

*Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization and the Afterlife of Development.* Daromir Rudnyckyj. Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press , 2010 . xii + 289 pp .

The relationship between Islam and globalization, although not a new one, has inspired some excellent ethnographic and theoretical work recently, perhaps especially in Southeast Asia so often overlooked in current political debate in North America and Europe. Daromir Rudnyckyj's new book *Spiritual Economies* adds to this growing canon with a fieldwork-based analysis of a popular human resources program known as Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ) and its use at Krakatau Steel, a state-owned factory in the province of Banten located at the western tip of the island of Java. Rudnyckyj's focus is how this spiritual training exemplifies the workings of neoliberal rationality in the post-Suharto era. By considering how this popular program is used by Krakatau to deal with the changing market position of the company, he is able to contrast the bright post-Independence promise of state-led industrialization with the changed circumstances of a newly democratic and decentralized Indonesia post-1997. He contrasts the Suharto era's faith in development to a more recent post 9/11 desire to develop faith. In this respect, Rudnyckyj considers both the local context of Banten's special role as an industrial zone and as a province with a rather particular Islamic and trading history and the larger context of shifting trading and manufacturing regimes in the current phase of globalization affecting Indonesia. The attention to Banten's role and its pre-colonial, colonial and post-Independence roles is fascinating, and an important addition to the ethnographic scholarship on Indonesia.

Rudnyckyj firmly situates his analysis in the governmentality literature and the production of particular subjectivities. He draws inspiration from classics such as Weber's Protestant work ethic and Hirschmann's attention to self-interest and its reconciliation with collective interest. Yet, his emphasis is clearly on recent theoretical treatments of regulation, accountability, audit culture and the production of selves through particular global practices as he describes it. His attention to the growth in human resources management in Indonesia is especially good as it highlights the importance of these programs as Indonesia has shifted towards more flexible forms of production and governance. Rudnyckyj's ethnography is notably strong when he takes the reader to an ESQ session where the intensely choreographed performance produces a moment of conversion and collective effervescence. The voices of those transformed in these sessions, where they are asked to confront their own death, are an excellent window onto current Indonesian tensions and coherencies. He follows this thread through affect and its governance in and around these evangelistic seminars aimed at self-improvement.

Rudnyckyj makes an argument that ESQ is an example of spiritual reform undertaken to solve several dilemmas in post-Suharto Indonesia, including the failures of a "blind faith" in development and the corruption of those middle class workers who benefitted most from Krakatau and New Order state-led industrialization. ESQ provides a way to reconcile an invigorated Muslim identity post 9/11 with Islamic science and with technical progress. As such, Rudnyckyj's work is directly aimed at a middle class whose initial success has stalled and is seeking in some sense to mend its identity in a post-development world. His attention to the developer of ESQ, Ary Ginanjar, is another interesting window onto current Indonesia. For many familiar with Indonesia, Ginanjar may appear as a manifestation of a general pattern of

Indonesian hucksterism, but Rudnyckyj uses the felicitous emergence of ESQ to identify the convergence of desires to re-interpret Islam in the current age, the reinvention of industry in a neoliberal era, and the appeal of self-help in Indonesia at the present moment. It is this entry point that allows him to explore how affect and neoliberal forms of governmentality produce new subjects.

Rudnyckyj's work also adds to the growing list of scholars who consider the Islamic counter to neo-classical economics in the Western tradition. The dictates of Islamic banking, for example, have been used to consider the banking crisis in the West as well as how an Islamic ecumene is reforming finance in parts of the world (Maurer 2005). Rudnyckyj's work provokes questions not only about how Islam is being constituted in Indonesia, here among middle class factory employees, but also about what kind of an economy is produced – or more to the point, what we mean by economy.

Beginning with his treatment of Islam in Indonesia, Rudnyckyj's insights into some of the specifics of how it has become a powerfully renewed force for identity in post New Order Indonesia are significant, not only for illustrating how Islam functions as an anti-Western machine but also for the intricacies of its invocation through class, geography, and history. One thread in the book is the idea that individual achievement and responsibility, as promoted by ESQ, can be promoted by conceptualizing labour as appropriate religious practice. The sections devoted to how the ESQ program combines a universalist, humanitarian Islam with science, physics and math are particularly instructive. He identifies the production of literally calculating selves as ESQ followers identify mathematical equations to demonstrate Allah's perfection and the Qur'an's depiction of the big bang. As he says: "I argue that in contemporary Indonesia, Islam is invoked to elicit subjects complicit with norms of efficiency, productivity, and transparency. In diagramming this spiritual economy, I show how Islam serves as a medium through which subjects of spiritual reform are made accountable to themselves, their families, their work, and the nation at large" (139).

Even so, Rudnyckyj's treatment of Islam is not especially comprehensive, nor does it explore the varieties of Islam in Indonesia. The lack of attention to other sources of individualism such as Sufi Islam is a bit perplexing given his focus on how individualization of responsibility through religion is commensurate with neoliberalism. Beginning with Weber perhaps has kept him from foregrounding Islamic approaches to the individual. More telling for anthropologists of religion, Rudnyckyj spends little time analyzing the ritual of conversion, which surely is at the core of the ESQ experience when participants are put to physical and emotional stress to produce a specific and significant experience of unity and identification. ESQ immediately reminds of EST, after all, the mid-twentieth century California seminars intended to produce the same kind of breakthrough through breakdown. It seems a tendency to focus narrowly keeps Rudnyckyj from looking laterally in ways that might have been quite productive. For example, in terms of the mediation of scientific progress through religion, Partha Chatterjee's (1989) older work on this issue in India would have been a fruitful addition.

Perhaps Rudnyckyj missed this reference because it has been widely used to consider gender differences in colonial and post-colonial settings. While Rudnyckyj's attention to the middle

class and its recalibration in post-Suharto Indonesia adds important ethnographic detail, one wonders at the near exclusive and unremarked focus on males. As someone who has worked on the role of Javanese women's informal sector labour in national development, both before and after Suharto, I was especially interested to read this distaff analysis. Yet, Rudnyckyj does not share this interest in the substantive and relational aspects of Indonesia's economy. In fact, he does not cite one of the key texts on factory labour in Indonesia, Diane Wolf's (1992) *Factory Daughters*, a rather stunning oversight, one that is likely explained as much by his approach to economy as to gender.

Rudnyckyj follows current fashion in approaching the economy as a political rationality Foucault called governmentality. That is, the economy is a "technology for eliciting certain types of subjects and practices" (138). Governmentality has proven to be a robust approach to understanding governance and globalization in anthropology. Yet, Rudnyckyj's lack of attention to the literature on community and family in Indonesia has produced more than one blind spot in his ethnography. Other, equally robust approaches to economy would have made this neglect more difficult. Considering, for example, how labour is produced as a social formation or the role of reciprocity in exchange would have made it harder to narrow economy to subjectivity alone. Governmentality tends to swallow all other analysis, which can lead us to neglect some of the most powerful and influential work in anthropology.

Even so, Rudnyckyj's ethnography is an important contribution to the work on Indonesia, Southeast Asia, and globalization. His attention to ethnographic textures that surround these emergent practices of self-improvement and self-management in post-Suharto Indonesia identifies both continuities and changes in development and faith in the most recent era of globalization. Rudnyckyj's ethnography is accessible and would be useful in upper division under-graduate and graduate courses.

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