eine effiziente Bürokratie sowie erfahrene Unternehmen. Lediglich im Falle Süd-koreas könnten Vergleiche gezogen werden, da sich dessen Konzerne wie die japa-nischen stark mit den Interessen des Staates identifizierten. Zudem setze die Weige-rung Japans, umfassende Technologietransfers vorzunehmen, der Übertragbarkeit eigener Entwicklungs- und Wertvorstellungen Grenzen. Gleichzeitig werde auf diese Weise aber auch Japans Führungsposition in Asien-Pazifik festgeschrieben, die langfristig weiter ausgebaut werden könnte, sollte es noch stärker zum bevorzugten Partner der ASEAN werden. Der Wettbewerbsvorteil Japans gegenüber Europa und Amerika liegt im Verzicht, den asiatischen Akteuren Lehrstunden in westlicher Demokratie erteilen zu wollen.

Der Sammelband berücksichtigt Entwicklungen bis zum April 1997, wobei die deutsche Perspektive mehrfach Erwähnung findet. Randvermerke, Schaubilder und Zeittafeln garantieren einen schnellen Überblick. Die Nähe des Redaktionsschlusses zum Einsetzen der „asiatischen Grippe" bot den Autoren alle Chancen, Prognosen zu erstellen, die schon mit ihrer Veröffentlichung hätten überholt sein können. Sie haben es nicht getan. Dagegen gelangte Opitz bereits vor Beginn der Turbulenzen zu einer sehr skeptischen Lageeinschätzung: „Es ist schwieriger geworden sowohl für die ‚vier kleinen Tiger' wie für die Region, in der sie liegen - und vieles deutet dar-auf hin, daß die kommenden Jahrzehnte noch schwieriger werden könnten." So wei-sen die vorliegenden Untersuchungen auf zahlreiche gesellschaftliche, politische und ökonomische Strukturprobleme hin, deren Lösung eng mit der Bewältigung der asiatischen Währungs- und Wirtschaftskrise verbunden ist. Es spricht für die Bayeri-sche Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit, diese Studie einem breiteren Interessentenkreis zugänglich gemacht zu haben.

Martin Wagener

ERHARD BERNER, *Defending a Place in the City. Localities and the Struggle for Urban Land in Metro Manila.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997. XX, 243 pages, $ 24.00. ISBN 971-550-270-9

Slums and squatter settlements still constitute the most visible concomitant of rapid urban growth and poverty in developing countries. With the emergence of mega-cities and unabated rural-urban migration, the numbers of people living in so-called depressed areas is constantly on the rise - not necessarily in relative, but definitely in absolute terms. In the Philippine capital of Metro Manila, for example, at least one third of the agglomeration's population of some 12 million lives in slums or squatter settlements.

Not incidentally, studies about slums and squatter settlements are legion. It is thus by no means an easy task to make an impact on such a well covered field of research. Erhard Berner, a sociologist formerly affiliated with the Faculty of Sociol-ogy, University of Bielefeld (Germany) and now working with the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, Netherlands, has achieved no less than this.

The book's key theme is the struggle of the urban poor for land and residential space in a metropolis which has come under severe development pressures caused

by the forces of economic globalisation (chapter 1). While world cities such as Manila emerged as "nodes of transnational flows of information and capital" (p. 2), they also provide the cheap labor that keeps the city attractive for foreign direct investment, thereby subsidizing the city's economy (p. 4). This contradiction is clearly reflected in the city's spatial order. While urban functions directly linked to the global economy (finance, real estate, manufacturing) continue to expand, pushing up land prices to unprecedented heights, the urban poor as the backbone of the city's cheap labor are forced to live in overcrowded and substandard residential quarters under permanent threat of eviction. To gain a foothold in a basically hostile environment and to survive makes it indispensable for them to develop social cohesion and capacity of collective action. The focus of such community-building is the residential quarter or in the terminology of the sociologist: locality. This process of localization is defined by Berner as the "search of groups among the non-dominant classes for local identity and the creation of localities as foci of everyday life". Globalization and localization, though seemingly contradictory, are closely connected and are both spatially anchored in world cities. "Center and periphery confront each other in the metropolis and form the background of intensifying urban conflicts in London, Paris, and Los Angeles as well as in Metro Manila, Bangkok, Rio de Janeiro, and Mexico City." (p. 9)

