

acknowledging the importance of the supply side himself in his discussion of how the purchase of European firearms improved the effectiveness of raiding expeditions (pp. 42-4). Even if I am right, moreover, in suspecting that it was more the organizational ability to enslave than the need or desire to do so which increased as a result of Sulu's role in the *tripang* and forest product trades, this still does not affect the broad outlines of Warren's classic argument regarding the articulation of economic, political, and demographic processes in the history of the Sulu zone. My concern in highlighting the weakness of one specific component of that argument, however, is to help question the generous assumptions regarding human nature and the corrupting influence of 'capitalism' which, in the long afterglow of various idealistic intellectual trends prevalent before about 1980, still underlie a considerable amount of historical scholarship on Southeast Asia.

References

Junker, Laura Lee

1999 *Raiding, trading, and feasting; The political economy of Philippine chiefdoms.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Reid, Anthony

1983 "'Closed" and "open" slave systems in pre-colonial Southeast Asia', in: Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, bondage; and dependency in Southeast Asia*, pp. 156-81. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Scott, William Henry

1994 *Barangay; Sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Warren, James Francis

1981 *The Sulu zone 1768-1898; The dynamics of external trade, slavery, and ethnicity in the transformation of a Southeast Asian maritime state.* Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Laurence Husson, *La migration maduraise vers l'Est de Java; 'Manger le vent au gratter la terre'?* Paris: L'Harmattan/ Association Archipel, 1995, 414 pp. [Cahier d'Archipel 26.] ISBN 2.7384.3329.4. Price: FRF240 (paperback).

HUUB de JONGE

The Madurese are the third largest ethnic group in Indonesia, after the Javanese and Sundanese. Of the seven to nine million Madurese (the exact

number is unknown), approximately three million actually live on the island of Madura. Most of the remainder live in East Java, which therefore has more Madurese inhabitants than Madura itself. In the course of their history, the Madurese have repeatedly been forced to leave their impoverished island for shorter or longer periods to seek a living.

Laurence Husson's dissertation is devoted entirely to the migration of Madurese to East Java, and covers almost all aspects of this phenomenon. The study consists, besides an introduction and the conclusion, of four parts. The first contains detailed background information on the climatic, pedological, demographic, agrarian, economic, and infrastructural features of the island of Madura. The most important migration destinations are also mentioned. Up to the Second World War, most migrants took the shortest route to the southern side of Madura Strait. Migrants from West Madura, consequently, settled mainly in the western part of East Java, and those from East Madura mostly in the so-called Oosthoek ('Eastern Hook').

In the second section of the book, Madurese migration is dealt with as a 'phenomene de longue duree'. The author identifies six waves of migration to East Java from the thirteenth century onwards, starting with that which resulted in the presence of Madurese serfs in the kingdom of Majapahit. Other waves included the movement to the commercial plantations laid out on the mainland between 1830 and 1930, the flight from hunger during the Japanese occupation, and the post-war migration to cities as Surabaya and Malang where the informal sector offered new opportunities for employment. The 'Madurization' of the Oosthoek is also discussed in passing.

In these first two parts Husson relies on previously published material, particularly the results of Dutch research, and adds little to what is already known. In itself this would not be a serious shortcoming were it not for the fact that now and then, Husson does not properly acknowledge that the ideas which she is reproducing are not her own. The original sources are mentioned, but not, in such cases, in sufficiently prominent places; this criticism also applies to the paragraph on stereotypes which figures prominently in the introduction. Particularly illustrative of her derivative approach is the fact that she ignores periods and topics that have received little or no attention in the previous literature even where these are extremely relevant for her own field of study. The rise of the plantation economy and the role played in it by Madurese labour, for instance, receives much too little attention, as do the thousands of migrants who settled as smallholders in East Java during the same period. The period between 1945 and 1965, moreover, is totally neglected; yet here, surely, were abundant opportunities to do more original research and fill gaps in the existing literature. Another shortcoming is that certain thematic topics have not been studied in sufficient detail; Husson's description of social stratification on Madura, for example, is too simplistic,

and her account of the process of 'Madurization' in East Java too purely linguistic in focus.

