STORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR RELATIONSHIPS IN A REMOTE CORNER OF JAVA AS THEY APPLY TO THE CULTIVATION OF RICE.

PROVISIONAL RESULTS OF LOCAL INVESTIGATIONS

by

Dr. G. H. VAN DER KOLFF

Professor of Economics in the
Faculty of Law, Batavia.

Report C. in the International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations issued under the auspices of the National Council for the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

IN the course of the literature on the subject the words "standard of living" are usually found used in connection with the industrial worker who must live on a wage in cash. Within this limited conception the significance of the subject for the Netherlands Indies is certainly much less than for states with a highly developed factory industrial system and a large working population, for the Netherlands Indies is primarily an agricultural country.

In so far as one can or will speak of a working class amongst the agricultural population there are two things to be kept in mind.

First where the persons themselves are concerned, who are carrying out jobs in native agriculture in various sorts of subordinate relationships or are working in the foreign estate agriculture — the so-called "cultures"; these persons often derive their income from various sources. By no means all of their earnings come from agriculture. Neither do they restrict themselves to dependent work in the service of others.

And then where their work is concerned, in the native world various activities are more or less frequently paid in kind rather than cash.

These factors make it quite difficult to find a norm for the returns of labour in the sense of service for wages and the significance of it in the family budgets.

In this essay only a few facts will be presented concerning labour relationships as they apply to the cultivation of rice. At first sight this subject may appear to lie too far from the question to which the interest of the "Institute of Pacific Relations" is being directed on this occasion, a comparison of the standard of living of the workers in various Pacific countries. Closer scrutiny, however, will show that this subject can be of value as an introduction to the problem set, through presenting a certain insight into the historical development of one phase of it. Because even in the very restricted

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way in which I am handling the subject here, a certain trait is brought forward that in my opinion is quite representative of the general tendency, at least in Java; for it shows how the rapid increase in the population of an agrarian region, originally homogeneous in its social character, by bringing in the question of cash transactions and the growing relative scarcity of the necessary agricultural land, causes social differentiation. The first phase of this process is carried into effect amongst the peasants themselves, since everyone clings to his bond with the land as long as possible and continues to seek his living in farming. As the number of those without land rises, the cleft widens, dependence on the landowners increases and the returns in wages for work decreases. So it has proved that very rapidly a reserve army of persons is formed with very modest demands for living, for whom native agriculture is becoming increasingly inadequate. It is clear that this is a favourable phenomenon for the existing estates and industries. For industries still to be established, that is to say for a future industrialisation, the opportunities, at least in this direction, are favourable.

In the above characterisation of the situation I have had Java more specially in view. As is well known, this is the most important island in the Netherlands Indies. It is true that its area is less than 7 % of the total, but its population numbers 41.7 millions out of a total of 60.7 millions. The number of inhabitants per square kilometer is, therefore, large and works out to 315.6, or 817.4 to the square mile. The statistical material at our disposal for Java fails us when we try to support with sufficient accuracy the conviction that the number of peasants in possession of sufficient land to furnish them with a living is decreasing per cent, and the number of those lacking land — crofters with little or no land — is rising per cent; possibly also the number of those who stand entirely independent of agriculture *). Nevertheless a local investigation that I made can furnish certain impressions about the nature and rapidity of the changes that are tending towards the formation of a proletariate uprooted from the soil, possibly eventually available for industries which are newly founded and others in course of development.

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*). Even the entire number of landowners in Java is not exactly known. It would have to be ferretted out from the data of the persons subject to paying land tax. In the lists in question there are countless double entries since a person with land in various villages stands on as many land tax lists. It has indeed been averred that the number of landowners has increased per cent. It is possible that this supposition might be true if everyone who owns only a little compound around his house is included as a landowner, as well as those who own no more than a mineature share in communal arable land, which is constantly being reduced as it is shared out to more and more persons with a right to such a share. Where I draw a line between landowners and non-landowners — more accurately those lacking land — my criterion is the ownership of land that is or is not sufficient to support life.

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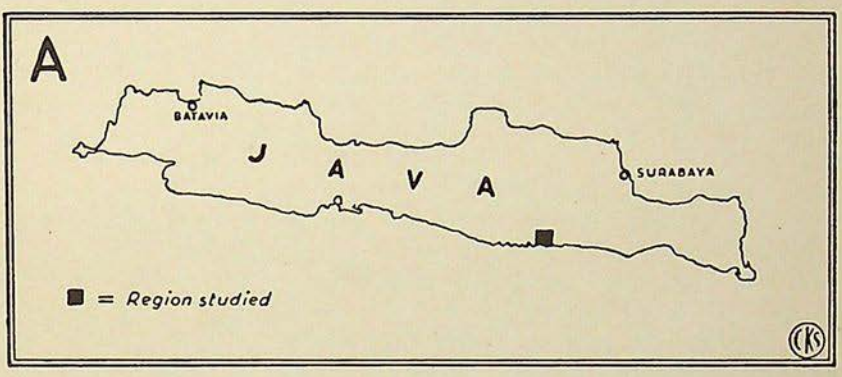
THE REGION STUDIED.

The investigation was restricted principally to one of those isolated regions that are still to be found here and there in the more inhospitable parts of Java's south coast. The sketch map A shows the region in its relationship to other parts of Java. From the administrative point of view the region lies in the Residencies of Madioen [1]) and Kediri of the Province of East Java. It is very mountainous and in general not very suitable for permanent settlements. For that reason the human habitations are found concentrated in the few parts that are suitable for the cultivation of wet or irrigated rice. By the term "sawah" that we shall use in this article is to be understood the terraced ground divided into fields by low dykes which may be flooded with water by one or other irrigation system and used for the growing of rice. These fields, often called "paddies" by the English, are characteristic of a settled agricultural community in Java. In the wet season they are planted with rice, which requires a mud layer for its water and nourishment supply. The necessary water is best supplied by an irrigation system, but in some parts may depend on the rainfall.



It is five of such sawah complexes that have furnished the materials for this monograph. Each of them consists of fields belonging to various villages or hamlets, which together form an economic as well as a natural unit. As might be expected, the complexes are isolated and separated from one another by forest

[1]). Note on Dutch phonetics: Vowels as in Italian with the exception of "oe" that is like the "oe" in "Shoe", "ij" = long "i" as in "mine". Consonants more or less as in English, except that "j" is as "y" in "Yard", "tj" as "ch" in "Church", "dj" as "j" in "Judge", "th" as "th" in "Thomas". All place names are spelt here in Dutch phonetics except those internationally recognised, such as Surabaya (in Dutch, Soerabaja). Native words are rendered in their usual Anglo-malay forms as far as possible, except the purely local terms.

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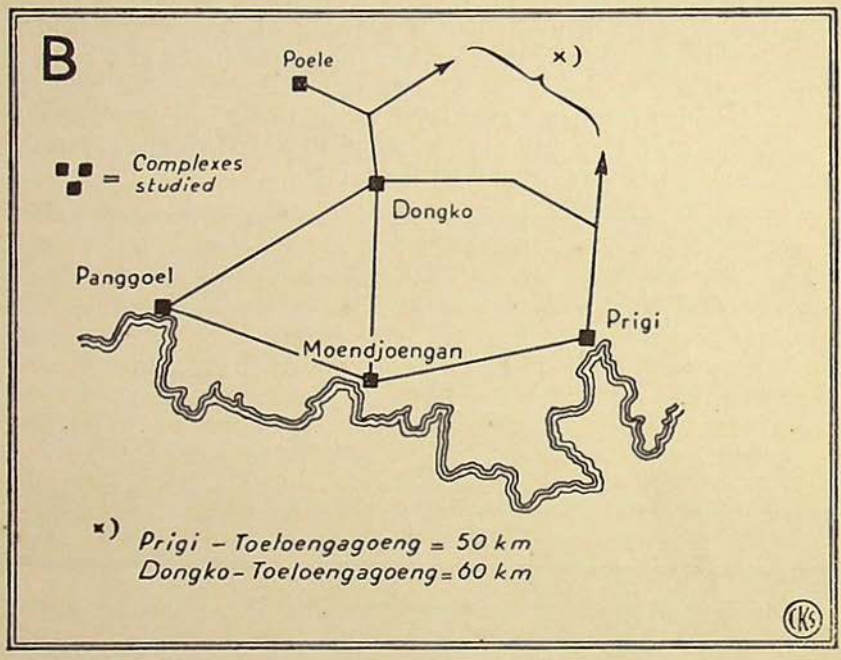
and jungle by distances roughly estimated at 20 to 25 kilometers. In the text they will be designated by the name of the principal place in each centre, namely Panggoel, Moendjoengan, Prigi, Dongko and Poele (Panggool, Moonjungen, Prigi, Dongko and Pooluh). The sketch map B will give an idea of their situation in respect to one another. The first three lie on the sea coast each in a small plain at the mouth of a river. Such a river is in the nature of things a short stream, since the watershead, the crest of the Southern Mountains (Zuidergebergte) running parallel to the coast, is not far from the Indian Ocean in this part of Java. The other two complexes lie on the other side of the watershead in mountainous country; Dongko at a height of 1600 ft. above sea level, and Poele at 2000 ft.



Some 14 years ago when I made my first investigations in that district they could not be reached by wagon. For years, however, it has now been possible to motor via Dongko to Panggoel and Prigi is also connected by a motor road. The complex Poele will shortly be opened for modern transportation: work is being carried out on the road. Only Moendjoengan, the centre one of the three coastal complexes, still maintains its isolation.

The influence of these modern roads on the economic conditions

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of the region was not investigated during my last visit there in 1936. The impression I got, which was confirmed by some inquiries I made, was that the improved transportation possibilities over the long existing connections, especially the traject through Dongko to Panggoel, were still but little utilised. Vehicles were not met with, either the newer motor types or the old carts using draught animals. In considering this point it is also of importance to remember that the crisis years, which coincided approximately with these improvements, retarded the economic development.

In Prigi, thanks to the establishment of several large fishing concerns in the hands of Europeans or Non-indigenous Orientals, better use is now being made of these newly offered opportunities for rapid transit. It is an open question to what extent the natives observe these opportunities, but in any case they must profit by the increased currency circulated in their district.

Toeloengagoeng is the nearest town of any size and also the nearest station on the railway. It lies 60 kilometers from Panggoel and 50 from Prigi. It is the seat of a Javanese Regent [1]) and numbers about 32,000 inhabitants.

THE OBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION AND THE METHOD OF STUDY USED.

Javanese native agriculture is carried on in sawahs (or irrigated fields), in dry fields regularly or only periodically cultivated, and in the compounds surrounding the peasant cottages. My investigation related only to the former, the sawahs. Rice is the plant typically cultivated in these and it is grown in all parts of the country in the wet season. In Java where conditions both natural and economic are favourable, all manner of secondary crops are also planted there during the dry season. This monograph concerns itself exclusively with the principal crop, the rice. Even the rice growing is only considered from a very narrow point of view, since our object is to study the way in which labour for this purpose was and is supplied.

This problem begins to be of importance immediately the agricultural man takes the long step forward that leads him to the planting of cereals. I can only touch on this relationship very lightly here.

[1]) For administrative purposes Java is divided into three Provinces each with a Governor (irrespective the territory of the Native States). Each Province is divided into several Residencies each with a European Resident at its head; each Residency into several Regencies each with a native Regent over it; each Regency into Districts with a Widana; each District into Under-districts with an Assistant Widana; each Under-district containing a number of villages or Desas with Jaros or Lurahs over them and finally each Desa consists of a number of villages, the doekoehans. If this seems over-elaborate, it should be remembered that Java has some 40,000,000 people in it, and is one of the most densely populated land masses of its size in the world.

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The very primitive dweller in the tropics plants in a small way all sorts of crops, amongst which those forming roots and bulbs are the principal ones. The peculiarity of these crops is that they may actually be planted and reaped all the year round. They are comparatively little affected by seasonal influences and after having reached a certain stage of development may be harvested over a long period of time. The necessary labour assumes the character of great regularity and may be done by the family itself, usually by the women and children.

Cereals, on the other hand, react much more sensitively to the periodicity of the climate and are only reapable for a short time. In addition, there is the fact that the diet becomes dependent in the main on one crop. It therefore becomes of importance to plant it widely and to make a success of each crop. To this latter end close attention must be paid to seasons. The volume of work implied by this requirement cannot possibly be carried out by the family alone and help must be called in in some other way from the outside.

The material here collected together will serve, then, as I have already remarked above, principally to sketch the historical development of this work that must be carried out by third parties. The same data could also be applied with success to show how very different customs and systems can still be in closely neighbouring districts, and how greatly the course and state of development can also differ. Care must be taken, of course, to protect oneself from the accusation that one cannot see the forest for the trees. But under the cloak of this warning there is also often concealed the inability and impatience — and that implies a lack of desire — to be able to sort out the facts. It is possible that this is never so true as where the layman speaks about agriculture, which soon enough becomes for him "just one darned thing after another."

Since in my thesis the main point is to find the great principles running through the mass of data, the search for similarities will be brought into the foreground rather than the accentuating of differences. However, within the limits of this general plan, it will nevertheless be of value also to touch on existing differences. The actual state of affairs will thereby the better be typified and also the fundamental idea itself win much by such variety of treatment.

All the data were collected by enquiries for which purpose I journeyed through the district twice, with an interval of 14 years. At the time of my first trip Java was passing through a period of great prosperity; my latter visit, which took place quite recently, was made, on the other hand, in a period of deep depression.

The information was mostly given me at gatherings of old and

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experienced peasants. Various villages were represented at these conferences, which were held by complexes. As far as time permitted it, the information so obtained was tested, augmented and corrected through personal visits to various peasant dwellings.

It is comprehensible that great difficulties stand in the way of such investigations. There is the well known distrust of all rustics, who are inclined to correlate any great interest shown in their cultivation of rice with revision of the taxes. There is their limited intellectual development as a result of which it is necessary to put questions asked in a most concrete form and couched in terms that are familiar to them. For instance it would be useless with these people to rely on dates for marking the passage of time when referring to the past. It is necessary to refer to great natural calamities such as the eruption of Krakatau (1883) or of the Kloet (1919), or one tries to find out who was the Regent when this or that occurred. There is further their natural slowness of thought so that if satisfactory answers are to be obtained one must take one's time. It is often advisable to make wide detours in an effort, through the awakening of other memories to find the key word that will unlock a treasury full of old recollections and experiences, which have not been brought to light for years.

On the other hand, however, there is the great advantage that the rustic is always willing to be questioned and gives proof of possessing the patience of Job in the process. If a balance were struck, it is my opinion that the data obtained would answer reasonable demands. As an indication of this I regard the fact that the notes of my inquiries made in 1922 proved when controlled in 1936 *on the whole* to be supported [1]).

This satisfactory result I attribute principally to the cooperation of the Agricultural Advisory Service, whose officers through their great familiarity with the work and the mentality of the peasants form an invaluable intermediary for such an investigation. This applies particularly to the native element amongst them who have the same mother tongue. I am also grateful to the Administrative Officers of the Civil Service for the regulatory measures and the organisation that facilitated both my journey and my task. In particular I am thinking of the help I received from the Regent of Toeloengagoeng.

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[1]) For exceptions I refer to the foot-notes on page 37 and 38.

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CHAPTER II.

IN THE TIME OF THE OLD LABOUR SYSTEMS.

Chronologically it is impossible to define this period exactly; partly because the persons giving information were seldom able to divide the past off sharply into periods, partly because the conditions with which we are dealing here were only subjected to very gradual changes, which took place, too, in one region more rapidly than in another. In order to fix our minds on a certain period, let me say that it was roughly the Eighties and probably also the Nineties that were characteristic of the conditions to be described. This is plausible if it is remembered that the basis of my information was given me by Elders who spoke about the days of their youth.

