

einheimische Bevölkerung diejenigen Elemente der neuen Religion, die an ihre traditionelle Religiosität anknüpften. Dazu gehörte beispielsweise auch die Fiesta, als Fest eines Schutzheiligen im Grunde eine christliche Veranstaltung, die aber mit Elementen aus der vorkolonialen Zeit angereichert wurde und in dieser Form bis heute als integraler Bestandteil philippinischer Kultur gilt. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, als habe die Periode amerikanischer Herrschaft für die Filipinos einen tieferen kulturellen Einschnitt bedeutet als die spanische Zeit, auch wenn die Filipinos die Jeeps der US-Army, Relikte aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als indigenisierten "jeepneys" zu einem Hauptverkehrsmittel machten und die von den Amerikanern initiierte architektonische Umgestaltung Manilas, wo sich unter der spanischen Herrschaft eine koloniale Mischarchitektur herausgebildet hatte, im Rest des Landes wenig Nachahmung fand. Insgesamt aber bietet Wendts Studie ein Beispiel dafür, daß kolonisierte Völker nicht bloße Objekte kulturimperialistischer Einflußnahme sind, sondern im Verlauf des durch die Kolonialisierung herbeigeführten Kulturkontakts durchaus als handelnde und gestaltende Subjekte auftreten.

Den Leser dieses Bandes erwarten eine Reihe anschaulicher, konkreter Fallstudien, die vielleicht besser als Gesamtdarstellungen aus der Vogelschau einen Einblick in die vielfältigen Perspektiven asienbezogener Geschichtsforschung geben können.

Thoralf Klein

HANS-DIETER EVERS, HEIKO SCHRADER (eds.), *The Moral Economy of Trade. Ethnicity and Developing Markets*. London/New York: Routledge, 1994, XIII, 271 pages, £ 40.—. ISBN 0-415-09290-6

This is a timely book in a time of universal blind faith in 'market forces' on the one hand and a rediscovered interest in differing 'capitalisms' and relations between the market and politics on the other. And it is of particular interest since it mainly deals with the fastest-growing economic area in an increasingly globalised market world: Southeast Asia.

It is well known that an important part of the trade in most countries of Asia and Africa is carried out by what, since Wertheim, are called 'ethnic minorities'. While in developed countries some micro-level studies address the question of the roles played by social organisation, value patterns and religious persuasions both in their economic success and their lack of assimilation in their host societies, similar endeavours are still lacking for most developing countries. Trivial psychologising and culturalising expla-

nations dominate, closely followed by pseudo-social analyses which argue that minorities are forced into success by the discriminating practices of the host society. It is therefore of great value that the aims of the volume under review are:

1. to investigate agents of trade during the process of transformation of indigenous rural subsistence economies into cash-crop producing market economies and the more or less integrated contemporary market system and
2. to look at traders and their relation to society from the point of view of the individual trader, focusing on how he or she attempts to solve what Evers calls the 'trader's dilemma'.

Most of the chapters of the volume are products of a research programme launched in 1984 under the supervision of Hans-Dieter Evers and carried out by long- and short-term members of the Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld. Most of them are revised versions of papers presented and discussed at the European Inter-University Development Opportunities Study Group (EIDOS) Winter School on Trade, State and Ethnicity held in Bielefeld in January 1990. Most contributions should therefore be read as interesting condensations of much more substantial works. Good introductions by Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader to each of the three parts of the book help to order the wide range of material and provide an attempt to interpret the individual contributions under the 'trader's dilemma' paradigm.

The first of the three parts of the volume consists of four chapters which map the theoretical field in general. In a (overly) short first chapter Hans-Dieter Evers introduces the basic paradigm of the 'trader's dilemma': "... the moral obligation to share proceeds with kinfolk and neighbours, on the one hand, and the necessity to make profits and accumulate trading capital, on the other" (p. 5). As he rightly puts it, it is "not necessarily an all-encompassing theory ... but rather ... a heuristic device that assists the field researcher to pose questions and to interpret field data" (p. 13). The great value of the second chapter by Tilman Schiel is that it reviews the 'trader's dilemma' in historical (*longue durée*) perspective and expands the approach, for instance to encompass Polanyi's 'embedded economy', Bourdieu's 'symbolic capital' and his and Evers' 'strategic groups' approach.

Chapter 3 by Heiko Schrader is a very useful overview of the study of trade in the social sciences and in field research. Summarising different concepts that explain the origin of trade (mainly traditional evolutionary approaches versus the precedence of long distance trade [Braudel]), he

addresses the 'Great Transformation' (Polanyi) riddle of how the transition from primitive or peasant societies to market economies took place. His answer is based on Carol Smith's translation of Wallerstein's 'World System Theory' to a 'middle range'. He argues that national and international integration are two different economic processes which do not result from an evolutionary process and which depend on specific endogenous and exogenous factors. He challenges the generally held view, which goes back to Adam Smith, of the mutual hampering of state and trade. Inspired by the well known 'Bielefeld approach', he considers that small-scale trade is subsidised by other economic activities of a household.

