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Explaining the Madurese Migration Tradition

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Abstract

The Madurese historically have a very strong migration tradition. This study aims to analyze the historical process of Madurese migration, especially to East Java, and the factors that influence the migration pattern. The main problem raised is how this migration is influenced by internal and external conditions, including colonial policies and infrastructure development. The method used in this study is the historical method by utilizing both primary and secondary historical sources in the form of historical literature. The research findings show that Madurese migration continues to increase, especially with the improvement of transportation and job opportunities in

commercial plantations. This migration not only plays a role in reducing economic pressures in Madura, but also forms a significant Madurese community in the East Java region. The eastern tip of Java has become the main area for Madurese migration. The demographic structure in the Tapal Kuda area shows the dominance of the Madurese ethnic group, with several areas such as Panarukan and Bondowoso having a Madurese population percentage reaching more than 90% in the early 20th century. In fact, the number of Madurese in the eastern tip of Java is much larger than the number of Madurese on Madura Island itself.

Keywords: Madurese, Migration Tradition, Indonesia

1. Introduction

The Madurese are one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia who have a very strong tradition of migrating, such as the Minang people in Sumatra and the Bugis people in Sulawesi. In many places, especially in big cities in Indonesia and in the majority of urban areas in Java, the existence of the Madurese is easily recognized as a working class engaged in various economic activities which are often grouped as the informal sector. Popularly, Madurese migrants are often associated with various labels such as satay sellers, soto, pedicab drivers, barbers, porters, construction workers and the like. Economic motives seem so real and dominant in Madurese migration.

The strong tradition of migration among the Madurese people is actually a form of response to the ecological conditions of the island of Madura, which is known to be arid and barren because most of its geological structure is composed of layers of limestone and limestone deposits. Fertile land area for agricultural activities is very limited. Under these conditions, Madura Island does not have sufficient carrying capacity for a large population. Migration is an important alternative not only for reducing economic and social pressures but also for creating a better life. Even at certain periods in the past migration for Madurese was also an important strategy to avoid oppressive and exploitative traditional power (Kuntowijoyo, 1980:117-118; de Jonge, 1988:74-75) ^[6, 10].

In a long-term historical perspective, the migration flow of Madurese seems to show an increasing trend, although it also fluctuates in magnitude. If in the past the flow of migration was still limited to various parts of Indonesia, recently its goals have expanded to include overseas, especially Malaysia. The trend of increasing outflow of migration from Madura indicates that internally the carrying capacity of the agricultural sector in Madura, which until now has been the backbone of the region's economy, cannot be maintained (Kuntowijoyo, 1993:121) ^[11]. Thus, one of the alternatives to achieve Madura's prosperity clearly must be built by seeking new breakthroughs based on available non-agrarian sources. Externally following the traditional philosophy, "there is sugar there are ants", out migration also gives an indication of the ongoing economic dynamics outside Madura Island. This article is going to examine the historical process of migration of Madurese and the formation of the Madurese community outside Madura Island.

2. Migration to East Java

Historically it is difficult to determine when the Madurese migration began. Pigeaud and Leyden (1962:73)^[17] state that in the 14th century there were Madurese settlements in Java. However, it can be ascertained that this process has actually been going on continuously long before the Majapahit era, of course with different flow amounts depending on a number of factors both internal and external. As stated by Sutjipto (1977:180)^[22], the migration of Madurese is closely related and is a further consequence of a number of activities including trade and war expeditions. In fact, the founding of the Majapahit Kingdom which later became the largest empire in the archipelago was also inseparable from the involvement of the Madurese. When Raden Wijaya cleared land in the Tarik area, defeating Kediri through the Mongol troops who invaded Java, and finally expelling the foreign Mongol troops back to their country, the help of the Many Wide who ruled in Madura was very large. For the services rendered, the Madurese ruler was rewarded with land stretching from Lumajang to Blambangan (Slametmuljana, 1976:51)^[20]. This has become a strong historical root for the domination of the Madurese ethnicity in the demographic composition of the population in the region.