PREPARING THE GROUND.

I shall pass over the technical peculiarities and only remark in passing that these preparations usually consist of ploughing and harrowing and manipulations with a hoe (the large native hoe in Java called a "patjol", in Malaya a "chankol"). This hand work is always used for cultivating the corners of the sawahs, that are out of reach of the ploughs. Again, every year the dykes must be renewed with the help of the patjols. Sometimes, indeed, the significance of hand labour becomes greater when one ploughing or harrowing — occasionally even all the ploughing and harrowing — is replaced by spading up or levelling off the whole field with patjols. In various villages this is the rule; scarcity of draught animals or sometimes the nature of the soil can compel it.

From of old the peasants have always tried to satisfy their labour needs as far as possible by making use of the labour of their own families. Besides the question as to whether the help of third parties would demand large or small sacrifices on his part, a certain rôle is also played by the size and composition of the family, the extent of the ground to be tilled and the time within which a given piece of work must be finished. For instance where there is no difficulty about scarcity of water, the tilling of the ground may take place without risk over a longer period. This tends to make the peasant independent of outside help even if it means that for the time the family will have a very busy time of it.

The normal state of things has always been that the peasant ploughs or hoes as much ground as he can manage. Only for the rest is he forced to depend on others. To what extent this was formerly the case remains uncertain. At the present time in the complexes of Panggoel and Moendjoengan, in the former some 50 % and in

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the latter some 40 % of the number of landowners work exclusively with their own families. Estimates for the various villages seperately run all the way from 30 % to 80 %.

In those old days of which we are now speaking a labour agreement with a third party bore the character of a mutual provision of help. All the villagers were at the same social level; they were all of them peasants, all owned ground and the prosperity of the various families did not vary greatly. Therefore if one of them had help necessary he asked his fellow villagers, invited them to help him. His immediate neighbours were more readily available for this purpose than kinsfolk that lived at a greater distance from him. Outside the village itself only blood relations would ever be asked. Such invitations were always accepted because the community feeling of the villagers was so strongly developed, and was stimulated by the realisation that each in his turn would need such help from his neighbours. He that gave heed to the call made on him had, then, the right at the time when he needed it to receive the support of him, whom he was now helping. As a result of the relationships existing between the people wages were not paid by one to the other but he was entertained. This system was called *sambatan*. Where help was asked for ploughing or harrowing it involved only the morning hours, from about half past six to ten. The Javanese takes care of his cattle, and carabaos in particular are not well equipped for working in the heat of the day. This care for his animals also led the owner of a team usually not to be satisfied with sending them to work for another but to come himself and to bring a cow herd with him. In Moendjoengan the men said that they would not trust one another with their animals, but would willingly send implements, since if they were damaged they could be readily replaced. Moreover it is difficult working with animals that do not know you and which you do not know.

In the morning the two persons who accompanied a span of animals were brought a breakfast in the field consisting of coffee and glutinous rice, or as later became the more usual custom, of cooked tubers. Native straw-rolled cigarettes were also presented. After the work was over, those who had partaken in it went to the house of the owner to regale themselves on a square meal that was served about eleven o'clock. At this time a full dish of rice was presented with all the necessary side dishes.

In the cases where it was more particularly a question of lending cattle, reciprocity of the loan was not so closely demanded by village etiquette. This was also not called *sambatan*, partly in consideration of the fact that the owner of the cattle did not accompany his animals to the house of the host who therefore did

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not have to supply him with food, an essential of the true idea of a *sambatan*.

Even where the help was called in for digging, the work usually was confined to the morning hours, while the inner man was catered for in the same manner as when it was a matter of ploughing and harrowing. Sometimes, indeed, after the midday meal at the house of the owner the crowd went back to the field to resume work and in that case carried on from about two to five. And refreshments were again presented in the field or after the full day's work was done the helpers were again guests of the peasant and had a second hot meal at his house.

Exceptions were naturally met with. Sometimes, for instance, there was only the one midday meal at the house regardless of whether the men hoed for their fellow-villager for a half a day (sometimes only an afternoon) or for a whole day. But it sometimes also happened that a digger who worked a full day got not only two warm meals but also refreshments both morning and evening while at work. In other places the custom was that after the meal was over the worker received from his host food to take home to his family.

It is curious, however, that the old men in Moendjoengan — quite the most isolated spot of them all — remembered that even in these old times payment in cash had been the most usual form of reward for help given in ploughing and harrowing. As a matter of fact, conditions here represented a transition stage, for the breakfast in the field remained, but the meal at the home of the owner of the land was replaced by a payment of 12½ guilder-cents. When the word was digging, money did not enter into the transaction.

Perhaps this must be regarded in the following light. Since not everyone in a village owned cattle, service and the return of that service could not be precisely alike between a cattle owner and a peasant without cattle. Such a condition becomes less suitable for the lending of mutual assistance. On the other hand, the chance for introducing the conception of money into domestic economy rests just in some beginning of social unequality.

PLANTING.

This activity, which actually amounts to the transplanting of seedlings from the seed beds to the prepared fields, demands in a short period of time so much labour that it is only possible to carry it out normally with the help of many hands. The share taken by the family in this work is comparatively small — quite different, therefore, from conditions obtaining in the preparation of the

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ground. For this reason planting shares with harvesting the distinction of presenting the most imposing picture of communal labour in the cultivation of rice.

The preliminary preparations are not reckoned as belonging to the planting proper. These consist of pulling up and binding the seedlings into sheaves, transporting the planting material to the fields and laying it ready in clumps regularly distributed over the area to be planted. The arranging of this part of the work is something quite apart. Since everything depends here on care and reliability this job is reserved if possible for members of the family. And yet outside help is sometimes not to be avoided. In that case three or four persons are enough. In the old days this help was also given on the *sambatan* system, where the collaborators — relations, good friends or neighbours — were regaled as has been described above on a breakfast in the field and a square meal at the house of the owner.

If we turn now to the actual planting out, it will be seen that this work was done in the past and is still done by the women, just as is the case with the reaping of the rice, with which it has long been the custom to couple it in one labour agreement. I am referring here to the custom that those who helped with the planting out thereby acquire the right to take part also in the reaping and to receive part of the yield as their wage. In its most pure form no obligation was incurred by this system to serve food to the workers either during or after their labour. This is at least true of the agreement that, called by the same name, which is known in the majority of circles in the region investigated, was prevalently used in other parts of the Regency of Toeloengagoeng.

In the region that we studied this so-called *pakèhan* system was often found in a somewhat modified form. What was implied by this name or a recognised synonym for it, embraced here in addition to the usual connection between planting and harvesting also the furnishing of food to the workers during the planting. This took place in the fields. This also held true of the midday meal that sometimes was the only one furnished. It was eaten about eleven o'clock. At times this was the end of the work, which in that case was limited to the morning hours. But it also happened that the work was carried on into the afternoon. This was the custom, for instançe, in Dongko. In that complex the workers were again fed later in the day on glutinous rice or ordinary rice with mashed coconut. For women who only came to work in the afternoon this was the only meal. In Panggoel, where the owner was accustomed to limit his bounty to furnishing the principal meal at 11 o'clock, it sometimes happened that a woman who arrived late in the morning

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at the field would eat with the others at noon and then would continue working in the afternoon. If she only put in an appearance after the meal had been served, she worked through the afternoon without any bite to eat.

In short, local customs were quite different. From this point of view what I was told in Poele in 1922 is quite remarkable. In the olden times, so they said, the planting day was divided into three watches, let us say a morning, noon and afternoon watch. Each woman was then free to work for one or more of those watches. In addition to this having an effect on the size of her share in the crop when harvested, she earned the right after each work period to a spot of food. She might do with it what she would, but usually the food was for consumption at the place of work with the exception of that portion which she got at the end of her self-appointed working day, which she usually took home with her.

When I returned in 1936 no one with whom I then talked appeared to know anything about this system. They had even forgotten the technical term applied formerly to the measure of time. Here and there was one who recalled that name, but even for them it brought no memories with it of the system. Dr. Sollewijn Gelpke, the first to write of and investigate systematically Javanese agriculture, wrote in the eighties that "it was becoming constantly more difficult to find old folk who could tell about the past".

It does not appear far fetched to regard the typical system applied in the region studied of an oral labour agreement in regard to planting and reaping as a mixed form of the genuine *pakèhan* system without the provision of food and the ancient institution of mutual help, *sambatan,* where the supplying of a meal is inherent. This is also supported by the fact that the name *sambatan* is occasionally applied to the system, although this is perhaps attributable to careless speaking.

Although in the olden days the mixed form that I have just been describing was probably the most characteristic, both of the basic forms were also found in their pure state. In Prigi and Moendjoengan, for instance, no food was served in the case of *pakèhan.* In the case of planting in the latter complex, alongside this system was also found the genuine *sambatan* where the women in the morning after work got a meal with rice as the principle article on the menu at the home of the owner of the sawah, which was followed later on by coffee with glutinous rice or rice with coconut. In this case the help was given only at the time of planting, no other settlement took place and nothing was said at all about harvesting.

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The exact relationship customary in the region studied in the case of the *pakèhan* system between the planting and the harvesting of the paddy will be seen below in the passages dealing with the harvest. I will only state at this point that in the period about which we are now speaking the women who helped with the planting did not just present themselves for the work but must always be invited. This indicates that the population was still far from dense. It was the wife of the sawah owner who made the necessary arrangements with other women. In the first place relations and neighbours were asked. It was not necessary that all the helpers should be visited in person by the hostess; she would warn one friend living in a group of houses, who would then pass on the invitation further. As a rule those who turned out were fellow villagers; occasionally, however, women from neighbouring villages would be found amongst them, but these would have been specially invited as relations or personal friends.

WEEDING.

The next work that has to take place in connection with the rice growing is weeding, but this work is not strictly limited to a definite short period. It is impossible to speak of an actual weeding season as one may speak of the planting or harvest season. This is because, although weeding is of itself a very time consuming job, it may be taken in hand at a slower pace. The significance of the share taken in the work by the members of the family rises accordingly.

In the olden days, if the work could not be finished with the aid of the family, it was the male villagers who helped out on the *sambatan* or mutual help system. The work took place either in the morning or afternoon. In one complex, Poele, the remark was made that it was only possible to ask for such help to be given in the morning hours because of the chance of rain in the afternoons. If weeding was done there after midday it was done by the family.

Here again it was the custom to collect the helpers together at the house of the sawah owner after the morning or afternoon task was over for a dinner. Sometimes the guests might take some of the food home with them. During the working hours in the field the weeders were often regaled with coffee and glutinous rice or with sweetmeats prepared from tubers.

In the complexes of Prigi and Moendjoengan, however, in addition to the old *sambatan* system there was even then also a transition form in use, wherein the dinner was replaced by a payment in cash. In Prigi for a morning or for an afternoon 5 guilder-cents was paid.

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In Moendjoengan the sum was 2½ cents which was handed over to those invited a few days beforehand at the time of the invitation.

Only adults were eligible for this payment in cash since they could do more work. If there were but few weeders, the sawah owners preferred to give the payment in the form of a meal; if many, in the form of cash in order to avoid the bother inherent in an extensive and copious meal. The guests were said to prefer the payment in the form of a meal, probably because the payment in cash tended to set up social differences, which the economically weaker brethren will always try to put off as long as possible.

HARVESTING.

In Java the custom has been handed down for ages of reaping the ripe rice fields with small knives stalk by stalk. It is said that this is an obligation to the Goddess of the rice, who must be treated with the necessary reverence. The social side of it is that the less well-to-do are thus enabled, to profit from the produce of the ground. For the many persons who are needed for collecting the grain are rewarded for their trouble in natura.

Technically there was no difference in the method of "paddy plucking" in the case of the *pakèhan* system, by which the women had the right to reap the sawahs that had been planted out by their aid. As a reward both for the former work and for that which they were now doing they received a fraction of the paddy they cut, the so-called *bawon*. Both the fraction and the normal total to which it was applied often differed in the various complexes.

Thus in Prigi, Moendjoengan and Poele the wage was $^1/_3$, in Panggoel and Dongko ¼. It was actually more in all the various complexes, since the portion that the reapers might choose for themselves was carefully made up of the heaviest heads that they set aside during the reaping. According to whether the share was a third or a quarter, the reaper laid out her day's yield in three or four piles at the end of the work. Before giving her her choice, the owner saw to it that the piles were at least approximately of a size. If there was too much divergence shown, he rearranged the stalks a little here and there, but never in so radical a way that there was no profit left over for the reaper. Too close a scrutiny would have injured the social prestige of the peasant.

The basic amount to which the fraction was to be applied was sometimes the amount that could be cut in a time similar to that formerly devoted to the planting, a system applying in Moendjoengan and Dongko. In other places, such as Poele and perhaps also in Panggoel, the dividend was a fixed quantum bearing a relation to

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the time of planting. In Poele, where, as has been pointed out above, the planting day was divided into three watches, the reaper might cut three *agems* [1]) of paddy for every watch in which she had shared, of which she might keep one as her *bawon*. If she did not manage to reap her full quota on the first day she might go on on the following day until she had.

The *pakèhan* system implied that the former planters must be advised when the date for reaping had been determined. At the time of the reaping only drinking water was provided; no food was issued. If very occasionally an exception was made it was purely as a favour done by the owner. In that case at about 11 o'clock portions of rice with vegetables were served out packed in banana leaves wrapped into a cone shape. Sometimes, but only amongst friends, the ingredients for a chew of betel nut were handed around.

In addition to the former planters, use was also made at the time of harvest, which as here performed is a very time-consuming process, of reapers more loosely connected. They, too, received a *bawon,* a reward in paddy that was a certain fraction of what they cut. This class of reaper, in contrast to the group that worked on the *pakèhan* system, could only claim compensation for the help given at that time. For that reason their share in the yield was smaller.

If only the relative figures of the *bawons* are compared with one another, there would often be a tendency to believe that the *pakèhan* contract was decidedly stingy in respect to the other, the so-called *"ngrampijang"* agreement. In Prigi, for instance, the fractions were one-third and one-quarter respectively; in Moendjoengan one-third and one-sixth; in Panggoel one-quarter and one-eighth, in one village the later figure was one-sixth, however; in Dongko one-quarter and one-eighth; in Poele one-third and one-fourth. It should be remembered, however, that the former planters were assured of a long period of reaping or of a definite amount of paddy, while for the *ngrampijang* reapers the time of work and therefore the amount they would get was uncertain.

While the quota in the planting and reaping system was determined at least nominally according to the period and place by custom, in the *ngrampijang* system there was no such universally acceptable proportion for the wage. The share given to the reaper was influenced by the special-opportunistic character of the whole affair, where in addition to social considerations (whether relatives or

[1]) 25 agems = 1 amet = ± 3 piculs = ± 185 kilograms.

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fellow villagers or not) economic considerations (the supply and demand of labour) played a much freer part.

Where both groups helped at the harvest care was taken to protect the former planters from injustice. This was done, for instance, by only admitting the *ngrampijang* women to the fields after the *pakèhan* women had already worked off their just shares. These latter could then continue reaping but now only on the same conditions that were conceded to the former group. In the event that a planter did not turn up and did not send a substitute a part of the crop still standing in the fields was reserved for her. This she could later cut and might keep entirely for herself. Sometimes, too, the free-lance reapers were allowed immediate access to the field. Only when it looked as if these women by their large number would prevent those with older rights from securing their fair shares were the surplus reapers sent empty away.

