Session 2

Restorative Justice Under Native Customary Laws in Sarawak

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Restorative Justice Under Native Customary Laws in Sarawak With Reference to The Kelabit

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I. Introduction

Restorative justice is commonly known as a theory of criminal justice that focuses on crime as an act against an individual or community rather than the state.[1] It is a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to collectively resolve a wrong. It is concerned with healing the wounds of victims of crimes or wrongs committed, restoring offenders and repairing the harm done to interpersonal relationships and the community.[2] A central premise of restorative justice is that victims, offenders and the affected communities are all key stakeholders in the restorative process.[3]

The aim of restorative justice is restitution to the victim by the offender rather than retribution by the state against the offender. The goal is not revenge but restoration of healthy relationships between individuals and the communities that are affected. This may involve some form of dialogue or mediation with view to bringing about repentance, healing and rehabilitation of the offenders. Repentance can help move the parties towards forgiveness and reconciliation and thus restoring relationships. In some cases where acts of injustices had

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[1] "Restorative justice", Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedias.org/wiki/restorative_justice, p 1. Acessed 21 January 2007.

[2] Tony F Marshall, "Restorative Justice an Overview", [online] A Report by the Home Office, Research Development and Statistics Directorate, 1999, p 7. Available from http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/occ-resjus.pdf. Accessed on 21 January 2007.

[3] Howard Zehr and H. Mike. 1998. "Fundamental Concepts of restorative justice". Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social and Restorative Justice, Vol 1 (1) pp 47-56 cited in Michelle Maiese, ibid.

taken place, some type of compensation may be necessary to alleviate the material and emotional needs of victims. [4]

This approach has at its assumption that some wrongs may have its roots in the society and that the community has to bear some of the responsibility to promote healing. It is also premised on the idea that the community may be able to provide the emotional safety, support and needs of the victims as well as that of the offenders. It is however generally thought that restorative justice should be integrated with legal justice as a complementary process that improves the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of justice as a whole.[5]

There are many ways in which restorative justice may operate, depending on the kind of society or community in which it operates as well as the type of wrong that needs to be redressed. It may well involve principles of Alternative Dispute Resolution.[6]This papers looks one model of ADR within the customary law regime in Sarawak, namely the Kelabit dispute resolution and attempts to show how it is fundamentally a system of restorative justice.

II. The Resolution of Conflicts and Dispute under Kelabit Customary Practices: One Model of Restorative Justice

Sarawak is the largest state in Malaysia where the majority of its population consists of indigenous or native groups. The different native groups can practice

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[4] Michelle Maiese, "Restorative Justice" *Beyond Intractability.* Eds. Guys Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict research Consortium, University of Colarado, Boulder. Posted: October 2003 http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/restorative_justice/. p 2. Accessed 21 January 2007

[5] Tony F Marshall, "Restorative Justice an Overview", [online] above, n 1.

[6] ADR has been defined in the UK Rules of Civil Procedure as "Collective description of methods of resolving disputes otherwise than through the normal trial process." This paper argues that ADR is part of the restorative justice concept. There are many ways in which restorative justice may be implemented in a criminal justice system. In a paper by Laurence M Newell, Advisor to the Chief Justice of Papua New Guinea, "A Role For ADR in the criminal Justice System?", A Paper prepared for the PNG National Legal Convention, 25-27 July 1999, at 10, the writer refers to a model called the "victim offender reconciliation/ mediation programs which uses trained mediators to bring victims and their offenders together in order to discuss the crime, its aftermath and the steps needed to make things right. Another program called the " family group conferencing program" is similar to the victim offender reconciliation/mediation, but differs in that they involve not only the offender and the victim but also the family members and community representatives. The Kelabit system is more akin to the latter.

their own customary laws under a system of personal laws recognised by the general laws of Sarawak as being applicable to members of any racial, religious or other community because they are members of that community.[7]The Kelabit, who live in the Kelabit highlands of Sarawak is one of the smallest groups. They have their own culture, language and custom which is distinct from other groups.

