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By

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ABSTRACT

THE MATERIAL PROVISIONING OF MUALANG SOCIETY
IN HINTERLAND KALIMANTAN BARAT, INDONESIA

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This dissertation is a study of how Mualang society is materially provisioned. The Mualang people are near-subsistence, swidden-rice cultivators inhabiting the Belitang and Ayak River valleys of the middle Kapuas River in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. An analysis of the social organization of Mualang society precedes the analysis of the arrangements for provisioning it and the economic context in which provisioning takes place.

The organization of material provisioning is sought by use of the conventional categories of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption. Special status is accorded to distribution because it is in distribution that the logic by which economic behavior is integrated with social organization more widely is revealed.

Performance data on material provisioning is used not only to reveal the overall strategy of material provisioning behavior, but also to test the applicability of Marshall Sahlins' "domestic mode of production" theoretical framework whereby the community's profile of household production performance is explained by the particular way in which the society puts economic exchange to political purposes. The

relationships suggested by Sahlins' scheme were found to hold in this case.

The focus on forms of reciprocity and distribution not only provides a systematic understanding of Mualang economic life, but is also relevant to several problems of Bornean ethnology more generally. In particular, the tribal model has been problematic, and it has been difficult to specify the place of kinship organization in these societies. Both of these theoretical issues are here taken to be related to the lack of a kinship polity and the unusual relationship between economic reciprocity and political process. Mualang social order is an order specified in customary law, not a political "peace" negotiated on the basis of the manipulation of political resources. In such a context, kinship, although important in social organization, plays a very small social structural role.

With respect to the applicability of Sahlins' tribal model, it is argued that for the economic dimension the tribal and peasant models are not sufficiently constrastive. Instead, the proper contrast is primitive against peasant economic life and the economic context under study is characterized as primitive.

Kepada Orang Suku Mualang

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The Mualang are near-subsistence dry rice agriculturalists living along the Belitang and Ayak tributaries of the middle Kapuas River in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Dry rice cultivation is practiced here in the manner called "swidden," or more descriptively, "slash-and-burn" or "shifting" agriculture. Although the recent introduction of rubber as a cash crop has been a significant addition to this roughly 2000 year old technological repertoire, still it is dry rice cultivation that dominates the technoeconomic basis for sustaining Mualang social life and culture. Until recently a child's age was reckoned not as a sum of years but in terms of where the family made rice fields that year. Among the Mualang life continues to be perceived as an ordered series of swidden cultivations, each uniquely defined by the composition of the family labor force for that year as well as the location of the fields and the degree of success enjoyed. Earlier studies of swidden agriculturalists in Southeast Asia have provided a good understanding of this technoenvironmental adaptation (Conklin 1961; Freeman 1955; Geddes 1954; Izikowitz 1951; and Padoch 1978), as well as some generalizations about its

associated sociocultural context (Barney 1970). The present study contributes to this literature by focusing on the performance dimensions of economic behavior in an analysis of economic life in such a community. This study of village economic life was motivated by an interest in certain ethnological problems. The hinterland Bornean ethnographic cases have, for the most part, fit rather uncomfortably the ethnological models developed from research in other areas of the world. The place of kinship in their social structure has been problematic (Appell 1976: vii) as has the applicability of the tribal model of sociocultural integration (e.g., Sahlins 1968). Not only are these societies not organized as kinship polities, but further, the households of a community appear economically autonomous rather than integrated by exchange into a tribal polity. These difficulties have been cogently expressed in the works of Marshall Sahlins (1965, 1968, and 1972). Following his lead, the research of a village economic context was planned that would be not only of interest in its own right, but would also be useful for analyzing these issues of the character of material reciprocity between households and the place of these exchanges in the community's sociopolitical organization. Based on the apparent applicability of Sahlins' "domestic mode of production" (DMP) scheme for the hinterland Bornean cases, the research was designed to quantify domestic unit economic performance directly with the end of putting this scheme to use.

It turned out that the production performance data of individual domestic units that is required to apply the DMP scheme

has analytic usefulness far beyond that suggested by Sahlins. Being the view from the microeconomic perspective, it provides the means for quantifying such concepts in the theory of subsistence economics as "demand ceiling," family self-exploitation, and peasant-style assymmetrical linkage to a market economy. Consequently, in the final chapter this study can argue with the force of quantification the issue of to what extent it is useful to characterize such cases as this as "primitive" or "peasant" economic contexts. Furthermore, the domestic unit production performance data provides the means for understanding the degree to which society is being materially provisioned beyond the material requirements of its producing units and the place of wealth and personal consumption in the sociopolitical order.

This examination of economic life provides performance data from the macroeconomic perspective of analysis as well; i.e., the community economic context in which the domestic units take decisions about provisioning themselves. With this data it is possible to inquire into how the various forms of production, dominated by dry rice and rubber, are interrelated in the Mualang's particular scheme of material provisioning and how these relationship change in response to price changes. Of special interest here are the relationships revealed between a household's consumer/worker ratio, the intensity of weeding the rice fields, and the tapping of rubber during the weeding phase of the agricultural cycle. The analysis takes the understanding beyond the "bottleneck" in labor demand problem (e.g., Clark and Haswell 1966: 42) to

the delineation of particular strategies of material provisioning appropriate to particular intervals of the consumer/worker spectrum.

Sahlins' DMP theory exhorts us to be heedful of the nuances of material exchanges between households, and economic life in Mualang society is found to illustrate several important principles in this regard. An array of culturally instituted forms of reciprocity from "negative" to "generalized" is identified. Not only are the terms of exchange qualified by kinship relations, but also conventional forms of exchange are found to be appropriate for particular phases of the agricultural cycle. While the characterization of the relations between households as "balanced reciprocity" is substantiated both as ideology and in the redistributional sense, the results of the analysis make a telling point about the social valence of balanced reciprocity.

All forms of reciprocity have a sociopolitical dimension. Balanced reciprocity builds and maintains social ties as surely as does generalized reciprocity. As Sahlins has put it, balanced reciprocity serves instrumentally "as formal social compact. Balanced reciprocity is the classic vehicle of peace and alliance contracts, substance-as-symbol of the transformation from separate to harmonious interests" (1972: 219-20). The point illustrated by this study is that balanced reciprocity in primitive society is qualitatively different from balanced reciprocity in peasant society. In peasant society, it builds and maintains sociality while in primitive

society it carries heavy political organizational weight as well. It should be emphasized at the start that it is not merely the relations of "distribution" and political intensification that provide an understanding of the community production profile. More importantly, this quantitative data links up with the central features of Mualang society and culture as sketched out in Chapter III: the household mode of production; the high degree of household social autonomy; political egalitarianism; primus-inter-pares community leadership; and an inordinate reliance on the jural basis of order.

In a sense Sahlins' explanation of the high level of household autonomy for the hinterland Southeast Asian cases as being the consequence of disposing of household rice surpluses externally in trade with more advanced economic centers (1968: 47) is born out by the analysis. It will be argued that it is useful for understanding several of the unusual features of the hinterland Bornean peoples to consider how they have evolved on the cultural margins of state-level societies as suggested by F.K. Lehman (1963: 225). It would be wrong, however, to mistake these relationships with the more complex societies as variations of a peasant-style economic surplus extraction. The household surpluses traded for traditional heirloom valuables such as ceramic vases, brass gongs, beads, etc. are nonetheless invested in the reproduction of the primitive sociocultural order. There is no "surplus" production in primitive economics because these societies are organized to produce only the material requirements for

reproducing their traditional society (Diamond 1974). Consequently, "subsistence living" (cf., Wharton 1963:47) in primitive society is qualitatively different from subsistence living in peasant society. In primitive society subsistence production provides the complete replication of their traditional society, but among peasants the assymmetrical linkages with the encapsulating commercial market economy reduce the effectiveness of their production "to the point where the merely biological functions of the cultivator are replicated, within a constricted range of social functions" (Diamond 1974: 13). These points of Stanley Diamond's are central to the consideration in the final chapter of the applicability of the primitive-peasant economy distinctions to the Mualang case.

Throughout the analysis, the distinctions between primitive and peasant society prove instructive. Today the Mualang find themselves caught up in change in nearly every dimension of their sociocultural life as the young Indonesian nation attempts to integrate them into the national fabric. This study, predisposed as it is to attend to ethnological problems, does not focus on that change directly but some understanding of it is possible in terms of how the data squares with the end points of the transition from primitive society to peasantry. In recent years there has been considerable scepticism (e.g., Dalton 1971), as well as marked indifference, about the usefulness of models on the scale of primitive society and peasantry. This study uses these models explicitly because

key relationships for understanding Mualang economic life are posited by them. The view is taken here that the Mualang case is a strategic case for the application of these models by virtue of the historical conditions under which the hinterland Southeast Asian peoples have accomodated themselves to state-level societies. The intended outcome is to appreciate Mualang society material provisioning in its own terms rather than in ours. That primitive economic order is not merely underdeveloped versions of our economy, but instead is qualitatively different, performing in accordance with fundamentally different principles, has been a motivating presumption of economic anthropology since the time of Malinowski's Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922). In Marshall Sahlins' Stone Age Economics (1972) we now have a systematic set of principles specifying how primitive economics is different based on domestic production for use.

Economic behavior is here defined as that socio-culturally instituted behavior that materially provisions society. Depicting these instituted arrangements for Mualang society is the focus of this study. This organization of economic life is pursued from two directions. First, the categories of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption are taken as generating a formal question set to be put to the data collected to draw out the particular organizational features of economic life directly. Second, and indirectly, an analysis of the economic performance of households reveals certain features of economic organization.

This "formal" approach to economic organization has its rationale in the "substantivist" objective, that is, to understand economic behavior in terms of the sociocultural institutions in which it is embedded and which provide its rationalization. A fortunate conjunction in the work of Maurice Godelier (1972) and Scott Cook (1973) facilitates such an approach by universalizing these categories and concepts of conventional economic discourse. By using this formal model in the manner of an abstract analytical system (Appell 1973: 47), a substantive understanding of economic behavior of some cross-cultural applicability seems a genuine possibility.

This study is an analysis of the economic behavior and context of a single community although it is believed to be representative of Mualang society more widely. The research on which it is based entailed nearly eighteen months residence at the field site. Aspiring to carry out research that would be relevant to these larger ethnological issues, the search for a field site specified a community located in the interior where communicational infrastructure is poorly developed and hence the articulation with the market economy minimal. In such a near-subsistence setting there is greater likelihood of being able to examine the more traditional forms of reciprocity and redistribution in the context of more traditional economic organization and performance.

Geographical Setting

Sungai Mulau[1] is a Mualang village in the hinterlands of Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia (see Figures 1, 2, and 3). An understanding of its economic circumstances properly begins with a consideration of its geographical location. Kalimantan Barat is the West Bornean province defined largely by the drainage basin of the Kapuas River, Indonesia's longest. The Mualang are a Dayak tribe inhabiting the valley of the Belitang and Ayak Rivers, righthand tributaries of the Kapuas in the Middle Kapuas Basin. Pontianak, the populous coastal city of 451,680 in the Kapuas River Delta, is the site of the province's central offices. Administratively, the province is divided into six Kabupaten and one Kotamadya (municipality of Pontianak). Each Kabupaten is composed of many Kecamatans which administer the affairs of the villages. Sungai Mulau is one of the 100 villages in the Kecamatan Belitang Hulu in the Kabupaten Sanggau.

The equator passes through Pontianak and so the province is bisected by this imaginary line symbolizing the extremes of discomfort of life in the tropics. Heavy rainfall, averaging 125.9 inches per year at Pontianak, causes excessive leaching of soils exposed by the removal of the tropical rainforest for agricultural purposes and so lack of soil fertility is a serious problem. Only on the narrow, relatively

[1]Sungai Mulau is a pseudonym. Likewise, the names of living members of the villages have been changed to comply with requirements of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects.

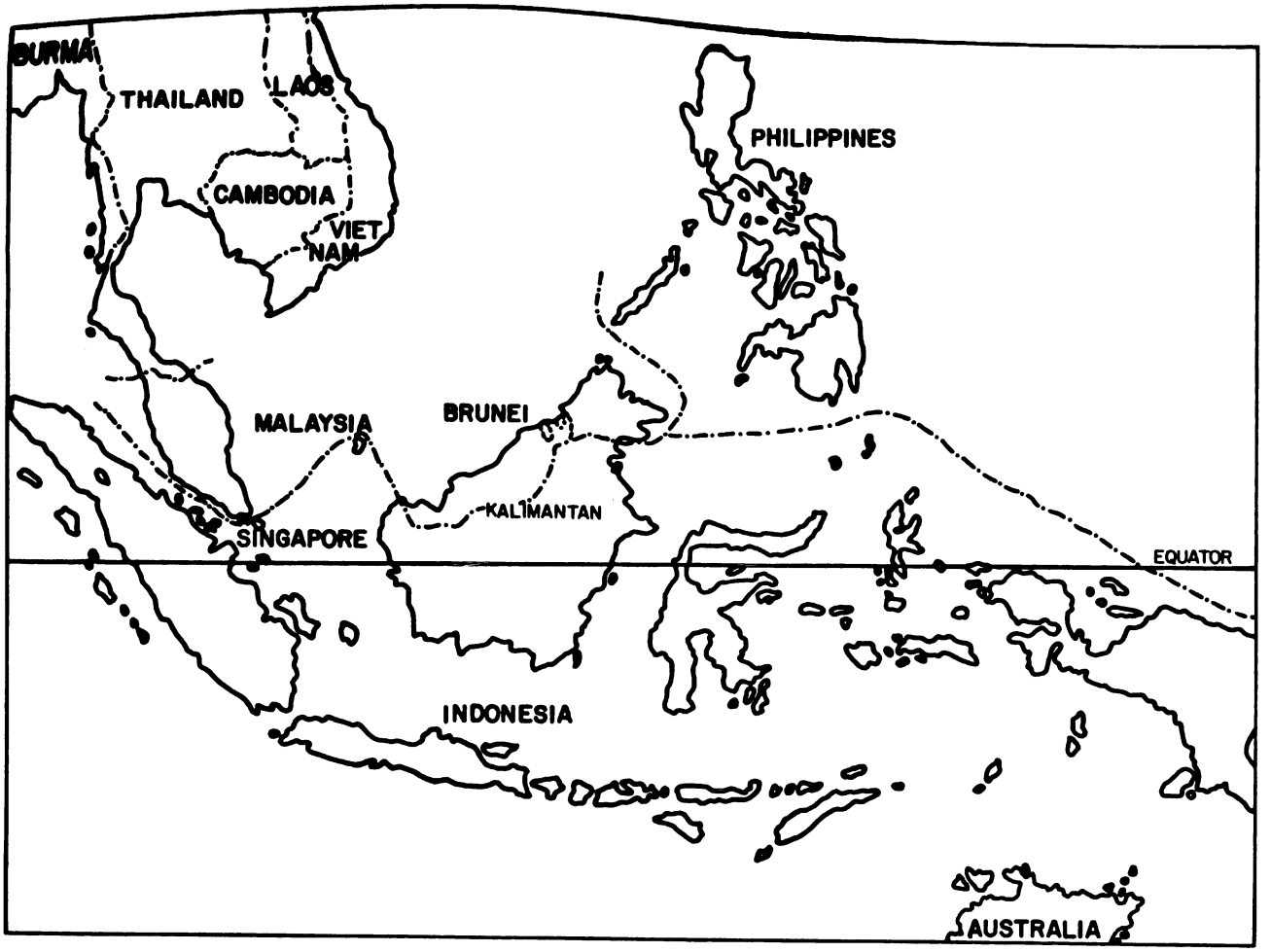

Figure 1. Indonesia in Southeast Asia.

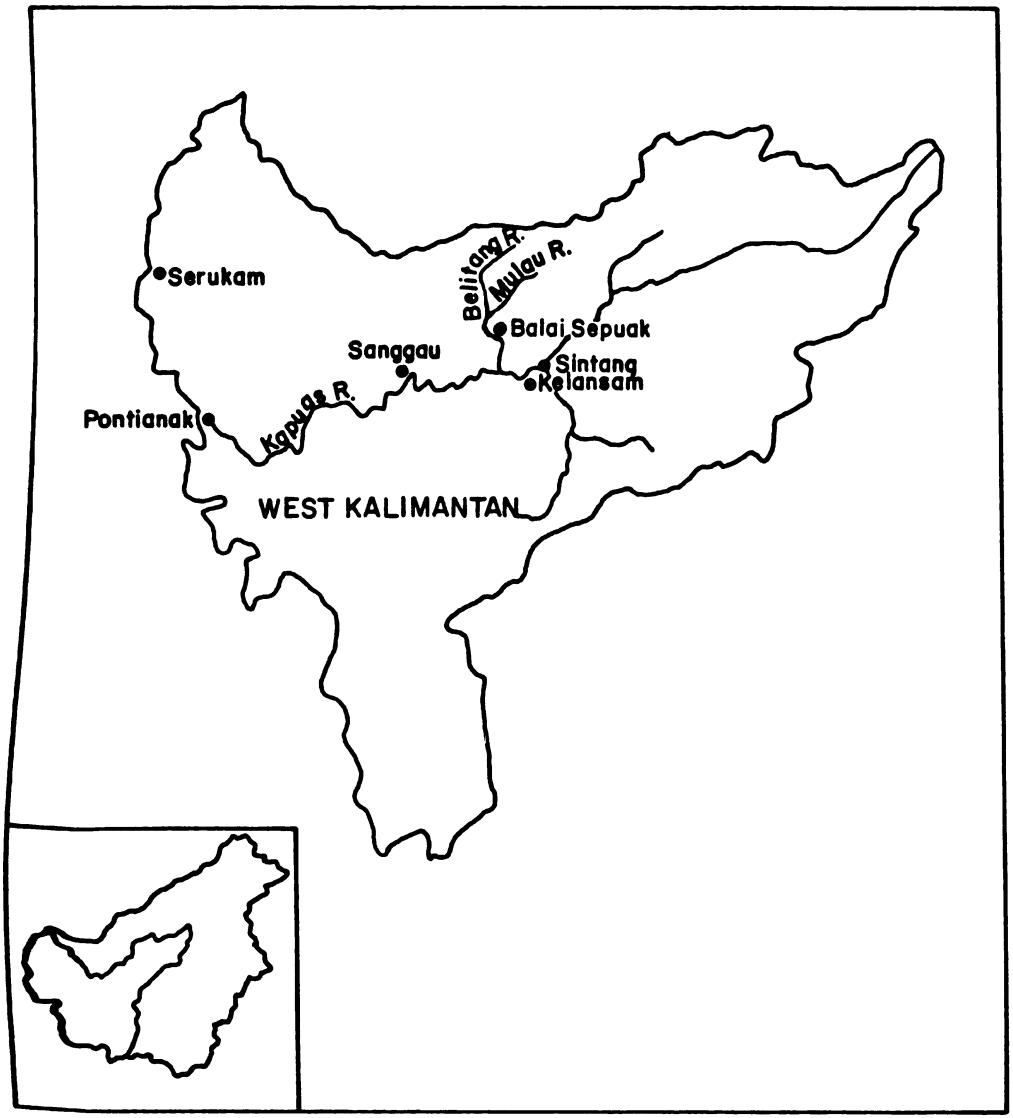

Figure 2. The Kapuas River System of West Kalimantan.

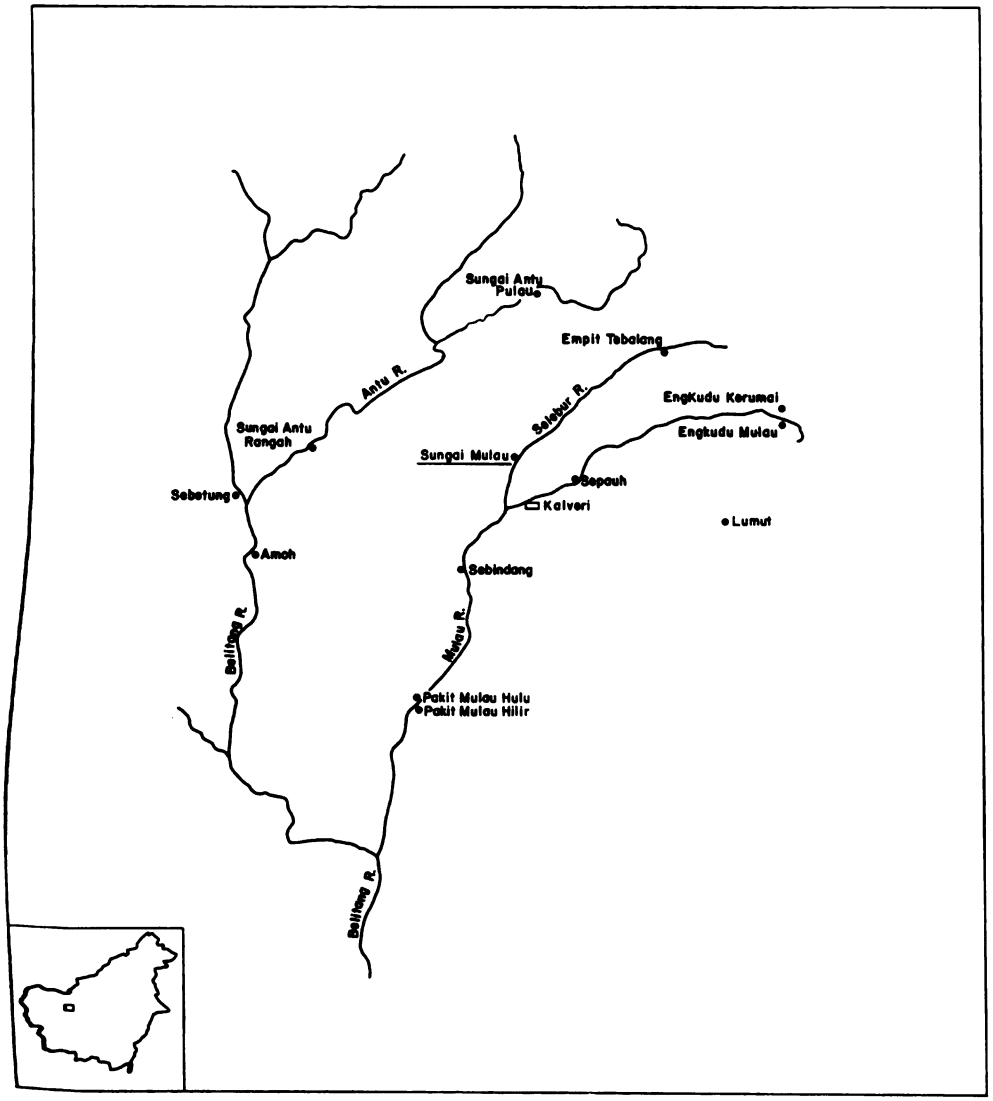

Figure 3. The Sungai Mulau Area of West Kalimantan.

fertile coastal strip between Pontianak and Sambas can there be found wet rice (sawah) and plantation agriculture to any extent. The rest of the province is dominated by dry rice agriculture and small-holder cash-cropping of rubber and pepper. Indonesia is among the 25 poorest countries in the world in terms of their 1977 per capita income of US $170 (1979 Asia Yearbook: 16), and the province of Kalimantan Barat is underdeveloped even by Indonesian standards.

Census figures for 1971 specified that the population is 10 percent Chinese, 33 percent "ethnic Malays," 40 percent Dayaks and the remainder immigrants from other islands; especially Java, Madura, and South Sulawesi. Containing only 1.2 percent of Indonesia's population over its third largest provincial area, it has been the object of government projects to encourage resettlement of wet-rice agriculturalists from overcrowded Java to the sparsely inhabited outer islands.

The Chinese and immigrants are found living mostly in the larger river towns and coastal cities along the populous coastal strip north of Pontianak. The Chinese dominate the large-scale trade in the province and before the anti-Chinese uprisings on the part of the Dayaks in 1967, the Chinese also dominated the sawah and plantation agriculture of this fertile strip. Since 1967 they have, for the most part, abandoned their land and have become refugees in the coastal towns, especially Pontianak. During the Malaysian communist insurgency problems of the early 1970s, the small-scale Chinese traders living along the right-hand tributaries of the Kapuas

were required by the government to move to the Kapuas River towns for "security" reasons, seriously disrupting the hinterland trade network.

The recent immigrants, except for the Javanese in government service and those participating in the transmigration projects, swell the services sector of the economy as becak (pedicab) cyclists, handcart pullers, street vendors, and sampan paddlers providing ferry service across the bridgeless Kapuas. The lack of bridges is one illustration of the extremely poor level of infrastructure here. Lacking roads, the rivers remain the important transport connection between Pontianak and the hinterlands.

The ethnic Malays also enjoy positions in government service and some find employment in coastal towns. Most, however, live in small villages strung along the Kapuas and its major tributaries. As such they are situated intermediate between the towns and the hinterland. Much of the small-scale trade is in their hands. The Malay villager combines fishing, dry-rice agriculture, and cash-cropping for a livelihood.

In the sparsely settled interior are found the Dayak peoples whose history, since the suppression of headhunting by the Dutch colonial government in the later decades of the 19th century, has been marked by the gradual but continuous decline of tribal sovereignty. This decline has been brought about first through the agency of the Malay sultanates based in the larger river towns, later by the Japanese conquerors during World War II, and finally by Indonesian nation-building.

Hinterland isolation has permitted the survival of a subsistence-style economic order in which the cultivation of dry rice looms larger than in downriver locations. Furthermore, in the context of significant forest resources cash-cropping assumes a less important place in the organization of the material provisioning of Dayak societies.

The village of Sungai Mulau lies on the Mulau River, a branch of the Belitang (see Figure 3). The Belitang River is nearly always naviable below Balai Sepuak, the exception being an unusual drought during the dry season. Above Balai Sepuak river travel is a sometime thing. At Sungai Mulau the water level is so low that the villagers do not use even the delicate dug-out canoes characteristic of the region. Most travel is by foot over the narrow forest paths. Nonetheless, after a heavy rain over the span of a couple of days, the water level does rise sufficiently to allow passage of a boat, and so itinerant traders occasionally travel this far. The village chief maintains a boat and motor allowing him to engage in trade with Balai Sepuak sporadically. All villages beyond Sungai Mulau lack river travel altogether.

For the average villager, travel beyond Balai Sepuak, a six hour walk, is quite rare. Such trips would be made only by children going off to school or by someone seeking more sophisticated medical care than is available at the puskesmas (government clinic) in Balai Sepuak. On the other hand, most adult males have a few times made the trip over the Kalingkang mountain range into Sarawak, Malaysia, to trade for highly-prized Sarawak goods.

Swidden cultivation (ladang in the Indonesian language and uma in Mualang), the central feature of Mualang economic life, is a most common form of agriculture found throughout the tropical world. Pierre Gourou has said that "there are few such clear instances of identical response by man to similar environment" (1953: 32, cited in Fisher 1964: 70). Swidden agriculture is a most controversial subject beginning with concern over its "prodigality" of forest resources and potential for environmental degradation. The Indonesian government, for example, holds this form of agriculture in very low esteem and makes serious efforts to encourage a shift to wet rice (sawah) agriculture which, by contrast, occupies smaller areas of continuously cultivated padis capable of being flooded and drained of water. Keen interest and research into these topics continues unabated as concern with the effects of the shrinking of the tropical forests on the entire earth's ecosystem mounts (Raven 1981). A review of the major characteristics of swidden agriculture as practiced in hinterland Southeast Asia will place the economic order of the village under study in the technoenvironmental conditions of this disputable form of agriculture.

The forest is felled by axe and the undergrowth cleared by use of a long knife. After a period of drying of the cut and slashed vegetation, the plot is burned. Planting by use of a dibble stick takes place after the soil has cooled sufficiently. The fire kills many weed seeds if the trees are large, and the ash provides some short-lived fertility.

Weeding of the plot, at least once, is typically the most demanding phase of cultivation in terms of labor input. Also at weeding time crude fencing and animal traps may be constructed to lessen the depredations of wild animals. Commonly, a field hut is also constructed in order that the family can be on guard at the plot as the crops ripen and during harvest. Harvesting of the rice, which matures in from four to six months depending upon variety, is typically accomplished stalk by stalk with a small blade held clamped in the hand. The timing of the harvest is staggered over the community both by the communal planting of the plots sequentially and also by the fact that each family plants about a dozen different varieties of rice, their favorites among the three dozen or so varieties commonly planted in that particular community. The ecological diversity and hence the agricultural stability of the swidden plot is further heightened by the intermixing of many vegetable crops, almost randomly, among the several different varieties of rice. Such diversity, randomness, and sequencing are important hedges against diseases, pests, and bad weather.

Depending upon the innate fertility of the soil, the plot will have to be abandoned in one, two, or three years to allow the grasses and weeds that make weeding so difficult to be replaced by bushes and trees that shade out the weeds and provide a renewed potential fertility. This fallowing period can vary from seven to 25 years, depending upon the fertility of the soil, and is an important determinant of the settlement pattern of hinterland swidden communities. Longer fallowing

periods correlate with much larger areas of tropical forest required to support a given community, more frequent relocation of the living site to be near the land under cultivation, and more sparse settlement of such a low soil fertility region. There is an inherent demographic centrifugality to the system as increases in population must emigrate to prevent the shortening of the required fallowing period and the consequent lessening of productivity.

Such an ecological adaptation has been almost irresistable to peoples living in the tropical hinterlands for several reasons. A very simple technology involving an axe, a knife, a dibblestick, and a few baskets and mats handwoven from readily available jungle products, permits a high level of economic independence. Since, by virtue of the vast expanse of tropical forest, land is not scarce and the tools required are few, simple and easily acquired, labor becomes the "limiting factor" in the hinterland swidden economic adaptation. An interesting feature of swidden agriculture is its higher returns to labor compared with intensive forms of agriculture. Although the yields per hectare are low compared with intensive rice cultivation, the returns per day of labor are typically higher (Clark and Haswell 1966: 33; Utomo 1967: 297). The average yield for dry-rice in Kalimantan Barat is 940 Kg padi/hectare according to Ward and Ward (1974: 34), while 1,600 Kg padi/hectare yields are attained in permanent fields utilizing checkbanks on the coastal plans, though they guess the latter figure sounds too high.

Another feature of swidden cultivation that is especially appealing is the opportunity for intercropping. By scattering the supplementary cultivated vegetables over the swidden plot, a separate garden need not be prepared. In addition, fruit trees, cassava, sugar cane, and even rubber as a cash-crop can be planted on or near an abandoned rice field without laborious preparation of the soil with a hoe.

Several other features are characteristic of the hinterland Southeast Asian swidden ecological adaptation. Hunting and collecting food from the forest can be important supplements to the cultivated food. Chickens and pigs are domesticated to provide eggs and meat for ceremonial occasions. Such domestication, like plant cultivation, is "extensive," the animals being fed the minimum to keep them about the village and provide some protection against predators. The collection of jungle products of value in the lowland economy typically provides some economic articulation. In this trade, the interior tribes have traditionally received iron tools, cloth, jewelry, brassware, ceramic vases, etc. which serve as a store of value and a source of prestige.

It is usual for the household to serve as the predominant economic unit, i.e., the primary production and consumption unit. By membership in a village, the household obtains use rights to the land required for its economic well-being. The village holds residual rights to the land which constitutes its more or less clearly defined territory, and it is a "labor reserve" so necessary for the critical phases of

agriculture when a particular task must be executed without delay. Commonly, indigenous political organization does not extend beyond the village. Such a technoeconomic base is typically associated with the tribal level of sociocultural integration.

Cultural Setting

The Mualang tribe is one of the "Ibanic Malayic Dayak" tribes (Hudson 1970). They are found near the center of the distribution of these tribes which is over the middle reaches of the Kapuas and the near areas of Sarawak. Linguistic research by A.B. Hudson has led him to postulate that many of the Dayak tribes of Kalimantan speak languages close to the Malay language by virtue of evolving with Malay from a proto-Malayic language. Several related tribes, of which the Iban tribe is the "type case," constitute the Ibanic Malayic Dayak branch of this Malayic language family (Ibid.). The Malayic Dayaks have avoided Islamization and integration into Malay culture by various tactics -- the most important of these being migration and retreat into the sparsely inhabited interior.

The Iban have received considerable attention among anthropologists, the work of Freeman (1955, 1958, 1960, 1961, and 1970), Fortes (1969), Jensen (1974), Morgan (1968), and Sutlive (1978) being of greatest relevance to this study. It is fair to characterize them as one of the best documented tribes in all of Southeast Asia. European interest in the

Iban extends as far back as the establishment of the Sarawak Rajahdom of James Brooke in 1841 in return for aid in suppressing the "Sea Dayaks" (=Iban) whose pirating activities were so troublesome for the Sultan of Brunei. The expanionist character of the Ibanic peoples in the hinterland of Sarawak caused them to receive extraordinary attention from the Sarawak government over the years. Since the suppression of their ardent commitment to headhunting, they have been of great interest to missionaries, anthropologists, adventurers, and government officials alike for the vitality of their romantic, primitive longhouse life-style as well as their eagerness to grasp new adaptational opportunities. In fact, Iban culture continues to be of keen interest to anthropologists because of an intriguing combination of cultural traits. Especially notable are: "opposed yet supportive families" (Sutlive 1978: 39), "the thoroughgoing egalitarian ethic . . . holding in dynamic tension competition and cooperation," (Ibid.); and an intense achievement orientation in the context of severe egalitarianism. The uncommon ease with which the Iban move between the longhouse and the city (Appell 1976: 12) and their success as international travelers are manifestations of their "liberal conservatism":

> in situations of change, the Iban have suffered neither a debilitating social disorganization nor a traumatic cultural disorientation. Rather, with a remarkably 'liberal conservatism' they have shown a positive inclination toward change which predisposed them to seek new experiences and to think new thoughts, quite purposefully engaging in 'the dialectics of social life' (Murphy 1971)(Sutlive 1978: 3).

The Mualang are a tribe in the sense of a self-conscious sociocultural entity characterized by common customs and law,[2] a distinguishable language, and a sense of common history and destiny. Like all the Ibanic tribes, their folklore specifies that their ancestral home is the Sai River, a branch of the Ketungau River in its headwaters. Here in the gigantic original village of Tampun Juah all the Dayak tribes lived together in harmony until they were bothered by a satanic nation of people. After prolonged struggle (the final straw being the turning of all their food into feces), they abandoned the site for points downriver with plans to reunite by following signs left along the course of travel, but the signs were altered by the swift current of the flood waters and the confusion resulted in the various parties getting separated from each other. One of these emigrant parties, consisting of descendents of Bedjit Manai under the leadership of Gujau Temenggung Budi, became the Mualang. Passing down the Sai River and the Ketungau River as far as the mouth of the present-day Mualang River, they were forced by customary travel prohibitions to halt their journey when a man named Mualang died. They found excellent fishing holes in this river, and after some time had passed waiting for favorable omens, they explored the river in hunting expeditions to the headwaters.

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[2]To someone unfamiliar with the hinterland Bornean ethnographic cases the term "law" may appear incongruous with tribal-level sociocultural integration. In what is to follow, this unusual development of the jural dimension will be related to those other features of Bornean societies that are inconsistent with the tribal level.

Resuming their journey, they crossed over the hill Bukit Rambat and moved into the Belitang River valley to found the first Mualang village at Tanah Tabuk which exists to this day. Expansion over the years through the Belitang and Ayak Rivers has produced two subtribes; the Mualang Hulu (upriver), to which the village under study belongs; and the Mulang Hilir (downriver) located along the Ayak River.

These years of emigration and expansion were the age of headhunting. Though the broad Belitang River valley was nearly uninhabited at the time they entered it, and the Mualang continue to expand on the northern edge of their territory to this day, the Mualang Hilir did encounter some meagre resistance from the Menane in the upper Ayak River. In those days headhunting set every tribe against every other. The Mualang were completely encircled by enemies; the Benan and Bugau on the north, the Ketungau tribes on the east, the Seberuang and Desa on the south, and the Jangkang on the west. But, above all, the Iban were the most troublesome enemies for all the tribes of this area. The Mualang had a special relationship with the Kantuk tribe to the northeast (another arch-enemy of the Iban) that allowed them secure passage when launching an attack against the Iban.

The Mualang were clearly less aggressive people than the Iban, and by some accounts were in danger of dwindling seriously in numbers because the Iban regarded them as "easy heads." The Dutch colonial government finally began to take some interest in Borneo in the mid-19th century and began

seriously to supress headhunting in the last decades of that century. In a system of indirect rule the Dayak tribes were forceably incorporated into the Malay Rajahdoms of the Kapuas River and began to pay taxes to the Rajah for the first time, at the rate of 10 gantangs beras per household.

During this period of uneasy subjugation to the Malays sponsored by Dutch superiority in weaponry, the brooding Mualang refused to have a school built in their territory by the Dutch and otherwise resisted with suspicion colonial government policies as far as they dared. Then a chance event occurred that was to change drastically the Mualang's place in the scheme of things in the middle Kapuas River basin. A missionary of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, traveling on the Ketungau River, met there a party of Mualang men who had come to trade for salt. When they learned of his mission, they invited him to come to live with the Mualang and he was delighted to do so as his efforts to bring the word of God to the Dayak tribes of this middle Kapuas region had met, thus far, with little success. As a matter of fact, from a base in Sintang he had already ventured into the upper Kapuas and Melawi River regions where things had not been promising. The receptivity of the Mualang to the Christian religion is, to a considerable extent, rooted in their moody response to being caught up in colonial suzerainty. For several years a Mualang leader named Bangi had been stirring the tribe into heights of excess in feasting and ceremony in an effort to solicit aid from their cultural heroes

residing in the mythical village of Pangau. Presumably, the colonial government's interpretation of this was that it was potentially subversive as he was consequently imprisoned in Java. It is believed that he was there exposed to Christianity because, upon his release and return to the Belitang River valley, he spoke widely and prophetically of the demise of the old ways and the coming of a new and more powerful religion. The California missionary, J. Arthur Mouw, was identified as Kling, one of the most important and popular mythical heroes living in the village of Pangau which was established after that fateful separation from Tampun Juah and which the Mualang have since tried in vain to locate.

Plugged into prophetic history (cf. Sahlins 1977: 24-25) and the folklore of the ancestral heroes, conversion to Christianity proceeded expeditiously from Balai Sepuak where Reverend Mouw took up residence and established a Bible school with the aid of two recent graduates of the Bible school at Ujung Pandang in Sulawesi. An enthusiasm for hymn singing was converted skillfully into an interest in reading among the young people and the missionary school grew beyond teaching the letters to offering the three grades of school permitted by the Dutch colonial government. Many of the present village chiefs were educated in this school and tell with considerable pride the story of how they attended the third grade four times, a subterfuge to obtain the equivalent of a sixth grade education.

By about 1943, all of Sungai Mulau were Christian and the strain between the Christians and the uncoverted in

most other villages had led to their splitting into separate Christian and unconverted villages; Pakit Mulau Hulu/Pakit Mulau Hilir and Engkudu Mulau/Engkudu Kerumai are just two examples. There is perhaps no better illustration of the importance of consensus in a Mualang community (a point I will develop in Chapter III) than this. Inexorably, conversion proceeded until the last village, Pakit Mulau Hilir, capitulated in 1967, but the Japanese invasion of the island in 1942 and its brutal occupation during the Second World War provided some impedence (cf. Ricklefs 1981: 187). Reverend Mouw had managed to escape ahead of the occupation forces but one of the two Bible teachers was killed in a concentration camp at Mandor, near the coast. Attending church was absolutely forbidden by the Japanese. Upon the withdrawal of the Japanese troops at the end of the war, Reverend Mouw returned to Balai Sepuak and expanded the school facilities. By this time interest in education was widespread and schools were springing up spontaneously throughout the Mualang Hulu area.

Among the Mualang Hilir, the course of events was quite different. Conversion to Christianity had spread only very slowly into the Ayak River by the late 1940s when the Catholic Capuchin missionary Donatus Dunselman turned his attention to this area. During the early 1950s Father Dunselman converted the Mualang of this river system to Catholicism from his base at Pakit Engkuning. The differences in the conversion experiences of the two subtribes are striking. Father Dunselman was keenly interested in the native culture and,

with admirable skill, collected and published important folk songs and folklore (see King 1978 for a bibliography). To this day the people of Mualang Hilir continue to learn and preserve this cultural heritage. By contrast, the Mualang Hulu began to view their cultural heritage as unbefitting their modernizing condition and the songs and stories of their heroic ancestors began to be excluded from their gawai celebrations. The young people learned Christian hymns and Bible stories instead of the enormously long and musically less stimulating songs and tales about the goings-on among the extraordinary beings of the lost village of Pangau. Being the most Christianized and among the best educated people of the middle Kapuas area, the Mualang Hulu have seriously accepted the important role assigned them by the missionaries in helping spread Christianity through the reluctant neighboring tribes. To this end, many of the young people study at the Bible school, now located at Kelansam on the Kapuas River, to become preachers. A high percentage of them discover, after practical field experience, that life as a missionary among an alien tribe indisposed to support them at the level they had hoped for is not congenial to them and so they return to their village to half-heartedly assume the life they had hoped to avoid by getting an education. In all fairness, it should be noted that the education provided at the Bible school is the least expensive available and, for that reason, an attractive opportunity for young people aspiring to a higher level of living than is typical for the

village. The difficulty that the missionization effort has had with building institutionalized Christianity at this level of community material support of the minister's family and church property illustrates a prominent feature of the analysis of this economic organization. The economic life of these communities is not organized to produce a "surplus" that can be extracted to support people who do not provision themselves.

Elementary school is available at Kalveri, a church-school community just ten minutes walk from the longhouse within the Sungai Mulau longhouse territory. A new, three classroom elementary school was built here by the government in 1977. The community includes the Kalveri church, the homes of the preacher and six teachers, and eight dormitories for the children of the eight villages that are too far away for the children to walk each day. In these dormitories, the children care for themselves for the six days of the school week entirely without supervision, though, of course, the preacher's and teachers' families are located nearby. For this reason, it is understandable that children do not begin school until the age of eight and, if they must stay in a dormitory, perhaps as late as ten or eleven.

Grades seven, eight, and nine are available at Balai Sepuak and, of course, students walking in from as far as Sungai Mulau must live in a dormitory. These dormitories, like those for elementary students at Kalveri, are very modest affairs, not much more than large field huts. This school

was, until two years ago, privately supported and its two classrooms were woefully inadequate for the educational needs of the children in the area. The government is in the process of erecting a new school on this site. At present many students from the area venture as far as Sintang, Sekadau, or Sanggau to attend these grades where the facilities are better. After these middle school grades, Bible school is available at Kelansam, teachers school is available at Sanggau, and high school and trade schools are available at Pontianak. A few students from the Sungai Mulau area have been trained as nurses at the Baptist hospital in Serukam on the west coast where they have good connections. In these circumstances where the student must find a way to support himself in a distant town or city, connections already established by previous students are imperative. As much as anything else good connections account for the relatively high level of education attained by the children of Sungai Mulau. Sungai Mulau and its daughter village, Sungai Antu Rangah, were among the first Mualang villages to have their young people seek their fortunes as far away as Pontianak and Serukam.

Political Setting

The Mualang see themselves as impatiently poised in a state of readiness for economic development, as they are invited to see themselves. They have, of course, only the vaguest conception of what economic development might entail,

but they pressume it will come from the government. The government they know is the kecamatan staff at Balai Sepuak: the camat and his five assistants (wakil camat). The five assistants attend to the specialized functions of government. For example, one is in charge of the federal government financial subsidy development projects (uang subsidi), another supervises the temunggungs, etc. The temunggungs are Dayak specialists in native law (adat) who resolve disputes appealed beyond the level of the village chief (kepala kampung), especially cases involving disputants from two different villages. A temunggung will have authority over an area of about ten villages. He is the highest level native government official. To serve above this level one would have to graduate from the government services training academy (A.P.D.N.). Several government ministers (menteri) are appointed by the camat to such specialities as health, education, agriculture, etc. without any particular qualifications and, in this hinterland setting, are little more than part-time gatherers of government statistics.

Unofficial statistics available from the camat's office, based on the June 1979 census, revealed the kecamatan population of 17,326 to be composed of 75 percent Dayaks, 15 percent Malays, 9 percent Chinese, and 1 percent other. Of these, 60 percent were Christian (the Indonesian term for Protestant), 20 percent Islamic, 15 percent Catholic, 2 percent Confucianism, and 2 percent Animist. This population over the

1,218.75 square kilometers of the kecamatan gives a density of 14.2 persons per square kilometer.

Each kecamatan has a medical clinic (puskesmas) with a doctor, a nurse, and a paramedic. The nurse also operates the government family planning clinic (B.K.I.A.). A police force (polisi) of seven officers and a post of the military arm of the government (koramil) manned by three soldiers keep the peace.

In addition to these government offices the town of Balai Sepuak has two small elementary schools, a small middle school, a Protestant church, a Moslem prayer house (surau) and three storekeepers (tuké). Downstream, at the abandoned site of the original Bible school, are the homes of the missionary and the area church superintendent. Middle school children have taken up residence in the abandoned Bible school dormitories.

The economic "development" expectations of the villagers of Sungai Mulau, located some 25 miles from this seat of Indonesian government authority, are quite abstract. In the case of any particular government project there typically develops an element of skepticism about its feasibility if not downright confusion and suspicion about the government's intention. Mualang society is a pacific, non-conflictual order, it will be argued below, but, at this level of political organization, there prevails an uneasy peace, a lingering grudgingness of the loss of tribal sovereignty.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definition of the Economic Field

This chapter situates the theoretical framework of the study of economic behavior in the village of Sungai Mulau within the context of the basic presuppositions essential for doing economic anthropology. Foremost among these is the definition of the economic field. The position here is to side with the substantivists in defining the economy "as an instituted process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want satisfying material means" (Polanyi 1957: 248). This is commonly referred to as the "material provisioning of society" definition and George Dalton has expressed it this way: "the need for all communities--whatever their size and technology--to organize material life so as to assure the sustained, repetitive provision of food, shelter, and the items necessary for community life" (1971b: 15). Maurice Godelier has pointed out that this definition "is the one that, in reality, all economists apply in their practice. That is why the dispute about the definition of what is economic has only a limited significance" (1972: xv). This dispute between the formalists and the substantivists is one expression of the persistent philosophical debate that began with the "divorce of philosophy, from

mythology, religion and theology that took place in the West beginning in the sixteenth century" (Weisskopf 1971: 39) whereby substantive reason was separated from formal reason. Substantive reason means to reason from "substance" or "content," specifically, the content of values and ends prevalent in a particular society. Substantive reason, in contrast to formal reason which is concerned only with means, encompasses both ends and means. Ends being outside the scope of formal reasoning, formalist economics defines as economic "the allocation of scarce means to alternative ends"; thus, economic rationality is reduced to implementational expediency.

The "substantivists" debate with the "formalists" is, of course, much more than contention about a universally applicable definition of the economic field. There is the important issue of the applicability of the categories and concepts of formal economic science to other than capitalist commodity economies. The substantivists have generally taken formal economic theory to be a substantive theory of capitalist commodity economy and not really a formal theory of economy as claimed.

The "Formal Model of A Possible Economic System"

Are we then confined by substantivism to the impossibility of a universally applicable economic science? George Dalton has argued that it may be possible to analyse the performance of all economies by "the concepts of conventional economics" but no such universal theory is possible for

understanding the organization of economic order (1969: 66). Godelier, on the other hand, envisions a general theory of economic science unfolding from substantive analyses that apprehends the real differences between economic systems (1972: 279-303). What is at issue here is the problem of levels of abstraction of formal analytic categories and concepts: "grand theory"; middle range theory; and substantive concepts and categories. I agree with Godelier that this philosophy of science impasse can be broken by using an "abstract analytical systems" approach, a technique that George Appell has described as follows: "Such analytical systems contain categories of discrimination that are found in all societies. They are composed of universal entities and the necessary relations between such entities, thus forming an integrated system" (1973: 31). Godelier argues that we already have available to us the universally applicable categories and concepts of production, distribution, and consumption and discusses how they can be systematically related to yield a "formal 'model' of a possible economic system" (1972: 279). By such a technique not only the data, but also the analysis of the data, can be cross-culturally applicable (cf. Dumont 1975: 156).

There is, unfortunately, a difficulty with this approach, one that has bedeviled economic anthropology from its inception. If economic behavior in non-market contexts is embedded in sociopolitical institutions rather than differentiated out into an integrated economy, it may not be "systematic." As

Marshall Sahlins has put it: "to speak of 'the economy' of a primitive society is an exercise in unreality" (1972: 76). How far is this problem a threat to using the formal model of a possible economic system? The problem is surmounted by the explicit definition of the economic field. This definition permits not only specification of the internal systematic relations of the entities of the formal model, but also, specification of their articulation with other systematic entities in their embeddedness. The formal model of a possible economic system is not a general theory; rather, it is a provisional analytic expedient permitting cross-culturally useful work in the absence of a general theory and enabling us "to avoid falling into the rut of empiricism" (Godelier 1972: 263). More a "problematique" than a theory, "this 'model' provides the guide-lines of economic analysis, that is, a series of questions giving direction to one's interrogation of the facts"(Ibid.: 278).

The recent work of Scott Cook (1973) complements the work of Godelier in making more explicit this formal model of economic behavior. Consequently, for the entities and relations of the model this study will rely heavily on their work. There remains to be resolved, however, what continues to be an intractable problem for economic anthropology. This is the set of suppositions about the way economic behavior is embedded in the sociocultural order. Embedding economic behavior in sociocultural institutions has generally taken two trends in economic anthropology. One group from Mauss, through Polanyi,

Dalton, and Sahlins has taken exchange as the kind of economic behavior more likely to be carrying social, political, and ideological components. The other group, including prominently those who make use of the Marxian theoretical framework, ascribe to production this special embeddedness importance. What is at stake here is an argument about causality in sociocultural phenomena and the motive forces of history. This study sides with neither trend. In accordance with the formal model, presuppositions about embeddedness are inappropriate. Instead, such relationships are anticipated to be exposed in the course of analysis inhering in the substantive context rather than assumed in the model. The important point here has been made by Aiden Foster-Carter (1978: 242); that is, production, exchange, distribution, and consumption are a system and reproduction of the total sociocultural system should be the focus of inquiry.

The Special Status of "Distribution": "The Way Mutual Dependence Is Structured"

The embeddedness problem expresses itself in the formal model as difficulties in specifying the relations between the categories of exchange and distribution. These categories have not been used with precision in the economic anthropology literature; and so both their definitions and their relationship to each other are at issue here. Generally speaking, those who have taken exchange as the "core event sector" [to use Cook's phrase (1973: 812)] in economic analysis, have given very

little attention to the topic of distribution, presumably regarding it as merely the aggregate outcome of the socially instituted mechanisms of exchange. On the other hand, those taking production to be the "core event sector" treat exchange as merely another behavioral event sector and give some prominance to the category of distribution. Part of this difference lies in the fact that there are two distinctly different kinds of things to distribute in a society: the factors of production and the products. The production-focused analyses tend to emphasize the importance of productive factors and the exchange-focused analyses tend to emphasize the exchange of products, based on their respective embeddedness biases.

