

THE BADĀNG OF SARAWAK*

Tan Chee-Beng

Kertas ini membincangkan desakan minoriti pribumi untuk memperolehi pembangunan tempatan dengan menggunakan contoh kaum Badāng di Sarawak. Kaum Badāng adalah satu kelompok bangsa Kenyah. Respons orang tempatan terhadap pembangunan yang dipaksa dari luar juga dibincang. Walaupun kekurangan kuasa politik, kaum pribumi melalui berbagai strategi dapat juga mendesak kerajaan untuk membawa pembangunan yang diperlukan. Mereka dikawal oleh kerajaan, tetapi mereka juga sedar tentang kewajipan moral kerajaan membawa kemudahan untuk pembangunan tempatan.

INTRODUCTION

In Southeast Asia, as is also true elsewhere, the centralization of state power brought all indigenous minorities, even in remote regions, under the government's control. One effect of this is the transformation of these indigenous people who had previously lived fairly autonomously into "minorities", both nominally as well as culturally, engaged in relations with some majority group.

Additionally, as they become absorbed into a larger system of political, economic and cultural relations, the terms of which are set by the majority group located in the centre, the indigenous peoples further undergo a process of political, economic and cultural marginalization. Customary land utilized by the indigenous groups to maintain their livelihood may suddenly be claimed by the government as part of state land. Development projects and related activities such as road construction, logging and the building of dams, which are initiated by the centre and which often seek to integrate these indigenous communities into the nation-state, further intrude into and even deprive the indigenous peoples of their land and resources. Often these development activities cause the indigenous peoples to become both economically as well as politically dependent on the government. As Robert K. Dentan and Ong Hean Chooi (1995:86) have commented, "[T]aking away the resources people need to be

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the First International Malaysian Studies Conference, 11-13 August 1997, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur organized by the Malaysian Social Science Association.

self-reliant prevents their being self-reliant in fact, whatever their psychology". Hence the transformation of indigenous groups into cultural and numerical minorities is often accompanied by the process of political and economic marginalization. Yet even these marginalized minorities have some means of resisting domination and having a say on how they ought to lead their own lives. In fact, incorporation into a nation-state also allows indigenous minorities to articulate for new opportunities and services. As Harald Eidheim (1985:157) has written about the Saami in Norway, they experience the national society "not only as a vast set of rules set by the majority people", but also "as a force which provides for opportunities relevant and indispensable to their lives job opportunities, health service, education, etc."

In an important study of a Malay peasant community in Kedah, Malaysia, James Scott (1985:xvi) has discussed the importance of looking at "everyday forms of peasant resistance", that is, "the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on". While Scott's Malay peasants in Kedah were surely "powerless", nonetheless they belonged to the majority ethnic group which via established political parties, had access to Malay elites at the centre. Hence the problems of the powerless Malay peasants had the potential of becoming the concerns of the Malay political elite, for one reason or another. The predicament faced by the Badōng people in interior Sarawak is rather difficult. As a marginalized minority, the Badōng need difficult strategies to ensure that their local interests are protected and their rights for development are heeded. For indeed there are no Badōng elites at the centre. Neither does a Badōng political party exist. And the electoral votes that the Badōng command are of no political significance. Consequently the Badōng have had to resort to more direct, yet shrewd means to gain the attention of the relevant authorities in order to ensure funds for local economic development and modernization.

To be sure the Badōng do want modern facilities such as good roads, schools, clinics, agricultural subsidies and technology and so on. They also need financial assistance for their children to attend schools and colleges which are located at great distance from their villages; and in the case of those without identity cards, they need them for entrance to local universities and for finding better jobs. As the needs become basic because of their incorporation into the modern state and because they want development and modernization, the options for the indigenous people are becoming more limited. Migration to avoid domination or retaliation after confrontation, as the Badōng had practised in the past, has become an undesirable or even impractical option. State power now reaches into all corners of the state's territory and migration to remoter

regions also means difficulty in having access to facilities such as clinics which have now become essential, while migrating to economically poorer Kalimantan in Indonesia is not attractive, and involves dealing with another state power and all the problems associated with acquiring citizenship in a new nation state.

This paper will present five examples from the Badōng of Belaga and Bintulu in Sarawak to illustrate how an economically and politically marginalized minority has articulated its interests and its need for local development.

THE ORIGINS OF THE BADŌNG

The Badōng (pronounced bad ng) belong to the category of people in Central Borneo¹ called Kenyah. Together with the Kayan, they form the largest number of Orang Ulu in the Belaga District of Sarawak, although a large settlement of the Badōng may now be found in Data Kakus of interior Bintulu Division as well² (see map at end of article).

Badōng oral history traces their origin to Central Borneo, migrating between present-day Sarawak in Malaysia and Kalimantan in Indonesia. Two important historical places were Long Badōng in Kalimantan, from which the people derived their name, and their historical homeland in Sarawak, called Usun Apau. From Long Badōng, the people split into different groups and migrated to different places. The forebear of those who are now in Sarawak migrated from Long Badōng to upper Iwan River before eventually migrating to Usun Apau (Vom Roy 1993). This migration to Usun Apau probably took place in the mid-nineteenth century (Tan 1993:xxiv). Largely because of government harrassment and Iban raids, the people then migrated to the Data region in upper Baram towards the end of the nineteenth century (Tan 1993:xxvi). In 1897, Charles Hose (1897:40) reported that 2000 "Madangs" (i.e. Badōng) had moved into the Baram District during September and October of 1896.

The Badōng had been described by the white authorities as "fierce", which actually reflected their resistance to domination. The Brooke government tried to exert control by forcing them to move downstream so that they would be located closer to the district authorities. But the Badōng responded by migrating to Batang Kayan in Kalimantan during 1902 to 1905 (Tan 1993, xxxiii). However, in Batang Kayan, they came under the dominance of Lepo' Tau Kenyah. After some years of resisting this dominance, the Badōng moved to Long Batang, and then to Long Betao of the Pengiyan River, where they stayed for twenty years or more. I was able to talk to some old informants who were

born in Long Betao. From there they eventually moved into Sarawak again. After various migrations, the people eventually settled in Long Busang in upstream Balui River, bordering Kalimantan. Most arrived in Long Busang in 1970. Long Busang was and still is the most remote settlement in the Balui.

By 1980, the majority of the Badōng at Long Busang had moved to Long Dungan, just slightly downstream from the small *pekan* (town) Belaga. At Long Dungan they rented and even bought land from the Sekapan who owned the territory. The Sekapan, however, did not expect that the Badōng population would increase to about 1800 people. Because of constant conflicts with the Sekapan and the shortage of land, some Badōng from Long Dungan began to move to Burok River in the Bintulu Division. By 1987, even before government approval, the majority of the Long Dungan Badōng had migrated to Burok and they called their settlement there Data Kakus. Based on a 1989 village survey, there were 1687 people at Data Kakus and 150 people in Long Dungan (interview with the Data Kakus headman). Although administratively Data Kakus comes under the Bintulu Division, the people continue to identify socially with Belaga which is under the Kapit Division, since their other Badōng relatives and friends are in Belaga.

