SUMMARY

This study is an analysis of the traditional political systems in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The primary focus of the work is the description of the types of political leadership, the ways in which political systems are organized, and the processes of leadership which have been developed by the various ethnic groups in Irian Jaya.

The first step taken by the author to achieve this goal was to make an inventory of the various types of political systems which are to be found among the population of Irian Jaya. In this respect, a distinction can be made between four different types of political leadership, namely: 1. that which is known as the big men system; 2. the Raja system; 3. the clan or tribal system; and 4. mixed system. The second step consisted of the compilation of a systematic description of one or more concrete examples of each of these types of system. In this context, both the specific structure of the political system, as well as the processes of leadership which are found within it, were investigated in detail. The third step involved the comparison of the similarities and differences between ethnic groups, with the same sort of political system. The fourth step in this analysis of the political and leadership systems was to try to discover which factors can provide an explanation for the correspondences and differences found: both those which exist between ethnic groups which have different political systems; and those which can shed light on the variation between ethnic groups which all share one and the same sort of political system. In the final part of his study, the author links the results of his research with the theories which have been formulated during the years about the political and leadership systems in Oceania.

The author describes the background to his choice of this research topic in the first section of Chapter 1. This involves two sorts of considerations. The first of these is theoretical, and is related to the reason the political aspect of the cultures of the ethnic groups of Irian Jaya was chosen as the central theme of this study. The second category contains considerations of a more practical nature.

Three points play a role in the theoretical considerations. Firstly, there was the hope that this subject would afford the researcher a suitable "approach" and would enable him to gain a deeper insight into the cultures of Irian Jaya in general and into the systems of traditional leadership of the various ethnic groups there in particular. Such an insight is indispensable for the understanding of the political behaviour of the inhabitants of Irian Jaya in the context of the modern, national political system of the Republic of Indonesia. In making this choice, the author has taken the central point made by Cohen (1969), that there is a close connection between the political, economic, kinship, and symbolic aspects of every culture and that the political system plays a dominant role in social life, as his base. The second point is that, so far, in the attempts made to formulate theories about the structure, the development, and the functioning of political systems in Oceania, the use of ethnographic data from Irian Jaya has been restricted, certainly in comparison to material which refer to other areas in Oceania. For
that matter, the relevance of this sort of theory is not limited just to the area of Oceania, but is important for understanding and explaining political systems in other parts of the world. One of the reasons that ethnographic data from Irian Jaya has been so little used to date is that, so far, there have been very few studies in this field. The third consideration follows on from the second, but is of a more methodological nature. Up to now, the ethnographic data which have been used to formulate theories about political systems in Oceania have not been representative of the whole region because they do not cover all the societies and cultures. In this context, there is a lack of data about Irian Jaya in particular, even though the inhabitants of this area display a wide cultural diversity, in which more than 250 languages are spoken. This study is also intended to fill this gap.

The practical reasons for choosing the theme of traditional political systems and leadership are connected with the developmental efforts being made in Irian Jaya by the Indonesian government. In order to be able to make decisions cogent to the development of the area, it is very important that policy-makers are able to fall back upon knowledge of the society and culture of the people living there. Insight into the forms and processes of leadership which have evolved in the various societies and cultures assumes an important dimension in this context.

In order to obtain the data essential to this study and to be able to carry out a pertinent analysis, the author has adopted two approaches. The reasons for opting for these two approaches, as well as a detailed description of their content, are to be found in the second section of the first chapter. The two methods concerned are the structural-functional and the process approach. The choice of these two approaches rests on the idea that each supplements the other. The structural-functional approach is primarily used to analyse the forms or types of political system. Concepts used in this context are, for instance, those which indicate relevant social units, such as society, tribe, clan, or which relate to specific social categories and social positions (Lewellen, 1983: 90). The process approach is used to analyse the the working of the various mechanisms within the political systems themselves. Concepts borrowed from this approach include, e.g. arena, field, support, resources, legitimacy, public interest, consensual power and coercion power (Claessen 1988:39).

The leaderships theories of Koentjaraningrat (1984, 1990), which are also used as a frame of reference in this study, are described in the third section of Chapter 1. The final section of this chapter consists of a discussion of the methods and techniques used to collect the data. The fieldwork for this study was carried out over a period of almost a year, from June 1989 to May 1990, at various locations in Irian Jaya. Besides this, the author has also used data which he had collected during various earlier periods of research, likewise in a wide variety of locations within Irian Jaya. Various ethnographic studies, travel accounts, reports made by scientific expeditions, written either by other researchers or by officials from public and private bodies, which are to be found in a number of libraries in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, especially Irian Jaya, have provided another important source of data about the people and region of Irian Jaya.
Before going into a detailed description of the various types of political systems which are found in Irian Jaya, in Chapter 2 the author begins by giving an ethnographic survey of the area and its people. This exposition begins with the major characteristics of the natural environment, such as the geographical situation, physical characteristics, climate, and vegetation. This information is essential, not only because of the picture it provides of the sort of natural world in which the people of Irian Jaya live, but also because the variations in the natural environment exercise a significant influence on the means of existence, social organization, and the culture. This is followed by a review of the cultural diversity of the people of Irian Jaya as this is revealed in language, social organization, systems of leadership, religion, and ways of obtaining a livelihood. Simultaneously, this highlights demographic aspects such as the size and dispersion of the population. As well as this, there is an outline of the development which the cultures and societies in this area have undergone. Data from archaeological and prehistorical investigations have demonstrated that the first inhabitants of Irian Jaya belonged to the Oceanic negrid race and arrived in the area between 40,000 and 25,000 years ago (Birdsell 1977: 179; Golson 1976; 1985: 308). Much later, roughly 4,000 years ago, a new group of people, referred to as Proto-Polynesians, made their way to Irian Jaya. A third group appeared on the scene about 2,000 years ago, bringing with them the so-called "Dongson" or "Bronze" culture. Artefacts pertaining to this culture have been found in various parts of Irian Jaya. Probably all three groups approached Irian Jaya from the west. The present population of Irian Jaya, mixed or otherwise, descends from these three original population groups. The cultural and social diversity found in this area is also the result of the developmental processes which have taken place since the arrival of the original population groups, thousands of years ago.