To complicate matters further, there have been two conventional senses of "distribution" in economic science. One is "the process of apportionment by which the value of a product is divided and imputed to the various factors of production as payment for their use" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary). It is with such relations that the "Worldly Philosophers" such as Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo agonized over the origins of economic value and Marx was able to identify his law of surplus labor value. This question of value haunted early efforts in economic anthropology as well:

> Toward the end of the 1920s there were lively discussions between the economists and anthropologists at the University of Chicago concerning economic behavior in tribal societies. These debates were led by Dr. F.H. Knight of the economics department and Dr. Edward Sapir of the anthropology department. The economists wanted to know what forces governed the distribution of goods and services and what determined

> exchange values in an economy with no organized markets and no money (Oberg 1973: xi).

The second sense of distribution is as the "process that regulates the circulation of wealth in a given society, and underwrites the structure and dynamics of its allocation among the various status groups of the social system"(Cook 1973: 812). Admittedly these two definitions of distribution are not mutually exclusive. They perhaps reflect the key distinction in the polar types of economy: disembedded-embedded. The Worldly Philosophers could address themselves to these relations of value because they were analyzing a disembedded economy in which monetization and commoditization had placed all the factors of production into quantitative relationships to each other. By contrast, embedded economic order permits no such possibilities. This is an important reason why the exchange event sector will not operationalize sufficiently to produce a useful definition of the economic field and so those who construct exchange models, such as Polyani and Sahlins, are forced to define the economy by material provisioning. My position here is to follow Cook (1973). I believe he has made certain operationalizing refinements of Godelier's position, especially with respect to the explicit definition and placement of exchange in the larger scheme of the formal model. The definitions of the categories of production, exchange, and consumption will be detailed in the course of the analysis and are likely to incite little controversy. Distribution, however, is a different matter because of the wide variance in its treatment in the literature. It is imperative that a more

extended consideration of this category be taken up in this exposition of the abstract analytical model.

There has been a long-standing propensity in the economic anthropology literature to assign a special status to the category "distribution" although today this is a matter of some controversy (Clammer 1978: 7). Distribution has been considered the organizing principle of the economic order, not only integrating the economic categories of behavior into a system, but also, integrating to some extent the economic with the other sociocultural dimensions. As far back as Adam Smith, a "hidden hand" was posited to be guiding the economic life of market-dominated economies. Nearly a century later, in Marx's exposure of the structural logic of capitalism in his law of surplus labor value, distribution can be seen to enjoy this special analytic status of an underlying organizational synthesis. More recently, Karl Polanyi attempted a typology of economic institutions based on modes of allocation of economic goods (reciprocity, redistribution, market exchange) which are essentially distributional distinctions (cf. Godelier 1972: 276). In the same vein, taking Marshall Sahlins at his own word, he has characterized his seminal contribution to exchange theory entitled, "The Sociology of Primitive Exchange" as "a detailed analysis of distribution" (1972: 188). In Godelier's conceptual scheme it is in distribution that the logic of materially provisioning society principally resides:

> analysis of the different categories of structures of distribution has shown us the strategic role played in the functioning of societies by the operations and norms of the distribution of the factors of production. It is these that control, in the last analysis, the possibilities of action that a social system offers...possibilities equal or unequal, of power, of culture, of standard of living. As we shall see...it is these possibilities of different systems that are contrasted in the arguments about economic 'rationality' (Ibid.: 276-277).

And as for the place of economy in the sociocultural order, he has said that in distribution "we shall discover this internal relation between social structures" (Ibid.: 268). Scott Cook has characterized distribution as "the process that integrates these sectors as a circular flow system and articulates this system with the larger sociocultural system" (1973: 812). Finally, most recently, Stephen Gudeman has proposed "for anthropological economics a new analytic framework, which focuses on production-distribution" (1978b: 349). "For anthropology the task that follows from the adoption of this perspective is to locate and specify culturally different patterns of distribution and to determine the forces that underlie them" (Ibid.). Curiously, substantivists and formalists, production-focus analysts and exchange-focus analysts all appear to have met on this common ground of economic distribution. George Dalton's expression "the way mutual dependence is structured" (1971: 237) is a tersely cogent way of expressing the concept of distribution in economic anthropology. The economic, social, political, and religious components of the resolution

of the problem of social order converge in this elegant and concise expression.

Refracted through the analytic category of distribution, the recent work of Marshall Sahlins (1971, 1972) appears in a most interesting aberration. The "domestic mode of production," intended as an "ideal type" (1972: 75) and dubbed "structural substantivism" by Scott Cook (1974), is not so much a class of modes of production as it is a theoretical exercise in which the allocation of the factors of production sense of distribution is held constant while varying the transaction of products sense of distribution to illustrate how it can be correlated with sociopolitical organization in primitive societies, as expressed in production performance. Some justification for this exercise lies in the fact that in primitive societies the rudimentary character of technology in which everyone has easy access to the simple tools, material resources are not scarce, and the division of labor goes little beyond sex and age, the factors of production tend to be made directly available to the production units. Further, the low level of productivity provides little opportunity for men to exploit their fellows through control of the means of production; so, access to the factors of production is conceded to those production units inertially bearing the weight of material sustenance. The production units themselves are at the same time multifunctional social units attending to many purposes beyond production. Under these conditions the technical forces of production and the social relations of

production provide little scope for determinative articulation with the social, political, and religious dimensions of sociocultural order. Instead, interest lies in the exchange of products between social units for other than mere material purposes--i.e., the transaction of products sense of distribution. In both senses of distribution control over people is as much at issue as control of production factors and material goods. In the first sense, there is indirect control over people through the instrumental requirements of production relations; in the second sense, control over people is direct through the manipulation of strategic social relations (cf. Humphries 1969: 203).

It may be useful to consider briefly the theoretical status of Sahlins' "domestic mode of production" since it is somewhat abstruse. As mentioned above, he has described it as an "ideal type" but it must be kept in mind that it is neither a "mode of production" nor an ideal type of economy. Even its object, domestic production for use, does not exist in empirical reality. Domestic units producing for their own use is a contradiction in Sahlins' very conceptions of primitive sociocultural life. Although commonly in primitive societies domestic units organize and carry out production, domestic units never produce merely for themselves. Production for their own use would rein in production efforts at the mere level of household requirements, and the provisioning of society would thereby be severely neglected. Sahlins' thesis is that this is a real contradiction at the most

fundamental level of organization of primitive economic life, resolved differently in each particular case by instituted political process. The DMP then, is a theory about certain tendencies of the organization and performance of production in primitive societies in which production is predominantly in the hands of domestic units. As a theory, it is a systematic set of hypotheses and can be tested only indirectly through the attempted validation of the individual hypotheses. The theory was instrumental in the conception of this research and in understanding the results. The research was not, however, conceived to test the theory. On the other hand, Sahlins has proposed a scheme of analysis of "social profiles of domestic production" (Evans 1974), based on the relationships between domestic unit production intensity and the character of the community's political organization, which can be tested directly. The research was designed to provide the data to put this scheme to the test.

Understanding the material provisioning of society in an institutional context that structures mutual dependence is the intention of this study. Taking heed of Sahlins' admonition that "Between any economizing propensities of individuals and the economic process is a powerful third term: social, political, ideological--in brief, cultural--elements that order the latter and constrain the former" (1962: 1068), the attention must always be alert to apprehend this third term. With Godelier it is here presumed

> that in every society, whether primitive or not, there is a definite field open to social competition, a field structured by the dominance of certain social relations over others (kinship, religion, etc.). It is this field that offers individuals the possibility of acting so as to maximize those determined and hierarchically ordered social satisfactions the necessity of which is based upon the particular way the social structure functions (1972: 292).

The works of Sahlins and Godelier come together in the idea that institutional forces, expressing a hidden "rationality" of the sociocultural system, are determinative of the possibilities of behavior in that system. It is this "level of reality that exists beyond the visible relations between men, and the functioning of which constitutes the underlying logic of the system, the subjacent order by which the apparent order is to be explained" (Godelier 1972: xviii - xix) to which anthropological analysis should be directed. There is some basis for arguing that much of such logic is most likely to be revealed in the analysis of distribution. Proceeding by means of the formal model of a possible economic system the aim here is to realize some of this "promise of a new economics, distinctively anthropological, and more indebted to the structure of the societies with which it deals than to the categories of the one from which it comes"(Sahlins 1971: 49).

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Mualang are a self-conscious ethnic entity speaking a common language and sharing a system of customary law and a common history, as was mentioned earlier, but the tribe is not a unit of social organization. There is no occasion when the tribe functions as a unit. The only two enduring units of social organization are the village (kampung) and the household (bilik).

The Village Community

The traditional Mualang village consists of a single longhouse (rumah panyai) of from 15 to 30 family apartments built near the river. The serially aligned family apartments (lawang) are built, maintained, and owned by the individual bilik families. Referring to Figure 4 below, note that each apartment consists of a bilik portion and a ruai portion. The bilik portion, or family room, is given over to cooking, sleeping, and other activities in which temporary withdrawal from the social milieu is desired. By contrast, the ruai portion extends continuously down the entire length of the longhouse, constituting, in effect, a roofed public passageway. Often referred to by Westerners as a "gallery," it is a most pleasant

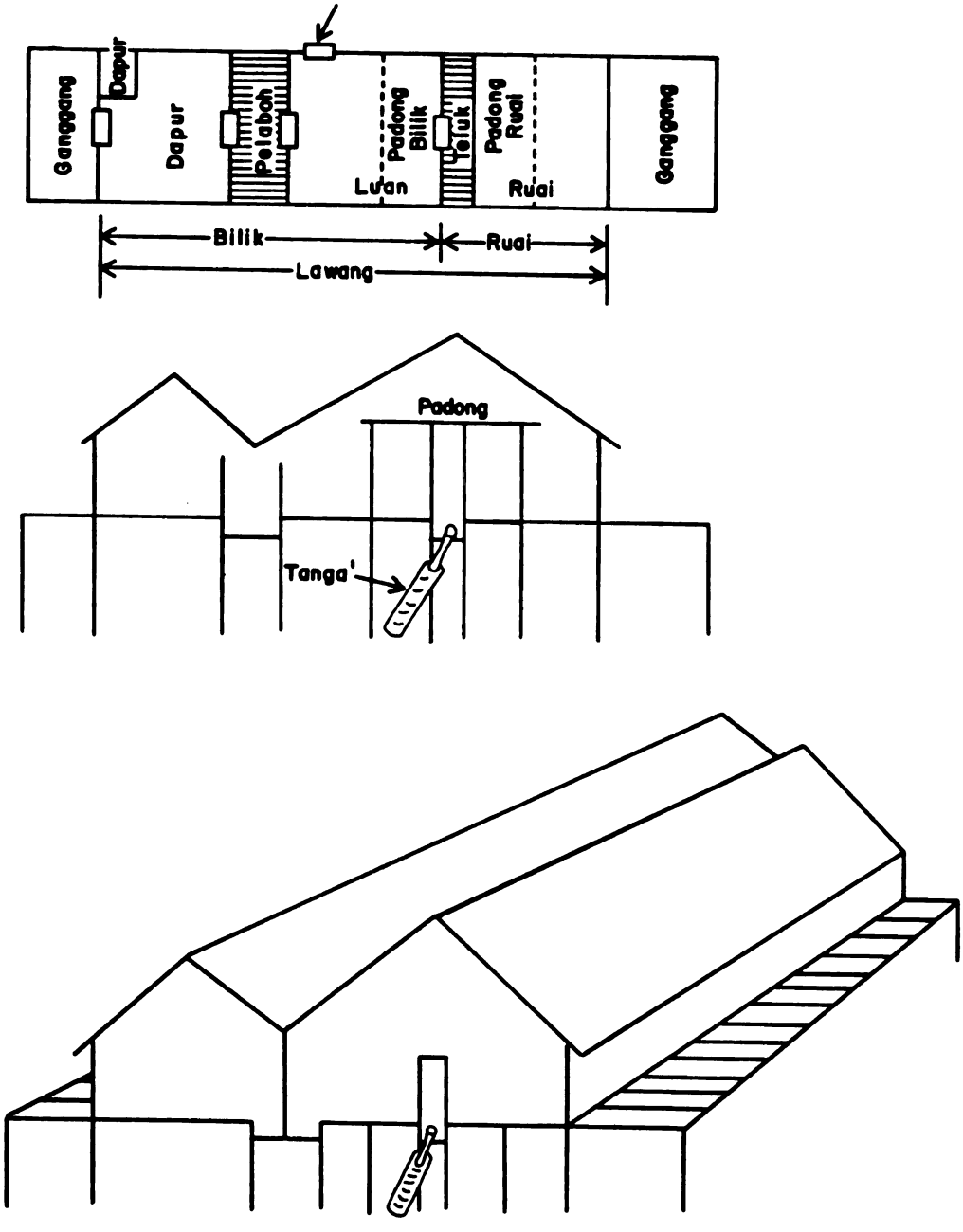

Figure 4. Plan of a Mualang Longhouse.

respite from the intense tropical sun. The merits of defense and communality are frequently credited to longhouse architecture, but a single afternoon spent on the ruai of a longhouse would convince anyone familiar with the equatorial climate of the wisdom of the design with respect to physical comfort. The high roof and high air vents along the spacious, darkened-tunnel form of the ruai produce an ambience found only in the Dutch-designed buildings dating from the colonial era or the Sultan's palaces. The walls between the bilik family rooms prevent, of course, this part of the apartment from enjoying some of the ruai's advantages.

The Mualang say that an apartment is, on average, 3 depah wide. The depah is a Mualang measure of length from the fingertips to fingertips when the arms are extended straight out from the body at the sides. Since the relative size of the bilik has traditionally been a measure of the family's level of well-being, the measurements of the longhouse under study are of some interest and can be found in Figure A1 of the appendix.

A single door to the bilik opens into the luan where special guests of the family are entertained, the females may weave or sew and the sleeping mats are laid out at night. Between this room and the dapur is a short room (pelaboh) with a dropped floor to compensate for the low raintrough running between the two roof gables. Even with the dropped floor, it is necessary to duck when passing through this room. It functions primarily for storage, but it also has a floor of

rattan-tied sticks where the washing of dishes and kitchen utensils, cleaning of vegetables and food-chopping can be done with abandon as garbage and splashing water fall through the floor to be fought over by the pigs and chickens that have taken up positions just below. Rainwater collected from the raintrough over this room can reduce somewhat the amount of water that must be carried from the river.

The dapur contains the fireplace for cooking and the family typically eats in this room as well. Frequently a window in the sidewall allows the residents of adjacent biliks to communicate with ease in the dapur or luan. Also the wall may be missing in the pelaboh to allow easy access between adjoining biliks when the biliks concerned are close kin.

A loft (padong) for the storage of padi (if the family doesn't own a rice barn) and padi farming equipment such as baskets, mats, and tools, extends from the inner half of the luan over the door and out over the inner half of the ruai. Notched log ladders are positioned at both the luan and ruai ends of this spacious loft.

The ruai or gallery resembles a roofed public street and serves many functions essential for Mualang sociocultural life. Coming out the door of the bilik one steps down into a sunken sidewalk-like strip called the telok. This is actually a rice pounding platform and, if one should try to walk it, he would soon stop because it is especially made to bounce with the stroke of the rice pounding pestle and to walk on it for any length is annoying. The remainder of the ruai is

firmly floored in the sense that it is laid with heavy boards over firm structural supports. These boards are not attached by any means, however, and create quite a clamor when walked over. It should be apparent to the reader that the longhouse is a very noisy place to live. An unforgetable feature of longhouse life for the Westerner is the approach to a longhouse on a jungle path in the late afternoon. Far down the path one picks up the sounds of the pounding of rice on the springy, looseboard platform, then the counter-crowing of some cocky roosters, and, finally, the cacophony is completed with the commotion of the smaller pigs being sent off squealing from the piles of rice husks as the larger pigs root through them for any precious morsels of food they might contain.

The ruai is the scene of much of the housework and handicraft work of both men and women. The padi spread on mats for drying in the sun on the ganggang is guarded from hungry chickens risking a clout from a pole suspended by a rattan tie from the edge of the roof by an operator enjoying the shade and comfort of the darkened ruai. Here hats, mats, baskets, traps, and tools are fashioned from the jungle products in the company of others, who, if they have no such project of their own underway, join in for the sheer sociality (berandau) of it. Berandau means to have a casual conversation with whoever cares to join in. It is the predominant form of sociality among the Mualang. It begins on the ruai in the early morning as people discuss their work plans for the day and continues among those left behind to care for the small children and perform the

domestic chores such as rice processing. The evening hours are dominated by berandau as those who have returned from the fields turn their attention to the making and upkeep of their handicraft products. Predictably some men will gather around the community forge in front of the village chief's bilik. If no one has need of the forge to smith a bushknife or axe, then someone will probably build a fire in it simply to ward off the chill the older men feel in their bones in the night air. On a typical evening, there will be three or four berandau sessions available along the ruai composed mostly of men and boys as the women's preoccupation with cooking and cleaning in the bilik has attracted their berandaus inside the bilik chambers. The genuinely social character of Mualang social life and how it is facilitated by the longhouse architecture, especially its public ruai, cannot be over-emphasized. By genuinely social, the point is to distinguish the amity component of sociality from the calculating components such as are generally attributed to material and political advantage. The ease with which people socialize in a very low-key way, motivated by the sheer pleasure of the company of their fellows, is a feature of their social life that will be related to several other important features in the analysis that follows. For now, the intention is simply to point out how the democratic and egalitarian nature of Mualang life is reflected in this predominant form of sociality.

In the berandau is an informal means of continuously knowing the mood of the community and an opportunity for informal

negotiation toward achieving a consensus for the community. The tone of a berandau is like the tone of the community as a whole: informal, superficial, and non-contentious. This is not to be construed merely as an argument for the idea "that 'sentiments' are the 'glue' that binds...societies together" (Clammer 1978: 3). Informal sociability is not a very promising level of social life in which to look for an explanation of social organization. It will be shown subsequently that Mualang social life is based on interdependence and complementarity. Still, when sentiments are a key feature of the social life of a community the analyst is obligated to include them in his analysis (cf. Geddes 1954: 13-20).

The ruai is the workplace for much of the work performed individually around the house, but it is also the place of some work cooperation. During the harvest season, evenings on the ruai find bilik families helping each other thresh and winnow the padi. Such work parties under what seems the brilliant light of a pressure lamp commonly involve ten to fifteen families. The winnowing process in which all the women stand in a straight row and coordinate their winnowing motions in an alternating fashion (so as to avoid covering each other with the winnowed residue) is dramatic, convivial, and certain to be interrupted by much sugar-tea drinking. The ruai is used to communally butcher and distribute domestic and game animals in accordance with customary law. Finally, the ruai is the scene of public meetings and community celebrations (gawai). The ruai is the architectural embodiment of community

in Mualang society (cf. Whittier 1978: 99-104).

Rice-sunning platforms (ganggangs) extend out from the ruai over the yard (laman), or in some cases out from the dapur on the back of the house. Each bilik has for its own use the yard directly in front and back of its lawang. These front and back strips of yard are open for several meters around the longhouse providing an area for feeding the chickens and pigs that hang around the longhouse. Chicken coops are frequently hung beneath the longhouse and the pigs that are unable to find a position beneath the rice storage barns (durung) spend the night under the longhouse. Children organize some kind of large-scale stick or ball game in this longhouse yard nearly every afternoon as the sun gets low in the sky. Beyond the open yard, each lawang apartment plants several species of fruit and other useful trees in both their front and back strips. The two lawangs on the ends of the longhouse own and maintain the two ladders as well as the yards on the ends, and if the longhouse yard is fenced, as the government once required, they must maintain these end portions of the fence as well. The sectoral responsibility for community property applies further to the wooden bridge that crosses the river at the bathing place. Built three years ago as a government-sponsored community works project, the community chose to provide for its maintenance by dividing it into 20 equal segments and assigning the responsibility for upkeep to each of the 20 bilik family units. The life of a wooden bridge under these tropical rainforest conditions would be about three

years, which goes a long way toward explaining why the hinterland peoples have not been all that keen on bridges. These bridges constructed as community works projects have used ironwood for the posts and undergirding and so if they are willing to replace the planking and railing made of the softer woods every three years or so they can use the bridge for the long life of the ironwood members.

Sungai Mulau, at the beginning of the research period, had 20 bilik families living in 16 lawangs and one field hut. The 126 inhabitants of the village of these 20 biliks give an average of 6.3 persons per bilik family. This is compared with the two other villages for which there are census figures in Table 1. The average number of persons per bilik is 6.3. This is mid-way between Freeman's data of 5.75 persons per household for three Iban longhouses in the Baleh River region of Sarawak for 1950 (1970: 10) and Geddes' data for the Land Dayak village he studied in 1950, also in Sarawak, which had 8 persons per household (1954: 36).

Table 1. Comparison of Village and Bilik Sizes.

Village	No. of Biliks	Population	Persons per Bilik
Sungai Mulau	20	126	6.3
Sungai Antu Rangah	23	141	6.13
Lumut	17	110	6.3
Three village average			6.3

It is primarily along the juropolitical dimension of organization that the village is a discrete social entity. The village is a jural community, the minimal unit of customary law (adat) process. Adat is synonymous with an ordered social life based on customary behavior (Jensen 1974: 111-112; cf. McKinley 1976: 10). As A.B. Hudson has put it: "Adat, in its general sense, means 'custom' or 'tradition'" (1972: 44). Accordingly, there is customary behavior that characterizes the Mualang tribe as a whole (adat besar) and customary behavior characteristic of the local community only (adat kecil). Ordered community life is the outcome of everyone behaving in a customary way, or in the case of contrary behavior, levying upon the offending party a fine that will perhaps deter others from such behavior and compensate somewhat those offended by this contrary behavior. Furthermore, the village is a jural entity. Several offenses are defined as disturbing the order of the village community directly and the fines paid are distributed equally among the biliks in compensation to restore harmony. An example is the delict of illegitimacy whereby the family of the person involved in the unsanctioned relationship pays a fine to each bilik in the community. Conversely, should a man die of an explosion of his own gun powder, all the biliks in the village are required to pay a fine to his widow and children indemnifying them for their loss.

In such a scheme of public order as this there is necessarily a very elaborate system of offenses and fines, entailing persons especially devoted to acquiring and maintaining this

knowledge for the use of their fellows when such breaches of conventional behavior occur. The village chief (Kepala Kampung) is this repository of customary law and assumes the responsibility of achieving a settlement in cases of violation. He is also called upon to preside at ceremonies, such as marriage, adoption, divorce, property division, and bilik partition, which are effected according to customary law. Above all, it is the responsibility of the village chief to restore and maintain jural harmony in the community. To do this he must be a natural leader who can create a consensus for his community. Political manipulation is not a strong feature of the community order. To the contrary, the chief begins by discovering the prevailing opinion on the matter throughout the community and then attempts to orchestrate that opinion into a consensus in a low-key, non-contentious way so as not to force the interests of any man against another.

Politically speaking, the village chief is a primus inter pares political authority: he is first among equals. Life cycle ceremonies, property divisions, bilik partitions may or may not fall within the jurisdiction of the village or villages directly involved in the case, as will be made clear below, depending upon the level of contention involved. Jurisdiction is less important than achieving a consensus. In a potentially troublesome case where it is sensed that kinship factions could emerge, it is common to covertly arrange for neighboring chiefs and authorities on customary law

to appear for the discussion of the case. All cases are open to anyone who cares to be present and venture whatever opinion he carries of the matter. On the whole, women play little direct part in the juropolitical life of the village when they are not personally involved in the case. One should not, however, leap to the conclusion that the place of women in Mualang society is lamentable. As in Southeast Asian societies generally and among the hinterland Bornean peoples in particular, the place of women in the social order is relatively high. To quote Brown on the Iban: "the equality of spouses necessarily spelled an unusual degree of sexual equality in society as a whole" (1976: 57). In anticipation of this topic reappearing below under the considerations of family structure, the division of labor and the inheritance of property, let me make the point that women in Mualang society are considered to be the jural equals of men. Adat offenses are defined without sexual valence as are the fines for offenses. Wives can initiate divorce as easily as husbands and have an equal claim to accumulated property.

The qualifications for the office of village chief are such that it too is determined by consensus. As reported for the Iban (Jensen 1974: 26-27), the office tends to go to the son of a chief when he is suitable. This is so because the son of a chief is in a natural position from which to continue to maintain the consensus. It is especially in this regard that recent supra-village governmental emanations have had the

effect in some villages of "politicizing" the office of village chief and, in the same stroke, destroying the possibility of consensus on which the community's law and order is based, resulting in village fissioning.

To describe the juropolitical dimension of Mualang sociocultural life is to unavoidably make it sound more formal than it is. The formality component of any aspect of Mualang social life is weak. What strikes the outside observer is not only this informality, but also the fact that matters of public interest are not politicized. There appears to be no "political arena." This is commonly attributed to the fact that political issues are decided informally by the important men in the community before the matter is taken up publicly. The view here is that while this no doubt happens, this explanation places too heavy an emphasis on political process in the sense of manipulating human relationships. Rather more emphasis should be placed on the jural dimension. Adat, with its detailed definitions of what constitutes infractions of customary behavior and the specific fines appropriate to these infractions, provides a nonadversarial means of restoring the balance of justice for those predisposed to do so. It is not so much a matter of public opinion controlling people's actions as Geddes has invoked for Land Dayak society (1957: 23) as it is the threat to community disharmony that would make the community angat (cf. Jensen 1974: 26), by which is meant "heated up." Village order and harmony is not a matter of

agreeing unanimously but rather of compliance for the sake of harmony.

It is a feature of tribal society generally to base ordered social life on customary behavior safeguarded by sanctions of a material and political kind against offenders of the customary way. Typically in tribal society kinship provides the basis for ordering the society into groups whose political interests are prosecuted by persons of appropriate kinship status. Kinship does not perform this function in Mualang society. Therefore, an understanding of the social order will necessarily take us beyond the conventional model of tribal society, and the author must be excused for having attempted a somewhat different synthesis. The societies of hinterland Southeast Asia have long been recognized as a troublesome departure from this tribal model (Sahlins 1965: 179-182) and the Mualang constitute one more case in point. The final chapter will address the relevance of this Mualang case for the issues of the poor fit of the tribal model and will rest heavily on what will be said below about the place of kinship in Mualang society. These matters will be anticipated slightly by making the point that kinship is an important kind of relationship in Mualang society. There lies beneath the surface of the community consensus on jural issues based on political egalitarianism, not individualist anarchy, but rather the potential of kinship factions. What prevents this factionalism is largely the predominance of the

jural dimension in public affairs to the diminution of the political dimension; issues of a public interest are largely resolved jurally rather than politically.

This proposition about the predominance of the jural dimension is related to the place of violence in the juro-political order. Violence and the threat of violence are fundamental methods of manipulating people's behavior, therefore, a key category in the analysis of juropolitical process. In the tribal model, tribal social order does not involve a concentration of the means of violence in the hands of a few; "the right to use force and do 'battell',...is instead held by the people in severalty" (Sahlins 1968: 5). The degree to which violence is resorted to in order to effect a juro-political outcome has surely some correlation with the strength of the jural dimension in the affairs of that society and the legitimacy of customary law in the estimation of its members. Violence is abhorred in Mualang society. Conflict may be adjudicated, arbitrated, mediated, or negotiated (Koch 1974: 27-31), but physical coercion is never a possibility. When the above-mentioned methods of resolving conflict fail, avoidance is resorted to. Village fissioning is the resolution of the problem of the inability to sustain community juropolitical harmony through consensus. Adat procedure always provides a jural means of obtaining redress for an aggrieved party. What it cannot do is heal the wounds of the community of consensus in the event of serious juropolitical conflict and avoidance

or village fissioning accomplishes that.

Since the Mualang people have been integrated into the national political entity, the village is also a governmental unit and so the village chief is today a government official; a matter of no little consequence for traditional juropolitical order. The village chief receives a salary of Rp 6,000 per month and one uniform per year from the government (at the time of research Rp 620 exchanged for U.S. $1.00). For this, in addition to his traditional duties as custodian of customary law and community order, he fills out government forms and provides hospitality to government officials passing through the area. He is assisted in his responsibilities by several other village officers such as the assistant chief (kebayan), the village authority on native law (menteri adat), the village secretary (juru tulis), the village's assistant to the police (hansib), and the village officer responsible for projects of economic development funded by uang subsidi (lembaga sosial desa = L.S.D.). Of these assistants, only the kebayan receives a government salary (Rp 3,000 per month) and, for the most part, these positions are only nominal, since there are not enough men in the village who can read and write to fill these positions in the intended manner. The position of menteri adat is especially revealing with respect to the problems attendant to the national government impingement on the traditional order of the village community. Only men under the age of 50 have had the opportunity to "know the letters"

which is required to fill out government forms and disseminate government directives. Yet, such relatively young men have had insufficient experience in adat to instill confidence in their ability to guide their fellows in the adat of law and order. The position of menteri adat for the man of the village most knowledgeable in adat was created by the government to assist the village chief in these matters. Needless to say, this arrangement considerably complicates village juropolitical process. In Sungai Mulau the trick of getting the natural leader into the position of village chief had been accomplished and the village enjoyed the traditional peace. For the Belitang River valley as a whole, the generalization can be made that young men destined to be leaders by virtue of being sons of leading men were prominent in the first school established by the missionary and have acceded to offices of importance in their mature years.

Adat cases not resolved satisfactorily at the village level can be appealed to the temunggung. This position, as mentioned earlier, is salaried by the government (Rp 5,000 per month and one uniform per year) to resolve disputes within an approximately 10 village area and is held by a native Mualanger especially well informed about adat. With the exceptions of murder, large-scale theft, smuggling and non-compliance with government policy, which are dealt with by the camat's staff, local affairs are a matter of local convention. In contrast to the competitive and litigious Iban (cf. Jensen 1974: 23),

the Mualang are not an especially litigious people.

The village is a discrete level of social organization from several other perspectives. Membership in the village establishes one's rights to the community's productive resources such as land, forest raw materials, game, and gatherable foods. In accordance with the land tenure system, the village possesses "residual rights" in the land. A man establishes "use rights" by felling the primary forest cover. These use rights extend to three further uses of the land which are, of course, separated by the appropriate fallowing periods. In this area the fallowing period required is at least seven years. These use rights are inherited by the widow and descendents. Beyond the fourth use of the land, it is available to any member of the community who cares to use it and no further inheritable rights are created thereby. One does not have to be a resident of the village to use the land he has inherited rights to if he is willing to be inconvenienced by its location. Consequently, although there is a pretty clear sense of the boundaries of the village territory and the limits of use rights in resources other than land, it is not uncommon for people of neighboring villages to prosecute their rights to use land based on the land tenure system. To illustrate for the village under study, Sungai Antu Rangah, a daughter village established about 40 years ago, includes within its territory, on the near side, land farmed from primary forest by parents of people living in Sungai Mulau. It is within walking

distance of Sungai Mulau so those rights continue to be enjoyed. Similarly, certain people now residing in Sungai Antu Pulau took up residence there after the abandonment of Belaut, a short-lived daughter village of Sungai Mulau within what is now Sungai Mulau territory. They continue to make farms on this Sungai Mulau land to which they inherited rights. By contrast, on the borders with the villages of Sepauh and Sebindang the boundaries are clearly fixed and anyone from these villages wishing to farm within the territory of Sungai Mulau would have to obtain permission from the village chief based on the consent of the village membership.

Certain other property is considered to be the property of the village. The forge located on the veranda in front of the chief's bilik, the rubber mangle, the graveyard, and indivisable property obtained through uang subsidi projects are all village property. Hence, with respect to property, the Mualang village can be described as a corporate entity.

Adat law dictates that large game animals must be divided and shared with all the families of the community (wild pigs, deer, python, and turtle are the most commonly obtained). The prescription for division is quite complex as will be illustrated below. It requires the presence of the adat head and is performed in full view of the community on the veranda in front of the bilik of the hunter, or in the case of a hunting party, the man who fired the shot that brought the animal down.

The village is also a ceremonial unit. Sunday evening prayer services on the longhouse ruai are common. These are

led by villagers who have studied the Bible at the extension education classes taught at Kalvari Church by the missionary flown in by Mission Aviation Fellowship. One of the duties of a minister is to travel to the various villages that attend his church to participate in these Sunday evening prayer services on the longhouse ruai. Christianity has replaced the traditional ritual manipulation of the supernatural forces with church services and prayer but some aspects of traditional ceremony in the form of celebration remain. Keeping in mind that the formal component of Mualang cultural life is weak, celebration in the sense of to proclaim publicly, is perhaps the best term to describe the gawai party and the changes in social status observed thereat.

Typically, the biggest gawai of the year is the post-harvest gawai (gawai lepas panen) sponsored by each village in turn through the months of May and June. Marriages, adoptions, and inheritance settlements are timed, when possible, to be proclaimed at this annual, large-scale gawai. Lesser gawais, especially for marriages, occur throughout the year as required. The gawai always requires that each bilik in the longhouse community make its contribution to sponsoring the festivities. Divorces and funerals, of course, do not follow the pattern of the celebratory gawai. Divorces are, for the most part, solemn property settlements supervised by the village chiefs and village elders involved in the presence of all interested parties. Such "witnesses" are paid a token witness

fee. Funerals, on the other hand, require the participation of the full village and suspension of work. The family of the deceased kills a pig and/or chickens to feed the village and any guests.

The foregoing has attempted to show the extent to which the village is an extremely important unit in Mualang social organization. The repository of the resources essential for material provisioning, the locus of one's most important kinship and other social relations, the predominant unit of jural process and political order, and the unit of ceremony and celebration, it provides the social framework into which the other important unit of Mualang social organization, the bilik family, fits.

The Bilik Family

Domestic life in Mualang society is organized by and pursued in the context of the bilik family. Here the kinship-based procreative and enculturative family, the coresident household and the commensal domestic unit are coterminous. The name for this family unit derives from the private part of the lawang apartment where the family withdraws to cook and eat around its differentiating hearth (dapur). It is not uncommon for a bilik family to not possess a bilik, though this condition is considered temporary. Under more extreme circumstances of even a more temporary nature, the bilik family may be defined by the cooking of its own food at the hearth

and the storage of its rice in its own storage bin, taking responsibility for materially provisioning itself. It will be recalled that household management is an archaic meaning of the term "economic" derived from the Greek word oikonomikos. This relationship deserves emphasis in this study of economic order in a simple economy where the family is the predominant unit of production and consumption organization.

The bilik family makes claims to its share of community resources, manages its labor and tools to materially provision itself, calculates exchanges of its products, and enjoys the material level of well-being that results therefrom. This predominate unit of production for Mualang society organizes production largely on the basis of tradition. Traditional resources are utilized in a traditional manner by traditional tools in accordance with traditional techniques. The traditional division of labor, to be taken up in the next chapter, is based on sex and age differences, as is typical for traditional societies. The point to be emphasized here is that, beyond this traditional division of labor, there is an obvious effort within the bilik to define distinctly different and complementary roles for each member. Same sex adults within the bilik almost always work at different tasks at different places, or different times. Such differentiation of tasks and roles is, of course, an important source of the complementarity of mutual dependence which is the raison d'etre for the family. Mutual dependence and the generalized

reciprocity necessitated by it are threatened by the calculation of contributions that follow inevitably from comparable roles as will be made clear in the discussion below of the bilik family developmental cycle.

Much interest these days attends the analysis of sex roles, especially with respect to how "the seemingly most intimate details of private existence are actually structured by larger social relations" (Ross and Rapp 1981: 51). As the analysis of the economic life of the community will show, sex roles are not used for the exploitation of one sex for the interests of the other; nor are there intergenerational conflicts between males based on problems of access to the sexual services of females or the treatment of children as economic resources (cf. White 1975). The relations between the sexes and between generations are easy in this society. In keeping with the generalization that no anthropologist "has observed a society in which women have publicly recognized power and authority surpassing that of men" (Rosaldo and Lamphere in Harris 1980: 482), politics in Mualang society is almost exclusively a male responsibility. But, of course, it will be recalled that politics is quite underplayed and so there is little of it to apprehend. As the discussion of the political dimension at the public level of the longhouse community tried to make clear, politics in the sense of manipulating people by aggression or domination in any form is unacceptable. Anyone can ignore not only the chief's entreaties, but also the

communal consensus. Furthermore, women are not only the equivalent of men in jural reasoning, they are also quite capable of effecting their own particular position with respect to authority within the domestic unit depending upon the strengths of the personalities of the principals involved.

"Masculinity" in the sense of the personality traits "aggressive, manipulative, fearless, virile and (dominating)" (Harris 1980: 490) is not developed in Mualang society. Definitions of maleness and femaleness, as reflected in distinctly different social roles, are based on a clear, if not rigorous, division of labor. If pressed, such differentiation of labor would be rationalized by the "practical reason" (Sahlins 1976) of sex differences too obvious to mention. As Eleanor Leacock has suggested, (1978: 248) sex roles may not be unequal--just different. And it is precisely in this being different that much of the understanding of sex roles lies, as Roy Wagner has explained so well:

> The fact that men and women in tribal, peasant, and 'lower-class' groups keep to themselves, develop clubs and lifestyles of their own, and interact only in fighting, banter, and sexual relations is not a peripheral 'psychological' problem to be explained away by theories of biology, function, or deprivation. It is central to their modality of creating social reality--it is the <u>means</u> by which their reality is created. Each sex <u>differentiates</u> itself from the other, in inventive, improvisatory, and often simply peculiar ways. By implicitly recognizing the character and qualities of the other, taunting it into being, as it were, it creates the sexual complementary on which social life is based (1975: 92).

The developmental cycle of the bilik family can be revealed by a consideration of the composition of the bilik families of the village of Sungai Mulau. Table 2 describes the bilik families of Sungai Mulau in terms of the members' age, sex, birthplace, instrumental kinship link, mode of recruitment to the bilik family, etc. (after Izikowitz 1951: 118-125, Table 5). By "instrumental kinship link" I mean that kinship link that accounts for that member living in that bilik situated in that particular position in the longhouse community. The numerical composition of the biliks is tabulated in Table 3 showing a mode of six members.

It will be recalled from Table 1 that the mean is 6.3 persons per bilik. This reflects the fact that a mature bilik family is a "stem family;" i.e., "contains one, and only one conjugal unit (a married couple or the surviving spouse of a married pair) in each of at least two successive generations" (Hudson 1972: 132). Upon marriage the couple takes up residence in the bilik of either the husband or wife. Here they will live and work to the benefit of this natal bilik until the intra-bilik strife becomes too much to bear. This typically occurs when a younger sibling of the natal member marries and begins to raise children as well. Commonly the older conjugal pair with children will establish a separate hearth, a separate rice storage bin, and begin to farm rice independently from the natal bilik. A partition within the lawang apartment is built to provide the newly founded bilik its

Table 2. Census of the Biliks of Sungai Mulau.

Bilik No. I

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Ragu	M	49		OBII4	pun bilik/adopted as a conjugal family
2. Ludam	F	47	Sepauh	W1	nguang
3. Yamin	M	22		S1	working away from home
4. Daut	M	19		S1	attending school (Pontianak)
5. Sin	M	16		S1	
6. Yunus	M	13		S1	
7. Bakair	M	10		S1	

Bilik No. II

1. Munyau	M	80	Menemung	OB2	blind for approx. 40 years he joined this bilik 10 years ago/incorporated
2. Yok	F	69	Menemung	M4/sTm I1	nguang/pun bilik
3. Pating	M	35	Tanjung Rimba (Seberuang tribe)	H4	nguang
4. Ensung	F	35		D2/½Z I1	
5. Mari	F	3		D3	
6. Ilon	F	½		D3	

Table 2 (cont'd.).

Bilik No. III

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Cuguh	M	70		F5	
2. Samin	F	69		M5	nguang
3. Mina	F	46	Junak	Z5	slightly retarded/incorporated October, 1978
4. Yusak	M	38		H5/SVII1	nguang/pun bilik
5. Ani	F	38	Junak	D1	adopted
6. Lantan	F	17		D5	attending school (Pontianak)
7. Radung	M	16		S5	
8. Haron	M	14		S5	
9. Miré	F	10		D5	
10. Jamin	M	7		S5	

Bilik No. IV

1. Payung	F	18		1st Cu once-removed V1	Semi-amalgamated to bilik V/ pun bilik/married May 1979
2. Aden	M	16		YB1	
3. Ungam	M	14		YB1	
4. Menai	F	10		YZ1	

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Bilik No. V

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Akim	M	55		CuVII1/GrUn IV1	pun bilik
2. Dumoi	F	50	Sepauh	W1	nguang
3. Imi	F	12		D1	

Bilik No. VI

1. Saing	M	63	Rasak	FVII3	retired minister founded this bilik 15 yrs ago/pun bilik
2. Nyai	F	62	Balau Ranjuk	W1	nguang
3. Simau	M	29	Balai Sepuak	S1	adopted/later resumed membership in this natal bilik
4. Lihut	F	21	Balai Sepuak	D1	
5. Empili	M	20	Kedembak	GRS1/SVII3	incorporated
6. Yokebet	F	16	Kedembak	GRD1/DVII3	incorporated/attending school (Balai Sepuak)

Table 2 (cont'd.).

Bilik No. VII

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Gantung	M	65		CuV1	pun bilik
2. Jampa	F	60	Engkudu Mulau	W1	nguang
3. Repka	F	39	Balai Sepuak	W4/DVI1	nguang (2nd marriage)
4. Tudius	M	36		S1	
5. Kerem	M	10		S3	
6. Luci	F	9		D3	

Bilik No. VIII

1. Gum	F	55	Pakit Mulau Hilir	Z-in-law VII1	pun bilik/nguang/partitioned the bilik July 1979
2. Biden	M	38		S1	
3. Lama	F	25	Amoh	W2	nguang
4. Riak	F	24		D1	attending school (Serukam)
5. Unatan	M	20		S1	
6. Lipan	M	3		S2	
7. Lawat	F	½		D2	

Table 2 (cont'd.).

Bilik No. IX

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Jangi	M	34		SVIII1	pun bilik
2. Jeni	F	30	Sepauh	W1	nguang
3. Derah	F	9		D1	
4. Agung	M	8		S1	
5. Encil	M	6		S1	
6. Delak	M	4		S1	

Bilik No. X

1. Nanyit	F	43		W2/DVII1	nguang
2. Nyelan	M	42	Renjang	YBXI2	pun bilik/adopted
3. Dulus	M	14		S1	
4. Jutan	M	12		S1	
5. Yusak	M	7		S1	
6. Ensawi	F	5		D1	
7. Radung	M	3		S1	

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Bilik No. XI

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Mambang	M	45		YBXVIII1/ OBXIX2	pun bilik/adopted
2. Lutum	F	45	Renjang	W1	nguang/adopted
3. Kai	M	19		S1	
4. Una	F	16		D1	attending school (Balai Sepuak)
5. Hawa	F	15		D1	
6. Mina	F	14		D1	
7. Burah	F	8		D1	

Bilik No. XII

1. Turet	F	80		M2	incorporated
2. Merinjan	F	55		W3	nguang
3. Sekios	M	46		CuXIII2	pun bilik
4. Ijuk	M	23		S3	attending school (Pontianak)
5. Yasun	M	18		S3	attending school (Pontianak)

Table 2 (cont'd.).

Bilik No. XIII

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Norcé	F	55	Sepauh	AuXII3	pun bilik/nguang
2. Lanas	M	24		S1	
3. Selapo'	F	23	Balau Lambing	W2	nguang
4. Kunyit	F	19		D1	
5. Kiri	M	15		S1	attending school (Sintang)
6. Nina	F	13		D1	attending school (Serukam)
7. Sunyai	F	10		D1	

Bilik No. XIV

1. Kudul	M	80		2nd CuHXIII1	
2. Nyawai	M	48	Sepauh	H3	nguang/pun bilik
3. Mari	F	44	Ransa	D1	adopted
4. Suli	F	25		D2	
5. Atun	M	20		S2	attending school (Balai Sepuak)
6. Aden	M	18		S2	
7. Yumasi	M	15		S2	
8. Salok	F	9		D2	
9. Alos	F	6		D2	
10. Juni	M	4		S2	

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Bilik No. XV

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Talip	M	39	Sepauh	H2	pun bilik/nguang
2. Untik	F	37		DXVI1	
3. Rabai	F	15		D1	
4. Gimot	F	11		D1	
5. Merinjam	F	7		D1	
6. Mura	F	4		D1	

Bilik No. XVI

L. Luya	F	58		OZXVII1	pun bilik/nguang/lived first at Sepuru then moved to Sungai Mulau
2. Aman	M	28	Sepuru	S1	

Bilik No. XVII

1. Banan	M	52		YBXVI1	pun bilik
2. Ungam	M	26		S1	
3. Ayik	F	19		D1	working away from home(Serukam)
4. Kadir	M	18	Ngelai	S1/SXVIII2	adopted (but later reneged)
5. Bunga	F	17		D1	attending school (Balai Sepuak)

Table 2 (cont'd.).

Bilik No. XVIII

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Sandoi	M	48		OBXIX 2&3	pun bilik
2. Peruah	F	37	Ngalai	W1	nguang
3. Rupa	F	22		D1	working away from home (Serukam)
4. Lia	F	21		D1	working away from home (Serukam)
5. Ani	F	18		D1	attending school (Balai Sepuak)
6. Mawang	F	16		D1	
7. Salau	M	8		S1	
8. Wak	M	5		S1	

Bilik No. XIX

1. Sigan	M	34	Danau (Mualang Hilir)	H3	nguang/unemployed minister
2. Amoi	F	35		YZXVIII1	pun bilik
3. Tangkai	F	31		YZ2	temporary amalgamation
4. Daut	M	11		S1	
5. Kumpai	F	4		D1	
6. Melson	M	1		S1	

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Bilik No. XX

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Kinship Link	Remarks
1. Haron	M	40	Balau Ranjuk	H2	pun bilik/nguang
2. Sulah	F	39		DVIII 1	
3. Menasē	M	16		S1	attending school(Balai Sepuak)
4. Tia	F	14		D1	
5. Mendang	F	11		D1	
6. Ana	F	7		D1	
7. Angit	F	5		D1	
8. Ngawan	F	2		D1	

EXPLANATION: Birthplaces are cited only when other than Sungai Mulau and its antecedents. The kinship link is the decisive kinship link that accounts for this person's location in this bilik in this position in this longhouse.

ABBREVIATIONS: W = wife; H = husband; S = son; D = daughter; Z = sister; YZ = younger sister; OZ = older sister; B = brother; DIV1 = daughter of person number one of bilik IV; sTm = stepmother; ½Z = half-sister; F = father; M = mother; GrUn = great uncle; Au = aunt; Cu = cousin. Nguang, adoption, amalgamation and incorporation are methods of recruitment to bilik membership cited and the pun bilik is identified.

Table 3. Composition of Biliks.

No. persons in Bilik	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. Biliks	1	1	1	2	6	5	2	0	2

private chambers or a satellite bilik may be built on behind the natal bilik position on the longhouse. When a new longhouse is built a complete lawang apartment, almost certainly adjoining the natal bilik, will be built to accomodate the newly founded bilik. In a like manner, further conjugal pairs with their children will partition off from the natal bilik leaving the youngest of the sibling set to rear its family within the bilik thereby taking primary responsbility for the needs of the ageing parents. Thus, the bilik unit can be said to persist through time as a corporate unit.

An aside is appropriate here to elaborate on the concept of "corporation," because, as anyone familiar with the literature on the Iban will readily recall, J.D. Freeman made much of this concept in his analysis of the social structure of the Iban of the Baleh River region in Sarawak. The literature on incorporation is extensive and continues to be of significant theoretical concern (Fortes 1969: 276-310; Appell 1976: 6-7, 70-75; Brown 1976). Fortunately for this study, it is not necessary to get involved in the intricacies of the arguments because the bilik family and village corporations of the Mualang fit even the more demanding definitions. They are both social

units, clearly defined by rules of membership that confer on their members' rights and duties with respect to property held in aggregate, and that persist through time irrespective of the individual persons constituting that membership.

In Mualang society the estate takes the form of accumulated durable and heirloom property. Ideally the property division will take place soon after the last child is married so that the post-marital residence arrangements of all the children can be known with some certainty. This typically coincides with the senior generation beginning to assume a lesser role in the economic affairs of the bilik, especially in the making of rice fields.

The first rule of inheritance among the Mualang is that children inherit from their parents. This rule is somewhat out of harmony with the principle of the bilik family as a corporation because the parents of the bilik may not share exactly the same children. Step-children are in principle entitled to one-half the share of a child in the division of bilik property. Bilik property is property accumulated through the work of the members of the bilik producing and consuming corporately. For discussions of inheritance, bilik property is distinct from inherited property. Inherited property devolves upon the individual and is inherited in turn by that individual's children. It is not held in common by the members of the corporate bilik. In a like manner, a fine paid to an individual in compensation for a delict against him personally

remains his personal property and will be inherited by his children. With respect to bilik property, rights to it can be qualified by the amount of contribution the person made to its accumulation. Thus, a divorce settlement involves the departing spouse taking with him or her the fair contribution to the bilik's property made while a member of that bilik. Further exemplifying this proposition, the child or children who lived the longest in the natal bilik and made the greatest contribution to the accumulation of its property receive recognition of this fact at the time of property division by being awarded slightly larger shares.

In addition to birth and marriage, adoption and incorporation are means of recruitment to the bilik family (cf. Jensen 1974: 34-35). Adoption is the common solution to the problem of maintaining bilik continuity for childless couples. An examination of Table 2 shows that five villagers (I-1, I-2, III-5, X-2 and XIV-3) owe their membership in the bilik to adoption and four others have been adopted at some time (VI-3, XI-1, XI-2 and XVII-4). As among the Iban (Freeman 1970: 20), children of siblings are the preferred adoptees. Should no such child be available, then the child of a first cousin (manal) will be chosen, etc. out over the kinship net. Of the nine cases of adoption, six are adoptions of siblings' children, one is of a grandchild of a first cousin, one of a child of a second cousin, and one involves families beyond the third cousin range. Recently, parents whose children have been

educated and work away from the village have responded by adopting children who will stay on in the bilik to look after them in their old age. In the village of Sungai Mulau, both biliks No. I and XVII are avidly searching for adoptees into their biliks because all their able-bodied children have sought education. Adoption confers full rights of inheritance on the adopted child and that child may or may not lose rights to inherit from his parents depending upon the particular adoption arrangements.

Incorporation applies to the process whereby people are admitted into the bilik because they are dependent and in need of bilik affiliation (Jensen 1974: 35). There are five cases of membership by incorporation cited in Table 2. As can be read from this table, all involve quite close kinship ties. Amalgamation (Freeman 1970: 55-59), the process whereby two biliks fuse members and estates to form a single bilik, is a possibility, if somewhat rare in occurrence. The case of amalgamation cited in Table 2 is actually questionable. Bilik XIX presently contains an unemployed minister, his wife and children in what is hoped to be only a temporary situation. They have as yet no property in common. This bilik illustrates the point that neolocal residence among those educated and working away from their village does not deprive a couple of bilik membership. They hold membership in either the husband's or wife's natal bilik so that, if in the future it is necessary to take up life in the village, the exact arrangements are

already specified. All these modes of recruitment have as an important consideration the maintenance of an economically viable, purduring bilik family corporation (cf. Yanagisako 1979: 167-168). With regard to inheritance of the bilik estate, these forms of recruitment establish parcenary rights, but these rights are qualified by the contribution made to the accumulation of the property. As among the Iban (Freeman 1970: 52), the division of the bilik property takes place informally among family members and only under circumstances of disagreement about how the property should be divided would the adat chief and the village elders be involved. Unlike the Iban case, however, the senior generation divides the property among the members of the junior generation with considerable discretion. It is conventional to designate a larger share called the remindu as the parent's share to go to the child staying on in the bilik. The remainder of the property is divided more of less evenly among the other children qualified by the proposition that the claim to the bilik property is relative to the contribution one has made toward its acquisition. Although in principle siblings are jurally equivalent, the Mualang agree that the youngest child is commonly the favorite of the parents and, especially if this child is a son, this special affection matures into the intergenerational tie that assures the continuity of the bilik family. Parents express a preference for a son over a daughter remaining in the bilik, citing the greater ease in the transition of

authority in the bilik as the reason for this. Usually a son is more patient with parents that delay relinquishing the prerogatives of authority than a son-in-law.

