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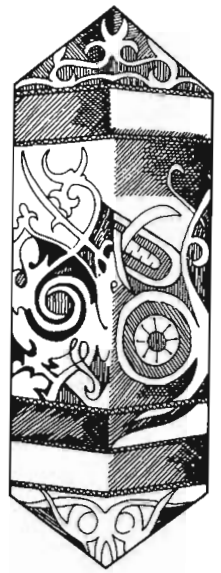

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

"Back to Borneo."

"You can't go back."

If the theme of the last issue was "Back to Borneo," the theme of the papers in this issue is, "You can't go back." Beyond the obvious contradiction is the indisputable fact that change is occurring at every level. As many of us have discovered, and as Jay Crain described in his paper as part of the organized session of the Council in Washington, what we recall is gone, what we remember, no more. Critics may think that we are proposing an unaltered Borneo, a museum-like situation for our own research interests, and would remind us that change is the only constant. Nothing could be further from our concerns, and the contents of this issue document that virtually all systems on the island are under stress.

Hans Selye defined stress as anxiety over the potential loss of a significant part of one's environment, a phenomenon and process to which scholars, administrators, and all should be alert in Borneo. Environmental change, most especially deforestation, has wrought irreversible changes on the natural systems. Transmigration and resettlement schemes, conceived and coordinated from administrative centers and without consultation with affected indigenes, are bringing into contact and potential conflict people of diverse cultures. Rural depopulation and urban migration are creating new challenges to human service agencies, and new strains on limited resources. Particularly noteworthy is the notice of the volume edited by G. N. Appell on "landless peasants." The number of such persons is bound to increase, resulting in more urban migration. By the end of this decade, over half of the population of the three northern states will be urban!

Stress is expressed in many ways. "Do you have organizations in your country for helping victims of spouse abuse?" This poignant question, revealing the personal nature of stress, was asked by a couple as they drove me back to my hotel in Kuching. I replied that we do, and asked the background of their question. They replied that

(Continued on Page 112)

RESEARCH NOTES

PLANTATION DEVELOPMENT IN WEST KALIMANTAN II: THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION1

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an analysis of local perceptions of the PNP VII oil palm plantation projects in West Kalimantan. It is based upon a field trip to the area in June and July of 1982, during which I visited four project sites (at Ngabang, Pusat Damai, Sungai, Dekan and Gunung Meliau) and eight villages (Jamai, Berua', Sungai Dekan, Melobo', Sungai Adong, Sungai Tapang, Sungai Mayang and Tanjak Mulung). I was able to meet with 40-50 local residents with varying degrees of involvement in the several projects, in addition to 10-12 of the project staff. These interviews were informed by my discussions with the staff both at PNP VII's regional office in Pontianak and its central office in Bah Jambi (North Sumatra), as well as by a careful reading of the project's background documents. Finally, I have also drawn on two years (1974-76) of previous experience in the project area (see Dove 1985).

I must reemphasize that the attitudes that I present in this report are those of the local people: they are not necessarily my attitudes, nor are they necessarily correct (viz., an accurate reflection of the real world). What they are, hopefully, is an accurate representation of what the local population thinks of the projects. The presumption that lies behind this report is that what the local population thinks about a given project may affect its success or failure, and hence these thoughts need to be understood by the project management and taken into consideration in policy-making.

I will first discuss local perceptions with regard to issues involving land, then labor, and finally authority. This, in turn, will be followed by my summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

II. LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF PROJECT ISSUES PERTAINING TO LAND

It is clear in all of the project areas that the local population is not prepared to hand over its traditional land rights, without compensation, to the plantation authorities. It is also clear, and this comes as a greater surprise, that a significant segment of the population is not prepared to give up its land claims without compensation even after being invited to participate in the projects as smallholders with guaranteed ownership of 3.5 hectares of land. The issue here is a matter of perceived inequity, arising from their comparison of their prospective roles within the projects and the roles of prospective transmigrants from Java. The local people understand that both they and the transmigrants will be given the same amount of land and carry the same amount of kredit 'indebtedness,' yet the former are being asked to give their land to the project while the latter give nothing. The problem is not that the local population is necessarily reluctant to exchange many hectares of secondary forest swidden land for a few hectares of oil palms and garden, rather it is that they are reluctant to do so if other participants - the transmigrants - get the same number of hectares of oil palm and garden 'for free' as it were. For example, a local family that holds traditional claim to 40 hectares of secondary forest, sees itself as being asked to exchange 3.5 of these hectares for its 3.5 hectares of oil palm and garden, and to give the remaining 36.5 hectares to the incoming transmigrants. Thus, the local population feels that it is being asked to bear the cost of the transmigrants' participation - something that it is very reluctant to do. This perception of inequity, as well as one way of resolving it, was expressed in a proposal made to me by the Temenggung, 'Chief,' of the village of Berua', in the environs of the Pusat Damai project. He proposed that the local people who become smallholders in the project should be exempted from having to pay back any share of its capital costs, in recognition of the fact that they will be contributing more land to the

project than they will be given personal title to - what he called kelebihan tanah 'the excess land.'

Because of this perceived inequity attendant upon participation in the project, some of the local population may choose (if possible) to sell their land to the projects but not join the projects themselves. That is, rather than submit to the perceived loss of land attendant upon joining the projects as smallholders, these people may elect the apparently less iniquitous solution of remaining a nonparticipant and merely selling their land to the projects. This choice appeals to some people because of its apparently greater recognition of their rights, and also because it involves less risk. The perceived risk of becoming an oil palm smallholder is higher: they have to give up most of their land and incur a large monetary debt, all on the promise of a cash crop that is completely unfamiliar to them. On the other hand, while they might not like to sell their land, at least the money that they receive if they do sell is both immediate and concrete. There is one other distinctive factor of this compensation that is less in their favor, however: the cash compensation is a fluid resource. It is easily -too easily - exchanged for other goods.

At the village of Sungai Mayang I was told that some people who sold land to the project used the cash thereby obtained to buy rubber groves in other areas, some used it to build new houses, and some just frittered it away (Habis saja). At the village of Sungai Dekan, I talked with the head of one family who had received 800,000 rupiah (then equal to $1,280.00) for land sold to the project - surely more money than they had ever before had at one time- and had already spent it all, apparently on a variety of nondurable consumer goods. The problem with a case like this is that the family has lost part of its productive resources by selling some (in other cases all) of its land to the project, but it has not used the money thereby obtained to replace the loss, for example by buying more land, a rubber grove, or a rice huller (etc.). Given the fact that in most of these areas the purchase and sale of land was traditionally uncommon (although it did occur), and given the additional fact that the traditional economy was largely (although not entirely) a subsistence premarket economy, it is perhaps to be expected that some villagers would be unable to resist the temptation of selling their productive

resources (viz., land) and using the proceeds to buy nonproductive goods (viz., consumer goods). The danger in this is expressed in a folk homily heard among the Iban in an adjoining subdistrict: namely, Urang ti nyual tanah/kebun jampa' pedih, 'anyone who sells (his) land or rubber groves is soon hurting.'

The failure to use the sale price of their land to acquire other productive resources makes it inevitable that, once this money has all been spent, these people will be forced to go back to the land to live, by swidden agriculture. This may include land that is now within the boundaries of the oil palm projects, if no other land is available. From the stand point of the projects' management, therefore, it is better if the local population joins the projects as smallholders rather than just selling their land to the projects. (If some of them must sell their land, for whatever reason, then it is better if their compensation is in a less liquid and more productive form than simple cash).

III. LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF PROJECT ISSUES PERTAINING TO LABOR

The impression that I immediately got from most people in the project areas is that, with some important qualifications, they like working on the plantation projects as wage laborers. There seem to be several reasons for this. A man in the village of Sungai Dekan, for example, said that he liked being able to work on rainy days; in contrast to which, he noted, one cannot tap rubber on a rainy day. In the village of Sungai Mayang, they spoke with pleasure of being able to work in large groups on the projects, as a result of which they do not even feel the heat of the sun (Senang ramai, tidak merasa panas). This is also given as one of the reasons for the use of large, communal work parties in the traditional system of agriculture in this part of Kalimantan. However, the most important attraction of this wage labor is probably the fact that it gives them a source of cash for market needs, while allowing them (or other members of their families) to continue to make swiddens to fulfill their subsistence needs. Wage labor at the projects was clearly being combined with traditional swidden-making by villagers at Sungai Dekan, Sungai Tapang, Melobo', Sungai Mayang, and Tanjak Mulung.

This is not to say that the local population has no criticism of the present system of wage labor on the projects. First and most obviously, many people thought that the daily of 1000 rupiah (as of mid-1982) was too little: this was mentioned by the inhabitants of both Melobo' and Sungai Tapang. The inhabitants of the latter village said that the wage was satisfactory in 1980, when one kilogram of sugar cost only 225 rupiah, but after two years of inflation, with that same kilogram of sugar now costing 600 rupiah, the same wage was no longer enough. This aside, they said that they had no trouble with the discipline of the work, with the earliness of the work day, or with its overall length.

A more serious criticism of the wage labor opportunities at the projects, and one oft-repeated, pertained to the fact that most of this work was offered only on a daily basis (kerja harian) or a short-term contract basis (kerja borongan). As a result, as noted by the inhabitants of Sungai Dekan for example, not everyone who wants to be hired on a given day is hired. Of more importance, the uncertainty of this work, coupled with its relatively low wage, made day labor attractive only to young, unmarried men - according to the inhabitants of Sungai Mayang. They said that men who are supporting families could not, in effect, afford to be just buruh harian 'day laborers' (which explains the widespread and previously noted practice of combining wage labor with continued swidden agriculture). Accordingly, and because these villagers are trying to pikir tentang masa depan 'think about the future,' they say they want to become buruh tetap 'permanent laborers' or karyawan 'employees.' This desire was strong enough that the men over 35 years of age, which is said to be the cut-off age for becoming a project employee, told me that they were merasa susah 'feeling grieved' on this account. The desire to become permanent project employees was also expressed by the inhabitants of Sungai Dekan and, from other evidence I saw, seemed to be widespread throughout the project areas. The basis for this desire is relatively simple. The dominant factor in the economic strategies of all Dayak is the minimization of risk. As noted earlier, this is why more of them are willing to sell their land than to become smallholders: the return from the former is assured, the return from the latter is not. For the same reason, if they are going to depend on work at the projects for all or

part of their livelihood, they want the availability of this work guaranteed. They do not want to live from day to day, not knowing whether or not there will be work the following day. (Note, in this regard, the previously cited expression of dissatisfaction with the fact that rainfall [which is unpredictable] can cancel the day's rubber tapping.)

The desire to become permanent plantation workers was qualified by the inhabitants of at least one village, Sungai Mayang, with the stipulation that they continue to live at their old village site and be transported back-and-forth - as they are now - by the project's boats. I suspect that this desire is also widespread: I noted no desire among any of the inhabitants of the project areas to move into new settlements built by the project. There seem to be several reasons for this.

One reason involves their opinion of government housing and - given that they do not differentiate between PNP VII and the national government - their expectation that housing for them on the project sites would be no better. As the Temenggung of Berua' said of the transmigration site nearby: the houses have dirt floors (which is unheard-of for a Dayak house), they are built of poor quality woods (whereas Dayak always select the best woods, often ironwood, for their own houses) and, in consequence, they often are blown down in storms (which never happens to a sturdily built Dayak house). In addition, the Temenggung said that transmigration sites tend to be poorly located, the one in question being located far from a source of water (whereas Dayak villages are absolutely always located at a good source of water, this indeed being one of the primary determinants of their location).

This fear about the quality of project housing (as opposed to transmigration housing) may be unfounded, but it is not the only reason that most people want to remain in their own villages. A second, more important reason is economic in nature. In or near the existing villages there are opportunities to supplement income and/or diet that would not exist in a new village inside the projects. For example, in or near their existing village sites there still remain (where these have not been bought up and planted in oil palm) groves of fruit trees, income-producing groves of

rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) and candle nut (Isoptera seminis) trees, as well as forest that can still be cut to make rice-producing swiddens. In addition, in or near the existing villages there are known sites where the villagers can gather jungle produce (such as edible bamboo shoots), hunt (still important to the inhabitants of Jamai, Sungai Dekan, Melobo', and Tanjak Mulung), and fish. A move to a new settlement within the project boundaries would deprive them of all or most of these supplemental sources of food and cash, and would accordingly raise the minimum daily wage that would be necessary to support a family, all other things being equal. (This theoretical minimum wage is lower if they remain at the old village sites, because it is supplemented there by these other resources.) There might be some opportunities at the new village sites to supplement their income and/or diet, but at the moment these are unknown to the local people and, accordingly, the move to the new sites represents a risk that most of them do not want to take.

There are other aspects of life in the planned new village sites about which the local people must also feel uncertainty. A move from their existing villages would involve changes in house style, settlement pattern, access to water, bathing habits, and so on. There might be attendant changes in social life, political structure, and ceremonial activity. Anxiety about such changes is not without basis. Psychologists have demonstrated that every change in a person's way of life places a psychological burden on that person until (and if) he adapts to it (Appell forthcoming). The greater the number of changes that are made at any one point in time, the greater this burden. If this burden surpasses the individual's capacity to manage it, he may succumb to illness, commit socially deviant acts (e.g., adultery, murder) or exhibit other signs of a pathological state. Based on the data gathered to date in West Kalimantan, it is difficult to estimate exactly how much of a psychological cost would be entailed in relocating the local population to new villages, but it is certain that there would be a cost. In expressing reluctance to move, the local population is saying, in effect, that they think the advantages of moving will be outweighed by this anticipated cost. Since a psychologically disabled population would exact its own costs from the project management (not only in terms of lower production but also in terms of social

problems, disputes, and so on), it is equally important for the management to assess the costs of such relocation and weigh them against the supposed advantages. Minimally, it must recognize that these latter advantages are not 'free,' but involve trade-offs in other equally important areas.

This discussion has so far been concerned with the perceptions of the local population towards work--whether on a temporary or permanent basis--directly for PNP VII. Still to be discussed is what the local population thinks of becoming smallholders. First, it must be remembered that they have no previous experience with oil palms. In thinking about whether or not the oil palm can thrive in their area, some of them draw on their experience with the coconut palm, which they see as a basically similar plant. The inhabitants of Jamai, for example, are a little pessimistic in this regard, noting that their coconut palms will only thrive within the immediate surroundings of their houses, which they attribute to the beneficial effects of the smoke from their cook fires. They say that what they really need to grow coconut palms is Hawah laut 'sea air' (whose effect on the palm is apparently thought to be similar to that of smoke). It is to this that they attribute the fact that downriver, along the southwest coast of Kalimantan, coconut palms can be grown up to 4-5 kilometers from one's house (and cook fire).2

Notwithstanding this theory of the villagers at Jamai, most of the population in the project areas seems to hold a surprisingly optimistic view of the changes for successfully cultivating oil palms in their territory. (I call this 'surprising' since they really have no evidence that the oil palm will grow and fruit there, but only the word of the PNP VII staff and local government officials, and hearsay evidence that the oil palm will grow in North Sumatra-an area over 1300 kilometers distant, on an island with a significantly different climate and geological history.) This is reflected in the fact that many of them want to plant oil palms themselves, on their own land, outside of the project areas. The inhabitants of Sungai Dekan say that they have already asked their subdistrict officer for assistance with oil palm seedlings (and been told that they would not be permitted to plant any). The inhabitants of Sungai Mayang made a similar request to me during the course of this survey. They said that if PNP VII gave them seedlings, they would

agree to sell their palm oil only to PNP VII. Indeed, they said that they were so eager to plant oil palm that they were even prepared to cut down their own fruit or rubber groves to do so, if no other land was available.

This willingness to plant oil palm on their own must be distinguished from their attitude towards becoming official smallholders within the confines of the projects. The former involves a minimum of risk (even if it entails cutting down a rubber grove), because it would be carried on as a side activity (much like rubber tapping itself), at least until it had proved itself to be successful. In this respect, their eagerness to plant oil palm seedlings can be seen as part of the ancient and well documented desire of all Dayak farmers to experiment with new crops--historically new varieties of rice, more recently rubber and then pepper, and now oil palm (cf. Freeman 1970:190). But experimentation with oil palms is not the same thing as becoming a smallholder in one of the projects, which entails both a far greater commitment and far more unknown variables.

This is not to say that there is no interest among the local population in becoming smallholders. The inhabitants of Sungai Mayang, for example, in addition to saying that they wanted to plant oil palms themselves, also said that they wanted the opportunity to join a PIR smallholder scheme.3 In general, however, the expression of interest in joining a smallholder scheme is coupled with doubts as to whether such schemes can succeed. Most of these doubts concern the initial period of cultivation, before the oil palms produce their first marketable harvest. Thus, the inhabitants of Sungai Tapang said that they would like a PIR smallholder scheme in their village, but added that it would probably not succeed if they got it, because of the biaya memelihara 'cost of cultivation.' As they went on to explain, during the initial years before the oil palms yielded any income, they would have to cari makanan 'seek food/-work' elsewhere in order to live. As a result, they feared, they would not be able to care for their oil palms as much as might be necessary, and hence the trees would fail. Therefore, when they refer to the initial 'cost of cultivation' and their inability to afford it, what they are saying is that the oil palms will require care for some time before they yield, and they are not sufficiently wealthy to be able to relinquish all other income-producing activities to be able

to provide it. The problem of dealing with this interim period was also raised in the earlier cited remarks of the Temenggung of Berua'. He recommended that the rubber groves belonging to local participants in the smallholder scheme not be cut down during the initial planting of oil palm. After this first planting begins to yield an income, he added then the rubber grooves can be cleared and planted in oil palm as well. His suggestion, therefore, was that existing rubber groves be preserved so that their income can help tide the smallholders over the period before the oil palms yield their first harvest.

The ability to survive this initial period appears to be a concern of the local population throughout the project areas. As such it should probably be a concern of PNP VII as well, since the success of each smallholder project clearly depends on the smallholders' active involvement in cultivation during the period before the oil palms begin to produce, as well as afterwards. The economic survival of the household, during the period before the first oil palm harvest, looms as a problem in the smallholder schemes because so much of the household's land and labor resources will be devoted to the oil palm. It will present less of a problem to households that plant some oil palm trees on their own, while still maintaining an active involvement in traditional swidden making, rubber tapping and so on. This explains at least part of the greater enthusiasm, of some segments of the local population, for obtaining oil palm seedlings to plant on their own as opposed to joining an official smallholder scheme. They perceive the former as involving less risk than the latter.

In addition to worrying about economic survival during the period before the first oil palm harvest, there are some indications that economic survival thereafter is also a concern to the local population. More specifically, there are some indications of anxiety at the thought of being totally dependent upon a 2.0 hectare allotment of the unfamiliar oil palm, and a 1.5 hectare allotment of food crops to be cultivated by an as-yet-known technology (viz., for permanent-field cultivation). This sentiment is reflected in the earlier cited request by the Temenggung of Berua', to preserve from oil palm development not only their rubber groves (as just discussed), but also their candle nut groves, their paya 'swampland,' and their copses of rimba' 'primary

forest.'4 Whereas he agreed that the rubber groves could eventually be developed into oil palm as well, he wanted these other areas left as they are permanently. He wants this, clearly, so as to preserve some sources of livelihood aside from the oil palms themselves. The candle nut trees periodically yield a very lucrative cash crop, the swampland is the best agricultural land in the area (being more susceptible to intensive cultivation and capable of producing a larger rice crop per unit of area than any other land around [Dove 1980]), and the copses of primary forest are sources of wild comestibles, as well as timber and fibers for use in construction and craftwork.

The desire to preserve these resources may reflect a belief on the part of the local population that the income from a smallholding--even one that has started to produce marketable harvests--will not fill all of a household's needs, or it may reflect a belief that while the two hectares of oil palm might fulfill a household's need for cash, the one and a half hectares of food crops will not fulfill its need for food. In my preceding paper ('Plantation Development in West Kalimantan I'), I noted the difficulties that the Dayak will face in trying to shift from a system of subsistence food-croppping based on over 40 hectares per household to one based on just 1.5 hectares per household. On the other hand, the desire to preserve these several resources may reflect not a belief that the income (whether in cash or in food) from a smallholding will be adequate, but rather that it will not be certain. That is, it may reflect a reluctance to be completely dependent upon a single source of livelihood, namely the oil palms. This reluctance is both widespread and deeply ingrained among the Dayak, as earlier discussed. It stems from a priority on the minimization of risk, above all else. Historically, this has received perhaps its greatest expression in the common Dayak pattern of cultivating dry rice in swiddens and rubber trees in groves. This dual emphasis insulates them against periodic complete failure in either sector, which is the reason why this pattern of rubber cultivation has been the most successful in Indonesia. Smallholders produced just 46 percent of Indonesia's rubber exports in 1938, but had raised their percentage to 80 percent by 1982 (Ace 1982; Seavoy 1980).

IV. LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF PROJECT ISSUES PERTAINING TO AUTHORITY

No less important, and quite possibly more important, than the local population's perception of land and labor in the oil palm development projects is its perception of authority there -- how they are governed, how decisions are made. It is very clear that negative perceptions of some aspects of this authority are widespread through this population. There are several reasons for this.

First, the local population makes no distinction at all between PNP VII and the various local and national government offices. As a result, the past or present actions of the latter are perceived as indicative of the future actions of the former. This is particularly the case as regards their perceptions of the government's transmigration program, as noted earlier. On the whole this program has left them with a rather negative impression of official intentions, motives, and promises in their region. As discussed earlier, their opinion of the transmigration projects that they have seen is that the sites are poorly located (e.g., vis-a-vis sources of water) and the houses are shoddily constructed. In addition, according to the inhabitants of Berua', the 10 percent of project participants taken from the local population (in accordance with official new transmigration regulations) have not been treated the same as the transmigrants coming from outside of Kalimantan. For example, they say that the government has distributed seed to the latter and not the former on some occasions. As a result the local population is afraid that the same fate would befall them if they joined a smallholder project. Namely, they are afraid that they would be given substandard houses and would not be treated as well as the transmigrant participants. In short, the local population is afraid that the project authority will not treat them as it has promised to treat them. In their own words, they say that they are Takut penipuan 'Afraid of trickery,' and so they want all current and future agreements to be written down on paper. If they are not written down, said the Temenggung of Berua', the danger is that the agreements will Nanti diobah 'Later be changed.'

