring in European enterprises (p. 3744, 3745 and 23758 in South Africa and p. 3784 in the South Seas). Hammerton's request for 'cogitation' suggests viewers could reflect on and ponder difference and similarity as they leapt between nations and countries. But the similarity of photographic representations, the standardisation of composition and framing and the repetition of stereotypes, supports the claim by Edward Said and others that viewing photographs from the

colonies was evidence of 'othering', or the creation of an 'other' different to oneself. Across the 5000 photographs in *Peoples of all nations*, for example, photographs on Asia, South America, and Africa were similar to photographs published from the Pacific, and could easily promote a stereotyping, or conflated understanding of the distant colonial world. Was it, for example, Samoa specifically that the readers learnt about or «natives» generally? This uncertainty suggests historians of photography and historians generally, noting Hammerton's concerns, should analyse photography taking note of a globalising context that pre-empted a photographic and homogenised other.

Source of Cover: based on a photograph by Thomas J McMahon) instalment 37.

Figure 5: Cover, *Countries of the world*

serial encyclopaedia like *People of all nations* offered readers thousands of photographs of the world. These galleries of portraits, street life, port towns, export industries, agriculture, villages, indigenous customs and rituals, and rural panorama, picturesque scenes and vistas guided a reader's understanding, leading them to move easily from self-education to pride in Empire, to a donation to an evangelical movement or to capitalist opportunity for investment or migration, or in some cases to travel to the islands.

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James Clifford argued that «to talk about travel is to enter into a terrain redolent with markers of imperialism» and listed these markers as «gendered racial bodies, class privilege, and specific means of conveyance, beaten paths, agents, frontiers, and documents» (in Gilbert and Johnson, 201, 1). Clifford omitted to mention photographers and photography. A huge archive of published images in photographically illustrated serial encyclopaedia suggests that photography was indeed a preeminent 'marker of imperialism' and motivated the popular interest and visual fascination of readers with Empire. This published, constructed and repetitive gallery of photography allowed sedentary viewers, without leaving their home or suburb, to roam across Oceania sharing the adventure of missionaries, goldseekers and scientists undertaking the intrepid penetration of the tropical interior, the Imperial possession of new territories, and the awe and wonder captured by travellers, armed with cameras, confronting the sublime and the picturesque of distant islands and atolls. Photographically illustrated

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Typhoon Washi/Sendong and Disputations between Urban Poor and City Government in Cagayan de Oro, Philippines

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Abstract: Following the concepts of environmental legitimation crisis and environmental justice, this study deals with socio-ecological conflicts resulting from erroneous norm, environmental degradation, climate change and inefficient implementation of socialised housing policies for the urban poor in Cagayan de Oro, Philippines. The Piso-Piso Program established housing projects which were built in areas deemed as No Build Zones. When typhoon Washi/Sendong hit the city in December 2011, the main victims were mostly from these places. Social housing welfare was evidently deficient. The city government allowed marginalised residents to settle in disaster-prone areas. In spite of that, there was no resistance coming from the urban poor. The resistance only occurred after the effects of the typhoon were encountered. This paper analyses the tolerance of the city government and non-resistance of the urban poor preceding the disaster. Further, it examines the policies of the government and its reaction to the demands of the urban poor following the disaster. It argues that environmental crisis can be considerably limited through environmental justice.

Grassroots environmental movements in the Philippines actively engage in protecting the environment by empowerment. The Task Force Macajalar in Cagayan de Oro (CDO) has grown to more than 2,000 members since its establishment in 1991 and is the largest party chapter of the Partido Kalikasan (Green Party), is campaigning against logging and other environmental issues. It led the launching of the Save CDO Movement which is composed of Typhoon Washi survivors, church, media, civil society organisations and other environmental advocacy groups. On this account, the movement demonstrates the "environmental consciousness of local communities" (Ünaldi, 2013, p. 10). This paper shows how environmental and civil society movements empower the urban poor.