The term "pun bilik" is used for the head of the family, the person in the bilik presumed to have the strongest voice in the decisions of managing the everyday affairs of the bilik. I use the term "presumed" because, in keeping with the general tone of informality of Mualang society, authority is quite informal and diffuse despite the existence of a title for family head. The pun bilik is also the bilik spokesperson in regard to extra-bilik considerations; therefore, the bilik is known by his or her name. The person assuming this title is a member of the senior generation making a substantial work contribution to the well-being of the bilik. Although the "informal power of women" (Yanagisako 1979: 190) in Mualang society is significant, the pun bilik is most likely to be a male if one is available to occupy the position. In the absence of a male, a female will serve as pun bilik, although a male of the younger generation, if sufficiently mature, may function in the spokesperson capacity to fill the gap at the public level. Table 2 recorded six female pun biliks, all heading bilik families lacking a male in the authoritative generation.

While rights in the bilik estate are a formal, jural matter, authority within the bilik is not fomalized and its transfer to the succeeding generation can be accompanied by some low-level domestic strife as the in-marrying spouse chafes under the

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authority of the parents-in-law toward whom respect and deference are appropriate. Typically, authority resides with the senior generation so long as it takes a significant part in the making or rice fields.

In summary, emphasis must be given for the analysis at hand to the material provisioning character of the bilik family. To keep these matters in perspective, the familial organization of reproduction in this society is put to the task of production. Within the confines of the bilik family, the dependent members of society are provided sustenance. The primary social relations are also established in this domestic entity and, by extension beyond the family, become the source of one's reckoning in social life more widely.

Kinship and Marriage

The bilik family is founded upon both kinship and marriage ties. Conjugal, filial, and sibling bonds are the kinship ties upon which all modes of kinship order are organized. The domestic family relations, being at once both the social context of material interdependence and the primary social relations upon which that interdependence is justified, become the source of those "irreducible moral relations" associated with kinship Meyer Fortes has termed "amity" (Fortes 1969: 76). "Kinsfolk are expected to be loving, just, and generous to one another and not to demand strictly equivalent terms of one another" (Ibid.: 237). This "ethic of generosity" (Hiatt,

cited in Fortes 1969: 110) is prescribed in the "familial domain" of the social order. Put this way, exchange, "the total social fact," (Mauss 1967) resides intrinsically within the kinship bond. Exchange within the family unit is so obviously of the "generalized" mode, based on the irrefutable dependency of the young, the aged, and the infirm, that it is seldom remarked upon. But attendent to this natural generalized exchange is the confirmation of the values of social solidarity on which the mutuality of relations is based. Material exchange is put to the work of symbolic discourse. The potential of material exchange for concretizing transactions in the symbolic sphere suits it admirably for extension beyond the familial domain for discourse about social order in the juropolitical domain. Thus, exchange between familial units is a political phenomenon from which a particular system of social order precipitates. By this reasoning social order is the outcome of all the kinds of transactions (material transactions being just one) in that society about valued relations. I belabor this point because the analysis of the "economic" that is to follow often does not make <u>economic</u> sense. Its sense lies largely elsewhere; as Baudrillard has said: "the specificity of the anthropological object is precisely the impossibility of defining the economic and the mode of production as a separated instance. The very least requirement would be to reexamine the whole matter <u>starting from this nonseparation</u>" (1975: 74). The "domestic mode of production" in the work of Marshall

Sahlins is precisely the attempt to model those societies in which no special relations of production have "separated" out. Instead, the familial order takes on the material provisioning tasks:

> Its own inner relations, as between husband and wife, parent and child, are the principal relations of production in society. The built-in etiquette of kinship statues, the dominance and subordination of domestic life, the reciprocity and cooperation, here make the 'economic' a modality of the intimate (Sahlins 1972: 77).

Kinship reckoning in Mualang society is cognatic, i.e., kinship ties are traced through both the mother's and the father's kin. Although it is true that cognatic kinship does not generate discrete social groups and in this sense plays a small role in "social structure" (Appell 1976: 3), it is an important aspect of "social organization," constituting the primary souce of relatedness in Mualang society. Close kin ties involve frequent reciprocal visiting and special qualifications in exchange transactions in addition to the moral responsibility to be of assistance in the time of need. Close kin attempt to live together. An analysis of the kinship relations prevalent in a longhouse community will invariably yield the pattern of close kin building their lawang apartments adjacent to one another. The plan of residence in a Mualang longhouse is a kinship plan. Figure 5 is the master geneology of the longhouse community of Sungai Mulau showing only those kinship ties necessary to relate all the biliks. The numbers refer to the bilik numbers as found in Table 2 and demonstrate

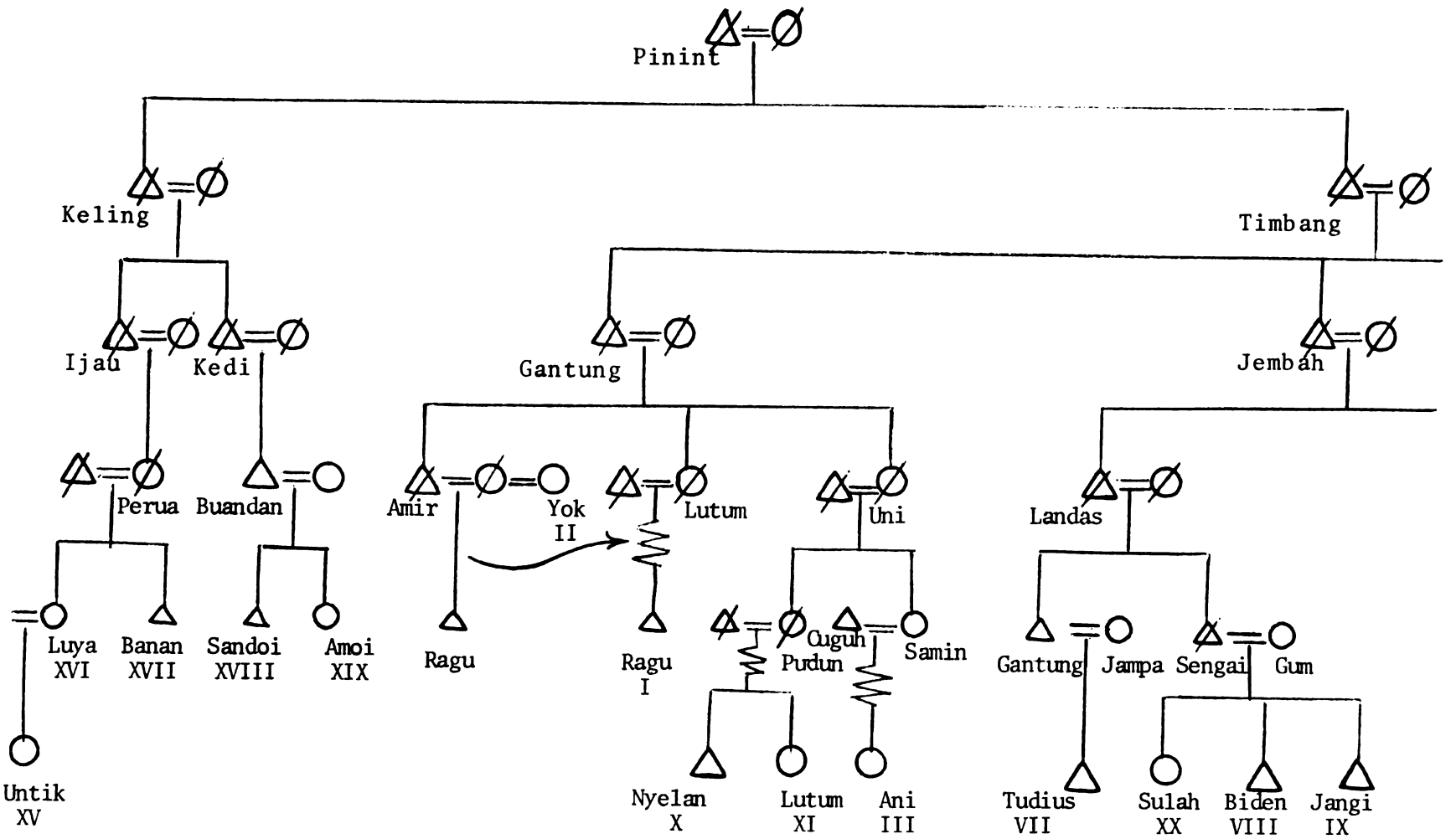

Figure 5. Master Geneology of Sungai Mulau.

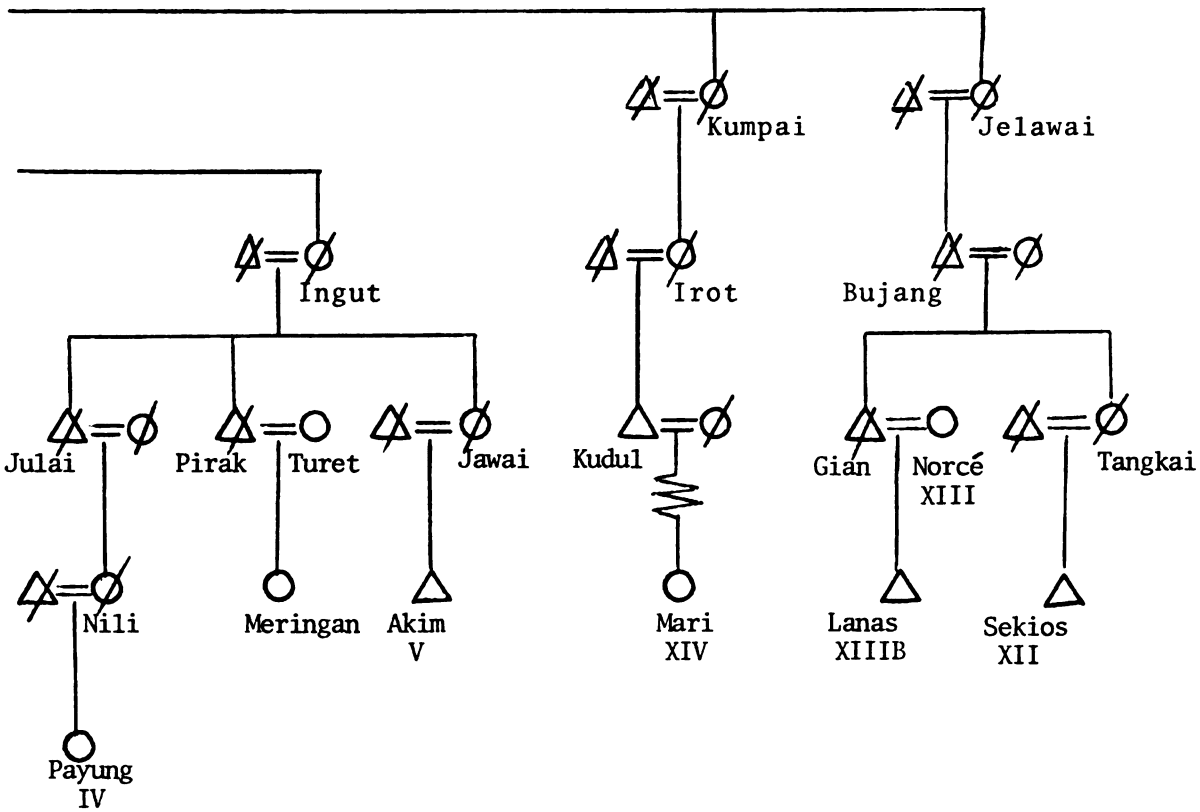

Figure 5 (cont'd.).

clearly that close kin build their apartments next to each other. Table 4 tabulates the various kinds of kinship links between bilik families and Table 5 expresses the interrelatedness of the bilik families in a graphic way. The level of

Table 4. Kinds of Kinship Links Between Bilik Families.

Name of Pun Bilik	Sibling Range	1st Cousin Range	2nd Cousin Range	Further Cognatic Range
1. Ragu	1	3	9	5
2. Yok	4	9	5	0
3. Yusak	3	8	2	5
4. Payung	0	1	1	16
5. Akim	1	2	5	10
6. Saing	1	0	0	0
7. Gantung	6	2	6	5
8. Biden	2	3	2	11
9. Jangi	2	3	2	11
10. Nyelan	3	3	6	6
11. Mambang	3	3	4	8
12. Sekios	1	2	7	8
13. Norcé	1	4	8	5
14. Nyawai	0	1	12	5
15. Talip	1	1	0	16
16. Luya	2	0	3	13
17. Banan	2	0	3	13
18. Sandoi	2	0	3	13
19. Amoi	2	0	3	13
20. Haron	2	3	2	11
TOTALS	39	48	83	174
GRAND TOTAL		344		

The closest possible kinship tie between the two biliks was chosen requiring a frequence shift in propositus (i.e., the pun bilik is not necessarily the propositus).

Table 5. Inter-relatedness of Bilik Families of Sungai Mulau.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	x																			
3	x	x																		
4	x	x	x																	
5	x	x	x	x																
6																				
7	x	x	x	x	x	x														
8	x	x	x	x	x		x													
9	x	x	x	x	x		x	x												
10	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x											
11	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x										
12	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x									
13	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x								
14	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
15	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
16	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
17	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
18	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
19	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
20	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	

x = kinship tie between biliks.

kinship interrelatedness is intense. Of a possible 190 ($= \frac{20x19}{2}$) relationships between the 20 bilik families, the village has 172 for a quotient of 90.5 percent. It is instructive to compare this to the village of pioneering Iban described by Freeman (1970: 97) who have a 61 percent quotient of interrelatedness. The Mualang of the Belitang River valley are less "mobile" than the Baleh River Iban in the sense of opportunistically moving the residence of the bilik family from one longhouse to another, a process which would thin out the kinship web. To extend the comparison of this data with Freeman's data on the Iban, consult Table 6 wherein it can be seen that for this Mualang village kinship interrelatedness is more intense at each range of cognatic reckoning.

Table 6. Comparison of Kinship Interrelatedness.

Village	Sibling	First Cousin	Second Cousin
Sungai Mulau	11.3	13.95	24.1
Rumah Nyala*	9.6	7.3	17.3

*Freeman (1970: 97).

Examination of this master geneology will reveal that every bilik but one lies within fourth cousin range of all other biliks. That single exception is the bilik of Pak Saing, of bilik number VI. Pak Saing is an extraordinary case as he is a minister, retired after serving in church communities

over a span of 22 years. He was one of the first natives chosen by the missionary for training, which at that time was available only in Sulawasi. Upon retirement, he decided to join this village at the invitation of Pak Amir, the deceased father of Pak Ragu in bilik I and Bu Ensung of bilik II. At that time, Pak Amir was chief of this village and temunggung of the area, a man of considerable consequence. A Mualanger would be reticent to join a village without having kinship ties there. This is clearly reflected by Pak Amir and Pak Saing's determining a kinship relation of about fifth cousin range before Pak Saing would consider joining the village. Pak Amir persuaded Pak Siang to join the village by lending him use rights to land he himself had obtained rights to by felling primary forest.[3]

Cognatic kinship reckoning in Mualang society extends as far as a person's memory of his geneology which rarely permits linkages beyond fourth cousin being made. Most people can trace kinship links only as far as third cousin since there is very little interest in geneologies these days. A couple of generations ago the geneologies were important not only to make claims on productive resources such as fruit trees and fishing holes, but also because marriages between distant kin were encouraged, especially second and third cousins. A marriage with a distant relative was referred to as nampil which means to bring back into closer relationship those relatives who

[3]During the colonial period, it was the practice here for the villagers to perform corvee labor on the chief's fields during the felling phase, to compensate him for his public service.

have through time become distant. Marriage to first cousins (manal) is prohibited as incestuous.[4]

Today, marriage among the Mualang is not arranged. Marriages are contracted on the basis of active courtship. An analysis of recent marriages (i.e., those occurring within the last two generations for which geneologies are relatively complete and reliable) involving members of the longhouse at Sungai Mulau reveals that 45 percent were contracted within the fourth-cousin range of kin; this is illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Trend for Marriage with Kin.

Relationship	Second Cousin	Third Cousin	Fourth Cousin	More Remote
Incidence	5	7	2	17
Percentage	16	22.6	6.4	55

Of these marriages, 30.6 percent are between members of the longhouse community as seen in Table 8. This data too can be compared with Freeman's data on the Iban where 76 percent of the marriages are between members of one's own kindred (reckoned out to fifth cousins) and 42 percent of the marriages

[4]Additional incestious relations are those between siblings, aunt-nephew and uncle-niece. The penalty was the "staking" to death of the offending couple with large bamboo stakes driven through the back. As among the Iban described by Freeman (1970: 71), the exact clump of bamboo growing from the stakes putting to death the first incestuous couple remains for all to see and testify to the gravity of the offense. Today, the penalty is not so severe; a fine correlated in value to the severity of the case is paid to the offended villages.

Table 8. Trend for Marriage Within the Longhouse.

	Marriages within the longhouse	Marriages outside the longhouse
Incidence	11	25
Percentage	30.6	69.4

are between members of the same longhouse community (1970: 73, 91).

A final quantitative datum on marriage is concerned with post-marital residence. It was pointed out above that neo-local residence is never a possibility in Mualang society; the newly married couple joins the natal bilik of either the husband or the wife. Table 9 tabulates 34 recent marriages involving the people of Sungai Mulau. The female spouse is

Table 9. Post-marital Residence Choice.

	Male joins spouse's bilik	Female joins spouse's bilik
Incidence	13	21
Percentage	38.2	61.3

seen to join the male spouse's bilik in 61.8 percent of these marriages. Of 369 additional marriages taken from the geneologies of these villagers, 60.4 percent involved the female spouse joining the male spouse's bilik family. Freeman's data on Iban post-marital residence shows 51 percent of the male

spouses joining the bilik of their wives (1970: 25). Jensen found for the Iban of the Lemanak, Delok, and Undup Rivers of the Second Division of Sarawak that 46 percent of the male spouses joined the biliks of their wives' parents (1974: 36).

The decision concerning where the newly married couple will will take up residence is an important and difficult one in Mualang society and takes the form of a ceremony called bepinta'. This ceremony concludes a three month engagement initiated by the ceremony of nganjung ramu in which the family of the prospective groom visits the lawang of the family of the prospective bride to propose the marriage and present the intended lady with an array of small gifts such as cloth, soap, toothbrush, comb, hairoil, towel, etc. For the bepinta' ceremony the family of the groom and interested kin again travel to the lawang of the intended bride's family to decide where the couple will reside after marriage. An especially attractive evening meal is served to the guests and sugar-tea will be available as for any gawai celebration. After the meal the guests listen to short speeches by several elders addressing the important considerations for the decision at hand and how the parents of each of them would regret to give their child over to another bilik family; but, of course, marriage makes such moves inevitable. The groom and some of his supporters then leave the lawang for another place in the longhouse from which they make attempts to persuade the bride, through articulate intermediaries, to come to live in his bilik.

Proposal and counter-proposal may go on all night if necessary to agree on a decision, or, if a decision is impossible to reach, the engagement is respectfully dissolved. This is a difficult or easy decision depending upon the birth orders of the prospective spouses and the composition of the two biliks involved; but even in the event of a relatively easy decision the young people will make a long night out of it in respect to their sorrowful parents.

An only child or a youngest child has a very strong case for refusing to join (nguang) the bilik of the prospective marriage partner. Beyond the desire to remain within the comfortable, dependable, and affectionate relations of the natal family, the important consideration is the opportunity to create a promising niche within the complementary role structure of the bilik family to be joined. This is commonly phrased as choosing the bilik that "needs help." The nguang decision is such a difficult decision because the ties within the bilik family are so strong. Childrearing that is permissive in the extreme and the selfless devotion of parents to the child's wants tend, in this society, to produce young adults not particularly eager to forego the favorable circumstances of the natal bilik family. Informants explained that, aside from the threat of cultural extinction posed by Iban headhunting in the old days, the Mualang suffered the severe social problem of few children due to very late marriages and a high rate of nonmarriage because children were unwilling to part from the

bilik family of their parents. Whatever the truth of this assertion, the demographic principles involved are sound (Jones 1966: 96, McKinley 1976: 7) and the inordinate apprehension of Mualang society over this structural problem seems clear. Perhaps it is here that an important political arena can be found in Mualang society -- the politics of modifying a bilik family to accomodate more than one conjugal family. The accommodation to the in-law relationship can be uneasy, especially if the two families are beyond the range of clearly traceable kinship and, thus, lacking a history of accommodation to build upon. Although the bilik family may go to great lengths to make the "foreign" spouse feel welcome, years of living within the bilik family and making a contribution are required to obtain measurable amounts of authority and claims on its property. Even though the jural status of the foreign spouse is that of a full member of the bilik corporation, in matters of internal household politics the position is disadvantageous. Against the background of the tranquility of Mualang social organization and the amity of social relations, the issue of foreign spouse incorporation is by contrast a social stress point; the other significant social stress point having been cited above as the danger of kinship factionalism threatening the possibility of village consensus.

CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTION ORGANIZATION

Introduction

The production organization of this hinterland Mualang community is best characterized by the terms primitive and domestic. It is primitive in the sense of being based on a simple technology, production by autonomous domestic units for their own use, division of labor based on sex and age, minimal specialization of production, and access to the means of production guaranteed by membership in the community. The forest territory of the village constitutes the natural resource endowment of the slash-and-burn agriculture which dominates the forms of production. The sense of domestic follows from the condition whereby "domestic groups...are constituted, equipped, and empowered to determine and fashion the societal output" (Sahlins 1968: 75).

Foremost in production organization is the production of hill rice with the associated vegetable catch crops. It has often been said about hinterland Southeast Asian peoples that to eat is synonymous with eating rice. In the Mualang language "umpan" translates both as cooked rice and as food more generally. No amount of any other kind of food can compensate for the lack of rice at a meal. Beyond the cultivation of

rice and swidden catch crops, production takes the forms of cultivating fruit trees, husbanding pigs and chickens, collecting vegetables and fruit from the forest, hunting, trapping, fishing, handicraft work, the cultivation of rubber trees and pepper vines, and the sawing of boards.

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that the bilik family is the social unit that organizes production and consumption. This chapter will describe the various forms of production and how the bilik family organizes them to provision itself and, less directly, the social order.

The Technological and Social Relations of Production

The village holds residual rights to the natural resources of its territory. A rough estimate based on elapsed time at an even walking speed, is that the village occupies about 13 square miles of area. This is quite favorable compared with the 4.70 square miles average for the 100 villages of this Kecamatan (Sanggau Dalam Angka 1977). The bilik family, as a member of the longhouse community, is entitled to use the land for the growing of hill rice, cultivating rubber trees and pepper vines, collecting raw materials for handicraft products, collecting wild vegetable foods, fishing, and hunting. The felling of large trees in primary forest is very considerable work, and a man is compensated for such work by having rights to cultivate that land for four consecutive times before fellow longhouse members can use it. Given an average

fallowing period of seven years, this extended tenure would consume, at a minimum, 32 years and, most likely, somewhat longer. These extended use rights are shared by the spouse and children and will pass on to their descendents until consumed.

No primary forest remains in Sungai Mulau as it is an "old" village for this area. Several families, however, have rights to land they or their fathers felled as primary forest.

Planting rubber or pepper on land just used to cultivate rice establishes private ownership to the plot as does hoeing up clay bunds in swampy areas to retain water and extend the area suitable for swamp rice (padi paya). Such land can be sold or traded to anyone although registry and title are not available and such transactions are rare. Private ownership provisions for land are quite recent as the widespread planting of rubber did not begin here until after World War II, and the preparation of swamp padi land is an even more recent economic development idea of the Indonesian government. In fact, however, private ownership is not inconsistent with Mualang traditional practices which coincided with the apt expression of the philosopher John Locke before 1690: "The labor that was mine removing them out of that common state they were in, hath fixed my property in them" (cited in Leaf 1979: 26). In the discussion of the forms of production this principle will be shown to be widespread in Mualang economic life. From the ownership of trees planted, or found and "cultivated,"

to the claiming of ironwood or other useful and enduring trees felled in the making of rice fields, private ownership has been traditionally established and such property rights are inherited like durable property from parents to children. Usually such rights are shared by all descendents (kunsi) as they are difficult to divide.[5]

The tools of production are quite simple. Most tools are made by the villager as needed from raw materials readily available in the forest. Baskets, mats, cages, traps, spears, and nets are basic tools of production in this society. The bush knife, axe, wood-splitting hatchet, and various small knives such as the special weeding knife are made from metal blanks obtained from the trader and can be smithed by almost any man in the village forge. Manufacturing the knife used for tapping the rubber tree requires exceptional skill and so it is purchased from one of the few men scattered over the country-side who can make them. Also, only a few men are skilled in making the muzzle-loading rifle from the metal parts purchased on special order by the trader travelling to Pontianak. In no case, does tool making become such a specialty as to release a man from the necessity of making rice fields and tapping

[5]The "commoditization" of land is likely to become a significant problem for the Mualang in the near future. When the more desirable land has been claimed by hoeing up bunds to increase swamp padi production and cashcrop gardens of rubber and pepper are planted more extensively, level of material well-being will be heritable, fundamentally changing the character of Mualang economic life (cf. Whittier, in press).

rubber like everyone else. The speciality is merely a small source of cash. The rice threshing device (mpangung) and such food-processing tools as rice mortar and pestle, rice husker (kisar), and coconut grater are made by several people in the village and traded to those not wishing to make them. The aluminum pans used for coagulating rubber, hammers, saws, and nails are available at the trade store in Balai Sepauk.

In the property inventory in the appendix are listed a wide array of tools which, in fact, are used only outside ordinary production activities. These tools were obtained "free" from the government as an acceptable way to spend the village allotment for economic development (uang subsidi) and were used in such projects as building bridges, erecting a building to house the padi-processing machine, and preparing swamp padi areas for more intensive padi cultivation.

One rubber mangle for pressing the rubber sheet is village property. Two other rubber mangles in the village are owned privately and can be used for a small fee (which no one will pay). Nearly all tools are privately owned by the independent-producing bilik families.

The bilik family, the predominant unit of production, combines its own tools and labor with its share of the community's resources in accordance with traditional knowledge and skills in an effort to materially provision itself. In a technologically simple "domestic mode of production" (Sahlins 1972) such as this, labor is the factor of production by which

production units differ most importantly from one another. As the domestic mode of production scheme utilized below specifies, a household production unit is well or poorly constituted to provision itself depending upon the composition of its members in terms of sex and age. This matter will be taken up in detail in Chapter VI so it is necessary only to sketch out the broadest outlines of the labor situation at this point. Of the 126 members of the village, 17 are away from the village for reasons of education, training or work and, thus, cannot labor for their respective bilik families. Further, three adults are disabled, four are too old to make a significant contribution to the physically demanding forms of work, and 35 children are too young to work, leaving 67 laboring persons. Young girls begin to help with the domestic chores of rice processing and caring for younger children at about age 10 while boys do not, as a rule, begin to make a measurable work contribution until after 15 years except in households where the absence of girls results in the boys getting pressed reluctantly into looking after the younger children while the mother works in the rice fields. Slowing up on the farm work contribution is noticeable for both males and females by about age 60 and typically by age 70 they have ceased active farm work altogether. It is fair to say that both youth and old age are leisured stages of the life cycle in Mualang society. Young men before marriage have little responsibility and considerable time to themselves which they use much to their personal

advantage. During slack periods in the agricultural cycle, they may travel to Sarawak to trade for Malaysian goods and/or work for a wage in a Chinese-owned rubber or pepper garden. Mualang people enjoy a high reputation there for being "good workers." These journeys provide both adventure and a source of money for attractive clothes which are highly valued by young people and, of course, they bring home gifts (olĕh-olĕh) for their bilik families and close kin. Girls, in the years before marriage, do not have this opportunity for travel and so generally make a greater contribution to the family labor force. Education has been changing this labor contribution pattern as young people are now increasingly attending schools at great distances from the village. Of the 17 children away from home, ten are females and seven are males.

On the basis of a labor unit coefficient of 1.0 being the labor contribution of an adult male between the ages of 20 and 60 years or an adult female between the ages of 16 and 60 years, and the other age and sex categories of labor qualified as specified in Table 21 in Chapter VI, the bilik family labor teams are constituted as displayed in Table 10. It can be seen that 15 bilik families (75%) have three of fewer adult labor units.

Table 10. Composition of Bilik Family Labor Teams.

Range	<2.0	2.1-2.5	2.6-3.0	3.1-3.5	3.6<
Incidence	5	6	4	2	3

The pun bilik or family head is presumed to make the important production decisions such as choice of land to be farmed, size of the plots, timing of the work activities, etc., but this should be done in consultation with the other adult members of the bilik. In truth, the management of a bilik's production activities depends upon the strength of the personalities involved and the character of the domestic unit peace they have negotiated. Domestic disharmony can spell disaster for a bilik family's economic well-being. For the period under study, the failure of biliks II and XI to achieve a reasonable level of production was directly attributable to intra-bilik strife. The division of labor provides a welcome relief from domestic strife as well as the structural source of complimentarity that is the foundation of domestic unit interdependence.

Table 11 provides an extensive treatment of the division of labor by sex. It can be seen to be quite elaborate. Generally, females assume responsibilities for cooking, food preparation, care of the bilik and children while the males' work is predominantly out-of-doors. Men butcher animals and cook out-of-doors, hunt, fish, and trap animals while women collect forest vegetables. Men take primary responsibility for cash crops and other sources of cash such as sawing boards while women assume primary responsibility for weeding the rice field. Only men do the blacksmithing while women sew. They share the handicraft manufacturing duties. Men work on handicraft products involving wood, tree bark, and rattan while

Table 11. Division of Labor (after Freeman 1970: 228-229).

Labor to be Performed	Performed by Males	Performed by Females
I. MAIN ACTIVITIES OF PADI CULTIVATION		
mabat (slashing undergrowth)	X	
nebang (felling trees)	X	
nunu uma (firing the field)	X	
namak jagung (planting corn and other catch crops)		X
ngapar buai (piling charred wood and reburn)	X	X
nugal (dibbling)	X	
menih (sowing padi)		X
ngemabau (weeding)	X	X
mulah langkau (building field hut)	X	
ngapis pagar (erecting fences)	X	
ngetau (reaping-males; selection and care of seed-females)	X	X
ngirik (threshing)	X	
nampi (winnowing)		X
ngangkut (carrying in the padi)	X	
naruh (storing the padi)	X	X
namak ubi (planting cassava)	X	
nugal teradak (preparing the swamp padi seed bed)	X	X
namak padi (planting swamp padi seedlings)	X	X
II. SUBSIDIARY TASKS ASSOCIATED WITH PADI CULTIVATION		
nempa' (blacksmithing)	X	
mukul pua' (making bark cloth)	X	
ngayam tungking (weaving padi sowing baskets)		X
ngayam takin (weaving small baskets)		X
ngayam lanyit (making padi carrying baskets)	X	
ngayam ujut (making large baskets for carrying padi on the stalk)	X	
ngayam tikai (weaving the light tikai mat)		X
ngayam bidai (weaving the heavy bidai mat)	X	
ntelas (fashioning and attaching the basket rims)	X	

Table 11 (cont'd.).

Labor to be Preformed	Performed by Males	Performed by Females
III. OTHER PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES		
nyumai dia' bilik (cooking in the bilik)		X
nyumai dia' uma (cooking in the field)	X	
mersi bilik (cleaning the bilik)		X
nyumoi padi (sunning padi)		X
ngisar padi (hulling padi)		X
nampi' padi (winnowing padi)		X
nutuk padi (pounding padi)		X
bepampo' (washing clothes)		X
ngiga' rempah (food collecting)		X
beburu (hunting)	X	
ngaiil (fishing with a line)	X	X
mansai (scooping fish in a basket)		X
mulah peti' (making pig traps)	X	
mulah bubu (making fish traps)	X	
nsiang karet (cultivating rubber)	X	X
motong karet (tapping rubber)	X	X
namak sang (planting pepper)	X	
matik buah sang (picking pepper)	X	X
nyangkul (hoeing)	X	
munga jelu (butchering game)	X	
mulah rumah (house building)	X	
netak kayu api (chopping firewood)	X	
ngame' ubi (gathering ubi for the pigs)	X	X
nguan miak (watching the children)	X	X
ngiset kayu (sawing boards)	X	

women work with cane and grass materials. A single basket such as the tungking is the cooperative product of cane collected, stripped, and woven by a woman and a wooden rim fashioned and attached with rattan by a man.

On balance, it seems to be an equitable division. The Mualang enjoy talking about a neighboring tribe called the Jangkang in which the men hunt and fish and the women do all the rest. Their tone is distinctly indignant when they describe how the Jangkang women have to gather and chop their own firewood and during pregnancy have to lay away a sufficient store of firewood to last them through the months they will be incapacitated by the constant attention required by the infant. Among the Mualang there appears to be little basis in the division of labor for the exploitation of one sex to the advantage of the other. As a matter of fact, the autonomy of both sexes permits domestic units containing only a single adult to flourish within the context of community reciprocity. The village serving as a "labor exchange" makes the antonomy possible.

The practice of exchange labor (bedurok) serves several important functions in this form of production. Members of different households work together in labor teams accomplishing a particular work activity in fewer days than when working independently. A day of labor from one household is exchanged for a day of labor from another household in the manner of balanced reciprocity. Working in labor teams permits sequential planting dates for the rice fields of the village;

consequently, different fields reach the various phases of maturation at different times so that peak phases can be attended to in a timely and expeditious way by cooperative labor teams. Sequential planting dates have the further advantage of spreading the risk of losses due to bad weather over the entire village. Furthermore, the Mualang share the widely held notion that to work in a group lightens the work. Breaks for tea in the morning and afternoon and the longer midday meal break that typically accompany laboring in work parties probably shorten the workday a bit as well. For this reason, some prefer to work individually (ngemumu') whenever possible. Finally, to expand on the point alluded to above, exchanging labor allows households lacking the full compliment of sex and age roles characteristic of domestic production to make up for this deficit.

It is important to emphasize that the division of labor in Mualang society is not strict. Still, there are tasks that the one sex is considered unable or insufficiently skilled to do. A woman is considered physically unable to fell trees although, if there is no male in the household she will perform the less arduous male task of slashing the undergrowth. The felling of trees or other such male work as housebuilding is accomplished for a maleless household by trading labor that is characteristically female such as weeding and harvesting. For example, at the end of the 1978 agricultural season, Bu Norcē of bilik XIII harvested for several days in the fields

of Pak Sekios and Pak Sandoi in order to accumulate a debt in labor exchange to be paid off at the beginning of the next season when she would be in need of male labor to fell trees for her new plots. Generally, a day's labor is interchangeable with another day's labor irrespective of whether it is performed by a male, female, young, or old laborer. If the exchange is intended to involve different tasks entirely, however, it is proper to specify this intention because certain kinds of work are considered relatively harder or more onerous than others. Inter-bilik cooperation to resolve division of labor difficulties such as Bu Norcé's are common, and, of course, are most likely to involve the closest kin ties. In the past it was Mualang custom for each bilik to work, without compensation, one day during the felling and slashing period on the land of each bilik lacking a male. This custom is thought to have come to an end at about the same time that the Indonesian government salary to the kepala kampung and temunggung replaced the practice of the villagers compensating their officers by laboring on their rice farms.

It was pointed out earlier that youth and old age are leisured phases of the Mualang life cycle. Still, both the young and the old are not without their contributions to the bilik family labor force. Young children around the age of eight are able to begin playing with and looking after the even younger children of the family. Likewise, the oldest members of the family can enjoy the more leisurely pace of bilik life

by assuming the care of the young children, thus freeing the mother to participate more actively in the work in the rice fields or the rubber grove. All children learn quite early to wash their own clothes when they bathe and are eager to gather fruit. Little girls begin to carry water back from the river when they bathe in the evening and may be given the occasional chore of scrubbing the rice pan and wok at the bathing place with sand to remove the weeks of wood-fire-black buildup. By the age of twelve, the children are beginning to tag along with the parents to any work activity that appeals to them. Boys are attracted to fishing, hunting, and slashing and burning the rice fields, while girls join the field work party at harvest time in early imitation of the adult division of labor. Boys gradually assume the task of collecting and chopping the firewood for the bilik and both boys and girls take over the feeding of the chickens and pigs around the longhouse if no elderly members are available for the task. Children glean the rice fields after harvest and are permitted to sell the small amount of rice they get for their own wants. Occasionally a fifth or sixth grade boy will make a small dry rice plot for "school expenses." These plots are invariably low-yielding due to neglect of weeding.

Older people retire gradually from strenuous field work. The older women retire to food-processing, cooking, tending the pigs and chickens, and the many household chores. Older men begin choosing among the labors that appeal to them and

going to the fields later in the day and coming home earlier. Perhaps the major contribution the aged members of the bilik make, beyond caring for the grandchildren, is their extensive handicraft output. A household without retired or retiring elders typically has only the bare minimum of mats, baskets, etc.

It should be clear that a three generational stem family provides the personnel for carrying out the work organization specified by the division of labor in Mualang society.

Production Activities Through the Agricultural Cycle

The organization of production so that it can be carried out by autonomous domestic units is the overriding feature of production in this study. The community-level dimensions of production organization, for the most part, facilitate this domestic unit organization of production. The bilik family members, working variously as specified by the division of labor, carry out the culturally instituted work organization that materially provisions itself and society. Among these production activities rice cultivation predominates and provides the periodicity of the agricultural cycle. Logically then, the description of production activities begins with rice cultivation.

Figure 6 depicts the defining features of the agricultural cycle, ten months of which are devoted to rice production. It is useful to look at the various production activities as they fall into the seasons of the agricultural cycle.

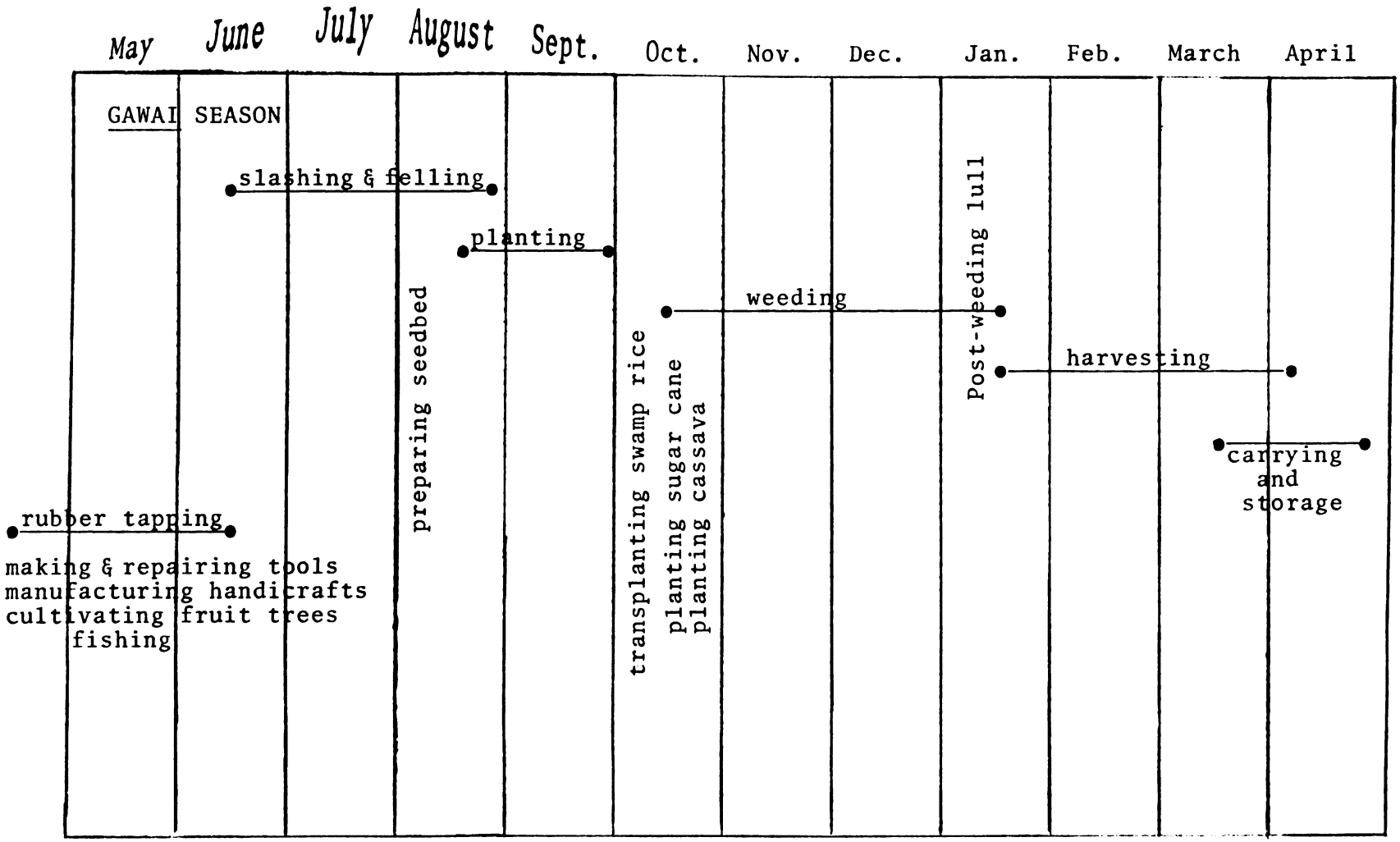

Figure 6. The Agricultural Cycle.

Rice Production

The agricultural cycle begins as the gawai celebration season is winding down. Sometime in May or early June the head of the household (pun bilik) will decide upon the land to be used for the coming year and cut a small rectangular area upon it with the bush knife to give the sign that this land is claimed (panggol) for the coming year. Then, in mid-June, the cutting of undergrowth and the felling of trees (nebas-nebang) is begun. Slashing and felling lasts about ten weeks, to the end of August. There is some over lap with the next phase, beginning near the middle of August, which is the preparation of the seed bed (teradak) for the swamp rice (padi paya). This is done by slashing a suitable spot near the intended swamp padi field (banet), burning the dried undergrowth, and dibbling the special varieties of swamp rice thickly over the seed bed. Also overlapping with the slashing and felling of the dry rice fields is the beginning of the cutting of the grass in the swamp padi field. This process extends through the season of the planting of the dry rice fields and is done intermittently as time permits. All of these are primarily male kinds of work. Consequently, if the bilik has sufficient males to do this work, the females remain at the bilik to work at handicrafts. Mat and basket weaving activity reaches a peak during this time.

The slashed and felled vegetation in the dry rice fields is given sufficient time to dry and then, about mid-August, is

burned. For this area of Kalimantan, there is such a poorly defined dry season that getting enough dry days in a row to assure an effective burn is a matter of serious concern. Each field is fired individually when the family head assesses it to be exactly the right moment for a thorough burn. After a couple of days, or as soon as the soil is cool, the corn (nyilet) is planted in random patches by dibbling. Also shortly after the burn a certain amount of cleaning up the field takes place. This can be as minimal as throwing the incompletely burned wood from the edges of the field where the burn was poorest, or as extensive a task as piling up the unburned wood at various places over the field for reburning when the burn was a poor one. Needless to say, a poor burn can be a deep disappointment for a dry rice cultivator as this reburning process is a most labor-consuming task.

Burning is followed shortly by planting (nugal) which is performed cooperatively by labor parties made up of at least one member of each bilik. The expression "party" is used advisely because, this work being on a village-wide scale is considered light and the mood is elevated, due to some extent to the breaks for sugar-tea and the expectation of something special to eat for the mid-day meal. The person on whose land the rice is being planted will kill a pig and/or chickens to feed the party if he is in a position to do so. A special rule for labor reciprocation with a "communal" flavor to it applies to this dry field planting phase of the agricultural cycle.

A bilik need return no more persondays of labor than it has working members of its labor force. Thus, a bilik sending three laborers to join the work party on the land of a bilik with only two adults in its labor force would only be paid back two persondays of labor on the planting of its dry rice fields.

The planting process involves a sexual division of labor. The men form a line of dibblers and are followed by a line of women who drop rice seed into the dibble holes. A count of the seeding rate revealed 12 grains per hole average with 11 holes per meter square. The dibbling instrument (tugal) consists of an ironwood point wedged into the tip of a pole fashioned at the particular field site from any available light-weight material. The pole is then disposed of at the end of the work day. The two lines of workers proceed around the field counterclockwise from a central point in the rice field in a circle of ever increasing circumference. The person on the left of the dibbling line, a position referred to as "bekau", leads the work party.

This central point is a small plot planted at the break of dawn that same morning by the bilik family cultivating the land. To a post (temungan), in a suitable contralized location, the large baskets of seed are tied, and after a prayer imploring success with this field in the coming agricultural year, some of the family's favorite rice (padi pun) is planted, beginning from the post, in a spiraling fashion. The baskets containing the several varieties of seed, including the seed

of the catch crops which are mixed in with the rice seed for randomized sowing, are tied up here as they arrive on the backs of close kin who are next to arrive. During planting, the rice seed is distributed to the sowing party from this central point as the various microniches are encountered and the appropriate varieties of seed called for.

After the mid-morning tea break, a few of the men retire from the dibbling line to a shaded location at the edge of the rice field to begin preparing the mid-day meal. Should domestic pig be on the menu, it will already have been dispatched. Although special meat division rules apply to the killing of animals to feed a work party, giving a more generous share to the host family, the shares are distributed in the conventional way to each bilik after cooking, and whatever is not eaten is carried back to the longhouse to be enjoyed in the bilik by those family members not participating in the work party. Approximately five weeks are consumed in this communal planting of the dry rice fields.

As already mentioned several catch crops are planted randomly in the dry field. Perhaps exceeding even corn in importance is the cucumber (ketimun). The Mualang are fond of eating the leaf of the cucumber plant and when in season it is the favorite green to be served with rice. Also planted in the ladang are onions (kucai), long beans (retak), spinach (kangkung), pumpkin (labu), mustard (sawi), gourd (kusut ular), and sweet potato (ubi jalar).

The weeding of the ladangs planted earliest begins in September along with the non-communal planting of the swamp rice. The months of October, November, and December are dominated by the once-over weeding of the dry fields and perhaps some weeding of the swamp padi fields in areas where the water has not choked out the weeds.

Weeding is frequently cited as the "limiting" phase of the dry rice agricultural cycle, and so special attention has been given to the division of labor with respect to weeding. Typically, in hinterland Bornean societies, the task of weeding falls to the adult females, the males regarding it as "unmanly" work (e.g., Freeman 1970: 229-230). As Clark and Haswell have expressed the problem:

> Lack of adequate female labor in the weeding season limits the amount of food which can be grown...anything which can persuade them that weeding is not necessarily degrading work for a man, and that men should help women at this task, will do much good. (1966: 42).

Among the Mualang, men have increasingly over the years come to spend more time helping the women with weeding. They say that because the primary forest is gone and the size of trees felled has diminished, the problem of weeds has increased, and women alone can no longer be expected to do a sufficient job of weeding. Men, however, have several competing tasks at the time of weeding. They take responsibility for planting cassava and sugar cane in last year's upland plots, for fencing of the fields against depredation of wild animals, and for the

setting of numerous kinds of ingenious traps for the same purpose. This weeding season is also the time in which the rice will run out for a rice-deficit bilik and a male from the bilik labor force may turn to tapping rubber or sawing boards for cash to buy rice as will be discussed in the following chapter. Table 12 below lists the degree of weeding participation of the able-bodied males in the village work force for the agricultural year of 1977-1978 for which there is full data.

Many families end weeding by the end of December, but weeding can extend through the second week of January and many families will not complete the weeding of rice fields. For the year under analysis four families actually finished weeding; namely biliks V, VII, VIII, and IX.

Table 12. Degree of Weeding Participation of Adult Males.

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
III4	VI3	XII	I1	II3
VII4	VIII2	XIIIA1	XV1	V1
XVI2	VIII4		XX1	VI5
XVII1	IX1			XIX2
	X2			
	XII3			
	XIV2			
	XVIII1			

Individuals are identified as specified in Table 2.

In the second week of January, some green rice is harvested for the making of "pom." The preparation of this desert-like green rice cooked in sugar and shaved coconut and its serving to all the members of the longhouse community in a reciprocal manner as each bilik's fields mature is a minor celebration of the end of the drudgery of the weeding season, also known as the "hunger season" (musim lapar) and the beginning of the high-spirited harvest season.

During the month of January, the men turn their attention to the building and repair of the field huts (langkau) to be occupied during the critical phase when the rice is ripening and requires guarding. Unlike the neighboring tribes, the Mualang avoid staying overnight in the field huts whenever possible. Only guarding the padi is considered sufficiently pressing to require someone to spend the night in the field hut. The field hut also serves for the temporary storage of the unthreshed padi.

Harvesting begins in the last week of January and is in earnest in February, March, and early April. It is accomplished stalk by stalk with a small blade (kebat) fashioned from a tin can lid held cupped inside the hand. Even though harvesting is primarily women's work, men will contribute their labor to the harvest as required and labor exchange makes it possible for large work teams to attend to a field at the peak of maturity. Females select the seed to be put aside for the coming year; men disclaim sufficient knowledge of such matters.

From late March to mid-April, the rice is carried from the field hut to the longhouse by cooperative male labor parties where, that evening on the longhouse veranda, it is threshed by treading the rice with the bare feet through a bed-like frame of firmly tied rattan strips (mpangung). The rice is winnowed by female winnowing teams amidst much drinking of sugar-tea, and then stored in the household's rice bin (pitak) or rice barn (durung).

As the harvest phase winds down, attention begins to shift to tapping rubber and accumulating the necessary commodities for the post-harvest celebration (gawai lepas panen). This gawai season begins in early May and extends through the first half of June. During this approximately six week celebration period, the tapping of rubber is the dominant production activity. Rubber trees are also planted at this time, and rubber gardens may be cleared of undergrowth. Rubber-tapping generally falls to the male; during this period, the females of the bilik work at handicraft manufacture and attend to the condition of the lawang apartment, which may have been somewhat neglected during the very demanding weeding and harvest seasons. This is a more leisurely time for preparing the bilik for the impending gawai and visiting relatives. The gawai celebration season is lengthy so that each village can reciprocate attendance with all its neighboring villages. The details of the gawai celebrations are discussed in Chapter VII.

It should be emphasized that the agricultural cycle is dominated by the growing of dry rice on upland fields; all

other production activities accommodate to the periodicity of its requirements. As noted under the discussion of weeding, however, the Sungai Mulau villagers complain of diminishing yields from dry rice as the fallowing period shortens and the area occupied by the "sword grass" (Imperata spp.) (lalang) expands. They cite seven years as the minimal regeneration time for the better soils in the area to produce an acceptable yield. In compensation, they are increasing their production of swamp rice which provides a higher return per unit of land. Depending upon the specific conditions of individual plots, a swamp padi area will be farmed two or three years in succession and then allowed one to two years of fallow. The favor they continue to show for the cultivation of dry rice hangs on their dependence upon the catch crops that are intercropped in the dry field. Consequently, this blend of dry and swamp rice production is likely to persist in the near future.

