

Contents

List of Tables	xii
Preface	xv
1. Small Arms Fire in the Class War	1
Razak	1
Haji "Broom"	13
The Symbolic Balance of Power	22
2. Normal Exploitation, Normal Resistance	28
The Unwritten History of Resistance	28
Resistance as Thought and Symbol	37
The Experience and Consciousness of Human Agents	41
3. The Landscape of Resistance	48
Background: Malaysia and the Paddy Sector	50
Middle Ground: Kedah and the Muda Irrigation Scheme	59
<i>Landownership • Farm Size • Tenure • Mechanization • From Exploitation to Marginalization • Income • Poverty • Institutional Access</i>	
4. Sedaka, 1967–1979	86
The Village	86
Rich and Poor	91
Village Composition	100
Land Tenure	100
Changes in Tenancy	103
Changes in Rice Production and Wages	110
Local Institutions and Economic Power	125
<i>The Farmers' Association • The Ruling Party in Sedaka</i>	
5. History according to Winners and Losers	138
Class-ifying	138
Ships Passing—and Signaling—in the Night	141
Two Subjective Class Histories of the Green Revolution	147
Double-cropping and Double Vision	148
From Living Rents to Dead Rents	151
Combine-Harvesters	154
Losing Ground: Access to Paddy Land	164
Rituals of Compassion and Social Control	169
The Remembered Village	178

6. Stretching the Truth: Ideology at Work	184
Ideological Work in Determinate Conditions	184
The Vocabulary of Exploitation	186
Bending the Facts: Stratification and Income	198
Rationalizing Exploitation	204
Ideological Conflict: The Village Gate	212
Ideological Conflict: The Village Improvement Scheme	220
Argument as Resistance	233
7. Beyond the War of Words: Cautious Resistance and Calculated Conformity	241
Obstacles to Open, Collective Resistance	242
The Effort to Stop the Combine-Harvester	248
"Routine" Resistance	255
<i>Trade Unionism without Trade Unions • Imposed Mutuality • Self- help and/or Enforcement • Prototype Resistance</i>	
"Routine" Repression	274
Routine Compliance and Resistance that Covers Its Tracks	278
Conformity and the Partial Transcript	284
What Is Resistance?	289
8. Hegemony and Consciousness: Everyday Forms of Ideological Struggle	304
The Material Base and Normative Superstructure in Sedaka	305
Rethinking the Concept of Hegemony	314
<i>Penetration • Inevitability, Naturalization, and Justice • Conflict within Hegemony • Trade Union Consciousness and Revolution • Who Shatters the Hegemony?</i>	
Appendixes	
A. A Note on Village Population, 1967–1979	351
B. Farm Income Comparisons for Different Tenure and Farm Size Categories: Muda, 1966, 1974, 1979	355
C. Data on Land Tenure Changes, Net Returns, and Political Office	356
D. Glossary of Local Terms	361
E. Translation of Surat Layang	362
Bibliography	364
Index	375
Photographs	<i>following page 162</i>

Maps

1. The Muda Irrigation Scheme Area in Peninsular Malaysia	60
2. Kedah and the Muda Scheme Area	61
3. Kampung Sedaka	88