THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THE COMMERCIALISATION OF HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION AMONG THE IBAN OF KAPIT DIVISION IN SARAWAK, MALAYSIA: CONSTRAINTS AND POTENTIAL

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in ~~the~~ University of Hull

by

MADELINE BERMA
MA University of Wisconsin-Madison
B.Econ (Hons.) Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

September 1996

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production (CHP). Its aim has been to examine the possibilities of employment expansion through small-scale rural industrialisation in Sarawak, Malaysia and to discuss differential Iban involvement and "*success*" in CHP. The pertinent questions are: why do some Iban craftspersons take up CHP, while others do not; and under what conditions do Iban craftspersons succeed in CHP? By undertaking this research, it is hoped to establish whether rural industrialisation based on craft production is "*desirable*" and "*feasible*" for the rural Iban. Survey methods were employed from 200 Iban craftspersons from 10 longhouses in Kapit Division, Sarawak supported by participant observation in addition to in-depth interview with government personnel and selected entrepreneurs (such as tour operators, Chinese *towkays*). The thesis argues for a reinterpretation of Iban economic history because previous research on the Iban economy has tended to ignore Iban involvement in non-agricultural activities, particularly in commercial activities. Although the Iban have become increasingly oriented to the market, there has been very little attention to the evolving landscape of the Iban economy. The study shows that Iban involvement in commercial activities does not occur in linear evolutionary phases; it is a variable and fluid response to changes in the social, economic, cultural and political environment. The study also shows that CHP provides the rural Iban with employment and income earning opportunities which, in turn enables them to sustain their livelihood whilst regenerating interest in Iban culture. Some craftspersons have succeeded in CHP and have even managed to market their products beyond their local region. The majority, however, have been unable either to initiate, or once involved, to survive in CHP because of constrains identified in marketing, availability of raw material, capital, labour, lack of entrepreneurship and institutional support, and certain cultural obstacles. Despite these problems, the majority of those Iban surveyed are willing to take up CHP in the future suggesting that there is potential for the development of rural industrialisation in Sarawak. This study is a first step towards understanding the nature, extent and effects of Iban involvement in commercial activities, which is a neglected subject in development studies in Malaysia and the interplay of factors that promote or hinder their role in economic development.

PREFACE

In the last ten years, Sarawak has registered successful economic growth (SADP 1991a); yet the rural Iban still find themselves with a high level of poverty, increasing unemployment (Jawan 1994, 1991; Joseph 1989; UKM 1994) and rapid out-migration. Evidences from Arnold (1993), Kitching (1982), Parnwell (1994, 1992, 1991) and Schumacher (1973), show that small-scale industry based on handicraft production may seem to be one of the alternative development paths along which Sarawak has moved so far. To me, support for rural industrialisation, may be one of the best policies the Sarawak government can pursue, because of Sarawak's rich cultural heritage, and it is based on the principles of sustainable development (Parnwell and Taylor 1996) which uses local resources (such as skill, raw materials and institutions). If successful, the development of small-scale rural industry based on handicraft production can stimulate the setting up of new activities through linkage effects, thereby facilitating rural development, besides addressing the twin problems of poverty and unemployment in rural Sarawak.

To study the problems and prospects of rural Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production, I undertook a study of Iban craftspersons in Kapit Division, Sarawak in 1993. Kapit was chosen because the dynamism of Iban involvement in CHP presents lessons for Iban communities in other divisions. Information on craftspersons was collected using surveys, interviews (structured and semi-structured) and observations methods. It throws some light on the reasons why some Iban took up and *"succeed"* in CHP while others do not. This thesis is a product of that study.

I am interested in the possible benefits of rural industrialisation based on handicraft production, and my interest has its origins in the difficulties of creating employment and income opportunities for the rural Iban. The accuracy and value of my analysis and interpretation of Iban involvement in CHP is shaped by my perception and definition of the

---

Note: The exchange rate is RM1.00= £0.25

problems they face and the approach which I have adopted in trying to solve them. I may be Iban, but as an outsider, my ideas are shaped by the fact that: (a) I represent a group that is in a position of potential influence in presenting the case for interpreting *"what is good"* for the Iban (b) my socio-economic well-being is not directly affected by the social, economic, political and environmental changes that are shaping the lives of Iban craftspersons in my study area, and (c) I have had thirteen years of missionary education in Sarawak, four years of tertiary education in development economics at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, and six years of postgraduate study in the United States and England.

I claim myself to be an Iban because I was born to an Iban family; my great-grandfather Kana[1] was a *tau serang* (warrior) who defied the regime of the Third White Rajah, Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke; my parents and all my relatives are Iban. However, I hardly behave as or do things that are *"typically Iban."* I lived in police barracks instead of a longhouse (*rumah panjai*); I attended Christian missionary schools without learning how to plait a simple mat (*tikai*) let alone weave a ritual cloth (*pua*); I earn my living as a government employee instead of planting paddy or cash crops; I celebrate Christmas rather than *Gawai Dayak*[2]; I listen to western music instead of Iban chants (*pantun*); I consider Kampung Siol Kandis in the state capital city Kuching as my *menoa*[3] rather than Rumah Sindau of Banting in Lingga district. To my relatives and other Iban from the longhouses, I am truly an *orang nengeri* - an urbanised Iban!

As an *orang nengeri* and a development economist by academic training, this is my paradigm of Iban socio-economic change with specific reference to their involvement in commercial handicraft production.

---

[1] See Padoch (1978:42), Pringle (1970:220,227-228), and Ward (1966). Ward called him *"a firebrand from the Engkari"* (1966-121).

[2] Gawai Dayak is the Iban harvest festival which is celebrated at the end of May to mark the end of harvest.

[3] Iban term to refer to the place where the longhouse is located.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals have helped me to make this study possible. I would like to mention in particular Dr.Michael J.G.Parnwell and Professor Dr.V.T King. I am greatly indebted to both of them as a valuable source of ideas, unending guidance and support, incisive comments, fruitful discussions and encouragement for the final completion of this thesis. Both have helped me to enrich my ideas and thoughts on Iban social, political and economic conditions.

I would like to acknowledge the *Jabatan Perkhidmatan Awam Malaysia* (JPA) and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia for the scholarship, study leave and research grant which enabled me to pursue my study. I would also like to thank the Sarawak Government for granting me permission to conduct my survey in Kapit Division.

My special thanks are due to the Iban craftspersons and the *tuai rumahs* of Kapit who have shared with me their experience. I received kind assistance and valuable information from Mr. John Tedong, Mr.Roselie Ujih, Mr.Meru Ajeng, Mr. Mohd Yak, Ms. Mary Abdullah, Ms. Nancy, Mr. Ten Wuan Lee, Mr.Richard, Mr.Tan, Mr.Raden Meli, and the *towkays* of Kapit. I am grateful to Madam Bangie, Madam Keramak, Madam Samba, Ms. Nancy, Mr.Charles and Mr.Minggu of Kapit; Ms.Jelendang and Ms. Sawat of Sarawak Cultural Village, trainees at Malaysian Handicraft Development Institute (Sarawak Branch) who took time to share with me their experiences, and art and techniques of weaving, plaiting and carving. Among many others who have contributed ideas and valuable help with information, data and expertise during the fieldwork, I should like to acknowledge particularly Dr. Peter Kedit of Sarawak Museum; Mr. Abdullah Chik and Dr.Napsiah Mahfoz of Sarawak Economic Planning Unit; Professor Dr. Ishak Shari and Professor Dr. Anuar Ali of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia; and the staffs of Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation (Sarawak Branch), Sarawak Economic Development Corporation, SARAKRAF *Sendirian Berhad,* Kapit Agriculture Department, Farmers

Organisation of Kapit, Kapit Resident's Office and Travel Borneo Agency *Sendirian Berhad.* The staffs of University of Hull Computer Centre and Department of Economic Statistics, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia helped with the computer and statistical analysis. I am also grateful to the examiners for their comments and suggestions.

I like to thank Juriah Sulehan and family, Junaenah Sulehan and Faridah Shahadan for their help, co-operation, encouragement and friendship.

I also wish to extend my deep sense of appreciation to inek Deyon Kana, Brayan Tankong, Maria Nipa, Agnes and family, Calvert and family, Ameline and family, and Amelia. My special appreciation are due to Catherine and family, John and family, and Sekeries for the sacrifices they have made to enable me to complete my study. Finally, I wish to convey my deepest gratitude to both my parents Berma Jimbun and Inja Nipa for their love, affection, inspiration and constant encouragement for any meaningful pursuit in the advancement of knowledge. I dedicate this thesis to Aba, Emak and Inek.

University of Hull, 1996 *Madeline Berma*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACSS-	Annual Crop Subsidy Scheme
AD -	*"Another Development"*
APPS-	Assistance to Padi Planting Scheme
BCIC-	Bumiputera Commercial and Industrial Community
BPMB -	*Bank Pembangunan Malaysia* (Malaysian Development Bank)
CGC -	Credit Guarantee Corporation
CMRS	Cocoa Mono Rehabilitation Scheme
CPs -	Commercial Craftspersons
CPSC-	Cocoa Planting Scheme
FELCRA-	Federal Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority
FTSS-	Fruit Trees Subsidy Scheme
FPSS-	Fish Pond Subsidy Scheme
ITM -	*Institut Teknologi* MARA (MARA Institute of Technology)
LCDA-	Land Consolidation and Development Authority
MARDI -	Malaysian Agriculture Research and Development Institute
MARA -	*Majlis Amanah Rakyat*
MIDF-	Malaysian Industrial Development Finance
MHDC -	Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation or *Perbadanan Kemajuan Kraftangan Malaysia* (PKKM)
NCPs	Non Commercial Craftspersons
NDP -	National Development Policy
NEP -	New Economic Policy
NPC -	National Productivity Centre
PPS-	Pepper Planting Scheme
PMS-	Pepper Maintenance Scheme
PNB-	*Permodalan Nasional Berhad*
RPS-	Rubber Planting Scheme
RTPS-	Rattan Planting Scheme
RI	Rural industrialisation
SEDC	Sarawak Economic Development Corporation
SEPU	State Economic Planning Unit
SEDC	State Economic Development Corporation
SLDB	Sarawak Land Development Board
SMIs	Small-scale industries
UKM	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: KAPIT DIVISION: BACKGROUND PERSPECTIVE AND "*POLITIK PEMBANGUNAN*" ISSUES

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MAKING OF IBAN "*TOURIST*" CRAFTS

CHAPTER FIVE: IBAN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCERS: WEAVERS OF CHANGE AND CARVERS OF PROFIT

CHAPTER SIX: RURAL IBAN INVOLVEMENT AND *"SUCCESS"* IN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONSTRAINTS AND POTENTIAL TO RURAL IBAN INVOLVEMENT AND *"SUCCESS"* IN CHP

CHAPTER EIGHT: RURAL INDUSTRIALISATION BASED ON CRAFT PRODUCTION: A *"VIABLE"* AND *"DESIRABLE"* ALTERNATIVE FOR THE RURAL IBAN?

APPENDIX

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

CRAFT PRODUCTION AS A CATALYST FOR "*ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT*": A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Introduction

By far the most important development problem that confronts Sarawak[1] today is that of rural poverty. In 1993, it was estimated that the incidence of rural poverty in Sarawak was 23.6 per cent (UKM 1994:E-5). A close examination of the latest available data reveals that the incidence of poverty is highest among the Iban[2] (46.1 per cent in 1987 and 36.4 per cent in 1989) suggesting that Malaysia's poverty eradication programmes have had limited success with regard to the rural Iban compared to other ethnic groups.

One of the main causes of rural poverty in Sarawak is low productivity, particularly among hill-paddy shifting cultivators. Other causes are a lack of off-farm opportunities, increases in unemployment, increasing rural-urban migration, lack of productive assets, and problems of inaccessibility (SADP 1991c; UKM 1994). Thus, the central problems faced by planners in Sarawak are to eradicate poverty and provide productive employment and income-earning opportunities for the rural communities. The size of Sarawak's modern industrial and other urban sectors is small and they use relatively capital-intensive techniques, suggesting that the potential for labour absorption in these sectors is limited. Besides, conventional solutions, based generally on the concentration of industry in urban areas, have inevitably resulted in an exodus of the rural population towards the towns and the impoverishment and weakening of rural communities. The

---

[1] Sarawak is one of the fourteen states in Malaysia. It is located in the north-western part of the island of Borneo.

[2] The Iban forms the largest ethnic group in Sarawak.

problem is further compounded by the inability of the agricultural sector to absorb all additions to the rural labour force and the low yield and declining prices of certain primary cash crops.

The excessive degree of concentration and the limited success of the "*trickle down effect*" as a means of development have encourage planners to look towards rural industrialisation (hereafter RI) and the promotion of non-farm activities as a means of ameliorating these problems. Since the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970, RI has been used as a vehicle for rural modernisation and social change in Malaysia. However, RI has not succeeded in narrowing the gap between rural and urban areas. Rural poverty continues to persist and youths continue to migrate to urban areas in search for better economic opportunities.

Part of the problem lies in the failure of the government to develop rural industries which use local human and natural resources. In Malaysia, RI efforts have been directed more towards relocating urban industries to the rural areas (Saith 1990). Though these industries are mostly located in the rural areas, they are urban-oriented; they produce modern products that cater for the urban market. Furthermore, these industries are unable to create productive employment in the rural areas. In this context it is natural to ask whether rural non-agricultural activities, such as handicraft production, could provide a significant number of productive jobs and thus relieve the problems of rural unemployment and out-migration. Interest in the possible benefits from rural non-agricultural activities has its origins in the limited success of earlier rural industrialisation efforts in creating enough productive employment. There is, in addition, evidence that such activities are relatively more efficient because they tend to use local resources and cater for local needs.

It appears to me, that until recently, the rural non-agricultural sector has been neglected by Malaysian policy-makers. It was not figured explicitly in Malaysia's

sectorised model of economic development, indicating that the planners are either unaware of its significance to total employment and output, or they have a misconception of its role in development. There has often been a presumption that the rural non-agricultural sector will decline as the agricultural population decreases. To early planners the sector was transitional, therefore it has limited future importance.

Recent studies (Esderts and Ismail 1990; Ma'rof 1994; MHDC 1985; Saith 1990) have shown that rural non-agricultural activities, particularly handicraft production, are important in spite of receiving little policy support. These studies, however, tend to focus only on the Malays in Peninsular Malaysia. To my knowledge. there have been no equivalent studies in Sarawak. Though many writers have discussed the significance to the rural Iban of income from sales of crafts (Abdul Kadir 1995; Caslake 1992; Kedit 1980 and 1989; Munan 1989; Zeppel 1992), Iban involvement in crafts production has usually been discussed as part of a broader study of their involvement in tourism-related activities. These studies have not been able to provide us with much information regarding Iban involvement in handicraft production. We know little about whether it provides productive employment and income opportunities for the rural Iban. Who participates in handicraft production, the factors that encourage (or discourage) involvement, the factors that explain craftspersons' commercial *"success"* (or lack of it), amount of income earned, and the problems and opportunities they face in pursuing commercial handicraft production (hereafter CHP) all require close exploration and analysis. Moreover, Iban involvement in commercial activities, particularly craft production, has not been systematically studied.

As a consequence of this gap in our knowledge, this thesis pursues the following objectives: (a) to explore the significance of CHP to the rural Iban, and (b) to examine the constraints and potential which face Iban involvement in CHP. Discussion of Iban involvement in CHP can be best understood through a combination of theoretical and empirical exposition. This study attempts to articulate these two approaches. Only on the

basis of more refined research than is presently available will it be possible to understand the role of the handicraft sector in the rural Iban economy. Hopefully, our understanding of Iban involvement in the handicraft sector will improve so that the policy emphasis it deserves will gradually become clearer.

The objective of this introductory chapter is to provide a conceptual context within which the later case study material may be situated. Initially I was tempted to discuss Iban involvement in craft production using Marx's industrialisation perspectives or a modernisation approach as my theoretical framework. After careful examination, however, I realised that both these frameworks are not particularly suitable because they do not address properly the important element in my study - that of commercial craft production as a means of sustaining rural livelihoods. Furthermore, I do not view Iban involvement in CHP or subsistence craft production in terms of a phased evolutionary sequence or a dichotomy between tradition and modernity. In my opinion, change in Iban patterns of craft production from subsistence to commercial forms occurs in an irregular and fluid manner; not in stages or in an irreversible and fixed transition from tradition to modernity. Accordingly, I have chosen a theoretical avenue which enables me to analyse the interaction of environmental, social, economic and political factors that operate through time and space. I believe that I can derive a more theoretically promising and challenging approach by conceptualising Iban involvement in CHP using a multi-disciplinary approach enunciated in the "*Another Development*" (henceforth AD) discourse (see for example, Chambers and Conway 1992; Hettne 1990; Hulme and Turner 1990; Kitching 1982; Schumacher 1973).

This chapter proceeds by first situating the study within the broad context of the AD discourse. I have narrowed the theoretical discussion by focusing in particular on the two aspects which are of direct relevance to this study: small-scale industries (henceforth SMIs) and craft production. The role of small-scale and craft industries in the development

process will be discussed by means of an exploration of the literature on *"conventional"* and *"alternative"* approaches to development.

1.1 Conceptual Approach

The concept of AD is not new; it has its roots with the populist ideas of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, it was only in the 1970s that this philosophy gained quite wide exposure. This coincided with a period when the realisation widely dawned that conventional forms of *"development"* were not delivering benefits widely or quickly enough to cater adequately for the needs of the poor and marginalised. Even after two decades of rapid economic transformation, and changing priorities - or growing defeatism - in the development discourse, this approach continues to attract both attention and adherents (Arnold 1993; Chambers 1989; Hettne 1990; Parnwell 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994; Schumacher 1973; Stavenhagen 1986) because of its theoretical relevance in examining current problems of poverty, environmental degradation and ethnic conflict in developing countries (Peet and Watts 1993).

Contributing to the continuing popularity of the AD approach is the growing discontent with the apparent inability of conventional development theories (particularly the modernisation and dependency paradigms) to deal with basic social and economic problems (de Souza 1982). Early development strategies, such as the industrialisation-led policies of the 1950s and 1960s, the *"redistribution with growth"* strategies of the 1970s and the neo-liberal approaches of the 1980s - all of which emphasised the pre-eminence of market forces - have not succeeded in alleviating rural poverty, fulfilling basic socio-economic needs, and addressing ethnic conflicts in developing countries (Koppel, Hawkins and James 1994; Hettne 1990; Stavenhagen 1986).

The AD approach has taken different and sometimes diametrically opposed forms, such as the *"basic needs"*, ethnodevelopment, ecodevelopment and neo-populist

approaches to development (Hettne 1990; Hulme and Turner 1990; Kitching 1982; Stavenhagen 1986;). These approaches may vary in their specific focus, but they share a common view about the kind of strategies that should be employed in pursuing *"genuine"* development. This approach was based on Chambers' (1989) *"ideology of reversals"* which *"starts with the priorities and conditions of rural people."* He calls for a development theory and practice that is concerned with *"putting first the priorities of those who are few and peripheral."* Chambers and Conway (1992) listed three objectives that embrace the AD approach: **people's capability**, **equity** and **sustainability**.

The *first* concept in the AD approach focuses on the need to increase the capabilities of the poor to exploit their changing environment and opportunities. Chambers (1989) criticised the conventional development approaches for their inadequate attention to the realities at the local level. These approaches were based on the planners' centre-outwards and top-down view of rural development. Chambers (1989:6) argued that these approaches *"start with economics, not people; with the macro not the micro; with the view from the office not the view from the field."* The alternative approach argues for the need to increase the capabilities of the poor to enable them to gain access to resources, use services and information, innovate, and explore new conditions and resources. This concept became the basis of the Self-Reliance (SR) strategy of development (Hettne 1990:173).

The *second* concept incorporated in the AD framework relates to the question of equity. This new approach argues that, in order for the poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods, it is necessary for the government to give priority to the capabilities and assets of the poor and their access to facilities, resources and markets. The government can do this through asset redistribution, securing the rights of the poor to productive resources, ensuring effective access to social and infrastructure services, and removing barriers that weaken or disempower the poor.

Increasing environmental and social sustainability is the *third* concept in Chambers' and Conway's (1992) alternative development paradigm. In this framework, there is not only a concern with the ability of societies to be self-sufficient and self-reliant but also an anxiety about environmental (such as deforestation and over-exploitation of non-renewable resources) and ethnic issues.

One of the basic components of the AD approach is "*ethnodevelopment.*" The basic principle of ethnodevelopment is to bring out the potential of different ethnic groups rather than bringing them into conflict. The emergence of ethnodevelopment as a concept is a reaction to the failure of conventional development theories in addressing the problems which are often associated with ethnicity (Hettne 1990; Stavenhagen 1986). In many developing countries, there has been a wave of ethnic tensions and an increasing use of ethnic identity for the purposes of political and economic mobilisation which have often led to the emergence of new patterns of "*internal colonialism*" (Hettne 1990) and ethnic conflicts.

The proponents of ethnodevelopment claim that there is a relationship between ethnic conflict and economic decline. According to Hettne (1990), ethnodevelopment provides the solution to development-related conflicts, such as conflicts over scarce natural resources, conflicts associated with major infrastructural projects affecting ecological systems, conflicts relating to the differential effect of development strategies, and conflicts related to the distribution of public goods among culturally defined groups. The solution lies in the strengthening of characteristics that make up ethnic identity and which are consistent with cultural pluralism and self-determination for all groups. Stavenhagen (1986) argued that a process of development in the macro-system cannot be regarded as development if such a process threatens the ecological and cultural system of the ethnic group for which this region is a habitat. According to this view, development can only be achieved if the process is appropriate for a particular ethnic group. The need to

address the question of ethnicity and culture led Allen (1992) to caution students of development in the 1990s to take culture seriously and approach it sensibly: *"no model, or hypothesis, or theory of social change is worth much if it simply omits most aspects of human behaviour, and makes no reference at all to what people think and feel."*

Another component of the AD approach is *"ecodevelopment."* Its proponents were critical of the conventional development approach because it neglected the problem of scarcity, rendering it *"ecologically blind"* (Hettne 1990:184). They were concerned with environmental degradation and human development, particularly with the ability of the physical environment to sustain the present rates of economic growth and industrial development. The supporters of this strategy recognise that there is conflict within states over control of natural resources and infrastructural projects, and that if these conflicts are not properly addressed, they can undermine future development efforts. This approach shows how the deterioration of the forest, for instance, can and will have an adverse effect on the productivity and life of communities who rely on the forest for their livelihood. As Redclift (1987) has forcefully argued, the problem the world is now facing is not simply one of how to compensate for the interruption of ecological succession, but to find ways to ensure that production does not degrade itself beyond the point of renewal. The AD approach emphasises the need to address carefully the option of choosing a less aggressive development path in order to slow or reverse environmental damage and its impact on the rural poor.

The relationship between economic growth and the environment is of concern to this study because of its effect on rural resources. In many developing countries, economic growth is often pursued at the expense of the environment (Hettne 1990; Hulme and Turner 1990). A clear example is the overriding emphasis on large-scale urban-based industrialisation, which in the long run puts a heavy strain on natural resources. This heavy strain not only depletes resources but leads to the degradation of the natural environment.

One of the most disturbing environmental effects is in the area of forest destruction - which is relevant to the context of the present study. This has serious implications for the rural communities who are not only poor but who depend for their livelihoods on agricultural activities: farming, fishing, collecting non-timber forest products. For the rural community which directly depends on forest resources for its survival, degradation of the environment means they can no longer rely on the forest and rivers to sustain their livelihood (Cobb 1988; Hong 1987; Parnwell 1994; Parnwell and Taylor 1996). In these circumstances, environmental degradation has devastating consequences for the poorest communities. As Redclift (1987) has asserted, environmental problems are simultaneously development problems.

Another major argument against conventional development approaches is their focus on large-scale urban industries. This criticism mostly came from the neo-populists[3] (Kitching 1982). Such industries in many developing countries have been established mostly in a planned manner on large and medium scales. whilst at the same time hardly any importance is attributed to the development of rural and small-scale industries. It was believed that the prioritisation of large-scale urban industries was necessary to speed up the industrialisation process because basic economic principles suggested that industries need to be large and concentrated in order to take advantage of economies of scale.

Regardless of the economic justification, the fact still remains: a large proportion of the rural population has remained poor and has not been able to participate in the large-scale modern industrial complex even through the process of cityward migration (Saith 1989). Though there has been rapid progress in many sectors in a number of developing countries, the overall impact has largely been limited to the creation of enclaves of *"modern"* industry, mainly concentrated in the urban areas, with continuing dependence

[3] The neo-populists included individuals such as Schumacher, Julius Nyerere and Michael Lipton (Kitching 1982).

on industrial technology, capital goods and technological services from developed countries. The nature and size of the technology package tend to be larger since it has mostly involved *"high"* technology. Meanwhile the modern industrial sector constitutes only a small element in many developing countries suggesting that the benefits of employment and income have not *"trickled down"*, particularly to the poor as many were led to expect from the industrialisation-led strategy. Given that the poor mostly reside in rural areas, they have remained largely unaffected by industrial development which has become overwhelmingly concentrated in the urban areas. In fact, poverty and unemployment have often become intensified in the rural areas. Most importantly, the basic needs of the community remain unfulfilled, creating and accentuating an uneven development in the developing countries. Early attempts at addressing uneven development through RI fell short of their objectives because they merely involved the *"relocation"* of urban industries to the rural areas. In few developing countries have there been many serious attempts at developing industries which are not only rural-based, but which also use local resources and skills (Saith 1990). Industrial development based on large-scale urban-centred enterprises has spawned a type of technology which has a *"dehumanising effect"*, that is indifferent to people needs, and which has a tendency to bring about cultural alienation (Webster 1984:184-5).

The proponents of the AD approach have argued that the developing nations need intermediate technology, not the high (or *"hard"*) technology of the Western industrialised nations. The *"hard"* technology is inappropriate because it tends to be expensive, uses vast amounts of energy, pollutes the environment, requires imported resources, and often alienates the workers from their work. In the words of Schumacher (1973:165):

> The poor of the world cannot be helped by mass production...[which is] based on sophisticated, highly capital-intensive, high energy-input dependent, and human labour-saving technology. The technology of mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self-defeating in terms of non-renewable resources, and stultifying for the human person.

The neo-populists have advocated that development be based on Schumacher's (1973) principle of *"small is beautiful"* and *"technology of production by the masses"* which is:

> conducive to decentralisation, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources, and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines (Schumacher 1973:143).

Like other proponents of the AD approach, the neo-populists were concerned with inequality and finding ways to distribute wealth and income more equitably. To the neo-populist, there is no realistic alternative to what Kitching calls the *"old orthodoxy"* which emphasises industrialisation as the key to development and affluence. The key to these things lies not so much in agricultural development but in industrialisation (Kitching 1972). Thus, instead of rejecting industrialisation, the neo-populists emphasise appropriate technology as a way of increasing the pace of economic development in harmony with prevailing ecological and cultural conditions. To Arnold (1993) and Parnwell (1990, 1993, 1994) the type of industrialisation that they consider appropriate is *"sustainable industrialisation."* As Parnwell (1990) has proposed, the *"blueprint"* for development lies in industrialisation:

> which is dispersed, slower and smaller in scale - precisely the kinds of industrialisation which exist in the rural periphery of the South and which, in many cases, have systematically been displaced by the products of the large-scale modern sector.

The neo-populists favoured rural industries as the alternative to large-scale urban industries. The technology they advocated would be labour-intensive and geared to small-scale rather than large-scale production. These small-scale appropriate technologies would make use of local resources, be more responsive to the local availability of skills and potential for the development of skills, and would be tailored to local requirements.

In this study, I take a position in line with the main ideas of the neo-populists since they fit appropriately with a concern to examine the ways in which small-scale rural

industries might be established and promoted. I view RI not as industrialisation ***in*** rural areas, but the industrialisation *of* rural areas. Instead of focusing my attention on the establishment of large factories in rural areas, I perceive RI as a process as well as a means to diversify and develop the rural economy. Instead of focusing exclusively on rapid economic growth, this study will focus on the development needs of the rural community and the identification of the specific role that RI (particularly CHP) can play to meet those needs.

Having discussed the theoretical background of this study, I shall now proceed to discuss the significance of SMIs in developing countries within the framework established above. I begin by discussing the case for promoting SMIs. This will be followed by a discussion of the constraints and potential faced by small-scale producers.

1.1.1 Small-Scale Industries

Some of the common perceptions regarding small-scale industries (henceforth SMIs) are that they are inefficient users of resource inputs and that their productivity is not likely to increase substantially over time. They are also transitory in character and expected to decline in importance over time. In recent years, this perception has been largely superseded by an alternative view which holds that the SMIs are as efficient as large-scale forms, and they are important in the creation of employment and job opportunities. In fact, one of the major driving forces behind the plea for the promotion of SMIs is to relieve rural poverty and unemployment. Most rural areas in developing countries find themselves with rising populations and limited employment opportunities. The rural labour force seems likely to continue rising for some time to come suggesting that the employment needs of rural areas are assured, while their prospects are uncertain. Writers such as Ismail and Esderts (1990), Parnwell and Khamanarong (1990) and Saith (1990) have suggested that that rural industries, along with other non-agricultural activities, could provide those

who are underemployed in the rural sector (such as marginal farmers, and those who are seasonally unemployed) with an opportunity to increase income and employment. It is evident that the pivotal role of large-scale industries in the development process has been questioned seriously as new understanding has emerged of the new ability of techniques to increase output even with low capital input. Schumacher's (1973) study had not only exposed the inability of large-scale industries to create productive employment, but also fuelled the emphasis on the need for *"intermediate"* or *"appropriate technology."* Studies by Parnwell and Khamanarong (1990) showed that rural industries tend to use small-scale operations and a lower level of technology, employ a less intensive use of natural resources and are in tune with the needs of the environment. It is also evident that rural industries can be built upon easily at the local level and that they can be developed using existing frameworks. Besides expanding rural employment opportunities, these industries also provide seasonal employment when it is needed. Unlike their urban counterparts, the majority of rural industries are labour-intensive and hence do not require scarce capital resources. Furthermore, SMIs have shorter *"gestation"* period which means that the time-lag involved between investment and actual *"yield"* is often quite short. SMIs also help to diversify the rural economy and make the community less dependent on agriculture. By introducing such diversity, SMIs thus also help to strengthen the rural economy. While reducing rural unemployment, SMIs also helped to increase income and living standards for those involved and, through circulation of income, the wider community also. Studies by Islam (1994), and Mukhopadhyay and Chee (1985) showed that rural SMIs help to distribute income more equally among the people involved and more evenly among the regions, thereby contributing to the emergence of an economically and regionally balanced society.

Another factor favouring SMIs is the principle of economics of scale. According to the general economic principle, the production unit must be fully mechanised and

conducted on a large-scale to attain a low cost per unit of output. In my opinion, this principle can only apply to industries which require expensive equipment and large amounts of working capital. But where the processes involved does not require such equipment and where the cost of materials is low, the scale of operation required and the size of the units may be smaller. Studies (Esderts and Ismail 1990; UNIDO 1985a) show that not all units of production have to be large or mechanised in order to be efficient and productive. Moreover, SMIs also have certain natural advantages. A review of the pattern of industrial development reveals that small-scale firms are more favoured than large ones in areas in which the products are artistic, non-uniform and difficult to grade, such as handicrafts.

SMIs may be simple, easy to maintain, and suitable for developing countries. However, when compared to large-scale industries, the small-scale ones tend to be less productive and remunerative. Furthermore, studies by Chee (1985 and 1990) and Schmitz (1982) have shown that small-scale producers also face problems which prevent them from initiating commercialised enterprises, while others arise later to prevent them from surviving or expanding as commercial producers. They face difficulties in selling their products, acquiring a constant supply of cheap and good quality raw materials, balancing economic and cultural requirements in production, and accessing institutional support.

Experiences from a large number of developing countries (Mukhopadhyay and Chee 1985; Schmitz 1982) have shown that the entrepreneurial initiative demonstrated by an individual is dependent upon access to markets, raw materials, credit, and institutional support. From the point of view of business success, the most important human factors are the natural talents and acquired skills of the producers and a pool of workers with relevant skills. Mukhopadhyay and Chee (1985) found that many small-scale producers in Asia do not have the relevant skills to start, let alone succeed in small industries.

Financing is one of the most commonly-cited problems for small-scale producers. Among such problems, capital shortage and indebtedness appear to be the most commonplace. Studies by Mukhopadhyay and Chee (1985) have shown that the majority of small firms relied on personal savings and loans from informal sources (such as family and friends) to finance their business. But informal sources charge more, albeit with more flexibility. Commercial credit institutions are reluctant to grant loans because the small-scale producers are unable to offer adequate loan security (Esderts and Ismail 1990). Their heavy dependence on internal sources of finance has prevented small-scale producers from breaking the vicious cycle of low savings, low investment and low production. Very few small-scale producers avail themselves of the loan schemes targeted to small firms, often because they are inappropriately delivered and demand too much collateral. The low value and level of production also often inhibits profit-making and therefore capital formation. Other problems related to finance are the high rates of interest charged by commercial credit institutions and the absence of such institutions in rural areas. Clearly, the small-scale producers face limited access to formal financing institutions. Studies have also shown that the problem of finance is not always associated with accessibility but also with religion (Joseph 1988; Ma'rof 1993). Many Muslim craftspersons, for instance, were unwilling to acquire formal loans because of religious prohibitions against levying or payment of interest.

Small-scale producers face two types of market constraints, namely demand and supply. Generally, the demand constraints are related to the restrictions on the size and pattern of the markets, including factors that account for the lack of or a fall in the demand for products from small-scale industries. Small-scale firms are often unable to compete with the more established large-scale firms because of their limited social and business networks. Unlike large firms, small-scale ones do not have the capital to advertise their products and penetrate lucrative markets.

The supply constraints are related to restrictions on the market for raw materials. These problems are not only ones of non-availability but they are also related to other difficulties including lack of finance for making bulk purchases and non-availability of quality raw materials. Although SMIs use local resources, there are some which use imported inputs which are subject to delays and shortages. Local raw materials, particularly forest products, are becoming scarce because of environmental degradation (Arnold 1993; Parnwell 1993). Small-scale producers also lack finance for the purchase of raw materials in bulk and stockpiling during seasons when such materials are readily available.

Another constraint faced by small-scale producers is connected with acquisition of labour and skills. Once operational, small-scale firms face shortages of skilled labour. Unlike their large-scale counterparts, the small-scale firms do not have the resources to attract or retain highly skilled workers. Not only do small-scale producers face difficulties attracting skilled labour, they also face difficulties acquiring industrial skill and training (Esdert and Ismail 1990; Schmitz 1982). This problem is related to the lack of access to, and availability of, the requisite training facilities, particularly in the rural areas.

We shall be examining precisely these issues when we consider the prospects for the development of handicraft production among the rural Iban. This brings us to the delicate question of whether RI based on handicraft production can achieve the following objectives: use local resources, meet local people's needs and create a foundation for a better life for the rural Iban. In my opinion, we can achieve a better understanding of these objectives by confronting different ways of thinking and different expectations as regards industrialisation. We can start by looking not only at the roles of RI as a solution to economic problems of unemployment, but also its role as a vehicle for strengthening Iban culture and tradition. RI also serves as an alternative to migration from rural to urban areas. In this alternative approach, rural industries are no longer viewed as economic organisations with profit-making goals, but as institutions which stress the promotion of

"genuine" development in the rural areas. The problem is how to promote such development and decide what type of industry should be promoted. This is not an easy task considering the availability of better opportunities in the urban areas, the lack of willingness among the young to participate in rural industries, (particularly craft production), limited access of rural Iban to the wider market, infrastructure and institutional support, and the growing depletion of raw materials in rural areas. The Iban not only face physical constraints (such as financial constraints, labour shortage, inaccessibility to market) but also non-physical ones (such as cultural incompatibility, risk averse attitude). In my opinion, the main challenge that we are confronted with in rural industrialisation is to build upon the Iban social, cultural and economic system and not to see these as obstacles to economic development.

1.1.2 Another Development: "Idealism" and "Realism"

The AD approach, particularly that enunciated by the neo-populists, has stressed the need to promote industries which are small in scale, simple, easy to maintain, labour-intensive, non-polluting and simple to replicate. To the AD advocates, the promotion of rural SMIs is one of the most viable strategies for the reduction of poverty, unemployment and economic inequality in rural areas. It is a strategy for securing social justice alongside economic growth.

By focusing on sustainable industrialisation, the neo-populists were not proposing an alternative approach that totally rejects growth as an objective of development, neither did they accept an approach that is based purely on *"indigenous technology"* or primarily on farmers' own techniques and innovations (as advocated by the *"farmers first approach"*). The neo-populist adopts an alternative strategy that is congruent with rural people knowledge and values, and capable of addressing the underlying causes of rural poverty. The basis of their development approach is a mixture of means and ends that reflect rural

farmers' pragmatic response to an increasingly difficult and changing environment, poverty and cultural alienation. They do not advocate a regression towards an idealised pastoral lifestyle, for their aim is to find *"methods and uses of growth which make social progress and sound management of resources and environment compatible"* (Sachs, as quoted by Hulme and Turner 1990:63). In the words of Hulme and Turner, the neo-populists are not:

> incurable romantics pursuing some rural idyll. They know rural life is hard and characterised by poverty. They...accept partial industrialisation and are intent on modernising (i.e. making more productive) peasant agriculture. Their overriding moral concern is still that of inequality and the principal problem which they address is how to distribute wealth and income equitably (Hulme and Turner 1990:58).

The AD approach has helped to change attitudes to people's knowledge and expertise, and soften the pessimism of those who questioned *"peasant rationality."* This is commendable. But one must not overlook the fact that the AD approach is also problematic.

A strong argument for AD may be cautioned on several fronts. Despite the optimism expressed by the neo-populists about the potential role of small-scale rural industries, there is still doubt about the developing countries' ability to *"translate the principles into practice"* (Parnwell 1993, 1994; Webster 1990). Webster (1990:190) doubted the strength of AD as a theory and social movement. His doubts are founded on the following objections: the approach only pays limited attention to the analysis of social relations of production in the process of industrialisation. It does not fully analyse the source and potential implications of social, economic and environmental problems. Webster also doubted that the neo-populist approach can be widely implemented without making total changes in the structure of property and work relations.

Undeniably the argument of the AD approach is an attractive one, but is it politically favourable, economically viable and culturally acceptable to the rural

communities? Small may be beautiful, but it can also be insignificant: it does not help to increase the economic resources of the state, suggesting that it would not have the necessary political backing. Besides, the political and economic élites in the developing countries have chosen the development path based on rapid economic growth. As Hettne (1990:155) has rightly mentioned, these élites *"do not intend to be fooled into some populist cul-de-sac."*

Another reason against complete reliance on AD is provided by its static conception of rural society which allows it to be easily taken out of socio-economic, political and cultural context (Taylor and Mackenzie 1992). Mackenzie (1992:26) even cautioned that the importance of grassroots participation should not be romanticised, suggesting that pragmatism is to prevail. This point leads us to question certain of the basic premises of AD, namely communal solidarity and an undifferentiated rural society. While rural societies may contain values, traditions and practices which are consonant with the sustainable development ethic, we cannot assume that they are homogeneous and their interests are served through subscription to community development efforts (Taylor and Mackenzie 1992). Many studies, for example by Alexander, Boomgard and White (1991), Bernstein (1979), and Koppels, Hawkins and James (1994) have shown that rural societies are not homogeneous but are differentiated according to class, gender, access to resources and ethnicity. The AD approach must recognise the realities of rural society and must also accept that rural communities are dynamic and differentiated.

Hulme and Turner (1990), Parnwell (1993, 1994), and Taylor and Mackenzie (1992) are also apprehensive about the processes necessary for the AD to succeed because of the economic and social realities in developing countries. For example, the conditions of unemployment and out-migration which RI helps to alleviate also serve to impede its progress. There are better opportunities in the urban areas, therefore one cannot expect that RI will necessarily appeal to the young and and educated in the rural areas.

Rural industries can create employment opportunities, but they often require certain types of skilled manpower which may not be found in rural areas. Facilities for training workers are often found only in the cities. In the case of craft industries, we cannot assume that the skilled and elderly craftspersons are willing or able to participate in commercial activities.

The role and relevance of rural SMIs must also consider a community's perception of their past, present and future, and also the form of development they desire. While small-scale industrialisation may be an economically viable project for the rural communities, we cannot assume it will be well received by everyone. Rural communities want to be like their urban counterparts; perceiving technological modernisation as a symbol of success.

Another argument that has been made against the AD approach concerns wealth creation. This brings us back to the question whether the material deprivations associated with all previous experience of industrialisation are avoidable. Kitching (1982) states that not all development is *"nasty"*, and goes on to say that the attempt to pursue *"nice"* development may lead to greater costs than would otherwise have been incurred. In other words "*small is stupid*" (Beckerman 1995).

In the case of technology, it would be too simplistic to consider the question of appropriate technology merely in terms of choice between capital- and labour-intensive techniques. Appropriateness has to be viewed in the context of a given situation. Various studies have shown that the limitations of skilled labour, supply of physical and non-physical resources, the limited size of markets, and limitations on investible resources and entrepreneurial initiatives for undertaking industrial production can also have a negative influence on the development of rural SMIs in developing countries (Chee 1985; Esdert and Ismail 1990; Islam 1984; Schmitz 1982).

The alternative development approaches tend to create an impression that rural SMIs are central to solving rural poverty - that they represent some trend of developmental panacea. For me, an overemphasis on SMIs abstracted from their socio-economic context may prove to be no less appropriate than past attempts to resolve poverty through large-scale industrialisation. An attempt at promoting AD strategies must also address the underlying causes of rural poverty, such as rural-urban migration, land tenure, market inaccessibility and price instability. Unless these problems are addressed, promoting AD will not get us very far. There is another important point that emerges from this examination of the alternative conception of AD: agendas for AD involve arguments for small-scale industries, but AD need not be purely "*indigenous*" (as we shall see later in a particular example of Iban handicraft production).

In this section, the importance of AD and the worth of appropriate technologies applied to SMIs is broadly acknowledged. Having provided the theoretical framework, I will now focus my discussion on craft production. In the following section I will analyse the role of craft production as a non-agricultural activity from the broader perspective of development theory.

1.2 Craft Production: A Conceptualisation

From my review of the literature, I can generalise that there are two broadly opposing theoretical approaches which describe the nature of handicraft production and its value to household and community. A popular approach is based on the *"conventional"* view of the craft sector; it plays a secondary role in the rural economy. In contrast, the *"alternative"* approach places craft industry, and non-agricultural production as central to the grassroots efforts of the rural communities.

1.2.1 Craft Production: A Conventional Approach.

In the conventional approach, there is a tendency to explain rural involvement in craft production as (a) part of an evolutionary process of development or (b) part of the rural scene. In this approach, craft production is often discussed within the broad framework of the rural non-agricultural (NA) sector.

In the popular perception, the expansion of rural involvement in non-agricultural activities is generally thought to be part of an evolutionary process of economic development (Anderson 1982). To these proponents of stage theories, the growing importance of non-agricultural activities indicates that the country is progressing along the development path. In this scheme, the initial development phase is characterised by high rural involvement in the agricultural sector and household industries (Anderson 1982). The initially predominantly household industries decline continuously, and small factories emerge at a rapid rate to displace them; eventually large factory production becomes predominant. This approach assumes that development inevitably implies a movement away from subsistence production to modern industrial production in a linear fashion.

The linear transition from subsistence to industrial production in a particular sequence has, however, been challenged. There are several limitations to the stage hypothesis including the tendency for writers to "*agrarianise*" the rural areas (Alexander, Boomgard and White 1991; Cook 1984). Instead, Alexander, Boomgard and White (1991) found that the rural communities have always been involved in non-farm activities, such as trade and craft production alongside agricultural production. Alexander, Boomgard and White (1991), Cook (1984), Fernando (1996) and Grabowksi (1995) saw increased involvement in craft production as part of the rural response to a changing environment. Non-agricultural activities are not only dynamic, but also depend on rapid adjustment to the social and cultural environment for survival. This approach had been used widely (Bray 1983; Choe 1986; Ho 1986; Kada 1980; Oshima 1986; Shand 1986) to understand the

nature of the emerging non-agricultural sector; whether it is due to *"distress diversification"* (supply-push) or to the emergence of a dynamic and viable non-agricultural sector (demand-pull).

The proponents of the distress diversification or supply-push hypothesis attributed the increased involvement in the non-agricultural sector to the seasonalities of agricultural production, rural inequalities, low agricultural productivity, poverty, population pressure and unemployment (Choe 1986; Ho 1986; Oshima 1986). They argued that the process of labour absorption in the agricultural sector is already strained and the possibilities for income and productive employment in the sector may eventually become restricted because of land constraints, population pressure and instability in the prices of agricultural products. Agricultural production is also seasonal in nature suggesting that rural labour often shifts back and forth between agricultural and non-agricultural work. In this approach, craft production tends to be viewed as a sector of *"last resort"* or a *"residual sector"*, and lending support to the supply-push hypothesis.

The demand-pull hypothesis reflects a situation where there is an increase in non-agricultural activities as rural producers identify and respond to market opportunities. Studies by Evans and Ngau (1991), Islam and Jin (1994), and Ranis and Steward (1993) showed that the non-agricultural sector has played an important role by stimulating the growth of agricultural production via demand, supply and motivation linkages. According to this approach, RI and expansion in non-agricultural production, such as craft production, could lead to an increase in income, which would then encourage farmers to develop their agriculture and diversify their income sources. Crafts, particularly those related to agricultural production, also provide useful inputs which help to increase agricultural production. The spread of non-agricultural activities in rural areas motivates farm families to diversify their sources of income and reduce risk. The resulting income growth and diversification stimulate further growth in cottage manufacturing and non-agricultural

activities, and eventually result in the establishment of modern industry in the rural areas. Rural industries were not only seen as avenues for absorbing "*excess*" rural labour but also as a source for channelling rural investment and entrepreneurship to more productive purposes and facilitating agricultural and non-agricultural linkages within rural areas (Agarwal 1989; Choe and Lo 1986; Haggblade, Hazel and Brown 1989; Koppel and Hawkins 1994a; Rievetld 1984; Saith 1987). For me, the implication of this expansion in non-agricultural activities can be thought of as a component of successful development.