The local population's fear that verbal agreements will be later rejected or altered is based on their experience not

only with the government's transmigration project, but with PNP VII itself. For example, the Temenggung of Berua' complained that the local project management had announced that workers and smallholders would be given a rice allowance for a maximum of three children apiece. He and his people were upset not so much at the restriction itself, although it is innately unpopular to any people with large families, but at the fact that it represented a unilateral alteration of an earlier understanding. According to this earlier understanding, the Temenggung said, there was no limit to the number of children who could be included in the rice allowance. Their vigorous and negative reaction to changes of this sort, or to what they at least perceive as changes, can also be explained in terms of their earlier discussed attitude towards risk. That is, the sudden and unilateral alteration of their agreement with the project management (or with the local government), without consultation or explanation, makes them feel not only that control over their economic welfare is in someone else's hands, but that this someone else is not dependable. Thus, they perceive that their cooperation with the projects entails a large measure of risk, which they are loathe to accept (hence the Temenggung's new insistence on written agreements).

The local population's reaction to policy changes by the project management is clearly exacerbated by their own felt lack of participation in the decision-making process. One problem is the perceived lack of local hiring at the managerial level. The Temenggung of Berua' said that at their first meeting with representatives from PNP VII, the local people requested that some of their own people be hired as pimpinan 'managers.' With one or two exceptions, this has not been done he said. The Temenggung added that the lack of such hiring cannot be explained away by the lack of suitably educated candidates. He maintains that there are local graduates from SMP, SMA and SMEA (equivalent to junior high schools and high schools) who could have been hired but have not been. The unsatisfactory result, according to the local populations, is that all of the project managers are outsiders.

This perceived lack of local hiring is particularly upsetting to the local population because they perceive a lack of local hiring, in terms of inadequate qualifications

and so on, these same reasons cannot justify the lack of informal consultation as well. The Temenggung of Berua' maintains that the so-called Tim Penyuluh 'Extension Team,; which was composed of the local leaders and taken once to Sumatra for a tour of PNP VII's oil palm plantations and facilities, have never been asked for their opinions about any aspect of the projects. Rather, according to the Temenggung, they have always simply been told what to do by the project manager. The truth of this was evident during a mass meeting in the schoolhouse at Berua' when, following a speech by one local leader in which he adamantly maintained that he would not join the smallholder scheme, I simply asked him what he thought needed to be changed in the scheme. My question was so unexpected and novel that the assembled group of local men immediately burst into laughter. Clearly they had never before been asked for their advice on how the project should be managed. Especially someone like the Temenggung is by no means accustomed to the power of absolute command; but he is accustomed to having his opinion respected - having his advice sought and, some of the time, followed (cf. Freeman 1981). In this sense, he clearly does not feel that the project management has been dealing with him in a proper manner.

This lack of participation in project management by the local population, on either a formal or informal level, is associated with a perceived arrogance on the part of this same management. This was clear during our schoolhouse meeting with the inhabitants of Berua' and surrounding villages. It is highly significant that the only explicit criticisms of PNP VII that were voiced during that meeting were: (1) the local people do not want to be peremptorily called to meetings in the middle of the night, and (2) they do not want to be dipanggil 'summoned' from their villages - as we were in fact doing at the time. These criticisms clearly reflect a feeling on the part of the local people that they are being treated in too high-handed a manner. They reflect a feeling that when the project managers need to meet with the people, the former should not simply summon the latter. Rather, the managers should go to them in their villages, and they should do this at a time that is convenient to the villagers and has been agreed upon beforehand. These reactions and desires on the part of the local population should scarcely be surprising. Both in Kalimantan and in most other parts of Indonesia, one shows respect by going to someone else's house. In memanggil 'summoning' someone to one's own office or meeting place instead, one shows authority (e.g., as in the case of a subordinate or servant being summoned by the boss) or even intimidation and censure (e.g., as in the case of a suspected law breaker being summoned by the police).

This perceived failure to treat the local population with respect, to acknowledge the importance of their cooperation, and to involve them in the decision-making process, appears to be causally related to the negative attitudes and obstructive behavior of this same population. That is, because the importance of their cooperation has not been acknowledged, the local population has turned uncooperative, thus forcing this acknowledgment. Because their importance has been overlooked or undervalued, they have been forced to exhibit it in the only way open to them, by obstructing the plans of the project management.

This obstructionist behavior is actually not the most serious consequence of the disrupted state of relations between the local population and the project management. The most serious consequence is growing suspicion of the very purpose of the projects and the motivation of their management. The local population has come to perceive this management not as merely plagued by incompetence or forgetfulness (etc.), but as self-interested. In the words of one local leader, the people are Takut Batak jadi rajah 'afraid that the Batak [managers] will become their rulers'. This is something that the region's people fear, something that they do not want, and something that they apparently will try to prevent. This does not mean that they are against the oil palm projects, however. As the just-quoted leader went on to say:

> Asal sama makan sama kerja, tidak ada yang tidak mau. Asal adil, tidak ada yang tidak mau. 'As long as [everyone] eats/profits the same and works the same, there is no one who will not want [to participate]. As long as it is just, there is no one who will not want [to participate].

This comment implies that the local people want to join in and support the projects, but some are not doing so because

they feel that they are not 'eating the same and working the same' and that the management is not 'just.' They clearly feel that there is some discontinuity at the moment between those who are contributing the land and labor to the projects - namely, the local population - and those who are reaping its rewards - namely, outsiders.

V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Summary

The topic of this paper has been the perceptions of the indigenous Dayak population towards oil palm development projects in West Kalimantan. I discussed these perceptions under three headings, those involving land, then labor, and then authority. Looking at land, I noted the reluctance of the local villagers to give extensive holdings of swidden land to the projects in return for a much smaller smallholding of oil palms. I also noted the equally serious problem of villagers simply selling all of their land to the projects and then having no resource base whatsoever. Looking at labor, I discussed the perceived advantages and disadvantages of daily wage labor in the projects, the desire to become permanent project employees (combined with the desire to remain in the old villages), and the desire to cultivate oil palms on their own (which entails little risk) versus within a smallholder scheme (which entails greater risk). Finally, looking at authority, I noted the ill effects of local perceptions of unsuccessful transmigration projects, the ill effects of unilateral policy changes on the part of the project management, and the perception that this management neither involves the local population in decision-making nor feels that it has to -- the net result of which is suspicion of the project management's motivations and goals.

2. Substantive Recommendations

All of the available data seem to indicate that it would be best to involve as many as possible of the local inhabitants in the oil palm projects, whether as employees or smallholders. The one eventuality that the project management should probably try to avoid at all costs is the creation of a landless and unemployed class of people in the vicinity of its projects. Since these people would have to

live somehow, there would always be a possibility that they would practice swidden agriculture in or near the project sites, raising the threat or fact of damage by fire to the oil palms. In other ways as well they might eventually try to reassume control and use of any former lands of their's that were absorbed (whether through purchase or not) into the oil palm projects. This possibility is both real and especially problematic given the history of political and military insurgencies along the international border of this province (the border itself being less than eighty kilometers from the projects).

Probably the best way for the local inhabitants to participate in the projects is as smallholders - which also seems at the moment to be the most problematic way. In order to overcome widespread resentment and resistance to this scheme, any local inhabitant who joins, and whose land is absorbed into the scheme, should perhaps be compensated for the difference between the amount of land that he contributes and the amount (viz., 3.6-4.0 hectares) that he gets back. This possibility was already being raised by the project staff at the Pusat Damai project: one staffer suggested that they might give the local inhabitants four hectares apiece in smallholdings, and then give them some compensation for any amount of land that the latter had owned locally (and had been absorbed into the project) over and above that four hectares, the cost of this compensation then being added to the burden of debt of all the project's smallholder participants. I would suggest only one modification to this proposal, namely that the cost of this compensation be added to the debts of just those smallholders who contributed no land of their own to the project (referring here to the transmigrant participants). Only then would this proposal address the basic perceived inequity of the current situation wherein the local inhabitants contribute all of their land, the transmigrants contribute none, and the debt burden of both is the same.

Local dissatisfaction with the smallholder schemes could also be lessened by organizing them around existing villages. This would greatly reduce the trauma of establishing these projects and greatly increase their initial chances for success. Some of the staff at the Pusat Damai project have already proposed that existing village sites be used and merely upgraded. This would also lessen the burden of

credit on the smallholder participants. Of course, as just discussed, the impact on the credit burden of the local participants should be distinguished from that on the credit burden of the transmigrant participants. The local participants should carry a smaller burden of debt, due to living in their extant villages, than the transmigrant participants, for whom new villages must be built from scratch.

Aside from reducing the debt burden, the use of extant villages will have additional benefits for local smallholders, if the project management takes care to spare not only the villages but also all important economic resources in their immediate vicinities. Such resources include groves of rubber trees (to be spared at least during the initial stages of the project), candle nut trees, swamp rice land, and small copses of primary forest. The protection and continued use of these resources will help the local smallholders to survive until the first oil palm crop is harvestable; it will diversify and stabilize their income even after the oil palms are producing, and in general it will contribute to the likelihood that the project will succeed and the smallholder debts be liquidated on schedule.

The other form of local participation in the oil palm projects, by wage labor, could be improved by some similar steps. First, this work should be offered to the local inhabitants insofar as possible, before bringing in workers from other areas (e.g., transmigrants). Second, the workers should be made project employees insofar as possible, as opposed to just day laborers. Third, both project employees as well as day laborers should be allowed to remain in their old village sites if they want to, for the same reasons that this option should be offered to smallholders. These three steps alone would go far towards developing local support for the projects.

One other area for improvement is local hiring at the managerial level. All other things being equal, it will be preferable to manage these projects using largely locally hired managers, who speak the local language, understand the local customs and needs, and are automatically less suspect than outsiders of having selfish motives. In cases where there are simply no local inhabitants with sufficient education and experience (remembering that in some cases it will make sense to bend the requirements for level of

education and amount of experience simply to hire a local person), then it is the responsibility of the project management to find suitable candidates and give them the education and/or experience that they lack. This might involve on-the-job training, or it might involve some sort of work-study program, in which the candidates alternate periods of work at the projects with periods of study at schools downriver (with the agreement that they work for the projects for some stipulated number of years upon graduation). In the event that there are suitable schools close enough to the projects, it might even be possible for work-study candidates to attend school in the morning and work at the project in the afternoon. It is hard to imagine a better investment of project money than a program such as this, from the perspective of improving local relations and building a solid base for the long-term management of the projects.

3. Methodological Recommendations

It should be clear from much of the analysis in this paper that PNP VII's oil palm projects in West Kalimantan are experiencing difficulties not because this corporation lacks either experience or resources, but at least in part because it lacks both accurate information about the local situation and an accurate interpretation of this information. This refers in particular to the local socioeconomic situation, including the situation in the villages, the situation in the projects, and the relations between the two. There appear to be two reasons for this: the first is a problem of personnel, and the second is a problem of survey methodology.

Regarding personnel: at the time of the survey upon which this paper is based, there were no PNP VII staff resident in West Kalimantan who had been academically trained to gather and analyze data on the sorts of socioeconomic problems that have been discussed in this paper. This requires a background in sociology or anthropology, preferably the latter because of the need in this case to comprehend the workings of the local tribal culture, economy, and ecology. What is needed is a minimum of one staff member, resident in the project area, who has attained at least a sarjana degree (equal to the B.A.) in anthropology or sociology. Since a sarjana degree alone does not

adequately prepare one to prepare and carry out a complex developmental study such as is needed in the oil palm areas, this person should work under the supervision of someone with greater experience (viz., possessing an M.A. or Ph.D.) stationed elsewhere in the country. Alternatively, PNP VII could simply spend the money necessary to hire a staff anthropologist at the M.A. or Ph.D. level, perhaps basing him (or her) at the headquarters in Bah Jambi, from which he could then make extended visits to projects-including those in West Kalimantan - on a rotating schedule. In any case, the individual hired for this position should have responsibility for an ongoing study and monitoring of the impact of the oil palm projects upon all of the human communities involved.

This addition of specialized personnel would correct some of the information deficiencies at the higher management levels of PNP VII. Also helpful in this regard would be the hiring of more local people at the local managerial level, which could not help but facilitate the flow of accurate information to PNP VII's management. In addition to hiring more local people, however, a much greater effort should be made to solicit not only information, but also desires and complaints from the rest of the local population - including not only salaried employees, but also daily laborers and smallholders, as well as those who live near the projects but have no official tie to them. This communication (which could largely be handled by the staff anthropologist if one is hired) would be facilitated by holding periodic village-wide meetings, as well as periodic consultations with smaller advisory groups - like the Tim Penyuluh 'Extension Team' referred to earlier in this paper - the members of which could perhaps be elected by the local villages. As the case of the current Tim Penyuluh demonstrates, however, there will be no benefits from such meetings and consultations unless they are substantive. Consultation in form but not in substance only makes the local population angry. A serious desire to win the cooperation of this population entails first giving it an opportunity to make inputs into project planning and management, and second, giving these inputs equal weight to those from any other sector (e.g., financial governmental).

This local hiring and local consultation will improve the flow of high quality information to the central management of PNP VII. Even then, the central staff must still gather information itself, and the method by which this is currently done merits some rethinking as well. This method includes -- among other things -- visits to the project sites by central management staff. In the course of a typical visit they meet and talk with the local staff, who also escort them around the project sites. All that this can accomplish, however, is to gather information on what the local staff thinks and feels about the progress of the project -- which could be accomplished simply by summoning the local staff to the management headquarters in Bah Jambi. The purpose of site visits by central staff is not to listen to the opinions of the local staff, but to form their own opinions from a personal inspection of the project site. This latter goal is ill-served by the current pattern of site visits, because this does not permit the central management to make a completely objective and independent assessment of project progress.

One problem involves the size of the inspection group. If 2-3 central staff visit a project site, are joined by 2-3 of the most senior local staff, plus a driver and a local interpreter or guide, this constitutes a group of at least 6-8 people, traveling often by two or more motor vehicles or boats. When a group of this size and composition make a tour around a project site and tries to interview low level employees, laborers and/or local villagers, it is very unlikely that it will learn anything of value. The size of this group, and the manner in which it travels, makes it inevitable that all of its visits will assume the character of an 'official' occasion. All that can occur on such an occasion is speech-making. That is, one member of the touring group (typically one of the local staff) may make a brief speech about how he hopes everything is going well, and the workers or villagers present will reply that everything is indeed going well. The only value of such a visit is ritual or ceremonial. There is no value in terms of hard data about how things actually are going. Accordingly, there is probably no good reason for more than two staff and one guide going out into the field together at one time.

There is a second problem involving not the size of the inspection group or team but its composition. On all such visits -- and this holds not just for PNP VII but for government officers as well -- the local staff are placed in

the role of Tuan Rumah 'Lord of the House' (even though they are subordinate in rank to the visiting central staff). As such, the senior local staff typically feel that it is their responsibility to not only accommodate and feed (etc.) the visitors, but also to accompany them on their field inspections of the project. This is all right if it is just done initially, so that the local staff can give the central staff their view of what is happening, and then allow the visitors to go off on their own. It is fatal if the local staff accompany the visitors constantly. I say this for several reasons.

First, if the central staff are accompanied throughout by the local staff, the former are likely to get only the latter's view of the progress of the project. This is undesirable because of the obvious possibility that the local staff's view is less than 100 percent correct. This possibility is strongest in the case of projects that are experiencing problems, since this in itself implies that the local staff do not understand everything that is going on. The central staff needs to develop its own view of the situation in these cases - which is of course the purported reason why they visit the project sites in the first place- and this is best done if they tour the project areas on their own.

It is important for visiting central staff to distance themselves from the local staff's view of the project not only because of the possibility that the latter is incorrect but because of the even greater possibility that it will be biased. Relations between junior and senior plantation staff are, in general, governed by the pan-Indonesian dictum of Asal bapak senang 'As long as the master is happy.' That is, workers place the highest priority on pleasing their superiors, which is accomplished in part by maximizing the amount of good news and minimizing the amount of bad news that is passed on to them. Thus, the central staff cannot count on always getting a completely objective analysis from the local staff.

Of even more importance, perhaps, visiting central staff cannot count on getting an objective response from anyone at the project site when in the company of local staff, especially senior local staff. Junior staff, employees, and daily laborers cannot be expected to voice candid

opinions about what is good and bad in the project's management when standing in front of the local manager himself. An occasional person is brave enough to be candid in such a situation but most are not, knowing that they are thereby risking at the least the manager's displeasure, and at the most the loss of privileges, promotion, and perhaps even their jobs. In contrast, there is little risk in expressing such candid opinions (especially on an anonymous basis) to visiting central staff who are not accompanied by local staff. This is another reason why the former should tour without the latter.

It is difficult for the central staff to elicit candid critiques of the project when in the presence of senior local staff, and it is nearly impossible when these critiques involve the senior local staff themselves. Yet this latter information is conceivably the most important of all to a visiting team of central staff. The very existence of problems with a given project raises the possibility that the senior local staff is doing something wrong, and either does not recognize it or is not willing to admit it. The only way that visiting central staff can find this out is to conduct at least part of their tour unaccompanied by senior local staff.

These principles for safeguarding objectivity were noticeably lacking at the time of my own visit to the West Kalimantan sites. One local manager in particular, at one of the most problematic projects, resolutely refused to allow me to tour the project area without him. He may have felt that I would not find out enough without him. He may have felt that I would find out too much. This was not clear. What was clear is that when I was finally able to slip away from him for 2-3 hours, I received extensive commentary from the local inhabitants on what they do not like about the local oil palm project, including the specific policies of the manager in question. I would never have received this commentary in his presence. There is a clear-cut decision for the central management here: either it can safeguard the feelings of the local managers and cripple its search for the truth of the situation, or it can place its highest priority on objective assessments of performance, and convince its local staff that this is in their own best interests as well. And indeed I would argue that in the long run it is in everyone's best interests - senior planta-

tion staff, junior staff, and not least the local people - for the true facts of these plantation projects to be ascertained.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was prepared for PNP VII in March 1983, and was subsequently presented in seminar at the Lembaga Pendidikan Perkebunan 'Institute for Plantation Education' in Yogyakarta on 1 February, 1984.

   As noted in Article I of this two-part study, this work was variously supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the East-West Center (EAPI), although, again, none of these institutions are responsible for the opinions and analysis presented here.

2. The Jamai coconut palms probably benefit less from smoke than from the refuse that is dumped to the ground in the vicinity of the houses, and the lack of coconut palms at a distance from the houses is probably due less to a lack of refuse than to the fact that the Jamai villagers concentrate their energies on annual subsistence food crops, not perennial cash crops.

3. PIR is an acronym for Perkebunan Inti Rakyat 'People's Nuclear Estate,' which was briefly described in 'Plantation Development in West Kalimantan I.'

4. The Temenggung also requested that their traditional burial grounds be protected from oil palm development - this, obviously, not for reasons of economics but rather religion.

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URBAN MIGRATION INTO SIBU, SARAWAK: II

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Iban are moving to Sibu for two major and two minor reasons. The two major reasons are jobs and education. The two minor reasons are services and recreation.

1. Jobs

According to the 1980 census, 66 percent of Iban urban migrants moved into Sarawak's towns and cities to take up jobs. Iban in Sibu fill a broad range of occupations, from the highest ranking administrative officer, the Resident of the Third Division, to professionals such as lawyers, doctors, and teachers, to businessmen, and laborers. Government, business, and church are the largest employers of Iban, and those who are fortunate enough to be employed by one of the "big three" normally plan their future in Sibu. In a few cases, however, in which Iban have not acquired property in Sibu or have extensive property in a rural area, they will return to their longhouse community upon retirement.

The primary and compelling attraction for those who move to Sibu looking for work is cash income--a steady supply of money, in contrast to the erratic cash flow they have experienced in their rural life. About 80 percent of those surveyed have only a primary school education, and few marketable skills. Thus, they have little to offer other than labor.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Iban in the largest numbers have moved into occupational categories requiring only minimal literacy skills (if they are required at all) and with commensurately low wages. On average, Iban domestics (cooks, maids, and custodians) average between M$150 and $200 per month. Construction laborers, piling crewmen, and dockyard workers earn from M$200 to $250 per month. Members of the Field Force, dominated by Iban, average M$500 per month.

In the unskilled occupations--domestics, laborers, sawmill workers--there is a clearly lower scale of wages paid Iban. One dockyard worker complained that "a Chinese and I were hired the same day. His wages are $10 per day, mine, $7.50. Is that fair?" I replied that I did not know the relative experience of the two, in particular whether the Chinese had skills the Iban had not acquired, or whether there were other bases for the difference in pay.

One perception of this survey, and one commonly held by Iban, is that they are moving into the labor market at the lowest stratum and are doing jobs previously done by Chinese, who are no longer willing to do them. "Sibu is being developed by the blood and sweat of Iban," one observed. "It may be true that the developers and the capital are Chinese," he went on, "but the building of the Sibu Plaza is made profitable because of cheap Iban labor."