Another illustration of the presence of Madurese outside Madura Island also appears in the Mataram period. In recorded historical records, for example, Laskar Madura under Trunojoyo (1673-1679) was involved in the attack on the military power of Amangkurat I, as well as military feuds with his successors who were allied with the VOC (Ricklefs, 1993; 33-42)^[19]. Ricklefs (1993:93)^[19] also illustrates that 10,000 Madurese troops under the leadership of Cakraningrat II took part in a military attack on the position of the Surapati army. Likewise, the Madurese troops under the leadership of Cakraningrat IV participated in the suppression of the Chinatown War in Kartasura in 1741. It is also recorded that the Madurese troops were involved in a military expedition for the conquest of the Blambangan region by the VOC (1767), the Madurese troops were also involved in the VOC's conquest of Bali (1767) (Soetjipto, 2003)^[21].

The involvement of Madurese troops in attacks and military expeditions is also confirmed in various traditional sources. In the Chronicle of Notodiningratan, for example, it is stated that when Dutch troops attacked Prince Wilis' rule in Blambangan under the command of Commander Heinrich with a force of 5,000 soldiers, 2,000 of whom were Madurese (Arifin, 1995:285)^[2]. Another traditional source, the Babad Bayu, states that when Pulangjiwa was assigned to attack Jagapati's position in Bayu with the Kumpeni in Panarukan, 10,000 Madurese troops led by Suradiwira had been prepared (Arifin, 1995:240)^[2].

The involvement of Madurese in military expeditions increases opportunities and becomes an important part of the chain of Madurese migration processes. The importance of military channels for the out-migration process for the Madurese seems to be closely related to their enormous opportunities to be involved in military activities. From a military point of view, Madurese are recognized as having suitable qualifications for military work because they are known to be tenacious in facing various difficulties and challenges. The Madurese, like the Ambonese and Manadonese, have been seen since colonial times as the main ethnic group qualified to provide human resources

with various characteristics suitable for military purposes (Banner, 1927:45-46; Ricklefs, 1993:21)^[3, 19].

Traditional sources from the Besuki area also provide information about this. In the Babad Bayu, it is told, for example, that Governor van den Burgh in Surabaya sent a letter to Panembahan Madura, stating that the Madurese troops were the only hope for the Kumpeni to save their lodge in Lopangpang (Arifin, 1995:233)^[2]. The Kumpeni troops at that time were in a critical situation in crushing and facing the invasion of the Bayu people under Jagapati (Wong Agung Alungan) who rebelled against the rule of Blambangan and Kumpeni (Arifin, 1995:229-232)^[2]. In another van den Burg letter, it is stated that the Madurese paramilitary are "the only ones who can be relied upon in the Bayu case (Arifin, 1995:240)^[2].

The involvement of the Madurese in military expeditions in various places in Java, especially in East Java, turned out to have further consequences in the period after the pacification was formed under the colonial political order. Various former war areas are places that are rarely or even non-inhabited. Prolonged wars have caused depopulation in a number of places due to increased death rates both related to the many victims in the war, as well as suffering and hunger due to food scarcity. As stated by Reid (1987:42-43)^[18], in traditional warfare the destruction of food supplies, whether stored in storage areas or still in the form of plants on agricultural land, is an important part of the strategy and tactics of war to paralyze the opponent.

The most obvious illustration of depopulation due to war is the Besuki and Pasuruan regions. Besuki in particular is a place in East Java that is experiencing the lowest, most striking, even negative population growth. Kumar (1997:207)^[9] gives an estimate that as a result of the war disaster, Besuki's population decreased from 80-100,000 to only 5-8,000. In other words, during the 18th century Besuki's population experienced negative growth between -1.25 to -1.38 per year (Nawiyanto, 2003:24)^[13].

With the end of the war and to launch economic exploitation activities, the colonial government then launched a program to resettle the vacant territories. The Madurese are an important part of this repopulation activity. The regents who administered the Besuki area took various methods and carried out a number of propaganda to bring Madurese into their territory. The migration of Madurese especially to the Besuki region was stimulated by various incentives (Palte, 1989:41)^[16]. A number of incentives provided include the provision of a number of agricultural facilities, living allowances in the form of logistical supplies for a certain period of time, relief in the form of exemption from the obligation to pay taxes, freedom to choose agricultural land and the granting of land ownership rights.

