

iarization whereby what is “foreign” can become naturalized and what is taken as natural can become “foreign.”

*The Promise of the Foreign* invites readers to reflect on questions regarding the possibilities and limits of freedom and community, the by-words of nationalist discourse and practice. Rafael writes about the origins of Filipino nationalism more than a hundred years into the “future” of that past, in the shadow of a Philippines troubled by deep economic inequality and social divisions. His project is shaped by the reality of a compromised nation in perennial political and social crisis. The radical potential unleashed by the Philippine revolution was “recolonized” by the Filipino elite at Malolos and repressed or else rechanneled into “democratic tutelage” by American colonialism. Yet, for all that the Philippines has not witnessed the thoroughgoing, redistributive transformation promised by nationalism, the dissemination of Tagalog-based Filipino by market forces alongside its promotion by the Left over the last twenty years points to the formation of a national, and globally dispersed, lingua franca, the political possibilities of which may be exploited or maximized for different ends, including progressive ones. In this sense, “the promise of the foreign” is meant to be read ironically: its declaration of expectation, assurance, and commitment acquires a redoubled sense of urgency—tantamount to an incitement to think and act—precisely because the “future” it foretells is so fragile, so fraught with risk and hope.

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Mark Bray and Seng Bunly. *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia*. CERC Monograph Series No. 4. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong, 2005, 113p.

Provision of basic education free of charge is usually seen as both a government responsibility, because everyone has the right to at least a basic education, and an investment in the people. It is strange therefore that more than three million children in Southeast Asia do not attend school, according to the 2008 Unesco Education for All Global Monitoring Report. This is because governments of less-developed countries have great difficulties in financing education. Powerful economic and social arguments have been made about how to meet the costs of schooling and how to balance the financing of education. *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia* is a handy book written by Mark Bray, Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, and Seng Bunly, Director of BN Consult in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The authors present their comparative study on financing education and take Cambodia as a case study because of the country's turbulent past and its current difficulties in financing basic education. The book argues that while households have to contribute resources in order to bridge the gaps, government efforts should be made to alleviate the burden on the poorest and to promote accountability between schools and their communities.

This book is a continuation of Mark Bray's 1999 *The Private Costs of Public Schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia*. The 1999 book was based on a survey of household and community costs of education that was commissioned by UNESCO and by UNICEF in conjunction with the MoEYs

in Cambodia. The present book updates the analysis in the primary school sector and adds data on lower secondary schooling, which increases burdens on households at high levels of the system. According to the introduction, “balancing the books” is the term used in accounting to refer to the need for expenditures to match incomes. The authors broadly address the concept of balance between household and government financing of education and its policy implications for Cambodia and internationally. In Cambodia, according to the empirical data presented here, household costs for primary and lower secondary schooling are especially high, while the government’s capacity is constrained and its resources insufficient to meet all needs. In the late 1990s, households and communities in Cambodia were meeting only 59% of the total resources needed for primary schooling. This forced poor families to undertake cost-benefit analyses to decide whether to send their children to school.

The contents of the book are divided into 11 sections: The introduction describes the perception of the role of governments, education as a basic human right, the full costs of education, the metaphor about balancing the books, and a brief overview of the book. Chapter 2 discusses issues of household financing of education, including mechanisms and types of household financing, in comparative perspective. Chapter 3 is a brief description of the Cambodian social, economic, and educational context, including historical and contemporary perspectives. Some tables and figures showing the Cambodian poverty rate, poverty lines, taxation revenues, school environments, public expenditure, PAP allocations and releases, and population pyramid are given here. Chapter 4 explains data collection methods, and Chapter 5 documents household costs, comparing patterns in primary and lower secondary schooling based on data from

the 2004 survey and comparative data from previous surveys. These findings are followed by chapters on opportunity costs (6) and on government funds and other school-level receipts (7), focusing on incomes received at the school level from the government and other sources. These incomes permit a comparison (in Chapter 8) of the balance between household and government financing. The last two chapters offer policy implications (9) and conclusions (10). The 16 Appendix tables from the authors’ 2004 survey present data of household expenditures on primary education and lower secondary education across the country. The book also provides readers with a list of abbreviations and acronyms, exchange rates, 26 tables and 7 figures, references, and an index.

