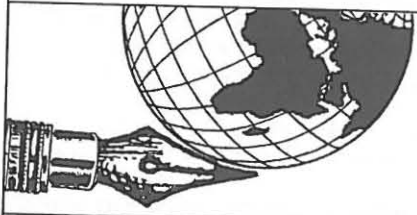


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Gender Interests and the Struggle of NGOs within and beyond the State: the Experience of Women Organizing in Indonesia

I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to look at the struggles of Indonesian women NGOs and grass-root groups in their attempts to improve the position of women. We would like to examine the extent to which they can create room for manoeuvre within a repressive regime, and within an increasingly volatile political climate with opposition groups becoming more articulate and national politics coming increasingly under the scrutiny of the international community. We will look at the possibilities created by national and supra-national linkages, and the influence of the supra-national in providing the conditions for negotiation and advocacy. We argue that although international pressure has given a certain degree of political space for the expression of discontent and opposition in Indonesia, the capacity of supra-national powers to intervene is limited by the state with a strong apparatus. This does not mean that the state does not take into account international public opinion, since recognition at the international level is also a goal that even nationalist-oriented states strive for. However, the extent to which this becomes a priority depends on the political configuration at the national level. We would also like to add that even when the state allows space for Indonesian civil society to question and express discontent, the heterogeneity and the conflicting interests of civil society itself has often prevented it from functioning effectively.

It is within this context that we will place our discussion on the constraints and potentials that Indonesian women's groups face in their struggle for the recognition of women's interests and needs. The international community, and women's regional networks have contributed towards strengthening Indonesian women's struggles in two ways: they have strengthened the lobbying and organisational skills of women NGOs and have provided entry of Indonesian women into international arenas. However, the constraints that women face do not only come from the different levels of power invoked or strengthened by state control; they may also come from the communities themselves, those in which women are based or the political ones. Regarding control by the state, we would like to show that state intervention towards women's struggles are not inherently repressive. Quite often because the Indonesian state ideology perceives women as first and foremost associated with the domestic sphere and therefore non-political, the political space for women's groups and NGOs in advocating women's

rights is slightly larger than for NGOs which focus on human rights in general. Insofar as issues are considered as non-threatening, state control is less stringent. The negative side of this is that male political activists and NGOs tend to view women's issues and women's groups as merely instrumental to 'the struggle', as these may deflect state repression. This does not always work in favour of women since in the process their interests may ultimately be forgotten by these male activists. Constraints from the communities stem from the resistance against changing the prevailing (patriarchal) gender relations.

In bringing forth these two main arguments, we link ourselves to the debates concerning the nature of state autonomy in relation to the international community and the relations between women and the state. In the discussion on NGO-state relations, activists and scholars have concentrated on political configurations existing at the national level. It is indeed the case that in most Third World countries, the state is seen as the main actor determining the space available for those fighting for political and economic freedom. However, the way in which the state positions itself towards the actions of certain groups of people fighting for human rights cannot be entirely stripped from the way the international community positions itself towards certain themes within the broad spectrum of human rights.

The literature dealing with the state in its relation to society, has swung from seeing either 'the international' or 'the national' as the main determinant of specific social formations. In the 1970s when dependency and world system theories dominated the social science literature, local events were interpreted and understood through the interests and actions of the industrialized west. Since the early 1980s we have seen the swing in the opposite direction: to what was perceived as the relative autonomy of the nation-state and its capacity to juggle between the often conflicting interests of western powers. Particularly with the emergence of the Newly-Industrializing Countries in the East, 'the strong state' has been the model within which analyses of social movements have been framed. However, in the 1990s we are again faced with the issue of the nature of integration of nation-states into 'the global', because global economics and international institutions are increasingly influencing the political economy of nation-states. In certain quarters there has been an argument that since international state apparatuses can be used to coerce nation-states, there is a need to 'move away from traditional analysis of inter-state diplomacy and introduce some discussion of transitional political and economic forces and structures' (Picciotto 1990). This argument has quickly undergone major qualifications. For example, we see the obstacles faced by the proponents of European integration; the failure of the ASEAN to emerge as an economic bloc; the less than enthusiastic response emerging within APEC, all of which have shown the relative autonomy and diverging interests of nation-states. Consequently, it is more realistic to recognize the contradictions of both international agencies and nation-states, and the necessity of understanding the historical context in which these struggles occur. In the Indonesian context, Tanter summarizes our argu-

ment when he says that "the choices facing those who would shape Indonesian society are themselves being shaped by an increasingly complex relationship between a partial Indonesian social formation and a partly-national-based partly transnationalized global political and economic structure" (Tanter 1990).

The discussions mentioned above mostly look at state-society relations without taking into account the differential position women have in their relationship to the state. The feminist literature on this issue is roughly divided into two camps. One views state policies and apparatus as basically patriarchal (MacKinnon 1989) and therefore providing constraints to the emergence of women's issues and women's movements. The second camp argues for a less functionalist approach since the 'state patriarchy' line cannot explain the often contradictory, even self-defeating aspects of policy (Gordon 1994). Gordon argues that contradictions emerge from various sources, such as the fragmented and inconsistent goals of policy makers, and the struggles surrounding the introduction and implementation of certain policies. This approach underlines the role of women's activism in challenging policies and national power structures but also emphasizes the heterogeneity of women's groups and the different interests that women's groups represents (Gordon 1994, p. 30).

In building our argument for the case of Indonesia, we will examine three themes in broad lines, namely the women's campaign against sexual violence; the struggle for land and the struggle for workers' rights. The following section provides a background without which the women's movement cannot be understood. This is followed by a discussion on the three themes mentioned above.

II. NGOs in Indonesia: roles and linkages

1) Political space and control by the government

Since the establishment of the New Order government in the post-1965 period, major ideological and institutional reforms were carried through by the New Order to establish control over political activism in general. Such activism was considered to have been one of the main sources of instability and economic stagnation of the old regime. Within a relatively short period of time, swift restructuring was conducted to centralize control over Indonesian political institutions. Political parties were reduced to only three, trade unions were merged under one federation. The same happened to peasants' unions and fishermen's unions.

It is not coincidence that the rapid rise of NGOs ran parallel with the inability of formal political institutions to represent the diverse needs and aspirations of different layers of society. Although they have always been monitored by the state, it is in recent years that NGOs in Indonesia have increasingly become the object of government scrutiny, control and regulation. This is due to the role they play in the growing political and social conflicts throughout the country. The

cases of conflict involve a variety of issues, such as land evictions, the curtailment of freedom of expression, violations of workers' rights and environmental destruction. Among the many examples that were reported in the press are the land dispute in the transmigration area of Sei Lapan in North Sumatra, the imprisonment of students and NGO activists who had sold the banned novels of Indonesia's writer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, and the riverwater pollution case involving the textile factory Sritex in Central Java.

Attempts by the government to curb NGOs had already started in 1993 with a regulation aimed at controlling their financial resources. This was followed by the enactment of the Law on Social Organizations in 1985 and the issuance of a ministerial instruction in 1990. In 1994 a draft presidential decree aimed at regulating NGOs was added, but to date this decree has not yet been formalized. It is particularly the NGOs operating in politically 'sensitive' provinces that bear the brunt of such political measures.

State control over NGO activities has seldom been without ambiguities. At certain times, especially when international pressure is strong, the government needs to maintain the impression of a democratic regime supporting 'openness' ('keterbukaan'), whereas the rest of the time it is consistently preoccupied with maintaining political stability and order. With the banning in 1994 of three major weeklies and the large role that NGOs have played in the wave of protest actions against the closures, there have been several attempts to tame NGOs. After the wave of demonstrations in various big cities, several government officials and military authorities made statements that cornered the NGOs politically by, among others, making a clear distinction between the 'good' i.e. 'development' NGOs which are considered to contribute to national development, and the 'bad' NGOs, i.e. those which are involved in opposition activity and therefore need to be closely watched. This distinction was reconfirmed in 1996, when a new attack was launched on NGOs following the crackdown by the government on oppositional forces. This particular attack, which took place in the aftermath of a raid by hundreds of police and youngsters of the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), involved the detention of and heavy sentences for nine student leaders and has forced the more politically outspoken NGOs to play down their activities.

