

*Different Women, Different Work: Gender and Industrialisation in Indonesia.* Edited by Miles Grjins et al. Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1994.

The book is based on the findings of the West Java Non-Farm Sector Research Project carried out between 1987 and 1991 by the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, in collaboration with two Indonesian institutions. The study aims at answering key questions about the growth in rural industries: how can such growth maximize employment and bring about income redistribution, and what constraints are faced by various agencies in achieving these objectives. Though women were not singled out in the research, gender issues nonetheless form an integral part of the study. The book provides an overview of the current involvement of women in the rural non-farm sector in West Java, with a particular focus on their overall marginalization. In this connection, major issues are raised regarding women's rural employment in general, their movement between different sectors, and the implication of government and non-governmental organization (NGO) programmes.

The book is well-organized and thorough. Firstly, it provides a summary of recent literature on the social and demographic features of women in the region — their position in the family, their work, and life cycle. This is followed by a description of the economic and human geography of west Java, outlining the social, economic, and ecological characteristics of the province. Special attention is given to the recent expansion of the industrial sector. The various authors go on to discuss government policies in relation to female employment in the non-agricultural sector. Among the policies discussed are deregulation, promotion of small industry, and development of credit programmes, as well as initiatives specifically directed at women in improving their education, health care, and work safety.

The subsequent discussion is devoted to an analysis of official data on the female work-force in west Java. From such data, the authors construct a useful picture of female employment particularly regarding changes in the profile of women workers — their age and education, for example — over time. The growth in women's participation in the work-force, the study points out, is accompanied by a rise in the edu-

cational level of the average female worker, in contrast to other workers in general. The authors stress the lack of consistent definitions for the various categories in government statistics and the need to improve the quality of the government census in this regard. The types of sectors covered by the study included food processing, textile, and garment production, handicrafts, metalworking, and various chemical and allied industries. The survey carried out for the study covered enterprises in approximately eighty villages, and the findings are summarized according to type of sector under twenty or so headings, from tea processing to the tile industry.

There is considerable emphasis on the characteristics of female employment in each type of activity. In examining the role of women entrepreneurs, the study shows the importance of small business as an avenue through which women provide for themselves and their families. But women's enterprises tend to be small-scale and are often restricted by lack of access to capital and irregular demand for their products. For a variety of reasons government assistance rarely reaches these entrepreneurs.

Women wage workers face a different set of constraints. Some of these relate to their life cycle, family pressures and lack of acceptance by the community. Career opportunities are more limited for women than for men. Within the family, there is significant de-skilling of women who have to take on major domestic tasks and are obliged to devote time and labour to their husbands' businesses. There is a general disregard for the crucial role of women in the family. Government interventions and development programmes often take the husband to be the formal owner of a business or property, though this may not be the case. The result is to deny women access to training and credit.

The book provides six brief but illuminating case-studies of individual women — two entrepreneurs, two wage workers, and two family workers — which help to locate the issues involved in a human context. It concludes that women are marginalized in West Java, not least because they are concentrated at the lower end of the labour market. Despite efforts by the government to tackle women's problems, progress has been slow. Macro policies such as deregulation affect women espe-

cially, by attracting foreign investors keen to exploit cheap female labour.

The subtitle of the book, "Gender and Industrialisation in Indonesia", might be misleading. The study refers exclusively to the situation in the province of West Java, which may not be typical of the country as a whole. Nonetheless it presents a detailed and clear case-study, drawing together large amounts of data into a logical and readable account. The research, not surprisingly, uncovered an enormous diversity in women's circumstances in west Java, and this means that conclusions must be fairly general. However, the authors are able to highlight specific areas which require attention from policy-makers and the NGOs. The book is a valuable contribution to literature in the field of gender and development in Southeast Asia.

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