

JÖRG HARTMANN: Subsistenzproduktion und Agrarentwicklung in Java/Indonesien. (Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie, Vol. 13). Saarbrücken/Fort Lauderdale: Verlag Breitenbach, 1981. XVII, 116 pages. DM 14.-

In this book on subsistence production and agrarian development Jörg Hartmann attempts a synthesis of empirical findings and theoretical interpretations on the Javanese village economy.

In chapter I (pp.1-30) the author discusses the "evolutionary" vs. "involutionary" aspects of agrarian development during colonial times. Contrary to dualistic approaches which dissect the economy into a modern, dynamic, capitalistic sector and a traditional, stagnant, subsistence one which is expected to disappear during the course of development, Jörg Hartmann stresses the interrelationship between both sectors. In his view the subsistence sector subsidizes the development of the modern sector while being denied a share in its output. Thus peasant agriculture provided cheap labour to plantations, and in times of economic and monetary crisis subsistence production presents a fall-back to the villagers. Far from being doomed to vanish subsistence production plays a vital part in dependent development. This emerges as the central thesis in Jörg Hartmann's treatise. In the historical analysis he sticks close to Clifford Geertz' influential 'agricultural involution'-hypothesis: Far from getting fully commercialized and capitalistic ("evolution") the traditional Javanese communities transformed themselves into a mixture of both kinds of systems ("involution"). Within this historical pattern of "shared poverty", however, Jörg Hartmann depicts early tendencies of commercialization, monetization and social differentiation among the Javanese peasantry (pp.16 ff.). The various aspects of the 'green revolution strategy' adopted in Java in the 70s are analyzed next (ch.II, pp.31-52). The introduction of high-yielding varieties of rice is described as an attempt to capitalize and modernize traditional agriculture. Directly or indirectly this programme led to unequal access to inputs, mechanization of agriculture, rising unemployment of landless households and the erosion of village social and economic support systems. Jörg Hartmann points to increasing polarization between rich peasants/rural entrepreneurs and small-scale farmers/landless labourers as the final outcome of this process.

In chapter III (pp.53-85) the author sketches on the one hand tendencies to land concentration among the village elites and absentee landlords from the cities who invest in profitable farming enterprises. On the other hand occupational multiplicity is viewed as the survival strategy of the rural poor to secure a living in difficult circumstances. Once again the close connection between subsistence production and capitalistic forms of production is underlined. Finally (pp.87-99), some statistical tables and maps are presented as useful supplement to the author's interpretations. Jörg Hartmann's knowledge of empirical data - the results of village studies and statistical secondary sources - is excellent and his analysis is thought-provoking. The book is a

good introduction to critical thinking on agrarian development in Java during the seventies. To my mind, however, the resulting picture is rather too gloomy, and the explanatory sketches are sometimes too schematic compared to the flexible and transitional state of the Javanese rural economy and society. Judging from the eighties - in hindsight, of course - we are in a better position to assess the recent changes in Java: We have to acknowledge stable and high increases in rice production as a long-term result of agricultural intensification programmes. This partly compensates for some of the inequalities and early imbalances created by the green revolution. We are also more aware nowadays of regional, even local, differences in the agrarian economy of Java which falsify and modify bold macroscopic development schemes - even though we need theory to improve data collection! In this respect Jörg Hartmann's book still provides an interesting theoretical point of view.

Thomas Schweizer

WILLEM WOLTERS: *Politics, Patronage and Class Conflict in Central Luzon*. (Research Report Series, No.14). The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1983. (Obtainable from: Institute of Social Studies, POB 90733, 2509LS, The Hague, The Netherlands).

The central themes of Wolter's study are the changes in the patron-client relationship in the rural Philippines, the relationships among various classes, the process of class formation and the political processes on the local level. Field research was conducted in the municipality of "Barranca", Nueva Ecija, in 1971/1972 and 1979. By combining participant observation and a historical perspective the author gives a brilliant description of social and political - as he terms it - figurations in Barranca. He has convincingly unravelled the declining importance of traditional patron-client relationships between landlords and tenants since the 1930's and the concomitant process of socio-economic differentiation. The latter is the result of the combined effects of rapid population increases, the exhaustion of cultivable land resources and, most importantly, the commercialization of agriculture and the emergence of a class of entrepreneurs and traders in the countryside. The formerly, from the perspective of the tenant, relatively favorable bargaining positions versus the landlords have deteriorated continuously, finally leading to an almost complete withdrawal of favors once granted by the landlords ("rasyon", cheap credit, medical assistance, seed advances etc.). In consequence, socio-economic differentiation assumed a cumulative dimension: inequalities became more pronounced as unequal access to land, capital and credit, to the market and employment primarily benefited the already well-to-do, thereby vastly enhancing their economic opportunities and at the same time dispossessing the