Figure 2: This picture shows a No Build Zone in Cala-cala where it was occupied by residences. There was only debris from shattered houses in the aftermath of Washi. It was taken by *All Hands Volunteers* in January 25, 2012.
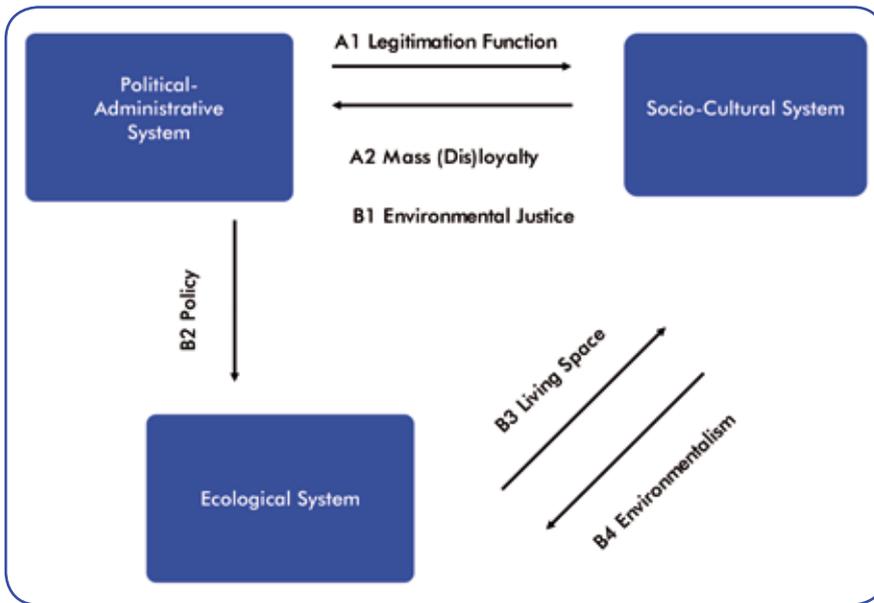
Figure 1: Environmental Legitimation Crisis and Environmental Justice Systems.

Based on environmental legitimation crisis theory, this paper takes in the correlation among the political-administrative, socio-cultural, and ecological systems. In the case of CDO, the political-administrative system or resource agency refers to the government; while the socio-cultural system pertains to the urban poor, victims of Typhoon Washi, civil society and the rest of the citizenry. The ecological system that supposedly bestows "living space" (Marshall & Goldstein, 2006, pp. 216, 217, 220) covers the disaster-prone resettlement areas.

Environmental legitimation crisis occurs in two stages. The first stage (process A1 □ A2) demonstrates the (Marshall & Goldstein, 2006).

The second stage (process B1□ B2 □ B3 □ B4) evinces how the urban poor together with civil society exert pressure on the government to improve policies in order to counter future environmental crisis. The improvement of policies, i.e. disaster risk reduction and management, is borne out of environmental justice. The involvement or empowerment of the urban poor together with civil society in the conservation of the ecology showcases respect for human rights and right to protection from environmental deterioration. Procedural environmental justice operates with these movements and principles (Schroeder et al., 2008). Safe living spaces, i.e. se-

bills abolishing mining and logging in CDO. It ends with the formation of livelihood programs for the survivors.

Tragedy of Washi

Deforestation coupled with intense rainfall culminated in flash-floods running through the river basin of CDO in December 2011. Totally damaged houses numbered to 7,317; while partially damaged houses tallied to 12,635 (NDRRMC, 2012a). The post-Washi survey showed CDO had the highest number of totally destroyed houses in No Build Zones, which held an estimated number of 2,700 families/35,000 persons.

REACH (2012) pointed out, "No Build Zones have been declared previously but not necessarily enforced, which is why so many houses were located very near to the river systems, particularly in build up urban areas" (p. 26). This obvious crisis leads to critical questions: Why did the city government tolerate the habitation of No Build Zones and why did the inhabitants not protest even if they were inhabiting fragile habitations?

Tolerance and Non Public Protest

The Piso-Piso Program and the norm of a "typhoon-free Mindanao" served as bases for the city government's complaisance and the non-public protest of the urban poor. In the initial stage preceding the environmental crisis, the government exhibited legitimacy by delivering social housing projects to the urban poor. The latter in turn accepted the social services as indication of mass loyalty.