Another body of literature tends to view handicraft production as part of the process of rural differentiation (Cook 1984; Islam 1984; Rutten 1990). This view considers rural crafts as closely integrated with agriculture. The process started with a growing inequality in the distribution of land-holdings and a consequent marginalisation of the small farmers. The loss of income from crafts has deprived small farmers of an important buffer against set-backs in agriculture, and eventually led them to lose their agricultural land. Many were forced to become commercial farmers and agricultural wage workers. Poor small farmers or landless labourers pursued craft production (as putting-out workers) as a livelihood strategy; providing them with a source of additional income and socio-economic mobility. On the other hand, larger scale farmers tended to become handicraft entrepreneurs. The expansion in demand for rural crafts provides them with the opportunity to become entrepreneurs. For the large-scale farmers, diversification into craft production or enterprise is a strategy of accumulation (Bernstein 1992:81). According to this approach, the type of non-farm activities that are taking place is an inevitable extension of this process and results mainly from a struggle for survival by the poor.

These studies may have laid the foundation for understanding the growth of the non-agricultural sector, but the approach still has one major limitation. In my opinion, the increased rural involvement in the non-agricultural sector cannot be explained only by focusing on one approach, be it demand-pull or supply-push. In the real world, a number

of things are usually happening at the same time suggesting that the pattern of growth reflects a situation where employment in non-agricultural activities is both a response to market opportunities and a reaction to the fact that nothing better is available to the rural producers.

In the conventional approach, non-agricultural activities tend to be viewed as being non-permanent and unprofitable. Craft production is considered as marginal and often intermittent because it is secondary to the main occupations of farming and is thus conducted during spare time and slack seasons. The implication is that craft production tends to be perceived as an integral part of the pre-capitalist, subsistence economy in which production is mainly for household consumption. Handicraft production is also believed to be technologically stagnant, socially unchanging and to have little or no impact on household and community development. Rural handicrafts production was considered as the last remnant of an independent peasant existence which is bound to disappear when mechanisation develops. Unfortunately this approach has influenced research in Malaysia (MHDC 1984; PNBCD 1993). It perpetuates the tendency to overlook the culturally-based efforts of the rural poor to meet their own basic human needs and to achieve and sustain a socially accepted standard of living.

1.2.2 The Role of Craft Production in Economic Development - An "Alternative" View

The second approach provides an "*alternative*" view of the role of craft production. I use this approach in my study because it places handicraft production among the grassroots efforts of rural households to meet their own basic human needs and to achieve and sustain a socially acceptable standard of living (Alexander, Boomgard and White 1991; Parnwell 1994; Stephen 1991).

The conventional approach mainly focuses on market forces without giving equal attention to other factors such as culture and politics. The alternative approach recognises that the rural economy is not only complex but it has many opportunities to generate non-farm income. This approach is also useful because it conceptualises craft production as a grassroots activity. According to this approach, craft production can result in a self-managed economic development that has a unifying effect especially in strengthening local material culture and institutions (Stephen 1991:101).

This grassroots conceptualisation of craft production also aims to understand how rural families empower themselves to meet their own household and community needs. This approach runs counter to the popular approach that non-agricultural activities (such as craft production) function as secondary activities to the agricultural sector. Instead it suggests that craft production plays a significant role in achieving household self-reliance and community development, particularly in resource-scarce and low-income areas.

The approach does not view craft production as an economic activity solely for achieving material wealth, but one in which development is measured in terms of people's felt needs and aspirations, such as self-identification, ethnic consciousness, and solidarity (Parnwell 1994; Stephen 1991). Moreover, it recognises that craftspersons' values, attitudes and expectations change under different socio-economic, political and ecological conditions. It does not view rural involvement in craft production as the last remnant of peasant existence in a phased and progressive evolutionary path from part-time home production to full-time waged employment. According to this approach, rural communities will continue to participate in craft production as part of their adaptation to benefit from new opportunities and to avoid constraints.

In this approach, craft production is considered important not only because it enables the rural communities to fulfil their basic needs, but because crafts are also important for

equity. On equity grounds, crafts are particularly important for landless or near-landless households. Empirical evidence from developing countries shows that as farms become smaller, the share of non-farm income in total household income becomes larger. Such evidence suggests the importance of income from crafts and other non-agricultural activities in alleviating poverty.

The alternative approach should draw our attention to the fact that rural involvement in craft production is not static, because it functions within a dynamic system. What this means is that the survival of Iban craftspersons does not depend on the perfection but as the adaptability of their craft production. This indicates that it is more relevant to study the way in which Iban craftspersons produce knowledge and technology, than to examine what the technology looks like at any one point in time.

1.3 Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of the basic criticism against the conventional approach to development, as a point of departure for considering the alternative theoretical perspective of "*Another Development.*" This concept implies a form of development that embraces the basic principles of peoples' capability, equity and sustainability. I use the AD approach as a theoretical framework for the present study because it recognises that the craft sector has a positive role to play in development theory and practice. Besides, this approach focuses on rural areas and is concerned with human needs. Unlike the conventional approach, it advocates a type of development which is based on the principle of "*small is beautiful*", and it emphasises the management of resources for the future so as to minimise wastage and take advantage of environmental complementarities.

In the next chapter, I shall introduce some of the critical issues in rural Iban involvement in commercial craft production and present the objectives, hypotheses and methods which will be used in this study. I will also outline the analytical framework that I use to explore the relationship between factors influencing rural Iban involvement and "*success*" in CHP.

CHAPTER TWO

RURAL IBAN INVOLVEMENT AND *"SUCCESS"* IN CHP: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

2. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have discussed the theoretical approach within which this study is situated. The significance of *Another Development* (AD), the need for small-scale industrialisation as well as the role of craft production in the household economy have all been explored. In this chapter I introduce the issues relating to Iban involvement in CHP and the potential value of the present study. The issues, methodology and limitations of the present study will also be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

2.1 Critical Issues in Rural Iban Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production

Entering the 2000s in Sarawak, a series of *"new"* challenges to the economy is becoming apparent. Among the main changes are a growing crisis in the rural sector as a result of population increase, environmental degradation, and economic inequality between ethnic groups, regions and sectors. These changes have important implications for the Iban, because the majority of them rely on agriculture for their livelihood and they also have the highest incidence of poverty in the state.

In the last ten years, Sarawak has registered economic growth of 6.5 per cent per annum (SADP 1991a:113), yet among the rural Iban the problems of poverty are still acute (UKM 1994), as are increasing unemployment (Jawan 1994, 1991; Joseph 1989) and rapid out-migration (Kedit 1988, 1993). The Iban can no longer rely substantially on hill paddy farming because of its low agricultural yield (SADP 1991a). Rapid deforestation in

the rural areas has created ecological problems which have led to serious environmental degradation; the rural communities can also no longer depend on the forest for food, medicine and raw materials (INSAN 1986). The prices of cash crops are unstable, rendering them an unreliable source of income (SADP 1991a). Young educated Iban find the rural areas *"unattractive"*, with limited opportunities to keep them *"down on the farm."* Those who wish to stay behind or are forced to do so find it difficult to secure viable alternative sources of livelihood in the rural areas. With Sarawak's economy facing a possible slow-down in the future and increasing human pressure on the environment, the prospects for employment expansion and income-generation are discouraging to say the least. Also, the evidence that the process of labour absorption in the rural sector is already strained, and the possibilities for productive employment generation are limited, suggests that we need to take a second and more serious look at the potential role of non-agricultural opportunities for the rural Iban.

Based on the discussion of the neo-populist approach to development, rural Iban involvement in handicraft production may be seen as one element in a potential solution to rural problems resulting from increasing poverty, environmental degradation and cultural alienation. Rural Iban involvement in CHP could become a catalyst for a future process of small-scale industrialisation *in-situ*. Furthermore, studies by Arnold (1993), Kitching (1982), Parnwell (1991, 1993 and 1994) and Schumacher (1973) have highlighted the fact that small-scale industries are generally environmentally-friendly, labour-intensive, and most importantly they use local resources (human, such as skills and institutions, and physical, such as raw materials). With Sarawak's growing emphasis on tourism development (King 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Sarawak Government 1993) and the rich cultural heritage of the Iban, it seems on the surface at least to be a reasonable hypothesis that the expansion of rural industries using local resources provides an alternative development path for the state. Large scale industrial-led development which is based on

"exploiting" rather than *"harmonising"* with the environment (Md Anisur 1993:167) has been responsible for Sarawak's rapid economic growth; but arguably it has equally led to the aforementioned environmental and other problems. For me, support for RI may be one of the best policy options for the Sarawak government in its rural development programmes, if it leads to an expanded labour-intensive sector located in rural areas and using local resources; it can also stimulate the promotion of new activities through linkage effects, thereby helping to address the twin problems of poverty and unemployment in rural Sarawak. But I recognise that it is not the **only** strategy; it must be part of a general strategy, complementary to other approaches which promote urban-based, large-scale development. The most important thing is that RI, gives people options and choice.

Theoretically, RI could be an ideal, though by no means the only or a complete solution to the economic problems of the rural Iban. Furthermore, I have not yet considered how the rural Iban will respond to such a policy; it would be risky to speculate about their receptiveness or the effects of this policy on them in any general sense. I recognise that I must parallel my optimism with a note or two of caution. While I may be optimistic about the effects of rural Iban involvement in CHP, one also needs to ask whether this is necessarily what the Iban themselves want? Can the idealism of the neo-populist approach be matched by pragmatism which takes into account the realities (for example, lack of interest in crafts among the young, out-migration, market inaccessibility and declining natural resources) of rural Sarawak? Is appropriate development within the principle of *"small is beautiful"* worth pursuing in a day and age when the opposite widely prevails, thus broadening rather than narrowing the gap between the ideal and the real. I may have some knowledge about abstract development theories; but the Iban know more about the realities of development. This brings me to the next part of my discussion; critical issues in Iban involvement in CHP.

The **first** issue concerns research on Iban involvement in CHP. While the Iban have a long history of involvement in craft production, there is still a dearth of systematic research on this phenomenon. I find myself with limited information about Iban involvement in craft production which makes it difficult to predict the potential of such a strategy. Except for research by Abdul Kadir (1995), Kedit (1980), Kedit and Sabang (1992), Parnwell (1994), and Zeppel (1992) on Iban involvement in tourism-related activities, I could NOT find any significant body of evidence on how and whether Iban involvement in CHP is viable and desirable. In the absence of such evidence, many questions still remain unanswered. What is the significance of CHP, in theoretical and policy terms? Why is there a differential response to CHP among Iban *bilik*-families? What is the impact of CHP on the Iban rural economy? This study aims to provide answers to some of these questions.

The majority of studies on the Iban have tended to view them as agricultural producers with very limited involvement in commercial activities. Although the Iban economy has gone through some changes essentially from one that is subsistence-oriented to one that is market-oriented, or from agricultural-oriented to non-agricultural orientation, there is still very little attention being paid to the evolving landscape of the Iban economy. There was a tendency among early studies to *"agrarianise"* - borrowing Cook's (1984) term - the Iban and ignore the presence of differentiation within the Iban economy even before the establishment of European rule. These studies gave the impression that the Iban were homogeneous and only involved in agricultural activities. While I accept the fact that the early Iban were largely self-sufficient and oriented to agriculture, I would argue that an understanding of the Iban economy needs also to consider their involvement in commercial activities, particularly their involvement in *ulu* (up-river) trading prior to the Brooke period (Chew 1990; Sandin 1967). I do not intend to exaggerate the importance of trading activities (King 1976) but call for a balanced discussion of the Iban economy in order to

alter the way one perceives and defines the problems of socio-economic development and seeks solutions to these problems.

This study is a step towards understanding the nature, extent and effects of Iban involvement in CHP and the interplay of factors that promote or hinder the extent to which they benefit from economic development. Empirical analyses of issues related to Iban involvement in commercial activities has been long neglected. This study hopes to fill the gap within existing literature on the Iban economy.

The **second** issue concerns Iban involvement in CHP. The majority of rural Iban craftspersons produce handicrafts either for subsistence or to a much more limited extent commercial purposes. In the Iban traditional society, there was a clear gender-based division of work in terms of handicraft production. In the past, the Iban produced handicrafts for specific purposes, either for their daily use or for rituals but seldom for sale. In recent years, there has been a gradual shift from subsistence to commercial-oriented production. It is easy to look upon rural Iban involvement in commercial craft production as characteristic of the transition from subsistence production to commercial production. Assuming this to be true, one would expect that the Iban craftspersons would by now be involved in industrial production, which is assumed to be the final stage of the economic transition. It is not possible on the basis of official figures to specify the total number of Iban craftspersons in Sarawak. However, the impression that I obtained from extensive field research in the state is that the majority of Iban craftspersons continue to produce crafts in *bilik*-family units. They are still traditionally bound in a mix of rights and obligations determined by customs. For me, the notion of evolutionary development needs to be challenged. From Abdul Kadir's (1995) and Kedit's (1980 and 1993) studies in Sarawak, we learn that the pattern of Iban involvement in tourism-related activities, including craft production, has not changed much. They produce crafts on a part-time basis, use *bilik*-family labour, and sell their crafts to tourists. This example illustrates that

there is no such thing as a subsistence period followed by a commercialised period. Apparently, there is no general, upward evolutionary path from subsistence patterns based on purely traditional production to those based on industrial production. There is no separation between the production of crafts for personal and commercial purposes. One can argue that such a transition is a historically specific experience of the western countries, which is not necessarily replicated in other (especially developing) countries.

An important question which arises is: if craft production does not occur in phases, what then does lead to change? What are the factors that set the limits as well as offering the opportunities for rural Iban involvement in commercial craft production? The answers to these questions necessitate that we search for the factors which explain rural Iban involvement and non-involvement in CHP. We also need to know whether rural Iban involvement in CHP is due to poverty and impoverishment in the rural economy, or is just a functional component of Iban grassroots development.

The **third** issue is the potential importance and viability of handicraft production as a supplementary source of livelihood for the rural Iban. It concerns the effects of CHP on the rural Iban economy, and requires identification of the factors that allow the Iban to maximise the benefits from CHP. An examination of the literature reveals that there are diverse opinions about the effects of commercialisation on the Iban. Studies by Abdul Kadir (1995) and Kedit (1980) provide some insight into the Iban response to tourism-related economic activities. On the basis of his survey of 110 respondents in Skrang, Kedit (1980) showed that, generally, the Iban are receptive towards tourism-related development. The Iban in Kedit's study did not perceive their involvement to be in contradiction with their culture and farming practices.

Regarding the impact of tourism on the Iban, Kedit's study in 1980 showed that only half of the respondents felt that their community had benefited from tourist visits to their

longhouse. A recent study of the Iban in Skrang (Abdul Kadir 1995), however, showed that tourism-related activities, including sales of handicrafts, have not had a significant general impact on the majority of Iban *bilik*-families. What these studies show is that there are differential effects from involvement in CHP; some have benefited while others have not.

Another critical issue that I can highlight from Kedit's study is the role of Chinese tour operators in promoting longhouse tourism. The majority of the tour operators were Chinese and they played an important role in linking the Iban longhouse with the tourist. While Kedit recognises the important role played by the Chinese tour operators, he was also concerned about the methods employed by them to maximise their profits. Kedit (1980:25) observed that:

> [t]he Iban were somewhat gullible with regard to the financial return of accepting the arrangements for tourists to come to their particular longhouses. In this way the tour operators could play one longhouse against another by threatening to stop the arrival of tourists to a particular longhouse, if that longhouse did not follow the conditions of the tour operators...**it is a clear indication that the Iban were not given a fair chance, and in their innocence they were opened to all sorts of exploitation by tour operators.** (My emphasis)

Kedit's study showed that the Iban were not only dependent on but were also exploited by the Chinese *towkays*. These findings clearly contrast with those of Chew (1990), Fidler (1974) and Sutlive (1972) who demonstrate a symbiotic relationship between the Iban and Chinese. Overall, it would seem that the Chinese and Iban do depend on each other for economic survival. On the one hand, the Chinese rely on the Iban for products, and on the other hand the Chinese provided the Iban with a market and working capital for business survival. This issue has important implications for this study because the Chinese *towkays* have a role to play in the marketing of handicrafts in Sarawak. Yet there may well be an element of exploitation in the relationship as well.

What do these studies demonstrate? They show, firstly, that the Iban are firmly integrated into the market. Their well-being and survival depend on how they negotiate

this integration. In some cases, the Iban have benefited economically from their market integration as reflected by an increase in their aggregate income. But in others they have had limited *"success"* and have been *"exploited"* by Chinese *towkays,* suggesting that the Iban do not have sufficient physical and non-physical resources (such as capital, entrepreneurship, information and market accessibility), to enable them to negotiate their integration into the market on terms favourable to themselves. In my opinion, the challenge to Iban craftspersons is therefore not to resist commercialisation, but to control it and take it further, increasing their ability to negotiate market relationships, administer rural enterprise and compete in the market.

The above discussion suggests that there are different views about Iban involvement in commercial activities. The *"optimists"* view commercialisation as a sign of progress or a pre-condition for development; the *"pessimists"* see commercialisation as the factor that widens the economic gap in rural society. Meanwhile the *"sceptics"* hold the view that commercialisation does not have much impact on rural societies and that the impact is largely absorbed by pre-existing structures of wealth accumulation and power. By undertaking a study of Iban involvement in CHP, I hope to shed some light on this continuing theoretical discussion.

The **fourth** issue concerns the constraints and potential which face rural Iban involvement in CHP. Iban craftspersons face various constraints which prevent them from reaping the full benefits of CHP. Munan (1989) has highlighted the problems faced by craftswomen in commercialising craft production. One of the major constraints is the craftsperson's attitude towards CHP:

> The idea of producing regularly for the market was incompatible with some householders' pride. "It's like selling durian", which, according to many native fruit tree owners in those days, was something which a poor man might do secretly and shamefacedly (Munan 1989:117).

Another problem relates to human resources in the production of handicrafts in rural areas when set against the continuing trend of out-ward migration among the young, better educated and more progressive individuals (Kedit 1993; Munan 1989; UKM 1994). Out-migration and the lack of interest and skill among the young to participate in handicraft production can impede the development of the handicraft sector. Heppell (1989) has highlighted the plight of *"Dayak art,"* which he claimed was *"in the final stages of a slow terminal illness"* due to lack of interest in and appreciation of it. In fact, the young even viewed their art as a token of their former primitivism (Heppell 1989: 75). Munan (1989:117) had this to say of the attitude of the *"educated"* Iban to craft production:

> With increasingly available schooling, the standard in traditional education is slipping badly. In 1960 it could be assumed that any "Dayak" girl could make a mat...in 1980, a girl who has been to school is proud of the fact that she's never learned such homely art....The girl is neither doing handicrafts to earn a little income, nor will she take the housework off mum's hands to allow her to make mats and baskets. She's educated.

It appears to me that the Iban are saying here something about their own attitude towards *"development."* The implication of Heppell's (1989) and Munan's (1989) studies is that craft industry will have difficulties in recruiting skilled workers because skills have not been transferred to the younger generation. Another problem associated with a lack of skill is the production of poor quality items or what Munan (1989:118) has referred to as *"half-baked"* products. This problem is often related to the use of poor quality raw materials, because of a growing scarcity of natural products (Chin and Mashman 1991; Parnwell 1994).

Commercialisation necessitates that the craftspersons have some basic entrepreneurial skills to succeed. But many of the craftswomen in Munan's (1989) study had financial and management difficulties. All these problems lead us to question critically the extent to which CHP can be presented as a potential basis for RI, and hypothesised as

the foundation for the eventual emergence of *"modern enterprise"*, given adequate capital injection, markets and managerial expertise.

The **fifth** issue concerns government policies in promoting craft production. Heppell (1989) was critical of the role of the government in promoting traditional arts. He argued that the government tends to overlook the economic potential of developing traditional art. Studies by Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation (MHDC 1985), Nolten and Tempelman (1986), and PNB Corporate Development (PNBCD 1993), however, have provided an alternative view to that of Heppell. The latter studies have shown that the Malaysian government has been actively involved in the promotion of the handicraft industry since the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the 1970s. Government interest is reflected in the number of agencies and ministries that have been established to assist the handicraft industry. The government has also introduced various support programmes in developing market capacities, skills and access to credit to encourage indigenous (*Bumiputera*) involvement in tourism-related activities, particularly CHP (PNBCD 1993). For policy purposes, it is useful to know the type, source and significance of support received by Iban craftspersons.

The **sixth** issue concerns the commoditisation of Iban crafts. Implicit in the government's policies is an apparent conflict of objectives between the need to engender rapid economic growth on the one hand, and the possible socio-cultural consequences of such a process, on the other. To achieve rapid economic growth, the government needs to adopt a policy which promotes the commoditisation of traditional culture (such as the production of traditional crafts for the tourist and export markets) and displaces small, rural-based traditional production units into modern large-scale and urban-based industries. Both the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-95) and the Sarawak Second Tourism Master Plan (1993) see CHP as a means of achieving rapid economic growth and the creation of income-earning opportunities for the rural communities. It forms an important component

in various rural development programmes, including the Integrated Agricultural Development Programme, the Department of Agriculture's extension programme, and the State Economic Development Corporation's (SEDC) rural entrepreneurship programme. To the government planners and administrators, the importance of the handicraft sector is great, both from the standpoint of tradition and its contribution to *bilik*-families' income. However, commercialisation, standardisation and mass-production of Iban handicrafts (which are associated with factory production) have the long-term effect of undermining the position of the Iban craftspersons. Some of the so-called Iban crafts sold in the market are no longer produced by the Iban but by others who are seeking to capitalise on the economic potential of these crafts.

This issue concerns ethnicity and the use of culture as a resource in economic production. By encouraging the Iban to take up CHP, the government and exporters are turning the ethnic identity of the Iban into a commodity. In this study, we are also concerned with the effect of commercialisation on the quality and cultural significance of Iban traditional arts and crafts. Studies of handicraft production in Malaysia and Thailand by Ma'rof (1994), Meyer (1988) and Parnwell (1992) respectively show that changes are necessary and inevitable if the craftspersons want to remain competitive. Traditional crafts may fetch higher prices but they are of interest only to art connoisseurs and antique collectors. The prices of genuine traditional crafts are generally too high for the tourism and export mass-markets. Parnwell (1992) in his study of rural handicrafts in Thailand claimed that *"the tourist market can not, or will not, in general bear the full economic cost of the time and skill which goes into the production of many traditional handicraft products."* To be commercially viable, craft production requires changes in such areas as cultural values, work-relations, marketing techniques, organisational structure, production techniques, designs, colours, sizes and work schedules. Studies by MHDC (1985) and PNBCD (1993) also showed that change is inevitable in the future.

Are these changes necessary? Studies by MHDC (1985), Parnwell (1992) and PNBCD (1993) have shown that the majority of *"new"* crafts are not necessarily attractive to the external market. Furthermore, various studies (Esderts and Ismail 1990; Parnwell 1993) have shown that there are barriers to entry, survival and development in small-scale industries such as: limited demand for the products of rural industries; limited availability of raw materials; limited access to institutional support; poor facilities for product design, quality control, and production technology; poor infrastructural development, and attitudinal barriers to advancement.

What are the implications of these changes? For me, there is a tendency for machines to substitute human efforts, academic qualifications to replace human skills, and economic considerations to override cultural significance. When such changes occur, the question remains: how should the traditional producers respond, and are these changes necessary and desirable to the Iban traditional craftspersons? Are Iban craftspersons able and willing to adapt to their changing environment, and, are they capable of changing their production methods to enable them to cash in on the economic potential of their traditional crafts?

This brings us to the **seventh** issue: differential Iban responses to CHP. For policy purposes, it is useful to know why some *bilik*-families adopt CHP, while others do not. Three broad reasons have been forwarded to explain this differential response: differences in the desirability of CHP; differences in the availability of resources; and differences in craftspersons' abilities.

The first explanation looks at the differences in the desirability of CHP. The craftspersons in my study may all be Iban, but their characteristics differ between *bilik*-families. As Sutlive (1978) and Freeman (1970) have discussed, the *bilik*-family is the primary unit of Iban society and an independent social entity. Even with increasing demand

for crafts, not every *bilik* in a longhouse will take the opportunity to produce crafts commercially. More generally, studies by Evers and Heiko (1994), Junankar (1989) and Stephen (1991) have shown that maximising profit is not the objective of every rural producer. Social and cultural norms regarding labour market participation for some Iban individuals (for example men) may *"necessitate"* them to go on *bejalai* (Kedit 1993) in search of economic opportunities away from the longhouses, therefore withdrawing their labour from the *bilik*. For some, CHP may not be a viable economic activity; income from off-farm activities may be far more attractive than profit earned from CHP. A *bilik*-family may find it more profitable to sell other products (such as processed raw materials and jungle produce) than to sell handicrafts.

CHP involvement may also differ between craftspersons who live in different *rumah panjai* (longhouses) because of differences in geographical, institutional, and socio-economic background. The socio-economic environment within which a *"politically-connected" bilik*-family operates is very different from that of a non-government supporter; or between a *bilik*-family located near the town and one which is not. Some longhouses nearer to a town often have better infrastructural facilities; the Iban in these longhouses perhaps are less likely to take up CHP because they have better access to off-farm and income earning-opportunities compared to those in the *ulu*. Even if CHP can provide income and employment, not everyone is willing to produce crafts commercially. Some may be unwilling to adapt traditional crafts to suit the changing market demand.

Some longhouses may have a longer history of involvement in CHP than others because of differences in marketing networks. For example, if craftspersons in *rumah X* have a well-established marketing network for crafts but this is limited in *rumah Y*, then this may lead to lower involvement in CHP in the latter. It is also the case that the rural Iban differ in their common property resources, such as communally-owned land, forest resources, rivers and so on. Those who have these resources are inclined to rely on them as

an insurance against risk or an investment for economic return. However, other longhouses may not have any common property resources such as forest products; this could prevent them from taking up CHP (Parnwell 1994).

Studies show that different individuals and *bilik*-families have different opportunities and resources such as land, labour, skills and capital, and that these latter can also generate different responses to off- and non-farm employment. In Malaysia, the government has an important role to play in determining the kinds of opportunities and resources available to rural communities (Chamhuri and Nik Hashim 1988). State policies (during both the colonial and independence periods) such as the Brookes' Immigration Policies and the Malaysian NEP, have not only reshaped but also intensified the class-race divisions in Malaysian society (Jomo 1986). In Malaysia, the government controls almost every aspect of production, distribution and marketing of products in the rural areas. By doing so, the government shapes the development of these areas; channelling state resources through certain ethnic communities or strategically placed groups (usually government supporters). A longhouse community that has received subsidies for producing crafts may find it more profitable to produce crafts commercially than those without subsidies. Those with appropriate business and economic connections tend to have better opportunities; they can take advantage of government assistance and obtain access to resources in the longhouse.

An individual's ability and access to resources also determines her or his response to CHP. Even if there is a demand for handicrafts, not every Iban can produce or find a market to sell their crafts. Craftspersons differ in their skills and their accessibility to penetrate the market. Some skilled craftspersons may resist CHP because involvement in it necessitates radical changes (such as producing culturally inappropriate designs, using machines) which they are unwilling to undertake. To others, such radical changes are necessary in order to penetrate the lucrative market. By undertaking this research, I hope to

identify the factors that explain why some *bilik*-families are receptive to CHP while others are not.

In this section I have explored the major issues related to rural Iban involvement in commercialised craft production using the AD approach as my theoretical background. From this discussion, several questions have been left unanswered or necessitate further research. These questions will be elaborated in the following section.

2.2 Research Questions

The major research question of this study is: **To what extent is small-scale industry based on handicraft production a viable means of addressing the development problems of the rural Iban in Sarawak?** One can answer this research question by addressing the following subsidiary questions. Under what conditions have the Iban craftspersons taken the step from what is usually termed "*subsistence handicraft production*" to handicraft commercialisation? If they have done this is it due to the government's encouragement or individual initiatives; traditional or pre-colonial experience; inherent characteristics of the rural Iban or improved access to productive resources; new sources of labour or the diminishing role of agriculture; availability of cheaper resources or new technology? What type of individuals or *bilik*-family tend to become commercially-minded craftspersons? What factors motivate or hinder rural Iban in respect of making the shift from subsistence-oriented to commercial-oriented handicraft production? What are their opportunities and constraints?

From a theoretical point of view, I can summarise these questions as follows. What are the general and necessary conditions which make certain rural Iban produce handicrafts for the market, while inhibiting others from doing the same thing? In asking these questions, I am focusing my attention on what is still a very small section of the rural Iban

community in Sarawak, but it represents a group that is rapidly becoming very important in terms of the political and economic policies of the present and immediate future. I hope to find answers to these questions by studying the origin, nature, effects, constraints and potential of rural Iban involvement in CHP.

2.3 Research Hypotheses.

From my examination of the literature, I have derived the general guiding hypothesis: **commercialisation is a pre-requisite for the modernisation and economic progress of handicraft production among rural Iban in the study area**. Handicraft production is unable to play a more significant role in the rural Iban economy because this activity has yet to realise its full potential. To the rural Iban migration is a better alternative to involvement in CHP. Handicraft production is still a secondary activity to agriculture, organised around the *bilik*-family, utilising simple traditional technology to produce utilitarian products for limited markets. It is necessary for the rural Iban to modernise handicraft production as a way of increasing its potential economic contribution.

The major research hypothesis is operationalised by five sub-hypotheses. The first sub-hypothesis outlines the reasons for the lack of modernisation and economic progress of handicraft production in the study area; it is that **there is lack of modernisation and economic progress in handicraft production among the Iban in the study area because such activity is not seen by the Iban as *"feasible"* and *"desirable"* from cultural, social and economic perspectives.** Craftspersons command a high status in Iban society (Chin and Mashman 1991; Heppell 1989; Sandin 1970). Handicraft production is a means of upward social mobility and maintaining Iban culture. Modernisation in craft production necessitates changes to traditional production techniques and designs, which may be culturally unacceptable. From the socio-cultural perspective, the production of traditional handicrafts is more desirable than the production of handicrafts for the market.

On economic grounds, there are very limited justifications for promoting handicraft production; it is an economic activity of *"last resort"* (Abdul Kadir 1995), income from CHP contributes little to the better fulfilment of the economic needs of the rural Iban, and the Iban craftspersons do not respond to new economic opportunities.

This brings me to the next sub-hypothesis, which focuses on the factors that promote or hinder the commercialisation of handicraft production among the rural Iban. Rural Iban craftspersons face a host of barriers in their attempts to modernise their production system and to adapt their operation to the needs of the market. My second sub-hypothesis is that: **rural Iban lack the physical (such as raw materials, capital, markets, skilled labour) and non-physical resources (such as entrepreneurship, business networks) that are needed to initiate, sustain and develop handicraft production into a modern economic activity**

The following sub-hypothesis examines the characteristics of craftspersons. There are certain features which determine the ability of the craftspersons to modernise, some of which are inherent (such as family background, age, gender) while others are acquired (such as education, training, business networks). The third sub-hypothesis is: **there is a relationship between the basic characteristics of craftspersons and their ability to modernise handicraft production**.

Sacrifice is the element which links plans to action. It is a person's willingness to make sacrifices which reflects their true desire to carry their plans through to *"success."* The fourth sub-hypothesis is: **Iban involvement in CHP necessitates changes and sacrifices. There are differential levels of willingness to make such sacrifices and changes**. The craftsperson's willingness to change and make sacrifices varies between individuals and *bilik*-families.

The final sub-hypothesis examines the direction and future of Iban participation in handicraft production. My fifth sub-hypothesis is: **future Iban involvement in CHP is determined by the extent to which they can gain access to external support (from the government and private sector) and their perception of the benefits (social, economic and cultural) to be derived from handicraft production**.

2.4 Data Collection

In this study, I attempt to answer the research question and test the research hypotheses using two methods; **qualitative** and **quantitative.** I use the qualitative approach to explore the values, meanings, perceptions and views of the Iban. I support these qualitative dimensions using quantitative data. I use these two approaches to complement each other.

2.4.1 Qualitative Approach

To reflect more accurately the factors influencing Iban involvement in CHP, I conducted my field work using observation methods and in-depth interviews with key respondents such as *tuai rumah* (headman), government officers, extension agents. handicraft course participants, tour operators, Chinese traders and middlepersons in Kapit and Kuching. Initially, I used a tape recorder to record the narratives and discussions, however, following polite requests and limited responses from these informants, I resorted to transcribing notes of the discussion. This technique provides data on personal views, perceptions of life chances, constraints, and ethnic and political issues which are not captured through my formal interview schedule.

Official documents, consultancy reports and feature articles on the Iban in the local press also provided additional information. I used these materials to collect the following information: (a) background condition of Kapit and the longhouses, (b) Iban social,

cultural historical and economic background, (c) government policies, and (d) government development projects.

2.4.2 Quantitative Approach

My quantitative analysis is based on data collected using the survey method. This method enables me to answer some of the research questions and test the research hypotheses because I am able to collect generalised information from the raw data in a more structured and standardised way.

For the survey, I have used a semi-structured questionnaire which was formulated at the University of Hull, from March to May 1993. I pre-tested the questionnaire on 20 craftspersons from *Rumah Unggang* at Kapit in late June 1993 and used the information to improve the final questionnaire and my in-depth interviews. During the same period, I conducted an informal discussion with one *tuai rumah*, two craftspersons, one government officer, and one Chinese *towkay*. From these background data and pre-test results, I refined my final questionnaire. I conducted my interviews between July and December, 1993.

I use one set of questionnaire for both participants and non-participants in CHP (**Appendix 1**). However, I have designed one section which is only applicable to those who are not involved in CHP. Except for this one section, the rest of the questionnaire seek similar information from both groups. **Part A** of the questionnaire collected detailed statistics on respondent and *bilik*-family characteristics; **Part B** on *bilik*-family migration patterns. **Part C** was administered to respondents involved in CHP, and collected information on motivating factors for involvement in CHP, experience, commitment, expenditure, income from handicrafts, types of support received and marketing of handicrafts. **Part D** was administered to those not involved in CHP, to collect information

on their reasons for non-involvement. Information collected in **Part E** comprised respondents' skill and attitudes to handicraft production, the support they received, the problems they faced (or perceived) and their potential. **Part F** sought information on respondents' major economic activities. Information on the economic status, assets, liabilities, expenditures and income of respondents was ascertained from **Part G** of the questionnaire. Finally, **Part H** contained information on the kind of projects the respondents desire for their community and the extent to which they were willing to be involved in the future. I also collected data on the study community by asking questions on community-level involvement in government projects and accessibility to transport, communication, electricity, markets, banks, extension services, schools and health centres.

To improve my questionnaire and minimise potential bias in my survey (particularly on questions regarding attitudes, perceptions and skills) I adopted the following measures. I used semi-structured questionnaires with open-ended and closed questions. I used a likert-scale to measure respondent perception of particular issues. To minimise neutral biases because of the tendency of respondents to answer "3" (on a scale from "1" to "5") or *"Do not know"*. I limited the answers to four categories, (a) *"Strongly Agree"*, (b) *"Agree"*, (c) *"Disagree"* and (d) *"Strongly Disagree."* Another form of potential bias is the tendency for some respondents to *"Strongly Agree"* or *"Strongly Disagree"* with all or most statements. I tried to minimise extreme biases by reversing randomly some of the questions.[1] Questions regarding craftspersons' skill and knowledge, and Iban relationships with the government, can be complicated by the fact that the respondent will try to give socially acceptable answers to avoid being stigmatised as "*ningi ke diri*" (thinking highly of oneself), "*kepapas*" (selfish), "*kelalah*" (lazy), "*nadai berbasa*" (disrespectful), and so on. I checked for response bias by seeking additional information from other craftspersons

[1] Thus, the Iban belief that "Iban culture should be retained" was reversed to read "Iban culture should NOT be retained". If the respondent has answered "Strongly Disagree" towards the statement, then I would score it as "Strongly Agree".

berbasa" (disrespectful), and so on. I checked for response bias by seeking additional information from other craftspersons in the longhouses. Throughout my fieldwork, I had been assisted by four enumerators. I selected the enumerators based on their experience in field research and their knowledge of Iban. They were given three days of training to understand the interview schedule and conduct interviews. I regulated their activities by conducting daily meetings to discuss their interview results.

2.4.2.1 Sampling

This study utilises data from a sample survey of 200 Iban craftspersons in Kapit in 1993. I chose Kapit because other studies on the Iban in Kapit (Cobb 1988; Freeman 1970; Schwenk 1973, 1975) only focus on issues of migration and non-commercial economic activities. By studying Iban there, one can see the effects of rapid deforestation on them and how the Iban have responded. Finally, there is the issue of the application of this research; I hope to be able to suggest policy measures to improve the situation of Iban craftspersons in Kapit.

I used a cluster sampling method to select 200 Iban from 11 *rumah panjai*,[2] in Kapit District. I then stratified the clusters, to reduce the effect of differences in sampling error. The method did not require me to have a sampling frame or a list of all the Iban craftspersons in the research areas. Indeed there was no list of Iban craftspersons available. Thus, I had to rely on information provided by the *tuai rumah* and the list of *rumah panjai* provided by Kapit Agricultural Department. These lists formed my sampling frame.

My target population comprises Iban who are either: (a) currently involved in commercial craft production, (b) have never produced crafts commercially, or (c) were previously involved in CHP, but have stopped. My sampling strategy involved three stages

[2] Altogether there were 282 longhouses (including Iban and Orang Ulu) in Kapit Division in 1992.

of selection. The **first stage** involved the selection of the primary sampling units, that is the *rumah panjai.* I randomly selected 10 *rumah panjai* based on the list provided by Kapit Department of Agriculture. The **second stage** sampling units comprised the craftspersons (commercial and non-commercial) based on the list of *bilik*-families obtained from the *tuai rumah.* I divided them into two groups; commercial craftspersons (CPs) and the non-commercial craftspersons (NCPs). From these two groups, I then selected randomly an equal number of CPs and NCPs. In the **third stage**, I then selected one respondent (either a CP or NCP) from each *bilik.*

2.4.2.2 Measurement

In this study, I use the term **commercial handicraft production** as involving a deliberate action on the part of the craftspersons to produce crafts for sale. In my analysis, I view involvement in any economic activity as that of the *bilik*-family rather than a given individual. I have assumed that the individual is the basic decision-making unit, but (s)he will choose actions that are consistent with *bilik*-family strategy. This implies that involvement decisions are not only an individual matter but also take into account the needs of the entire *bilik*-family.

Now I will describe the measurements used in quantifying information gathered from my interview schedule . I use a quantitative approach to identify the key factors influencing rural Iban **involvement** and ***"success"*** in CHP. Before analysing craftspersons' involvement in CHP, it is worth repeating that Iban craftspersons *"moved in and out of craft production"* depending on their needs. Changes in subsistence patterns of craft production do not occur in a single phase nor are they unidirectional. But, for the purposes of quantitative analysis, one has to submit to a certain time frame. For my statistical analysis, I have identified craftspersons by the number of years of their involvement in CHP. I recognise the limitation of such a criterion; however, it is useful to differentiate

those who are currently producing crafts commercially from those who produced crafts commercially some years before but have since stopped. I have, therefore, simplified the discussion of Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP, based on the results of a non-parametric statistical test. However, this is necessary to identify the key determinants and examine the strengths and interrelationships between the various factors.

First, I will analyse the factors that explain rural Iban involvement in CHP. To do so, I used craftspersons' involvement in CHP (INVOLVE) as the **dependent**[3] variable. I defined a craftsperson as being involved in CHP, if (s)he had been selling handicrafts continuously for the last five years.[4] On the other hand, an individual is defined as non-commercial craftspersons (NCP) if (s)he never sold handicrafts or had not been selling handicrafts for more than five years previously. I adopt this broad definition to differentiate the CPs from NCPs who produce handicrafts mostly for personal use. As I will discuss later (**Section 2.4.3.3**) there are practical reasons for differentiating the craftspersons according to whether or not they have been continuously involved in CHP.

For my second analysis, I use the craftspersons' economic performance as an indicator of their *"success"* or lack of it in CHP. Crucial for the interpretation of my findings is the definition of economic *"success."* For analytical purposes, I use **total *bilik*-family's income from handicrafts** as the dependent variable and the measure of *"success."* An important point to note here is that I am defining craftspersons' economic *"success"* on the basis of *bilik*-family*'s* income from handicrafts, and not total household income. I use income as an indicator for the following reasons; *first,* it reflects the craftspersons' ability to access the market, develop marketing networks, and overcome the

---

[3] A dependent variable (or criterion variable) is the variable that a researcher wishes to explain. The variable expected to explain change in the dependent variable is the independent variable (or predictor variable). For example, if we write Y = f (X), we are considering Y to be the dependent variable and X the independent variable. We can say that Y is a function of X; that changes in the value of X cause changes in the values of Y. I should stress that the distinction between these two variables is analytic and relates only to research purpose (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981: 58-59)

[4] Between 1988 and 1992.

various problems related to handicraft production. *Secondly,* there are difficulties in using other indicators, such as the number of years in CHP; this latter is an ambiguous indicator. On the one hand, one can argue that the number of years a craftsperson is involved in CHP reflects continuity, and therefore his or her *"success"* and ability to survive. On the other hand, one can also view this situation as a sign of non-development, especially if the nature of involvement has changed little since it first started.

I recognise that a businessperson is successful if (s)he has more than one good year of business. The most obvious indicator of *"success"*, therefore, is profit earned over an extended period. Unlike formal businesspersons, most of the craftspersons in this study do not keep any records of their previous business transactions, let alone their profits. It is, therefore, impossible to establish their level of profits for an extended period. Therefore, I have used their total income from selling handicrafts in 1992 as a rough measure of *"success."* These figures are more easily ascertained than profit. To simplify my discussion of rural Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP, I classified the **independent variables** according to three broad categories: (a) community, (b) *bilik*-family and (c) individual.

(a) Community Level Factors

In this category, I measured the effects of factors such as the availability of basic facilities in a particular longhouse and the presence of development projects there. The variable **DISTANCE** measures the distance of a community to Kapit town. For simplicity, I measure distance, according to the travel time using a 25 horse-powered boat or car travel. A high score indicates a greater distance from Kapit and *vice-versa.* I use the distance between the longhouse and the major towns as a proxy to measure their accessibility to the market and basic infrastructure (such as banks, schools and clinics). I assume that the nearer these communities are to the market, the higher is their chance of being involved in CHP. On the other hand, the nearer they are to the major towns, the more unlikely they

will take up CHP because of the availability of better economic opportunities. I expected the variable **DISTANCE** to be negatively or positively related to the dependent variable **INVOLVE.**

The presence of government-sponsored development projects (**PROJECT**) such as Agricultural Development Schemes, in a community is expected to have some influence on craftspersons' involvement by diverting labour away from non-farm activities. Alternatively by raising development awareness and *"progressiveness"* these projects might actually increase involvement and *"success"* in CHP. To measure the effect of the variable PROJECT on craftspersons' involvement decisions, I assign a score of "1" to craftspersons from areas with development projects and a score of "0" for those who are from areas without development projects. I expect the variable **PROJECT** to have some negative effect on craftspersons' involvement decisions (**INVOLVE**).

(b) *Bilik*-family Level Factors

Among the rural Iban, the decision to be involved in any activity, is shaped by the *bilik*-family, and it is not made solely by an individual. Like any other types of economic activities, craftspersons' *"success"* or involvement decisions are influenced by *bilik*-family factors such as the number of family members on *bejalai*, the *bilik*-family's economic and employment status, the number of craftspersons in the family, the support they receive, their experience in handicraft production, and their participation in handicraft projects.

The presence of *bilik*-family members on *bejalai* (**BEJALAIX**) signifies potential exposure to different values, norms and economic opportunities. The **BEJALAIX** variable is a dummy variable, and it measures the extent to which a *bilik*-family has members away on *bejalai*. This variable is not weighted according to numbers of *bilik*-family members who are away and within the family.

The theory suggests no clear direction in the relationship between the socio-economic status of a *bilik*-family and their involvement in CHP. In this study, I measure a *bilik*-family's socio-economic status on the basis of their wealth (**WEALTH**). Craftspersons from a higher socio-economic status can either accept or reject involvement in CHP. The wealth of a *bilik*-family is the sum of (a) total household income, (b) the total value of asset, and (c) savings in 1992. I expected the variable **WEALTH** to have a positive influence on the two dependent variables **SUCCESS** and **INVOLVE.**

The extent of craftspersons' involvement in CHP is also influenced by the support they receive (**SUPPORT**). I anticipated that craftspersons who receive support will be involved in CHP. The variable **SUPPORT** is a composite variable measuring the number and duration of kinds of support received by the craftspersons from individuals (such as Chinese *towkays)* or government agencies. I assigned a score of "1" to craftspersons from *bilik*-families who received support and a score of "0" to those who did not receive support. I expected craftspersons who received support would participate and succeed in CHP.

Craftspersons' involvement and *"success"* in CHP is also influenced by the *bilik*-family's participation in government-sponsored handicraft projects (**PROHANDI**). As participants in these projects, they receive subsidised raw materials from the government, and I believed that this support would ease craftspersons' entry into CHP and increase their ability to succeed. I expected craftspersons who participated in government handicrafts projects will take up (**INVOLVE**) and succeed (**SUCCEED**) in CHP.

I expected the number of craftspersons (**PRODUCR**) in the *bilik*-family to have a positive influence on their involvement decisions. The more craftspersons there are, the more person-days in a year that a *bilik*-family spends producing and selling handicrafts, the higher their probability of earning income from such activity. Alternatively, the more

successful the *bilik*-family, the less time they are willing to spend on craft production because there is less economic pressure to earn supplementary income from crafts. Rather than spending more time on craft production, they would spend it on their major economic activities. I expected the variables **PRODUCR** to be positively related to craftspersons' involvement decisions and success in CHP. The variable **TIME**, however, was expected to have either a positive or negative influence on the dependent variable - **SUCCESS.**

The employment status of *bilik*-family members is also expected to have some influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions. Among the rural Iban, the number of employed family members (**WORK**), particularly in waged employment, will have a positive influence on their economic status. The more family members who work, the less likely they will take up CHP, because waged employment tends to withdraw labour away from rural activities, such as craft production. The amount of income earned from non-crafts (**INCOMNON**), is also expected to have a negative influence on craftspersons' willingness to take up CHP. Alternatively, income from non-crafts can provide a *bilik*-family with income to finance initial investment in CHP. In this study, I expected the variables **WORK** to have a negative influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. Alternatively, the number of unemployed family members (**WORKNON**) will have a positive effect on craftspersons' involvement decisions. The more unemployed family members there are, the more likely the *bilik*-family will take up CHP, because it provides the unemployed family members with productive economic activities and source of livelihood. I expected the variable **INCOMNON** to have a positive or negative influence on craftspersons' involvement decision.

