

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.

*Oliver Martin*

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-

troductory chapter, Chan makes it clear that he is for a different approach. He briefly rushes through the prevailing concepts of "class" and concludes that the Weberian approach with its ideas on both class and status is most suitable for the purpose of his study. Geographically, Chan limits his research to the urban area of the colony; the New Territories with a completely different social structure are put aside.

The second chapter presents the formation of the Hong Kong-British merchant class and the gradual emergence of status differentiation among its members. In this process, the famous Hong Kong Club and other institutions played a key rôle. A British *crème de la crème* came into existence and this class was distinctly different from the other strata of Hong Kong's European and Chinese population groups. Yet, it resembled the Chinese merchant class in that both shared the same basic interests in trade and profit making.

The Chinese merchant class emerged after the British merchant class. Many of its members came from the mainland, attracted by British capital and the subsequent demand for labour and services. A similar development had occurred earlier, in Macao, Manila, and Batavia, where European merchants had established trading bases on small, but mostly uninhabited terrain, created job opportunities and thereby paved the way for Chinese immigration and the formation of different Chinese classes. Needless to say, this is not discussed in Chan's book but some similarities are striking and should not be left unmentioned.

In all cases, status differentiation, ultimately based on the merchants' profit-maximizing instincts, went along with class formation. Status differentiation led to a great deal of snobbery among the British but also had some positive aspects: charity and other communal or fund-raising organizations emerged and, in a sense, these served to stabilize the colony's material and social life. The Chinese community in Hong Kong took a similar route: the rich merchants formed an élite and began to build up their own voluntary religious and charitable institutions. Among these, the Tung Wah Hospital (Tung-hua i-yüan) and the Po Leung Kuk (Pao-liang-chü) figure most prominently; their history and functions are carefully traced in chapter 3.

The norms governing upper class behaviour in Britain and mainland China were modified by both the British and the Chinese merchant class to suit local needs; but whereas the British merchants went their own way with little concern for Chinese values, the Chinese were inspired by both traditional Chinese behaviour *and* the success of the Europeans. It

is this last aspect that may have, more than anything else, worked towards Hong Kong's social consolidation.

There was racial segregation right from the beginning with each side looking down upon the other in contempt, but economic interests, the growing participation of Chinese representatives in government affairs, and the network of fine social institutions practically ruled out a major clash. By the standards of its time, the system clearly had many humane facets and therefore proved stable. Even in the 1870s, when the Chinese merchant élite surpassed the British in terms of wealth and commercial influence, this was tolerated. A like development rarely occurred in other parts of the colonial world and it is in this unique spirit of commercial tolerance that Hong Kong grew and still grows today.

The development of the third major class in Hong Kong - the Chinese labourers - is a slightly different matter. Chan follows it up to the famous strikes in the 1920s which, he believes, were crucial in the formation of class identity among the workers. There is much disagreement in the literature on what instigated these strikes but it becomes clear that a number of factors were involved, both inside and outside of Hong Kong. By the time that these strikes occurred, Hong Kong had already developed a modest tradition of mediating between the demands of its employees and employers. Hence, when going on strike, Hong Kong workers could anticipate a certain amount of sympathy from among the public and even the merchants. The comparatively lenient attitude of Hong Kong's institutions was, by itself, a strong argument to actually risk a strike. However, in the 1920s the workers went too far - chiefly due to misguidance by the outside world, in particular by detrimental ideologies from the mainland - a fact which, I think, Chan should have emphasized more clearly in favour of Hong Kong's own integrity.

The final chapter provides a summary of certain class concepts that are frequently found in the literature, but much of this lengthy discussion seems to me to be redundant since Chan concludes that there is no point in limiting the case of Hong Kong to any particular theory or model. What is required is more empirical research. Chan's ample and successful use of English and Chinese archival sources in both Britain and Hong Kong indeed proves that great benefit may be derived from painstaking research of historical documents. Herein lies the value of this book. Sociological literature tends to suffer from unclear terminology and endless repetitions and we ought to be grateful, therefore, that Chan's attempt to relate his data to dull models only remains a half-hearted one

(perhaps that was the tribute he had to pay to his sociological supervisors?).

Taken as a whole, Chan's book forms an interesting, predominantly socio-historical study of how a society grew and of the forces that directed this growth. Certain economic factors probably played a more important role than Chan might be willing to admit - capital accumulation, interest rates, rates of return, various push factors on the China mainland, etc. - but that kind of criticism may not be fair. Some remarks, however, cause mild doubts: in its early days the Tung Wah Hospital certainly had many useful functions but to say that it was a "substitute for institutions of ... labour market control" (which function it only acquired a little later) sounds a bit risky to me [p. 101]). The list of references and the index are reliable, although additions could be made to the bibliography, in particular as far as the literature on the coolies and the economy of early Hong Kong is concerned.

Chan's book adds to our understanding of Hong Kong's past but it does not revolutionize this understanding. It is, in essence, a well-researched and fair approach to a touchy question and ought to be read by those interested in this subject matter.

Roderich Ptak

WOLFGANG BAUER, *Das Antlitz Chinas. Die autobiographische Selbstdarstellung in der chinesischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis heute.* München, Wien: Hanser, 1990. 928 pages, DM 128.- (ISBN 3-446-15221-0)

For the German-speaking public this voluminous book on Chinese autobiographics by the Munich sinologist W. Bauer is a pioneer work, consisting of a large number of original sources in translation taken from all periods of China's history and arranged primarily chronologically. The bulk of Bauer's materials is taken from an immense Chinese collection by the otherwise unknown Guo Dengfeng, first published in 1936. The work thus serves as an anthology for the general reader interested in Chinese intellectual history as well as in comparison of autobiographical genres in the European and Chinese traditions.

Furthermore, the author attempts to interpret his sources thoroughly, i.e. to outline the historical development of autobiographical writing in China, to establish criteria of formal classification within the genre, and