Subsidiary Food Production

Pigs and chickens are raised on a small scale to provide meat on special occasions and pigs can, more rarely, function as a "bank account" should the need for a large sum of money arise. Pigs are fed the root of cassava (isi' ubi) which is grown in the dry fields. When the pigs are kept around the longhouse, it is thus necessary to carry the cassava root in from the dry field. At the rate of 2 to 3 kilos per day of cassava root for a single adult pig, the burden of carrying food to the pigs can be heavy for a bilik striving to husband

a large herd. For this reason, several families have taken up the practice of maintaining a "substantial" field hut where the pigs are kept caged beneath, allowing them to be fed cassava root from the nearby field. While significantly lessening the burden of carrying the food to the pigs, it does require a daily visit to the field hut, which, in certain periods of the agricultural cycle is otherwise quite unnecessary. The practice of maintaining a substantial field hut for the husbanding of animals tends, for obvious reasons, to be associated with farming plots in adjacent areas for several years in succession and so the requirement of flexibility in selecting land to cultivate is somewhat in contradiction to this trend. Another strategy for feeding the pigs is to make a small padi field near the village to reduce the carrying of the cassava. This small, supplementary field is called an "mpalai."

The chickens are the indigenous fowl common to tropical Asia, and, like the pigs, are capable of scavenging about the longhouse for much of their own food. Under these conditions of minimal care adults reach no more than about three and one half pounds live weight and the hens "produce no more than about 30 eggs per year" (Masefield 1970: 169). Since so few eggs are produced, most of them are left to form a clutch for setting with the aim of increasing the size of the flock; thus, the Mualang diet contains very few eggs. A small amount of rice is fed to the chickens to lure them into protective cages which are hung under the longhouse for the

night. The care of the chickens is a light chore performed by the children or the elderly at dusk when the rice farmers of the family are walking home from the fields, bathing, and preparing the evening meal.

The less-demanding pace of the gawai season allows some attention to be given to cultivating fruit trees, pineapples, taro, sago, etc. These foods play a very small role in the economic life of this hinterland village. In fact, the very irregular, incidental, and haphazard attention given to the cultivation of fruit trees was insufficient to be identified in the labor input study conducted. Because in this season there are no vegetables from the field, many of the fruits, such as pineapple and jackfruit are picked in an immature condition and cooked as a green accompaniment to the rice. Also during this offseason, the women turn to the forests and streams for more serious collecting of vegetables such as bamboo shoots (jabau), fern fiddle scrolls (paku), and mushrooms (kulat). As the dry season proceeds and the level of the river falls, the fish become trapped in holes and are easily harvested by teams of women using the fish-scooping basket (pemansai).

With the post-harvest gawai approaching, the men of the village begin hunting communally one or two days per week to provide extra meat for the celebration as a "work service" activity. All able-bodied men in the village participate, along with the dogs, utilizing the technique of a line of

chasers running the game toward a line of gun-bearers who dispatch the animals. This is in addition to the casual hunting done by individuals; every male owning a rifle carries it over his shoulder as he travels the jungle paths, accompanied by his hunting dogs, each day to his rice fields. Many a workday in the fields is interrupted by barking in the distance, giving the signal to the work team to rush into the forest to give chase to the wild animal being pursued by the hunting dogs.

Handicraft Manufacture

Handicraft manufacture was noted under the discussion of tools. In addition to these tools, the women sew most of the clothing for the family on a hand-turned or treadle sewing machine from cloth obtained from the trader. Additionally, mosquito nets are sewn together from a white synthetic fabric and colorful quilt-like blankets are made by sewing together small remnants of worn out clothes much in the manner of European and American quilts. House, field hut, and rice barn construction is done by men, much of it in cooperative work teams based on reciprocal labor exchange.

Rubber-Tapping

Rubber is the primary source of cash; it is tapped at any season when the need is pressing. This hinterland area has only the unimproved stock of low productivity rubber obtained before World War II, and the absolute minimum care is provided for the trees. Occasional weeding is done around transplants

to permit the young trees to get out ahead of the regrowth. Merely cutting a path from tree to tree to permit access to the trees when tapping is just about all the cultivation provided, and no fertilizer is applied.

It is customary in this area to tap the rubber trees in an approximately six hour outing. Before daylight the tapper will steal away from the longhouse to the rubber grove to begin the work. The tapping operation, which is done in the v-shape style, consists of making an incision in the bark with a special tapping knife (piso') and positioning the collecting receptable below the drip spout at the base of the "v". Typically, the drip spout is nothing more than a folded leaf stuck beneath a notch of bark at the bottom of the incision and the receptacle is either a halved coconut shell or a node of bamboo. After tapping between 150 and 250 trees, which constitutes the daily task, the tapper then makes the rounds to collect the latex in a bucket. The latex is carried to a site near the rubber mangle where it is mixed in an aluminum pan with acetic acid to coagulate before being pressed into a sheet by passing it several times through the mangle. The sheet is then allowed to wash in the river for a day or so before being hung up to dry. In this state it can be carried to the trader. Rubber tapping is considered disagreeable work by the Mualang because of the excessive bending, stooping, and carrying. Complaints about back pain and headaches associated with rubber tapping are common and not infrequently a second member of the bilik family may join in the task to lighten the burden. By midday, the

rubber tapping is finished and some other work can be attended to.

Pepper Production

Pepper cultivation in nearby Sarawak has recently spread into the hinterlands of West Kalimantan. Pepper cultivation is not yet into full swing in the village under study. Thus far, except for one bilik that received its first harvest of pepper during the field study, some biliks have only begun to plant the pepper vine and gather and shape the ironwood posts that will be required to support the plant in its full growth. Consequently, the work organization of pepper production is not yet integrated into the traditional work organization of rice and rubber production as described above.

Sawing Boards

For those lacking a rubber garden, the source of cash for buying rice during the "hunger season" has been the sawing of boards. In recent years it has become the fashion to replace the floors made traditionally of tied saplings or split bamboo with more substantial sawed boards. Like tapping rubber, sawing boards is work that can be performed by a single male while the spouse attends to the weeding of the rice fields. A suitable tree is felled, trimmed and cut to board length, then hoisted into position and secured to a sawing frame. This, along with the construction of the sawing frame over the log, can consume several days of work. Standing on the sawing frame over the log, the sawer wields a heavy and cumbersome

steel saw to produce reasonably uniform boards of a standard size called the "keping." One keping of board is one thumb width thick (mata), one hand-span wide (jengkel) and 1½ "depah" long (the depah, a little more than five feet, was defined above in Chapter I). Even more onerous than tapping rubber, this work is performed only by men and only under dire circumstances. During the time of the field study, the price of rubber was sufficiently high to make rubber tapping on a sharecropping basis an alternative to this toilsome source of cash.

The work organization for the various kinds of production has been delineated for Mualang society. In work organization, we see a compromise between the technological requirements of production and the social relations of material provisioning (cf. Cook 1973: 821). In the division of labor, we see reflected the mutual dependence of the bilik family members. Sometimes the village community as a unit engages in production as in planting the dry rice fields, hunting, and fish poisoning. Such work organization, however, is merely cooperative and has no basis in a division of labor nor a specialization of labor. Unmistakably, it is the bilik family that is the predominant unit of production in Mualang economic life.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT OF DOMESTIC ECONOMICS

This chapter documents the quantitative relations among the economic variables which constitute for this community the context in which domestic units take decisions about materially provisioning themselves. It is important to emphasize that each village has its own economic character and its own context of economic opportunity, well-known to the villagers themselves. Amoh, for example, has an enviable position on a fine river providing good trade and travel connections but suffers from poor, sandy soil, and minimal swamp area giving a low ratio of the more productive padi paya land to the less productive padi bukit (hill rice) land. The village of Belitang Ubah, a pioneer village, has plentiful primary forest but has great difficulties in this ecological context, with diseases of the rubber trees. It is the local perception that the level of living in these communities is somewhat below the level of the community under study, and, though not documented, these differences were apparent to this observer. By contrast, Sebindang, with more fertile soil, frequently provides wage labor to the less fortunate families of Amoh, their daughter village; and Ransa, though having very little wood left and so pitied with respect to the difficulties of providing shelter, has much swampy area for padi paya and

is reknown for its diligence in rubber-tapping. Every village, however, has the basic characteristic profile of households that achieve considerable success (urang berada), those that produce sufficient for their own needs (urang pas), and those that perennially fail (sakit idup or merinsa'). Kampung Sungai Mulau is reasonably representative of the villages of the Belitang Hulu area in terms of the fertility of the soil, the mixture of padi bukit with padi paya, the availability of wood, the degree of participation in cash crop production, and access to trade goods.

Rice Production

Chapter IV discussed the organizational dimension of rice production. Attention is given here to the performance dimension. Table 13 presents the data on rice yields, areas under cultivation, and gantangs[6] per hectare by household. From this table, it can be seen that the size of household farms ranged from 0.94 hectares (2.32 acres) to 4.89 hectares (12.08 acres) with a mean of 2.36 hectares (5.83 acres).

Regretably, it was not possible to differentiate the areas under padi paya from the areas under padi bukit because they were intricately mixed together. Since each

[6]The gantang is the dry volume measure for rice and salt in the hinterland. Among the Mualang the gantang is a carved wooden bowl containing 3,118 cm^3 (=190.27 $in.^3$). This Mualang gantang contains the volume of ten cans of condensed milk, a dry unit they call a "mung" and a "ling".

Table 13. Rice Production in Sungai Mulau During 1978-79.

Bilik No.		Rice Yield 1979 in Gantangs	Area Under Cultivation	Gantangs/ Hectare
I	Ragu	1,347	33,150.85 m^2	406.33
II	Yok	889	26,266.17 m^2	338.46
III	Yusak	3,203	48,954.27 m^2	654.29
IV	Payung	569	10,659.50 m^2	533.82
V	Akim	779	16,635.50 m^2	468.29
VI	Saing	1,331	24,956.77 m^2	544.34
VII	Gantung	1,903	32,040.35 m^2	593.95
VIII	Biden	1,716	23,030.41 m^2	745.12
IX	Jangi	1,097	27,442.64 m^2	399.75
X	Nyelan	1,033	24,154.28 m^2	427.67
XI	Mambang	1,026	21,734.66 m^2	472.07
XII	Sekios	1,360	25,731.20 m^2	528.55
XIII	Norcé Lanas	642 1,027	37,166.81 m^2	449.07
XIV	Nyawai	1,156	21,506.54 m^2	537.52
XV	Talip	1,263	22,438.79 m^2	562.88
XVI	Luya	837	15,418.60 m^2	542.87
XVII	Banan	1,797	22,081.73 m^2	813.82
XVIII	Sandoi	1,510	34,741.62 m^2	434.64
XIX	Amoi	494	9,405.03 m^2	525.25
XX	Haron	1,128	17,719.43 m^2	636.60
TOTALS		26,107 gantangs	495,235.15 m^2	
Mean		1,243.2	23,582.63 m^2	

Average for Village: 527.2 gantangs/hectare

household's farm contains a different ratio of padi paya to padi bukit, little importance can be assigned to the gantangs per hectare figures.

Consequently, in order to get a sense of the production possibilities in this community, it is necessary to rely upon yield samples. For this purpose, samples of yields were taken based upon harvesting 1/180 acre plots from the range of padi and soil types. This data is presented in Table 14. Padi bukit, or hill rice, is seen to be the least productive, padi paya, or swamp rice, the most productive and padi lemaung, or river bank rice, intermediate in productivity. It follows that the gantangs per hectare figures from Sungai Mulau ranging from a low of 338.46 to a high of 813.82 (Table 13) would depend upon the padi paya to padi bukit ratio, the fertility of the soil, the degree of care in cultivation, etc. A final qualification of this data, resulting from the difficulties in measuring swidden rice fields, is in order here. The borders of the fields are, in many cases, difficult to determine because the cultivated area shades off into the surrounding brush or forest. This is so because the edge of the field was probably determined first, in only a rough sense, because of a gradation into poor soils and, second, by variations of an incomplete burn. This border is further blurred by the cluttering of the edges of the field with a confusion of unburned limbs, haphazard fences, traps, and finally, by weeding such less likely areas last in case weeding labor for the year should be insufficient.

Table 14. Yield Samples of Rice Varieties.

Padi bukit - variety Tegelam

better-than-average appearance
well-cared-for
fertile soil
Yield: 27.13 bu/acre = 306 gantangs/acre = 67.04 bu/hectare = 756.21 gantangs/hectare

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Padi bukit - variety Napoh

average appearance
average care
fertile soil
Yield: 279 gantangs/acre = 24.73 bu/acre = 61.12 bu/hectare = 689.41 gantangs/hectare

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Padi bukit - variety Pulau

less-than-average appearance
well-cared-for
infertile soil
Yield: 15.16 bu/acre = 171 gantangs/acre = 37.46 bu/hectare = 442.55 gantangs/hectare

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Padi lemaung - variety Prajurit

better-than-average appearance
well-cared-for
Yield: 37.1 bu/acre = 418.49 gantang/acre = 91.68 bu/hectare = 1034.1 gantang/hectare

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Padi paya - variety Ayop Nyerungkop

average-in-appearance
well-cared-for
first year cycle
Yield: 42.29 bu/acre = 477 gantangs/acre = 104.5 bu/hectare = 1178.67 gantang/hectare

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To put this production performance data into perspective, it is necessary to compare it with studies of similar techno-economic contexts from this part of the world. Ward and Ward in their report of "An Economic Survey of West Kalimantan," give the average yield of upland padi in 1971 for Kalimantan Barat as 940 kilograms per hectare (568 gantangs per hectare) (1974: 34). This is just a bit above the 527.2 gantangs per hectare average for Sungai Mulau.

For a more in-depth comparison, the study of J.D. Freeman undertaken among the Iban of the Baleh region, Third Division, Sarawak from January 1949 to June 1951 and detailed in Iban Agriculture, (1955) is more useful. The community of Rumah Nyala studied by Freeman was a pioneering community and so offers some contrasts with the context of agriculture in Sungai Mulau, a long-established community in the area with essentially no primary forest remaining. Farming dry rice in the primary forest setting requires comparatively more labor for felling trees and less labor for slashing undergrowth. More time is required for the cut and slashed vegetation to dry for burning and a much hotter burn is required to consume the larger wood. All of this contributes to making the timing of the burn with respect to the end of the dry season and the onset of the rainy season most critical for the cultivators of primary forest. By contrast, in Sungai Mulau where secondary forest is farmed, these relationships are reversed and so there is somewhat less risk hanging on the timing of the burn although here too there is much apprehension about the

crucial phase. On the other hand, the problem of weeding is magnified by the fact that, lacking the intense fire of larger wood, the fire-kill of weed seeds, roots, and rhizomes is less.

Given these important differences between pioneering and settled swidden agriculture, let us examine the differences in performance between the two communities as well as other relevant cases from hinterland Southeast Asia.

With respect to yield, Freeman found among the Iban of Rumah Nyala yields ranging from 8 to 43 bushels per acre and estimates 15 bushels per acre to be average. The comparable figures for Sungai Mulau are quite similar as can be seen from Table 14 ranging from 15-42. The average for the village is 527.2 gantangs/hectare or 18 bushels per acre. Table 15 provides a comparison of yields for the relevant cases from Southeast Asia. The figures for Sungai Mulau are slightly higher than those for the Iban but very much in the range of the cases presented.

Table 16 compares the Iban data on average area under cultivation for the various kinds of workers in the household labor force with the data from Sungai Mulau. It was specified in Chapter III that the village under study is composed of 126 souls. For purposes of domestic economic reckoning, however, only 114 are residents. Of the 114 residents, 56 are able-bodied workers (24 male and 32 female). Of these 56 workers, 42 can be considered "weeders." There is a clear trend for the Mualang to put nearly twice as much

Table 15. Comparative Data on Dry-Rice Yields.

Reference	Region	Yield in bu/acre General Range	Average
Jack	Malaya	18 - 43	27.5
Craig	Kelantan, Malaya	- 43	
Leach	North Burma	15 - 40	
deSoyza	Ceylon	15 - 50	
Izikowitz	French Indo-China		24.0
Geddes	First Division, Sarawak	7 - 32	
Agriculture Dept.	Third Division, Sarawak	7 - 31	15.0
Freeman	Third Division, Sarawak	8 - 43	15.0
Drake	Belitang Hulu, Kal. Bar., Indonesia	15 - 42	18.0

NOTE: This table is after Freeman (1970: 257).

acreage under cultivation as do the Iban. The Iban acreage figures are on the upper end of the range of hinterland Southeast Asian cases (Ibid.: 250, Table 45) and yet the people of Sungai Mulau exceed these figures by 73 percent. In comparison with other Southeast Asian swidden agriculturalists, the people of Sungai Mulau are very ambitious, indeed.

In order to illustrate the range of labor inputs for padi cultivation, four households were chosen for study on the basis of the regularity of their behavior. This data can

Table 16. Acreage per Worker (after Freeman 1970: 248).

	Sungai Mulau	Iban
Area per head of population	1.07 acre*	0.6 acre
Area per worker	2.19 acre	1.0 acre
Area per male worker	5.1 acre	---
Area per female worker	3.82 acre	1.8 acre
Area per weeder	2.91 acre	1.5 acre
Area per family of five	5.35 acre	3.1 acre

*These areas are areas under cultivation, not areas felled. As in the Iban study, the area felled is larger but no figures are available for the area felled.

be found in Table 17. The range is from 102.47 workdays of labor per hectare (41.5 days per acre) for bilik XVIII headed by Pak Sandoi to 134 days per hectare (54.3 days per acre) for bilik XII headed by Pak Sekios. By comparison, Freeman (1970: 245) found the labor input on secondary jungle among the Iban he studied to range from 50 to 60 days per acre. For an average for estimations of other relationships, he chose the figure of 60 days per acre. One reason for the Mualang figures being on the low end of the Iban range is that the Mualang data does not include time invested in building field huts because this varies drastically from case to case and year to year. For example, during the period of study, Pak Talip of bilik XV spent most of the weeding season building a fine, strong field hut capable of

Table 17. Labor Input for Rice Cultivation 1978-79.

Bilik		Workdays*	Hectares	Workdays/ Hectare	Workdays /Acre
I	Ragu	379	3.315	114.3	46.28
XII	Sekios	345	2.5731	134.0	54.26
XV	Talip	297.5	2.2438	132.6	53.7
XVIII	Sandoi	356	3.4741	102.47	41.47

*These figures do not include workdays invested in building the field hut.

lasting several years while at the other extreme, Pak Sekios of bilik XII invested no labor in a field hut. From the data collected on field hut building and maintenance, it seems reasonable to estimate that, over the years, a household will invest, on average, two weeks (10 work days) per year in this kind of work. This brings the Mualang figures closer to the Iban figures.

With the labor input data, we can calculate the returns to labor in these four cases. The results are tabulated in Table 18 below, showing a range of from Rp 525 per workday for bilik I to Rp 626 per workday for bilik XVIII (from $0.85/ workday to $1.01 per workday in U.S. currency).[7]

[7]It is of interest that Durrenberger's report on the economy of the Lisu of Northern Thailand found that: "a day's work in producing rice would be valued at 19.67 baht" which is U.S. $0.98 (1976a: 635).

Table 18. Returns to Labor for Rice Cultivation.

Bilik		Total Yield	Workdays	Gantangs /Workday	Rupiah/ Workday
I	Ragu	1,347	379	3.55	Rp 525*
XII	Sekios	1,360	345	3.94	Rp 582
XV	Talip	1,263	297.5	4.24	Rp 626
SVIII	Sandoi	1,510	356	4.24	Rp 626

*The money value is based on an average value of one gantang of padi over the season equal to Rp 147.75. The Indonesian rupiah at the time of fieldwork was exchanged at the rate of U.S. $1 = Rp 620.

The data collected is incapable of providing even a sketchy production function for rice cultivation, but it is clear that weeding is the critical phase of the cycle in the sense that it makes the greatest demands on the family labor force (cf. Clark and Haswell 1966: 42). Consequently, by estimating weeding labor availability, the correct amount of land to be put under cultivation is determined. This matter is somewhat more complicated in practice, however. Most households are capable of clearing and planting much larger rice fields than they can weed effectively. For example, when one of Pak Haron's (bilik XX) rice fields was being measured, he explained apologetically that it was so small because he would not be able to assist his wife with the weeding. He had failed to get enough rice the previous year and would have to saw boards at that time in order to buy rice. On the other

hand, extensive observation of cultivation practices gives ample evidence that the Mualang operate near the peak of marginal returns to labor for weeding by clearing and planting somewhat more land then they can weed thoroughly. Thorough weeding may produce higher yields than incomplete weeding, but it is clear that judicious incomplete weeding provides the highest marginal returns to labor and is the approach most widely practiced.

Cash Crop Production

Rubber-Tapping

Each household possesses a rubber grove or rights to use a rubber grove held in severalty. The organization of rubber production was discussed in the previous chapter; the performance dimension will be detailed here. Table 29 lists the rubber trees cultivated by each household; there is a direct relationship, which will be discussed later, between level of well-being and the possession of many productive rubber trees. Yields obtained for even a single household vary over time depending upon several variables: which grove is being tapped; how hard the tapper is willing to work at that particular time; who is available to pitch in with the work; and, even the amount of recent "tapping pressure" on the trees. In order to get a picture of rubber production for the community, it is therefore necessary to refer to a particular interval of time.

During May 1979, a peak time for rubber-tapping, the daily yields in kilos for each household, as shown in Table 19,

Table 19. Rubber-Tapping Yields During May, 1979.

	Bilik	Daily yield in kilos
I	Ragu	3.5 (4.5)
II	Yok	3.5 and 5.5
III	Yusak	3 (5)
IV	Payung	3.5
V	Akim	--
VI	Saing	2.5
VII	Gantung	(5)
VIII	Biden	1.75 and 4
IX	Jangi	1.5
X	Nyelan	3.25
XI	Mambang	2.25 and 4
XII	Sekios	3.0
XIII	Norcé	2.5
XIIIB	Lanas	2.5
XIV	Nyawai	1.5 (2.75)
XV	Talip	3.5 and 2.5
XVI	Luya	2.5 and 1.25
XVII	Banan	4.0 (7.5)
XVIII	Sandoi	3.5 and 3.0
XIX	Amoi	1.25 and 2.0
XX	Haron	2.0
	MEAN	3.16 (+0.6 kilos *tatal*)

NOTE: The number in parentheses is a higher yield obtained by two or more tappers sharing the work. When two figures outside parentheses are given for a household either two different gardens are involved or two different tappers working separately.

were ascertained by interview. This data gives a mean yield for the village of 3.16 kilos of rubber sheet plus 0.6 kilos of tatal per outing. Tatal is the coagulated rubber from the previous tapping operation that lies in the bark groove and must be removed before cutting the new groove. This tatal is wadded into a ball and sold unprocessed for approximately one third the price of processed sheets.

Table 20 shows that May's mean yield brought Rp 1,093 when traded at Sungai Mulau and Rp 1,344 when carried to Pakit Mulau Hulu. The trip to Pakit Mulau Hulu is one and one-half hours one way. Compared with the monetary value of Rp 525 to Rp 626 of padi output for a workday, rubber production enjoys roughly a twofold advantage. This relationship depends, of course, on the prices of rubber and padi. For contrast, consider the conditions of the previous October when rubber was being traded for Rp 150 per kilo at Sungai Mulau. At that time the return of Rp 504 for an average rubber-tapping outing was unfavorable compared with the returns on padi production. The price of rubber obviously varies sufficiently to make rubber-tapping economically feasible only at certain times. During 1977 the price of rubber had been as low as Rp 80-90 per kilo. There was general agreement among both traders and villagers that, as prices rise, the production of rubber increases in the Belitang Hulu area.

Nonetheless, variation in the intensity of rubber production in the Sungai Mulau area is more complicated than the

relationship between price and output. It must be understood in its relationship to rice production within the domestic mode of production. Rubber production is subsidiary to rice production--one of the production alternatives competing for the villager's time when rice production lulls permit. Every household has some need for trade goods such as sugar, tea, kerosene, etc. for the minimal expressions of civility on occasion. Because exchanging rice for trade goods is rarely advantageous, there will be some tapping of rubber for trade goods even when the price cannot justify it in the "economic" sense. Although rubber is the predominant source of cash and/or trade goods, it is never considered an alternative to rice production.

Rubber production is subsidiary to rice production in a second sense. A family that fails to achieve sufficiency in rice will tap rubber to trade for rice. Typically, the rice runs out during the weeding season, also called the "famine season", of October through January. It is considered the height of prudent household management in this predicament for one of the men of the bilik to withdraw from field work during the mornings to tap rubber for obtaining the daily rice provision and then join the women and any other co-workers in weeding in the afternoon. Only in this way can a family hope to break the cycle of deficient harvests caused by the withdrawal of weeding labor to tap rubber to trade for rice. Again, strict economic calculations of returns to labor are irrelevant because some rubber tapped is some rice obtained, and, by

stretching whatever rice you have by cooking it with cassava root, the dispirited season of deficiency will ultimately give way to the harvest season and its abundance.

Table 29 demonstrates clearly that some households are more favorably situated than others with respect to rubber production. A conventional share-cropping arrangement mitigates this situation somewhat. A person tapping another household's trees divides the rubber product equally with that household except that the tapper is permitted to keep all the tatal for himself; the owner of the trees supplies the acetic acid to harden the rubber into sheets. For the tapper, the return on an outing yielding 3 kilos of getah and 0.6 kilos of tatal, at the price of Rp 325 for rubber sheet and Rp 110 for tatal, would be Rp 553.5. This, as we shall see shortly, is roughly the same as the typical money wage.

Pepper Production

As was explained in Chapter IV, pepper cultivation in Sungai Mulau is very recent. Thus far only one household has achieved a harvest; therefore, the results of this one case will be combined with the "expectations" of those going into pepper production to provide a sense of the production possibilities. The Mualang talk about pepper in terms of the batang (individual pepper post) unit. One batang of pepper requires 1.2 gantangs of fertilizer per year (Rp 420) and 1/100 gallon of herbicide (Rp 40) for a total outlay of Rp 460. Estimated yields of mature plants are from 2 to 3 kilos per batang. Given the estimated 3

kilo per batang per year yield and the market price of Rp 1,000 per kilo, the income from one batang is Rp 2,540. In fact Pak Akim, bilik V, in the first year of harvest received an average of 1.875 kilos black pepper per batang and sold it at Rp 700 per kilo in November 1978, when the price was depressed. This yield compares favorably with what the pepper agronomist P.W.F. deWaard at Kuching says can be expected of a "well-maintained, well-fertilized, healthy garden" (1964: 29) in Sarawak. Under these ideal conditions, the first yield (third year) will vary from 1.68 kilos per vine to 1.92 kilos per vine of black pepper, rising to a peak of 2.88 kilos to 3.84 kilos black pepper between the sixth and tenth years and decline gradually to the fifteenth year at which time they must be replaced by new plantings.

Pepper cultivation has an important economic consideration not involved in the other forms of production, namely, high capital and labor investment at the outset. Heavy labor in hoeing the pepper mounds, perhaps as many as three times to get rid of the lalang grass roots (Imperata cylindrica), investment in ironwood posts at least twelve feet tall at Rp 150 each, and the expense of herbicide and fertilizer are all considerable obstacles to getting into pepper production. Furthermore, a first harvest is not received until the third year. Because of this, Mualang cultivators begin pepper cultivation on a small scale. In the case of Pak Akim, 80 batang were planted the first year, 100 the second, 50 the third, and 50 the fourth

year. This 280 batang total occupies 0.41 acre or 0.165 hectare. From Table 29 it can be seen that the other households that have begun cultivating pepper have, for the most part, done so on an even smaller scale. Several households complained that the capital investment required put pepper cultivation beyond them, at least in the short run.

Terms of Laboring

Labor (kerja) is a very interesting category in Mualang economic life because the terms of labor transactions run the gamut of reciprocities from balanced to generalized. The various forms of labor will be taken up in the order of from most balanced to most generalized before considering the quantitative aspects of wage labor.[8]

The most rigorously balanced forms of labor are wage labor of two types: bekuli and ngangsang. "Ngangsang" means to work for a wage. Bekuli can have the same meaning but it usually is used more specifically to mean carrying goods from one village to another, most commonly for traders. The bekuli rates are conventional and generally familiar to all. For example, goods can be carried from Sungai Mulau to Pakit for Rp 15 per

[8]The term "wage labor" is used advisedly here. Although the Mualang term translates as wage labor, it is qualitatively different from wage labor in capitalist economies as understood by Formal Economic Theory. People laboring for the benefit of others for monetary compensation appears superficially as wage labor but labor is not a commodity here. There is no labor market; hence, labor is not commoditized. As Durrenberger has put it, "unless the labor is sold as a commodity it is not wage labor" (1980: 136).

kilo; to Sepauh for Rp 5 per kilo; to Dandi for Rp 30 per kilo, and to Balai Sepuak for Rp 60 per kilo. For short trips such as these, women carry about 40 kilos and men 50 kilos or more. It is considered hard work deserving of a high wage.

Ngangsang, or working for a wage, commonly takes one of three forms: the first of these, ngangsang uang, means to work for a money wage negotiated on the basis of a common knowledge of what other people have been paying and how strenuous the work is. Working the rice field is considered strenuous during the slashing and felling phase but easy during the weeding season. Supply and demand also expresses itself with wages rising during the harvest season when everyone is busy with the harvest.

Ngangsang babi is to work a day's labor for a pile of pork. It is a common means of attracting people to assist in a task that is especially onerous; for example, to assemble a work party for felling large trees. The owner of the pig and the appointed assistants slaughter the pig, butcher the meat into the conventional cuts, cube these cuts, mix all the meat cubes for a random distribution and then, after withdrawing a small portion of meat as payment for the persons preparing the meat, place the meat in equal size piles. Each pile is the wage for the day of labor, the number of piles being determined by measurement of the girth of the live pig just behind the front limbs.

Ten piles of meat are appropriate for each "renti" of girth.[9] "Ngangsang babi" is a very attractive wage with the pile of pig meat amounting to about 1.4 kilos and the price of pork at Rp 500 per kilo during the fieldwork period. The high wage is necessary to attract people who are, at that particular time, busy with the same work on their own fields but will not be able to resist the chance to provide their families with a meal of pork.

Ngangsang padi means to be paid for a day's labor in padi. The traditional rate of 5 gantangs (= 1 taken) prevails to this day, although this attractive wage is reserved for kin only and available only during the weeding season which coincides with the season when there is a deficit in rice. For non-kin, four or even three gantangs padi per day can be negotiated as the wage for a day of weeding labor.

Beduruk means to exchange labor and is typical of the many labor exchange arrangements described for Southeast Asian hinterland peoples (Izikowitz 1951; Geddes 1954; Freeman 1955; Provinse 1937). Such exchanges of labor among households allow work to be done in groups with all the attendant "lightening of the burden" and "inefficiency of labor" so cavalierly condemned

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[9]A note on the measuring of pigs is surely in order here. A rattan strip of exactly the girth of the pig's body measured directly behind the front legs is marked off. From this strip is subtracted the circumference of the owner of the pig's head and the portion of the strip remaining is then measured into lengths, called renti; a renti being the distance between the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist and the heal of the fist. For a finer measure, a renti is equal to 10 jari; i.e., ten fingers.

by economic analysts not faced with the necessity of toiling 10½ hours a day six days per week in a rice field beneath the hot equatorial sun. It is uncommon for a person to work alone (ngemumu') for several days in a row. Simple beduruk in which the kinds of labor exchanged are more or less the same is the most common form of labor exchange, but there are several forms of beduruk.

Beduruk beruyong is to exchange labor between households for the purpose of getting paid back with a kind of labor that a particular household lacks. A common example is the need of households lacking able-bodied men to fell trees or build a field hut to obtain such labor through the exchange of weeding or harvest labor.

Beduruk gotong-royong is the special form of exchange labor that is in force only during the planting phase (nugal) of the ladang cycle. In this form of exchange, a household has to pay back to each household only as many days labor as it has workers in its labor force. Nugal is the one phase of the ladang cycle that is executed communally; every household sends off its labor force to work in a single party in the rice field to be planted on that day. An example will illustrate the principle of exchange involved here. Bilik III, Pak Yusak, has four able-bodied workers available but on the day the field of bilik IV, Bu Payung, was planted, he sent only two of those workers. Bu Payung, because she has only one able-bodied worker in her household, is required to reciprocate only a single

worker to fulfill the exchange obligation on the day in which the field of Pak Yusak is planted. It should be noted that the nugal phase is characterized by a high level of participation of the community labor force because it is almost a certainty that meat will be available for the midday meal. This and very generous servings of sugar-tea and sugar-coffee at the mid-morning and mid-afternoon rest breaks all contribute to a high-spirited work party attractive to everyone. As a testament to how their level of well-being has improved in recent years, the Mualang say that in the old days only the very well-to-do provided chickens and pigs at the mid-day meal for nugal. Today about one quarter of the families in any particular year kill a pig and the remainder kill at least a chicken or two.

Binyau is to attract a large party of laborers to your task by killing a pig. A large pig is required. By this method of distribution of the meat the owner receives a share of one selangka (one buttock) and the remainder goes to the laborers. Typically about 2/3's of this meat is cooked in the field and divided to provide the mid-day meal and one-third remains uncooked, to be distributed for carrying home to the family. The advantage here lies with the owner of the pig as the meat received would come to less than the prevailing wage. Those attracted by the opportunity to put pork in the family's diet take the view that they are "helping out". This form of labor is common at harvest time when a household's labor is suddenly insufficient to get the mature rice harvested. A

binyau work party is also resorted to in cases of a poor burn requiring that the partially burned wood be piled up and burned again.

Beduruk idup is another form of labor characterized as helping other people out. In the occasional event of a household recently widowed or orphaned, a communal labor party can be organized to provide assistance with the rice fields by the benefiting household making the minimal jesture of killing a couple of chickens or small pig to provide an attractive mid-day meal. As in the case of binyau, the recipient of the labor power has no obligation to return the labor.

Kerja genda, or kerja sukarela, is the final and most generalized form of labor transaction in which a person works for another household to help out because the need is apparent. Such labor is contributed voluntarily with no expectation of return of any kind; however, because it is nearly impossible to give someone something in this society without being given something in return, there will undoubtedly be considerations of this generosity in the future. Some examples will illustrate the range of applicability of this kind of work. Bu Dumoi, bilik V, travelled to the nearby village of Sepauh to labor several days at the harvesting of the rice fields of her aged mother's bilik. Pak Lanas, bilik XIIIB, travelled to Kampung Balau Lambing to assist his recently acquired wife's parents nebas-nebang in their ladangs after his own and his mother's ladangs had been prepared. After five days of work he came home carrying a chicken as a token of his in-laws'

appreciation. Pak Saing of bilik VI, Pak Nyelan of bilik X, and Pak Mambang of bilik XI all joined in for one day to help Pak Ragu of bilik I nebas his ladang. They explained that he was the last to finish with the task and needed help as it would soon be time to burn the ladangs. No reciprocation was discovered in this case, but it should be pointed out that Pak Ragu maintains a very successful bilik family with a reputation for generosity in which he takes pride.

Finally, it should be noted that nearly all these forms of labor involving a direct return take place in groups. It is almost unheard of to hire a person to work alone. This is related to the fact that it is cutomary when working for someone else to receive mid-morning and mid-afternoon sugar-tea breaks no matter how favorable the wage and a good garnish for the rice of the mid-day meal. When a chicken or pig is not available, a two ounce can of sardines fried into a couple of packages of Chinese noodles is quite adequate. The point is that all these forms of labor are, at the same time, social transactions substantiated by the observance of the social conventions of sugar-tea breaks and extraordinary garnish, the minimal expressions of sociality. These pleasantries are not common when work is performed privately on one's own tasks.

Let us look now more closely at the quantitative aspects of wage labor. Table 20 lists the typical money wage paid for each month for which there were wage transactions during the fieldwork period. The money wage ranges from Rp 350 per day for light work in September 1978, the planting season, to Rp

600 in March 1979, the harvest season and the busiest season of the year. These money wages fall a bit below the returns per workday figures in padi, ranging from 3.55 to 4.24 gantangs with money values of Rp 525 to Rp 626 (see Table 18 above). When the requisite serving of sugar-tea at work breaks and the extraordinary garnish for the mid-day meal are included, however, these wages certainly fall within the range of the monetary returns to labor for rice production in this community. The system appears poorly organized to support entrepreneurs on the "surplus labor" of their fellows.

It will be recalled that the return for ngangsang padi, the weeding of the ricefield of another household in return for padi, varies from the 5 gantangs (valued at Rp 738.75) paid to close kin to 3 or 4 gantangs (valued at Rp 443.25 to Rp 591) paid to non-kin. It should be obvious why such a generous wage is reserved for kin and is available only during the rice-deficit season.

The final relationship to be noted is that between wage labor and the returns to rubber-tapping. When the price of rubber had increased to Rp 280 in December 1978, a person tapping 3 kilos of rubber per outing would receive approximately Rp 900 for the work. This would cover the wage of two persons laboring in the rice field; this advantageous relationships was not lost on the villagers. One household, Pak Banan of bilik XVIII, actually took advantage of this relationship by tapping rubber in the mornings, catching a brief nap after the mid-day

meal, and then going to his ladang to weed in the afternoon. The success of this approach cannot be denied as his high yield indicates (see Table 24). The Mualang explanation of why this "opportunity" is not exploited more often is that one can only come out ahead in rice production employing wage labor when the harvest is average or better, a somewhat risky proposition in this community. It may be, however, that the real limiting factor in such a strategy is simply that there is no ready pool of labor from which one can take advantage. Wage labor is engaged in for a particular, limited, temporary need; it is never a strategy for making a living. Pak Banan rationalized his extraordinary effort by citing an intended trip to the Baptist hospital on the coast at Serukam for an eye operation. It is clear that the villagers are keenly aware of the quantitative relationships among labor of various kinds and the expectable returns. When pressed about their conceptions of wage labor, they generally take the view that it is a positive opportunity for someone in need which is generously made available by someone possessing the wherewithal to do so. In jest, the writer coined the term "ngangsang baju" which means "to work for a shirt" for a phenomenal distinction they do not recognize, perhaps because it is implicit in all wage labor transactions; that is, the likelihood is that a person will work for attractive material goods such as a shirt when the money wage isn't persuasive. Nearly every village has one or two households that put aside trade goods such as plastic buckets

and sarongs to offer when they are in need of labor power.

Sawing boards (ngisit kayu) is a source of income somewhat akin to wage labor. There is almost always the need in the community for sawed boards, and few men are willing to engage in this very hard work except in hard times. It is not uncommon for downriver Malays to reside in Dayak villages for short periods for the purpose of sawing boards. Commonly, they combine the sawing of boards in the afternoon with the tapping of rubber on a share-cropping basis in the morning.

In Sungai Mulau, Pak Haron of bilik XX, frequently saws boards during the weeding season when his family is out of rice, as it invariably is, because the family fails every year to obtain sufficiency. Furthermore, Pak Haron has very little rubber. Through his wife's inheritance they share rights with biliks VIII and IX to a mere 130 trees yielding 1½ kilos of rubber sheet per outing on average. The one case of ngisit kayu for which I have complete data involved Pak Haron sawing 26 boards for Pak Majau of Kampung Sepauh for Rp 200 per board. The labor required six workdays so his return was Rp 866.6 per day. This certainly compares favorably with the going wage in field work at that time, but it is a bit less than the share-cropping arrangement for rubber tapping. A second case involved Pak Jangi sawing 23 boards for 20 gantangs padi from Pak Banan near the end of December 1978. In Sungai Mulau the conventional price for boards at that time was Rp 150. Considering that the price of padi is at its peak at this time of

year, it was an attractive opportunity for Pak Jangi.

It should be pointed out that the returns to labor for sawing boards can vary somewhat depending on the time consumed in felling the required tree or trees, trimming and getting the trunk into position on the sawing frame, building a sawing frame, etc. Since payment is by the board, all the preparatory labor is done at the risk of the one who saws. In addition to Pak Haron and Pak Jangi, Pak Neylan has resorted to sawing boards when his household was hard put. Of course, sawing boards is economically more attractive when rubber prices are low. For example, in 1977 when rubber prices had fallen to Rp 80-90 per kilo all three of these men sawed boards to obtain rice.

Finally, in a small way padi processing can be said to have a wage component. Under certain conditions, such as a bilik being without an able-bodied female, there can be the need for hiring someone to process the padi, i.e., to remove the hull of the rice grain as well as the bran layer, thus converting it from padi to "beras" which is the form ready for cooking. This involves, first, spreading the padi on a mat and putting it in the sun to dry. The padi must be tended to fend off the plucky chickens who brave the challenge of being clobbered by a bamboo pole. After drying, the padi has the hulls removed by a clever device (kisar) fashioned from two pieces of tree trunk set one on top of the other so that the upper one can be turned back-and-forth by handles in

a grinding fashion; the padi falling in grooves between these grinding surfaces. Depending on the condition of the grooves of the particular kisar, the hulling process is repeated between two and five times; wear lessens the device's efficiency. The husked rice is winnowed and pounded in a mortar and pestle device (lesung aba' alu) to remove the bran coating of the kernal and then winnowed again.

To cite an example of how time-consuming padi processing is, bilik XVII headed by Bu Luya, consisting of two adults, processes its padi once per week as follows: five hours sunning the padi, two hours husking the padi, two hours pounding the padi, and fifteen minutes winnowing the padi for a total of nine hours and fifteen minutes, a full day of work. Their rule of thumb is that one woman working continuously all day can produce 20 gantangs of beras; this excludes sunning time. The going rate for padi processing at Sungai Mulau has been Rp 10 per gantang padi. This is the wage Pak Akim pays to have his store beras processed, although typically his wife and daughter process the store padi. Because one gantang padi becomes four mung beras by this processing technique this means that fifty gantangs are processed to get a yield of 20 gantangs of beras and so this rule-of-thumb processor would receive a wage of Rp 500 for the day's efforts.

During the study, some of the villages near Sungai Mulau purchased community rice-hulling machines with their government development funds (uang subsidi). Sungai Mulau itself had

plans to do so and was, as a public work service (kerja bakti) project, building a shed to house it. The rice-hulling machine involved, the Engleberg Huller, is the least efficient one available with a recovery yield of milled rice of 63.4 per cent by weight (Esmay et al. 1979: 109). The recovery rate for traditional hand-processing among the Mualang of four mung beras from ten mung padi is forty per cent by volume. By weight, one gantang padi becomes one kilogram beras which is a 60.4 per cent recovery rate. This figure is just a bit below the figure of 62.5 per cent used by Timmer in his study of the economic aspects of rice milling in Java (1972). Thus, when the machine is working at peak efficiency it enjoys a three per cent advantage in recovery rate over hand-processing.

To examine the economics of the machine processing of padi, consider the case of Sungai Antu Rangah, the sister village of Sungai Mulau. Two village men learned to operate the machine and processed everyone's rice for them on two specified days per week. For this work they received a fair wage. To the villager the cost of processing was as follows: from each ten gantangs of padi brought to the shed to be processed one was extracted in payment for the processing (costs of fuel, oil, spare parts, wage of operator, etc.) and nine were processed for the household. The traditional wage for hand-pounding this nine gantangs of padi is Rp 90. Given the price of a gantang of padi of Rp 150 the machine has "eaten up," as the villagers put it, the value of Rp 60 in "saving" them about one hour and twenty minutes of processing work.

The machine processing of 20 gantangs of beras, a day's work, would cost 5.5 gangtangs padi at a value of Rp 825. Consequently, families that fail to obtain sufficiency of rice commonly switch from machine to hand-processing as the "deficit season" approaches to avoid further "feeding the machine." Not only is this Rp 825 well above the conventional daily wage, but also, we saw in Table 18 that this day spent in the rice field would produce only about four gantangs of padi. Perhaps this is a case of inappropriate technology.

Another issue involved concerns the diminished level of protein, fats, and vitamins in the machine-milled rice:

> As the layers (of rice) are successively removed, the proportions of protein, fats and vitamins in the remaining kernal decrease while the proportion of carbohydrate increases (Esmay, et al. 1979: 9).

The opinion has been widespread that hand-processed rice is more nutritious than machine-processed rice, especially with regard to infant nutrition. There is, however, some confusion in the discussion because of the failure to distinguish between "polished" and "milled" rice. Polished rice has the polish and all the bran removed from the grain while milled rice has only most of the bran layer removed. The Mualang have traditionally processed their rice to remove the bran layer but hand-processing achieves this only partially, depending upon the worker's willingness to persevere. The machine they are beginning to use likewise removes most of the bran, though perhaps more completely and more consistently. Without further data on this

matter it can only be pointed out that this change in processing technique could possibly contribute to a protein and vitamin deficiency. Such a diminuition of these nutrients could be serious because of the minimal level of protein in the traditional diet.

Non-Monetized Forms of Production

Several production activities and products are unmonetized[10] or only partially monetized but are nonetheless important to the economic well-being of the community. Effort will be made here to illustrate how they relate to the monetized aspects of economic organization. Foremost among these are the "catch crops" (Freeman 1970: 191) planted among the hill rice as described in the previous chapter.

The catch crops, such as cucumber, maize, pumpkin, gourds, sweet potato, etc., are grown mixed throughout the swidden field in a diffuse way and are extremely important to the nutritional well-being of the household. They have no monetary value because they are never sold or traded. Surpluses are,

[10]The distinction monetized/nonmonetized is problematic here. As with the term wage labor discussed earlier, one should not be overly complacent about the use of these conventional concepts. While some products have monetary value and others do not, and the distinction is important to the analyst attempting to understand the quantitative relationships among the values of labor, products, and trade goods, it is not significant to the Mualang. Money, rather than being the universal value-solvent in this society, is in some respects like another good with special uses. Furthermore, this case provides numerous examples of how the monetary value attributable to a product is only a minor consideration in the terms of a transaction.

however, given to relatives and neighbors in the manner of generalized reciprocity appropriate for fruits, vegetables, and small game. Cassava has a somewhat different status because of its special role as a "famine food" and as animal feed. Although its value is not monetized, it can be traded and borrowed. Should for some reason a family run short of cassava, they can borrow from another household's cassava patch after asking permission. This can be repeated two or three times if circumstances warrant, from each of several household's to tide the borrowers over into the next season. Should a household be in need, however, simply because they did not bother to grow enough cassava, they would certainly be discouraged in a polite way from excessive borrowing. Trading an abundance of cassava is exemplified by the case of Pak Nyelan of bilik X. His cassava patch for the year was located on the border of Sungai Mulau and Sebindang. A man in Sebindang who had a substantial field hut nearby in his swidden field where he kept his pigs and chickens, traded two small pigs to Pak Nyelan for the use of the cassava patch, an arrangement agreeable to both parties.

Animal husbandry is also an important contribution to the community's nutritional and economic well-being. Raising chickens and pigs has been the traditional complement to hill rice cultivation throughout Southeast Asia. Chickens provide meat for that special meal for a special guest or when a special work party is organized for the ladang. Pigs are slaughtered to feed the planting party at nugal season or for Christmas holiday visits

from children and relatives working away from home. Pig meat is, of course, almost mandatory for gawai celebrations when a large number of people are to be hosted. The pigs serve another important economic function. They are a "bank account," a store of value readily convertible into money. A pig can be traded for padi in the event of a padi deficiency or used for a major purchase such as a pile of hardwood shingles or a sewing machine. A pig can be sold to finance a child's trip home from the city to visit the parents during the holidays, to finance the child's trip to school in a river town or coastal city, or, especially, to pay the child's school tuition.

The price of pork in the village varied during the research period from Rp 300 per kilo on the hoof in September 1978 to Rp 400 per kilo a year later. Dressed pork (cubed and mixed) sold at from Rp 450 to Rp 600 per kilo during the same period. Of course, the price is negotiated so these are only guide prices since the actual price is negotiated at each transaction. During seasons of lesser demand, a household faced with an emergency requiring cash slaughters a pig and sells the fresh meat in nearby villages sometimes carrying it as far as Balai Sepuak where it is sure to sell out.

The extent of pig husbanding is depicted by bilik, in Table 29 in Chapter VI. The average bilik owns 2.5 pigs of head-size or larger, 1.47 of thigh size or larger, 0.86 pigs of calf-size or larger, and 2.4 of ankle size or larger. The adult pig is fed about 2 kilos of cassava root per day, although 3 kilos is thought to be ideal, and must forage through

the scraps below the kitchen, the padi-processing debris, and the forest near the longhouse to supplement the meager ration. The average bilik owns 8 hens, 3 of which are laying, 2 roosters, and 4.5 "countable" chicks. A flock this size is fed an average of 3.4 mung padi per day. Because of the depredation of wild animals about the longhouse, the Mualang do not count young chicks. Taking the old adage "don't count your chickens before they're hatched" one step further, they do not even count them after they are hatched.

The egg production figures available at this time are aberrant because nearly every household is trying to encourage the hens to sit on their eggs to increase the size of the flock. A chicken disease swept the Belitang Hulu area in late 1976. The Sungai Mulau people took their chickens to the field huts for protection but to no avail. The entire flock was wiped out. They say that in normal times a successful household feeds up to fifty chickens.

Selling chickens is not common, every household typically consuming what it husbands. On occasion a chicken is sold; the value of a chicken was Rp 350 to Rp 400 per kilo liveweight. Chickens are of the right value to make a considerate gift. Commonly a person travelling to a distant village to visit kin or to participate in an adat ceremony will tuck a chicken under his arm as a gift to the host, helping to defray the costs of hospitality.

Fruit is cultivated by households for their own use. It is never bought and sold and so has no monetary value. Table

29 lists the various trees cultivated by each household. The range is from 43 trees and 50 plants of taro for the most industrious fruit-cultivating household of bilik I, Pak Ragu, to 4 trees and no taro plants for bilik IV, the semi-dependent bilik of children headed by Bu Payung.

Products collected from the forest, although an important contribution to the diet and well-being of the community, are not properly integrated into this economic study because they are never bought and sold. Immature fern fronds, bamboo shoots, mushrooms, senggang cane shoots, and the tender leaves of the young rubber plant are perhaps the commonest edible produce of the forest. They are an ingredient in the meals of nearly every family everyday except when the ladang catch crops are in season (October through January). Hunting, fishing, and trapping can be either an individual or a group pursuit. When it is done in a group, the very specific rules for dividing the proceeds among the participants are a matter of customary law. Before a major gawai, the men of the village hunt as a village unit in order to provide meat that will be smoked and, thus, preserved for serving to the gawai guests.

Nearly every evening finds several children and older, less active members of the community fishing with hook and line at the bathing place to provide fish for the evening meal. Although such fish are typically small, they are easy to catch and it takes just a few to provide a tasty garnish for the invariable dish of rice and greens. During the peak of the

dry season, expeditions are organized to go to Amoh on the Belitang River to poison fish. Sungai Mulau, Sebetung, and Sungai Antu Rangah are typically invited to participate because the close kin connections between the people of these villages lead them to assume that they have probably all inherited rights to take fish from these fishing holes. (The actual genealogical connections with the original "owners" of the fishing holes having, for the most part, been forgotten.) Each village fishes as a group, sharing the take among its members in accordance with its local adat rules (adat kecil). The outing documented for the 1979 dry season yielded each of the 23 participants from Sungai Mulau only 0.7 kilo of fish, a most disappointing return for a very long day of work. The consensus is that the river is over-fished.

