



寺西重郎・福田慎一・奥田英信・三重野文晴
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東南アジア編』東洋経済新報社, 2008, 344p.

本書は、東南アジア諸国、具体的には、インドネシア・マレーシア・フィリピン・タイ（アルファベット順）の経済発展における金融システムの役割とその変容を分析・検討したものである。1990年代後半のアジア経済危機では、これら各国の国内金融システムの脆弱性が原因のひとつにあげられた。すなわち、同システムが、大量の外国資本流入を生産的投資機会に適切に金融仲介できず、不良債権を累積させ、その結果、外国資本フローの逆転とそれによる経済危機を招いたというのである。本書は、この論点を意識しつつも、これら金融システムの役割とその変容の意味を各国の長期的な経済発展と開発戦略の文脈で再検討しようとしたものである。

狙いと特徴

本書は二つの独立した分析枠組みに依拠している。一つは、個別国の歴史的経緯とは独立に金融機能の発達という観点からみるものであり、そこでは、情報やリスクに関する最近の理論的発展を踏まえようとしている。もう一つは、個別国の金融システムを歴史的初期条件の下での市場と政府の相互作用のプロセスとして明示的にとらえようとするものであり、そこでは、各国の制度発展を国際比較の文脈でとらえようとする。

後者の分析枠組みでは、発展途上国全体との比較ということではなく、直接的には東北アジア（韓国・台湾）が参照軸となる。これは、所得水準のキャッチアップに成功しているのは発展途上国の中でも東アジア地域だけであり、同地域における金融システムの役割の解明が本書の目的だからである。本書のもととなる研究プロジェクトでは、第2次大戦後から最近時に至る長期統計に基づいて東アジアの金融発展過程をとらえること、なかでも、長期資金調達および設備投資行動との関係を明らかにする

ことが目標とされている。

他方、前者の分析枠組みは個別国の金融システムの機能評価に関わる。経済発展を支える投資活動は長期資金によって賄われなければならないが、長期資金の調達には金融取引一般に伴う情報の不完備や非対称性の問題がより尖鋭に存在し、それに対するリスク分散・審査・リスク管理などの「情報生産機能」が金融システムに求められるからである。これらの機能がどのような制度システムによって担われてきたのかを解き明かすことも本書の目的の一つである。

以上の要約からもわかるように、本書の特徴は、東南アジアの金融システムの役割を分析するに当たって、金融システムの機能を歴史的発展の文脈と切り離して評価したり、あるいは、暗黙のうちに特定時期の特定の、「典型的」金融システムとの比較によって分析することなく、制度の発展との相互依存の文脈のなかでとらえようとするところにある。

構成と内容

本書の構成は、次のようなものである。まず、序章「東南アジアの金融発展」では、東南アジアの金融発展の特徴を東北アジアとの対比で論じる。続く第I部「東南アジアの金融発展——概観」では、タイ（第1章）、インドネシア（第2章）、マレーシア（第3章）、フィリピン（第4章）における、戦後の金融システムの形成史が概観される。そして、第II部「資金調達と長期資金——推計」では、タイ、マレーシア、フィリピンにおける民間企業部門の資金調達構造がマイクロ企業データを用いた計量経済分析によって推計される。最後に、第III部「東南アジア金融基礎データベース」が収録されている。以下、各章で主張される、主要な論点をあげつつ、コメントを試みたい。

序章 まず、序章は本書の全体を俯瞰し、とくに東北アジアとの対比において東南アジアの金融システムの相違点と共通点をまとめている。両者のもっとも大きな相違点として、工業化を支える長期資金動員に必要な情報生産機能において、東北アジアでは1960-70年代に政策金融が、それに遅れて東南ア

ジアでは1980年代から外資企業が未発達な国内金融システムを代替または補完する上で主要な役割を果たしたとされる。東南アジアでは、金融発展の遅れていたインドネシア・フィリピンだけではなく、当初、相対的に金融貯蓄動員が進んでいたマレーシア・タイも国内金融システムは従来、工業化資金を仲介してこなかった。そして、東北アジアに比べて、遅れて開始された本格的工業化に際しては、グローバルな金融自由化トレンドの中で、政府介入および政策金融は縮小され、その代わりに外資系企業を通じた資金調達に情報生産機能を代替していたのではないかというのが本書の大胆かつ魅力的な仮説である。