The second part of the book is an interesting collection of mostly well documented case studies. Although all refer to the paradigm of the 'trader's dilemma' they should have been grouped under the subtitle of the book: 'ethnicity and developing markets'. Of particular interest are the chapters (8 to 13) based on extended fieldwork by young researchers. As most of these are PhD research, they are rich in material and breathe keen commitment. Other chapters give an insight into the applied development sociology approach practised at Bielefeld. Chapters 5 to 8 are rather traditional studies of morally embedded petty trade as found among Javanese peasants in Central Java and in Kalimantan today (Ch. 5 and 6, both by Hans-Dieter Evers) and in its historical development and relation with peasant society and long distance trade in Aceh (Wolfgang Clauss) and Minahasa (Helmut Buchholt). Chapters 9 (Thomas Menkhoff), 10 (Wolfgang Jamann) and 11 (Pannee Auansakul) all deal with the most important ethnic minority in Southeast Asia, the Chinese. While Chapter 11 deals with them as a minority in Thailand, the preceding two chapters are concerned with Chinese firms in Singapore. Although the latter provide valuable insights into the dynamics of these enterprises, it is difficult to see the connection to the 'trader's dilemma'. Nevertheless, read together, the three chapters provide a healthy warning against culturalising interpretations of 'the Chinese'.

The last three chapters do deal with the 'trader's dilemma' from different viewpoints. Chapter 12 is a good overview of Heiko Schrader's work on the historical development of Himalayan trading minorities (Chapter 14 on the Chettiar in Singapore being an extension of this work). Chapter 13 by Sarah Southwold-Llewellyn is interesting in the way it shows how a trading group actively addresses the 'trader's dilemma'. While, historically, the Mudalali in Sri Lanka are neither ethnically nor socially different from the villagers in whose midst they live, their outsider definition is a myth, maintained by themselves, their customers and by policy-makers, to legi-

timate typical social relations between traders and their clientele, as well as government policies.

In my view the third part of the book, where connections to topical subjects such as 'nation' and 'city' are sought, is far too short and could have been left out and replaced by a longer final chapter assessing the value of the paradigm, with reference to current research on traders in the region concerned, and mapping out future research agendas.

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CATHERINA LAX, *Die Mongolei im strategischen Kräftefeld Asiens. Vom Einparteiensstaat zur pluralistischen Demokratie?* (Universitätschriften, Politik, Band 58) Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995. 409 Seiten, DM 88.—. ISBN 3-7890-3814-8

In dieser aus ihrer 1995 in Hamburg verteidigten Dissertation hervorgegangenen Monographie versucht Catherina Lax, die Mongolei als Beispiel und Fallstudie für den Prozeß der Sowjetisierung anderer Länder darzustellen.

In zehn Teilen ist sie bemüht, das gesellschaftliche System der Mongolei im Vergleich mit der UdSSR zu analysieren. Ein elfter Teil ist den Entwicklungen in der Mongolei seit 1992 gewidmet. Um "Politische, soziologische, wirtschaftswissenschaftliche, juristische, historische wie auch philosophische und psychologische Fragen" im o.g. Zusammenhang zu stellen und zu beantworten, hätte es allerdings tiefergehender Kenntnisse über das Land und seine historisch-kulturelle, sozio-ökonomische und politische Entwicklung bedurft. Darüber kann das mit viel Fleiß zusammengetragene reichhaltige Material nicht hinwegtäuschen. Es ist nicht nachzuvollziehen, warum sich C. Lax trotz der Fülle wissenschaftlicher Literatur bei der Darstellung historischer Fakten und Zusammenhänge auf die Arbeit Hellmuth Barthels "Mongolei – Land zwischen Taiga und Wüste" stützt, welche erklärtermaßen die Geographie der Mongolei zum Hauptgegenstand hat.

Der Behauptung, die Mongolei und Sibirien seien "im Klima und in der Vegetation wie auch in ihrer Geschichte verwandt", muß widersprochen werden. Die faktischen Fehler in der Arbeit von C. Lax sind teilweise so gravierend, daß sie nicht nur auf Unsicherheiten in der Rechtschreibung und Transkription der mongolischen Termini hinweisen, sondern auch von einer mangelhaften bzw. oberflächlichen Auswertung der Quellen und Literatur zeugen. So ist die Mongolische Volksrepublik 1924 (26.11.) und