

*The Real and Imagined Role of Culture in Development: Case Studies from Indonesia.* Edited by Michael R. Dove. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988. Pp. xii, 289. 10 tables, 12 figures, 18 black-and-white photographs.

The prolix introduction to this volume delivers a fearlessly damning indictment of rural development policies in Soeharto's Indonesia. According to the editor, the planning and implementation of such enterprise threaten traditional culture with extinction. This accusation is likely to arouse some interest among Indonesian anthropologists, nearly all of whom have worked on development projects, typically in collaboration with foreign colleagues, but I doubt whether any of them will take Dove's condemnation very seriously — he identifies the perpetrators of cultural devastation so cavalierly that his case against any real culprit loses the impact it may deserve. Presumably, he would declare the innocence of his ten fellow contributors to the book; yet most of them owe the experience and information he interprets to grants or employment by enterprises whose operations in Indonesia require not only government approval but also an undertaking to promote state development policy (for example, BKKBN [Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berentjana Nasional or National Family Planning Board], the Environmental Studies Centre at Gadjah Mada University, NIMH [National Institute of Mental Health of the United States], HEDERA [Health Development in Rural Areas, a joint effort of the Free University in Amsterdam and Gadjah Mada University], NUFFIC [The Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation], the Peace Corps, the World Wildlife Fund, Survival International). If these "experts" are blameless, so are scores of others.

An unusual feature of this collection is repetitive inconsistency between the conventional editorial overview and the contents of the papers which follow. For example, one of Michael Dove's charges (p. 30) is that Indonesian media suppress information essential for the evaluation of development projects; yet much of the material he derives from the case-studies has in fact appeared in Indonesian publications. The bibliographies to the two papers on Java for instance (Rienks and Purwanta; Laksono) provide at least six examples. The same two essays

also illustrate that the field-workers the editor cites to authorize his critique have different views from the opinions he attributes to them. He argues that Javanese peasants desire no extension of the government's rural health services into their villages; nor any official warning of volcanic eruptions; that traditional methods for treating illness and for predicting seismic activity are adequate and efficient. But Rienks and Purwanta (p. 83) do not advocate dismantlement of the health extension service they criticize and indeed recommend recruitment and training of folk healers as staff of the existing system. Likewise, Laksono certainly endorses (pp. 196-97) the government's view that settlement on Mt. Merapi is dangerous for Javanese despite the techniques of prophesy their traditions preserve. His case-study of an eruption concerns peasants who treated the official forecast with respect (not contempt) when "all" evacuated their village with their livestock in response to this warning; but a few who returned prematurely on the assumption of a false alarm were burned to death.

Such inconsistencies will puzzle any careful reader but others are likely to be obvious only to specialists on Indonesia. (I would not therefore recommend the volume as a textbook for undergraduate courses.) For example, Dove (p. 3) reports that the Indonesian Government requires all sectors of the population to profess Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism and tolerates adherence to no other faith such as that of the Wana. These people inhabit central Sulawesi and are the subject of Jane Atkinson's chapter. Her footnote (p. 60) almost conceals the correction which the editor's generalization demands by acknowledging that since "the early days of the Republic, the definition of religion has gradually *widened*"; that "*Aluk To Dolo*, the religion of the Sa'dan Toraja, and *Kaharingan*, the religion of some interior peoples of Kalimantan, have received similar *approval*". As Atkinson recognizes, *Kaharingan* Dyaks gained that "approval" through their success in the politics of the Republic and certainly not by converting the authorities to the view of religion which is current in anthropological discourse and which Dove advocates. Like the Balinese (who struggled until the mid-1960s for the official status of their Hinduism) the Dyaks demanded and won state recognition of their faith as a condition of their support for secular forces which have opposed any Islamic dominance over the

nation. The central government has never claimed the initiative for such Balinese, Dyak, and Toraja achievements which cast serious doubt over Dove's insistence on the "inability" of Indonesian officials even "to believe that change can take place spontaneously, in the absence of their efforts and inputs" (p. 22). Indeed, Muslim dissidents in Indonesia have criticized the New Order regime for acceding to demands of Javanese *kebatinan* and other religious movements which exalt traditional cultures that Dove says it seeks to eliminate. My point is that state discrimination prevails against the religion of the Wana because they and their supporters are less politically powerful than they need to be; that prejudice among officials is not the cause of that situation but merely one of its complex manifestations which also reveal genuine and courageous commitment by educated Indonesians (including civil servants) to the interests of disadvantaged minorities.