Another perception, perhaps a cruel irony in light of the primary attraction for those who move into Sibu, is that there just is not enough to cover all of the expenses. A preliminary estimate of the responses is that 75 percent of the adults--and, not surprisingly, a like figure for students--do not have enough money to live on or, more likely, to buy everthing they want and to do everything they would like. In comparing the relative disadvantages of urban and rural life, almost 90 percent noted that everything in the

A Sample of Iban Employed in Sibu

Category	No. Employed	No. Self-employed
GOVERNMENT		
Agriculture		
Divisional Director	1	
Staff	7	
Border Scouts	4	
Cooperative Officers	2	
Customs	1	
Field Force	92	
Firemen, Sibu Airport	3	
Land and Survey	6	
Medical Work	18	
Police	8	
Prison Warden	7	
Public Works	11	
Raskom	13	
Resident, Third Division	1	
Teachers	4	
Telecommunications	3	
Water Board	7	
	177	
COUNCILS		
Midwives	3	
BANKS, COMPANIES, PROFESSIONALS		
Bus Co., Ticket Sellers	11	
Businessmen	3	
Construction Laborers	37	
Custodians	4	
Dockyard workers	4	
Electricity Company (SESCO)	2	
Lawyer	1	
Office Boys	4	
Piling Crewmen	8	
Prawn Shuckers	30	
Sawmill Workers	13	
Waiters	5	
Waitresses	16	
	138	
Cooks, Maids	7	
Prostitutes		67
Church Workers	19	
TOTALS	341	67

city costs money: food, housing (except for those living in furnished quarters), transportation, and entertainment.

Given the average family income of M$500 and the average family of five members, it is easy to understand the complaints and anxieties about money. A few teen-agers, who may represent more than themselves, wrote that they wished their families had more money. In particular, they wished that their parents would be able--and willing-to provide them with more money. Parents--similar to parents the world over--commented that their incomes did not go far enough, and that their children did not understand the difficulties of earning a living and meeting the necessary expenses.

The change to a cash income has resulted further in the common process of raising expectations. As easy as it is to understand the laments of children and parents about being short of money, more than half of the families have a radio and a television set. One family's quarters is dominated by a 24-inch T.V. in an eight-by-ten foot living room. The possibility of "hire-purchase" has been quickly grasped by Iban who are eager to enjoy now and pay later. And, as their Western counterparts, many are discovering the difficulties of monthly installment buying.

Appreciation of and the desire to approximate an urban life style have quickly led to the "two paycheck family" among a small, but likely to increase, percentage of Iban. The wife of one of the firemen, who is earning M$1,000 per month, is a midwife and earns M$700. Even so, they are struggling and upon the husband's retirement, plan to return to their longhouse where they have land and other resources. The wife of one of the sawmill workers works in a local catsup factory; otherwise, they explain, they could not survive. And they are living with the husband's parents, who have furnished quarters, so both families thus are fortunate enough not to have to pay rent. But the husband's mother has been forced to supplement her husband's salary of M$400 by seasonal employment as a prawn shucker and off-season work as a domestic.

Housing is a particularly vexing problem. For senior Government, and even some less senior Government employees, e.g., members of the Field Force, Police, and

Water Board, among others, housing is provided as one o their benefits. But housing is most difficult for those wh are least able to afford it: construction workers, day laborers, sawmill hands, and lower level Governmen employees. Responses have been familiar: temporar housing provided on the building site for constructio workers; the officially acceptable practice of renting low cost and usually low-quality housing (the low quality beinc the evaluation of both renter and researcher); and th officially unacceptable practice of squatting on State an Municipal land.

Renting is a relatively expensive proposition for urbar migrants. A single room with shared bath and kitcher facilities may be rented for M$95-100 per month, but a small house rents for M$200 up. And for those employee who do not enjoy the benefit of housing, renting is no only burdensome and a poor long-term practice, it also i prohibitively expensive. It is true that the cash income o the urban migrant is on average ten times more than hi income while in a rural area; M$400 to $40 per month. But, as we noted earlier, he quickly learns the first lesson o Economics, viz., "there are no free meals" and everythinc costs in the city. And with the increase in all expenses-- food, transportation, utilities (unless included as in some cases in the rent), and clothing--payment of 25 to 50 percent of one's income for housing is a considerable cost.

The alternative is squatting. About 1,500 Iban currently are living four squatters' settlements at (1) Usaha Jaya (900), (2) Pulau Babi (400), (3) Sungai Antu (15), and (4) Kampong Nyamok (20). The settlement at Sungai Antu is the only "legal" one, in that the attached family-units have been built on land owned by a sawmill which employs many of the squatters, and with the approval of the sawmill owners. The settlement at Pulau Babi is the oldest, having been established almost 15 years ago. It is symptomatic of the ambivalence and indecision of administrators in handling squatters. While the Sibu Municipal Council is aware that the squatters' shophouses have been built illegally on Government land, for humane--and probably political-- reasons, the Council has not moved to evict the squatters. But neither has it extended basic services--water and electricity--to them. The Iban at Kampong Nyamok (near Sungai Merah) include only three families. Other Iban live

in Kampong Nyamok but, as in several other communities of Sibu, for example, Usaha Jaya and Kampong Hilir, they have married Malays and are no longer regarded by their confreres as "Iban."

The settlement of Usaha Jaya is the largest, most complex, and, without question, the best organized. It is representative of squatments throughout the Third World, in which urban migrants take upon themselves the solutions to their housing problems, recognizing that unless they attempt to solve them, they will remain unsolved. These are people who are immediately concerned about their families' shelter, protection, and general well-being, unlike administrators who are not directly affected by the plights of "homeless" migrants. Ironically and often sadly, when administrators do involve themselves with squatters, usually for the removal of what the sociologist Francis Madigan has called "instant slums," problems are not solved; they are compounded. As William Mangin has written, "The problem is the solution is the problem."

Usaha Jaya was begun in 1980, according to one of the Iban residents. It is a community formed from three ethnic groups: Malay, Iban, and Chinese. Prior to its establishment, the major squatment was a collection of "floating palaces," sarcastically named by a Council member. Built on logs and some on empty drums, the "floating palaces" were anchored in the pasar's major drain along Channel Road (hence, the road's name) into which emptied the town's discharges of raw sewage, garbage, and rain. An outbreak of cholera in 1981 provided the occasion for the Municipal Council to force the removal of the squatters, many of whom pioneered Usaha Jaya.

As told by two Iban squatters,

> We built here in 1981. The first to build here were Malays, who built just upriver from us. We Iban were second, and the last were the Chinese who built upriver from the Malays. When the first families wanted to build here, the Government told them not to. They went ahead anyway, and "enforcers" from Land and Survey sawed the supporting timbers. Seeing that, they rebuilt. And the enforcers cut the timbers down. Once, however, about 20 families built overnight and, confronted with the determination (pemutus ati) and the sheer numbers, the Land and Survey people let us stay. Now, employees of Land and Survey, even some of the enforcers, Malays, Chinese and Iban, have built here.
>
> We didn't move here from Channel Road--the "houses on logs" (rumah atas batang). That's was really filthy water there (udu kamah ai nya). We moved here from Jalan Tun Abang Haji Openg.
>
> Seeing a lot of us having built here, I believe the administrators had a meeting. From that, they surveyed the land and made out a lot-plan. Each lot is 10 fathoms square. They also fixed the size of each house, and the distance--30 feet--between each house. After they had surveyed the lots, they urged people to get their lot numbers, because they were going to cut off relocation here. Therefore, a lot more people, including the Chinese upriver, asked for lots. Officially, building was to have stopped in 1983, but there are still people building, as you can see. And because they did not get lot numbers, some people crowded their houses in between others.

No one knows how may Iban are squatting in Sibu. On July 7, an Iban and I visited Kampong Nyamok and Sungai Antu. At the latter settlement, three houses were being built that weekend, and we observed the dedication of the first post complete with the sacrifice of a chicken whose blood was applied to the post before it was driven into the ground. Iban estimates of squatters are high, and Government estimates are probably low. Iban consistently fixed their units in Usaha Jaya at "more or less 300" (kurang lebih 300), and the plan of the Department of Land and Survey identified 135 units. Faced with the discrepancy, I did my own count of houses, completed and under construction, on July 12, and identified 178 "Iban houses."

However many units there are in Usaha Jaya, the residents have shown initiative and organizational skills. Consistent with the Municipal Council's policy of not providing services to illegal squatters, Usaha Jaya was not

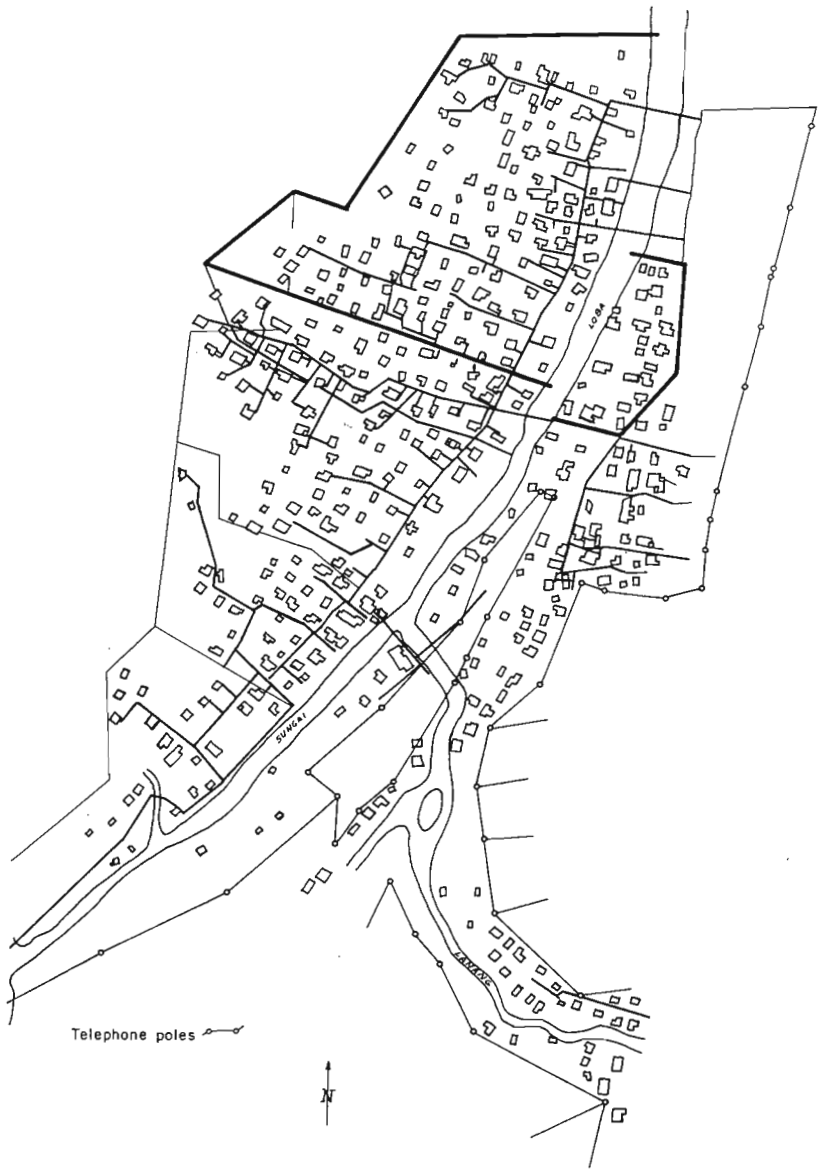
given electricity or water. In fact, the Upper Lanang Road area is unlighted at night, and is as dark as "the insides of the proverbial witch's thorax." Undoubtedly, when the Government's project of "low-cost" housing--so-called, for the lowest priced unit is M$49,000--comes to light, light will come to it. But, for the time being, Usaha Jaya is kept "in the dark" and its existence, though certainly recognized, witness the Land and Survey plan, is not legitimated with basic service. The residents, however, not waiting for Government or Council support, have purchased several generators, adequate for lighting their homes and running their television sets at night. Although, by way of example, units may be owned by one family or several families, all who are serviced contribute to the cost of fuel and maintenance.

In obtaining the substantial ironwood walkways which connect the subdivisions of Usaha Jaya to Lanang Road, and in obtaining pure water, the residents showed themselves most politically astute. In the elections of 1983, community leaders rallied their constituents and pledged their support to two Sarawak United Peoples Party candidates for Parliament: Datuk Wong Soon Kai and Encik Jawan Empaling. Victorious, Datuk Wong saw to the provision of water (piped water to faucets located at central points along the main east-west walkway, and called by Iban, "water-stands" [setin paip ai]), and Encik Jawan had the walkways built, as each had promised in his campaign, if he won.

Usaha Jaya is comprised almost exclusively of lower level Government employees from Agriculture, Public Works and Communication, Land and Survey, and Lau King Howe Hospital. A majority of the residents are functionally literate, in contrast to a persistently high level of illiteracy among Iban as a people. There is a wide range of education, from none to Form 6. But, the general impression I formed of some 50 members of the Iban section with whom I talked is of a naturally intelligent, industrious, and resourceful people who are determined to improve their families' situations.

Their organizational skills are apparent in the committee they have set up to oversee community activities. Headed by the "Temenggong," there are assistants who represent each group of people along each spur off the main

Iban Squatters at Upper Lanang Squatter Area



walkway. The committee's members are responsible for reporting any problems and for ensuring the maintenance of the walks. Not surprisingly, their common plight and struggle has helped develop a strong sense of "neighborliness" and community solidarity in the four years of Usaha Jaya's existence.

Residents are still anxious about their future, in particular whether they have any future in their present location. As one long-term friend and Government employee said, "We would like to know what is to become us--whether we should improve our homes, invest more in developing our lives here, or, save for a move to another location." Squatters the world over locate in particular places for very specific reasons: jobs, proximity to transportation, access to schools, and access to services. All respondents to the survey of Usaha Jaya are employed. Bus service is within 150 yards. Adolescents and children are attending public and private schools. And though they live along the river bank, and at the outlet of a large discharge drain, they have procured clean water and electrification.

Insofar as I have been able to learn, there is no agreement about a possible site for the relocation of Sibu's squatters. A site near Sungai Teku, and another near Batu 10, Oya Road, have been mentioned. If either is selected, it will seriously affect the livelihood and lives of these 1,500 people. Wage-earners will be faced with long commutes each day, increased costs in transportation and a restricted number of economic activities open to wives and others as secondary contributors to family incomes.

"What we want is low-cost land, a standard sized lot of an acre or two, and a standard house plan that we can follow. How can we possibly afford the so-called 'low-cost' housing being built at Upper Lanang Road for M$49,000?"

Twenty percent of the adult female Iban population, and possibly the largest single occupational group, are prostitutes. In 80 percent of the prostitutes I interviewed, the practice is one of choice. In the other 20 percent of those interviewed, two had been recruited by older sisters, and two said that if a program of rehabilitation and job-training were offered, they would accept it. But, when

asked, the overwhelming majority said, in effect, what was expressed by one: "I (would refuse); this is the way we seek our food. We eat, grow old, and die" (Enggai aku. Tu, meh. Ngiga pemakai kitai empu. Makai kitai, udah tuai, parai.)

The number of Iban prostitutes in Sibu is between 400 and 800, estimated to represent about 50-80 percent of all prostitutes in the city. Of those about whom I obtained information, ages range from 12 years to 35 years. They come from most of Sarawak's divisions, cities and towns: Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh--Sibu, Miri, Limbang, Sarikei, Song and Kapit. They come from economically depressed areas and claim that there is no work or opportunities for them in the longhouse. And they live throughout the Sibu Municipal area: Blacksmith Road, Tiong Hua Road, Brooke Drive, Kampong Hilir, and Jalan Tun Abang Haji Openg, to mention only a few.

On June 20 at 8:00 p.m., I went to a local pub in hope of talking with and eventually interviewing Iban prostitutes. I had been told several times in the first few days in Sibu about the "prostitution explosion," and knew it to be an important part of the research. Through a friend, arrangements were made for two Chinese men to accompany me to the pub. We sat in the darkened room, having drinks and talking for about half an hour, before two Iban women in their twenties came in. They seated themselves in a corner and, after several minutes, I asked them--in English--if they would like to join us for drinks. After they had seated themselves at our table, we introduced ourselves and they ordered drinks. They were Eugenie from Sungai Yong, in the Song area, and Fedonia, from Nanga Setapang, Batu 30, Oya Road.

They assumed I knew no Iban, and one of the Chinese took the lead in talking with them. Eugenie had no education, Fedonia had left school after Primary 6. Both said that life in the longhouse was uninteresting with limited economic opportunities, and that they would never return other than for an occasional visit to see their families and friends.

Each said that she sent money home--between M$150 to $600 a month--from which we estimated that each earned

from M$600 to $1,000 a month, allowing for their remittances, rent, food, and clothing. Fedonia shares the rental of a house with a family on Brooke Drive, and her rent at the time was being paid by a man who had asked her to marry him. We asked her what she was doing in the bar and she said her friend was out of town and she was "stealing a little business on her own." Eugenie lives in a rented room on Tiong Hua Road. When asked where they took their clients, they replied that they would go wherever the man wanted--to his house, his room, or he could rent a room upstairs in the hotel.

About an hour or so after we had talked with the women, an old Iban friend came in and stated to speak to me in Iban. I hustled him into the rest-room, and explained to him what we were doing. He played along, and I continued to pretend I did not understand Iban. At times, the girls had great sport at my presumed ignorance. After another Iban man had joined us, and we had talked for another hour or so, I said something in Iban, to the amazement--and amusement--of the girls. "You are really bad" (De jai amat), they exclaimed in feigned annoyance, "You said you didn't know Iban." "No," I replied, "you said I didn't know Iban." We then talked and, after a time, agreed to meet for an interview the following day.

We had lunch on June 21, and as we sat over coffee, I asked each of the girls when she had come to Sibu, why, and to tell as much as she wanted, and could, about her life. Eugenie said that she had had no opportunity to go to school and that from late childhood, she had done women's work in her house. About three years ago, in 1981, she had come to Sibu to look for work, and had "drifted" into prostitution. She had picked up English from hearing it spoken by men who bought her drinks and became her clients. She worked only Sibu, and had never worked another town or city. She had met Fedonia in a coffee shop where both worked, and had become "travelling companions." But, she insisted, each of us--as other pros--is on her own and out for herself alone. Picking up a man was a matter of luck. Sometimes you were fortunate and had clients for several nights in a row, and sometimes you could go for a week and not have any business. Eugenie, who is in her early twenties has not been married and has no children.

Fedonia is 28, was married, has a 10-year old son wh is living with her parents, and is much more self-confident out-going, and talkative. Whereas Eugenie could not o would not talk any more about her life before Sibu, Fedoni was quite eager to tell her story, and to talk about herself She is the prettier of the two, though both were well mannered, considerate, and apparently appreciative of th drinks the night before and of lunch. While Eugenie insist that each goes her own way, I suspect on the basis o limited observations that Fedonia dominates her companion by virtue of her age and Primary 6 education, and her muc longer contact with Sibu.

As in the situation of five other pros whom I inter viewed, Fedonia became a pro following divorce. When 16, she visited her brother who had married into a longhouse i Bawang Assan, where she was "courted" (digayap) by a slightly older youth. "I told him not to court me, because I know what the boys want, and that they are not serious." He insisted that he really wanted her, and that he was going to ask her parents to arrange for them to marry. "If they don't," he said, "I'll run away (rari) or kill myself." A month after that, his parents visited hers, and asked them if they would accept their son. Her parents in turn asked her, and she replied, "I accept, lah" (Nyambut lah). "What else could I do? Everybody knew he had courted me for a week."

They took up residence in Sibu, and the husband worked in the malaria control program. In 1972 they had a son. Two years later, her husband left Fedonia for another woman. Though they technically still lived together, he no longer supported her, seldom came back to the house before 1 or 2 a.m. Nothing she could do satisfied him--his clothes weren't washed right, and he refused to eat her cooking, "fearful I poisoned him" (takut aku meri ia ubat nama-nama). "I couldn't eat, and grew thinner and thinner."

After one fight in which the husband stormed out of the house, leaving her and her son in tears--and her breaking up the dishes--she decided to leave. "But I didn't have a cent." So, she went to the late Temenggong Banggau and asked for bus fare home. He gave her a $10 bill, and she returned it, insisting "it only costs $5 to get to my home." Her husband attempted reconciliation, but she

had had enough, and insisted on divorce on the basis of her husband's infidelities.

She and her son returned to her longhouse to live with Fedonia's parents. She farmed, and cultivated their pepper gardens for four years. "But the pepper died, and farming was too hard--I was already getting old looking." So she came to Sibu to work as a waitress in a bar. The manager told her that if she got any clients, she was to split the fee with him. "I worked there for two years, until I realized that I could work on my own, and didn't have to split anything with him." She then began working other bars, and picking up tricks on her own.

Fedonia and Eugenie are among the higher class Iban pros. They receive M$50 to $250, "depending on how generous the man may be." If their accounting is accurate, they earn considerably more than most of the pros we interviewed.

The other interviews were conducted in the Central Police Station on Monday and Wednesday evenings. Pros interviewed ranged from 14 to 30. Six were from Fedonia's longhouse, and claimed to have come into Sibu on their own. I discovered no evidence of "a ring" or "syndicate" control of prostitution, but the regularity with which pros in "my" coffee shop consulted with the same men about problems, is probably indicative of more than fraternal relations. Indeed, some of the men--Iban and Chinese--may be pimping or at least taking some of the pros' money.

Lower class pros earn M$5 to $25 per trick, and middle class pros earn M$20 to $50. Around pay days, as many as 30 to 40 girls hung out in the alley and streets near the hotels which had the most open--and, probably the largest--trade. There is apparently no shame attached to the practice, at least in the case of women in their early to mid-20s. Women we talked with were quite open about where, why, when, and how much. Further, prostitution is encouraged not only by friends from the same longhouse, but by members of one's own family. Two of the younger pros with whom we talked on June 27 had been called into the practice by older sisters. And a father was overheard to answer in reply to the question, why was he in Sibu, "To

visit my daughter who is 'whoring'" (ngabas anak ke nyumpit).

Restriction of prostitution and rehabilitation of the women involved is difficult if not impossible. Current efforts on the part of the Police are the twice-weekly raids, conducted between 7:30 and 9:00 p.m., Mondays and Wednesdays. These times are determined by the availability of a health inspector to examine the women for "sexually transmitted diseases."