Chapter 2 continues with an investigation of the contacts between the population of Irian Jaya and the "outside world" in the more recent historical period. These contacts are divided into three phases. The first covers the period from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. As far as can be determined, contacts during this period consisted primarily of trade relations between the inhabitants of Irian Jaya and people from other areas in the Indonesian Archipelago. The most important sources for this information are derived from the empires of Sriwijaya (A.D 724) and Majapahit in the 14th century (Krom 1926:120; Rouffaer 1915). The second period stretches from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries. This was the era which saw the first contacts with Europeans, who arrived on those shores during their voyages of discovery or on trade missions. To begin with, these initial contacts had few economic or political repercussions on the inhabitants of Irian Jaya, because for a very long time this area was no more than the periphery of the area in which Europeans were expanding their activities. The third period covers the nineteenth century and up to the middle of the twentieth century. The contacts which took place in at this time were much more far reaching and exercised a far greater influence on the way of life and the culture of the people of Irian Jaya, politically and economically, to say nothing of the field of religion. In the political context, these contacts led to the pacification of the area and the
establishment of a Pax Neerlandica. On 24th August, 1828, Irian Jaya was officially declared part of the territory of the Netherlands East Indies. From that moment, the population of Irian Jaya was formally incorporated into a modern system of state administration, although the actual practical realization of this only began to take shape at the end of the nineteenth century. During this period, the Dutch made various attempts to expand their authority by appointing government officials at the levels of the village community, the district, the Residency, and that of the whole area of Irian Jaya. The result was that, at the end of the 1950s, Irian Jaya was a colonial territory of the Netherlands, with an administrative system at the head of which was a governor. Under him were six Residents, each in charge of the administration of a Residency. The Residencies consisted of sub-Residencies (onderafdelingen), run by a head of the local administration (hoofd plaatselijk bestuur or HPB), which were again divided up into a number of districts, to each of which a district head was appointed. The districts consisted of a number of villages, each of which again had its own head.

After the transfer of sovereignty in Irian Jaya in 1963 and after a brief interim administration by the United Nations, the system of state administration established by the Dutch was continued by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In the present administrative structure, Irian Jaya is a first level territory (Daerah Tingkat I) with the status of a province, the 26th province of the Republic. The province of Irian Jaya is administered by a governor and is divided up into nine districts (Kabupaten), or second level territories (Daerah Tingkat II), and one metropolitan area (Kota Madya), Jayapura. At the head of each district is a district head (Bupati), while the metropolitan area of Jayapura is run by a mayor (Wali Kota). Each district is divided into a number of subdistricts (Kecamatan), the head of which is known as subdistrict head (Camat).

In its turn, each subdistrict consists of a number of village communities in the rural areas (Daerah Pedesaan) and and municipalities in urban areas (Daerah Perkotaan). The administrators of the village communities and municipalities are, respectively, the village head (Kepala Desa) and the head of the municipality (Lurah). Throughout the whole of Irian Jaya there are 117 subdistricts (Kecamatan), 841 village communities (Desa), and 66 municipalities (Kelurahan).

Since the beginning of last century, European Christian preachers and missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, mainly from the Netherlands and Germany, have made every effort to propagate the Christian faith. These activities are still continuing. The consequence of this is that the majority of the population of Irian Jaya is a member or one or other Christian denomination.