These *ngrampijang* or free-lance reapers came to the field of their own free will and were not, therefore, invited. That in the olden times their services were very opportune is shown by the statement that the offer of their services was hardly ever refused [1]).

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[1]) In a report concerning the rice season 1875/76, Sollewijn Gelpke even speaks of a Javanese word for the rice becoming ripe without its being able to be completely reaped because of the bounty of the crop. He mentions in that connection a District in the Regency of Toeloengagoeng where this phenomenon had appeared once within the memory of man.

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CHAPTER III.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE KEDOK SYSTEM.

The first decade of this century may be regarded as being in all probability the time when a new form of labour appeared in the district we have been investigating. Whenever I asked why this had taken place, deeper discussion usually landed us in the statement that the relationship between persons and arable land had become less favourable. Emphasis was laid on the fact that formerly "land was plentiful and people scarce", while slowly the opposite was becoming the case. The later closing of the forests to further opening up — a Government measure for the protection of the hydrological interests — was advanced as a contributory reason for the extension of the *kedok* system.

It is curious to note, however, that only in three of the five complexes the institution of *kedok* had been taken up. In Moendjoengan and Panggoel it has not yet made its appearance.

The word *"kedok"* actually means a dyked off section of a sawah, one of the squares in the great chess-board effect presented by an extensive irrigated rice field. The system of that name is one whereby an agreement is entered into between the owner of the ground and some second party amounting to this, that in one or more of these sections or *kedoks* the latter agrees to attend to certain definite jobs against payment in the form of a fraction of the product that is grown on the land he works. This system is differentiated from that of share tenancy (in Dutch "deelbouw") in that in the latter case *all* the work done on the particular piece of ground must be done by the tenant.

In Prigi the presence of a primitive religious seminary was the immediate cause of the basic introduction of the *kedok* system. Let us investigate this point more deeply.

In Java from of old saintly men have collected around them in the place they chose for their residence younger persons whom they further instructed in religion. The greater their reputation for piety and wisdom the greater the circle from which they would attract their pupils. If these came from far away they were dependent for their board and lodgings on their new place of residence, and it is comprehensible enough that amongst the measures they took to support themselves during their course of study would be to offer their services as labourers in the fields.

As early as 1874 Sollewijn Gelpke reported that in the Division of Ngrowo — the present day Regency of Toeloengagoeng — the rice growers were assisted by such persons, who swarmed in their

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thousands out of Middle-Java, even from regions all of 300 kilometers distant as the crow flies.

A similar state of affairs developed in Prigi, though many years later. A celebrated teacher, a Sundanese [1]) by the name of Halimoen Kasan, was there the attraction that drew streams of pupils from far and wide to his religious seminary, even from the distant regions of Kedoe and Solo.

Just as had formerly taken place in other parts of Toeloengagoeng, the *kedok* system was introduced here by such disciples, the so-called *santris*. They lived in the village of Margamoelio.

The prestige of the old religious teacher must have had a lot to do with this form of shared labour being introduced. It has often been shown that such a figure exercises a large influence on the village life. That the new institution caught on is, however, not principally attributable to a readiness on the part of the peasants to cooperate in an object pleasing to God: far stronger than any socio-religious motives were those of their own selfish economic interests, for now for the same share of $^1/_3$ of the gross yield that they were accustomed to pay in the *pakèhan* system the tenant would undertake not only to do the planting and reaping, but also the weeding as well!

Quickly enough in addition to the santris women from their own or other villages came to offer their services on the same terms. These women, who came of families without ground, made their agreements with the sawah owner or his wife — whichever they happened to meet in the fields.

In Dongko and Poele the *kedok* system was not directly introduced by *santris*, and it is also quite probable that a knowledge of it came later there than in Prigi.

In Dongko, where there was no religious seminary, the idea sprung from a few local persons, who had seen the system working in the adjoining plains without themselves having taken part in it. Here, too, the same advantage for the land-owner resided in this new form of tenancy, namely that for the same quotient of ¼ of the produce as was customary in the *pakèhan* agreements far more work must be delivered in the *kedoks* that were taken up by tenants. It was particularly the less well-to-do peasants who were favoured by this system. It relieved them from the necessity of providing those called in to assist with a meal. This was always accompanied by a lot of bustle and for the poorer members of the community was especially irksome because of the hole it made in their never too large stocks of rice and other foodstuffs.

[1]) As the Sunda lands are more particularly considered the Preanger highlands in the west of the island of Java.

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The more wealthy preferred to continue using the old system, because they had the necessary help available at home and also an abundance of victuals. The advantage to them was that the share they received from the produce of their land was greater than in the *kedok* system, since in the latter case they received only three quarters of the total yield. When the harvesting was done in the old way they received threequarters of what was reaped by the women who had formerly helped with the planting, but seven-eighths of that cut by the casual help working on the *ngrampijang* system.

As another objection to the new institution was also brought forward the fact that the tenant, who did everything himself as far as possible, was usually too late with all that he did. This was naturally aggravated when the land was given out in large parcels.

In the beginning it was always members of the same complex who took up the land on this *kedok* system. In 1917 and 1918 for the first time persons from other places presented themselves to work under that system, usually at that time still persons from the same Regency. They had been driven to seek work elsewhere through shortage of food. There was no work to be found in this region, however, that would give them a wage in cash.

In Poele it was also said that the institution of the *kedok* system was simply an imitation of what was taking place in the adjoining plains. Others pointed especially to the influence of persons from Ponorogo (which lies at a distance of 25 kilometers from Poele), who had originally come and settled as potters making roofing tiles. In the rainy season these potters suggested that they be put to work on the *kedok* system in the fields. The pay for this work, which here, too, embraced more than was required in the planting and harvesting system, was the same fraction of the produce as the agreed wage in the *ngrampijang* system, namely one-quarter. In other words, it was still less than that offered in the *pakèhan* system. Here, too, the candidates were usually fellow villagers.

Up to the present time I have only detailed the nature of the work involved in the *kedok* system as applied in Prigi. In that complex, indeed, the original form of the system was met with as it had appeared also originally in other parts of Toeloengagoeng.

In Dongko and Poele, where, as I already remarked, the system apparently was only introduced later, — and then at once in a further developed form — the obligations set upon the tenants were of a much more extended nature. Not only was there added to the original planting, weeding and reaping the task of pulling up the seedlings in the nursery beds, transporting them to the

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kedok and laying them out ready for planting, but also a large portion of the work of preparing the ground. Usually the agreement was that the ploughing and harrowing should be done by the land owner. All the spade (changkol) work (the preparation of those parts that were not reached by the plough and maintenance of the dykes) was to be done by the tenant. In cases where in opening up the ground only changkol work was done, the first turning over — which demands the hardest work — was undertaken by the land owner (Dongko). Where the owner of the sawah had no yoke oxen, it sometimes happened that the tenant did the team work and in that case was excused from the spade work (Poele).

In spite of the far harder work involved in this system than in the *pakèhan* system, the tenant of a *kedok* allotment was not regarded as being duped. He assured himself in this way of a substantial share in the yield of the village fields. Speaking absolutely, as a result of the extensive area allotted to him his actual wage in kind was more than that given to a harvester, who only received a corresponding fraction of that amount of rice that she could reap herself. In order to get together a similar quantity of rice it would be necessary, they pointed out, for such a harvester to be able to work at the reaping of many sawahs.

Formerly, as they said in Prigi, it was a considerable plot of ground that such a *kedok* worker would have allotted to him. This was connected with the fact that in those days the offers of labour were still far too few in the eyes of the land owners, even though the latter took up an expectant attitude and refused to settle matters with a solicitant in too much of a hurry. Another proof of the comparative scarcity of applicants is that in those days they were only asked to plant, weed and reap. But irrespective of the number of applicants for allotments, the peasant land owner still took care to reserve ample ground for himself and his family. It would not be pleasant for the women (or so it was pointed out) to have nothing to do, and they would particularly miss having nothing to reap that had sprung up from their own planting.

Nowhere where the *kedok* system became established was it at all strange for the tenant to sub-let the reaping either entirely or in part to casual harvesters. This custom, which actually amounted to a sort of *ngrampijang* agreement, was also found in all three of the *kedok* complexes in our study terrain. Originally these helpers were rewarded with a *bawon* that amounted to one half of that to which the tenant himself had a right. It is curious to note that this is sometimes actually shown in the term used for the share of the harvest falling to the *kedok* worker as opposed to that falling to

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the landowner. In Prigi, for instance, this *bawon* was called two-sixths in place of one-third. This reflected the custom of dividing the yield of paddy in six parts of which four belonged to the sawah owner, one to the tenant and one to the reapers of the rice.

In the same way, the agreed wage for the reapers in Dongko and Poele amounted to half of one-quarter, or one-eighth. In the course of such inquiries into conditions as they were in the first years of the *kedok* system a smaller fraction had already begun to be mentioned in Poele, namely one-sixteenth, so that the *bawon* was then divided into four parts.

As long as such a reduced proportional part has still the general characteristics of being an exception to the rule, it is usual to find this relationship accompanying some special circumstance such as the stand of the crop; an extra large yield would lead to a relative lowering of the pay. In addition it will be of influence whether the workers were relatives of the owner or strangers to him. Where this factor is in operation it may be expected that the reduction of pay will only take place in the case of strangers.

When the *kedok* tenant had taken on a large allotment he also called in help for the planting and weeding of any part that was beyond his own unassisted powers to get done. In that case the help was accompanied by the furnishing of food.

We shall now refer to a typical variation in the system we are dealing with: whenever the sawah owner A for some reason or other wanted to be specially quick with the opening up and tilling of his ground and natural conditions permitted it, — for instance if his sawahs owing to a favourable lie could very rapidly be flooded — he might find that he needed the cooperation of sawah owner B, who was not in such a hurry, because as a result of B's fields lying at a slightly higher level they could not be flooded at that moment [1]). They would now agree that each would work on a part of the fields of the other in *kedok* contract. That there was no question here of the usual form of mutual assistance was shown by the method of calculating the shares, for each got merely the normal *bawon* fraction of the yield of that portion of ground that he had cared for.

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[1]) This might happen in the beginning of the wet season as long as there is not yet much water available.

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CHAPTER IV.

FORMS OF LABOUR IN 1922.

The high degree of general prosperity in the post-war period had its influence on the Netherlands Indies. The years that preceded my visit in 1922 were characterised by high market quotations for agricultural products in Java. An excellent example to show this up in full relief is formed by the following, which I take from the publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics.

The average annual price of paddy per picul mounted from ƒ 3.50 in 1913 to ƒ 6.66 in 1920 and in 1921 it was still as high as ƒ 6.29.

As a symbol that may be used to illustrate the *general* rise of the price level I quote from the countless data on hand with the above Bureau the index number calculated for the cost of living of the native population. I call this a symbol deliberately, because in the case of this preponderatingly agrarian folk the figures are based on the fiction that not imported articles only, but *all* their necessities of life must be bought with money. If this money value is taken to be 100 in 1913, it had reached a peak of 269.6 in 1920.

Even the remote districts we are dealing with did not escape the general turmoil of the world. It is true that we have shown in previous chapters that in the cultivation of rice the work of third parties was still most seldom paid in hard cash; but from this it must on no account be concluded that money played no part at all in village economics. There were certain articles such as piece goods, petroleum and salt that the peasants had long been obtaining from elsewhere. Further, a thought must also be given to the most important item of taxation, land taxes, which must always be paid in cash.

In order to obtain the necessary cash, it was the custom to sell a part of the crop reaped. So it was particularly at the various markets held at regular intervals in our study area that cash had come to play a part in barter, both in the sale of the fruits of the fields and in the purchase of whatever the peasant families might need.

The greater abundance of money in the boom years stimulated the expansion of the monetary domestic economy in the interior. In the labour relationships connected with sawah cultivation this was expressed, amongst other ways, in the anxiety of the land owners to replace the older forms by work done for wages, now that money had become cheap in relation to rice and other products. For up to that time it was customary to recompense the help of

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others in the work of the rice fields principally in natura, either by serving them with food or by allowing them a *bawon*.

In any sketch made in 1922 the increase in monetary transactions must be clearly emphasized. But in addition, the old traditional forms were still to be seen. The picture has become more complicated, but it is difficult to determine clearly to what extent the various lines take part in the composition of the whole. It is not only that there is absolutely no figure material concerning the frequency of the various systems, but also that, because of the various combinations that appear in practice, information given by members of an uneducated folk serve in a very insufficient manner as a basis for estimating relationships.

If it is desired to secure some insight into the complication of the facts the following may serve: a sawah owner gives a few portions of his field in allotment to a tenant on the *kedok* system. The ploughing and harrowing of this portion and the entire tilling of the ground in the remainder is done partly by himself, partly by a neighbour in *sambatan*, and partly by third persons in wage-labour. The planting out of the section that the owner has retained for his own personal use takes place on the *pakèhan* agreement, the weeding is done against cash payment, and at the time of the harvest there come not only the *pakèhan* women but also a group of *ngrampijang* women as well. The *kedok* tenant finally lets a portion of his allotment be planted against wages in cash, and pays his casual labourers for their collaboration in his allotment at the time of harvest a smaller fraction of their reapings than the usual *ngrampijang* agreement calls for.

With such a system going on it is therefore impossible to draw the line between mutual help, the planting and reaping system, the kedok contract, wages in cash, and so forth. They cannot be sorted out quantitatively, but I hope in what is to be said that I shall be able to give in any event some slight insight into the development of the picture of the labour relationships.

WORKING THE GROUND.

In places where no money was spent on the tilling of the soil this took place either in *sambatan* or as a part of the *kedok* contract. The latter method was something new for Prigi, where the *kedok* system had in the meantime come into general customary use. And where before the duties of the tenant had been limited to planting, weeding and reaping, the digging and the pulling up of the young plants in the seed-beds had now been added. In ground that had also

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to be ploughed, the hoeing followed the first ploughing that was done by the owner. In places where it was only necessary or possible to dig, the first and hardest tilling was done by the tenant, the second (and also last) by the owner.

With the inclusion of digging in the work to be done there came an alteration in the way in which the contract was made. Since the work had to begin with male labour, it was no longer the woman but the man who came to negotiate with the sawah owner. The results of the discussion were then passed on to the wives of both parties so that they could keep them in mind when arranging their programme of work. In order to emphasize the fact that the ideas of the women were of very secondary importance, it was pointed out that no one took the least notice of whether the good ladies got along well with each other or not. If the man had once done the digging, the women of his household must follow on with the planting!

During my investigation I came across the proof in a small outlying village of this complex, Karanggandoe, of how it was the pressure exerted by the owners that led to the work connected with the *kedok* contract being increased. In that village the original system in its less comprehensive form was found. But the solicitant was faced with the choice of applying this original system to a small patch on which he could "plant out no more than ten bunches from the nursery beds", or of doing far more work on a more extensive area.

In this exploitation of the position of land owner may be found evidence of the increasing density of a population, of which a portion have now insufficient land for planting or even none at all. This latter need not apply specially directly to the district in question for, as was pointed out, many persons were already at that time coming from elsewhere seeking work.

As far as the custom of *sambatan* was concerned, it appeared to have been pushed further into the background in this district. It should be mentioned at once that the *kedok* system could have had little to do with this. In the form in which the latter thrived, ploughing and harrowing still remained the duty of the land owner. (It could only arise in connection with the digging to the extent that the tenant took this task upon himself, or employed others to do it for wages).