このように工業化のための長期金融の実績と経験に乏しい東南アジアの金融システムが、1990年代の金融自由化で流入した巨額の海外の短期資本を適切なリスク評価、リスク多様化、リスク管理によって効率的に生産的用途に仲介することが出来なかったのは無理もないと言える。もっとも、東北アジア、とくに韓国についても、政策金融が民間金融システムとの相互補完関係を通じて工業化資金調達に成功したとされるものの、金融システムは海外の短期資本流入を適切に仲介できなかったのであり、東北アジア、東南アジアとも、その国内金融システムは、これまでの工業化および所得キャッチアップ過程で、1990年代の金融グローバル化に対処できるだけの十分な経営資源を蓄積していなかったという意味での脆弱性を共有していたとされる。

第I部 第1章から第4章は各国の金融発展過程をサーベイしている。各章は、序章の総括の材料となる各国の金融構造の独自の発展過程を詳述している。タイ(第1章)では、民間商業資本ビジネスグループが金融システムを形成してきており、その結果、地場金融システムは工業化のための金融仲介機能において主導的役割を果たしてこなかった。マレーシア(第3章)は政府の保護行政によって民間銀行部門や公的金融部門は量的に拡大してきた一方で、社会政策その他の制約もあって、工業化のための長期金融仲介の効率性は必ずしも高いものではなかった。マレーシア、タイに比べると、インドネシア、フィリピンの金融システムは相対的に未発展で

あるとみられるが、いずれの場合も、その発展プロセスは政治構造のガバナンスの脆弱性と密接に関わっている。インドネシア(第2章)では、企業部門では華僑資本が経済支配力をもち、他方で金融システムは政府の管理下で非効率的運営を余儀なくされ、かつ根深い利権構造の存在も相まって、金融システムの仲介機能は非効率なまま推移してきた。同様に、フィリピン(第4章)では、他の東南アジア諸国に比べて早くから外資導入や金融自由化に取り組んでいるにもかかわらず、それは国内の企業や金融システムのガバナンスの強化につながることなく、継続するマクロ経済の不安定性のせいもあって、当初の低い金融深化状況から抜け出せないままである。

第II部 後半の第5章から第7章は、1990年代のマレーシア・フィリピン・タイ各国の製造業企業の資金調達と設備投資行動を企業部門のマイクロデータを用いて計量分析している(マレーシアについては全産業)。これは、前半のマクロ経済データによる観察を、工業化の担い手である企業の資金調達行動のマイクロ経済データによって実証することが目的である。資金調達行動の計量分析は、エージェンシー・コストをキー概念とする最近の標準的な企業金融理論を踏まえたものである。

いずれの国の企業の資金調達構造についても、パネルデータまたはクロスセクションデータから得られた推計は、内部留保または利益率が高いほど債務比率は低く、逆に資産規模が大きいほど債務比率は高いという、企業金融理論と整合的かつ標準的な結果を得ている。その上で、タイ(第5章)については、外資系企業と上場企業は債務比率が有意に低いこと、さらに、これらの企業の設備投資は外資系企業が大きく、逆に金融コングロマリット系企業は小さいことを見出している。すなわち、製造業の主役である外資系企業は積極的な投資行動をとるが、資金調達面で国内金融機関への依存度が低いという先の東南アジア型金融システム仮説と矛盾のない推計結果を示している。マレーシア(第6章)についても、(少なくとも1997年のアジア危機以前の時期について)タイと同様に外資系企業の債務比率は低いことを見出している。フィリピン(第7章)につい

ての実証結果は、(危機以前の時期では)財閥系企業の債務比率は有意に低い、外資系企業にそのような特徴は見いだせていない。

本書の構成および定型化をめぐるいくつかの論点

以上、本書は東南アジアの金融システムが工業化過程で果たした役割について説得的かつ明確な仮説を提供し、その実証に取り組んで、一定の、矛盾のない証拠を示している点で意義深い成果であることは間違いない。このことを肯定した上で、いくつかの疑問点と上記仮説の妥当性について議論してみた。