The Madurese migration continued to be encouraged and partly flowed naturally along with the Enforcement of the Cultivation System designed by Governor General Van den Bosch (1830-1870), which was later followed by Liberal Colonial Politics (1870-1900) which opened a new era in colonial economic development. In essence, the two systems of colonial exploitation have almost the same face, namely making the colonies the centers of agricultural production with an export orientation. The difference is limited to the exploiters. The Cultivation System placed the state as the perpetrator of colonial exploitation activities, whereas in the following era the actors were private companies. This continued in the Ethical Politics era. With the development

of agrarian exploitation with plantations as its backbone, With the opening of commercial plantations, it is in this region that the demand for migrant workers is very high. If in the past migration often took place as a follow-up effect of a series of attacks and military expeditions, since the 19th century economic changes driven by the development of commercial plantations with the various job opportunities it creates have become a pull factor (pull factor) for the flow of Madurese migrants. In his in-depth study of the Cultivation Period in Java (1830-1870), Elson (1994: 294)^[7] states that the Madurese migrated in large numbers leaving their place of origin in Madura to the mainland of East Java, especially Besuki, even further to areas inland Pasuruan including Malang. According to Hageman, as quoted by Elson (1994: 481)^[7], in 1846 there were 3. 537 Madurese in Malang. Nibbering (1997:170)^[14] states that Madurese migrated to Malang within the framework of recruiting workers for the Alas Tledak plantation in the Putukrejo area where commercial plantation crops, especially coffee, rubber and cocoa, were cultivated.

Meanwhile, Elson (1994: 481)^[7] also provides statistical information that in 1847 in the Besuki area the population of ethnic Madurese reached 396,115 people. Part of this population were migrants who came to the area in search of work as coffee pickers or harvesters of rice and other agricultural crops (Elson, 1994:298)^[7]. It is stated that the Madurese migrated to Malang within the framework of recruiting workers for the Alas Tledak plantation in the Putukrejo area where commercial plantation crops were cultivated, especially coffee, rubber and cocoa. Meanwhile, Elson (1994: 481)^[7] also provides statistical information that in 1847 in the Besuki area the population of ethnic Madurese reached 396,115 people. Part of this population are migrants who come to the area in search of work as coffee pickers or harvesters of rice and other agricultural crops (Elson, 1994:298)^[7].

The flow of Madurese migration even continued to increase during the Liberal Colonial Politics and Ethical Politics even though the Cultivation System was abolished. The private commercial plantations that developed rapidly after the gradual abolition of Forced Cultivation replaced the important position of state plantations in attracting migration flows. The rapid development of plantations increased the need for plantation workers. Many migrants arrive or are brought in to meet the need for labor to prepare land, plant, care for, harvest and transport tobacco. Not only men, women and even children are also recruited as workers in sorting and packing warehouses. Given the large demand for labor and the limited local manpower,

The migration process has become smoother thanks to improvements in transportation networks that have made geographic mobility for migrants much easier, and economically also cheaper, even to areas that were previously difficult to reach. Theoretically, improving transportation networks is often associated with increasing efficiency in the form of reducing transportation costs (Mellor, 1966:340)^[15]. Resident of Madura FB Batten in 1923, for example, reported that traffic from Sumenep to Panarukan was served daily by the "Bodemeijer" ship, while Madura's connection with Surabaya was served by a number of ships including "Madoera" and "Pandora." In addition, Madura is also regularly connected with Java and Bali by the state shipping service (KPM), and is even still supported by the operation of indigenous shipping.

Furthermore, the sea transportation network is connected with land transportation facilities which are increasing, especially since the opening of rail transportation. For example, the relationship between Panarukan and the interior of Besuki, especially Jember, became smoother with the opening of the railroad line in 1897, which was then extended towards Banyuwangi via Sempolan, Garahan, Kalibaru, Singojuruh, and Rogojampi and Benculuk (Nawiyanto, 2003:62-63)^[13]. Not only that, the road connecting Panarukan-Bondowoso-Jember was widened and mostly asphalted. Around 1924, the main route connecting Jember and Banyuwangi via the foot of Mount Ijen was also opened. With these various improvements, the connecting road with the interior is suitable for motorized vehicles and buses which are increasingly popular (Nawiyanto, 2001: 177)^[12]. Likewise the transportation network to other interior areas of East Java such as Malang also continues to be improved in line with the development of colonial exploitation.