Another argument is this: the weakening of the *sambatan* system was clearly discernable in complexes such as Moendjoengan and Panggoel, where share agriculture in the form of the *kedok* system had never been introduced. On the other hand, it was just in Dongko

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— a typically *kedok* complex — that the institution of mutual help in tilling the ground was maintained with the greatest fervour. An agreement was also possible on this basis between a poor and a rich man, the latter owning cattle. When the former had worked in the sawahs of the latter, he might, if necessary, have the use of the cattle.

In spite of all this, in the region studied the great line of development on the whole certainly lay in the direction of cash transactions' playing the principal role in the tilling of the soil. Yet there was often an element of the *sambatan* system retained; coffee and refreshments were often supplied to the workers in the fields. The dinner was, however, in these cases replaced by a payment in cash that was less than the cost of such a meal at the prices then obtaining.

This is the first time that we meet with payments in cash for digging. The amount paid for this work was from 10 to 12½ cents for a morning's (or afternoon's) work without food; in an occasional complex 10 cents with a light breakfast.

That when help from others was necessary for ploughing and harrowing the hiring of cattle had become so general was often attributed to the scarcity of cattle caused by closing off the forests and locally to the results of an epidemic. Cattle were only hired out for the morning hours. Often the owner would accompany his cattle, but independently of that there remained the obligation of paying for the use of the animals. The hire price paid for a span amounted to from 25 to 30 cents per morning. In a couple of complexes a higher tariff was quoted for cattle that must be brought from an other village; in that case the charges amounted to from 35 to 50 cents.

In addition to the hire, coffee and refreshments were occasionally brought to the fields for the accompanying drivers.

Where both systems were current, a difference of 5 cents was made in the payment, so that, for instance, if 20 cents was paid with breakfast the fee would be 25 cents without.

Apart from Dongko where the system of mutual help was still honoured, *sambatan* was restricted for certain special cases, for instance in the event of close blood relationship.

Moreover the lending of cattle gratis, in the sense that in principle no quid pro quo was required, was becoming more unusual. In Prigi, in contrast with the customs of former times, it was reserved for near kinsmen.

There did indeed exist another form of borrowing there in order to ensure having the use of the necessary draught animals, a sort

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of credit system, which had long been known in other parts of the Regency (but whether in the old Prigi or not I do not know). I am referring to the so called *ngelet*, an agreement whereby the cattle were hired for a certain time against a pre-determined amount of paddy to be paid at the next harvest. In Prigi mention was made of a hire period of two months and a payment of 50 *gèdèngs* of paddy (= 2 *amets* = ± 370 kgms.). The debtor in this case was — according to native ideas — a substantial farmer who planted more than 2 bouws of land (that is more than 3½ acres). If the crop still standing in the fields at the time the beasts must be returned was a failure, the debt was remitted. In Dongko this institution was not known.

It is to be understood that in a region such as Dongko, where the *sambatan* system was still prevalent at that time, all the virtues by which this patriarchal custom excelled over the *kedok* system (which had, however, increased in the meantime) and over labour done for pay could be heard extolled. I have already mentioned above as an advantage of the older system over the *kedok* system that the work was done more quickly, in this case the digging. As far as payments in cash were concerned, it was feared that the old unanimity would be lost; so that the poor as well as the rich, workmen and employers, all maintained that they preferred the *sambatan* as a system of mutual assistance. True enough, the supplying of food was expensive, but the poorer persons needed but few helpers and also did not have to spread themselves in the matter of the menu. Moreover, by adhering to this system he protected himself from being declassed. He was free when he needed help to ask it of his richer fellow villager whom he had formerly helped. The latter could not refuse him on pain of being able to get no help on some future occasion when he again needed it in a hurry. If he could not come himself, he sent some member of his family or even one of his servants.

There is no doubt that these arguments in favour of the preservation of the *sambatan* system throw light enough on that side of the question. I have already shown elsewhere, however, that there is another side to it, which could quite reasonably induce a less well-to-do peasant to take on a *kedok* worker. It stands to reason that the subjective vision must play a great part in answering all such questions.

On the other hand, in Panggoel and Poele the modern form of payment in cash was highly valued. It implied a saving for the sawah owners at a time when agricultural products were expensive. It was still more highly valued since it was thought that

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as a result of reduced fertility the yield of rice was less than it had been formerly. But the workers on the whole also preferred payment in cash to a good meal eaten in a house that might be far distant from the fields in which they were working. Money could be taken home with them and all the family could then profit by it.

PLANTING.

As I already mentioned by the way, the extension of the *kedok*-task at Prigi not only included the preparing of the ground, but also the pulling out from the nursery and binding the seedlings into bunches. Only in the most densely populated village in that region there was another addition: the transport of the planting material to the field and the distribution of it at regular distances. In Dongko and Poele this work has been part and parcel of the *kedok* system from the very beginning.

In that minority of instances in which either the sawah owner or the contractor had need of help from outside, *sambatan* remained, amongst relatives or friends, the most prevalent form. And yet in Panggoel a couple of cases were mentioned, in which the uprooting of the young rice from the nursery beds had been paid for at the rate of one cent per bunch. In Poele, too, it happened on occasion that a wealthy farmer would recompense this labour at the rate of thirty to forty cents per 100 bunches and a breakfast. In general, however, there was some reluctance to use piece work, since it might lead to hasty work being done and there was a chance that the roots of the seedlings might be damaged when they were uprooted. The transportation and making ready of the bunches remained, even in the examples mentioned in Panggoel and Poele, a mutual rendering of assistance against the receipt of a meal. This is such heavy work as was explained in the latter district, that the helpers were unable to hold out without a stiff square meal.

In 1922 it proved that payments in cash for planting out the rice in the fields were quite common.

In Moendjoengan — where also séttlement in cash must have been applied for working the ground before it was in other places — this usage appeared to have been longest known: it was even thought for some twenty years or so. It appears to have been introduced without influence from without by the sawah owners themselves, because they saw in it the furtherance of their own interests. Amongst those interrogated there was one who was of the opinion that the beginning had lain in a debt that someone owed to a wealthy farmer. The latter must then have suggested that he would reduce the debt if the former would quickly go and plant for him. Here a most important point was touched upon as to why the system of payments

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by the piece was so popular amongst the employers: the speeding up of the work. A woman with whom a *pakèhan* agreement had been made had a tendency to dawdle over the planting out, so that presently at the time of the harvest she should be able to command a larger share of the yield. Moreover, under that system, it was sometimes necessary to wait five days or so before it was possible to secure the required hands. Finally, the new system proved extra advantageous in the years just preceding that of my investigation because of cheap money and expensive products. — In Panggoel, too, where the system of payment in cash was then predominant — the more rapid completion of the planting under the system of piece work was pointed out.

Compared with Moendjoengan, the use of cash for this section of the cultivation cycle was of more recent date in the other centres: in Prigi and Poele I was told that it had only been known for about five or six years. In the last named region, in paying the women in cash for planting there was seen a borrowing from the methods used in the contiguous plains, which, from the point of view of communication, are so much more favourably situated. Amongst those people payment in cash was apparently first applied by persons who had undertaken a *kedok* task, although for them the personal planting out remained the ordinary custom.

I have already remarked that the cash wage was piece-work payment; the planters were paid per bunch planted. In Panggoel it was the custom for the women to wind around their waists each of the bamboo cords with which such a bunch was bound together as it came free. When it was paying off time, these collected belts were presented as a proof of the number of units they had planted. The owner could control matters quite easily since he knew how many bunches had been planted in all.

The use of 200 bunches per bouw (1 bouw = 1¾ acres) and the planting of 10 bunches a day for each woman appears to me from the various data that were furnished me to be the most reasonably acceptable average. In Prigi one and a half cents were paid per bunch planted; in one village the tariff had been 2 cents since two years. — In Panggoel the rate was 1 cent per bunch; originally it had been 2½ cents for three bunches. In Moendjoengan, where I heard of the basic tariff of three bunches for two cents, the estimated number of bunches for a morning's work was from 18 to 20. In that case, though, the bunches must certainly have been considerably smaller [1]).

In these three regions, which lie along the coast, no payments in

[1]) Although this does not agree with the statement made in 1936 that there, too, 200 bunches were required for planting one bouw.

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kind were made in addition to the cash payments. As the people in Prigi declared, since a woman was not hired necessarily for planting in the morning, she could divide her daily work in any way she pleased, so that the employer had no need to provide food for her. If she wanted to, after setting out one bunch in the ground she could go home.

Only in Poele, where planting according to the *pakèhan* system had also largely given way to cash payments, did the supplying of food go with the system of payment as sketched.

It merely remains for me to state that Dongko, in this respect also, diverged from the other four regions in that it held fast to the old system. Payments in cash for planting out rice did not occur. For the most part the work was done on the *pakèhan* agreement, but in addition it was sometimes also done in the *kedok* relationship.

In the other districts, too, the planting and reaping system had not entirely disappeared; it was merely greatly reduced. This applied also to the *sambatan* system in Moendjoengan, (compare page 12). The solidarity between rich and poor was maintained because — according to information given me in those parts — rich and poor women were present at the work in the fields together; the only thing noticeable was that the work of the well-to-do was more limited to overseeing, while the poor folk actually did the hard manual labour.

WEEDING AND THE REPLACEMENT OF MEN BY WOMEN FOR THIS TASK.

We have already seen that in the olden days Prigi and Moendjoengan were familiar with a two-fold system of settlement, in which in addition to a certain amount of food cash was also given (compare page 13). As contrasted with the case of planting out, in the former region the people had not immediately gone over to an exclusively money transaction. The reason given for this was that weeding was not piece work. The workers were hired for a definite time, for instance for a whole morning, which laid the obligation on the employer of keeping them in good condition for working during that period.

In 1922 payment in cash for weeding appeared in all the region investigated to be a customary system, against which *sambatan* had dwindled to the minority. Locally the people had even freed themselves from payments in kind.

The developments in Prigi and Moendjoengan pointed in the latter direction. The urge went out from the sawah owners. In Prigi it was said that for these persons it had become too expensive and too much trouble to look after the provision of the necessary food in addition to the five cents from formerly — then the sum paid for

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commuting the heavy meal. Even if this was not satisfactory to the workers, the system was persevered with and the wages for a morning's work became eight cents without any extras thrown in: in one village the payment had even been ten cents for a couple of years. This change occurred at approximately the same time as the introduction of piece work payment for planting. There is room for the question to what extent this was a matter of direct influence.

In Moendjoengan emphasis was laid on the rapid increase of the wages through the richer land owners bidding against one another, when they wished to ensure timely help. This was in all probability intended as an explanation for the relinquishing of the supplying of food, which in this connection began to be too expensive. In the year of my first investigation the payment for a morning's work had risen to 7 cents, while 14 cents were paid for a whole day.

In Panggoel, too, pure cash payments were predominant. The compensation, which had originally been ten duits (that is 8½ cents) for a morning, had then reached a record of 12½ cents.

Although in Dongko and Poele use was made of money, the only (or almost the only) system that was current was a mixed system. In the former region payment at that time for a whole day's work included in addition to the 12½ cents in cash a square meal at about eleven o'clock and light refreshments during the afternoon. If the worker only worked for half-a-day, this implied the morning hours. In that case, after his work the worker received a wage of 7 cents in cash and a square meal. In Poele the combined wage amounted to 10 cents and breakfast for a morning's work.

In weeding another change was remarkable, which is especially interesting for rice cultivation at this time. It concerns the replacement of men by women as workers. This process had already progressed so far in 1922 that in Moendjoengan and Dongko the weeding was principally done by women. In the latter region it was stated for example that just on the previous day 50 women had been busy in one of the sawahs where there was not a single man to be seen.

The origin of this custom is to be found in something that was also present in certain districts formerly but in others even a short time before had still been somewhat unusual. It concerns the weeding of a woman on her own land, where she assisted her husband or father in his work. Work was also done in the fields of other people — but then only intended as assistance for her husband. In this way the contractor in a *kedok* task might be helped by his wife. Exceptionally a man who went to weed in a *sambatan* agreement might be accompanied by his wife to lighten his task, but in this case the owner of the sawah was a member of the family.

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It is from this nucleus that the appearance of women as journey workers developed, no longer tied by any bonds to the field that she was weeding, nor to the person in whose service she was working. That this did not take place without opposition follows from various statements that were made to me. On the one hand there was the difficulty that the women were not yet experienced in the art of weeding, on the other that of their shame at having to appear in an unusual role. It was said in Panggoel that perhaps only ten out of every hundred women would weed. In Dongko it was observed that the girls would only work amongst themselves, but not in company with boys.

In general payment in cash for weeding was prevalent before women began to compete in this labour market. Only Dongko formed an exception to this rule, which was quite typical. In that district, which still clung tenaciously to the old tradition of the closed "familial" economic system, the character of the work done — and thereby also the recompense — differed for the two sexes. The men did this work as before in *sambatan,* while the women, in addition to food, also received money. This was in agreement with the wishes of both parties. The men, in whom the feeling of solidarity was still strongly manifested, felt in the first place their social responsibilities. The women had a much less well developed feeling for society life against which stood, that their sense of responsibility to the family was, in the nature of things, strongly developed. Against such a background, it is comprehensible enough that under the pressure of circumstances they showed a tendency, and found the freedom much sooner, to make concessions and to adapt themselves to the obtruding and disintegrating economic life.

The replacement of the men by women may certainly be regarded in such a conservative community as a very radical change in the sociological sphere. It is perhaps not without interest for a fair understanding of the situation to know that weeding — in the train of thought of the rice farmers — had a predominantly, if not exclusively, material significance. It was a pariah in the series of the cultivation episodes, which could readily conform to another point of view. This is in contrast to the opening up of the ground, the planting, the "pregnancy" of the plants, and especially the harvest, in which many spiritual values had survived by a rich tradition and around which numerous ceremonies were performed.

Whenever I asked the reason why women had put in their appearance in the sawahs that had to be freed from weeds, the basis of all the replies I received was that the struggle for existence had become more difficult. Some persons — as in Moendjoengan — pointed out that there are now more people who had to be kept alive.

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Others again — as in Dongko — laid the principal emphasis on the reduced yield of the fields. Formerly the women could secure their food playfully as a result of the excess of land available. It was only necessary to return to plant the same patch every five or six years so that there were always good harvests. At that time there was no longer any question of letting fields lie fallow; every inch of ground was continuously in use for growing crops. The result of this was a reduction in the fertility [1]).

But there was another reason adduced, namely the disappearance of home industries and side-line earnings for the women, so that they were more and more thrown on to the fields for support. Someone told me in Panggoel that forty years ago women took but little part in agriculture. Batik was made in every house. The increase in prices of the raw materials — cotton and wax — caused the price for buying a sufficient quantity to rise from ƒ 1.— to ƒ 3.50 so that this process was no longer within the reach of the average villager. In Dongko it was said that even weaving of basketry and hats, once a favourite passtime of the women, had ceased since the closing of the forests. For growing the plant that produced the fibre, the pandan, it was necessary to seek a suitable terrain which was usually found on the outskirts of the forests.

Where weeding was paid for in cash, the wage paid to men and women in 1922 was the same, and the sexes were thought to be quite equally suited to the work. In Moendjoengan they said that the men worked quicker but that the women made a more thorough job of it. In Dongko there were some who actually preferred the women because of their lighter weight, as a result of which the ground was not so firmly pressed down. Marriageable girls received the same wage as adult women, but younger girls got less, namely 8 cents.

Where both sexes are equally capable of doing a task, if women receive the same wage as men it often points to a relatively larger demand for women in relation to the supply.

THE WORK OF WOMEN AS AN INDEX OF PROSPERITY.