2) Differences and dynamics

In order to understand the dynamics of NGO relations it is also necessary to understand the diversity among NGOs. They consist of organizations conducting a wide variety of activities, having diverse political positions and relations with the government. The issues they deal with range from human rights, environment, health, worker's rights, rural and urban community development and gender issues, to income generating projects, micro credit and co-operatives. Women's NGOs, though not particularly great in number, also vary significantly

in terms of activity and political positions. Some engage in information campaigns for the elimination of laws and practices that discriminate against women and/or legal aid for women; others provide skill training for rural women and/or organize them in saving-and-loan groups. Differences in approach stand out as the most important and divisive factor between NGOs. In broad lines the approaches can be traced back to the following issues of contention:

- a) Advocacy vs. community development. Advocacy NGOs are those engaged in campaigning, lobbying and legal aid and are considered as being more 'political'. They tend to accuse NGOs engaged in 'community development' of not attempting social transformation and maintaining the status quo by helping the 'target groups' to find their slots within an unequal and unjust system. NGOs involved in 'community development' activities, on the other hand, believe that political activities without any economic back-up imply denying grass-roots groups their right to survival.
- b) Collaboration or non-collaboration with government agencies. Some NGOs are in principle against cooperation with government agencies or programmes. Others are working with the government on some issues or projects and opposing it on others. NGOs in peripheral geographical areas, outside the main urban centres, are of the opinion that getting in the government's good graces is a precondition for working in the villages, thus consider the stance taken by some NGOs in the large cities to persistently oppose the government counterproductive as it hampers the implementation of people-centred programmes.
- c) Relations with the 'grassroots'. Although most NGOs have some kind of working relationship with grassroots groups, the nature of this relationship varies. Some consider that NGOs need to 'empower' grassroots groups to take their fate in their own hands. Others view NGOs as mediators between the government and the grassroots groups for whom direct confrontation with the government would jeopardise their already weak political and economic position.

These differences often lead to uneasy relations between NGOs and constitute a constraint to a broad based coalition-building. Other differences add to the divisions among NGOs. Vertical ties and loyalties strongly affect alliances made between groups. Competition in attracting funding agencies and, in some cases, even in identifying 'target' communities, has created rivalries. The relations between women NGOs are also affected by these divisions, in addition to the differences concerning ideologies and perceptions of feminism and gender.

At this juncture, we have to take into account the effect on NGOs of the changes in political context of the 1990s. In the post oil boom period, a variety of factors – rifts in the ruling elite, the mounting dissatisfaction with the business empire of the Suharto family and an increasing popular resistance against the effects of accelerated 'development' – have given rise to widespread protest actions by farmers, indigenous communities and workers, and a mushrooming of action groups in their defence as well as a range of political groupings aimed

at bringing about change. New NGOs have emerged, whereas the existing ones have been forced to re-define their position in order to accommodate the changing context. From the viewpoint of the history of the NGO sector in Indonesia, which by some scholars has been divided into distinct 'waves' (Schulte-Nordholt 1991), the 1990s witness the articulation of the wave of more radical NGOs which developed since 1985 and the formation of new alliances and coalitions between them and other sectors of civil society. Women's NGOs have formed networks, focusing either on single and short term issues, or on long-term programmes related to the interests of women. These networks have initiated discussions on legal reform, women's health, violence against women, women and work and freedom of the press. Except for the latter issue, the majority of these networks have not arrived at the stage of concrete collective action. This may be attributed to the absence, particularly for 'women only' groups, of a common enemy that can bind them together.

Many NGOs have attempted advocacy for policy reform, to various degrees and in different ways, often depending on the area of work and on their political outlook. NGOs which work more closely with the government prefer 'silent' advocacy, such as model projects, while others launch campaigns and street actions, and use the press to influence public opinion and/or international bodies. Both methods have had some impact (Schulte-Nordholt 1991). Concerning the three issues that we have selected (sexual violence, workers' rights and land rights), the intensity of advocacy activities which attempt to affect policy and also legal reform, differs greatly between one issue and the other, as will be shown in section III below.

3) Regional and international linkages

The growth and changing nature of the NGO sector in Indonesia are also reflected in the involvement of NGOs in regional organizations and networks – meaning those that work at the Asia-Pacific level. At the same time, the numerical increase of regional NGOs and the widening range of issues taken up by them – such as workers' and trade union rights, sustainable agriculture, violence against women and the destruction of people's economic base – has followed the dynamics of NGOs within the national boundaries (Broad, Cavanagh and Bello 1992).

As mentioned before, regional NGO networks are important because they are a potential factor in strengthening national and local NGOs, including women's groups. Most of them have been set up as platforms for the exchange of information and experiences. Many organise training programmes aimed at enhancing a wide range of capacities of NGOs in the region. Besides, regional NGOs form an excellent platform for joint action and campaigns, for issues that have roots and implications that go beyond the boundaries of any specific country, such as labour migration and the trafficking of women and children. In

other instances, regional campaigns were launched with regard to North-South relations, such as the interests of workers in the South and the attitude of consumers in the North, or dumping practices by TNCs. Some regional campaigns involve national issues which NGOs from several countries support, such as the campaign by The Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor against the atrocities of the Indonesian military perpetrated on the East Timorese people.

The function of regional NGOs and NGO networks as an entry to international lobbying has been clearly demonstrated in the regional preparations for the world conferences between 1992 and 1997. Through regional platforms national and local NGOs and people's organizations in the region were mobilized for a concerted action aimed at influencing the outcome of the conferences. Women's NGOs, in particular, have been very active in these processes. More recently, Asian NGOs have embarked on regional actions linked to trade liberalisation (GATT/WTO) and the establishment of inter-regional economic blocs, mainly the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) and the new 'bloc' which was initiated at the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in March 1996. These actions have had a wide participation by NGOs and the issues taken up by them include, among others, militarisation, nuclear armament, trade-related intellectual property rights and multilateral agreements on investments.

Indonesian NGOs have maintained regional linkages since the 1970s. In most cases, these linkages have come about through personal contacts initiated at international or regional events. In the 1990s, hand in hand with the emergence of more politically outspoken groupings and the intensification of coalition-building among NGOs in Indonesia, there has been an increase of the involvement in regional programmes. This involvement has also broadened somewhat in the sense of encompassing more activists and organizations. Gradually Indonesian NGOs have also become more involved in regional campaign platforms, such as PP 21 (People's Programme for the 21st Century) and the parallel meetings to the APEC and ASEM conferences. They have also participated, albeit with differing intensity, in the regional preparations for the various world conferences. For Indonesian NGOs participation in regional programmes have functioned to enhance knowledge and skills. In some sectors of activity, such as organic farming, industrial labour and women's rights, regional linkages have also strengthened the collaboration between NGOs nationally.

Nevertheless, compared to the involvement in regional NGO activities by groups from countries like the Philippines and India, the linkages of Indonesian NGOs are not very strong. This relative weakness is reflected in the comparatively low representation of Indonesian NGOs in the organizational structures of most regional networks and in programmes organized by these regional networks and organizations. This picture differs somewhat from sector to sector; for example, in networks engaged in activities related to economic development such as that of credit unions, the representation of the Indonesian NGOs is relatively strong. Some NGO activists attribute this weakness to the absence of a strong tradition of democratic movement in Indonesia, as compared to other

countries in the region, and to the language barrier. Others point to the rivalries between NGOs and the lack of 'strategic thinking' in the NGO community.

Indonesian NGOs also maintain direct links with the international arena. These links are focused solely on lobbying and campaigning, mostly regarding particular cases of environmental destruction and the violation of human rights. These international links are often established by individual NGOs or a small group of NGOs representing the interests of the people concerned in a case. The campaigning and lobbying work done by the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) is in this sense rather unique because it is a network of a large group of NGOs from Indonesia and from western countries, which lobby for concrete cases of environmental destruction and human rights violations as well as for more general policy issues. Input on women's and gender issues has been provided by the few women's NGOs who participate in INFID, while in the past some more specific matters have been raised, for example the issue of coercion in the official family planning programme.

III. The Limitations and Potentials of Women's Struggles

1) Sexual Violence Against Women

Sexual violence, either in the form of rape or domestic violence has been much documented in the media for the last twenty years (see Sciortino and Smyth in this issue for a discussion). However, it was only in 1991 that the issue was taken up by a woman's organization based in Jakarta, Kalyanamitra, when a workshop was held bringing together NGOs from different parts of Indonesia and from other Southeast Asian countries (Kalyanamitra 1991). To a certain extent the initiative was inspired by a similar campaign launched some years earlier in Malaysia by several women's groups. The workshop held in Indonesia, and the following one held a year after that, from early on had to resolve various problems. The first problem was how to create a unified platform among different NGOs which covered diverse cultural backgrounds. This problem was difficult to overcome considering that those who participated in such workshops would return to organizations and local situations not always conducive to the promotion of women's rights. Gender relations and particularly sexual violence were often not considered to be a priority for the organizations represented. The second problem was the possibility for legal reform and, underlying this, that of defining sexual violence or sexual crime (see Sciortino and Smyth in this issue). Women lawyers working on legal reform in the Guidelines for State Policy (Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara) had already experienced the problems when they attempted to include marital rape in the section on crime. Obstruction came mainly from the peer-group, i.e. fellow (male) lawyers, who considered marriage as a contract involving the (private) relationship between husband and wife, and thus beyond external intervention.

The third problem faced in preparing strong foundations for a campaign against sexual violence was how to give concrete form to discussions. One necessary step was the establishment of crisis centres. However, none of the initiating organizations had the capacity to do so, either because of lack of personnel or expertise. The resources and energy of the women's groups were also taxed by the consuming concentration of most advocacy-oriented NGOs on 'national' politics in general and in particular on the strikes of factory workers, the banning of three national newspapers and the volatile climate prior to the 1997 elections.