By improving the transportation network to inland areas, spatially it will affect the orientation of the migration areas. As stated by Gooszen (2000:59-60)^[8], before transportation was repaired and increased, the destination areas for Madurese migration were mostly directed to coastal areas as indicated by the large number of Madurese population in the coastal areas of East Java. With the opening of isolation along with improvements in transportation, the flow of migration, especially since 1900, has increasingly flowed to the interior areas. For example, around 1900 the colonial authorities in Banyuwangi reported on the flow of Madurese migrants who came to work as workers on private plantations in Genteng, Celuring and Kalibaru. The records of the colonial assistant resident and controller stated that of the 75 Madurese migrants in the area, 88% came from five districts in Sumenep and two districts in Pamekasan (Gooszen, 2000:61)^[8]. It is certain that a similar expansion of Madurese migration also took place towards the Malang region and other interior areas of East Java.

3. The Significance of East Java for Madurese Migration

Migration to the mainland of East Java is an important part of the Madurese people's migrating tradition. Historically, the most important migration destination for the Madurese was the horseshoe area of East Java, which covered the area from Pasuruan to Banyuwangi. The migration of Madurese to the horseshoe area can be ascertained to have been going on for centuries, even before the Majapahit era (Kuntowijoyo, 1980:81-83; Sutjipto, 1989:303)^[10, 11]. The importance of East Java's position in the Madurese tradition of migrating makes this region have a population with a relatively large Madurese ethnic background, even when compared to Madura Island itself.

A number of evidences corroborate the existence of truth in this view. In the mid-19th century Hageman (1858:324-325) reported that the Madurese population in East Java was twice the size of the population on Madura Island. Furthermore, according to De Jonge (1988)^[6]. In 1930 it was estimated that around 2.5 million Madurese lived outside Madura, mostly in the East Java region. Meanwhile, in the same year the total population on Madura Island, including non-natives, was less than 2 million (Kuntowijoyo, 1980:543)^[10]. It is not very surprising that several decades later, research by the East Java BAPPEDA and PAPIPTEK LIPI (1996:29) states that around 75% of

the Madurese live outside Madura Island, while only 25% live in Madura.

The important position of the horseshoe region in the context of the Madurese migration tradition is also reflected in the population structure of this region. Based on their ethnic background, the Madurese constituted the majority of the population living in the horseshoe area since the Dutch colonial period. It is estimated that this has actually been found in several parts of East Java in the 19th century. Based on statistical information provided by Bleeker (quoted in Arifin, 1997:86) [1] it is known that in 1847 the number of Madurese in the Besuki Residency reached more than 210,000, while residents with Javanese ethnic background numbered less than 21,000. In percentage terms, in 1847 the ethnic Madurese population in Besuki amounted to 90% of the total population. Elson said that in the same year there were 396,115 Madurese and only 48.355 Javanese in Besuki (Elson, 1994:481) [7]. Elson's figure is higher because Bleeker does not include Banyuwangi. Apart from this, the figures provided by Elson also show that the proportion of the Madurese population is far greater than the proportion of the Javanese population.

The domination of the Madurese ethnicity in the demographic structure of the horseshoe area is increasingly evident in the statistical data produced since the third decade of the 20th century by systematic colonial censuses in 1920 and 1930. In the Besuki Residency, for example, the results of the 1930 Population Census conducted by the colonial government shows that around 98% of the population of Panarukan Regency (now, Situbondo) are ethnic Madurese, in Bondowoso the percentage of the Madurese population reaches more than 99%. In the same year, the percentage of the Madurese population in Jember was around 63%, while in Banyuwangi the percentage was around 18% (Volkstelling 1930, III, 1934: Table 1). A significant proportion of the Madurese population in Banyuwangi Regency is mainly found in Banyuwangi District (25.1) and Genteng (18.2).