A Kelabit belongs to an extensive bilateral grouping of *lun ruyung* or personal kindred from whom he draws mutual help and support in all major crisis like bereavement and loss and with whom he shares in celebrations. They are a very closely knit community, where kinship ties and relationships are of prime importance. Under their system of personal laws they practice a unique system of dispute resolution and restorative justice system.

Despite the existence of the Native Courts, most Kelabit disputes are still managed through a traditional system of restorative justice which resolves disputes without resorting to conventional litigation and operates outside the formal courts. It uses the *adat* or customary practices, and combines elements of facilitation, negotiation, arbitration, conciliation, consensus and public hearing. The aim is to "make things as right as possible" through persuasion and counselling so as to restore broken relationships. Only when that fails, would the dispute be brought to the Native Courts.

The restorative process takes care of the 'substantive interest'[8] and preserves the 'procedural interests' so that each party had a fair opportunity to share and to feel that they have been given fair hearing. It is of primary importance to the community to keep the social cohesion through *pedoo'* or its oft used Malay equivalent *pendamaian,* meaning, to be 'reconciled' or to 'make peace' to maintain social unity of the community. They have a clear hierarchy of leadership which plays an important role in both informal and formal settlement of disputes. It

[7] See *Native Courts Ordinance* 1992 and the *Interpretation Ordinance*

[8] To use C Moore's term. The principles applied in Kelabit mediation are include some of the principles in C Moore's, *The Mediation Process* (2003)..

is this leadership that constitutes the adjudicators and personnel of the native courts system administering Kelabit customary laws. At this juncture it may be instructive to know something about the leadership structure.

a. Kelabit Leadership Hierarchy and The Constitution of the Native Courts

Kelabit leadership has traditionally been male. An intelligent or capable woman of noble birth was respected and given deference but would not be appointed a tribal leader. A woman who was respected could however be a mediator. This is slowly changing as women with leadership capabilities and with good education are given the same deference as men in the community.

Before they came under Brooke rule, the Kelabits had no paramount leader. Each village community had its own territory, with its own *laih rayeh* or leader who determined the affairs of his village (or *bawang*) ranging from location of the annual farming area, to the time and destination for trade expeditions and settlement of disputes. Each village was autonomous, but the leading families were related to other aristocrats in other villages through marriage alliances.

The first formal appointment of a regional leader called a *Penghulu* [9] who was drawn from the existing recognized leadership was made in 1902 by the Rajah Brooke. *Tua Kampung* or headmen who were respected members of the community were appointed for each village to be responsible for the daily governance of each village. They acted as arbitrators and judges in any dispute at the village level. They were to set up a *komiti or* village committees who would help them in settlement of disputes, particularly, in the recording and settlement of inter village boundaries. An important leadership position was created in 1996, when a *Pemanca* was appointed for the Kelabit. Above the *pemanca* is a *temenggong*. Since the Kelabit are small group, they come under the jurisdiction of a common *temenggong* along with the neigbouring Kayan and Kenyah.

[9] This was a term used by the Malays both in the Peninsular Malaysia and Brunei.

The present leadership for the Kelabit in descending order is:

- *Temenggong* (Paramount Chief- of one or more native groups)
- *Pemanca* (Superior Chief – over one native group)
- *Penghulu* (Chief- with jurisdiction over few villages)
- *Tua Kampong* (Headman of one village).