The special relationship existing among family members permits them to undertake new tasks requiring co-operation without having to rely on outside resources. The *bilik*-family members can pool resources not only for consumption, but equally for

ideas and experiences. As such, *bilik*-families who have some experience producing crafts commercially, are more likely to succeed in CHP, because their prior knowledge and experience can facilitate entrepreneurial activity. I expected craftspersons' from *bilik*-families with experience producing crafts to succeed to a greater extent than the *"newcomers."* I expected the variable **EXPERIENCE** to be positively related to **SUCCESS.**

(c) Personal Level Factors

The personal variables included in this analysis are craftspersons' age, education, attitudes, the problems they face and the availability of skills in handicraft production. I expected craftspersons' age (**AGE**) to have a significant influence on their involvement and *"success"* in CHP. It can either be positively or negatively related to the two dependent variables. The older the craftspersons the more difficult it is for them to change from producing crafts for personal use to production for the market. Alternatively, age can be a positive influence on involvement and *"success"* in CHP, because of its effect on craftspersons' skill and experience. These latter are important ingredients in the economic *"success"* of a commercial producer, I expected the variable **AGE** to be positively related to economic *"success"* - **SUCCESS**.

I use the variable **EDUC** as a measurement of craftspersons' educational background in terms of the number of years of formal education. The education variable can either be positively or negatively related to both dependent variables. Craftspersons with higher education are more receptive to new ideas, which makes them more likely to be involved and successful in CHP, suggesting that individual decisions are largely dependent on how attractive an economic activity CHP is. On the other hand, education provides the rural Iban with the necessary tools to seek alternative employment opportunities, therefore discouraging them from becoming involved in CHP.

The level of skill (**SKILL**) a craftsperson has will determine whether they will accept or reject CHP. Similarly, it will also determine the extent to which the craftsperson can be successful. I measured this variable using the craftspersons' perception of the degree of their skills in handicraft production and commercial activities. Since there are some biases in their statement,[5] taking into account that the Iban will not declare their true level of skill, I have tried to minimise the biases by seeking alternative opinions from other family members or friends. **SKILL** is measured on a scale of 1 (unskilled) to 4 (highly skilled). I expect that skilled craftspersons would take up or succeed in CHP.

In this study, I assumed the number of years the craftspersons spend producing crafts (**HANDIYRS**) will have a positive influence on their involvement decision and *"success"* in CHP. Craftspersons who have a longer history of involvement in craft production, are more likely to take up CHP, because they have the necessary skill and the experience to produce crafts commercially. Experienced craftspersons are more likely to succeed in CHP compared to the *"newcomers."* I expected the variable **HANDIYRS** to have a positive influence on craftspersons' involvement and economic *"success"* in CHP.

The craftspersons' decision to take up CHP is also shaped by the problems (**PROBLEM**) they face. In the logistic regression model, I treat the problems separately and include them as separate independent variables, because I wanted to identify which problems will determine craftspersons' involvement decisions. For this purpose, I include the variables **PRBMRKT** (marketing problem), **PRBRAW** (supply and quality of raw material), **PRBPRDN** (production problem), **PRBLABOR** (supply and quality of labour), **PRBDESIGN** (design problem) and **PRBCREDT** (credit problem) as independent variables in the involvement regression model. Each problem is measured on a score of 1

[5] Culturally, the Iban are unwilling to declare their self-worthiness, for it is a sign of boastfulness. As such, there is a tendency for them to downplay their positive qualities.

(no problem) to 4 (serious problem). I expected that the absence of problems (marketing, raw materials, labour, credit) would have a positive influence on involvement in CHP.

I use a different approach to measure the effect of problems on craftspersons' economic performance. Instead of examining each of the problems separately, I combined and measured the craftspersons' responses to all the ten questions relating to their difficulties in marketing, financing, raw materials, labour, and production. The variable **PROBLEM** is a composite variable with a maximum score of "40" and a minimum score of "10". The higher the score, the more serious are the problems faced by the craftspersons and *vice versa.* I expected that the variable **PROBLEM** would have a negative relationship with the dependent variable **SUCCESS.**

Craftspersons' attitudes and outlook are likely to be strongly influenced by their personal situations and characteristics. I include three attitudinal variables in my logistic regression model to estimate their influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions. The three variables are, craftspersons' perception of the economic benefits from CHP (**AECON**), their perception of the risk involved in CHP (**ARISK**), and their anticipation of the economic conditions of CHP in the future (**FUTURE**). I expected craftspersons who are optimistic about the economic situation of the handicraft sector, to be involved in CHP to a greater extent than those who are pessimistic. For analytical purposes, I created a composite variable, **ATTITUDE,** which I compute from the craftspersons' responses to twelve statements about their perceived attributes of CHP. Each attribute is measured on a scale of 1 (low) to 4 (high). The minimum score is 12 while the maximum score is 48.

The Cronbach[6] α for the **ATTITUDE** scale has a reliability score of 0.7342 (**Appendix 2**) indicating that the scale is quite reliable (Norusis 1990:B-129). I included this variable to measure the influence of craftspersons' attitude on their *"success"* or *"failure"* in CHP.[7]

In order to quantify the influence of entrepreneurship on craftspersons' economic performance, I have developed an entrepreneurship index - **ENTREP** (**Appendix 3**). The index is simply the sum of the following indices constructed from (a) the nature of craftspersons' involvement in handicraft production, (b) their willingness to make sacrifices, (c) experience in trading, (d) their willingness to take risk, (e) marketing of handicrafts, (f) willingness to participate in CHP, (g) ways or perceived ways of solving problems related to CHP, and (h) percentage of income from CHP. I use these eight indicators to capture some of the essence of entrepreneurship that is a person who employs resources in a different way, and doing things with them (Ray 1993). By using the entrepreneurship index, I hope to measure the craftspersons' ability *to "see what others had missed - an unsatisfied demand, a way of raising money, a source of skilled labour -*

---

[6] Cronbach α measures the internal consistency of the items in the scale. It is computed using the following formula:

$$\alpha = \frac{(k)\,\mathrm{cov}/\,\mathrm{var}}{1 + (k-1)\,\mathrm{cov}/\,\mathrm{var}}$$

where *k* is the number of items in the scale, *cov* is the average covariance between items, and *var* is the average variance of the items (Norusis 1990:B-191).

[7] Based on the review of the literature, I have included the following perceived attributes of CHPs:
(a) **economic advantages** is the degree to which CHP is perceived to be economically profitable; it is expected to have a positive influence on rural Iban involvement in CHP;
(b) **simplicity** is the degree to which CHP is perceived as relatively easy to produce. I expected the *simplicity* variable to be positively related to involvement;
(c) **perceived risk** is the degree to which CHP is perceived to be risky. I expected it to be negatively related to involvement;
(d) **security**, is the degree to which income from CHP is perceived to be secure. It is expected to be positively associated with involvement;
(e) **status** is the degree to which involvement in CHP is perceived to change one's level of prestige. It should be positively related to involvement in CHP, and
(f) ***anticipated economic conditions*** of the handicraft sector is measured on a scale of 1 (worst) to 4 (very good) and should be positively related to rural involvement in CHP.

and put them together" (Marris 1968:31). The total entrepreneurial index (**ENTREP**) is the simple sum of all these indices. The minimum aggregate score that a craftsperson can have, therefore, is 20 points while the maximum score is 80 points. I recognise that this is a crude measurement of Iban entrepreneurship because it assumes that entrepreneurship is quantifiable. However, I use this approach to give some idea of the state of Iban entrepreneurship.

To analyse the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, I use the following techniques. I employ the zero order correlation between the dependent and independent variables to obtain better estimates of the effects of independent variables on dependent variables. I performed a multiple regression analysis[8] to identify the key determinants and to assess the impact of various factors on rural Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP. To measure some of the remaining variance, I use cross-tabulation calculations. In the following two sections I will discuss in detail the quantitative techniques used for identifying the determinants of rural Iban involvement (Section 2.4.2.3) and *"success"* (Section 2.4.2.4) in CHP.

2.4.2.3 Determinants of Rural Iban Involvement in CHP

The first model to be considered is the reduced-form involvement equation. I have calculated a multiple regression equation to isolate the influence of age, education and skill

---

[8] The simultaneous effect of several independent variables on the dependent variable can be assessed by constructing a multiple regression equation. It describes the amount of linear relationships between the dependent and independent variables. The equation :

$$Y_1 = a_{1.23} + b_{12.3}X_2 + b_{13.2}X_3$$

where Y_1 represents the dependent variable and X_2 and X_3 the independent variables. $b_{12.3}$ and $b_{13.2}$ are the partial regression co-efficients and the slopes of the regression line for each independent variable, controlling for the other. Thus, $b_{12.3}$ reflects the amount of change in Y1 associated with a given change in X2, holding X3 constant. $a_{1.23}$ is the intercept point on the Y_1 axis for both X_2 and X_3 (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981:374).

on the probability of individuals being involved in CHP. Many studies use the linear regression method to explain the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Feder, Just and Zilberman (1982:41), in their comprehensive review of the innovation adoption literature, however, have argued that the ordinary linear regression method is inappropriate because of the dichotomous[9] nature of adoption decisions.

Turning to the econometric literature, I find that the most appropriate methodology for estimating rural Iban involvement in CHP is the logistic technique, because of the dichotomous nature of involvement decisions. I use the logistic maximum likelihood estimators (**Appendix 4**) because the dependent variable (**INVOLVE**) is dichotomous. By using this model, I am able to overcome most of the problems associated with linear probability models. **Table 2-1** contains a summary of the factors included in the specification of the logistic model of rural Iban involvement in CHP.

2.4.2.4 Determinants of Rural Iban "Success" in CHP

Many factors affect a craftsperson's economic performance, including the availability of physical resources, the problems they face, their attitude, the support they receive, and the skills they possess. Performance may also be related to a craftsperson's age, economic status, experience, the number of craftspersons in a *bilik*-family, and other quantifiable variables. A comprehensive picture of all the elements underlying a craftsperson's economic performance would require a simultaneous equation model far beyond anything that my data can support.

The analysis in this section has the more limited objective of probing only the key factors. Broadly speaking, my aim is to use the available data to study the statistical

---

[9] Adoptions decisions are dichotomous because they are either assigned "1' for adoption or "0' for non-adoption. If one uses a linear regression to model adoption behavior, the predicted values may fall outside the "0' (non-adoption) or "1' (adoption) interval, thereby violating the basic tenets of probability.

associations between the various factors and possible determinants of economic performance and to test their relative importance.

I begin by conducting a multiple regression and correlation analysis to identify the key determinants and the strength of their relationship with Iban craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP. **Table 2-2,** contains the variable definitions and their hypothesised relationship with the dependent variable used in the multiple regression.

I use a path analysis (see **Appendix 5)** to describe the effect of independent variables on dependent variables and assess the importance and the direction of the relationship between the variables. I use the step-wise multiple regression technique to estimate the path coefficients (Bailey and Weller 1987; Bryman and Cramer 1990). I also use a correlation study to analyse the association between the variables.

The goal of these analyses is not to produce the definitive assessment of rural Iban involvement or *"success"* in commercial activities. Instead, I use a quantitative (regression technique) analysis to shape my interpretation of patterns of Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP. I must point out that this analysis has a series of limitations brought about by the sample, operationalisation of the variables, and the assumption it requires. However, by reinforcing the quantitative with the qualitative approach, I was not only able to quantify, but also analyse interrelationships of factors, such as between craftspersons and traders, and household economies and wider economic systems. By using these two approaches I hope to safeguard this study against a simple deduction from a pre-conceived idea of Iban involvement in craft production. This analysis has its limitations, but the results obtained from this survey can, I think, shed some light on the factors that shape rural Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP.

Table 2-1: Variable Definition and Hypothesised Direction of Relationship Between Craftsperson's Involvement in CHP And Independent Variables.

VARIABLES	VARIABLE DEFINITION	Hypothesised Direction of Relationship Between Dependent and Independent Variables
	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
PART	**Nature of involvement in commercial handicraft production.** *(dummy variable)* 1 = Involved in CHP 0 = Non-Involvement in CHP	
	INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	
AGE	**Respondent's age** (measured in years)	(-)
EDU	**Respondent's educational background** (measured in years)	(-)
BEJALAIX	**Extent of *bejalai* in a *bilik*-family.** (Dummy variable) 1 = Have family members away on *bejalai* 0 = Do not have any family members away on *bejalai.*	(+)
BILIKSIZE	**Household Size**	(+)
PRODUCR	**No of craftspersons in *bilik*-family**	(+)
HANDIYRS	**Number of years producing handicrafts**	(+)
WORK	**Total working members in *bilik*-family**	(-)
WORKNON	**Total unemployed *bilik*-family members**	(+)
SKILL	**Respondents level of skill producing handicrafts.** 4 = Highly skilled 3 = Skilled; 2 = Limited skill 1 = Unskilled	(+)
WEALTH	**Household's economic wealth** (measured in RM) Total Household Income + Asset Value + Savings	(+) or (-)
INCOMNON	**Value of Total income from non-crafts in 1992 (RM)**	(-) or (+)
AECON (Composite Variable)	**Respondents attitude towards the economic benefits from CHP.** 4 = Strongly Agree 3 = Agree 2 = Disagree 1 = Totally Disagree Minimum Score = 12 Maximum Score = 48	(+)
ARISK	**Respondent's attitude towards risk involved in CHP.**	(-)
SUPPORT	**Existence of support from private and public agencies.** *(Dummy variable).* 1 = Receive support ; 0 = No support	(+)
PROJECT	**Existence of government-sponsored development projects in the research longhouses.** *(Dummy variable)* 1 = Presence of government-sponsored development project 0 = No government-sponsored development project	(+) or (-)
PROHANDI	**Presence of Handicraft Projects** ***(Dummy variable)*** 1= Involved in Handicraft Project 0 = Not involved in Handicraft Project	(+)
PRBCREDT [1]	**Extent of CREDIT problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
PRBDESIGN [1]	**Extent of DESIGN problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
PRBLABOR [1]	**Extent of LABOUR problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
PRBMRKT [1]	**Extent of MARKETING problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
PRBPRDN [1]	**Extent of PRODUCTION problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
PRBRAW [1]	**Extent of RAW MATERIAL problems related to handicraft production.**	(-)
FUTURE	**Respondent's attitude towards the future of CHP.** 4 = Very good prospect 3 = Good Prospect 2 = No development 1 = Bad Prospect	(+)

Note: [1] The extent of problems are measured as:
4 = Huge Problem
3 = Some Problem
2 = Minor Problem
1 = No Problem

Table 2-2: Variable Definition and Hypothesised Direction of Relationship Between Craftsperson's Economic *"Success"* and Independent Variables

VARIABLES	DEFINITION	HYPOTHESISED RELATIONSHIP WITH ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE
DEPENDENT VARIABLE		
SUCCESS	**Total Income from Handicrafts (RM) 1992**	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
AGE	**Respondent's Age** (Measured in years)	(+)
EXPERIENCE	**Experience in CHP.** Measured in number of years involved in CHP)	(+)
TIME	**Degree of TIME commitment to CHP.** (Measured in the number of person-days involved in CHP)	(+) or (-)
SACRIC (Composite Variable)	**Craftsperson's willingness to make certain sacrifices (in terms of time, economic activity, borrow, design, taking risk, techniques of production, invest money in order to be involved in CHP.** 4 - Most willing to sacrifice 3 - Willing to sacrifice 2 - Unwilling to sacrifice 1 - Most unwilling to sacrifice Highest Willingness Score = 28 Lowest Willingness Score = 7	(+)
ATTITUDE (Composite Variable)	**Craftspersons' perceived attributes of CHP.** 4 = Totally Agree 3 = Agree 2 = Disagree 1 = Totally Disagree Highest Score (High Positive Attitude) = 28 Lowest Score (Low Positive Attitude) = 7	(+)
PROBLEM (Composite Variable)	**Degree of problems faced by craftspersons.** 4 - Huge Problem 3 - Some Problem 2 - Less Problem 1 - No Problem Maximum Score = 40 Minimum Score = 10	(-)
SKILL	**Perceived skill in handicraft production.** 4 = Highly Skilled 3 = Skilled 2 = Little skill 1 = Unskilled	
PROHANDI (Dummy variable)	**Presence of handicraft project in the research longhouses.** 0 = Involvement in government-sponsored handicraft project 1 = Non-involvement in government-sponsored handicraft project.	(+)
ENTREP (Composite Variable)	**Entrepreneurship Index.** Maximum score (High entrepreneurship) = 80 points Minimum Score (Low entrepreneurship) = 20 points	(+)
SUPPORT (Dummy variable)	**Availability of support from public and private agencies.** 0 = Never receive support 1 = Receive support	(+)

2.4.3 Limitations of Survey

In this section, I would like to indicate some of my survey limitations. By using the survey method I can minimise the effects of alternative variables, but I cannot generalise my results. I admit that my sampling is an approximation of representativeness, therefore the findings from my study could only be generalised to the communities with similar environmental or other characteristics.

I also acknowledge a limitation in my classification of craftspersons which arose because of non-continuous Iban involvement in craft production. My survey is based on cross-sectional data. For analytical purposes, I defined commercial craftspersons (CPs) as those who have been involved **continuously** in CHP for more than five years. Alternatively, I define non-commercial craftspersons (NCPs) as those who (i) have **never** been involved in commercial craft production, or (ii) who have previously been involved but have not been involved in commercial craft production for more than five years.

I recognise that my sample would be biased against the inclusion of those who have previously been involved but have stopped producing crafts commercially in the last five years. I did not define them as CPs because of the following reasons. *Firstly*, many of them who were previously involved in CHP (but have stopped) are unable to provide sufficient and accurate information about their involvement. *Secondly*, there are many difficulties involved in standardising their information on costs of inputs, prices of crafts and income received during different periods. *Thirdly*, I was able to get more useful information by including them as NCPs rather than CPs, because they could provide some insights into the reasons why they stopped producing or why they did not develop beyond their initial involvement in CHP. To avoid potential bias, I attempted to have an equitable distribution of CPs and NCPs in my survey, however, I could only manage to get full responses from 113 CPs and 87 NCPs.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the analytical framework that I will use to explore the interrelationships between different factors influencing Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP. In my analytical framework, I have incorporated eleven factors which I think can explain the origin, nature and effects of Iban involvement and economic performance in CHP. I argued that a study of Iban involvement, as a process of increased market production, should not be disconnected from its wider historical, economic and political context. I use a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to operationalise my analytical framework. The qualitative approach enables me to discuss issues at the macro-level. I use the quantitative approach to discuss issues at the community, *bilik*-family and individual levels. In subsequent chapters, I will attempt to provide answers to the research questions and test my hypotheses. I start in the next chapter by analysing the socio-economic background of the state of Sarawak in general, and of Kapit Division in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

KAPIT DIVISION: BACKGROUND PERSPECTIVE AND *"POLITIK PEMBANGUNAN"*[1] ISSUES

3. Introduction

The processes which shape present Iban involvement in commercial activities, particularly handicraft production are many and varied. One cannot understand Iban involvement in CHP without discussing the gradual transformation and continuities of the Iban economy (King 1993:7). The present pattern of the Iban economy was rooted in a long sequence of change dating to *"kelia menya"* or the pre-Brooke period. In this chapter I shall describe the outcome of these historical processes on the Iban in general. I trace the transformation of the Iban economy to understand the rural and agricultural orientation of the Iban and why their economic situation is what it is today.

3.1 The Regional Setting

Before discussing rural Iban involvement in CHP, I will provide the socio-economic background of the State of Sarawak in general, and the Kapit Division in particular. By doing so, I hope to place my research within the wider socio-economic context of the state and the division in which the communities under study live.

Sarawak, one of the fourteen states in Malaysia, is located in the north-western part of the island of Borneo. About 12.3 million hectares of the state is cultivated; 3,380,785 hectares is under shifting cultivation, 323,125 hectares (2.5 per cent) are sites

[1] Literally translated from Bahasa Malaysia as *"politics of development."*

for smallholder agriculture,[2] 71,875 hectares are used for large-scale agriculture,[3] and the remaining 10,625 hectares are given over to permanent wetland paddy planting. In 1990, 47.7 per cent of the total labour force was engaged in the agricultural sector. A major problem in the agricultural sector is its low productivity. Though the sector employed 47.7 per cent of the total labour force, it only contributed 8.0 per cent of total Gross Domestic Product (GDP). One of the main reason for this is that the majority of the farmers are smallholders.

During the last twenty years, Sarawak's economy has been undergoing structural changes as reflected by the declining contribution of agriculture to GDP and the increasing share of other sectors, particularly mining, quarrying and logging. These sectors are highly capital-intensive which will have a neutral to negative impact on employment generation in the future. The forestry and mining sectors are the two most important income generators for Sarawak. However, in 1990 they only employed 4.2 per cent and 0.4 per cent respectively of the total labour force, reflecting their high capital intensity. The manufacturing sector employed 9.0 per cent of the labour force, and contributed 14.0 per cent of total GDP suggesting the limited contribution of this sector in Sarawak's economy.

The rapid growth achieved during the period is largely attributed to the improved performance of the export sector and increased investment. From 1970 to 1990, the export sector contributed between 66.0 per cent to 90.0 per cent of Sarawak's GDP (State Planning Unit 1992) with petroleum, liquefied natural gas and timber products as the most important contributors. Agricultural exports are slowly declining, because of declining commodity prices. Since joining Malaysia, Sarawak has become a major exporter and foreign exchange earner for Malaysia (King 1990b:117). Sarawak's trade

[2] The permanent crops are cocoa, coconut, pepper and rubber.

[3] This comprises estates and plantations. The major tree crops grown are oil palm, cocoa, rubber and coconut.

balance increased from RM11 million in 1970 to RM2,209 million in 1989 (SADP 1991c: Table 9). Its total public expenditure increased from RM60 million in 1968/69 to RM625.3 million in 1987/89, with a large proportion (91.5 per cent in 1968/69 and 44.1 per cent in 1987/88) coming from the federal government, reflecting Sarawak's early dependence on federal financial support and the decrease in that support during the past two decades.

Sarawak's GDP per capita increased from RM881.00 in 1970 to RM3,883 in 1990 (in constant 1978 prices) indicating a relatively strong and stable economic growth. Despite Sarawak's rapid growth and huge trade surplus, poverty is still prevalent in the state (UKM 1994)

3.2 Kapit Division - Background Study

Although I have far less first hand experience of the physical and socio-economic environments of Kapit Division, I shall discuss the background of the research area based on my brief observations, information provided in the literature, and discussions with key respondents.

The present Kapit Division (or Seventh Division) is bordered to the south and east by Kalimantan and to the north by the Miri and Bintulu Divisions and to the west by the Sibu Division. Its total area of 38,934 square kilometres, occupies one-third of Sarawak, making it the largest of all the nine divisions in the State. It was created in 1973 from the former Third Division. Administratively, Kapit Division is subdivided into three districts, namely Kapit (15,596 sq.km), Song (3,935 sq.km) and Belaga (19,403 sq.km).

Kapit Division is drained by the Batang Rejang, and its tributaries the Balleh, Balui and Katibas. Kapit, Song and Belaga are the three major bazaar-towns in the division. Of these three, Kapit is the hub of Sarawak's Seventh Division because of its

political, economic, cultural and educational facilities. Kapit bazaar is located 160 miles from the sea and forms the frontier to the sparsely settled and heavily forested headwater regions.

There is no highway connecting Kapit Division to other Divisions in Sarawak. The whole 38,934 square kilometres of Kapit Division is only linked by a total of 40.28 kilometres of bitumen or gravel road. Logging companies have also built roads to transport timber products from their logging sites in the hinterland to the public roads, their base camps or loading points near the river banks. These roads traverse much of the timber-licensed area in Kapit Division, creating easier access to longhouse communities in the once-inaccessible areas. These logging roads, however, are constructed for heavy logging trucks which make them unsuitable for light vehicles or public transportation. The construction of these roads in Iban areas also made the rural communities more accessible to outsiders, particularly merchant capitalist whose aim was to engage in unequal exchange in order to maximise profit.

In fact, there was no public transport in the Kapit District when I conducted my survey. The public either had to rely on the 8 licensed taxis or the few *kereta sapu* (unlicensed taxis) which were operating illegally in the district. The absence of public transport makes it difficult for the rural producers to transport their products to the market at a cheap rate. As a result, many of them have to rely on the service of the more expensive *kereta sapu* which ply between the longhouses and Kapit town.

Kapit may be landlocked but it has access from Sibu[4] by river and air. Kapit is linked daily to Sibu by express launches. A one-way trip costs in the range of RM10.00 to RM20.00 depending on the type of launches. Both Kapit and Belaga Districts can be

[4] Sibu is a major town in the Sibu Division. It is important because all communications, shipping, trade, and banking of the Rejang basin pass through it.

accessed twice weekly by means of MALAYSIA Airline. However, the service is unreliable. In the absence of good land and air transport the river remains the main form of transport and trade. The longhouse communities rely heavily on the rivers as their means of transport; using *prau* (paddling boats) or outboard motor-powered longboats. Even the river transport is difficult and costly because of the presence of rapids, particularly beyond Kapit. Schwenk (1973:17) calculated that an average round-trip fare from surveyed Iban longhouses to Kapit in 1973 by the cheapest practical means was RM8.23, ranging between RM1.00 to RM21.00. With inflation, the cost must have doubled or may have even tripled since Schwenk made his calculations twenty-three years ago! Even if rural producers have access to the market, the cost of transportation would have a negative effect on their profits earned. This brings to the forefront the issue of differential access; with some longhouse communities having better access to economic infrastructure and means of production compared to others. In the long run, it is this differential access which shaped rural communities' response to new opportunities.

In 1990 the total population of Kapit Division was 77,019 of which the majority are Iban (69.0 per cent), 12.0 per cent are Orang Ulu[5], 6.9 per cent are Chinese, and 2.1 per cent are Malays (**Table 3-1)**

Of the three districts, population density is the highest in Song, and the lowest in Belaga, indicating a high density for the flat areas and a lower density for the interior mountainous areas. However, Kapit's population density of 1.97 persons per sq.km is extremely low compared with the average of 13.42 person per sq.km for Sarawak. (Sarawak Agriculture Department 1990).

[5] I refer to the *Orang Ulu* communities as those interior people other than the Iban, Malays and Chinese.

Table 3-1: Population Distribution By Ethnic Group in Kapit Division in 1990

Ethnic Group	Districts			Total*	Percentage
	Kapit	Song	Belaga		
Iban	32,360	20,819	-	53,179	69.04
Malays	1,000	393	275	1,668	2.16
Chinese	4,080	1,064	240	5,384	6.9
Kenyah	440	-	5,511	5,951	7.7
Kayan	-	-	3,611	3,3611	4.6
Memaloh	95	-	-	95	0.12
Baketan	662	-	-	662	0.85
Punan	-	-	1,838	1,838	2.38
Sekapan	-	-	582	582	0.75
Kejaman	-	-	537	537	0.69
Lahanan	-	-	404	404	0.52
Tanjong	256	-	140	396	0.51
Penan	-	-	2,225	2,225	2.88
Seping	-	-	82	82	0.10
Ukit	-	-	186	186	0.24
Sihan	-	-	117	117	0.15
Others	-	-	102	102	0.13
Total	**38,893**	**22,276**	**15,580**	**77,019**	**100.0**
Area (sq.km)	**15,595**	**3,935**	**19,403**	**38,934**	-
Population Density (Person/sq.km)	**2.49**	**5.66**	**0.80**	**1.97**	-

Source: Sarawak (1990b) *Laporan Tahunan Daerah-daerah.*

The towns in Kapit Division are small and lack manufacturing factories to attract rural job-seekers. However, there are 41 logging companies which are located along the banks of the Rejang River. Besides these companies, there is a sawmilling factory at Nanga Bawai, and a veneer wood factory at Sungai Putai in Balleh. Besides these logging and sawmilling companies, Kapit also has two coal quarries at Nanga Merit owned by Global Mineral Sendirian Berhad. These companies provide waged employment to the local communities, particularly the Iban.

Although there are no large manufacturing operations in Kapit Division, this does not necessarily mean that manufacturing does not take place. In fact, the majority of the rural communities are involved in it; craft production. The manufacturers are craftspersons, such as wood carvers, basket makers, mat and *pua* weavers, and bead

workers who work from their *bilik* on a part-time basis. Though the craftspersons are involved in manufacturing, they are not registered in the official records.

Even the Resident's and District Office do not have records of the number of craftspersons in Kapit Division which makes it difficult to account for their numbers. Officially, there are no craftspersons in Kapit! However, a trip to the longhouses reveals that craft production is a common activity among the women. In most cases, craftspersons combine their work with agriculture or other occupations, and as such their occupation is often listed as agriculture in the census. This partly explains the *"invisibility"* of the craftspersons in the census data.

Kapit Division has supplies of wild and cultivated plants that provide raw materials for the craftspersons. *Rattan* yield strong fibre for making baskets and mats. *Engkudu* (Morinda citrifolia), *tarum* (Marsedia tinctoria), *entemu* (Curuma spp.) growing in the forest are used for dyeing *pua.* Besides, the forests in Kapit Division yield *bemban* (Donax spp.), bamboo (Bambusa spp.), *senggang* (Hornstedtia scyphifera), rattan (Calamus spp.) and wood to make baskets (*raga*), carvings, mats, and weaving equipment.

In terms of economic infrastructure, Kapit's commercial communities are served by five financial institutions, namely Malayan Banking Berhad, EON Bank Berhad, Hock Hua Bank Berhad, Chew Geok Lin Finance Berhad, and Malayan Banking Berhad. These institutions are located in Kapit town which makes them less accessible to those communities living beyond it.

The three districts have one Malay *kampung* each which is located close to the bazaar, reflecting the small Malay population in the Division. The majority of the Malays worked as government officers (teachers, administrators, armed forces) in the respective bazaar-towns. However, there are a few Malays who operate small sundry shops and

halal- restaurants[6] in government-built shophouses. The Chinese population is concentrated in the bazaar-towns. The majority of them own or have shares in the 210 shophouses, 626 village shops, stalls in the 5 markets, 15 hotels, 4 lodging houses, 25 express launches, 2 wood manufacturing companies, 41 logging companies, and the coal mining company in Kapit Division. Clearly, the Chinese continue to reside in the bazaar-towns, suggesting their high involvement in commerce, an economic activity which they have controlled since the Brooke period. Only a small percentage of them are involved in cash cropping and husbandry.

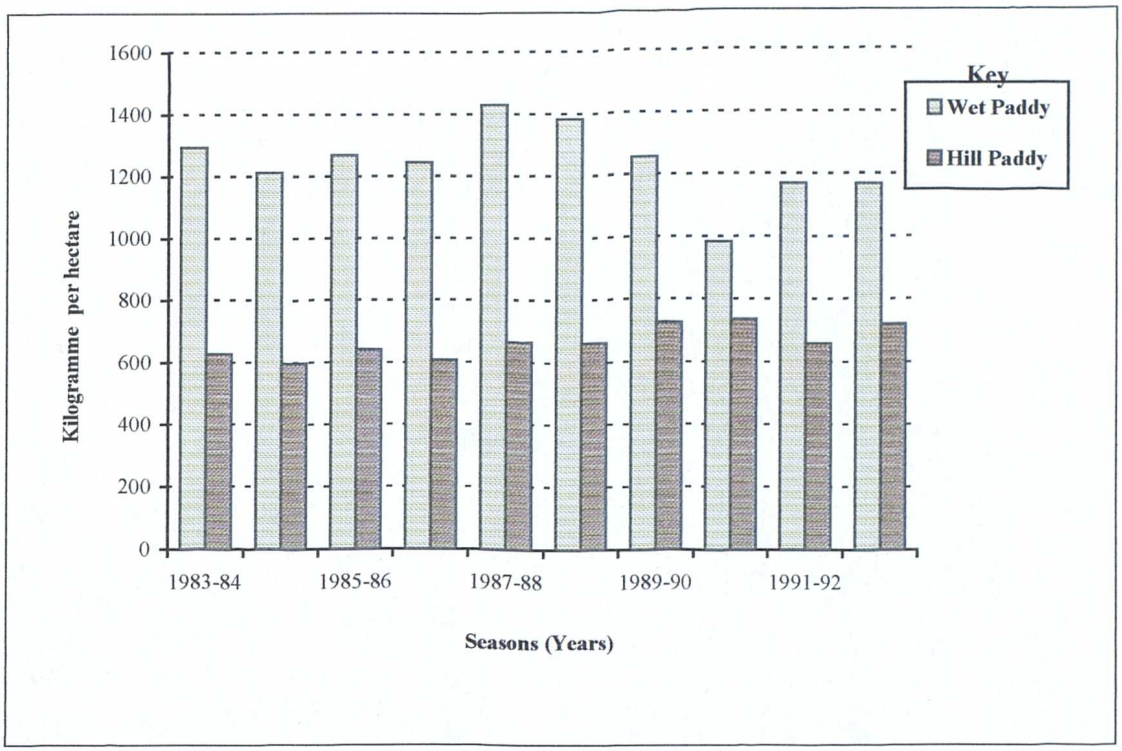
Most of the Iban and Orang Ulu live in the 469 longhouses that are scattered along the navigable rivers which provide their major means of transportation in the area. In Kapit District alone, there are 282 longhouses. The Iban are mostly engaged in shifting cultivation of hill paddy,[7] permanent farming and logging activities (*Jabatan Pertanian Kapit 1992).* In the 1992/93 season, it was estimated that 13,601 hectares and 288 hectares respectively was planted with hill and wet paddy indicating high involvement in hill paddy planting in Kapit Division. Productivity of paddy is low in the study area. Kapit Division registered an average yield of 509 kilogrammes and 1,167 kilograms per hectare for hill and wet paddy respectively, which made it the lowest yield in Sarawak (*Sarawak Agriculture Department* 1993:44-47). **Figure 3-1** shows that wet paddy yield is high but unstable, while hill paddy yield is constantly low.

I can draw three important implications from this observation. *Firstly,* paddy farmers in Kapit Division are less productive compared to paddy farmers in other Divisions. *Secondly,* the Iban are the ones most affected by this low productivity because of their high involvement in hill paddy production. *Thirdly,* if the trend continues, the Iban will not be able to achieve self-sufficiency in paddy production.

[6] Restaurants that sell food following Muslim dietary laws.

[7] Paddy farming is mainly for family consumption.

Figure 3-1: Average Yield of Wet and Hill Paddy in Kapit Division, 1983/84 to 1992/93 Seasons



Source: Sarawak Agriculture Department (1993:44-47)

What is the significance of these results to the objectives of my study? The results show that the rural Iban are becoming fully integrated into the market. They need cash income to purchase basic necessities. It is their need for cash that has forced many Iban to resort to cash crop production and waged employment. The limited availability of waged employment in rural areas, and the problem of increasing instability in commodity prices has forced many rural Iban to search for alternative sources of income. For the rural Iban, craft production provides them with an opportunity to earn cash income.

In trying to interpret current socio-economic trends in Kapit, we must first examine its long-term development process. The major questions that concern us are: how have development processes restructured the Iban of Kapit? What are the present directions and implications of this restructuring on the Iban economy? Given the current state of knowledge, the answers to these questions will be imperfect, but I will make some

attempt to examine the main factors that have shaped and continue to shape the Iban of Kapit Division. In what follows, I shall discuss those factors that have shaped the Iban economy in Kapit from the pre-Brooke to the present time.

3.2.1 Kapit Division- A Historical Background

The Rejang basin came under Brooke dominion in 1861. Before the arrival of the Brookes, the area was populated by the Ukits, Bukitans and the Iban. Charles Brooke (1866: 3360) dated the Iban migrations to the Rejang basin to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Freeman (1970:131-2) divided Iban movements into two main streams. The first was from the Lemanak, Skrang and Layar rivers into the present day Entabai and Julau and the headwaters of the Kanowit river, and the second was from the Batang Lupar and Indonesian Borneo into the Katibas river. There are two main reasons for early Iban migrations into the Rejang basin. *Firstly,* they were escaping from the political unrest in the Batang Lupar (Pringle 1970:78; Sandin 1967:81). *Secondly,* the Rejang basin had large tracts of virgin forest, and substantial fishing and hunting grounds in contrast to the more heavily populated and long settled regions of the Batang Lupar. Freeman (1970:135) has claimed that the Balleh area was a *"shifting-cultivators' paradise."*

Traditionally, the Iban were largely self-sufficient; they planted paddy for food and produced their own basic necessities such as bark cloth, mats, baskets and household utensils for daily use. They also hunted, gathered and fished. From Cramb (1988:108), we learn that the Iban had a limited production system, which, he claimed, was due to *"limited effective demand, and exacerbated by a chronic state of warfare."* However, it is incorrect to assume that outside contacts were absent. As migrants, the Iban were constantly in contact with other Borneo societies, such as the Bukitans, Serus, Malays and Chinese. During their migration from the Kapuas into present-day Sarawak the Iban

introduced a new culture, ideas and techniques of production to the natives of Sarawak suggesting some process of cultural diffusion (Sandin 1967). They also acquired new farmlands and wealth (Sandin 1967:19). It is in their pursuit for wealth and farmlands that the Iban became involved in either barter trading or inter-tribal warfare with the other ethnic groups (Cramb 1988; Low 1848; Sandin 1967, 1994). Even before the Iban were fully integrated into the market economy, they already had some concept of wealth which symbolised authority and status in a society which was characterised overall by a thoroughly egalitarian ethos. The wealth either comprised economic goods (such as brassware, cannon, beads, Chinese earthenware) or non-economic items (such as human heads).

It would also be wrong to assume that the Iban are involved only in agricultural activities and that non-agricultural activities were absent from pre-colonial Iban society. Fragmentary evidence (Chew 1990; Pringle 1970; Sandin 1967) shows that the Iban have a long history of involvement in non-agricultural activities, particularly trade. These studies show that the Iban had been involved directly in **local trade** and indirectly in **long distance trade** even before they were integrated into the market economy under the Brooke administration. Unfortunately, information on the evolution of Iban trade in the pre-Brooke period is scarce, nor is it clear on how extensive or regular Iban involvement in these trading systems was. However, we do know that the Iban had close trading relationships with the Malays and Chinese.[8]

Sandin (1967) records the existence of Iban involvement in local trade through barter exchange with other Bornean societies. The Iban were involved indirectly in long distance or *ulu* trade, particularly with the Malays and Chinese. Sandin traced Iban-Chinese trading to two generations before the arrival of James Brooke (Sandin 1967:64).

[8] The Iban also had trade relationships with other natives. However, their trade was very limited. The intra-village trade mostly involved exchange of forest products.

Unggang,[9] a Saribas Iban is said to have granted permission to Chinese to trade along the river and as a result,

> many Chinese traders came in boats to the Saribas river to sell their cooking pots *(periok temaga)*, brass cooking pans (*kali*), earthen bowls *(pinggai)*, and earthen pots (*periok petani*). The traders also brought shell armlets *(rangki)*, oval red pelaga beads, cowry shells (*buri*), bells of various sizes (*geri* and *gerunong*), and shell made into armlets or bracelets (*tuchong*)... (Sandin 1967:64).

In exchange for these luxury items, the Iban gave paddy and forest products such as rattan, rhinoceros horns, casques of the helmeted hornbill (or hornbill ivory), and bezoar stones which were in great demand by the Chinese. In the pre-colonial period, the expansion of Iban-Chinese trade was based on mutual dependence; the Chinese needed forest products, the Iban required their basic necessities. The close relationship between the rural Iban and Chinese *towkays* or traders has continued to the present day. As I will discuss in my later chapters, it is this relationship which partly shapes Iban involvement and success in CHP.

From the limited historical records available, we can say with confidence that Iban involvement in non-agricultural activities had started even before Sarawak came under the Brooke administration beginning in 1841. What I am suggesting is that the foundation for Iban involvement in the non-agricultural sector, particularly commercial activities, pre-dates their full integration into the cash economy. Forest product collection and *ulu* trading foreshadowed the present Iban involvement in rural non-agricultural activity.

The 100 years of Brooke administration started in 1841 and it was during this period that the Iban economy became fully integrated into the market economy. *Ulu* trading between the Iban and Chinese expanded, and the Iban became major participants in a trading network that stretched from rural Sarawak to international centres such as Singapore. The Iban integration into the cash economy has introduced them to a new

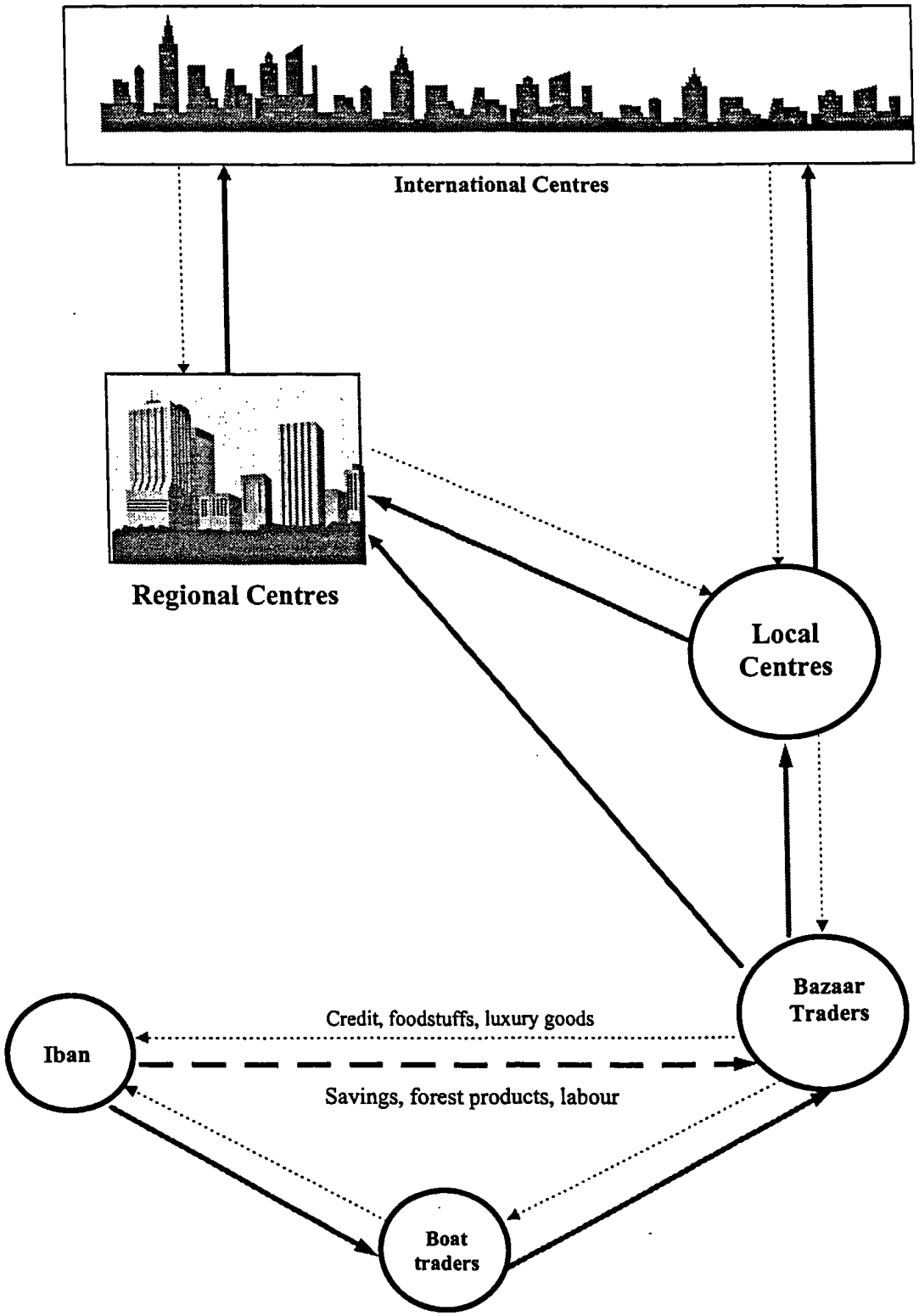
[9] According to Sandin (1967), Unggang is also known as *Lebor Menoa.*

phenomenon - **economic dependency**. In order to understand the effect of this new phenomenon, I must first examine the nature of Iban involvement in the *ulu* trade. I have developed a simple schematic diagram (**Figure 3-2**) to show the way the Iban economy was interlinked to the local and regional economy. The Iban and other native producers collected and sold forest products to Chinese boat traders, who in turn sold these to nearby bazaar shopkeepers. These latter then shipped the products either to the local centre in Kuching or directly to the regional centre in Singapore. In return, the Iban bought luxury items, goods and foodstuffs from the boat hawkers, who formed the lowest level in this trade link.

As the Iban became involved in the market economy, so was their dependence on the Chinese traders increased. Initially, the Ibans depended on the Chinese for luxury items, but later they became indebted to the Chinese for foodstuffs and credit. According to Fidler (1978:67), it is through the granting of credit to the Iban that the Chinese *towkay* puts them in debt and "*mortgages their future.*"

These economic linkages were not only limited to the exchange of goods, but also credit. The Iban were known to deposit their cash income with Chinese shopkeepers, who then used it as their working capital. The boat hawkers obtained their stocks and credit from bazaar *towkays*. The bazaar *towkays* themselves were also dependent on the *towkays* in Kuching, who in turn were indebted to Singapore traders. The Singapore traders, themselves were also part of the international economic network. It is through these economic networks that the Iban in the *ulu* became exposed to the effects of price booms and slumps.

Figure 3-2: The "*Ulu*' Trade and Iban Trading Links



In my opinion, trading was an important element of traditional Iban life. Even in their *sampi* (chants) the Iban invoked Simpulang Gana[10] to reward them with success, as reflected in this example: *"If you farm, all alike shall get padi...If you trade, all alike shall be skilful in selling"* (Roth 1968, Vol.1:174). Probably, it is this strong Iban belief in Simpulang Gana to bestow commercial success that prompted the Brooke administrators to say that "*the native's ideas of trading are primitive*" (Roth 1968, Vol.2;231). To these administrators, such trade may have seemed primitive because it did not coincide with their perception of what a market should be like; with proper shophouses (like those of the Chinese) and the use of money as a medium of exchange. These administrators have overlooked one fact. The Iban did not trade to accumulate cash, for to them trading enabled them to acquire traditional wealth such as gongs, brassware and jars which formed an important element of Iban prestige.