Inasmuch as prostitution is a matter of choice as a source of income, and permits women to work as they want, when they want, and where they want, despite the fact that it offends the moral sensibilities of many people, it undoubtedly will continue. In order to determine whether there is psychological damage suffered by Iban pros, studies of self-image, esteem, and sense of self-worth would have to be done. Though much of it may be a Goffman-type "face game," the Iban pros I observed daily were generally pleasant, "happy," and confident. Nor is there much evidence of pros as active "transmitters" of sexually communicated diseases. While there has been an increase in the numbers of Iban who have been identified, there has also been a decrease in the percentage of Iban cases of disease. Somewhat surprisingly, only four prostitutes were diagnosed as having a sexually transmitted disease in 1983.

2. Education

Actually, students represent the most numerous single group of Iban in Sibu--2,309. Of these, 1,092 are in Government secondary schools, 57 in private secondary schools, and 1,160 in primary schools.

The effects of a state-directed, modern and formal educational system are enormous, and really little understood. In fairness, and to keep things in perspective, it must be noted that most educational systems worldwide are coming under increasing criticism because of three facts. First, educational systems are being asked to do more than they ever have had to do in the past. As the role of the family has changed, and a primary role of parents has become impossible because of a majority of fathers and mothers working to maintain the standard of living they feel

appropriate for themselves, this role has become the responsibility of schools. Second, although the workload of schools has increased, no one is really sure what they should be doing. Most systems are biased towards the very bright (about 10 percent) or the very slow (about 10 percent), and the majority of students receive proportionately less attention than their numbers warrant. Curricular revisions cater to the very able, the disabled, or the unable, but what should the curriculum be for "the average student?" Third, there is always some lag between need, proposed changes, and their implementation.

For the Iban, education has been socially disruptive and culturally destructive. Traditional education in the longhouse was informal, unpressured, and well-suited for the adaptation of the Iban. Much learning took place in play and in the use of the tools upon which the livelihood--indeed, success and survival--depended.

The most formalized educational strategy of Iban was "the evening school" (randau ruai, lit., "verandah (winding) discussion"), when youngsters and adolescents gathered around elders to listen to the rich folklore and imbibe the morals and values woven into that exceedingly elaborate material. Intellectual acumen was sharpened in the solution of involved riddles, and the capacity for eidetic imagery was expanded by the tutelage of the bards and, for a few, by the instruction of the shaman.

One of the best intentioned policies of the colonial period, but with the most serious consequences, was the discouragement of Iban for schooling. The policy was intended to protect Iban society and culture from contamination and erosion. Its effect, like the discouragement of Iban from migrating to towns and participating in business was to delay changes which were bound to come and to preclude their experiencing political and economic competition in which they find themselves at a disadvantage.

Beyond conveying information, most educational systems exist to promote social conformity. In so doing, they are contradictions in terms. Rather than "leading out" (educare) the potential of the individual, or developing the innate

abilities of the person, much contemporary education has an inhibitory effect, stultifying rather than stimulating.

In the case of Iban, there are two overwhelming reasons for seeking education, and two major consequences of education. The first reason for seeking education is to go as high as possible in the educational system--and the salary system. The second reason, contingent on the first, is to get a good-paying job--and earn as much as one can. The local education system is examination-oriented, despite the removal of examinations at Primary 6 and Form 3. (At the latter there now is an Assessment exam.) Mastering material for passing the exam is of primary consideration, learning about life, the world, and humankind is secondary. The problem with all examinations--whether locally or in this researcher's university--is that they most often do not measure what is learnt, and impede learning because of their inordinate importance. One former school administrator commented that "as many as 75 percent of my Iban students failed the Form 3 exam, (when it was still given) and felt themselves inferior failures because of that one experience." They forgot the enormous amount they had learned in school.

With education without examination now extended to Form 5, and with the schooling of many Iban away from the longhouse and in urban centers, the two obvious consequences are clear. First, they are not learning the values and wisdom of their people. And, second, they are learning the values--but not much wisdom--of modernity.

The fact that they are not being educated in the traditional community precludes their learning the lessons and lore of their ancestors. And the values of modernity, urbane in orientation, almost certainly ensure that many, if not most, will never return to live in their longhouses.

An ominous practice is the total support of secondary students by Government, with no requirement of contribution from them or their parents. This total dependence upon Government may easily lead to a disinclination toward work, initiative and self-support, and may require an abrupt "weaning" when the students leave school and cannot depend on anyone else. In several family situations with which I was familiar, young men were almost

entirely supported by their struggling parents. They were quite willing to be dependent and live a life to which they had become acquainted.

The "3M's" to which Iban are being exposed, and which are being internalized--along with the three M's of the educational system--are (1) Money, (2) Mansions, and (3) Mercedes.

3. Services and Entertainment

I can deal only briefly with the two minor attractions of Sibu for urban migrants, services and entertainment. I consider them minor or secondary because neither constitutes a reason for migration in and of itself. Iban visit Sibu for health care, to visit the Family Planning Clinic, or to see the sights and sounds. But they would not move to Sibu just for these, as they have for employment and education.

The relative disadvantage of life in a rural area, cited by a majority of respondents to our survey, is lack of health care facilities. If there is a "type anxiety" among Iban--as probably among most of us--it is sickness, some debilitating, incapacitating illness. This is particularly true for persons far from medical care. With a history of high infant mortality rates, with evidence of increase in stress-related illnesses, it is easily understandable why Iban are anxious about their health.

Iban are the second largest group of patients of Lau King Howe Hospital, and of the Family Planning Clinic. Although less numerous in the city, nonetheless they avail themselves of these services in numbers second only to Chinese.

Sibu is "a swinging place;" at least there are crowds, action, cinemas, coffee shops, and bars. Entertainment was cited by almost half of the respondents as an important advantage of living in Sibu.

Conclusions

Consistent with rural-urban migrations worldwide, Iban movements into Sibu have increased dramatically in the past decade. Some knowledgeable citizens of Sarawak contend that these movements are peculiar to Sibu and the environmental constraints of the Third Division, and that they are not likely to take place elsewhere, e.g., in Kuching. Whatever the developments in other parts of Sarawak, it seems likely that the build-up of Iban in Sibu will continue.

Challenges to State and Municipal Government are enormous: to identify land where migrants may build, to provide basic services, and to aid and administer the integration of urban migrants in their assimilation to the urban community and its values.

For Sibu, the next decade will be one of growth and challenge, and the responses of residents and migrants are well worth continuing observation and analysis.

AN ETHNIC SKETCH OF THE MELAWI AREA WEST KALIMANTAN

Bernard J. L. Sellato
Paris

1. Introduction

The drainage basin of the Melawi River, the major (left) tributary of the Kapuas, covers an acreage of over 20,000 sq. kilometers. It belongs to the regency (kabupaten) of Sintang, which includes 18 districts or kecamantan (see map 1). This paper gives a brief summary of the ethnic groups encountered in the course of several trips, totalling over six months, between 1983 and 1985, on the Melawi and its tributaries. The ethnographic data provided here is generally first-hand information obtained from the local population in their respective settlements, while statistical data was obtained either from headmen or from official district (usually police) sources. The data can be considered reliable, both qualitatively and quantitatively, for five districts, Nos 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (see key to districts below). Incomplete information is provided for districts Nos 3, 8, 9, 15, whereas other districts have not been visited.

Over twenty ethnic groups are taken into account below. Those groups are self-declared entities, although a number of them speak closely related dialects of Melayu (local brands of Malay). Ethnic boundaries are generally clear-cut and emphasized by the spiritual and temporal power exercised over given tracts of territory by elected adat chiefs or temanggung. But ethnic identity has evidently shifted in time, in a number of instances, through various processes: slow fusion of related groups into one more or less homogeneous ethnic entity, demographic absorption, insertion by enclave, linguistic assimilation, Islamization.

Physiography, communications, and patterns of settlement are widely different in the upper reaches of the Melawi (districts 11, 12) where mountains and primary jungle are still dominant, transportation along the rivers only and limited by shallows and rapids, and villages scattered along the main streams; and the low hills and flatlands of districts

3, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, where almost no forest remains and where population is settled in very small villages, connected to one another by paths in the grassland away from the main rivers.

The main subsistence and commercial activities are paddy cultivation (dry hill paddy upstream, wet rice in the flatlands), rubber tree tapping, locally vegetable and fruit, and fish-ponds. In the forested areas, ironwood and rattan are extracted. Timber companies, large plantations, mining and oil companies offer salaried jobs. Government tracks, paths and bridges help improve the trade network with remote villages. At the same time, the Administration tries to group tiny hamlets for better education and health facilities, and the total number of desa (villages) in each district is being drastically reduced, the non-desa settlements becoming dusun.

Non-Muslim groups have taken up either Catholicism or a brand or another of Protestantism during the last fifty years, with a notably increased effort by a score of small American sects in remote areas in the last ten years. However, a still very important number of people practice a form of Kaharingan or a local traditional adat religion. Islam seems to be gaining ground, since the migrational trend has long been and still is from upstream to downstream along the Melawi and its main tributaries, and from darat (the hills) to ai' (the riverside). This movement is often accompanied by conversion to Islam and the Melayu habitat and way of life (clothing, economic activities), and the complete process is referred to as turun Melayu (to come down and become Melayu). Therefore a number of Melayu settlements are of recent Dayak stock. Although the process quickly assimilates the newcomers into the Melayu community, there is a strong cohesion of the Dayak and Melayu, due to the acknowledgment of a regional identity (kita orang ulu, we upstream or interior people), a certain religious tolerance and an economic symbiosis. This cohesion is strongly expressed against the newcomers (pendatang), particularly transmigration Javanese (called tran) who have poured over the area by huge numbers and have not been very welcomed.

Not much will be said of the Chinese. Their number may be estimated at an average 100 to 200 in each of the

districts 10 thru 14, while they may be much more numerous in towns like Nanga Pinoh and Sintang, but accurate figures cannot be easily obtained. They generally say they belong to the Ke' group. They are mostly involved in trade, riverine transportation, collecting of products from up-stream, and are concentrated in big villages.

Map 2 shows the approximate distribution of the ethnic groups in the area visited. A key to the symbols for the ethnic groups is given below. M stands for Melayu and most of the time territory has not been delineated; the settlements located on the main Melawi river downstream from Nanga Ela Ulu are populated by Melayu, with the exception of a few Islamized Dayak villages. The left tributaries of the Melawi downstream the Ela Ulu have not been visited.

Besides the ethnic and statistical survey, a preliminary linguistic survey has been carried out on about 300 words in some twenty languages and dialects in this area.

Key to Districts (Map 1)

3	District of Sintang
8	Nanga Pinoh
9	Nanga Ela Hilir
10	Menukung
11	Nanga Serawai
12	Nanga Ambalau
13	Kayan Hulu
14	Kayan Hilir
15	Dedai

Key to Ethnic Groups (Map 2)

BAR	Barai
BOH	Bohokam or Mahakam
DES	Desa
IB	Iban
INS	Ingar-Silat
K	Kubin
KEB	Kebahan
KEN	Kenyilu (Koruh)
LEB	Lebang
LIM	Limbai

M	Melayu
MEN	Mentebah
MLH	Melahui
OTD	Ot Danum
PAP	Papak
PAY	Payak
RND	Randu'
RNS	Ransa
SEH	Sehiai
SER	Serawai
TEB	Tebidah
UND	Undau

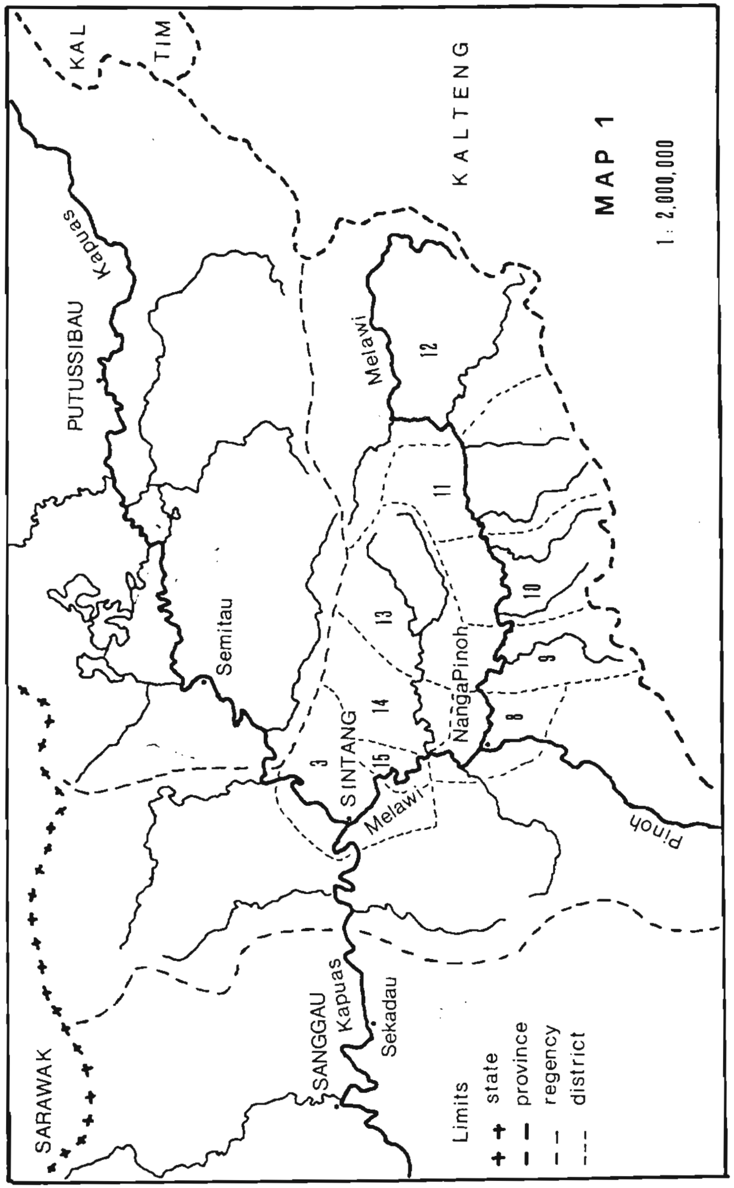
2. The Ethnic Groups

The BARAI group is located between the lower Melawi and the lower Kayan rivers. Less than 3,500 people have been administratively divided into three groups. Two (21 villages, 2,800 people) are in Kayan Hilir District under the adat responsibility of 2 temanggung, one for the Barai-Hilir (14 villages) and one for the Barai-Hulu (7 villages); in Nanga Pinoh District, one more temanggung holds 3 or 4 villages of Barai-Pinoh, more or less mixed with Limbai and Randu', and totalling about 1,000 people. Their language is a Melayu dialect.

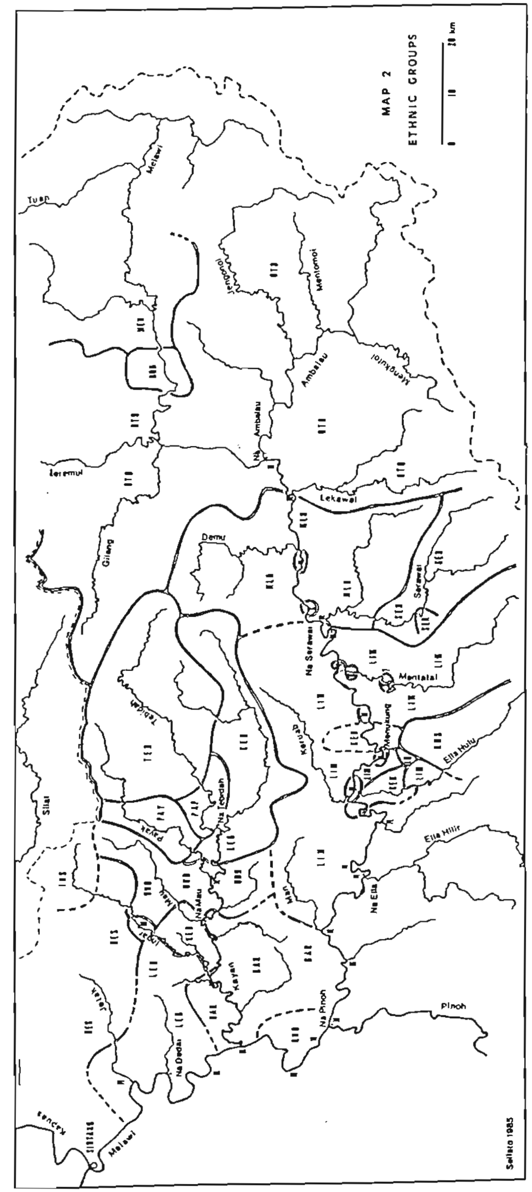
The BOHOKAM or MAHAKAM do not exist any longer as an ethnic group. A former Dohoi (or Ot Danum) captive of the Kayan-Paka' of the upper Mahakam came back from there (hence the name) with a few families and settled near the sources of the Melawi. Then he obtained a territory in-between the Ot Danum and the Mentebah. After the last chief, Temanggung Anyang, died around 1964, the group dispersed downstream, while a few families still live with Ot Danum at Buntut Pimpin. They still speak Kayan-Mahakam, and they total less than 100 people altogether.

The DESA are administratively divided into Desa-Hulu in Kayan Hilir District and Desa-Hilir in Dedai D. (Jeta' river). In the former they total about 4,600 people in 15 villages with one temanggung; in the latter they are probably more numerous. They all are the same group and speak the same language, apparently related to the Ibanic language group.

Map 1


MAP 1
1 : 2,000,000
KAL
TIM
KALTENG
PUTUSSIBAU
Kapuas
Semitau
Melawi
SINTANG
NangaPinoh
Pinoh
SANGGAU
Kapuas
Sekadau
SARAWAK
3
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
Limits
state
province
regency
district

Map 2


MAP 2
ETHNIC GROUPS

The IBAN form a single village of 107 people in Menukung D., where they seem closely associated with the Ransa. It is said that there are more Iban further west. They may have come as mercenaries during the Malay wars of the mid-19th century and settled there. They are mentioned in Enthoven (1903) but not in van Kessel (1849-50).

The INGAR-SILAT are actually a branch of the Ensilat (or Silat) of the Kapuas (Dangkan D.), who moved into the upper Ingar drainage (Kayan Hilir D.). They are about 1,400 people there, in 7 villages, with one temanggung. They speak the same language as the Ensilat, with a slightly different accent.

The bulk of the KUBIN group reside in the Ela Hilir drainage. A group moved from there to Bedaha' (510 people) in Nanga Serawai D. as a consequence of a matrimonial alliance with the Melahui of Begori and submitted to the adat of the Melahui. Another group moved in two villages (Batu Onap and Melona 1, totalling 375 people) in the Mentatai (Menukung D.) amongst the Limbai, but those have retained their adat and have their own temanggung at Melona 1.

The KEBAHAN, one of the most numerous ethnic groups of the Melawi, number 7,000 in Kayan Hulu D., 1,400 in Kayan Hilir D., and more on the Pinoh drainage. The Kebahan of Kayan Hulu D. consist of 5 sub-groups:

1. Kebahan Kayan Ulu (upper Kayan): 10 villages on the Kayan and Lemasau rivers;

2. Kebahan Kayan Tonga': 9 villages on the Kayan and Mendayan;

3. Kebahan Goneh: 18 villages on the Kayan and Ungai rivers;

4. Kebahan Goneh Nangah: at Nanga Tebidah; and

5. Kebahan Kayan Hilir or Kebahan Semadai: 5 villages downstream from Nanga Tebidah.

Each group, except No. 4, has its own temanggung. Another Kebahan village (Rambun) has moved into the Payak river from Semadai and is now under Payak adat. The Kebahan of Kayan Hilir D. (lower Mau and Ungai and left bank of lower Ingar), inhabiting 13 villages with their own temanggung, have remained closer to the Kebahan river, allegedly the original territory of all the Kebahan. In Nanga Pinoh D. are found two groups, called Kebahan Arai (or riverine) along the Pinoh river, and Kebahan Darat, somewhat inland from the left bank of the Pinoh. The former are Islamized. It seems that the homogeneous group of the Kebahan of the Kayan drainage was referred to under different names (Kayan, Gunih, Nangah-Dayak, Jampal and Kebahan proper) in the literature, and I actually noted dialect variations, Kebahan langauge is definitely related to regional Melayu dialects, but more distantly than most of the downstream languages.

The KORUH or KENYILU came from the Kenyilu river, not far downstream from their present settlements in two patches (totalling 1,200 people in 9 villages) among the Limbai in Menukung D. There may be more Kenyilu farther downstream the Melawi. They have one temanggung, although they seem to be more or less assimilated to the numerous Limbai. Their language is close to Melayu.

The LEBANG total 1,700 in Kayan Hilir D. and many more further west (Dedai D.). Two dialect groups, both very close to Melayu, are distinguished: the Lebang Ulu or Lebang Nado, and the Lebang Ili'. They have a temanggung at Nyangkum (Kayan Hilir D.) and another one at Kumpang (Dedai D.).

The LIMBAI are over 8,000 people in several districts:

1. in Nanga Serawai D.: 800 people in 3 villages, with one temanggung;

2. in Menukung D.: 5,500 people in 43 village, including 1,400 Limbai Keruab (on the Keruab and Budoh rivers), 1,500 Limbai Mentatai, 460 Limbai Olo (on the Ela Ulu river), 850 western Limbai Pantai and 1,250 eastern Limbai Pantai (on the banks of the Melawi), with 4 temanggung;

3. in Kayan Hulu D.: 550 Limbai Kebahan or Limbai Kayan, in 7 villages, under Kebahan adat;

4. in Ela Hilir D." on the Man river.

Three linguistic sub-groups are distinguished: Limbai Olo, the original language of the Man area, Limbai Mentatai and Limbai Keruab; the latter includes the dialects spoken on the Keruab and Bodoh, on the Ela Hilir, on the banks of the Melawi (Pantai) and on the Kayan drainage, and is said to have been influenced by the Kebahan dialects. A number of villages along the Melawi, especially downstream, are said to be Islamized, some being now Melayu.