Another group which also originated from Long Batang, however, migrated to Long Lolau (instead of Long Betao), and from there to Sarawak via Long Iran in the 1920s, with the aim of returning to Usun Apau. However, they did not get to go there. Instead they migrated to Long Besungai on the Linau River, and from there to Tekulang (Tegulang) where they lived for fifteen years or so. In 1951 they moved again to settle at the Keluan River. This is the present Long Geng settlement (Tan 1993, xxvi, Vom Roy 1993, 58-60). In 1994, there were 1284 people in Long Geng; this, together with another Kenyah community called Long Bulan, are the largest of the fifteen communities which will be resettled to make way for the Bakun hydroelectric power (HEP) dam.

The Long Geng group came over to Sarawak earlier than those in Long Busang. Before the Long Busang community was established in the upstream of the Balui River, close to the Kalimantan border, a group of Badōng had left Long Betao for Long Jawe', which was also in upstream Balui but downstream of the present day Long Busang. They stayed at Long Jawe' from 1961 to 1963 (Tan 1995, 5) and they witnessed the 1963 Confrontation there between Indonesia and Malaysia. In 1964, at the invitation of the Long Geng headman, Uloi Lian, the Long Jawe' Badōng moved to Long Geng, but stayed slightly downstream at Long Atōk (pronounced atōk). Their leader Bira Lang wanted to form a separate settlement but the Long Geng headman did not approve, and so in

1981, Bira Lang led his group to Long Menjawah where they settled in Kayan territory to this day.

Thus the Badŋg communities in Belaga and Bintulu, which now number just slightly less than 4000 people, are originally one people, and can be divided into three main groups in terms of the sequence of migration. The Long Busang group was the largest but it separated into three settlements, namely Long Busang, Long Dungan and Data Kakus, the last being the largest at present. The other two groups are the Long Geng community and the Long Menjawah community. They are all interlinked by kinship from one original group in the then Dutch side of the border, and their interactions in Sarawak with Belaga Pekan as the common meeting point, renew and reinforce these kinship relations. They do consider themselves as one people in relation to other Kenyah groups. Obviously the Data Kakus Badŋg are closer to those in Long Dungan and Long Busang as the split is more recent.

With this background of Badŋg's genealogy and migration history we now turn to discuss the cases of five separate (but related) groups of Badŋg, some of whom are threatened by resettlement as a result of the proposed construction of the Bakun Dam. How they articulated their plight and need for development will be discussed.

DATA KAKUS AND A SONG OF DEVELOPMENT

In Data Kakus, the Badŋg feel that they are in their own land, unlike in Long Dungan where they stay on Sekapan land. However, Data Kakus is an area which has been previously logged. There are some small fish and shrimps in Burok River, but there is little game in the area. Protein resources are therefore limited. Indeed the people depend largely on a vegetarian diet which can be nutritious if they know how to balance the diet with legumes. From my observation in 1992, even the skinny dogs in the village survived on vegetarian food. There was no piped water from the mountain stream and the people depended on rainwater for cooking. In times of drought the river water was resorted to but it had to be drawn in the early morning before more people came down to the river. The large population of villagers bathed and did their washing in the small river. In fact people bathed throughout the day as the weather in this logged area was rather hot, although the peak bathing time was in the late afternoon. Because of the large population and the importance of the river, the village committee imposed fines on people who polluted (such as defecating in) the river. However, during heavy rain, the river flooded the ground of the stilted long houses and carried the dirt to the river. When I was in

the village in June 1992, there was an outbreak of conjunctivitis among children; their frequent bathing and playing in the river together, no doubt, contributed to the spread of the disease. Partly because the villagers had hoped to be able to resettle down river, the headman did not yet apply to the government for pipes to carry clean water from the hills.

A few houses, generally short long houses, shared one or more pit toilets located at a short distance from the houses. There are toilets in the houses too, in the form of a plastic toilet bowl connected to a long plastic pipe which carries the waste to a covered pit on the ground. These are used when necessary at night.

However, some people in the village did have modern facilities. Eight families had television sets run by generators. All in all there were seven generators and the electricity was supplied by the owners to nearby *amin*³ (apartments) at a charge of RM10 per bulb and RM30 per refrigerator per month. Consequently some of the eight shops in the village could sell cold canned drinks including beer which was mainly purchased by workers from the timber camp. During festival periods, the shops which were located in the centre of the village were lit up by electricity run by generators and the area looked like a small pekan. Some families used gas for cooking, the gas cylinder tanks having been bought at the timber camp. Each tank cost RM\$100 but if one already possessed a tank and only required the gas, it cost RM30; the latter would have cost only RM20 in Bintulu, a long distance away. There were around ten electricity-run rice-threshers in the village, each costing around RM4000. The owner of a rice-thresher charged three milk tins for every kerosene tin (four-gallons) of rice threshed. Thus those who had family members working in towns or in timber camps who could contribute towards buying a rice-thresher did not need to plant so much rice for themselves.

There was a primary school in the village, the condition of which I have discussed elsewhere in Tan (1993b). The main complaint of both teachers and students was that the classrooms were too hot for learning. In 1987 the villagers built a clinic in the centre of the village, facing the football field, but until 1998 the villagers have failed to persuade the government to send them a medical assistant.⁴ The "flying doctor" was supposed to visit the village once a month. However the monthly visit rarely occurred. There were four WKK or Wakil Kesihatan Kampung (Village Health Representatives), local residents who had received some education and training by the health department to provide first-aid when needed; these WKK would distribute such medicines like panadol (provided by the district clinic) to villagers. In addition, there were two Home Economics Voluntary Corps (HEVC) workers employed by the

Agricultural Department on a two-year contract basis. The two girls had been trained in Kuching in 1991 and began their service in the village in October 1991. For their efforts they were given a basic salary of RM273, although with claims they received more than that amount every month. They ran nine classes, each comprising 25 persons. They talked about balanced diets and healthy food, about kitchen utensils, caring for babies and children, and general hygiene. At the time of my research, one of the girls had recently resigned in order to get married.

The people were hardworking and wanted to improve their standard of living. They had much land to plant, and they had produced very good jackfruit, banana and pineapple, almost all of which were consumed locally due to the lack of opportunity to sell them. The main problem was transport as the village was about half or a day's difficult journey from the nearest *pekan* or town. In 1992, to reach Data Kakus, one first travelled by express boat (RM7) from Belaga downriver to Long Buyun. From there a land cruiser (then owned by a Chinese from Belaga but driven by a Kayan) could be caught to travel down the bumpy timber roads to Data Kakus in about one-and-a-half hours (RM12 per passenger). One could also go to Bintulu by riding a land cruiser for about three hours on a timber road to Tapang (RM15) and then by express boat (RM11) for another three hours. If there was no land cruiser service to Belaga (such as when a landslide blocked the road), or if one could not afford the fare, one could walk from Data Kakus to Pulau Tikus at the Sanang River. Depending on the individual this would take from 5 to 6 hours. From the Sanang River one could then take a boat ride to the Rejang River where a long boat service run by a Long Dungan boatman was available. His boat would carry the people to Long Dungan. From there the Badong from Data Kakus could stay overnight in their otherwise deserted longhouse apartments, and go to Belaga the next morning, as the regular Long Dungan long boat service to Belaga leaves in the morning and returns around noon. The students returning to Data Kakus or going back to the secondary school in Belaga generally walked the journey. Obviously it was difficult to transport farm produce from Data Kakus to the town for sale, although young people going to Belaga, or from there to other towns to seek jobs, sometimes bring along some rice to sell in order to get some cash for travelling and food expenses.

