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KEJAMAN ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

S.S. Strickland

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the nature of development policy in practice. It takes the form of a case study, from research undertaken in 1983—1984, of the Kejaman, a small population of orang ulu living somewhat upriver from Belaga bazaar in the Seventh Division, who form part of the "Kajang" group of peoples.

The paper is divided into three parts. First, a summary account is presented of subsistence patterns for the two Kejaman longhouses, and the relative balance of food production and cash cropping activities is assessed.

Second, some background is given of the aims of national development policies in general, and of those extended in Belaga District in particular. The "actor-orientated" nature of this case study is stressed as an essential characteristic of development feasibility assessments.

Third, the paper attempts to assess how far agricultural development schemes have responded to different socio-economic and ecological characteristics of settlements. It approaches this question by investigating (a) the expressed aims of schemes in view of the need to improve subsistence sufficiency; and (b) problems of implementation of schemes as indicated by (i) local farmers' responses to schemes on the one hand, and official views on the other, and (ii) the extent to which "diffusion" of innovations, with the market stimulus in mind, has succeeded. Therefore the question is posed of whether a discrepancy between local and official views of problems is sufficient to call into question current policy priorities for the balance between cash cropping and food producing crops. Where this paper is critical it is intended in a constructive spirit.

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SUMMARY OF SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

Resource base

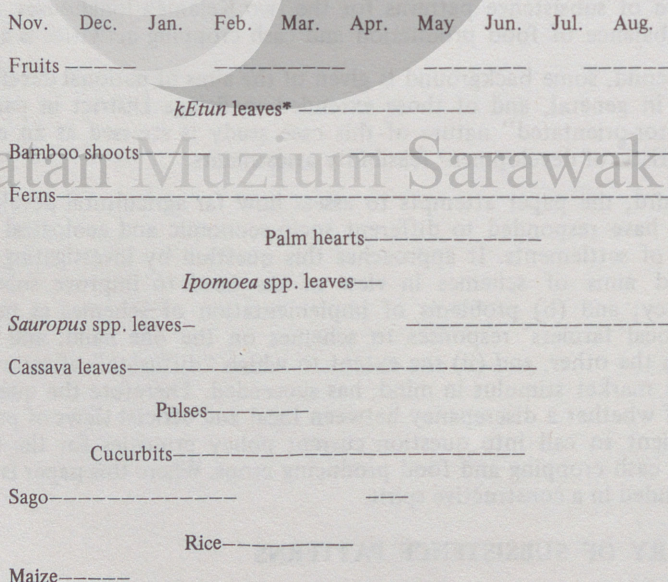
Resources exploited by Kejaman for subsistence can be broadly classed as domesticated and non-domesticated. These categories cover a wide variety of items: domesticated plants include the three basic types of *padi* of which

there are more than thirty locally recognised and valued kinds; the vegetables that are usually intercropped with *padi*, namely cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), sweet potato (*Ipomoea* spp.), *cangkol manis* (*Sauropus* spp.), various kinds of cucurbits, ginger, chilli, sometimes also Job's tears (*Coix lachrymae-jobi*), with tobacco, and several plants that have recently been introduced (maize, long beans (*Vigna*, *Phaseolus* spp.), and ground nuts (*Arachis hypogea*)). Also within this category fall the wide variety of fruit trees that are usually individually owned, and which include about fifty species. The most common species fall into the genera *Nephelium*, *Durio*, *Aglaiia*, and *Artocarpus*. Illipenut (*Shorea* spp.) is also "domesticated", albeit for cash rather than subsistence purposes. Most of these are interplanted together on both upland rice fields (*tana'*) and what amount to multi-tier forest gardens (*lza'*, or Malay *kebun*). Domesticated animals are the local pig and fowl, though only rarely are these eaten, usually being sold for cash in the bazaar.

Non-domesticated resources include varieties of sago palm (*Eugeissona* spp. and *Metroxylon* spp.), ferns, bamboo shoots, various kinds of mushrooms, and a large variety of plants from secondary and climax vegetation which are thought medicinally useful. Jungle pig, fish, prawns, squirrels, snakes, and other kinds of legitimate game constitute the main sources of protein.

Variation in resources used is partly the result of the different times of year at which certain plants and animals become available. The composition of meals consumed over nine months illustrates this temporal variation (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Seasonal availability of foods over 9 months.



(Note: Period for rice and maize indicates harvesting period only; for all others the period of consumption is given as based on daily meal surveys for the time. * = unidentified).