The MELAYU, a numerous but scattered language and culture group, are supposed to total about 2,500 in Menukung D. (6 villages), 4,000 to 5,000 in Nanga Serawai D. (7 villages), 700 in Nanga Ambalau D. (2 villages), 2,000 in Kayan Hulu D. (2 villages) and 2,000 in Kayan Hilir D. (5 villages). They usually form big settlements and have at least one Muslim adat chief (kiai, kuai, or pengawa) in each district, sometimes more (5 in Nanga Serawai D., 2 in Menukung D.). They are either Melayu-Sintang or Melayu-Nanga Pinoh, according to their origin, but their dialects show only slight lexical variation. Many more Melayu are found along the banks of the middle and lower Melawi and along the Pinoh river. If the Melayu form a linguistic and cultural entity, they are not all of a common ethnic origin, most of them (if not all) being ultimately of various Dayak stock. The literature provides a list of Dayak groups having been Islamized, who now are self-declared Melayu. Melayu is the common lingua franca of the Melawi area.

The MENTEBAH number only 700 and are scattered in four very isolated villages upstream the big rapids in Nanga Ambalau D. They came from the upper Kapuas, where part of this group still resides, and settled here after an alliance with the Ot Danum. They have their own temanggung at Kepala Jungai and speak both their language (a Melayu dialect) and Ot Danum.

The MELAHUI are located in Nanga Serawai D. only and number over 4,200: 600 on the Serawai (4 villages), 1,000 on the Tekungai (5 villages), 800 on the Demu (3 villages) and 1,800 on the Melawi (7 villages). They have 4 temanggung. They claim that they are the remainder of the once powerful Nyangai group who possessed the whole of the Melawi and gave birth to the Penembahan of the Sultanate of Sintang. Their language is somewhat in-between Melayu and Ot Danum languages.

The OT DANUM (or 'Ut Danum, Ulu Arai, Ulu Ai', Ulu Ayer, Dohoi) are the most important group of the upper Melawi and culturally and linguistically the most distinct from the Melayu. Associated groups are the Sehiai of the Serawai river, the Pangin of the Ela Hilir, the Orun Da'an (or Ulun Daan) of the Mandai (upper Kapuas). The Ot Danum proper occupy a vast tract of territory, mainly virgin forest, and control the paths overland across the mountains to the upper Barito (Juloi) and the Kahayan-Katingan of Central-Kalimantan, where related groups reside. They say that they have always lived on the Ambalau drainage and from there expanded to Central-Kalimantan. They belong to the language group of the Barito, and other Ot Danum are found on the Barito, and some on the Mahakam. From the Ambalau they also moved westward and populated the Lekawai and part of the Serawai. Although the origin of the people on the Gilang is not clear, all the people under the name Ot Danum appear to have homogeneous language and culture. The Ot Danum of the lower Lekawai (900 people) say they descend from the Penanyui, a group now in Central-Kalimantan. The Ot Danum total about 10,000 in the upper Melawi area, including 7,500 in Nanga Ambalau D. (2,700 in 12 villages along the Melawi; 2,600 in 12 villages on the Ambalau; 900 in 5 villages on the Jengonoi; 350 in 3 villages on the Mentomoi; 800 in 4 villages on the Gilang), and about 2,500 in Nanga Serawai D. (200 in 3 villages along the Melawi; 700-900 in 3 villages on the Serawai; 1,600 in 11 villages on the Lekawai). They have 4 temanggung in Nanga Ambalau D. and 2 in Nanga Serawai D. Ot Danum adat influence seems to have spread downstream the Melawi and across to the Kayan drainage, particularly its specific funeral rituals, including secondary burial. A few Punan families settled among the Ot Danum; they are Hovongan (Punan Bungan) and Kereho (Punan Keriau) of the upper Kapuas, and Kereho Busang (Punan Penyavung) of the upper Barito. To date, some have remained, although many have gone back.

The PAPAK number 1,600 in 17 villages and hamlets in the lower Tebidah river area, in Kayan Hulu D. They have one temanggung at Nanga Oran. They say they have always resided there and were allied to the once powerful Tebidah. They speak a Melayu dialect.

The PAYAK number 1,500 in 13 villages, on the upper Payak river of Kayan Hulu D. They have one temanggung at Toran, and have admitted one Kebahan village downstream from them and under their rule, and two Tebidah villages on their territory upstream from them.

The RANDU' say they are a sub-group of the Barai. They have 7 villages in Nanga Pinoh D., with one temanggung at Tengkajau, but there are more Randu' on the opposite bank of the Melawi in Pembuang D., on the Belimbing-Keninjal rivers. Their language is very close to Barai.

The RANSA number 1,200 in the Ela Ulu river on Menukung D.; in 12 villages with one temanggung (at Sungai Sampak), but there may be more of them in Central-Kalimantan. Their language seems to show Ot Dnaum influence.

The SEHIAI total 1,500 people in 9 villages on the upper Serawai. They say they came over from Central-Kalimantan into the uppermost Serawai, where they mixed with the Serawai group and some Ot Danum newcomers, and all moved subsequently downstream. One temanggung is in charge for the three ethnic groups and resides at Remokoi. Sehiai language is very close to Ot Danum.

The SERAWAI claim they once possessed the whole of the Serawai drainage. Although they are now present in 4 villages, it seems that only one still speaks Serawai (Baras Nabun 2; only 200 people), yet it is already mixed with Sehiai and Ot Danum. Serawai language sounds very close to Melahui.

The TEBIDAH number 4,000 and have always resided on the Tebidah river, from which some moved into the Laar to the West, and farther to the Payak. They also retained two villages (175 people) on the upper reaches of the Kayan river. 3,500 people are on the Tebidah and Laar rivers, in

26 villages, and 345 on the upper Payak, in two villages. They have four temanggung. They once were a very powerful group and used to fight against attacks from everywhere, particularly from the Ensilat and the Melahui. They speak a Melayu dialect.

The UNDAU, totalling 3,400 people, reside in Kayan Hulu D. (850 people in 5 villages, with one temanggung), and Kayan Hilir D. (2,550 people in 22 villages, with 3 temanggung). They are, with the Barai, the poorest people in the region. They speak a Melayu dialect.

3. Suggestions for Research

The present paper will probably be expanded to include a diachronic approach since this region of Kalimantan is one about which fairly good 19th century data is available, including population figures. Also the linguistic data collected in 1983-85 will presumably be lexicostatistically processed in the near future. However, should some researcher be interested in doing fieldwork in the Melawi area (which badly needs it), I would gladly hand over to this person whatever ethnographic and linguistic data is in my possession.

I would like to suggest some themes of research. First of all, the middle Melawi area is a zone of interaction of two important and dynamic culture groups, namely "Melayu" and Ot Danum. Non-Moslem groups located in between show features of both. In this interaction zone, it may be that Ot Danum adat diffused downstream, whereas Melayu language diffused upstream. It would be of special interest to investigate the variations of funeral rituals and art from east to west along the Melawi and on the Kayan, as funeral posts and ossuaries are found among the groups of the Kayan river, apparently connected to varying notions of the afterworld.

Another object could be the Kebahan group, constituted of several sub-groups; it has been relatively preserved because of its location and its size, and may be an excellent theme for a monograph. The Ot Danum, also because of their size and remoteness, have remained virtually free of Islamic influence, what may not always be the case in Central-Kalimantan. Furthermore, they seem to be rather

the conservative sort of people, and this area is supposedly the region of origin for many a group of Central-Kalimantan. Remote areas like the Mentomoi, Jengonoi or Lekawai rivers would be quite adequate for such a study.

We have seen that certain groups, like the Kubin, the Kebahan, moved whole villages to another group's territory, after an alliance, and subsequently submitted to the other group's adat. It may be of some interest to investigate how a given set of adat rules is modified and adapted under such circumstances.

Historical-cultural investigations could be made comparatively on two sets of ethnic groups, namely those who were called Mardaheka (free) groups and those called Serah (serf) groups. The former include Ot Danum, Sehiai, Serawai, Limbai, Ransa, Kenyilu, Iban, Kubin, Tebidah, Papak, all the Kebahan sub-groups, there were autonomous, whereas the latter, Lebang, Undau, Desa, Payak, Randu', Barai, were bound in a sort of serfdom. In the field, to this Mardaheka/Serah opposition correspond until this day striking oppositions in regional physiography, agricultural conditions, material culture, habitat, adat, welfare and demography.

As for linguistics, the many Melayu dialects spoken by the Dayak groups offer a wide range of reflexes, while the languages of the middle Melawi area (Serawai, Menukung, Ela Hilir Districts) show, besides some strange reflexes, a number of lexical peculiarities.

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NOTES ON RATTAN COLLECTION AND TRADE IN THE MASAMBA DISTRICT, SULAWESI SELATAN*

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INTRODUCTION

Rattan (rotan), the common name for climbing palms i the subfamily Lepidocaryoideae, play a prominent role i Indonesia's forest product trade. Average annual ratta production in Indonesia totals approximately 43,000 tor (Weles 1978), which places it second in value only to timbe among forest products. However, the rattan trade probabl employs and benefits more people than does the timbe industry (Dransfield 1981) due to the labor intensive natur of rattan gathering and the many traders involved i marketing. In addition, rattan is a major source of cas income for many lowland farmers (Siebert and Belsky 1985 as well as forest dwelling households (Conelly 1985, Pelus 1983, Weinstock 1983). Rattan production in Indonesia i centered in Kalimantan (Dransfield 1981) and Sulawesi (Wele 1978).

Relatively little is known about rattan collection, trad and systematics in Sulawesi (Dransfield 1981). This articl provides a brief sketch of rattan collection and transport the varieties utilized and their value, and the integration c rattan gathering into other household livelihood activities i two villages in Sulawesi Selatan.

SETTING

This study was conducted in the village of Penchar (50 households) and Saloseba (20 households), Masamb District, Sulawesi Selatan. Penchara and the outlyin

*Editor's Note: This article is included because of it valuable comparative material.

Saloseba are a one and two day walk, respectively, upriver from Masamba (there is no road access) or approximately 75 km northwest of Palopo. The area was visited for the purpose of this study in December 1983, at which time informal interviews and group discussions were held with rattan collectors in the two villages and a collection of commercially important rattan varieties was made.

The principal vegetative cover in the region is primary and secondary lowland rainforest. Shifting cultivation (ladang) is common around both Penchara and Saloseba, while small irrigated rice paddies (sawah) are found around Penchara. As one moves upriver from Penchara, population density and land use intensity decline; above Saloseba evidence of human disturbance is rare.

Household livelihoods in the region revolve around three activities: 1) shifting cultivation, 2) either irrigated rice cultivation (Penchara) or sago (Metroxylon sagu) gathering (Saloseba), and 3) rattan collecting. The first two activities provide households with basic subsistence food (residents report consuming primarily that which they grow or gather from the forest), while cash earned from rattan sales is used for the purchase of cigarettes, coffee, sugar, salted fish, kerosene, clothing and tools.

Shifting cultivation was reported by residents to be the most important livelihood activity, while irrigated rice cultivation and sago gathering are considered supplementary to upland rice production. Each September farmers clear swidden plots from the surrounding forest. The vegetation is allowed to dry for approximately two months and is burned in late November. Upland rice is planted with the onset of the rains in December and weeding is performed periodically between January and March. Rice is harvested in April or May. By August a new site is selected and the process begun again. As a consequence of the seasonality of swidden activities, residents reported having little farm related work during November (post-clear, pre-burn) or in June and July (post-harvest, pre-shift). Present population densities are low and residents reported following a cropping: fallow cycles of 1 yr:10-15 yr.

RATTAN FLORA, COLLECTION AND TRADE

The rattan flora of Sulawesi is rich. Dransfield (1981 notes that at least three genera and 28 species are found o the island. The rattan flora of the Masamba area als appears to be rich and abundant. In general, rattans of a age classes were observed in all forest types, except thos recently returned to fallow. At present, rattan is nc cultivated in the region, thus all growth represents natur reproduction.

Nine varieties of rattan are collected for commerci sale in Penchara and Saloseba (Table 1). In addition residents identified four other varieties that are used fo domestic purposes such as binding and weaving.

TABLE 1
Rattans Harvested for Commercial Sale

Botanical Name	Indonesian Name
Calamus inops Becc. ex Heyr. (?)	tohiti
Calamus didymocarpus Warb ex Becc.	pahit
Calamus symphysipus Mart	pangi
Calamus zollingeri Becc. (?)	seba
Calamus sp. (?)	lambang
Daemonorops macrotera Becc. (?)	manok
Daemonorops robusta Warb ex Becc. (?)	batang
unknown	geramasi
unknown	saloso

Rattan collecting in Penchara and Saloseba is c secondary or supplementary importance to subsistence foo production. Collectors reported that only when labor is nc needed in food procuring activities (particularly swiddening is time allocated to rattan gathering. Not surprisingly November, June and July were cited as peak collectin periods. During these months, men spend the majority c each day collecting and transporting rattan from the fores to river or roadside market sites.

Two methods of rattan gathering are utilized: 1) selective harvest of high value rotan tohiti and manual transport along footpaths to Masamba and 2) bulk harvest of lower value varieties and transport by river to collection sites near the coast. Most collectors prefer the first method, even though it involves more labor, because it is more profitable and immediate payment is made upon delivery to the Masamba merchant.

Collecting rattan in the Masamba area is relatively simple, quick and easy in contrast to accounts of rattan collection and trade in Kalimantan (Peluso 1983, Weinstock 1983). Marketable sized canes of all varieties are readily available within 2 km of Saloseba (though collectors report that large diameter canes of rotan tohiti, 4 cm and greater, are becoming scarce and that it is now necessary to travel about 5 km from Saloseba and 10-12 km from Penchara to find them).

Rattan gathering includes the following procedures: 1) locating and cutting the canes in the forest, 2) hauling the long canes to either trailside or rivers, 3) cutting into 4 m lengths (potong), 4) bundling of canes and 5) transport by land or river. A collector concentrating on rotan tohiti can gather 20-30 canes a day (if from Penchara) or in half a day (if from Saloseba). Once gathered and on the trail, transporting the rattan to Masamba requires one day from Penchara or two days from Saloseba. Thus, two to two and a half days are required to gather and transport 20-30 canes from forest to market.

The amount of money earned from rattan collecting varies depending upon the variety, diameter and number of canes harvested (Table 2).

Collectors reported earning an average of Rupiah 2000-3000 per day. For example, a Penchara collector could earn Rupiah 4200 in two days by collecting 30 poles of 4 cm diameter rotan tohiti, or Rupiah 2100 per day. Residents all concurred that rattan is extremely important due to the lack of alternative income sources.

TABLE 2

Rattan Prices Paid by Local Merchants

Prices per Padang by Diameter Class*

Indonesian Name	1 cm	2.5 cm	4 cm	5 cm	6 cm
tohiti		40	140	350	400
pahit		70			140
pangi		40	120	320	350
seba		70			140
lambang		70			140
manok		70			140
batang		70			140
geramasi	35				
saloso		50 for five 3 meter strips			

*Prices in Indonesia Rupiah (1983) per padang (4 m pole). Diameter classes approximate.

CONCLUSION

Rattan gathering, specifically of rotan tohiti and to a lesser extent eight other varieties, is an important source of cash income for shifting cultivators in the Masamba area of Sulawesi Selatan. During periods of low labor demand, men supplement household subsistence food production activities by earning Rupiah 2000-3000 a day collecting rattan.

Present supplies of most rattan varieties are abundant. However, large diameter canes of the most valuable and frequently collected variety, rotan tohiti, are now available only at one and two days walking distance from collectors' residences and market points. This has increased the time and labor involved in rattan transport and thus reduced profitability for the collector.

The long forest fallow periods observed by shifting cultivators in the region and their recognized need for supplementary income suggest that it may be possible to integrate rattan cultivation into the swidden fallow cycle, as practiced in Kalimantan (Weinstock 1983). Cultivation of

rattan could: 1) assure buyers of readily available, high quality canes of desired varieties; 2) reduce the labor required to transport canes to market and hence increase the profitability for gathers/cultivators; 3) increase the productivity of swidden fallows; and 4) hasten the return of vegetative cover following cultivation.

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THE CENTRAL MAHAKAM BASIN IN EAST-KALIMANTAN: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

ANDREAS W. MASSING

While much of the ethnological literature on Borneo focuses on the interior Dayak groups, very little attention has been given to the diversity of the coastal lowlands.

This area of the East Kalimantan owes its unique character in part to the former sultanate of Kutai, which originated in the delta and central basin of the Mahakam River and developed from a chiefdom into a multi-ethnic and economically diverse state. The purpose of this article is to show the economic and social diversity of the heartland of the East Kalimantan by:

1) giving a cross-sectional analysis of the Central Mahakam population;

2) illustrating its socio-economic integration;

3) tracing the evolution of its economic and political changes; and

4) assessing the current status of development in the area.

I. Data Sources and Methodology

Most of the data presented here are the result of field surveys designed and executed for the Indonesian-German East Kalimantan Transmigration Area Development (TAD) Program between 1979 and 1981. Also included are data from surveys undertaken to help prepare the 1979-1984 Five Year Development Plan (REPLITA III).1

The FAO Farm Management Data Collection System for Small Farmer Development formed the basis for one questionnaire. Questions were translated into Indonesian and a section on resource use was adapted to local conditions. Interviews were stressed at planting time (to measure cleared and planted surfaces) and harvest (to obtain yields). Selected variables from this questionnaire, such as seed input, labor hours, field size, yields, and farm and off-farm incomes, were pre-analyzed by microcomputer.2 Fields were gauged with compass and tapemeasure for a chain-contour survey3, and surfaces were calculated by planimeter and computer4 before being entered in the questionnaires. Yields estimated were obtained on the basis of farmers' statements about the number of local units5 harvested and controlled weightings of these units. Adjustments were made for the quantities of harvest consumed, paid to hired labor, or reserved for seed.

A second questionnaire was constructed to elicit socio-economic information on household composition, residence, marriage and divorce. Together with the horticultural information, these data were coded and submitted to a second computer analysis with the SPSS program at the Frankfurt University UNIVAC computer.6 Sampling of the households was done in three stages:

1) Ecologically representative districts were selected for the central swamp and lake areas, the upland river banks of the Mahakam and its tributaries, and the upland between the rivers, in particular the Tunjung Plateau.7

2) The totality of villages in each selected district was sampled.8

3) With the help of available census information, ten percent of the households in each village was selected for interviewing.9

The following sampling rates were obtained:10

TABLE 1
Sample Districts (Kecamatans) and Sampling Rates

Kecamatan	Total Population*	No. of Houses*	Households Interviewed	Sampling Percentage
Kota Bangun	16,585	3,112	207	6.7
Muara Muntai	12,084	2,273	142	6.3
Bengalon valley	2,082	594	19	3.5
Muara Wahau	7,161	1,325	110	8.3
Melak	12,305	2,822	137	4.9
B. Tongkok	12,695	2,171	99	4.6
Damai	8,219	1,811	106	5.9
Muara Lawa	1,737	412	41	10.8
Total	75,384	14,927	878	5.9

*Source: Kantor Sensus dan Statistik and BAPPEDA, Hasil Registrasi Penduduk Kalimantan Timur, Samarinda 1979/80.

TABLE 2
Inhabitants and Surface Area
of Kutai and the Middle Mahakam

MIDDLE MAHAKAM AREA

Kecamatan	Population 1971	Population 1980	Surface in km2	Density (1980)
Long Iram	11,870	16,350	5,587	2.9
Kembang Janggut	7,415	7,605	2,042	3.7
Muara Ancalong	10,902	12,813	5,126	2.5
Muara Bengkal	7,592	9,016	2,925	3.1
Muara Kaman	10,564	11,390	2,679	4.2
Sebulu	6,084	12,112	1,044	10.5
Kota Bangun	15,696	17,423	2,273	7.3
Muara Muntai	10,772	12,650	505	23.0
Bongan	4,889	5,065	2,245	2.2
Jempang	6,442	7,172	994	7.2
Penyinggahan	2,947	3,482	273	12.2
Muara Pahu	11,990	12,507	2,566	4.0
Muara Lawa	2,768	3,115	1,991	1.5
Bentian Besar	1,950	2,173	2,484	1.0
Damai	7,617	8,622	2,434	3.6
Barong Tongkok	9,628	14,155	1,277	11.1
Melak	10,475	12,573	916	13.7
Kenohan-Kahala	6,245	7,559	873	8.7
Muara Wahau	4,830	7,542	7,750	1.0
TOTAL	150,676	183,324	45,984	

REMAINDER OF KUTAI

Anggana	11,603	19,701	505	34.9
Bontang	10,290	35,581	7,855	3.4
Loa Janan	14,137	24,026	952	22.9
Loa Kulu	10,331	15,882	1,310	12.1
Long Apari	2,239	2,054	51,700	0.03
Long Bagun	2,712	4,426	11,748	0.4
Long Pahangai	3,531	3,683	3,718	1.2
Muara Badak	6,102	18,397	2,273	8.1
Sangkulirang	8,769	20,061	7,509	2.7
Tabang	3,932	6,783	7,156	0.8
Tenggarong	17,090	37,841	926	40.8
TOTAL KUTAI	241,412	372,148	95,652	

II. Population

The major concentrations of Kutai are found in the vicinity of Samarinda11--kecamatans Loa Kulu and the old capital of Tenggarong--as well as in the central lake basin. Along the upper Mahakam and its tributaries, population is sparse and progressively drains away toward the coastal centers. The concentration of population along the banks is much higher than that of the nearly empty uplands. The swamplands are uninhabitable and unexploitable except by fishermen living on rafts and boats. The only upland area with a relatively dense population is the Tunjung Plateau to the west of the Mahakam and north of the Kedang Pahu.

To demonstrate the relative significance of these sampling districts within the Middle Mahakam and Kutai, Table Two provides area and population figures for each kecamatan. As shown, the districts sampled represent 18 percent of the total area and 20 percent of the total population of Kutai; they account for 37.3 percent of the area and 41 percent of the population of the entire Middle Mahakam.

If we compare these figures with those for the remaining kabupatens of East Kalimantan, we can see that the Middle Mahakam area and Kutai account for 4 and 7.5 percent of the region's total surface and 18 and 37 percent of its total population, respectively. (See Table Three.)