The Piso-Piso Program allocated socialised housing with each deed of sale worth one peso (Php 1). It is worthwhile noting that beneficiaries received deeds of sale without land titles. This is contrary to the local government's stated goal of furnishing "permanency and complete solution" (Office of the City Council of CDO, 2005, p. 183) for housing needs. It is neither a permanent nor absolute without the issuance of land titles. In other words, the beneficiaries did not have legal possession of their housing units.

CDO, as one of the major cities in Mindanao, was always perceived to be safe from typhoons. This image was extremely pervasive to the point that occurrences of typhoons and floods
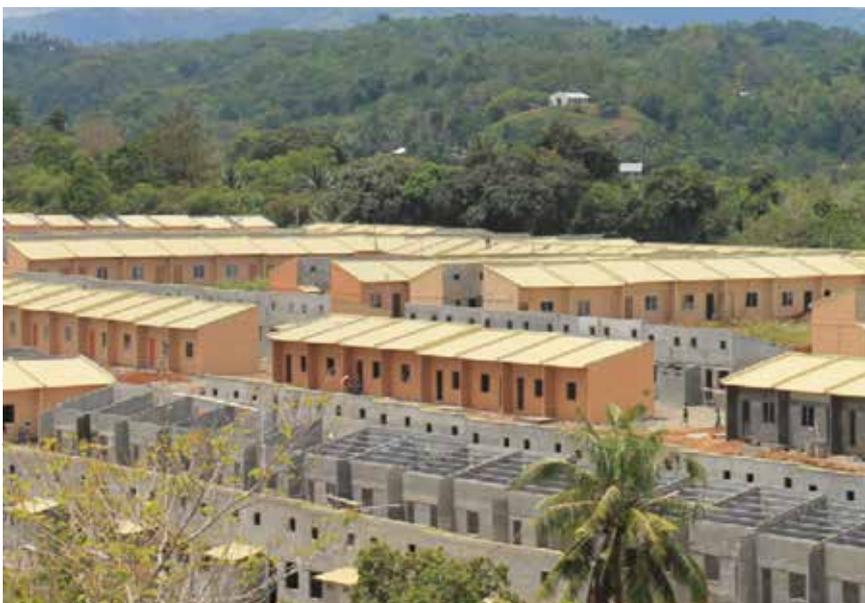
Figure 3: The Xavier Ecoville Resettlement Project in Lumbia.

were forgotten in history. The critical point came in the wake of Washi when the "erroneous belief of a 'typhoon-free Mindanao,'" (Montalvan II, 2014, 12) ushered in public awareness.

Protests and Empowerment

The legitimation crisis of the city government manifested when Typhoon Washi destroyed the social housing projects. The deficiency of the Piso-Piso Program indicated the government's failure to deliver a legitimation function. Disloyalty of the urban poor was shown through public demonstrations and non re-election of the city mayor. The public protests initiated by social and environmental grassroots movements, such as Save CDO Movement, Balsa Mindanao and Gabriela, empowered the urban poor to press for secure habitations and prevention of ecological destruction.

A multitude of citizens gathered at Saint Augustine Metropolitan Cathedral to offer petitions in the Eucharist for the perished victims of Washi. The archbishop of the archdiocese of CDO and advocate of environmental justice Antonio Ledesma SJ presided over the holy mass. Afterwards, a public procession ensued from the cathedral up to the premises of the Provincial Capitol where the formal establishment of the Save CDO Movement was fulfilled by signatures from the assembly. The movement proposed short and long term schemes for the displaced families. It offered immediate aid efforts. It then formulated a longstanding plan to mitigate future environmental catastrophes particularly for those urban poor living in disaster-prone districts (Corrales, 2012). Procedural justice took place through the call for public participation.