As is well known, in Europe when women appear more frequently as wage earners in agriculture it is regarded as a symptom of less prosperity, while her disappearance from the pay rolls is an indication that times are better. Now since weeding presented the one picture in 1922 and, as we shall see presently, the other in 1936, the question is of interest to us how we, in this instance, should regard these facts in connection with the problem of welfare. An explanation at somewhat greater length argued from first principles may be of service in orientating ourselves more fully.

[1]) This refers to the so-called "dry fields" in contrast to the sawahs or irrigated fields.

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The originally homogeneous inhabitants had come to the beginning of social division, based on the differentiation between a land-owning and a landless agricultural class [1]). Now, there were two tendencies at work widening the gap between these "two nations": further increase in the population and the introduction of the use of money. The first tendency speaks, as a matter of fact, for itself. The enhanced dependence of the landless and crofters on the nucleus of the villagers made itself felt in their economic contact as an alteration in the rate of exchange in favour of the "strong men", as the landed farmers called themselves in that Regency. The services of the masses were gradually recompensed by simpler food and smaller fractions of the crops. But how is the influence of the money economics to be regarded in this connection, the influence that came so strongly to the fore about 1920?

At a time such as that, when settlements in cash were rapidly encroaching, trench by trench, on the closed settlements in kind, the general trend of affairs in the country was favourable and the prices of the products of agriculture were high. This was to the advantage of the settled farmers, whose land in various ways brought in more than the family could use directly. This situation was exploited more and more as the farmer, in the changed conditions of life, needed more money, a fact to which I shall return later. A consequence of this was that he tried to reduce the reward for labour, and in two ways; first by diminishing the payments in kind, as a result of which a larger proportion of the harvest fell to the share of the farmer, and second by paying a low wage in cash. Nor must it be forgotten that it was just that group with landed property that brought the money into the village [2]). The purchasing power of the money that was concentrated in their hands was high in their own neighbourhood which made itself clearly felt in the "labour market" [3]). For the employee, therefore, the money economics in

[1]) This is true of the area in general that we investigated. Along the coast of Prigi, however, the picture is complicated by the presence of fishermen, who, as I was told, form there a separate class by themselves. In Panggoel, on the other hand, catching fish was spoken of as a means of earning extra money. In Moendjoengan, as I was informed in 1936, no fish is handled. In the meantime, I am reluctantly compelled to confess that fishing and its effect on the agricultural society formed no part of this investigation.

[2]) Eventually: in the agrarian environment; in the case namely that — as in the coastal regions of Prigi — the fishermen are also importing money from outside. The fishermen, of course, buy from the farmers, but between them and the agricultural labourers there is practically no interchange either of goods or services.

[3]) One must not, therefore, jump to the conclusion that the motive for the farmer's economic behaviour was completely changed at one sweep and that from that moment he began to produce for the market with the principal object of making profit. On the contrary, filling his needs and supporting his life remained the object of his activities, but for this purpose barter was an essential element. In the meantime this taught him to set store by a new function in his products, namely their suitability as an object of barter, to which end their price was the criterion applied. This made him more calculating and economical in regard to a surplus. He only sold his produce if he had to make some payment in cash. This makes what was still being said in Prigi in 1922 more comprehensible; namely "the people do not readily sell rice, they prefer to save up paddy rather than money, etc." (see page 41)

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relation to the compensation he received for his labour implied an element that was prejudicial to his interests. Irrespective of what has been set forth above, it must still be kept in mind that these work-people are becoming dependent for their principal needs of life on the fluctuations of the market and that the value of what they receive directly from the farmer for supporting life is always lower than the purchasing price of the same quantity of goods.

So the fact that, as a result of the tendencies sketched above, we must take into account the constantly more and more diverging social classes in 1922, is of importance in a consideration of the problem of welfare. Prosperity is a psychically relative conception: It is often calculated on the basis of the requirements complex and the means of gratifying those requirements. Owing to the rapid progress of the monetary economic situation, which took place at that time, the total of necessaries, which were obtained in a roundabout way from money, increased. Even had there been fundamentally no requirements added [1]), this increase would have remained, since it may be accepted as certain that many of the old needs were no longer fulfilled through personal production or payments received in kind for services rendered.

Let us picture the situation for ourselves as follows: Where formerly fire was obtained by a "firestone" and tinder from the *aren* (sugar) palm, matches were now bought. Where formerly light was procured from "*djarak* oil" (castor oil) produced by the people themselves, petroleum products (kerosene) were now acquired from the local market. Ready made piece goods came in the place of home woven cloth. The smaller distribution of the harvests in share-wages and the increasing disuse of the *sambatan* system, forced the crofters and those owing no sawahs to supply what was lacking in their provisions by buying rice and other foodstuffs.

At this stage the total earned in the form of money (we shall say nothing of the art of learning to spend it properly) was of determinative significance. Judging from what has been said above it might be supposed that this sum was sufficient for a sawah owner to cover his ordinary long-standing needs, while the income of a person owning no land was not sufficient to that end. In fact the matter was much more complicated: Subsidiary earnings played an important part. Amongst these — as we have already mentioned — were home industries, which had been forgotten. But, on the other hand, the rapid gaining of ground by money transactions was

[1]) This is merely a hypothetical remark, in which I refer to food, tligh and clothing. It may, of couse, be opposed that there were actually new needs whenever the means of satisfying these requirements were altered in their nature *within* these categories.

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just an expression of the business life of the country that had been so stimulated in those years. In general this implied a willing market and a favourable opportunity for bywork earning. Those who although they owned no fields owned a dwelling house with its surrounding compound could profit by the price of chickens, mangosteens (the fruit of the Garcinia Mangostana, Linn.), coconuts and cassava (manioc, tapioca). The last two products mentioned lent themselves well to a primitive sort of preparation process at home as a result of which they were increased in value as copra or *gaplèk* (the dried, raw roots of the cassava). For the very poorest classes the collection and sale of products growing wild, such as *durians* (the fruit of the Durio zibethinus, Murr.) and *kluwak* (the prepared seeds of Pangium edule, Reinw.) was an assistance obtaining their food.

There was in this remote region no question of an actual increase in the opportunity of working for others. That could only take place in agriculture, but even this — in spite of the great changes that had been occurring — was still carried on in the traditional way to such an extent that the ground only served the owner for his subsistence and for employing the labour of himself and his own family in the first place. This did not necessarily lead directly to an increased need for the labour of third parties.

Indeed, the opportunity for earning money increased because the character of the payments changed in that direction in the case of various occupations. That women should profit by this, if such work could be done just as well by them as by the men, was not immediately disconcerting, but followed as a matter of course, especially when productive powers, freed by reason of home industry's no longer being viable, could be applied in other directions out of doors. Yet for purposes of comparison one has to bear in mind, that the absence of the woman includes the forsaking of the household services, which she — in the meantime and almost unobservedly — renders to her family in her capacity of wife and mother. These services, too, represent an economic value.

Now where the needs of the people — considered as not increased nor changed in nature — were met in just as satisfactory a way as formerly — even if money must now serve as an intermediary and the goods were other than formerly — and where no more arduous work was necessary to that end than before, there is, in the strictest sense of the word, no question of a reduction of prosperity. In this connection it is obvious that it is impossible to conclude without further consideration from the increase of woman wage earners in agricultural pursuits that the people were impoverished. And yet the substitution of working for wages outside

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for subsidiary earnings made by activities at home embraces a condition less desirable from a social point of view, even though the character of emergency employment has been from of old no stranger to these domestic byworks.

Should further analysis of the situation nevertheless show that the replacement of weeders by women doing the same work was really the result of a reduced state of prosperity, it would still be a mistake to overlook the fact that this would even then only be true of the lower of the two social layers. In general any such verdict would be premature. It might prove that the higher class had advanced. In that case there is always this gain to be booked from a dynamical point of view, namely that in an amorphous mass a definite differentiation has set in, which is the beginning of all progress, including increased prosperity.

This prosperity problem becomes even more complicated — but is thereby at the same time brought nearer to the truth — when it appears that in 1922 the matter involved not only needs of the same nature, but also new needs that had arisen. This should be obvious, since an expansion of the money mastery implies a breaking down of the old isolation, a making acquaintance with hitherto unknown but very attractive things. In addition it might appear that in a much wider requirementscomplex a smaller percentage provision was made than formerly, when it was still of a more limited extent. This might apply equally to the rich and the poor. In such a case is prosperity reduced? If the conception, that the degree of prosperity is indissolubly bound up with the possible degree of fulfilment of the recognised needs, is blindly adhered to, this question must be answered in the affirmative. Viewed from a static outlook, this may be true, since in the light of development such an interpretation does not satisfy. The significance of the variety of the needs, of their total number, is misjudged. Even without working this point out further, a higher standard of living, an improved degree of prosperity, may be conceived, in spite of a relatively reduced power of supplying those needs. It is my opinion that this is the state of affairs amongst the land owners. For the lower classes it is primarily of importance that a possibly increased standard of living may quite well be accompanied by an increase in the number of women working for wages.

In any case it is certain that the switching over to the money economic stage through facilitating the possibilities of barter stimulates a further development of the division of labour and thereby, generally speaking, contains the possibilities of a potentially higher prosperity.

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HARVESTING.

Formerly, as a result of the smaller number of persons available and the more bountiful yields, it was necessary to take into consideration the people without whose assistance it would have been impossible to get the harvests in. Help in planting was made agreeable by connecting it with the popular harvesting and by distributing a considerable proportion of the yield. The reapers were for the most part women who at the time of the planting had been invited to participate. In 1922 all this was found to have been changed. There were than always people enough, it was said in Moendjoengan: It was possible, when the time came, to make the contracts in the field. In Panggoel it was said that in the olden times the sawah owner was forced to entice the workers with soft words because of the shortage of hands, and he was often compelled to join the reapers himself. At that time persons seeking work had to be turned away.

This makes two facts comprehensible: firstly that the *pakèhan* system had more and more given way to the engaging of free reapers at the time of the harvest, and secondly that the wages paid for cutting the rice had diminished.

The first point is already well known to us from the paragraph dealing with planting. Where that work was paid for in money — and that was, as we then saw, frequently the case — harvesting was reckoned separately. It was only in Dongko, where as we have seen the *pakèhan* system still remained dominant, that the former planting women still formed the largest contingent of the reapers. In Panggoel the old combination of planting-reaping was usually limited to members of the family. In Moendjoengan, too, it was only met with sporadically.

Dongko also swam against the current in that there in the *pakèhan* agreement the quotient wage still remained at the old level of ¼. But in other parts of the district it had become a smaller fraction: In Moendjoengan $^1/_5$ and later $^1/_6$ in place of $^1/_3$; in Panggoel ⅛ in place of ¼. In the latter place it was even said that the fraction was no longer fixed. This points to the fact that the old custom with its fixed normals had been set adrift and that the opportunistic character of the present time was standing in the way of a chrystallization into new rules [1]).

[1]) This explains the fact that in 1936 it was denied in Moendjoengan that the relationship of 1/5 or 1/6 had ever been common there. It was said that it had always been 1/3. Such a denial of what had been sketched in 1922 as the situation at that moment is not an isolated instance. They impede, of course, the building up of a picture really true to life from the material collected. On many occasions in such cases the truth of some piece of information that had been given in 1922 *as applying to that period* was practically certain. It is very probable that certain of the details were no longer remembered after a time. At that period — and also since then — everything was in a state of flux, as a result of which many of the pictures that flashed across the screen so quickly did not remain in the memory.

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The free reaping women, who had come so much to the fore in connection with the cutting of the rice, were for the most part taken on on the basis of *ngrampijang*. In Moendjoengan and Panggoel this was the principal system of conducting the harvest. In the last named complex it was said that the workers were obtained as far as possible from the region itself. The villagers preferred, it was explained, that the rice should remain on the spot: Of every 100 reapers there were perhaps no more thans ten who came from elsewhere (Ponorogo, Patjitan, Poele). The composition wage — originally $^1/_8$th — had become $^1/_{12}$th bij 1922 having passed through $^1/_{10}$th. Three reasons were given in Moendjoengan for the reduction of the bawon: The sawah owner had higher expenses; the number of persons had become much larger; and taxes had been increased. The share wage had been reduced from an original $^1/_6$th to $^1/_{10}$th.

In the conservative Dongko harvesting exclusively by *ngrampijang* women remained in the minority. Their work was merely supplementary to that of the *pakèhan* women where the latter was insufficient. Here, too, the traditional proportion for these women remained at $^1/_8$th.

The most radical change in the payment of the reaping women was certainly the payment in money that was then to be found in Poele. It had been in fashion there for some five years already and had been originally taken over from the neighbouring plains. The initiative apparently had been taken by certain farmers' wives, who themselves had a small business. It was their object to get into their hands as much of the product as possible. The harvesters received from 2 to 3½ guilder-cents per *agem* (see note on page 15). In a whole working day they were able to collect eight or nine of those measures.

When I made my investigation in 1922 it was said that the *bawon* system of settlement was being but little applied at that time, and only amongst good friends. The customs therein applied proved too expensive. This included the fact that the *kedok* agreements had also become more scarce. They were restricted to the payment of friends and relatives for their work. It was then reported to me that anyone with half a bouw of land (about $^7/_8$ acres) let his harvesting be done against payments in cash [1]).

[1]) In 1936 it was asserted that payment in cash for cutting the paddy had only taken place sporadically during the good years. In only one village (Djembok) was it admitted that it had been more common before that time, even though it had still been less frequent than other sorts of payments. It was recalled that payment had been made by the piece at one dubble-duit per *agem*, that is to say 1/3 of 5 guilder-cents. I am of the opinion that the information given me during my investigation in 1922 about conditions obtaining *at that time* lie nearer the truth than the retrospective reminiscences made after so many years had passed, years that had been replete with changes that had again led to the abandonment of the cash financing.

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Meanwhile it may well be accepted that payment in kind for harvesting is the last trench in which the economics of products instead of money has been able to maintain itself in connection with recompense for services rendered. The information given me in Prigi supports that contention, namely that it was indeed the desire of certain of the large sawah owners to pay for the reaping of rice in cash, but that this did not accord with the purport of the employees.

In 1922 of all the regions investigated it was just in Prigi that the *kedok* system was still the most in fashion. When discussing the working of the ground we have already seen that there in the meantime the obligations of the contracting party had been intensified. The pressure exerted by the sawah owners expressed itself also in another way: at the same time that the spade work was included in the labour contract the *bawon* was reduced from $^2/_6$th to $^2/_7$th.

Where the *kedok* worker of a somewhat larger area again farmed out the harvesting to free harvesters, he had in his turn again cut the pay given for that work. Where its reward had formerly been one half of the share assigned to him, it proved now to have become $^1/_5$th. A rice cutter taken on on these terms therefore received $^1/_5$th of $^2/_7$th, that is to say $^2/_{35}$th of the work of her hands. It has already been reported (see page 24) that in the remote-lying village of Karanggandoe the *kedok* system was in a period of transition. In so far as the assignment of labour still took place on the old basis and included nothing more than planting, weeding and reaping, the old *bawon* of $^1/_3$ remained intact. Yet with the reassignment of the reaping the payment for a free harvester was already ¼ of what the *kedok* worker received, so that she got ¼ of $^1/_3$, that is to say $^1/_{12}$ of what she turned in of the product. In Dongko, too, the tendency was apparent in such cases to reduce the amount paid out of the share wage of a person contracting to perform a *kedok* task. Instead of ½ only $^1/_3$ was now handed over, at least whenever the crop appeared good, since the workers otherwise would have nothing to do with it. These then received from that time on $^1/_3$ of ¼, namely $^1/_{12}$, of the yield.