TABLE 3
Inhabitants and Surface Area
of the Remaining East Kalimantan

Kabupaten/ Kotamadya	Population 1980	Surface Area	Density
Middle Mahakam	183,324	45,984	4.0
Kutai	372,148	91,056*	4.1
Samarinda	214,839	2,727	78.8
Balikpapan	248,277	946	262.5
Pasir	74,150	20,040	3.7
Berau	38,712	32,700	1.2
Bulungan	159,537	63,985	2.5
TOTAL	1,007,663	1,219,117	

While the coastal districts and the two urban regions of Samarinda and Balikpapan have almost doubled in population since 1971, growth has stagnated in most of the Middle Mahakam. There, the birth rate barely compensates for migration to other areas. Due to logging activity in some of the heavily forested upland districts, however, areas such as Barong Tongkok and Melak have experienced temporary population surges.

III. The Ethnic Setting

From the ethnic viewpoint, the Indonesian motto "unity in diversity" may apply more aptly to Kutai and the Middle Mahakam than to any other Indonesian region. The traditional inhabitants, collectively referred to as Dayak, are settled on the upper courses and headwaters of the rivers as well as the inter-riverine uplands. By themselves, they are quite diverse.

The lower course of the Mahakam and its tributaries Kedang Kepala and Belayan were colonized from as early as the sixteenth century by the Malay ancestors of the present orang Kutai. The Kutainese, who seem to have been originally the only inhabitants of the Mahakam delta,12 gradually withdrew inland to evade the incursions and raids of Buginese pirates.

Since the eighteenth century, these Buginese from southwestern Sulawesi gained control over most of the shipping routes through the Makassar Straits by establishing settlements along the east Borneo coast to Sulu and Palawan in the Philippines. From their bridgehead at Samarinda, they controlled trade with the interior of Kutai;13 since the Dutch administration, they have managed to establish small settlements of traders in every major Kutainese town. While Melak was traditionally their limit of expansion, the last fifty years have seen them filter even farther inland through employment with the logging companies, where they often find violent conflict with the local Dayak population.

The lake area of the Central Mahakam Basin has, since the late nineteenth century, become an area of colonization for settlers from an ecologically similar region near Amuntai in South Kalimantan. Muara Muntai (or Muara Amuntai) is

the center of these orang Banjar, who, like the Kutainese and Buginese, profess the Islamic faith.

The most recent immigrants are the Javanese, who arrived in small numbers after World War II but have increased substantially since the early sixties due to the nation's transmigration policy. They are mainly established on the Tunjung Plateau.

An understanding of the economic structure of the area requires a knowledge of the different ecological niches and economic resources traditionally exploited by these groups:

1) The Dayak (and some Punan) who moved into Kutai: agricultural uplands and forests.

2) The Malays or Kutainese: Mahakam delta, fertile banks of lower river courses, and swamps.14

3) The Banjarese: as commercial middlemen, transport and trade opportunities which arose from internal demand for foreign imports (salt, arms, cloth) and external demand for local products (gold, wood, rotan, rubber).

One result of this economic and ecological specialization was an economic stratification, with the Buginese and Banjarese at the upper end of the scale and the Kutainese and various Dayak groups at the bottom. While income data alone can only incompletely reflect political and social influences, the information provided by the surveys clearly supports this conclusion.

The following ethnic groups were included in the sample:

TABLE 4
Ethnic Groups Represented in Kutai

Kutainese	Dayak Benuaq/Bentian	Dajak Basap
Banjarese	Dayak Tunjung	Dajak Kenyah
Buginese	Dajak Bahau	Dajak Penihing
Javanese	Dajak Modang	Dajak Saputan
	Dajak Kayan	Dajak Long Glat

An estimate of the distribution of ethnic and religious groups in the area can be seen in Table Five:

TABLE 5
Distribution of Ethnic Groups and Religion in the Sample

Ethnic Group	No.	%	Religion	No.	%
Benuaq	121	23.9	Islamic	150	29.6
Tunjung	160	31.6	Catholic	21	4.1
Modang	24	4.7	Protestant	14	2.8
Bahau	14	2.8	Animist	141	27.8
Kutai	74	14.6	Unknown*	181	35.7
Java	36	7.1			
Banjar	51	10.1			
Bugis	18	3.6			
Others	9	1.8			
Total	507	100.1		507	100.0

*The question for religion was only later added to the questionnaire.

Due to the fact that the survey covered principally rural districts, the town populations of Kutainese, Banjar and Buginese are somewhat under-represented.

The professional structure of the population is illustrated in Table Six. The Dayak and Javanese are principally farmers. The Kutainese and Banjarese contain a rather higher proportion of artisan and commercial professions. The great percentage of higher-level professions among the Tunjung appears to be due to the influence of the Catholic mission at Tering, which has operated a school and a hospital since 1918.

The implicit economic stratification among ethnic groups reappears when we compare the distributions of professions with incomes:

The income differentials among ethnic groups can be accounted for mainly by the economic and professional specializations prevailing in each group. Thus, the relatively

TABLE 6
Professions by Ethnic Groups

Profession	Benuaq	Tunjung	Modang	Bahau	Kutai	Java	Banjar	Bugis	Other	%
Farmers	91	118	21	8	26	25	11	4	4	60.7
Fishermen	1	1	0	0	7	0	3	0	1	2.6
Traders*	9	5	0	4	8	5	12	4	0	8.7
Artisans**	0	4	0	0	11	1	17	3	0	6.9
Workers***	0	7	2	1	1	5	1	0	0	3.4
Gov. Employees****	10	13	0	0	15	0	5	3	1	9.9
Professionals*****	4	11	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	4.3
Rotan Collect.	6	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	2.0
Total	121	160	24	14	74	36	51	18	9	
Percent	23.9	31.6	4.6	2.8	14.6	7.1	10.1	3.8	1.8	

*Includes transporters and food processors for local markets
**Bakers, butchers, smiths, mechanics, carpenters, masons and tailors
***Mainly workers of logging enterprises
****Mainly village chiefs and administrative personnel
*****Teachers and Nurses

TABLE 7
Mean Total Income by Ethncity and Profession

Profession	Benuaq	Tunjung	Modang	Bahau	Kutai	Java	Banjar	Bugis
Mean Income	368	300	338	553	548	317	489	774
Farmers	328	247	296	489	266	215	343	n.d.
Fishermen	-	-	-	-	333	-	467	-
Traders	573	310	-	515	857	650	765	450
Artisans	-	462	-	-	389	-	378	n.d.
Workers	-	359	n.d.	455	-	592	-	-
Employees	645	353	-	-	633	-	461	-
Professionals	609	753	-	-	-	-	-	n.d.

Note: In 1979/80 Rp. 100,000 were equal to US$160.
Data were omitted where the number of cases was zero or too insignificant to gave meaningful means.
n.d. - data not computed.

high average incomes of the Buginese, Banjar and Kutainese are due to their relatively high percentage of traders and government officials; on the other hand, the low average incomes of the Javanese, Benuaq, Tunjung and Modang are due to their relatively higher percentage of farmers. Only the Bahau, who claim a large number of wood sellers and logging company employees, make an exception. The distribution of ethnic groups by income bracket in Table Eight below underscores this point.

This table indicates that the distribution of income is truly skewed among the tribes. Whereas only 27 percent of all sample households fall into the highest income class, the Buginese may consider 83 percent of their households within this range and the Kutainese, Banjarese and Bahau some 40 percent of theirs. However, 39 percent of Javanese and 35 percent of Benuaq and Tunjung earnings fall within the range of less than Rp. 500,000 (U.S. $800 in 1980) per annum. Again, this seems due to the high proportion of incomes from primary activities among the Javanese, Benuaq and Tunjung, compared to the more predominant tertiary activities among the orang Bugis, Kutai, Banjar and Bahau. It should be noted that the above figures refer only to total income, while the proportion of off-farm earnings to total income varies considerably from tribe to tribe and from one geographic location to another. It seems to be these off-farm earnings which are the major factor accounting for distinctions in the average incomes of different groups.

IV. The Regional Economy

While some of the indigenous tribes (including the Banjarese, later immigrants) exploit a specific habitat and ecological niche, there are groups such as the Buginese and Kenyah (recent settlers in Kutai) who are spread over the entire Mahakam area. Therefore, regional environments have a greater influence than ethnic origins on the economic activities of a population. This implies that different ethnic groups settling in the same region exhibit more economic similarities than members of the same ethnic groups in different regions. A short characterization of the main distinct environments and their corresponding farming systems follows:

TABLE 8
Ethnic Groups by Income Classes
(Number of Cases)

Income Class (in Rupiah)	Benuaq	Tunjung	Modang	Bahau	Kutai	Java	Banjar	Bugis
1 - 150,000	4	7	0	2	3	4	1	0
151 - 250,000	7	29	3	1	2	3	3	0
252 - 500,000	44	56	7	2	19	14	8	0
501 - 750,000	41	41	11	3	20	10	17	3
above 750,000	27	27	3	6	30	5	22	15

1) In the upland forests between rivers, rainfed upland ladang, occasionally supplemented by vegetable gardening;

2) On the river banks, rainfed ladang on river levees, supplemented by vegetable gardening;

3) In the central swamp and lake areas, sawah rice cultivation (actually called rapak in Kalimantan to distinguish it from man-made sawah fields); a variant of this is flood recession cultivation on the lake shores.

A. Rainfed Upland Ladang

This farming system still occupies the greatest surface in Kutai: 37,257 hectares in 1980, according to the official statistics.15 Ladang refers to the type of shifting cultivation found globally in tropical forest areas, in which clearing underbrush, felling trees, burning dry matter, planting, weeding, and harvesting are the essential tasks.

As a farming system it is extensive, economizing on labor, the scarcest factor in traditional society, and utilizing great quantities of the more abundant factor, land. It is the only alternative to farmers who lack capital to obtain other inputs.

The system is stable up to population densities of twenty inhabitants per square kilometer. Within that area, farmers can maintain sufficiently long fallow periods to restore soil fertility (approximately eight to twelve years).16 Walking distance between village and fields also keeps the system confined: when the distance to the field becomes too great, farmers move back to older fallow patches nearer their homes. Only when pressure is exerted from the outside, e.g. by logging and plantations, which usually reduce the cultivable area with their roads and large-scale clearing, does the system degenerate. Insufficient fallow periods and soil depletion are crucial.

Critics of the ladang system usually contrast the widespread destruction of valuable forest by the indigenous population with the "more rational" exploitation by logging or plantation companies. They tend to ignore the fact that

these firms have appropriated the land from its former owners--usually by government nationalization and the subsequent carving up of concessions--and are not willing to recognize the land rights of the local population which could, given sufficient capital and know-how, ensure a "rational exploitation" also. Neither governments nor concessionnaires compensate the traditional landowners for the loss of fallow area by a proportionate provision of modern inputs to permit the transition from shifting to stable and more intensified farming; the concessionnaires can often only operate profitably because the local population is designed as a reserve of cheap labor.

The technology of the upland ladang system relies on manual labor and hand tools: the mandau or parang is used for cutting underbrush, the kapak (axe) for felling large trees, the tugal for planting, and the lingga, a small hoe, for weeding. Finger-knives are used to cut the panicles at harvest.

While it requires more labor for land-preparation than the sawah system, the rainfed ladang system requires little labor for weeding, planting and harvesting. If the initial labor investments in sawah for irrigation development were always included, the figure for labor indicated in Table Nine below would be even higher. In the Mahakam area, the development of sawah includes an additional clearing of forest in a swamp, which could not be reflected by our data, since it recorded only annual labor inputs. In its pure form, the ladang field is usually abandoned after one or two cropping seasons. The decline of soil fertility may not be due to the loss of soil nutrients alone, but also due to increasing competition from weeds and a higher pest incidence.17 This would suggest that an improved technology for weeding and disease control would make an important contribution towards intensifying the system and allowing ladang farmers to obtain higher yields. This is indeed found on the Tunjung Plateau, where the local Tunjung, under the influence of Javanese transmigrants, have begun to practice a grass fallow of four years, followed by three years of cropping. The cropping cycle now involves ploughing in of grass, manuring, and oxen-aided cultivation. Farmers report yields of eighty times the amount of seed planted in the first year, sixty times in the second and forty to fifty times in the thirds year.

The main cropping season coincides with the rainy season, musim timur, between August and March. The dry season, musim kemarau, from April to August, is usually used only for vegetable gardening near the river and off-farm activities.

B. Rainfed Farming on River Levees

The alluvial banks of the major rivers, which are highter than the flat land behind them, form a fertile though limited and risky area for farming. The town populations along the Mahakam have been mainly responsible for bringing most of the banks under intensive cultivation. Rice intercropped with maize, pumpkin, and beans is cultivated for two years, followed by semi-perennial crops such as cassava and bananas, and perennial tree crops (coconut, jackfruit, papaya, breadfruit, kapok and rubber). The tree crops are cleared again after about 25 years in the less populated areas. Permanent cropping is common around the towns: rice in the main rainy season and vegetables in the dry season-- including cassava, squash, string beans, melons, sweet potatoes, eggplant, cucumbers and chillies.

C. Swamp Rice Cultivation

In contrast to Bali and Java where rice cultivation is made possible by irrigation, successful cultivation of rice in the lowlands of Kalimantan requires drainage techniques and is practiced in natural swamps behind the river levees and in river deltas. Here, the local population has cleared the initial pole swamp forest and drained the flood water by digging canals. The most intensive swamp rice cultivation in East Kalimantan occurs in the Mahakam delta, around Muara Muntai and the Bongan delta, as well as to the south of Kota Bangun.

Besides initial forest clearing, the establishment of nurseries, and transplanting, weeding, and harvesting make this farming system somewhat more labor-intensive than ladang. Total area under this type of cultivation, is said to be 17,000 hectares; it is not certain whether river bank farming is included in these statistics.

Table Nine below offers a comparison of the economic coefficients of these three farming systems. Due to variable

TABLE 9
An Economic Comparison of the Nahakam Farming Systems

Area n in ( )	Field Size* (ha)	Yield (kg/ha)	Labor (MD/ha)	Output (kg/MD)	Total Farm Size (ha)*	Farm Income (Rupiah)
RAINFED UPLAND FARMING						
Tunjung Plateau						
(222)	.95	798	237	3.9	1.1	108,000
Muara Wahau						
Kenyah (26)	1.88	1,294	394	3.3	1.9	237,897
Modang (12)	.91	1,724	204	8.5	1.02	101,200
RAINFED RIVER BANK FARMING						
Central Lakes						
(78)	.49	1,488	375	4.9	.83	268,415
Upper Mahakam						
(38)	.75	1,120	258	5.4	.82	125,362
Upper Pahu						
(58)	.43	1,542	429	4.8	.44	106,876
Wahau/Bengalon						
(83)	.93	1,600	287	5.6	1.14	212,558
INUNDATED SAWAH FARMING						
Kota Bangun						
(74)	.38	2,332	483	5.1	.47	137,580
Muara Muntai						
(40)	.39	1,435**	461	4.2**	.47	399,250
Tunjung Plateau						
(51)	.39	2,724	553	6.1	.44	99,810

* The size of the main rice field added to the size of vegetable and tree crops plots gives total farm size.

** At the time of measurement, some villages in Muara Muntai were flooded which resulted in a depression of yields; yields above 2 tons would be normal.

soil conditions and management skills (which tend to be more advanced among the Javanese and Banjarese), there is a wide variety of yields even when identical systems are utilized. Sawah, however, consistently shows the highest yields per hectare. River bank cultivation and ladang, respectively, follow second and third. Such results might be expected, yet when yield per unit of labor is considered, the picture is more complex. The relatively high labor input demanded by swamp rice shows that it is a more intensive technique, since less land is required to produce a given input. But on the other hand, similar outputs are achieved with fewer hours in the ladang and river bank systems. Thus, investment in irrigation is only economically worthwhile in areas of concentrated population and scarce land. This is particularly true if the large initial expenditures for clearing and canals are included.

In general, a farmer's decision on whether to devote his time to sawah or other types of farming such as vegetable gardening, plantation work, or even off-farm activities, depends upon the relative scarcity of family labor, land, and the relative prices of the output. Thus, off-farm activities are not only practiced outside the main farming season, when the opportunity cost of farm labor is low--but actually compete for time during the cropping season. The economic diversity found in the central lakes area has led to a higher degree of professional specialization than that of the surrounding upland districts, where ninety percent of the population is still farmers. Commerce, transport, boat building, food processing, construction, and even fishing and animal husbandry promise much higher rewards than farming, which is additionally beset by the risks of flooding. Even in upland areas, the collection of forest products such as rotan and bamboo (and of alluvial gold by the Dayak), in addition to wage labor in logging companies, contributes considerably to total income.

A comparison of average incomes derived from farming and off-farm activities (Table Ten) shows that the agricultural earnings are usually much less, but also that both types of gain tend to be higher in the central swamp/lake region than in the surrounding upland districts.

The distinctions between Kota Bangun, Muara Muntai and Melak (villages closest to the Mahakam) and the TABLE

TABLE 10
Types of Income by Districts

Kecamatan (Survey Region)	Average Farm Income (in Rupiah 1979/80)	Average Off-Farm Income (in Rupiah 1979/80)
Upland Districts		
Muara Wahau	151,969	219,775
Melak	100,624	208,860
Barong Tongkok	113,543	193,909
Muara Lawa	104,486	266,636
Damai	154,394	206,834
Central Lake Districts		
Kota Bangun	120,052	219,957
Muara Muntai	308,347	451,149
Coastal Area (Bengalon)	386,800	783,000

settlements situated in the hinterland are striking. In villages such as Melintang and Jantur, which depend mainly upon fishing, the average income generally exceeds Rp. 500,000 per annum. In the riverine populations of the lake districts, both farm and non-farm incomes are higher than in the inland communities, but off-farm incomes remain the most crucial source of sustenance. Only in Melak, which is outside the central lake area, are the off-farm earnings of the inland villages higher than those of the riverine villages. Again, for both types of community, they exceed farm incomes.

TABLE 11
Average Farm and Off-Farm Incomes
for Riverine and Inland Communities

	Average Farm Income	Average Off-Farm Income
Kota Bangun river	124,147	278,890
Kota Bangun island	116,542	122,674
Muara Muntal river	323,481	408,591
Muara Muntal island	108,770	353,247
Melak river	125,362	186,116
Melak island	76,635	229,077

V. Socio-Economic Structures

While the Central Mahakam region presents a unified, integrated economy in the sense that diverse ethnic and socioeconomic groups cooperate in the exploitation of different environments, its cultural and social diversity should not be neglected. Therefore, this section will discuss social structures of the different ethnic groups, according to the data from the surveys. The discussion will concentrate on family/household composition, socio-political structure and adat.

Table Twelve gives a summary comparison of the family structure of various ethnic groups. While the distinctions might be due in part to biological differences, they also clearly stem from differences in wealth and access to health and education. The much lower number of births per woman

and children per family among the indigenous groups is related to a proportionately greater neglect by government programs and a subsequently higher infant mortality.

The influence of access to basic services and education is also clear in a TAD survey on rural women in the central Mahakam area:

The ties between maternal education and child survival can be very close. The women of the Benuaq village, who were 97.5 percent illiterate, lost by far the greatest number of children. The Javanese and Kutai-Banjar women, who fared much better, were 77.5 percent and 27.5 percent illiterate, respectively. Of the two Tunjung villages surveyed, the one in which fifty percent of the women had six or more years of schooling experienced a relatively low child mortality of 11.4 percent; the other, where only twenty percent of women had attained that level, lost a total of 16 percent.

Geographic isolation from the provincial and regional capitals is another important factor in child mortality in the Mahakam area. The Kutainese, Buginese and Banjarese who live in urban centers along the river (Kota Bangun, Muara Muntai and Melak) have a much better access to dispensaries and health care than the populations living hundreds of kilometers up some of the tributaries or even in the bush like the Basap, Punan and Bentian.

The TAD Health and Nutrition Survey of 1980, which unfortunately makes no breakdown of ethnic or socio-economic groups, reported the following:

1) high incidence of anemia, particularly among women;

2) high incidences of malaria, intestinal parasite infections, diarrhoea, and ear-eye infections;

3) a high infant mortality rate (43 deaths before the first year per 1,000); and

4) a high degree of malnutrition in children under five (60 percent malnourished and 8 percent severely malnourished).

TABLE 12
Household and Fmaily Structure and Fertility

Ethnic Group	Total Family Size	No. of Adults	No. of Children	No. of Sons	No. of Daughters	Avg. No. of Dead Children	Ave. No. of Live Children/ Woman
Banjarese	5.98	2.59	3.39	1.78	1.71	4.0	4.61
Javanese	6.03	2.7	3.06	1.8	1.7	3.0	4.72
Buginese	6.0	2.81	2.88	1.56	2.13	3.1	4.00
Tunjung	6.16	3.02	2.86	1.6	1.45	2.7	4.02
Bahau	5.86	3.0	2.86	1.64	1.14	2.0	3.57
Benuaq	6.1	3.53	2.47	1.47	2.18	2.5	3.32
Modang	4.95	2.9	2.04	0.86	0.71	3.1	2.75

84

TABLE 13
Child-Bearing and Marital Statistics
for Rural Mothers
(TAD Survey)

Ethnic Groups	Avg. No. of Births per Married Woman	Pct. of Death Among All Children Born	Avg. Age at First Pregnancy	Pct. of Women Married Below 16
Kutai-Banjar	5.3	19.4	18.7	29
Javanese	4.8	13.6	18.2	58
Tunjung	4.3	13.7	18.1	32
Benuaq	5.0	30.5*	17.3	49

85

*Of which 92 percent between 0 and 5 years, and none by stillbirth

Child delivery is mostly handled by traditional midwives or curers. Among the indigenous Dayak groups, curing ceremonies17 are frequent even though visits to rural health centers or missionary hospitals are becoming more common.

The greater access to services enjoyed by the riverine and immigrant populations includes education; relevant data from the surveys have not yet been analyzed quantitatively, however.