Save CDO Movement eventually filed a lawsuit against the city mayor Vicente "Dongkoy" Emano. It also accused him of deserting his responsibility as chair of the CDO Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (CDRRMC). He failed to organise the council on the advent of Washi, completely ignoring the urgent need to respond to the calamity. The movement successfully brought the case to the Office of the President which in turn ordered the mayor to respond (Palace urges Emano to answer complaint, 2012).

Mayor Emano disregarded the complaint filed by Save CDO Movement.

Figure 4: The Ecoville Livelihood Center.

He blatantly recommended "that residents be allowed to return on condition that there would be a more efficient evacuation system wherein if a typhoon strikes in the future, they would leave the area immediately" (Yu, 2011, p. 2). This meant that he allowed the No Build Zones to be reoccupied.

The Commission on Audit (2013) was instrumental in the process of procedural justice. Its duty to audit and report the allocation of rehabilitation funds addressed transparency and accountability. Its audit report exposed anomalies in the city government. The administration of Mayor Emano was liable for the embezzlement of funds; however, the mayor denied the allegations (P123M na donasyon para sa mga biktima ng Sendong, 2013). Emano ran once more for mayoralty; however, the citizens did not let him win.

Disaster Risk Reduction and Green Policy of CDO

The Philippine National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act was enacted in agreement with the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response. Its functions comprise disaster preparedness, prevention, mitigation, response and rehabilitation. It allocates the Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Fund (Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines, 2010). In parallel, the CDRRMC was created in 2011 under the leadership of Mayor Emano. It was then augmented due to procedural justice. Social and

environmental movements pressed for direct political action. Consequently, CDRRMC's budget increased in 2012.

The Representative of the Second District of CDO Rufus Rodriguez filed House Bills 00033 (Rodriguez, 2013a) and 00045 (Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2013b). The bills impose a logging ban in CDO and declare CDO as a mining free zone, respectively. Rodriguez blames logging and mining activities as the causes of Washi. The direct effect on the ecology prompts a modification of policies. The Green policy is now on the agenda.

Rehabilitation Projects

The church, NGOs, INGOs, universities and international community hold a tremendous role in the rehabilitation process. For instance, Xavier University-Ateneo de Cagayan donated five hectares of land to secure resettlements for 550 households in Xavier Ecoville in Barangay, Lumbia. The urban poor survivors now participate in livelihood training programs to sustain their means of income and augment their skills. Xavier Ecoville Multi-Purpose Cooperative organises seminars for entrepreneurial development. Skills profiling, wholesaling, microfinance credit, food catering, propagation of ornamental plants and manufacturing of net bags are operative at the present time (Tagupa et al., 2014). The significant improvement of the survivors succeeded because of safe living spaces and environmentalism; however, sustainability is needed to ensure secure livelihood.

Figure 5: 2014 Sendong Commemoration.

Conclusion

Environmental justice as exemplified by citizen involvement serves as a force to mitigate environmental legitimation crisis. The strongest typhoon after Washi was Bopha/Pablo in 2012. Unsurprisingly, the incidence was minimal compared to Washi. The NDRRMC (2012b) declared only 29 totally destroyed homes and 114 partly destroyed homes in CDO.

I emphasize that environmental legitimation crisis is alleviated not only by empowerment alone but also by vigilance and determination. The citizens learned a critical lesson from Washi, which is not to let it happen ever again. Typhoons are becoming rampant in Mindanao because of climate change; nevertheless, the residents of CDO are quick to react and prepare whenever there are warning signals. In sum, empowerment, vigilance and determination can be sustained as long as the society possesses socio-ecological concern.

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Essay
A city on steroids

Steve Harrison

The Dragon Bridge: an essential part of Da Nang's urban identity

The landmark of the old town of Hoi An: the Japanese Bridge

It was love at first sight, an ancient town surrounded in oriental mystery, serene, enchanted and most importantly untouched by the advances and ravages of time.

Frozen in the past with a lazy river and a way of life that brought back happy childhood memories of an innocent simplicity, her people laid back, content and satisfied. The surrounding countryside with thatched bamboo huts, farm cottages and slow easy-going country folk riding rusty bicycles.