An important point to make about trapping game is that it is not merely motivated by a quest for meat, but rather is carried out to protect the crops. Squirrel and monkey traps are most effective in protecting the corn during the corn season, and the pig trap is especially important in protecting the cassava from wild pigs. Until the cassava is taller than the deer, the cassava crop can be severely damaged by foraging deer. Under these conditions, to fail to trap is to feed many wild animals, a prospect most households make at least some effort to minimize. A household without able-bodied males to make the many kinds of ingenious traps for protecting the crops is at a serious disadvantage in this respect.

Because handicraft production is carried out by each household for its own needs, it too largely evades quantification. The few examples of handicraft transactions available demonstrate that there is no sense of a fixed monetary value. For example, a thigh-sized pig was exchanged for a new bidai mat that required dozens of hours to manufacture. The bidai mat is the source of pride of Mualang material culture. Made of pounded bark strips woven between the rattan strips, it is a handsome and durable mat lasting twenty years or more. In another transaction a three-renti pig was traded for 900 ironwood shingles that will last a lifetime. It is suggestive that all of those transactions were between kin whereby striking an economic balance for the moment is not required.

The Character of Trade

Trade in the Belitang Hulu consists mainly of the bartering of rubber for the trade goods carried up the Kapuas River from Pontianak into the Belitang and its tributaries by a chain of traders. There are no markets for local produce, nor produce from anywhere else for that matter. All trade goods are non-perishable. Further, there is no haggling over the terms of trade such as characterizes so colorfully the trade that takes place in the river towns and the port city. Prices are determined by the trader and are spread by word-of-mouth so that a man about to dispose of his rubber has a sense of what the going rates of exchange are among the various

traders. Before getting into the intracacies of this trade, it would be useful to review briefly the history of trade in this area because several of the arguments in the final chapter hinge upon an interpretation of this history.

The hinterland swidden agriculturalists in Borneo have probably always been articulated to some extent with external trade although this is difficult to document. Traditionally this trade has been in the hands of the ethnic Malays and the Chinese. The Malays have, since beyond recorded history, lived in small villages along the Kapuas River and the lower portions of its tributaries, politically organized into the various, small-scale sultanates. These Malay sultanates, by virtue of their control of the main rivers, controlled the trade with the interior people. The actual conduct of trade was shared with Chinese traders who not only traveled into the hinterlands but also commonly lived in hinterland Dayak villages taking Dayak wives. Here they were in an ideal position to trade for the forest products gathered by the Dayaks: gutta percha (Palaquium spp.); rattan; damar resin; beeswax; etc., for salt; cloth; metal; brassware; Chinese vases, etc. The Chinese attained their preeminance in trade under the protection of the Dutch colonial government beginning in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The shift in emphasis from exchanging jungle produce for trade goods to exchanging cash crops for trade goods began with the first planting of rubber in the area in the early

1930s. When the Japanese took the island of Borneo in 1942, access to traditional trade goods was severely disrupted and the hinterland peoples were forced into an unaccustomed "pure subsistence" economy. When the Japanese occupation ended, the Dutch attempted to return conditions to the pre-war state while, at the same time, fighting anti-colonial rebellion that was breaking out, especially on Java and Sumatra. Because trade was very slow to return to Indonesian Borneo, the hinterland peoples began to turn their trading attention to Sarawak. That rubber which had not been cut down before and during the Japanese occupation was now in peak production. The availability of trade goods in Sarawak led to the hinterland tribes carrying their rubber and forest products over the Klingkang Mountains into Sarawak, an orientation that remains to some extent to this day.

After the success of the Indonesian revolution in 1950, the new government of Indonesia began to organize the Dutch colonial possessions into a sovereign state with the attendant communications and trade links. Slowly the Kapuas River source of trade, again in the hands of Malay and Chinese traders, came once more to dominate the hinterland trade except for those areas lying near the border with Sarawak. The newly formed government of the Federation of Malaysia, however, began to put pressure on the hinterland Communist insurgents, and they sought sanctuary in Indonesia Kalimantan. The Indonesian government, fearing that the interior Chinese traders might be caught in

the awkward position of being threatened to shelter these largely ethnic Chinese communist rebels, required that all Chinese, except those married to Dayaks, move to the Kapuas River. This forced movement of nearly all the Chinese traders from all the northern tributaries of the Kapuas River in 1970 left a considerable vacuum in the trade in this area. The government hoped that this vacuum would be filled by the Dayaks themselves. A flurry of small-scale trading activity by entrepreneurial Dayaks followed but, by the time of this research, only a few of the many who had tried trading had survived. Nonetheless, those who fail are continually being replaced by others willing to try their hand and the trading situation remains in considerable flux.

There are three types of traders: the tuké; the paraih; and the belukar. The tuké is a large-scale trader that operates from a store (toko) with his own capital (modal) and extends credit both to those he barters with and to smaller-scale traders he supplies with goods. He may or may not own a sufficiently large boat to travel all the way to Pontianak to deal directly with the big Chinese tukés in the port city. The paraih is a smaller scale trader who lacks a store although he may have in his bilik a semi-organized display of trade goods. He too has some capital of his own invested in the trade goods and extends credit to his customers. He must own a small, motorized boat capable of navigating the headwaters of the smaller rivers to carry the rubber he takes in trade down to the tuké where he will exchange it for store goods. Some of

these goods he may receive on consignment from the tuké. The belukar is the smallest scale trader of them all. He has no store, no capital of his own invested beyond his boat, motor, and scales, and for the most part extends no credit. He does business by travelling to where the water gives out by boat and then taking up temporary residence in the community until the rains make travel downstream possible or until he is out of trade goods, in which case he may walk home and pay to have the rubber carried (bekuli) to the nearest point where he can trade it with the tuké. From the village of temporary residence, he may carry a back-basket of goods to more remote villages, trading the goods for rice. The belukar, for obvious reasons, tends to be a young, single man. He is extended the hospitality due a guest by the community in which he temporarily resides. If he has no relatives in the community, the village chief is duty-bound to provide hospitality. In the old days, the villagers sent a basket from bilik to bilik into which was placed each family's contribution of rice or an egg to provision the belukar during his much appreciated visit to the village. In reciprocation, the belukar provided tobacco to all the men who gathered around him to talk through the night of news he brought from other parts. Today he provides his own rice and the hospitality he receives in the chief's bilik is tainted by a tax assessed on belukars and split between the chief and the camat at Balai Sepuak. Much of the context of doing business in the old days lingers on, however.

Every visit to a tuké or paraih entitles the customer to several glasses of sugar-tea and tobacco and, if it is meal-time, to rice and whatever relish is available. If dark is approaching, a place to sleep is provided. The "soft-sell" is clearly the rule in the Belitang Hulu.

The context of trade for the villagers of Sungai Mulau includes all three types of traders. Each type will be discussed briefly in order to convey a sense of the kinds of trade goods available and, thus, the trading options confronting the people of Sungai Mulau.

Pak Ahli is a young Malay man from a Malay village down river, Kampung Basung. He trades as a belukar, taking trade goods on consignment from a Chinese trader in the Kapuas River town of Nanga Sepauk and trading them for rubber and rice in the headwaters of the Mulau River and its branches. Typically, he brings his goods into the longhouse and resides there in the bilik of Pak Ragu, to which he claims a kinship tie, until the goods are exhausted. The stay lasts between two and three weeks during which he walks to villages further upstream that have no resident trader. He trades sugar, tea, coffee, kerosene, monosodium glutamate, soap, matches, tobacco, and rubber sandals. His connection with the Malay community, some of whom fish on the lower Belitang and Kapuas Rivers to supplement their incomes, frequently permits him to carry in a large jar of pickled fish or a bag of salted fish; these are much appreciated by the people of the headwaters of these small rivers where fishing is

less productive. Business is brisk when the belukar arrives but, as the array of goods he can offer shrinks, his volume dwindles and he keeps an anxious eye on the weather, hoping for a substantial rain that will allow him to get his boat out with the rubber and rice received in trade.

There is a variation of the belukar that is more itinerant in character. A man with no capital takes on consignment a larger volume of one particular kind of goods such as clothing or household goods (plastic buckets, pots and pans, tea glasses, etc.) and hires one or two men to carry the goods with him from village to village, spending only a day in each village. The goods offered by the itinerant belukar are typically not "carried" by other belukars and paraih and so their efforts are complementary. Visits to these hinterland villages by such itinerant belukars vary from occasional to rare.

Sungai Mulau has a paraih among its villagers in the person of the village chief, Pak Akim, who is a good example of this kind of trader. He trades a somewhat wider selection of goods than the belukar and receives rice and rubber in exchange. In recent months he has begun to accept pepper in trade as well. In addition to the goods mentioned above for the belukar, the paraih typically offers cloth, thread, towels, inexpensive sarongs, plastic ware, kitchen utensils, condensed milk, coconut oil, shrimp paste, flashlights and batteries, toothpaste, and acetic acid (cuka) for rubber coagulation as long as the stock holds. Like the belukar Pak Akim's trade is

brisk when he first returns from Balai Sepauk where he trades with the large-scale tukē, Pak Benni, but trade falls off as the stock gets low, forcing him to weigh the decision of the timing of another trip. Also like the belukar, he is forced to wait for high water, but, because of his larger stock of trade goods he does not make the trip downriver nearly so often. The trade opportunities for Pak Akim are especially good because of his location in the last village on the river reachable by motor boat, at least some days of the year.

If the villagers of Sungai Mulau are willing to walk the one and one-half hour trip to Pakit Mulau Hulu, they can do business with the tukē Pak Akar, a man of Chinese descent who was not required to immigrate to the Kapuas because he is married to a Dayak wife of this village. Pak Akar maintains a full-scale store. In contrast to a paraih who interrupts his work (even in the rice field) to return to the bilik to attend to the customer who has walked in from a nearby village, Pak Akar is nearly always present, sitting cross-legged on a mat serving tea among his trade goods. The tukē enjoys a higher volume of trade than the other forms of traders for two reasons. First, the river is larger permitting more frequent contact with the outside and, second, because of greater capitalization, the tukē can carry a larger and more varied stock. Combs, toothbrushes, hairoil, a few medicines, belts, ready-made clothing, metal blanks for tools, nails, pressure lamps, lamp globes, aluminum pots and kettles, packaged

cookies and noodles, pickled fish, and bottled arak (a rice brandy) are goods that typically get no farther up the river than this, except by special order.

Table 20 lists the price of hulled rice (beras), rubber, and sugar during the fieldwork period as well as the wage for a day of labor in the village of Sungai Mulau. These are the three most important goods traded in terms of volume and constitute a sort of index of trade conditions for the community. Pakit Mulau Hulu prices are included to show the basic differences in prices between these two locations where the villagers do nearly all of their trading. The price of rice and wages both fluctuate with the phases of the agricultural cycle but also show an overall upward trend. Sugar appears to move up and down without any apparent trend. For rubber, however, there is a dramatic increase in price overall, with significant jumps occurring in December 1978 and May 1979. It is reasonable to believe the increase in rubber prices was due to a surprise 50 per cent devaluation of the Indonesian currency on November 15, 1978 (the Indonesian rupiah valued at Rp 415 = U.S. $1 was changed to Rp 625 = U.S. $1). The government accompanied the devaluation with several monetary measures that were meant to prevent domestic inflation, including restriction of the money supply and price controls (Dick 1979: 1). One of the intentions was precisely to increase the attractiveness of cash crop production of the smallholder, which, in the case of rubber had been stagnant for sometime.

Table 20. Prices of Key Products and Money Wages in Rupiahs.

	beras	rubber	sugar	daily wage light work	daily wage heavy work
July 1978					
Sungai Mulau	300	150			
Pakit					
August					
Sungai Mulau	300	150	300	400	
Pakit					
September					
Sungai Mulau	300	150	300		
Pakit			275	500	
October					
Sungai Mulau	350	150	300		
Pakit					
November					
Sungai Mulau	375-400	150	300	400	
Pakit					
December					
Sungai Mulau	400-500	190-280	300	400	
Pakit			350		
January 1979					
Sungai Mulau	500	275	350	600	
Pakit					
February					
Sungai Mulau	350	280	350	400-500	
Pakit			300		

Table 20 (cont'd.)

	beras	rubber	sugar	daily wage light work	daily wage heavy work
March					
Sungai Mulau	350	280	325	600	
Pakit					
April					
Sungai Mulau	350	280-325	325		
Pakit			300		
May					
Sungai Mulau	350	325	325		
Pakit		400			
June					
Sungai Mulau	400	400	325		
Pakit		425-450			
July					
Sungai Mulau	450	375-400	300-325	400	500
Pakit		425-400	300		
August					
Sungai Mulau	450	400	325	400	500
Pakit		400-375	300-325		
September					
Sungai Mulau	450	350-300	350	500	
Pakit		375	300		
October					
Sungai Mulau					
Pakit					

Table 20 (cont'd.)

NOTE: The beras price is the barter price per gantang. The rubber price is the price (against trade goods) per kilo, while the sugar price is the barter price per kilo.

Terms of Trade

To an outsider, the terms of trade appear quite complex because of the complications resulting from the partially-monetized economy. Several considerations involved in determining the terms of trade will be discussed point by point to demonstrate the "rationality" behind each of them.

Prices understandably vary as one travels along the river. Since most trade goods originate, for purposes of our reasoning, in Pontianak, they increase gradually in price as they are transported up the Kapuas River and into its tributaries. In the subtributaries, where water transportation is not dependable because of fluctuations in water level, under pressing need, such as a forthcoming gawai season, trade goods can be carried in at even higher prices. Generally, the price of sugar in Sungai Mulau is Rp 25 per kilo higher than at Pakit Mulau Hulu, one and one-half hours walk away and Rp 50 higher than at Balai Sepuak, a six hour walk. The price of rubber in Sungai Mulau is typically Rp 25 per kilo lower than at Pakit Mulau Hulu although one never knows the price for certain until the rubber has been carried into the trader's bilik and the price negotiated. By contrast, hill rice is cheaper in the hinterland, rising in price gradually as one goes downriver. The superior flavor of hill rice is everywhere acknowledged. Predictably, imported rice is the reverse, increasing in price as one proceeds upriver. All of this is explained by the costs of transporting the goods.

To illustrate what such price differentials can mean to a household in Sungai Mulau, consider a very common transaction taking place in the rubber-tapping season of 1979. For those who carry their own rubber to Pakit Mulau Hulu to trade for more favorable prices, about 40 kilos of sheet rubber are typical for the trip. With the gawai celebration coming up sugar is the trade good in most demand so the household will buy at least 20 kilos of sugar. Using the common price differential quoted above, the three hour round trip involved will give a Rp 1,500 advantage to the villager for less than one-half day's work. This is a most favorable advantage when compared with the daily wage. The differential is often more pronounced than this, thus, making the trip even more attractive economically.

A second consideration in the terms of trade is the supply and demand context. Hill rice fluctuates in price through the agricultural season due to supply and demand as do wages. This is not the case for trade goods brought into the area. The prices of trade goods do not rise and fall with local availability. How can this be accounted for and how can we account for the fact that the trader fixes the terms of trade; there being no haggling involved in the transaction?

First of all, a man who has carried his 40 kilos of rubber over a hilly and swampy jungle path is not likely to carry the rubber back home if he does not like the trader's prices on that day. Nor can he walk a few steps to a nearby competitor

to try to negotiate a more favorable deal for himself. He is "heavily" committed to "carrying" through the transaction. Second, the transaction is at the same time a personal relationship. The trader, except for the belukar, is a member of the community and likely always will be. He has a reputation for fairness to uphold in order to preserve each trading relationship. To haggle over prices, to give different people different prices, to appear to be taking advantage of someone on the basis of some temporary economic leverage would all threaten these personal relationships upon which successful trade is built. In contrast to impersonal, single-dimensional trade in the cities, not only are these traders, except belukars, permanent fixtures in the community and so a reputation of being a "just" person is essential, but also all transactions are public knowledge and the terms of trade are widely shared to provide fellow villagers with the latest information (cf. Humphries 1969: 188). One's transactions are commonly conducted sitting cross-legged on a mat surrounded by several others sipping sugar-tea.

In addition to a wholesale differential in transactions between levels of traders, there is also a capital to credit ratio that helps determine the volume of goods a particular trader handles. The belukar, with little or no capital, is extended minimal credit by the tuké, and so necessarily trades on a much smaller scale than the paraih who, having more capital invested, enjoys a higher limit of credit.

The wholesale differential for trade generally runs between 14 and 29 per cent. The trader absorbs the costs of transportation which in this hinterland context are considerable. For example, an item selling for Rp 350 at the store at Balai Sepuak would be conveyed to another trader for Rp 325. That item would sell for Rp 400 at Sungai Mulau, which is an 18.75 per cent markup in "money price." But this is money price and the matter is somewhat more complex than that.

As has already been made plain, most transactions are barter transactions; rubber or rice is exchanged for trade goods. Ward and Ward's survey found that eighty percent of the hinterland trade was barter (1974: 38). Still, the villagers have need of some cash. All transactions with the government and other institutions originating outside their area, such as schools and medical facilities, require cash. Consequently, there is a three price system in effect. The trade goods in a store have simultaneously three prices: a money price; a rubber price; and a rice price. The availability of money varies inversely with the distance the goods travel. In Balai Sepuak the tuké can almost always buy rubber or rice with cash. The tuké at Pakit, however, often runs short of cash and, when he does so, he generally will accept the commodity with the promise of paying the cash at a later date when he can get it. At the bilik of the paraih, however, cash may be available or it may not. The paraih and belukar may refuse to trade on a cash basis.

Figure 7 diagrams the relationships between the values of trade goods (a can of sweetened, condensed milk known as "Indo-milk" is chosen for illustrative purposes), rice, rubber, and money from the perspective of the trader (for example, Pak Akim). When Pak Akim can buy local rice (beras) for Rp 350 money per gantang he will exchange it for Rp 400 value in trade goods. He will most likely refuse to sell the rice for cash, preferring to have rice on hand to trade for rubber, which is the usual means of acquiring rice for the household in deficit. The trade goods can be sold for cash and traded for rice and rubber. If rubber is accepted in exchange for trade goods, it is accorded a higher value than if exchanged for cash. If rubber is being bought for Rp 350 per kilo, a kilo of rubber will be received against trade goods valued at Rp 400. This is explained by the fact that the trade goods contain a mark-up for the trader. Collier and Werdaja, in their study of the marketing of rubber (1972: 44; Table 4), show that middlemen in isolated areas make less profit (7.0 - 4.0%) than those in non-isolated area (11.3 - 8.0%) and argue that this is explained by the fact that the middlemen in isolated areas make a profit from trade goods that helps finance their trading operations.

The use of cash in exchange is discouraged by the pricing system because a man can put the light money in his pocket and walk away to engage in an advantegeous transaction with a competitor. The trade system makes sense in terms of the partial monetization of the economic life of this community. Money,

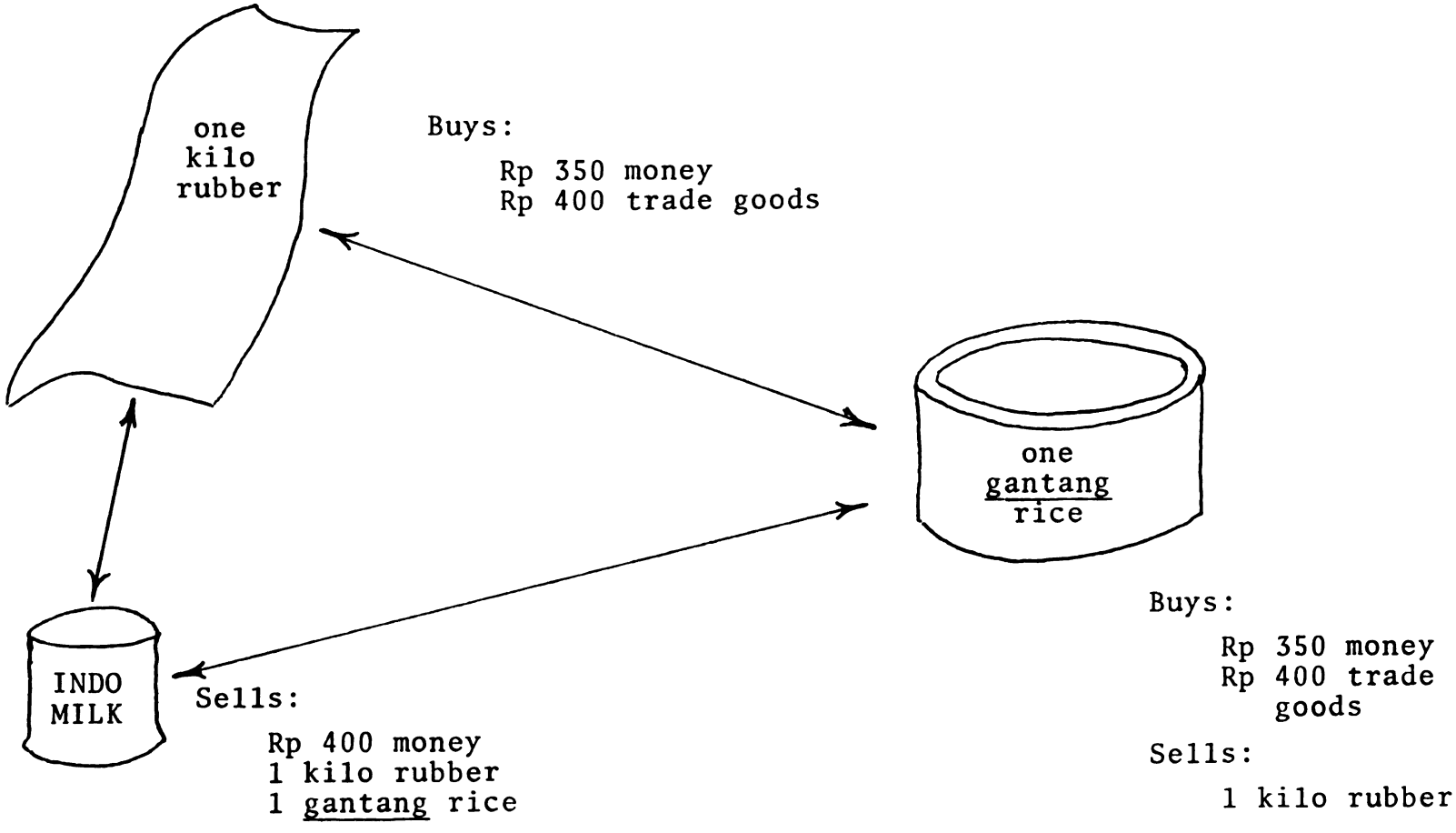

Figure 7. Trader's Perspective on the Three Price System.

by virtue of its special characteristics of universality and portability, is accorded special status in its exchange against the cash crops and trade goods.

Credit is a final consideration of the conditions of trade in the Belitang Hulu. The trader extends credit to the villagers in the sense of deferred payment for goods taken. There is no "interest" on this credit. On the other hand, it is common for the villager to extend credit to the trader when he leaves his rubber or rice in exchange for trade goods or money the trader presently lacks to complete the transaction. Under such generous credit conditions, it is obvious that credit must be limited. For a paraih on the scale of Pak Akim, credit of up to Rp 4,000 to a household is common. Such a household, wishing to get further extended, can seek credit with other traders until it is hopelessly insolvent. It was the consensus of my informants that the failure to manipulate credit transactions to their own advantage is the most important reason that so many Mualang villagers who have tried to engage in trading have failed.

There is a final form of trade that, although not well articulated to the system of trade just discussed, nonetheless sheds some light on the economic context of the Belitang Hulu area and thus is deserving of consideration here. This is the trade expedition to Sarawak. It has been noted above that in the years immediately after World War II the Mualang began to trade in Sarawak because of a lack of availability of trade

goods. The exact precipitation of this trade was actually in the reverse direction. The Japanese control of the island brought the end to rice imports and so the island was forced into self-sufficiency. The Mualang of the Belitang Hulu had come to enjoy a reputation as always obtaining a surplus of rice and so the Iban of Sarawak began to travel here to work for wages (padi) and to trade for rice.[11] These connections between the Iban and the Mualang began to result in marriages and, after World War II, in travel to Sarawak to trade rubber for trade goods. Such trade was prohibited by the Indonesian government as it had been by the Dutch but the mountain range border with Sarawak was poorly patrolled and so little risk was involved in the trade they called "semukil," a corruption of the Dutch word smokkelen, meaning to smuggle.

Today, the villager is required to obtain identification papers from the camat at Balai Sepuak in order to cross the border into Sarawak. Since Balai Sepuak is a two day round trip from Sungai Mulau, however, the villagers are, understandably, unlikely to truck with such formalities. The character of the trade has changed considerably over time with the change in availability of goods in Indonesia. Many goods available in Sarawak are highly valued and some goods from Sarawak are considered superior to similar goods available in Indonesia. For example, the fertilizer for pepper from Sarawak is thought

[11] The Mualang attribute these "good times" to their conversion to Christianity.

by the villagers to be superior to the fertilizer available in Indonesia. Rubber shoes from Sarawak are different and considered better than rubber shoes available in Indonesia. People no longer carry rubber to Sarawak because it is so easy to dispose of locally. They carry instead high-value goods such as pepper, pigs, anteater scales (sisik tenggiling), the bezore stones (monkey gallstones, geliga) much in demand in the Chinese apothecary shop, and fighting cocks much in demand by the Iban. Such exotic items have little demand in Indonesia.

Such a trading expedition to Sarawak can be quite lucrative. Pak Pating of bilik II bought up 50 kilos of anteater scales in the Sungai Mulau area at Rp 300 per kilo for a Rp 15,000 investment. He then payed a wage for a man to accompany him (bekuli) on the 7 day trip to and from Sarawak. The wage of M$ 42.50, the boat trip on the Ketungau River leg of the trip both ways for Rp 2,500, and feeding the kuli at a high level for Rp 2,100, which includes meat in the meals, constitutes the expenses for the journey totally Rp 15,225.[12]

In Sarawak the anteater scales were sold for M$ 3 per kati for a total of M$ 249.00. With this money he bought a radio for M$ 85.00, 11 pairs of rubber shoes for M$ 33.80, a can of herbicide for M$ 8.00, 5 cans of Milo chocolate powder for M$ 10.00, a batik sarong for M$ 8.00, another batik sarong for

[12]At this time, M$ 1.00 was valued at Rp 250.

M$ 4.00, a half blik of cookies for M$ 6.00, and 3 cassette tapes for M$ 6.00. These items were carried back home, some to be sold, others to be given as gifts. From the radio, which he sold to a Chinese trader at Nanga Belitang for Rp 40,000, he made a profit of Rp 18,750. From the sale of the 11 pairs of rubber shoes to his fellow villagers for Rp 1,500 per pair, he made a profit of Rp 8,050. From the sale of the herbicide, he made a profit of Rp 2,000. The M$ 34.00 in gifts (valued at Rp 8,500) is in addition to the Rp 20,625 that is the cash profit from the trip for a total of Rp 29,125 profit. For the seven days, that figures out to Rp 4,161 per day, a handsome return in this economy.

This kind of trading between the Indonesian and Malaysian economies is frequently combined with working for one to three months in Sarawak tapping rubber, hoeing pepper or whatever is available. The wage labor, which is more highly remunerated in Sarawak than in the Belitang Hulu, provides the capital for more high-value trade goods to be carried back home for a profit. Nearer the Klingkang Mountains, most villages have one, two, or even several families that live, for the most part, on this Sarawak trade. In the Sungai Mulau area this trade is typically carried out by adventurous young men not yet participating to any great extent in farming. This trade traffic is especially heavy during the weeding season when these young men seize the opportunity to travel from the longhouse while rations are short, thus escaping the weeding burden.

National Government Emanations

It has already been pointed out how the national government, by manipulating the value of the currency, has changed the economic context for the community. This makes the point emphatically that through trade and the use of money, village economic life is articulated with the economy of the Indonesian nation. More indirectly, the government's provision of schools and medical clinics has had a profound effect on the context of opportunities that the people of this area have been quick to realize. In addition, the nation state intrudes into the economic character of the hinterland village by means of certain "economic development" policies.

It is difficult to know to what extent working together for the common good ("gotong-royong" is not a Mualang word) has been traditional for the Mualang. Traditional Mualang society was very likely organized to require little of this kind of thing although the principle is not inconsistent with Mualang culture. The coming of the missionaries with the attendant need for churches, schools, homes for ministers and students and, more recently, community development projects have produced the need for public work to be institutionalized. Today, the government requires each household to contribute one able-bodied male to work one day per week in a community work party assigned a task benefitting the common good. This public work service (kerja bakti) maintains village paths by cutting weeds and lining logs end-to-end through swampy areas, builds and repairs public buildings such as the church,

ministers' and teachers' houses, student dormitories, and otherwise contributes the labor to accomplish the village's development projects.

The village development projects are based upon yearly grants (uang subsidi) from the government to the village to be used on projects selected by the village from a list of projects acceptable to the government. Sungai Mulau received Rp 350,000 in 1978-79 to buy a padi-processing machine. For their work service, the villagers built a shed to house the machine. In 1977-78 they received Rp 350,000 to buy tools to tear down their longhouse and build individual houses for each household. The tools were distributed equally among the households, but the longhouse still has a lot of life in it and, barring unforeseen pressure from the camat, will stand for several more years.[13] In 1976-77 the village was granted Rp 300,000 with which it built two bridges between the longhouse and the school-church community at Immanuel. In 1975-76, with a grant of Rp 100,000, they built a bridge across the river at the bathing place. Other development projects undertaken in neighboring villages are the building of a "wet-padi" field, the making of a community rice field, the building of rice storage sheds,

[13]It has been government policy for some time to prohibit the building of longhouses (Far Eastern Economic Review Vol 100, No. 26: 22-27). Consequently, except for a few isolated Kecamatans where the camat has not been aggressive in implementing this policy, the longhouse has just about disappeared from the scene in Indonesian Kalimantan.

buying motor and boat so the villagers can trade further down-river to get better prices, and building community houses (balai desa) for entertaining guests when no longhouse ruai exists.

Finally, the villagers incur certain taxes (pajak). In the days of Dutch indirect rule through the Malay Sultanates, the Mualang paid what they considered an extremely odious tax of ten gantangs beras per household. They boast that actually they were almost always able to avoid the tax. Today they pay a fee of Rp 250 to register each firearm, a tax of Rp 600 per year for a radio, and Rp 1,000 per year for a radio-cassette tape combination. During the field study, a Rp 250 tax on each bilik was announced as a "development tax" (pajak bangunan) causing immediate suspicion of corruption since most years this area avoids paying the "land tax" on the basis of poor harvests and, hence, insufficiency. Clearly, the development of the area is not supported by the tax burden on the villagers (Lerche 1980: 40-44; Ward and Ward 1974: 47-50).

CHAPTER VI

PRODUCTION PERFORMANCE OF THE DOMESTIC UNITS

In his recent work, Sahlins (1971, 1972) has proposed that, in primitive economies, certain production organization and performance tendencies follow naturally from the condition of households producing for their own use. These natural tendencies, termed the "domestic mode of production," underlie production performance in all primitive societies where domestic unit production relations are found. Because social, political, and ideological relations in primitive communities are, at the same time, the economic relations among households, much can be learned about these relations, Sahlins suggests, by studying how the households' production performances deviate in practice from these natural tendencies. From Chapters III and IV, it should be clear that the production relations of Sungai Mulau accord nicely with the domestic mode of production (DMP) model. The data on household economic performance is, therefore, organized to permit this DMP scheme to be tested. This chapter describes the domestic units of the village of Sungai Mulau in details relative to economic performance and then presents the comparative data on domestic unit performance. From these comparisons questions can be generated about domestic unit

material provisioning strategies and the relations between these domestic units which constitute the sociopolitical context of mutual dependence. These mutual dependence relations are at issue in the question of the fit of the conventional models of primitive and peasant economic order to the hinterland Southeast Asian cases.

The description of the domestic units follows from the census of biliks (Table 2). The considerations at hand require the deletion of certain official members of the community because, for purposes of household economy, they are independent. As we shall see in Chapter VII, children working away from the village typically do not send money back to the family, and children attending school far from home are required to make their own way and so have a very small influence on the household's economic conduct. Table 21, therefore, revises the village census to facilitate an inquiry into household production performance.

Table 21 shows the composition of the bilik families during the agricultural season to which the economic performance data pertains, namely, June 1978 to June 1979. A slight complication in the display of data is introduced by the fact that bilik XIII partitioned during this agricultural season and so in tables referring to economic data, subsequent to this founding of the new household, bilik XIII becomes biliks XIII and XIIIB headed by Bu Norcé and Pak Lanas respectively.

Table 21. Domestic Unit Consumer - Worker Ratios.

Name	Sex	Age	Worker Coef.	Consumer Coef.	Remarks
Bilik No. I					c/w ratio = 1.95
1. Ragu	M	49	1.0	1.0	
2. Ludam	F	47	1.0	0.8	
3. Sin	M	16	0.2	1.0	
4. Yunus	M	13	0.0	0.8	
5. Bakair	M	10	0.0	0.7	
			2.2	4.3	
Bilik No. II					c/w ratio = 1.48
1. Munyau	M	80	0.0	0.8	Blind brother of 2
2. Yok	F	69	0.5	0.6	
3. Pating	M	35	1.0	1.0	
4. Ensung	F	35	1.0	0.8	
5. Mari	F	3	0.0	0.3	
6. Ilon	F	½	0.0	0.2	
			2.5	3.7	
Bilik No. III					c/w ratio = 1.85
1. Cuguh	M	70	0.0	0.8	
2. Samin	F	69	0.5	0.6	
3. Mina	F	46	1.0	0.8	Incorporated into this bilik 10/78
4. Yusak	M	38	1.0	1.0	
5. Ani	F	38	1.0	0.8	
6. Radung	M	16	0.2	1.0	
7. Haron	M	14	0.0	1.0	
8. Miré	F	10	0.2	0.7	
9. Jamin	M	7	0.0	0.5	
			3.9	7.2	
Bilik No. IV					c/w ratio = 2.5
1. Payung	F	18	1.0	0.8	
2. Aden	M	16	0.2	1.0	
3. Ungam	M	14	0.0	1.0	
4. Menai	F	10	0.2	0.7	
			1.4	3.5	

Table 21 (cont'd.)

Name	Sex	Age	Worker Coef.	Consumer Coef.	Remarks
Bilik No. V					c/w ratio = 1.18
1. Akim	M	55	1.0	1.0	
2. Dumoi	F	50	1.0	0.8	
3. Imi	F	12	0.2	0.8	
			2.2	2.6	
Bilik No. VI					c/w ratio = 1.43
1. Saing	M	63	0.0	0.8	Disabled with tuberculosis
2. Nyai	F	62	0.5	0.8	
3. Simau	M	29	1.0	1.0	
4. Lihut	F	21	1.0	0.8	
5. Empili	M	20	1.0	1.0	
6. Yokebet	F	16	0.0	0.8	Attends school SMP Balai Sepuak
			3.5	5.0	
Bilik No. VII					c/w ratio = 1.5
1. Gantung	M	65	0.5	0.8	
2. Jampa	F	60	0.5	0.6	
3. Repka	F	39	1.0	0.8	
4. Tudius	M	36	1.0	1.0	
5. Kerem	M	10	0.0	0.7	
6. Luci	F	9	0.0	0.6	
			3.0	4.5	
Bilik No. VIII					c/w ratio = 1.03
1. Gum	F	55	1.0	0.8	
2. Biden	M	38	1.0	1.0	
3. Lama	F	25	1.0	0.8	
4. Unatan	M	20	1.0	1.0	
5. Lipan	M	3	0.0	0.3	
6. Lawat	F	½	0.0	0.2	
			4.0	4.1	

Table 21 (cont'd.).

Name	Sex	Age	Worker Coef.	Consumer Coef.	Remarks
Bilik No. IX					c/w ratio = 1.95
1. Jangi	M	34	1.0	1.0	
2. Jeni	F	30	1.0	0.8	
3. Derah	F	9	0.0	0.6	
4. Agung	M	8	0.0	0.6	
5. Encil	M	6	0.0	0.5	
6. Delak	M	4	0.0	0.4	
			2.0	3.9	
Bilik No. X					c/w ratio = 2.4
1. Nanyit	F	43	1.0	o.8	
2. Nyelan	M	42	1.0	1.0	
3. Dulus	M	14	0.0	1.0	
4. Jutan	M	12	0.0	0.8	
5. Yusak	M	7	0.0	0.5	
6. Ensawi	F	5	0.0	0.4	
7. Radung	M	3	0.0	0.3	
			2.0	4.8	
Bilik No. XI					c/w ratio = 2.23
1. Mambang	M	45	1.0	1.0	
2. Lutum	F	45	1.0	0.8	
3. Kai	M	19	0.2	1.0	
4. Una	F	16	0.0	0.8	Attends school (SMP) Balai Sepuak
5. Hawa	F	15	0.2	0.8	
6. Mina	F	14	0.2	0.8	
7. Burah	F	8	0.0	0.6	
			2.6	5.8	
Bilik No. XII					c/w ratio = 1.2
1. Turet	F	80	0.0	0.6	
2. Merinjan	F	55	1.0	0.8	
3. Sekios	M	46	1.0	1.0	
			2.0	2.4	

Table 21 (cont'd.).

Name	Sex	Age	Worker Coef.	Consumer Coef.	Remarks
Bilik No. XIII					c/w ratio = 1.05
1. Norcé	F	55	1.0	0.8	
2. Kunyit	F	19	1.0	0.8	
3. Sunyai	F	10	0.2	0.7	
			2.2	2.3	
Bilik No. XIIIB					c/w ratio = 0.9
1. Lanas	M	24	1.0	1.0	
2. Selapo'	F	23	1.0	0.8	
			2.0	1.8	
Bilik No. XIV					c/w ratio = 2.03
1. Kudul	M	80	0.0	0.8	
2. Nyawai	M	48	1.0	1.0	
3. Mari	F	44	1.0	0.8	
4. Suli	F	25	1.0	0.8	
5. Aden	M	18	0.2	1.0	
6. Yumasi	M	15	0.2	1.0	
7. Salak	F	9	0.0	0.6	
8. Alos	F	6	0.0	0.5	
9. Juni	M	4	0.0	0.4	
			3.4	6.9	
Bilik No. XV				c/w ratio = 1.91	
1. Talip	M	39	1.0	1.0	
2. Untik	F	37	1.0	0.8	
3. Rabai	F	15	0.0	0.8	Crippled by polio
4. Gimot	F	11	0.2	0.7	
5. Merinjan	F	7	0.0	0.5	
6. Mura	F	4	0.0	0.4	
			2.2	4.2	
Bilik No. XVI				c/w ratio = 0.9	
1. Luya	F	58	1.0	0.8	
2. Aman	M	28	1.0	1.0	
			2.0	1.8	

Table 21 (cont'd.).

Name	Sex	Age	Worker Coef.	Consumer Coef.	Remarks
Bilik No. XVII					c/w ratio = 1.73
1. Banan	M	52	1.0	1.0	Disabled with tuberculosis
2. Ungam	M	26	0.0	1.0	Adoption attempt/ returned to parents
3. Kadir	M	18	0.2	1.0	Hiatus from school (SMP) Balai Sepuak
4. Bunga	F	17	1.0	0.8	
			2.2	3.8	
Bilik No. XVIII					c/w ratio = 1.47
1. Sandoi	M	48	1.0	1.0	
2. Peruah	F	37	1.0	0.8	
3. Ani	F	18	0.0	0.8	Attends school (SMP) Balai Sepuak
4. Mawang	F	16	1.0	0.8	
5. Salau	M	8	0.0	0.6	
6. Wak	M	5	0.0	0.4	
			3.0	4.4	
Bilik No. XIX					c/w ratio = 1.3
1. Amoi	F	35	1.0	0.8	
2. Sigan	M	34	1.0	1.0	
3. Tangkai	F	31	1.0	0.8	
4. Daut	M	11	0.0	0.7	
5. Kumpai	F	4	0.0	0.4	
6. Melson	M	1	0.0	0.2	
			3.0	3.9	
Bilik No. XX					c/w ratio = 2.29
1. Haron	M	40	1.0	1.0	
2. Sulah	F	39	1.0	0.8	
3. Menasé	M	16	0.0	1.0	Attends school (SMP) Balai Sepuak
4. Tia	F	14	0.2	0.8	
5. Mawang	F	11	0.2	0.7	
6. Anah	F	7	0.0	0.5	
7. Angit	F	5	0.0	0.4	
8. Ngawan	F	2	0.0	0.3	
			2.4	5.5	

The "worker coefficient," an index of the capability of labor power of a person based on that of a full-time, adult worker, was determined by inspection to conform to the laboring customs of the community under study and is specified in Table 22.

Table 22. Worker Coefficients.

	Male		Female	
Age	70+	0.0	70+	0.0
	60 - 69	0.5	60 - 69	0.5
	20 - 59	1.0	16 - 59	1.0
	15 - 19	0.2	10 - 15	0.2
	0 - 14	0.0	0 - 9	0.0

The "consumption coefficient," an index of food consumption of a person based on the consumption of an adult male, is a slight modification of the "K scale" of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations Final Report on the Relations of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy (1937: 243) and is specified in Table 23. I have altered the "K scale" to the extent of reducing the coefficient of consumption for females over 60 years of age from 0.8 to 0.6 on the basis of measures of processed rice washed in preparation for cooking the household meal. (Actual measurements of consumption by individuals was not made.)

Students attending the middle-school (SMP) at Balai Sepuak are included in the table as consumers but not as

Table 23. Consumption Coefficients.

Age	Male	Female
60+	0.8	0.6
14-59	1.0	0.8
12-13	0.8	0.8
10-11	0.7	0.7
8- 9	0.6	0.6
6- 7	0.5	0.5
4- 5	0.4	0.4
2- 3	0.3	0.3
- 1	0.2	0.2

workers because, although they are supported by their bilik families, they make almost no labor contribution. Their rice is supplied from the family's production and they may tap their bilik's rubber trees for the cash to supply other needs. Children at school in the more distant river towns or on the coast supply their own needs except for an occasional gift of rice from the parents; thus, they are not included in calculations of either workers or consumers. Students attending elementary school (S.D.) at the nearby Kalveri school-church complex are accorded their appropriate consumer and worker values.

Rice production figures used in Chapter V are reproduced here in Table 24. This table lists the rice production for each bilik in the agricultural year of 1978-1979 and shows the extent to which production was sufficient provisioning based on the bilik's usual consumption of rice, including use as food for domestic animals. This figure does not include

Table 24. Domestic Unit Rice Production Performance.

Bilik		1979 Rice Yield*	1979 % Sufficiency	1978 % Sufficiency
I.	Ragu	1347	77%	100+%
II.	Yok	889	85	100+
III.	Yusak	3203	128	81
IV.	Payung	567	47	67
V.	Akim	779	70	100+
VI.	Saing	1331	79	94
VII.	Gantung	1903	102	100+
VIII.	Gum	1716	106	100
IX.	Jangi	1097	76	67
X.	Nyelan	1033	62	63
XI.	Mambang	1026	62	54
XII.	Sekios	1360	118	100+
XIII.	Norce/Lanas	642/1027	89/121	100
XIV.	Nyawai	1156	57	46
XV.	Talip	1263	103	88
XVI.	Luya	837	121	100+
XVII.	Banan	1797	156	100+
XVIII.	Sandoi	1510	119	100
XIX.	Amoi	494	47	--
XX.	Haron	1128	64	63

*In gantangs of padi.

the conventional contribution of rice to the church (this averages 1.3%) and also allows no diminution from post harvest losses. Also provided is an estimate of 1978 sufficiency based on recording the date at which the bilik exhausted the rice from the previous harvest. It was agreed by the villagers that overall the 1979 harvest was slightly poorer than 1978 and the 1978 harvest was about average for this community. With regard to rice sufficiency, the village can be conceived of as composed of three classes of biliks: those that nearly always produce a surplus (I, II, V, XVI, XVII); those that

typically produce about the amount required for their families needs (III, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII, XV, XVIII); and those that perennially fall short (IV, IX, X, XI, XIV, XIX, XX).

Table 25 presents the rubber-tapping data for each bilik, by week for 52 weeks, reconstructed from the weekly labor input surveys. Viewed in the context of the phases of the agricultural cycle, it illustrates clearly how the tapping of rubber is integrated into the subsistence system dominated by rice production. Rubber-tapping activity is low during the planting and harvest periods, moderate during the weeding season (households suffering a deficit tap rubber to buy rice), and high during the post-weeding, post-harvest and gawai celebration phases of the agricultural cycle. An elaboration of the explanation of Table 25 is required. It is common, when labor availability permits, to share the rubber-tapping chore. The term "chore" conveys the Mualang attitude that this work is most disagreeable. The carrying of heavy buckets and the constant stooping involved are commonly cited as causes of the widely shared complaint of backache--a few people even suffer from morning rubber tapping headaches. The point to be made here is that sometimes a second or even a third member of the bilik will help with the work. In such cases the intention may be to increase the yield, but more commonly it is merely to lesson the burden. This distinction cannot be read from Table 25 but, of course, was essential for the calculations displayed in Table 27.

Table 25. Chronology of Rubber-Tapping Activity.

	Bilik	1978 23-29 Oct.			-26 Nov.					-31 Dec.					1979 -28 Jan.				-25 Feb.					-31 Mar.				-29 Apr.			
I.	Ragu		5	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5_{15}	6_{8}	5	3		5_{10}								6_{10}	3_{7}	3_{6}	4_{8}	2
II.	Yok		5	5	5	5	5	5	6							1	5_{6}	2	4	2	6_{9}	6		4	1					3_{6}
III.	Yusak												5_{10}	6_{11}	5_{10}									6_{11}	4	3	4	6_{17}	4_{8}
IV	Payung							4_{8}	2_{4}	5_{10}	5_{10}	4_{8}	2	6_{10}	5	2							1	6	6	4_{5}	4_{5}	4_{6}	2
V	Akim																													
VI	Saing				2	4	3	4	5	3	3		4	6	5	5_{9}										3_{6}	3_{6}	2_{4}	
VII	Gantung									5_{10}	5_{10}	4_{8}	5_{10}	6_{12}	5_{10}	4										2_{4}	3_{6}	4_{6}	4_{7}
VIII	Gum									5_{10}	65_{10}	55_{10}	5	$4_{7}44$	45	56	2	2	6									3	4
IX	Jangi							4	5	4	5_{8}	5_{8}	4_{8}	6_{12}	5	4	3											4_{6}	3_{6}
X	Nyelan								4	5	3	5	5_{9}	4_{7}	2			2							3				
XI	Mambang		5	5	5	4	35	46	55	56	23	33	34	66	55	45	45	6	36	2	1	1		6_{12}	6_{12}	4_{6}	5_{10}	5_{10}	6_{9}
XII	Sekios										2	4	4	5	2	1	5		2									4	1
XIII	Norcé														5_{9}		5_{10}	5_{10}											6_{9}
XIIIB	Lanas																												4_{7}
XIV	Nyawai		6	5_{8}	4	5	4_{8}	6_{12}	5_{10}	5_{10}	2	4_{7}	5_{9}	6_{12}	6_{11}	6_{11}	6_{11}	4_{6}	5	4	3		3	6	6_{7}	5_{10}	5_{10}	5_{8}	1
XV	Talip		5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	1													
XVI	Luya												5	6	5	5	2			5	5	3	4	6		3	3	2	1
XVII	Banan		5_{10}	4_{8}	5_{10}	5_{10}	5_{10}	4_{8}	5_{10}	5_{10}	5_{10}	3_{6}	4	6_{11}	5	4				4			3	6	5_{9}	3_{6}	4_{8}	5_{9}	4_{6}
XVIII	Sandoi								4	4	5	4	4	3	4	4	3	1					4	6	4	3	4	6	45
XIX	Amoi										2	5	5	5	6	5													
XX	Haron															6	6	6	5	4	3	1	1	3					1

Table 25 (cont'd.).

	Bilik	30 Apr.-		26 May			-30 June				-28 July				-25 Aug.				-29 Sept.				-20 Oct.		
I	Ragu	5_{7}	2	6	2	4_{8}	1_{2}	1_{2}	2_{4}	6	5_{9}	4_{8}		4	4	5	2			2					
II	Yok	4_{8}		4_{8}					2	6	2	3	3	6	2	2	3			2					
III	Yusak	4_{8}		4_{8}	5_{7}	2_{4}		5_{10}		6_{18}	6_{15}	4_{12}	4_{6}	6_{7}	6_{7}	5_{7}	1_{2}			2_{4}	3_{6}	2_{3}			
IV	Payung	3		3	2_{4}	2_{3}	1	3_{4}	2_{3}	2	6_{9}	3_{4}	2	6_{7}	4		3	5	2_{3}	1_{2}	5_{10}	6_{9}	2		
V	Akim																								
VI	Saing	6_{10}		5_{9}						6_{12}	46_{12}	$\frac{33}{66}$	3	2_{4}	4_{8}	3_{6}	4_{7}	2_{4}	2_{3}						
VII	Gantung			2	3_{5}	1_{2}		1		6	4					4_{5}	2								
VIII	Gum	4		$\frac{55}{6}$	42	32		3																	
IX	Jangi	4_{8}		4_{7}	2_{4}	3_{5}		3_{6}			5_{10}	2	1	4_{8}	6_{12}	2_{4}	1_{2}			2_{4}					2
X	Nyelan				4	3_{4}	1_{2}	4_{8}		4	2_{4}	5_{10}	4_{8}	5_{10}	5_{10}	4_{8}										
XI	Mambang	$\frac{44}{55}$		$\frac{44}{5}$	3	24	2	2	$\frac{22}{4}$	$\frac{65}{7}$	6_{12}	$\frac{33}{6}$	3	2	3		1	5_{9}	1_{2}			$\frac{4}{5}$	1			5
XII	Sekios	4	1	5_{6}	3	3										4	4	1	2				1		
XIII	Norcé	6_{12}	2_{4}	6_{12}	1_{2}	4_{8}	3_{6}		2_{4}	6_{12}	6_{11}	4	5_{10}	6_{12}	5_{9}	5_{10}	5_{10}			1	4_{8}	1_{2}				
XIIIB	Lanas	5_{10}		5_{10}	$\frac{3}{5}$	4_{8}	2_{3}	$\frac{3}{5}$	1_{2}																
XIV	Nyawai	5_{7}	2_{3}	5_{10}	5_{7}	4_{7}	2_{3}	4	3_{4}	6_{7}	6_{9}	5_{10}	5	2	4	4	5_{8}	5	4_{5}	2_{4}	5_{10}	6_{11}	5_{7}	4	3	3
XV	Talip	4_{8}	6_{12}	2	2	2_{4}		2_{4}		2	3	3	4	6_{7}	5	4	3			1						
XVI	Luya				3	2								3	5	5										
XVII	Banan	3_{6}		6_{12}	3	3	1	2		4	4										1					
XVIII	Sandoi	46_{11}	2_{4}	36	3	$\frac{44}{5}$	3	5_{8}	2_{4}	66_{9}	6_{8}	24_{8}	1		1		3	3	1			3				
XIX	Amoi			5	2	4	1	5		6	6	3	4	6	6	54	14	4	3	12	2	3	2	1	3	2
XX	Haron	5_{10}		4_{8}	4_{8}	2_{4}	1_{2}	3_{6}	2_{5}	6_{12}	5_{10}	$\frac{3}{5}$	1	6	5	1	2	5_{9}	$\frac{3}{5}$							

EXPLANATION: The figures are the number of outings for each week. The subscripts indicate the tapper was assisted by one or more persons. On occasion two members of the household may tap two different rubber gardens in the week. A two digit number indicates this fact.