Thus the people were keen to have local economic development. Some of them even built fish ponds in anticipation of acquiring fish fries. While the young people were impatient at not getting government development aid, often pointing out the unused "new" clinic which they had built in anticipation of government support, the village leaders and many village adults joined the ruling party the Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB). By so doing they

hoped to attract government attention and gain support for development. Consequently a local PBB branch headed by the headman was registered on 30 June 1987, and in 1992 the branch had 350 registered members (including some from Long Dungan). However some young people rallied behind an opposition party instead. This support for the opposition by the young was viewed by the older folk as "counter-productive". For the "politics of development" practised by the ruling parties apparently directed development only to those constituencies which voted for them and neglected those which did not support them.

In fact, the government authorities often used the remoteness of the villages as an excuse for not providing facilities and economic assistance to the people. It was therefore, a rare opportunity for the villagers when a senior Minister decided to visit the village. Ostensibly the Minister's visit was for the purpose of identifying problems and potential development projects. So he brought along with him his assistants and a senior Division officer. In fact his visit coincided with the *Pesta Rohani Easter* or *Esta* as it was called locally, which took place in Data Kakus on 4-7 July, 1992. The Data Kakus villagers were all followers of the Borneo Evangelical Church, popularly called SIB or *Sidang Injil Borneo* in Malay. This church was very influential among the Orang Ulu, and it organized the *Esta* festival annually in each district, with a particular village selected as the venue for the year. For example, in the Belaga District, Long Geng hosted the *Esta* in 1990, followed by the SIB Church of Belaga Pekan in 1991, and Long Busang in 1992. The one held in Data Kakus in 1992 for the Bintulu region came just a week after the *Esta* in Long Busang. However, representatives from Data Kakus attended the *Esta* gatherings in the Belaga District while Orang Ulu SIB churches in Belaga District also sent representatives to the *Esta* in Data Kakus. The Easter was a Christian spiritual renewal festival which involved whole days of meetings, prayers and spiritual healings and consultation. It was a time of meeting friends and obviously an exciting time for young people.

The Minister was a SIB follower and was active in preaching whenever he could. The leading pastor of the festival in Data Kakus in 1992 was an Iban from Kuching, who preached in Malay. Although it was a religious festival, the village leaders and young people had prepared to articulate for local development interests. The young people were in charge of singing and dancing to welcome the Minister who arrived by helicopter on 3 June afternoon (eve of *Esta*) to officiate the opening of the Church. They had prepared a welcoming song in Malay, but it was one which reminded the Minister and his entourage about the need for local development. The song was written by a

Badong from the village but he worked as a pastor elsewhere. He too had returned for the *Esta*.

After alighting from the helicopter, the Minister was greeted by the village leaders. As he and his entourage reached the village church, the young people, who had worked hard for this, began their song:

<i>Selamat datang kami ucapkan</i>	We welcome you
<i>Bapak dan Rombongan</i>	Honourable Minister and delegates
<i>Yang Kini Berada di Kakus</i>	Who are now in Kakus
<i>Mengunjungi Kami</i>	Visiting us.
<i>Sungguhlah Tuhan kita</i>	Our God earnestly
<i>Memperhatikan bangsanya</i>	Looks after His people
<i>Malaysia yang merdeka</i>	An independent Malaysian nation
<i>Hasil usaha semua</i>	Is the achievement of all people
<i>Sudah lama kami nantikan</i>	We have waited long
<i>Kedatangan rombongan</i>	For the arrival of the entourage
<i>Kami telah siap m'dengar</i>	We are prepared to hear
<i>Yang Berhormat katakan</i>	What the Minister has to say
<i>Kepada Bapak dan rombongan</i>	To the Minister and his entourage
<i>Kami mengharapkan</i>	We place our hope
<i>Kiranya kami difikirkan</i>	If at all we are not forgotten
<i>Dalam pembangunan</i>	In development
<i>Sungguhlah kami ketinggalan</i>	We are very much left behind
<i>Dalam segala bidang</i>	In all fields of development
<i>Kami mohon diperhatikan</i>	We appeal to be given attention
<i>Dalam kunjungan ini</i>	In this visit

The song expresses the frustration and hope as well as appeal of the local people for development. The frustration and hope is well expressed in "if at all we are not forgotten in development (author's translation). The last stanza again expresses the frustration and hope that the village is not forgotten in development. At the official opening of the Church, the headman thanked the government for having supplied some fertilizer and seeds so far, and listed the major problems faced by the people. He mentioned the wish of the people to move down river for a permanent settlement, and he emphasized the need for more cultivable land. He proposed that an agricultural sub-station be

established in Data Kakus, to which the Minister replied later in his speech that this was possible only if there were more than 5000 people in the village.

Hence, the occasion of officiating the opening of the church and in effect officiating the Esta festival too, was an opportunity for articulating local interests. Both the welcoming song and the speech of the headman dealt with development issues. The occasion also provided the anthropologist an excellent opportunity to talk to the Minister and the senior officer about local needs for development. We exchanged opinions on the difficulty of bringing facilities to the village. I told them about the enterprising spirit of the people and their need of support for such things like fish fries for fish farming. By being forced by circumstances to stay in the village and to experience the inconveniences of lack of facilities and development, the officer was able to empathize with the plight of the villagers. She could understand the significance of fish farming, how it would help to increase the local consumption of protein. She pointed out the difficulty of bringing fish fries to this remote village, but we agreed that using a helicopter could be a solution. She quickly checked with the Minister who promised to use a helicopter to bring in some fish fries. They kept the promise for my informants informed me (during another visit) that the relevant department did send fish fries by helicopter later in the year. Unfortunately, because the villagers were not informed before hand (due to the communication problem arising from the village's remote location), many villagers were away in the swiddens, and by the time they returned to the village, most fish fries had died. This illustrated another side of the problem in bringing development to the people.

LONG DUNGAN: A CIVIC GATHERING

Having a dialogue with representatives of the government is an important opportunity for Badōng villagers to have their grievances and requests for development heard. Thus when the people of Long Dungan were told that the State Assemblyman, who was a Kayan from Belaga District but who lived in Kuching, would visit the community on 23 June 1992 for a *perhimpunan sivil* or "civic gathering", it was anticipated with much interest. The headman (in fact he was not yet formally appointed after the previous headman and the majority of the Badōng had migrated to Data Kakus) and local leaders held a meeting at the verandah of the headman's longhouse (a short one though) on 21 June evening to plan and prepare for the meeting. They did not attend the usual evening church service that Sunday.