In 2003 I bought a house in Hoi An on that slow flowing river and settled back to watch the days of my life drift past at a snails pace, savouring the sweetness of every lazy moment. Content in the thought that nothing could ever disturb these tranquil days, that flowed without a care like that slow moving river.

Travelling every week to Da Nang was a dull but necessary chore and one I would postpone as often as possible. 28 kilometres north the big city was a deserted metropolis, a throng of urban industrial sprawl. The city looked like the war with America had finished only yesterday, dull, lifeless and beaten. My wife and I would venture there along a rutted ill kept excuse for a road over a rusting crusty bridge to see her family and to buy provisions unobtainable in sleepy Hoi An. Getting back home to Hoi An was just that, getting Home to our safe haven.

So that was only 12 years ago.

Now every direction you turn is a construction site, everywhere and everyone and I mean everyone is building new glamorous homes. Roads literally appear out of nowhere overnight to newer and grander developments.

Da Nang, well, the city has shaken the sands of war off her dusty back and become an indescribably beautiful city. Golden beaches and cloud kissed mountains, new wide roads, bridges, parks, round-a-bouts, shopping malls, theatres, entertainment centres and five star international resorts abound.

Every square meter is being bought up and developed, high-rise apartments spring up overnight and the horizon is a never-ending kaleidoscope of change as far as the eye can see. Wide boulevards invite revellers and the well heeled to inhale the fragrance of a new found success and wealth. The new bridges, and now there are 5 of them spanning the river, change colour with rainbow neons and one of them the Dragon bridge even spews out fire every Saturday and Sunday evening, for pure entertainment, a show that brings the traffic to a complete standstill and delights all who see it. Da Nang lights up like a Christmas tree, every night.

Yes change has come, modernization has pervaded but Hoi An, despite it's evolution, is still a place for lovers and dreamers and every year draws more and more travellers from the far flung corners of the globe to marvel at this beautiful pristine jewel of South East Asia.

Acknowledgement

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Book review
Asia Street Food

Britta Schmitz

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations writes on their website "[vendors or hawkers] represent a significant part of urban food consumption for millions of low-and-middle-income consumers, in urban areas on a daily basis. Street foods may be the least expensive and most accessible means of obtaining a nutritionally balanced meal outside the home for many low income people, provided that the consumer is informed and able to choose the proper combination of foods." (http://www.fao.org/fcit/food-processing/street-foods/en/).

This means street food is a very important part of the food supply for Asia's city dwellers. In Southeast Asia one can eat every single meal of the day - from breakfast to late night snack - buying it from a hawker. This is a part of everybody's daily life and often a sheer necessity. But ask anybody, who used to travel or live in Asia - native or tourist, backpacker or ex-

pat: As soon as they move away from Asia they will start to lament that they miss the variety and the ready availability of street snacks and they will discuss it as if street snacks were culinary delicacies par excellence.

A new book called "asia street food" by Heike and Stefan Leistner collects now many of South East Asia's street food recipes, illustrated with colorful pictures of the Asian street life and completed with facts, information and travel notes from the authors. The two editors of the book, one an author and the other a photographer, are dedicated to make the street cuisine of South East Asia more known in Europe. Since 2004 they have been busy researching Asian culinary art and blogging about it on www.asiastreetfood.com. Now they published their recipes and travel notes in their first cookbook – collecting 70 authentic recipes from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar and illustrating them with pictures of their

many trips to the region. This is not one of your fancy, high gloss cookbooks, which are beautiful to browse through but not very useful in an actual kitchen. No, this is one of the few cookbooks, which will actually have a place right next to my stove: The recipes are easy to understand and follow. The ingredients are exotic, but most of them can be actually found in Europe (plus the authors will provide alternatives for those, which are not easily found here). Some of the condiments, which are used in several of the recipes and are either hard to find in Europe or should be prepared freshly (like roasted peanuts or bun-rieu paste) have their own bar-code-picture. The readers can scan the codes with a barcode-reader on their smartphones and will be directed to the recipes on the authors' internet-blog. Technophobes will probably hate this feature, but I thought it was a neat idea. I just want to add one little advice to the publishers: Print the QR-codes in a color with a higher contrast,