In the second and third parts of the book, Husson presents the results of her own research in East Java over a total of 14 months during 1988-89 and 1991-92. Her data consist mainly of life histories and a 51-question survey conducted in selected urban and rural areas. The sample includes 400 persons, 282 of them men and 118 women, 80 percent first- and 20 percent second-generation migrants. The majority of the migrants hold unskilled jobs such as itinerant trader (in food, toys or used goods), *becak* driver, docker, coolie, plantation worker, or fisherman. The life histories make clear the kind of difficult and distressed circumstances in which these migrants often live. Only a few seem to have attained a comfortable economic position. The data from the survey pertain to such topics as the reasons for and consequences of leaving Madura, the financing and duration of migration, the frequency and nature of contacts with the place of origin, the role of relatives in encouraging and supporting the migrants, patterns of residence, and relations with other ethnic groups. The conclusions which Husson draws on these subjects are interesting, but mostly rather shallow. Often she gets side-tracked, for instance into providing a nominative list of well-known *pesantren* and an extensive account of Madurese kinship: both worthy enough topics, but not immediately relevant to her story or arguments. I found it striking that none of the persons included in her survey belonged to a less recent group of migrants than the last two generations: the descendants of earlier settlers, who make up the majority of the Madurese in East Java, could have provided information to place the life histories of the younger generations in a broader perspective. It also struck me that peasants, who presumably make up the biggest occupational group, are almost totally absent in the survey. In short, one wonders how representative Husson's survey is.

At the end of the fourth part of her *book*, the author deals with the social integration of the Madurese in Java and compares their situation with those of other well-known migratory ethnic groups both in Indonesia (Minangkabau, Buginese, Macassarese) and in Europe (Corsicans and Basques). The similarities and contrasts with the other Indonesian migrant groups are interesting and should have been elaborated further; the comparisons with the southern Europeans are rather far-fetched. As far as the issue of the integration of the Madurese into the wider society is concerned, it might have been worthwhile to study differences between established migrants and newcomers. As Husson herself notes, however, the topic of integration is difficult to study in an environment which is predominantly Madurese. The conclusion of the book, dealing with the consequences of emigration for Madura itself, is somewhat at odds with the rest of the chapters, which relate over-

whelmingly to the situation of the emigrants in Java.

In her introduction, Husson argues that almost all existing anthropological, historical, and economic studies on Madura, because they are based on field-work in only one or two villages, give only a partial and fragmented picture of the island. 'Synthese et comparatisme', she declares, 'font encore trap sou- vent default' (p. 28); in her own study she intends to avoid this shortcoming by taking a wider approach. I am afraid, however, that she has confused units of research with units of analysis, and forgotten that the monographies which she criticizes pay ample attention to the interrelationships between different levels of society. Husson's study does indeed feature a broad approach, but this has entailed shortcomings of its own: her observations are often superficial and lack real authority. She probably would have learned more about Madurese migration if she had restricted her research to two vil- lages, one on Madura and one in Java. Despite this her study remains inter- esting, and provides the general reader with an introduction to the various aspects of migration among the Madurese.

Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *Toward a new paradigm; Recent developments in Indonesian Islamic thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1996, x + 380 pp. ISBN 1.881044.10.6. Price: USD 19.95 (paperback).

NICO KAPTEIN

This fine book consists of eleven contributions by eleven specialists in Indonesian Islam: Taufik Abdullah, Nurcholish Madjid, Moeslim Abdurrah- man, Mark R. Woodward, Karel Steenbrink, Howard M. Federspiel, Lucy A. Walley, Ronald A.L. Bull, Robert W. Hefner, R. William Liddle, and Katherine C. Kohlstad. Most of these are leading scholars in the field, so that *Toward a new paradigm* is guaranteed to be worth reading. All chapters in the volume were originally papers presented at three conferences organized by the Program for Southeast Asian Studies at Arizona State University at unspeci- fied dates in the early 1990s.

In his lengthy introduction, editor Mark Woodward formulates the purpose of this book as follows: 'to demonstrate that what might be called Islamic Liberalism is, despite considerable opposition, a vital and growing force in Indonesia' (p. 3). In this way the book aims to challenge the hypothesis of S. Huntington, who in 1993 predicted a clash of civilizations, in particular along