まず、本書の構成について言えば、各章あるいは対象国の順序に統一性が欠けているように思われた。第I部の歴史的解説については、タイ、インドネシア、マレーシア、フィリピンの順であるが、第II部の実証分析については、タイ、マレーシア、フィリピンの順、第III部のデータベースでは、タイ、マレーシア、フィリピン、インドネシアの順に構成されている。機械的にアルファベット順に並べるか、でなければ、国の順序に何らかの意味をもたせる工夫の余地があるのではないか。

次に、第I部の歴史的解説では、各章は各国の個別政治経済構造を軸に、開発戦略の交代と実物経済成長および金融システム発のダイナミックな関係を叙述し、かつ、そこから金融システムの役割を論じている。その内容は各章が互いに独立して、自己完結的であり、工業化のための長期資金調達と金融機関の役割という、序章で展開された定型化の切り口を共有していない。これとは対照的に、第II部の実証分析は、1990年代前半の企業データについてエージェンシーコスト仮説が成立するかどうかの実証に重きがおかれており、その意味では各章が問題意識を共有している。しかしながら、これも、対象期間・企業を選択を含めて、序章の定型化仮説とどのように関連づけるのかという視点が共有されていないという印象を受けた。

より大きな問題としては、本書が企図する分析枠組みのひとつである個別発展経路に注目するのであれば、もう一つの分析枠組みである機能的分析の切り口から東南アジア型あるいはASEAN型金融シ

ステムを定型化する作業を急ぐ必要はないのではないかという点だ。東北アジアの金融システムをここで論じる必要はないのだが、政府介入による政策金融が東北アジア型金融システムの特徴であると一括するには、その定型というべき韓国と、政府系金融システムと政府系大企業、民間金融システムと民間中小企業という、工業化と金融システムの二重構造を包摂していた台湾の違いは大きすぎるように思える。

同じことが本書が対象とする東南アジア4カ国についても言えるのではないか。相対的に先進的で本書の定型化に馴染むマレーシア・タイと、歴史的に国家・企業の両方のレベルで、より脆弱なガバナンス構造を引きずっているインドネシア・フィリピンの違いは大きく、これらを東南アジア型あるいはASEAN型と定型化するには相当な無理があると思われる。確かに、工業化に必要な長期資金仲介を実現する上で不可欠な情報生産機能の少なくとも相当部分が、韓国・台湾では政策金融を含む政府介入が担っていたのに照応して、タイ・マレーシアでは外資企業が担っていたという指摘は説得的であり、それを支持する実証結果も示されている。しかし、この仮説はインドネシア・フィリピンにもあてはまると言えるだろうか。前者はいまなお金融システムは政府介入の下にあり、後者は外資企業が工業化のエンジンになり切れていない。これが現状であるとすれば、タイ・マレーシア2国の事例をもってASEAN型ということ、ましてや、それより広く東南アジア型とよぶことにはもっと慎重であるべきだろう。実際、本書でも、後半の実証分析の部分でインドネシアはカバーされていないし、フィリピンについては前半の仮説を支持するような推計結果は示されていない。

とはいえ、本書が東南アジアの4カ国の金融システムの役割を再検討する上で、単なる歴史的叙述にとどまらず、工業化プロセスにおける金融システムの役割を、情報およびリスクに関する最近の理論の発展成果に立脚して分析を試みている点は高く評価できる。すなわち、本書は、工業化による急速なキャッチアップを実現するのに必要な情報生産機能の担い手に着目し、東南アジアの数カ国について、東北アジアの政策金融主導型とは代替的な、外資企

業主導型の金融発展パターンを同定した。情報生産機能を担う主体に着目した本書のアプローチがどこまで適格性をもつものであるかの追求は始まったばかりであり、個別経路について理論と実証の両面で分析の深化を図る余地はまだ大きいと思われる。政策金融主導型にしる、外資企業主導型にしる、それらが国内金融システム機能の発展を妨げたがゆえにアジア経済危機を招いたのであろうか。政策金融主導型金融発展では国内工業部門が自立したが、外資企業主導型ではそれが難しいように思われるが、それは各々の今後の金融発展にどのような含意を持つものだろうか。本書の著者らの今後の研究成果がこれらの論点の解明にヒントを与えてくれることを期待したい。

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Mikael Gravers, ed. *Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Burma*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2007, xx + 283p., maps, tables, photos.