Table 26 lists the typical outing yield of rubber tapped by each bilik to demonstrate the differences with respect to the potential product of various rubber gardens and the consequent outing yields obtained. These yields were ascertained by interview rather than by direct weighing; however,

Table 26. Estimated Rubber-Tapping Yields.

Bilik		Typical Single-Outing Yield	Potential Yield for Rubber Garden
I.	Ragu	3.5 (4.5)* kilo	5 kilo
II.	Yok	3.5 (5.5)	8
III.	Yusak	3.0 (5.0)	8
IV.	Payung	3.5	6
V.	Akim	3.5	6
VI.	Saing	2.5	3
VII.	Gantung	3.0 (5.5)	6
VIII.	Gum	1.75	2
IX.	Jangi	1.5	2
X.	Nyelan	3.25	8
XI.	Mambang	2.25	2.5
XII.	Sekios	3.0	3.5
XIII.	Norcé	2.5	4
XIIIB.	Lanas	2.5	4
XIV.	Nyawai	1.5 (2.75)	3
XV.	Talip	2.5	3
XVI.	Luya	2.5	3
XVII.	Banan	4.0 (7.5)	8
XVIII.	Sandoi	3.5	6
XIX.	Amoi	1.5	3
XX.	Haron	2.0	2

*Yield in parenthesis is the typical yield when the tapper is accompanied by a helper.

there is justification for confidence in these yield figures for two reasons. First, a person tapping rubber has a keen sense of the quantity of the product because the latex is

congealed in a special rectangular aluminum pan in which the depth of the liquid rubber is readily converted into an assessment of output. Second, this assessment is verified or revised when the rubber sheets are weighed by the trader.

Table 27 specifies the rubber product for each bilik for the year, October 1978 to October 1979. The money value was determined by multiplying the yields by the average price over the month in which the rubber was tapped. The figures include the income earned by tapping the rubber gardens of other households on a sharecropping basis as described in Chapter V. There is one purchased input in rubber production, namely the ascetic acid used to harden the latex. A rule of thumb for this expense is that one bottle, costing Rp 500, is sufficient for 100 kilograms of rubber sheet. This minor expense has not been subtracted from these income figures.

Table 28 lists the monetary value of the 1978-79 rice yield for each bilik in rupiahs and dollars for comparison with the income from rubber tapping. The monetary value for rice was figured by multiplying the yield by the average monthly value of padi over the year, Rp 147.75 per gantang calculated from the average value of beras available at the local store. Together the yields from rice and rubber constitute the quantifiable sources of income for the bilik family with the minor exceptions of wage labor, sawing boards, and the sale of domestic animals.

Table 27. Fifty-two Week Rubber-Tapping Income.

Bilik		Own Rubber Grove	Earned Shares	Total Rupiah Value	Total Dollar Value
I.	Ragu	Rp 177,516	Rp 55,301	Rp 232,817	$375.51
II.	Yok	154,327	19,503	173,830	280.37
III.	Yusak	173,655	37,452	211,107	340.50
IV.	Payung	149,552		149,552	241.21
V.	Akim		24,124	24,124	38.91
VI.	Saing	72,017	13,908	85,925	138.59
VII.	Gantung	101,896	12,275	114,171	184.15
VIII.	Gum	30,568	29,677	60,245	97.17
IX.	Jangi	15,367	31,123	46,490	74.98
X.	Nyelan	85,131	50,071	135,202	218.07
XI.	Mambang	100,264	67,073	167,337	269.90
XII.	Sekios	58,331		58,331	94.08
XIII.	Norcé	87,851		87,851	141.70
XIIIB.	Lanas	25,130		25,130	40.53
XIV.	Nyawai	150,427		150,427	242.62
XV.	Talip	48,747	25,737	74,484	120.14
XVI.	Luya	52,932		52,932	85.37
XVII.	Banan	158,481	53,248	211,729	341.50
XVIII.	Sandoi	130,451	22,285	152,736	246.35
XIX.	Amoi	60,733		60,733	97.96
XX.	Haron	20,840	58,979	79,819	128.74

Table 28. Value of Rice Yield.

Bilik		Rp Value	Dollar Value
I.	Ragu	Rp 199,019.25	$321.00
II.	Yok	131,349.75	211.85
III.	Yusak	473,243.25	763.30
IV.	Payung	84,069.75	135.60
V.	Akim	115,097.25	185.64
VI.	Saing	196,655.25	317.19
VII.	Gantung	281,168.25	453.50
VIII.	Gum	253,539.00	408.93
IX.	Jangi	162,081.75	261.42
X.	Nyelan	152,625.75	246.17
XI.	Mambang	151,159.50	244.50
XII.	Sekios	200,940.00	324.10
XIII.	Norcé	94,855.50	152.99
XIIIB.	Lanas	151,739.25	244.74
XIV.	Nyawai	170,799.00	275.48
XV.	Talip	186,608.25	300.98
XVI.	Luya	123,666.75	199.46
XVII.	Banan	265,506.75	428.24
XVIII.	Sandoi	223,102.50	359.84
XIX.	Amoi	72,988.50	117.72
XX.	Haron	166,662.00	268.81

The economic performance of households is also expressed in the cultivating of fruit trees and the husbanding of domestic animals which are not commoditized. Table 29 lists the amount of each of the kinds of trees and animals husbanded by each bilik in September 1979. An average bilik in this village husbanded 2.5 pigs of larger than head size, 4.76 smaller pigs, 8 hens, 2 roosters, 4.5 chicks, 1.3 dogs, and 0.29 cats. The severe cat deficit is well-appreciated by the villagers.

The data provided above, when combined with the data on other sources of income, permits the computation of gross

Table 29. Productive Property Inventory.

	XX. Haron	XIX. Amoi	XVIII. Sandoi	XVII. Banan	XVI. Luya	XV. Talip	XIV. Nyawai	XIIIB. Lanas	XIII. Norcé	XII. Sekios	XI. Mambang	X. Nyelan	IX. Jangi	VIII. Gum	VII. Gantung	VI. Saing	V. Akim	IV. Payung	III. Yusak	II. Yok	I. Ragu
rubber trees producing	130k	180	400	1500	500k	500k	150	1500	100	500	130	500	130k	130k	300	150	500	300	200	3500*	1000
rubber tree samplings	800			500	500	150	500	300		500	50	700		30	700	200	100		500	1500	100
pepper plants planted	80			60	60	100	50	30			20						280				
pepper plants producing																	80				
coffee plants planted								12									200			100	
pigs as large as head	4	2		2	1	3	5		1	3	3	3	1	2	6	4	4	1	1	1	6
pigs as large as thigh	1		4		2				2	5	2	2				2		1		1	9
pigs as large as calf	3			1			1	2		5	1		3			1				1	
pigs as large as ankle		3				4	5			8			2		10	8	5		6		
hens (total)	5	8	4	16	15	4	3	2	2	4	4	2	15	24	5	7	20	4	6	11	8
hens laying and setting	5	2	1	4	2	2	3	1		4	4	2	2	4	5	7	1		2	8	6
roosters	2	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	3	2		2	3	2	1	5	1	2	2	3
chicks	2	4	3	2	3	2		1	4	4	7	5	5	10	11	16	5		6		5
ducks				1															1		2
drakes																					1
ducklings				4																	12
dogs	2			2		1		1		1	2	2		1	3	1	1	1	4	3	3
cats							1								3				1		1
coconut trees	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	3k+1	3k	3	2	3	1	3	3	3
papayas	1																				2
pineapples	6		4	5	3	4			2	10	3		3	3	50		5				2
bananas	10			2	2	2		3			3	3	2	2	5		6	1	2	1	10
rambutan	10	1	2	1		4	1	3		5	4	2	1	1	3	3	10		2	1	5
nangka balanda	2							1		2					1		2	1	2		6
cempedak	2	3	2		4	5		5	2	2	2		4	5	10	3	8		1		6
durian		1		2	5	2		10	1	3	4		1	4					1		
lalau														1							
lensat					4				2	10			2	12		3	1		1	1	
kemantan															2						
keladi (taro)			10	10	10	20		10	10	20			15	10			20			30	50
jambu	1	1	1	1	1	2	1				2					4		1	1	1	4
limau				1		1	1	1		1		1					2		1		1
kapok							1			1							2		1		4

*This figure doesn't include trees owned at Engkudu Mulau and shared with a brother living at Sebindang.

k = kunsi; that is, joint ownership.

The figures for fruit trees include vigorous immatures.

and net monetizable income for the year for each domestic unit. Table 30 illustrates the comparison of the net income for each domestic unit. The place of rice production in domestic economics ranges from a low of 34.8 per cent of net income for the dependent bilik of Payung IV,[14] to a high of 84.5 percent in the newly formed bilik of Pak Lanas XIIIB. It should be noted that, because of the rapid and abnormal rise in the price of rubber during the fieldwork period, the data on rubber actually reflects a "windfall" condition and so disturbs in undetermined ways the ratio of rice production to other sources of livelihood.

From comparison of the economic performances of households as described in Table 31 certain generalizations about the way domestic units provision themselves can be made. The "domestic mode of production" model that was instrumental in the design of this study presumes a particular strategy of domestic unit production, namely, that a household will endeavor to produce for itself the socially-shared level of well-being. This presumption will be tested in what follows.

---

[14] This net income figure for bilik IV appears higher than one would expect because Bu Payung was married to Pak Langing in May 1979 and he, thereafter, was contributing to the bilik product. Pak Langing was diligent in tapping rubber to pay off debts incurred for personal expenses involved in the wedding gawai (like Bu Payung, Pak Langing was orphaned and living with a brother). Bu Payung was likewise intensifying rubber production in anticipation of cash needs before the gawai. For calculations involving the c/w ratio for this bilik the less favorable one is used because Pak Langing joined the bilik after the rice harvest for this accounting period.

Table 30. Annual Net Income of Biliks.

		Rupiah value of rice yield	Rupiah value of rubber yield	Wages received	Sawing boards	Sale of domestic animals	Wages paid	Net Income	Rice as % of net income
I.	Ragu	199,019	232,817	Rp 1,200			Rp 38,500	Rp 394,536	50.4
II.	Yok	131,350	173,830	750		Rp 29,125*	20,600	314,455	41.8
III.	Yusak	473,243	211,107	4,700		20,250	6,900	702,400	67.4
IV.	Payung	84,070	149,552	8,050				241,672	34.8
V.	Akim	115,097	24,124	700		6,000	41,175	104,746	----
VI.	Saing	196,655	85,925	2,200		15,000		299,780	65.6
VII.	Gantung	281,168	114,171	700		29,400	2,250	423,189	66.4
VIII.	Gum	253,539	60,245	7,300				321,084	79.0
IX.	Jangi	162,082	46,490	6,300	3,000	12,000		229,872	70.5
X.	Nyelan	152,626	135,202	800		18,900	1,500	306,028	50.0
XI.	Mambang	151,160	167,337	24,800				343,297	44.0
XII.	Sekios	200,940	58,331	3,600				262,871	76.4
XIII.	Norcé	94,856	87,851	1,750				184,457	51.4
XIIIB.	Lanas	151,739	25,130	2,580				179,449	84.6
XIV.	Nyawai	170,799	150,427	10,025		5,000		336,251	50.8
XV.	Talip	186,608	74,484	2,250		32,200	3,000	292,542	63.8
XVI.	Luya	123,667	52,932				30,225	146,374	84.5
XVII.	Banan	265,507	211,729			12,000	40,350	448,886	59.1
XVIII.	Sandoi	223,103	152,736	3,675		16,333	3,100	392,747	56.8
XIX.	Amoi	72,989	60,733	10,300		2,000		146,022	----
XX.	Haron	166,662	79,819	6,550	35,200	1,000		289,231	57.6
							TOTAL	6,109,121 ✓	

*Sarawak trade described in Chapter V.

✓Excludes households V and XIX.

Table 31. Bilik Production Performance Comparisons.

Bilik		Consumer Index	Worker Index	C/W Ratio	Hectares Under Cultivation	Gantangs of Rice Yield	Gantangs per Worker	Hectares per Worker	Net Income per Worker	Net Income per Consumer
I.	Ragu	4.3	2.2	1.95	3.315	1,347	612.27	1.51	Rp 179,335	Rp 91,753
II.	Yok	3.7	2.5	1.48	2.627	889	355.60	1.05	125,782	84,988
III.	Yusak	7.2	3.9	1.85	4.895	3,203	821.28	1.26	180,103	97,556
IV.	Payung	3.5	1.4	2.50	1.066	569	406.42	0.76	172,623	69,049
V.	Akim	2.6	2.2	1.18	1.664	779	354.00	0.76	---	---
VI.	Saing	5.0	3.5	1.43	2.496	1,331	380.28	0.71	85,651	59,956
VII.	Gantung	4.5	3.0	1.50	3.204	1,903	634.33	1.07	141,063	94,042
VIII.	Gum	4.1	4.0	1.03	2.303	1,716	429.00	0.58	80,271	78,313
IX.	Jangi	3.9	2.0	1.95	2.744	1,097	548.50	1.37	114,936	58,942
X.	Nyelan	4.8	2.0	2.40	2.415	1,033	516.50	1.21	153,014	63,756
XI.	Mambang	5.8	2.6	2.23	2.173	1,026	394.60	0.84	132,037	59,189
XII.	Sekios	2.4	2.0	1.20	2.573	1,360	680.00	1.29	131,436	109,530
XIII.	Norcé	2.3	2.2	1.05	3.717	1,669	397.38	0.88	83,844	80,199
		(4.1)*	(4.2)	(.98)						
XIIIB.	Lanas	1.8	2.0	0.90					89,725	99,694
XIV.	Nyawai	6.9	3.4	2.03	2.151	1,156	340.00	0.63	98,897	48,732
XV.	Talip	4.2	2.2	1.91	2.244	1,263	574.00	1.02	132,974	69,653
XVI.	Luya	1.8	2.0	0.90	1.542	837	418.50	0.77	73,187	81,319
XVII.	Banan	3.8	2.2	1.73	2.208	1,797	816.80	1.00	204,039	118,128
XVIII.	Sandoi	4.4	3.0	1.47	3.474	1,510	503.33	1.16	130,916	89,261
XIX.	Amoi	3.9	3.0	1.30	0.941	494	164.66	0.314	---	---
XX.	Haron	5.5	2.4	2.29	1.772	1,128	470.00	0.738	120,513	52,587

Households V and XIX are excluded from certain calculations because their incomes were aberrant.

*Figures for households XIII and XIIIB combined.

This, however, is the strategy for overall production. It is also possible to inquire into how the various forms of production are combined into a material provisioning strategy.

To avoid confusion about the relation between micro- and macro- perspectives it should be noted that in this material provisioning definition of economic behavior it is societies, not economic units, that are being provisioned. Economic entities do the provisioning but the strategies they employ do not add up to the economic system, nor are they the economic system written from another perspective. Adaptive strategies, decision models--all variations of the microeconomic perspective--necessarily use the actor's understanding of the system in place. And, as Godelier has said:

> They have pragmtic utility, being of service in management and the taking of decisions, but they possess no scientific value, for they do not reflect the true, underlying logic of the system (1972: xxv).

This study eschews the rigorous decision model which is the fashion these days (Bartlett 1980) in favor of understanding behavior as instituted process (Dalton 1971: 25). The presumption is that in these comparisons of economic performances of households will be revealed the relationships that constitute the material provisioning strategy in so far as it is "instituted process."

Having established rice-production as dominating economic behavior in this society, specifying how far this is so and how it relates to the other forms of production is

now the primary task. Figure 8 plots the per cent of sufficiency of rice product for the year against the domestic unit consumer/worker ratios. Note that the seven most disadvantageously constituted biliks failed to attain sufficiency. Figure 9 depicts the relationship between a domestic unit's consumer/worker ratio and the percentage of the net income accounted for by the rice product, showing that disadvantageous consumer/worker ratios are correlated with rice constituting less of the household's net income. The correlation coefficient, $r = 0.69$, is significant at the 1 per cent level. Figure 10, hectares per worker graphed over the range of consumer/worker ratios, and Figure 11, gantangs per worker graphed over the range of bilik consumer/worker ratios reveal that all the families with consumer/worker ratios greater than 2 not only fail but also appear to make no attempt to self-exploit with respect to rice production. In this regard, it seems that only in the middle range of consumer/worker ratios is there some evidence of self-exploitation. On the other hand, Figure 12, net income per worker graphed against the bilik consumer/worker ratios, shows a general tendency throughout the community to self-exploit in some respect as the consumer/worker ratio becomes increasingly disadvantageous.

The conclusion drawn from this is that there are two different material provisioning strategies, one undertaken by biliks with consumer/worker ratios less than 2 and another undertaken by biliks with consumer/worker ratios greater than

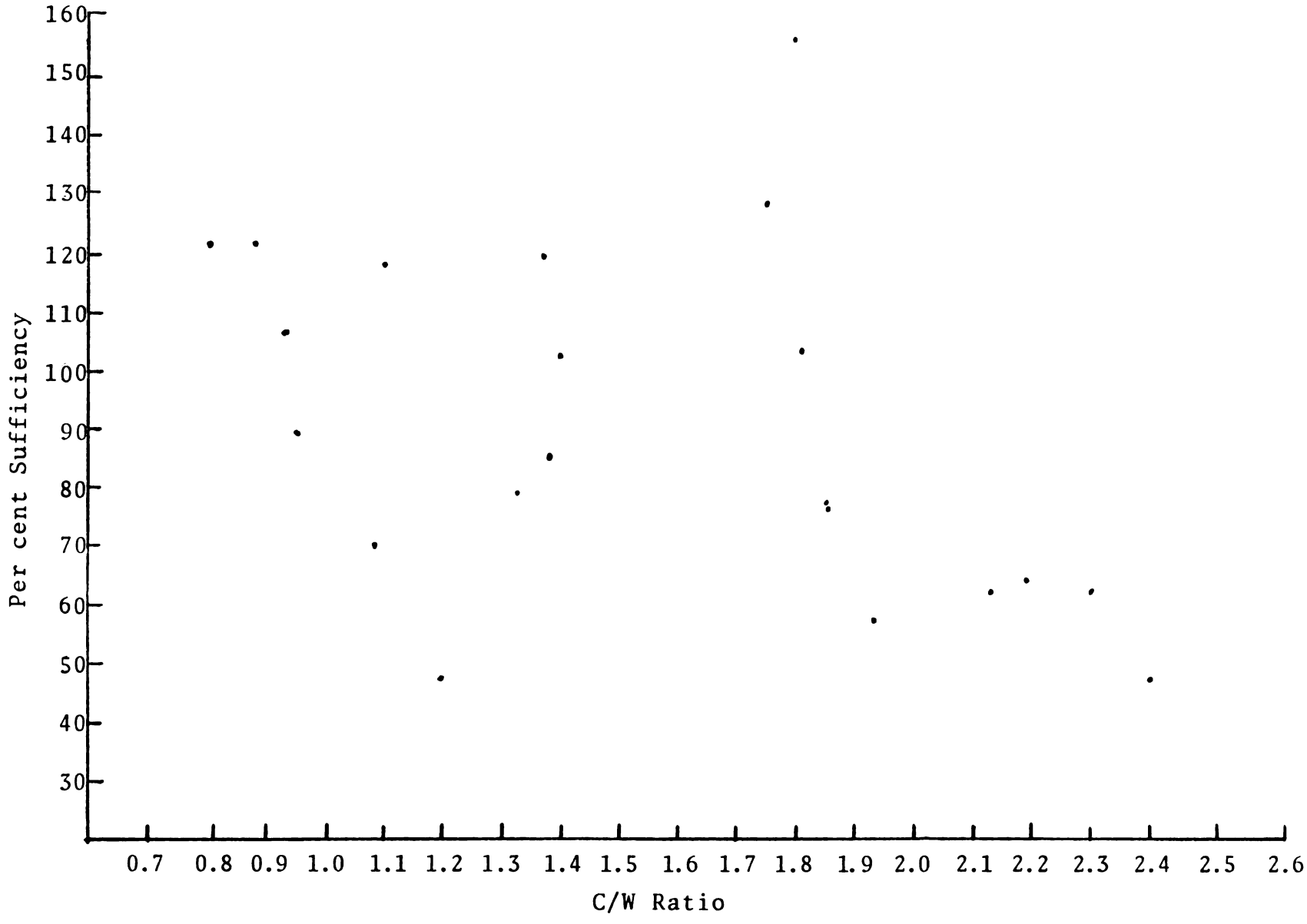

Figure 8. Per Cent Sufficiency of Rice For Each Bilik.

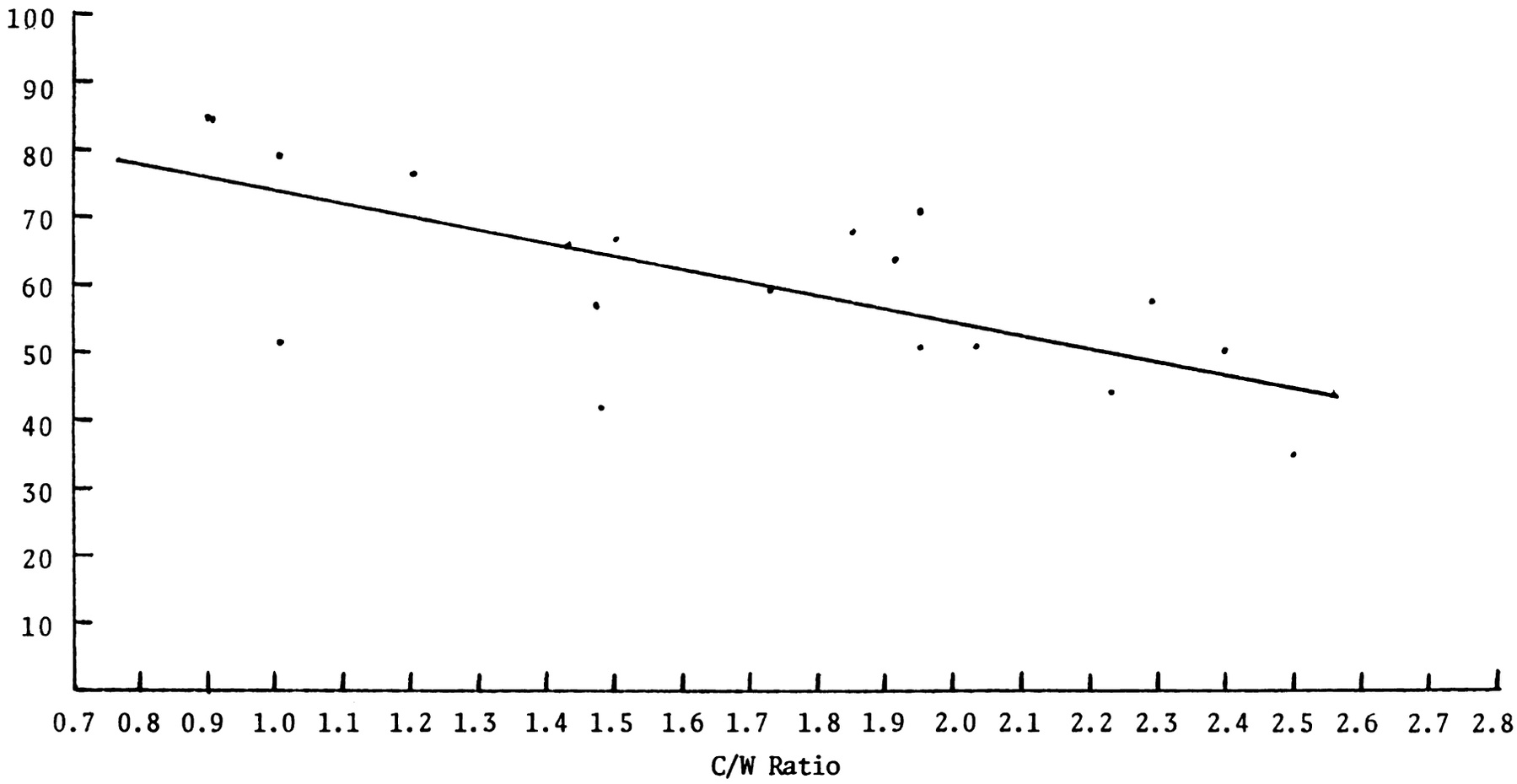

Figure 9. Rice as Per Cent of Net Income For Each Bilik.

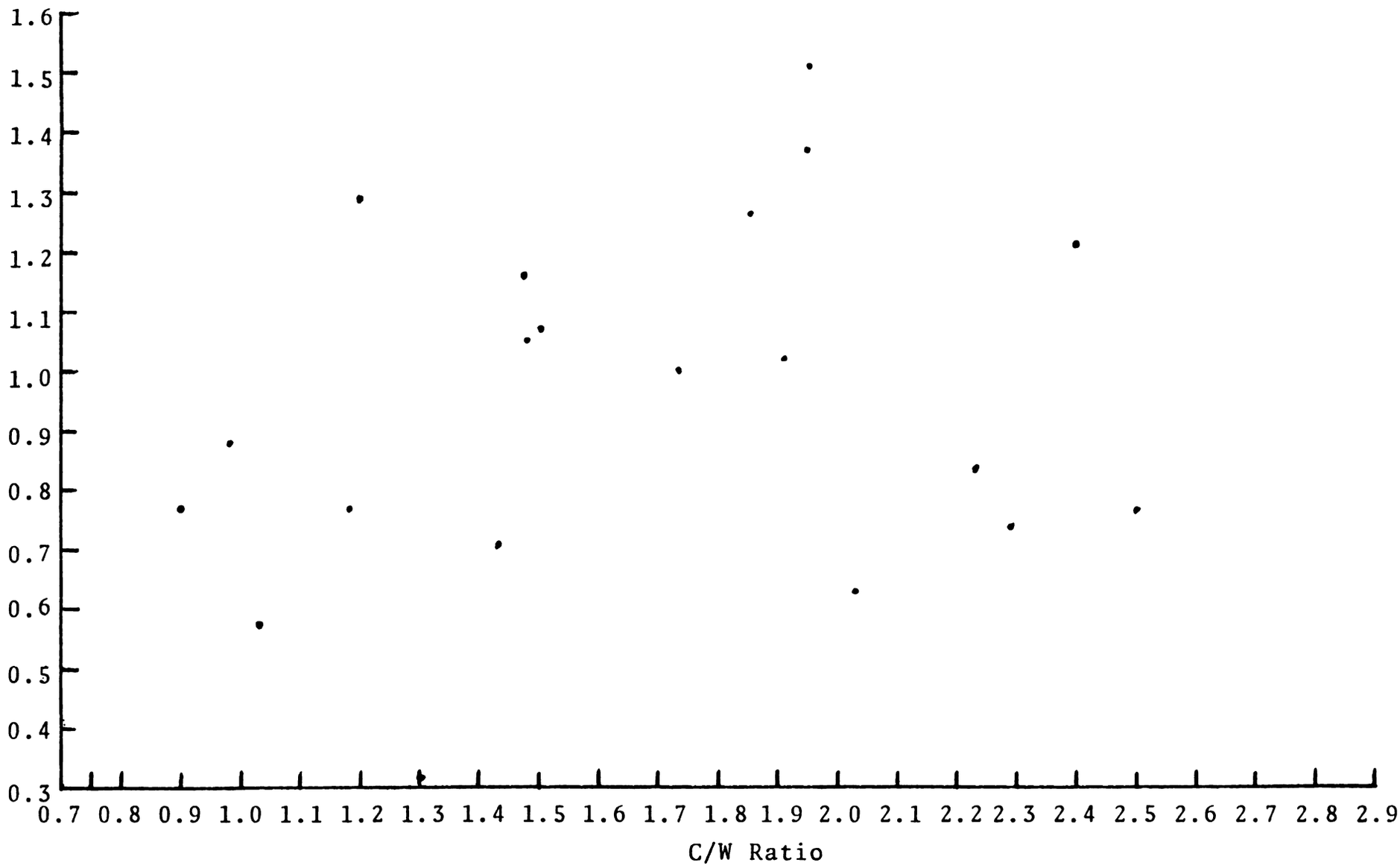

Figure 10. Hectares Cultivated Per Worker For Each Bilik.

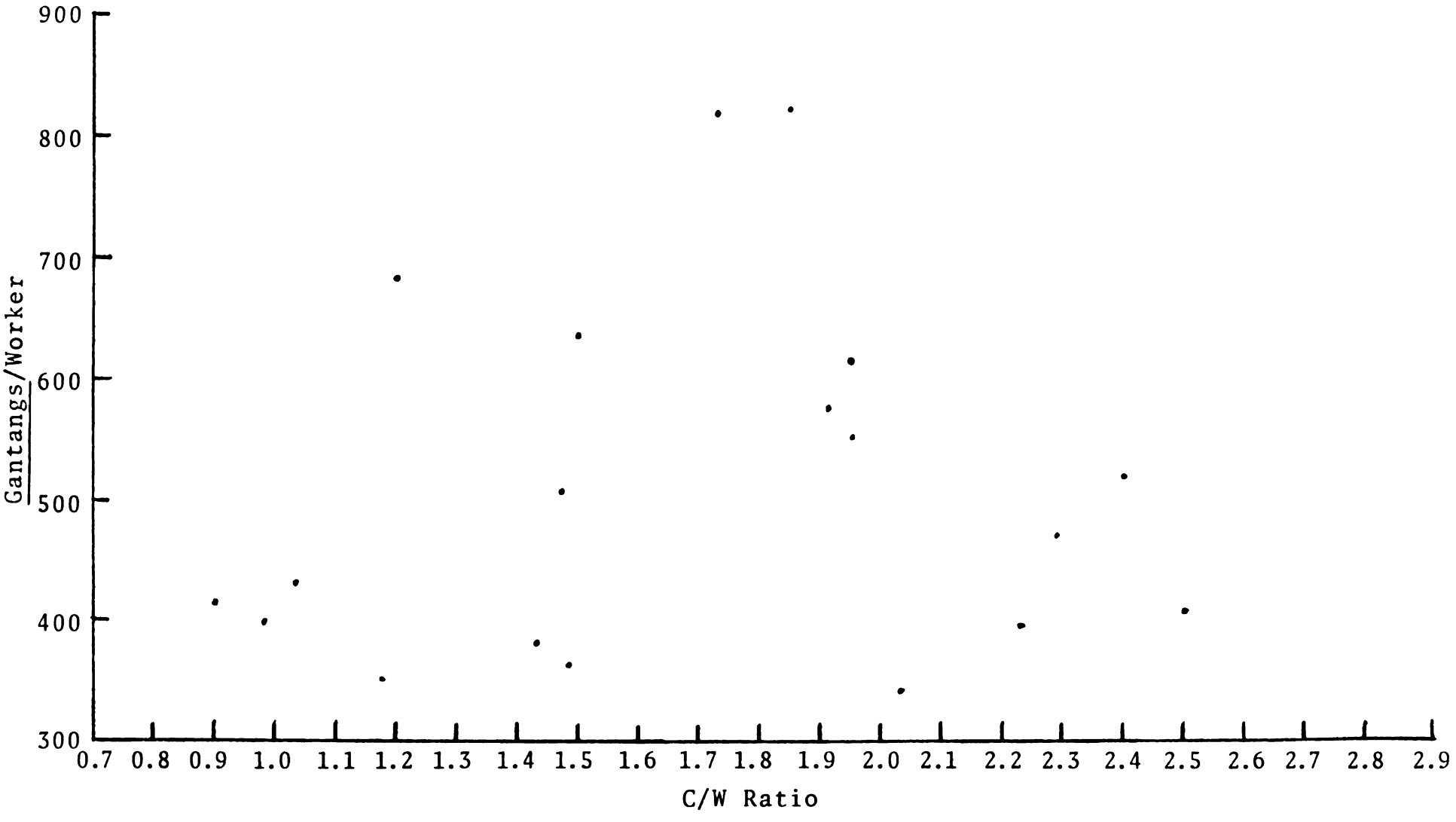

Figure 11. Gantangs Yield Per Worker For Each Bilik.

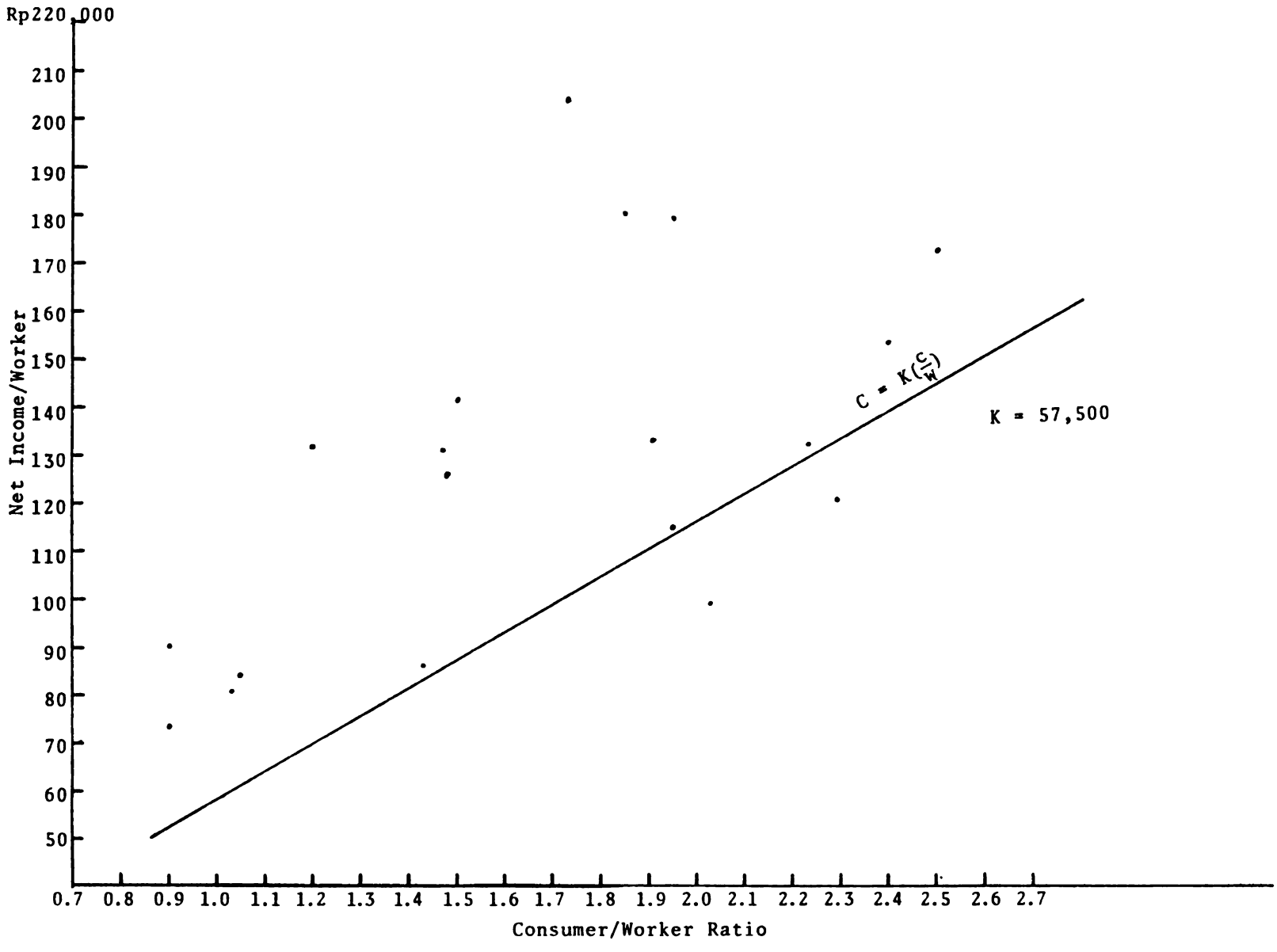

Figure 12. Net Income Per Worker for Each Bilik.

2. This can be accounted for by the fact that the production function for dry rice offers very little opportunity for self-exploitation. As established in the previous chapter, weeding is the limiting phase of rice production in terms of labor input. The returns to weeding fall off after once over the plot. Intensified weeding cannot be justified. It will be recalled that the point was made that "judicious neglect" is probably the strategy offering the highest returns to labor. Some rice in fertile riverbank and swamp locations will yield a product with no weeding whatsoever! That is why most households clear more forest than they plant, plant more than they weed and harvest more than they weed; something akin to the "constant readjustment" of production strategy as described by Sutti Ortiz (1967: 219) for the Paez Indians of Columbia. Since intensifying weeding cannot be justified there is no opportunity for self-exploitation beyond putting into cultivation all the rice area a household's labor force can weed one time over. Consequently, the attention for self-exploitation opportunities turns elsewhere. Weeding the minimal amount to get a rice product is combined with wage labor and rubber-tapping in this phase of the agricultural cycle to self-exploit with the end of attaining the minimal level of well-being for that community in the face of a burdensome consumer/worker ratio.[15]

[15]This self-exploitation strategy appears to be the height of economic rationality. This understanding of the matter, however, followed from the analysis of the quantitative data. Whether or not the Mualang would explain it this way is not known. The analyst did not understand these relationships well-enough in the field to ask penetrating questions about them.

It is the relationship between the domestic units' consumer/worker ratio and the net income per worker, depicted in Figure 12, that is at stake in testing the applicability of the domestic mode of production (DMP) scheme proposed by Marshall Sahlins in his Stone Age Economics (1972). This theoretical scheme was inspired by the work of the Russian agricultural economist Chayanov who studied peasant household economic behavior in pre-revolutionary Russia. Chayanov documented the direct relationship between consumer/worker ratio and a household's production intensity resulting from the tendency for disadvantageously constituted households to labor beyond the customary norms of work to achieve the socially-shared level of well-being (Sahlins 1971: 32-34) for that community. Sahlins posited this set of relationships to underly production, at least structurally, in all societies in which production is organized by domestic groups that produce for their own use. These conditions appear to be met in the study at hand, and, although I will delay taking up the issues of the fit of this model until the last chapter, this is the place to test this relationship statistically.

Returning to Figure 12 we find the scatter of points plotting the net income per worker against the consumer/worker ratio for each household along with the "Chayanov line" of production intensity, $C = K(\frac{C}{W})$ drawn in where K = Rp 57,500. The value of K, the index value of consumption for the community, was determined independently from surveys

of consumption and expenditure. It is comprised of the per annum rice requirement of Rp 39,000, various trade goods at Rp 12,000, gawai expenses of Rp 5,000 and church contribution of Rp 1,500. This figure was then found to be supported nicely by the results depicted in Figure 14 of Chapter VII below.

Figure 13 depicts the scatter of points resolved into a regression line by the method of least squares. The Chayanov line is drawn in alongside the empirical line. The intersection of the two lines at some point beyond x = 2.5, the highest c/w ratio in the community means that the community, as a whole, produces a surplus above the "social conception of domestic welfare" (Sahlins 1971: 33). As already noted, because of the rapid and abnormal rise in the price of rubber during the fieldwork period, the data actually represents a "windfall" condition. In previous years when the price of rubber ranged from Rp 150-190 per kilo, much less rubber-tapping occurred, according to the testimony of both the villagers and trader. Consequently, the per cent of income earned from rubber-tapping would have been far less for nearly every bilik. Only those deficit in rice would have bothered to tap rubber during the weeding season in the self-exploitational strategy discussed above. The average 3 kilo product for a tapping outing at Rp 150 per kilo would provide a return of Rp 450 which is roughly the going daily wage in this area. At these prices, however, the sharecropping arrangement is quite unattractive.

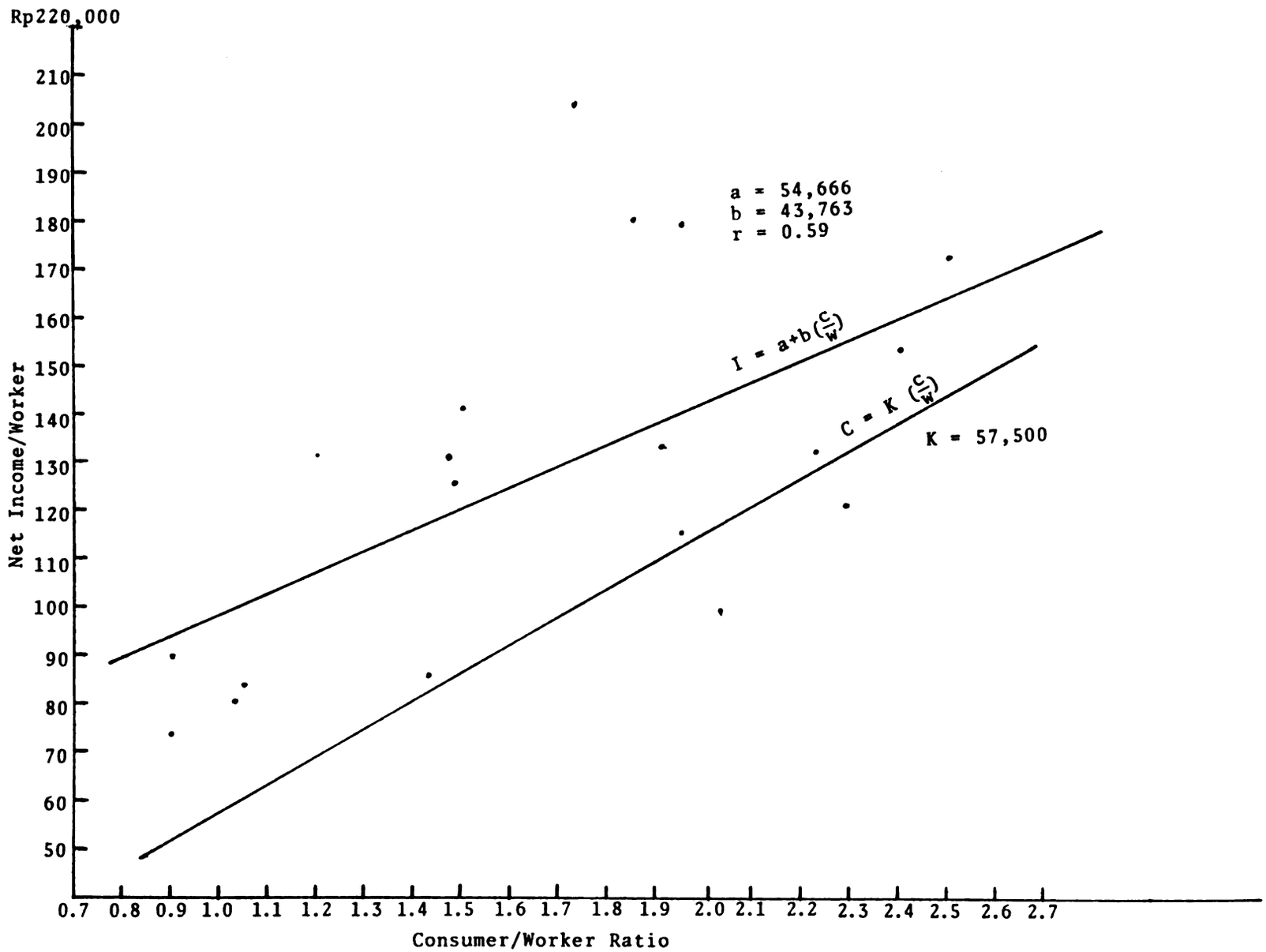

Figure 13. Empirical Line and Chayanov Line Compared.

A test of the possibility of correlation between the net income/worker and the consumer-worker ratio for each household as suggested by Wanda Minge-Kalman (1977) using the Spearman rank correlation coefficient yields the following result:

$$r_s = 1 - 6 \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} d^2_i}{N^3 - N} = 1 - \frac{6\ (471)}{6859 - 19} = 0.59$$

The correlation coefficient of 0.59 is significant at the 0.01 level of probability indicating that the two variables have a strong positive correlation and this relationship has been demonstrated to be in accordance with the Chayanov hypothesis. This is identical with r = 0.59 as derived by the product moment method of least squares.

Further statistical analyses have been suggested by Evans (1974, and cf. Durrenberger 1976b) which test the proposition that the empirical line (regression line) is a variation of the Chayanov line based on chance due to sampling. The first of these is the "slope test." The "t ratio": $\frac{b - K}{S}$ where b, the slope of the empirical line is 43,765, K, the slope of the Chayanov line is 57,500, and s, the standard error of b is 14,445 yields the result:

$$\frac{b - K}{S} = \frac{43,765 - 57,500}{14,445} = -0.95$$

From O'Toole (1964: 218, Table 7.3) we find that the value of t is not significant at the 5 percent level and so we

accept the null hypothesis that the slope is not different from the Chayanov slope.

A second test is the "test of the deflection of the intersection point," that is, "the statistical point from a position above the household composition mean on the horizontal axis" (Evans 1974: 275). The standard error of estimation for x is calculated by the formula:

$$S'_{y.x} = S_y \sqrt{1 - r^2} = 37{,}675 \sqrt{.65} = 30{,}374$$

(O'Toole 1964: 290). Now to determine the confidence limits for the individual value of y at x = 1.68, (the mean household composition), the formula:

$$M'_{y.x} \pm tS'_{y.x} \sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{n} + \frac{(x-m_x)^2}{ns_x^2}}$$

(O'Toole 1964: 293) can be used. Because $x-m_x = 0$ since we chose x to be $\bar{x} = M_x$ = the mean of x values, the equation reduces to

$$M'_{x \cdot y} \pm t\ S'_{y \cdot x} \sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{n}} = 127{,}912 \pm 2.101\ (30{,}374)$$

$$\sqrt{1.05} = 127{,}912 \pm 65{,}391$$

and the Chayanov value for y at this x is clearly within the 95 per cent confidence limits of this empirical value of y at x = 1.68.

Sahlins' theory would lead to the interpretation of this community production profile in terms of economic relations expressing the sociopolitical forces that might give shape to the DMP tendencies that underlie all societies in

which the domestic unit is both the predominant unit of production and consumption. In this scheme peasant society represents the extreme case of domestic unit economic autonomy and the disposition of surplus production in linkages external to the community. This correlates with the atomization of the households on the social and political levels of analysis as well. Despite the fact that the results of the analysis of economic performance data for Sungai Mulau is a peasant-like production profile, the social and political dimension of the village, discussed in previous chapters, do not support its characterization as a peasant community. The peasant-like shape of the community production profile reflects the disposition of surplus production outside the community in exchange for material goods to the benefit of individual biliks economically autonomized by balanced reciprocity. The matter of whether or not the economy of hinterland Kalimantan Barat in which Sungai Mulau is situated constitutes the peasant-style economic context will be deferred to the final chapter. At this point we should suspend further interpretation of this profile until we have all the economic data before us. The following chapters present the remaining economic data and then take up the topic of the interpretation of the community production profile.

CHAPTER VII

THE MATERIAL PROVISIONING OF SOCIETY: CONSUMPTION, EXCHANGE, AND DISTRIBUTION

Chapter IV described the organization of the forms of production in the community under study. This chapter describes the organization of the remaining categories of economic order: consumption; exchange; and distribution.

The Organization of Consumption

Consumption as an abstract analytical category involves both "consumption of the factors of production," which is at the same time an aspect of production, and "personal consumption in its individual and social forms" (Godelier 1972: 277). Scott Cook, in his 1973 review of the field of economic anthropology, employs the term "utilization" to include both kinds of consumption, reserving the term "consumption" for personal consumption "employing resources for the direct satisfaction of current wants" (1973: 838), a terminological advance that has much to recommend it.

It was not possible to identify the portion of consumption recycled through the production process; therefore, a few qualifications must be made concerning the data on consumption presented here. The factors of production are

a few gantangs of seed (40 to 90 is the range), the bush-knife with a life of about 2 years, an axe blade sufficiently durable to constitute heirloom property, a few baskets and mats handmade from materials collected from the forest, land available to everyone on their own initiative, and labor. With such modest production inputs, labor constitutes the factor of production of most interest to this analysis. In such a low technology economy as this in which labor is the predominant input, the matter of consumption in production boils down to food calories consumed in laboring versus food calories consumed in non-productive activities which is superfluous to the issues of concern in this study. Consumption, therefore, is treated here as personal consumption organized, for the most part, by domestic units.

A further qualification is that only certain aspects of even personal consumption are amenable to quantification. Shelter, handicrafts, and hunting-and-gathering activities very rarely involve economic transactions. Consequently, they are not reducible to a common standard of value for comparing with the quantifiable elements of the economy. On average, a family invests about 12 workdays per year in its dwelling, including maintenance. The typical dwelling lasts approximately 20 years so that two or three times in his life, a man takes part in building his family's lawang. About two years are involved in the sporadic

gathering and preparing of materials from the forest. With communal labor for the erection of the main members, the construction is accomplished in a few days. Since boards and posts made of the very hard woods can be taken from the abandoned house, they are important property and their division is given careful consideration in inheritance proceedings. The average time expended on fieldhut construction and maintenance is about 10 workdays per year. With the summary statement that much production and consumption of food, shelter, tools, handicrafts, etc. occur outside the monetized scope and that such items are generally produced by the domestic units for their own use and in more or less sufficient supply depending upon personal inclination, we turn now to the more easily quantifiable elements of consumption.

Personal Consumption

This being a "subsistence" economy, food dominates the process of material provisioning and consumption. Of the Rp 57,500 estimated as the minimal subsistence level for the index consumer in the community, Rp 47,000 or 82 per cent is food. Clearly rice predominates considerations of consumption in this society where eating is synonymous with eating rice. At the time of the rice consumption study, the village of Sungai Mulau contained 82.7 consumer units (110 people) who consumed a total of 21.8 gantangs of

beras lama.[15] This amounts to 7,957 gantangs beras lama or 19,892.5 gantangs padi per year, giving the figure of 180.8 gantangs padi per capita. To compare this with Freeman's figure for the Iban, Mualang gantangs must be converted to Iban gantangs. One Mualang gantang is equal to 0.686 gantangs Iban, putting the Mualang consumption figure at 124 gantangs Iban per capita per year. Given Freeman's figure of 88.5 gantangs per capita per year for the Iban, it is clear that the Mualang enjoy slightly more than 40 percent more rice than the Iban.

To put this high rate of rice consumption into perspective, it can be compared with several other studies. These 180.8 gantangs Mualang yield 180.8 kilograms beras. Table 32 below, listing rice consumption in several countries, illustrates that the consumption of rice by the Mualang is, by comparison, quite high. Of course, it must be kept in mind that these are averages for entire countries and so, by definition, there are areas of higher rice consumption within those countries: "...e.g., in India from 230 Kg in the rice-eating eastern areas to a negligible

[15] Beras lama from padi of at least 6 months drying time is distinguished by the villagers from beras baru or new rice because the new rice fluffs up less in cooking so they consume 1.2 times as much, by volume, of the new padi to obtain the same satisfaction. Only beras lama will be used for calculations involving comparisons with other studies but calculations of rice consumption within this village will assume six months of consuming beras baru and six months of consuming beras lama.

Table 32. Per Capita Annual Rice Consumption (1974).

