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The power of the *lapan* has returned, though the financier-big-men have not regained their former importance.

Although Gustafsson touches on a broad range of issues and covers over a century of material on the Admiralty Islands, her book could have been much better. For instance, if she had incorporated more of the published anthropological literature on the Admiralty Islands, as well as literature on other parts of Papua New Guinea that addresses the topics that concern her, the result would have been a book that was more adequate theoretically and empirically. It would have been as well a book that was more accessible to those whose area of knowledge and interest lies outside Manus Province. As it is, the book is too much a narrow debate with Mead about the details of Titan ethnography and with Schwartz about the details of the Paliu movement. Equally, had Gustafsson incorporated more of the anthropological literature on Melanesia she could have addressed and reflected on the body of material that deals with the nature of historical change in Manus and elsewhere, the ways that anthropologists can approach that change, and the questions those changes raise about just the sort of persistence of traditional social elements that Gustafsson discerns.

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***The colonial past: Dutch sources on Indonesian history.* Edited by Peter Boomgaard. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute. 1991. 64 pp.**

***In the shadow of agriculture: Non-farm activities in the Javanese economy, past and present.* Edited by Paul Alexander, Peter Boomgaard and Ben White. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute. 1991. 154 pp.**

The study of Indonesia's past is intrinsically related to the availability of printed Dutch colonial sources. Most of these are preserved in the Netherlands, more specifically in the Central Library of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, the State Archives and the Royal Library in The Hague, and the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden. This extensive collection of books, reports and

periodicals is not sufficiently accessible to the public. Valuable information is often hidden and hard to find. *The colonial past* tries to help the interested scholars in their difficult search. It introduces the reader to 'a sample of interesting sources, on a limited number of topics'. At the same time it points out the inherent limitations of these materials. Biases are bound to exist since these sources have been produced at a particular time, within a specific socio-political context and they served specific colonial interests.

Among these sources, the value of the Colonial Report (Koloniaal Verslag), the foreign trade statistics and periodicals are extensively discussed. Topics treated include public health, agriculture, indigenous and European journalism and economic changes. For each topic a brief description is given of the main related issues and the 'crucial' sources are listed. However, certain sources are considered crucial while others are simply ignored. The editor's criteria of selection are not clearly spelt out.

Notwithstanding the arbitrary selection of sources and topics, this publication can be considered an important step towards a much needed 'introductory manual' to bibliographical research of Dutch colonial sources.

The Indonesian past is not only difficult to document, but often it has also been misrepresented. At least this claim is made by *In the shadow of agriculture*. Linking the past to contemporary rural developments, the contributors argue that conventional understanding of Javanese economic history is distorted. The tendency in dominant conceptualisations of rural society to characterise Java as a subsistence-orientated rice-farming economy has led to an underestimation of market relationships, trade and small industry. As emphasised in the title and in the introduction, non-farm activities are indeed 'in the shadow of agriculture', but 'should not be obscured by it'.

The particular nature of the available statistical data is seen as a concomitant factor to this specific kind of 'obscurantism'. Colonial statistics privilege those agricultural sectors which were crucial to the colonial state. In this context the inherent limitations of available sources and the discourse wherein they are framed are once again exposed. Due to the scarcity of other forms of documentation, authors are, of course, forced to use these sources, but they should make a point of critically reanalysing them. A close and critical reading can in fact lead to new conclusions, as is demonstrated in most of the chapters.

The principal aim of the book in fact lies in

presenting a 're-evaluation' of statistical data and in correcting the former bias. In chapter 1, Boomgaard shows for the period 1500–1900 that Java was not 'purely agricultural'. At particular times and places various non-agricultural sectors (for example shipbuilding, textiles, metal and plaiting) were flourishing and agriculturists often carried out side-line activities. Taking these developments into account, he questions whether it is correct to use the term 'de-industrialisation' to define the dramatic socio-economic changes in the nineteenth century.

Similarly, White in chapter 2 uses colonial sources, population censuses and surveys to emphasise economic diversification in late colonial and contemporary Java. Reanalysing the summary volumes of the Declining Welfare Inquiry (1903–5) he arrives at 'surprising' conclusions. He is able to refute the general claim (based on the very same volumes) that indigenous trade and industry was at the time insignificant (less than 5 per cent of the population being registered as active participants). He shows that taking women into consideration as a labour source, the number of people involved in these non-farm sectors rises to 30 per cent.

While the first two chapters refer to Java as a whole, without particularly stressing interregional differences, the subsequent chapters are concerned with local diversity. Chapter 3, written by Jennefer and Paul Alexander and Chapter 4 by Maurer provide an accurate account of economic differentiation in the regencies of Kebumen and Bantul respectively. Jennefer and Paul Alexander contrast the economic activities in the early twentieth century between villages possessing extensive rice-fields and villages situated in the hills and along the coast. In the former, most households derived their main income from rice cultivation, while in the latter, agriculture was much less significant, and small industries played a greater role.

Similarly Maurer demonstrates two main patterns of change during the period 1972–87. In villages with sizeable sawah, agricultural modernisation has led to the establishment of a middle peasant class who have specialised in agricultural production. Farmers owning tiny pieces of land have instead increasingly specialised in activities in the non-farm sector. In villages with poor quality land, the traditional pattern of multiple occupations is still dominant. Villagers carry out agricultural tasks as well as developing non-farm activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors. A remarkable growth of local services has taken place. Although agricultural modernisation is

seen as an important factor contributing to economic diversification, Maurer advises against seeking mono-causal explanation for the latest socio-economic transformation on Java.

Finally, the last chapters provide detailed accounts of two industries. In chapter 5 Antlov and Svensson describe developments over the last century in the textile industry in west Java. The authors try to discern the causes for establishment in the 1930s and of the subsequent changes. According to them, land-polarisation can be seen as the main factor behind the rise of the textile industry. It created both the capital for landowners to invest in manufacturing and the labour force necessary to run the industry. From the analyses of the relationship between agriculture and textile production, the authors conclude that these two kinds of enterprise compete on the labour market, affecting wage levels.

The other industry examined in the book is the manufacturing of clove-flavoured cigarettes (kretek). In chapter 6 Ratna Saptari analyses the effects of changes in the kretek industry during the period 1920–90 on labour recruitment. She shows how an interplay of factors (state policies, rural labour market, company strategies and historical conditions), has affected and still affects the nature of labour recruitment. She is especially interested in the formation of gender categories among the labour force. She concludes that there is an increased trend in the post-colonial period towards gender segregation of factory workers. 'Men's and women's' jobs are more and more strictly defined. This trend seems to be related to changes in companies' recruitment strategies, rather than to village culture and society.

Saptari's chapter concludes with an appeal for more research on the relationship between industrial and agrarian structure. This need is also recognised by the other authors in the book. Indeed much remains to be done to reanalyse existing and new data, and to define clearly the main concepts: the authors of this book do not always use the same definitions. The editors even admit in the introduction that, among themselves, there is little agreement on the framework and on the notion of 'non-farm' activities. Notwithstanding these analytical difficulties, the authors have succeeded in their main aim, i.e. raising scholarly interest in non-farm activities. The book is an innovative contribution to the conceptual discussion of rural economic change.

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