Table 1: Percentage of Population of Besuki Residency by Ethnic Group, 1930 (percentages)

Regency	Java	Madura	using	Other
Jember	34.0	63,6	-	2,4
Banyuwangi	31.9	17.9	45.5	4,7
Bondowoso	0.6	99.2	-	0.2
Panarukan	1,3	98.1		0.6

Source: Adapted from Volkstelling 1930, Vol. III: Inheemse Bevolking van Oost Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), Table 1, p. 22. [24]

Note: Others include Europeans, Chinese and other Asian, indigenous people who do not belong to the three main ethnic groups such as Sundanese, Bugis, Balinese.

The dominant proportion of the population is also found in the Residency area of Pasuruan (Malang), especially Probolinggo and Kraksaan districts. In Pasuruan and Lumajang Regencies, the proportion of Madurese and Javanese population is relatively balanced. The Madurese ethnic composition in a number of districts where the Javanese population is quite dominant, is sometimes also larger. This is mainly found in a number of districts in the Madura Strait region. In the Pasuruan area, for example, the dominance of the Madurese population is found in Grati by 75.6% and Wangkal 72.5%, while in the Bangil district the Madurese population reaches 62%. In Malang Regency,

most of the Madurese are in Bululawang District (28.4%), followed by Pagak (20%) and Turen (16.4%) (Volkstelling, 1930,III:21) [24].

Table 2: Percentage of Population of Malang Residency (Pasuruan), 1930

Regency	Java	Madura
Bangil	72,4	27,6
Pasuruan	50,6	49,4
Poor	88.4	11,6
Lumajang	55,1	44.9
Probolinggo	17,1	82.9
Kraksaan	4.8	95,2

Source: Adapted from Volkstelling 1930, Vol. III: Inheemse Bevolking van Oost Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), Table 1, p. 21-22. [24]

4. Migration Patterns and Maps

The flow of Madurese migration to East Java in general takes place through two forms of migration, namely permanent migration and seasonal migration. Permanent migration is carried out by those who enter mainland East Java from Madura with the aim of settling down and looking for livelihoods in new areas. In reality, permanent migration is often preceded by seasonal migration. It was only after getting a life that they felt was more appropriate in overseas places, they then decided to live permanently. For the 19th century, Elson (1994:12) [7] estimated that between 800-900 migrants per year never returned to Madura.

Furthermore, the seasonal migration of the Madurese can be divided into three groups. The first group, most of the Madurese moved to various areas in mainland East Java for several months to seek additional income by working as coolies on tobacco, coffee, sugar cane or rubber plantations owned by colonial entrepreneurs or in smallholder farming businesses. The rapid development of the plantation economy from the second half of the 19th century until before the economic depression of the 1930s, as seen in the Besuki Residency, offered many job opportunities for Madurese migrants (McDonald, 1980:86-87). The second group with a smaller number are Madurese who come to several coastal towns in Java to work as porters or rickshaw pullers. The third group is the Madurese who left their homes to become small traders, such as selling satay. According to estimates at the end of the 19th century, around 40,000 migrants crossed to Java by boat once or twice a year (Niehof, 1948:30).

This kind of phenomenon is still found, continues and even tends to increase in the next period. It's just that most of the migrants are now no longer heading to the central plantation areas or the rural economic sector, but to big cities such as Surabaya. In big cities, many of them are involved and involved in informal sector economic activities (De Jonge, 1988:23) [6]. Suwarsono's study in a village in Surabaya also supports this phenomenon (Suwarsono, 2000:115-130) [23]. The involvement of Madurese in the informal economic sector is motivated by the dominance of Javanese in the formal sector which is very limited and competitive so that informal sector employment is the only option to survive.

The symptoms of Madurese migrants working in the urban informal sector are actually getting stronger, especially with the collapse of the plantation economy since the depression hit, followed by a marked reduction in plantation commodity export activities during the Japanese occupation

and the independence revolution (De Jonge, 1990:17) [6]. Even though during the independence period the plantation sector revived, activity and export capacity were never again able to match the achievements achieved during the golden age of the colonial era, especially in the 1920s. As a consequence, the available employment opportunities in the plantation sector are also relatively few compared to its heyday.