In the years that followed the type of activities that emerged in the campaign against sexual violence were reflective of the conditions shaping the women's movement in general. The activities were mainly Jakarta-based and concentrated more on the stimulation of public awareness rather than any concrete form of action to change policy or legislation. This was done through the organization of public debates, and triggered off by a gang rape incident in early 1995 in Jakarta. The incident was at first considered as part of a common burglary, and received wide media coverage. The burglars had raped a woman and her two daughters, 14 and 15 years old, in the process of taking some of the family's valuables. It was then discovered that there was a deeper motive behind the event, since the women were members of a family involved in a property dispute. Kalyanamitra together with a group of women lawyers used the opportunity to organise a public debate looking at rape as an instrument of terror. Prior to the debate, with the help of a private radio, a hot-line was installed and within 30 minutes fifty women had voiced their concern. The next day, with feedback from Kalyanamitra, the national newspaper, Kompas published an article entitled Jakarta Menangis ("Jakarta Cries") which extensively discussed the rape case. It should be added, however, that in the activities preceding and during the debate itself the focus was mainly on the definition and the causes of rape. No attempt was made by the public to pursue the issue of rape as 'an instrument of terror'.

Encouraged by the large response to the debate, three other public debates were conducted by Kalyanamitra, this time in collaboration with organizations such as Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan (The Indonesian Women's Association for Justice), Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity), Ikatan Sekretaris Indonesia (Association of Indonesian Secretaries) and some human rights organizations such as Institute for Advocacy Studies, ELSAM (Lembaga Studi Advokasi Masyarakat) and Foundation for Societal Communication (Yakoma). Two of these public debates focused on sexual harassment at the workplace, motivated by complaints from middle class women of harassment by superiors or colleagues, and of the consequences these created in their relations with their spouses. The most recent public debate, held in conjunction with the commemoration of International Women's Day (8 March 1997), was organized by women's organizations with a few human rights organizations. The focus of the debate was sexual violence by public officials. This was instigated

by the gang-rape of Aliansa, an East Timorese village woman, by 5 or 6 military officials in prison, where she was held to be interrogated on the situation in her village. When Aliansa reported the incident to the local authorities, she was immediately accused of being 'anti-integrationist' (separatist), a term often identified with treason. Although the public debate was meant to address the role of 'public officials', and attracted some representatives from East Timor, the discussions avoided the political context, and concentrated on the general aspects of rape and sexual violence.

The above descriptions can lead to the various observations. First, even when public awareness campaigns have involved intensive coverage by television, radio and newspaper in the capital city, state intervention has been relatively limited, even though in many cases state agents were visible at discussions. Had the campaign been phrased in more 'political' language (in other words, not focused on women), the permits to hold events would have been more difficult to obtain. As already pointed out, the discussions all tended to isolate 'women issues' from the general political situation. Ironically it is this separation, between what was considered a 'woman's issue' and a 'political issue', that created the space for the women's groups to hold their campaigns without direct state intervention.

The second characteristic of this type of campaign is that it is highly concentrated in the capital city. Although members of NGOs from the 'outer' regions attended some of the debates mentioned, they were a minority. This situation reflects the difficulties of bridging the (cultural and social) gap between the 'center' (Jakarta or Java) and the 'periphery' (the rural areas and the Outer Islands). State control is felt more strongly by NGOs in the 'periphery'; often this control goes together with ethnic and social discrimination. This state of affairs has crystallized in the strengthening of feelings of local identity in juxtaposition to the central state. Customs and local traditions are reinforced to emphasize local identity, and this often works to the disadvantage of women's groups. Many male activists feel that the occurrence of domestic violence or sexual violence are problems derived from the frustration and helplessness felt by men as a consequence of state repression and social exclusion. For these male activists a solution to such 'secondary' problems comes only after the position of their region has improved. Other local configurations strongly affect the way women themselves respond to cases of sexual or domestic violence. Pressure from the community, the fear of being stigmatized by one's own friends and families, the cumbersome legal procedures that women have to go through, all contribute to the reluctance of women themselves to confront the issue of sexual violence.

Thirdly, the concentration on public awareness-raising campaigns, although effective in gathering public attention, also avoids the problem of the organizational expertise needed for changes on the longer run such as legal reform or the creation of the infrastructures to deal with sexual violence, such as crisis centres.

The development of technical skills and organizational capacity for campaigning has been supported by the exposure of some women's groups to

regional NGO networks. As mentioned above, the initiative to launch an anti-rape campaign was originally taken from the experience of women's groups in Malaysia. In addition to this, regional links were built with the Asia Pacific Forum on Women Law and Development (APWLD) based in Kuala Lumpur. Apart from the representation by Kalyanamitra in the organizational structure of APWLD since 1986, women's activists and lawyers from various organizations participated in a number of APWLD activities, mainly meetings and training workshops. Much has also been gained from participation in the preparations for the NGO Forum in 'Beijing' and the national follow up activities to the Platform of Action in this conference. But, however positive these exposures have been in increasing the individual and organizational capacity, their potential can only be realised at the national and local levels. For the case of sexual violence issues, international links have not been sufficiently significant yet in providing the conditions for women's mobilisation.

2) Women And Land Rights

Since the post-1965 New Order period the issue of land rights has become less a matter of legal concern for political parties and representatives of the Parliament and the government, than it was in the preceding period. With the focus on economic growth and the increasing value of land as a commodity, land conflicts have dramatically increased (Lucas 1992, pp. 79-92). These have various backgrounds, but many of them arise when investors or developers, who have obtained a concession by the government for developing the land, encroach upon customary land owned by indigenous communities or land that has been worked by farmers for many decades. The rights of the communities and farmers are denied on the ground that their land has been registered as state property, and that the farmers cannot show an official land certificate. The communities concerned often lose their land; disputes usually concentrate on the level of compensation, unilaterally determined by the company and the government. Intervention by military forces and the use of violence have become a common feature of land conflicts, especially when huge tracts of land and strong economic interests are at stake. Examples of relatively well-documented land disputes are the Arso case in Irian Jaya, involving the resettlement of local communities in favour of a palm oil nucleus estate, and the Bentian case in East Kalimantan, where local indigenous communities were evicted to make space for an industrial timber plantation. Well-known cases in Java (and the island of Madura) are the Jenggawah case involving tobacco farmers, and the Kedung Ombo and Nipah cases involving evictions for a dam project.

Campaigns against cases of land evictions have played a big role in the conflicts between NGOs and the state, and have been an important rallying point for political mobilization among NGOs and activists. Yet, it is only in the early 1990s that NGOs have realised that joint efforts are needed in organizing,

research and advocacy, if land conflicts are to go beyond the stage of being piecemeal struggles. With the changing climate of opposition, farmers in a number of provinces have started to establish autonomous farmers' unions. In 1995, 65 NGOs, 6 farmers' unions and a number of individuals formed a nation-wide forum, the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA), concerned with research, popular education and advocacy on issues related to land rights and agrarian policy. Members of the consortium have sought links with regional networks. Through the mediation of a local NGO in North Sumatra, which already had contacts with the peasants programme of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD), a few farmers from North Sumatra have participated in an exchange programme facilitated by this forum in 1993. The links with ACFOD were functional in forging contacts between NGOs and farmers groups from several Indonesian provinces on the one hand, and with farmers organizations in other Asian countries, mainly the Philippines and Thailand, on the other. The contacts mainly involve the exchanging of information and more recently, the establishment of the Southeast Asian Peasant Conference (SEAPC), and participation in an international peasants conference in 1996.

International linkages of Indonesian NGOs on the issue of land rights have focused more on concrete cases of evictions of people from their land than on the matter of agrarian reform more generally. The cases of evictions by the hydropower dam Kedung Ombo in Central Java and those by the mining operations of Freeport McRoran in Irian Jaya, for example, have received considerable international attention. The international campaigns, albeit capable of creating uneasiness among policy makers, have not brought any meaningful solution yet to the problems faced by the affected communities.

In campaigning on land cases NGOs seldom pay attention to the specific position and needs of women with regard to land rights. In none of the cases mentioned above, including the ones that obtained international attention, the rights of women to land – either in terms of property rights or actual control – appear as an issue. Yet, in the documentation of a number of cases we come across the significant role women have played in actions in defence of their control of the land. So far, regarding only one case of land dispute an in-depth study has been conducted on the position of women (Simbolon 1991). This case, the Sugapa case in the Toba area of North Sumatra, which we will elaborate below, shows the characteristics typical of the land conflicts throughout Indonesia: the collusion between capital and state apparatus; the gender divisions within the community; the divided perceptions concerning the legitimacy of the state; and the faltering collaboration between NGOs in the capital city and those in the outer regions.

