

are quantifiable, or whether a person's "happiness" depends solely upon the prosperity of a society: they have certainly never questioned these points themselves.

Nevertheless, the studies contained in Chap. II do provide a clear picture of social change in Hong Kong, and are in themselves extremely interesting. As such they should encourage further research in this minute corner of the globe where 5 millions people have to live and work hard in a total surface area of 1024 km².

The contributions contained in Chap. III, "Political Development", are also important. They provide us with new and convincing arguments concerning Hong Kong's uncertain future, and in particular insights into changes in the political situation since 1967. This area presents a crucial problem for Hong Kong with respect to long-term investment.

Apart from the comprehensive bibliography containing virtually all available literature on Hong Kong, this anthology also contains a mass of useful data and facts, which make it indispensable for all future research on Hong Kong.

It is also proof in itself of international co-operation: written in English mainly by Chinese scientists, edited by a German professor (Udo-Ernst Simonis, a Visiting Professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1976) and two Hong Kong lecturers and published by the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg.

Cheung-Lieh Yu

DIETRICH KÜHNE: *Urbanisation in Malaysia - Analyse eines Prozesses.*
(Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde, Band 42).
Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976, 400 pp., DM 132.-

Today rapid urbanization in Third World countries constitutes a major source of problems in their struggle to overcome underdevelopment. Although a vast body of literature on urbanization already exists, the importance of this topic requires a closer look at Kühne's study on "Urbanisation in Malaysia".

The first part of the study, after a brief discussion of some more general features and concepts pertaining to Southeast Asian urbanization, focuses on the historical preconditions and the demographic context of the urbanization process in Malaysia. Urbanization is thus seen as subject to profound economic, cultural and political changes. According to Kühne, urban growth in Malaysia has five phases:

1. A precolonial phase of emerging entrepôts, benefitting from the expanding Indian trade.
2. The conversion of these entrepôts into mere "checkpoints" of Portuguese and Dutch sea monopolies.
3. The foundation and formation of the "Straits Settlements".
4. The colonization of the hinterlands under British rule and the expansion of the tin-rubber-belt.
5. Finally, the "phase of unsolved problems", beginning with World War II and continuing up to the present.

Of these five phases it is "phase 3" that can be considered as the first step towards modern urbanization. With Britain as the leading power the structure of world trade underwent a revolutionary change in the 18th century. Free trade and overseas commerce fostered the formation of new and larger entrepôts in the early 19th century. It was at that time that the "Straits Settlements" were founded. Somewhat later, the discovery and subsequent exploitation of vast tin resources brought urban growth to the hinterlands. The rising importance of the tin belt attracted large numbers of Chinese immigrants for work in the mines. Very soon, however, the Chinese also took up entrepreneurial activities, thus imparting centralizing functions to these hinterland settlements. When British control spread over the Malay States after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, a systematic colonization of the hinterlands ensued, linking newly established government posts (expansion of public services), railway and road networks, plantations (rubber) and mines to the entrepôts and world trade. In this era of expansion urbanization primarily meant "sinization", with economic growth, centralization of functions and immigration promoting each other in turn.

In the fifth phase the former political and economic system collapsed under the Japanese occupation, which drove the Chinese in particular back to the countryside. During the "Emergency" (1948-60) this group - as the main segment of the rebels - was most affected by the policy of resettlement in so-called "New Villages", which later developed into small urban centers. Due to the expansion of the public sector after independence a heavy Malay and Indian urban immigration movement developed at the same time. Henceforth, Malays have replaced the Chinese as the fastest growing urban segment, and, accordingly, urbanization and sinization have no longer been identical. Urbanization now means "autochthonization".

Other reasons for the rapid urban growth in the post-war decades are the beginnings of industrialization, the expanding tertiary sector and growing educational aspirations of the rural population. As Kühne points out, urban growth, therefore, is much more influenced by "pull" than by "push" factors. As a matter of fact, Kühne sees no indications that a rural pauperization could push the people to the urban centers.