The Brooke administrators, also claimed that natives had "*no conception of the use of the circulating medium*" (Brooke 1866; 140, 156). Nevertheless, although they did not have money, these traders used Brunei brass cannons, *blachu* (black cotton cloth), *kain asap* (nankeen cotton), and small bits of iron as their medium of exchange (Boyle 1865:100). In this barter trade, the Iban used to exchange one *passu* (jar) of paddy for every single *pelaga* bead they received from the Chinese traders (Sandin 1967:64). Yet, despite all the above comments, the Iban have been reported to have had success in their commercial activities. Spenser St.John, as cited by Roth (1968,Vol.2: 231), found that the Iban were:

> **exceedingly quick in commercial transactions**; and most of them who did not know the value of a piece of money six years ago [*circa 1856*], are now active traders...the Sibuyaus are keener traders than the Land Dayaks...and Lieut.Marryat found the Lundu Dayaks always ready for barter...**they [*Iban*] are greatly addicted to commerce**, and spare no pains to procure articles of foreign manufacture for which they have acquired a taste...(My emphasis).

[10] Simpulang Gana is the Iban deity of warfare.

There can be no doubt that one of the most important influences contributing to the expansion of Iban involvement in the non-agricultural sector was the growth of Sarawak commercial and semi-commercial agriculture. Major changes in Sarawak agriculture began during the Brooke administration, as population pressures mounted, urban population grew, and the needs of the government to find sources of food and of revenue-earning exports increased commensurately.

The government realised that there was a high demand for primary products such as coffee, rubber and pepper in the world market. Clearly, when the Brookes began to encourage the natives to plant and trade in cash crops, it was not because they saw cash cropping as a better alternative to swidden agriculture, but an economic activity from which they could draw higher revenue, export duties and land taxes. The Iban had also planted pepper. However, it never became popular because of its high cost of cultivation. In contrast, there was a lot of interest in pepper planting among the Chinese pioneers. Pepper planting must have been highly profitable because some Chinese gold-miners turned their attention to pepper (Chew 1990:45). The Iban had to rely on their individual initiative and expenses because they did not have the benefit of financial support from Chinese merchants, unlike the Chinese pepper planters

The economic history of the Rejang Iban differs considerably from that of the Batang Lupar Iban. In the Batang Lupar River basin, the problem was a constant hostility between the up-river and downriver Iban. In the case of the Rejang, the Brookes had to face two major problems: Iban rapid migration in search of fresh forest to practice shifting cultivation; and Iban hostilities against other communities (Pringle 1970:236). State policies and their effects on these two areas also differ: that is to end inter-Iban hostility in the Batang Lupar, and to curb Iban migration and *"aggression"* against other communities in the Rejang basin.

Brooke policy played a role in shaping the pattern of Iban migration into Kapit. Both the Brooke and the British colonial administrations did not support Iban expansion, except into those regions specially designated as development areas. Given that the Balleh and Balui were designated, Iban migration was restricted there. The Balleh was closed to the Iban both as a punishment for the Iban rebels who refused to submit to the Brookes, and as a way of restraining the Iban from occupying the Balleh area. While the Brookes imposed rules to restrict Iban migration and occupation of fresh lands, their encouragement of Chinese farmers to settle in large numbers in the lower Rejang resulted in constant land disputes between the Iban and Chinese.

The arrival of the Brookes also encouraged the Chinese traders to trade along the full 130 miles of the Rejang river and its many tributaries. The majority of these Chinese were Hokkiens and Teochius. Before the arrival of the Brookes, they often traded with the natives from the safety of their boats. But once the Brookes had built forts at Nanga Balleh in 1874 and at Kapit[11] in 1878, Chinese traders took advantage of Brooke security and built their shophouses close to these forts. By 1888, Kapit had 18 shops with seven others under construction (Sarawak Gazette 1st March, 1888:33).

Kanowit became the major commercial centre of the Rejang basin, and from Kanowit traders would travel up-river to Song, Kapit and Belaga. These three places became important because the Chinese built their shophouses there to be nearer to the sources of the forest products. Beccari (1986), in his travels in the 1880s mentioned the importance of Kapit as a trading centre. It attracted native traders from all over the Rejang basin and from places as far away as present day Indonesian Borneo. Beccari (1986:362) wrote:

[11] The fort at Nanga Balleh was later abandoned. In 1878, the Brooke administration constructed a new fort at Kapit. It was renamed Fort Sylvia in 1925 in honour of the wife of the Third Rajah.

> The trade which was done by these people at Kapit and at Sibu was very considerable. They brought gutta percha and india rubber of excellent quality, valued at thousands of dollars, taking in exchange salt and various goods. Notwithstanding the great distance they had come, they asserted that as long as they were in good terms with the Hivan [*Iban*] Dyaks they found the Rajang markets preferable to the more prosperous and more accessible markets of their own country.

Trading in the Rejang basin was not only confined to Kapit but extended as far as Belaga, the remotest government station and the furthest up-river of the Chinese bazaar towns on the Rejang. When the Rajah proposed to close the station, it was widely opposed by the *ulu* traders, suggesting its important role as a source of security for them. By 1893 it was reported that Belaga had 14 shops. In 1892, the Brooke administration also built a fort further down-river at Song and it too attracted Chinese traders who built shophouses near the fort.

Forest trading must have been profitable because the Chinese traders were willing to risk their lives (from such hazards as native head-hunters, treacherous rapids) to trade along the Rejang basin. The Sarawak Gazette reported attacks on Chinese boat traders by the natives in this area. (Sarawak Gazette 1st December 1894:204; Sarawak Gazette 1st July 1910:139). Undeniably, the Rejang was a frontier region, rich in forest products, particularly *damar, gutta, rattan, engkabang,* beeswax, timber, camphor, rhinoceros horns, and bezoar stones. In the late nineteenth century, Kapit was an important trading centre for rattan which was exported to Kuching and Singapore. The Ibans, Kayans and Kenyahs who were the main rattan collectors, would sell semi-processed rattan to Chinese traders in Kapit and Belaga. Chinese from Kapit would then bring it on small ocean-going vessels and *bandongs* (junks) to Sibu. Chew (1990) reported that in the late 1800s, the Iban earned between $60 to $80 for a 100-cane bundle, which provided them with the necessary cash income. In 1909, it was reported in the Sarawak Gazette (16 July, 1909:157) that there was a glut in the rattan market, and it is reasonable to assume that trading centres like Kapit, Song and Belaga were affected by it.

One of the biggest problems confronting early traders in the Rejang basin was that of transportation. The Rejang river has many treacherous rapids. The traders also faced economic difficulties because of the lack of communication particularly shipping facilities with local and regional trading centres such as Kuching and Singapore. This often resulted in excess supply of forest products in the local market.

> A serious difficulty has arisen owing to the shipment facilities being absolutely inadequate to cope with the increase in cargoes for export. The Chinese have made every effort to charter a steamer to Singapore, but without success. All the bazaars are choked with illepenuts and it is estimated that only a quarter of the nuts have as yet been put on the local market (*Sarawak Gazette* 16 April, 1919:91).

Another problem faced by the Iban in the Rejang basin is that of food shortages. In the 1960s some Iban families in the area suffered food shortages, due to rice insufficiency and low prices of cash crops. In 1967, the District Officer of Kapit estimated that 10,000 out of 40,000 Iban *bilik*-families needed government assistance due to rice shortages (Sarawak Gazette 29th February 1968:41) which he attributed to security problems due to border clashes and labour shortages due to *bejalai.*[12]

Sarawak's incorporation into the world market economy also introduced the Iban to **price fluctuations.** Their first introduction to a price boom came in the 1870s and 1880s with the increase in the price of forest products resulting from a rise in the demand in the West and China. Many Iban then began to allocate more time and labour to the gathering of forest products which became an integral part of their economy. These forest products, which once served as the Iban source of food, fuel, medicinal and raw materials were now sold for cash. Many Iban began to rely on the sale of forest products when their need for cash arose or when their cash crops failed.

[12] *Bejalai* refer to the different types of *bejalai*-related behaviour mentioned by Kedit (1993:3), that is *bejalai. belelang. bekuli. kerja. pegi* and *kampar* (see **Appendix 11** for a brief description of these activities).

The Iban forest economy was also affected by the Brooke land and immigration policy. The Brookes encouraged Chinese immigrants to clear forest areas for agricultural development. Here lies the contradiction in Brooke policies. Though the administration was very critical of Iban shifting cultivation, they seemed to be indifferent to the destruction of the forest. Although the clearing of forest areas may not have been massive because of the small nature of agricultural plantations, yet it affected the forest on which the Iban subsisted. Brooke forest policy was influenced by political considerations, as in the case of the Lanjak-Entimau Forest Reserve, which was created in 1930 (after the Asun Revolt) as a buffer between the warring Ibans (Pringle 1970:280). The land laws gave the natives the right to continue practising their *adat* system on native customary land (NCR). Unlike the government which had the right to claim more forest land for agricultural development, the natives were unable to open up new lands. An important point that I can draw from this discussion is that the Iban forest economy was never the same again. Brooke economic policies began to upset the Iban traditional balance with the forest. The problem has persisted up to the present time and has important implications for Iban craftspersons who tend to rely on the forest for their raw materials.

Since Sarawak's independence in 1963, Kapit Division has experienced rapid economic growth resulting from rural agricultural development, exploitation of timber in the interior, and the recent construction work on the Bakun Dam in Belaga District. As I will discuss in Section 3.3, development activities have had or will have a significant impact on the socio-economic development of the Iban in Kapit Division.

3.2.2 "Politik Pembangunan" Projects In Kapit Division

Sarawak's current Chief Minister, Tan Sri Abdul Taib bin Mahmud differentiates his brand of politics as one based on development, thus giving rise to the term *politik*

pembangunan. One of the important components of *politik pembangunan* is agricultural development.

In Kapit Division, the main cash crops are pepper, rubber, cocoa, and fruit trees and these are planted using government subsidy assistance. Pepper planting is a major agricultural revenue earner in the study area. The size of land planted with pepper increased from 229 hectares in 1989 to 337 hectares in 1993 (Sarawak Agriculture Department 1993:30). This interest is due to the availability of support and the attractive price of pepper. Also, there has been a growing interest in cocoa planting because of its prices and the availability of government support under the Agricultural Diversification Scheme. In Kapit, cocoa is planted as a monocrop on smallholdings, because large-scale planting was restricted by the unavailability of suitably large areas. Another common cash crop grown in Kapit Division is rubber. Ordinary rubber production has been decreasing while that under the Planting Scheme have been increasing. Between 1980 to 1993, the total area planted with ordinary rubber had decreased by 1,350 hectares, while that planted with high yielding clones had increased by 6,302 hectares. (Sarawak Agriculture Department 1993:17).

Government introduced subsidies to improve agricultural development. The role of government subsidies to improve agricultural development has been a subject to some debate. On the one hand, they are intended to encourage farmers to adopt improved practices and grow new crops; this action will in turn, maintain a steady supply of export products and help ensure food sufficiency. On the other hand, subsidies are *"in effect"* handouts. I am doubtful that they have made a significant contribution to agricultural productivity. In fact, it has made the Iban producers, heavily dependent on the government rather than transforming them into independent producers. By awarding subsidies, the government has created a market distortion in the rural economy - making subsidised

crops more economically viable than they would have been. Subsidy schemes are also mainly crop-oriented, reflecting limited attention to the overall economic activity of the rural producer.

These programmes tend to incorporate the Iban producers further into commodity relations, and attempt to standardise and rationalise the production of commodities for the domestic and international markets. The state has determined that the Iban should be engaged in cash crop production so that they can earn an income now deemed necessary for their economic survival. The land and immigration policy of the Brookes and the Malaysian government's rural development policies have played an important role in transforming Iban production from largely autonomous, self-subsistent form of production to one which is market-dependent.

What is of concern is that the products obtained from cash cropping cannot be consumed directly by the producers as in the case of the natural economy. Instead the cash crops must be exchanged for money before the Iban can benefit from their production. The need for exchangeability in practice requires the role of intermediaries (such as Chinese *towkays* or government agencies) which in turn implies that the Iban producers are dependent on these intermediaries. The Iban producers no longer have autonomy over their entire production and consumption process.

The fact that cash-cropping, such as rubber is chosen as the means to *"develop"* the Iban makes me doubt the genuineness of the state's willingness to assist the rural Iban. Numerous studies (Sarawak Agriculture Department 1993; SADP 1991a; UKM 1994) have shown that the rubber smallholder sector is one of the most depressed sectors of the Malaysian economy and to situate the Iban in this sector would mean transferring them from one poverty sector (hill paddy) to another. The low income from cash crops has forced many Iban farmers to abandon their cocoa and rubber smallholders to work in

logging companies (*Jabatan Pertanian Kapit* 1992:6). Studies in Kapit (Malaysia 1985; State Planning Unit 1992b) have shown that cash cropping, particularly rubber, is becoming a part-time activity for the rural farmers who prefer to work in alternative economic activities, particularly waged employment in logging companies.

This brings us to the next important component of *politik pembangunan* - timber extraction. Undeniably, logging in Kapit Division has increased tremendously in the last decade. The impact of the logging industry is varied. In Kapit Division, the number of operational logging camps has increased from 10 in 1979 (Malaysia 1985:4-21) to 41 in 1990. In fact, rapid logging activities and the number of sawmills along the Rejang river are the most visible signs of *politik pembangunan* in Kapit Division. Logging and sawmilling are the leading sector in terms of income and employment generation in Sarawak. Though logging was carried out in the past, it was mostly confined to the swamp forest along the coast, leaving interior areas such as Kapit undisturbed. Mechanical logging in the interior started in 1947 with the introduction of new and efficient logging machinery (such as chainsaws, tractors, winches) which made it possible for timber in the once less accessible upland forest of Kapit Division to be extracted. The forests of Sarawak, particularly in the Kapit Division have great economic importance, providing logs, sawn timber, shingles, and poles, *etc.* The forest contains valuable timbers such as ramin (*Gonystylus bancanus*), meranti (*Shorea* spp.), alan (*Shorea albida)*, kapur (*Dryobalanops* spp.) and belian (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*). Ramin is the main species of sawn timber exported while belian is used locally.

In Belaga District commercial logging only started in 1976. However, within a period of ten years, twelve timber concession areas in the district had been approved for *Bumiputera* politicians and their relatives (INSAN 1989a:5). The Feasibility Study in 1985 (Malaysia 1985:Table 4-9) also reported that Kapit had increased its volume of timber

production from 336,836 metric tons in 1980 to 947,751 in 1983; a total of 610,915 metric tons in a period of just three years!

Given the high concentration of timber extraction in the Kapit Division, the increase in log production has led to rapid deforestation and serious consequences for the ecology, food resources and livelihood of the natives. INSAN (1989a:17-19) has claimed that the logging industry had decreased the viability of the traditional subsistence economy, weakened the traditional social structure, accelerated urban drift and created social problems. The timber industry has provided the Iban with economic opportunities, but it also weakens their traditional forms of production. The construction of logging roads has made the Iban more accessible to the wider market, while at the same time increasing the role played by merchant capital whose aim is to engage in unequal exchange in order to maximise profit.

The use of heavy machinery in logging has a negative impact on the soil, air and water quality. Leaching and erosion have affected farming by reducing soil fertility. The shifting cultivators have faced difficulties because they can no longer open up new forest lands, or fell virgin forest in concession areas. They have been forced to shorten their fallow period and cultivate a particular plot of land more frequently. The logging silvicultural treatment (which involves the poisoning of uneconomic forest species) reduces the species diversity of the forest, and has led to long-term contamination of the environment, particularly on aquatic and wildlife, vegetation and soil and the health of human beings living in the area. The longhouse communities can no longer rely on the forest and rivers for their food and raw material supply. Rapid development in the timber industry has disrupted the natives' traditional balance with the forest.

Apart from the environmental damage, the logging industry has proven itself to be very costly in terms of human lives. In 1983 alone 67 per cent of all fatal occupational

accidents in the state were in the logging industry (INSAN 1989a:31). Most who suffered injuries from logging accidents were given disability compensations (maximum of RM19,000) and forced to retire, creating serious economic difficulties for families who relied on them for income support. Logging activities also affect trade in forest products. Fish, resins, damar, illepenut, which were once a major source of income for the longhouse communities, have become scarce. Deforestation has also affected the supply of raw materials used in handicraft production.

Waged employment in the logging industry is an important source of off-farm income for the longhouse communities in rural Kapit. The high income from the logging industry may have provided the longhouse communities with cash, but given the rapid rates of logging in Sarawak, it will not be long before all the commercial forest in Kapit will have gone. Without marketable skills and with low education, the Iban will face difficulties finding alternative waged employment in Kapit. With limited opportunities, the Iban either can return to their longhouses and take up income-generating activities (such as cash farming, petty trading, CHP) or participate in *bejalai*-related activities.

INSAN (1989a:18) has also claimed that the logging industry brings *"money relations into the rural areas."* The majority of the *tuai rumah* received monthly *duit sagu ati* (cash compliments) from logging companies to help mediate disputes that may arise between the longhouse communities and the company, and to recruit new labourers to work for the logging companies. Logging companies also pay compensation to customary landowners. However, this compensation often does not measure up to the hardships caused by loss of land rights and damage done to land, crops, fruit trees, burial places, water supplies, and food resources. Furthermore, the affected population rarely have the opportunity to share the large profits earned by the logging companies and the timber concession-holders.

I am sceptical that the timber industry has created the "*trickle down*" effect as hoped for or claimed by the politicians and administrators. Although Kapit Division has 3,102,338 hectares of logging areas, 41 logging camps, and earned royalties worth RM173,742,351.24 (in 1992) it only employs 7,778 workers (*Kandungan Profil Bahagian Kapit*, undated:10) suggesting a high capital intensiveness of logging activities. The high royalty level from timber does not seem to have done much to ameliorate poverty in Kapit. The UKM Poverty Study Group (1994, Table 2.1) estimated that in 1993, Kapit had a poverty incidence of 57.6 per cent,[13] with the poor earning a mean per capita income of RM58.00 per month. Kapit also has a relatively high incidence of hard-core poverty (22.6 per cent); the poor earning a mean per-capita income of RM37.00 per month. This evidence shows that logging activities in Kapit have only really benefited the timber concession holders, timber companies and the Malaysian government in terms of export earnings and royalties whilst local communities have often had to cope with the externalities of timber extraction.

I believe that logging activities will continue in Kapit Division because 83.6 per cent of its land is under dry forest (*Jabatan Pertanian Kapit* 1992:Table 1). Kapit District, which comprises the bulk of the Kapit Division's forests, will be most affected. Problems resulting from logging will be further aggravated by the development of the Bakun Hydro Electric Project and construction of the Bakun dam. The dam is to be located in Belaga district and is expected to generate 2,400 megawatts of electricity. The dam will involve the flooding of 71,000 hectares of the catchment area of the Balui River, destroying forest, wildlife and most important of all, it will necessitate the resettlement of over 6,000 Orang Ulu communities (Bugo 1988:52; Masing 1988:65). In a recent parliamentary debate the Member of Parliament for Hulu Rajang highlighted the

[13] This figure was estimated based on per capita income.

discontent and concern of the community leaders and people in Belaga over the Bakun dam project. He argued:

> They [*community leaders and people of Belaga*] are far from happy over some of the actions taken so far by the developers of the project [*Bakun dam*] and are worried over the news that only small plots of land have been allocated per family...The Orang Ulu are unafraid of hardship or hunger as long as they have land to cultivate. The official information is that each family will only be allocated two to three hectares of land when these people own 30 to 40 hectares now...It is hoped that the sacrifice by the people of Belaga is justly repaid as they are the ones who have to bear the burden of the resulting social, economic, cultural and environmental costs (Reported in the *Star*, 12th December, 1995).

The Belaga community leaders and people are concerned that the developers (BAKUN Resort company) will employ more *"foreign"* workers than locals in the dam construction projects. Also, the levelling works at the resettlement sites are being done without prior notice to the affected communities. Though these communities have voiced their concern in a report submitted through the Bakun Development Committee, I doubt that the relevant authorities will hear their voices or heed their concern. In my view, the government has not learnt or refuses to learn from the socio-economic problems faced by the resettled Iban in the Batang Ai Hydroelectric dam project. (King and Jayum 1992; Masing 1988). It is clear that the land the Iban and Orang Ulu utilise are also suitable for logging and plantation agriculture. These people have been displaced and are adversely affected by the logging and hydro-electric dams schemes for private companies and the state. As we have seen in the case of the Batang Ai Hydroelectric dam project, the state had to resettle the affected communities to make way for *"development"* which, in my opinion, mainly benefited the political and economic elite.

As we have seen, the Iban in Kapit Division are experiencing a diminishing resource base as a consequence of the state's rural development programmes. For the state, having the Iban participate in the cash-crop industry and permanent occupation, not only serves to release the Iban farmers from their dependence on shifting cultivation, but also gives the impression that the Iban are securing from the *"benefits of development."*

Also, under the official banner of rural development, the state can have complete access to the Iban communal lands for the extraction of valuable resources such as timber and minerals. The irony is that all these projects are done in the name of *pembangunan* - development. Since such patterns of development will persist, I cannot help but share Schwenk's (1973:1) concern which he voiced more than 20 years ago that "[*t*]*he Iban or Sea Dayaks of the new Seventh Division of Sarawak may be at the threshold of a major socio-economic crisis.*"

Another influence on Iban involvement in CHP is tourism development, particularly promotion of ecotourism in Sarawak. Kapit has a promising potential for tourism because of its strategic location straddling Sarawak's longest river and its proximity to the Lanjak-Entimau Wildlife Sanctuary, Pelagus Rapids and Pelagus National Park. In 1992, the Rural Growth Centre Study consultants (1992) proposed the development of Kapit as a rural growth centre; tourism was identified as one of its catalyst industries. The Iban in rural Kapit are bound to be drawn towards tourism and the "*tourist gaze*" (Caslake 1992) because of the high percentage of tourists visiting Iban longhouses. Zeppel (1992) estimated that 68.7 per cent of tourists who came to Sarawak in 1990 joined longhouse tours and I expect that this percentage will increase with Sarawak's shift towards eco-tourism. Although tourism is not the perfect solution to all the economic problems of the rural Iban, it certainly helps to minimise some of their difficulties. Income generated from tourism-related activities allows the rural Iban to sustain their lifestyles and motivates them to learn and improve Iban cultural elements that have been ignored, forgotten or undermined. However, commercialisation of craft production also has a negative impact on the Iban. I shall discuss in detail this issue in the next chapter.

The government has taken some measures to improve socio-economic conditions. Kapit Division now has 83 schools, with 6 government secondary schools,[14] 66 government primary schools, 2 Chinese primary schools and 9 Mission-primary schools. These schools, particularly the primary ones, are within reach of the longhouse communities. Some secondary schools in Kapit Division even have boarding facilities for their needy students from the interior. Further education students attend boarding schools in major towns such as Sibu, Kuching, and Miri.

Besides these schools, Kapit Division has 1 government hospital, 2 private polyclinics, 1 dental clinic, 3 government health clinics, 8 rural clinics, and 13 small health centres. Communities in remote areas are able to receive health services from the 33 locations which are served by what the Iban term as *doktor terebai* (flying doctor service). Despite the number of medical services available, they are still beyond easy reach of the majority of the rural population because of transportation difficulties.

The majority (84.0 per cent) of the rural population in Kapit Division have access to clean water, which is either piped directly into their longhouses or distributed at communal gravity-taps. These facilities were provided by the government under the *Sistem Bekalan Air Luar Bandar* (Rural Water Supply System). Those living in the bazaar-towns have better facilities because they receive piped water from the Public Works Department. Unlike water, electricity is unevenly distributed. The majority of Kapit's urban population receive their electricity supply from the state-owned Sarawak Electric Supply Corporation (SESCO). SESCO, however, does not extend its services to the majority of the rural population; forcing them to rely on personally owned electric power generators. As I have discussed, the government has just started to construct the

[14] Some have classes up to Form Five.

Bakun dam to generate hydro-electric power, but, I doubt that the electricity needs of the rural people can fully justify its construction.

In the next section, I shall focus my discussion on four development issues which will have some influence on Iban involvement and *"success"* (or lack of it) in CHP.

3.3 Outcomes of State Development and Intervention

It is useful at this point to analyse the impact of government economic development programmes on the rural Iban, particularly in terms of the twin objectives of the NEP - poverty eradication and economic restructuring. In the absence of disaggregated statistics by area, I shall discuss the outcomes of State development and intervention on the Iban in general using aggregate evidence.

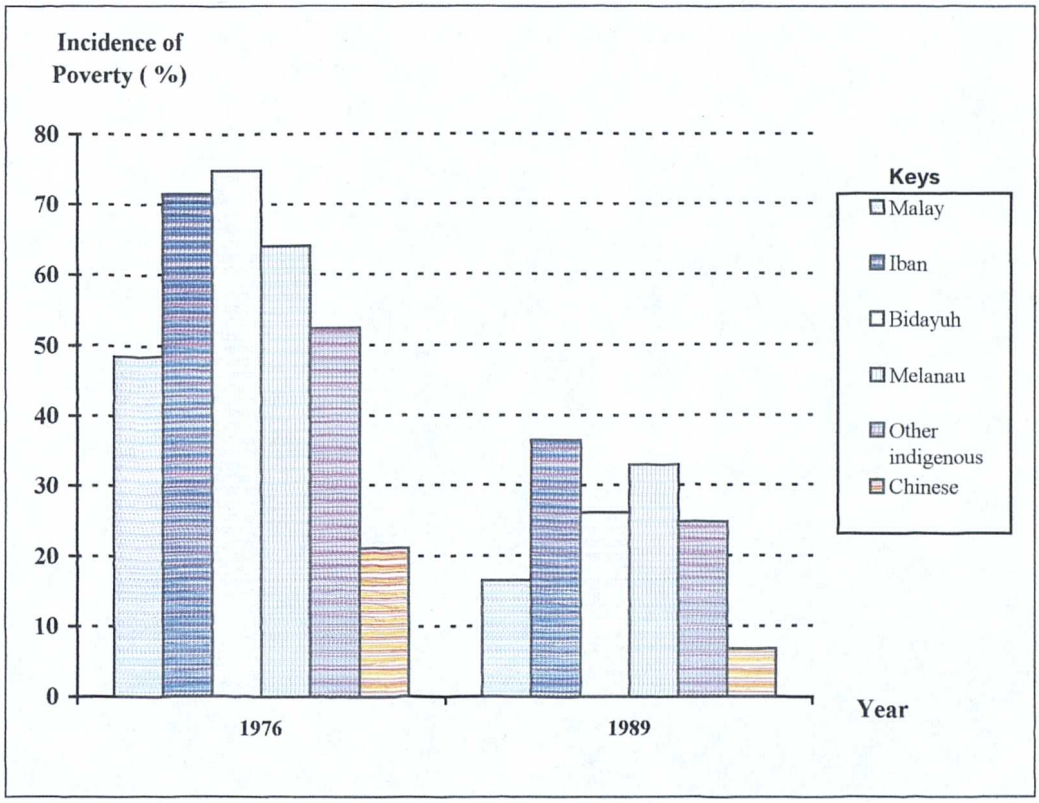
Based on the available data (Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991:12; UKM 1994), I believe there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Sarawak has made some progress in eradicating poverty. The UKM Poverty Study (1994) reported that the incidence of poverty in Sarawak decreased from 51.7 per cent in 1976 to 19.1 per cent in 1993 (UKM 1994: Table 1.7). In absolute terms, the total number of poor households has decreased from 107,100 households in 1976 to 68,000 households in 1993. Sarawak's success story, however, needs to be accepted with some caution.

The incidence of poverty may have been reduced, but I share Shari's (1984:333) and Muzaffar's (1989:57) scepticism about the reliability of government statistics on poverty and its calculation of the poverty-line. Besides, Sarawak has lagged behind Peninsular Malaysia in poverty-eradication (UKM 1994). In 1976, Sarawak's total of poor households was 12.2 per cent of total poor households in Malaysia. However, this figure had risen to 31.1 per cent in 1993. Furthermore, poverty in Sarawak is a rural and *Bumiputera* phenomenon. In 1976, the incidence of rural poverty was 60.7 per cent

compared to 16.3 per cent in the urban areas, and in 1993 it was 23.6 per cent and 6.0 per cent respectively.

Given that the Iban are the largest ethnic group and are rural based it is safe to conclude that poverty is a mainly Iban problem. **What is beyond dispute is the fact that the NEP has NOT succeeded in eradicating Iban poverty**. This is supported by the data presented in **Figure 3-3,** which show that the Iban are the poorest ethnic group in Sarawak.

Figure 3-3: Incidence of Poverty by Ethnic Groups in Sarawak, 1976 and 1989



Source: Adapted from UKM (1994), Table 1.7
Note: The figure for the incidence of poverty among the Chinese is based on data in 1987

The extent of Iban poverty is borne out by these data. In 1976, the Iban registered a poverty incidence of 71.5 per cent, which is second only to the Bidayuh, who registered a poverty incidence of 74.9 per cent. Though the incidence of Iban poverty was reduced

to 36.4 per cent in 1989, they registered the highest incidence of poverty in the state, suggesting that the Iban were economically the worst-off compared to other races. In the same year, the Iban registered the lowest mean monthly household income of RM709.00 compared to RM1,752.00 for the Chinese, RM1,310.00 for the Malays, RM953.00 for the Melanaus, RM830.00 for the Bidayuhs, and RM892.00 for other *Bumiputeras* (UKM, 1994, Table 1.11).Of the ten districts surveyed in the UKM poverty study, all the three Iban districts of Lubok Antu, Sri Aman and Kapit were classified as the *"most depressed areas."* They each registered a mean household income of RM37.00, RM49.00 and RM58.00 per month respectively which is far below Sarawak's per capita Poverty Line Index (PLI) of RM97.06. It appears that Lubok Antu had received a per capita income even lower than the state's hard-core PLI of RM48.53. (UKM 1994:2-5). The high incidence of hard-core poverty and the low mean per capita income of the Iban suggest **that the Ibans are not only poor, but more importantly, they are extremely poor**. It is only in Miri, where the incidence of Iban poverty is lower (16.6 per cent) and the hard-core poverty incidence is 2.0 per cent. The low incidence of poverty among Iban households in Miri is due to their high involvement in waged employment, particularly in the oil and construction companies.

In Sarawak, the poverty incidence is highest among the Iban hill paddy-farmers (FAO 1980; SADP 1991a; UKM 1994). One of the most important questions regarding Iban poverty is whether it stems from their own inefficiency (as sub-optimal producers) or from structural factors (for example size of land holding)? It appears to me that the problem is a combination of both factors. Unlike settled farmers, shifting cultivators have lower productivity, due to lack of agricultural inputs, environmental constraints and low application of fertilisers and pesticides. Iban poverty is not purely agricultural; the Iban have low education and have limited access to productive assets, and the capital and credit facilities necessary to extricate them from the poverty cycle. As well as the Iban lack of

political unity (Jawan 1994), the rural Iban do not have dynamic grassroots leaders who can help lead them out of poverty. This lack of Iban unity is rather paradoxical especially if one considers the fact that the Iban historically have been known to have *"brave"* leaders. The absence of dynamic leaders in present time, is probably due to the fact that the potential leaders are government employees whose function is to maintain the *status quo* in the rural areas.

The rural Iban also face the problem of price instability in cash crops which seriously affects their ability to earn cash income. They can adjust to these market forces by taking up off-farm work. However, due to the lack of off-farm employment opportunities in the rural areas, the Iban are unable to break their poverty cycle. The majority of the rural Iban do not have the requisite educational and marketable skills to improve their income-earning capacities. This is confirmed by Joseph's study which shows that the Iban have the lowest literacy rate and the lowest school attendance in Sarawak (Joseph 1989:87-90).

Regarding the economic restructuring objective of the NEP, I found little evidence suggesting that the majority of the Iban have benefited from it. Studies by Kedit (1993) and Joseph (1989) have revealed that the numbers of Iban in the urban modern sector have increased. To me, these statistics are meaningless because the majority of the Iban are concentrated in the lower rung of Malaysia's economic ladder as soldiers, general labourers, casual workers, clerks, petty traders, carpenters, derrick men, riggers and drillers.

I doubt that the majority of the Iban are aware of, let alone have easy access to, government support agencies. The government may have established different types of

agencies[15] to extend support to the *Bumiputera* community, but these agencies were created mainly to accumulate corporate assets and promote *Bumiputera,* particularly Malay involvement in the modern industrial sector. The main focus is the business and urban sectors which are dominated by the Chinese and Malays, and where the Iban are under-represented. In Sarawak, the politico-administrative machinery is controlled by the Malay/Melanau-Muslims, therefore, their interest is always in the forefront of any development agenda. It came as no surprise when the Malay/Melanau-Muslims received top priorities in government support, leaving the Iban and other *Bumiputera* fighting for what is left. In Sarawak, the NEP, has been and I believe will always prioritise the 3M's - Malays, Melanaus and Muslims. If this trend of development persists, the Iban will be like *Apai Salui* in the Iban *ensera* (folk lore) of *Apai Salui* and *Suma Umang*[16] (Sutlive 1972:392).

I must admit that the NEP is not without success; the NEP has achieved, in part, what it set out to do, that is to create *Bumiputera* (or Iban) entrepreneurs. The NEP or what the Iban termed as the *"lubang penatai pemisi baru"* became internalised in the urban and more educated Iban, and some responded by becoming involved in commercial activities. The majority of Iban businesses are small and concentrated in petty trading, forest products, commercial agriculture, and handicraft products. This does not

[15] Some examples of these semi-government agencies State Economic Development Corporations (SEDCs) *Permodalan Nasional Berhad* (PERNAS), *Majlis Amanah Rakyat* (MARA), Urban Development Authority (UDA), *etc.,*

[16] This is the story of Apai Salui (Iban "Father of Foolishness') and Suma Umang as cited by Sutlive (1972:392):

> Apai Salui had a large concrete house, all the money he needed, Chinese jars, Malays gongs, and bins of rice. His Malay friend, Suma Umang, had nothing - except a bamboo hut with a split bamboo floor, nipa thatched walls and roof....But one of the poles under Suma Umang's house was split and when the wind blew through it, the sound was like that of a flute. One day, Apai Salui heard the sound and decided that he must have Suma Umang's house so that he could listen to the wind blowing over the split poles. The two exchanged houses...One day, however, the wind was stronger than usual, and the pole gave away, the house collapsed and Apai Salui was killed. But Suma Umang lived comfortably in his house with money, jars, gongs and rice.

necessarily indicate there is a lack of *"big and successful"* Iban businesses in Sarawak. From what I have discovered of successful Iban businesspersons, discussed in the media, official reports and *randau ruai* (casual discussions), the majority of them are the politico-bureaucrats. Statistically, the NEP has succeeded in creating a small group (as opposed to class) of Iban businesspersons. Iban involvement in commercial activities is no longer confined to cash agriculture or petty trading, for there is evidence (INSAN 1989a, 1989b) indicating that some Iban even own successful companies. INSAN (1989a: Appendix One) reported that some Iban have succeeded in becoming major shareholders in the highly lucrative timber companies. The following statistics bear out this point. In 1989, the percentage share of Iban individuals in timber companies in Belaga is as follows:[17] 21.0 per cent share of the Lengan Lumber Sendirian Berhad, 100 per cent share in the Skiwa Sendirian Berhad, 48.0 per cent share of Ajau Sendirian Berhad and 11.0 per cent of Mikoyon Sendirian Berhad.

Interestingly, the majority (if not all) of those listed in the INSAN report are from the "*bureaucratic capitalist class*" (Jomo 1977; Toh 1982) which includes politicians and bureaucrats. It would be interesting to know how these groups of Iban have succeeded while the rest have not. I can think of one reason; the role of the government. The relatively powerful position of the government in the post-NEP period has enabled the few Iban politicians and bureaucrats to achieve economic success through the state. Not surprisingly, the majority of the Iban who own lucrative businesses or hold timber licenses are members of the ruling political party and their families (INSAN 1989b, Table 2). Examples from other states in Malaysia have shown that government enterprises allow the *Bumiputera* bureaucratic class to appropriate wealth for themselves through high directors' fees, huge salaries and fringe benefits. While the NEP has brought little benefit to the majority of the Iban, it contained many benefits for the minority.

[17] I calculated these figures based on Iban names listed in the list of shareholders in the respective companies.

Despite increased Iban involvement in the commercial sector, I am sceptical that the Iban have really created a niche in the commercial sector like the Chinese and Malays. I am equally doubtful that these "*successful*" Iban businesspersons can function as a catalyst for increased Iban involvement in the commercial sector, as envisaged by the NEP. There is no indication that the NEP has succeeded in creating a solid Iban entrepreneurial class. The majority of them are involved in small business or in sectors where the government have control over licenses such as timber, transportation and contracting, suggesting that they have limited access to other businesses. There is a basis for my doubts. Our earlier discussion showed that government policies have prevented active Iban involvement in commercial activities. The pre- and post-colonial governments introduced policies which indirectly rendered the agricultural sector as the only viable options for the Iban. Organisationally, the Iban lacked institutions that could mobilise capital and pool economic resources effectively. The Chinese have clan-based organisations and the Malay-Muslims have their religious funds but the Iban have to rely on personal resources. These organisations provide the Chinese and Malays with better opportunities to save and invest. Moreover, the majority of the Iban lack the requisite physical (income, savings) and non-physical resources (entrepreneurship, willingness to take commercial risks) to enable them to compete with the Malays and the Chinese in the business world.

In accounting for the success of the NEP, the government claims to have achieved 19.4 per cent of the targeted 30.0 per cent equity share for the *Bumiputera*. One fact still remains; 13.0 per cent of these 19.4 per cent equity shares are held under trust by government agencies such as *Majlis Amanah Rakyat* (MARA) and *Permodalan Nasional Berhad* (PNB) (Muzaffar 1989). Of this total *Bumiputera* share, the highest contribution is definitely from the Malays, because they are controlling both of Malaysia's resource monopolies, namely economic and political power. Though the Iban comprise the majority ethnic group in Sarawak, they have limited political power (Jawan 1992) and no

economic power which would enable them to claim their share of Malaysia's economic pie. The very few who have succeeded have done so with personal aggrandisement in mind. In my opinion, the Iban are experiencing the *"glass-ceiling effect"* which has prevented them from reaping the full benefits of the NEP. Explicitly, the NEP has accorded equal treatment to all *Bumiputeras;* implicitly there is a transparent barrier (which I liken to a glass-ceiling) preventing the Iban from reaching the top of the economic ladder. The glass ceiling effect is a direct consequence of biases in government policies in favour of the Malays.

Most important, there is a lack of **élite unity** among the Iban which could inject a sense of purpose and provide the direction for the Iban in pursuit of the objectives of the NEP. Even after thirty-two years of Malaysian independence, the Iban still have the highest incidence of poverty, earning the lowest mean household income, residing in the rural areas and concentrated in the poorest sector (hill paddy) of the Malaysian economy. Left unchecked, the current trend of economic development will perpetuate the agricultural orientation of the Iban. It will have little effect on narrowing the economic gap between the rich and poor Iban. I cannot expect this pattern to change drastically with the implementation of the NEP and the National Development Policy (NDP). I must recognise that these two policies are not programmes for transferring wealth to *Bumiputeras* (let alone the Iban) in the rural or urban areas, for their twin objectives only focus on poverty eradication and economic restructuring (Cho 1990:233). Neither do I expect the present Iban economy to change much as long as the existing political-economic framework is able to fulfil the economic needs of the Iban bureaucratic-capitalist minority.

In my opinion Malaysian state policies in relation to the Iban economic role is a mirror image of Brooke policies. The only difference is that they are done in the name of poverty eradication and economic restructuring. It is a classic example of old wine in new bottles. It appears to me that the government's strategy for the Iban tends to evolve within the framework of their traditional economic activity - agriculture; rural development programmes for the Iban have been designed and implemented - albeit with good intentions - in ways that reinforce their agricultural and rural orientation. Most government support to the Iban tends to focus on production giving limited attention to downstream activities such as processing and marketing. Government support often comes in the form of subsidies, which in the long run will create highly subsidy-dependent producers. Based on past experience, I doubt that government support can be effective, because it seldom takes into account the diversity of ethnic groups and the wide-range of agro-ecological conditions where these groups reside. Furthermore, there is too much focus on agricultural production. In fact, the craft project (*Projek Ubong*) is a part of the government's Agriculture Development Package (ADP). Undeniably, the presence of government subsidies helps to promote rural involvement in CHP. But, as I have discussed, the subsidy programmes are *"in effect'"* hand-outs, and therefore, they are a form of welfare. They do not have much effect in changing the existing structure of the Iban economy. With a few exceptions (King 1994; King and Jayum 1994), I have yet to hear Malaysian scholars give voice to this reality.

3.4 A View from "*Another Development*"

A close examination of the different types of development programmes in Sarawak in general and Kapit Division in particular, reveals a strong influence of technocratic development thinking which focuses on economic growth. For the large number of rural Iban in Sarawak, the driving force for change no longer offers a viable road to economic

development, let alone fulfilment of their basic needs. Existing development programmes have not led to a generalised improvement of the income and living standards of the rural Iban. Agricultural development has reduced the subsistence base of the rural Iban thus making them reliant on cash income subject to price fluctuations; profits from cash crops are generally low and modern inputs for cash-crop production have increased the debt-burden of Iban producers. As we have seen, the rural development programmes tend to ignore the fact that the people are the greatest assets. In my opinion, these programmes do not bring out the creativity and the potential of the rural Iban as both the means and ends of development. Instead, the existing development programmes tend to generate Iban dependence on middlepersons or on government handouts. The high incidence of poverty among the rural Iban shows that the existing strategy of development has had limited success and in my view will eventually lead to a dead-end.

The relevant authorities need to realise that the rural Iban require a development programme which promises economic advancement which also releases their potential and creativity. The limited success of the NEP suggests that development strategies based on distributive justice alone is insufficient and incapable of achieving *"genuine"* development. For me, the compulsion to seek *"Another Development'"* is mounting.

The theoretical framework of *"Another Development"* requires that the objectives of development need to be reconceptualised in human terms and the mobilisation of effort needs to be appropriate to the ecological and technological reality of the rural Iban in Sarawak. The main objective is human development and its strategy is based on the principles of fulfilment of finer values and economic aspirations, self-reliance, co-operation and participation. Within this overall framework, **commercial craft production** is one project that is within the realm of possible achievement for the rural Iban. This

brings us to the next question: what are the implications of existing development programmes for Iban involvement in CHP.

3.5 Implications of Rural Development Programmes on Iban Involvement in CHP.

Some of the pertinent issues which have emerged from my analysis of the research areas, which may have important implications for the development of CHP in Kapit Division are tourism development, physical environment, agricultural development and government support (**Table 3-2**).

(i) Tourism Development

Kapit has been identified as a growth centre with craft industry as a catalyst. What is the implication on this for Iban craftspersons in Kapit Division; the most important is the commercialisation of Iban crafts. By way of introduction, let me discuss briefly the effects of this process on Iban crafts. As I shall discuss in my next chapter, in Kapit there is a trend towards commercialisation but it has not totally displaced traditional crafts production. Now, profit motives tend to override aesthetic standards. Craftspersons tend to innovate to suit tourist budgets and preferences. Some Iban carvers will employ power machinery to speed up craft production. While this may have improved the standards of Iban crafts, it can also lead to product standardisation that will make them less saleable and admired as handicrafts.

Besides market forces, the government is equally responsible for shaping the development of the craft industry. The government has set up various agencies to provide training facilities, produce handicrafts for export, supply and develop raw material supplies, provide equipment and machinery, disseminate information, conduct research, build handicraft centres and workshops, construct storage facilities, improve marketing, and provide assistance to craftspersons. However, these agencies have experienced such

problems as duplication of functions, conflict of objectives and incompatibility with Iban cultural values. This brings us to the following questions: Have the Iban craftspersons benefited from these support programmes? To what extent can I attribute Iban involvement (or lack of it) and success in CHP to government' support programmes? Subsequent chapters will attempt to answer these questions.

Table 3-2: Summary of Pertinent Issues in the Development of Commercial Handicraft Production in the Research Area.

Development Issues		Effects on the Development of CHP in the Research Area	
Issues	Nature of Issues	Potential	Constraints
Tourism Development	• Presence of significant eco-tourism potential resource (Pelagus, Lanjak- Entimau, Hose mountain) • Kapit as a growth-centre with craft industry as a catalyst.	• Increase in demand for handicrafts • physical resources (raw materials) • non-physical resources (skill) • availability of support programmes	• Stiff competition among producers • Desirability and ability to meet the demand of the tourist market • physical constraints and non-physical constraints
Physical environment	• Logging activities • Construction of hydro-electric dam • Expected reduction in logging activities in future	• Limited fresh forest for hill paddy farming, and this reduces hill paddy yield. • Needed cash income to buy food, therefore, encourage them to take up CHP	• Deforestation results in depletion of raw materials from the forest • Unavailability of labour in rural areas
	• Shifting cultivation is no longer viable	• CHP as an income generating economic activity.	• Outmigration of rural labour
	•	• Resort to cash cropping or CHP.	• Outmigration
Agricultural Development	• Limited of land resources or large-scale agricultural development projects.	• Increase demand for cash income.	• High incidence of out migration
	• Declining price of major cash crops	• CHP as a viable non-agricultural activity	• Outmigration
	• Limited presence of infrastructure	• Better opportunities and less competition from other communities in craft production.	• Difficulty in retaining youths in rural areas • Problem of marketing
Government support	• High incidence of poverty	• CHP serves as an income-generating economic activity	• Limited financial resources to start involvement in CHP
	• "*cara injin mancit racun*" approach in government's support programmes	• Subsidies to producers will help them enter, survive and develop into CHP	• Indiscriminate support without taking into consideration individual needs and capabilities

(ii) Physical Environment

These research longhouses are located in a physically and politically sensitive environment. Physically, they are located in areas which are less suitable for growing wet paddy. The Iban are left to cultivate hill rice and practice shifting cultivation on the steep forest terrain of the interior. Even then, not many have tracts of unclaimed, uncut forest left for pioneering. For those longhouses that do, I doubt that the size of land owned per capita is economically viable. Besides, the longhouses are located in Kapit District which is politically sensitive, because of the continuing *"interest"* of politicians in promoting their own brand of *politik pembangunan* in the area. Logging activities provide income and employment opportunities to the rural Iban, but it also causes environmental damage and intensifies rural-urban migration, and social dislocation.

(iii) Agricultural Development:

Shifting cultivation is no longer a viable economic activity, because of its low yield and the unavailability of fresh forest. Cash cropping, which used to be a viable economic activity, is no longer economical because of the decreasing trend in the annual prices of principal commodities such as pepper, rubber and cocoa (**Table 3-3**).

