

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

poorer strata of any social protection and of their limited chances of upward mobility.

This process of socio-economic differentiation had its repercussions in the political sphere. Against the background of the 1971 local elections the author demonstrates that social change had markedly affected hitherto prevailing methods of rallying voter support which were based on traditional patron-client relationships and the so-called "lider-approach". The commercialization of agricultural production and the increasing cleavage between the better-off farmers on the one hand, and the growing number of the rural poor on the other, contributed to an increasing break-down of vertical ties within the rural areas, and thus made an election strategy based on patron-client ties largely obsolete. According to Wolters this mainly explains why Barranca's Nationalista Party (NP) faction, which had strongly relied on patron-client networks in its campaign, did so miserably in these elections and suffered a total defeat by the Liberal Party (LP).

While the strength of the study undoubtedly lies in its empirical riches, displaying a vast array of materials, data and information that gives a vivid picture of social relations and local politics in a rural municipality, some major questions with regard to some of Wolter's theoretical foundations nevertheless remain open. For instance, the author fails to state clearly which class concept he uses in his analysis. His assertion that patron-client relationships can be considered "as a specific type of class relations" (p. 10) is more confusing than elucidating. A loosening of traditional patron-client ties between landlords and tenants and a process of social differentiation (and also degradation) does not necessarily automatically imply the emergence of class-based social relations. A necessary condition for the emergence of classes and of class conflict (as the title somewhat misleadingly suggests) is the evolution of networks of horizontal solidarity (and, one might add, protest actions against such depressing living conditions) among the rural poor as well as strategic coalitions between classes or groups with similar interests. However, as shown by Wolters himself, horizontal solidarity was met with only to a very limited extent in Barranca, and when it did exist, it was primarily among the propertied classes. As regards the poor strata of rural society, Wolters states that there are only "few horizontal relationships" (p. 221). Even the declaration of martial law under which the disparities seem to deepen further, did not bring about significant changes in terms of class solidarity. Although at the time the author revisited Barranca (1979), a revolutionary force was expanding its power in the area, no clear-cut fronts could be ascertained as to which social groups supported the government or the New People's Army. Again, the dominant picture seems to be that loyalties were split among the rural poor: a few headed for the mountains with the rebels, while others became members of anti-insurgency para-military forces of the government.

All these remarks are not intended to question Wolter's major finding of a continuous process of social differentiation and its impact on local politics:

the point is rather that at the time of the study it seems somewhat premature to speak of a process of class formation; whether it is in the making in 1985 (as a result of the Marcos regime's unresponsiveness towards the rural poor, its flagrant violations of human rights, a gradual loss of government cohesion and unfavourable economic conditions both at the national and international levels) is here open to debate. Instead of speaking of class formation, however, it seems more appropriate to still speak of clientelistic relationships between the rural elite and the poor. Admittedly, these relationships have assumed a new quality - at the time of the study they were more instrumental, less affective, less cohesive, more temporary, transactional and frequently changing: this is the typical form of clientelistic relations which are to be found elsewhere in Philippine municipal politics.

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GERD REINHOLD: Familie und Beruf in Japan: Zur Identitätsbildung in einer asiatischen Industriegesellschaft. (Sozialwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Vol.7). Berlin-München: Duncker und Humblot, 1981. 187 pp., DM 48.-

The author puts forward two hypotheses. First, high esteem of an individual is promoted in the process of industrialization and modernization of societies by means of establishing separate public and private spheres of life. Second, an important role of the private sphere which, according to the author, is primarily the family might be to support the development of an individual identity. He admits that high esteem of an individual might neither be preferable for happiness nor for economic success but considers it indispensable for the establishment of a genuine democracy. Starting from these assumptions Reinhold raises the question whether family life and working life in Japan and their impacts on personality fit this supposedly universal hypothesis on the relationships between modernization and industrial societies and esteem of the individual.

Reinhold examines available surveys and interpretations both by non-Japanese and Japanese sociologists and psychologists. In the first major part on the individual and family he refers to a broad array of research on early childhood, co-sleeping in families, the relationship between wife and mother-in-law and, finally, the role of the wife as regards her concern about the educational success of her children, her relationship to her husband, her PTA activities as well as her friendships. In the second major part he discusses the role of the individual in a firm by primarily resorting to Thomas P. Rohlen's observations on the expression of corporate ideologies, on intra-firm occupational training for university graduates as well as relationships between