A well-informed academic volume such as this on ethnicity in Burma has been much needed, and any audience will find the chapters richly informative and many of them stimulating. Most of the papers probe the process through which ethnonyms and ethnic categories have been formulated, especially since colonial times, though for some groups from the period immediately preceding British entry and for others more recently. Originating in a conference held in Sweden in 2002, the book overall provides well-contextualized information on the historical formation of ethnic categories and classifications. The volume leads us to question some taken-for-granted and essentialized ethnic categories, and readers will be prompted to consider alternative possibilities for negotiating the diversity that characterizes Burma.

There will be two, no doubt overlapping, types of audience for this book: the academic audience interested in politics and ethnicity, es-

pecially in Burma, and the audience concerned mainly with the current political situation in Burma. The editor certainly has both types of reader in mind, a policy I think is admirable for a volume on such a topic. However, it is possible that the use of terms specific to academic theorizing on ethnicity may put off some in the latter audience, while a few among the former might find some of the politically situated assertions too forward and partial. An exercise of probing into ethnic category formation in Burma can never be apolitical, and there is inevitable variety in the tone adopted by each author regarding the regime.

As editor, Gravers sets the academic tone in the introduction (chapter 1). On the one hand, he asserts the importance of contextualizing and historicizing ethnic categories and ethnonyms, including how they have become instruments of identity politics, and of recognizing how primordialism, which supports the apparent givenness of ethnic categories, is itself historically constructed. On the other hand, Gravers recognizes that ethnic categories are an essential part of the way people imagine their place in the world and the way they reflect upon their position, as in a “modernist cosmology.” In other words, ethnicity is a tool of the ruling hegemonic power, but at the same time a tool for those who must position themselves within the system founded by that power. The volume, as set out in this introduction, is an attempt to look at these two aspects in interaction. Most papers accomplish this through examining the interplay of various actors and relationships, including on-the-ground practices of those who bear the ethnonyms themselves.

Unfortunately, there is one important gap. While there are papers dealing with the Chin, Kachin, Karen, Kayah/Karenni, Mon, and Shan as large categories, and while nationalism in Burma constitutes the implicit background of

most discussion, the editor has left out the issue of the ethnic term “Burman,” the ethnonym of the majority. If ethnonyms of the minority are historical constructions formulated in relational situations, then their emergence should be analysed and understood in relation to the consolidation of the category “Burman.”

Mandy Sadan’s chapter 2 is a cogent and articulate paper on the formation of the Kachin category. Sadan is strongly aware that such analytical probing and de-essentializing of ethnic categories might undermine the nationalist intentions of Kachin elites. Analytical emphasis on diversity among what is considered a solid ethnic group may even be of use to the regime, giving support to its efforts to divide and rule. While this could be a dilemma in dealing with ethnic politics anywhere, the problem could not be more acute than in the case of Burma. Yet, Sadan correctly points out that abandoning the effort would give free rein to the essentializing of ethnic categories by all parties. Conscious of the positioning of research and writing in the midst of ongoing political negotiations regarding ethnicity, Sadan emphasizes the primary importance of decolonizing ethnic diversity. The paper therefore attempts to construct a model for understanding ethnicity that falls between ethnicity as political mobilization and ethnicity as primordialism. The question is—and this question applies to and is posed by many other papers in the volume—where minority elders take the lead in consolidating ethnic categories and their contents, how can we acknowledge diversity in a way that does not simply mimic and repeat the hegemonic essentializing of top-down categories?

Sandra Dudley’s chapter 3 is a study of the far more recent construction of the category of Karenni and Karenni-ness in the setting of border refugee camps. Here, the effects of not only displacement, but generational difference

and contacts with international agencies come to the fore. The border provides access to social space outside the territorial nation-state and to a transnational situation of displacement; at the same time it offers an opportunity to relativize one’s experience inside the border. This is a situation shared by many of the ethnic groups analysed in this volume.