On the following day, the villagers co-operated to cut the long grass, clear the paths and clean the village compound. Eight young men (including this researcher who contributed petrol for the boat trip) and four women went to Putai River (not to be confused with, Putai in the Baleh) to catch fish. The fishing trip involved a twenty-minute boat trip downriver and another half-an-hour's hike through rough terrain before reaching the upper Putai River. After a half day's effort,) except for the Dungan fish which was about a foot long, the fish caught were mostly small fresh water fish (such as *telan, pai', toring, pade' and betuen*, in Badōng language. After reaching home, the small fishes were divided among all the families, while some of the larger fish were kept for the VIP visitors.

On 23 June late morning, the welcoming party comprising the village headman and leaders as well as some young girls dressed in the traditional attire (*ta'a*) waited at the bank of the Rejang River. But the visitors did not turn up. It was later learnt that the State Assemblyman could not come after all as scheduled. It was past 1 p.m. when the information officer from the Belaga district office arrived. He was received by the welcoming party which was arranged for the VIP. Half an-hour later, the agricultural officer and other representatives arrived so the planned gathering went ahead anyway. The visitors were treated to drinks and later food at the headman's apartment. The villagers had their communal feast in an adjacent room. In Badōng style the villagers sat on the floor in two rows facing one another. On that day, each was served rice packed in leaves and a pork dish. (Both the government officers were Muslims and so were served food separately).

The dialogue session began at around 2.30 p.m. Two standing microphones were arranged before-hand in the headman's longhouse verandah, one for the visitors and leaders, the other one was reserved for villagers for asking questions. The arrangement of microphones showed the importance the villagers attached to the occasion. The information officer spoke first. He urged the villagers to form their own PBB branch, as then the Long Dungan villagers were still affiliated to the Data Kakus branch. He stressed that it would be easier to obtain development if the people joined the ruling party. Then he talked about the new *Projek Pembangunan Rakyat Termiskin* (PPRT) or the "Poor Citizens' Development Project". He informed the villagers that a total of RM50 million had been allocated for the whole of Malaysia and that those earning RM215 and below were eligible. He ended his speech by apologizing for the other *orang printah* (government people) who could not come, but he promised to arrange for them to come at another time.

Next the headman spoke, in Malay. As was common of the villagers, he apologized for not being able to speak good Malay although in fact he spoke it fluently. He complained about logging companies causing rivers to be blocked thereby resulting in fewer fish caught. He then remarked that the villagers had applied to the authorities to provide them with some small boats, but they had received nothing, in his words, "*semua tidak dapat*". He complained that the Data Kakus people continued to claim ownership of the houses in Long Dungan even though they had migrated and that officially the village's headman was the previous one who was now in Data Kakus. He mentioned that the previous headman had refused to discuss this matter and although informed of this civic gathering had chosen to be in Data Kakus instead. The informal headman then highlighted the farming problems encountered at Long Sepit downriver and said that it was too close to a logging area. He also commented that there was no animal there (*binatang semua lari*). The information officer then suggested that the people in Long Dungan submit a letter to the District Officer to request him to appoint a headman for Long Dungan. He mentioned that a headman would receive RM1000 a year. He then commented that he was glad that the relationship between the Badōng and the neighbouring Sekapan had improved. (There was a serious conflict before). He then invited the Sekapan headman to speak. Both the Sekapan headman and the Sihan headman (from across the river) and some of their villagers were invited to join this civic gathering.

The Sekapan headman, as leader of the people who owned the land, spoke with authority and some arrogance. He called the Badōng who had left for Data Kakus "liars" (*penipu*). He said that since they had left Long Dungan, they should have no more claims here. He wanted them to dismantle their houses, and mentioned that he would bar them from taking any resources, but the Badōng in Long Dungan could continue to use the resources in the territory. Partly because of the fiery speech of the Sekapan headman, the information officer reminded the people not to emphasize "race". Like some national government leaders, he evoked the memory of the 1969 racial riot in Kuala Lumpur. He told the people that the riots occurred because the "races" did not respect each other. After that he invited the Sihan headman to speak but he declined. Then he invited the agricultural officer to speak.

The agricultural officer talked about various government schemes which subsidized the planting of rubber, pepper, cocoa and paddy as well as the rearing of chicken, cattle and fish. He explained the ways to apply for the schemes, and he encouraged the villagers to join the Farmers' Association in Belaga. The information officer who chaired the session then talked about the need to form a *Jawatankuasa Keselamatan dan Kemajuan Kampung* (JKKK) or "Village Security & Development Committee", and he urged the people to

invest in the government's investment scheme called *Amanah Saham Nasional* which would bring them benefit. Then he invited questions from the floor. A Badōng villager stood forward to point out the need to help the villagers to acquire more land at Long Sepit, and that they needed to make many trips in their small boats (*sampan*) in order to carry the fertilizer supplied by the Department of Agriculture. Furthermore not all villagers had boats, and so he urged the department to send the fertilizer directly to the villagers. He pointed out the shortage of available land and that those who could afford to buy land from the Sekapan had to share with those who could not do so. The information officer only replied to the question about sending fertilizer, and he suggested the villagers hire a *tongkang* (a barge) so that the fertilizer could be delivered in a single trip.

Another Badōng requested the authorities to supply zinc sheets for making roofs and pipes for water supply. The information officer replied that the State Assemblyman's annual allocation of RM 250,000 had all been allocated, and so he suggested that the villagers apply to the housing department instead. The people were not impressed with the answer. Nevertheless at this point the headman's son asked three ceremoniously dressed girls to present to the information officer and the agricultural officer a Kenyah *tapung* (hat) each. He then mentioned that the villagers supported the formation of a PBB branch. Then he asked if the Department of Agriculture had any training scheme for those who had left school, and whether the villagers could get assistance to renovate their church. The agricultural officer replied that in the previous year five persons from Long Dungan had participated in a twenty-week agricultural training course (*Kursus Asas Pertanian*). He mentioned that there was also a one-year course only for men which the villagers could apply to attend. The information officer also welcomed the wish to form a PBB branch and explained the application procedure. He encouraged those villagers who were not yet members to send in their application forms. As to the church project, he said that he would contact the relevant authorities. The dialogue session finally ended at 5.30 p.m.

In the evening, the villagers again gathered at the headman's longhouse. There was a Kenyah *kanjet* (dance) session. Then the headman gave a speech in Badōng, following which the villagers elected the JKKK. There was then discussion on how many villagers should apply for the PPRT poverty project. From the information given by the information officer, most villagers were eligible. But the people knew that it was impossible for all those eligible to receive PPRT aid. They turned to the anthropologist for advice. Before going to Long Dungan I had interviewed the relevant officer about the project in Belaga, but I was not in any better position to advise. Eventually I suggested that they

submit the names of those who were widowed or old and who could not support themselves. This was accepted as a good solution.