Early in 1987, the people of Sugapa were forbidden to put buffaloes and cows on their common land, which the head of the village had given to the pulp and paper factory PT. Inti Indorayon Utama (IIU), without their prior consent. Attempts to overturn this transaction were made by both men and women of the village. None of these attempts brought any satisfactory results. On the contrary,

members of the community were warned against removing the eucalyptus trees which had been planted by the company. The warning was not heeded, and for two years there was continuous sabotage by the community members, who uprooted the trees and at times planted subsistence crops (maize) in their place. These tactics were combined with attempts to press the local authorities to annul the decision taken regarding the land, but to no avail. A local NGO assisted the people in making their claims. For the next two years this was the pattern of the people's resistance toward outside incursion. However, things came to a head again when three village women were sexually harassed by company officials as they returned from a wedding party in the neighbouring village. The incident aroused the anger of the villagers, especially the women. These women went to the common land and destroyed all the eucalyptus trees. Ten of them were caught by the police, arrested and sentenced to six-month imprisonment on the charge of destroying other's property. Backed by their lawyer, the women appealed to the High Court and later, in refusal of the reduced sentence by the High Court, made a cassation to the Supreme Court. In May 1990 the women from Sugapa and a neighbouring village went to Jakarta, the capital city, to plea for justice from the Minister of Home Affairs. This move to the capital, facilitated also by women activists from a Jakarta-based NGO, succeeded in bringing this case to the attention of a larger public; it was, among others, reported on in the national press. However, the link with the national level was broken when the women went back to their village, with a handful of promises from the ministry. They continued with their cassation, with the assistance of the local NGO who has helped them before.

The Sugapa case brings various points to light. First of all, women's militancy is strongly linked to their role in safeguarding the future well-being of their families, which they could not entrust to their husbands (see Simbolon 1991). Secondly, women were seen as instrumental in initiating and spearheading social protest. Many men (and women) stated that the military forces are less violent when dealing with women collectively and that brutal physical action has been recorded more often for male activists than for women. Thirdly, the failure of the NGO activists from Jakarta in following up their support resembles the example given for the sexual violence campaign. The lack of continuous collaboration between NGOs was one of the reasons that the campaign in the capital city on the Sugapa case eventually died down.

The differential position women have in relation to land is gradually being recognized by the NGO consortium mentioned earlier, KPA, although this has not yet resulted in concrete actions. This recognition was supported by lessons learned through regional exchanges: the existence and strength of women peasants' unions in some other Asian countries stand in sharp contrast to the weakness of the peasants' unions and NGOs in Indonesia.

3) Factory Women

As mentioned previously, the attempt by the state to control labour is part of the overall state strategy of depoliticization and the creation of a 'floating-mass'. This control has taken various forms, among others: the fact that the establishment of unions is only allowed under the government sponsored SPSI; the long-winded process to negotiate labour disputes, the emergence of ministerial decrees which contradict existing basic labour legislation sanctioning the involvement of the military in labour disputes and negotiations (Abdullah and Ety 1995; Hadiz 1992; Rudiono 1992, p. 65; Saptari 1995).

Attempts to break through this wall of control have repeatedly been made, by workers and middle-class activists alike. The wave of strikes occurring in the nineties reached new heights, often involving tens of thousands of workers simultaneously. Women workers have also become a dominant feature in these strike actions. Between 1990 and 1994 there have been three attempts to establish independent unions/organizations: the SBMS (Serikat Buruh Merdeka Setiakawan in 1990; the SBSI (Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia) in 1992 and the PPBI (Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia) in 1994. Because of the politically volatile nature of industrial labour, the interest of scholars, policy makers and activists alike have increasingly concentrated on the role of the women workers within these centres and their potential for mobilisation (see Hadiz 1992).

In looking at the factors underlying such an unprecedented form and scale of collective action, where women played such a large role, it is difficult to pinpoint one factor as the precipitating one for these actions. Certain aspects of Indonesia's relation with the outside world contributed to the creation of a climate of unrest and also to the opening up of the discussion on the condition of factory workers. To be mentioned here are the statements produced by the International Labour Organization (ILO), in 1989 and again in 1995 and 1996, on the violations of fundamental trade union rights, mainly the right of workers to set up unions of their own choosing, the restrictions on the right to collective bargaining and the lack of protection against anti-union discrimination. Another serious pressure came from the US government linking the violations of basic workers' rights to the removal of Indonesia's special tariff concession privileges under the General System of Preferences (GSP).

The Indonesian government has responded to these pressures in several ways. For example, the threat related to the GSP was followed by raising the minimum wage and some legal provisions (Human Rights Watch/Asia 1994) which, nevertheless, turned out to be largely cosmetic. Pressures have also been exercised by the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions): in an urge to win international recognition, in 1995 the government-controlled trade union SPSI embarked on an internal re-structuring aimed at a less centralized and more democratic appearance; until this date SPSI has not been accepted as a member of the confederation. Most likely, it is also international pressure that had spurred the Indonesian government to ease the conditions for setting

up independent unions nationally as well as at the factory level. However, upon further examination of the provisions and their practice these measures do not allow for any change (Rudiono 1992).

An extensive flow of information on labour questions as well as the militancy of the workers themselves, to which labour NGOs have contributed, in combination with the active position taken by some trade unions and human rights organizations in the North have resulted in the international attention to labour issues in Indonesia. More recently, some labour NGOs and workers groups have become involved in international campaigns which focused more on certain industries or problems; the involvement in the "Clean Clothes Campaign" initiated by some European organizations is an example.

Another important factor stimulating workers' action was that the then minister of manpower's (Cosmas Batubara) interest to chair the ILO annual conference in Geneva in 1990 induced him to initiate discussions on minimum wages which he publicly stated should be increased and standardized. This became the major element that provoked workers action to demand the implementation of minimum wages. Ultimately, measures were taken to raise the minimum wages. As said earlier, the pressure by the US administration related to the GSP played a significant role in this.

However, because of the tight control and centralized structure of union organization which make formal procedures to address grievances long and time-consuming, it has been very difficult for workers to complain through formal channels. Therefore, in most cases workers drop out from this procedure and try to resort to other means. But even when workers go through this procedure, harassment already occurs at the negotiating table, where workers not only have to face company officials but also the local military apparatus. In cases where grievances manage to be incorporated and translated into new company policies, it is never certain that they will be implemented in practice, since middle-level staff often translate these rules in their own ways. Women particularly face problems, since involvement in political activities brings them often into conflict with spouses and other family members who prefer to see their wives/mothers/daughters at home.

With the state playing a strong and overt role in the handling of labour disputes, most attempts to improve working conditions and workers' position have ultimately been aimed at the state. Therefore women's issues, particularly that of sexual harassment at work, has not been an important element in the activities of labour activists. The major actors in the Jakarta-based NGO forum advocating workers' rights, for example, are all men from students' circles and some activists from legal aid organizations. Labour activism, as currently the most volatile aspect of Indonesia's social movement, is under the international limelight. This creates rivalries among the various groups and therefore, discussions of women's issues by activists have often been repressed, to avoid further complications.

The example of Marsinah provides a good illustration of how women workers have been a focus for advocacy of the rights of workers but not the rights of

women. In May 1993 Marsinah, a woman worker from a domestically-owned watch company in East Java was found dead in a paddy field in a village in Sidoarjo, a few kilometres south of Surabaya. Her death occurred in the midst of protest actions initiated by the workers regarding general working conditions. Marsinah was one of the activists who had the task to collect signatures from the other workers for a petition. She was stabbed and sexually mutilated, and her death was not considered to be just an ordinary murder but a political act. It was attributed to military officials who were last seen with her. This incident caused a political outcry in the media and in the political circles of Jakarta. However, finally it was used for different political ends by the existing political groups. The government-sponsored union being the focus of much criticism quickly nominated her as heroine of the year and demanded quick government action against the perpetrators of this criminal act. Labour activists working outside the government-union pointed to the role of the military as violators of workers' rights. Intellectuals and scholars contributed to the political debates in the media, concentrating on the issue of working conditions. However, the sexual nature of her death was never brought into discussion.

In the case of Marsinah, sexual harassment has been brought to its extreme and is directly linked to the political repression of workers. But sexual harassment as such is experienced daily by women at the workplace. The issue turns out to be problematic for NGO activists lobbying for political change, but also for many women workers themselves. As it involves sexual morality, which is still guided by the double standard characteristic of middle class life, women's sexual morals are constantly questioned, not only by family but also by workers themselves. This is illustrated by the case of Zaenab, a worker of PT Surakarta Sentosa Sejahtera in Solo, Central Java, who since early 1991 had been regularly sexually harassed by one of the company directors. In 1994, she brought her grievance to the police, with little result. When she had been dismissed in defiance of the proper procedure, she decided to write to a newspaper. Three weeks later the company accused Zaenab of slander. However, Zaenab persevered with her accusations and approached the police at the provincial level and the Department of Manpower. The company director tried in vain to stop Zaenab from continuing her battle. In one of her press interviews Zaenab had stated that many other workers had also been harassed by this director, but many of them felt uneasy about providing their support. They were afraid for their positions and of being branded as 'loose' women. A demonstration held on the day Zaenab was summoned to court, involving many men and women activists, was organized under tight police control. The legal defence was provided by a woman lawyer, from the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice (APIK). It is striking that women NGO networks already established in the sexual violence campaign were not directly involved in the case of Zaenab. This shows some discontinuity between one action and another in the general framework of women NGO activity. In the end Zaenab lost her case, was fired and did not get any compensation for her dismissal.