In Prigi, when there was no talk of a *kedok* agreement, the fraction which the sawah owner paid to women only taken on for reaping, was the same as that portion which they would have received as their share of the yield, had they been taken on by a person working on *kedok* terms: Thus in Karanggandoe $^1/_{12}$ and in other places $^2/_{35}$th. It would appear that a large application of the *kedok* system with the — at least for the person contracting to undertake such a task — so advantageously small fraction to be paid out for harvesting, played into the hands of the sawah owners

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by enabling a much more businesslike arrangement of the settlement. It is possible that this may be explained as follows:

It is always difficult for the land owner on his own initiative to force wages down to the level that he would like to see them take. He must always consider his social status, his good name as an employer. Now, however, that apart from him so many precedents have been created, he can follow without losing face. A sharp economy in the *bawon* for the harvesters is much more easy for the worker in the *kedok* relationship when he farms out the labour of reaping. Whether a stranger or not, he belongs to the group of economically less powerful persons from whom liberality or active charity should not be expected. That there is a connection between an adjustment based on a further splitting up of the *bawon* and a far-reaching reorganization of the labour relationships on a sound business basis, appears from what was told me in Poele. The allocation of a fraction of the *bawon* only took place in the case of strangers. On the other hand, the true *ngrampijang*, where the *bawon* is paid out in full, was only applied to acquaintances. In Prigi matters were formally so arranged that every person was paid off according to the same proportion. If there were relatives amongst the harvesters, these asked for a portion to boot and such a request was not refused. It will appear below, in a passage about the present harvesting wage in this region, that here, too, a differentiation was made between the former *ngrampijang* and a settlement, which in connection with the *kedok* system was based on a parcelling out of what was actually regarded as *bawon*.

Whenever there was a harvest of any size, it was allowed to dry in the fields (Prigi, Moendjoengan). It might well be several weeks before the bunched rice stalks were carried home. The laying out in the sun, watching, binding and transporting were the work of the owner and his family. It happened sometimes that two or three farmers, who had collected their stocks together in one place, would watch the rice in turn. Theft was otherwise also quite unusual.

From of old it was the custom at the beginning of the harvesting to cut and bind the first stalks in one's field in a ceremonial manner. Because of their more or less sacred character they were formerly left untouched. For this reason there were in 1922 still men who had the "rice-mother" of five or six years previously. As a matter of fact, in Panggoel there was even a village headman who had preserved his consecrated rice for 19 years. When I visited the region it was, however, pointed out that in contrast with what had formerly taken place this consecrated food was then eaten, since there was so much less reserve rice than before. It was respected to the last, but if

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necessity drove them to it — if there had been, for instance, no rice to eat for several days (Moendjoengan) — the people were forced to resort to eating it. This is quite a typical proof of how the economic element became more and more freed from the bonds that tied it to the community with its socio-religious complex of ideas. It would take me too far to support this with other examples. In general I may point out how the time-consuming and expensive festivities that it had been the custom formerly to celebrate in connection with the cultivation of rice were gradually brought back to far more modest proportions.

The change was, thus, fundamentally this, that there was talk of a certain rendering independent of the economic life in a more individualistic direction. Before, this was more or less hidden in an undifferentiated, collectively tinged existence, which in its tendency to petrifaction gave little opportunity for the development of the germs contained in it. On the other hand, the economic element was not yet otherwise motivated in many respects. It remained dominated by the old thoughts of maintenance, it aimed at a proper existence, at a subsistence. A desire of profit was not, therefore, the most potent driving power. For that matter, it is known that also in the ordinary farming circles in modern Europe there is still a remnant of this "pre-capitalism" maintained. Besides, how powerfully the ideal of the old self-contained economy of rustic life still remained before the eyes of many persons, in spite of the increased circulation of money and the enhanced dependency on the outer world, may well appear from remarks such as that I heard in Prigi, that the farmers only sold their rice when driven to it by dire necessity and would rather store up rice than money. The result of a certain amount of thought which they gave to the matter was, that it appears that hill men need less money than those living on the plains. People go to market without money; only with produce.

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CHAPTER V.

FORMS OF LABOUR IN 1936.

ECONOMIC OUTLINE.

When, some months ago, I visited the district again, the economic aspect in the Netherlands Indies showed a picture quite reverse to 1921. That year was characterized by brisk business, in 1936 there was a deep depression. For this period with its unfavourable condition of affairs the Javanese invented a kind of onomatopoeia. He calls it the *"mlèsèd"* time, a term in which the degenerated French "malaise" coincides with a Javanese word, literally meaning: to slip.

The market was, of course, very dull, the price level was low. While in Java in 1921 a picul of (bearded) paddy was sold at ƒ 5,90 in June and at ƒ 7,18 in December, corresponding figures in 1935 proved only to be ƒ 1,59 and ƒ 1,93 [1]). The general nature of the decline of prices is better illustrated by the index number that represents the money value of the nourishment of the native population. Starting with 100 for 1913, we find 216 for 1921 and merely 61 for 1934 [2]).

The ebbing of the economic tide was also clearly visible in the isolated tracts on the south coast which are covered by our investigation. There it was frequently said that the output did not alter so much in terms of weight or volume, but there was a great slump in prices. In 1922 the prices I noted in Panggoel were as follows: one *batok* [3]) of rice: 11 up to 15 (guilder) cents, one carrier's load of cassave: 70 until 80 cents, and one carrier's load of *gaplèk* (the dried raw root of cassave): ƒ 2.—. At the same season in 1936 the relative statements were 6 cents for rice (immediately after harvest in 1935 3 cents), 30 cents for cassave and 60 cents for *gaplèk*. During my first stay in the region studied one disposed of his cocoa-nuts at the rate of 100 for ƒ 2,50. When I returned by January 1935 100 kilograms of copra were in demand at ƒ 3,50 [4]) at Kampak, being the dwelling place of the copra dealer, a day's journey off from the producers. In Moendjoengan

[1]) As the average annual price in 1935 was not at my disposal, I could not give the pendant of the 1921 figure (Cf. p. 22). For a comparison between both years I had recourse to new data. These relate exclusively to bearded species of paddy, which are more expensive on account of better quality.

[2]) These figures I derive from table 18 in the report by Dr. A.M.P.A. Scheltema, which has been recently published by the National Council for the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The title of the study is: "The Food consumption of the native Inhabitants of Java and Madura". I was not capable to provide a companion figure of the index number for the *cost of living* in 1920 (Cf. p. 22) as — according to Dr. Scheltema's remark in his chapter VII — the data available for that purpose are unsufficient.

[3]) Half a cocoa-nut shell as a measure of contents.

[4]) 480 nuts are required for 100 kilograms of copra. In 1922 the unprepared nuts would represent an amount of ƒ 12.

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copra is the main export commodity, but rice is also sent out to the adjoining regions. As for rice mention was made of ƒ 2.— per picul immediately after harvest, gradually rising to ƒ 2,50 and up to ƒ 3.— in the off season [1]). Another paddy price of ƒ 2.— per picul refers to a village in Poele. Especially formerly it was in the habit of disposing of its surplus in the neighbourhood. It was reported that in 1930 one could still get ƒ 9.— per picul [2]). A fixed quantity of *gaplèk*, at that time still finding buyers for a guilder, was at present hardly accepted for 30 cents. Still worse was the collapse of prices in the cattle-trade, for Poele an important source of income. A buffalo which, when sold, formerly brought in ƒ 120.— could now only fetch from ƒ 7.— to ƒ 14.—. The same complaint was heard in Dongko. The value of a carabao fell from ƒ 60.— or ƒ 80.— to ƒ 6.— or ƒ 7.—: when one was very lucky one received ƒ 10.—. The roof-tiles, made in this part of the district, only fetched the reduced price of ƒ 1,50 per 1000, while in boom conditions the yield was ƒ 11.—.

The price decline of goods, produced and traded in by the rural population, entailed lack of money in the desa. In recent years village life was more and more adapted to the process of satisfying wants by the roundabout way of money. This process being disturbed people were forced to provide for their increased needs directly, or to leave them unfulfilled. This regression to the old economy of domestic self-containment shows symptoms of impoverishment [3]).

Let me give some examples.

The purchase of petroleum has much diminished. Sporadically one makes use of substitutes such as castor oil, which served as a source of light in bygone days. The walllamp, a commonplace import article, that was kept burning for the whole night, is replaced by a primitive construction of a small bottle or tin with a tiny wick, that saves waste of fuel and is blown out before going to bed. Matches have fallen into disuse and nowadays one plies again the old-fashioned flint and tinder from the sugarpalm.

The expenditure on textile has also shrunk. One has to be content with an inferior quality or people have to wear their clothes longer, thus making less demands, in stead of buying at regular times.

[1]) In the last quarter of 1935 the inland market in Java showed a price proportion between bearded paddy and first-class rice approximately coming to 1 : 2¼. At that rate paddy prices in Moendjoengan would have worked out at ƒ 1 up to ƒ 1,20, which is considerably below the average Java level.

[2]) In that year the average market price in Java was ƒ 11,50 per picul for first-class rice.

[3]) With regard to the sale of salt and opium — which in this country are subject to a government-monopoly — I have at this moment only one or two figures at my diposal, which moreover are not checked. Data concerning the extent of this sale may, with some reserve, serve as an indicator to wealth. My intention, however, is only to give a bird's eye view of the deteriorated conditions of life.

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In Dongko, for instance, the whole family used to change their outer garments once a year. By now this only happens to some of the members, while the others will at best get the cast-off clothes. In the field of food consumption this alteration seems to take place that less rice is eaten and more cassave. For a long time in the ordinary course of events people in many parts of Java eat rice until sated in the months following the paddy harvest up to the season that the stock has decreased. At that stage rice is mixed with Indian corn or cassave in a ratio in which the staple food is gradually abating. Nor is this habit new to Panggoel, Dongko and Poele, according to the information I received. In the scanty months in the year the peasantry has been led to eke out rice shortage by *gaplèk*. For Moendjoengan this policy seems to have been introduced only lately. In the other regions, however, the quota of cassave is said to be greater at present. It strikes one that, though maize and cassave are grown side by side, the former is exclusively a market crop, notwithstanding its higher nutritive value.

Still a few further details to breathe life into the picture of to-day. Of the two Chinese shops in Dongko one had to liquidate. — People who visit the native market in that place have to pay market-dues under a rule which taxes special commodities on their estimated value and others according to the space of the stall. Now the assistant widana told me that the yield of this duty had sunk to 25 per cent when compared with 1930. Meanwhile one has to keep in mind that since that year the levy on surface occupied was curtailed by 20 per cent — A market woman, whom I happened to meet there, had walked all the way from Kampak — and that takes 5 hours — to sell a petty parcel of peanuts for 15 cents — I also came across a man, a pedestrian, who covered 22 kilometers to make a purchase of *gaplèk* with the meagre 4 cents he brought along from his home somewhere in Panggoel. He thought it would suffice him and his family for the next three days — Not far from Dongko I talked with a passer-by with a carryingstick on his shoulder, loaded with paddy. He bought it from his brother in the neighbourhood of Poele, whom he had visited with that intention. They agreed on a price of 30 cents, but sharp bargaining would have resulted in a higher amount being charged. During 5 days he would not be short of food for his household of 7 members, if the rice was mixed with *gaplèk* in a relation of 1 : 2. In high good humour he continued his journey, which took up six hours vice versa — At the market in Poele I was interested in a female retailer from Ponorogo. She came on foot the day before, without any merchandise. Now she spent 7 cents on Guinea pepper and 25 cents on *gaplèk*, expecting to sell her purchases for 8 cents and 27½ cents

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in the district where she has settled down. I must confess that it sounds incredible, but anyhow, it is certain that profits in such a business will be very poor, owing to the insignificance of the transaction and the two days' journey required by it. In the case in point the distance between home and market is 25 kilometers. In itself it is a common feature, especially in remote corners, that people think lightly of time-consuming marches, when they have a prospect of some coppers. The present depression will have produced a climax in this situation.

It goes without saying that labour relations have also experienced the influence of tight money in the village. For want of hard cash the peasants were forced to follow again the trodden paths from the days of yore. So the help of others which could not be dispensed with was rewarded in kind. In so far as payment was made in money it is obvious that the standard was much lower.

This return to the time-honoured customs — by the way I mention the *sambatan*-system — has a tendency to re-strengthen the feeling of solidarity between the rich and the poor. On the whole one can take it that these bad years weaken the social antagonism in the community. The dispersion of the "two nations" in the past years of prosperity and the fraternization in this epoch of trouble and care depends on the total income and, in a high degree, on the rate of distribution. In 1922 it was clear that the latter turned out favourably to the wealthier people, the landowners, though that does not imply that in its literal sense non-landowners were losing ground. In 1936 the process is perhaps running in the reverse direction. Remember the shrinking of the monetary economy and the small margin between the subsistence in former times and that which is barely enough to keep body and soul together, among the landless class. Increase of the population has the opposite effect. For the Regency of Trenggalek — to which the region studied belonged until recently — this increase was 18,4 per cent from 1920 up to 1930 (the average Java-figure being 19,3 %).

PREPARING THE GROUND.

When I touched upon this subject the first time, I remarked that in the complexes of Panggoel and Moendjoengan the number of those who till their own soil without the assistance of others may now be estimated at 50 and 40 per cent (cf. p. 8/9). The rest has to appeal to the outer world, at least partly. In 1922 the reward for such help was mainly in cash. At the present time, however, the *sambatan*-system has risen from its ashes and has developed into the most important form of labour provision.

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An exception is found in Prigi. I think it is connected with the rise of the large fishing concerns, which are consistently issuing money in that district (cf. p. 5). At least ploughing and harrowing are principally paid for in hard coin. It is estimated that for every three or four cases in which third parties have to come in, then *sambatan* would only occur once. For the rest the agreements are on a pecuniary basis. In the village Prigi mutual provision of help implying rations was even called a rarity. If a man is invited on these conditions, he pretends to be too busy. If he is offered money, he will come. In this complex the hiring of a span of cattle amounts to 20 cents per morning. In addition to this the accompanying drivers sometimes get native cigarettes, but food is never provided. In some cases a payment of 15 cents will satisfy, but then it concerns a near relative. Besides this agreement there is still that other form, which I described under the name of *nglelet*, whereby the debt is cleared off in paddy (cf. p. 26). In stead of 50 *gèdèngs* the owner of the draught animals now asks 35 to 40.

In Moendjoengan hard cash also plays its part with ploughing and harrowing, but at the present time it makes up only part of the reward. Payment is always combined with a breakfast. Next to it there is a vigorous revival of the *sambatan*-system. Out of the four villages which were subject to inquiries two were of opinion that the first form prevailed, while the other two took for granted that the last custom has spread most in these days. There is a circumstance, it was said, which hinders a more complete regression to the usage of mutual assistance observed formerly. That is the scarcity of cattle. It namely looks as if the owner of a yoke is not willing to render assistance unless this takes place on a monetary basis. The price ranges from 10 to 15 cents per morning, according to the stock available.

More important still than in Moendjoengan seems to be the reconquest of *sambatan* in Panggoel. Summarizing the estimates of various villages in one impression, I should say that in the case of ploughing and harrowing the frequency of money transactions when compared to that of *sambatan* works out at 1:2. When cattle is hired and the agreement is restricted to cash, the landholder must pay 15 cents for the use of a span in the morning hours. Otherwise the rate is 10 cents with a breakfast consisting of coffee and a dish of glutinous rice with cassave. In some villages it is the mixed form of money and food allowances that has the upper hand, in other places the pure money relation is typical. Where the last practise is followed, it is often due to a limited supply of cattle. The sawah-owner is put to a higher expense by it, as at this time the breakfast does not even represent a value of 1 or 2 cents. While formerly the dearth of

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food was a stimulus to pay in cash, it is nowadays cheaper for him if extra help is paid in kind. That is why the combination of cash and kind is favoured among kindred. Little surprise need be felt that in 1936 Dongko had still nothing to do with money transactions, where even in the years of plenty we saw it clinging to mutual assistance. But also in Poele the latter system is covering more ground: pecuniary restitution concerning ploughing and harrowing has disappeared.