Despite the hidden political agenda of the civic gathering, which the people were fully aware of, the gathering was the best opportunity the villagers had to come face-to-face with the authorities. The opportunity allowed them to put forth their grievances and articulate their need for local development. Even though what they actually reaped was not much, it was still an important occasion for the people. By law, a civil servant is not supposed to use his office to ask villagers to join any political party. But it has become a common practice for the Department of Information to conduct propaganda work for the ruling parties in the course of carrying out its usual activities. In fact it is one major way how a ruling party controls the grass roots in Sarawak. Consequently, village leaders do join the state ruling party. However, joining the ruling party does not necessarily imply support for the party's leaders, ideology and politics. But it certainly facilitates opening a channel of communication with the authorities, in turn facilitating articulation of problems and the need for local development. As a Kayan who was a PBB leader in his village told me, in Malay, "*Kita sokong siapa yang pegang kuasa*", that is, "We support whoever is in power". The Badong leaders are playing the same game. It is their politics of development. Nevertheless, the dialogue session was useful for imparting information from the government to the people, some of which brought benefits to them.

LONG GENG: CONFRONTATION AND COOPERATION

Long Geng is located at the point where the Geng River joins the Keluan River which flows into the Linau River, a major tributary of the Balui River. It is remote from Belaga *pekan* but access is more convenient than going to Data Kakus. The boat trip from Belaga, which involves going up the Bakun rapids in the Balui and the Talang rapids in the Linau, takes five or six hours. Nowadays it is possible to travel via logging roads to Bintulu and to Belaga, and in the case of the latter destination, the land cruiser brings one from a point at the upper Linau River not far from Long Geng to the mouth of the Murum River which joins the Balui, and from there it is a short boat journey to Belaga.

There were 1288 people divided into 196 *amin* (apartments) in Long Geng in 1994 (Tan 1995:17), including those who had left the village temporarily to work elsewhere. From my last research in April and May 1995, there were nine longhouses and some single houses. The community was divided by religion into Roman Catholic (RC) Christians who lived on the right bank and SIB

Christians who lived on the left bank. Each side had its own church. In 1995 there were also six apartments (*amin*) who still followed the traditional religion called Bungan. Despite some stereotypes against one another, the people lived as one community tied together by kinship and a common history.

There was a rural clinic (*Klinik Desa Long Geng*) and a *Klinik Kesihatan Ibu Dan Kanak* (Mother and Children's Health Clinic), but at the time of research in 1995, both the clinics were closed as the replacement for the nurse's transfer had not yet been made, while the dresser refused to return to work in Long Geng. The absence of the health workers caused much inconvenience to the people as it was difficult and costly to travel to Belaga for treatment. There was a primary school in the village. The village had piped water delivered from nearby hills. Most apartments also had plastic pour flush toilets although at the RC side, the toilet pipes which led into the ground had been destroyed by domesticated pigs. (The SIB side did not have pigs). Unlike in Data Kakus, Long Geng had lots of lands which were accessible by many rivers and streams. There were still plenty of fish and game and other natural resources despite a noticeable reduction in recent years which the people attributed to the effects of logging. Now that the village had just become more accessible via logging roads, the people's anger at having to be resettled to make way for the Bakun HEP project was to be expected.

In the eighties, as a result of the logging companies' refusal to compromise and the lack of response by government authorities to the villagers' concern about the effects of logging on Long Geng, the villagers assumed a confrontational approach to protect their local interests. Two of the three logging companies refused to pay compensation and to compromise, and so the villagers blocked the companies from working in the areas. A number of villagers had been arrested by the police and put in jail, but they were regarded locally as heroes. Some non-governmental organisations and an opposition party also supported the Long Geng villagers' cause.

The various blockades caused the authorities at the Divisional and State levels to view Long Geng negatively. One high level official even described Long Geng people as "communists" (a terrible accusation in Malaysia) when I interviewed him. In actual fact the authorities themselves were much to blame as there was no serious attempt to communicate with the people. In this climate, the support of non-governmental organizations was welcomed and gave hope to the people. The protest was not just against the logging companies, it was in fact also against the neglect by the authorities of local interests.

Understandably the two government-appointed local leaders, the *penghulu* (headman of a number of villages, in this case Long Geng and the Penan community of Lusong Laku) and the village headman, did not take part in the confrontational protest which involved a majority of the villagers. This led to erosion of the village headman's authority. In 1991, the villagers led by the radical group pushed for the election of a new headman. Each villager voted by throwing a corn seed into the tin for a particular candidate. It was a contest between the incumbent government-appointed headman and an old man favoured by the radical group. Although the old man won the election he remained an "informal headman", for he was not recognized by the government. Hence, all matters dealing with the state still had to be conducted through the formal headman.

In my first visit to Long Geng (lasting one week) in 1992, the formal headman's authority had suffered as a result of his electoral defeat. But in my second visit in 1994 and my subsequent visits in April and May 1995, the villagers had begun to co-operate with him again. There was no more blockade and the informal headman had served his purpose. While the protests led to the emergence of new (informal) leaders, the authority of the *penghulu* and to some extent the village headman had been restored. The fact that the villagers were kin-related accounts for this; the *penghulu* and the elected informal "headman" of the radical group were in-laws as a son of the *penghulu* was married to a daughter of the informal headman. Thus when the *penghulu* called a meeting which concerned village matters, the local leaders, including those involved in the protest (although not the informally elected headman who was old), would attend the meeting. This was evident when I was in Long Geng in 1994 and 1995.

Thus outsiders should not be quick to view village factions in exclusive terms. Because the *Penghulu* did not participate in organizing the blockades, he was still able to have the trust of the government, and all agents of the government who visited the village contacted the *Penghulu* and stayed at his apartment if necessary. The villagers were able to continue to deal with the authorities too through the formal headman. The presence of a *Penghulu* in the same village somewhat undermined the functions of the village headman, but the latter who was from the SIB side had strong support there. Nonetheless the headman cooperated with the *Penghulu*. The scenario then was that the villagers through the *Penghulu* and the headman had access to the authorities, while those who wanted to bring their protests to the larger Malaysian society could do so through individuals who had links with non-governmental organizations in Sarawak and in Peninsular Malaysia. Some of these individuals had been invited by non governmental organisations to travel to various cities, including

Kuala Lumpur, to narrate their plights, which in recent times focussed on the question of resettlement due to the construction of the Bakun HEP project.

For the villagers the most frustrated aspect about the Bakun HEP project was their lack of access to information which was highly controlled by the authorities. When interviewing the *penghulu* in my presence, a journalist who travelled to Long Geng confronted the *penghulu* as to why he and the villagers constantly changed their views about the question of resettlement. The explanation was simple for the *penghulu* and the people: they adjusted their opinions according to the latest information they received. Yet no one could even be sure whether the particular information received was accurate or not, be it about the place of resettlement or compensation. No one could make any rational decision under such circumstances. Indeed it was a kind of "psychological torture" which the Long Geng people should not be subjected to in the first place.