Regional links have to a certain extent supported workers' struggles in Indonesia, although with a slow start. Indonesian labour activists have, for example, established links with the Asia Monitoring and Research Centre (AMRC) and the APWSL (Asia Pacific Workers' Solidarity Links). The latter has, among others, facilitated exchange visits by workers, from Indonesia to Thailand and the Philippines and from Thailand and Malaysia to Indonesia. In the initial stage (the early eighties) these links were not very influential in promoting workers' rights. This was primarily because the language barrier inhibited effective exchange, and also because of the different position of trade unions in the other countries compared to that in Indonesia. With the wave of strikes in the nineties, APWSL activities in Indonesia experienced a revival. APWSL turned out to be an opportune platform for the Indonesian groups to exchange experiences among themselves and expand their networks to hitherto untouched geographical areas. APWSL also developed a gender policy which resulted in a women's workers education project and the formation of a separate women workers' forum. Outside this forum, women's issues, such as sexual violence at the workplace, still remain rather marginal. In the meantime, the APWSL-linked groups in Indonesia have also started to cooperate with the Committee for Asian Women (CAW) on, among others, regional exchange visits by women workers.

IV. Conclusion

In our discussion we have tried to substantiate the two lines of argument central to our paper with concrete examples related to the following three themes: women's campaign against sexual violence, women's struggle for land and women's struggle for workers' rights. With regard to the extent to which national politics are influenced by processes at the supranational level, which forms the topic of our first line of argument, we have come to the following observations. In the context of the relative strength of the Indonesian state, which has an elaborated structure supported by military power and which occupies a strategic position in the Asian region both economically and geo-politically, the limitations of supranational powers are indeed quite obvious. The extent and nature of these limitations, however, vary depending on the particular issue concerned. In the first of our themes, that of the struggle against sexual violence, the state's direct intervention has been minimal. This could be due to the fact that the campaign that was launched had hardly touched the legitimacy of the state as it was considered purely a 'woman's' issue. This has provided a certain amount of space for women in their campaign. In the rape case in East Timor, intelligence authorities immediately became alert. However, this was coloured by a degree of hesitancy and slight puzzlement as it was not squarely dealing with the issue of East Timor. State intervention is generally strong in cases of land conflict, as our example of Sugapa has shown. Apart from the fact that international pressure was absent, the economic interests at stake were considered important enough

for the authorities to intervene. It has yet to be analysed to what extent and in what way international pressure has made a difference in the few land cases where such pressure has been exercised. It can be questioned whether the difference, if any, has been felt by those whose land has been appropriated.

Regarding the issue of factory workers the influence of 'the international' shows an interesting picture. In this arena of struggle, the autonomy of the state has been under certain pressure of both local labour activism and international interventions. Pressures by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the threat of sanctions concerning the General System of preferences (GSP), have forced the government to make some improvements. However, the cosmetic nature of the measures taken by the government, especially those related to trade union freedom, as well as the inconsistencies of the foreign and international pressures – the privileges under the GSP, for example, were ultimately not removed – indicate that power relations between the state and the international community are somehow balanced by mutual interests. On the one hand, the need for foreign trade and investments at favourable conditions has made the Indonesian government sensitive to international pressure; on the other hand, the economic attractiveness and the geopolitically strategic position of Indonesia easily prevent members of the international community from taking a strong critical stance. One observation is that local labour activism and international pressure have undeniably influenced each other. Workers' actions, supported by NGOs and independent unions, are the source of legitimacy for international pressure and have added to its force. In its turn, international pressure and the publicity around it have given a boost to the activism of workers and the groups who support them. In all the cases discussed, linkages with regional networks have had its positive effects in terms of the enhancement of knowledge and advocacy skills of NGOs. This is particularly true in the case of the struggle against sexual violence, where the Malaysian experience directly inspired the anti-rape campaign and the linkages with the Asia Pacific Forum on Women Law and Development later functioned to provide legal advocacy skills.

Our second line of argument concerns the dynamics of the struggle by women and women's NGOs in the context of the broader social movement. As mentioned above, the main constraints have not come directly from the state (apart from the prevailing state ideology), but more from perceptions within the NGO movement itself with regard to gender and the specific positioning of NGOs in regions far away from the capital. The campaign against sexual violence, ultimately did not have the impact that was hoped for, particularly in terms of legal reform. In the first place, there has been resistance from fellow lawyers. Marital rape was not considered to be an issue since it interfered with the relationship between husband and wife. The failure to get the campaign beyond a preparatory stage has also to do with the lack of organizational capacity on the part of the women's NGOs themselves. The failure to mobilize NGOs from the 'outer' regions into the campaign, finally, has to do with fact that women's

NGOs in these areas apparently face other problems than NGOs in the capital city and in Java. The issue of inequality between men and women in whatever sphere of life, has been difficult to address in a situation where the struggle to defend traditional culture against the invasion of external economic powers and cultural influences has been given first priority. Most of the local NGOs are convinced that the 'root of all evil' lay in the state repression of the 'outer' regions and that sexual violence was not 'political' and thus could not be seen as a tool to undermine state legitimacy. With the women NGOs in the capital city not really putting enough effort into helping these organizations to get some foothold in their regions it is not surprising that the campaign ended the way it did.

Regarding the struggle for land rights and that of factory workers we observe that the particular role and needs of women are not or hardly recognized by NGOs. The militancy of women in actions is seen as natural; yet, NGOs did not respond to this by questioning basic gender inequalities that prevail in the areas concerned. Regarding all the three themes of our discussion, we see that women's issues do not figure high on the agenda of NGOs, except on that of the women's NGOs. The labour NGOs and workers' groups have not paid very much attention to the specific concerns of women, despite the increasing 'feminisation' of the work force. The cases of sexual violence at the workplace described in this paper, bear witness of this fact. Despite the great mobilizing potential of the issue of sexual violence, the strong focus of labour groups on opposing the state has prevented them from taking this issue on board. The issue of sexual violence has been considered not strategic as rallying point in the struggle. The social patriarchal values attached to this particular issue, which have made women reluctant to make it public, has also not helped to raise the issue to the surface.

Finally, we can observe that spurred by an intricate interplay of political, social and economic processes within the national boundaries and the effects of global restructuring, women NGOs and grassroots groups in Indonesia have grown and broadened their scope of work in the 1990s. Recognition and a clear understanding of the roots of the constraints they face in their activities aimed at improving the position of women, deriving not only from restrictions imposed by the state but also from the attitudes of their fellow NGOs, are a first step in searching for effective strategies to open up space for finding solutions. Supra-national linkages, although not a determining factor, are important means to support the struggles that are waged.

Abstracts

Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen von NGOs und Frauengruppen in Indonesien, die für Bedürfnisse und Interessen von Frauen eintreten. Um die entsprechenden Entwicklungen zu verstehen, ist nicht nur der nationale, sondern auch der internationale Kontext zu berücksichtigen. Internationaler Druck hat in gewissem Ausmaß Ausdruck von Unzufriedenheit

und Opposition ermöglicht. Doch supranationale Mächte sind nur beschränkt in der Lage, in nationale Politik einzugreifen, besonders wenn es um Menschenrechte geht. Staatliche Maßnahmen gegen Interessenvertretungen von Frauen sind nicht von vornherein repressiv, da Frauen nach der Ideologie des indonesischen Staates als der häuslichen Sphäre zugehörig und daher als nicht bedrohlich gelten. Das gibt Frauen einen gewissen Spielraum. Da aber generell davon ausgegangen wird, daß Frauen auf weniger Widerstand des Militärapparates stoßen, beziehen männliche politische Aktivisten und NGOs Frauen und Frauenthemen in ihre Arbeit mit ein. Das geschieht nicht immer zum Vorteil der Frauen, deren Interessen im Laufe der Entwicklungen vergessen oder verneint werden. Patriarchale Wertvorstellungen, die in lokalen Gemeinschaften weitverbreitet sind, verschärfen die Lage zusätzlich.

This paper looks at the constraints and potentials of NGOs and women's groups in Indonesia in advocating for women's interests and needs. An understanding of these processes has to be placed not only within the dynamics of national politics but also of international politics. We argue that international pressure has given a degree of political space for the expression of discontent and opposition. However the ability of supra-national powers to intervene into national politics particularly regarding human rights, is limited. State intervention against the advocacy for women's interests is not inherently repressive, because the Indonesian state ideology perceives women as primarily associated with the domestic sphere and thus not threatening. This provides women with some leeway. But because it is generally considered that women meet with less resistance from military apparatus, male political activists and NGOs often incorporate women and women's issues in their activities. This may not always work in favour of women since in the process their interests may be forgotten or denied. This situation is enhanced by the patriarchal values often prevailing in local communities.

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Ratna Saptari, Department of Anthropology, University of Nijmegen,

Thomas v. Aquinostr. 4, Nijmegen, NL

Artien Utrecht, Humanistic Institute for Development Cooperations (HIVOS)

Raamweg 16, 2596 HL The Hague, NL

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Journal für Entwicklungspolitik XIII/3, 1997, S. 341–347

Sauer, Walter (Hrsg.): **Das afrikanische Wien. Ein Stadtführer zu Bieber, Malangatana & Soliman.** Mandelbaum-Verlag, Wien 1996, 320 S., illustriert, 24 Farbseiten, öS 320,-.