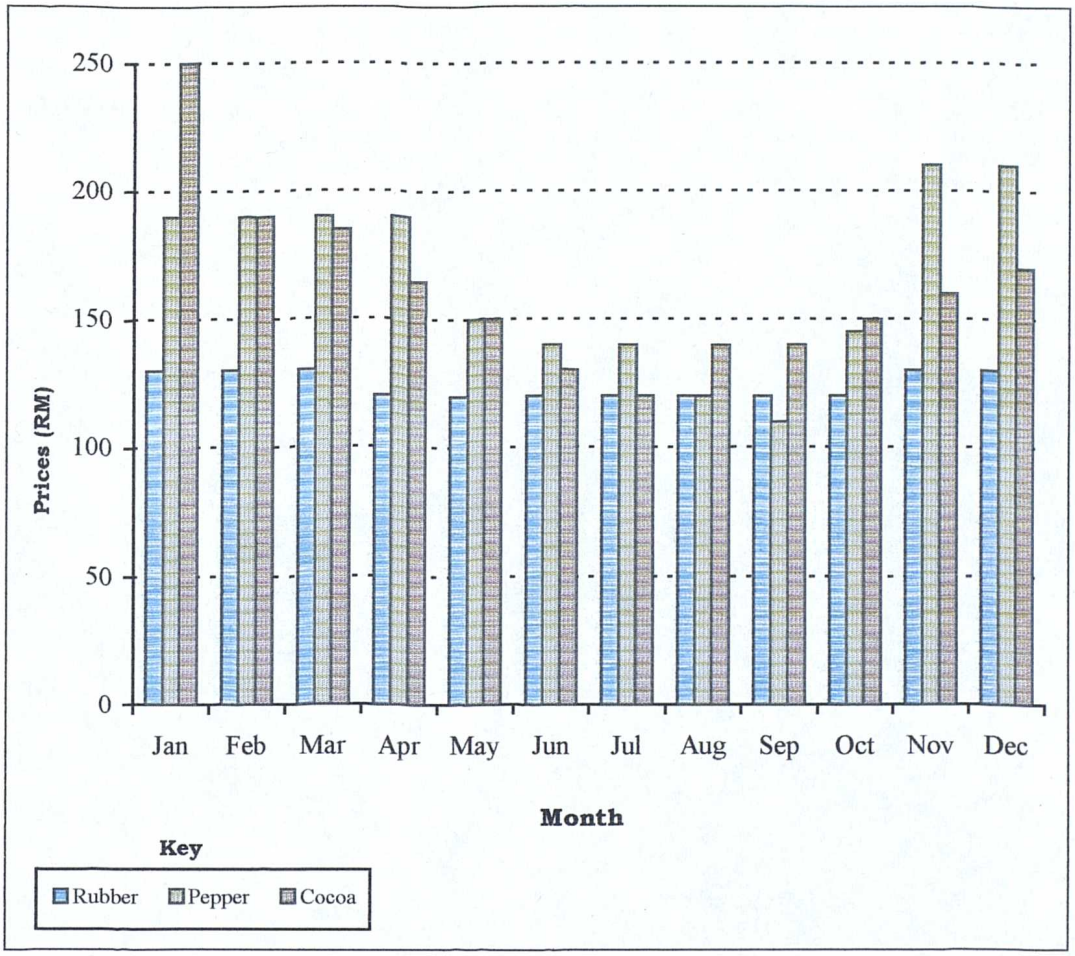
Table 3-3: Monthly Average Price of Principal Commodities in Kapit for Selected Years (RM Per 100/kilogramme)

Principal Commodities	Years			
	1980	1985	1990	1993
Rubber	158.04	104.58	142.50	120.83
Pepper (White)	n.a	693.67	316.67	n.a
Pepper (Black)	273.65	565.83	n.a	195.83
Cocoa	n.a	500.00	231.67	176.25

Source: Sarawak Department of Agriculture, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1993.
Note: n.a - not available.

The problem of declining commodity prices is further aggravated by instability in monthly prices in Kapit Division as shown in **Figure 3-4.** The declining trend in annual commodity prices, price instability and rising costs of production are bound to affect the Iban farmers, particularly non-subsidy recipients. Some may resort to CHP, while others will search for better opportunities in the urban areas.

Figure 3-4: Monthly Prices of Rubber, Pepper and Cocoa in Kapit Division, 1992



Source: *Jabatan Pertanian Kapit (1993).*

(iv) Government Support

This study shows that Kapit's infrastructure, such as roads, is under-developed, thus increasing the cost of transportation and production. Lack of road access makes it difficult to recruit and retain workers in the rural areas. Government support often comes in the

form of subsidies, which in the long run will create highly subsidy-dependent producers. By using subsidies and support systems the government can affect the allocation of administrative resources and influence significantly the allocation and management of rural resources.

State support can have important consequence for the characteristics of economic relationships between craftspersons and *towkays,* and production and prices of handicrafts. Tourism development, agricultural development, physical environment and government support will have some influence on the demand for crafts, labour availability, craftspersons' access to resources and markets, including economic relationships. All these factors will shape Iban involvement in CHP.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the socio-economic and political environment in which the study communities live. Kapit is endowed with forest resources, but its rural communities have not benefited much from the government's exploitation of these resources. There is also evidence of limited employment opportunities, low agricultural yields and the declining price of agricultural products in the district. The Iban, who form the majority of the rural population in Kapit, have little choice but to embark on *bejalai*-related activities or participate in non-agricultural activities. Limited opportunities in the rural areas will inevitably increase the rate of outmigration of able-bodied and educated youths to urban centres, where employment opportunities in timber, oil and gas, and the service sectors is available. There is also a social stigma attached to rural employment. In the light of the present socio-economic situation in Kapit Division, CHP may not be the perfect solution to the rural Iban in Kapit, but, it can be ONE of the most viable economic alternatives for them. In the following chapters, I shall explore the commercialisation of Iban crafts and the craftspersons who participate in CHP

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MAKING OF IBAN "*TOURIST*" CRAFTS

4. Introduction

The previous chapter has served to highlight the background of the research area. To gain a better understanding of Iban involvement in commercial craft production, this chapter will explore both Iban crafts and the characteristics of the people who (or who did not) produce them. First, I will set the stage for the discussion by outlining the effects of the commercialisation of Iban crafts. This study recognises that Iban crafts experienced change as part of the general commercialisation of the Iban economy.

4.1 Changing Iban Crafts

A clearer overview of Iban crafts production can be obtained by placing it in the perspective of the current trend towards commercialisation and tourism development. Based on the literature (Abdul Kadir 1995; Kedit 1980; Mathieson and Wall 1982), an increase in tourist visits will either result in the resurgence or deterioration of Iban traditional crafts. Below I will describe Iban crafts in the light of these two processes.

4.1.1 Textile Weaving

In Sarawak, only the Iban and the Malay still practise the art of weaving. The Iban produce hand-woven *pua kumbu* (ceremonial fabrics), *kain bidang* (skirts), *selampai* (sashes) and

kelambi (jackets). Iban women weave using the warp *ikat*[1] (tie-dyeing) or the *pileh* (floating weft) technique (Munan 1989:65-66). Traditionally, the art of weaving is inextricably interwoven with Iban custom. In traditional Iban society, no weaver could weave or attempt designs which were not appropriate to their rank and level of skills. Haddon and Start (1936:44) wrote that designs representing *engkeramba* (human figures) could only be woven by "*women belonging to ancient and honourable families.*"

According to Empiang (1991:80), there are four major categories of Iban weavers, based on the level of skill in weaving and dyeing. A woman who does not weave is referred to as *"indu paku, indu tubu."*[2] They are ordinary housewives who are not from weaving families or who have never had the opportunity to learn the art of weaving; "*indu takar indu gaar*"[3] is the highest position; she is not only an expert weaver but also able to lead the *ngar* (dyeing) ritual. An Iban woman who has achieved this status is well respected because she excels in all areas of knowledge, skill and behaviour, besides having won the approval of the Iban spirits. A weaver is accorded the status of "*indu nenkebang, indu muntang*"[4] when she has the ability to invent her own design and has *"the power to attempt a potentially dangerous pattern."* Thirdly, weavers who can weave basic patterns, but are unable to invent their own designs are "*indu sikat, indu kebat.*"[5] She depends on designs from other weavers. Fourthly, *indu temuai, indu lawai* is a category of weavers who are normally beginners. They have limited skill and are only able to weave simple designs.

---

[1] *Ikat* means to bind: the warp, which is fixed to the weaving loom, is wrapped with a dye-resisting fibre in controlled patterns. After dyeing, the bindings are removed to expose the uncoloured decoration. The weft is then interlaced through the patterned warp to produce a piece of cloth.

[2] '*Indu paku, indu tubu*" can be literally translated as *"a women who searches for ferns and bamboo shoots."* This term refers to ordinary women who do not weave.

[3] *"Indu nakar indu gaar"* can be literally translated as *"a woman who knows how to measure and performs the ngar."*

[4] "*Indu nenkebang, indu muntang*" is translated as *"the woman who knows how to tie patterns out of her own mind."*

[5] "*Indu sikat, indu kebat*" is translated as *"the woman who weaves."*

Expert weavers have their own repertory of designs which could be transferred to other weavers after being approved by *Petara* (gods). A weaver who received these designs must also have the approval of the *Petara* and give *pengasih* (ritual gifts) to the design owner before they can receive or weave these patterns. A weaver who fails to do so could either fall sick or loose her skill (Munan 1989 and 1991). Often, designs are handed down from mother to daughter. *Pua kumbu* designs are highly regarded by the Iban; the descriptions and praise names associated with these designs such as *"bali menyeti", "bali belulai", "bali tengkebang"* and *"bali begaja"* (Sandin 1977) were even chanted during *Gawai Burong.*[6] This suggests that *pua* designs hold a special meaning for the Iban. A close examination of Iban craft designs also reveals the close relationship between the Iban and their environment. They use local raw materials and draw inspirations for their craft designs from the forest (Kedit 1991) and dreams.

Traditionally, a man's standing in the community was judged by the number of heads he captured, but a woman was judged by her performance in *ngebat* (weaving). A gifted weaver even had her leadership status affirmed during the *Gawai Burong*; the festival which is concerned with male prestige and warfare.

> With its theme of warfare, the Gawai Burong is essentially a male festival, but women may gain recognition, especially those who are expert weavers, through their display of skilfully woven cloth, particularly on the *pandong* shrines....Only women who are especially gifted weavers are called upon to decorate the ceremonial *kalingkang* pole which maidens and married women pelt during the celebration with eggs and balls of glutinous rice for the purpose of gaining spiritual inspirations in their craft (Sandin 1977:xiv).

It is not surprising that a woman's performance at the loom is likened to *kayau indu* - women's head-hunting (King 1993:250; Gavin 1991; Munan 1989:66) and an expert dyer is equivalent to that of *"tau serang"* - the highest grade of male war chief. Such a

[6] The *Gawai Burong* as it is referred to in Second Division or *Gawai Kenyalang* elsewhere is the Iban bird festival (Sandin 1977:vii) It represents the chief ritual festival held in relation to Singalang Burong - the principal spiritual guardian of the Iban.

comparison is not without justification because *pua kumbu* hold a special place in Iban rituals (Empiang 1991:81; King 1993:249; Munan 1989:72). *Pua kumbu* are used as ceremonial wall coverings, to wrap a baby for the *miring anak mandi* (ceremony for a baby's first bath), screen a corpse (*sapat),* to present a *piring* (sacrificial offerings) to heroes, and receive newly captured heads. *Pua* in Iban society are so important that their significance is referred to in one of the most important festivals, the *Gawai Burong* (Sandin 1977):

> Who among us will be the first to receive it (the skull), mother,
> With a *bali tengkebang* blanket?
> You cannot receive it dear daughter,
> Since you cannot yet make a pattern in the woven blanket;
> You still ask my advice,
> On making a pattern in the form of the jaw of an adulterous crocodile

Iban weavers use the backstrap loom and the weaving equipment which consists of the warp beam, *lidi* (laze rod), *karap* (shed rod), thread rod, *bila* (beater), *jengkuan* (spool holding the weft thread), breast beam, and *sengkabil* (backstrap). The loom can be as wide or as long as a weaver can manage, with a usual width of two to three feet. The length of the fabric is determined by the length of the warp thread, with some allowance for borders. Traditionally, the Iban use raw materials such as *engkudu* (morinda citrifolia), *engkerbai* (psychotria viridiflora), *lia amat* (wild ginger), from the surrounding forests as raw materials. To a casual observer, the method of Iban production may *be "picturesquely clumsy, and the work slow."* (Roth 1968, Vol.II:31), but it is a method which has survived for so long and has been used by the Iban for generations to produce their best *pua.*

Today's weavers use a combination of forest products, imported cotton and commercial chemical dyes. Though there is less restriction on the use of raw materials reflecting the changing times, no *pua* weaver dares weave a new design without receiving approval from the gods. For the most part, the *pua* are sold to the *towkays,* with only the *"good ones"* being kept in the *bilik*-family as heirlooms. A great deal of time and effort are

required to produce *pua engkudu* (*pua* produced using traditional techniques), and since the monetary reward per unit of time spent is not so high as it is with *pua selop* (chemical-dyed *pua*), only a small number of *pua engkudu* is produced. Now there are still a few women who are skilled in weaving, but the skill required to make the high quality traditional *pua,* is not as universal as it was in traditional Iban society. The new *pua*-based handicrafts represent a mixture of consistency with, and radical departures from, the traditional styles. The old ritual practices have begun to decline. For example in the *ngar* or preparation of the mordant bath, some dyers have replaced the Iban *sampi* (chants) with Christian prayers for success.[7] Iban crafts have also undergone changes, mainly in size, design and quality of workmanship. I find that present-day crafts are relatively much cruder than traditional ones; the *pua selop* did not have a deep red colour nor the finish of *pua engkudu.* The younger weavers still derive their *pua* motifs and designs for the most part from traditional sources, however these motifs and designs apparently lack any deliberate mythological references. To the majority of Iban weavers, it is the aesthetic and economic considerations that are paramount. But when it comes to accepting change, some weavers make a distinction between secular and religious designs. *Pua* with non-religious reference, such as floral designs have been changed more readily than those associated with animal or human designs to meet new demands for cheap mass-produced crafts. Some weavers, particularly the elderly, prefer to produce *"less sensitive"* items for sale, and seldom include crafts with *mali* (sacrilegious) designs in their wares. From what I observed, the constraints of the Iban belief system sometimes lead the weavers away from producing certain designs for the market. Any attempt at encouraging the Iban to modernise handicraft production, therefore, must recognise and respect the fact that the Iban still retain some of their traditional sanctions.

[7] Interview with key respondents.

4.1.2 Wood Carving

Wood carving is strongly related to the social customs and religious concepts of the Iban. They believe that spirits reside in carved wooden figures and carry magical powers. The Iban sculpture human figures which they place near their houses or tombs as guardians or drive away evil spirits. They carve *kenyalang* (hornbill) images for their *gawai* (festival) and the *sungkup* (funerary monument) for their mortuary rites.[8]

The Iban have traditionally carved tools for *pua* weaving. The common wooden tools used in *pua* weaving are the *tumpu* (loom), *rakup* (crossbars), *bila* (beater), *karap* (thread heddle and shed stick), *lidi* (laze rods) and warp beams. Not only *pua* weaving equipment but even household utensils, such as handles of kitchen knives, spoons, rice serving scoops and ladles are carved from wood. In most carvings the craftspersons use softwood because it is much easier to carve or work into correct proportions and it produces a lighter artefact. The craftspersons hardly use machines: they use simple tools, such as small knives, axes, files, chisels, drills and fret-saws (Munan 1989).

Unlike *pua*, Iban carvings have yet to become established as a major business concern. One factor that may have prevented Iban carvings from becoming overcommercialised is the difficulty Iban carvers have in competing with the highly skilled Orang Ulu carvers. Regarding the value of carving, the Iban consider the raw material and size of carvings to be the primary determinant of price. When asked why a certain carving is worth more than another, the usual response has to do with the type of wood; hardwood are relatively more difficult to carve and therefore are more expensive than softer ones. None of the carvers cited quality of workmanship as the primary determinant of value. Another price determinant is the size of carvings. Many carvers maintained that it is easier to carve a large piece than small ones. The larger carvings also bring in a higher monetary

[8] Only the Iban in the Second Division carve *sungkup*.

return per unit of time spent. However, smaller carvings are more marketable compared to the large ones because smaller carvings are easier to handle.

4.1.3 Mat and Basket Plaiting

Besides weaving textiles, the Iban also weave baskets and mats. Like the textiles, the common mat and basket designs are often based on rhomb shapes and key and spiral motifs (King 1993:251). Motifs differ depending on the purpose for which baskets and mats were made. Those reserved for rituals are often decorated with highly sophisticated religious symbols of omen birds or animals, while baskets and mats for everyday use, have ferns and bamboo shoots as their motifs. To the Iban, mat weaving is as important as that of *pua* weaving. Mats also hold a special place in Iban society; a visitor is welcomed with the best-designed *tikai buah* (patterned mats). Even in Iban folk-lore[9] and *Gawai Burong* there was constant reference to the designs and types of mats. The following extract from chants in Gawai Burong (Sandin 1977:22) is an example of this.

> Then he walks along the verandah of the longhouse,
> His first step on a large mat with crisscross designs,
> Then he steps on a beautiful coarse mat of *tekalong-kankang,*
> Then he steps on the rattan mat
> Woven by the maiden Lemok
> With the light of rainbows
> Then he walks along a mat with triangle designs,
> Woven by the maiden Cherida
> A woman who lives at the mouth of Buara Rumpang,
> Then he walks along the mat with square designs,
> Woven by the maiden Belangkat
> A woman who comes from Sedarat Randang Bangkang.

Iban women also weave *tikai* (mats) for daily use or decorations. In the longhouse, the mats are used for sleeping and sitting on, for drying paddy, and for catching the winnowed rice. The Iban also weave *bidai* which they use as floor covering or for drying

[9] This is an extract from the legend of Klieng's War-Raid to the Skies (Roth 1968:313):

> Sit down, friends on the rotan mat woven by Lemantan of the land of Entigelam,
> Sit on the mat woven in sprigs by Lemok called *Lulong Bintang.*

rice, pepper and other farm products. As paddy planters, the Iban weave *raga* (seed baskets), *selabit* (carrying baskets), and *lanji* and *sintong* (harvesting baskets) for use in transporting, harvesting, planting, winnowing and storing paddy. Iban women also weave baskets for collecting forest products, such as edible ferns, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, for river fishing and storing or carrying their personal belongings. While most of the baskets are for daily use, a smaller number of baskets (*garong, raga* and *uyut*) are woven with intricate designs and reserved for ceremonial purpose. The Iban also weave hats such as the *tangoi suran* and *tangoi buah*. These baskets, mats and hats are either made of thinly split strips of *bemban, rattan,* bamboo, *pandan,* nipah palm, *senggang, resam, tekalong* and *lemba.*[10]

Basket and mat plaiting is still common among rural Iban women. They are still practised in the longhouses because they fit in with the daily chores a person has to perform to survive. Like other traditional crafts, the basic skill is deeply rooted and passed down from parent to child. Once, basket and mat weavers, like *pua*-weavers, were respected members of the Iban community. Today, the craftspersons have to compete with plastics and other modern materials. According to Munan (1989), the expert weavers, still obey the strictures and enjoy the privileges their ancestresses did. I observed that the application of industrial-commercial technique to mat and basket weaving has been marginal. Unlike their counterparts in Peninsular Malaysia, who use plaiting machines to prepare raw materials, the Iban weavers preferred the traditional method in the collection and preparation of raw materials, the actual working with the prepared material, and the final plaiting of the mats and baskets. The use of paint is the only significant introduction of a non-traditional item used in the otherwise traditional process.

[10] See **Appendix 7** for their scientific names.

4.1.4 Metalworking

To the Iban, brasswares play an important role in their religious and cultural ceremonies; for example, they use brass gongs to cover their *piring* and as an accompaniment in dance. They even regard some of the brasswares as gifts from spirits and deities, and had mystical powers (King 1991: 160). In Sarawak, the Brunei brasswares were demanded by the Ibans because these wares served as heirlooms, status symbols and currency.

The Iban blacksmith may not be as well known as the Maloh silversmith. However, within his own community, he is highly respected. Low (1848:209) noted that skilled blacksmiths were often employed to manufacture arms or instruments for the community. Even in the mid-1800s, when Low made his observation, the Iban blacksmiths were already selling their services. Low reported:

> If the blacksmith of a village be celebrated for the goodness of his work, he is not only employed in the manufacture of the arms and instruments necessary for his tribe, but **those made by him sell for higher prices than those of his neighbours, and he is sure of employment and considerable profit** (Low 1848:209-210). (My emphasis)

Now, the Iban are mostly involved in forging, particularly *parang*-making. Most of these *parangs* are for personal use. In Sarawak, the government has provided subsidies to assist Iban blacksmiths to take up blacksmithing on a commercial basis.

4.2 Commercialising Iban Crafts - Issues and Challenges

The above discussion shows that many Iban crafts are giving way to the encroachment of commercial influences. *"New"* crafts[11] have been invented or old designs adapted or modified for commercial purposes. Many of these, such as *pua* handbags and tablemats have recently come under the influence of the SEDC and MHDC competing with Chinese

[11] See **Appendix 8** for examples of these *"new"* crafts sold in Sarawak.

towkays. For these crafts to survive, grow, and provide income to rural Iban, demand must be created through design, development and promotion. This brings to the forefront the issue of **demand** and **change**.

An important issue which is of concern to this study is the demand for Iban crafts. Undeniably, there much of economic potential in the craft industry, as shown by the high demand for Malaysian crafts (PNBCD 1993). The extent to which the Iban can benefit from CHP is highly dependent on consumer demand for Iban crafts. Generally, one can classify Malaysian craft consumers into: (i) general public, (ii) large corporations, (iii) government agencies, (iv) royal households, and (v) foreign tourists and exports. According to a PNBCD's (1993) survey, there is a high awareness[12] among the Malaysian general public of local crafts, particularly *batik*, woodcrafts, pottery, matting and *songket* weaving, reflecting a local preference for functional-decorative crafts rather than purely decorative crafts such as *pua*. According to an interview with officers from MHDC,[13] craft-giving (except for pewterware) among Malaysian public is less popular and very few people make craft purchases when on domestic holidays. Moreover, the local demand for certain types of crafts is seasonal, for example embroidery, *songket*, brassware; these sell well during "*wedding seasons*" which usually coincide with the school holidays. The implication is that there is a limited and seasonal demand for handicrafts among the Malaysian public. For craftspersons who market their crafts directly to local tourists, this is a serious shortcoming which has to be addressed not only by the craftspersons but also by the respective agencies involved in the development of handicrafts such as MHDC and State Economic Development Corporations.

[12] The survey measures respondent's "*awareness*" by asking them to mention the different types of local crafts. Crafts which received the highest response indicate a high level of public awareness and *vice-versa*.

[13] Interview with the Director of Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation (Sarawak Branch) on 10 August, 1993.

The PNBCD's (1993) study also revealed that hand-made products are more sought-after than machine-made ones because the former are thought to be finer or neater in workmanship and more attractive. Only a small percentage (11.0 per cent) of PNBCD's respondents prefer machine-made crafts, citing neatness of workmanship as their main reason. The local tourists cited quality, uniqueness and price of crafts as the most important considerations when purchasing handicrafts. This result suggests that local tourists are less concerned with factors such as cultural identity, size, functionality, packaging and durability. The majority of them purchased crafts for personal use rather than for gifts. It appears to me that Iban crafts have some potential in the Malaysian market, because of their uniqueness. But Iban craftspersons may have to compromise the quality of their products in order to sell at a cheaper price.

The large corporations and government agencies use crafts as souvenirs or give-aways to foreign visitors, VIPs, guests, clients and business associates, suggesting their use of local crafts more for token-giving rather than decorative purposes. In fact, there is a huge market potential in large corporations. PNBCD (1993) reported that the size of Malaysia's gift market was valued at RM215 million in 1993. Also, large corporations have high purchasing power and demand for local crafts. Of the corporations surveyed by PNBCD (PNBCD 1993: Technical Report Appendix II), most allocated RM150,000 annually for corporate gifts. The government agencies also have budget allocations for similar purposes, but the amount is relatively small. Interestingly, pewterware is the most popular corporate gift, which mean that a large segment of this lucrative market is monopolised by the pewter company, Royal Selangor International Sendirian Berhad.[14] Unlike other small-scale manufacturers or rural craftspersons, Royal Selangor has more than 100 years of business experience, the financial capacity to employ skilled craftspersons, designers

[14] Royal Selangor International Sendirian Berhad was formerly known as Selangor Pewter. It is one of the largest pewter companies in the world, with its products marketed in over 20 countries.

and personnel, the support network of an international company and the ability to cater for their customers' needs. Other manufacturers are unable to penetrate this lucrative market, because their products are unreliable in supply, lack creativity, are poorly packaged and are not competitively priced. As *Bumiputeras* the Iban may have the opportunity to sell crafts to government agencies. Whether there is a steady demand for Iban crafts is hard to say because of the tendency for government agencies to prioritise Malay-Muslim crafts such as *songket, wau* (kites) *batik* products, silverware, embroidery, copper tooling and woodcrafts. According to an MHDC officer, one of the major reasons why non-Malay crafts are less prioritised by the government agencies is because these crafts are carved or woven with human designs which made it *"unIslamic."* This explanation suggests that Iban craftspersons will have to adapt in order to market their products to government agencies. Even if the Iban craftspersons can adapt, there is little indication to show that they can get a share of this lucrative market which has either been monopolised by the Royal Selangor International Sendirian Berhad or Malay craftspersons.

I can draw two generalised conclusions from the government's purchasing patterns. *Firstly,* there is lack of awareness among government agencies of other crafts, particularly from Sabah and Sarawak, resulting in limited market penetration from these two states. *Secondly,* there is evidence of *"cultural incompatibility"* between crafts of other ethnic groups with the cultural identity of the Malay-Muslim-dominated government agencies. In its attempt to *"Islamise"* Malaysian culture, government actions may lead to the disappearance of Iban traditional artistic designs, art and craft forms, particularly those with deep religious and mythical affiliations.

Foreign tourists usually purchase crafts as souvenirs, gifts and decorations. Malaysian crafts are perceived by a high percentage of foreign tourists as being of high quality, good value for money, reflecting a unique culture and inexpensive compared to

other ASEAN countries, particularly Singapore and Brunei (**Table 4-1**). However, it seems that Malaysia faces serious competition from Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia because tourists tend to be attracted by the low prices, high quality, large assortment and cultural identity of crafts sold in these countries.

Table 4-1:Attributes of Selected ASEAN[15] Crafts by Foreign Tourists (Percentage)

CRAFT ATTRIBUTES	ASEAN COUNTRIES					
	MALAYSIA	SINGAPORE	THAILAND	PHILIPPINES	INDONESIA	BRUNEI
Good value for money	**74**	18	67	71	68	20
Expensive	**17**	75	4	-	3	23
Poor Quality	**7**	5	13	22	14	12
Reflects a Unique Culture	**69**	17	48	47	58	33
Assortment of handicrafts	**42**	24	53	45	43	19
Attractive Packaging	**24**	30	14	18	17	11

Source: PNBCD (1993: Table 26).
Note: These percentages were based on responses from surveyed tourists who had visited the respective countries.

The majority of Iban crafts are sold as souvenirs or *"airport arts"* (Graburn 1976) in the tourist market. Many of the crafts are produced with the profit motive overriding the aesthetic standards. In fact, many Iban craft designs had been simplified and standardised in order to stay competitive. Although the designs have been simplified, the majority of craftspersons continue to produce crafts using traditional or semi-traditional methods. The majority of foreign tourists prefer hand-made over machine-made handicrafts, because the former are perceived to be *"more unique"*, *"more original"*, and of *"better quality"* than the latter (PNBCD 1993:Tables 12a). For the few tourists who prefer machine-made crafts, their main reasons are that the crafts are *"much neater"*, *"much finer"* and cheaper

[15] Association for South-east Asian Nations.

than the hand-made ones. To the foreign tourists, quality is cited by the majority as the most important factor, followed by uniqueness, price and cultural identity when considering handicraft purchases (PNBCD 1993:Table 20). It appears that factors such as functionality, size, packaging and durability are less important in craft purchase considerations among foreign tourists.

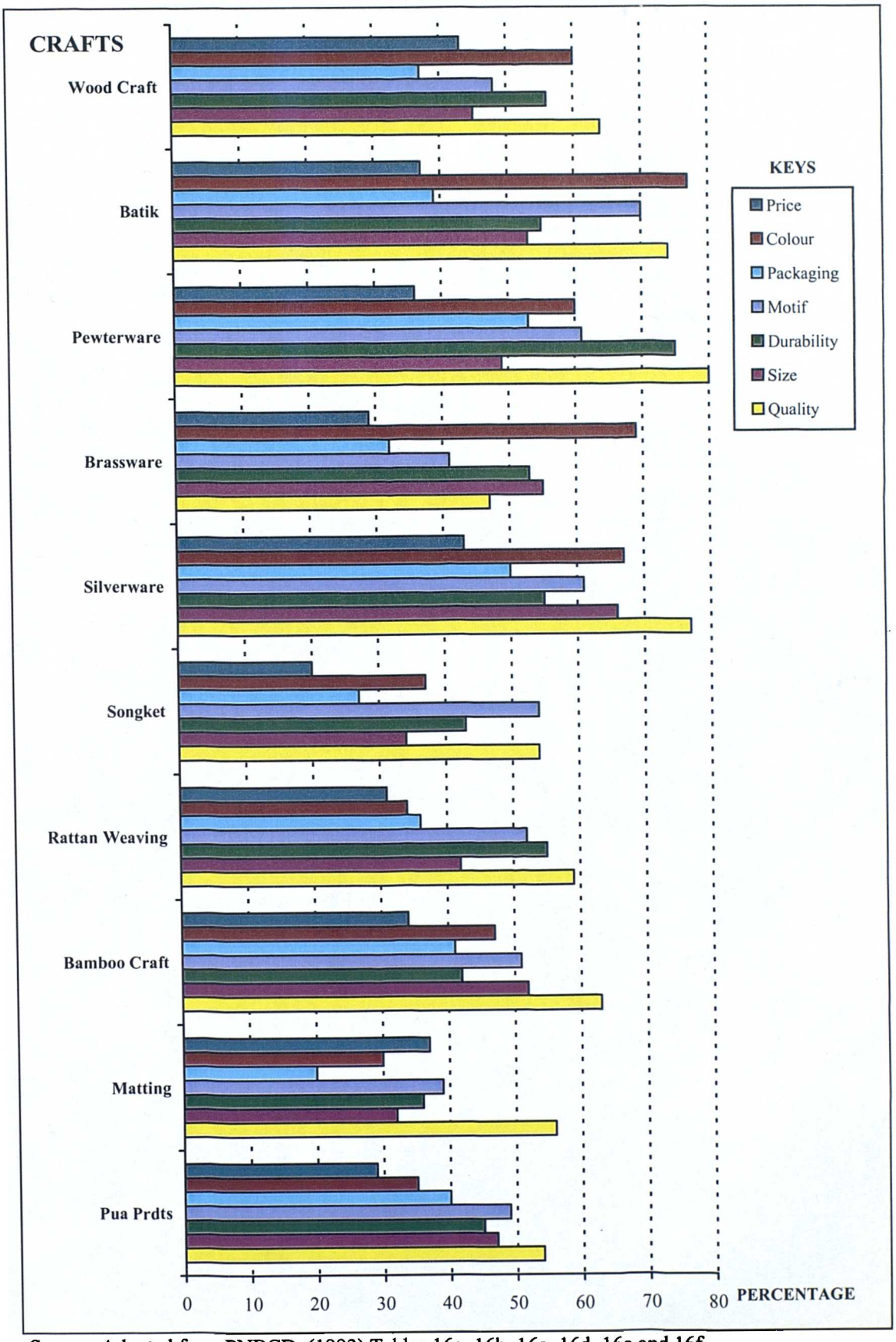
Although Sarawak and Iban crafts have all the above attributes, not many foreign tourists to Malaysia are aware of their presence, which explains the low demand for Iban crafts. In my view, this is due to the unfair representation of crafts from Sarawak and Sabah in retail outlets in Peninsular Malaysia. A market survey on crafts (PNBCD 1993: Technical Report, Appendix IV) reveals that *pua* are well rated (particularly in prices and motifs) by foreign tourists, but they are not commonly sold in Peninsular Malaysia (**Figure 4-1**).

Iban crafts may be unfairly represented in Peninsular Malaysia, but they have been fairly represented in Sarawak's tourist market. One can easily walk into a souvenir shop in Sarawak and find Iban crafts such as *pua, tikai buah* (patterned mats) and *terabai* (shields carvings). Government agencies such as the Sarawak Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) and Malaysian Handicraft Development (MHDC) are actively producing and selling modified Iban crafts, such as *pua* handbags, folders, wall-hangings and table-mats.

The limited demand for Iban crafts as tourist items is not only related to its lack of exposure, particularly in Peninsular Malaysia, but also due to their lack of willingness among tourists to pay the full cost of time and skills expended in production. To increase sales, Iban craftspersons need to modify their crafts to make them *"cheap"*, *"portable"* and *"understandable"* (Graburn 1976:15). In the words of Graburn (1976:21)

> They [*commercial arts*] have to satisfy the aesthetics of the foreign consumer as well as the producer, if possible; they have to project a clear image, either ethnically relevant or suitably exotic; they have to be transportable and not too fragile and resemble some genre that is deemed worth collecting by outsiders.

Figure 4-1: Attributes of Selected Malaysian Handicrafts Rated as "*Good*" By Foreign Tourists



Source: Adapted from PNBCD (1993) Tables 16a, 16b, 16c, 16d, 16e and 16f.

In order to satisfy consumers and stay competitive, the Iban craftspersons are often forced to change. The Iban craftspersons have adapted their production techniques, designs, raw materials to suit changing demand.

The weavers have adapted their *lemba* thread so that they can use nylon strings as dye-resistant fibre and have started using chemical dyes for their *pua.* Chemical dyes are often substituted for hard-to-obtain traditional dyes, freeing the weavers from the problems of searching for and preparing the dyes, and performing the *ngar* ritual; this allows them to concentrate more on designs and weaving *pua.* Although this may make craft-making less-time consuming in some ways, it might also ultimately destroy the cultural value attached to craft production.

Besides material and technical opportunities, cultural changes also influence change. The media, education, contacts with other people and travel have exposed the rural Iban to new ideas and experiences. These new ideas can either build up new crafts or they will eventually destroy certain Iban crafts and traditions. New forms of prestige, derived from education, occupation and economic position have substituted the prestige systems that underpinned the Iban weaving traditions. From my casual discussions with craftspersons, I sense that the skilled ones no longer feel that their crafts provide them with a sufficient sense of prestige as in the past. Now, it is not how skilled one is in craft-making that is important, but how much income one gets from selling crafts.

One must admit that the traditional forms of Iban crafts are dying out today. Craft shops at Main Bazaar in Kuching are full of *"tourist crafts."* To a casual observer or a souvenir-seeking tourist, the crafts exhibit some elements of traditional form. Even to untrained eyes, the traditional forms cannot conceal completely the sloppiness of the crafts. The intricate designs once woven with extreme delicacy on *pua* and *tikai buah,* are now carelessly incorporated on new crafts such as *pua*-based folders, wall-hangings, and

handbags. Is this "*synthetic style*" - borrowing Abrahamson's (Graburn 1975:259) term - necessarily bad? As much as we are concerned about the demise of Iban traditional crafts, the Iban craftspersons do not go on making them for our pleasure if society, technology and market have destroyed their incentive to do so. More important than the effect of society's attitudes, technology and the market are competing ideas and the neglect of Iban traditional craft form, particularly by the Iban themselves. Munan (1989) and Heppell (1989) have claimed that the young and educated Iban are no longer interested in craft production which suggests that education and economic considerations will eventually lead to neglect of Iban crafts and tradition. After all, the survival of Iban crafts depends on continued demand for them, availability of raw materials, knowledge of skills, and the role of crafts in supporting the Iban belief system. But, as Graburn (1976), Meyer (1988) and Parnwell (1992), have rightly argued, that not all change is destruction. Commercialisation taught Iban craftspersons to adapt to the market, incorporate new ideas and techniques, and has revived interest in Iban *"new"* crafts. Now, the carvers paint Malaysian and Sarawak flags on their *terabai* (shields), the weavers make tablemats from their *pua*, and the basket weavers incorporate synthetic materials and *pua* to make handbags. Art connoisseurs, antique collectors and outsiders might frown at the "*lack of tradition*" in these *"new"* crafts. As outsiders, we may have forgotten that the Iban craftspersons are not living in a static environment: they need to adapt in order to survive.

With commercialisation, the market has become the most powerful source of change and innovation. It is the market forces of supply and demand which lead to changes in designs and size as well as simplification and standardisation. Competition forces the craftspersons to sell their products at low prices and to maintain quality. Similarly, growing scarcity of materials necessitates that craftspersons economise on materials, simplify forms and decoration, and make smaller crafts for the market. Government handicraft institutes,

such as MHDC, have started to mass-produce crafts using power machinery to speed up operations and reduce unit cost. While it may not lower the standard of crafts, but it might lead to their standardisation and make them less admired and saleable. Commercialisation does not only spur technical innovation and modernisation, but it also attracts craftspersons and non-craftspersons into craft production by holding out the promise of part-time employment and income. CHP also offers the Iban an opportunity to try out new tools, ideas and materials on craft-making while earning some extra income from such experiments.

I can discern two effects of commercialisation and tourism development on Iban crafts. On the positive side, these processes can lead to the resurgence of skilful craftsmanship, improvement in the quality and artistic designs of crafts, and increase interest in Iban cultures and traditions (Chin and Mashman 1991; Parnwell 1993). On the other hand, tourism can have a less positive effect on Iban crafts. The demand of tourists for cheap, exotic, portable and durable souvenirs will affect workmanship, the relationship between the craftspersons and their crafts, motives for art production, and quality of production. Tourism may lead to shoddy workmanship as craftspersons attempt to meet the increased demand for tourist crafts. A close examination of Iban crafts in the market reveals a trend towards the creation of *"new"* Iban crafts (such as *pua* handbags, tablemats) which bear little resemblance to traditional Iban crafts. Crafts produced for the impersonal tourist market can and will remove much of the spiritual meaning from the craftspersons' work. The motives of art production will continue to change as crafts are produced according to the tourists' tastes. Another negative effect will be the production of fakes and the misrepresentation of the age or authenticity of Iban art objects and crafts. As long as tourists purchase Iban crafts as souvenirs rather than for a genuine interest in the craftspersons' experience, values and meaning of life, crafts will continue to be produced according to the market demand.

An examination of government policy reveals a pattern of support for crafts. While the government's commitment to the promotion of handicrafts may be obvious as shown by the number of agencies and programmes established to help the industry, these programmes have not been effective. Ismail (1990:18) and Chee (1990:33) cited several reasons for their unsatisfactory performance, namely their lack of common a framework in setting objectives and strategies, detailed planning and operational tools, and (b) the lack of a conducive environment for craft development. Indeed, the majority of government programmes tend to treat craft development as a small-scale industry (SMI) and as such subject to similar discriminatory policies and programmes as other small-scale manufacturing industries. As Chee (1990:52) has argued,

> government assistance is currently being dispersed indiscriminately on (*sic*) all kinds of industries, whether they have the potential for growth or are doomed to disappear...Unfortunately, such a policy not only waste (*sic*) resources, but also condemns the beneficiaries by prolonging their unviable existence.

These indiscriminate policies can result in a waste of resources. While some of these policies and programmes may be applicable to manufacturing industries, they do not have a similar effect on craft industries. For example, the government introduced tax incentives for SMIs, including full exemption from import duties on raw materials, components, machinery and equipment. This incentive may be of some benefit to craftspersons, particularly those who rely on imported raw materials such as cotton and silk. To the rural Iban craftspersons, such an incentive has little meaning, except that they could buy some of their raw materials at a slightly lower price. The government also introduced double deductions to SMIs for training costs with its agencies. These incentives are applicable to small-scale manufacturing industries because it enables them to develop industrial linkages to larger industries and in manufacturing goods. Such incentives have little effect on craftspersons who acquire their skill through informal training and

experience. The government also introduced a scheme which enables SMIs to obtain credit on concessionary terms[16] through commercial banks. In addition to the assistance extended by the government, the World Bank has also co-financed a special small-scale industry loan scheme to accelerate the growth of the industrial and commercial sector. Though these loans may help to counter some of the financial problems faced by small-scale producers, I am doubtful that rural craftspersons can have access to these loans. For example, the World Bank loan scheme is only for registered companies with equity up to RM300,000 therefore, such loans are inaccessible to rural craftspersons, who produce handicrafts as a part-time or off-farm economic activity.

I estimate that a total of 13 ministries and more than 30 agencies are involved in the promotion of small-scale industries in Malaysia (Esderts and Ismail 1990). However, these policies and programmes have in practice been in favour of manufacturing industries such as food processing, wood products and light engineering (Ismail 1990:7). This reflects the government's emphasis on promoting the small-scale industries as an integral part of the overall strategy to promote the manufacturing sector. It also reflects the lukewarm support for the craft sector in Malaysia.

The major objective of MHDC is to *"develop, promote and intensify handicraft production towards the development of a viable and sound industry, besides facilitating its growth for expansion into a small-scale enterprise"* (MHDC 1988:61). Both the MHDC and Sarawak Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) objectives are geared towards the creation of small-scale enterprises. Implicit in these objectives is that these agencies are keen to produce handicrafts using the factory or mass production system. This does not come as a surprise considering that the development of the handicraft industry is part of the government's effort to promote small-scale manufacturing industries.

[16] Under this scheme, a project is allowed a maximum loan of RM201 million, with priority given to loans not exceeding RM5 million.

MHDC's keen interest in the adoption of a factory or workshop system is reflected in some of its objectives (MHDC 1985:64):

> to design expansion guidelines and industrial requirements specifically in relation towards increased adoption of machinery and equipment...introducing and promoting the use of light machinery in the craft industry...to formulate an industrial expansionary program on a regional basis in addressing specific issues...to co-ordinate the industrial growth of crafts by liaising with government agencies...[My emphasis].

In the case of SEDC, the idea to mechanise became part of SARAKRAF Sendirian Berhad's[17] business objective (SARAKRAF 1989). In its 1991 Business Plan, SEDC even proposed establishing fully mechanised Main Growth Centres in Kuching, Sibu and Miri and Sub-Growth Centres in villages (SEDC 1991). Under its Mechanisation Programme, SEDC will provide these centres with equipment and machinery through a special hire-purchase scheme. So far, SEDC has selected 14 villages[18] in the state as its production centres. Initially, SEDC will provide machines for processing raw materials, in the production of *gadai* baskets, basketry, hand fans (*kipas*), hats, and *songket*. The main argument for mechanisation is to meet increasing demand, standardise quality and increase sales and income.

This growing emphasis on factory production is part of the dilemma facing the handicraft industry in Malaysia. On the one hand, the industry faces production problems resulting from the need to upgrade quality and penetrate international markets; this can be solved by factory production. On the other hand, factory production will not be easily accepted, particularly by the *"purists"* and particularly by the older generation, who saw factory production as a way of *"eroding"* the cultural, aesthetic and religious values of the traditional crafts. The resistance to change, particularly in product design, is well

[17] SARAKRAF Sendirian Berhad is a wholly owned subsidiary company of SEDC. It is involved in the marketing of Sarawak crafts.

[18] Three in Sri Aman, 2 in Bintulu, 1 in Sibu, Dalat, Limbang, Song, Baram, Lundu, Belaga, Kapit and Serian.

documented in the MHDC research (1985:107). MHDC realise the problem they face. In the words of a MHDC officer:[19]

> Here lies our [*MHDC*] dilemma. We must change some aspects of our handicrafts to make them more attractive in the foreign market. Our handicrafts which have penetrated the foreign markets and gained commercial usage have lost their traditional character. If you are to ask a *batik* expert in Kelantan, a silversmith in Trengganu, or a *pua*-weaver in Sarawak, they will tell you our products are NOT handicrafts.

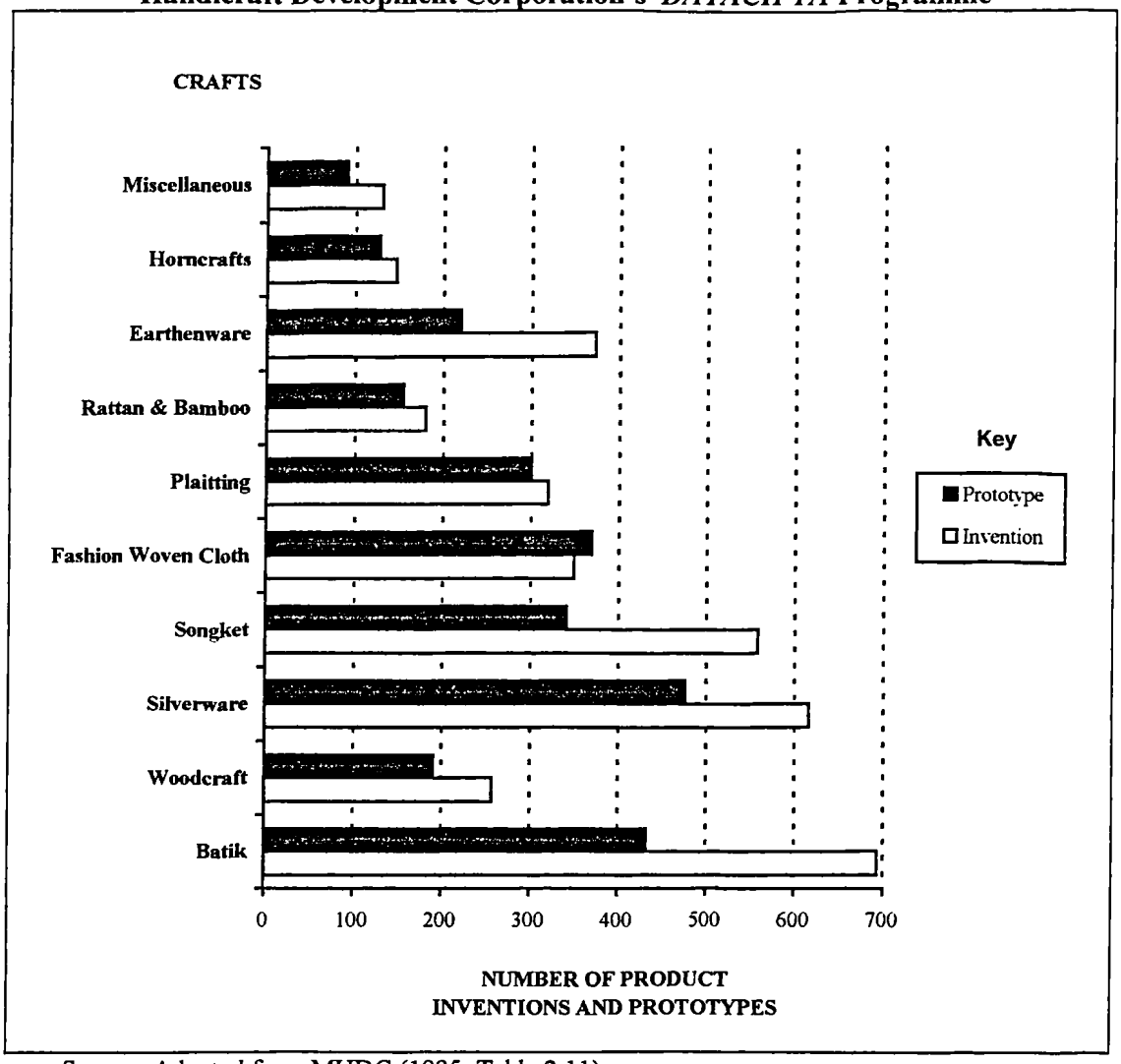
In the eyes of the government planners, change in craft production methods and designs is unavoidable and necessary as the craftspersons seek to commercialise their traditional products.