The description of the various traditional political systems in Irian Jaya commences in Chapter 3, which is built up in three sections. The first section begins with a discussion of the concept big man (pria berwibawa). In this context, it is explained that the concept 'big man' has been developed on a word taken from everyday language and in scientific terminology used to designate traditional leaders in a variety of societies in Oceania, especially in Melanesia. This type of political leadership is typified by
power or authority which is based on personal capacity to allocate and re-allocate resources which are important to the community (Sahlins 1963; Claessen 1984). Once the definition has been established, there is a more detailed examination of the criteria by which a person is considered a big man. The most salient feature is that the position of big man is obtained on the basis of personal achievement, and not, as in other systems of leadership, on the basis of ascription. Another significant characteristic of the big man system is that there is no organization of the allocation of tasks between the leader and his assistants. In the big man system, there is only one leader and there are no representatives or assistants. The whole burden of government is borne by one person alone. This means that many important decisions, which affect the interests of the whole society, are taken in fact by one leader on his own, although, when there is a decision to be made, the counsel and suggestions of other prominent members of the society can be taken into consideration. In view of the fact that the decisions which are taken by the leader are considered to be appropriate to the general interest, usually he is a person with more than average knowledge and insight. This is the reason that these big men are also referred to in such terms as "a well-rounded political expertise man" (Epstein 1972:42) or "an autonomous leader" (Read 1959:425). Another aspect which is discussed is the meaning of personal achievement. The particular qualities with which a person has to be endowed, should he want to be considered for the position of leader, are exhaustively examined. Wealth, courage, rhetorical ability, and generosity are generally thought to be important personal preconditions and qualities. Wealth is an expression of economic success in the exchange system, agriculture and animal husbandry, and is manifested, for instance, by the possession of a large number of shells and cloths (kain timur), gardens and pigs, and the number of wives. Courage and rhetoric are revealed in the daring and ability to prosecute wars and to state his views in public in no uncertain terms. Generosity is shown in the readiness to help other dependent and indigent members of the community by giving them food and goods. The final aspect introduced in this context links up directly with the foregoing and concerns the various types of leaders who can be distinguished in the big man system in Irian Jaya. The preconditions and qualities of the big man mentioned above are not equally valued in the various societies and cultures which have such a system of leadership. In point of fact, two types of big man leadership systems are distinguished. The first are systems in which the the power or the authority of the leaders rests upon their success in economic activities; the second that in which their ability to pursue a war is more highly esteemed.

The second part of this chapter offers a number of examples of these two types of big man leadership systems. Five ethnic groups in total are examined. Those chosen as examples of economic success are the Meybrat, Me, and Muyu. The examples of big man leadership systems in which the position of the leader is primarily determined on the basis of his ability to fight a war are the Asmat and the Dani.

The descriptions of the leadership systems of each of these five cases are preceded by an ethnographic profile of the habitat and the society and culture of the group
concerned. In the analysis of the leadership systems, besides a detailed description of
the structure of the political system, attention is also paid to the processes of the
accumulation of power which take place with in it and the factors which have a bearing
on the legitimacy of the leadership.

In this context, in the case of the Meybrat the focus is placed on the exchange system
involving cloths (kain timur) and the process by which the position of leader is
achieved. To the Meybrat, leaders are figures who have been successful in the cloth
exchange system, which also has an important function in a series of other aspects of
their culture such as the economy, marriage, religious feasts, and politics. From an
economic point of view, kain timur represent valuable objects which can be used as
currency. In the case of marriage, these cloths are the means by which the bride price is
paid. In the religion, the cloths are essential for paying for skulls, which are needed as a
means for communicating with the world of the ancestral spirits. Finally, from a
political point of view, the cloths are important because they can elevate the prestige of a
person within that community.

In the second example of a big man leadership system, the Me, success is also
based on economic affairs. In this society, a leader, the tonowi is a person who is rich,
and also has such character traits as generosity, honesty, diplomacy, and possesses a
talent for rhetoric (Pospisil 1963:48). The wealth is revealed by the number of gardens,
cowrie shells (kulit bia), pigs, and wives. Generosity is shown in help to indigent
relatives. Diplomacy and rhetoric are gauged from the skill manifested in negotiating
with other parties, the way in which opinions are presented in public, and the tact and
discretion displayed in the making of decisions in disputes between members within the
group itself.

Among the Muyu, the same personal qualities as those described above among the
Meybrat and the Muyu, are required to obtain the status of the big man leader, called a
kayepak. However, in this group, the special measure of success is the capacity to
organize pig feasts. These feasts play an important role in the culture of the Muyu. In
the first place, they serve as a competitive arena in which power and prestige can be
displayed. In the second place, they serve as an occasion on which various sorts of
social relations, like kinship ties and bonds of friendship, are realized, and commercial
transactions are concluded (Schoorl 1957; 1993; Haan 1955). Thirdly, the pig feasts
function as secondary burial ceremonies and provide a good opportunity for reaffirming
relations with the world of the ancestors. Unremitting care and attention in ensuring
good relations with the world of the ancestors is considered to be very important,
because it is believed that negligence and lack of commitment can have serious
consequences for the living. These are the reasons that people who nurture the ambition
to become a leader have to show their capacity for leadership by the hosting of pig
feasts.

Turning now to the second type of big man leadership system, namely the one
which is based on courage and skill in organizing warfare, in the case of the Asmat
particular attention is paid to the conditions which a person has to fulfil in order to
become a leader, tesmaypits. The most important characteristic required is courage. The leader should be able to express his opinions in public and should at some time have killed a number of enemies. A man who does not comply with these conditions cannot become a leader. Another important prerequisite which should be part of the armoury of a leader is the skill to map out a good strategy for attacking the enemy and the talent to inspire the warlike spirit of his men. Possession of magical power is the third important characteristic which is also considered essential. The Asmat believe that only a man who has the support of supernatural powers can be a successful warleader. However, of all the characteristics listed above, it is courage which is the most important, because courage, and courage alone, enables a person to take the lead in a war expedition of which the purpose is to kill the enemy. Wars are significant in this culture for two reasons. Firstly, they are the means by which domination is acquired over the area needed for providing the livelihood of the community; secondly, because the enemy victims are used in important rituals such as the initiation of the young members of the community and fertility rituals in the sago groves.