Given the stressful situation, some villagers had suggested that if they were to be resettled they ought to move back to their former settlement at Tekulang, at a place called Long Lawen which is named after the stream there. Some families had even started to plant there. The *penghulu* was more cautious as he wanted to know where specifically the people would be relocated, guarantees from the government that basic facilities like clinics and schools would be made available, and for easy access to towns so that the villagers could sell farm products. The people understand that eventually they have no choice but to make way for the dam project. But they were divided as to whether they should accept the government's offer which apparently would open the way to further development (but for which information was still scarce), or to move to an even more interior area of their choice, which might mean missing out on future government allocations for development. Despite the talk of some people to opt for the latter, there was really not much choice, as the people were already too exposed to modern needs and development to forego them. Furthermore, moving elsewhere without government approval would probably mean continual confrontation with the government, whose increasing powers the villagers were also well aware of.

There was, however, one thing which the Long Geng people decided to, as was being done by other communities which would also be resettled on account of the Bakun HEP project. Many of them had renovated or built new houses. This was to ensure they would get maximum compensation. A Badōng household apartment (*amin*) may comprise more than one *pemanak*. For example, an *amin* may comprise parents and their children as well as a married daughter and her husband and children. There are thus two *pemanak* in this *amin*. The general

rule is that a married couple with their own children forms a separate *pemanak*. There was fear that if the two *pemanak* continued to stay in one *amin*, the compensation might be based on one family only. There was thus a move to restrict an *amin* to a single *pemanak*. In other words new apartments were built for the *pemanak* separated from an *amin*. Here we see kinship culture at work. Cultural principles are not static rules, they are shaped by changing economic and political contexts. Consequently the custom of an *amin* having one or more *pemanak* was changing to one with only a single *pemanak*. Whether this will become the new kinship principle depends on the situation after resettlement.

LONG MENJAWAH: AT THE PERIPHERY OF THE BAKUN HEP AREA

The Long Geng example shows that despite the constraint of lack of access to information, the villagers still try to maximize their interests. We now consider the case of the Badōng at Long Menjawah. The community of Long Menjawah will not be resettled, so the villagers are not entitled to any compensation from the Bakun HEP. But they will end up living just below the dam after it has been completed. Naturally they feel insecure about this. Hence they feel that they should be compensated. But how does one articulate such a claim? Interestingly the local leaders asked this researcher if they could use the idea of *pemali* to obtain compensation. *Pemali* is an indigenous cultural concept which means an "act forbidden because it disturbs the ritually harmonious state of the house, farm, or person offended and so affects the community" (Richards 1981). An act of *pemali* can be restored by paying a fine. Not so long ago when they were in Long Atōk, the Long Menjawah Badōng themselves had had to pay a ritual fine to the Kayan when it was discovered that the land on which they were working was in fact a Kayan graveyard, which was *pemali*. With that episode in mind, they now argued that since the dam would flood a huge area upstream including many graveyards, and the Long Menjawah people had to use the "polluted" river downstream, they should be entitled to compensation too. The authorities would be committing *pemali*. I doubt the authorities will buy this argument, but it is interesting that people can use culture to claim a space beyond their territory.

LONG BUSANG: REMAINING MARGINAL?

Of the four Badōng settlements in Belaga and Bintulu, Long Geng has access to the most resources. Data Kakus has access to logged land but it is not a rich area when compared to Long Geng. Long Dungan people have to depend on buying and using Sekapan land but it is close to Belaga *pekan* which is about an

hour by longboat upriver. The Long Menjawah Badong depend on Kayan lands and lands bought from their Kejaman neighbours downriver, but it is also not too far from Belaga, being about two hours by boat downriver. However, Long Busang is rather remote from Belaga and the boat journey from Long Jawe' (a Lepo' Kulit settlement) upriver to Long Busang is difficult. Indeed government extension workers' visits upriver usually end at Long Jawe'. However, nowadays it is possible and easier to go to Long Busang from Kapit via the Baleh River to the Putai logging camp, about five hours by express boat. At the Putai timber camp, one takes a free ride with one of the logging company's landcruisers or timber trucks to one of the interior camps (e.g. Camp E), and then another ride to the village; the whole journey by the logging road takes three or four hours, not including waiting time which may entail staying overnight at an interior timber camp.

Cultivable land at Long Busang is limited, and logging has caused landslides which have affected the farms. There are fewer natural resources than in Long Geng, and villagers constantly complain of the difficulty of catching fish nowadays. They also complain of the timber company logging trees too close to the edge of the river, causing serious erosion. The villagers also complain of the company hiring more non-local workers (especially from Kalimantan) rather than local labour. Despite these complaints, the villagers have not resorted to blockades. They have had to use the logging roads and other conveniences provided by the company. The departure of most villagers for Long Dungan further reduced the population, while the remoteness and difficulty of communication resulted in little support for their plight from outside non governmental organisations. All these probably made it not practical for staging radical protests, although younger villagers accused some village leaders for having compromised too easily with the timber camp.

Nevertheless, logging in the region had both positive and negative impacts on the people. When I visited the village in July 1992, the company had just helped to build a direct road into the village linking it with the logging roads. Some villagers were not happy about this for they feared that this would make it too easy for workers from the timber company to come to the village frequently, and to disturb their young women.

Long Busang, where Armstrong (1991) conducted her doctoral research, used to have a clinic until 1979. The departure of most villagers to Long Dungan might have led to the decision to close the clinic but a medical officer I interviewed said that the local people had chased the dresser away, a rather unfair accusation. In 1992, the villagers decided to apply to the government to send a dresser to the village. Thus on 16 July 1992, under a cooperative labour

effort organized by the headman, the villagers cleared the land behind the Muslim prayer house to prepare the ground for building a new clinic. A granary there was carried elsewhere, and a tractor from the logging company came to help. It was really very necessary to have a clinic, for it was both difficult and rather far to rush a sick person to Kapit. Indeed one early morning I observed some villagers carrying a very sick person on a wooden stretcher to rush him to Kapit. The small climb from the village to the part of the logging road where one could wait for a landcruiser alone took about one-and-a-half hours. The waiting and the journey took a few more hours before one could reach the Baleh River to travel by express boat to Kapit.

There is a school in Long Busang. In 1992, there was a *wakil kesihatan kampung* (WKK, village health representative) who always ran short of medical supplies. Overall, the local people had not received much development aid. A major problem, however, was that many villagers still could not obtain the national identity card as they did not have birth certificates to prove their citizenship status. Partly because of the frequent questioning of the headmaster, a Long Busang student who attended Form Six in Kapit, which was a rare achievement for the youths of this village, decided not to continue his studies and returned to the village. This was only one example of the inconvenience of not having a document which identified citizenship. According to the headman, only 40 of the 420 people in the village had Malaysian identity cards. He was concerned about this issue too, but he did not know how to get the authorities to regularize the matter. Generally he was not as adept as the headman elsewhere in dealing with the authorities. The State Assemblyman had arranged for an identity card registration in the village in 1990, but he had also asked the Bakong from Long Singot, who were even more recent Kenyah immigrants, to go to Long Busang for the registration too. This caused some confusion about the status of applicants. As of 1996 the Long Busang villagers had not yet heard from the authorities about their application.