In chapter 4, Chit Hlaing (F. K. Lehman) reflects on the origins of the Kayah category, while providing a cognitive solution to the question of why, despite generalized awareness of ethnicity as a political construct, some scholars and social actors still associate ethnicity with culture. Another issue taken up by this (and Gravers’) chapter is the relationship between state-hegemony and native agents, in which primordialism is implanted by the state and taken up by minority agents.

Using the term Burmanization (defined as the process whereby the Bamar have politically and culturally influenced the Shan) and Shanization (referring to processes of preservation and revitalization of their own culture and the formation of a collective identity under the pressures of Burmanization), Takatani (chapter 7) points out that Shan efforts to research and preserve their own culture has resulted in the crystallization of “culture” and “Shan-ness.” Both Takatani and Chit Hlaing refer to ways in which culture is mobilized and stabilized in the process of marking difference under hegemonic rule. It is not only the regime that essentializes but the minorities themselves, by constructing their own culture in response to the regime’s policy.

As Gravers states in his own chapter 9, Christianity in Burma has always been associated with the non-Buddhist minorities, such as the Kachin and Karen, as part of the process of opposition and confrontation with the Burmese. Focusing on the Karen, this chapter discusses the much politicized historical relationship be-

tween ethnicity, religion, and nationalism. Through a well-informed analysis of the Buddhist and millennialist tendencies among the Karen, Gravers demonstrates that the question is never as simple as the generally propagated opposition between minority Christians and majority Buddhists. Lian Sakhong (chapter 8), himself a Christian Chin in exile, examines Chin Christianity in relation to identity, Chin nationalism, and the ongoing conflict. After examining the Chin ethnonym using historical and oral sources, the author discusses how Christianity was indigenized among the Chin and how its indigenization and growth provided a means of preserving Chin identity and promoting Chin interests in the face of powerful forces of change. Of all the minorities among whom Christians constitute a significant portion, the degree of inseparability between ethnic identity and Christianity is undoubtedly the strongest among the Chin.

In chapter 5, Karin Dean discusses the physical as well as symbolic and social space of the Kachin, a topic that resonates with Gravers' paper on the Karen. Both Kachin-land and the Karen's Kawthoolei are disconnected spaces that do not refer to a distinct, contiguous geographical area but rather to a symbolic space. Dean points out how social spaces cut across territorial boundaries, while the territorialities themselves allow no coherent locale in which Kachin constitute a majority. It is doubtful that the Kachin can in fact "contest" the state's territorial boundaries as Dean claims, but it must also be true that the demonstrated cross-cutting relationships and practices indeed undermine and weaken state boundaries.

Ashley South's chapter 6, with its unresolved mixture of hope and despair, addresses the possibilities of opening space towards a civil society in Burma in the context of the Mon ethnic movement, which the author character-

izes as just as power-ridden and hierarchical as the regime. South claims to explore new forms of state-society relationships, but aside from passing reference to international NGO work, it is not clear what is meant by the re-emergence of civil society networks in ethnic minority areas, which she suggests might contribute to political transition in Burma. Whether this is overly optimistic or there is indeed foundation for hope, we cannot fathom from the chapter.

Other chapters, too, such as those by Dudley and Gravers, refer to the current involvement of transnational communities, information networks, international agencies, and a turn among ethnic leaders away from the discourse of ethnic rights and towards a discourse of democracy and federalism. Yet since 1988, the regime has resorted to claiming the existence of 135 ethnic groups as a basis for asserting nationalism and cultural Myanmarization and undermining the political power of the seven larger ethnic categories (p. 5). What indeed would be the image of a democratic state and true recognition of diversity? What is the viable alternative? This is the crucial question that, through the weaving together of hope and despair, this volume poses, providing its readers with well-informed description and analysis as food for thought.

There are many points that resonate among the chapters. Gravers lays out the questions in the introduction, and many of the points raised in his own chapter are shared by others. However, since each chapter delves into the rich thickets of ethnic history, the volume would be far more readable to a diverse audience if there were a clearer mapping out of the issues and linkages between the chapters and a summing up some of their common threads. There are also a distracting number of typographical errors, which is unfortunate in a volume that deserves wide attention.

