

suitable for a book on ethnological research methodology. Pleister's study on entrepreneurial networks in Taiwan is slightly inappropriate in a reader on the Chinese minority of Southeast Asia, since Taiwan is conventionally neither considered a part of Southeast Asia nor does its population comprise anything that might be appropriately referred to as a Chinese "minority".

The third and final part of the reader contains a number of more historically and politically oriented discussions of the development and present situation of the Chinese populations in Indonesia (Mary Somers Heidhues, Yiu-Siu Liem, Ingrid Wessel), the Philippines (Helmut Buchholt), and Malaysia (Werner Vennewald). The three articles on Indonesia are characterized by a considerable overlap with regard to the historical roots of the Chinese population, which could have been avoided. The concluding essay by Vennewald is of particular interest because it provides empirically based arguments against the undifferentiated and exaggerated manner in which the economic and political influence of the Chinese in Southeast Asia has often been treated.

As a whole the reader by Buchholt and Menkhoff may be highly recommended not only for those interested in the phenomenon of the Chinese diaspora but also for anyone desirous of understanding the dynamism behind the present economic development in Southeast Asia and the overseas Chinese contribution to it.

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HANS ANTLÖV, *Exemplary Centre, Administrative Periphery. Rural Leadership and the New Order in Java*. (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series 68). Richmond (Surrey): Curzon Press, 1995. xii + 222 pp., 1 map, 3 graph., 2 tables. ISBN 0-7007-0293-8

HANS ANTLÖV / SVEN CEDERROTH (eds.), *Leadership on Java. Gentle Hints, Authoritarian Rule*. (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Studies in Asian Topics; 16). Richmond (Surrey): Curzon Press, 1994. vii + 197 pp. ISBN 0-7007-0295-4

In the wake of the 1997 general elections and in view of the presidential succession in 1998, an investigation into the patterns of leadership in Indonesia, and on Java in particular, seems to be very relevant. Two books, published by the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen in 1995 resp. 1994, deal with this important aspect of contemporary Indonesian society and politics.

Hans Antlöv's book presents a case study from West Java. It attempts to "analyze and assess the encounter of state, leadership and community in a village on West Java" (p.13).

Although Indonesia is undergoing a rapid process of modernisation and urbanisation, this fourth most populated country in the world is a primarily rural society with two thirds of the population still living in the countryside. Therefore, the control of the villages and hamlets, especially in Java, the most densely populated island in the archipelago, must occupy a crucial position in all political strategies to maintain power and stability in New Order Indonesia.

Antlöv, currently researcher at the NIAS (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies), conducted fieldwork in the vicinity of the West Javanese capital Bandung in order to study the relationship between various forms of local leadership in these strategically important rural areas and the centralised rule of the New Order government. He presents his findings in seven sections: the introductory historical overview (ch.2) sketches the development of political consciousness from colonial times up to the rise of the New Order regime and the concomitant changes in the structure of rural leadership. After a general examination of some of the New Order's policies (ch.3) Antlöv describes at some length "his" village Sariendah, situated some forty kilometres south-east of West Java's capital Bandung (ch.4 and 5). While this part deals predominantly with the political and ideological implications, the next part highlights the economic aspects, especially the opening up of the village economy by the central government's policies.

Chapters 6 and 7 take a different perspective by concentrating on intra-village issues. First the author examines the community spirit and tries to elaborate some general notions of the concepts of community and hierarchy and the ways the community is maintained. Then he concentrates on the leaders of these communities, how they are created and how they exercise their power under the conditions of the New Order regime (ch.8). The following section (ch.9) analyses the relations between villager, leader and state on the basis of two case studies: general election and headman election. In summing up his study Antlöv analyses the balance of power between state, community and local leadership.

Antlöv describes his research methods - visiting village officials in their homes and offices, carrying out structured interviews, attending village meetings, talking to as many people as possible - as "professional 'hanging around' " or - to use a borrowed expression - as "principled impressionism". The result of his numerous observations, conversations, interviews and chats is a very detailed and multifaceted picture of power relations in present-day rural Java: The author both brings out dominating actors and

structures, thus analysing the interplay between state, (rural) leadership and (local) community.

In giving his book the title *Exemplary Centre, Administrative Periphery*, Antlöv indicates the precarious position which rural leaders in New Order Java occupy nowadays: According to traditional concepts and to their fellow villagers' common expectation rural leaders represent the political and social, and sometimes even ritual centre of their communities. This position is seriously undermined and in many cases already destroyed by the central government's successful attempts to integrate leading rural functionaries into the centralised authoritarian administration.

Antlöv's final conclusion correctly points at the dilemma of both local village elders and national leaders: "The future of the New Order depends on how well its leaders are able to carry through these programmes [of ideological instruction] without alienating themselves from the people" (p. 209). The general elections of 1997 and the concomitant series of unrest give a strong indication that this alienation has already become an undeniable reality in Indonesian politics.