In his subsequent investigation of intra-urban processes Kühne states that, normally, these are marked by the emergence of a specific urban way of life, with family planning and a declining birth rate as its salient consequences. This model, however, does not uniformly fit the Malaysian case. Finally, the internal processes of urbanization are analyzed in a set of case studies. Of the "peripheral" localities, the "relais" types and the metropolitan area and conurbation, it is the latter that will bear the thrust of urban dynamics in the years to come.

Kühne's study masters a vast array of materials. The merits of this well-rounded and comprehensive study primarily consist in treating urbanization as a historical process.

The study impressively reveals the historical, political, socio-economic and cultural roots of Malaysia's present urban system. The study, therefore, is a contrast to the countless urban sector studies, often ahistorical in their outlook, which proliferate as social engineers need more data as a basis for their technocratic approach toward the management of urban growth problems. Noteworthy also, that the analysis is well supported by the presentation of numerous data tables including a statistical appendix. Additionally, processes of urban change are well illustrated with a number of maps.

However, some major questions still remain open for the reader. For instance, it is not clear in how far "push" factors have also contributed to urban growth, especially in the last decades when the urban migration of the Malay population segment gained momentum. Certainly, Kühne argues that there is no pauperization of the rural areas, but in spite of the ethnic and cultural characteristics which distinguish urbanization in Malaysia from that in other countries of the region, it seems that he overvalues "pull" factors as the prime movers of urban growth. This conclusion follows from his definition of poverty. He defines poverty as a limitation of human existence, compared with what is possible. So poverty is a highly relative concept indeed. However, what is possible in the Malaysian society, as in many other societies as well, is measured in terms of the urban standards of living. If ever there is a modest improvement of the rural living conditions, as Kühne points out, it still does not necessarily mean that there is no pauperization. It is the essence of "trickle down" economies that the living standards of the urban and the rural areas always differ. This divergence might be very well conceived as poverty by the rural population and therefore lead to a "push" for urban migration.

Since Kühne sticks to the "theory of modernization" his rather optimistic view of urbanization in Malaysia is predetermined. He is therefore in opposition to the mainstream of urban research. The majority of urban scholars see urbanization in Southeast Asia as a predominantly parasitic process. On the other hand, this opposition reactivates the scientific discussion in this particular

field of research, a meritorious thing, since from a certain point onwards prevailing opinions tend to become stereotypes.

Jürgen Rüländ

FRIEDHELM BETKE, MATHIAS GRUNEWALD, JOHANNES WEITEKÄMPER:
Partner, Pläne, Projekte. Die personelle Hilfe der Bundesrepublik in West Malaysia. (Bielefelder Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie). Saarbrücken: Verlag Breitenbach, 1978, 433 pp., DM 45. -

The subtitle of this comprehensive study indicates what the rather plain title itself conceals: research into a central aspect of West German development aid. This work is the result of a research project on the practical aspects of development planning and policies carried out in West Malaysia in 1976 by three sociologists in the Dept. of Sociology at the University of Bielefeld. The authors have used a very broad approach, ranging from Dependence Theory through social psychology to efficiency evaluations of technical aid. It is a particular merit of this study that technical aid is treated within the framework of development aid, and, further, that the effectiveness of development aid is assessed not - as is usual - in terms of efficiency but as an element within the system of international relations. Accordingly, the authors resort to Galtung's centre-periphery model and Senghaas's Theory of Peripheral Capitalism, both of which focus on the effects of capitalistic penetration into the Third World.

There is a detailed account of the systematic development of Malaysia's structural dependence upon the West. This runs from the beginning of Portuguese and British "indirect rule" to the export dependency in this century of certain products such as tin and rubber (1935: 60 % of cultivated land). In the section "Ethnoplurality and Social Stratification" the authors analyse the conditions which allow "strategic groups" (elites) to draw together while perpetuating the heterogeneity of the "oppressed groups", a phenomenon which has favoured far-reaching dependency upon the outside world even in the fields of export substitution, manufacturing and processing. The decision of 20 West German firms to transfer their activities to Malaysia plays no small part in this respect.

The next section discusses the effects of German projects and the functions of German technical aid workers within this system of dependence (included are both personnel from both the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) and the German Volunteer Service (DED). There is also a survey of 35 of the 47 (74 %))