Another important aspect of handicraft development in Malaysia is the ethnic dimension. One of the explicit objectives of MHDC is to promote crafts "*which best symbolise design and creativity representing national cultural elements*" (Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986). However, their programmes are heavily geared towards promoting Malay-Muslim crafts. Crafts of other ethnic groups do not receive similar government support reflecting some biases in it's approach. A cursory glance at the number of product inventions and prototypes under MHDC's *DAYACIPTA* (Creativity) Program, (**Figure 4-2**) reveals a strong orientation towards *batik*, silverware and *songket* weaving, which are all Malay crafts. Since these prototypes were test-marketed by the government's handicraft marketing agency, Karyaneka Marketing Sendirian Berhad and Batek Malaysia Berhad, it is reasonable to assume that the MHDC's products will be well-marketed. Other crafts will continue to face difficulties penetrating the wider market, because they have not received similar attention from MHDC and its marketing agencies. This support for Malay culture is part of what Kahn (1992) has termed the *"Malay culture industry"*; an attempt to constitute traditional Malay culture or Malay symbols in all areas of Malaysian public life.

[19] Interview conducted on 20/9/1993.

To me, the creation of Malay symbols is part of the pro-Malay government's strategy of using ethnic symbols and identity to secure the Malay constituency for national political and economic purposes.

Figure 4-2: Number of Product Inventions and Prototypes Under Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation's *DAYACIPTA* Programme



Source: Adapted from MHDC (1985, Table 2.11)

MHDC's approach in developing the handicraft industry is typical of what the Iban have called *"cara enjin mancit racun"* (chemical spraying-can approach), providing the same kind of support regardless of individual needs. One example in mind is MHDC's *Sekim Anak Angkat* and *Sekim Kampong Angkat* (Adopted Village and Entrepreneurs Scheme). Between 1981 and 1985, a total of 18 entrepreneurs and 3 villages were

"*adopted*" by MHDC to develop woodcraft, rattan and bamboo, *songket* weaving, embroidery, plaiting, *batik* and bonecrafts. By ignoring important crafts such as *pua*-weaving, blacksmithing and pottery-making in its programme for Sarawak, it clearly reflected the indiscriminate nature of MHDC's assistance. It appears that the federal government policy on the handicraft sector failed to consider the cultural diversity of other Bumiputeras in the country.

The establishment of SARAKRAF has helped to create an identity for Sarawak handicrafts. Up to 1990, SEDC has established 15 model villages, 19 service centres with a total number of beneficiaries of 2,130 (SEDC 1991, Appendix V(A). SEDC claim that the project has provided supplementary earnings of RM100.00 to RM120.00 per month to the craftspersons. As a point of comparison, the amount earned by the craftspersons is far less than what SEDC or SARAKRAF earned as its profits. In 1991 SARAKRAF earned a gross profit of RM196,764.00 (SARAKRAF 1991).

SEDC and MHDC, like other semi-government agencies, have to face two conflicting objectives. On the one hand, they have to function as business organisations and are expected to maximise profits. Yet, being a semi-government agency, they lack business-oriented management and revenue-generating policies. On the other hand, they need to develop handicraft projects which are socially viable. In most cases, the profit motive overrides the social objectives.

Besides SEDC and MHDC, the Department of Agriculture (DOA) is also involved in developing craft production. The DOA provides subsidies to assist rural farmers to take up CHP. The DOA's effort is commendable, but I am concerned with the effect of subsidies on the farmers. For those without the initial capital to start CHP, government subsidy is a solution to their financial problem. However, in the long run, the rural farmers and craftspersons tend to become over-dependent on government subsidies. I found that the

DOA's programme is focused on production with limited attention to marketing. In my opinion, the DOA fails to recognise that the major problem faced by the rural Iban craftspersons is one of marketing and not production. Rather than providing these craftspersons with subsidised raw materials, the DOA should also assist them in accessing the wider market. A close examination of the support programmes reveals a strong emphasis on the economic aspects of craft production. Most of the government policies are geared towards making craftspersons into commercial craftspersons or "*successful*" entrepreneurs. The government support programmes do not pay equal attention to the cultural aspects of production.

Having discussed the agencies involved in promoting crafts, I shall now focus my discussion on tourism development. In Malaysia, there is an imbalance in tourism development. Physically, Sarawak may be the largest state in Malaysia, but in 1990 it only recorded 3.8 per cent of total hotel guests, 2.4 per cent of all total foreign hotel guests, and 5.0 per cent of domestic hotel guests. Sarawak thus only has a small share of the Malaysian tourist market (Table **4-2**). Tourism development is concentrated in Peninsular Malaysia, particularly in Kuala Lumpur and Penang.

Table 4-2: Distribution of Hotel Guest Arrivals in Malaysia, 1990

STATES	HOTEL GUESTS		
	TOTAL	FOREIGN	DOMESTIC
Sarawak	360,495 (3.8)	97,972 (2.4)	262,523 (5.0)
Sabah	426,702 (4.6)	136,940 (3.3)	289,762 (5.6)
Peninsular Malaysia	8,597,934 (91.6)	3,936,002 (94.3)	4,661,932 (89.4)
MALAYSIA	9,385,131 (100.0)	4,170,914 (100.0)	5,214,217 (100.0)

Source: Adapted from Second Sarawak Tourism Masterplan (1993) Table 4.7.
Note: Figures in brackets refer to column percentages

This uneven pattern of tourist visits is due to the government's tourism policy which has prioritised the *"enhancement of existing tourist destinations"* (Malaysia 1985). Since these destinations are mostly located in Peninsular Malaysia, they are more likely to receive government support. Furthermore, Sarawak lacks access, tourist resources, facilities, and effective promotion because of differences in federal government policies regarding infrastructure development, air access, and promotional activities between Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia. The government has established direct air links between Sarawak, Bandar Sri Begawan (Brunei) and Pontianak (Kalimantan Indonesia) because Brunei (41.9 per cent) and Kalimantan Indonesia (23.9 per cent) are the two major sources of visitors to Sarawak. However, their visitors are mostly the short-stay and cross-border type. Therefore, the establishment of the air-links is of little significance to the promotion of tourism in Sarawak. Rather than limiting the air access to these two cities, the government should consider establishing direct links with Singapore, Europe, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, because of their increasing importance in Sarawak's tourist market.

Tourism development is closely linked with the development of the craft industry. In my opinion, the government agencies have had limited success in creating awareness of Malaysian crafts. A study on foreign tourists' awareness of Malaysian handicrafts revealed that only 9.0 per cent of surveyed foreign tourists claimed the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board as their source of awareness. Many of the tourists said that they became aware of Malaysian handicrafts from previous visitors to Malaysia, the mass-media, and travel agents. The implication is that craftspersons should not rely heavily on government agencies to promote their products. The longhouse craftspersons have an advantage because longhouse visits can create awareness among foreign tourists of Iban handicrafts.

4.3 Summary

Iban crafts are varied and reflect their culture, customs and religion. Traditionally, the Iban produced handicrafts for functional purposes. There was no commercial value attached to craft production. However, nowadays there is a trend towards commercialisation, but it has not totally displaced traditional crafts. Now, profit motives tend to override aesthetic standards. By changing the size and simplifying the form and decoration of their crafts, the craftspersons will not only produce more crafts but also reduce the unit price to suit tourist budgets and preferences. Some Iban carvers have employed power machinery to speed up wood-cutting and carving operations. While this may have improved the standards of Iban crafts, it can also lead to product standardisation that might make it less saleable and admired as a handicraft.

Besides market forces, the government is equally responsible for shaping the development of the craft industry. The government has set up various agencies to provide training facilities, produce handicrafts for export, supply and develop raw material supplies, provide equipment and machinery, disseminate information, conduct research, build handicraft centres and workshops, construct storage facilities, improve marketing, and provide assistance to craftspersons. However, these agencies are far from being successful because of administrative problems such as duplication of functions, conflict of objectives and cultural incompatibility.

This brings us to the following questions: How have the Iban craftspersons responded to commercialisation? What factors promote or hinder rural Iban involvement to CHP? To what extent can I attribute Iban involvement (or lack of it) and success in CHP to government's support programmes? Subsequent chapters will attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER FIVE

IBAN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCERS: WEAVERS OF CHANGE AND CARVERS OF PROFIT

5. Introduction

In the previous chapters I have discussed Iban crafts and the historical conditions and socio-economic environment of Kapit Division in which the craftspersons in the study are located. In this chapter I shall focus on their involvement in CHP. The gradual incorporation of the Iban into the market economy has provided them with new opportunities and challenges. Some craftspersons have responded to these by producing crafts for the market on a part-time basis. Others continue to produce crafts for personal consumption, suggesting non-involvement in commercial craft production.

I begin my discussion by reiterating that there is variation in Iban involvement and success in CHP. Some became involved in CHP because they had the resources, while others were prevented from doing so because they lacked the resources or they had a negative assessment of such involvement. Before discussing the basic characteristics of commercial and non-commercial craftspersons, I will outline the longhouses from which I draw my sample data. The chapter proceeds with a discussion of the basic characteristics of the commercial and non-commercial craftspersons in the survey, focusing on their background, the nature of their involvement, mobility, employment, capitalisation and competitiveness. This will be followed by an examination of the ways in which these craftspersons conducted their commercial activities.

The need for analysing the factors influencing rural Iban involvement in CHP arose mainly on account of the necessity for measuring the influence of various factors arrived at

in my theoretical discussion. It should be recalled that the research hypothesis is: handicraft production is unable to play a more significant role in the rural Iban economy because this activity has yet to realise its full potential. In this chapter, I use the data from the field study to examine the above hypothesis by identifying the characteristics and the factors shaping involvement decisions.

5.1 Communities Under Research

This study is based on information gathered from a survey of 200 Iban respondents from 11 longhouses in Kapit District.[1] I interviewed five longhouses which are located mid-way between Song and Kapit towns (**Appendix 6**). To protect the privacy of the craftspersons, I use fictitious names.

The first two houses included in the survey are *Rumah N1* and *M1* at Nanga Ibau. *Rumah N1* is a 23-door longhouse and *Rumah M1* a 17-door longhouse and both are located about 1 to 1 1/2 hours boat ride to Kapit. The majority of *bilik*-families in these two houses are involved in cultivating paddy, cash-cropping and handicraft production. In 1990, 36 individuals from *Rumah N1* participated in a cocoa project and one individual participated in a pepper replanting project implemented by the Agriculture Department. The Agriculture Department only started its cocoa and pepper project in *Rumah M1* in 1991. The cocoa project started with 21 individuals, and the pepper project with only 4 individuals. In 1992, thirty-two individuals from this longhouse were selected to attend a basic *kursus kepimpinan* (leadership training course) organised by the Agriculture Department under its Community Development Programme.

[1] To retain the anonymity of my surveyed longhouses, I identify them according to the initial of the name of their *tuai rumah* (headperson). For example, I shall identify a hypothetical *Rumah Kana* as *Rumah K.*

I also included *Rumah U1*; a 36-door longhouse located at Nanga Tisa, about 2 hours boat ride to Kapit. In 1992, the longhouse was selected to participate in a *pua*-weaving project under the *Program Pembangunan Rakyat Termiskin* (Development Program for the Hard-core Poor). The project participants received inputs (dye and cotton) and advisory services from extension agents. According to the *tuai rumah*, his longhouse had been identified by the Agriculture Department to participate in a blacksmithing and food-processing project under its Rural Agro-Based Development (RABD) programme. The participants receive RM3,000.00 under the blacksmithing project and RM1,500.00 under the food-processing project.

The next longhouse is *Rumah L1*, which is only a 7-door house. It is located at Ulu Yong, which is about 2 1/2 hours boat ride from Kapit. The majority of the *bilik*-families are involved in paddy farming, pepper and cocoa planting, and all of them are participants in the Pepper Planting Scheme (PPS) and Cocoa Planting Scheme (CPSC). Each participant in the PPS, receives RM60.00 worth of pesticide and RM59.00 worth of equipment and cover crops for every 0.1 hectare of pepper planted. Unlike their neighbours in *Rumah U1*, none of the *bilik*-families in the longhouse had been selected to participate in any form of handicraft project.

Rumah M2 is located at Sungei Menuan, which is between Song and Kapit. The 29-door longhouse is located about 3 hours boat ride from Kapit town. There is very limited involvement in CHP among the craftspersons in this longhouse. Many of the *bilik*-families are involved in pepper planting. Ten individuals from the house were selected by the Agriculture Department to participate in the PPS project when it was first introduced there in 1990. As scheme participants, they received pesticides and tools. In 1992, the number of participants in the scheme increased to fifteen individuals.

I have also included *Rumah D1* in my survey which is accessible by road from Kapit. *Rumah D1* is a 34-door longhouse which is located about 30 minutes drive from Kapit. The longhouse communities are involved in a variety of economic activities, such as cash-crop and vegetable farming, handicraft production, paddy planting, fruit cultivation, government administration and petty trading. Of the total *bilik*-families, 22 participated in PPS, 7 in the CPSC, 34 in both the Fruit Tree and Vegetable Scheme, and 2 in the Fish Pond Subsidy Schemes. The participants in the Fruit Tree Scheme received advisory services, fruit seedlings such as *rambutan* (Sapindaceae-Nephelium spp.), mangoes and citrus. Participants in the Fish Pond Subsidy Scheme receive assistance in the form of pond construction and supply of fish fry. Fresh fish culture is popular in Kapit because of the increasing demand and prices for cultured fish as an alternative to fresh river fish, which are expensive and limited in supply.

Another longhouse which can be accessed by road from Kapit is *Rumah J1*. The *bilik*-families in this 10-door longhouse are involved in various economic activities such as commercial handicraft production, petty trading, paddy farming, and pepper, cocoa and fruit planting. The longhouse was first selected to participate in the PPS and CPSC in 1989. Both these schemes together involved an area of 9.8 hectarea. According to the *tuai rumah,* ten individuals from this longhouse were selected to participate in the Fruit Trees Subsidy Scheme. Another 50 individuals were selected to attend short-courses and *in-situ* training to upgrade their knowledge and skills in farming organised by Kapit Agriculture Department. In 1993, ten individuals became participants in the Vegetables Subsidy Scheme. *Rumah J1's* proximity to Kapit makes it a popular day-trip tourist attraction. This longhouse has been included in longhouse-visit programmes organised by a private tour agency from Sibu, therefore, providing the craftspersons with market accessibility.

Rumah E1 is the third longhouses in the survey which is accessible by road. The trip to this 11-door longhouse took approximately 40 minutes by car. Like their neighbours, the *bilik*-families in this longhouse are involved in a variety of economic activities. The first subsidy scheme, PPS was introduced in 1989 involving ten participants. Three other subsidy schemes (vegetable, FTS and poultry farming) were later introduced in 1993. All the ten participants in the vegetable scheme planted maize. Since fresh cobs of sweet corn cost between RM2.00 to RM2.50 per-5 fruits in Kapit town, it is reasonable that the subsidy recipients can earn some cash income from selling corn. Ten individuals from this longhouse received subsidies under the FTS, to assist them in growing pineapples. From my price survey of common fruits in Kapit, I found that pineapple is one of the cheapest fruits (RM0.45 to RM1.00 per fruit) compared to jackfruits (RM1.50 to RM3.00 per fruit), mangoes (RM1.00 to RM1.50 per fruit), durian (RM2.00 to RM5.00 per fruit) or papaya (RM1.00 to RM2.50 per fruit). This suggests that these pineapple growers cannot rely solely on income from selling their fruits. According to the *tuai rumah*, ten craftspersons in his longhouse had qualified to participate in the *Projek Ubong* which entitled them to receive cotton threads, dye and advisory assistance from the Agriculture Department. Many of these participants had once been involved in selling crafts to SEDC.

Rumah U2 is a 12-door longhouse which is located at Nanga Balleh, a half-hour boat ride from Kapit. Many of the men in this longhouse work in logging activities. Besides logging, the majority of the *bilik*-families were involved in hill paddy planting, pepper gardening, seasonal fishing, and commercial handicraft production. So far, the government has only introduced the Pepper Subsidy Scheme to the people in this longhouse. The scheme was introduced in 1987 and 1988, and involved eight participants and 0.8 hectares of land.

A 2 1/2 hours boat trip upriver, along the Batang Balleh, brings us to *Rumah B1*. The majority of the Iban in this 28-door longhouse are involved in paddy planting, cocoa

planting, pepper gardening and riverine fishing. During high water, the longhouse is accessible from Kapit by launches, *perau* (longboat) and motor-powered longboats. However, during low water, one can only travel to the longhouse using the *perau* or the motor-powered longboat. So far, twenty-nine individuals in this longhouse had participated in the CPSC and PPS which was first introduced in 1987 and 1990 respectively. Altogether 29.0 hectares of land was developed under these two schemes. The *tuai rumah* recalled that in 1992 ninety farmers from his longhouse received *in-situ* training to improve their farming knowledge and skills from the Agriculture Department.

One of the farthest longhouses included in my survey is *Rumah A*1. It is located in the uppermost reaches of Sungai Kain, equivalent to a four-hour boat ride from Kapit. During high water, one can travel directly to the longhouse using a motor-powered longboat or *perau* and with few difficulties. During the dry season or low water, the *perau* is the only means of transport to the longhouse. Only one's skill in *bebatak perau* (boat hauling) can reduce the four hours boat trip to Kapit. The distance to Kapit does not seem to hinder the craftspersons in this longhouse to succeed in commercial handicraft production and agriculture production. There is active membership in the SABERKAS movement in this longhouse as reflected by the number of agricultural projects and their success in the state-organised competitions. Altogether there are five SABERKAS projects organised by its members comprising 0.1 hectare of pepper garden, 3 hectares of cocoa plantation, 1 hectare of vegetable garden, 1 hectare of maize garden, 1 unit of fruit tree, 200 poultry, 0.2 hectare of fish pond, and 2 farm units. Compared to other longhouses in my survey, *Rumah A*1 is the most *successful"* longhouse, both in terms of CHP and agricultural production. Between 1980 and 1992, the farmers in this longhouse had received 12 awards for their agricultural projects. In 1980, they won first prize at the district-level, and a consolation prize at the state-level. In 1991, they also won first prize at the district level. Between 1985

to 1990, they won the top three prizes at the Divisional level. In 1990, they registered another win, but came second in the state level competition. They became the grand prize winner in 1991 and 1992. In 1992, they won second prize at national level and were awarded the much coveted *Anugerah Belia Negara* (National Youth Award).

They are not only active in agricultural production, but also in CHP. Initially, the craftspersons sold handicrafts to individuals and *towkays*. Between 1986 and 1988, they became producers for the State Economic Development Corporation (SEDC). In 1989, craftspersons from *Rumah Al* were selected to participate in the *Projek Ubong* which entitled them to receive subsidised cotton thread and chemical dye. This support was withdrawn in 1992, resulting from a change in the Ministry of Agriculture's policy. Since 1986, the craftspersons have established a *beragih* (production sharing relationship) with a Chinese *towkay* from Kuching. Besides active involvement in agriculture and CHP projects, the *bilik*-families are also involved in other income-generating activities. In 1992, the longhouse community started their food-preservation project organised under the Rural Agro-Base Project.

Table 5.1 shows the distance of the surveyed longhouses from Kapit, and the availability and nature of their development projects. The majority of the longhouses are participants in agricultural projects, particularly pepper and cocoa. Of the total longhouses surveyed, only three (*Rumah Ul*, *El* and *Al*) have handicraft projects.

Before we can discuss in detail rural Iban involvement CHP, we need to outline the characteristics of the craftspersons in the research longhouses, focusing on their demographic background, mobility, economic activities, and socio-economic status. It must be noted that the survey covered handicraft production in selected longhouses, therefore the conclusions drawn about the characteristics of the craftspersons need to be qualified with

the cautionary note that variations in handicraft production do exist between different longhouses.

Table 5.1: Availability and Types of Agricultural Schemes and Handicraft Projects in the Surveyed Longhouses, 1992

LONGHOUSES*	Distance to Kapit (Distance calculated in hours based on a boat trip using a 25 horse-powered outboard or car)	DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS						
		Handicraft Project	Cocoa (ha)	Pepper (ha)	Fruit (unit)	Vegetables (ha)	Poultry	Fish Pond (ha)
Rumah N1	1 hour (boat)		40.0					
Rumah M1	1 1/2 hours (boat)		25.0	0.3				
Rumah B1	2 1/2 hours (boat)		29.0					
Rumah U1	2 hours (boat)	√						
Rumah M2	2 1/2 hours (boat)			2.5				
Rumah D1	30 mins (car)		22.0	0.7	4.0	1.0		0.2
Rumah J1	15 mins (car)		9.0	0.8	1.0	1.0		
Rumah E1	40 mins (car)	√		1.0	1.0	1.0	√	
Rumah U2	30 mins (boat)			0.8				
Rumah L1	2 1/2 hours (boat)		25.0	0.4				
Rumah A1	4 hours (boat)	√	24.0	2.1		2.0	√	1.6

Source: Survey, 1993.
Note: - * I identify the longhouses according to the initials of the name of the *tuai rumah* of the surveyed longhouses.

5.2 Rural Iban Involvement in CHP: Survey Results

In this section, I will discuss some of the basic characteristics of craftspersons in the study area. A total of 200 respondents were interviewed, of which 113 were involved in commercial production (CPs), while 87 were non-commercial producers (NCPs).

Studies by Chew (1990), Fidler (1978) and Freeman (1977) showed that, even before the Iban were fully integrated into the cash economy, they were already involved in barter trading of *pua* and metal-work in exchange for foodstuffs with Chinese traders. The Iban continued to sell *pua* and carvings even after barter-trading was replaced by the cash-economy in the early twentieth century, supporting the argument of transformation and

continuity in the Iban economy. I must recognise that Iban craftspersons rarely make a distinction between the production of handicrafts for sale and those for personal consumption. Handicrafts sold are mostly those which are produced in excess of personal consumption. It is because of the non-separation of commercial and subsistence production that it is difficult to calculate the exact number of years that these craftspersons have been involved in CHP. However, I do know that the craftspersons have had a continuous process of involvement and non-involvement (entry and exit) in handicraft production. In fact, twenty-one (18.5 per cent) craftspersons claimed that they have been involved in selling handicrafts for more than thirty years indicating that rural Iban involvement in CHP is not a recent phenomenon. What may be recent, however, is the increase in the number of rural Iban producing and selling handicrafts in the market. Discussions with *tuai Rumah A1* and craftspersons reveal that there has been growing Iban involvement in CHP in the last ten years.

> According to *tuai rumah* E1, there had been an increase in the number of craftspersons selling handicrafts in Kapit since 1982 when a logging road was built near his longhouse.
>
> *Tuai rumah* U1 estimated that there were only four *bilik*-families who were actively involved in CHP prior to the selection of Rumah U1 for a rural development project in 1990. Since then, more than twelve *bilik*-families involving twenty-six individuals have taken up CHP *"seriously."*
>
> In *rumah* M1, active involvement in CHP first started when the longhouse was given a contract to produce mats and baskets for SEDC in 1986. Though SEDC had stopped purchasing from these weavers, many continue to produce crafts commercially.

It appears to me that active Iban involvement in CHP started in the early 1980s. I could think of three main explanations why such a phenomenon happened during this period. *First*, agricultural commercialisation and the introduction of government support programmes in the 1980s have increased rural Iban links with the market. Many rural Iban resorted to non-farm activities, such as CHP, to earn cash income to purchase much-needed

chemical inputs (such as fertilisers, pesticides, weedicides). As in the case of *Rumah* E1, the development of infrastructure, particularly roads, has played an important role by opening up new opportunities for the longhouse communities. With improved infrastructure, many rural craftspersons were able to sell their crafts in a wider market.

I can trace the *second* explanation for growing Iban involvement in CHP to the state of the Iban economy. In the mid-1980s, Sarawak experienced an economic recession which affected the rural economy. As a result of the recession, there was a rapid decline in the price of cash crops (SADP 1991a: 113). Many farmers were forced to take up non-farm activities to supplement family income. *Thirdly*, there has been a shift in government policy towards tourism development since the implementation of the Fourth Malaysia Plan (1980-1985). The government had introduced programmes to support the development of the tourism sector. Like the craftspersons in *Rumah U1*, many rural Iban took up CHP to benefit from the government's newly-introduced support programmes. In the last three years, the government has been providing direct assistance such as raw materials and technical advice to *bilik*-families in the Kapit Division. For example, the Agriculture Department started its *Project Ubong* in 1991, and has provided raw materials to longhouses under its Rural Agro-based Development Project. In 1992, the Department allocated RM10,000 worth of cotton threads to assist the longhouse communities to *"start their business."*[2]

In the study longhouses, most individuals decided to take up CHP at a particular time in a rather matter-of-fact way. These two *pua*-weavers, described their start in CHP:

> I don't recall what prompted me to sell *tikai* (mats) and *pua*. We sell them when we need some money. Last year, I decided to sell because there are just too many of them in the *bilik*. When somebody wants to buy, then I am willing to sell. If not, then I will keep it until someone is willing to buy them.

[2] Interview with officer-in-charge of the *Project Ubong* on 24/7/1993.

> I sell *pua* because I don't know what to do with them. The *perintah* (government) gave us some *ubong* (cotton) and *selop* (dye). We asked for water pipes and *atap zink* (zinc roofs) when the *Menteri* (government minister) came to campaign. Instead they gave us *ubong* and *selop*; I use them to weave three *pua*.. I managed to sell all last year. It is good the *perintah* is helping us. The cost of *ubong* is very expensive. The Agriculture Officer always advises us to sell *pua*. If not for her, I would have added more *pua* to this *bilik*.

The first comment illustrates the realities of *pua* production among the Iban in the rural areas. To the Iban craftsperson, there is no clear division between the production of handicrafts for self-use or for the market. The women weave textiles, plait mats and baskets, and men carve wood during their free time, as a way of keeping busy. As a result, many *bilik*-families have more products than they actually need. Often Iban craftspersons kept their *tikai buah* (patterned mats) and *pua* as family heirlooms. Since there is limited personal use of these crafts nowadays, many Iban are finding it profitable to produce crafts on a commercial basis.

There is also evidence suggesting that craftspersons started selling handicrafts when opportunities presented themselves. In *Rumah A1* and *E1* they did precisely this when there was a ready demand from a government agency. However, the agency stopped buying handicrafts from the craftspersons in the research area in 1987, citing high costs involved in administering and transporting handicrafts from the longhouses in Kapit to its workshops and retail outlets in Kuching. While some craftspersons then withdrew from the market, others continued to sell handicrafts even after the SEDC ceased its involvement.

An equally important factor is that the Ibans in Kapit Division are renowned for their skills in weaving. The availability of skills provides them with the knowledge and experience required to determine the means by which their traditional activity may be translated into an income-earning activity. There are also other factors which have encouraged the Iban in the research area to participate in commercial production. Some

stated they were not making enough money to support their family. Others contended that they had no choice because they could not find jobs. Their prospects in some of their current rural-based activities, particularly logging and agriculture, is not very promising. Take the case of Minggu, a carver from *Rumah N1*:

> Minggu is a 60 year old ex-policeman. He returned to live in his longhouse after retiring from the police-force. His pension of RM375.00 *ringgit* is insufficient to support his family of eight. To supplement his monthly pension, he plants hill paddy, sells vegetables and *ikan ulu* (river fish). During his spare time, he carves *parang* (sword) sheaths and *parang* hilts which he sells to the Chinese traders in Kapit and *temuai* (visitors). Both his wife and his mother-in-law weave baskets, mats and *pua* which they sell to tourists who occasionally visit their longhouse.

Minggu, like most craftspersons in the longhouses, produces handicrafts on a part-time basis, to earn supplementary income to support his family. Immediately after retiring, Minggu was hired as a security guard at a sawmilling company but had to leave three-and-a-half years later because it was suffering *"heavy losses."* The economic recession in the 1980s prevented many older men like Minggu from securing employment in the logging companies. Left with little choice, many had to eke out a living doing odd jobs, planting paddy, and selling forest products, riverine fish and taking up handicrafts.

Nancy, a weaver, also provided us with some insights into some of the factors promoting younger Iban to take up CHP.

> Nancy was seventeen years old when she failed her *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* examinations. Her life in a boarding school in Kuching did not prepare her to work as a rice farmer like her parents. Without any work experience and limited educational qualifications, she failed three interviews; for work as a clerk in a nearby primary school and then as an assistant clerk in the nearby sawmilling companies. At first, she helped some of the illiterate and elderly *pua* weavers in her longhouse to negotiate prices with a Chinese *towkay* from Kuching. Then, she started learning to weave her own *pua*. Now, she weaves and sells not only her own *pua*, but she continues to play the role of a *"middle-person"* for the *pua*-weavers in her longhouse.

In most cases, young Iban like Nancy, who returned to their longhouses after completing their education, seldom have plans to work in the rural areas, because of the limited availability of employment opportunities. Those who stayed behind in the longhouses are mostly without sufficient educational qualifications and therefore are often considered as "*failures.*" Although income from selling handicrafts may be equivalent or even higher than that earned from working as a security guard or a shop assistant in Kapit, young Ibans prefer the latter, because of its high status compared to producing handicrafts. Only when they fail to secure wage-earning jobs in the urban areas are they willing to produce and sell handicrafts. Even then, many do so, while waiting to secure a wage-earning job in the future. Nancy was no exception. The only difference is that Nancy stayed in the longhouse and took up handicraft production as an income-earning activity. She and a few others like her were even invited by a government department to attend entrepreneurship and leadership training courses in Kapit. According to Nancy, these courses prepared her for some of the basic skills in book-keeping and the motivation which enables her to assist the uneducated weavers in her longhouse to negotiate prices for their products and keep records of their transactions. The older and uneducated craftspersons rely on Nancy to assist them conducting business deals with tourists and sometimes Chinese traders. Even then, her average income of one thousand *ringgit* from every sale of *pua* cloths was not enough to convince some young Iban in her longhouse of its economic benefits.

None of the craftspersons claimed they took up CHP simply to make profits, or that they had always been business-minded. Part of the explanation may be provided by examining some aspects of Iban culture.

> Keramak alleged that she took up CHP to qualify for the government subsidy. Another reason for her involvement in CHP is to follow the footsteps of other weavers in her longhouse. They have established a *beragih* (production sharing relationship) with a *towkay.*

> Nyangga is a wood carver but he never sells his works. When asked why he did not sell his crafts, he answered, "*These things* [parang hilts and sheaths] *are simple to make. I just cannot charge a single cent for them. If anyone wants a parang hilt or sheath, just provide me with some sandpaper and varnish. I can easily carve a hilt for them for free.*"

A person who simply sets out to make profit, is often perceived as self-centred. Rather than be ostracised as such, the craftspersons prefer to downplay such self-motivation and claim they took up commercial activities merely to provide supplementary income for their family. This ties closely with the earlier discussion on the way the Iban measure success. The rural Iban may have measured success by monetary values, but there is still some feeling of "*enda nyamai ati*" (uneasiness) in the selling of handicrafts among the elderly Iban.

5.3 Basic Characteristics of Craftspersons

Who are the craftspersons involved in commercial and non-commercial handicraft production? What are their characteristics and circumstances? In this section of the chapter I will contrast their socio-economic characteristics of CPs and NCPs. **Table 5.2** highlights some of the basic characteristics of the craftspersons in the research longhouses. The survey results in **Table 5.2** show a statistical difference in age between those who are involved and those who are not involved in CHP. The CPs are slightly older than the NCPs with an average age of 45 years and 41 years respectively. Being middle-aged, these craftspersons have dependants and have many un-met economic needs. As age increases, their ability to find alternative employment tends to decrease, thus impeding out-migration. Besides, older people are more likely to have larger *bilik*-families compared to the young; therefore, cost of migration would be greater.

Table 5.2: Basic Characteristics of Surveyed Craftspersons

Basic Characteristics	CRAFTSPERSON		STATISTICAL TEST		
	Commercial	Non-Commercial	t-Value	2-Tail Significance	Standard Error of Difference
Age (years)	45	41	-2.62	.009*	1.660
Education (years)	2	4	3.45	.001*	.480
Number of *bilik*-family on *bejalai, bekuli* or *bekerja*	1	1	-1.24	.217	.199
Bilik-family size (number)	6	6	-.78	.434	.402
Craftspersons in a *bilik*-family (number)	2	2	.62	.537	.124
Total Household Income in 1992 (RM)	10,679.83	9,074.48	-1.24	.215	1291.78

Source: Survey 1993.
Note: * T-tail significance level at p≤0.10.

That these craftspersons were for the most part middle-age, also suggests that they had pursued other careers before embarking on CHP. The majority had been involved in *bejalai* -related activities, and had spent many years in urban settings. They held blue-collar positions, which necessitate a minimum education and a lengthy urban residence. The men had familiarity with urban outlooks which are useful in their rural business operations.

> Gerinang first worked as a fitter for about 19 months in a Korean company in Bintulu before he was diagnosed with serious skin problem which he claimed was due to *ubat orang* (black magic).[3] He returned to Kapit to seek traditional treatment. Now, Gerinang took up CHP to supplement his income from driving *kereta sapu* (unlicensed taxi).

[3] His medical report shows that he was allergic to metal.

> Menek left school after failing her Sarawak Junior Certificate. She worked as a cleaner with a *rumah tumpangan* (lodging) in Sibu. Occasionally, her employer pays her commission to buy "*cheap*" handicrafts from her longhouse in Kapit. Most of these crafts are sold directly to the lodgers. She learnt from that experience, that she can earn some income from selling crafts. She returned to her longhouse, and helped her mother sell mats and baskets.

The above examples illustrate that the *bejalai* histories of these commercial craftspersons further facilitate their acquisition of skills. A few craftsmen had even experienced working overseas; serving in the armed forces in Peninsular Malaysia or employed as loggers in Papua New Guinea and Kalimantan (Indonesia). In contrast, the craftswomen are housewives and farmers, who have limited education and lesser experience in urban environment. However, not all of those with *bejalai* experience will take up CHP. In fact, their *bejalai* experience has introduced them to new ideas and opportunities in other non-craft activities.

> Jubu returned to his longhouse after working five years as a lorry driver in a Korean construction firm in Bintulu. With his savings he bought a second-hand six-seater van which he used to transport passengers, agricultural products and crafts from the longhouses to Kapit town. He charged RM1.00 per person for the thirty minutes ride. He earned an average gross income of RM60.00 to RM90.00 per day.

Both Jubu and his wife have some skill in craftsmaking. Unlike many craftspersons in their longhouse, Jubu and his wife have not taken up CHP. The main reason preventing Jubu from taking up CHP is that there is higher profit from his transport business compared to the selling of crafts. Moreover income from crafts is unreliable due to stiff competition, low demand and price instability. Another reason is that the amount of income earned from craft production "*is not reflective*" of the effort put into its preparation and production. These craftspersons tend to follow a simple economic logic that to buy is easier than to make, especially given the laborious effort in craft production.

All the craftspersons in this study are Iban from the *rumah panjai* (longhouses). Typically, the *bilik*-family is their basic social and economic unit. It is autonomous and economically self-sufficient. **Table 5.3** shows that the average number of persons in each *bilik* is 5.93 which is larger than the average household size of 5.1 persons for Sarawak.

Table 5.3: Percentage Distribution of *Bilik*-family Size by Involvement in Craft Production

Bilik-family Size	CRAFTSPERSONS		
	Commercial	Non-Commercial	Total
1	9 (8.0)	-	9 (4.5)
2	5 (4.4)	5 (5.7)	10 (5.0)
3	9 (8.0)	12 (13.8)	21 (10.5)
4	13 (11.5)	9 (10.3)	22 (11.0)
5	16 (14.2)	22 (25.3)	38 (19.0)
6	15 (13.3)	8 (9.2)	23 (11.5)
Greater or Equal to 7	46 (40.7)	31 (35.7)	77 (38.5)

Source: Survey, 1993.
Note: Figures in brackets refer to column percentages.

These *bilik*-families ranged in size from a *bilik* with 1 to a *bilik* with 14 persons, with many having seven or more family members. Only 4.5 per cent has a *bilik*-family size of 1 and all have women as the *tuai bilik* (head of *bilik*). That they are involved in CHP shows that handicraft production provides cash income to single Iban women, whose family members have all left the *bilik*.

There is also a high percentage of dependent residents among the *bilik*-families. Following Sarawak's Department of Agriculture (1981) we define dependants as individuals who are less than 15 or more than 60 years of age, or more than 15 years and who are still in school. Our survey showed that 40 respondents have dependants, with 92.0

per cent having more than five children who are aged less than 15 years. The average number of dependants is 8. The implication is that the surveyed *bilik*-families will have a higher demand for cash income because of higher household expenditure. With the rising cost of living, the rural Iban are forced to eke out a living by diversifying their economic activities. Many took up CHP to supplement family income. The size of the *bilik*-family is a vital factor in craft production because it affects the supply of labour. Crafts are mostly produced by the elders in the family, with the children helping out in collecting and preparing raw materials.

In terms of educational background, I find that the craftspersons are poorly educated; 46.5 per cent are uneducated, 42.0 per cent and 11.5 per cent have primary and secondary education respectively (**Table 5.4**). Of the total uneducated respondents, the percentage is higher among CPs (66.7 per cent) than the NCPs (33.3 per cent). The majority of respondents are middle-aged women and this partly explains the respondents' low educational achievement. The low educational achievement among the older generation is not surprising considering that the first school in Kapit for the Iban was only built in 1939. Literacy is higher among the younger generation because of higher accessibility to schools in Kapit district.

Table 5.4: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Educational Background and Involvement in Craft Production

EDUCATION	CRAFTSPERSONS		
	Commercial	Non-Commercial	TOTAL
No Formal Education	62 (54.9)	31 (35.6)	93 (46.5)
Primary Education	45 (39.8)	39 (44.8)	84 (42.0)
Secondary Education	6 (5.3)	17 (19.5)	23 (11.5)
TOTAL	**113** (100.0)	**87** (100.0)	**200**

Source: Survey 1993.
Note: Figures in parentheses refer to column percentages.

These results show that Iban craftspersons have limited education which can be a disadvantage particularly to those who are involved in commercial production. Literacy is important, but not necessarily the only factor necessary for commercial success. Iban craftspersons may have limited education, but their broad and varied experiences in the cash economy and exposure to different ideas during periods of *bejalai* compensate for their lack of education. Such experiences gave some craftspersons from the longhouses the advantage to trade in handicrafts.

Why is it that only the elderly and the less educated are mostly involved in handicraft production? There is no straightforward answer to this question. The Iban often viewed CHP as an economic activity of last-resort and only take it up when they cannot find other jobs. Iban perceptions of CHP reflect its importance in the rural Iban economy. The returns from handicraft production are relatively low compared to other economic activities, and probably this explains why the Iban do not prioritise CHP. Besides, handicraft production is often perceived as "*kerja rumah panjai*" (longhouse occupation), and therefore is of lower status compared to "*kerja kompeni*" (private sector employment) or "*kerja perintah*" (government employment).

> Dana is a 46 years old paddy farmer and has been selling *parang* sheaths for the last eight years. When asked about his opinion of the type of work he prefers his children to do, he answered, "*Definitely not kerja menoa (rural occupation). What is the use of me spending every single cent that I earn to pay for their education if it is just to let them be a farmer like me. I want them to lead a much better life...even kerja ngangkut simen*[4] (construction work) *is better than bumai (farming) or kerja pengelandik jari (craftwork).*"

The rural Iban realise that they can no longer rely on income from farming. Dana sees limited prospects for his educated children in the rural areas. Like many rural Iban, Dana prefers his children to head for the cities, seizing the opportunity of increased urban

[4] "*Kerja ngangkut simen*" is literally translated as "*work that involves carrying cement bags.*" The Iban often use this term loosely to refer to manual labour in the construction industry.

employment. Those with limited education willingly accepted ill-paid jobs. After all, such jobs are "*better*" and have higher social recognition compared to "*kerja rumah panjai.*"

Available data suggest that out-migration is prevalent in the research longhouses. Of the total respondents, 110 claimed they have one or more family members who are away on *bejalai*. Compared to NCPs, the CPs have a higher incidence of family members on *bejalai*. The survey reveals that 61.1 per cent of CPs. have family members on *bejalai*, as against 47.1 per cent of NCPs. As **Table 5.5** shows, a total of 207 individuals from the surveyed longhouses were on *bejalai* at the time of the survey.

Table 5.5: Distribution of *Bilik*-family Members on "*Bejalai*"* By Destination

Destination	Frequency	Percentage
Balleh (Sarawak)	26	12.5
Baram (Sarawak)	28	13.5
Bintulu (Sarawak)	23	11.1
Kanowit (Sarawak)	5	2.4
Kapit (Sarawak)	40	19.3
Kuching (Sarawak)	9	4.3
Miri (Sarawak)	10	4.8
Sarikei (Sarawak)	4	1.9
Sibu (Sarawak)	7	3.3
Sabah	2	0.9
Johor (Peninsular Malaysia)	4	1.9
Kuala Lumpur (Peninsular Malaysia)	6	2.8
Papua New Guinea	9	4.3
Singapore	2	0.9
Brunei	19	9.1
Overseas (not stated)	13	6.2
Total	207	100.0

Source: Survey, 1993

Note: * In this study, we use the term *bejalai* to refer to the different types of *bejalai*-related behaviour mentioned by Kedit (1993:3), that is *bejalai, belelang, bekuli, kerja, pegi* and *kampar.*

It would be far from the truth, however, to claim that all migrants went on a *bejalai* with the purpose of acquiring social prestige, wealth and material goods. As Kedit (1993:3) has discussed, *bejalai* does not only involve a journey with the purpose of acquiring wealth

and social prestige for *bejalai*-related activities such as *belelang, bekuli, kerja, kampar, pindah*[5] - it also involves labour-migration. The following case studies illustrate the importance of *bejalai*-related activities to the rural Iban.

> Two of Tunku's four children are away *bekerja* in waged employment in Kapit and Baram. Linting was 26 years old and married with three children when he left in 1986 to work as a lorry driver at a logging company in Baram. Wilson, his second son, was 25 years old when he left in 1989 to work as an assistant crane operator in a construction company in Johore and later Singapore. His 17 years old daughter Margaret had just completed her MCE and will be leaving for Kuala Lumpur to work as a sales girl for a contract of two years.

> Beriak, a young farmer from Rumah B1 has plans of going on bejalai. *I hope to go bekuli in Miri or Brunei next year. Why? Because the pay is good. I can easily earn RM800 working as a construction worker. Here I can hardly earn RM200 a month. Besides many individuals from this longhouse are there. They can introduce me to their towkay.*

The Iban men go on *bejalai* not only to seek adventure but also new opportunities. The most commonly cited reason for embarking on *bejalai* is "*to seek better employment opportunities*." In traditional Iban society, men often embarked on *bejalai* to seek adventure (Kedit 1988; Sutlive 1988) and new opportunities.[6] However, my survey indicates that economic motives tend to overshadow the traditional objectives of *bejalai*.

My survey results show that the logging areas (such as Kapit, Balleh and Baram) are popular destinations among migrants, indicating that logging companies are a highly significant employer of the migrating Iban from the research longhouses. Some even worked in logging companies in Papua New Guinea. Besides logging, the migrants also found employment as manual labourers, construction workers, factory workers and riggers in the

[5] According to Kedit (1993: 3), *bejalai*, is a term used to describe a journey with a view to acquiring wealth, material goods, and social prestige. The term *belelang* refers to an extended trip and distant journeys, such as leaving one's country for another in search of a job. *Bekuli* is a term to describe labour-migration, that involves working in manual jobs (such as builders, riggers) in the urban centres. *Kerja* means to work as a non-manual wage-earner. *Kampar,* means to stay in a place as a visitor on an extended *bejalai. Pindah* is a term used to describe the act of permanent migration.

[6] Sutlive (1988) used the Iban value of *bejalai* to explain their early migratory pattern .

oil fields, LNG plants and construction companies in Bintulu, Miri, Peninsular Malaysia, Brunei, Sabah, and Gulf States. Except for the few who worked as *soldadu* (army personnel) in Peninsular Malaysia, relatively few migrants are engaged in non-manual waged employment in the government sector. Though the public sector is assumed to be the major employer of the *Bumiputera,* the Iban migrants do not seem to have much *nasib* (luck) finding employment in it. One explanation for this is that the Iban lack the necessary educational requirements to fill public sector employment. Furthermore, the Iban prefer high-risk and high-paying jobs which require limited education, such as logging (Hong 1987).