In the case of the Dani, attention is also directed towards the conditions which have to be fulfilled in order to be recognized as leader, kain. In the description of this people, the four levels of leadership which are distinguished within their political system are examined in detail. Proceeding from the smallest to the largest, this involves four territorially organized social contexts: the family or household group known as the uma; the village community, o-ukul, consisting of a number of family or household groups; the habitat, ap-logalek, composed of a number of village communities; and the confederation. The Dani also have an even bigger association, the alliance. However, this is not a territorial unit and is usually of a much more temporary nature than the types of associations already mentioned (Heider 1979:62). Each territorial unit has its own headman, who is called a kain. Besides the conditions of generosity and ability to organize, courage and daring are also prerequisites at every level. These are expressed in the ability to state one's opinion in public, rhetorical talent, and bravery and skill in warfare. In connection with the last two qualities, it is understood that a leader must have slain enemies in battle. This condition implies that a leader at the level of the uma, who has been more successful in war than the leaders of a number of other uma, can become the leader of the territorial unit which contains a number of uma, the o-ukul. There is a difference in the tasks faced by the leaders at the level of the family or household group, on the one hand, and the leaders of the village community on the other. Whereas the most important duty of the leader of the uma consists of the regulation of the use of land, that of the leader of the o-ukul is the organization of the political, economic, and religious affairs of the members of the whole village community. Also among the leaders of at the level of the village community, only those who are able to distinguish themselves from others by their qualities of leadership can become the leader, ap-logalek, of a collection of village communities. In principle, his power and his authority are the same as those of the other leaders of the village communities, however they extend over the communal habitat of all the village
communities involved. Again at the level of the confederacy, the leader of a group of village communities who has most clearly distinguished himself from the other leaders at that same level assumes the leadership of the confederacy. The Dani have no separate designation for the confederacy as such. This encompassing social unit is usually indicated by the names of the clans from which the particular leaders originate. For instance, the Willihman-Walalua confederacy consists of the clans Willi, Himan, Walilo, and Alua. The most important duty of the leader at the confederacy level is the conducting of wars and the organizing of large pig feasts. The implication of the system in which leadership is based on courage and skill in the conduct of warfare is that a person who possesses more courage and physical strength than another, not only at the level of the family or household group (uma) but also at that of the confederacy can become leader of the group. The reason that courage and the slaying of more than one enemy in battle are so highly prized is that great pig feasts can only be organized after the ceremonial cremation of the bodies of enemies. These feasts are also important from the point of view of reinforcing mutual solidarity and for carrying out transactions, in which goods can be exchanged for those not produced in a group's own particular area (Heider 1970:129-130; Berndt 1964:14).

Chapter 3 closes with a short comparative analysis of the various big man systems in order to arrive at a more general picture. In doing so, on the one hand the similarities and differences between the big man systems are examined, and, on the other hand, specific factors which might explain the mutual differences are sought. In the entrepreneurship-based big man systems of the Meybrat, Muyu, and Me, the specific goal in all three is the accumulation of riches and the same conditions are applied to political leadership. However, the order of importance in which the various conditions are arranged in relation to each other is different in each of the three cultures. Among the Meybrat, the ability to make the largest possible profit in the ceremonial exchange system involving kain timur is the most important criterion. This criterion is also valid in the other two groups, but it occupies a less important place. They also use another medium of exchange. Among the Me, success in agriculture is extremely important, while neither the Muyu nor the Meybrat attach the highest value to this capacity. Furthermore, success in pig-breeding is more important among the Muyu and the Me than among the Meybrat. Conversely, for the Me generosity and all the moral implications this implies are of relatively greater value than for the Muyu and the Meybrat. In contrast to this, a knowledge of sorcery is relatively more highly valued by the Muyu and the Meybrat than by the Me. In conclusion, it seems that among the Meybrat and the Me a more or less permanent relation develops between the leader and his followers, whereas this tie is absent in Muyu society.

The comparison between the political systems of the Asmat and the Dani reveals the same phenomenon. Although in both these societies a talent for waging war is the most important condition for obtaining the leadership, the order of importance of the other prerequisites varies considerably. Wealth in the form of large numbers of pigs, fields, and cowrie shells is much more important to the Dani than to the Asmat. In contrast, the
latter think that a knowledge of sorcery is more important than do the Dani. Generosity is considered equally important by both groups of people.

The factors which are connected to the differences in orientation between the two types of *big man* systems, and also the differences in the degree attached to the various characteristics of leadership which have been distinguished are not the same in the societies under discussion. The orientation among the Meybrat and the Muyu towards the accumulation of wealth is closely linked to their ancestor worship, whereas among the Me this springs from ideas about the significance of individual economic effort for the cohesion of one's own group. The orientation of the Dani towards leaders who distinguish themselves on the basis of their courage and daring in war is linked to economic interests and the goal of strengthening social cohesion. Among the Asmat, alongside the economic goals, the need to add lustre to the initiation rites plays a significant role in this connection.

