

While Henderson describes seven major forms of global capitalism, within East Asia specifically he notes the distinction between four types: (1) the ‘collective capitalism’ of Japan that is marked by a high degree of institutional integration both within and across large organizations (e.g. *keiretsu* networks of firms); (2) the ‘state-directed capitalism’ of South Korea characterized by the close partnership and often leadership of the government vis-a-vis big business groups (i.e. the *chaebol*); (3) the ‘coordinated proprietorial capitalism’ seen in Taiwan where family-owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) have been largely responsible for its export-based economic success; and (4) the ‘market Neo-Stalinism’ currently seen in China where ‘the defining characteristic is the continuing decisive economic role of an authoritarian, “Neo-Stalinist” state in a context where resource allocation has been partly marketized, and the economy partially globalized’ (p. 23).

In keeping with Henderson’s theme of ‘transformation’ for the book as a whole, some of his most interesting considerations have to do with the developmental futures of the East Asian region and of China in particular. Like many observers, he wonders whether China’s continuing economic ascendance will or will not correspond to political liberalization, or even if the current one-party state system is sustainable or will falter under the weight of unbalanced economic development, endemic corruption, and rising social inequality. He outlines a number of potential scenarios for China, including a breakdown of central state control and a fragmentation of the nation-state, whereby individual provinces would gain full political and economic autonomy; the status quo of ‘market Neo-Stalinism’ in which the Communist Party maintains power and capitalist development continues to evolve; and a third scenario where the central state remains intact yet yields to political reform and some degree of democratization, somewhat akin to political changes in Taiwan and South Korea during the 1980s. Equally compelling are Henderson’s hypotheses in Chapter 8 for the future of globalization and the potential for what he terms a Global-Asian Era (GAE). This GAE would represent a break from the present – but arguably waning – unipolar US-led world political and economic order, and would be fuelled largely by the seemingly inexorable rise of China as a preeminent global economic power. Henderson notes that if a GAE were to take form, the dynamics of the economic and political world order would be quite different from previous periods of US or British hegemony, especially with respect to how Chinese nationalism and its sense of historical grievance and victimization would frame its relations to other countries.

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Ann R Tickamyer and Siti Kusujarti,
Power, Change and Gender Relations in Rural Java: A Tale of Two Villages, Ohio University
Press: Athens, 2012; 246 pp.: ISBN 9780896802841, US\$29.95 (pbk)

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How do shifts in opportunities for men and women impact gendered expectations of men and women's roles, at both the household level and in the public sphere? How are household relations between men and women and gender roles in the community regulated and shaped by the state and a developmental agenda? How do individual men and women negotiate and interpret differences and changes in gender roles? How does the nature, meaning and practice of power vary by context? The research study on gender relations, power and development in two villages in central Java by Tickamyar and Kusujarti provides insightful answers, using rich qualitative and quantitative data to explore some of these important questions and expand our understanding of the nature of power, change and gendered processes at the individual, household, community and national levels.

The key trope driving the study is an apparent contradiction noted in the body of research on women's status in Indonesia: 'the disjunction between women's actual economic autonomy and the ideological construction of women's status and roles' (p. 94) which constrains their autonomy. The authors challenge existing research on women's status that attempts to explain away this contradiction. Instead, they 'argue that the contradiction is real, and, in fact, fundamental to notions of gender in this society, and that embracing contradiction is a deeply seated part of the gender roles for many Indonesians – men and women' (p. 94).