Dismissing structuralist Marxist and political economy approaches in the tradition of Manuel Castells, Berner opts for an actor-centered theoretical framework (chapter 2). Actors rather than structures are highlighted by strategic group analysis as first developed by Evers (1982) and Evers/Schiel (1988) and refined by Berner on the basis of the critique formulated by John P. Neelsen (1989). Methodologically the study combines qualitative and quantitative analysis. While qualitative analysis rests on non-standardized expert interviews and participant observation, quantitative data are derived from a survey in five carefully selected slum communities in Pasig and Quezon City (Metro Manila). In each of the five slums about 50 residents were interviewed by Berner.

The next two chapters (3 and 4) familiarize the reader with the everyday life of slum dwellers and the way they and their locality are integrated into the metropolitan economy and social fabric. Slums and squatter settlements, far from being mere eyesores for the elite and the urban middle class, socialize provincials into urbanites and provide housing for the less well-off segments of urban society. A widely ramified informal economy opens up opportunities for subsistence production and petty trade, thus reducing costs or yielding additional cash income for the poor.

Quite surprisingly, not much seems to have changed in everyday life since the pioneering studies of Laquian (1969), Jocano (1975) and Oberndörfer (1979). A majority of slum dwellers, for instance, have migrated to Manila from the provinces in the typical process of chain migration, thereby usually following relatives who have already settled in the city. As in other Southeast Asian cities (Soemantri 1995), nearly three-thirds of them also have elaborate experiences in intra-city migration. However, in many cases intra-city migration is hardly more than an euphemism for repeated eviction from previous residential quarters, highlighting the extremely precarious existence of many slum dwellers and squatters. Although family relations, ethnic ties and ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*) play a crucial role in the process of

locality-building, they are less than a sufficient condition. Other factors are likewise important: age of the settlement, location, physical conditions and links to the outside world.

Contrary to widespread and deeply entrenched clichés, slums and squatter settlements are not egalitarian communities of the poor. They are characterized by elaborate stratification. The social spectrum ranges from quite wealthy slum lords who, irrespective of the illegal status of the settlement, operate plots of land and houses on a commercial basis, down to virtually destitute households, who are barely able to rent a house or a room. This hierarchical structure of the slum community extends into most spheres of life and is particularly evident in the local associations set up by slum dwellers and squatters.

Chapter five is perhaps the most important and enlightening part of the study. Here, Berner investigates the localities' capacities for collective action in the light of eviction threats. While local associations had been formed in all the localities studied, it usually took them ten years to emerge. Leadership is primarily provided by women in their 50s and 60s who usually come from the better-off families in the locality. Slum and squatter associations are essentially one-issue organizations: they are formed in response to eviction threats and to achieve some security of tenure for the *bona fide* residents. This explains why renters are usually excluded from membership, a cause for deep divisions in some of the localities as Berner's study shows. Not only due to such fault lines within the locality is Berner's study a powerful rejection of romantic views which attach to people's organizations the role of a school for democracy. While it may be an undue generalization to argue - as Goss (1990) does - that slum and squatter associations are run as petty fiefdoms, it can scarcely be denied that in many cases participatory processes are limited. Moreover, few local associations have built horizontal links to peer organizations. More frequently their relationship is marked by rivalry rather than solidarity with other localities under threat of demolition. Even NGOs are barely able to foster such links, as their influence on slum and squatter associations is limited and they seem to concentrate their efforts on a few show case conflicts in large squatter areas. The majority of small slum and squatter associations emerges without NGO involvement. This is why Berner sees little evidence that the urban poor are on their way to becoming a social movement or a political class in the Philippines.