The survey data reveal that *bilik*-families who have family members away on *bejalai* earn a relatively higher income compared to those who do not have family members away on *bejalai:* RM1267.24 and RM727.75 respectively. The high income from *bejalai*-related economic activities and the strong cultural value placed on *bejalai*, have the tendency to discourage the Iban men from pursuing a permanent economic activity within the vicinity of the longhouse. The Iban men who go on *bejalai* mostly work in paid-employment which promises high and quick cash returns rather than participate in self-employment activities, such as petty trading. Although the act of *bejalai* takes important labour resources away from the longhouses, the contribution from family members who experienced *bejalai* is high. The remittances from family members who are away on *bejalai* represent an important source of income for many rural Iban. *Bilik*-families that have children on *bejalai* are economically secured and they can be distinguished readily from other families because one of the first things the family does with the remittance income is to buy consumer durable such as outboard engines, televisions and radios. In addition, they will use the remittance income to buy *belian* poles for their pepper gardens or shares such as in *Amanah Saham Bumiputera* (ASB), *Amanah Saham Nasional* (ASN),

and *Amanah Saham Sarawak* (ASSAR). Remittance income is also used for sending siblings and children to school or financing future *bejalai.*

The benefit from *bejalai* is not only limited to economic returns but also to the experience obtained from travelling. One head of a *bilik*-family claimed that his family started to sell handicrafts after learning the benefits from such activity from two of his sons who returned from *bejalai* in Peninsular Malaysia. His sons convinced him of the economic benefits from selling handicrafts after they visited a *batik* factory in Kelantan and Terengganu. One can see that the act of *bejalai* can have a positive or a negative influence on Iban involvement in commercial activities.

The majority of the Iban in the study area produce crafts in combination with other economic activities, particularly agriculture. Data on agricultural activities are less accurate because the respondents do not keep written record. I tried to minimise data inaccuracies by referring to published official documents and interviews with officers at Kapit Agriculture Department. From my survey, I learnt that 162 respondents were involved in paddy cultivation, 116 in vegetable gardening, 102 in pepper growing, 86 in cocoa planting, 61 fruit gardening, and 57 in rubber planting, indicating their involvement in multiple agricultural activities. Of total respondents, 81.0 per cent claimed they plant hill paddy using the slash-and-burn method of farming.[7] This method is widely practised because of its suitability to the steep terrain and dry conditions in the research areas. Many farmers complained of low yield in the last farming season, and they attributed it to a combination of using *sum padi bukit* (hill paddy fertiliser), shorter bush fallow, depleted soil and a prolonged wet season. The agricultural officers, likewise, claimed that the farmers are using unsuitable hill paddy fertilisers instead of the granulated ammophos.

[7] See Freeman (1955 and 1970) for a detailed discussion of the Iban method of paddy farming.

Though wet paddy yield is twice as much as that of hill paddy, none of the respondents plant wet paddy. Although the figure seems ominous the official agricultural report (Sarawak Agriculture Department 1993:49-50) showed that Kapit district only had 146 hectares of wet paddy compared to 7,591 hectares of dry paddy areas. Wet paddy is only cultivated in available swampy areas at the Nanga Merit Drainage and Irrigation Scheme, Sungei Melinau, Mujong and Tunoh. With the average cost of paddy at RM70.00 per 100 kilogram[8] and limited availability of swampy and hill forest areas for planting paddy, the Iban have little choice but to increase their involvement in off-farm activities.

Pepper growing provided cash income to 51.0 per cent of the Iban in the research longhouses. In 1993, a *bilik*-family can earn between RM165.00 to RM230.00 for every 100 kilogram of black pepper sold at Kapit bazaar. It is not surprising that many rural Iban shifted to pepper planting when prices of rubber and forest produce fell. Some respondents are participants in the Pepper Planting Scheme, which entitles them to receive government subsidies of RM60.00 and RM59.00 per hectare for pesticide and tools respectively. For those who participated in the Pepper Maintenance Scheme, they received RM45.00 per hectare worth of pesticides. With the average price of pepper at RM195.83 per 100 kilogramme and the high operating cost of pepper planting, it is uneconomical for the Iban to grow pepper without government support.

Cocoa planting is a revenue earner for 86 respondents and provided them with an income in the range of RM155.00 to RM250.00 per 100 kilogramme of cocoa sold. In some *bilik*-families, cocoa is the first income-earning crop, replacing pepper and rubber. All the cocoa farmers plant cocoa as a monocrop on a smallholding basis. Qualified cocoa farmers receive government subsidies worth RM260.00 in the first year, RM60.00 for the second year, and RM260.00 per hectare in the third year for nursery expenses, weedicides,

[8] This is government support price at Kuching in 1993.

fertilisers, farming tools, processing facilities and pesticides. For participants in the Cocoa Monocrop Rehabilitation Scheme, they receive RM105.00 and RM60.00 per hectare for the first and second year respectively.

Of the total cohort of respondents, 58.0 per cent are involved in vegetable gardening. Most of them grow vegetables on a part-time basis. Most Iban cultivate vegetables, such as *rampo* (cucumber), *labu* (gourd), *ensabi* (mustard leaves), *entekai* (pumpkin), *jagung* (maize), *retak* (long beans), *terong* (eggplant) interspersed with paddy. Some even have subsidiary gardens with vegetables such as spinach, angle-loofah, radish, cucumber, *kai choy*, chilli, brinjal, gourds, in their subsidiary vegetable gardens. These vegetables are mostly grown for personal consumption, but the Iban do sell these vegetables during their occasional trips to Kapit bazaar. Besides selling home-grown vegetables, some Iban sell wild vegetables such as ferns, bamboo shoots, palm hearts. Based on our market survey, we found that the Iban do not only sell home-grown vegetables but also wild ones such as *paku engkeruak* (Helminthostachys sp.), *lemiding* (palustris), *daun buan* (Dillenia suffruticosa), *upa aping* (Arenga sp.) , *upa pantu* (Eugeissona insignis), *upa apong* (Nipa fruticans), and *tubu manis* (bambusa spp.). The prices of vegetables are relatively high, suggesting that the Iban can earn extra income from selling them.

Thirty-one per cent of respondents claimed that they are involved in fruit planting. They plant fruit trees near their longhouses, at foothills, *temuda* land (secondary forest) or inter-cropped with rubber. Among the common fruits grown are bananas, *durian, rambutan, dabai, pedalai* and *petai.*[9] Some *bilik*-families sell fruits, particularly when there is excess of supply during the fruit seasons. They can hardly gain much profit because of market saturation and price instability. Some resorted to selling fruits in Sibu where demand is higher. High transportation costs, however, prevent them from earning huge

[9] See **Appendix 7** for scientific names.

profits. Moreover, Iban vegetable and fruit growers face difficulties penetrating the market, which is monopolised by the Chinese. Rural Iban lack basic storage facilities, credit and knowledge necessary for fruit and vegetable commercial farming.

There is a high rate of logging activities in Kapit Division, however, only 56 surveyed *bilik*-families have members working in this activity. Most of them are employed in jobs which are reflective of their age. Those who are less than 20 years mostly worked as *kuli* (casual labourers), debarkers or hookman which entitled them to earn an average monthly salary of RM200.00 to RM300.00. For those above 20 years, the majority worked as chainsaw operators, *dribar lipan* (tractor drivers), foremen and sub-contractors. The chainsaw operators earned between RM1,000.00 to RM1,700.00 and the tractor drivers between RM1,500.00 to RM2,500.00 depending on their experience. The foreman and sub-contractors earn between RM3,000 to RM3,500.00, however, the number of Iban employed in this job is very limited. The Iban are mostly concentrated in the lower-income category and worked in very physically risky jobs. Belintin's and Jar's *bilik*-families are good examples of how the rural Iban try to subsist on multiple economic activities.

> Belintin is 43 years, widowed, uneducated and with 2 sons and 2 daughters. To support her family Belintin works full time as a farmer and sells handicrafts as a part-time activity. Her eldest son Bilau worked as *dribar lipan* at a logging camp at Putai earning RM1,200 per month. His wife Rinta worked as a housewife and occasionally helps Belinting in her paddy farm, cocoa and vegetable gardens. Belintin's second son John worked as a logger at Nanga Balleh earning RM800 per month. During weekends, her son John helped Belintin at her paddy and cocoa farm. To supplement her income, Belintin sells rambutan and *buah dabai* at Kapit. Usually, Belintin cannot work full-time on her farm because her grandchildren live with her and need attention. Belintin claimed she does not complain, because she receives money and groceries from her two sons.

> Jar is 46 years old with five children; four girls and one boy. Jar's *bilik*-family do not sell handicrafts. In 1993, cash-crop production was top priority work for the *bilik*-family. Jar's income of RM300 per month from his farm was insufficient to support his family. From July to April, they work seven days a week on their 3 acres of hill paddy. In the afternoon, they spend three to four hours daily weeding, pruning, watering and applying fertilisers to their 200 pepper vines. They spend less time on cocoa, except during harvest. Occasionally, Jar and his son hunt deer and wild-boar in the forest for sale. Income from cash-crops and remittances from his daughter, an assembly worker in an air-condition factory in Johor provides the main source of family income. The *bilik*-family's rice-stock and the income from the sale of meat ease the pressure on the *bilik*-family cash supply.

The rural Iban are engaged in a broad range of economic activities as one of the ways of protecting themselves against economic risk and failures. For example if the paddy yield is poor, they might resort to forest product collecting and increase their production of crafts for sale. In my opinion, the rural Iban have shown much willingness to take any opportunity to earn cash.

Their multiple economic activities provide the rural Iban with an average household income of RM9,981.50 a year or RM831.79 a month. The CPs earn an average income of RM10,679.83 against RM9,074.48 for the NCPs. **Table 5-6** shows that 62.5 per cent of total respondents earn less or equal to RM10,000 while 3.5 per cent earned more than RM30,000 for the whole of 1992.

Table 5.6: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Craftspersons By Range of Total Household Income in 1992

Income Range (Ringgit Malaysia)	CRAFTSPERSONS		
	Commercial	Non-Commercial	Total
Less or Equal 10,000	64 (56.6)	61 (70.1)	125 (62.5)
10,001 - 20,000	31 (27.4)	15 (17.2)	46 (23.0)
20,001 - 30,000	14 (12.4)	8 (9.2)	22 (11.0)
Greater or Equal 30,001	4 (3.5)	3 (3.4)	7 (3.5)

Source: Survey, 1993
Note: Figures in brackets refer to column percentages.

The evidence presented above indicates that the average Iban in the research longhouses earns RM831.79 per month, which is above the official state poverty line of RM495.00 (UKM 1994). These income figures, however, hide one important fact, that is the seasonality of rural income. Since the majority of the *bilik*-families are involved in cash agriculture, it is reasonable that their income pattern will be influenced by harvest and commodity prices. It is not surprising that the majority of the Iban resorted to selling handicrafts during a poor harvest or when their need for cash arises. The average annual income of RM1,168.00 from selling handicrafts may be small by formal business standards, but its contribution to total family income is significant, particularly for poor *bilik*-families .

As the Iban have become more fully integrated into the market, their production and success are now determined by outside interests, (such as government agencies, *towkays*) which do not participate directly in their production process. These interests have influenced the Iban economy and their way of life. For example, there is evidence of change in Iban attitude towards general success. In the past, the Iban believed that social status and success were not acquired through ascription, political manoeuvring or *"personal connections,"* rather they were achieved through one's *pengerajin* (hard work), *berani* (courage, valour), *cekal hati* (persistence), *pengelandik* (skill) in productive activities, *mungkal pengawa* (pioneering work) and above all the blessings of *Petara* or God (Kedit 1988:9). Profit and commercial success is not high on the Iban list of success achievement.

Now, a person's social status in the longhouse tends to be measured in terms of their economic position. It is quite common for the Iban to define a *bilik*-family *'s* success by the assets they own, the amount of *saham* (shares) they have invested in ASN, ASB and ASSAR, and the number of family members who work in logging camps or *kerja perintah.* This change in the Iban attitude towards success will have a positive impact on their pursuit

of economic success. Instead of being motivated purely by success in securing a plentiful paddy harvest, now the rural Iban are motivated by high returns from waged employment and commercial activities, savings and investments. However, the majority of the Iban interviewed still have their reservations about involvement in commercial activities. Such activities are not high on the Iban list of economic priorities. Some Iban, particularly the elderly tend to equate commercial success with "*trickery*" and "*business manipulation.*" But the two main reasons cited by craftspersons for non-continuity in CHP are low profit and difficulties in marketing. Twenty-three per cent of craftspersons did not participate continuously in CHP because they were "*busy with other economic activities.*" This tells us that Iban craftspersons produce and sell handicrafts when their need for extra income arises, and stop doing so when such economic needs are fulfilled. This has important implications for the future development of rural industry based on craft production in the surveyed longhouses. Any plans to promote future Iban involvement in rural craft industry must first address this labour-related issue. Given the highly diversified nature of the Iban economy, it is reasonable to think that the craftspersons may have difficulties conforming to the tight work schedule in factory production.

5.4 Commercial Handicraft Production

What is apparent from the discussion in the previous sections is that it may be necessary to seek more realistic ways of discussing Iban involvement in CHP. In the following sections, I discuss some of the ways the Iban conduct CHP and the importance of CHP for their *bilik*-families .

5.4.1 Organisation and Production

Prior to their involvement in CHP, the majority of Iban typically had held *"more desirable Iban jobs"* such as logging and construction work and in the armed services. The

craftswomen were mostly housewives and farmers. The following cases illustrate some of the ways the Iban move into commercial craftspersons.

Case Study 1: From Waged Employment to CHP

After completing his Sarawak Junior Certificate in 1970, Rantai left his longhouse to live with his brother who is a scheme participant at Bukit Peninjau in Miri. He worked as a labourer earning RM180.00. In 1974, he was recruited by a shipping company to work as a labourer on a cargo ship registered in Singapore with a starting salary of RM650.00. He returned to Kapit in 1987 because he could not renew his contract with the shipping company. After four failed attempts at getting a job in the logging companies, Rantai and his *bilik*-family took up farming. Like many Iban in his longhouse, Rantai made wood carvings and his wife wove *pua* for personal use during their spare time. Rantai sells the majority of his crafts to the traders in Kapit, but occasionally, he sells his crafts in Sibu. Rantai uses the services of one of his previous shipmates who now works as a crew member of an express boat plying between Sibu and Kapit. According to Rantai, profits will be shared equally between them. In 1992, Rantai's *bilik*-family earned RM450.00 from crafts.

Case Study 2: From Petty Trading to CHP

Umang started selling smoked meat and fish at Kapit's *pasar tani* (farmers market) in 1987 after her youngest child entered secondary school. Across from where she sells her products are the shophouses and coffee shops. Umang could not help noticing the number of foreign and local tourists frequenting these shops, and the type of things they buy. Umang invested her extra income from petty trading in purchasing cotton thread and dye. She usually sells her crafts together with her smoked fish and meat at the *pasar tani.* The majority of her customers are tourists who came to the *pasar tani* out of curiosity. Umang became actively involved in CHP after she stopped selling at the *pasar tani* in 1989. In 1992, she earned RM 987.00 from selling crafts.

To these two craftspersons, previous work experiences were valuable for learning the necessary skills required to operate handicraft production commercially. Those with employment experience had some advantages over the farmers, because they learned skills, saved money and gained knowledge of commercial opportunities. The craftspersons obtained the capital necessary to start CHP from family savings. The amount is relatively small - for example one craftsperson estimated her *duit pokok* (capital) was about RM12.00, which she used to buy cotton threads and chemical dye.

The majority treats handicraft production as a family rather than a personal economic activity. Most of the searching and preparing of raw materials are done by the *bilik*-family members, in co-operation with other families. It is only the actual weaving or carving that is done by the adults in the family. Like other economic activities, craft production has an element of risk involved because raw materials are procured at the craftspersons' expense while the marketability of crafts is not assured.

All the craftspersons produce handicrafts as a part-time activity. CHP is often combined with paddy and commercial farming, indicating its importance as a supplementary source of livelihood. My questions on time-allocation to CHP often evoked vague responses, and then the respondents would say that (s)he produces handicrafts "*maya nadai pengawa*" - *during their free time, which is normally in the evening or during the off*-peak season starting late May until July. Commonly, their answers indicated that the craftspersons only have rough estimates of the number of days they spent on handicraft production. An approximate calculation indicates that they put an average of 78 person-days[10] in a year to commercial production. Yet there are several exceptions. One *bilik*-family roughly allocates 4 person-days while another allocates 300 person-days to CHP in 1992.

The study shows that the rural craftspersons do not allocate specific hours to CHP, and this explains the long delay in completing the handicrafts. The completion time is relatively fast for those who produced handicrafts full-time. For example, a full-time wage-earning trainee at a government handicraft institute can weave about three average-sized baskets in one day or an average of 2 hours per basket. The trainee, however, has an advantage in terms of time because she does not have to search for or prepare the raw

[10] I calculate person-days by multiplying the number of craftspersons by the number of days in a year spent on CHP.

materials. The agency often bought the semi-processed or processed raw materials in bulk, which are then distributed to the trainees-cum-production workers.

5.4.2 Production Skill

Iban craftspersons acquire their skills from family members. The results show that the craftspersons do not acquire their skills from formal training in government handicraft institutes or through apprenticeship and employment in craft-producing firms. Regarding production, I found that most craftspersons use traditional methods and techniques albeit with some modifications. For example, the weavers still use the traditional techniques of *kebat* or *ikat* and the *pileh.* The word *ikat* comes from the Iban word *ngikat*, which means to bind, tie, or wind around. The production techniques may look simple, but one must recognise that these have been developed and perfected through the years and handed down from one generation to another. During the survey, I had the opportunity of watching the Iban weavers prepare thread before *ikat* weaving begins.

> Tiong, a *pua* weaver explains that there are many processes involved in preparing thread. First she has to prepare the thread by spinning them on a *gasing,* and dipping them into rice gruel in a process called *nyikat ubong.* Tiong then combs (*nyikat*)the starched threads with coconut husks to remove the starch. With the assistance of her two daughters, bundles of these spun threads are first separated and then stretched between adjustable rollers. Tiong and her daughters will pass balls of thread (which they placed in a coconut shell to prevent the threads from tangling) over a frame. The thread is stretched over the frame to ascertain the length and breadth of *pua* to be woven. On completion, Tiong then transfers the thread to the *tangga ubong* to begin her *ngebat* process. Once completed, Tiong divides the odd and even threads to prevent them from becoming entangled during the binding and dyeing process. At the same time, Tiong carefully counted, divided and marked the threads for binding according to her intended designs. Given that the pattern she intended to weave was a familiar one, Tiong does not refer to a sample textile as a pattern guide.

> Tiong started the *ngebat* process by first binding tightly plastic strings to a group of threads that had been separated. First she ties the patterns which are to retain the natural colour of the yarn. The process is called *mampul.* Then Tiong removes the thread from the *tangga ubong* and dips them into the red dyed water, and then dries them. Tiong does not wait until the threads are completely dried before transferring them back to the *tangga ubong* and continues with her *ikat* and *mampul.* Usually, the first process is to retain the natural colour, then red and lastly the black colour. The process of transferring the thread to the *tangga ubong,* dyeing, *ikat* and mampul are repeated for different colour until all colours have been applied. Finally, Tiong *ngetas tampok lemba* (cuts the *lemba* knots) prior to transferring the dyed thread to the loom for weaving.
>
> To obtain a dark red colour for her *pua,* Tiong uses the leaves of the *engkerbai* tree. She boils these leaves with some lime juice. To obtain the blue colour, Tiong uses the leaves of the *tarum*[11] plant which has been soaked for a day with the *sepang*[12] plant. She uses the grated skin of the *jering*[13] fruit to obtain the blue colour of her *pua.* She mixes the grated roots of the *engkudu* plant with that of the *jirak*[14] plant to obtain the red colour.

The above case study shows that craftmaking is laborious and time- consuming. Tiong claims that to create a resist pattern, she has to tie the plastic strings three to four times around the threads to prevent smearing. Before plastic strings were available, Tiong used *lemba* (curculigo latifolia) fibre which she coated with *lilin manyi* (bee's wax) to increase resistance. The weavers prepare the *lilin manyi* by heating a mixture of beeswax and *bunyuh* (quicklime) over a low fire in a bamboo container. Once cooled, the wax will harden in the container. The hardened wax needs to be removed by splitting the bamboo container. For those who still use *lemba* fibre, the process is equally time-consuming. Weavers will have to spend a day to search for *lemba* in the forest. They usually use two types of *lemba - lemba kumang* and *lemba babi,* of which the latter is much preferred for its strength and ease of preparation. The problem is not only that of availability of *lemba* but also the time involved in searching for and preparing it. The Iban believe that the search for and preparation of *lemba* has to be carried out only during certain days in a month; during *anak bulan surut* (after the full moon). The weavers claim that it is only during this

[11] Tarum is scientifically referred to as marsdenia tinctoria, indigofera
[12] The scientific name of *sepang* plant is Caesalpinia sappan
[13] The scientific name for *jering* is Pithecellobium jiringa
[14] *Jirak* tree is scientifically referred to as *Eurya acuminata.*

period that the *lemba* plant can be easily split and processed. To the Iban weavers it is not the amount of time spent but when and how they spent their time searching and producing crafts that is important. **Table 5-7** provides us with a broad idea of the average time spent by the rural craftspersons on weaving *pua* and baskets. Craft production is not only slow but it requires much labour that it is costly in relation to crafts produced using machines. Although machine-produced crafts may be cheaper and refined, they may not have the aesthetic value of hand-crafted products.

Table 5.7: Major Activity and Time Spent On *Pua* and Basket Weaving

Major Activity	Estimated Total Time Taken.
(a) Pua Weaving[1]	
1. *Niki ke kalai* (winding/tying cotton on the *kalai*)	1 day
2. *Tabo* (cotton yarn is spun)	2 days
3. *Sikat* (preparing cotton thread by dipping them in rice starch)	1 day
5. *Tipan* (part of warping the thread process)	1-2 days
6. *Milih ubong* (selecting/grouping strands of thread on the frame)	2 hours per day
7. *Ngikat* and *mampul* (creating resist patterns)	2 - 3 weeks depending on spare time and availability of assistance by family members.
8. *Selop*[2]*, jembi, ngetas tali* (dye, dry, untie strings)	Depending on drying period
9. *Ngerembai* (spread dyed web)	4-5 minutes
10. *Pilih niki ngagai lidi, ngaga lubang karab, bebungan, belabas.* (preparation of weft and warp for weaving)	30 - 45 minutes
11. *Nenun* (weaving)	2 week (minimum)
12. *Jait tangkir* (sew fringes)	1 day
13. *Ngambi berurai* (fringes)	1 day
(b) Mats and Basket Weaving	
1. *Ngiga buluh, bemban*(search for raw materials)	1 day
2. *Kikis, melah (buai empulu)* (preparation of raw materials)	1 day
4. *Ngecat* (painting)	30 - 40 minutes
5. *Nganyam* (weaving)	1 day
6. *Ngaga bingkai* (weaving the rim)	½ day

Source: Interview with key respondents.

Note: [1]This list is not according to the sequence of events. The time calculated to weave *pua* excludes the time taken (a) in the search for raw materials (such as cotton, dyes) and (b) to make weaving tools.

[2] The above calculation was based on the use of chemical dye. The time taken is longer if the producer uses traditional dyeing methods in which the *ngar* ritual is involved. The craftspersons often allocate 1 ½ to 2 weeks to prepare for the *ngar*.

Sources of raw materials supply differ according to craft types and nature of production organisation (whether they are involved in *beragih* with a *towkay*, participants in the government's *Projek Ubong* or selling directly to traders). The craftspersons can either purchase or prepare the raw materials personally. Those who participated either in the government's *Projek Ubong* or are involved in a *beragih*, receive their raw materials from the government or the *towkay*. Besides receiving their supplies, the craftspersons involved in the *beragih* also receive product specifications from the *towkay* and work at home in their homes at their own pace and time. The following case studies show the different sources of raw materials.

Case Study 1: Craftspersons who participated in *Projek Ubong*

In 1992, Renti was selected by the Agriculture Department to participate in its *Projek Ubong*. To become a participant in the project, Renti must be a participant in the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP). As a participant, she received RM200.00 worth of cotton yarn and chemical dye.

Case Study 2: Craftspersons who *beragih* (production sharing) with a Chinse *towkay*.

Kuna a 48 year old weaver from *Rumah A1* first participated in the Agriculture Departments *Projek Ubong* in 1988. She received raw materials such as cotton yarn and dye. Since 1990, she *beragih* with *towkay* Lim. When the *beragih* first started, *towkay* Lim supplied her with cotton yarn and chemical dye. *Towkay* Lim stopped supplying the chemical dye after he decided to produce *pua* using the traditional dyeing method. Since she could no longer use chemical dye, Kuna had to search and prepare the raw materials from the forest. In 1992, *towkay* Lim supplied Kuna with silk thread after the *towkay* realised there is a market for silk *pua*.

Craftspersons who *beragih* or are participants in the *Projek Ubong* do not purchase their own raw materials, therefore reducing the cost and time of preparing and

searching raw materials. Most of the raw materials used in crafts production are forest products - such as *engkudu* (morinda citrifolia x), *engkerbai* (species stylocoryne - psychotria viridi flora), *sepang* (Caesalpinia sappan), *jirak* (Eurya acuminata), *jering* (pithecellobium jiringa), *tarum* (marsdenia tinctoria, indigofera) *minyak kepayang* (oil extracted from pangium edule) and *lia kumang* (zingiber spp) - had to be obtained from the forest or cultivated plot and processed before they could be used in the mordant bath for dyeing *pua kumbu* (see **Table 5.8**). The preparation of the *ngar* ritual (mordant bath) alone takes more than a week[15] and involves almost everyone in the longhouse. For *ngar* participants, the ritual takes them away from performing their economic activities such as farming and producing handicrafts.

As displayed in **Table 5-8** the basket and mat weavers use a combination of traditional raw materials and modern inputs. They use *bemban* (*donax* spp), *buluh* or bamboo, *senggang* (*hornstedtia scyphifera*), *kerupok meredang* (*pandanus* spp) obtained from the forest, and modern products such as plastics, chemical paints, and basic metal

Table 5.8: Selected Handicrafts and Raw Materials

Handicrafts	INPUT STRUCTURE			
	Forest Products	Agricultural Products	Processed Products	Manufactured Products
Pua	*Engkudu, engkerbai, lia kumang* (wild ginger), *jering, tarum*	ginger,	salt, illepenut oil,	cotton yarn, cotton thread, silk yarn, synthetic yarn & thread, cotton cloth, plastic products, chemical dye, basic metals,
Mats, Baskets	*bemban, senggang, kerupok meredang, bamboo, rattan,*			plastics, dye, paint, basic metals, p.v.c,
Beads				cotton thread, nylon thread, needles,
Carving	*pelai* wood			Basic metals

Note: See **Appendix 7** for scientific names of respective forest products

[15]Gavin (1991) estimated that the whole process (from preparation to the final stage of the *"ngar"*) took 13 days to complete.

Rapid deforestation in the research areas can have a negative effect on the supply of these forest products. To solve the growing depletion of forest products, the craftspersons have resorted to the use of chemical dyes which are easily available. Other reasons for instituting changes in the use of raw materials are to reduce time and increase product marketability.

> Linda is experimenting with a *selop* (dye) bought from Indonesian traders. According to Linda, it is the type of dye used for *batik* weaving. The dye consists of two different powdered substances - a mordant and colour salt. For the first bath, a quantity of naphthol is mixed with soda and hot water. The second bath consists of the coloured salt.

Many weavers like Linda experimented with chemical dye because they could not perform the *ngar*, thus preventing them from using traditional dye. Although the chemical dyeing process is time-saving compared to the traditional one, the Iban still praises the beauty of the dark red and blue achieved with the *engkudu*, *engkerbai* and *tarum* dye.

One interesting point I need to make is the growing emphasis on the use of natural raw materials, particularly among craftspersons who *beragih* with the *towkay*. Before establishing a *beragih* with a Chinese *towkay* in 1988, the weavers from *Rumah Al* were like other weavers; they produced handicrafts using synthetic dye. By 1989, while craftspersons in other longhouses continued to weave *pua* using chemical dye, the craftspersons in *Rumah Al* have shifted back to using forest products. Beginning in 1990, they were experimenting with new raw materials, such as silk and prestogen *p.c.* The impetus behind this shift is the *towkay*, rather than the craftspersons. The *towkay* has created a niche for himself in the market as a trader of traditionally-produced *pua* and a fashion-designer using *pua*-clothes as his medium.

At present times, the majority of craftspersons have introduced new materials, particularly in the production of *"new"* crafts such as handbags, files and folders. The case

of Sita, a 27 year old basket weaver, is typical of commercial craftspersons who produce new crafts such as *pua* and *pandan* handbags. Sita tends to combine forest and modern raw materials to produce new crafts. Unlike the elderly weavers, Sita kept a simple record of her *pua* production; a technique she learnt while attending a one week entrepreneurship course organised by a government department.

In order to produce a *pua*-handbag, Sita bought a small-size *pua* at a unit cost of RM45.00, of which she uses only 1/10 and the estimated cost is RM4.50. She uses 1/6 of a polyurethane which she bought at RM16.00; 0.28 cents worth of cardboard; 1.50 worth of metal snap; 0.20 cents worth of manila card; 0.10 cents worth of sponge; 0.65 cents worth of lining; and 1.00 worth of thread and gum. It cost Sita RM9.55 to produce a *pua* handbag (see **Table 5.9**).

Table 5.9: Estimates of Cost of Input in the Production of Selected Commercial Handicrafts

Handicrafts	Unit Cost (Ringgit Malaysia)	Usage	Cost
1. ***Pua* Handbag**			
Pua	45.00	1/10	4.50
Polyurethane	16.00	1/6	2.67
Cardboard	2.20	1/8	0.28
Metal snap	1.50	1	1.50
Manila card	0.80	1/4	0.20
Sponge	2.00	1/22	0.10
Lining	7.80	1/12	0.65
Gum, thread	-	-	1.00
Total Cost			**9.55**
2. Pandan Bag			
Pua	8.00	1/5	1.60
Canvas Cord	8.00	1	8.00
	1.20	1	1.20
Cardboard	1.50	1/8	1.20
Lining	3.00	1	3.00
Polyurethane	16.00	1/10	1.60
Gum/Thread	-	-	1.00
Total Cost			**18.00**

Source: Calculations based on information provided by key respondents

Unlike Sita, the majority of the craftspersons do not have formal records which makes it difficult for them to calculate their profit or loss. In the absence of record-keeping, the craftspersons relied on rough estimates of cost and sales. Whether demand has increased, decreased or stabilised is generally a matter of the craftspersons' perception. Only the few educated weavers such as Sita have simple records of their cost and sales. Many of the weavers, particularly the elderly, do not see any importance in keeping formal records of their transactions. Some of the common answers given for not keeping formal records are; "*there is no necessity for it*" and "*I don't know how to read and write; I only rely on my memory.*" Record-keeping may be necessary for formal business, but for the Iban who produce and sell crafts on a part-time basis, such records are unnecessary.

This brings us to the next important aspect of production, namely skill and equipment. Much skill is needed to produce crafts. Iban craftspersons must know what are the best raw materials, where they are located and the best time to search for and prepare them. The dyers must know the correct combination of raw materials used in the mordant bath. Besides, skilled weavers must know how to interpret dreams before designing the patterns on their *pua*, baskets and mats. Although much skill is needed to produce crafts, relatively little equipment is used so that little fixed capital is required.

5.4.3 Designs

Another important aspect of production is product design. Product design is important because it determines the marketability of crafts. As I have discussed in Chapter Four, Iban craftspersons drew inspirations for their designs from dreams and their environment. In an attempt to improve the marketability of Iban crafts, it is necessary for us to identify the source of their design ispirations and factors taken into consideration when designing their crafts.

Among the Iban commercial craftspersons, traditional and cultural factors and customer needs are the major factors influencing craft designs. The elderly and skilled craftspersons tend to adhere closely to traditional designs. Some claimed they have made *"minor modifications"* to meet customer needs. The younger craftspersons, however, are more influenced by customer needs as reflected in the following case studies.

> Umbau, a thirty-one year old weaver takes various factors into account when designing her baskets and mats. When designing her mats, she takes into consideration the popularity of the mat with her customers. Small mats are popular among foreign tourists and because of size restriction, Umbau tends to weave less complex designs on these mats. According to Umbau, traditional designs are more suitable for large mats which are for personal use.

> As a part-time wage earner, Galau, designs his *terabai* and *parang* hilt according to the amount of time he has. Galau claims he will carve complex traditional designs with *lengkok* (curves) and *bunga* (flower) patterns when he has more free time.

> As a producer of *"new"* crafts, Sita is concerned with the demand for her crafts. She designs her *pua* handbags, and wall-hangings according to the cost of raw materials, production time, price of her products and the expected profits from such products.

These case studies show that the younger craftspersons have taken various factors into consideration when designing their crafts. Craftspersons such as Umbau, Galau and Sita often take into consideration the popularity of a particular craft. They realised that the customers are mostly concerned with size, colour and attractiveness of the products rather than the authenticity of designs. Rather than spending too much time on designing complex designs, they prefer to design crafts according to customer needs. Meeting customers' needs is becoming an important criterion in product design among the producers of new crafts such as Sita. Their designs were influenced by the cost and expected profit earned from selling such crafts. What this suggests is that some craftspersons, particularly the young, are willing to innovate to increase the marketability and profit of their crafts.

5.4.4 Production Relations

Some *pua* weavers still practise the Iban age-old tradition of *beragih* or production sharing. The craftspersons *beragih* either with individuals or Chinese *towkays*. An individual, in agreement with the weaver, provides the basic raw materials and determines the designs and the size of the *pua*. The final products will then be shared equally between the weavers and the individuals. In most cases, the weaver receives payment in kind, in the form of similar *pua* which she weaves for the individual.[16] This *beragih* is commonly practised among the Iban because of the prestige and socio-economic implications.

> Inek Len is a skilled weaver and among the very few women in her longhouse who can perform the *ngar* ritual. Her *pua* had won major competitions organised by the state government during the Gawai Dayak celebrations; some even adorned state Ministers' houses. In the last three years, she produced three large sized *pua* for an Iban state Minister, using the *beragih* method. The Minister does not only provide the raw materials and shares the final product, but also pays her in monetary terms. Since she *beragihs* with the Minister, she had been hired to conduct basic weaving courses in Kanowit and Julau.

I observed that the manner in which craftspersons sell their works have important social implications. To some craftspersons, selling directly to traders has lower status compared to *beragih*.. This evaluation has an economic base, yet it is also related to Iban status conceptions. A weaver feels honoured for being chosen to participate in the *beragih* because it indicates that her expertise and her *pua* design is widely recognised. As the weavers have claimed, *beragih* is a sign of respect and recognition, as expressed by the fact that the weaver remains at home and people come to them. In my opinion weavers who can rely on *beragih* alone are, in a sense, "*basking in the light of Iban traditional glories*" (Graburn 1976).

The person with whom the weavers *beragih* or to whom they sell their product are also important and reflective of their status. The weavers may *beragih* with different

[16]The *pua* is always woven as a pair, for which in the *beragih* system of production, the final product is shared between the weaver and the individual.

individuals or sell their products to a wide variety of customers - tourists, government ministers, civil servants, and traders, but the weavers tend to evaluate their standing in terms of economic status. Many weavers are willing to participate in the *beragih* because it is one way through which they can reduce the high cost of raw materials and the problems of marketing their final products. Most individuals who participate in the *beragih* are *orang bukai (*non-*bilik* family members) or visitors[17] to the longhouse who may have heard of the weavers' fame or had the opportunity of seeing the weavers collections of *pua*. However, there are signs indicating that this *beragih* relationship is coming under strain as a result of the superimposition of commercial relations. This is evident with the establishment of *beragih* between craftspersons in *Rumah Al* and *towkay* Lim.

Before establishing marketing links with *towkay* Lim, craftspersons in *Rumah Al* were like the rest of the craftspersons in Kapit; they either sold to the traders in Kapit, or directly to tourists, individuals and government agencies. Since establishing a marketing link with *towkay* Lim in 1988, craftspersons from *Rumah Al* only sell to him. When asked whether they are willing to diversify their marketing channels, the majority of the craftspersons are unwilling to do so, because they have found a secure market. Besides, they consider it *"impolite"* to establish market links with different *towkays* or government agencies. To most craftspersons in *Rumah Al*, *towkay* Lim not only functions as a trader, but also provides them with an important source of livelihood - money.

When they first established the *beragih* , *towkay* Lim paid the craftspersons standard prices regardless of the quality and sizes for their *pua*. However, in recent years, he has paid different prices according to his classification of grades and sizes of *pua*. In this way, he can discriminate between the prices according to the quality of products sold to him, without having to reject any items. Initially, *towkay* Lim had to make the four hours

[17]These are individuals who have close interaction with the longhouse communities such as extension agents, traders, rural school teachers and military personnel.

boat trip up-river to collect and *"supervise"* the products. During those numerous trips, *he* managed to establish a close rapport, but above all he managed to gain the respect and trust of the rural Iban with whom he *beragihs* . Once he had established the trust, *towkay* Lim left the supervision and collection to two representatives from the longhouse. Both of them are expert weavers and well-respected[18] women in their longhouse.

> Belinti is 48 years old and an expert weaver. She is a divorcee with three grown up children. She is the niece of the wife of the *tuai rumah.* She is also the president of the unit *SABERKAS* (youth movement) in her longhouse. When *towkay* Lim established a *beragih* with the weavers in her longhouse, Belinti and Nelie gladly accepted the *towkay's* offer to become his representative. Both were hardworking, flexible and highly respected in the longhouse which made them well suited for their roles. Her position as president of the local youth movement made it easier for Belinti to mobilise weavers. Belinti recruited weavers by approaching members of her club, relatives and interested individuals who offered to establish *beragih* with the *towkay.* As the *towkay's* representative, Belinti distributed advances in the form of raw materials or cash.

Besides these two longhouse representatives, *towkay* Lim also uses the informal service of Mrs. Chong; a Chinese officer heading a government department in Kapit. She plays an equally important role in the economic relationship. The two representatives either collect their production orders directly from *towkay* Lim or indirectly through Mrs. Chong.

In Kuching, *towkay* Lim designs the *pua* into marketable items such as wall hangings and materials for clothes he designs using traditional motifs. He sells the crafts (either in their original form or in redesigned form) at his retail outlets in Kuching or at exhibitions in leading hotels in Kuching, Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore. He is also a patron of the arts in Kuching, which brings him into close contact with Sarawak government ministers, officials and leaders of business communities.

[18] One of them is the ex-President while the other is a committee member of the SABERKAS (co-operative) movement in the longhouse

In this economic relationship, I found that Mrs Chong and the longhouse representatives have important roles to play. As an intermediary for *towkay* Lim, there is reason to believe that Mrs.Chong receives financial benefit (in the form of commission) plus a chance to strengthen her administrative position. Through her informal business contact with *towkay* Lim, she broadens her network to the informal corridors of power in Kuching. Her informal business contact with *towkay* Lim introduces her to many of *towkay* Lim's powerful friends, who are mostly ministers' wives. Being a government administrator herself, Mrs. Chong also benefits from such a relationship because she is seen by craftspersons in *Rumah A1* as a provider of government assistance. However, such a relationship is not without its problems. Craftspersons in other longhouses accused Mrs. Chong of using her administrative position to gain economic benefits. They claimed that Mrs. Chong often selected individuals from *Rumah A1* to participate in the youth and entrepreneurship development projects organised by her department. One *tuai rumah* also claimed that Mrs. Chong and *towkay* Lim prefer to bring important visitors, (such as high government officials and ministers) to visit *Rumah A1* rather than other longhouses. As such, craftspersons in *Rumah A1* can sell their handicrafts to these visitors at much higher prices. By improving the marketing outlet for the craftspersons in *Rumah A1,* Mrs. Chong gained their confidence that is essential to the survival of the economic relationship between *towkay* Lim, Mrs. Chong and craftspersons in *Rumah A1* .

For craftspersons in *Rumah A1,* the two intermediaries play an important role linking the weavers with the *towkay* and therefore the market. The representatives distribute raw materials, make necessary payments to craftspersons, collect their finished products, record transactions, and collect the payments for finished products from *towkay* Lim. Lately, there have been no direct dealings between *towkay* Lim and the craftspersons in the longhouses; most transactions were conducted through these two intermediaries. For the

towkay, the provision of advances to the weavers involves risk because there is no assurance that the weavers would produce their crafts after receiving the advances. In my opinion, the appointment of the two representatives is a way by means of which the *towkay* can minimise his risk. By using these two representatives, the *towkay* was able to develop a long-term, stable, direct and more personalised trade relationship with the craftspersons. Such a long-term relationship makes good business sense to the *towkay* because it reduces the cost of finding and evaluating new suppliers. Also, through repeated transactions with a supplier, the *towkay* can reduce various business uncertainties (and resulting cost) as they learn each others' demands and capabilities. Furthermore, relationships tend to become more efficient as the *tawkay* and craftsperson work together through several buying cycles and confront various problems.

As a buyer, the *towkay* needs suppliers who will do everything to get products out on time and meet quality expectations. Through his two intermediaries, the *towkay* is able to control the quality of his products. I find that the two intermediaries could correct mistakes quickly and understand that the *towkay* faces severe price competition, time constraints and customer demand for variety and quality. They both ensure that that weavers *"keep their promises and do what they say they will do."*

The *towkay* generally prefers stable and long-term relationships with the craftspersons, but the way in which this preference is expressed in practice is often subtle and complex. A discussion with the two intermediaries reveals that the commercial relationship between the *towkay* and the weavers often begins with a short-term agreement, for example a few months' production contract, and continues with annual renewals. Unlike formal businesses, the *beragih* relationship does not have a formal relationship structure; it only involves a continuing series of renewed short-term verbal contracts. Although the *beragih* relationship does not involve a formal legal agreement, its survival is

dependent on the trust between the *towkay* and craftsperson. In the words of Belinti, *"in a beragih relationship, trust is a moral contract."* In the *beragih* relationship, the chances of one exploiting the other is less likely because the two parties work for each other's benefit, and over time a system of mutual obligation and trust will develop. When the *towkay* first undertook *beragih* with the weavers of *Rumah Al*, both sides were only willing to commit themselves to a limited range of responsibilities; the *towkay* promised to buy *pua* based on the amount that had been agreed, and the craftspersons would sell their *pua* based on a mutually agreed price. As the relationship deepened, each party tended to go slightly beyond its contractual commitments. For example, the *towkay* became obliged to purchase a different amount of *pua* regardless of what had been agreed between them. Or if a different *towkay* offered a higher price, the weavers went to *towkay* Lim first to see if he could match the offer.

What do the weavers from *Rumah Al* gain from establishing a *beragih* with *towkay* Lim? For the weavers, the *towkay* provides a crucial link into different markets. The *towkay* also renders long-term benefits to the weavers in the form of information on production technology. This occurs principally through various forms of dyeing technique and raw materials. To emphasise differences in expectations about production quality, the *towkay* had the two intermediaries and some weavers attend weaving courses and exhibitions outside Kapit. Through his business, political and administrative contacts, *towkay* Lim has been able to introduce the two intermediaries to different types of courses on such things as book-keeping and leadership courses and competitions organised by government departments in Kapit and Kuching. Such appreciation is crucial in motivating quality improvement and relationships between the *towkay,* the representatives and the craftspersons.

The results of this study highlight the emergence of a new form of relationship; a three-way relationship which extended beyond the two-way symbiotic Iban-*towkay* relationship examined by Fidler (1978) in Kanowit. The success of craftspersons in *Rumah A1* shows the importance of a third economic actor; the *towkay* or *perintah* (government). The traditional Iban-*towkay* or Iban-*perintah* relationship has not proven to be a success as in the case of craftspersons in other longhouses. This result has important implications because it calls to attention the need to redefine the Iban-*towkay* or Iban-*perintah* relationship. What is necessary is a new approach which involves the Iban, *towkay* and *perintah.* I believe the Iban-*towkay-perintah* relationship is something which policy-makers should seriously consider, though such an approach may not be politically attractive because of the ethnic dimension.

The craftspersons in *Rumah A1* also succeeded because of the mutually beneficial structure of the *beragih* between them and the *towkay*. The strength of this *"symbiotic"* relationship (Fidler 1978) is dependent on such factors as market isolation of the craftspersons and the economic needs of the *towkay.* Both will benefit from this economic relationship, as long as they rely on each other for economic survival. The presence of the *towkays*, with their wide marketing networks, experience and financial resources can allow the rural craftspersons to tap the wider market for their goods. The craftspersons can also specialise in production activities with the knowledge that the *towkay* is willing to buy their products at fair and competitive prices. As long as there is demand for *pua engkudu,* *towkay* Lim will continue to *beragih* with craftspersons from *Rumah A1*. On the one hand, the *towkay* provides the economic security most needed by the craftspersons in *Rumah A1*. On the other hand, the *towkay* has developed a niche in the market, through years of hard work, astute business strategies, and above all a well-maintained relationship with the craftspersons. Being politically well-connected, he can develop his business behind the safety of political support. The craftspersons will continue to *beragih* with *towkay* Lim as

long as there are no other individuals or government agencies to whom they can sell their products. To the craftspersons, it is their need for a market, while for *towkay* Lim it is his need to establish a niche in the handicraft market, that brought them together.

Like Fidler (1978), I found that the Chinese *towkays* and the rural Iban can rely on each other for support. The *towkays*, with their wide marketing networks, experience and financial resources, can help the rural craftspersons get access to the wider market. Alternatively, the *towkays* rely on the craftspersons to produce the handicrafts they needed. Both will benefit from such a relationship, as long as they rely on each other for survival. From the survey results, I found that craftspersons who *beragih* with Chinese *towkays*, generally earn more income from selling handicrafts.

Opinions about the role of the *towkay* in the development of CHP varied widely among these Iban craftspersons. The majority who *beragih* with a Chinese *towkay* claimed they were satisfied with the relationship. However, upon further probing, the reasons were more personal than economic. The craftspersons' typical responses were: "*the towkay is kind*", "*he sends me some money during gawai*", "*he seldom refuses, when I ask for help*", "*he is not like other Chinese towkays, he never cheats us.*" These responses all refer to their perception of the *towkay* rather than to the economic aspects of their relationship. This shows that questions of personal honour are strongly ingrained in the business mind of the Iban. The economic reasons may be the primary ones when the Iban craftspersons *beragih* with the Chinese *towkay*, but it is the personal factors which sustain such a relationship. It is such interpersonal relationships which are often ignored by the neo-classical economists, who see profit as the main driving force in any economic relationship.

