

HELMUT BUCHHOLT, *Kirche, Kopra, Bürokraten. Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und strategisches Handeln in Nord Sulawesi/Indonesien*. (Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie, 44). Saarbrücken/Fort Lauderdale: Breitenbach, 1990. X, 307 pages, DM 42.- (ISBN 3-88156-474-8)

In recent years the Bielefeld concept of "Strategic Groups" has become a fruitful and important approach in the discussion of the sociology of development. A striking example of the analytical strength of this approach and its applicability is H. Buchholt's analysis of long-term development processes in Minahasa, a province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Abstract socio-political and economic terms are not the background of the study but the analysis of concrete actions of social groups from precolonial times until today. The author's main interest lies in the question of how processes of social development take place, how "strategic groups" arise, which kind of strategies they use and how they act and react in a changing environment.

The book, which consequently considers sociological, anthropological, historical as well as political and cultural aspects, is divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter (introduction) the author emphasizes his point of view concerning the development theory of the last decades, which was determined by the dichotomy between modernization and dependencia theory. He underlines the necessity of historical research on the one hand but also emphasizes consideration of the endogenous development in dependent societies on the other.

In chapter II the analytical framework of the study, the "Strategic Groups" concept, is briefly but appropriately explained, before the author turns to the area under study. In the following chapter (III) the socio-geographical setting as well as the structure of the pre-colonial society are documented. Processes of economic transformation, cultural influences and changes in the social structure during the colonial era are analyzed in chapter IV, followed by two chapters (V and VI) on the post-colonial period. The latter is divided into the time before and after the New Order came into power. Although the presentation of the regional development follows the often used differentiation into precolonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, the author is well aware of the existence of stage theories. The "continuity of change" in processes of social transformation is exemplified during the whole argumentation.

The last chapter (VII) presents the conclusion and outlines prospects of further regional development.

Some of the findings presented should be mentioned in detail. It is shown that social stratification did not just arise with the advent of the colonial masters. Even in precolonial times the society was stratified to a certain degree. Although a central power did not exist there was nevertheless a group of respected *walak*-heads (*walak* were the most important social units which segregated the Minahasan tribes). These *walak*-heads were leaders in the case of war and administered the community surplus etc. In the course of history these heads and their families managed to install themselves by legitimizing their leadership in accordance with their outstanding genealogy. In other words, ruling lineages were established.

With the arrival of the Europeans the position of the autochthonous leaders was limited and strengthened at the same time. Following indirect rule the V.O.C. utilized the *walak* heads to get access to domestic resources while they in their turn could use the contacts to stress internal status, prestige and power.

Far deeper and more drastic changes in the economic, social and political framework, however, occurred when the Minahasa came under direct control of the Dutch colonial state in early 19th century. In the course of adapting the economy to the demands of the colonial power, the autochthonous elites became more and more involved in colonial administrative positions while at the same time identifying themselves with the Dutch culture and way of life (vivid examples are given). While the elites were primarily concerned with the appropriation possibilities in the colonial framework, other fields of strategic action were occupied by allochthonous groups. The Chinese, for instance, increasingly controlled the regional trade as middlemen between colonial masters and the indigenous population.

The elites' orientation towards positions in the colonial administration continued - when under the influence of liberalism - the colonial government had to give way to capitalist entrepreneurs. However, the identification with and loyalty to the Dutch as well as the extraordinarily elaborate school system in Minahasa, which had evolved with the fast spread of Christianity, meant that Minahasans could find good job opportunities in the colonial administration throughout the Indonesian archipelago. On the other hand, this orientation was in contradiction to the Indonesian independence movement which emerged in the early 20th century. Small wonder that the attempt to prevent the incorporation of

the Minahasa into the Indonesian state after independence failed. The struggle for securing their social position culminated in the anti-central Permesta movement in the late 1950s. With the suppression of the revolt the political influence of Minahasans in Indonesian politics further declined.

The military accession to power in 1965 led to the intensification of the export economy (especially oil). The result was a huge increase in state revenues. With the effect of consolidating the political system a considerable amount of these revenues was henceforth used for the social and economic development of the country. These revenues provided by the central government became the most important resource of North Sulawesi and the main target for appropriation interests. For the execution and control of development projects a rapidly growing bureaucracy was used so that positions in the regional bureaucracy became a field of strategic interest and action since the 1970s.

Needless to say, this short summary gives only a limited impression of the convincing argumentation. The book is not only of interest for experts in regional studies but an important contribution to the field of development sociology in general.

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CHAN WAI KWAN, *The Making of Hong Kong Society: Three Studies of Class Formation in Early Hong Kong*. Oxford University Press, 1991. xviii + 251 pages, £ 35.00 (ISBN 0-19-827320-7)

The title of this book, a revised version of the author's Ph.D. thesis, is slightly misleading. It does not consist of three independent studies but contains an analysis of the three major population groups in early Hong Kong: the British merchant class, the Chinese merchant class, and the Chinese labourers. Other social groups such as the European workers and the Chinese middle class were numerically less significant and are excluded from the discussion.

Two dominant views exist on the early history of Hong Kong: a traditional British one which highlights the development of the territory's colonial institutions and ruling élite and a Marxist one which places the case of Hong Kong in the light of imperialism, exploitation, class struggle, etc. This last view is mainly promoted by historians in the People's Republic and is extremely hostile towards the West. In the in-