The *ondoafi* system is the subject of Chapter 4. The most important characteristics of this political system are: firstly, the position of leader is inherited and represents an ascribed status; and secondly, there is a formal structure with an official head or leader and a number of assistants or functionaries with a clear cut assignment of tasks between them. The positions of the assistants are also hereditary. The *ondoafi* system is found among nine societies, all of whom live in the Jayapura District in the north-east of Irian Jaya.

Although there are very clear differences between the societies which have the *ondoafi* system, the discussion of this political system is confined to that of the Sentani. The analysis begins with a description of the Sentani and their habitat, with reference to their natural environment, demographic conditions, the social structure, and the original religious system. The aspects which are touched upon in the discussion of the system of leadership are: the structure of the social organization; the functions of the various officials; changing of and succession to leaders, and the sources of power.

Within the *ondoafi* system there are three levels of leadership. The first is at the level of the subclan. It usually consists of a group of families who are closely related to each other and form a small quarter within the village community. At the head of the subclan is a *khoselo* supported by two assistants, an *abu-akho*, who carries out traditional rituals, and the *akhona-fafa*, the treasurer and the man who manages financial matters. The subclan chief acts as a judge in quarrels involving members of the subclan, conducts ceremonies and rituals, organizes the solemnization of marriages, and the exploitation of the natural resources by the members of his own group. The *abu-akho* assists the chief of the subclan in the preparation and execution of adat feasts. He is also responsible for the laying out and the burial ritual of the chief of the subclan. The task of the *akhona-fafa* is to be keeper of the sacred attributes of the subclan. The second level of leadership is that pertaining to the village community. This community usually consists of two or more subclans. The village head is called *jo-ondoafi* or simply *ondoafi*. The competence of the village head is wide ranging and encompasses all
aspects of village life: religion; the economy; social welfare; security; and law. Besides being helped by two assistants, both of whom are called abu-afa, he is also supported by a staff of people who are responsible for covering four areas of work. The two special assistants to the ondoafi are the treasurer, who is in charge of all the possessions and the sacred objects of the village community, and the deputy village head who acts for him when required. The other assistants are: for religious affairs (the pulo-yo); security (the phuyo-ayo); welfare (the phume-ameyo); and law and order (the yomme-yammeyo). Each of these men also has a number of personnel under him who assist him in the carrying out of his duties. For example, in the settlement of Hobong in the village community of Ajau, there are six functions in the area of "welfare", which are carried out by six assistants. In this case all of these are khoselo or chiefs of subclans. Besides the leadership structure just described above, at the level of the village community there is also a village council, the yonow or aranggae. The function of this council is to deliberate upon matters which have a bearing the village community before any decision is taken about these. The members of the council consist of the village head (ondoafi) and all the heads of the subclans. The third rung of leadership is found at the level of the confederation. This is a unit which is usually composed of two or more village communities, of which the inhabitants trace their descent back to a single common ancestor. There are five such confederations among the Sentani. The leader of a confederation is called hu-ondoafi or iwa-iwa ondoafi, which literally mean "great" ondoafi. This leadership function is the privilege of the village community from which the first common ancestor originated and from which the other village communities within the confederation have split off. The leader of a confederation organizes affairs within that confederation and likewise those which have to do with other confederations. He has two assistants. Formerly, the most important duties of the head of the confederation were related to the direction of the initiation rites of the young boys of the villages belonging to the confederation, the conducting of wars against other confederations, and the appointment of new ondoafi. Today his duties are limited to the settling of disputes between members of the various village communities, both those within the confederation as those from outside it, which usually are triggered off by sexual matters or landownership.

Within the framework of the ondoafi system, there is a description of the way in which the succession to a leader is organized. According to customary law, all the leaders at all the various levels fulfil their functions for the term of their natural lives, after which they are succeeded by their oldest sons. Nevertheless, there are in fact conditions, such as the possession of the qualities of a leader, tact, and diplomacy, attached to the actual acquiring of a position of leadership. This opens the way for the possibility of rivalry between the sons of the present leader, on the one hand, and his brothers on the other, in order to obtain the position of leader. The process by which a person achieves the position of ondoafi is likewise described in this context.

The analysis of the ondoafi system is rounded of by a discussion of the way in which the ondoafi legitimate their power. As their myths reveal, the Sentani believe that
an ondoafi is the symbol of the most senior of the ancestors in the invisible world. Therefore, the ondoafi acts as mediator between the visible and invisible worlds and supernatural ability and power are attributed to them. For this reason they possess the right to make a claim to the rights of ownership of all the resources in the habitat concerned: the land; the forest; and the water.