Despite some complaints by some younger villagers, the headman was concerned about development for his village. But he did not know how to articulate these needs to the bureaucrats. He talked about going to Kuching to see one or two politicians but this was no easy matter without prior arrangement. His authority was somewhat weakened too because of religious affiliation. This was the only Badōng village in Belaga which had a small Muslim population, and the headman was a Muslim having strong support among his fellow Muslims who lived in one section of the village. According to the headman in 1992, 14 of the 53 *amin* or apartments (although I counted 51 only) were Muslims. The other villagers were SIB Christians. Nevertheless, the villagers co-operated on village matters, as in the joint effort to clear the

ground for building a clinic. While the village was visited by Kenyah from Kalimantan who came to work in the timber camps, local young people who could not find work in the camps tried to move to towns to find jobs. It remains to be seen whether the Bakun dam when built would bring some opportunities to the settlement.

CONCLUSION

The Badōng who live in remoter regions, such as those in Data Kakus, Long Busang and Long Geng, are able to have more autonomy; but fewer visits by government agents on account of their remoteness also means less access to government development aid. The people in Long Dungan and Long Menjawah have easier access to government agricultural subsidies and health facilities. The distance and difficulty in communication also restrict the people's own development initiatives. Outsiders may observe that the Badōng in Long Geng and Long Busang are not so successful with commercial crops such as cocoa and pepper, the planting of which is encouraged and subsidized by the Department of Agriculture. This has nothing to do with laziness or bad attitudes. The cost and difficulty of transportation discourages the people from investing too much energy on this crop, and this decision is rational.

While the Badōng were known for their resistance to dominance, they now have to submit to the authority of the state and have to deal with bureaucrats. In their articulation for development and for their overall interests, they have learned the politics of dealing with state agents. Some local leaders are more capable than others. In certain circumstances, they are still able to have their way, as exemplified by the Long Dungan Badōng moving to Data Kakus prior to obtaining official permission. As described by Armstrong (1994, 43), by the time the government approved their settlement in Data Kakus in 1988, the migration was already a *fait accompli*. The headman told Armstrong that one should "always say yes to the government and then do what you want" (p.43). This is one strategy of dealing with the state, but it is not always possible.

In fact, as the people settled in a place and needed state support to bring about basic facilities, it becomes necessary to engage with the state directly. The option for distancing one's self and one's community from the state or central government decreases, so does autonomy. While in Long Geng some people do talk of migrating to remoter regions rather than accepting resettlement by the government to an undesirable area, the strategy of migrating away from the central government's power has become impractical. In fact, local Badōng leaders, such as those in Data Kakus and Long Dungan, have joined the ruling

party PBB in order to have a channel for articulating local interests. Both the government and the "powerless" people are playing a game of politics of development. However, the effect is that the local leaders become the local representatives of ruling parties. This kind of political development through which the ruling political parties control the grass roots has been the pattern in Peninsular Malaysia (cf. Husin Ali 1975; Shamsul 1986), but in Sarawak, it has been only very recently that the ruling party has begun to establish branches in the interior villages. It should not be read as the Orang Ulu supporting the PBB, but rather that the people have found it necessary or even convenient to do so, so as to better articulate their development needs.

The Long Geng case shows that when faced with unwanted externally imposed development, and when the usual articulation with the state fails, they may resort to confrontation. In their protest against logging operations in their territory, the people found that the state did not or could not act in their local interests. It was frustrating, especially when the people found that repeated promises by the state to look into their plight were not fulfilled. Still, the people were careful to declare that they were confronting the logging companies, not the government. Nevertheless, the government branded them as anti-government. In their protest against the Bakun HEP project for instance, the people have avoided radical confrontation against the state, the political consequence of which can be very serious as the indigenous minorities cannot run away or avoid dealing with the state power nowadays. The strategy has been for the radical villagers to link up with NGOs to tell the world that they oppose the Bakun HEP which will flood their homeland. Within the village, the villagers, both the radical (as they might appear to outsiders) as well as those apparently less radical ones, all, try to prepare for the worst and work with the government-appointed leaders in various ways to negotiate for compensation, and a say as to where they would be relocated, as well as other related matters. There are different opinions on the appropriate responses, but a final decision can only be made when the government informs them of the necessary details so cruelly kept secret from the affected people.

The Long Geng experience, when compared to that of Long Busang, shows the importance of active articulation. The confrontation with logging firms produced "radical" leaders for this specific purpose, which turned out to be useful too as they can carry the voices of the villagers to a larger audience, which the government appointed leaders are unable to do. The protests of the radicals vis-à-vis the Bakun HEP project, which was taken outside the village as within, was welcomed by all the villagers including the government appointed leaders. While the *penghulu* and the village headman cannot appear to side with those resorting to confrontational actions, their "aloofness" in this matter

allows them to continue as government recognized leaders, and therefore keep open a channel of communication with the authorities. While it appears as though there are factions in Long Geng, taken as a whole, the different approaches actually allow for different ways of articulating their local interests and dealing with unreasonable intrusion of state power. The local people, including the government-appointed leaders, recognize the usefulness of multivocality.

This study also highlights some features of culture and development. In the first place, the Badōng are enterprising, what they need is more opportunities for development. In Long Dungan where there are some opportunities for selling products at the Belaga *pekan*, the Badōng are stereotyped by outsiders as hardworking when compared to the Sekapan. What is at issue here is that there is no cultural hindrance to economic achievement in the case of Badōng, whereas the Sekapan still have some cultural impediments arising from some feudalistic cultural principles (see Nicolaisen 1986). The debates on culture versus development, as in the debates on Confucianism versus Chinese economic achievement, really miss the point. The real issue is whether there are any cultural impediments to development, and not whether culture, however it is conceived, causes development. Development can only occur when there are facilities and opportunities.

Hence culture is best conceived as cultural principles which serve as guidelines for behaviour. They may persist or be adapted to certain political and socio-economic conditions. Kinship principles are themselves products of changing socio-economic and political situations, as we have seen in the case of the Badōng principles of *amin* and *pemanak*. Culture can also be made relevant for making claims for compensation, such as in the concept of *pemali*. The government will have to compensate for the graves which will be flooded by the Bakun HEP. To the indigenous peoples, this is a necessary *pemali* fine. However, we have seen that some Badōng in Long Menjawah even contemplated using the concept of *pemali* to make a claim over a space beyond their territory. This illustrates the usefulness of seeing culture as principles which are used and negotiated by agents.

The study shows that in conducting fieldwork, an anthropologist has to be involved in local issues. I was consulted by the villagers on development issues, and I felt the need to articulate for the villagers wherever possible. I take the position that anthropologists have to be concerned anthropologists, but he or she also has to realize the limits that she/he can achieve for the people. There is also the issue of an anthropologist's role in relation to both the government and the people, an issue which Appell (1977), among others, have raised. Ideally an

anthropologist should be a bridge between the people and the government. This is useful to both the people and the government, but it is not a role that is always possible, nor easy to play. Whatever it is, an anthropologist should not be the state's instrument of oppressing the people. An anthropologist should also be careful not to be drawn into local factions. One should not be quick to support a local faction against the government-appointed leaders by assuming that the faction which accuses the leaders for taking money from logging companies and for not confronting the government, stands for justice. Having been active in a Malaysian NGO for a number of years, I was prone to do just that. But I have learned that the local situation is always more complicated than it appears. The common accusations against state-appointed leaders as corrupt are not necessarily fair. For I know of local anti-logging activists themselves taking "compensation" money from logging companies, their roles in protests having gained them capital to bargain with the companies! The above description also shows that both the state-appointed leaders and the new activists serve important roles in articulating the community's overall interest in different contexts, and that locally, they do co-operate on larger common issues when dealing with unreasonable state or capitalist encroachments.