Fortunately, the quality of argument in this book escalates in sophistication after page 40. Teachers and students in courses on the anthropology of development will certainly welcome Reimar Schefold's essay about Siberut as a valuable companion to his superb movie *The Sakud-dei*. He rejects Margaret Mead's extremism that "all means . . . should be used to induce such societies to adapt their ways of life as quickly as possible to industrial western civilisation" (p. 210). Since making the film Schefold (p. 212) has worked for Survival International and for the World Wildlife Fund in collaboration with the Dutch and Indonesian Governments to design the development project his paper describes. The recommendations include generation of revenue for the population from the tourist potential of Siberut's scenery and protection for four kinds of primates which are unique to the island. These aims entail a ban on industrial logging and hunting to conserve the habitat which is essential to prevent the extinction of both the animals and the cultural identity of the Mentawaians.

Four of the other chapters concern shifting cultivators, two are about eastern Indonesia, and three are important contributions to the anthropology of Borneo. Hoffman's provides a powerful corrective to both the ethnographic record of the island and to the official stereotype of the Punan by demonstrating that they hunt and collect in response to industrial and international demand for their jungle produce. This

paper thus rejects the conventional categorization of these hinterland nomads with pre-colonial Aborigines of Australia and the Bushmen of Africa. Victor King's article investigates rank among the Maloh of west Kalimantan and class formation in their society since the abolition of slavery and under pressure from democratic processes on aristocratic privilege. The analysis bears on the recent debate between Rousseau and Freeman over Dyak equality and adds a body of rich ethnography to literature concerning the Weberian trinity of class, status, and power. Jeffrey Brewer also writes as both a historian and an anthropologist. His insightful essay concerning Bima in east Sumbawa indicates that the critique of Geertz's thesis about agricultural involution has paid too little attention to shifting cultivation and Outer Indonesia.

Hans Daeng argues that in Flores, competitive marriage payments and modern institutions of adjudication have replaced competitive feasting which, in pre-colonial times settled disputes over land and reduced competition for resources between livestock and humans. This account reassures me that whether in Flores, Kalimantan, or anywhere else in the Republic, Indonesian farmers are quite capable of developing alternative institutions for adapting to environmental exigencies. The point bears directly on the case-study by Dove, who meticulously documents evidence that Kantu' rice swiddeners who get drunk together constitute extensive social networks which transcend numerous eco-niches where agricultural success or failure is subject to extreme and frequent fluctuations. He demonstrates that those who fail, rely on drinking partners in distant eco-niches to sustain them through periods of economic duress. But the editor's vigorous defence of Kantu' drunks does not persuade me that institutionalized intoxication is necessary for this system of agricultural insurance. (Should the Kantu' of the near future be exempt from penalties which already discourage other Dyak drinkers from driving between Bacchanalian binges to extend the range of their agricultural domains?) Dove's argument about access to a variety of eco-niches would apply to Banjarese swiddeners of central Kalimantan. They also travel vast distances for help from one another during crises of crop failure and charter speedboats for that purpose. But I swear they never touch a drop; on the contrary, the parties to such translocal arrangements are "brothers in Islam" and regularly make the

same journeys to join voices in recitations of the Koran.

George Appell completes the collection by considering seven principles for the management of community development with a minimum of deleterious consequences. His essay which requires attention from all teachers of development planners is a fine example of the common sense, logical rigour, and solid scholarship which is less evident at the beginning of the book and which is one of several reasons I will keep my copy. Others include the maps, index, rich illustration, and general elegance of this hard-backed publication for all of which the University of Hawaii Press deserves congratulations. Who but a carping reviewer would note the solitary printing error (in the second line of the abstract on page 254), the lack of ethnic or local identification for the elder in the picture on the jacket, and the brutal amputation of most of the caption from a photograph on the bottom of page 229?

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