VI. Adat and Socio-Political Structures

A. Kutainese

As the Kutainese population has blended indigenous with immigrant Malay-Moslem elements over the centuries, the adat shows a mixture of traditional and Islamic customs and laws. Whereas all Kutainese are officially orang Islam, folk elements such as the widespread belief in ghosts (hantu) and the occasional practice of shamanistic ceremonies (belian) continue to influence everyday behavior. Along the Bengalon, Jembayan, Bongan and Ohang rivers, and in Kota Bangun, I was told that the Basap, Benuaq and Tunjung, recently converted to Islam (masuk agama Islam), were now considered orang Kutai. The camat of Bongan even refused to admit that there were any Dayak villages in his kecamatan, but later conceded that on the Upper Kedang Kanan the population mixed with orang Pasir, i.e., Lawangan Dayak. In 1905 Knappert noted Benoewa (Benuaq) Dayaks at Muara Siram, "who belong to the same tribe as those who live on the Kedang Pahu,".18 Farther upstream, near Lemper, he met Lawangan-Dayaks belonging to the same tribe as the Lawangan on the upper Ajoe (Sungai Ajuh, Kabutapen Tabalong). On the Kedang Kiri he found another Benoewa settlement at Tula and two Baou-Dayak settlements at Baoe Noenga and Baoe Goesi (Muara Gusiq?), who originated from tanah Baoe in Kabupaten Tabalong. Some of the Tula Dayaks had converted to Islam only recently; today they are called orang Kutai. In Kecamatan Kota Bangun, I visited a non-Islamic village of so-called orang Kutai who adhered to adat lawas (traditional adat) and had occasion to witness an entire night of belian ritual.

Some 150 years ago, the sultanate of Kutai ended at Muara Pahu19, two-thirds of whose inhabitants were Dayak.20 Beyond this territory extended the lands of independent Dayak tribes and their chiefs, with whom the sultan established treaties. While claiming a formal sovereignty over these areas, he made no attempt to enforce an annual tribute of chiefs' children, a method used in conjunction with cutting off salt supplies to control the leaders of the interior.21 Direct rule, through the sultan's brothers or sons, was exerted only in the main Kutainese districts (Muara Kaman, Kota Bangun, Muara Pahu Pantun), the Mahakam delta heartland, and the coastal districts of Bontang and Sangkulirang. These interior districts consisted of village-polities which became important as regional commercial centers and outlets of interior rivers. They were integrated into the Kutai sultanate as remnants of the interior kingdom of Kutai Martapura at Muara Kaman in the seventeenth century. Islam came from Makassar, where it was introduced in 1605, and with it came the Buginese and probably other Moslem traders.22

The present administration was installed only in 1960 when Kutai became a Kabutapen following its status as a Daerah Istimewa (special region 1950-1959) and an independent self-governing sultanate (1902-1950). Under the old sultanate, the rural inland districts were supervised by noblemen, pangerans who were frequently princes of the royal dynasty. Their number was reduced to four in 1901 by the contract with the Dutch government and they formed, together with the sultan, the supreme government council.23

In the village communities along the Mahakam River, mantries represented the sultan for the community. They were assisted by legal officials (jaksas) in the larger districts such as Ancalong, Muara Pahu, and Melak.24 In Kota Bangun, Tenggarong and Samarinda, regional courts administered the law. These local officials had the right to claim labor for their fields, boats, and houses in return for their services. They also enjoyed part of the trade levies collected on behalf of the sultan.

At an even lower level, the kampong was and is governed by traditional elders; they were called petinggi, pengawas, or ketua, and frequently awarded honorific titles

by the sultan such as Raden, Tumenggung, and Kiai. They were responsible for the collection of head taxes, receiving eight percent of the amount raised.25 Currently, these kepala kampung are officials with a monthly salary of 15,000 Rp.

In pre-Dutch times, the sultan in Tenggarong administered government through three officials: the Adipati (a Pangeran Ratu during the nineteenth century), the Firdana Mantri, and a Senopati.26 The last was responsible for peace and order and hence the commander of the army (panglima). The second was apparently a senior advisor in foreign and interior affairs, while the first was the representative (wakil) of the sultan in his absence and could take control on his behalf should he become incapacitated.27 The sultan's revenues consisted traditionally of export and import duties on five percent on all goods; customs duties on products from the interior; a salt monopoly; head taxes from Kutainese and Dayak subjects; royalties from the leasing of bird-nest caves; and fines. After 1890, these sources were supplemented by royalties from the oil and coal concessions of Dutch companies.28

B. Buginese

Settled on the lower Mahakam since 1686, the Buginese established a trade post at Samarinda between 1720 and 1730. Samarinda's governors were the harbort master (sjahbandar) who levied the import and export duties on behalf of the sultan of Kutai, and a civil administrator, the Pua Adu, who mainly judged commercial disputes.29 The Imam represented the religious authority. As late as 1850, the Buginese were excluded from trading up the Mahakam beyond Tenggarong, despite their apparant influence with the royal family; the sultan's revenues came foremost.30 However, by 1885 there were already Buginese settlements at Melak, Bohoq, Muara Benangaq, and Muara Pahu.31 Today, the Buginese have their own quarters (rukun tetangga) in most of the larger settlements and recruit their own kepala kampung; yet the social influence of the richest traders and shipowners (nachoda), often reinforced by pilgrimages to Mecca, is a much stronger determinant of authority than administrative position. The Buginese control the supply of virtually all consumer goods to the interior districts, yet their prestige and power is inextricably linked to their

faith. Not content to enjoy his economic wealth alone, a Bugis trader will always try to convert his financiăl position into an enhanced social one by becoming a Haji or making at least one pilgrimage. Formerly, these voyages were occasions for trade, but it appears that now few goods besides personal souvenirs find their way from Arabia to Kutai.

C. Banjarese

People from southern Kalimantan have come to Kutai in various waves since the early nineteenth century. One of the main trade routes between the Mahakam and Barito basins, where gold and birds' nests were traded, followed the Banangan, Kias, Bentian, and Pahu; another led along the Lahei and Pari to the upper Pahu.32 Traders were originally Dayak from the Barito--Taboyan or Lawangan--who during the nineteenth century converted to Islam and began to identify themselves with the Bakumpei and speak their language. This seems to be the case with the orang Banjar of Muara Lawa. Those settling in the lake area of Kutai, however, apparently originate from the Berambei and Amuntai districts.

Most of the Banjarese make a living fishing and trading river products. They have successfully colonized the swampy habitat of the central lake area and in recent years have made significant efforts to become sedentary and develop sawah fields and gardens, particularly on the lower Bongan. In an effort to more effectively supervise the area, the government of Kutai has insisted that the formerly dispersed settlements become more concentrated (many of the fisherman actually lived on their rafts). Fish trade is now chanelled through official market outlets in order to prevent the exploitation of the small fishermen. Yet these fishermen must often depend on wholesale traders, who in turn depend on Chinese fish brokers and merchants in Samarinda and must accept prices set in advance.

D. Benuaq and Tunjung

As both these groups are closely related, their traditional forms of social-caste government resemble each other. Economic distinctions may be slight, for most people subsist mainly on upland farming, gardening, and the

collection of forest products. But differences in social status and membership in a class define a person's place in society. These strata have lost some of their old significance, yet the traditional royal lineages still play a role in the application of adat rules to the life of the communities. Each district has an offically recognized kepala adat besar and each kampung his kepala adat, who advises his village and district administrators (the kepala kampung and the camat) on matters falling under the tribal adat. For example, marriages and divorces are still sanctioned by the kepala adat, who determines the bride prices or divorce fines to be paid, as well as administering the ceremonies. He receives gifts and money for his services.

Even though there are frictions between a local government almost exclusively manned by Moslems and a Dayak population following its ancestral beliefs, the kepala adats are generally respected in person by their official colleagues. Many complain, however, about the lack of resources made available to Dayak villages for schools, health centers, and roads.

The kepala adat is usually a member of the royal or noble class (manti). The majority of the population in former times consisted of free-born farmers (merendika) who could become serfs (ripan), enslaved by debt. Some of these merendika married into the royal lineage and were given supervisory positions. Those born in slavery or captured in war, however, became batang ulun, permanent slaves. Of course the Dutch abolished involuntary servitude, but the descendants of slaves today are still not allowed to marry within the royal or noble families. At one time, such a union was considered a crime (sahu) and punished by death.

E. Modang and Bahau

These two tribes are of common origin, related to the Kenyah. They descended into the Mahakam from the interior in successive waves during the early nineteenth century. Their traditional social structure was similar to that of the Benuaq and Tunjung, featuring royal, freeborn, and slave castes. The village communities, many of which were founded by the conquest of other riverine populations, were administered by headmen admired for personal strength and experience in warfare. It is mainly these two groups

who gave the entire Dayak population of Kalimantan the reputation of head-hunters and fierce warriors. Today, they live mainly on upland farming, but due to the intrusion of logging companies into their territories, enjoy relatively high incomes as chain saw operators and survey men.

While the Bahau have mostly converted to Christianity since 1900 and seem fairly prosperous, the Modang, who live on the Telen and Belayan tributaries of the Mahakam, still preserve their adat, live in much greater poverty, and suffer from nutritional deficiencies and higher mortality rates.

F. Javanese

Because the Javanese live predominantly in planned transmigration villages, interactions with the other peoples of Kutai, especially the indigenous groups, are rare. Even after twenty years of living close together, there is little intermarriage. The kampungs are governed by an older man, or lurah, who is generally one of the most respected farmers. The transmigration authorities in Tenggarong and Samarinda, however, still supervise these settlements, for they have still not been granted local autonomy. The villages near Melak, then, are considered to fall under the jurisdiction of the Dayak village on whose territory they were established. They have no kepala kampung of their own, despite their de facto self-rule. Most settlers hold no title to the fields they cultivate.

Javanese skills in preparing sawah, tilling by animal traction, and producing vegetables (in addition to their crafts and home industries) have diversified local markets and affected overall regional development by stimulating production and lowering wages. Unfortunately, the relatively high wage level of the Kalimantan, so dependent on the oil and construction boom, is actually an impediment to self-sustained interior development.

G. Kenyah and Kayan

Like the Javanese, the Kenyah are recent immigrants to Kutai. Most of them have been established since 1974 in independent villages under the auspices of the provicial Resettlement Program. Since the confrontation with Malaysia in the interior of Borneo, living conditions on the

Apokayan, the Kenyah homeland, have become increasingly difficult. Many have migrated to the Malaysian or Indonesian coast. In order to mitigate this trend, the provincial government has assisted in the establishment of resettlement villages at the upper courses of the main Mahakam tributaries in areas which are still traditional Dayak country. Meau Baru, Long Segar, Long Noran, Gemar Baru, Rantau Sentosa, Ritan Baru, and Datah Bilang are themost important of these settlements which have become population centers in the interior and maintain contacts with the Apokayan homeland in the kecamatans on the upper Kajan.

VII. Conclusion

In order to conclude this paper, a comparison of the different ethnic groups in the Mahakam basin will be useful to highlight the socio-economic differences which reflect distinct ways of earning a livelihood. The vast transmigration process planned for the Central Mahakam Area will profoundly alter the present resource base and lead to increased competition for available resources, possibly shifting income patterns as the resources used by any group become more or less scarce.

Table Fourteen shows the land under cultivation by the households in the sample. As the description of farming systems earlier in this paper might indicate, the area cultivated varies from year to year for ladang, while sawah and garden plots tend to be more stable.

The results underscore the socio-professional differences among the tribes. While none of the Bugis in our sample cultivated any land, and very few of the Banjarese and Kutainese did, the Banjarese cultivated relatively more sawah plots. Among the indigenous Dayak groups, the Benuaq show smaller farm sizes than the Tunjung. The Bahau, Modang and Kenyah cultivate larger fields because their rice is an important cash crop, its proceeds purchasing most of the consumer goods they require. These latter populations, then, rely to a lesser extent on off-farm income. This is illustrated in Table Fifteen, which shows the incomes derived from primary and secondary activities.

A comparison of Tables Fourteen and Fifteen shows not only that the average income from primary activities is much higher for the Kutainese, Buginese and Banjarese than for the other ethnic groups, but also that the latter rely to a greater extent on secondary activities to supplement their incomes. While about fifty percent of the first three groups represented in our sample had no secondary income, this percentage was much lower among the other groups, even zero among the Bahau. Thus, greater professional specialization is paralleled by a greater variety of part-time or seasonal activities. Despite this variety of income sources, however, the members of indigenous tribes do not attain the relatively high income enjoyed by the Kutainese, Banjarese and Buginese, who all depend on one activity only.

Compared to Java, for instance, the wage level in Kutai is relatively high. But the scarcity of capital means high rewards for the lucky few who possess it and invest in admittedly risky enterprises. The paradox of much higher returns to trade than to primary activities is looked on with jealousy by many local people and frequently not understood. As one of the farmers expressed it, "We grow food, the fishermen fish, the collectors cut rotan; but the rice, fish, and rotan traders earn much more than we. We don't know how this can be."

TABLE 14
Cultivated Area by Ethnic Group
(Percentage of Sample Population)

HECTARES	0	0.01-0.25	0.25-0.50	0.50-1.00	1.01-2.0	2.0-3.5	3.5
Kutai dryland	72	6.0	8.0	8.0	6.0	-	-
wetland	96	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	-
garden	86	6.0	8.0	-	-	-	-
Banjar							
dryland	77	9.0	3.0	6.0	5.0	-	-
wetland	84	3.0	13.0	-	-	-	-
garden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bugis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Benuaq							
dryland	17.6	24.0	29.6	24.8	4.0	-	-
wetland	97	-	3.2	-	-	-	-
garden	96	0.8	-	2.4	-	-	-
Tunjung							
dryland	6.0	6.4	17.5	32.2	28.1	8.2	1.8
wetland	95	2.3	1.8	1.2	-	-	-
garden	85	8.2	1.8	1.2	-	-	-
Bahau							
dryland	0	6.7	33.3	60.0	-	-	-
wetland	93.3	-	-	-	6.7	-	-
garden	93.3	-	6.7	-	-	-	-
Javanese							
dryland	5.3	-	23.7	42.7	23.7	5.3	-
wetland	92.1	2.6	2.6	-	2.6	-	-
garden	58.0	31.6	5.3	5.3	-	-	-
Modang							
dryland	16.7	-	8.3	54.2	20.8	-	-
wetland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
graden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kenyah							
dryland	-	-	3.6	10.7	53.6	25.0	7.1
wetland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
garden	71.4	10.7	10.7	-	7.1	-	-

TABLE 15a
Income from Primary Activity by Ethnic Group
(Percentage of Sample Population)

Income Rupiah	0	0-150,000	151,000 - 250,000	251,000 - 500,000	501,000 - 750,000	751,000 and above
Kutai	2	28	8	24	18	20
Banjar	0	25	15.6	28.1	15.6	15.6
Bugis	0	0	5.6	27.8	33.3	33.3
Benuaq	2.4	49.6	26.4	9.6	8.0	4.0
Tunjung	0.6	65.5	11.1	15.2	4.1	3.5
Bahau	0	53.3	20.0	13.3	0	13.3
Javanese	0	73.7	15.8	7.9	0	2.6
Modang	0	62.5	25.0	12.5	0	0

TABLE 15b
Income from Secondary Activity by Ethnic Group
(Percentage of Sample Population)

Income Rupiah	0	0-150,000	151,000 - 250,000	251,000 - 500,000	501,000 - 750,000	751,000 and above
Kutai	42.	24.0	12.0	14.0	6.0	2.0
Banjar	56.3	23.4	10.9	4.7	3.1	1.6
Bugis	61.1	5.6	5.6	16.7	5.6	5.6
Benuaq	21.0	50.4	11.2	12.0	4.8	0.8
Tunjung	14.0	58.5	13.5	10.5	2.3	1.2
Bahau	0	66.7	6.7	0	6.7	20.0
Javanese	23.7	39.5	18.4	15.8	0	2.6
Modang	37.5	20.8	16.7	20.8	0	4.2

NOTES

1. In addition to the official published statistics, the above mentioned surveys are edited as project reports under the auspices of BAPPEDA/KalTim and TAD. In particular, we draw on the following:

   TAD Base Line Survey
   Vol. I - Kecamatan Summary Statistics, Samarinda 2/1981
   Vol. II - Middle Mahkam Area Survey
   TAD Health Report
   Vol. I, Samarinda 1979
   Vol. II, Samarinda 1980
   TAD, Rural Women in the Middle Mahakam Area, Samarinda 1980

2. A Tandy TRS-80 model II and adapted advanced statistics software, as well as a specially written program for farm and household analysis.

3. Compass, topofil and plane table from TOPOCHAIX, Paris.

4. First a programmeable HP-47, later a program written for the TRS-80.

5. Monthly, kaleng and lanjung were used, the first referring to a 50 x 25 cm tin measuring on the average 11 kilograms of padi (threshed unhulled rice), the second referring to bamboo or rotan baskets for harvesting which contain on the averae 24 kilograms of padi; other units like bakul (small basket) were likewise converted; units like bundles, hands, bunches were ample-weighed.

6. I am indebted to Prof. D. Mans for access to the computer and Mr. M. Hobfeld for assistance with the EXEC files and systems programming.

7. Thus, in the first area, Kota Bangun and Muara Muntai were selected; Muara Wahau, Damai (in part), Muara Lawa, Melak (Mahakam villages) and the Bengalon valley as representative of the second area; and Barong

Tongkok, Melak and Damai (the upland villages) for the third area.

8. In the Bengalon valley, which belongs to Bontang district, only the four villages in the valley were selected; in Long Iram, three villages belonging to the Tunjung plateau were also included

9. We acknowledge the cooperation of the Kantor Bupati and the Kantor Sensus dan Statistik which let us inspect the household lists of the 1979 and 1980 population registrations for the purpose of establishing a complete sampling base.

10. Even though a ten percent sampling rate was intended, refusals, absence of interviewees, flooding, and time limitations reduced the actual average sampling rate to six per cent.

11. Excluding the Kotamadya

12. I take the conquest of the inland kingdom of Muara Kaman around 1600, as reported in the Kutainese annals, as the starting point for the inward movement of the coastal Malays.

13. Dalton reported in 1828 that they had the Sultan of Kutai as well as the interior tribes at their mercy by withholding vital salt supplies; they also levied a 5 percent tax on all exports and imports at Samarinda (Dewall, 1846).

14. The peat swamps between rivers are mainly exploited for wood and swamp rice cultivation; they are relatively poor in aquatic resources and forest products.

15. G. Zimmermann, East Kalimantan Statistical Guide, Samarinda, 1980, Table 4.2.1.

16. P. A. Sanchez Properties and Management of Soils in the Tropics, Wiley, 1976, 383. P. Kunstadter, E. C. Chapman,S. Sabashri, Farmers in the Forest, Honolulu, 1978, 134f.

17. cf. A Massing, Where Medicine Fails: belian Disease Prevention and Curing Rituals Among the Lawangan Dayak of East Kalimantan, BBB 14, No. 2, Sept. 1982; especially the belian bawe ritual focuses on maternal and infant health cf. pp. 74-77 ibid.

18. S. C. Knappert, Beschrijving van de onderafdeeling Koetei, BKI 58, 1905, 619.

19. "Marpow, however, is the termination of the Sultan of Coti's proper dominions", Mr. Dalton's Journal of a Tour up the Coti River, in: J. H. Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago, Singapore, 1837, 39 (from Singapore Chronicle, March 1831).

20. These were probably Benuaq as even today Muara Pahu consists of a kampung Kutai and a kampung Dayak who are Benuaq.

21. "At the period (about five years since *1823*) when the Bugis were at war with the Sultan of Coti,the former stopped the usual supply of salt; the consequence of which measure was, that within three months he was entirely at their mercy, and ultimately was obliged to apply to the Bugis for protection against the Diaks who understanding it was his fault, pursued him as far as Semerindan.... The Diaks and Cotinese finding the usual supply of this artilce stopped, will at once come into any terms the officer may think proper to dictate." J. H. Moor, Notices, 69.

22. cf. C. A. Mees De kroniek van koetei, 1935.
J. Noorduyn Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing, 1965, 150.

23. Dari Swapraja ke KabupatenKutai, Pemerintah Daerah Kab. Kutai, 1975, in particular the article by Drs. Anwar Soetoen, Sejarah Singkat Pertumbuhan Pemerintahan Daerah Kabupatenk Kutai, 185-205; S. Knappert Beschrijving van de Onderafdeeling Koetei, 634.

24. Knappert, l.c. 635, 25 ibid.

26. Gallois, Koorte annteekeningen... BKI, 1 IV, 1856, 225-229.

27. 'Panji Selaten' Undang-undang Kerajaan Kutai Kertanegara, pasal 21 in:Dari Swapraja ke Kabupaten Kutai, 100-107.

28. Gallois, Korte aanteekeningen.... 1856, 236.

29. Gallois, 232; A. L. Weddik Beknopt overzigt van het rijk van Koetei, Indisch Archief, I, 1, 1844, 86.

30. Ibid. 86-87. 31 S. W. Tromp Reis naar de Bovenlanden van Koetei, Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie 32, 1889, 282.

32. C. Schwaner Beschryving van het Barito Stroomgebied, 1854, 118-122.

B R I E F C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

I feel compelled to respond to Linda Kimball's article in the BRB Volume 17, No. 2 of September 1985 which I have only just got around to reading. For the period 1971-1983 I worked as an agriculturalist in Brunei and have always found the contributions in the Bulletin of interest if a little esoteric for my farming mind. However, not only is Ms. Kimball's information dated but it is also in parts inaccurate and incomplete.

A few comments on content if I may:

(a) The rainy season in Brunei falls during the NE monsoon from October/November to February with a further rainy period between June and August. The monthly distribution averaged over the period 1966-83 at the Sinant Centre in Brunei was:

Jan	280 mm	July	190 mm
Feb	120 mm	Aug	250 mm
March	140 mm	Sept	220 mm
April	150 mm	Oct	250 mm
May	210 mm	Nov	320 mm
June	300 mm	Dec	310 mm

(b) Slash and burn agriculture has been branded as anti-conservation because it is confused with the felling, burning and clearing for commercial crop development. The indigenous Bruneian farmer used to undertake this form of agriculture on both wooded slopes under secondary forest (belukar) and on flat alluvials. In the former, cropping was undertaken on an 8 to 15 year cycle where following cutting and burning sweet corn was sown into the ash. When this tasseled, upland rice was sown along with a range of fruit and cucurbit vegetables. Finally, as the rice was harvested, cassava cuttings were planted to provide a famine relief crop for the following two seasons and ensure ground cover until the bush and trees grew back.