If one examines further the map of the migration destination areas of the Madurese in East Java, it can be identified that there are three general trends. These maps can be recognized easily based on the linguistic similarities that exist between them. The area of the former Besuki residency (Pananukan, Bondowoso, Jember Banyuwangi) is an overseas area for Madurese who come from Sumenep and Pamekasan (East Madura). The areas of the former residencies of Surabaya, Malang, Kediri, Madiun and Bojonegoro are the overseas areas of Madurese from Bangkalan (West Madura). Meanwhile, the former Pasuruan residency areas (Pasuruan, Probolinggo, and Lumajang) were migration areas for Madurese originating from Sampang (De Jonge 1988:24) [6]. In addition to reasons of geographical distance, The formation of the migration map seems to be closely related to cultural factors, including kinship ties with earlier migrants (pioneering migrants). As emphasized by Gooszen (2000: 61) [8], the choice of location for migrants is strongly influenced by closeness to relatives and people who come from the same area with considerations of contact and at the same time social control.

Table 3: Number of Emigrants from Madura in the Districts of East Java, 1930

Regency	Sumenep	Pamekasan	Lacquer	Bangkalan
Banyuwangi	29,147	9,477	3,036	2,340
Jember	28,918	30,958	14,688	2.145
Pananukan	1,464	4,028	1,478	285
Bondowoso	7,300	1628	548	128
Probolinggo	238	1,252	2,577	237
Kraksaan	1,093	3,415	727	278
Lumajang	1015	4,391	11,480	1,081
Poor	369	962	9,631	20,985
Pasuruan	75	128	1627	1.176
Bangil	82	134	489	944
Sidoarjo	54	48	53	914
Mojokerto	23	16	79	494
Jombang	14	26	139	757
Kediri	20	22	98	1,186
Blitar	14	29	122	1,062
Tulungagung	2	11	29	560
Gresik	42	91	18	939
Surabaya Municipality	537	573	5,237	20,767

Source: Volkstelling 1930, Vol. III: Inheemse Bevolking van Oost Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), Subsidiary Table 10, p. 38. [24]

Table 3 explicitly supports the migration map. In general, it can also be seen that the migration of Madurese during the colonial era mostly headed to the eastern part of East Java, which has recently been popularly known as the Horseshoe Region. Based on the same table it can also be seen that migration to western regions such as Ngawi and Madiun is not significant compared to the eastern region, as indicated by the absence of statistical data on migrants to these regions.

Madurese migration to mainland East Java in a long process

gave birth to the formation of Madurese settlements with various characteristics. Although not exactly the same, in the new place the Madurese continue to carry and develop traditional values from their area of origin. Not only is it a matter of language to communicate, the Madurese build a typical Madurese settlement pattern called tanean lanjang. As Arifin (1997:88) [1] points out in the context of Madurese migrants in Jember, this community still maintains various typical Madurese cultural expressions such as Madurese macopat, Madurese masks, tandhak, sronen, and sabdhur. Among the Madurese community in East Java, it is no different from the pattern in Madura, the kyai is a central figure and role model in people's lives. In addition to socio-cultural values, traditional relations between the Madurese community outside and inside Madura Island are also being maintained. For example, the big kiai in Situbondo are generally role models for Madurese in Sumenep and Pamekasan.

5. Conclusion

The migration of Madurese to East Java was a long process influenced by historical, economic, and social factors. Initially, this migration was related to their involvement in military expeditions and the expansion of kingdoms such as Majapahit and Mataram. However, over time, the main motivation for migration changed to economic, especially with colonial policies such as the Cultivation System which opened up employment opportunities on commercial plantations. Improvements in transportation infrastructure also facilitated the flow of migration, so that more and more Madurese moved to various areas in the interior of East Java to work in the plantation and other agricultural sectors.

In the Tapal Kuda region, the migration of Madurese people has been going on since the Majapahit era, and this area has become the main destination for migration, making the Madurese population in East Java larger than on Madura Island itself. This migration is permanent and seasonal, with economic reasons dominating, such as work on plantations and the informal sector. Even though they are in a foreign land, the Madurese people still maintain their cultural identity, such as typical Madurese settlement patterns and traditional values. Social and cultural relations between Madurese people living abroad and on their home island are also maintained, creating strong cultural cohesion between the two regions.

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