Taking the field of investigation in its entirety, the outstanding fact is, that in the case of ploughing and hoeing the old *sambatan* has outstripped the hiring of cattle in cash. In general the outdoor labourers are treated to an early breakfast in the fields and to a square meal at the house of the host at about eleven o'clock. The daywork is then done, for later on it is not usual to put the cattle to the yoke again. In Moendjoengan there are desas in which the supply of food is restricted to the dinner at the landowner's home.

As for the digging, the tie between this operation and *sambatan* has always been much closer than in the case of working the ground by draught animals. This makes it clear, that at present the use of money is proportionately much more exceptional than in the event that ploughing and harrowing are applied. Even in Prigi, where monetary economy holds out owing to special circumstances, the spading up with the *patjol* is not rewarded in cash. Only in the complex of Panggoel there are still instances of real wages. People stated that an amount of 5 cents is given, when the digger carries on from half past six to half past nine, of from two to five o'clock. Meat and drink are not offered.

Practice of tilling the soil in the afternoon also occurs under the domination of *sambatan*. Then the man concerned as a rule did not labour in the previous morning: toil would be too tiring for that. The early working hours are accompanied by a breakfast on the spot and followed by a midday meal at the peasant's house. The second space of time is closed in a similar manner. Sometimes refreshments are passed round in the field during the work, but village customs vary in this.

We know already that the digging may be framed in yet an other form of labour: it may be done in person by the tenant of a *kedok* allotment. I emphasize the personal execution because of the possibility of his leaving it to a friend on terms of mutual assistance. From old ploughing and harrowing have generally not been included in the *kedok*-agreement. But where this happens to occur and the manual work gives place to cattle operations (cf. p. 20), it is not unusual in Poele to hold out the prospect of an enhanced *bawon*. In a village in Dongko I was informed that there is only talk of a

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higher tariff, when the whole process of preparing the ground is to be a charge upon the applicant.

Now it drew my attention in the old *kedok* complexes that agreements of that nature have come much more into fashion in recent years. That applies in particular to Dongko and Poele, as in Prigi as a matter of fact this institution was already widespread in 1922. At the time of my first inquiry the number of landholders who parcelled out some plots of ground on *kedok*-terms was supposed to be 5 per cent. During my last visit numbers were mentioned from 25 up to 30 per cent. Everywhere it was promptly argued that the most potent factor for the extension of this system was the growth of population, running parallel to an increase of the landless class. The same reason would after all account for the revival of *sambatan* in general. Apparently the influence of the abated money income did not occur to these rustic people.

As regards the effect of the *kedok* system in Dongko, it is noteworthy that by now quite other words were heard than formerly. Fourteen years ago justice was done to its merits only with a view to the poor landholder, but with respect to the better-to-do the drawbacks were considered to be predominant (cf. p. 18-19 and 26). At present people were unanimous in sounding its praise. I shall leave out of the question, whether during my last visit fate brought me only into contact with zealots for this form of labour, or that the part of public opinion representing the opposition was converted. Anyhow, now I was informed that the drawback upon which such stress was laid in early years, viz. the being late with the operations, needed not to be dreaded. They answered in opposition that after all the work of the occupier is controlled by the owner. If the man is inclined to be lazy, he incurs the displeasure of his employer and will run the risk of not being accepted as a *kedok* tenant anywhere again. Besides the landholder may demand that badly executed work be carried out again. Indeed enquiry prosecuted among various persons proved that it is true, that one supervises the activity of his contractor. This sometimes indeed leads to differences of opinion but the matter never goes to the extent of a quarrel, because it is fairly understood that the owner should have most to say in it.

PLANTING.

Besides the pulling out from the nursery and binding the seedlings into bunches the task of the *kedok*-labourer in Prigi has been enlarged with the transport of the planting material to the field and the distributing of it at regular distances. An other novelty is, that in a few villages the former operation — i.e. the preparing of the issue from the seed-bed for conveyance — may be paid in money.

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In one desa this has an exceptional character, in an other one it was said to occur once in every four cases. The rate is 15 cents per 100 bunches, supplemented by a dinner at the owner's house. On the other hand cash payment has grown out of date in Panggoel and Poele inasmuch as the above-mentioned job is concerned.

For the rest the state of things has remained the same: for that part of the ground which has not been assigned to a *kedok*-applicant the preliminary labour to the planting proper is ordinarily undertaken by the landholder. If this is beyond him, he looks for assistance on the footing of *sambatan*. In Prigi such help is asked either for the morning or for the afternoon. In a village in Poele mention was made of two substantial meals for a full day's work, both of them preceded by refreshments presented in the field.

Let us now proceed to the "pièce de résistance" of this paragraph: the putting into the ground of the seedlings. What knowledge can we gain by a comparison between the years 1922 and 1936 from the standpoint of the forms of labour, more particularly in reference to money wages? In Dongko people are now just as unacquainted with these as formerly, the inhabitants of Poele have done with them, in Moendjoengan and Panggoel their importance has faded: they have to strike again their flag for the old figure of *pakèhan;* in Prigi on the contrary they have held their own alsmost completely, though the tariff for planting has gone down considerably. That does not imply that in that region the wage system should be the sole ruler, nor even that it has the prevalence. It seems that there are still desas, where payment for planting has never occurred up till now. Besides it is fairly obvious that in a region still pretty well equipped with money one sticks to cash transactions, where they have already been in vogue. In such a tract a cultivator — be he owner or *kedok*-tenant — having to fall back upon extra help, will remunerate the service rendered by money payment. Since 1922 the rates of payment have sunk from 1½ cents per bunch (cf. p. 28) to 2 cents per 3 bunches, nay to ½ cent per bunch.

In the complex of Moendjoengan it was believed in three villages out of the four which were examined that only 3 in 10 owners of sawah-fields make use of money to pay their debts for planting out. As for the village Moendjoengan the proportion was thought to be 9 in 10, so that no doubt ready cash is very characteristic of the system followed there.

In a few villages the standard is ½ cent per bunch; elsewhere 2 cents are paid per 5 bunches. Another proof that in this process of cultivation the monetary economy is on the decline is furnished by the fact, that in this complex the exclusive form of money payment has disappeared. The wages as such are always

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supplemented by a simple midday meal served in the field. Rice is the principal dish, but there are not so many side-dishes as in the case of *sambatan.*

In Panggoel the representatives of 6 villages, which contained in total about 300 sawah owners, estimated the number of rice farmers who use ready money payment, at only about 35 to 40 against about 200 in 1922. Here too the female planter has to be content with much less than in the days when she received 1 cent per bunch. At a rate of ½ cent there are still many women anxious to partake of the work.

In Dongko and Poele people once again paraded their stock remark on the heavy pressure of the population upon the land, in this connection now to point to a still greater extent of the *pakèhan*-system. In the latter complex this is of more importance than the application of *kedok,* as far as planting is concerned. Nowadays it is customary to confine the treat to the midday-meal, irrespective of the question whether labour is supplied merely in the morning or is carried on into the afternoon. Refreshments during the late hours in the field — formerly customary (cf. p. 11) — are no longer given. There are, however, exceptions.

This was shown by a village in Dongko, where one distinguished more principially between the word *pakèhan* and an other term, which did not come into practice until later, though in other places both expressions are more or less regarded as synonyms. This new name gained currency, so I was told, when in consequence of the closing of the forests to further opening up the supply of labour became so abundant, that it was no longer necessary to plant in the afternoon as had been the custom up to that time, under the rule of *sambatan.* The expression became namely characteristic of the putting into the ground of the seedlings in the morning hours, which should have developed as a specific type. That difference is not only revealed in the *bawon* — see later —, but also in the food allowances to those assisting in planting. Here only a breakfast is afforded, whereas a real *pakèhan*-worker may depend on a principal meal at about eleven o'clock, which, then, forms the break in her working hours.

Inside the planting and reaping system in Moendjoengan — at present once more the leading labour agreement there — some internal variations occur. Occasionally the work is assessed according to the time spent, as is also the rule in Panggoel and Dongko. Then again the standard is piece work, more particularly the number of bundles planted. This, of course, involves — I shall deal with it under the paragraph on harvesting — that the *bawon* is fixed in divergent ways. Where one takes into consideration the quantity of

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seedlings worked up in the rice-field, the rate proves to be 25 bunches per planter in one village and 15 in an other desa. With a view of underlining that a woman is not allowed to fall short of this number, one of the audience compared the obligation of the planter to "dienst". This is the Dutch word for service, which natives have taken up in their language in the more restricted sense of duty required in government office. If the woman has lived up to the local standard, she will stop working in the one village. In the other community, where the tariff is 15 bunches, she is at liberty to carry on planting, but this extra-work is paid for in coin. In this village is was said to be more difficult to get assistance because of relatively larger holdings.

WEEDING AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF WOMAN'S WORK BY MAN'S WORK.

In the same way as in the case of planting one can notice a twofold contraction in the money circulation with reference to weeding. First there is the question of the rates which have gone down. Then the number of the cash transactions has decreased, a good lot of them being replaced by the ancient *sambatan*-system. This qualitative change is more striking than in the case of transplanting, as more complexes are concerned with the conversion. It is Dongko that has to be held responsible for it. Ordinarily so imperturbable, in the boom years it granted a concession to the monetary economy with regard to weeding. At this time it has returned to the old state again — Moendjoengan may be looked upon as Prigi's principal co-partner in cash transactions. Now a few words on the seperate complexes.

In Prigi the employer now gives 6 cents for a morning task (formerly 8 cents: cf. p. 30).

The same amount is paid for afternoon-work. In the few instances wherein one's labour is supplied for a whole day the wage is 12 cents. Food is not furnished.

When in Moendjoengan an owner has to look about for aid, in 8 or 9 cases out of the 10 he will spend money on it. A man earns 4 cents in the morning hours and the same in the afternoon. The corresponding figures are 3 cents for a woman (formerly 7 cents for both sexes). It is intelligible that respectively 8 and 6 cents are received when the operation is attended for a whole day (formerly 14 cents). No more than in Prigi additional allowances in kind are procured in Moendjoengan.

While in 1922 the modus of cash payment prevailed over *sambatan,* it is now in the minority. Where one still adheres to it, the rate is 5 cents per morning or afternoon (formerly 8½ cents up to 12½ cents).

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In Dongko only in the village of that name money expenses are still recorded, though this practice is losing ground there too. If it occurs at all, labourers are engaged for a full day. It is true that wages are fixed at 3 or 4 cents, but next to it the inner man was catered for. By eleven o'clock the weeders are entertained to a dinner consisting of rice and *gaplèk* with the appropriate side-dishes. At two o'clock a dish is served of rice and *gaplèk* with cocoa-nut-ingredients. During my last visit, while talking over bygone days, some recalled to mind a reward in cash and kind of 10 cents with food in return for a whole day's work, over against 5 cents with food to cover half a day's work, whereas an exclusive money transaction would have come to 15 cents and 7½ cents for the periods mentioned above. This recollection does not quite tally with my own experience in 1922. On the one side the wage, to which they alluded, was lower; on the other hand more emphasize was laid on the possibility for the owner to meet his obligations fully on a pecuniary basis. May be this recollection relates to a state of things once existing in the space of time between 1922 and 1936.

In Poele payments in cash have fallen into disuse. There, too, people referred probably to a later stage of this practise — a development after 1922 —, when early in 1936 I was told in a village that the expenditure for a day's labour had become fixed at 12 cents for men and to 10 cents for women. According to the same informants the rate was fixed at 6 cents for both sexes, if the weeders were only occupied in the morning hours. Money returns were always accompanied by food supply.

After having dwelt upon the part which cash transactions play on the occasion of weeding in the region under investigation, I can be brief in treating the custom of *sambatan*. If we divert our eyes from the complication which in certain complexes may be brought about by working on *kedok*-terms, the system of *sambatan* is to be considered as the counterpart of the practice of paying in hard coin. Thus its field of operation is to be found in Poele, Dongko and Panggoel. Merely a detail or two.

Where in Dongko weeding is confined to half a day, it is never more a matter of money, but always an instance of mutual assistance. In Prigi there are some communities, in which the latter form is no more applied at all.

Finally we have to pay attention to the fact, that the alteration in the forms of labour is attended with a change in the ratio of male and female workers. It proves that in the long run the weeding woman had to forego her job for the good of the stronger sex. In a word the present state is, that in the complexes of Prigi and

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Moendjoengan, where the removing of weeds is paid for in wages, there are about as many women as men weeding the rice fields, nay, in Moendjoengan women are perhaps in the majority. Elsewhere their appearance has grown much rarer and is restricted to the clearing of their own grounds or the *kedok*-plots allotted to their husbands. Only in the village Dongko one comes across an exception inasmuch as it is still the woman, who earns the daily wage in those scarce cases which are still left since the regression of monetary economy. In the complex of that name people imputed her withdrawal from this agricultural occupation to lack of money in the first instance (thus not bearing testimony to rural welfare). Some, also, suggested that by now it was no longer necessary to appeal to women, as the congestion of the population involved a greater supply of labour by men, thuis bringing back again the original situation.

Psychologically this idea is pretty well in harmony with an effusion, lately heard in a village in Poele, that the joint labour of men under the rule of mutual assistance is something far more agreeable.

After all it is note-worthy that you can find one village in Panggoel where in contradistinction to other communities, the weeding is mainly a matter in which women are concerned, and even to a higher degree now than formerly. The reason of this is not yet clear to me. The villagers asserted, that the men looked for other jobs. The widano took it that this peculiarity lasted so long because of the remote site of the rice-fields there. When there is some traffic along such lands, women feel ashamed of this occupation.

It is curious that in Moendjoengan mention of a different standard for the sexes was not made until now. By this new arrangement the fair sex has come off the loser. In a way something like it is revealed by the latest reminiscenses of payment in Poele. In Moendjoengan people affirmed that in the outset no difference was made in the return of weeding done by women or men. In 1922 their work was considered to be equal, as the thoroughness with which the former accomplished their tasks equilibrated with the quicker tempo, in which the latter got on. Now it is said that more attention is paid to speed. To me it seems, however, that the cause of this change is not so much a question of difference in the result of labour as that new — and probably intricate — relations have come into being regarding supply and demand.

In Poele the explanation was immediately evident. Because the rates were the same for morning work, it was the afternoon which accounted for the divergence in the daily wages. Now it happened, that after midday women stopped working an hour earlier than men. At four o'clock they had to go home to do the cooking.

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The relative abundance of money about 1922 implied, that in the case of planting a seperate return in cash was favoured. That is why that ancient form of labour was losing ground, in which the putting into the soil of the seedlings and the reaping of the ripened ears were interwoven in one system. In its turn, the fact that by now the rural population is hard up, has entailed that the slackened tie between the two agricultural operations has been strained again. In other words: the *pakèhan*-agreement has returned to vigorous life. As for the measure in which this happened I may refer to the previous paragraph on planting.