The third political system examined in this study, the raja system is dealt with in Chapter 5, which is divided up into three sections. The first of these expatiates on the characteristics of the raja system, including the fact that in this system the position of leader is inherited according to the principle of primogeniture within the clan. However, should the candidate be too young, or judged unsuitable to be the heir, his brother or a younger brother of his father can fulfil this function. Yet another characteristic is that his power extends over a far greater area and over a much larger population than is the case in the other types of political systems. To this can be added the fact that the raja system is the result of a process of acculturation between the cultures of Irian Jaya and those of the Moluccas, a fact which is revealed in the way the organization is structured and in the titles which are used by the leaders. Section two gives a survey of those population groups in Irian Jaya which have the raja system. This involves the population groups in the area which extends from the coastal area of the Bird's Head in the west, via the southern coastal area of Bird's Head and the surrounding islands and the Bomberai Peninsula to the east as far as the west coast of Mimika. Depending on the geographical location, the raja system is divided into three groups. The first group is that of the Raja Ampat Islands, where there is a system of four raja: Samate; Waigeo; Misol; and Sailolof. In the second area, the Onin Peninsula, there has traditionally been a three raja system: Rumbati; Atiati; and Fatagar. During the period of Dutch control, three areas which were originally ruled by the raja of Rumbati, were detached and were declared independent raja systems. These are the areas Arguni, Sekar, and Wettuar. Finally, the third area is Kowiai, where there are two raja systems, Namatota and Aiduma. The final section of the chapter gives a detailed analysis of the raja system in the Raja Ampat Archipelago as a specific example. This analysis is preceded by an ethnographic description of the area and the population taking account of the natural environment, the means of seeking a livelihood, the historical development, the social and political structure, the religious system and the size of the various raja systems.

The Raja Ampat Archipelago is situated between the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya and the Moluccan Archipelago. Four of the islands are relatively large: Waigeo; Salawati; Batanta; and Misol, with extensive groves of sago palms which provide the staple diet of the local population. The Archipelago is inhabited by five separate ethnic groups: the Ma'ya; Amber; Moi; Efpan; and the people of Biak. Each of these ethnic groups has its own language, however, the language of the Ma'ya is also used as a lingua franca.

The first historical source which mentions the existence of a raja system in the Raja Ampat Archipelago, dates from A.D 1521 and was written by Antonio Pigafetta, a
Portuguese mariner. Neither the information provided by Pigafetta, nor that supplied by other discoverers who visited this area up to the end of the nineteenth century, gives a complete picture of the structure and the evolution of the raja system. The first attempt to make a thorough study of the systems of the Raja Ampat was made by F.C. Kamma during the 1930s. His work has been continued by A.C. van der Leeden (1987) and a number of other researchers.

According to the oral tradition, the raja system was introduced by two legendary figures, one of whom was called Kurabesi and the other Fun Mo. Kurabesi was a native of the Biak-Numfor area but lived on the island of Waigeo in the Raja Ampat Archipelago. The stories recount that he helped the sultan of Tidore in his power struggle with the sultan of Jailolo, which culminated in the victory of the former. As his reward, Kurabesi was given the hand of the daughter of the sultan of Tidore, Boki Tabai, in marriage and became raja of the island of Waigeo. The origin of three of the four raja systems in the Raja Ampat Archipelago is traced back to this figure. The myths say that the couple remained childless. However, on a certain day, on the banks of a river, they found six eggs which they took home and looked after. Five of the eggs hatched and from them emerged four boys and a girl. The sixth egg did not hatch and turned into a stone. Three of the four boys later became raja on the islands of Waigeo, Salawati, and Misol in the Raja Ampat Archipelago itself. The fourth boy moved away and settled at Kalimuri on the island of Seram.

Fun Mo is considered to be the founder of the fourth raja system in the Raja Ampat Archipelago. Fun Mo was a Moi and married Pin Take, a daughter of the raja of Waigeo, and established a centre of power at Sailolof in southern Salawati. This study contains a detailed description of the area and the population of each of these four raja systems.

In the analysis of the political systems, particular attention is paid to the organizational structure in the raja system and the sources which provide the grounds for the legitimation of each of these. This structure consists of two levels. The first is the central level which has at its head a leader who bears the title of kalana or raja. He is supported by a staff of five assistants with the titles jojau, sedahsamoro, ukum, dumlaha, and mirino, who carry out a number of duties in a number of different areas. Besides these officials, at the central level there is also an adat council. The raja is the head of this administrative body. The members are the chiefs of the subclans who live in the nuclear area of the raja-dom. The task of the adat council is to deliberate on all matters, reach a consensus, and then take a decision.

Although the titles of the raja’s assistants are derived from the sultanates of Tidore and Ternate, the tasks they perform diverge from those of their fellow functionaries with the same titles in the North Moluccas. In the Raja Ampat Archipelago, the jojau is the raja’s attendant, on the one hand conveying the raja’s commands to the people via the adat council, and, on the other, passing on the problems and the petitions of the people to the raja in as far as these have been brought forward in the adat council. The task of the ukum is to carry out the judicial sentences which have been passed on
members of the population by the adat council. The *dumhaha* is the official in charge of organizing adat rites and ceremonies, while the function of the *mirino* is to requisition the tribute and contributions the people are expected to make to the *raja*. Finally, the official who bears the title *sedahsamoro* acts as mediator between the visible and invisible worlds and guards the fortunes and the welfare of the *raja* and his family by warding off the dangers which emanate from the practice of black magic. As in the case of the function of *raja*, the positions of all the assistants are inherited from a father to his son or by one of his brothers.