Garnelen in Karamellsauce gebraten und mit grobem schwarzem
und Korianderblättern bestreut – ein einfach zubereitetes Gericht,
ch das bitter-süße Aroma des Karamells in Verbindung mit der
des Pfeffers und der Frische des Korianders besticht. Wichtig ist es,
ffer grob gemörsert und nicht gemahlen zu verwenden.

oblauch schälen und hacken. Den Koriander waschen und trocken
n. Die Blätter abzupfen, die Stiele fein hacken. Die Garnelen mit Küchen-
rocken tupfen.
n Wok oder einer Pfanne das Bratöl erhitzen und darin den Knoblauch
braten, ohne ihn braun werden zu lassen. Mit einem Schaumlöffel
nehmen und beiseitestellen. Die Garnelen in das heiße Öl geben und bei
r Temperatur von beiden Seiten kurz anbraten. Den Knoblauch mit
amellsauce und der Fischsauce zu den Garnelen in den Wok geben und
rz köcheln lassen, dabei die Garnelen in der Sauce schwenken. Die Tem-
auf kleinste Stufe reduzieren. Den Pfeffer, die gehackten Korianderstiele
Hälfte der Korianderblätter in den Wok geben und alles durchschwen-
ch 1 Minute weiterbraten. Auf einer Servierplatte anrichten und mit dem
en Koriander bestreut servieren. Dazu passt gedämpfter Jasminreis.

because most code readers have difficulties to scan the yellow ones.

The book contains most of my South East Asian snack favorites: tofu with lemon grass, banh xeo, amok and pad thai - plus a lot more, which were completely new to me. One of my new discoveries was the Luang-Prabang-Salad, which will definitely become a staple in my kitchen.

However, this book does not only provide us with cooking instructions, the travel notes and background information make a very interesting read and they inspire the reader to think, how the complicated histories of countries, their people and their cuisines are interlinked. It made me think, how globally connected we all became: Vietnamese farmer girls, who are selling baguettes and kem cara-

men (crème caramel) at the roadside or Burmese street cooks using avocados for preparing a salad called "htaw bat thoke", which tastes pretty much like guacamole with a slightly Asian twist. Today, we call it fusion kitchen, but maybe it started with colonialism or even much earlier. Street food teaches us, that people were always on the move, travelling, settling down and blending their cultures – leading to delicious results.

With this cookbook all of us can be a part of this development, easily replicating the recipes from the Asian cook shops back home in our kitchens. The only flaw of the book is that up to now it is only available in German. But maybe there is a publishing house somewhere out there, which is interested in an English edition.
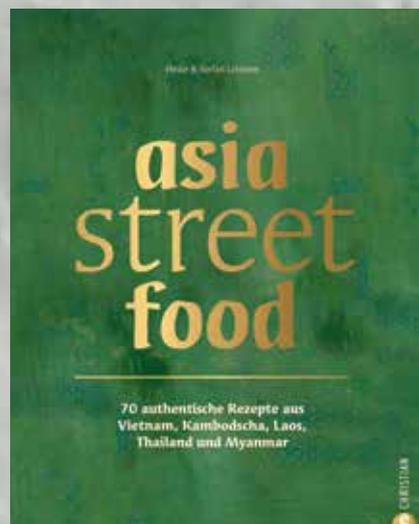
Bibliographic details
Leistner, Stefan & Heike Leistner (2015) asia street food. Christian Verlag. 224 p. ISBN-13: 978-3-86244-805-0.

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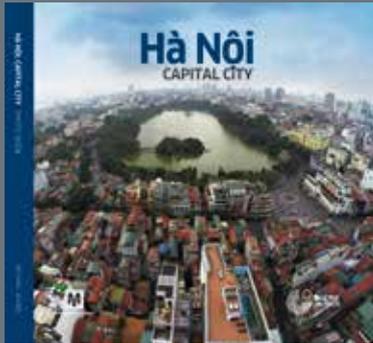
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