

*Quand la rizière rencontre l'asphalte ... Semis urbain et processus d'urbanisation à Java-est.* By Manuelle Franck. *Etudes insulindiennes — Archipel*, 10. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1993. Pp. 282.

Since the early 1980s, research in urban studies has written much about the optimum size of a city, particularly in relation to the processes of economic growth, migration, and political structuring. Beside the growing interest in global cities, there is also a concern for a more flexible planning strategy that can deal with the problem of urban development based on small and medium-sized cities. It is hoped that a more uniform and adequate pattern of growth would emerge from a redistributive urbanization strategy at the national level. Consequently, small cities would be able to better respond to the needs of local communities. One of the perceived advantages of a network of small cities is that they would revive the regional economies, and alleviate the massive migration to the metropolis while each maintains its role as a service centre to the local community.

This is the perspective adopted by Manuelle Frank in her analysis of urbanization in Indonesia. In East Java, the process of urbanization extends to the eastern end of the island from the provincial township of Surabaya, forming a dense urban network linking small towns with the hinterland. The book has two parts. The first is devoted to a detailed description of the process taking place in Indonesian cities and towns, particularly those in East Java. The second part is primarily an analysis of three major aspects of urbanization in the region: the role of the state and regional administration, the social and spatial relationship between urbanization and the rural sector, and the effects of industrialization.

Indonesia is a country of some 150 million people, with 62 per cent of them living on the island of Java, which has 70 per cent of the urban population and 7 per cent of the land surface of the country. The state delegates considerable responsibilities to provincial, district, and municipal authorities in an effort to decentralize major administrative and financial functions. The state retains control over decisions regarding investment in public infrastructure. In spite of the decentralization

policy, however, strategic economic functions are located in major cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya.

Agriculture is the main economic activity that supports the first stages of rural-urban integration. Rice creates the need for distribution and transport services. In East Java, cities and a dense web of small towns are found in rice-growing regions. The location of head offices of companies also adds to the importance of these cities. Thus even if Jakarta retains a major share of the country's money, power, and influence, Surabaya is still a growing regional centre and the second most important city in Indonesia, with increasing concentration of economic activities and communication facilities.

The book gives a strong focus on the determinants of urbanization in East Java, emphasizing the role of the small cities and their integration with the national "vertical urban hierarchy". Even if small and medium-size cities are dependent on the development and growth of metropolitan centres such as Jakarta, it is clear that there also exists a "horizontal urban network" often developing independently from the big cities. Moreover, with the localization of government offices and other institutions of national power, regional core-cities present another aspect of the emergence of the parallel urban network.

From this, Manuelle Franck develops her argument about Indonesia's two major urban formations. The first is the network of big modern cities and their extended metropolitan areas, connected to local and international service centres and foreign interests. The second formation is regional or local. Structured by secondary cities, the pattern of development is socially and economically more homogeneous and based on servicing the agricultural sector. Such urban network relies on local communities and does not have a clear rural-urban split in its configuration.

The conception of the two major urban formations in Indonesia is a major contribution of the book. Yet it is possible to suggest that for large cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya, their linkages are more with those outside the country, say Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok, than with others in the national hinterland. The dichotomy between global urban networks and localized urban centres is a world-wide phenomenon. In-

ternational economic forces tend to emphasize the concentration of capital and financial power in big cities as well as the marginalization of local urban territories in the context of globalization. The question then is: To what extent are the two urbanization patterns configured by the same economic forces? The author does not provide a complete answer to this question, except the suggestion that urban policies should encourage a more equitable and decentralized local network of cities. But then what is the social and economic logic in state measure that attempts to deflate the growth of global cities?

The recomposition of urban forms is an important aspect of the debate about development and human settlements. Manuelle Franck's book is a key contribution that illustrates through the Indonesian case the coexistence of two varying patterns of urbanization in Southeast Asia — even though she neglects the more complex relation of these patterns with global economic forces.

Sylvain LEFEBVRE