Lastly, the indigenous minorities have been incorporated into the state, and they are conscious of the advantages of being citizens. Their articulation for local development and local interests is based on their sense and claim to citizenship. As citizens, they are under state control, but they also view the state as having the moral duty to provide opportunities and the necessary facilities for local development.

NOTE

¹ For a description of Central Borneo, see Rousseau (1990).

² Orang Ulu is a general category of heterogeneous indigenous peoples in interior Sarawak, comprising such groups as Kayan, Kenyah, Sekapan, Lahanan, Punan, Penan and others.

³ An *amin* is both the physical apartment as well as the social unit living in an apartment. In Iban this is called *bilik*.

⁴ The authorities did send a malaria unit to visit the village once in three months.

REFERENCES

- Appell, G.N. 1977 The Plight of Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Dilemmas. *Survival International* 2 (3): 11-16.
- Armstrong, Rita 1991 People of the Same Heart: The Social World of the Kenyah Badong. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sydney.
- ____ 1994 From Difficult Natives to Good Citizens: Marginality and Autonomy in a Central Borneo Society. *ASSESS Journal* (Australia), vol. 1: 36-47.
- Dentan, Robert K. and Ong Hean Chooi 1995 Stewards of the Green and Beautiful World: A Preliminary Report on Semai Aborigiculture and Its Policy Implications. In *Dimensions of Tradition and Development in Malaysia*, eds., Rokiah Talib and Tan Chee-Beng, pp. 53-124. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications.
- Eidheim, Harald 1985 "Indigenous Peoples and the State: The Saami Case in Norway", In *Native Power: The Quest for Autonomy and Nationhood of Indigenous Peoples*, eds., Jens Brøsted, et. al., Bergen: Universitetsforlaget As pp. 155-171.
- Hose, Charles 1897 'Baram: Monthly Report – December'. *Sarawak Gazette* 27 (373), 1 February, pp. 39-40.
- Husin Ali, S. 1975 *Malay Peasant Society and Leadership*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Nicolaisen, Ida 1986 'Pride and Progress: Kajian Response to Economic Change' *Sarawak Museum Journal* 36 (57): 75-116.
- Richards, Anthony 1981 *An Iban-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprinted by Fajar Bakti, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, 1988.
- Rousseau, Jérôme 1990 *Central Borneo: Ethnic Ideology and Social Life in A Stratified Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Scott, James C. 1985 *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

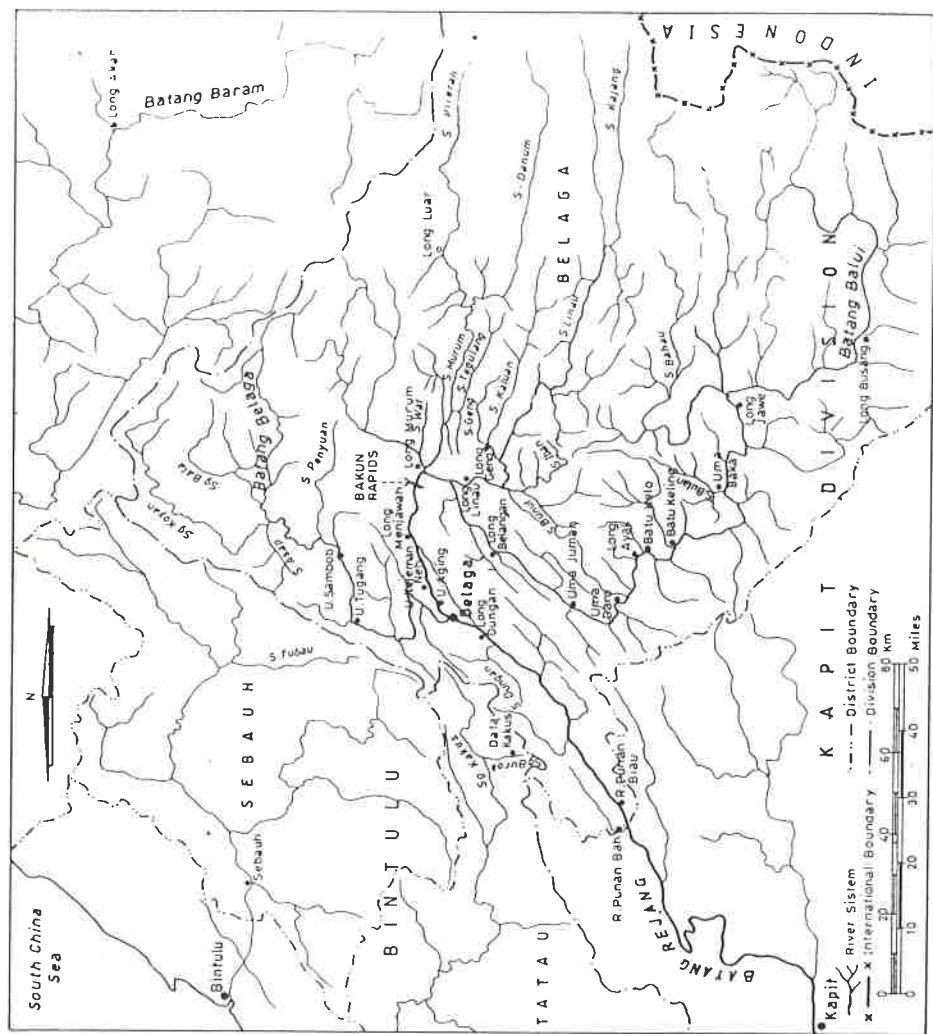
Shamsul, A. B. 1986 *From British to Bumiputera Rule: Local Politics and Rural Development in Peninsular Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Tan, Chee-Beng 1993a 'Introduction: Badōng Migration and Ethnogenesis'. In *The Migration of Kenyah Badōng*, by Vom Roy, ed. Tan Chee-Beng Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya, pp. xiii-lii

_____ 1993b 'Education in Rural Sarawak'. *Borneo Review* 4 (2): 128-141.

_____ 1995 'The Badōng of Long Geng: An Ethnographic Report. A report submitted to the State Planning Unit, Chief Minister's Department, Sarawak'. 152 pp.

Vom Roy 1993 *The Migration of Kenyah Badōng: A Study Based On Oral History*. Edited with an introduction by Tan Chee-Beng. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya.



MAP OF SARAWAK SHOWING THE BELAGA DISTRICT

Map of Sarawak showing the Belaga District