Household and community financing of education in Cambodia dates to the colonial and initial post-colonial eras, but the Pol Pot regime of 1975–79 practically stopped such practices. Activities were revived in the 1980s, and took new directions from the early 1990s. The Cambodian government and its aid partners have coped with the constraints of development to move towards the goal of Universal Basic Education. In their conclusion, the authors acknowledge Cambodia’s many achievements in the education sector, including both supply-side and demand-side innovations. They question, however, whether it is appropriate for the government to meet all costs of schooling for all households and all levels of education. Countries with good economies and high tax payments, as in Western Europe and North America, can support not only free basic education but even free higher education, whereas Cambodia is challenged to provide universal basic education of even minimum quality. Government resources allocated to lower levels of education are more likely to be pro-poor than higher levels. Other challenges are prevention of early dropout, provision of facili-

ties, recruitment of teachers, management of large classes, and quality of education.

Finally, the authors point out that the search for the appropriate balance is never-ending. Cambodian authorities would be wise to adjust their policies to fit new circumstances and goals and to seek different balances for different populations. This book is strongly recommended for students of comparative education, researchers, educational planners and policy makers in similar countries, NGOs, and international donor agencies.

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関 恒樹、『海域世界の民族誌——フィリピン島嶼部における移動・生業・アイデンティティ』世界思想社、2007、iv+364p.

本書は、ポストモダニズムの乗り越えを目指す諸理論を導入して、フィリピン低地キリスト教社会を解釈しようとした野心的なモノグラフである。当該社会は、長い間、「特筆すべき文化がない」地域と言われ、文化人類学的研究の中で等閑視されてきた。だが、本書は、エイジェンシー論などを手掛かりとして、生業と文化の両面から人々の日常実践の姿を分析して社会像の構築を試みている。その対象は、セブ島ダラギット町出身の移動漁民らが構成しているネットワーク・コミュニティである。それは、同町のほか、ビサヤ海に面した10の集落を含む。なお、本書は、著者の博士学位論文が基礎となっている。

評者は、ビサヤ地方サマル島からの向都移動を文化人類学的に研究している。だが、直接「海」を対象とした研究の経験はない。よって、評者が本書を評するのに適任かどうか疑問なしとはしない。しかし、ビサヤ地方においてフィールドワークを行っており、本書の地獄的背景には馴染みがある。そのような観点から、以下、本書の書評を試みたい。

本書は、調査地における生計戦略を描く第I部

(1～3章)と、力にまつわる文化的概念の分析とアイデンティティの構築に関する考察に主眼を置く第II部(4～8章)から構成されている。

序章では、日常実践をキーワードとして、東南アジア海域世界における生活世界の論理を描き出すという目的が述べられている。著者はこれについて、「人々が自己の属するコミュニティに内在する構造や制度、あるいは規範の持つ拘束力とその実在性に常に、既に絡め取られていることを認めつつも、その一方で制度、構造に対する人々の参加、交渉、抵抗、協働などの様々な折衝と働きかけを展開する積極的側面に焦点を当てる」(p. 2)と述べている。

第1章は、漁民たちのネットワーク形成過程を描く。人々は、1920年代ごろを境にして、半農半漁から、集団的漁撈操業を中心とする生活様式へと移行した。近年は、さらに、専門職や海外就労を志向する人々が増えているという。こうした遷移を追うことで、著者は、「漁民の移動性の高さをア・プリオリな与件」(p. 312)とみなし、海洋民の生活様式の独自性と特異性から事象を解釈しようとする先行研究を批判している。これは本書の重要な貢献の一つであろう。

第2章と第3章は、現在の生計戦略に焦点を当てている。第2章は、海という不確実性や危険性の高い外的環境を相手とした人々の生計戦略の詳細を描く。漁法などの技術面よりも、自分たちの持つ社会的資源をいかにうまく組み合わせるかに漁民の工夫の重点が置かれているという著者の指摘は興味深い。例えば、漁撈集団のメンバーシップは決して固定的ではなく、彼らは漁獲量の変動に従って伸縮自在にその編成を組み替えている。さらに第3章では、上記の流動的な組織原理を、アモ(漁撈集団所有者)とタオハン(漁撈集団)の関係から検討し、タオハンが臨機応変に関係をシフトさせ、偏在する「資源」にアクセスしようとする姿が描かれている。

第4章は、調査地における力の概念の基層と考えられる「ドゥガン」を分析している。ドゥガンとは、人と一緒に生まれてくる、目には見えない存在で、各人の力はその強さによって決まるという。したがって、人々は、絶えず強さの異なるドゥガン土士の綱引き状態の中に生きていると考えられている。