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R. A. Cramb. *Land and Longhouse: Agricultural Transformation in the Uplands of Sarawak*. (NIAS Monographs Vol. 110) Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2007, 450p.

Shifting cultivation, the land use that relies on fallowing agricultural fields after their use for intensive cultivation to restore conditions for agricultural production, has been condemned as being wasteful and backward as long as outsiders, colonial and central governments, began having interest in forests and lands where this mostly tropical agricultural technology was being used. In fact, however, shifting cultivation is but a stage in a process identified as agrarian transformation, in which land use in any given place is subject to forces of change and evolves over time. In his new book, *Land and Longhouse: Agricultural Transformation in the Uplands of Sarawak*, Rob Cramb presents an admirable overview of agriculture change in one upland region in the Saribas District where local Iban started settling somewhere in the 17th or 18th century. The original rice swiddening with which the Saribas Iban started, has now largely been replaced by market oriented pepper and rubber cultivation.

Land and Longhouse accounts in much detail how this change began as an endogenous process, at a time when the Brunei Sultan's influence was limited to collecting taxes at far away river posts. Saribas agriculture evolved from *pioneer* into *established* shifting cultivation due to progressive occupation of available land and the conversion of forest within single longhouse territories. The particular characteristics of upland shifting cultivation, including the risk of crop failures, the need to fallow land, and the threats from neighboring groups shaped tenure customs and related rights and obligations that characterized Iban agriculture at that time.

The forces that drove Saribas agrarian transformation changed fundamentally once James Brooks gained governorship of Sarawak in 1841. This period marks the true beginning of the community-market-state model that the book introduces to explain upland agrarian transformation. While the Brook regime imposed its will on the inland population and joined many others in condemning shifting cultivation, it also accepted important elements of Iban tenure customs and restrained commercial agriculture in the interior as it was considered detrimental to the rural population's wellbeing. Since the early 20th century, land pressure reached critical levels, causing changes in customary tenure arrangements. While disputes over land had been settled previously within or between the Iban longhouse communities, now state courts were given a large role in settling land or territorial conflicts.

While the Brook regime had yet a modest impact on agrarian change, market forces came to influence Saribas land use to great extent when farmers eagerly adopted rubber as a cash crop that can be grown as a substitute of swidden fallows. Rubber was complementary to rice production, and tapping could be adjusted depending on the need for cash and rubber prices. Customary tenure easily adjusted to accommodate commercial tree crops, which became recognized as private property. While this implied a progressive privatization of land ownership, longhouse territorial integrity was maintained. Together with rubber production, sharecropping and contract labor were innovative arrangements introduced into the Saribas region.

The Brook regime has been called an atypical colonial government, as it refrained from the explicit modernization or resource exploitation practices in other parts of the world, including neighboring peninsular Malaysia and Indonesia. This largely changed when the British Crown

took over the Sarawak Government. This period is the beginning of a pronounced State impact on agrarian transition. During British colonial rule, wet rice and rubber cultivation were promoted and swidden agriculture and encroachment into remaining forests restricted.

The full force of the state shaping agrarian transformation, however, only started after Sarawak had become part of Malaysia in 1963. Since the 1970s, the Sarawak Government began to embrace agrarian modernization and to this end strengthened its ties with business interests. State administration and modernization development policies were imposed on Sarawak's hinterlands. The very own Iban representatives within the Sarawak Government became staunch supporters of these policies and new clientelistic political cultures. The state set up a diverse number of agencies and programs, each of which envisioned a different role of Iban longhouse residents in the decision making and of customary land tenure. Legislation affecting land rights sometimes undermined customary tenure, but other times enforced it.

Market forces continued to intertwine with state policies, when pepper became the more lucrative cash crop and began to replace rubber since the 1970s. This implied a land use intensification that could have turned the Saribas landscape back to more forest cover as extensively managed rubber plots were replaced by much smaller areas of intensively managed pepper groves. However, the government interest in land development assured that abandoned rubber gardens and swidden fallows increasingly began to be turned into oil palm plantations, a crop promoted by the Sarawak Government and agricultural corporations.