These community leaders work together with the government bureaucracy under a District Officer[10] and the Resident, who is the heads a division in the state.[11]

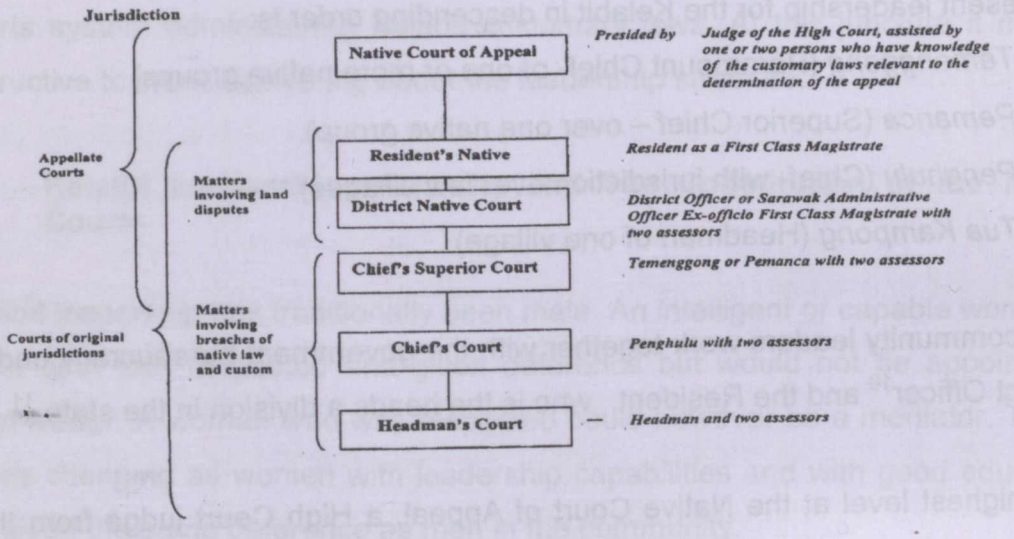
At the highest level at the Native Court of Appeal, a High Court judge from the civil court can sit and hear cases. Other personnel of the native Court are drawn from the community leadership, the District Officer or Assistants and the Resident. As government servants they exercise their administrative duties subject to the directives of the state secretary. They also act carry out their judicial functions in the native courts.[12]In courts with appellate jurisdiction, an assessor, who is a member of the community to which a party or parties in the case belongs, may be appointed to advise the adjudicator on the applicable customary laws.

There are six levels of court as shown in figure below.

[10] The highest civil service post in a district
[11] Form 5 Divisions during the colonial period there are now at least eleven Divisions.
[12] This is a relic of the Brooke administration where the administrative officers in the interior doubled as judge in disputes brought before the courts.

Figure 2:

HIERARCHY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIVE COURTS IN SARAWAK



Native Courts only have jurisdiction over parties who are subject to a native personal law. In cases where one party is not subject to a native personal law, the case should be heard in a federal court.

The Native Courts Ordinance 1992 gave the Native Courts criminal jurisdiction and increased the quantum of fines that the courts can impose. The bulk of the cases that are heard by the Chief's Superior Court or the courts below are breaches of native law and customs. The Chief Superior Court also has jurisdiction over sexual offences and petty criminal offences under native laws. These are criminal cases which are specifically enumerated in the customary law code, which for the Kelabit, the Code of Kelabit Adat, this includes offences like arson and even incest. The Chief's Court or the *Penghulu's* Court both have original and appellate jurisdiction. The Headman's Court, may hear all matters of native law and customs *except land disputes* where there is no title to the land.

b. Proceedings in the Native Court

The proceedings in the Native Courts are inquisitorial rather than adversarial with detailed procedural guidelines are provided by the Native Court Rules 1993.[13] An advocate or any other person may appear in any court except the Headman's Court or a Chief 's Court, that a person and provided who wishes to appear and act for a party gives sufficient and satisfactory proof that his presence in the proceedings is necessary.[14]In any case involving a Kelabit or any other native person, the presiding officer must be a Kelabit subject to the provision that the Resident may direct that a non Kelabit person well versed in Kelabit customary laws may be appointed to preside. A presiding officer who is not conversant with the language is normally aided by an assessor.

Despite the existence of the native court most communal conflicts are still managed through a traditional system of alternative dispute resolution[15] which characterize a form of restorative justice system. The traditional dispute resolution under *adat,* coupled with the conciliatory approach encouraged and administered by the church has long been an effective conflict resolution process within the community.