Die „Mohren im Hemd“, „Mohrenköpfe“, raffinierte Kreationen aus Kolonialwaren wie Zucker, Kakao, Nüsse oder Vanille, sind aus der Wiener und allgemeiner der österreichischen Mehlspeisküche kaum wegzudenken. Ihr exotischer Touch – eingebettet in Herrschaftsphantasien des Kolonialismus wurde von der Vermarktung schon früher so genutzt wie es heute noch immer der Fall ist, auch in neueren Branchen wie der Ferntourismuswerbung. „Dieselbe Idee liegt auch der erfolgreichen Meinel-Werbung zugrunde.“ Mehr darüber ist im hier vorzustellenden Büchlein (S. 269 ff.) zu finden.

In diesem Stadtführer zum „Afrikanischen Wien“ gibt es allerdings viel mehr als das eben Genannte, nämlich z.B. ein historischer Bericht über die „ethnographischen Schaustellungen“, in welchen im Prater vor hundert Jahren Aschanti, Senegambier oder Buren vorgeführt wurden (S. 134 f.). Vorgestellt werden weiters eine neue Galerie für afrikanische Kunst (S. 185), die Botschaften oder (ausgewählte) Adressen von afrikanischen Fluggesellschaften. Zu den Adressen der Wirtschaftskammer (S. 163 f.), des Gewerkschaftsbundes (S. 106 f.) werden kurze Kommentare zu deren Afrika-Beziehungen gegeben. Eine knappe Präsentation des Konzeptes „Afrika 2000“ betrifft das Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten. Ein ausführlicherer Rückblick zur Antipartheid-Bewegung in Österreich sowie die Darstellung des Dokumentations- und Kooperationszentrums Südliches Afrika (SADOCC), des Mitverlegers dieses Bandes, findet sich unter der Adresse Favoritenstraße 38/18/2 (S. 156 ff.). Das sind ganz wenige Beispiele aus einem über 220seitigen vielfältig kommentierten und nach Bezirken geordneten Adressenverzeichnis.

Originelle Ideen werden in diesem informationsreichen Büchlein, vorgeschlagen: z.B. unter der Adresse des Geldmuseums der Österreichischen Nationalbank (S. 211): „Wie wärs mit einer Sonderausstellung über die afrikanischen Währungen der Gegenwart? Und mit Informationen über die Marginalisierung Afrikas (unter der Dritten Welt insgesamt) im internationalen Währungssystem?“ Für eine eventuelle zweite Auflage sollten Verlag und Herausgeber ein Register als Möglichkeit für weitere sachliche Aufschlüsselung der nach Bezirken und Adressen gegebenen Präsentationssystematik vorsehen. Manchmal hätte sich der Rezensent auch mehr als nur die wenigen eingestreuten weiterführenden Literaturhinweise gewünscht.

Der Herausgeber W. Sauer stellt in seinem einleitenden Artikel die Frage (S. 10), ob die Begegnungen von Österreicher/inn/en mit Afrikaner/inn/en Spuren hinterlassen haben, und gibt mit dem vorgelegten Band und der darin

vorgestellten Vielfalt selber die Antwort: Der „dunkle Kontinent“ ist allgegenwärtig. Trotzdem: „Eine afrikanische Stadt ist Wien sicherlich nicht und wird es durch dieses Buch auch nicht werden.“ (Klappentext) Ebenso läßt sich vermuten – und auch deswegen die spärlichen Literaturhinweise – daß eine vertiefende Beschäftigung mit Afrika in Wien bisher nur am Rande stattfand, umso mehr ist dieser Band als ein Beginn zu begrüßen, der hoffentlich viele zu „afrikanischen“ Wien-Spaziergängen animieren wird.

Guido Rüthemann

Nussbaumer, J.: Die Gewalt der Natur. Eine Chronik der Naturkatastrophen von 1500 bis heute. edition sandkorn, Grünbach 1996, DM 53,50, öS 348,-.

Zur Jahrhundertwende fielen in 10 Jahren noch 8,7 Mio. Menschen bzw. ein halbes Prozent der Weltbevölkerung Naturkatastrophen zum Opfer, im vergangenen Jahrzehnt waren es 660.000 oder 0,01 Prozent – vgl. dazu Abb. 1.

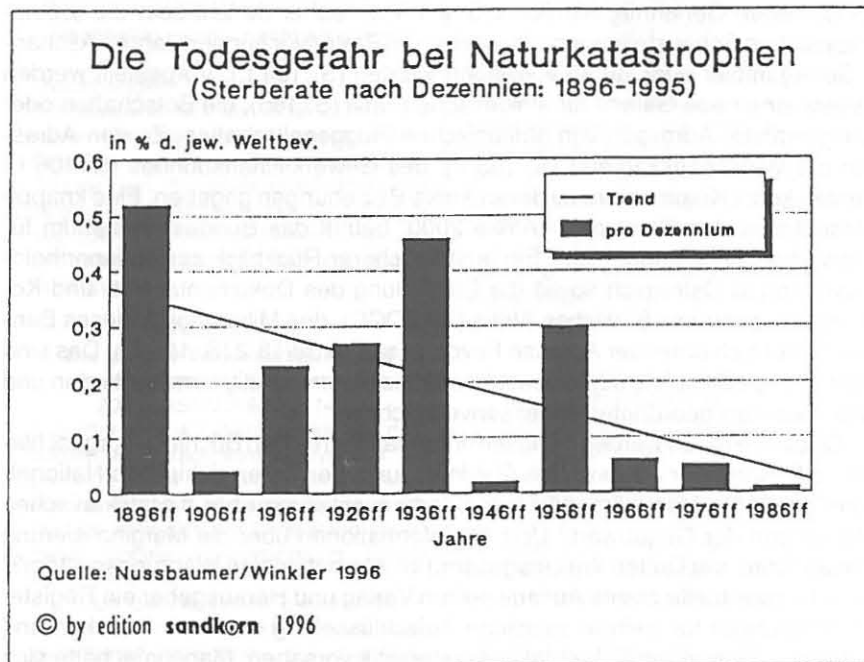


Abb. 1

Der Katastrophenforscher Nussbaumer an der Universität Innsbruck wehrt sich gegen eine undifferenzierte, aber doch allgemein verbreitete Ansicht, die Natur schlage zurück. Denn das zu belegen ist letztlich eine Frage des Indikators, den

man wählt. Er weist das in seinem Beitrag zu der von den Vereinten Nationen in Resolution 44/236 ausgerufenen Dekade zur Reduzierung von Naturkatastrophen nach.

Nimmt man als solches Kriterium z.B. die Schadenssummen, welche durch Natur-Katastrophen entstehen, so suggeriert die Entwicklung der letzten Dezennien eine starke Zunahme. Meist handelt es sich dabei um Informationen von Versicherungsgesellschaften, alle unversicherten Schäden (insbesondere in ärmeren Regionen dieses Globus) bleiben dabei unberücksichtigt.

Ein anderer Indikator ist die Zahl der Ereignisse (Naturkatastrophenfälle). Auch danach ist eine Zunahme der Naturkatastrophen festzustellen. Allerdings ist auch dabei Vorsicht geboten, denn es könnte sein, daß in letzter Zeit die Informationen und die Aufzeichnungen darüber viel besser wurden, was wieder eher ein Indikator für eine „bessere“ Informationsgesellschaft denn die tatsächliche Zunahme von Katastrophenfällen sein könnte.

Nach dem Kriterium Zahl der Todesopfer ergibt sich für die letzten 100 Jahre die genannte tendenziell stark rückläufige Opferbilanz und dies trotz einer Zunahme der Weltbevölkerung. Nach diesem Kriterium – weltweit fand Nussbaumer über 1400 Ereignisse mit je 100 und mehr Toten – ist die Natur sogar immer zäher geworden.

Über das Jahrhundert betrachtet sind Dürrekatastrophen, die übrigens von der Naturkatastrophenforschung fast durchgehend vernachlässigt werden, die am weitaus am meisten todbringende Katastrophenart. Sie sind für rund Dreiviertel aller Todesfälle verantwortlich. Dann folgen Überschwemmungen, Erdbeben und Wirbelstürme.

Für die vergangenen Jahrzehnte wird empirisch belegbar: Aufgrund der heutigen technischen Möglichkeiten, der dadurch rasch möglichen Hilfeleistungen im Notfall bzw. der Maßnahmen zur Prävention wie z.B. den Wirbelsturm- oder Tsunami-Warnsystemen konnten in jüngerer Zeit tödliche Folgen von Naturkatastrophen viel weitgehender verhindert werden. Für die Diskussion, ob Naturkatastrophen unausweichliche „acts of god“ bzw. zumindest zum Teil auch als „acts of men“ gelten müssen, gibt die eben neuerschlossene Chronik hochinteressante Zahlen. Viele der Betroffenen wurden zwar vor dem unmittelbaren Tod bewahrt. Gerade in den ärmsten Regionen der Welt – und hier werden die meisten Menschen Opfer von sogenannten Naturereignissen – vermehrten sie mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit die Zahl jener, denen zum Sterben zu viel und zum Leben zu wenig zur Verfügung steht. Der Erfolg erhält einen mehr als bitteren Nebengeschmack.

