

criminal law proper in the Presidency towns of British India (p. 93 ff.) which makes the Company criminal law appear, in comparison, mild. It is noted that the formal preservation of Islamic law perhaps played its most consequential role in providing a shield against wholesale introduction of British criminal law and thus giving scope for reforms. The trend of these reforms seems to fall into line with an epochal change occurring in contemporaneous Europe, as recently analysed by M. Foucault (*Surveiller et Punir. La naissance de la prison*. Paris 1975) – a change from sanguinary and conspicuously savage punishments like attacks on the body (cf. the formulation p. 131) towards control by more abstract and measured sanctions. In the temper of the time, the Company's administrators could see themselves as progressive innovators, advancing – between the barbarities of English as well as Islamic law – the enlightened tendencies of the age. "Humanity and reason" may have appeared as essentially the same, a *hen-dia-dyoin*. What is still wanting for a comprehensive assessment is an enquiry into how these reforms were experienced at the receiving end, by the people of Bengal.

A final note of caution in view of actualities: whatever relative justification of corporal punishment might be ironically suggested by the title of this book, the relation no longer exists. Today, where capital punishment is on the retreat generally and has been totally abolished in many civilised countries, punishments of mutilation would have to be justified on their own account, and would have to face the challenge of humanity without extenuating sideglances at alternative barbarities. With this apprehensive gloss we take leave of a thought-provoking book.

Dieter Conrad

Fred Arnold and Nasra M. Shah (eds.): Asian Labor Migration. Pipeline to the Middle East. (Westview Special Studies in International Migration). Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986, 265 pages.

This reader collects papers presented at a Conference on Asian Labor Migration to the Middle East which was held at the East-West Center in Honolulu in September 1983. This conference focused on the empirical assessment of the size of the labor flows from Asia (i.e. South Asia, South East Asia and South Korea) to the Middle East, the characteristics of the contract workers and the economic and non-economic consequences of labor migration for the home countries.

Lionel Demery elaborates the weaknesses of the data base of any research on labor migration to the Middle East: poor or missing census data, huge illegal flows and the general absence of information on return flows. Demery's paper presents

estimates on outflow- and stock-data of labor migration and detailed information on socio-economic and demographic characteristics of contract workers. Even before publication in this reader Demery's paper was often quoted.

Mostafa H. Nagi analyzes the competition between Arab and Asian labor-sending countries and the reasons for the increasing share of Asian migrants in the Middle East market for expatriate labor: the lower mobility of the labor markets in important Arab labor-sending countries, wage differences, but also the no-settlement migration policy of the labor-receiving Middle East countries are the most important reasons. *Nasra M. Shah* and *Fred Arnold* give a comprehensive overview of government policies and programs regulating labor migration. Generally speaking the governments pursued a policy of maximizing the export of workers and remittances. They also developed some instruments for a workers' protection policy, especially supervision of private labor agencies, but measures to ensure minimum labor standards in the labor-receiving countries were pursued only half-heartedly as, given the high competition between the home countries, any strict workers' protection policy conflicted with the policy of maximizing the export of workers.

Charles W. Stahl discusses important elements of an economic cost-benefit analysis of migration for the sending countries: reduced unemployment, inflow of scarce foreign exchange and possibly the acquiring of additional skills, (here empirical evidence is contradictory) but also cost elements like costs of labor replacement, possible shortages of skilled labor with an adverse impact on certain industries, possible impact of migration on agricultural output and the danger that international migration leads to internal rural-to-urban migration among returnees.

The second part of this reader comprises eight country studies about all important Asian countries of origin for the labor flow to the Middle East (with the exception of Indonesia which became a notable labor-sending country only in recent years). These country studies examine the labor migration from the perspective of the sending countries. Besides the economic impacts which are also discussed by Charles Stahl, some of the country studies also treat non-economic aspects: for example, effects on the role and the status of women whose husbands left to work in the Middle East or effects on marital stability.

The East-West Center which organized the conference at which the papers collected in this reader were read, has played a pioneer role in research on labor migration from Asia to the Middle East. This reader gives a comprehensive overview of the research conducted on this topic. Of course, after the slump in oil prices which affected the size and the structure of the Middle East markets for expatriate labor some aspects not covered by this reader become more and more

important: the integration of increasing numbers of returnees and the adaptation of the labor-sending countries' economies to much lower remittances.

Georg Cremer

Dietrich Kühne: *Vielvölkergesellschaft zwischen Dorf und Metropole. Fortentwicklung und neue Wege der Urbanisierung in Malaysia 1970-1980.* (Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde, 47). Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1986. XVIII + 538 pages, 44 maps, 18 coloured illustrations. DM 138.-

Kühne's study continues his earlier work on urbanization in Malaysia published more than a decade ago (*Urbanisation in Malaysia. Analyse eines Prozesses*, Wiesbaden 1976). While his previous book focussed on the whole urban history of Malaysia from its earliest (pre-historic) beginnings up to the year 1970, the recently published volume seeks to assess the dynamics of urbanization during the 1970-1980 period. Kühne's latest endeavor was greatly inspired by the drastic changes in Malaysia's development strategies following the May 1969 riots in Kuala Lumpur. Starting with the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-1975) the Malaysian Government had initiated its New Economic Policy (NEP) with the objective of restructuring Malaysian society. NEP basically followed a two-pronged approach – the eradication of poverty irrespective of race and the creation of a more equitable distribution of income and wealth through fostering a "viable and dynamic commercial and industrial community of Malays and other indigenous people." As pointed out by Kühne this implied a shift from a *laissez faire* to a technicistic development philosophy.

Briefly summarized, Kühne's voluminous study examines the following major issues: (a) the growth and distribution of Malaysia's population during the decade between 1970 and 1980; (b) the changes brought about by NEP in the country's socio-economic structure; and (c) the functional, social and spatial implications for the urbanization process.

Given the limited space, it is impossible here to do complete justice to the vast array of empirical material analyzed by Kühne. So I confine myself to highlighting some of the most salient findings of the study.

Although the eastern parts of Malaysia (the east coast plus the Borneo territories of Sabah and Sarawak) showed the most rapid population growth, there was no marked change in the population distribution between the east and the west. The majority of the Malaysian population still settles along the Peninsula's west coast.