The second level of administrative structure in the *raja* system consists of the assistants of the *raja* in the villages. The *raja* appoints an assistant, whose title is *marinpu*, to each village community. His task is to pass on the orders of the *raja* to the people and also to assemble the tribute and recruit the work force for activities which must be carried out on behalf of the *raja*. In the exercise of his function, the *marinpu* works in close conjunction with the heads of the subclans, the *ulisio*. The function of *marinpu* is founded on loyalty to the *raja*. The *marinpu* can be punished for negligence and dismissed from office.

The analysis of the *raja* system in the Raja Ampat Archipelago shows that the *raja* use the myths, kinship, economics, and religion to legitimate and hold on to their power. According to the myth of origin, the founder of the *raja* system was not an ordinary human being but came from the invisible world. On the basis of this, supernatural powers are attributed to the *raja*. The concentration of power within the circle of one's own family and the inheritance of the positions of leadership within one's own subclan are also means of protecting power. The monopolization of certain items of trade and control of trade are other means of achieving the same goal. Religion also plays a role in this context. In order to be considered for a leading position, it is necessary for the candidate to be a Muslim. However, conversion to Islam is a privilege only allowed the elite among the population of the Raja Ampat Archipelago.

In Chapter 6, the author analyses the mixed type of leadership systems. These simultaneously include the characteristics of the other three types. Leadership can be obtained on the basis of ascription, but also on the basis of achievement. The factors which explain the genesis of this mixed type are: firstly, the limited degree of social stratification found in the societies concerned (Mead 1930:156); and secondly, the local conditions (Douglas 1979:26). In times of peace and plenty, leadership is ascribed on the basis of the criterion of descent; in contrast, in times of famine, war, epidemics, or moral decay, the achievement criterion comes to the fore. Mixed type political systems are found among the ethnic groups in Teluk Cenderawasih and along the northern coastal area of Bird's Head. In this study, two examples of the mixed type political system will be described: that of the people of Biak; and that of the Waropen.

As in the discussion of the other types, the treatment of the mixed political systems begins with a general description of the area and the population. The aspects which are
examined are the natural environment, the composition of the population, language, religion, means of livelihood, social structure, and external social contacts.

The analysis of the political system of the people of Biak shows that the leadership structure consists of two levels. The lower level is that of the subclan or koret. Each Biak subclan has a leader or mananwir koret. This position does not depend on age but on personal capacities such as success in looking after the interests of members of the subclan, above average knowledge and greater perception than other members of the subclan, being a skilled orator, as well as having to courage to speak out in public. The second level is that of the settlement, mnu, which is led by the mananwir mnu. In order to be considered for this position, the candidate has to fulﬁl two criteria. Firstly he must be a member of the same subclan as the founder of the settlement. Secondly he must possess special characteristics (Gendt 1955: 374). Which capacities these happen to be depends on the prevailing circumstances. This means that sometimes the position of mananwir mnu is occupied by a warleader or mambri, or sometimes by somebody who has good external trade contacts, a manibob, or perhaps by a shaman, a konor or mon, who can act as intermediary with the invisible world. The significance of these speciﬁc factors is so great that a person who is the leader of the subclan of the founder but does not possess the capacities considered necessary under the prevailing circumstances cannot become a mananwir mnu (Mampioper 1986:7). The task of the mananwir mnu is to co-ordinate the deliberations and decision-making of the sub-clan chiefs and other prominent members of the community in matters which concern the whole village community. This deliberation and decision-making takes place in the community council, the kainkain karkara mnu. This means that decisions are taken on the basis of agreement and the mananwir mnu cannot take decisions on his own authority, as is the case in the big man system.

In the political system of the Waropen, there is also a distinction between two levels of leader positions: the clan level (da) and that of the village community (nu). The position of the leader at clan level, the sera, is obtained on the basis of ascription and is usually ﬁlled by the oldest son of the previous leader. He belongs to the oldest clan segment represented in that particular community. A sera is helped by the heads of the subclans, the manobawa, and a warleader, the eso. The position of subclan chief is also hereditary; but the position of warleader is not. The leader of a village community is also called sera. Whereas, at the clan level, descent is a very important criterion for the obtaining of the position of leader, the power and inﬂuence of the leader at the level of the village community is determined by his personal qualities and the number of members of which his clan consists. A person who has a talent for organization, particularly when this concerns headhunting expeditions, is daring and courageous and is well versed in customs and usages, can become the leader of a village community (nu). Therefore, leadership at clan level is hereditary, while that at village level is based on achievement.

At the end of Chapter 6 it is argued that, despite the correspondences between the political systems of both ethnic groups, on account of the signiﬁcance given to the
inheritance of functions, the system of leadership of the Waropen bears some resemblance to that of the ondoafi system of the Sentani, while that of the people of Biak, because of the value placed on individual achievement for the obtaining of leadership positions, is more like the big man system.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion of this study and contains a general discussion of the theories about political leadership in Melanesia, as well as a few additional notes by the author on the basis of the data which he has presented in the previous chapters.

In all, four theories are reviewed: the evolution theory (Sahlins 1963); the prestige goods theory (Friedman 1981; 1982); the theory of dual leadership (Stafl 1971); and the theory of the great men (Godelier 1986). On the basis of the extent of their scope, these theories can be subdivided into macro, meso, and micro theories. The macro-theories aim to provide an explanation for the development of all the political systems throughout the whole area of Oceania. The evolution theory of Sahlins (1963) and the prestige goods theory of Friedman (1981; 1982) belong in this category. The aim of the meso-theories is the provide an explanation for the political systems which are found in certain parts of Oceania, for instance in the Melanesian cultural area. Stafl's theory of dual leadership belongs in this category. Finally, the micro-theories only give an explanation of the political system of one particular ethnic group. Godelier's theory of the great men, which refers to the Baruya in Papua New Guinea, falls into this category.