In Dongko and Poele the fractions relating to the *bawon* are equal to the original ones: i.e. ¼ and $^1/_3$ respectively. In the former complex it was pointed out once more, that in reality reapers were better off. Does not the landholder shut his eyes to the trick of making their own shares heavier? Also the rule that a woman is allowed to cut the paddy for so long as she was formerly engaged in planting is still observed in Dongko. The same holds good in that village where we came across a deviation in the case of planting. I recall to mind the difference which was made there between the *pakèhan*-agreement and an other system of more recent date passing by a name apart (cf. p. 50). Though I happened to quote a similar feature first, the divergence in the two forms of labour under discussion is by no means confined to the act of transplanting. Where the old custom is in force, harvesting, because of its parallelism with planting, is always a matter of whole days. For the same reason the reaping is restricted to the morning hours where the newer practice is followed. In the former event the reward for the workers is still the same $^2/_7$ as from ancient times, though through scarcity of arable land $^2/_8$ is sometimes still given. In the latter case the fraction is fixed at $^1/_3$ of the yield. This is only thought fair in point of the few hours of labour.

The description of the modern *pakèhan*-system in Panggoel reads like this. A day of planting gives the right to the cutting of 10 *tekems* of paddy. From that the harvester may keep 5 for herself, an amount equal to half a *gèdèng*, which normally works out at 3,7 kilograms (cf. p. 26) but on the occasion of a *bawon*, will, no doubt, tend to weigh more. If the evidence is true that the reward has de facto not changed, it has probably to be understood in this way, that in the course of time only the fraction has altered, in other words varying quantities had to be gathered in to meet with a permanent portion of paddy. The previous statements leave certainly room for such a supposition (cf. p. 14/15 and 37).

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In those villages in Moendjoengan where the return for the planting is gauged according to the time spent (cf. p. 50) the dividend of which the *bawon* is the divisor is the volume of paddy that a woman is able to cut in a period similar to or connected with the time she was formerly engaged in setting the seedlings in the prepared rice-field. For instance in one village the reaper, weaponed with her paddy-knife, has so long access to the ripened sawah as her previous presence as a planter lasted. In an other village one whole day of planting was offset by half a day of harvesting. In both cases the share is $^1/_3$, so a return to the original proportion (in 1922: $^1/_5$ or $^1/_6$; cf. p. 37).

The same ratio of $^1/_3$ is presently common where according to local custom in the case of planting a fixed number of bunches has to be worked up in the field. In the village in which this number amounts to 15 a *pakèhan* woman is allowed to join the harvest for half a day. In the other village where the piece work consists of 25 bunches of seedlings she may gather in 3 *agems* from the crop. One of these is to become her reward, a quantity which may be put at about 7,4 kilograms in the lump (cf. p. 15).

In Prigi the share for a worker under the planting and reaping rule is by now ¼ of the yield. This means a nominal reduction when compared to the original fraction of $^1/_3$.

In spite of the *pakèhan*-system thriving so well, in spite of the increased frequency of *kedok* agreements, the seperate restitution of harvesting is still a familiar phenomenon in the region studied. This need occasion no surprise. In the first instance this is brought about by the circumstance that there are still cases left in which the succeeding agricultural operations, in stead of being linked up in one scheme of labour, are arranged casually. Remember for instance the occurrence of planting on cash payment in Moendjoengan. It goes without saying that the cutting of paddy will then demand a special provision there. But even there where the planting was restricted to *pakèhan*-women, the reaping, as a more time-consuming job, claims a separate solution for the remainder of the crop that exceeds the capacity of labour as embodied in the agreement I mentioned above. And as for the *kedok* connection, the tenant is at liberty to have the matured rice gathered in by outside help. Is seems to me, that this happens much in Prigi. I think I may deduce that from an other item regarding the *kedok* custom in that complex, more particularly the planting out of the paddy. Though this occupation does not take up so much time as in the case of harvesting, rough estimates in 3 villages show that out of 10 *kedok* workers there are still 2,4 and 5 who employ hired labour.

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The foregoing explanation makes it clear that many a time a landholder has to come to a special arrangement with casual reapers. Though the contents of suchlike agreements may vary, there is one common feature inasmuch as cash wages are nowhere to be found.

Let us consider more closely the forms of such a return in kind as applied to the harvesting. If the position is viewed as a whole, we are struck by the great diversity in the fractions determining the allotments which the women get from the portions they deliver. Of the quota's obtained $^1/_3$ and $^1/_{16}$ are the extremes. Those proportions which within the bounds of *ngrampijang* are best admissible of a comparison with 1922 show some difference with former days. In Moendjoengan, for instance, the ratio of $^1/_{10}$ disappeared and has been replaced by $^1/_8$ or $^1/_9$. In Dongko the fraction of $^1/_9$ has meanwhile turned up next to the former $^1/_8$. In Panggoel the rate of $^1/_{12}$ has remained steady. These data are too scanty, however, to be representative of altered relations. There are several other quota at my disposal indeed which are much applied in recent times, but I cannot avail myself of their pendants in the year of my previous visit. Among other things this holds true for those shares which are assigned to reapers in a more priveleged position. This group may embrace not only relatives but also friends and neighbours. So in the complex of Dongko the current tariff is $^1/_8$ or $^1/_9$ — sometimes $^1/_7$ — when concerning people from other communities. Fellow-villagers, however, receive as much as $^1/_5$. Taken strictly, the same will do for kinsfolk, but practically this rule is not always seriously observed. It sometimes happens that these people secure much more of the paddy they cut, nay it occurs that the whole of it is taken along with them. The information gathered in a village in Moendjoengan also corresponds to the Dongko-system. While the *bawon* there is $^1/_8$ or $^1/_9$ for strangers, the share in the produce is $^1/_3$ in respect to kindred and neighbours. In a village in Poele a similar custom obtains, whereby a member of the favoured group has a right to $^1/_4$ or $^1/_5$ of the paddy she cuts, whereas the rate for an outsider is only $^1/_8$ or $^1/_{16}$, dependent on the condition of the crop being poor or flourishing.

The last two instances as such must not be generalized to the point that they should be characteristic of their respective complexes. Also in regard to this particular object there is variety in the customs of the several villages. In Moendjoengan these differences result from the degree in which contraventions are possible to the main rule, which fixes the remuneration at $^1/_8$ or $^1/_9$. While in one village the apportionment of $^1/_3$ to relatives and neighbours was said to be prescriptive, evidence was given in an other village that every reaper

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had to submit to the standard of $^1/_8$ or $^1/_9$, irrespective of her being a stranger or an intimate. Elsewhere again, a kinswoman in this tract seems not to be tied down to a special rule, or if so, she does not keep within its provisions. Hence the occurrence of women who appropriate all the sheaves they gather in. — In Poele too there are villages which according to their informants — contrary to the above quoted instance from that region [1]) — make no difference in recompense between harvesters from outside and those belonging to the owner's neighbourhood or relationship. When determining the fractions, consideration is taken as to whether a woman can cut a good deal of paddy or only a small quantity. In the first case the ratio turns out less profitable to her than if it is the reverse. Current proportions are $^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, $^1/_5$ and $^1/_8$.

In the chapter devoted to the forms of labour in 1922 I noticed already that to pay for the work done by casual harvesters, the sawah-owner in Prigi has adopted the habit of the *kedok* tenant who happens to be in a similar condition of employer (cf. p. 39 and 40). This custom is still in practice, nay it has become the ordinary way to recompense the help of a female labourer who renders her service only at the harvest. As this adjustment goes back to a method of calculating the *bawon* originally applied to the *kedok*-system people do not so much feel it as connected with a *ngrampijang* agreement. *Ngrampijang,* so it was at first said in Prigi, has gone out of use. There were even cultivators who did not know the word. Not until later did the exact meaning of such an agreement seem to dawn upon them. The idea they formed of it, they associated, however, with a rate of $^1/_6$. Now in my old notes this share is nowhere to be found among the figures concerning the system we discuss. In the beginning as much as $^1/_4$ was there adopted as *bawon.* On the other hand it draws our attention, that it is the fraction of $^1/_6$ that indicates the quota to which a reaper was entitled in the early days of that custom whereby the allotee of a *kedok*-plot employed labour at the harvesting. The above-named proportion is half the portion which accrues to the tenant himself. Perhaps people have mixed up these things, and if so, there would be another proof how by now the peasantry in this complex — probably without realizing it themselves — are incapable of imagining a separate restitution for the cutting of the paddy which has nothing to do with the *kedok*-agreement.

The ratio according to which the present owner in Prigi settles accounts with his casual reapers has improved for the workers since 1922. While in those days a fraction was mentioned of $^2/_{35}$,

[1]) In keeping with this instance is also what I noted of Poele (cf. p. 40).

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nowadays $^1/_9$ is mentioned. In order to point out how logical this figure was, one argued as follows. The landholder who cultivates his field himself may be considered as a *kedok* contractor on his own ground. In this function he may lay claim to $^1/_3$ of the gross produce, because this is at present the amount of the *bawon* for the "cropper". Now the modern *kedok* tenant is accustomed to hand over $^1/_3$ of his own *bawon* to third parties when the cutting of the paddy is left to them. So if the owner behaves in a similar way the remuneration for the women engaged at the harvesting works out for him at $^1/_3 \times {}^1/_3 = {}^1/_9$ of the outturn.

When in Poele a *kedok* tenant is in need of help to gather in the mature rice, the current rate for the labour employed is ¼ of his own part. If the crop is sure to give a poor yield, he sometimes enhances the portion for the reapers to ½. So their return resolves itself to ⅛ or $^1/_{16}$ of the produce.

I already noticed that these last quotients may also underlie a *ngrampijang*-agreement between a sawah-owner and his female labourers in that village in Poele which closely joins the custom in Dongko concerning the difference made between "outside" and "own" people (cf. p. 56). Both small fractions relate, as a matter of fact, only to the first category. The oral agreements founded on them are sometimes specially called: halving or quartering the *bawon*. With that it is demonstrated indeed that ¼ is considered as the basic proportion of a genuine *ngrampijang* engagement. Here however, it is not so easy to fix as in the case of Prigi, whether the parcelling out of the original fraction did not arise until headway was made in this direction by *kedok*-workers who for one reason or an other transferred the job of harvesting to others at a proportion of their own dividend. We have to bear in mind that from ancient times in Poele the same ratio has obtained with a *ngrampijang*-labourer and a *kedok*-applicant: in Prigi, however, there was a difference. As in both systems the subdivision of the *bawon* is represented by the same fraction, the deduction from the radix can make it only clear for Prigi that imitation took place and on which side this happened.

An expatiation on the various forms wherein a seperate return for the process of reaping may be embodied brought us already into touch with the *kedok*-contract. On these occasions we dealt more in particular with the tenant as an employer. Now we have to enter into his function as a labourer, whereby our interest is confined to the share he has in the produce of the plot cultivated by him.

Now I have already mentioned that in Prigi this quotient has become similar again to the figure which prevailed in the early days of the system, viz. $^1/_3$. So from the standpoint of the *kedok*-worker

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it compares favourably with the part he got in 1922 which amounted to $^2/_7$ (cf. p. 39). On the other hand his pensum has been aggravated, as the transport of the seedlings from the nursery to the prepared field and the distribution of the bunches over its surface are now generally required by the landholders (cf. p. 48).

By the way I was told that tenants who are not equal to their task-work find a remedy for their shortcoming by assigning a plot or two to other applicants, who are willing to work upon them on *kedok*-lines. At times such an occupier to the second degree in his turn behaves as an owner who has a plot allotted to a "cropper" to the third degree. Whether this habit only dates from recent years I do not know for a certainty.

In Poele too the *bawon* is the same fraction as formerly, to wit ¼. Much more seldom the rate of $^2/_7$ is applied. This may be the offer of a paddy-grower who for want of cattle looks for a *kedok*-labourer prepared to manage the ploughing and the harrowing (cf. p. 47). In a certain village this bigger proportion was only put into practice on the first day the *kedok*-worker reaped on his ground.

The modern Dongko frequently awards a part of $^2/_7$ to the contractor of a *kedok*-task, though the old share of ¼ is still in existence. Nevertheless the new method cannot be said to be much of an advance upon former custom. The question is that at present an occupier is charged with an additional duty, which means a heavy addition to his task. I allude here to the process of drying the paddy. Now his damage is not only due to the time-consuming nature of this job, but is largely contributed to by the fact that he does not touch his reward in kind until his task is accomplished. Thus he misses his former opportunity to secure more than the nominal fraction in making up the sheaves of the *bawon* out of the heaviest ears, which he used to select during the operation of reaping. Remember that it is customary to mix all that is gathered in when freeing the product from moisture. It is even said that this particular expansion of the task-work was insisted upon by the owners because of the possibility it afforded to come to a settlement on more businesslike lines.

In some communities it was brought to our notice that the villagers have long been accustomed to the figure of $^2/_7$. In the previous instance that bears relevance to this matter (cf. p. 54) it always refers to dried paddy. In those desas it is scarcity of arable land that accounts for the occasional application of a share of $^2/_8$ in this day.

Another deviation of the norm I touched upon when speaking about the tilling of the soil (cf. p. 47/48). It regards the higher remuneration in the case that a *kedok*-tenant undertakes the plough-

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ing and harrowing besides the traditional digging. The ordinary share of ¼ is then enhanced to $^1/_3$.

Ultimately mention has to be made of an exceptional circumstance which may induce the owner to greater liberality. I hint at the encroachment on the general rule according to which the proprietor looks after the irrigation of his fields. Now there is a datum at my disposal that shows how the *bawon* was increased from $^2/_7$ to $^1/_3$ as the occupier was entrusted with those interests so far as his allotment was concerned.

There are various reasons why on the whole — and not only in Dongko — the management and control of the water is not left to the tenants. As it is, their plots are commonly connected in one compact block of terraces with the bulk of plots which the landholder has kept for his own cultivation. Now by controlling the entire irrigation, the latter is in a position to prevent the former from taking too much of the quantity, available for the distrubution among both parties. This would, no doubt, be detrimental to the owner. Another cause is that irrigation demands daily supervision, and this would lay too heavy a burden on the contractor. Only when his plot, in the owner's eye, is an isolated unit of cultivation, it goes without saying that the watersupply is regulated by the occupier. The same practice is followed when a field, at a great distance from the proprietor's village or home, has become the object of entire partition among *kedok*-applicants who are living in contiguous quarters.

Nor will I end this report without noticing a remark which struck me in my last visit to Moendjoengan. At a meeting with farmers I was namely told, that two years ago the *kedok*-system found its first application there. Up till now this novelty has been limited to a few cases in the village Moendjoengan.

Further description, however, brought to light, that we have here more in particular to deal with genuine share-tenancy (cf. p. 17). As far as I know, this institution, whereby *all* the work must be done by the applicant against a share in the product, has not yet made its appearance somewhere else in the region I studied. In the village I mentioned it was introduced by a Hadji [1]), who received his religious teaching not far from the capital of the Residency of Kediri, so that one may take it that he derived it from there.

In the case in point the planting material is provided by the owner, who is entitled to $^2/_3$ of the yield.

Still another form is known, but according to the explanation given, this modification is neither thorough share-tenancy nor *kedok*

[1]) A Mohammedan who has performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.

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in its proper sense, though it contains elements of both of them. All the operations for the whole field are left in the contractor's charge up to the moment that he finished transplanting. Then $^2/_3$ of the surface is given back to the landholder, who has to see to all further activities on this plot. As for the applicant, he carries on working on the ground which remains to him and he may keep the whole of the produce of it. It is also he who has the choice of one of the three equal parts into which the sawah is divided up, on the understanding that he does not take the piece in the middle.

This form of labour reminds more of the labour-tenancy, as for instance was met with in mediaeval Germany and still later on. I allude to the feature that a lord of a manor assigned a plot of ground to the use of an occupier against the obligation to perform labour on his agricultural estate.

May 2, 1936 [1]).

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[1]) The publication of the manuscript met considerable delay.

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