The second volume under review contains eight articles that were prepared for the workshop of the European Social Science Java Network in 1991. Though they date back some years now, they still provide valuable, and sometimes even intriguing, insights into various aspects of leadership within the context of Javanese - and indeed Indonesian - political culture. The scope of the papers, selected from a range of more than a dozen presented under the general title "Elite and Leadership Formation in Java", extends from the "Development of the Traditional Javanese Aristocracy" to the "Awakening of Indigenous Capitalists" in Java and covers the period from colonial times until the present.

The doyen of Indonesian Social History, Sartono Kartodirdjo, discusses the rise and fall of the traditional Javanese aristocracy as the leading class in Javanese history. He argues that regional and local leading figures, *bupati*, could establish and consolidate their powerful position within the hierarchy only through their close allegiance to Dutch colonialism. Due to their dependence on the colonial system their power declined with the social and political changes that started at the beginning of this century.

Niels Mulder analyses the ideology of Javanese-Indonesian leadership. Concluding that its primary social function is to maintain the order and stability of the socio-political cosmos. Ina Slamet-Velsink describes two types of informal traditional leadership: the *jago*, a strongman in traditional Javanese rural society, and the *kyai*, the dominant type of Islamic teacher. She uses the two types to discuss the options of rural society to cope with the

conflicts between communal and national interests, between various religious orientations.

Another contrasting set of leaders is presented in Sven Cederroth's examination of the relationship between village officials and religious teachers, the question being how the New Order's modernisation affects Islam in Java.

Three authors focus on the *desa* (the village) as the centre of local politics. Hans Antlöv examines the position of village leaders within the New Order political system, concluding that "leaders [...] turned into officials, thus shifting both power foundation and leadership style" (p.92). Frans Hüsken's elucidates another aspect of state-village relations by investigating village elections, while Jean-Luc Maurer tries to find out whether these village leaders are still *pamong desa*, i.e. village administrators, or whether they have already become *raja desa*, i.e. village kings. Because of their "peculiar and privileged position of being simultaneously the main agent and the main client of the State in the village" (p.117), they tend to become the "village kings".

François Raillon poses the timely and for the present political situation very relevant question: "Can the Javanese do business?" After tracing back the history of indigenous entrepreneurship Raillon goes on to analyse "Economic Nationalism in Action". This term refers to the increasing role *pribumi* began to play in economics since the beginning of the New Order. Indigenous business people, identified as "entrepreneurial priyayi", took advantage of the deregulation policies of the New Order government.

The title of this volume indicates the general trend in the performance of leadership in Java: "Gentle hints" (persuasion, convincing, social control) as the dominant style of leadership are being replaced by less sophisticated, i.e. straightforward and crude, means of authoritarian rule. Most authors make this point very clear: Local leaders, especially those occupying a position in the bureaucratic hierarchy, are forced to respond to a twofold loyalty: As the representative of their respective local community and, at the same time, as the lowest echelon of the central bureaucracy, thus combining the "traditional" role of the leader and the "modern" role of the "official". Under the pressure of the central state many of these leaders withdrew their original allegiance from their own community in favour of becoming an agent of the state. As state officials are no longer dependent on their community, "power can be executed without the consent of the subordinates", as Antlöv puts it.

If the aristocratic leadership in Java vanished, as Sartono has shown, because of its close alliance with the finally defeated colonial regime, can we then draw any conclusions from the present situation described in these es-

says about the possible consequences for the patterns of local leadership in Java after the demise of the current regime? Most of the contributors try to link their (at times necessarily) historical discussions to the present context of democratisation and decentralisation in Indonesia. Both issues will in one way or the other play an important role in future political developments not only in Java but in Indonesia as a whole.

The volume offers a wide range of perspectives not only on categories such as aristocratic, traditional, religious, and official leadership, as the editors indicate in their introduction. The economic, ideological and political implications are likewise treated in these articles. Both Antlöv's case study and the collective volume present valuable contributions to our historical understanding of Javanese political culture, but equally important, to our perception of current developments within Javanese and Indonesian society.

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OTTO HOSPES, *People that Count. Changing Savings and Credit Practices in Ambon, Indonesia*. (CERES Series 3). Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers, 1996. XVII, 281 pages, 24 tab., 10 photogr., \$ 30.00. ISBN 90-5485-503-7

(The book can only be ordered from the author: Dr. Otto Hospes,, Dpt. of Agrarian Law, Wageningen Agricultural University, POB 8130, NL-6700 EW Wageningen)

*People that Count* is a cumulative dissertation print of five already published articles and two additional chapters. It analyses the landscape of informal financial institutions in the village of Teluhu, Ambon (Indonesia). The book starts with a description of the reductionistic perspective of traditional contributions to development finance which emphasise institutionalisation of financial services. Typical discussions centre around cheap credit, easy money, viable institutions and the like. They neglect the 'multiple contexts' of transactions of individuals and institutions, the embeddedness of these in social relations and institutions such as kinship, neighbourhood, the normative-cognitive and authority structures, etc.

Otto Hospes, who has been inspired by Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, rejects such a reductionistic view. He prefers an actor-structure perspective, the central idea of which is that 'human action and structure presuppose each other: structures enable and constrain human action whereas human action sustains and changes structures' (p. 7). People are 'knowledge-