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[13] Provides procedures for keeping of records, appeals and revisions of cases, enforcement of judgments, drawing up of lists of assessors and language used in the proceedings.

[14] The Attorney General may under s 10(3) appear or nominate another officer to appear before any court constituted under the ordinance.

[15] In his book, C Moore, *The Mediation Process* (2003) puts forward principles of mediation that underlines the principles that are applied in Kelabit mediation . Toni Bauman and Rhian Williams cite C Moore in 'The Business of Process Research Issues in managing Indigenous Decision-Making and Disputes in Land' (Discussion Paper No. 13, An AIATSIS Research Discussion Paper, AIAITSIS, 2004) 8-9 as outlining the main procedural approaches to dispute management as either positional or interest based. The positional approach involves the successive taking and then giving up a sequence of positions with the tendency to lock into positions with little interest in meeting the underlying concerns of the other parties. By contrast, he argues, an interest based approach is a problem solving process with a goal of finding satisfactory outcomes for all parties. According to Moore, to reach an agreement, interest based processes must develop outcomes that meet to the parties' acceptability, the substantive, procedural and emotional (psychological) needs of all parties and it is the role of the mediator to assist the parties in exploring and explaining how they define their interests.

III. Resolving Conflicts and Disputes: Traditional Kelabit (Alternative) Dispute Resolution

The Kelabit generally avoid public confrontation. They put great value to 'saving of face' or preserving of their reputation, preferring to settle disputes in a manner that is as inconspicuous as possible. It is considered rude to openly confront a person, thus settlement of disputes through intermediaries or mediation is the hallmark of Kelabit dispute resolution.[16] Mediation is used here to mean the involvement of a third party in a conflict to facilitate a positive outcome.

Mediation is undertaken only by respected members of the community. Such persons may or may not have been formally appointed into *komiti kampung* (village committee). Depending on the nature of the conflict, there are different levels of mediation incorporating elements of facilitation, counselling, negotiation, arbitration, conciliation and consensus. The process however goes beyond that to include public hearing, sanctions and fines. These elements are not mutually exclusive. They are referred to as *mekitang, mekereb, metutup, pakaruh, besara', pedoo'.* The root meanings of the terms are explained below:

a) *mekitang*, to act as a go between by informing one party about what the other party said, particularly in a process of arbitration and negotiation
b) *mekereb*, that is, to fit together in its proper place
c) *metutup*, is to bring the parties face to face
d) *pekaruh*, is to talk (together) face to face in the presence of other parties in a semi-formal or formal setting
e) *pemung*, to gather together for discussion
f) *besara'*, from the Malay term '*bicara*', meaning a trial, in a Native Court d
g) *pedoo*', to be reconciled.

[16] For an outsider unaccustomed to the mechanics of the mediation process the lack of confrontation can appear to border on the absurd. Tom Harrisson, an English government ethnologist who lived with the Kelabits for a year revealed a non-comprehension, bordering on impatience. In above n 13, 32, he wrote: 'compromise can occur only by exhaustive attrition; the outsider inexperienced in this process becomes utterly exhausted at a stage when Kelabit discussion is only beginning to move into the phase of using a go-between.'

a) ***Mekitang* (Mediation and Negotiation)**

In *mekitang* an aggrieved party approaches a person or mediator who is known and respected by both parties to act as go-between, by informing the other party of the grievance or the perceived wrong, asking for the act causing the grievance to be stopped. This may involve a protracted process of going between the parties but always with the aim of a positive outcome of both parties understanding their position and moving towards reconciliation.[17]

Mekitang is used to settle grievances caused either by offensive, destructive behaviour, nuisance to neighbours or breach of agricultural practices.[18] Where gossip has caused hurt or is potentially destructive, a mediator is often asked to *mekitang,* to request the perpetrator to give an undertaking to stop the gossip. *Mekitang* is also used for debt collection. A token of appreciation may be given to the mediator when a settlement is reached.