NGOs - though notoriously divided along ideological lines - are more successful in advocacy work at the national level. With the support of the Catholic Church, they lobbied Congress to pass an Urban Development and Housing Act which strengthened the legal position of the urban poor. Nevertheless, the repressive Presidential Decree No. 772, enacted by former dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos and declaring squatting a criminal offense, remained in force. Moves of the NGOs to field urban poor candidates in the 1992 congressional elections and thus gain a foothold in the nation's legislature failed miserably. This ambivalent relationship between urban poor organizations and the political system leads Berner to conclude on a skeptical note. In the light of more than 600,000 eviction victims under the Aquino presidency (1986-1992) alone, he does not seem to believe that a democratic regime provides significantly more protection for the urban poor (p. 206). An open political system certainly makes politicians more responsive towards the needs and demands

of the poor. At least *bona fide* residents may now bargain for compensation or resettlement, though the latter creates in many cases more problems than it solves. While previously an anti-poor authoritarian government may have been the main enemy of slum dwellers and squatters, this role, though somewhat cushioned by due process and a semblance of rule of law, has now been taken over by market forces. Their pressures may even be more powerful and persistent than the erratic, though brutal, eviction drives of the Marcos regime. Especially the dire poor will continue to be the losers of urban development and change.

Berner's study addresses a wide range of urban issues on the basis of a convincing theoretical concept. The precision of the argument, the analytical strength and the broad empirical base make it a major contribution to the field of urban studies in Southeast Asia - and beyond. There is no question that this study will gain due recognition in the scholarly world.

Jürgen Rüland

HARTMUT WALRAVENS, *Asia Major (1921-1975). Eine deutsch-britische Ostasienzeitschrift. Bibliographie und Register.* (Orientalistik Bibliographien, 2). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997. 166 Seiten, DM 86,–. ISBN 3-447-03970-1

Hartmut Walravens Bibliographie der Ostasienzeitschrift *Asia Major* ist mehr als ein Zeitschriftenindex. Der Untertitel „Eine deutsch-britische Ostasienzeitschrift" deutet darauf hin, daß mit der Indizierung der Zeitschrift ein historischer Rahmen verbunden ist. Als eine der führenden Ostasienzeitschriften ist ihre Dokumentation gleichzeitig die Dokumentation eines Ausschnittes europäischer Ostasienkunde.

Die Zeitschrift *Asia Major* wurde von Bruno Schindler 1923 in Leipzig gegründet. 1935, nach zwölf Jahren, emigrierte Bruno Schindler nach London, und die Zeitschrift mußte ihr Erscheinen einstellen. Erst 14 Jahre später, im Jahr 1949, brachte Bruno Schindler die Zeitschrift unter dem Titel *Asia Major. New Series* in London neu heraus. Nach seinem Tod im Jahr 1964 setzte Walter Simon die Arbeit Bruno Schindlers fort. Zuvor führten in Deutschland während des Dritten Reiches Bemühungen zu einer kurzfristigen Erneuerung der Zeitschrift, der *sogenannten Asia Major. Neue Folge.* 1975 stellte die Zeitschrift in London ihr Erscheinen erneut ein, wurde jedoch von Dennis Twitchett als *Asia Major. Third Series* 1990 in Princeton wieder ins Leben gerufen, allerdings mit einem etwas geänderten Aussehen: Der enormen Entwicklung in den einzelnen Regionalwissenschaften Ostasiens wurde Rechnung getragen und der geographische Raum der Betrachtung auf China begrenzt.

Die Begrenzung der Bibliographie auf die europäischen Serien ergibt sich für Hartmut Walravens aus der Tatsache, daß die amerikanische Fortsetzung „mit der alten *Asia Major* nur den Titel gemein" habe (S. 7). Der Verfasser läßt es auf dieser Feststellung beruhen, ohne die Unterschiede näher auszuführen. So mag man drüber spekulieren, welches neue Profil die *Third Series* neben der thematischen Begrenzung auf China gegenüber den alten Folgen - deren Thematik erstreckte sich von Persien bis nach Südostasien - besitzt.