To orient the reader and ground the analysis, the authors present a theoretical and historical context for examining 'gendered power' (p. 24) in Chapter 1. Of particular importance is the idea of power in Javanese society as the 'ability to embrace and harmonize contradiction without obliterating the contradictory terms' (p. 35). In terms of gender relations, this conception of power materializes by *kodrat* or destiny, which is differentiated between men and women. The destiny of women is embodied in the idea of '*wadah* or container ... [and for] men ... [in the idea of] *isi* or essence of power' (p. 37). Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate the salience of these gendered conceptions of destiny in shaping actual practices of men and women in household and village life. Through revealing narratives from interviews of husbands and wives, the authors demonstrate the master (husband)–manager (wife) relation in the household economy, even when women are the primary income-earners in the household. The analysis in these two chapters also confirms existing insights in feminist research that expanding opportunities for women in the economic sphere often translate into double-burdens and double-standards in the household sphere, instead of a redistribution of responsibilities. What is interesting and new about this analysis is how double-standards are justified and reconciled in the Indonesian context. Complementarity is utilized to justify differences as well as a rhetoric of equal rights. *Ngalah* or giving in voluntarily, and the importance of creating order and harmony as essential elements of power, are utilized to reconcile equality with the subordinate position of women (p. 108).

The book, however, does more than just describe the gender ideology and practices embodied in the contradiction. A central argument in the book is that in addition to gender ideology, this contradiction is maintained, reinforced and intensified through

processes of 'modernization, globalization, urbanization, economic development programs and the Islamic revival' (p. 7). Tickamyer and Kusujarti spend considerable time examining the role of the state and its developmental agenda in co-opting the gender ideology and the impact of this on women's lives and gender relations. Of particular interest is the Suharto regime's institutionalization of this contradictory status in the state definition of women's roles, the *Panca Dharma Wanita* or the five responsibilities of women: loyal partner and supporter of her husband; caretaker of the household; producer of the nation's future generations; secondary income earner; and Indonesian citizen. The authors show how these principles continue in the post-Suharto regime, as well as how pervasive they are in the way people explain their lives. The significance of the role of the state in reinforcing gendered power is made visible through the comparison of the social and institutional distances of each village from the central government in Chapters 2 and 5. Moreover, the authors also demonstrate how the state's developmental agenda related to family planning, health and education add to women's obligations and provide new opportunities, while simultaneously limiting the scope of their autonomy. In Chapter 5, Tickamyer and Kusujarti utilize the Family Welfare Programme (PKK) as an example of this (p. 108):

[W]omen's voluntary labor was expected to provide the major source of welfare provision. In the process women received mixed messages: Their work was crucial for the welfare of their families, communities, and nation; and yet the importance of their work was undermined because it and the women themselves were defined as secondary. Government policies limited women's actions and roles by setting boundaries on women's agenda in social welfare activities.

They are able to also show how this contradiction of a greater public role with continuation of a subordinated status plays out in the larger political sphere by looking at the situation of female village heads, as well as the former President Megawati:

The persistence of the influence of the Javanese concept of power remains a barrier to women's empowerment, despite the new opportunities and spaces for women in all arenas. If a woman asserts her authority, she is in direct opposition to the traditional display of power (as deemed appropriate for men), which rotates around the opposite, namely the ability to command respect and obedience without appearance of effort. Thus, she is likely to be dismissed as an overly noisy and pushy woman. Yet the fact that a woman is not privy to the traditional source of power means that if she does not make this effort, she is likely to unheard and ignored. Megawati became the poster child for this dilemma. (p. 218)

The study of the PKK programme also underscores the role of class in mediating how gender roles are enacted. The programme justified the recruitment of women as programme implementers based on the idea that family welfare fell under women's responsibilities and that women had more time than men. While the former indicates an assumption of gendered division of labour, the latter assumption reflects the class bias of the programme. The authors show how while middle-class women were able to shift their household responsibilities to other women (extended family, hired help) to meet their obligations as social workers in the community, women from poorer households

found the extra obligations of the programme burdensome. The authors also show that greater household affluence was associated with more traditional conceptions of gender roles among both men and women, thus reaffirming another common finding in studies of gender and class.