b) ***Metutup and Mekerab* (Meeting Face to Face)**

After an offence is made known to the other party, and the facts are acknowledged through *mekitang*, the appointed mediator encourages the parties to come to a meeting in which he or she will *metutup* them or cause them to meet face to face to state and clarify their grievance in the presence of the mediator with or without another witness. At the *petutup* (face to face) meeting, the background of the case is explained, and the mediator reiterates each party's position. In *metutup*, the mediator's role is to get an amicable settlement from the

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[17] The act of a go-between who does not encourage settlement but fuels gossip is called *mekibut* and not *mekitang*. A good mediator must *ngubuk*, that is, speak gently, to persuade and positively discourage the continual of an act or omission, to pacify and thus avert confrontation or problems caused by any probable outburst of anger. This is often employed in disputes between families or persons who are closely related, between affines and in the extreme case between husband and wives. This process is used to force the matter into the open and thus enable parties to continue with settlement of grievances between themselves or they can choose to have the mediator follow through.

[18] For example where a neighbour's animal damages another's field or property, it may involve payment of compensation to the aggrieved party, the form and amount to be agreed to by both parties.

parties in an effort to *mekereb* (or fit together in its proper place) them.[19] Where there are multiple parties compromises that would suit all parties would be worked out. In the event that one or both parties refuse to be guided towards reconciliation, a *pekaruh* or talking together in a more formal setting will be called by the mediator.

c) *Pekaruh* (Discussion)

In *pekaruh*, other respected members of the community who might be in the traditional *komiti* kampung are called to hear and to advise the parties. Where they are from different longhouses, representatives from each longhouse will be called as witnesses. Once again the process of stating the facts, and a review of the proceedings up to that stage be discussed. Where a person refuses to comply, it may become a public hearing or *pamung*.

d) *Pamung:* The Public Hearing

The *pemung* is a gathering of the *lun merar* or all the elders of the community. This is done in matters that have repercussion for the whole community. It is a means of garnering public opinion and maintenance of order by consensus. In a *pemung*, all the parties are required to attend to present their views. The gathering is open to interested persons and to the general public. If it involves land or boundary disputes, prior to the *pemung*, members of the *komiti kampung,* who are the assistants of the headman would have gone to the site of conflict to ascertain the facts. They become assessors and potential witnesses to ascertain the facts. Independent elders from another *bawang* may be invited to participate in the sitting.

There is no set procedure for such gatherings. However, it always begins with a welcome by the *la'ih rayeh* or headman of the village or the elder who initiated the hearing. He states the facts of the case and invites both parties to state their

[19] Y Talla, above n 4, speaks of *metutup* as a process within the family whereas *mekerab* applies to conflicts between villages or multiple parties.

cases. Each leader present is given an opportunity to speak. The leaders would encourage, exhort, entreat and admonish. Words at these meetings are chosen carefully, with metaphors and alliterations being used to drive a point. Sarcasm may even be employed where one party is obstinate or obtuse.

The most senior leader will only speak after all others have spoken, summarising the proceedings. A decision is reached based on consensus of the *pemung* or gathering and is given immediately to the parties asking them to comply. If the offence involves farming for instance, the offender will be asked to restore what had been or wrongly taken. Should a party be unhappy with the decision of the *pemung* or the offender refuses to go along with the consensus, it becomes a matter for *besara'* in the Headman's Court.

e) *Besara'* -- The Court Case

Besara' comes from the Malay term '*bicara*' which is a court hearing.The Headman takes on the role of the judge and hears the case with two assessors, following the procedures under the *Native Court Rules 1993.* Depending on the offence, the headman can impose a fine of up to the maximum of RM300. There is an appeal to the Chief's Court in matters of breach of Kelabit customs. In matters of native customary land dispute, however, it goes before the *Penghulu* in the Chief's Court with possible appeals to the Chief Superior Court or further to the District Native Court.