Auf der Grundlage der vorliegenden Zahlen allein sind Prognosen für die Zukunft nur schwer möglich. Der Teilerfolg in den letzten Dezennien könnte sich leicht wieder ins Gegenteil kehren: Dann nämlich, wenn sich z.B. jene Prognosen bewahrheiteten, daß aufgrund der Erderwärmung der Meeresspiegel steigen bzw. tropische Wirbelstürme viel häufiger werden sollten. Zyklone wie jene in Bangladesh im November 1970 oder im April 1991 mit Hunderttausenden Toten oder jene mindestens drei Überschwemmungen seit 1887 in China mit

endzeitlichem Charakter und je einer Million und mehr Ertrunkenen weisen auf dafür mögliche Szenarien – vgl. dazu Abb. 2.

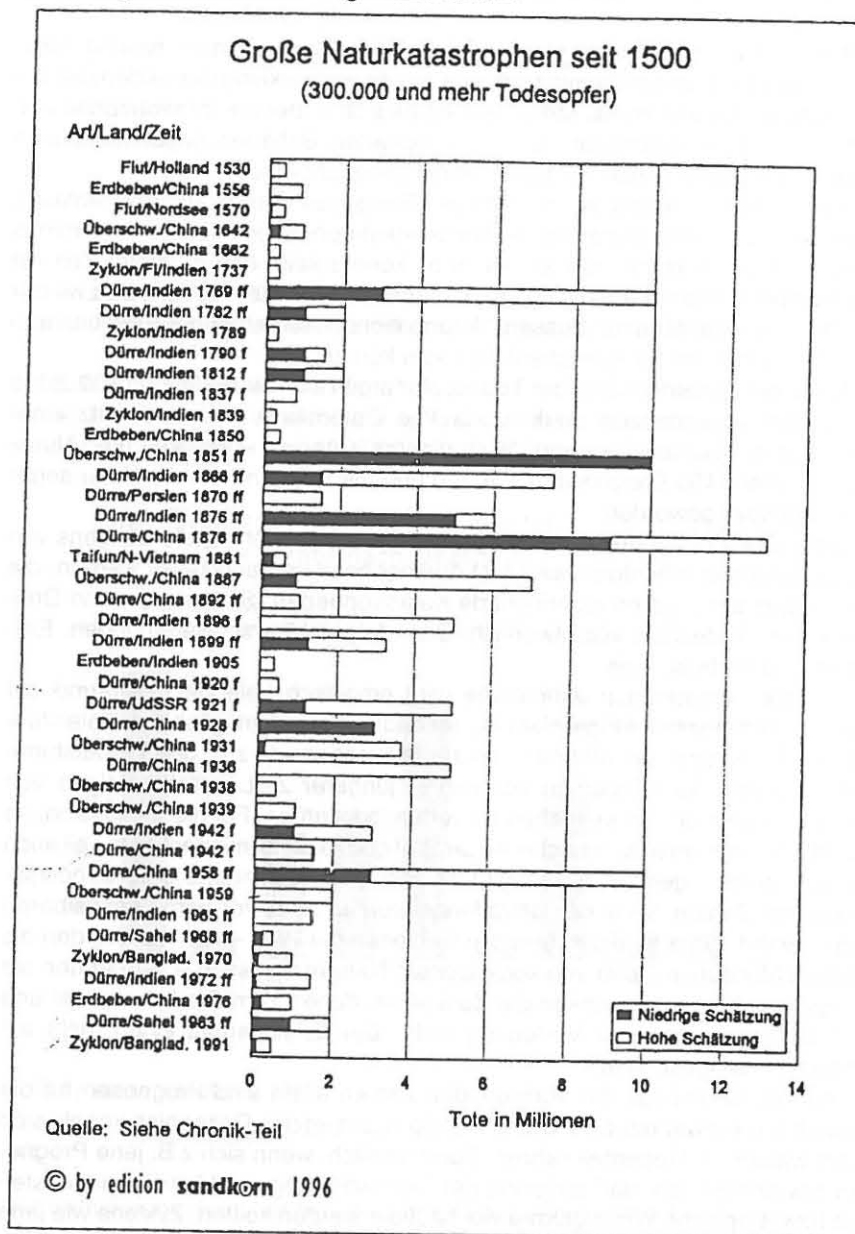


Abb. 2

So oder so: Wenn sich Nussbaumer gegen eine manchmal zu durchsichtige Schwarzmalerei und die Behauptung wendet, die Natur schlage zurück: Schlicht ins Reich der Märchen kann diese Meinung trotzdem auch aufgrund seiner interessanten, neuen Erkenntnisse nicht verwiesen werden. Als Motto für die Chronik findet sich eine „neutralere“ Aussage von Max Frisch: „Katastrophen kennt allein der Mensch, sofern er sie überlebt. Die Natur kennt keine Katastrophen.“

Achtzehnhundertzutodegefroren

Wir gehen 180 Jahre zurück: 1816 gilt sowohl in Teilen der USA als auch Europas als extrem kaltes und nasses Jahr. Für 1816 wurden eigene Begriffsbildungen geprägt: „Jahr ohne Sommer“ oder „Achtzehnhundertzutodegefroren“. Die Sonnentage des Sommers 1816 sollen jedenfalls mit beiden Händen zu zählen gewesen sein.

Die Wetterchronik im österreichischen Tirol etwa weist sieben Sonnentage auf. Die durchschnittliche Temperatur lag hier in den Monaten Juli/August um 4 bis 5° C niedriger als im Jahr 1988. Es folgte eine große Hungersnot. Der Weizenpreis stieg z.B. in Rattenberg (Inntal) von 210 kr per Star (1815) auf 432 kr. Auch heutzutage wäre so ein Sommer eine riesige Katastrophe, man denke nur an die Folgen für die Landwirtschaft oder den Fremdenverkehr. In Mitteleuropa jedenfalls ging ernährungsgeschichtlich jenes Jahr als absolutes Hungerjahr in die Historie ein. Die Bevölkerung in den Alpentälern brachte sich z.T. mit in Wasser aufgekochter Kleie, abgekochtem Heu, Stroh oder Moos durch, es soll sogar vorgekommen sein, daß Mäuse (eine Maus kostete einen Krontaler) als Nahrungsmittel verkauft wurden. In Martell (Südtirol) wurde 1816 die Kirchenglocke veräußert, um Lebensmittel erwerben zu können. Aus Bayern wird berichtet, daß die Kinder den Schweinen das Essen aus den Trögen stahlen.

Ähnliches konnte in vielen Regionen rund um den Globus beobachtet werden. Heute wird dies auf den Tambora-Vulkanausbruch östlich von Java im April 1815 zurückgeführt, der weltweit geschätzte 80.000 Hungertote gefordert haben soll. Über 90 Kubikkilometer Magmavolumen dürfte bei dieser Eruption in die Luft geschleudert worden sein. Dabei sollen Partikel eine Höhe von 60 bis 70 km erreicht haben. Die Folgen dieses Ausbruchs waren für das Klima der ganzen Welt bedeutsam. Die so folgenschwere Ursache waren die ausgeworfenen Staubpartikel und Gaselemente, die eine „Verdunkelung“ um die ganze Erde, die massive Abnahme von Sonnentagen sowie die Zunahme von Niederschlägen bewirkten.

Auch zwei Ausbrüche im Jahr 1783, in Island der Laki-Spalt und in Japan der Mount Asama, sollen in Japan während mehrerer Jahre zu einer Kälteperiode geführt haben. In Nord-Japan kam es zu einer gewaltigen Hungersnot, von der einer der von Nussbaumer zitierten Chronisten behauptet, daß dabei „many hundred thousand people“ umkamen.

Vulkankatastrophen mit ähnlich verheerenden Folgen wie 1815 waren seither nicht mehr zu beobachten. Die beiden größten Vulkankatastrophen des 20. Jahrhunderts ereigneten sich 1902 und 1985. Der Ausbruch des Mount Pelee auf Martinique im Mai 1902 hatte 28.000 bis 40.000 Todesopfer zur Folge und bei jenem des Nevado del Ruiz in Kolumbien am 13. November 1985 verloren weit über 20.000 Menschen in den Schlammassen das Leben.

Am 8. Mai 1902 wurde die Stadt St. Pierre binnen Sekunden von einer Glutwolke und Gasen von 800 bis 1.000° C zerstört. Obwohl der Vulkan schon im April immer wieder einen bevorstehenden Ausbruch andeutete, erwog der Gouverneur keine Evakuierung. Am 10. Mai sollte nämlich in St. Pierre eine wichtige Wahl stattfinden und man verhinderte die Flucht der Bürger sogar mit Hilfe des Militärs. Die Folgen waren katastrophal. Nur ein bis zwei Menschen sollen das Inferno überlebt haben.