The trends of the last decade lead to an unusual coexistence of customary tenure over longhouse territory in combination with private property over land under commercial tree crops

and estate crops controlled by private companies. One view that can be held is that the Saribas agrarian transformation has led to a decentralized land use decision. Much of the land is held under discretionary private property while the longhouse community has the mandate to assure that private or corporate interests do not jeopardize longhouse community interests. The longhouse territory is equivalent to municipal territories elsewhere, and is subject to the longhouse community control. The state steers local land use trends through its legislation and policies and links with corporate interest, but is curtailed because a fair degree of longhouse autonomy that is safeguarded by the courts. This configuration is not unlike other tropical forest regions that have experienced devolution and decentralization in recent decades, even though the pathways have been very different.

The *Land and Longhouse* volume suggests a model that describes the forces that shape and the variables that characterize tropical forest upland agrarian transformation. Crops, land cover, technology, labor arrangements, but also customary tenure and an important degree of local autonomy characterize the process. Saribas land use became progressively incorporated into the fangs of world markets and state legislation and policies. This is a fate that few locations in the world escape. The tropical forest upland conditions put borders on Saribas agrarian transformation, but the process is equally influenced by Iban resource and tenure cultural heritage. While the Brook regime took a position that gave much space to this cultural heritage, quite unusual among 19th and 20th century colonial regimes, the Malaysian state applied more rigid and commanding agrarian modernization and rural development policies.

The volume presents an impressive amount of information on two centuries of agrarian

transformation in one confined tropical forest region, something that few other volumes have achieved in similar detail. The volume suffers a few shortcomings, though. The introductory chapter provides an excellent overview on the various conceptual and theoretical discussions that need to be called upon for the analysis of the book. The concluding sections of most chapters comment on these various issues, but there is no grand discussion of the implications of the Saribas case for the various theoretical debates. The Saribas case is compared to other upland Asian cases only in the last chapter, but little consolidated conclusions are drawn and the comparison appears rather an afterthought. These shortcomings are unfortunate, as their omitting would have made this volume a true great scholarly work.

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Anders Poulsen. *Childbirth and Tradition in Northeast Thailand: Forty Years of Development and Cultural Change*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2007, xiii + 267p.

This book, written by a scholar who has long worked in the field of child psychology, describes the customs and traditions related to pregnancy and childbirth and their changes over 40 years in Northeast Thailand. The essence of this volume is the detailed and specific data deriving from the author's longitudinal research from 1961 to 2005 in a village in Udon Thani Province. Through this full description, the author presents a different perspective about classification of the rituals of pregnancy and childbirth from the one proposed by Stanley J. Tambiah, whose description of the religious practices in Northeast Thailand has had great impact on Thai studies.

This volume is organized in two main parts. The first part consists of six chapters and highlights the beliefs and practices relating to pregnancy and childbirth. Chapter one gives an outline of village life. The author was involved in a UNESCO-funded project with Tambiah, and conducted his first-time fieldwork in a "Laotian" Thai rice farming village. Through description from the earlier fieldwork, readers are informed that all treatment of the sick used to be done by ritual experts and herbal doctors—moreover, home delivery was "natural"—however, after a Health Centre was built by the government in 1987, the whole village has been gradually penetrated by modern medical care.

Chapter two explains traditional beliefs about birth in the village by reporting voices from village elders, ritual masters and midwives. In the 1960s, two kinds of rituals were directly influential upon the course of a normal childbirth. One was the ceremony for pregnant women called *suukhwan maemaan*. This ceremony is related to the belief of the fleeting soul called the *khwan*. It is believed that *khwan* remains with a person and keeps her/his body and mind comfortable. Each healthy individual without handicap has 32 *khwans*, each located in specific parts of the body. Therefore, it is essential to tie the *khwan* to the person's body on important occasions in the person's life. The other was the ceremony of protecting the fetus or the newborn baby against the evil spirit called *kae kamlerd*. When a newborn baby does not drink its mother's milk or is fretful, it is caused by the spirit called *mae kamlerd*. This spirit is understood to be the "previous mother" from the child's previous life, and she appears to take back her child. For that reason, it is said traditionally that the *kae kamlerd* ought to be performed before birth to free the baby from the threat of *mae kamlerd*. Tambiah classifies these two rituals on pregnancy and childbirth as *khwan*

rites.¹⁾ On the contrary, the author questions whether *kae kamlerd* can be included in the *khwan* rites, on the grounds that *kae kamlerd* is not based on the concept of *khwan*, but is related to the belief in *mae kamlerd* spirit.