It is significant to note that people avoid a *besara'* at all costs partly because of the stigma that comes with it and partly because of the financial costs.[20] As most of the community are Christians, the church also plays a major role in encouraging people to settle their dispute amicably and to *pedoo'* (forgive and reconcile).

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[20] Procedurally, any appeal to the decision of the Penghulu has to be lodged at the District registry in distant Marudi. A party who wishes to appeal would have to bear the cost of air travel to lodge an appeal in person. This is expensive. One wonders if such a procedure is meant to make it difficult to appeal?

f) *Pedoo'* (Reconciliation) : The Church and its Influence on Dispute Resolution

Most Kelabits belong to the evangelical church of Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB), (Evangelical Church of Borneo). The church assumes an important role alongside the traditional leadership in management of the communal affairs, particularly in offering an alternative means of settling disputes which operates parallel to and inter-woven with the native court system.[21] Church members may look to the church elders for guidance and counselling in which case reconciliation takes place through the church. The church leadership encourage their members to make good any wrong done against another. The Biblical injunction to 'take heed to yourselves: If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him'[22] is taken seriously. Parties can choose one of two options:

i) They may take the customary route of *mekitang, mekerab, pekaruh or pemung* and if at any stage decide to *pedoo'* (be reconciled), they may get the church elders to witness and seal their reconciliation , or

ii) The complainant can also choose to go directly through the church elders who will counsel, exhort and admonish them with a view to reconciliation and forgiveness.[23]

The objective of the church is always to facilitate reconciliation. It may impose discipline on the parties who refuse to be reconciled, but it has no powers to

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[21] Shirley Lees in *Drunk Before Dawn* (1979), a book on the Kelabits and the Lun Bawangs, begins the first chapter with the title 'Court Cases Cancelled'. *Penghulu* Ngimat Ayu (as he then was) attributed reduction of dispute or court cases to the influence of the church in his community.

[22] Luke 17:3 (New King James Version)

[23] Empeni Lang, 'The Administration of the Native Courts and Enforcement of Native Customary Laws in Sarawak' (1998) 25 *JMCL* 89-126. According to Lang, among the Orang Ulu, most disputes are settled before they get to the Native Courts. The Kenyahs and the Kayans may not have the same level of mediation but in villages where the influence of the church is strong, the members are encouraged to and often will settle before or out of court.

order payments of compensation. In the event that some form of compensatory payment is deemed necessary, the church elder or pastor will send it back to the headman to determine the amount. Although there are exceptions, most of the elders in the church are also respected members of the community who are ordinarily traditional leaders.

IV. Restitutionary and Compensatory Payments in Settlement of Disputes

The enforcement of *adat* involves the imposition of some forms of ritual, restitutionary and compensatory payments by the offender to the aggrieved party as well as to the whole community. The term 'restitution' is neither used here in the English law in the sense of the return of property unjustifiably received to the owner or person entitled to possession nor is it applied in the same way as the equitable doctrine of restitution with regard to the restoration of ill gotten gains. It does however connote the idea of a restoration to the original position. It is a term that is used in all the customary law codes, be it the Iban Adat Order 1994 or the Draft Code of Kelabit Adat 2000[24] to indicate the restoration of the 'equilibrium of the environment' and to 'restore the state of balance' in relationships. The purpose of these payments is not punitive but to restore the peace in the community. This form of 'restitutionary' payments are made as compensatory payments in settlement of disputes in the lowest courts in the Native Courts hierarchy. The main forms of restitutionary payments are:

- *Pengepbo* (lit, to pacify)
- *Pengedame* (lit, to cool down)
- *Tu'ed* (lit, a stump [of a tree]) a compensation in kind
- *Pememug igu'*, (lit, to remove the shame)

[24] Though in draft form it is already being used as a guide.