Country	Kilograms Rice
Bangladesh	151
Brunei	102
Burma	173
Indonesia	121
Laos	170
Malaysia, Peninsular	124
Malaysia, Sabah	133
Malaysia, Sarawak	155
Philippines	86
Sri Langka	87
Thailand	171
Viet Nam	156

Compiled from data in FAO, 1977. Provisional Food Balance Sheets 1972-74 Average. Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

quantity in the wheat-eating northwestern areas" (Pekkarinen 1973: 18). During the period of this study the 1978 rice consumption rate for Indonesia as a whole was 127 kilos per capita (Warr 1980: 11).

At this point it is expeditious to inquire into the caloric adequacy of this diet. The index consumption unit of 0.263 gantang per day of beras lama is 0.658 kilogram

beras lama. Given that one kilogram husked (but not milled) rice yields 3,600 calories (Adair 1972: 10), then the index consumption unit contains 2,369 calories. From Clark and Turner (1973) we learn that this index consumer in Southeast Asia working an eight hour day would require 3,795 calories. This means something on the order of 1,426 calories must be added to the rice from other sources such as fruits, catch crop vegetables, and hunting-and-gathering from the forest. It is of interest to note that it is the "padi baru" period of relatively higher calories from rice that the pressure for complementary foods turns to gathering in the forest, and in the padi lama period in which fewer calories from rice are consumed the villagers are enjoying the catch crops from the new ladang. It is easy to understand why there are no fat Mualang!

Provisioning the Social Order

To examine how far the yield of 26,107 gantangs padi for the year of 1979 is sufficient for the needs of the village, it is necessary to analyze the consumption of padi in further detail. At the present level of consumption of 264 gantangs padi per year for an index consumer (based on the consumption of beras lama for 6 months and beras baru for 6 months), 22,809.6 gantangs padi are required for personal consumption for the 86.4 consumer units listed in Table 21 of Chapter VI. This leaves 3,297.4 gantangs padi

for animal feed, seed, gawai expenses, church donation, and post-harvest losses, especially in storage. Below, in Table 33, are the estimates of the requirements for these categories based on the data in Tables 34, 35, and 36 as well as consumption data and the study of post-harvest grain losses by FAO, 1977.

Table 33. Subsidiary Rice Consumption.

Requirements	Total for Community
Animal feed (dogs, chickens)	3,102.5 gantangs
Seed	1,237.0
Gawai expenses (2 gawais were held)	344.48
Church contribution	535.5
Storage losses	1,566.4
GRAND TOTAL	6,785.9 gantangs

The twenty-eight dogs in the village received an average of one half mung beras per day each, thus consuming 511 gantangs padi over the span of a year. For feeding chickens 71 mung per day were consumed requiring, at this rate, 2,591.5 mung per year. Consequently, the total for animal feed is 3,120.5 gantangs padi per year. The seed listed here is that planted in September 1980, but there is every reason to believe it would approximate the planting rate of September 1979. The average church contribution was

Table 34. Seed Planted (September 1979).

Bilik		Gantangs
I.	Ragu	78
II.	Yok	56
III.	Yusak	86
IV.	Payung	41
V.	Akim	70
VI.	Saing	78
VII.	Gantung	83
VIII.	Gum	70
IX.	Jangi	50
X.	Nyelan	45
XI.	Mambang	65
XII.	Sekios	58
XIII.	Norce	45
XIIIB.	Lanas	62
XIV.	Nyawai	67
XV.	Talip	47
XVI.	Luya	46
XVII.	Banan	40
XVIII.	Sandoi	68
XIX.	Amoi	29
XX.	Haron	53

Table 35. Church Contributions (1979 season).

	Bilik	Gantangs
I.	Ragu	41
II.	Yok	
III.	Yusak	60
IV.	Payung	16
V.	Akim	
VI.	Saing	50
VII.	Gantung	40
VIII.	Gum	15
IX.	Jangi	20
X.	Nyelan	
XI.	Mambang	30
XII.	Sekios	35
XIII.	Norce	5
XIIIB.	Lanas	21
XIV.	Nyawai	7
XV.	Talip	15
XVI.	Luya	
XVII.	Banan	15
XVIII.	Sandoi	30
XIX.	Amoi	8
XX.	Haron	
	TOTAL	408
	MEAN	25.5

NOTE: Blanks mean that at the time of the survey, the household had not yet made its contribution. This is somewhat less than the total contribution of the villagers to the support of the church. It is common for the woman of the bilik to take a couple of mung of beras to church as an offering. Since attendance is irregular for most families, it was not possible to measure or even estimate the annual magnitude of this offering. Also it is customary to give one chicken to the preacher over the course of the year to assist him or her in providing the extraordinary amount of hospitality that falls to a person of this responsibility.

Table 36. Gawai Expenses: Harvest Gawai, 9 May, 1979.

Bilik		Rice in Gantangs	Total Expenses
I.	Ragu	23.9	Rp 39,840
II.	Yok	10.8	24,315
III.	Yusak	17.5	35,145
IV.	Payung	14.0	16,980
V.	Akim	13.5	37,155
VI.	Saing	8.5	18,500
VII.	Gantung	19.5*	25,125
VIII.	Biden	6.0	22,075
IX.	Jangi	7.0	25,600
X.	Nyelan	8.0	18,320
XI.	Mambang	8.0	19,850
XII.	Sekios	9.5	14,085
XIII.	Norce	6.6	12,090
XIIIB.	Lanas	4.9	9,820
XIV.	Nyawai	13.0	17,340
XV.	Talip	9.0	16,890
XVI.	Luya	5.5	13,275
XVII.	Banan	8.5	18,315
XVIII.	Sandoi	10.0	18,295
XIX.	Amoi	5.6	14,715
XX.	Haron	7.0	17,255
	TOTALS	215.3 gantangs	Rp 434,985
	Bilik Average	10.25 gantangs	Rp 20,714

*Includes ten gantangs beras given to helpers.

25.5 gantangs per bilik for a village total of 535.5 gantangs. Lastly, the losses in storage are judged by the writer's experience to be at the upper limit of the 2-6% loss range cited by the I.R.R.I. report for the Philippines in Sanders and Betschart (1979: Table XVI) and adopted by the FAO 1977 study of post-harvest losses. Thus, 1,566 gantangs are lost in storage. These figures, as tabulated in Table 33, bring the total subsidiary rice consumption for the village to 6,786 gantangs. When these are added to the personal rice consumption figure of 22,810 gantangs, the total rice requirement is 29,596 gantangs, which is 3,488 more than achieved, giving 88.2 per cent sufficiency for the community for the year. It was the general opinion of the villagers that this had been a less than average rice harvest.

The extent to which each household met its rice requirements was discussed in Chapter VI. Padi is stored in the family rice barn (durung) from year to year, and seven households had some padi left over from the previous year. Three households, Akim (bilik V), Luya (bilik XVI), and Banan (bilik XVII) had quite large stocks of rice. This was well-known throughout the area leading to many requests to borrow and to provide wage labor opportunities. Some rice may be traded when neither cash nor rubber are available; this is almost always on a small scale. The commonest occurrence is the unexpected visit to the village of

an itinerant trader with attractive goods carried in from Sarawak, such as obat (medicine), micin (monosodium glutimate which they like to add to the many kinds of wild greens they prepare to accompany the rice), and Milo (chocolate powder). The biliks of Talip (bilik XV), Luya (bilik XVI), Sandoi (bilik XVIII) and Amoi (bilik XIX) were observed to trade rice from time to time. Generally, however, exchanging rice for trade goods when your household is rice deficient is recognized to be unthrifty household economics. The Belitang Hulu area as a whole is regarded as a rice deficient area, drawing on imported rice during years of poor harvest.

It is in the partially-monetized sector of economic life that noticeable differences among households express themselves in different levels of consumption. Beyond the minimum subsistence standard, income is consumed as more tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, cloth, thread, clothes, pots and pans -- more of the same. But one should not get the erroneous impression from this list of material goods that the Sungai Mulau villagers live at a high level. Sugar-tea is served in the rice field to an exchange labor work party, if possible, but only rarely can it be afforded for meals at home. Cooking oil and kerosene for pressure lamps are reserved for gawais and other special social occasions. Only in the event of a "windfall" would it be possible to purchase a wall clock, a wrist-watch, a

transistor radio or a sewing machine. People do not commonly save toward purchases of this magnitude.

The level of well-being in the village extends over a fairly wide range but there is no qualitative difference apparent to the casual observer. Even the most advantaged households light the bilik with a kerosene lamp made of a swatch of twisted cloth stuck into the top of a sardine can, eat the monotonous customary diet of rice and greens, and wear clothing nearly beyond identification as apparel. The differences between the better-off and less-well-off households are largely quantitative and so are revealed only by systematic surveying.

Table A1, Durable Property Inventory, in the appendix shows that the better-off households have more, but not different, material possessions. The same table lists the apartment areas of the biliks which likewise show a correlation with well-being. The Mualang are quite aware of this correlation. To have a spacious bilik is an expression of well-being and a source of pride and admiration. The analysis of menus collected from selected households over extended periods revealed that better-off households consumed sugar-tea, Chinese noodles, sardines, condensed milk, etc. more frequently than less-well-off households, but, even here, none of these items were common fare. They serve only to provide a slight respite from the repetitious rice and greens diet, with boiled cassava root used to

stretch the rice supply. Table 29, Productive Property Inventory, in the previous chapter shows no great disparity among households except perhaps a weak correlation between the number of productive rubber trees and level of well-being as would be expected.

With respect to quantifiable income, Figure 14 is an interesting way to present the data. It shows the quantifiable income achieved for the index consumer for each household; a measure of material well-being. Taking leave of statistics at this point in favor of intuition, there appear to be two levels of well-being in the community. The first level is slightly above the Rp 57,500 line, the index value of consumption, which supports that figure determined previously by other means. The Rp 90,000 line also has basis in the social conception of material well-being. This is the salary of the ministers in well-supported churches as well as of the area church superintendent and, thus, represents a local conception of the "good life." Teachers' salaries in government schools range up to and beyond this figure as well. The year under study being a "windfall" year in terms of rubber prices, several advantageously structured households were able to achieve the good life. The concept of a "socially-defined of well-being" is important to the argument in the final chapter concerning the character of primitive economic life. A certain amount of uneasiness is appropriate to assessing

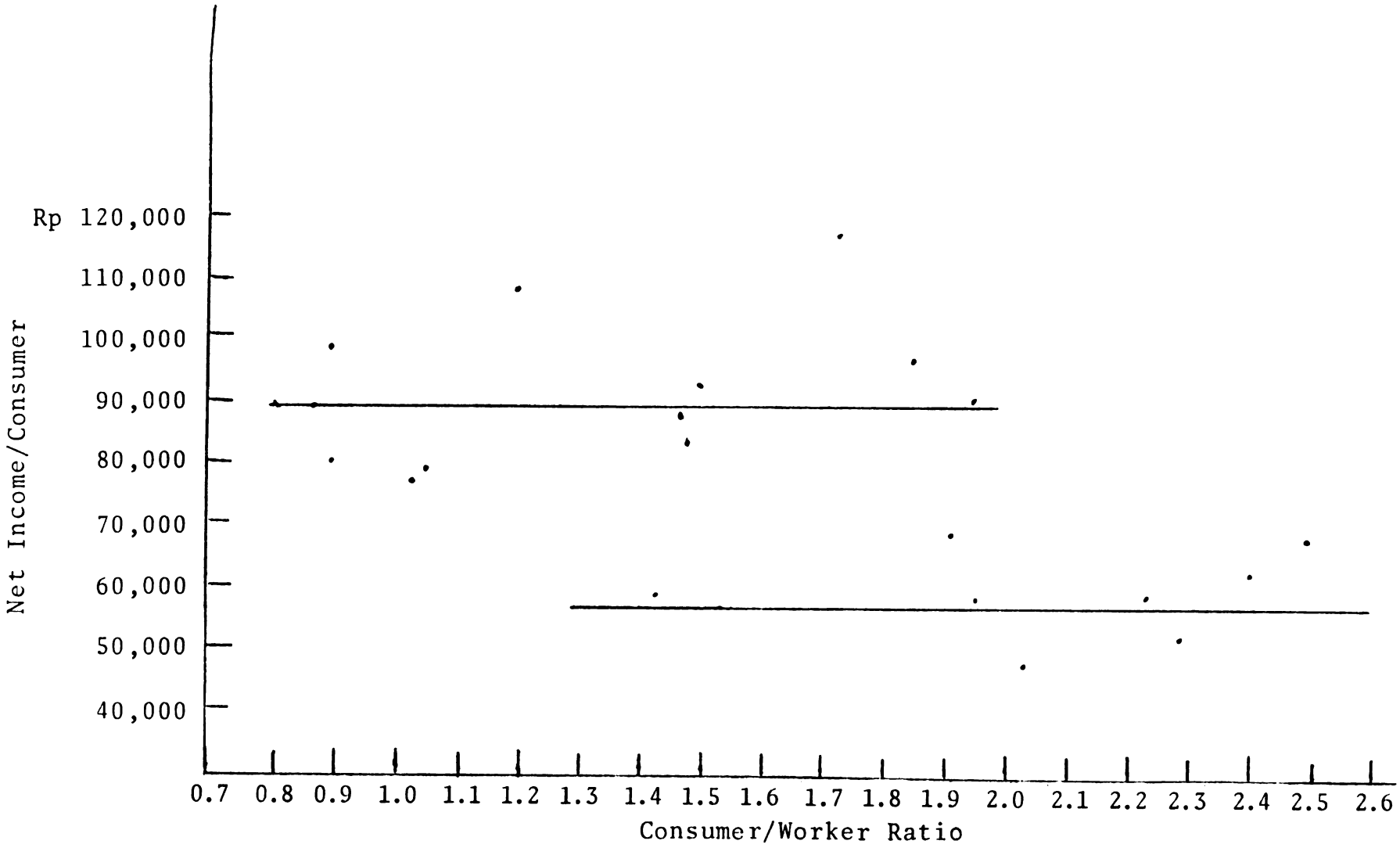

Figure 14. Net Income per Consumer for Each Bilik.

this figure because in Sahlins' scheme it is a "cultural fact" instituted in the sociopolitical order, and "pricing cultural facts" (1962: 1069) is anathema to the general thrust of a substantivist economic anthropology. Nonetheless, the case at hand is strategic in this regard because of the presence in the community of people who are salaried at the "local conception of livelihood."

A fairly wide range of well-being in a community has probably long been characteristic of traditional Mualang society, as it has of most hinterland Southeast Asian swidden agriculturalists. Although much of the material abundance of households is expended in personal consumption of more of the standard array of trade goods, wealth also takes the form of durable goods. Heirloom property, such as Chinese jars, brass gongs, brass trays, silver jewelry, etc., was the form wealth took before the present array of consumable trade goods was available, and is still in the possession of nearly every household. Such property is dwindling fast, however, as it is commonly sold to provide a ride in the missionary airplane for medical care at the hospital on the coast or for other such emergencies.

There are no particular material goods that signify a high level of well-being or command prestige. There are no "spheres of exchange" (Bohannan and Dalton 1962) and no sociopolitically instituted control over women as a reproductive resource through mechanisms of wealth. Certain

goods of high value such as sewing machines, wall clocks, transistor radios, and wrist watches are not so much prestige goods as "windfall" goods although such goods would not seriously be considered by a household that perennially fails to obtain sufficient rice for its needs. Households with more than average material wealth are referred to as "urang berada" ("people who have it"). Wealth is not "displayed" nor "conspicuously consumed" in such an intimate community in which there are no differential social statuses to validate. On the other hand, there is no secrecy attached to wealth since the wealth-leveling mechanisms have been as weak as the wealth-preserving mechanisms in these highly egalitarian societies. There is, of course, an important distinction between inherently egalitarian societies and those that tend toward an egalitarian outcome through the agency of leveling mechanisms, with respect to the potential for political autonomy and dependency.

Wealth is not cumulative in Mualang society. It will be seen below that surpluses are not put back into economic activity for an even greater product, except by traders, and the distributive system provides no opportunities to economically exploit one's fellows. Further, in recent years it has become common in inheritance to divide a bilik's property more or less equally among all the children which mitigates wealth accumulation.

It is anticipating later material slightly to make the point that wealth is most importantly the outcome of hard

work in Mualang society. In this context, those who are economically successful are widely admired although wealth is not a source of political power. The prevailing egalitarian tone of community life makes obligating people economically for political ends unacceptable. However, that is not to say there is no relationship between wealth and one's standing in the community. Economic success is one test of a person's fitness for assuming responsibility in the village's public life. In this primus inter pares - style polity, leadership falls to one by acclaim rather than striving to assume it.[16]

Because the direct relationship between work and wealth is known to all (that is, work is a necessary but not sufficient condition), in a society such as this where politeness and the formal consideration of other's feelings are cultural hallmarks, cultural rationalizations about economic success and failure facilitate agreeable treatments of these matters in polite conversation. The term betuah means to always have good fortune. It is clear

[16]David Price in his study of Nambiquara leadership tries to answer the question: why do men take leadership positions in societies in which there are no compensations? Commonly it is "the leader who gives things up to the community" (1981: 701). He decides: "I suspect that the answer lies somewhere between a sense of responsibility to his kinsmen and a desire to avoid being led by someone less competent" (Ibid. 697).

that there are some people who put in about the same effort as everyone else but invariably obtain better than average results. There are certain people, referred to as urang rasi, who continually get more game when hunting and more fish when fishing so that "they always have good 'sayur'." People who perennially fail are said to have no tuah in their bodies. In specific glaring cases such as Pak Nyawai of bilik number XIV, it is widely held that his unlucky fate is the consequence of his unacceptable relationship with his father-in-law Pak Kudul. These two men have not spoken to each other for several years, the conflict seeming to have centered around Pak Nyawai's spotty church attendance and his refusal to quit smoking. In consequence, Pak Kudul takes his evening meal and sleeps on the longhouse veranda to avoid unpleasant interaction with Pak Nyawai. He enters the undersized bilik of this most unfortunate of all families during the day while Pak Nyawai is off working. To not give due respect to the father-in-law is a most serious violation of Mualang social norms so the lack of economic success, in this case, is thoroughly understandable. Domestic disharmony of different kinds also afflicted biliks II and XI which likewise failed to achieve economic success during this period.

The point was made earlier that dry rice cultivation in hinterland Borneo is a somewhat risky form of production. When this fact is combined with the fluctuations of prices

on the world rubber market, it is understandable that most households have experienced some economic failure from time-to-time so several "safety-net" strategies for failure are available. Failing to achieve enough rice, the household taps rubber to trade for rice, stretches the rice they have by cooking it with cassava root, eats more meals of cassava root than they would like, borrows rice from kinfolk or other urang berada, and works in someone else's fields for a wage of padi. Doing without is an adaptation all families in this hinterland isolation handle deftly. Not only are they resourceful in the extreme, but they also have forest resources and cassava to provide a cushion for failure. It is clear that "failure" is a relative term denoting lack of success in providing sufficient rice for the household's requirements. In this sense several households fail predictably year after year, a condition referred to as "sakit idup," "to live a painful life." In an intimate community such as this in which everyone possesses numerous kin ties carrying the moral obligation to provide aid, however, it would be impossible to suffer noticeably. Should a destitute family complain of long not having eaten rice, rice would be made available on a cooked-plate basis. The rice, having been cooked, moves from the category of a commodity for which balanced reciprocity is appropriate to the category of food for which generosity is required. This discussion of economic failure in Mualang society

should be concluded with the point that in a truly egalitarian polity such as this failure must be a legitimate option.

The Organization of Exchange Transactions

Chapter II presented the position that exchange is one of the three economic event sectors that require analysis for the purpose of discovering the logic of the economic order residing in "distribution." In this analysis exchange is characterized as "all those acts...that shift control over or rights in an economic good from one individual to another -- giving, borrowing, lending, selling, buying, bartering" (Cook 1973: 812). In Chapter V the various forms of "wage labor" and trade were discussed in so far as some quantification could be attached to them; they provided a sort of quantitative economic context of the community within which material provisioning decisions were taken by domestic units. We also saw that the culturally instituted forms of exchange fall along the reciprocity continuum from balanced to generalized. In fact, this segmentary scheme of reciprocities, from generalized through balanced to negative as drawn up by Sahlins (1965), fits well the community Sungai Mulau. Special considerations in exchange with close kin can be seen as a weak generalized reciprocity. Balanced reciprocity applies to more distant relatives and neighbors and negative

reciprocity is acceptable for distant people toward whom one feels no responsibility. We have seen that the wage for work in the rice field is qualified to give close kin special consideration. During and shortly after the Second World War when the Belitang Hulu area had a reputation as a rice surplus area and families of other tribes (including the Iban) traveled here to labor for rice, the conventional rate of one taken (= 5 gantangs) per day held only for fellow villagers and kin. The wage to outsiders was negotiated to as low as 2 gantangs for a day's labor. Perhaps the negative pole of reciprocity is most dramatically demonstrated by the legitimately feared threat of receiving a cup of poisoned tea from the hosts of a distant village where one has gone to make claim on the harvest of a fruit tree to which one has inherited rights. A person with an obvious excess of some non-economic good can be asked to share it (bagi) with the implied understanding that, though no exact compensation is specified, such generalized exchanges usually balance out in the end. One must be careful, however, not to overdo this and attain the reputation of an "urang minta-minta," i.e., someone who is always asking for something.

For the most part, balanced reciprocity is the prevailing mode of reciprocity in Mualang society. To put it more strongly, the societal norm is that one does not take advantage of one's kin and fellow villagers. One may be a

bit secretive about the terms of inter-kin transactions but, in fact, all economic transactions are subject to public disclosure. Although a wage rate, loan rate, or price might be qualified slightly by considerations of kin ties, these are just subtle variations of the powerful general rule of balanced reciprocity among households in regard to decisive economic goods. It must be kept in mind that even favorable rates among kin are reciprocated in a more or less balanced manner. Kin are found living together in kin clusters for, among other reasons, the advantages of kin-qualified economic relations, but it would be unacceptable to exploit this privileged context in any long-run redistributive way. For example, the heads of bilik XI and bilik XVIII are brothers but every year Pak Sandoi's bilik receives a surplus and the bilik of Pak Mambang fails to get enough rice for its needs. It follows from such pronounced and prolonged imbalance that their relationship is pretty much empty of economic content. Instead, the household of Pak Mambang lives in the kin cluster of the bilik of Pak Nyelan. Pak Nyelan and Bu Lutum, wife of Pak Mambang, are siblings and, since both households fail to achieve sufficient rice harvest every year, the reciprocity between them is easier to keep balanced. Enculturation seems clearly aimed at creating attitudes favoring balanced reciprocity. Children eating a snack on the veranda, for example, are not required to share with their companions. Adults even intercede in squabbles to assure that the sharing does not happen.

It should be noted that the economic exchange among households of the community is not based on an exchange of different kinds of products among complementary producers. For the most part, each household produces the same array of products for its own use. Exchanges among households generally center around temporary deficiencies and surpluses. The sharing of vegetables (sayur) provides an excellent example. The vegetable accompaniment to the rice meal is continuously exchanged in high volume among households -- most intensely among close kin. When women go to the forest to collect vegetables, they invariably collect more than they can personally use and deliver some of it to their kin living in adjacent biliks. Also, in the course of labor exchange, on any particular day the woman of the domestic unit may not go near her own rice field where she could collect vegetables so she will be given vegetables from the rice field in which she worked that day. In the manner of generalized reciprocity, strict accounting of these exchanges is not kept, but there is the expectation of future reciprocation with it all balancing out over the long run.

For those who fail to grow enough rice for their needs, borrowing rice from someone who has excess is a common practice. The balanced reciprocity rate is to return 13 gantangs for each 10 gantangs borrowed though it can be qualified by kinship considerations to a 10 for 10 rate.

The 13 for 10 rate is "balanced" considering the fact that the rice is borrowed when the price is dear and paid back at harvest when it is cheap. The rate is always negotiated and has been as high as 15 for 10. It is common to renegotiate the rate at payback time with the person extending the loan accepting 10 for 10 when the borrower has had another failing harvest. An option for the borrower is to return the interest in labor rather than in rice since the last thing a family short of rice wants to do is part with some of it. Formerly the rate of interest for borrowed padi was determined by the particular period in the agricultural cycle in which it was borrowed. From the time of clearing the undergrowth and cutting the trees to planting, the loan rate was 20 gantangs returned for 10 borrowed; from planting to the maturing of the corn the rate was 15 for 10; and from the time the corn was ripe until the padi filled out the rate was 10 for 10.

Table 37 depicts the rice borrowing transactions in Sungai Mulau during the 1978-79 agricultural season. Contrary to expectations, the borrowing of rice did not carry much distributional (or redistributional) weight in the economy. In fact, the amounts borrowed are petty -- 10 gantangs of padi being typical. This amount, when processed, yields 2.5 gantangs beras which will feed an average family of four for about 3 days. This exchange merely frees the household for a short period from the press of coming up

Table 37. Padi Loan Transactions in Gantangs.

Borrower's Bilik Number	Other Villages	XX.	XIX.	XVIII.	XVII.	XVI.	XV.	XIV.	XIII.	XII.	XI.	X.	IX.	VIII.	VII.	VI.	V.	IV.	III.	II.	I.
	Loaner's Bilik Number																				
I. Ragu																					
II. Yok																					
III. Yusak																	40				
IV. Payung																	10				
V. Akim																					
VI. Saing																	10				
VII. Gantung																					
VIII. Bidan																					
IX. Jangi																	40				
X. Nyelan																	30				
XI. Mambang																	20				13
XII. Sekios																					
XIII. Norce																					
XIIIB. Lanas																					
XIV. Nyawai	10				10												20				
XV. Talip																					
XVI. Luya																					
XVII. Banan																					
XVIII. Sandoi																					
XIX. Amoi					10	20															
XX. Haron																	30				
Familes in other Villages					133																20

with rice, but such respite is most welcome to those households that are monotonously tapping rubber during the weeding season to buy the rice they failed to grow the previous year. When asked why they did not borrow enough rice to free them from rubber-tapping in order that they could devote more attention to the present crop and improve the chances for success, they all stated that that would be the height of folly because you could fail again and then you would never catch up.

Mualang customary law (adat) requires that all game, except birds and other small animals, taken from the forest, whether obtained by an individual, a small hunting party, or a village hunting party (which is common), must be distributed among all the households of the village in equal shares. The actual details of the division of the meat vary from one kind of animal to another, but there is a generalized pattern. The animal is carried to the longhouse by a party of men, the labor of whom is compensated by a small special share (geni) of the meat. The animal is placed on mats on the longhouse veranda for butchering. Those engaged in butchering likewise receive a geni of meat for their work. As specified by adat, a generous share of various parts of the animal is set aside as belonging to the hunter or the person firing the first shot to hit the mark. The rest of the meat is divided into about five qualitative piles and then chopped into small cubes by a

large party of men squatting in a circle around the butchering process. Each person assisting is compensated by a geni of meat. The cubed meat of the five different kinds is then mixed uniformly before the geni are removed to pay those who carried, butchered, chopped, and even divided the meat. In the case of a communal hunt, a geni is assigned to each person contributing a gun or a dog. Finally, the meat is placed in piles, one for each bilik in the longhouse. These piles are of two sizes with the larger piles going to those biliks with six or more members. An extra pile is designated to each pregnant woman in the village, and one extra pile is formed to be given to a guest, should one appear while the meat distribution process is going on. If no guest appears, this pile becomes the property of the hunter.

The hunter's family, having received its pile of meat in addition to the generous share for the hunter, is in the predicament of a serious meat surfeit. This condition is remedied by a further distribution of the hunter's portion among his kin including those in villages within walking distance.

This distribution of game illustrates several important principles of sociocultural organization and economic life among the Mualang: the egalitarianism of dividing the meat fairly among fellow villagers, all of whom have a claim; the commensurate rewards assigned to contributions of labor and "capital;" the special sharing among kin; and even

thoughtful hospitality. All of this contrasts sharply with pig distribution among the socially hierarchical Samoans, for example, where "a pig is divided into ten portions, each of which has its name, and is appropriate to people of certain rank or status" (Firth 1958: 74).

The necessity of distributing meat among one's kin attaches to all meat, no matter how obtained. If a household kills a chicken to provide a special meal for a guest, some small portion of that chicken finds its way into every relative's pot in the longhouse community. Likewise, a small animal exempt from communal distribution, a basket of small fish scooped from the stream, or even a kilo of salted fish purchased from a belukar is distributed among one's kin. On a larger scale, when the village is holding a gawai, it is customary for every bilik that can afford it to kill a pig to provide a delicious sayur accompaniment to the rice for its guests. But even the guests of those that do not kill a pig will not go without good sayur because the biliks killing pigs give portions of their pigs to all those not killing pigs.

The rules for the distribution of the catch from a communal fish-poisoning outing are egalitarian. Frequently such outings involve several villages, but each village is a unit for purposes of the division of fish. The local custom (adat kecil) in Sungai Mulau requires that all the fish be mixed up and then divided into equal piles, with

special shares going to those who provided the poison (tuba).

Sago tree or fruit tree harvests provide other examples of a temporary food surfeit that is dealt with by generalized distribution. The villagers are informed of the harvest by the owner of the tree and each bilik sends a person with a large basket to go along with the group into the forest to retrieve a share of sago or fruit. It is forbidden to take fruit from another person's tree without permission, but, if the owner is not present, one may take just enough to eat on the spot provided he leaves a sign of crossed sticks over the peels of the fruit consumed beneath the tree to tell the owner that he was passing by the tree when hunger struck and so respectfully went ahead and assuaged his hunger. As Marshall Sahlins has put it: "it is precisely through scrutiny of departures from balanced exchange that one glimpses the interplay between reciprocity, social relations and material circumstances" (1972: 190).

Some time during the interval between harvest and the beginning of the new agricultural cycle, each village hosts a post-harvest celebration. Such celebrations (gawai) are a central feature of Mualang sociocultural life and their analysis reveals the structural principles of social order. Furthermore, no custom better illustrates "the material provisioning of society." Theoretically, a gawai could be given to celebrate or proclaim any public purpose such as

founding a new village or moving the location of a village to a different spot on the river, but the major gawais are the marriage gawai and the post-harvest gawai. Only the latter will be considered for illustrative purposes.

As harvest activity dwindles in early May, the household's attention shifts to acquiring the provisions for hosting a very large-scale celebration. The time released from argicultural work can now be applied to tapping rubber to trade for the kerosene, sugar, tea, coconut oil, Chinese noodles, condensed milk, and condiments for the good sayur that will be required to give a respectable accounting of the family during these communal festivities. In the last couple of weeks before the appointed gawai date, the men of the village hunt communally 2 or 3 times a week to provide additional meat. This is preserved by smoking and at the gawai is served in individual bowls to each guest present for whatever ceremonies are to occur (marriage, adoption, property division, etc.) at the gawai. On the day before the guests arrive, the women spend the entire day preparing rice, especially the sweets made of glutinous rice that are served with the sugar-tea. Just before nightfall, the men slaughter the pigs and, after a late and leisurely meal of pork, the men gather on the veranda of the longhouse to finalize plans for the big celebration that will begin the following day. Drinking sugar-tea and eating fresh sweets in an atmosphere highly charged with

expectation, the men decide which villages are to receive invitations and young men are dispatched to deliver the invitations. Everyone is welcome without an invitation but it is a courtesy to notify the nearby villages that the party is being given. The women continue making sweets until quite late, frequently with the assistance of kin from nearby villages. The appointed morning finds the women making the last of the sweets. The men ready the kerosene pressure lamps and mend the ladders into the longhouse and any weak floor boards on the veranda that might prove hazardous. The logs and handrails across nearby streams and marshy areas have been attended to in the previous work service (kerja bakti) sessions, as has the cutting of weeds from the village paths.

At about midday the guests begin to trickle in, the first ones being the kin from distant villages who attend only in small numbers. Closer villages attend pretty much en masse with each village traveling in a group accompanied by the beating of gongs. The gongs formerly served to prevent the encounter of unfavorable bird omens but, with the coming of Christianity, the Mualang no longer fear the bird omens. Before the guest groups enter the village, they stop at a stream nearby, but out of sight of the village, to bathe and change into their best clothes. They then make a spectacular entrance into the village with the hosts firing off a very noisy twenty-or-so gun salute with their

homemade muzzle-loaders. Those not giving the salute rush the line of guests to "pull" their kin and special friends into a commitment to store belongings in their bilik and begin the celebration by taking sugar-tea and sweets there. It is requisite that each guest step into each bilik in the longhouse for sugar-tea and sweets. This activity consumes most of the afternoon. The aggressive hospitality that began with the individual biliks fighting over the line of guests continues through the tea-drinking tour of the longhouse. Each host is ever alert to see that no guest's tea cup gets low and no mouth is free from munching a sweet. By dusk each guest has fended off numerous invitations for the evening meal. The meal itself is prepared and distributed over the span of an hour or so since the vegetable accompaniment to the meat and rice is cooked communally and must be divided up among the bowls of pork; one to each guest. Each guest then takes his bowl into the bilik of his host where he is informally -- almost individually -- provided with rice and sugar-tea. He consumes the meal in a flash. The Mualang customarily eat very rapidly and no formality whatsoever attaches to eating. In less than five minutes the guests are back into the flow of activities on the veranda. During this "feeding" period the veranda is occupied by small groups of men in casual conversation. When the eating is completed and things are cleared away, the host bilik dresses up for the evening festivites. To

this point, in sharp contrast to the guests, the hosts have been in their everyday clothes. The evening festivities begin with a prayer service on the veranda in accordance with the standard Sunday morning service format, except that the visiting villagers are all likely to have groups prepared to "witness in song," thus giving the service exaggerated length. The prayer service is followed by any adat ceremonies that are planned. It is customary to schedule marriages to be celebrated at this time, thus reducing the gawai expenses of the village significantly for that year (all gawais are communal affairs). After the adat ceremonies, the pace of the celebration component picks up although the sound of the beating of gongs has been constant since the first approach of the guests. The youngsters begin to form into roving gangs of tea-drinking "enforcers." By now the guest have consumed very large quantities of food and tea and, understandably, greet further offers with some reluctance. To ensure that the tea drinking will go on uninterrupted, these bands of youngsters carrying gongs, a tea kettle of tea, a couple of tea glasses, and a plastic bucket of water to rinse the glasses in, push about through the crowded veranda selecting guests here and there to receive further hospitality. The guest invariably complies when he is surrounded by the band dancing in a foot-stomping, ear-shattering manner, and chanting a nonsense ditty to the pounding of the gongs. By now the focus of activity on the

veranda has become the area where several fine mats have been spread out as a dance floor and a gong and drum band has begun to accompany the dancing. All the dancing is performed by men, usually singly, and takes the form of personal interpretations of stylized dances acting out episodes in head-hunting raids. The dancing lasts the entire night; it is very bad form to try to get some sleep. An important job of the tea-drinking enforcers is to discover, with a bilik by bilik search, anyone who has tried to slip off for a rest and get him back into the flow of things with this manuever of aggressive hospitality.

The dancing dies away toward dawn and daylight finds people slipping off to the river to freshen up. A morning meal is taken in the same bilik as the previous evening meal, this time with much less preparation and distribution fuss. Sugar-tea drinking continues for those few who are not yet nauseated by it or who still have visits to make, but by now the level of aggression has diminished a bit. Presently the guest village groups begin to assemble for departure. Perhaps as many as half the guests have slipped out during the night, so if 800 attended, about 400 will be staging up for departure. A prayer for safe journey is offered and the guests descend the ladder of the longhouse in a long file to begin the journey home to the beat of the gongs. A parting fusillade of firearms as they head away down the path does not release them, however, from the grasp

of aggressive hospitality. Shortly they will come upon an obstruction in the path, commonly at a bridge or log across a stream, where several youths from the host village will be waiting. This gang is armed with several kettles of tea, a few tea glasses, a plastic bucket to rinse the glasses, and several sticks of charcoal and pig grease to mark any who are reluctant to receive a parting glass of sugar-tea. The action typically gets quite rowdy with brave lads "saving" their villages by chug-a-lugging entire kettles of tea, much smearing of charcoal and mud, and people breaking into dancing to the incessant gong beating. As the guests, having received until it hurts, "escape," the hosts slip back into the longhouse where things move pretty slowly for the rest of the day. The quezzy stomachs and frazzled nerves are soothed by catching up on lost sleep and the gradual return to everyday life.

Th host villagers will, over the span of the next six weeks, be the guests at several of these post-harvest gawais in a reciprocative manner. They will select from the gawai calendar to attend the gawais of the villages where their closer kin live -- attending perhaps an average of four gawais per season. Occasional marriage gawais occurring sporadically through the year give some social color to the intensive agricultural portion of the year, which is broken up for the most part only by the upbeat planting season (nugal) and the Christmas-New Year's holidays.

We see in the organization of the gawai the simultaneous organization of the village by principles of both communal and domestic unit autonomy. The special aid and hospitality exchanged between kin is again evident. The principle of egalitarianism is demonstrated in everyone's being hosted in every bilik and in everyone's being entitled to accept an invitation to share the meal in anyone's bilik. The enthusiastic hospitality of the Mualang people is amply demonstrated and the balanced reciprocity nature of the large-scale gawai-giving complex seems apparent. Here, in this public context, changes in social status are proclaimed (e.g., marriage or adoption) and customary law (adat) case disposition is made for all to witness. This is no frivolous party but rather the sponsoring of a public context in which public business is transacted. When the households serve up a considerable share of their product for the gawai (see Table 36), they are up to nothing less than materially provisioning their society in the very best sense of the term.

In concluding this consideration of exchange, it should be emphasized that, however interesting the nuances of reciprocity, in the final analysis (in distribution) it is the balanced reciprocity between households that is decisive. The community production profile suggests this, and the analysis of the various categories of material provisioning behavior confirms it.

The Organization of Distribution

Distribution was seen in Chapter II to have had two conventional senses. The first of these, in which the values of the productive factors are related to determine some returns-to-factors outcome, remains intractable for economic life not dominated by market exchange. In its second sense, distribution is the outcome of the material provisioning process or the arrangements that determine the economic outcome. Thus, distributional arrangements can be said to integrate the other formal analytic categories -- the core event sectors. The position on distribution adopted for this study is that it is:

> the process of reward allocation of product to the factors of production ...the process that integrates these sectors as a circular flow system and articulates this system with the larger sociocultural system. It is the distributional process that regulates the circulation of wealth in a given society, and underwrites the structure and dynamics of its allocation among the various status groups of the social system (Cook 1973: 812).

Put in this way, distribution is what has been at issue throughout this analysis of economic life in Sungai Mulau. It remains here under this topic to merely draw the distributional features together to demonstrate how the economic order is an integrated set of narrowed possibilities organizing the material provisioning of this society.

In Mualang society, "the control of the means of production is in the hands of the producer." The factors of

production -- resources, capital, and labor --are not commoditized in Mualang society; that is, they are not bought and sold with the end of being combined in production at the risk of the buyer. The material resources in the Belitang Hulu are, for the most part, the forest, the streams, and the agricultural land the Mualang make from these. In the discussion of property rights and the land tenure system, it was noted that each domestic unit of the village community has use rights to all land that is not claimed temporarily by virtue of its having been cleared from primary forest within the time span of four croppings. The longtime occupation of this village territory means that most land is now available in common access. Likewise, the naturally occurring forest products are the property of any household taking the trouble to collect them. Although rights to fishing holes, tengkawang trees, and honey trees were once inherited, the Mualang assume that by now every bilik has longsince established an inheritance link and so these resources are treated as the property common not only of the villagers of Sungai Mulau, but also of all the inhabitants of nearby villagers that are related to Sungai Mulau people.

The capital involved in production in this low-level technological adaptation is quite meager and as a consequence, it can be fairly said to be generally available to all in the amounts required.

There have been many illustrations cited of the principle that labor invested in a valued good or resource establishes claims on it. The labor basis of value is a conception indigenous to the system under study. In the context of a system such as this in which everyone has equal access to the means of production, it is quite obvious that "wage labor" is structurally distinct from the context in which laborers have only their own labor to offer, giving rise to the opportunity for "surplus labor" extraction. It has been shown that here, in contrast, exchange labor in its various forms and even "wage labor" can be a mild form of generalized reciprocity. Still, labor is the decisive factor of production. It is the distribution of labor in the "domestic mode of production" that is determinate. The division of labor among ages and between sexes means that households, a complementarity of these labor statuses, will be variously constituted with respect to labor resources. Because the allocation of the product to the producers is quite direct, the household being the predominant unit of both production and consumption, the mode of production specifies unequal potentialities for materially provisioning the household. It is obvious that these are precisely the features of the "domestic mode of production" proposed by Sahlins (1972: 74-99) to be lurking "structurally" beneath the sociocultural order of certain kinds of primitive societies. In this society, however, they are actually instituted -- a

possibility Shalins' analytic scheme permits only in the peasant economic context.

In the discussion of consumption, it was clear that differential consumption by households correlated directly with differential production outcomes, the consequence not only of the range of household consumer/worker ratios but also of the prevailing balanced reciprocity among households. With spheres of exchange lacking, household surpluses are either stored or converted to consumer goods, and wealth takes the form of a higher level of consumption of consumer goods. Since wealth is not put to political or productive economic uses and there is no validation of differential social statuses, wealth is emptied of most of its sociopolitical content. The practice of heritable wealth being divided more or less equally among the children has in recent years become the common mode of inheritance. An important feature of wealth in such a context as this is that it is not cumulative. Each new separate hearth (bilik) is established with an unusually egalitarian set of life chances. In the course of the family life cycle, the bilik will pass from favorable to unfavorable and again back to favorable consumer-worker ratios. The shape of the community production profile in Figure 12 attests mathematically to this distributional state of affairs. It is the relations of distribution that make sense of the community production profile.

One of the strengths of economic anthropology through the years has been the attention given to how wealth is accumulated and distributed and the uses to which surpluses are put. Such considerations have long been recognized as socioculturally specified and, thus, a special contribution anthropology can make to a comparative economics. Wealth was considered above from the personal consumption perspective; it is instructive to look at it now from the community perspective on surplus. The net income of the community (excluding biliks V and XIX, one of which perennially attains a surplus and the other perennially a deficit), is Rp 6,109,121. The income required for the minimal level of well-being for the community (based on 79.9 consumers) is Rp 4,594,250, yielding a 33 per cent "surplus" for the village as a whole. This surplus, however, is not for the most part put to public purposes. To get at the expenditure on public purposes a different tack must be taken. Table 36 shows the post-harvest gawai expenses to be Rp 434,985. Removing biliks V and XIX as previously, this figure becomes Rp 383,115. Adding 60 per cent of this figure for a second marriage gawai in which 60 per cent as many guests were provided for gives a total for both gawais of Rp 612,984, which is 10% of the community net product. Church contributions (Table 35) have a total value of Rp 71,585, which is 1.17% of the community net product. Finally, public work service (kerja bakti) constituted 5.9% of all workdays invested in

production. Although combining these figures is a bit like adding apples and oranges, the total comes to 17% of measured production put to public purposes. It is clear that, for the most part, this society materially provisions itself indirectly through the efforts of the domestic unit.

In the discussion of exchange, although all forms of reciprocity were documented as existing simultaneously, it was balanced reciprocity with respect to the important commodities of rice and rubber that was decisive for the system of distribution in place. It is, then, a fair characterization of distribution in this society as a highly egalitarian ordering of the economic possibilities. Furthermore, the anticipation of a high level of correspondence between the economic order and the sociopolitical has been fulfilled since Sungai Mulau quite clearly is an egalitarian polity.

There is one final distributive aspect that requires consideration. This will illustrate the point that, however much distribution might be said to integrate the economic system, it is in the exchange event sector that economic behavior most intimately impinges on the sociocultural. This final aspect is distribution within the domestic unit.

Within the domestic unit, generalized reciprocity dominates relationships. It is not just the obvious fact that the returns to labor are not carefully calculated, but, further that the generalized reciprocity that provisions the dependent young, aged, and infirm can be manipulated

exploitatively. The domestic unit draws an economic "curtain" around the social entity in which dependent people can be provisioned in a context of reasonable expectations of returns through the life cycle via generalized reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity contains the moral component of responsibility appropriate to interdependence and this interdependence is founded on kinship relatedness. This moral component of generalized reciprocity diffuses beyond the domestic unit along the lines of cognatic kinship. This is so because this economic curtain often proves to be unrealistic. As Sahlins has put it: "Almost every family living solely by its own means sooner or later discovers it has not the means to live" (1972: 101). The domestic unit, organized to provide boundaries to the interdependence of generalized reciprocity is thereby put into tension with the moral component of reciprocity among kin who could, on the basis of moral claims, seriously disturb the intra-domestic context of reciprocal expectations. Balanced reciprocity among kin is the resolution of this social organizational contradiction, but, as the analysis of exchange has revealed, it is an uneasy resolution. This is where the tension in the sociocultural order lies. The dominant feature of marriage in this society is the struggle with the problem of the maintenance of economically viable domestic units in the ceremony of bepinta' (see Chapter III). This same struggle lies at the heart of the very common

practice of adoption (ngangku' anak). The sibling cluster arrangement of biliks in the longhouse community illustrates graphically the resolution of the tensions over where the boundaries of the domestic unit will be drawn. The ideal of keeping the married children together with the parents around a single hearth enjoying the material advantages of a favorable consumer/worker ratio is only rarely realized. Recall that the very deliberate complementarity of roles within the domestic unit attempts to provide a "practical reason" (Sahlins 1976) for the appropriate generalized reciprocity. Sooner or later, however, someone begins to calculate the economics of the relationship and, because that is anathema to generalized reciprocity, the compound domestic unit comes apart. Beyond the domestic unit, the lines of cognatic kinship continue to carry, even if only in a latent form, the load of moral responsiblity that, on the occasion of a political episode in the longhouse community, manifests itself as kinship-ordered factions. The domestic unit, surrounded by the kinship field of irreconcilable reciprocity potential, is the armature of the social movement. This study lends support to the idea, running through the work of Mauss and Polanyi to Sahlins, that exchange is the fundamental social act and its instituted modes are decisive for the sociopolitical order.

CHAPTER VIII

APPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY TO MODELS OF TRADITIONAL ECONOMIES AND TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

This study attempts to understand the economic life of the village of Sungai Mulau in its ethnographic uniqueness. To avoid forcing on the data particular concepts and categories from specific economic formations, Godelier's "formal model of a possible economic system" (1972: 262-279) was used. The case can be further elucidated by attempting to fit it to the relevant anthropological models. It was, in fact, the uncertainty of the appropriateness of the conventional anthropological models that provoked the design of this study from the start. This final chapter takes up several issues involved in these problems of the applicability of anthropolgical models. The analysis thus far has touched only tangentially upon the articulation of the community with external economic forces. It is obvious that the community cannot be understood as an isolated entity, because it is influenced to some extent by an encompassing economic and political order beyond its borders and beyond its powers to exert influence of consequence. The character of this articulation is at issue both in placing this village in its larger economic context and also in the considerations of the fit of hinterland Bornean societies to the

predominant anthropological models of tribal and peasant society.

Problems with the Tribal Model in Hinterland Southeast Asia

Several writers have expressed difficulties with the use of the tribal model in analyzing hinterland Southeast Asian societies. Izikowitz (1951) refers to the Lamet of Laos as variously tribal and peasant from one page to another; however, it is clear that he decides them to be "hill peasants." For analyzing the Chin of Burma F.K. Lehman (1963: 2) coins the term "subnuclear society" because he feels that the relationships of the Chin with the Burman civilization make them "distinct both from peasant society and from purely tribal society." Further, he states:

> This category comprises a whole series of mountain-dwelling peoples in a region stretching from Assam across all of mainland Southeast Asia and into the tribal area of Southwest China. The Chin represent only a small segment of a wide arc of variation within this broad type of tribal peasant society and culture (Ibid.: 224-225) (Emphasis added).

Halpern (1964) in his Economy and Society of Laos documents how the socioeconomic organizations of the Meo, Khmu, and Lamet are complex mixtures of tribal and peasant characteristics. In Halpern and Brode's article "Peasant Society," they make the point that:

> Southeast Asia poses certain unique problems for peasant studies: although it contains historically old and complex nation-states, with literate traditions, for a complex of reasons the boundaries separating peasant from tribal society have not been clearly marked, and ethnic identities tend to shift over time. These factors are brought out in recent surveys and attempts to describe the cultures of the area (Burling 1965; Lebar, et al. 1964) and are documented in a specific case study in northern Thailand (Moerman 1967) and a survey of Laos (Halpern 1964)(Halpern and Brode 1967: 116).

Peter Kunstadter preserves the term "tribal" for the hinterland peoples of Southeast Asia but expands the model by dropping such characteristics as isolated, independent, homogeneous, and self-sufficient. This view also emphasizes that these peoples have for a very long time maintained contact with sociocultural entities of greater complexity and integration making the conventional model of tribal society not completely appropriate, but they also lack the features common to peasant societies. With regard to peasant society, Kunstadter states:

> The distinction made by Sahlins (1960: 408) and Wolf (1966: 2-4) between peasants and primitives does not hold in most of Southeast Asia. They argue that peasants, unlike primitives, do not control their own means of production (land and labor) (1967: 18).

Slightly amending the definition of peasantry for use in Southeast Asia, he proceeds: "Thus it is proper to speak of many of the tribal people as 'hill peasants' (Izikowitz

1951)" (Ibid.). After pointing out these theoretical problems, however, he goes on in the introduction to Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations to speak of all non-majority ethnic entities with the expression "tribes and minorities," thus avoiding the need to resolve the theoretical issues.

Marshall Sahlins, referring specifically to the works of Izikowitz (1951) among the Lamet, Geddes (1954) among the Land Dayak of Sarawak, and Freeman (1955, 1960) among the Iban of Sarawak, finds that the Southeast Asian hinterland peoples do not fit his tribal model of primitive society:

> Here is a set of peoples who, placed against the main run of primitive societies, offer departures in economy, and social structure as well, that cannot fail to kindle a comparative interest (Sahlins 1965: 179).

He decides that "Perhaps they are best classed with peasants" (Ibid.: 182). Later, in his Tribesmen (1968), he suggests that the "atomizing forces" resulting from increasing participation in market exchange account for the failure of these groups to fit the tribal model. He compares their "atomized" condition to the famous anomalous case of the Northern Algonkians in which extensive atomization was theorized to have occured soon after European contact.

The view taken here is that part of the confusion lies in the contrast of tribal with peasant society. These two

types of societies are not thoroughly contrastive. Strictly speaking, tribal society is the second of four levels of sociocultural integration constituting an evolutionary sequence based on the political organization of society. The tribal model is above all a political model. By comparison, peasantry is a "sub-state" sociopolitical entity -- a sociocultural entity to some marked degree encapsulated in a state-level polity. In this era of post-colonial nation-building, it is common to have tribal societies encapsulated in state societies as well. What is at stake in the distinction is surely the character of the articulation of the encapsulated society with the state. A common solution is to take up the matter organizational dimension by organizational dimension (i.e., technoeconomic, social, juropolitical, ideological). This "bundle-of-features" approach to the problem has been used, perhaps most comprehensively, with the African data beginning with the seminal article by Lloyd Fallers (1967), "Are African Cultivators to be Called 'Peasants'?" He concluded: "thus the traditional African villager was...a peasant economically and politically, but was not a peasant culturally" (Ibid.: 40). Although the outcome of the bundle-of-features approach is likely to be some composite designation, such as "tribal-peasant society" or some qualified designation such as "incipient peasantry" (Ibid.) or "post-peasantry," certain to spark controversy, the analytic exercise itself

is of value for the important questions it generates (cf. Schlegel 1976 for a Philippine study).