Guido Rüthemann

Hinterleitner, Eva Maria: Bildung durch Reisen. Eine entwicklungspolitische Studienreise Erwachsener nach Burkina Faso: Ein interkulturelles Lernfeld? Schriften der Johannes-Kepler-Universität Linz, Reihe B/19. Trauner, Linz 1996, ISBN 3 85320 804 5.

„Interkulturelles Lernen“ ist längst Schlagwort: Die allgemeine Mobilität wie das Interesse an außereuropäischen Kulturen haben zwar generell zugenommen, nicht jedoch das politische Interesse an entwicklungspolitischen Zusammenhängen. Hier setzt Hinterleitners Untersuchung an, die eine dreiwöchige Studienreise nach Burkina Faso zum Anlaß nahm, interkulturelle Insights bewußt zu ermöglichen und zu forcieren (mehrmonatige Vor- und Nachbereitungsphasen, Expertenbegleitung). Burkina Faso, das ehemalige Obervolta, ist für die österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ein Schwerpunktland der Schlüsselregion Sahelzone, mit den Kernproblemen Wasserversorgung, Aufforstung und Rückgewinnung von Kulturland.

Ausgangspunkt der Arbeit bildet das Interesse an den Auswirkungen einer Studienreise auf die Reisenden hinsichtlich ihrer Kenntnisse, Gefühle, Einstellungen und Aktivitäten. Durch das Lernen an Projekten sollte das entwicklungspolitische Lernen geschult und die Handlungsfähigkeit in einer „multikulturellen Weltgesellschaft“ bewußt gemacht werden. Ziel des Aufenthaltes waren Einsichten in potentielle Lernprozesse im Kontext einer direkten Kulturbeggnung und Aspekte der Nachhaltigkeit dieser Erfahrungen.

Hinterleitner beginnt mit einer theoretischen Diskussion des Lernfeldes „Reisen“ und analysiert danach exemplarisch Aspekte der entwicklungspolitischen Bildung (Zielgruppen, Aufgaben, Bildungsmodelle). Gelegentlich problematisch erscheint hier die Zitierweise, die etwa Ueli Mäder, einen der profiliertesten Tourismuskritiker, von Touristen als „Botschafter des Friedens“ sprechen

läßt, ohne die sarkastische Ironie seiner Thesen zumindest anzumerken (S. 40). Im Mittelpunkt des zweiten Teiles des 238 Seiten starken Werkes steht zunächst das Konzept der Drittwelt-Studienreise per se, das durchaus auch kritischer Beleuchtung unterzogen wird und keinesfalls einseitig-beschönigend präsentiert wird.

Das Herz der Arbeit bilden zweifellos Verlauf und Ergebnisse der Burkina Faso-Reise, die mittels qualitativer (leitfadengesteuerter) Interviews vor und nach der Reise, teilnehmender Beobachtung und Gruppendiskussion erfaßt wurde: Entwicklungspolitisches Lernen ist nicht nur politisches Lernen, sondern auch soziales Lernen (S. 125).

Zumindest diskussionswürdig erscheint die Zahl der Teilnehmer (5 Personen), von denen wiederum zwei bereits an Studienreisen nach Burkina Faso teilgenommen hatten; die Einblicke in Motivation und Umsetzung der Lernerlebnisse mögen ausführlich und anschaulich aufbereitet sein, die empirische Relevanz kann bei der gewählten Zahl der Probanden jedoch nicht gegeben sein (was allerdings auch nicht reklamiert wurde).

Die mangelnde Operationalisierbarkeit der Lernergebnisse ist offenkundig und wird auch nicht in Frage gestellt; subjektive Einschätzungen der Teilnehmer dominieren (S. 195) – nicht zuletzt aufgrund der Tatsache, daß Reiserückblicke zu positiver Bewertung tendieren.

Für künftige Projekte im Bereich der entwicklungspolitischen Studienreise empfiehlt die Autorin Multiplikatoren als Zielgruppe und Flexibilität im Programmaufbau, um der Heterogenität der Teilnehmer gerecht zu werden. „Kontakte sind nur oberflächlich möglich, ... weniger zu der Bevölkerung sondern zu den Vermittlern“ – die Aussage eines Teilnehmers spricht für sich und läßt die Problematik derartiger Reisen erkennen. Nichtdestoweniger handelt es sich dennoch um eine lesenswerte Untersuchung, die einen bislang kaum behandelten Aspekt von Tourismus und interkulturellem Lernen zur Diskussion stellt.

Günter Spreitzhofer

Journal für Entwicklungspolitik XIII/3, 1997, S. 348–349

Über Autoren und Autorinnen

Hanak, Irmi, is a researcher and lecturer at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Vienna. She has lectured and published on discourse analysis of courtroom interaction, discourse and development, gender issues and Swahili language. Presently she works in a research project on interpersonal communication in the context of development co-operation.

Nöst, Barbara, is member of a team of social scientists (ECCO – Evaluation, Cooperation, Communication), which is based at the Institute of African Studies, University of Vienna, and carried out research on institutional communication in development in Zanzibar, Tanzania Mainland and more recently in Cape Verde. Presently, she is working as consultant in communications and public relations for the Austrian Development Cooperation.

Saptari, Ratna, has conducted research on women factory workers in Indonesia and currently holds a post-doctoral fellowship in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands. She is also coordinator of the research programme on "Changing Labour Relations in Asia" based at the International Institute of Social History.

Schlyter, Ann, is head of the research unit at the Nordic Africa Institute. Trained as an architect she has worked with multi-disciplinary urban research in Southern Africa for many years and published extensively. In cooperation with University of Lesotho and Lund University where she is an associate professor, she works with the research network "Gender Research on Urbanisation, Planning, Housing and Everyday Life".

Sciortino, Rosalia, Dr, has a PhD in Social Sciences from the Free University Amsterdam. She now works as Programme Officer Reproductive Health and Population at the Indonesia Office of the Ford Foundation in Jakarta. She has published several articles and her doctoral thesis, *Care-takers of cure: A Study of Health Centre Nurses in Rural Central Java* has recently been published as a book.

Smyth, Ines, Dr, has a PhD in Social Anthropology from University College London. She has taught in various academic institutions, among which is the Development Studies Institute at the London School of Economics. She is currently a Policy Advisor at Oxfam. Her most recent publication is a co-edited book (with Dr I. Baud) titled

Searching for Security: Women's Response to Economic Transformations (Routledge 1997).

Utrecht, Artien, has conducted research on NGOs in Indonesia in a project undertaken under the auspices of the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague. She presently works with the Humanistic Institute for Development Cooperation (HIVOS), the Netherlands, as project officer and sector specialist on Human Rights.

Informationen für Autoren

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blätter des iz3w, Nr. 223

Schwerpunkt: Aller Lasten Anfang – Aspekte der Arbeitsgesellschaft

Wie haben sich Arbeit und Arbeitsmarkt unter neoliberalen Bedingungen verändert? Der Arbeitsgesellschaft geht die Arbeit aus, sagen die einen. Andere schwärmen neuerdings vom »Beschäftigungswunder« in den USA. Verheerende Arbeitsbedingungen in den Weltmarktfabriken des Südens lassen den Ruf nach Sozialstandards lauter werden. Gründe genug, sich den Strukturwandel der Arbeit Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts genauer anzuschauen. Eine andere Frage kommt in der gegenwärtigen arbeitspolitischen Debatte der Linken aber häufig zu kurz: Weshalb wird immer noch und immer wieder der angeblich emanzipatorische Gehalt der Arbeit beschworen, warum werden Ideen von Selbstverwirklichung durch Arbeit in kritischer Absicht produziert? Zu diesen Aspekten um Arbeit und Wandel der Gesellschaft eröffnet die iz3w Nr. 233 eine Diskussion. Einzelheft DM 8,-; Jahresabonnement (8 Ausgaben/Jahr) DM 60,-. Bezug: iz3w, Aktion Dritte Welt e.V., Postfach 5328, 79020 Freiburg.

ila Nr. 207 (Juli/August 97)

Schwerpunkt: Binationale Beziehungen

Mexiko DF (distrito federal) hat etwa 16 Mio. Einwohner und ist eine Stadt der Masken. Hinter dem ökologischen Deseaster, den immer wiederkehrenden Naturkatastrophen, der Wohnungsnot, dem Rassismus und der Korruption verbirgt sich eine vitale Bevölkerung, die es immer wieder schafft, dem alltäglichen Chaos ein Leben voller Phantasie und Originalität entgegenzusetzen. Ausgehend von den Problemen, die sich aus der hohen Bevölkerungsdichte von Mexico-Stadt ergeben, widmet sich der ila-Schwerpunkt auch der speziellen Vergangenheit der Mega-Metropole und blickt dabei zurück bis in die Zeit als diese Gegend noch das Zentrum der Aztekenreiches war. Die Rubrik *Berichte und Hintergründe* beschäftigt sich mit der aktuellen Situation in Haiti und bringt ein Interview mit Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

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