The significance of how class interacts with gender comes through also in the authors' examination of agriculture in Chapter 4. The authors illustrate that while agricultural work also reflects a gendered division of labour, class shapes how women's involvement in agricultural work is viewed. In contrast to lower-class households, in middle-class households agricultural work by women is seen to be demeaning to their status. Moreover, the authors show that with greater urbanization and modernization of agricultural techniques, women's access to agricultural work as a potential source of livelihood has been reduced, while it has expanded for men. This highlights the challenge of correlating modernization, economic development and women's empowerment, and provides another example of the value of this research in undermining simplified understandings of how development and women's empowerment work.

One of the major strengths of this study is its research methodology. The authors utilize data from participant observation, in-depth interviews with 83 couples and village leaders, surveys and secondary data sources, covering almost two decades of fieldwork starting in 1993. Reflecting good practice in ethnographic research, the authors detail their position vis-a-vis the research participants, the challenges they faced in gaining access, as well as the theoretical and practical considerations in choosing the villages and the sub-villages of their study. The longitudinal nature of the data, the creative quantification of qualitative data into indices measuring gender roles, gendered division of labour in the household and the structure of decision-making in the household, as well as the extensive presentation of their interview data allow readers to get both an in-depth understanding of village life and gender relations in rural Java, as well as a systematic and structured picture of the contradictory roles and expectations men and women face, how they negotiate and live these contradictions, as well as how larger social forces shape private lives. Finally, the comparative approach is also integral to the nuanced and persuasive analysis presented in the study. By taking two villages located differentially from the centres of power, decision-making, economic development and modernization, the authors are able to show the strength of the gender ideology in the everyday lives of men and women, as well as demonstrate how variations in state penetration and modes of production impact gender relations and ideology.

This book can be made use of in undergraduate and graduate classes on methodology as an excellent example of the strengths of utilizing multiple research methods to explain interactions between structures, communities and individuals. Moreover, the findings of this study will serve students of gender, development and power to understand better the processes by which ideologies are enacted, reinforced and maintained. One of the most surprising elements in the findings of this study is the authors' claim regarding the absence of resistance or challenges to these contradictions and constraints. The authors themselves acknowledge their own surprise at the lack of any private or public resistances. They suggest that 'this is partly due to the acceptance of contradiction within Javanese culture. ... Even more, the ability to accommodate contradictory or opposite

accounts is perceived as a sign of power in Javanese culture' (p. 49). They continue at the end of the book:

As we have scrutinized this reality, our own views of contradiction have changed. We realize that in evaluating the gender roles and practices of villagers, even as we abjured the imposition of false binary oppositions, we had imposed an 'either/or' logic on their thinking that they did not share and had little relevance for how they lived their lives. Accommodation to contradiction is not an obstacle that is knowingly tackled by Javanese villagers, but rather part of normal complexity. ... Our efforts to face ... contradiction ... head-on have resulted in a deeper understanding of the complexities and fluidity of women's roles as both women and men themselves understand them. (p. 217)

Herein lies one of the most important contributions of this research: how to observe culturally diverse formulations of power and utilize them to inform our understanding of power. Too much scholarship on the study of power is laden with suggestions for how the situation of the powerless must be changed. Tickamyer and Kusujiarti resist this temptation and therefore succeed in introducing a different understanding of power relations than those available in dominant theories of inequality.

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Sujit Kumar Choudhary,

NGOs, Education and Social Capital: A Micro Study of Tribals, Satyam Books: New Delhi, 2012; 207 pp.: ISBN 9788190288385, Rs. 795 (hbk)

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At present non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing a crucial role in the development sectors in the developing countries. It is also noteworthy that these organizations are working with government to ensure social and educational rights of the marginal communities in the underdeveloped regions of India and elsewhere in the world. This book is a study of role of NGOs in education and formation of social capital in two tribal villages in the state of Jharkhand, India. The book is a product of the author's doctoral research work, and empirical data were collected during the fieldwork from April 2006 to December 2007. The book analyses the problems and prospects of tribal education at the primary and secondary level. It also analyses the role of government and NGOs in enhancing education in a specific region. Furthermore, it explores the notion of social capital by examining the collective action of both tribal communities and NGOs in educational development.