In the case at hand, Mualang society, although politically encapsulated within the Indonesian state, is nonetheless tribal in character (subject to the "subnuclear society" qualifications discussed below). Mualang life is experienced largely in terms of the concepts and categories continuous with the mythological past. Mualang life is socially organized in much the same way as was social life among their distant ancestors who dealt with the first crises of social order at Temawai Tampun Juah where the law was first laid down. In addition, the technological repertoire and the relations of material provisioning remain simple and traditional. Changes resulting from Christian missionization are a qualification of this generalization and require a brief digression.

This study does not attempt to minimize the impact of Christain missionization (sketched out in Chapter I), but it should be emphasized that too much can be made of the changes induced by missionization. Christian prayers may replace the ritual incantations and animal sacrifices of the now defunct "padi cult," but the chicken dies nonetheless, and people are fed delightful, nutritious meals in the field after the supernatural world's cooperation is implored. It is probably as true of the Mualang as of the Iban that "religion is almost synonymous with an ordered

life" (Jensen 1974: 55; cf. Howes 1960). In this context the syncretizing capabilities of the Mualang must be given due respect. "Animatism" (Wallace 1966: 7) continues to inform native conceptions of illness with the consequence of occasional "backsliding" to seek treatment from native curers (manang) of neighboring tribes such as the Air Tabun or from the "dukun" of the Malays. Much to the chagrin of the missionaires, dedicated members of the congregation entertain at the same time undaunted belief in the power of potions to improve one's attractiveness to the opposite sex or to protect one from being poisoned while travelling among unfriendly tribes, and in the efficacy of magic that makes a man strong enough to carry extraordinarily heavy loads on his back. The missionized Mualang were as terrified of the "headhunter scare" (Bhar 1980) that swept through the middle Kapuas River valley during September, October, and November 1979 as any of the other ethnic groups of the area.

A second important point about the adoption of Christianity by the Mualang is that, although is is a "universalizing" religion (Dalton 1971: 237), the fact that the neighboring tribes have been resistant to missionization has deprived it of much of its universalizing potential. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that Christianity is very much a minority religion in Indonesia where 90 percent of the population is considered to be Muslim.

With regard to the question of the appropriateness of the fit of the tribal or peasant designation, it is, then, the economic dimension that is of greatest analytical importance for the Mualang case, as it has been for the earlier analyses of hinterland Southeast Asian societies cited above. But the economic dimension presents an especially difficult problem for this analysis because there is neither a model of tribal economy (Sahlins 1972: 76) nor a generally agreed upon model of peasant economy (Dalton 1971: 246-247). This seems to be the basis of the difficulties with previous efforts addressing the question of the fit of these models.[17] Instead of a contrast between tribal and peasant economy, the proper contrast is that between primitive and peasant economy based on the "part-society" concept that is key to the entire discipline of peasant studies.

Admittedly, much of what has passed for theory in economic anthropology has been developed negatively (Dalton 1967: 156). The most comprehensive positive conception of primitive economy is found in the work of Marshal Sahlins. A theme running through his work from 1960 to Stone Age Economics (1972) is that there is a qualitatively different

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[17] The cataloging here of references in the literature to difficulties encountered in applying the tribal and peasant models to the hinterland Southeast Asian cases may give the impression that some of these writers took this to be an important problem and made an effort to resolve it. In fact, I know of no systematic effort to deal with this problem.

kind of economic order called "primitive" that spans the levels of sociocultural integration from band through tribe to chiefdom. In brief, this primitive economic order is characterized by social relations constituting the relations of production and distribution (1960: 390-391; cf. Dalton 1967: 157). This social basis of economic order is in the morality of kinship relations specifying the rights not only to necessary productive resources, but also to mutual aid in the face of provisioning failure. In this context, the relation between wealth and political power can only be based on generosity obligating supporters. Wealth is not a mechanism providing economic leverage for taking economic advantage of ones fellows.

State-level society has political coercion based on the threat of physical force which disrupts the segmentary basis of tribal order and the social basis for organizing economic life. Peasant societies, being "part-societies" encapsulated within state-level polities, experience forces of political and/or economic coercion that separate the kinship order from the economic. Consequently, a household may not have morally-based rights to the necessary means of production, may not be able to make claims on kin in the event of failing to achieve the customary level of livelihood, and may be compelled by this predicament to produce material well-being to the advantage of better situated households. In such an economic milieu, the relationships among households

become insulated by balanced reciprocity for the benefit of articulating with an external source of goods constituting the socially-defined level of well-being in market exchange, or by external political relations involving the extraction of a "fund of rent" (Wolf 1966: 9-10).

Sahlins has not been explicit in his conception of peasant economic order. The predominant model of peasantry has been developed instead by Eric Wolf (1966). Recently George Dalton has called into question the proposition that the significant features of peasantry can be grasped in a single model (1971: 246). He criticizes both of the defining features of Wolf's conception of peasantry: that in peasant society the primary producers have lost control over the means of production and that in peasant societies economic surpluses are extracted from peasant producers in the form of a "fund of rent" to support political elites and non-agricultural producers. Without doubt, around the world, there have been various evolutionary routes to peasantry from quite disparate primitive economic forms. At an abstract level of conceptualization, however, perhaps there have been as few as 2 basic routes to peasantry and Wolf's disjointed definitions of peasantry reflect this difference: peasantization through political coercion and peasantization through economic coercion. Consequently, the socio-cultural model of peasantry as rural agricultural "part-society" located at the disadvantageous end of asymmetrical

economic and political power relations as found in the works of Redfield (1956), Wolf (1966), Foster (1967), and Shanin (1971) is undiminished in its usefulness.

It having been established that Mualang society is best characterized socioculturally as a tribal society experiencing rapid acculturation to the Indonesian expression of state society, mediated to some extent by Christain missionization, what remains at issue is to detail the economic consequences of this state society articulation to see the extent to which it is reasonable to designate the Mualang as primitive or peasant in economic terms. It is taken for granted that the economic context under study lies on the "periphery" of the world capitalist system, whatever model of these relationships one prefers (Trimberger 1979, Nash 1981). For this analysis, the interesting questions about the nature of the articulation are generated from the perspective of the local context.

Paying taxes, performing community work service (kerja bakti) and receiving development grants (uang subsidi) are the three prominant features of the community's economic articulation with the Indonesian national government. Taxes are commonly included in the wider definition of "fund of rent" extracted from peasants to support non-agricultural producers (Dalton 1971: 242, Roseberry 1976: 51). The taxes assessed on the Mualang villagers are so minimal that they do not begin to compensate even the local political offices

filled by fellow villagers. As Lerche has said of this very low "Ipeda" land tax:

> The philosophy behind it is that every citizen should contribute something to the public purse. The facts that, in the case of the rural land tax, much of the burden falls on people at or below the poverty line and that collections frequently do not cover administrative costs are usually overlooked. (1980: 40,42).

In this kecamatan, because there are no titles to specific plots of land, the camat's office merely announced an assessment against each bilik. Mercifully, the villagers did not pay even this tax in years they could claim a bad harvest and the Mualang are incurable self-detractors about their agricultural success.

The responsiblity for performing the one day per week work-service is allowed some local-level interpretation. Because in certain peak phases of the agricultural cycle the villagers skip work-service for the week, they average about 40 work-service days per bilik per year. The work is of direct benefit to the local community and is frequently devoted to carrying out the projects chosen by the villagers to expend the annual village development grant from the national government. The 1979 grant in the amount of Rp 400,000 interestingly figures out, on the 40 workday per bilik basis, to be a return of Rp 500 per day, a bit above the going wage rate in the area. These taxes and work-service obligations do not seem to constitute much of an

extraction of a "fund of rent" for the benefit of city-based power-elites and other "non-producers."

The point has been emphasized that much of economic life among the Mualang is traditional: traditional resources are combined in traditional ways to produce the traditional products that are allocated to consumers in accordance with traditional arrangements. The case has been made that Indonesian government imposition has had no great effect in this respect (cf. Mackie 1974: 343-344). It remains to consider in detail the character of market articulation, that other important source of change in traditional economic order.

The Continuum of Intensities of Exchange on the Market

Theories relating the features of external exchange on the market to change in traditional economic life invariably invoke the microeconomic position. The common depiction of market exchange intensity as a continuum from "pure subsistence" to "commercial production" by development economists (e.g., Lockwood 1971: 9-14; Wharton 1969: 13) makes the point. Ostensibly about market exchange, in fact, it is a continuum of microeconomic perspectives in much the same way as the "formalist" definition of the economic field smuggles in the microeconomics of the "commercial principle." The teleological nature of this scheme, in which the intensity of market exchange is directly correlated

with the degree to which economizing rationality guides the behavior of economic agents, is manifest. For interests other than "inducing" economic development such a negative conception of microeconomics in non-commercial economies is unacceptable. Above all, an anthropolgical economics is based on the presumption that primitive and peasant economic orders are not merely underdeveloped versions of our own, but rather have their own qualitatively different structures within which a unique set of material provisioning strategies is appropriate.

The positive models of primitive and peasant economic order referred to above have certain microperspective implications that are useful for this inquiry. Figure 15 is a modification of the market exchange intensity continuum with the few defining features of the microperspectives of these positive models imposed upon it.

The commercial principle dominates the economic context in which production factors are combined in proportions such that "their marginal value products equal their unit prices" (Weeks 1970: 28). This economic rationalization in the combination of production factors facilitated by market integration is the feature distinguishing commercial production from peasant production. When this rationality intrudes, in the form of prices, into peasant society where the production factors are not available to the producers in variable combinations because access to the factors of

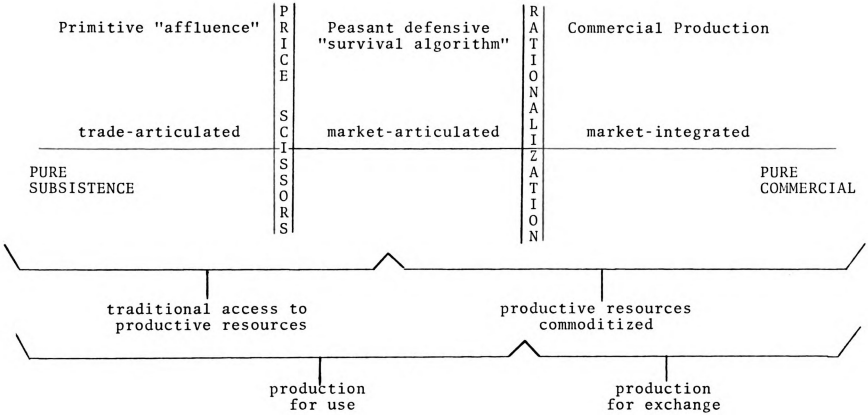

Figure 15. Continuum of Intensities of Exchange on the Market.

production are traditional aspects of the social order, the traditional order and its customary ways of materially provisioning that order are threatened (Fisk 1964: 158).

"Market exchange" has by now diffused into just about every corner of the world but market-integrated economic order is quite restricted in its distribution. In fact, much peasant economic order can be understood as a defense against the unacceptable forces of market organization impinging on hinterland economic life. The economic rationalization of agricultural production is dependently correlated with the rationalization of production in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy, a condition giving rise to the "price scissors" which trims away the realization of increased well-being from increased output (Georgescu-Roegen 1960: 8; Wolf 1966: 43). As Midwestern commercial farmers express it: "farmers buy retail and sell wholesale." Herein lies much of the explanation of peasant resistance to economic transformation or "peasant conservatism."

At a disadvantage with respect to the terms of trade with the more rationalized sector of the economy, the peasant sector is dominated by the rationality of "production for use" or "subsistence." Defensively the peasant producer strives, in the manner of a "survival algorithm" (Lipton 1968), to minimize risks in providing the socially-defined level of well-being rather than maximizing returns to factors (cf. Wharton 1971). The disadvantageous terms

of trade result in the socially-defined level of well-being settling near the capacity of production intensity for an average household at nearly worst prices (cf. Weeks 1970: 35, f.n. 7) in this traditional combination of production factors.

It is the price-scissors effect that differentiates the peasant from the primitive position. In the primitive economic context, the socially-defined level of well-being is typically below the capacity of the traditional production arrangements for even the average household, a condition referred to by Sahlins as "primitive affluence" (1972: 1-39; see also Fisk 1962, 1964; Fisk and Shand 1969; Jones 1969: 282). Primitive producers with traditional access to sufficient means of production can enter market exchange relationships to expand consumption possibilities as they please--or withdraw. Material goods of external origin are not primary goods in primitive economies. Consequently, they can be dispensed with when the terms of trade are not deemed suitable. Little influenced by the effects of the market price-scissors and the incessant struggle to compete to keep production economically rational, primitive producers tend towards "under-production" (Sahlins 1972: 41). Although both primitive and peasant producers produce for use, their different articulations with the market result in different responses to commodity price changes. The peasant producer frequently intensifies production (when he cannot switch

to a more advantageously priced product) to compensate for a drop in commodity prices. By contrast, the primitive producer, his socially-defined level of well-being not threatened, can slacken production of such commodities. In recognition of this dramatic difference between primitive and peasant societies in articulation with the market the external exchange relationship for primitive societies is designated "trade."

These few generalizations about the microeconomic perspectives in primitive and peasant societies do not, of course, constitute microeconomic models. The expression "microeconomic perspective" has been used deliberately to permit reasoning about the microeconomic perspective but to differentiate such reasoning from specific microeconomic models.

In such a small-scale study as this, it is not possible to specify with any confidence the relationship between the socially-defined level of well-being and production capacity --likewise the related "primitive affluence." Production capacity is not determined by merely technological considerations, but is as much qualified by the sociocultural system in place as the socially-defined level of well-being. There is little doubt that the Mualang could produce more by working more, but surely that is not an interesting observation. As W.O. Jones has said, "There is...in most societies the capability of increasing the labor resources that are

brought into a desired employment" (1969: 282). Sahlins has cautioned that the socially-defined level of well-being should not be viewed as a utility map of subjective satisfactions as is the case in Chayanov's work (1972: 88 f.n.). "To 'embourgeoise' the 'noble savage'" (1969: 24) in this way would cause one "to ignore the real differences in the way goods are handled in favor of apparent resemblances in the satisfactions gained" (1972: 127). Jones makes a similar point in criticizing Fisk and Shand's model (1969) relating underproduction in primitive societies to a low "demand ceiling":

> A new style in pottery or carving, the discovery or invention of new gods and of new ways to worship them (witness the medieval cathedrals), a charismatic leader with enthusiasm for war, or a new obsession with competitive feasts can provide the opportunity and incentive to direct labor in new directions, and so, in the view of the populations engaged, to enhance the national product (1969: 282).

At issue here are those mechanisms by which the increased participation in market exchanges "do violence to the very culture of the society concerned, as well as to its economic organization" (Fisk 1964: 158). Microeconomic models are inadequate for the purposes at hand because they ignore two more important considerations of the market-engagement process: the place of these goods in the local economic context, and the terms of trade between the local economic context and the external economy.

The Comparison of Primitive and Peasant Types of Articulation with the Market

Market articulation as part of the community economic context was discussed in Chapter V and seen to be dominated by the barter of rubber for trade goods of commercial manufacture. The analysis of these exchanges revealed a three-way movement involving rice, the basis of minimal well-being in Mualang economics. It has long been appreciated by economic anthropologists that exchange in a market can have different structural consequences for the local economy depending upon the place of those goods exchanged in the local economic context (e.g., Bohannan and Dalton 1962, Neale 1971, cf. Pryor 1977: 27). The inquiry here will follow this line of reasoning.

Significant changes have taken place in the past thirty years in the character of Mualang society engagement with the market economy. With regard to the position of rice in the exchange network, the increased availability of rice through external sources is the prominant feature. Traditionally several households in each village failed to obtain their rice quota in production much as they do today. Beyond resort to the "famine foods," the deficit could be made up by the exchange of rice among households. The loan-with-interest scheme discussed in Chapter VII was common for small-scale transactions while larger-scale transactions involved the exchange of heirloom wealth (brassware, Chinese vases, etc.) for rice. Under conditions of widespread harvest

failure, it was not uncommon for people to seek rice in other tribal areas enjoying a reputation for success in rice production. Rice could be obtained by the exchange of labor and/or heirloom wealth. Today, the access to rice on the market at government-controlled prices has led to the expectation on the part of all households that rice can be available everyday regardless of the success of the rice harvest if they are willing to compensate for production deficits with rubber-tapping. As will be explained below, the increased availability of rice has resulted in lessened emphasis on rice production, compensated for by increasing rubber-tapping.

Two important changes are interrelated here: a change in the kinds of goods available, and a change in the manner of supplementing rice production. Formerly, heirloom property, acquired in trade for rice surpluses and jungle products such as rattan and "native rubber," served to store wealth. Today, bilik families no longer strive to store wealth in heirloom property. This change from storing wealth as heirloom property to consuming wealth in the form of consumption goods is a significant change in the local economic order. Heirloom property as a store of value constituting an estate handed with pride to the succeeding generation charged with managing the bilik family estate has been replaced by the expanded consumption of material goods of external manufacture and the education of children.

The diminution of the bilik estate property has no doubt resulted in lessened emphasis on the corporate character of the bilik family, and a change, in recent years, in the conventions of the inheritance of property. It is less clear exactly what this change has meant with respect to production intensification. The acquisition of heirloom property as a motivation to produce rice surpluses and collect jungle produce has been replaced by the cultivating and tapping of rubber as a cash crop source of consumable commercial goods. However, this trend to increasing cash crop production has been qualified by certain features of rubber production that require consideration.

It is somewhat misleading to view rubber production as practiced in Sungai Mulau as a "cash crop." Rubber-tapping as described in Chapter IV has several interesting features that make it different from the typical cash crop. There are no purchased inputs. The trees are planted from seedlings they have germinated themselves on land plentifully available. The timing of rubber-tapping is completely at the convenience of the producer. Should the trees be ignored, the latex remains stored inside the tree for harvesting when prices are thought favorable, invulnerable to loss in both quantity and quality. The producer is thus uniquely in a position to respond immediately to favorable prices without entering into a sequence of production operations entailing risk. In these respects rubber-tapping more closely resembles the extraction of jungle

produce, the traditional Mualang source of trade goods, than it does cash crop production. Thus it occasions no fundamental changes in traditional material provisioning.

It remains to inquire into the place of the trade goods in the material provisioning arrangements. That there are no purchased inputs in the production process was established in Chapter IV. In fact, the actual "requirements" from the market are few. Those trade goods such as cloth, pots and pans, glasses, plastic buckets, etc., recently incorporated into the socially-defined level of well-being can be said to be cheap and superior substitutes for items previously of local manufacture. It is questionable that one could fairly speak of these goods as having elevated the socially-defined level of well-being when the time invested in weaving cloth from homespun cotton, making ceramic cooking vessels, etc. is taken into consideration (Jones 1969: 279). The remaining commercial goods might be spoken of as "luxuries" because they are not consumed under ordinary circumstances but rather are consumed in gestures of hospitality. Some families go weeks on end without entering a single market transaction. As recently as World War II, the entire hinterland area was forced into the "pure-subsistence" mode. The jungle still provides resources for the local manufacture of substitutes for trade goods. Furthermore, the jungle is the source of sago which, along with "non-economic" cassava, constitute "famine foods" that can be resorted to in difficult times.

Although the villagers have retained a remarkable capacity to do without, few would be interested in returning life to those earlier conditions of "primitive affluence." Aluminum pots and pans, tea glasses, colorful clothing, and serving sugar-tea to guests in the light of kerosene lamps are now securely embroidered onto the Mualang cultural fabric. Nonetheless it would be a mistake to think of the consumption of these trade goods in the manner of a "standard package." On the contrary, many households acquire these trade goods only sporadically and under extraordinarily favorable circumstances such as an abundant harvest, high rubber prices, or the fortuitous fall of the nut from the tengkawang tree (ilipe nut). In Chapter VI the figure of Rp 57,500 was determined to be the index of consumption for the community. It should be emphasized that this was the analyst's figure. The Mualang consumer knows no such figure nor does he consciously reason with any such conception as a socially-defined level of well-being.

The phenomenon of "windfall" seems to play a large role in the microeconomic perspective of Mualang economic life. The relationships between effort and yield in this hinterland "extensive agricultural" setting are quite irregular. Yield variability for tropical upland rice is uncommonly high relative to other horticultural regimes because of the vulnerability to rainfall variability. Unpredictable weather means that every rice harvest is a surprise:

"moisture stress is the primary limiting factor of growth and yield under upland conditions" (Yoshida 1975: 50). Furthermore, from the Mualang perspective, rubber prices fluctuate capriciously; and then every few years the tengkawang tree fruits to produce a most welcome source of temporary well-being. This windfall character of the material provisioning outcome gives consumption a "primitive," random quality. The Mualang materially provision themselves at the customary level by traditional rule-of-thumb relationships and a customary amount of labor; the outcome varies from failure to abundance with the consequent doing without and consuming luxuries. There are no "surpluses" reinvested to obtain a material advantage, only windfalls to be enjoyed. Measured by the customary conception of livelihood, several households in Sungai Mulau "fail" nearly every year, but this "failure" is qualitatively different from failure in a peasant society where the outcome can be starvation and/or material destitution. In fact, failure has so many qualifications in this context of hinterland forest resources available to all that failure is a legitimate material provisioning option. For these reasons the schema proposed by Gudeman (1978a, 1978b) to measure "distribution in the traditional sense of product shares" (1978a: 365) would likely be excessive quantification.

If trade goods occupy approximately 21 per cent of the socially-defined level of well-being, and have not elevated

this level significantly, then the terms of trade issue seems to depend largely upon the relationship between rice and rubber.

Conditions in Sungai Mulau appear to agree perfectly with Ward and Ward's characterization in their "Economic Survey of West Kalimantan." "For the average smallholder, rubber is less a source of essential cash than a means to supplement his subsistence agriculture" (1974: 38). The generalization can be safely made that households achieving rice sufficiency tap rubber less and barter what they tap for trade goods while households suffering rice deficiency tap rubber more and barter it for rice. It should be recalled from the discussion of production strategies in Chapter VI that to some degree the failure to produce sufficient rice is the consequence of tapping rubber rather than attending to the weeding of the rice fields. This is an elaboration of the earlier contention that dry rice offers little opportunity for self-exploitation in the weeding phase. It is not the strategy to weed all that can be economically justified and then turn to tapping rubber, but rather to tap rubber first and attend to the weeding of the rice as a lower priority. That this is not, as it may appear at first glance, a short-sighted, self-defeating strategy is revealed by a consideration of commodity prices. In Chapter V it was stated that the return per workday in padi production ranged from Rp 525 to Rp 626 for the cases

studied. With rubber at an average price of Rp 250 per kilo, the average 3 kilo outing would yield Rp 750 for a six hour outing with part of the day remaining to do farm work. This combination of rubber-tapping in the morning and weeding in the afternoon is a maximizing strategy in terms of labor input. In local terms it is "self-exploitation" -- self-exploitation in a double sense. It is compensation for a disadvantageous c/w ratio, and, in addition, rubber-tapping is less desirable work. Only households with advantageous c/w ratios can afford the luxury of attempting to achieve rice sufficiency. Those with disadvantageous c/w ratios feel compelled to enter the market to obtain sufficient rice. This analysis also squares nicely with the general consensus among both traders and villagers that higher rubber prices result in more rubber being tapped.

Surely this relationship to the external economy is not an extraction of surplus labor through the agency of market relations. On the contrary, the terms of trade are sufficiently attractive to reverse the typical production-for-subsistence to production-for-exchange relationships. The Mualang are exploiting the market for their own ends. They are not yet sufficiently integrated into the market economic order to feel the pinch of the peasantizing price-scissors. The Mualang remain in the early "advantageous" state of transition to market-integrated economic life. Understandably, they show no "resistance to market forces"

but instead embrace the increased opportunities to trade for a wider array of goods. To this point, market integration has not had the commoditizing effects on the local economic order required of the transition to peasant-style economic articulation with the external economic context. Purchased inputs in the production process are insignificant, land is not bought and sold, labor is not commoditized, and capital plays no role. There remains here a "primitive" mode of production.

Problems with Sahlins' "Domestic Mode of Production"

The characterization of Mualang economic life as "primitive" seems in contradiction to the finding in Chapter VI that the community production profile is of the "peasant" shape. It was noted earlier that Sahlins had on two occasions drawn attention to the fact that these hinterland Southeast Asian societies fit his model-building efforts poorly. The data presented make it possible to consider in detail the problems of the fit of Sahlins' DMP scheme.

It is obvious that the scheme works in so far as balanced reciprocity among households correlated with a Chayanov slope of labor intensity. At the outset, however, this case makes the point that the commodity production profile scheme cannot distinguish between a peasant community and a primitive community in which the households are

related by balanced reciprocity. In all fairness, it should be said that it was never intended to do so, but the case that this is a primitive economic order having been made, a more interesting problem of model fit presents itself.

The fact is that the Mualang case fits too well. The ten features of the DMP fit the conditions of Sungai Mulau very comfortably:

1. Underuse of resources
2. Underuse of labor power
3. Significant household failure
4. Division of labor by sex and age
5. Primitive relationships between man and tool
6. Production for livelihood
7. Chayanov's rule
8. Household retains primary relations to productive resources
9. "Pooling" closes the domestic circle
10. Anarchy and dispersion

To spare the reader tedious exegesis of each of these points, it should be recalled that Sahlins used many examples of slash-and-burn agriculture to illustrate his model and he specifically used the Iban data of Freeman to illustrate the key feature "significant household failure" (1972: 69-72).

The Mualang case fits too well because, in Sahlins' scheme, the actual institutionalization of the DMP in

primitive society is not possible (1972: 101-102). This is because balanced reciprocity among households provides no material exchange basis for political order. Under such conditions, Hobbesian "warre" of all against all should prevail -- political anarchy and social dispersion the consequence. The Hobbesian "warre" and the DMP must be suppressed by a sociopolitical order. It is this place of political order in Sahlins' models that is at variance with the hinterland Bornean cases. His models stress the relationship between forms and degree of political integration and material exchange obligating political followers. The hinterland Bornean cases defy the models because political process has an inordinately small role in ordering their social lives, as was argued for the Mualang in Chapter III. In a Mualang community, jural order -- not political maneuvering -- is to a very large degree the basis of orderly social life. I am proposing that the same argument can apply to the hinterland Bornean cases more widely.

The unusual feature of the predominance of jural order over political order in Bornean societies has implications for understanding the larger issue of why the hinterland Bornean ethnographic material has not been integrated into the ethnological literature. As George Appell has explained it, the cognatic societies of Borneo with their "loosely structured" kinship systems have not fit well unilineal kinship theory developed largely from the

African ethnographic work (1976). Especially intriguing is the fact that in Bornean societies "kinship plays such a minor role in establishing the social order" (Ibid.: vii). This is not meant to imply that kinship relations are not important in Bornean societies. All the ethnographic work from the area agrees otherwise. The point is that kinship relations do not provide the basis of social order. The social order ("peace" in Sahlins' model) is largely a jural order, not a "kinship polity." The lawful community is the outcome of a highly institutionalized customary law apparatus. The social organizational weight borne by kinship is thereby reduced. Consequently, the hinterland Bornean societies fit neither the politically oriented models of tribal society of Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service, nor the kinship dominated models of British structural functionalism.

Qualifications of such highly abstract models are probably necessary for every ethnographic region since every region presents its own idiosyncratic features based on ecological and historical peculiarities. Hinterland Southeast Asia constitutes such an ethnographic region of which the hinterland Bornean societies are a part. For the hinterland Southeast Asian societies, Lehman's concept of "subnuclear society" is particularly useful.

> Cultures and societies that abut on a civilization but are distinct from that nuclear culture and its society. They are not civilized, but neither are they

> primitive. The subnuclear society's adaptation to civilization is so complete that it is necessary to propose a categorical relationship between the two (Lehman 1963: 225).

It remains for subsequent publications to demonstrate how the predominance of the jural domain in hinterland Bornean social organization is accounted for by the relationships of the hinterland tribes to the feudal states that have dominated the lower reaches of the major rivers and coastal areas for centuries.

"The Way Mutual Dependence is Structured" in Mualang Society

The final consideration of the primitive/peasant contrast addresses directly the prominant features of these two kinds of societies and takes this inquiry closest to the substantivist presuppositions about economic anthropology that informed this study. This consideration is "the way mutual dependence is structured":

> ...mutual dependence is structured differently in peasantries compared to bands and tribes. The persons from whom one gets land, labor, and emergency support are different. To put it briefly, cash, markets, kings, cities, and world religion kill reciprocity of the many sorts Sahlins (1965) so usefully delineates for bands and tribes (Dalton 1971: 237).

According to Sahlins:

> Oriented each to the market, the accumulation for which is won at the expense of sharing among themselves, peasant households may appear as the so many potatoes in a certain

> well known sack of potatoes. The system is socially fragmented and segmented economically at the household level. At base matters are often the same in primitive society. But there the homebred self concern of domestic groups is sublimated by extensive kinship, perhaps also chieftainship, hence compromised by some interest in other's welfare (1971: 32).

Several more examples of this idea could be given. What they all boil down to is that the economic and political forces that create the peasant "part-society" predicament intrude into the traditional primitive economic and political dimensions to autonomize the household production units to the effect of stressing the social structuring of mutual dependence. The extraction of "surplus product," whether by the press of feudal landlords or by market integration, requires very definite production units to be unambiguously accountable. In the case of market integration, the "economic" and "instrumental" logic is destructive of the social logic based on the moral imperatives of loyalty, support, assistance, etc. As Sahlins has put it: "It is impossible to organize the social system on a kinship basis and at the same time countenance transactions which maximize personal advantage" (1960: 409). The economic dimension, by an economic and instrumental logic of its own, comes to make organizational demands on the social dimension, a reversal of organizational arrangements in primitive societies where social relations are at the same time the economic relations.

The structuring of mutual dependence in Mualang society takes social forms, specifically, the kinship cluster and the village into which the bilik family units are organized. Kinship relations determine the residence of the villager right down to the exact location of the lawang apartment in a cluster of close kinsman. Kinship relations specify the moral obligation to come to assistance of one's kinsmen in the event of need. The natural domestic exchanges of everyday life are more intense among kinsmen and are qualified by considerations of kinship distance.

The village has traditionally been the predominant context of jural and political order and bears heavy weight in economic organization. Being a member of a particular village entails the entitlement to use the material resources of the village. Certain kinds of production activities, such as hunting and work service, are communal in organization and certain products are distributed communally. That sharing is fundamental to traditional village social organization is attested to by the adat prescription that a political faction or an individual party unwilling to share game or fruit with the entire village is required to demonstrate this publically by surrendering up a special share to their fellow villagers in a final division as a sign of their intentions. This is a prelude to withdrawing physically from the village as soon as new accommodations can be arranged. A similar sign is made by a bilik moving out of

a longhouse community on amicable terms to assume a position in another longhouse community. The village constitutes a labor exchange permitting a village-wide straddling of the optimum planting and harvesting dates, thus spreading the risks of bad weather and crop pest infestations. The village participates as a unit in the required celebrations and ritual performances of marked events in the social lives of all its members. The case is clearly established for a social, even kinship, structuring of mutual dependence.

It is true that kinship and village social relations can be important in peasant social life, but they are much reduced in their capacity to organize social life by structuring mutual dependence. The moral imperative component of these relations yields to an optimizing calculus as a household's circumstances change. Correlatively, non-kinship, common-interest associations, and "contractual" relationships come to bear heavier organization weight.

It follows that, since the economic basis of order is not decisive for the organization of economic relations in primitive society, but these bases are found instead in the social and political order that is materially provisioned, the production mode itself lacks the possiblity of defining the character of the economic order. From the material provisioning of society perspective, attention in this respect is paid to the category of distribution which specifies the economic possibilities inhering in the socio-political order, as argued in Chapter II. Nearly all the

features of the structuring of mutual dependence in Mualang society are distributional features. It is the distributional features that "embed" economics in social organization. The ideal of balanced reciprocity among households correlates nicely with the ideal of social egalitarianism and the low level of political integration in Mualang society. It is in the detailing of the customary arrangements of distribution in a particular case and in the comparison of these "structural possibilities of different systems" (Godelier 1972: 277) that the possibilities of an "anthropological economics" lie. That we can have an "economic anthropology" at all requires the imposition of our categories and concepts on other societies at the risk of a certain amount of conceptual violence. The study of economic life in primitive societies makes this anthropological predicament doubly dramatic because it is "looking at primitive society from the wrong end" (Baudrillard 1975: 75).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.A.

GLOSSARY

adat	Customary law and customary behavior.
bagi	To share with others.
banet	The traditional term for a swamp rice field.
bekuli	To work for a wage.
belukar	Itinerant, small-scale trader.
bepinta'	The ceremony in which the prospective marriage partners request each other to join their parents' bilik family upon marriage.
berandau	An informal group conversation.
beras	Hulled rice.
bilik	The family room of the apartment; the corporate family.
bilik lawang	The household; the corporate family.
binyau	To attract a large party of laborers to the task by killing a pig for the mid-day meal.
bunga	Interest paid for borrowing.
camat	The Indonesian government officer directing the affairs of the kecamatan into which the villages are organized.
durung	A padi storage barn.
gawai	A celebration of a socially significant event involving feasting.
kampung	A village; primary forest.
kepala kampung	The Indonesian term for the village chief.

kerja	To work.
kerja bakti	Work service on village building and maintenance tasks as required by the Indonesian government.
kunsi	To share rights in property.
ladang	The Indonesian language term for a rain-fed rice field; same as padi bukit.
lalang	The "alang-alang" tall grass that takes over infertile soils (Imperata spp.).
langkau	A field hut.
lawang	The complete apartment; door; the family.
manal	First cousin. First cousin marriage among the Mualang is incestuous.
mpalai	A small supplementary rice field.
nampil	A marriage of moderately distant kin with the effect of bringing them back to be closer kin.
ngangku' anak	To adopt a child.
ngangsang	To work for a wage.
nganjung ramu	Gifts given by the family of the male to the female at the visit to make the marriage proposal.
ngemumu'	To work alone.
nguang	To join the bilik of one's spouse upon marriage.
padi bukit	Rice planted in upland soil; dry rice.
padi lemaung	Rice planted in flood-plain soil.
padi paya	Swamp rice.
padi pun	The variety of hill rice identified with a particular bilik as special to them; it must receive special care so that it always bear abundantly.
Pangau	The village where the Mualang mythical heroes dwell.

panggol	To cut a small area of forest to give the sign that one intends to make a rice field in this area in the coming season.
paraih	A small-scale trader trading from his bilik.
pun bilik	The family head.
remindu	That portion of the bilik property retained, at the time of the bilik property division, by the parents for themselves. This becomes the property of the child staying on in the bilik.
rempah (sayur)	Vegetables; side dishes to the rice meal.
ruai	The veranda portion of the longhouse.
rumah panyai	A longhouse village.
sawah	An irrigated rice field.
Tampun Juah	The village in the Sungai Sai where all the Dayak tribes lived together before being routed by a "satanic" people.
tatal	The coagulated rubber removed from the grooves of the rubber tree before making a fresh incision.
temunggung	A native customary law expert serving an approximately 10 village area.
tengkawang	A tree, the nut of which (illipe nut), contains a fat used in the manufacture of chocolate and lipstick.
teradak	A seed bed for swamp rice seedlings.
tuké	A store-keeper.
uang subsidi	The economic development funds awarded to the villages by the Indonesian government.
uma	The traditional term for a rain-fed rice field.
umpan	Cooked rice; food.

APPENDIX I.B.

LIST OF MEASURES

depa'	A Mualang measure of length from fingertips to fingertips when the arms are extended straight out from the body at the sides.
gantang	A Mualang measure of volume equivalent to 3,118 cubic centimeters = 3.12 liters.
geni	A Mualang measure of volume equivalent to the contents of a teacup.
hectare	The metric land measure equivalent to 2.471 acres.
jari	A Mualang measure of length the width of a finger; one jari is one tenth of a renti.
jengkal	A Mualang measure of length equivalent to the span of a hand.
kilogram	The metric measure of weight equivalent to 2.2 pounds.
mata	A Mualang measure of length the width of the thumb.
meter	The metric measure of length equivalent to 39.37 inches.
mung	A Mualang measure of volume equivalent to the contents of a condensed milk can and also one tenth of a gantang.
renti	A Mualang measure of length from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heal of the fist.
rupiah (Rp)	The basic unit of Indonesian currency; at the time of the field work Rp 620 was equivalent to U.S. $1.
taken	A Mualang measure of volume equivalent to five gantangs.

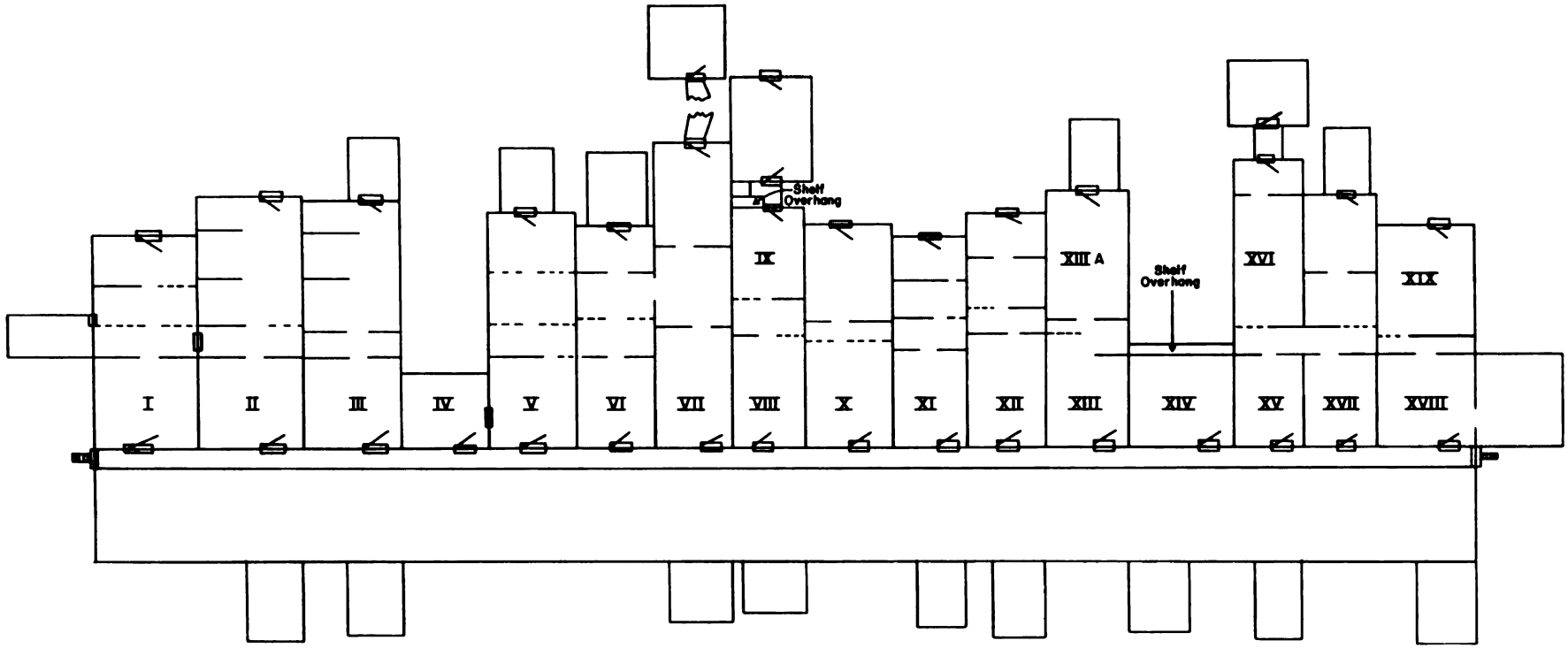

Figure A1. Residence Plan of the Longhouse at Sungai Mulau.

Table A1. Durable Property Inventory.

Property	XX Haron	XIX Amoi	XVIII Sandoi	XVII Banan	XVI Luya	XVII Talip	XIV Nyawai	XIIIB Lanas	XIII Norcé	XII Sekios	XI Mambang	X Nyelan	IX Jangi	VIII Gum	VII Gantung	VI Saing	V Akim	IV Payung	III Yusak	II Yok	I Ragu
I. Buildings																					
a lawang living area (sq. m.)	18.0*	48.7	56.4	58.1	43.2+	21.0	31.8	34.6	34.0	61.3	50.7	56.9	50.2	37.2x	76.4	57.2	65.1	20.7	81.6	85.3	71.8
b field hut		1	1	1		1	1	1			1	2	1	2	2	1	1		3	1	2
c rice storage barn		1	1	1	1				1					1	1		1		1	1	1
II. Household furnishings																					
a wok	1	3	2	3	3	1	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	4	4	3	1	3	4	3
b aluminum pan	1	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	3
c aluminum pot	1		2	3	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2
d iron pot supports	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2		1	2		1	2	2	1	1	1	2
e porcelain kettle			1					1	1			1							2		
f aluminum tea kettle	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	3
g porcelain coffee pot	1	1		2	1			1	1	1	1	2			1	1	2			1	1
h porcelain tea cup	12	9	12	12	12	9	12		12	12	12	12	12	18	12	12	24	12	12	12	24
i porcelain plate	12	10	24	20	12	12	12	5	10	24	6	12	4	18	12	24	24	34	12	30	30

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
j small ceramic bowl	12	20	20	20	12	20	20	5	30	24	10	12	6	15	12	24	12	10	20	10	20
k large ceramic bowl	5	1	6	4	6	5	3		3	3	2	4		3	2	5	4	5	6	8	
l aluminum rice bowl											2						1		1	1	
m drinking glass	9	8	10	24	24	12	4	6	24	12	6	24	12	8	10	24	24		12	24	36
n rice thermos																	2				
o tea thermos				1													1				
p metal tea tray	2	2	3	3	2	1	4	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	4	3	3	5	5	4
q plastic food cover				1	1				1	1		1			2		1		2	2	1
r tea strainer					1					1					1	1	1		1	1	1
s metal funnel		1															1		2		
t small spoons (won ton & aluminum)	2	12	24	24	12	12	6	4	12	10	6	5	12	6	12	18	24	6	12	24	24
u large aluminum spoon	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1		2	1	2
v aluminum fork					3											6	12				6
w rice serving spoon	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
x plastic dipper				2					3					3							
y small plastic bucket						2				2		1		1	2	1		1	2	2	2
z large plastic bucket	2	2	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	4	1	4
aa plastic dishpan	1	1	2	3	3		1		3	1		1	2	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	1
bb plastic basket											1								4		
cc aluminum food carrier		2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	2	1	1		2
dd porcelain food carrier	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	1		1	2	2	1	1	1		2	1	2
ee rice-husking device (kisar)	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1	2
ff rice-pounding mortar	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1		2	1	2
gg rice-pounding pestle	4	2	3	2	5	4	4	1	2	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	1	6	3	5
hh fancy rottan mat		2	1	2	2	2	1								2		1			1	2
ii suit case			1	2	2	1		1	1		1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	4	2	2
jj trunk				2	2											1	2	1			
kk lock and key		1	1	1	3												2	1	1	1	1

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
ll tin can lamp	2	1	4	3	2	3	1	2	3	2	1	4	2	3	2	3	4	3	3	3	4
mm "aladdin" lamp		1		1	1				1	1							1		2	1	1
nn lantern															1				1	1	1
oo hunting lamp	1					1								1		1	2				2
pp pressure lamp		1	1	1	1			1		1	1		1	2	1	1	1		2	1	1
qq flashlight	1		1	1	1		2		1							1	1		2		
rr hair-cutting scissors	1				1										1				1		1
ss sewing scissors				1	1	1			1	1					1	1	1		2	1	1
tt razor					2												1				1
uu mirror		1	1	2	1		1		1	1						2	1	2	1		1
vv kapok mattress		1	1	2	3	2	4	1	1	1			1		2	3	3	2	2	3	2
ww kapok pillow	2	2	2	4	4	2		1	3	2	4	7	3	2	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
xx blanket	2	1	4	1	4	3	7	2	3	2	6	7	3	4	6	5	3	5	6	4	4
yy wooden bed						1									1	2			1		1

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
zz iron bed		1		2	1					2	1	2									
aaa mosquito net	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	5	3	2	3	3	2
bbb clothes chest		1	1		1												1		1	1	1
ccc kitchen utensils chest	1				1																
ddd plate and bowl rack		1	1																		
eee kerosene stove			1									1					1				
fff table			1	1	1				1	1		1			1	2	2		1	1	1
ggg bench			1	1	4					1		1			2	2	4		4	1	2
hhh wooden chair																	2		4		
iii iron and plastic chair																	4				
jjj wall clock				1													1			1	
kkk wrist watch					1											1					
lll treadle sewing machine			1	1	1		1		1	1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1
mmm manual sewing machine																1					1
nnn radio				1	1										1						1

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
ooo radio tape-cassette combo																	1			1	
III. Clothing ✓																					
a shirt (male and female) ⊕	8	4	11	4	8	15	15	4	6	5	14	10	9	12	11	16	12	8	16	16	17
b shorts	5	1	4	3	6	4	13	3	4	5	1	7	1	7	13	6	8	9	12	5	11
c male slacks	2	2	2	6	3	1	2	2		2	4	4	2	4	5	9	4	1	3		3
d swim trunks (male and female)‡	1	1	3	5	2	1		1			2	1	1	2	6	7	3	1			6
e male sarong	1	2	2	1	1		1				2	1	1	1	2	2	2		2		
f male cap		1		1	2	1	2				1	1	1	2		2	1		1		4
g underskirt			1		1			1							2	1	2	1		3	2
h brassiere		2	1		2	1		2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	2
i handkerchief		1	2	2	2	3	1	1	2	1	1			1	1	1	1	2	2	3	2
j belt				1	1		2					2					1	2	1		
k blouse (kebaya)	1	3	2		2	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	4
l skirt										2						1	2				
m female sarong	3	6	4		5	4	7	3	5	2	4	3	3	4	4	4	6	2	6	4	2

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
n dress	8	2	4			6	5		5		6	2	3	3	2	2	4	4	3		
o rubber thongs			1	1	2	2					2	5	1	3	2	2	2	1	6		2
p shoes			1				2		1							3	1	2			3
q female sunhat	1	2	4	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	4	5	3
r umbrella					2	2		1		1	1		2	1	1		2		2	1	2
s towel				1	2	1	1	1	3						1	5	2		3	4	4
t eyeglasses															1	2	1		1		
IV. Tools																					
a bush knife	3	1	3	3	3	3	4	2	3	2	3	4	3	2	2	3	3	4	4	3	3
b axe	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
c hatchet	1	1	1	1	2	1	1			1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1		1	1	1
d rubber-tapping knife	2	1	3	2	5	2	2	1	2	1	4	2	2	1	2	2		2	2	3	3
e weeding knife	3	2	4	4	3	2	3	2	1	1	3	3	6	2	3	4	2	4	2	6	8
f blood-letting knife															1				1		

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
g rottan knife	1		1	1	1	1	2	1		1	1	2	1	2	1	1		2	2		1
h butchering saw			1	1							1	1	1					1	1		1
i betel chew case																			2		
j rifle shot case	1		1			1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		
k rifle	1		1	1		1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1
l hammer	1		1	1	1	1	2		1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	2
m handsaw	1			1	1		1		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2		1		1
n large log saw			1	1		1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
o bit			1												1		1				
p bore	1			1		1	1		1		1	1			1	1			1	4	1
q plane	3		1	1	1										1	1			1		1
r file	1		1	1		1	1					3			1	·	1				1
s chisel	1				1	1	1	1				1			1	2					1
t pincers		1						1													

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
u coconut grater			1		1	1	1		1	1		1			1	1	1		1	1	1
v coagulation pan		1	1	1		1	1		1	3	1	1	1		1	2		1	1	3	2
w fish spear			3	3		4	3	1		2	2	2	1		2	1		1	2		1
x fish scoop net			1														2				
y hoe	1		1	1	1	1	4	1		1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1		2
z shovel	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1		1	1		1		1	1	1
aa scoop blade				1																	
bb chemical sprayer																	1				
cc rice-threshing device			1	1						1		1			1	1			1		1
dd sharpening stone	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	2
ee rubber press			1																	1	
ff scales																	1				
gg boat motor																	1				
hh boat																	1				

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIII	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
ii pepper posts	80			40	30	90	30	30			30						250				
V. Heirloom Property ø																					
a water jar		1	3	5	3	1	3		3	4	5	4	1	3	1	4	5	5	5	4	4
b tall dragon jar	1		2	1	2		3	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	4
c ceramic dye cup										1		1									
d ceramic plate	1				4		3					3			1	1	3	8	6	5	
e ceramic bowl		10		42	9			5		10		12	15		10		20	20	20	30	40
f brass serving tray (with base)			1	2	1				1	2	1	2	1	2	1		2	2	1	2	3
g small gong	1			2	1			1	1	3		2		2			2	1	1	2	2
h gold fingerring				1					1			1					1		1		
i gold necklace																	1				
j silver necklace																				1	
k female gold bracelet		1																		1	
l male bead			1																		

Table A1. (cont'd.)

	XX	XIX	XVIII	XVII	XVI	XV	XIV	XIIIB	XIIIA	XII	XI	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
m male shell bracelet set		1																			
n female shell bracelet set																		1			1
o brass spiral bracelet																					1
p female lacquer bracelet																			1		
q female silver bracelet										1											
r female gold earrings			1			1					1	1	1				1			2	
s female silver belt				1																	
t ceremonial knife																	1				
u spear						1	2	1							1				1		2
v drum						1							1								
w copper chest		1																			
x wedding hat																			1		
y skirt of "ikat" cloth		1								1											
z stitched pattern skirt		2																			
aa "ikat" blanket									1												

Appendix Table A1 (cont'd.)

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*Pak Haron's bilik lives permanently in a field hut of this size (much to the displeasure of their fellow villagers) so strictly speaking they have no apartment area. Pak Haron has been collecting materials to build a proper bilik for about three years.

+By the time these measurements were made Pak Aman had married and this "modern" kitchen (dapur) had been built on in the back to provide more room. This new structure is drawn into the longhouse floor plan but is not included in these figures to make them comparable with other inventories.

¥Also by this time (October 1979) Bu Gum with her youngest son had split from this household and taken up temporary residence in the bilik of Pak Jangi. To accomodate this change the kitchen of Pak Jangi's bilik was improved and enlarged as drawn here. However, to make this consideration comparable to other property inventories bilik VIII is treated as if it still contained this mother and son.

√Small children's clothes are not included in this survey because of confusion resulting from the failure of the analyst to identify the native categories for this semantic domain. Because this survey was carried out at the end of the fieldwork period, time did not permit revisions. Of course small children wear few to no clothes even in the most formal circumstances. The personal property of children away from home are not included here.

⊕In field work women wear shirts to cover their shoulders from the relentless sun.

‡It is common for women to wear the male swim trunks beneath the sarong as an under garment.

ØHeirloom property is commonly owned jointly because of indivisibility. Such jointly-held property is not counted here.

¤The formation of this bilik being considered temporary, certain property of Pak Sigan, especially heirloom inheritance, remains in his parents' bilik in the Mualang Hilir area and is not counted here.

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