Broadly speaking, the evolutionary theories assume that the various political systems in Oceania are the product of a linear evolutionary process, in which the egalitarian societies of Melanesia which had a big man system represent the first phase, and which, via the intermediate stage of a ranked system, finally produced stratified societies characterized by an umbrella-like political leadership (chiefdom), such as those found in Polynesia and Micronesia. Sahlins believes that this evolutionary process was determined by two factors. The first was the increase in economic productivity, which led to the development of a hierarchical structure in the society. The second factor was adaptation to the natural and social environment.

The remarks which the author wishes to add to Sahlins' theory is that the ethnographic material from Irian Jaya show that the political systems in which leadership is based on the principle of hereditary occur not only in Polynesia and Micronesia, as Sahlins and others have claimed, but also in Irian Jaya. Moreover, there is no unequivocal evidence for the idea that the genesis of a hierarchical structure within a society is the consequence of an increase in economic productivity. The Sentani, for instance, have a hierarchically structured political system in which leadership is passed on by inheritance, but their technology is no more productive than that of the ethnic groups which have another sort of political system.

The prestige goods theory explains the development of a hierarchical structure in the society and an umbrella-leadership based on inheritance as being achieved on the basis of monopolizing the prestigious goods in the society for political and economic
purposes, a situation which is particularly prevalent in Polynesia and Micronesia. In contrast, in areas where there is no absolute monopoly on prestigious goods and the competition between the various groups in the society is greater, as in the island of New Guinea, this has led to a more egaliitarian social structure, characterized by a big man leadership system (Friedman 1981:281-285).

With respect to this theory, the author notes that the group holding the power in the ondoafi system of the Sentani monopolize resources and prestigious goods and use these as a means to bind other groups in the society to them and to legitimize their own position of power. This seems to be a confirmation of the theory of prestige goods in as far as these are related to political systems based on hereditary leadership. However, in the ethnographic data pertaining to this study there are no indications of an important role for prestige goods in the political systems which are characterized by leadership by a big man. In the five big man systems analysed in this study, there is no indication at all that this system has developed as a consequence of the disappearance of a monopoly system, which the theory of prestige goods suggests.

In the theory of dual leadership, two causes are mentioned which could explain the differences between the political systems in the Melanesian culture area, as far as the principles on which the leadership systems are based. The first refers to the differences in the structure of social units. While in societies which have a segmentary lineage system there is no difference between the position of the elders of the society and that of the big man, that is to say that there is no difference in principle between social positions which are inherited (ascripted) and those which are achieved, this is indeed the case in societies which have a corporative lineage structure. A large proportion of the societies in Melanesia have a political system which falls between these two extremes (Stagl 1971:378). The second factor refers to the population size. Stagl believes that in societies with a large population there is a relatively centralized and despotic leadership, but societies which have a smaller population, such as those of hunters and gatherers, are relatively egalitarian and have a pattern of leadership in which there is very little or no difference between the elders and the big man. Melanesian societies fall between these two poles, that is to say that, on the one hand, a distinction is made between the role of the elders, and on the other hand, that of the big man (Stagl 1971:378-379).

The ethnographic data show that the theory of dual leadership is only valid for mixed type political systems, like those found among the people of Biak and the Waropen, and not in those with an ondoafi, a raja, or a big man system. In the big man system, the elders are important because they act as councillors in all sorts of matters. However, the final decision is taken by the big man. In contrast, in the mixed type political systems the decisions are taken by the elders together on the basis of deliberation and on the reaching of a consensus in a community council like the kainkain karkara mnu of the people of Biak.

In the theory of the great men, which was formulated by Godelier for the Baruya, amongst other facts it is assumed that there are two ways by which one can obtain a position of leadership in that society. The first is by inheritance (ascript), and is
especially valid for positions of ritual leadership in that particular society. The second is via achievement and this is above all valid for the warleader. These two positions are not in any hierarchical opposition to each other, but are considered equal. Another point which is adduced by this theory is that wealth brings its owner no power and that, conversely, the possession of power does not naturally lead to riches. Godelier thinks that the existence and functioning of the great man system has to be explained on the basis of the principles which regulate the social reproduction of the society. Alliances between groups, guarantees of the stability of relations with allies, and a numerical increase in one's own group can only be achieved by the exchange of women, not by the manipulation of wealth and power (Godelier 1968:xii).

The ethnographic data in this study demonstrate that wealth and power in all the examples of political systems discussed were used to legitimize the political influence of particular persons or groups.

The general conclusion, which can be drawn from what has been discussed above, is that the nature and the development of the diversity of political systems, both in Irian Jaya as well as outside it in the larger area of Oceania, cannot be explained by any one single theory. The number of factors which are responsible for the differences in structure and development in the political systems which are found in Oceania is greater than any of the theories discussed encompasses.