The succeeding chapters are devoted to description of change in practices of pregnancy and birth of ordinary villagers, including the rituals. Chapter three reports how villagers practiced the *suukhwan maemaan* and *kae kamlerd*. Although it was said among those who maintain tradition-bound thinking that both rites ought to be performed prior to every birth, villagers generally have not been performing the *suukhwan maemaan* since the 1970s if the pregnant woman felt she was well. On the other hand, the *kae kamlerd* tends to be more often performed.

Chapter four discusses in full detail the changes in women's activities related to pregnancy and childbirth. Even though the local traditions relating to childbirth had been strongly maintained in the village, some customs have been vanishing. The most dramatic change has been that women no longer depend on midwives, and choose instead to deliver in hospitals.

Chapter five gives a vivid description on the custom of confinement after childbirth with herb decoctions called *yuu fai*. After the childbirth, the mother and child will lie by the fireplace for a specified period to cleanse the abdomen of "bad blood." Nowadays, in many cases, a woman who does not want any more children and is sterilized following her last birth does not perform *yuu fai*.

Chapter six discusses the ceremonies during childhood. The author asserts that there are no special customs or ceremonies throughout childhood in the village before a young man tries to be a monk, and a young woman gets pregnant.

The second part of this book constitutes the unique contribution of this book. It exhibits the original ritual text that is connected to pregnancy and childbirth with photographs, namely the rites of *suukhwan maemaan*, *taengkae maemaan*, *taengkae mae kamlerd* and some other smaller rites. The author exhibits not only the original ritual text with translation into Thai and English, but also shows traditional recipes for herb decoctions of *yuu fai* with information gathered from elderly women and ritual experts.

The author describes the transition of pregnancy and childbirth and its related rites in great detail. Because of Tambiah's influential analysis on the rite of *khwan*, there has been no study examining the *kae kamlerd* as an independent rite distinct from the concept of *khwan*. This book is the first in describing the *kae kamlerd* based on its estrangement from the concept of *khwan*, and by doing so the author succeeds in giving a fresh insight related to newborn babies that includes the threat of *mae kamlerd*. This is the crucial contribution of the book that enhances our understanding of birth-related rites in Northeast Thailand.

Moreover, the excellent photographs which vividly describe villagers' lives for the last 40 years, are extremely valuable records for generations to come—especially the pictures of *yuu fai*, a vanishing custom in the region. The book's treatment of sources is also unique. The author uses the original recordings of the ritual text and a picture gallery accessible through the web site of Princess Maha Cakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre.

In spite of the valuable data it presents, the book is not quite clear on how women in Northeast Thailand have experienced and faced up to each of these crucial events in their life-course. Take the case of childbirth, which is a significant event for a woman, but which is described only as one of the customs related to women in the

1) Tambiah, S.J. 1970. *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

region. The vivid descriptions provided by this volume stimulate simple questions such as: How the custom of childbirth has been changed by the intention of specific actors; Can a mother manage her pregnancy by herself; Does a woman have a voice in the decision to perform the rites by herself regarding her own pregnancy and childbirth?

The problem of reproduction is not an issue confined only to women. We know that childbirth can also become an occasion where forms of power such as state or government, community elders, and also importantly, the husband and relatives, may intrude upon her life. This

being so, a description of childbirth must necessarily explain how such actors relate to each other in a particular cultural setting. Now that we know factors such as family planning, other development programs and increase in women's migration have caused the changes of the customs and traditions related to pregnancy and childbirth in Northeast Thailand by the vivid description of this book, we are led to some further questions towards understanding the region.

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