When a dispute gets to the Headman or the Chief's Court the payment of ritual propitiation is an important part of the customary dispute resolution. A person who breached the *adat* is required to pay to the aggrieved party a restitutionary payment called a *pengepbo* (pacifier) to restore the 'state of balance' in the community.[25] If the quarrel results in an injury, the party at fault shall in addition to the *pengebpo* provide a *pengedame* (coolant) to restore the peace and tranquillity or harmonius relationship between individuals in the community.[26] Where a quarrel breaks out between one village and another, the party who started the quarrel shall provide a *pengebpo* of 100 *ilung bao* (beads) to the members of the affected village. This is equivalent to RM100.

Where grave injury results in death whether by accident, negligence or other causes, the payment of *tu'ed* (compensation) is to be made by the offender, to the immediate family of the victim or the deceased' family. This is payable when 'blood is spilt' which is indication of grave injury. The *tu'ed* payment which generally consists of of 5 *kerubau temadak* (male buffaloes) does not absolve the offender from the normal process of a criminal charge and trial.[27] Whther or not a person is charged in the civil court, and irrespective of whether he or she is convicted or acquitted of the offence the requirements for ritual and restitutionary payments remain. It is often stressed that this is not a criminal trial but it is the *adat* form of compensation for a life lost. By clearly stating that, perhaps it avoids the question of double jeopardy.

In a case that happened in 2000, R and his friend D went deer hunting at night. Each had a shotgun and wore a headlamp. R saw a light flickering in the darkness some distance away. Thinking it was the eyes of a deer shining in the dark, he shot in the direction of the light, fatally wounding and killed his friend D. As a precaution, the common practice of hunters in the area is to alert other

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[25] For example where a quarrel breaks out between one village and another, the party who started the quarrel shall provide a *pengebpo* of 100 *ilung bao* (beads), which is equivalent to RM100.

[26] *Code of Kelabit Adat Order 2000* s 1 and s 22. This is paid in the form of a fowl or a pig 'to cool down' a situation in order to restore peace and tranquillity or harmonious relationship between individuals.

[27] *Code of Adet Kelabit 2000* s 32

hunters who might be in vicinity with a particular shout called *nguuk,* which mimicks the call of a gibbon. A hunter who hears the call would respond in the same way to warn of his presence. In this case R did not give a warning shout before he fired his shot.

In another case in 2001, two groups of hunters from two different villages were out hunting on the same night. Although there is a clear sense of territorial boundaries between villages, this is not observed strictly when it comes to hunting. Thus when A and B his fellow hunter, crossed into a territory frequented by another village, G and H were there, hunting in the area. Each hunter had an arrangement with his partner as to which river system they were to hunt and agreed on a point of meeting. When A crossed into the territory where G was, A heard rustling of leaves and movement not far from where he was, whereupon he shot, and fatally wounded and killed G.

Both cases were heard in the Penghulu's court. R was fined RM 6000 and was ordered to pay *tu'ed* to the victim's family in the form of five buffaloes. A on the other hand was asked to pay a fine of a few thousand ringgit, and a *tu'ed* payment of one buffalo, and a *pengadame* to the G's village to 'restore the tranquillity' in the village. In such a case if a criminal charge is preferred against a person, that process will take its course in the civil courts. Is there an issue of double jeopardy here? It is argued that this is not a trial as such but merely the *adat* form of compensation for a life lost.

In some instances additional payment of *pememug igu'* is required 'to remove the shame' of the offence. For instance, in the case of incest, an offender has to pay a fine as *pengebpo*, and in addition, he has to pay *pengedame*, and *pememug igu*[28]to the aggrieved party for causing embarrassment and for bringing shame to

[28] This is stipulated in the form of *ilung bao* (beads) where one *ilung bao* is equal to one ringgit (RM1). In case of incest in the immediate family, between father and daughter, mother and son, full brother and sister, the offenders will be fined four *pikul* (one *pikul* is equal to one hundred Malaysian Ringgit (RM100), payment of *pemamug igu* of 300 *ilung bao* and *pengadame* of a *berek of enem ngurek* (full sized pig),