However, on the flat areas, which when bunded formed rain fed paddies similar to extensive areas throughout tropical SE Asia, rice was grown annually as a monoculture. The grasses were cut back each year and the land cultivated by trampling with buffaloes. In this instance rice seedlings were transplanted from a nursery; the varieties were very different from the upland varieties and benefitted from being rainfed, kept free from weeds and responded to fertilizers and pesticides. Unfortunately, they are mostly tall varieties and under commercial treatment often lodge close to harvest.
Considerable effort was made by Dr. Morni Othman of the Department of Agriculture in Brunei collecting, naming and characterizing over 200 types of these rice varieties.

As in the upland production areas I have always been led to believe that the root crops and palm starches have been grown by the Brunei Malays as security crops for use in times of failure of the preferred grain crop.

(c) Ms. Kimball points to the mid 70s as being a time of radical change in Brunei farming systems. This is true because by 1975 the increased oil revenues had started to be felt within Government service. Job opportunities were expanding, wage rates rising and the low guaranteed retail price of milled rice ensured the supply of the preferred staple. Once the necessity to

farm for food crops had been removed, the allure of farming under such hot tropical conditions was soon lost!

(d) The information reported on buffalo is very scanty and makes no reference to the extensive information and expertise available in the Department of Agriculture and at the Sinant Agriculture Training Centre. Mr. Thomas Lee Kok Cho from the Centre, in cooperation with the veterinary and animal husbandry staff of the Department, undertook a national buffalo census and development review during 1980 and 1981. Comparisons between the 1965 and 1980 census showed a dramatic decrease of 30% in the animal population and a 45% decrease in owners over the period.

At the same time as the statistics were collected, a breed description and management information were also compiled. This has all helped to develop proposals for development which are currently underway as is a review census to check short-term trends and the on-going use of survey techniques.

Anyone interested in further information is very welcome to contact me. (Jeremy Groome, East Close Enterprises, East Close, Ditcheat, Shepton Mallet, Somerset BA4 6PS United Kingdom.)

N E W S A N D A N N O U N C E M E N T S

CHOICE AND MORALITY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR DEREK FREEMAN

Choice and Morality: Essays in Honor of Professor Derek Freeman edited by G. N. Appell and T. N. Madan is to be published by State University Press of New York.

The essays included are: Part One. Introduction by G. N. Appell.

Part Two. Theoretical Constructs, Meaning, and the Analysis of Choice Behavior: Emergent Structuralism: The Design of an Inquiry System to Delineate Production and

Reduction of Social Forms by G. N. Appell; From Choice to Meaning by George Devereaux; Corpus Morale Collectivum: Social Anthropology Without Tears by Peter Lawrence; The Morality of Exchange by D. K. Feil.

Part Three. The Destine of Filial Ambivalence, The Moral Order, and Choice Behavior: The Son as Savior: A Hindu View of Choice and Morality by T. N. Madan; Like Father, Like Son: Filial Ambivalence and the Death of Fathers in Kalauna by Michael Young.

Part Four. The Dialectic Between Destiny and Decision: Nomothetic and Ideographic Conceptions of Anthropology: The Ethnographer's Choice by Gilbert H. Herdt; In the Thrown World: Destiny and Decision in the Thought of Traditional Africa by Michael Jackson.

Part Five. Biological Constraints on Symbol Choice: The Foetal and Natal Origins of Circumcision and Other Rebirth Symbols by Michael A. H. B. Walter.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

CENTRE FOR SOUTH-EAST ASIAN STUDIES

OCCASIONAL PAPERS NO. 11

The Centre for South-East Asian Studies Occasional Paper Series commenced in 1979, and has thus far published ten papers by members of staff, postgraduate students and outside contributors. In terms of subject matter these papers are very diverse, ranging from studies of South-East Asian history, through politics, to ethnicity and culture. By and large, this reflects the multi-disciplinary structure of the Centre.

The sub-series on South-East Asian development, which begins with this paper by Terry King (Planning for Agrarian Change: Hydro-Electric Power, Resettlement and Iban Swidden Cultivators in Sarawak, East Malaysia), reflects a growing research strength within the Centre in the broad field of development studies. A number of staff members are presently engaged in research appertaining to the development of peripheral and economically backward parts

of South-East Asia, most notably Sarawak in East Malaysia and the Northeastern Region of Thailand. In many respects these are 'problem regions'; where rural poverty is often acute by national standards; where agriculture and other forms of rural enterprise are grossly undeveloped; where outmoded techniques and practices are still very much in evidence; where environmental constraints impinge on the daily lives of the population; and where alternative sources of livelihood are very limited. The peripherality of these regions from the centres of economic activity and administrative decision-making has in many cases served only to compound the very real problems faced by the peoples of these areas.

Terry King's paper deals with some of the problems which have been encountered by the long-house dwelling Iban of the Second Division of Sarawak as a result of their resettlement due to the construction of a hydro-electric scheme. In several respects this study represents a microcosm of the planning problems which are encountered generally where central government decisions are implemented at the local level. The need for electricity to supply the urban centres of the state has also served to thrust many Iban shifting cultivators into much closer contact with the modern capitalist world and into more sedentary forms of agriculture. Although the planning authorities have been very sympathetic to the needs of the resettled Iban, the familiar constraints of funding shortages, logistical inefficiencies, and other shortcomings in the planning process have led to a number of problems for the displaced Iban farmers.

Although this resettlement scheme is a comparatively minor one by national and international standards, it serves as a pointer to what the Malaysian government intends for Sarawak in the future. The main thrust of development policy is to 'modernise' agriculture, encourage cash crop cultivation, relocate remote communities to more accessible locations, and continue to use Sarawak's natural resources-timber, water-power, oil, gas, and land - to promote national economic growth. Forthcoming papers on East Malaysia in this sub-series will focus on the tension and contradictions between government policies to promote national economic growth and at the same time serve the

economic and social needs of the poor, 'traditional', peripherally located farmers.

It is hoped that academics and others not directly associated with the Centre who are working in the broad field of South-East Asian development will contribute papers to the Occasional Papers sub-series. Ideally, it would be useful to be able to publish short collections of writings on a single theme, such as is the case with the forthcoming volume on the North-East of Thailand. Thus papers from outside contributors will be welcomed - starting, perhaps, with the proposed paper on urbanisation. But individual papers within the broadly defined field of development will also be acceptable. Enquiries should be addressed to: Dr Mike Parnwell, Center for South-East Asian Studies, The University, Hull, HU6 7RX, ENGLAND. (From "FOREWORD" to No. 11).

MODERNIZATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF A LANDLESS PEASANTRY

ESSAYS ON THE INTEGRATION OF PERIPHERIES TO SOCIOECONOMIC CENTERS

Studies in Third World Societies Publication Number 33

Edited by G. N. Appell

A collection of papers entitled Modernization and the Emergence of a Landless Peasantry in the series, Studies in Third World Societies, has been edited by G. N. Appell.

The collection includes:

Part One: Introduction. Integration of the Periphery to the Center, G. N. Appell, Brandeis University.

Part Two: Palau. Landlessness in Palau, Mary McCutcheon, Smithsonian Institution.

Part Three: Malaysia. You Give Us Saplings, But What About the Land, Barbara S. Nowak, State University of New York, Buffalo.

Land Tenure and Development among the Rungus of Sabah, G. N. Appell, Brandeis University.

Part Four: Indonesia. The Kantu' System of Land Tenure: The Evolution of Tribal Rights in Borneo, Michael R. Dove, International Agricultural Development Service.

The Bulusu' of East Kalimantan: The Consequences of Resettlement, G. N. Appell, Brandeis University.

Part Five: Philippines. Agricultural Development and Social Equity in the Upland Philippines, James F. Eder, Arizona State University.

Part Six: Government Interference and Loss of Land: An Interpretation of Growing Landlessness among Adivasis of South Gujarat, India, C. Baks, University of Utrecht.

Part Seven: Bangladesh. Modernization, Pauperization, and the Rise of Landlessness: A Case Study from Bangladesh, S. M. Nurul Alam, Chittagong University.

Part Eight: Africa. Land Reform and Economic Stratification among the Mbeere of Central Kenya, Jack Glazier, Oberlin College.

Part Nine: Mexico. Truck Farming, Foreclosure, and Class Structure in Rural Mexico, Thomas Crump, University of Amsterdam.

Part Ten: New Guinea. Little Landlessness, But . . Anton Ploeg, State University of Utrecht.

B O R N E O N E W S

Kalimantan News

JAY H. BERNSTEIN, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, is conducting research on "folk medical reasoning and the storage of technical medical knowledge" among the Taman of the upper Kapuas River. His mailing address there is: c/o T. F. Iminsuka, Kabag Umum, Kantor Bupati Kdh Tk. II, Kapuas Hulu, Putussibau, Kal-Bar, Indonesia. Mr. Bernstein writes that he has "photocopied a few student and faculty theses pertinent to (his) research among the Taman." Two reports, whose authors both are docents at the University of Tanjungpura, which should be of interest to readers of the Borneo Research Bulletin are:

Mudiyone Diposiswoyo, 1985. Tradition et changement social: Etude ethnographique des Taman de Kalimantan Ouest. These de doctorat de troiseme cycle, Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales.

Y. C. Thambun Anyang, SH, 1985. Adat Perkawinan Daya Taman di Kecamatan Putussibau. Makalah disampaikan pada Penataran Ilmu Pengetahuan Hukum dan Hukum Adat pada Fakultas Hukum, Universitas Syiah Kuala Darussalam, Banda Aceh.

SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL, TAPOL, and FRIENDS OF THE EARTH, with the support of many other NGOs worldwide, have launched a campaign to halt international funding of Indonesia's Transmigration Programme. Providing one of the first detailed evaluations of the devastating social and environmental effects of this massive resettlement programme, leading international human rights and environmental organisations have called on the World Bank and other funding agencies to suspend their support for the program until it observes internationally recognised human rights and sound ecological principles.

Transmigration, the mass movement of land hungry poor from Indonesia's overpopulated central islands of Java, Madura, Lombok, and Bali to the less densely populated outer islands, is the largest colonisation programme in history. With nearly four million people already relocated and the Government now planning the movement of a further 65 million in the next twenty years, the programme dwarfs the controversial and widely criticised programmes for the colonisation of Amazonia with which it has been compared.

Transmigration receives massive financial backing from the World Bank and the western nations. Millions of dollars of international 'aid' have beeb spent promoting a programme that is leading to the permanent destruction of vast areas of undistrubed tropical rainforest, with a correspondingly huge loss of irreplaceable genetic diversity and potential resources. As this new report makes clear, this tragic misue of resources is not even successfully alleviating the problems of the resettled Javanese peasantry. On the contrary, many migrants have been unable to make a living in their new environment, instead drifting into the urban centres or engaging in the further destruction as slash and burn farmers to avoid complete destitution.

Transmigration is being carried out with scant regard for its shattering effects on the tribal minorities in its path. As the programme has been extended into the most remote parts of the Indonesian archipelago, whole peoples have been uprooted, torn from the lands on which they have lived for millenia and resettled in Government-built unit dwellings to conform to the national goals of 'progress' and 'development'. Compensation, payable to the tribal people for the loss of their lands, has been denied and the security forces called in where the locals have resisted what they see as no less than the invasion of their ancestral territories.

This disquieting new report also reveals how Transmigration, far from being a humanitarian exercise, is really a political programme designed to extend Government control over the peripheral islands through the elimination of ethnic diversity. Increasingly under the direct control of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Transmigration is being given special emphasis in politically sensitive areas, where militarised settlements are being established to subjugate local peoples reluctant to give up their lands to the central Government. It examines, too, the motives underlying the western governments' support for the programme. (Press release, The Ecologist, Volume 16, Nos. 2/3, Banking on Disaster: Indonesia's Transmigration Programme, May 14, 1986)

Sarawak News

MONICA JANOWSKI has received permission to do Ph.D. fieldwork in the Kelabit highlands in the Fourth Division of Sarawak. She, her husband Kaz and baby Molly (eight months old) expected to leave England near the end of May and to spend one month in Kuching. She is uncertain which longhouse they will settle in--"probably one fairly near Bario and with a landing strip, because of Molly. We expect to spend about eighteen months in the field."

The main focus of her research will be the wet rice agriculture of the Kelabit and their stratification system. She can be contacted through the Sarawak Museum, Kuching.

THE SARAWAK LITERARY SOCIETY has published four dictionaries of Iban, Bidayuh, Kayan and Melanau into English.

The Iban/English dictionary, compiled by Rev Father Bruggeman, will be released at the end of this month (December 1985), while the three others will be available next year.

Father Bruggeman was one of Sarawak's longest serving missionary priests, giving more than 40 years of service for the Catholic Church in Sarawak.

The Bidayuh/English dictionary was compiled by a former Senior Administrative Officer, Encik William Nais, a Kayan/English dictionary by a scholar, Mr. Hudson Southwell, and the Melanau/English dictionary by Encik T. A. Munan.

The recent meeting of the society, which reviewed its progress since its inception four years ago, recorded six established works among which were "A Special Breed" and "The Shimmering Moonbeam" by a Dewan Undangan Negeri Member, Datuk Amar James Wong.

The others are a research work by Dr Philip Lee Thomas on one of the oldest Malay newspapers in the State, "Fajar Sarawak"; "Hikayat Panglima Nicosa" by Ahmad Shawal Abdul Hamid; "Apai Aloi Goes Hunting and other Stories" by Dr Clifford Sather and the Society's own contribution, "Our Sarawak".

Next year the society will publish a Masters' thesis of Encik Chong Chin Seng on "Traditional Melanau Wood-Carving".

Meanwhile, it has appointed a representative to discuss with local universities on rights to publish Masters' and Doctorate theses by Malaysians on Sarawak subjects.

There will also be a few biographies on prominent figures in Sarawak to be published by the society.

The first of these will be the biography of the late Tun Jugah, the paramount chief of the Ibans and a highly-respected politician. (Sarawak Tribune 4.12.85)

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

MICHAEL R. DOVE, Swidden Agriculture in Indonesia: The Subsistence Strategies of the Kalimantan Kantu', 515 pp, 101 tables (1985, Mouton Publishers, Berlin, New York, Amsterdam), Cloth DM 168 (US$ 76).

This research monograph deals with the economy of swidden agriculture practiced by a tribal group on the Indonesian section of the island of Borneo. Swidden agriculture of the Kantu' is analyzed in twelve chapters which deal with the successive stages in one typical cycle or year. The combined effect of Kantu' swidden strategies if to maximize exploitation in the diversity of their environment and to minimize the negative effects of its equally great uncertainty. The Kantu' system is shown to represent a very responsive, sophisticated and successful adaptation to their rain forest environment, a finding which has important implications for developmental policy in Indonesia and other tropical countries.

S. LII and A. J. DING NGO, Syair Lawe, Gadjah Mada University Press (P.O. Box 14, Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta, Indonesia).

Syair Lawe consists of a five-volume transcription and translation in Indonesian of the greatest ritual epic of the Kayan people of Kalimantan and Sarawak. It concerns the life, trials, and triumphs of a spirit, Lawe', in the upper or next world, where the dead and the spirits live. The contents, pages and prices are:

Volume One: Introduction, 395 pp., U.S.$ 10.00.
Volume Two: Part One, Lawe' With Nyalo, 860 pp., U.S.$ 16.00.
Volume Three: Part Two, Lawe' With To'Magung, 855 pp., U.S. $16.00.

Volume Four: Part Three, Lawe' With Juk Apui, 378 pp., US$ 10.00.
Volume Five: Part Four, Lawe' With Lirung Buaa', 858 pp., U.S.$ 16.00.
(Please enclose U.S.$ 3.00 per copy for seamail and packing.)

"The first sizeable incursion of European travellers to the East came during the nineteenth century with explorers and adventurers, and with the colonial officers of the British Empire. By the 1890s the first European tourists were arriving in Hong Kong and Singapore, and forty years later large areas of the once-impenetrable East were open to curious Western eyes. Oxford is publishing a number of books, and for, these early travellers. They will be of interest not only to today's visitors, but to anyone interested in the history of one of the most fascinating parts of the world." (Oxford Paperbacks, p. 100, January-May 1986)

The following titles have been republished as Oxford Paperbacks:

CARL BOCK, with Introduction by R. H. W. REECE, The Head-Hunters of Borneo, 370 pp., 30 color plates, L6.95 net A.

CHARLES HOSE, The Field-Book of a Jungle Wallah, 392 pp., 1 color plate, 32 halftones, L4.95 net A.
OWEN RUTTER, with Introduction by IAN BLACK, The Pagans of North Borneo, 296 pp., 70 halftones, L4.95 net A.

ROBERT W. C. SHELFORD, A Naturalist in Borneo, 323 pp., 32 halftones, L4.95 net A.

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Black, Ian
1985 "The 'Lastposten': Eastern Kalimantan and the Dutch in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Volume XVI, no. 2, pp. 281-281, September.

Cramb, R. A.
1986 "The Evolution of Iban Land Tenure," Working Paper No. 39, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Clayton 3168, Australia.

Taylor, Paul Michael
1985 "The Indonesian Collections of William Louis Abbott (1860-1936): Invitation to A Research Resource at the Smithsonian Institution," Council for Museum Anthropology Newsletter 9(2):5-14.

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR (Cont'd.)

several friends of theirs were abusers and victims, and "we feel something should be done to help them."

Equally regrettable is the "victimization" of Bornean societies that is leading to the loss of the creative genius of scores of indigenous cultures. There are striking parallels with a recently completed research project funded by the United States Department of Education. The project discovered that in American social science texts, there is (1) no reference to traditional ways of life, (2) no portrayal of traditional patterns of society, especially the place of the family and kin-groups, (3) no explanation of significant symbols and ritual processes on which the round of life is played, but rather (4) a distorted emphasis on money, status, and personal enjoyment as the reason for living.

Though Borneo as many of us knew it--or remember it--is no more, research among its peoples may help preserve and emphasize those values and patterns of life by which we maintain mutual respect and enhance the quality of life of all.

We are indebted to the following persons for their contributions which have kept us solvent and enabled us to continue the work of the Council. (If our records are inaccurate and anyone's name is omitted, we lay the blame on our computer system--excluding processors--and ask that you notify us.) Contributors are: G. N. Appell, Helen Appell, Laura P. Appell-Warren, Tim Babcock, Stanley H. Bedlington, Donald Brown, Patrick K. Cassels, Carol J. Pierce Colfer, Otto Doering, Michael Dove, Richard A. and Doris Drake, Richard C. Fidler, W. R. Geddes, Jack Golson, G. L. Gray, Peter Grey, Sin-Fong Han, A. J. Hepburn, Robert Inger, Dietrich Kuhne, Peter Kunstadter, Michael Leigh, Jose Maceda, Peter Martin, Allen R. Maxwell, Alastair A. Morrison, John Musgrave, Shuichi Nagata, Rodney Needham, D. A. Pocock, Robert M. Pringle, Ronald Provencher, A. J. N. Richards, Joan Seeler, Bernard Sellato, C. Hudson Southwell, Jack Stuster, John O. Sutter, Peter Thomas, Phillip O. Thomas, Andrew P. Vayda, Carol and James Warren, and Leigh Wright.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information of Borneo research arising from many diverse sources; (5) to disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity; and (6) to facilitate research by reporting on current conditions. The functions of the Council also include providing counsel and assistance to research endeavors,

conservation activities, and the practical application of research results.

Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the Borneo Research Bulletin, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcome.

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The privileges of Fellows include (1) participation in the organization and activities of the Council; (2) right to form committees of Fellows to deal with special research problems or interests; (3) support of the Council's program of furthering research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo; (4) subscription to the Borneo Research Bulletin.

The Fellows of the Council serve as a pool of knowledge and expertise on Borneo matters which may be drawn upon to deal with specific problems both in the field of research and in the practical application of scientific knowledge.

Fellowship in the Council is by invitation, and enquiries are welcomed in this regard.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Research Notes: These should be concerned with a summary of research on a particular subject or geographical area; the results of recent research; a review of the literature; analyses of the state of research; and so forth. Research Notes differ from other contributions in that the material covered should be based on original research or the use of judgment, experience and personal knowledge on the part of the author in the preparation of the material so that an original conclusion is reached.

Brief Communications: These differ from the foregoing in that no original conclusions are drawn nor any data in consisting primarily of a statement of research intentions or

a summary of news, either derived from private sources or summarized from items appearing in other places that may not be readily accessible to the readers of the Bulletin but which have an interest and relevance for them. They will be included with the contributor's name in parentheses following the item to indicate the source. Summaries of news longer than one or two paragraphs will appear with the contributor's name under the title and prefaced by "From".

Bibliographic Section: A Bibliography of recent publications will appear in each issue of the Bulletin, and, consequently, reprints or other notices of recent publications would be gratefully received by the Editor.

Other Items: Personal news, brief summaries or research activities, recent publications, and other brief items will appear without the source specifically indicated. The Editor urges those contributing such news items to send them in the form in which the contributor wishes them to appear rather than leaving this to the discretion of the Editor.

Working Papers: Research reports or papers exceeding 10 double-spaced pages will be published as Working Papers. Authors who submit such papers will be consulted by the Editor who, upon obtaining an author's consent, will edit and process the paper for distribution by private order. A list of Working Papers, with the cost of each, will be included in each issue of the Bulletin.

All contributions should be sent to the Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23185, U.S.A.

STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Please submit all contributions double-spaced. Research Notes and Brief Communications should be limited to approximately eight double-spaced pages. Footnotes are to be avoided wherever possible. Bibliographies should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of the contributions: author should appear on a separate line, then date,