While the symbiotic relationship between the Chinese *towkay* and Iban craftspersons may seem "*unfavourable*" to a majority of the *Bumiputera* politicians or

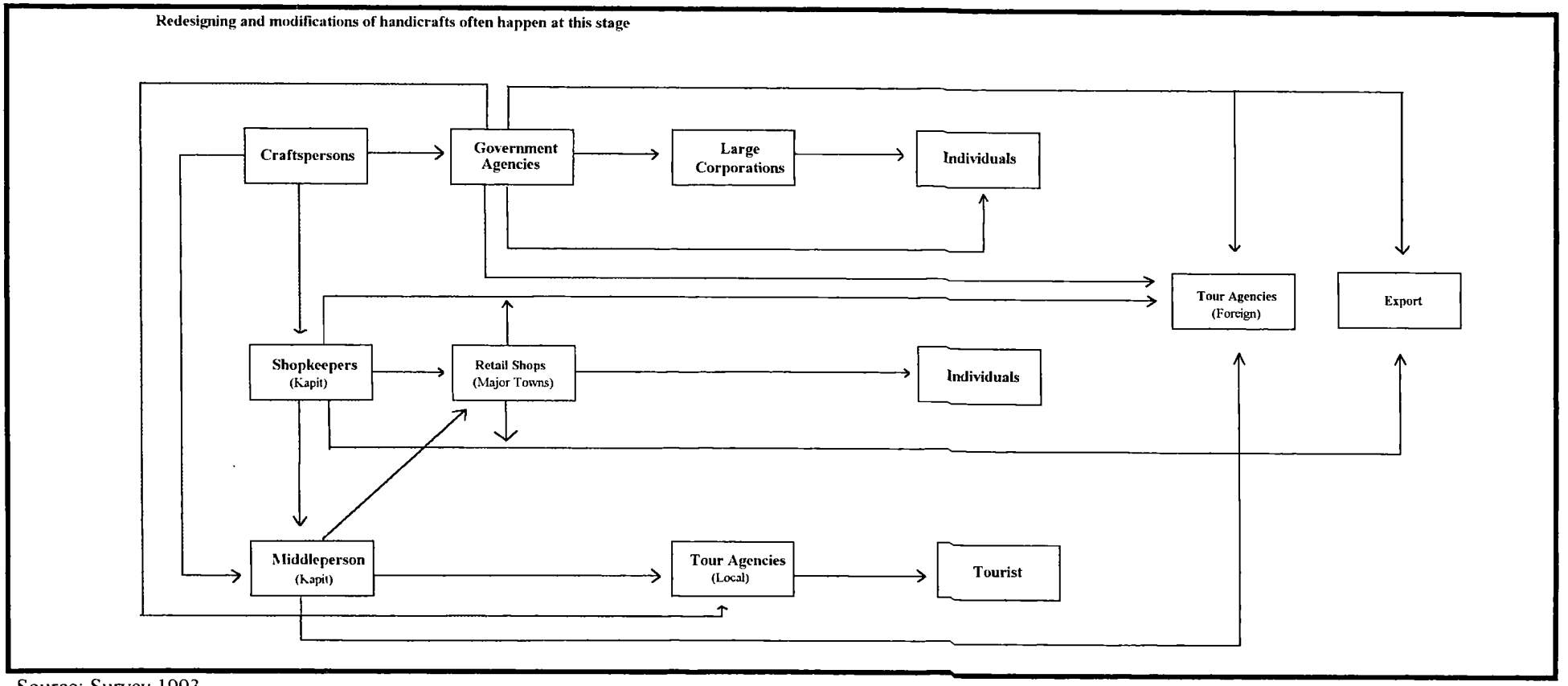
government officials, it is hard to imagine the Iban entering and surviving in the commercial world without some support from the Chinese. The *towkays* serve as an important factor linking the rural craftspersons to the wider market. They do not only provide the Iban with better access to the market, but also information and financial and technical assistance needed for Iban craftspersons' economic survival. Instead of perceiving the Chinese as "*exploiters*" of the rural Iban, the government needs to have a more positive attitude towards them. Rather than competing with the Chinese traders or discouraging the rural craftspersons from *beragih* with these *towkays*, the government needs to combine its efforts with them. The rural craftspersons can benefit from such a combined approach, through wider marketing outlets, healthier economic competition and reducing the economic conflict between the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera*.

5.4.5 Marketing

The presence of markets is important in influencing rural Iban to take up CHP. The market is a place where the craftspersons can sell their finished products or buy their raw materials. In Malaysia, handicrafts can be marketed through different channels (**Figure 5-1**). The craftspersons can sell their products directly to individual consumers, Chinese *towkays*, retailers, tour agencies, Government agencies or exporters.

Though there are various marketing channels, the Iban craftspersons find difficulty in selling their products beyond their locality (shaded area). With some exceptions, they sell directly to tourists or traders in Kapit. Chinese traders do not produce crafts; they buy them from the Iban. They either transform these crafts into 'new items' in their shops or sell them as final products to customers in Kapit, tourists, tour agencies or traders in larger towns. Government agencies also buy crafts directly from craftspersons, and these will be marketed through state-owned marketing agencies to locals and foreign consumers.

Figure 5.1: Marketing Channels of Handicrafts in Malaysia



Source: Survey 1993

> In 1988, craftspersons from *Rumah U1* established a contract to sell *pua* to a government agency. Itom, an experienced petty trader, was elected as an intermediary. As an intermediary, Itom makes occasional personal visits to the craftspersons to elicit the number of crafts they can produce for the government agency and the time for collecting the completed crafts. Itom needs to make regular contact with the weavers because some weavers need to be reminded of their *"deadlines"* or their promise to sell to the government agency. On the appointed time, the officers from the government agency would make the two hours boat-ride trip to collect the completed crafts and make payments to the craftspersons. Initially, it is the craftspersons themselves who negotiated with the officers over the prices of their crafts. Later, Itom was elected by the government agency to collect the crafts and make payments to the craftspersons. During the appointed time, the officers would inform Itom of the next contract. For her effort, Itom was given a *duit sagu ati* or commission. The contract expired in 1990, and since then the craftspersons in *Rumah U1* have either stopped selling crafts or they have resorted to selling crafts to tourists and traders in Kapit.

Like craftspersons in *Rumah A1* who *beragih* with *towkay* Lim, craftspersons in *Rumah U1* have an assured market. In contrast, craftspersons in *Rumah U1* do not receive any raw material or cash advances from the government agency. Initially, the majority of craftspersons were *"happy"* with the government contract. However, when the agency elected an intermediary, the craftspersons grew to dislike the arrangement because they are unable to negotiate the prices directly with the government officers. Besides they earn less and could not profit from price increases.

Of the total craftspersons interviewed, only those from *Rumah A1* have much of their total sales outside Kapit. The fact that these respondents have markets extending beyond the periphery of Kapit is an encouraging trend. Many of the commercial craftspersons depend on the Chinese *towkays* for marketing; the obvious result of this dependence is that the terms of trade are often turned against the Iban.

> Cemerai's *bilik*-family have established a *beragih* with *towkay* Lim since 1989. As part of their *beragih* , the towkay provided Cemerai with raw materials in exchange for a share of Cemerai's *pua.* She was satisfied with the arrangement because she did not have to purchase the raw materials or find a market for her crafts. However, Cemerai disagreed with the way the *towkay* priced her crafts. She hardly has any say in the pricing of her *pua* because the *towkay* do not negotiate directly with her. Instead he priced Cemerai's *pua* after negotiating with his two intermediaries from Cemerai's longhouses. In most cases, the *towkay* would price her *pua* according to the type of dye used and *pua* sizes.

The Iban craftspersons are price-takers; they do not have much bargaining power. For the craftspersons, the advances provided by the *towkay* in return for their *pua* were the basis of their increased dependence on the *towkay.*

The craftspersons' economic success depended on their ability to market their crafts, particularly beyond their locality. The craftspersons were thus totally dependent on the willingness of the *towkays* to purchase their crafts. The bargaining power of the craftspersons *vis-a-vis* the *towkay* and traders was thus weak. The craftspersons needed to offer conditions that were more favourable to the *towkay* and traders than those offered by other craftspersons. It is only by offering relatively lower prices for their crafts or producing higher quality crafts that the craftspersons would succeed in getting the *towkay* to establish *beragih* or the traders to purchase their crafts. To sustain their relationship, the craftsperson would have to continue selling at lower prices and produce high quality crafts. Furthermore, in the present circumstances, where government marketing agencies for crafts have limited capabilities and where no co-operatives exist in the study longhouses, Iban dependence on the Chinese *towkay* is unavoidable.

The Iban craftspersons do not conform to any set of marketing practices; in fact the practices differ between different products and craftspersons. Each *bilik*-family develops its own personal trade network and makes individual deals with buyers. Among the *pua* weavers, the predominant practice is that of direct sales to customers. However, there are

Another marketing channel is less formal and involves individuals in the longhouse. Often these perform the role of a *tukang jual* - an informal marketing or commission agent. This channel is *'blurred'* because there is no specific individual in the longhouse who is the *tukang jual*. Often, this role is performed by individuals (such as the *tuai rumah*) from the longhouse who travel occasionally to major towns. Unting often performs the role of *tukang jual.*

> In 1990, Unting followed his father, who is a *tuai rumah*, to attend an *aum* (meeting) of Iban Tuai Rumah in Kuching. On that trip, Unting brought 23 *pua* from nine *bilik*-families to be sold to craft shops in Kuching. He managed to sell fourteen pieces. In return for his efforts, Unting received fruits and paddy from all the craftspersons. To Unting, he is only helping his relatives; he could not accept any cash for such an act.

The craftspersons often take the opportunity and use the services of travellers like Unting to sell handicrafts. These individuals do not receive a specific amount of commission from the craftspersons, rather their remuneration is based on what the Iban called *pemberi* (any amount given), which can be paid either in cash or kind. Payment in kind usually involves the giving of paddy or helping in the co-operative labour exchange (*bedurok*). Another informal marketing channel is the use of relatives. Longhouse communities often get the assistance of relatives (usually those who live in the urban areas) to sell their finished products. Those on *bejalai* sometimes assist in the marketing of crafts. These case studies indicate the *"peculiarities"* (Binswanger and Rosenzweig 1986:504) of the craft market in rural Sarawak, which cannot be analysed using standard economic tools.

The rural Iban also sell their crafts to the tourists. To Iban craftspersons, the foreign tourists are the best buyers because of "*their respect and appreciation of Iban culture*", "*honesty*" and in fact that they are "rich" and rarely bargain for "*unreasonable prices.*" Besides, the tourists tend to show interest in the crafts. As one elderly weaver explains,

> *Orang putih* (Europeans) will sit down beside me and ask how I design my *pua*. One of them even followed me to the forest to search for *engkudu, lemba* and *daun senggang*. They often asked me the meaning of my *pua* designs. I never thought anyone would ask me such questions. None of the Iban, Chinese and Malays who buy my *pua* wants to know how I weave and what I do.

It appears that the foreign tourists give the Iban craftspersons the respect and recognition for their expertise and work. The Iban craftspersons also favoured foreign tourists because they can sell their crafts at a relatively higher price. The respondents cited several reasons for selling their finished products directly to individuals, tourists and government agencies of which the most important reason is that they can obtain better prices for their products. The results show that the choice of customer is not driven purely by profit. Other reasons are equally important, such as proximity to customers, *beragih*, recognition, respect and *availability of support*.

The results show that the majority of the craftspersons are unable to sell their products beyond Kapit. This happens not because there is no demand for Iban handicrafts, but mostly because of rural craftspersons' inability to access the wider market. Besides, the market for handicrafts is controlled by the Chinese traders and government-owned companies, such as SARAKRAF Sendirian Berhad and Karyaneka Sendirian Berhad.

Regarding pricing, the CPs do not have proper planning or a well- defined system. A well-defined pricing system is important in a formal business, but to the rural craftspersons such a system is unnecessary. One craftsperson claimed that he needed a flexible pricing system to enable him to "*follow the market, change the prices and products to suit customer demand.*" The majority of the craftspersons tend to over-price their products, in the hope of making a huge profit. Besides, they always assume that customers will haggle for a lower price, thus necessitating them to set a high price. This makes their products less competitive compared to those sold in the souvenir shops in the towns. For

example, SARAKRAF charges RM50.00 for a small-sized *pua* wall decor, while retailers in Kuching charge between RM30.00 to RM45.00. However, rural craftspersons charge prices in the range of RM20.00 to RM80.00 depending on the customer's haggling ability.[19]

When asked how they learn to price their products, the majority of the craftspersons claimed they simply observed the Chinese traders or other fellow craftspersons: "*I would visit the shops in Kapit; I saw how much the towkays sell the handicrafts for; I will copy their prices*" or "*I prefer to copy prices from other weavers.*"

The prices are set according to the type of raw materials used in dyeing *pua*. The majority of craftspersons sell *pua engkudu* at twice the price of *pua selop*. Silk *pua* are charged three times that of *pua selop*. The craftspersons also determine the prices of their crafts according to their size; large, medium and small. Some craftspersons established prices in relation to the time taken to make a craft rather than to variations in design quality. The absence of a sophisticated marketing system explains the reason for keeping prices low and undifferentiated. The price differences do not reflect the skill required, difficulties involved and time spent on searching and preparing raw materials. For example, none of the craftspersons interviewed had taken into account the non-monetary costs involved in the production of *pua engkudu* such as the time taken to search and process raw materials. They do not consider efforts in searching and processing of raw materials as part of their production costs, for to them these raw materials are *"free"* and do not incur any monetary cost. To some craftspersons, the collecting and processing of forest products is just part of their daily chores. Therefore such activities cannot be calculated in terms of cost and benefit. Low prices also meant that craftspersons stopped producing crafts whenever better economic opportunities came along. The inevitable result was production of safe mediocre crafts. It is evident from **Table 5-10** that there is a wide difference in the costs and prices

[19]The initial prices quoted by the craftspersons are often reduced to half after some bargaining.

for *pua engkudu* and *pua selop*. While *pua engkudu* seems to fetch higher prices than *pua selop*, the inclusion of the non-monetary costs in the final calculation reduces the differences between the two.

Table 5.10: Estimated Production Cost, Quality and Prices of *Pua Selop* and *Pua Engkudu* in 1992

***Pua* Types and Sizes**	**Cost of Basic Raw Materials** (RM)*	**Total Allocation Provided by *Towkay***	**Quality**	**Prices Paid by *towkay*** (RM)
Pua Selop **(small)**	2.50 x 2 tin dye = 5.00	RM 5.00 (dye) + cotton yarn	Lower	RM 20.00
Pua Engkudu **(small)**	nil	cotton yarn only	Superior	RM 50.00
Pua Selop **(large)**	2.50 x 3 tin dye = 7.50	RM 7.50 (dye) + cotton yarn	Lower	RM 300.00
Pua Engkudu **(large)**	nil	cotton yarn only	Superior	RM 350.00

Note: Data are calculated based on the *beragih* method of production relations.
The information is provided by key informants who *beragih* in *Rumah Al* .
*RM - refers to Ringgit Malaysia.

The prices paid by the *towkay* to the weavers differ in the range of RM30.00 to RM50.00. The *towkay* paid the weavers a price difference of between RM30.00 to RM50.00 or more for *pua engkudu* compared with *pua selop*, and charged final consumers a price difference of between RM100.00 to RM200.00 for the same types of *pua*[20]. To many craftspersons, the price differences of about RM30.00 to RM50.00 between the two types of *pua* are *"acceptable"* because of the monetary and raw material support provided by the *towkay*. Though a few craftspersons claimed that these prices are *"low"*, yet they are reluctant to sell at higher prices to the *towkay* for fear of severing their personal relationship with him and being criticised by other longhouse members as being "*too calculating* " in their business dealings.

I find that the manner in which the Iban sell their crafts also has an important social implication. As I have discussed, *beragih* has a very high status, particularly in comparison

[20]This price difference was calculated based on the prices of *pua engkudu* and *pua selop* at Kapit.

to petty trading and selling directly to retailers. Craftspersons who *beragih* with a *towkay* sell their crafts to him. Though the craftspersons do not receive commissions or high prices for their crafts from the *towkay,* they feel honoured because the *beragih* is a sign of the *towkay's "respect and recognition"* for the craftspersons.

The Chinese market retailers and local tourists are low on the Iban list of priorities. The Iban tend to have a low opinion of the Chinese retailers. The Iban respected the Chinese for their business acumen, but they consider these retailers as untrustworthy and that they cheat their customers to earn maximum profit. But the main reason that the Iban craftspersons do not like to deal with the retailers as customers is that they always demand lower prices than other customers.

The foregoing analysis has pointed out that craft production is labour intensive and still in the stage when production is still carried out as a part-time activity. The majority of those involved in craft production are women who were assisted by their spouse and children; they have experimented with new raw materials, suggesting a shift in craft production from the traditional methods, which were time-consuming and laborious, to a faster and cheaper production system. Crafts are distributed through a number of channels. Some are sold directly to the traders in Kapit or consumers. Others are sold to local and foreign tourists and government agencies. Only craftspersons in *Rumah Al* had established a *beragih* with a *towkay*. Of all the craftspersons, only those in *Rumah Al* have managed to earn a relatively high and stable income from crafts, suggesting the importance of the *towkay* in the marketing of crafts in rural Kapit.

Table 5-11 provides us with some idea of the production and marketing of handicrafts in selected *bilik*-families. It is evident from this **Table 5-11,** that there is a wide difference in the level of income from crafts between craftspersons. Those who *beragih*

with the *towkay* tend to have a relatively high income from crafts compared to those who sell crafts to individuals, tourists, government agencies and traders. **Table 5-11** also shows that those who *beragih* with the *towkay* tend to spend more time on craft production compared to others; thus the presence of an assured market serves as an incentive for the craftspersons to devote more time to craft manufacture.

5.5 Summary

Finally, it is evident that the majority of craftspersons took up CHP not simply to earn profits; they needed extra income to maintain their family. Others became involved in CHP because it is simply another commercial pursuit (besides cash farming) available to them. Except for the few craftspersons who managed to *beragih* with a *towkay* in Kuching, the rest sell their handicrafts directly to individuals, tourists and Chinese traders within their locality. Some Iban craftspersons have succeeded in marketing their crafts. However, there are others who have yet to take up CHP or have not been able to develop beyond their initial involvement. In Chapter Six, I shall identify some of the factors which prevented the Iban from taking up or achieving economic "*success*" in CHP.

Table 5.11: The Production and Marketing of Crafts in Selected *Bilik*-families

Name (Respondent No)	Age	Number of Craftspersons in *bilik*-family	Types of Crafts	Reasons for Involvement in CHP	Average Days per Week spent on craft production in 1992 (Average Months in a Year)	Average Number of Crafts sold in 1992	Major Market Outlets	Reasons for Using the market outlet	Average Income from Crafts in 1992 (Ringgit Malaysia)
Lenjai (035)	46	2	*pua*	- *towkay* provides assistance - demand for crafts	3 days per week (4 months)	10 *pua* (4 large *pua selop*) (4 medium *pua selop)* (2 silk *pua*)	*towkay (beragih)*	- provides assured market - stable relationship	2,780.00
Wen (037)	38	3	*pua*	- increase income - assured market - skill availability	2 days per week (5 months)	10 *pua* (2 large *pua selop*) (6 small *pua selop*) (2 silk *pua*)	*towkay (beragih)*	- assured income	1,920.00
Bangie (045)	44	2	*pua*	- doing something productive during spare time - earn supplementary income	3 days per week (8 months)	20 *pua* (5 large *pua selop*) (10 medium *pua selop*) (5 silk *pua*)	*towkay (beragih)*	- assured income - *towkay* provide support -	4,320.00
Rinti (125)	65	2	*pua, baskets, mats*	- earn supplementary income	2 days per week (3 months)	2 *pua* (1 large *pua selop*) (1 small *pua selop*) 2 small baskets	trader, *tourist*	- knew no other market sources - unavailability of *towkay* to *beragih*	345.00
Antah (233)	43	1	baskets, mats	- support family	3 days per week (2 months)	1 *pua selop* 2 large mats	trader	- inaccessibility to other market	145.00

Source: Survey 1993

CHAPTER SIX

RURAL IBAN INVOLVEMENT AND "*SUCCESS*" IN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

6. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the way the Iban craftspersons conduct commercial handicraft production; their production, marketing and economic relationships. Many of them took up CHP to earn profits and supplementary income to maintain their family. Others, however, became involved in CHP because it is simply another commercial pursuit available to them. There are other factors determining Iban involvement (or non-involvement) in CHP, such as the availability of support from the government, craftspersons' attitude towards CHP, presence of alternative employment opportunities, and market accessibility. In this chapter, I will analyse how these factors determine Iban involvement in CHP.

Not all craftspersons have participated in CHP and earned high - some barely earn enough to cover production costs. I now turn from a discussion of factors promoting rural Iban involvement in CHP to an examination of the factors related to what I refer to here as their economic "*success*" or lack of it. Then I will identify what factors account for differences in craftspersons' "*success*" in CHP. I will follow it with an analysis of the inter-relationships between these factors and their influence on craftspersons' economic "*success.*"

6.1 Key Determinants to Rural Iban Involvement in CHP.

The need to analyse the factors influencing rural Iban involvement in CHP arose mainly on account of the necessity for measuring the influence of various factors arrived at in my theoretical discussion. It should be recalled that the research hypothesis is: handicraft production is unable to play a more significant role in the rural Iban economy because this activity has yet to realise its full potential. In this chapter, I use the data from the field study to examine the above hypothesis by identifying the factors influencing craftspersons' involvement decisions. Let me reiterate that this statistical analysis only provides a general impression of the factors influencing craftspersons' involvement or non-involvement in CHP; the results obtained are not conclusive.

From the survey, *I can explain craftspersons' involvement in CHP using twenty-*three variables, whose relative strengths are presented in **Table 6-1**. From the logistic regression analysis,[1] I found that craftspersons' community, family and personal characteristics, number of years producing handicrafts, economic status, attitude and the problems they face have a significant influence on their involvement decisions. In the next few sections, I will discuss the effects of these factors on rural Iban involvement in CHP.

I have included two variables, the distance of the longhouse to Kapit (DISTANCE) and presence of a rural development project (PROJECT), in the regression estimate[2] to measure the effect of **community variables** on craftspersons' involvement decisions. Of these two factors, I found that the distance of the longhouse has a significant and positive influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. The results suggest that craftspersons in remote longhouses are more likely to be involved in CHP than those who lived nearer to Kapit town.

[1] Refer to **Table 2.1** in Chapter Two for a description of variables and their hypothesised relationship.
[2] The regression estimate express the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The task of regression is to find some algebraic expression by which to represent the functional relationship between variables (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981:348-349).

Table 6-1: Estimated Logistic Equations for Craftspersons' Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production

Explanatory Variables (a)	Expected Signs	Coefficients $\hat{\beta}$	Wald-Statistics
CONSTANT		*-16.925***	*6.044*
AGE	(-)	-0.076	1.158
ARISK	(-)	-1.702*	3.425
AECON	(+)	1.832*	3.531
BEJALAIX	(+)	-0.321	0.521
BILIKSIZE	(+)	-0.172	0.887
DISTANCE	(+) or (-)	0.032*	5.116
EDUC	(-)	-0.562**	6.973
FUTURE	(+)	8.618**	17.004
HANDIYRS	(+) or (-)	-0.268**	12.645
WORK	(-)	0.640*	3.060
WORKNON	(+)	1.643	2.467
WEALTH	(+) or (-)	-7.500*	3.082
PROJECTS	(+)	-0.390	0.971
PROHANDI	(+)	0.973	1.173
PRODUCER	(+)	0.027	0.003
INCOMNON	(+) or (-)	0.0002*	3.007
PRBCRDT	(-)	0.166	.073
PRBDESIG	(-)	1.150**	5.774
PRBLABOR	(-)	0.391	.640
PRBMRKT	(-)	-2.200**	7.267
PRBPRDN	(-)	-0.381	.600
PRBRAW	(-)	-0.185	.249
SUPPORT	(+)	-0.138	.043
SKILL	(+)	.799	0.196
Sample Size		200	
-2 Log likelihood		64.104	
Goodness of fit		100.234	
Chi-square		209.765	
d.f		24	

Source: Survey 1993

Note: ** Significant at $p \leq 0.01$

* Significant at $p \leq 0.10$

(a) See **Table 2-1** for description of these variables and **Appendix 9** of detailed results.

There is reason to believe that CHP can thrive in remote places, even though it entails high transportation costs to the urban centres, and this could be due to the absence of alternative employment opportunities in these areas. In fact, the most successful craftspersons are from *Rumah Al*, which was the furthest (4 hours boat ride to Kapit) of all the study longhouses. Their success, however, is closely related to the fact that they were involved in a *beragih* with a *towkay*.

> The craftspersons in *Rumah Al* first became actively involved in CHP in 1986, when they established to produce *pua*, baskets and mats for SEDC. When SEDC "*withdrew*" in 1988, some craftspersons continued to produce crafts commercially, while others stopped. In 1988, some of the skilled weavers, from the longhouse were invited to attend a weaving conference in Kuching. It was during the conference that they met *towkay Lim*, who himself was a participant in the conference. *Towkay Lim*, was an up-coming fashion designer and a craft shop owner in Kuching. When they first started their *beragih* in 1988, *towkay* Lim conducted all the transactions himself, going upriver to the longhouses, negotiating prices with the craftspersons and transporting the crafts personally. As part of the *beragih*, the *towkay* provided the craftspersons with raw materials and promise to buy all crafts produced.

Though the craftspersons live far from Kapit, which is the main marketing outlet, their relationship with the *towkay* enables them to widen the market for their crafts beyond Kapit. From this case study, one can argue that the presence of a well-developed infrastructure is important in the marketing of handicrafts, yet interestingly its absence does not prevent the craftspersons from being involved in the selling of handicrafts. As the above case study illustrates, the physical distance from the market proves more of an advantage than a disadvantage. Both distance and availability of transport services have an influence on migration. Due to the road and river network of Kapit, migration to other places generally requires starting from Kapit. Therefore, it is access to Kapit that is of interest. For longhouse communities further from Kapit (for example *Rumah Al*), migration would be more difficult and costly. There is reason to believe that *towkay* Lim would <u>not</u> have had *beragih* with craftspersons from *Rumah Al*, if they had been located near Kapit, because

the availability of opportunities would have reduced their market dependency on him. Longhouses located near Kapit are more likely to have better off-farm opportunities, which helps to explain the lack of involvement in CHP in these longhouses. Moreover, those communities living nearer Kapit are more likely to migrate because they have more opportunities to augment cash-crop income and higher accessibility to the market.

Another reason for the lack of involvement among those who are located nearer Kapit is due to the changing nature of tourist longhouse visits. Lately, there has been a shift in tourist visits away from *"show-case"* Iban longhouses located near Kapit, to other houses which are located further up-river. According to one tour operator, most foreign tourists prefer to go up-river and experience the real life in the longhouse, rather than being entertained with show-case longhouses located within driving distance from Kapit. A shift in tourist visits towards the less modern longhouses (which are mostly located far from Kapit) has improved the market for handicrafts in those longhouses.

While distance between the longhouses and Kapit is a significant determinant, the presence (or absence) of government development projects (PROJECT) in a particular community does not have similar influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. This is due to the nature of government development projects which are mostly agriculturally oriented, as such they do not have much influence on individual decisions to produce crafts commercially. I recognise that the presence of government development programmes may not have a direct influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions, but they can shape the environment in which the craftspersons are located. In Chapter Four, I have discussed the long-term impact of the state's intervention and development on the rural economy of the Iban. One obvious impact is the growing dependence of the rural Iban on cash income, which "*pushes*" them into non-farm activities and migration.

The presence of economic development programmes in a community may not have a direct influence on migration or involvement in CHP decisions, but they can reduce out-migration and increase involvement in CHP. Development programmes, such as agricultural commercialisation, provides income-earning opportunities in the rural areas. In rural communities, there are several development programmes that were cited repeatedly by Iban communities as making a difference in their level of living. The programmes include Agricultural Development Package; up-grading projects to install basic amenities such as pavements, piped-water and improved housing; subsidies for cash crop production and *pua* weaving; and food-processing projects. These programmes enabled more longhouse communities to find work and stay in the Kapit Division. The rural Iban know that if something falls through, they have alternatives, suggesting that migration is not necessarily the only solution.

Besides community variables, I have also included ***bilik*-family variables** in my regression estimate such as size (BILIKSIZE), presence of *bilik*-family members on *bejalai* (BEJALAIX), *bilik*-family employment (WORK, WORKNON), availability of support (SUPPORT), number of craftspersons in the *bilik* (PRODUCER) and experience in craft production (HANDIYRS), and involvement in a handicraft project (PROHANDI). The results suggest that the *bilik*-family *'s* employment status has a significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions ($\hat{\beta}$=0.640; p≤0.01)[3]. What the results show is that the more *bilik*-family members who are employed in waged work, the more the chances that the *bilik*-family will take up CHP. *Bilik*-families with more employed members are mostly economically secure, therefore they can afford to invest their time, resources and money in CHP. Besides, those with more employed family members have better exposure to new ideas and experiences because they are mostly employed in the urban areas. Furthermore,

[3]The $\hat{\beta}$ coefficients reflect the net effect of each variable and denotes the relative importance of the independent variables. P≤0.01 shows that the value of β is significant at 99 per cent confident level.. P≤0.10 shows that the value of $\hat{\beta}$ is significant at 90 per cent confident level..

those who are involved in waged employment tend to have higher levels of education, which means that are more aware of differential opportunities in alternative economic activities.

In most *bilik*-families income from selling handicrafts represents only a small proportion of their wealth. Therefore, I do not expect it to have any significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions. Income from non-craft activities (INCOMNON), however, has a positive influence ($\hat{\beta}$=.002; $p \leq 0.01$) on craftsperson's decisions. The more income a *bilik*-family earns from non-craft sources, the higher is the probability that a craftsperson from this family will become involved in CHP. One implication that I can draw from this result is that income from non-craft activities acts as a source of liquidity for craft activities. Craftspersons require some initial investment to buy raw materials, develop networks or access the market. They rely on cash income from other sources to finance these investments. Unlike wealth, cash income is important. Therefore, I expected those from a higher income category to be involved in CHP. Those from the lower income category have limited opportunities. Therefore, they have to channel their limited resources into their major economic activities and fulfil their basic needs.

The number of employed family members may have a significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decision, but the number of unemployed family members does not have a similar influence. The rural Iban participated in CHP regardless of the rate of unemployment in the *bilik*-family. What this result shows is that the Iban did not take up CHP to ease their unemployment problems. This is partly due to the way the Iban perceive CHP; it is only a part-time economic activity. To the majority of rural Iban, CHP is not their sole source of economic security. Although the number of *bilik*-family members does not have any significant influence on involvement decisions, it has an important policy implication. This result drives home the fact that handicraft production can be an important

source of self-employment, particularly for those who are unemployed or have difficulty accessing the formal labour market due to limited academic qualifications.

Although the number of *bilik*-family members involved in waged employment may have a positive influence, their economic status (WEALTH) has a negative influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. The survey results show that the wealthier the *bilik*-family the less likely it is that a family member will be involved in CHP, and *vice versa.* An important point from the analysis is that involvement in CHP is not an end in itself, rather it is a means to an end; that is wealth accumulation. CHP increases wealth by raising one of its important components - total household income. The results of this study support Hymer and Resnick (1969) who argue that an increase in average rural incomes is associated with a decrease in non-farm activity.

> In addition to his monthly pension of RM480.00, Gani received RM350.00 remittances from his four children who are on *bejalai*. In case of emergency, Gani could take credit or a cash advance from his regular *towkay*, withdraw his savings or sell some of his *Amanah Saham Bumiputera* (ASB) shares. When necessary, Gani's children also help out by sending money home, sums of up to RM400. Gani uses income from crafts to pay for his monthly loan of RM40.00 to purchase his ASB shares or buy small luxuries such as tinned foodstuffs, imported *arak* and cigarettes.

In economically secure *bilik*-families, the buffer function of handicrafts is less pronounced. Unlike poor individuals, the economically secure ones took up CHP because they have *"extra income"* to spend on buying raw materials. They have the economic resources to invest in secondary economic activities which promise higher returns compared to crafts, such as waged employment.

> Belayong's *bilik*-family earns RM2400.00 monthly from waged employment, cash-cropping and petty trading. He explains why he did not sell crafts because profits earned from such activity are is *"too low."* Belayong also feels that his family would be "ridiculed" by fellow Iban for earning income by selling handicrafts because of the low status associated with such activity.

The economically secure craftspersons did not sell handicrafts because income earned from other economic activities acts as a disincentive. Rather than spending their free

time producing crafts for the market, these individuals prefer to spend it doing something else such as watching television or producing crafts for household use. As in the case of Belayong, some well-off *bilik*-families were afraid they would be stigmatised by fellow Iban as being "*too calculating*", even to the point of earning income from selling crafts. It appears from these examples that non-economic factors also have some influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions, which are not captured directly by the statistical analysis.

For the majority of poor *bilik*-families, they took up CHP as a source of income for economic survival.

> Mandoh, a 52 year old paddy farmer explains he sells handicrafts and forest products to earn extra income. As the head of a *bilik*-family with a household income of RM300.00, Mandoh is willing to take any economic opportunity that can improve his household income. Both his two children who are away *bekuli* in Miri and Sibuti, did not send any money home to support Mandoh and other *bilik*-family members.

Without sufficient income levels, the poor are unable to meet the basic needs for family consumption and essential services. These *bilik*-families have adopted different strategies to deal with their economic problem, such as migration, intensifying production and raising livestock to become self-sufficient. As in the case of Mandoh, he turned to CHP and other off-farm work.

A closer examination of Mandoh's case shows that the number of family members on *bejalai* or in waged work is no indication that they will remit income to their families. For the rural Iban, sending children on *bejalai* is a preferred strategy for obtaining additional cash income, but as Mandoh's case study illustrates, not every *bilik*-family can realise their ambitions or the remittances are immediate and sizeable. For these families, CHP and non-farm work provide them with the opportunity to earn supplemental income. Besides, they are more responsive to a given income differential compared to those who are

economically secure. The above case study illustrates the importance of waged employment, remittances and non-farm activity for the poor *bilik*-family .

In this study, I also examine the effect of *bilik*-family*'s* size (BILIKSIZE), experience in craft production (HANDIYRS), and the number of craftspersons (PRODUCER) in the *bilik*-family on their involvement in CHP. The survey results show that craftspersons became involved in CHP regardless of their experience in craft production, family size or the number of craftspersons in a family. In fact, the majority of CPs are from *bilik*-families who are less experienced in handicraft production, indicating that CHP tends to appeal more to the *"newcomers"* than the more experienced ones. The majority of these *"newcomers"* are young women, who took up CHP because of household needs.

> Ara, a 30 year old woman took up CHP one and half years ago after delivering her fourth child. She took up CHP to supplement her husband's income of RM350.00 as a paddy farmer. She claims that she will continue to combine CHP and vegetable gardening until her husband could find himself a "*good job*" in the city. When asked how many baskets and mats she weaves, Ara responded, "*depending on my work in the vegetable garden and the time spent with the children.*"

Ara is typical of young women with babies and small children. They are home-tied to the point that they seldom do other income-generating work besides crafts. They take up CHP because it enables them to combine household work with income-generating activities. The amount of crafts they produce depends on their spare time, the attention their children require and on other economic activities.

On the other hand, the case study also supports the hypothesis that craftspersons become involved in CHP as a strategy for income and consumption "*smoothing*" (Reardon, Delagado and Matlon 1992) and income from this non-farm activity acts as a supplementary source of liquidity for farm activities. Ara's case also shows that the rural

Iban will sell handicrafts as long as they need supplementary income; they will stop doing so when their need for such income has been fulfilled.

While the economic status of the *bilik*-families may have a significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions, the number of craftspersons in a *bilik*-family does not have a similar influence. Contrary to my expectation, the number of craftspersons in a *bilik* is no indication that they will take up or reject CHP. What is important in this decision is not the number of craftspersons, but a combination of the three factors: desirability, ability and availability of resources to do so. The importance of these three factors is clearly borne out by the results of an examination of non-economic factors, such as individuals' attitudes towards the economic benefits from CHP (AECON), perception of risk in CHP (ARISK) and problems they face.

Craftspersons' attitudes towards CHP (AECON) have a significant ($\hat{\beta}$=1.832; $p \leq 0.10$) and positive influence on *bilik*-family involvement decisions; those who perceive that CHP is economically beneficial are more likely to commercialise craft production compared to those who see it as non-beneficial. Craftspersons' perceptions of risk involved in CHP also affect their decisions to accept or reject CHP. Generally, those who think CHP is risky are less likely to take it up compared to those who perceive otherwise.

> There are two skilled weavers in Lapok's *bilik*-family, his 65 year old mother and 42 year old wife. Lapok's mother is a skilled *pua* weaver and his wife is a skilled mat weaver. Lapok's family did not sell handicrafts because of higher risks and low profit from crafts.

> Renyai is a 67 year old *pua* weaver who lives with her daughter's *bilik*-family. Although a skilled weaver, Renyai does not participate in commercial craft production. When asked for the reason for her non-involvement, she answered, "*I have enough. Whatever my family eat, I eat. The RM70.00* [remittance income] *my two sons send me every month is more than enough: Besides, selling handicrafts is very risky.*"

These two case studies illustrate that economic motivations dominate in the reasons given for most involvement or non-involvement in CHP. Another explanation why the

young are more likely to participate in CHP is that the more experienced and skilled craftspersons are mostly old and they either live with their children or rely on remittance income from their children which means they have sufficient support. Compared to younger individuals, the elderly are not as active in seeking alternative economic opportunities. For some individuals, particularly women, CHP is a much more salient and feasible alternative to outmigration. Income from CHP may not be comparable to that earned from waged employment, but it provides these individuals with an economic opportunity to earn cash income.

The elderly craftspersons realised that involvement in CHP will have a positive influence on their *bilik*-family economic status, yet, the majority of them are unwilling to be involved in such activity. *It appears that benefit from involvement in CHP is not sufficient* enough to draw some experienced craftspersons to sell handicrafts. This does not imply that the rural Ibans are not profit-driven or commercially oriented, simply that profit from handicrafts is not attractive enough to draw them into active involvement. Many elderly and skilled craftspersons are unwilling to bear the non-monetary costs necessitated by CHP, such as producing crafts using unfamiliar techniques and adapting to market demands. Besides, all the elderly in the survey are without formal education, which is an important resource for commercial survival and success.

Some craftspersons in the research longhouses received support from the government and Chinese *towkays*. The empirical evidence shows that craftspersons became involved in CHP, regardless of whether or not their *bilik*-families are supported by the government or the *towkays*, as reflected by the non-significance of the variable SUPPORT. On the other hand, the provision of subsidised raw materials by the government is less effective because it does not address the larger problem - marketing. The variable SUPPORT may not have any significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions,

but such support is necessary in order for craftspersons to succeed. One important implication that I can draw from these results is that there is very little evidence to support the notion of absolute dependence on the government or *towkays* in the origins of Iban involvement in CHP. Another implication is that support provided by the government or the *towkays* is not sufficiently effective to have any significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions. For example, the *towkays* provide the marketing support, but it is only limited to a small number of craftspersons, which makes their support statistically insignificant.

It seems to me that the government's handicraft projects are not attractive enough to encourage the craftspersons to take up CHP. Part of the answer to this issue may be provided by examining how the government agencies select individuals as project participants. Participants are mostly selected from the experienced or successful craftspersons. Usually, the selection is done by extension agents, upon the advice of the *tuai rumah.* By awarding subsidies mainly to the experienced craftspersons, the government tends to discriminate against newcomers or the less successful who in fact need the support most. According to the officer-in-charge of the *Projek Ubong*, the main reason for awarding subsidies to experienced or successful craftspersons is to assist them to *berdikari* (be independent) and survive in their commercial activities. Besides, it is one way of discriminating against individuals who take up CHP just to qualify for government subsidies. There are, however, instances where subsidies were awarded to *tuai rumah* who "*support the ruling political party*" suggesting the presence of political patronage. The majority of CPs started producing crafts commercially because of the economic potential derived from their involvement or when their need for cash arose.

Of the six major problems (labour, market, designs, raw materials, credit and production) faced by the craftspersons, the most important is to do with marketing. These

problems may not necessarily have a direct influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP, but they can have a direct influence on their commercial success. In Chapter Seven, I shall discuss in detail the effects of these problems. From the logistic regression results, I find that marketing problems have an influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. Their importance is presented by significant negative influence of the variable PRMRKT ($\hat{\beta}$=-2.200; $p \leq 0.01$) on the dependent variable - INVOLVE. Craftspersons are more likely to be involved in CHP if they have less marketing problems and thus can sell their products. Craftspersons with a marketing problem are less willing to participate in CHP because of its strong influence on profit and their ability to survive and develop.

The majority of craftspersons have difficulties of market access and could only sell their crafts to Chinese traders during occasional trips to Kapit town. Craftspersons face difficulties accessing the market because they have limited business skills. When there are customers willing to buy their products, the craftspersons are often tempted to price them well above the prices sold in the towns. As a result they are unable to sell their products at a competitive price.

Unless the marketing problem is properly addressed, any attempts at encouraging the rural craftspersons to be involved in CHP will remain a fruitless exercise. As I have discussed earlier, *towkay* Lim has led the way by establishing *beragih* with certain craftspersons in *Rumah A1*. The high profit obtained by the craftspersons implies that the *towkay* has been successful in promoting CHP among them. Craftspersons from other longhouses have lower profits because of their marketing difficulties. As I shall discuss in Chapter Seven, craftspersons from other longhouses do not have an assured market for their crafts; they either sell to the traders, individuals or tourists.

Contrary to my expectation, the presence of design problems (PRBDESIGN) has a significant positive ($\hat{\beta}$=1.502; p≤0.05) influence on craftspersons' involvement in CHP. The findings suggest that craftspersons with design problems will nevertheless take up CHP. This may seem paradoxical, but one can explain this by examining the types of craftspersons involved in CHP. The majority of them are newcomers, less skilled and they are more likely to face some problems producing marketable designs.

> Like many weavers in her longhouse, Entia faced problems marketing her *pua*. She traced her problems to competition from "*new*" crafts in the market. In her attempt to meet competition, Entia claimed she learnt the "*hard way*" to make new designs and patterns on her *pua*. As a non-skilled weaver, she had to learn and "*borrow*" designs from a skilled weaver. It was when she experimented with new *pua* designs on table mats that she fell sick for three weeks which she claimed was due to her experiments and the "*unsuitability*" of the designs on table mats. Since then, she has stopped experimenting with new designs, preferring to produce *pua* using familiar designs. Though she faced problems experimenting with new designs, Entia has not stopped selling *pua*. In 1992, she managed to sell four pieces of medium-sized *pua* to tourists and traders.

However, having design problems alone, does not seem to be strong enough to hinder craftpersons like Entia from taking up CHP. This could be due to their anticipation of the low risks involved and the economic benefits from involvement in CHP. Craftspersons are still willing to take up CHP, even if they face design problems, but they will not be involved in CHP once they face marketing difficulties.

> As an unskilled carver, Jimbai faced some problems producing stylised designs on his *terabai* (shields). According to Jimbai, that did not stop him from selling his carvings, particularly to tourists who came to his longhouse. However, he stopped selling *terabai* in 1990 because there was stiff competition from the cheaper and better quality carvings of the Orang Ulu.

The strong influence of marketing and design problems is reasonable because they represent the most important aspects of CHP, namely the marketing of quality products. Other problems (such as credit, labour, production, and raw materials) do not have any significant influence. I am not suggesting that these problems are not present; the results merely suggest that these problems, when combined with other factors, do not have any significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decisions.

Besides community and *bilik*-family variables, I have also included **individual variables**, such as personal characteristics, in the regression estimate. Contrary to my expectation, the logistic regression results show that craftspersons' involvement (or non-involvement) in CHP, is not directly influenced by their age (AGE). Unlike age, craftspersons' educational background (EDUC) has a significant negative influence on their decisions. As I expected, the more educated the craftsperson is, the less likely (s)he will be to take up CHP, suggesting that CHP only "*appeals*" to the less educated. In fact, Kedit's (1990) study on migration shows a positive relationship between it and education. It appears that people with higher levels of education are more aware of differential economic opportunities or amenities in alternative places. Those who are less educated have less resources for migration, and this explains why the majority of those involved in CHP have lower educational levels compared to those who worked in waged employment. This confirms my earlier discussion that involvement in CHP is mostly confined to those who fail to find employment elsewhere, due to their low academic qualifications.

Another factor that I considered important in determining craftspersons' involvement in CHP is the availability of skill (SKILL) in handicraft production. Contrary to my speculation, craftspersons' skills had no significant influence on their involvement decisions. Undeniably, skill can facilitate production, but it does not guarantee that craftspersons will produce handicrafts for commercial purposes. Some craftspersons took up CHP because they have basic commercial skills or experience and have succeeded in other commercial activities. Although a craftsperson may be unskilled, yet with some commercial skill (s)he can start commercialising handicraft production, and may even succeed in CHP. It seems to me that the rural Iban do not necessarily choose a line of business that draws on their technical skills. Partly, this explains why the craftspersons face difficulties producing and marketing handicrafts. On the other hand, the results show

that the craftspersons are willing to invest their time and resources in a commercial activity in which they have limited skill, indicating that they are willing to take some commercial risk.

The future of CHP is another significant determinant of craftspersons' involvement. There is reason to believe that Iban involvement in CHP is shaped by what they perceive the future of this activity to be in terms of its economic and non-economic benefits. Those who take up CHP tend to have a positive view about the role of CHP in the future ($\hat{\beta}$=8.61; $p \leq 0.01$). Fifty-seven per cent of CPs compared to none of the NCPs expected that future involvement in CHP would improve the socio-economic position of their *bilik*-family.[4] The majority of CPs expected that the demand for crafts would increase, which in turn would have a positive effect on their family income. Part of their optimism lies in the growing popularity of Kapit Division as a centre for eco-tourism. The majority of NCPs, however, were less optimistic; they feared that competition from cheaper crafts and lack of demand for Iban crafts would have a negative influence on future income.

I can draw several observations from this analysis. *First,* it highlights the role of handicraft production in the rural Iban economy. For the poorly educated and the unemployed, their involvement in CHP enables them to earn the cash income they need. By encouraging them to take up CHP, it is by no means an attempt to deny them the opportunity to seek better alternatives in the urban economy. The most important issue is the availability of an alternative economic activity for those who wish (or are forced) to remain in the rural areas. And I believe that CHP can become an important source of non-farm activities in the rural areas. An issue that must be considered, however, is the availability of labour. By establishing small-scale handicraft industries in the rural areas, the government may be able to create employment opportunities for the less educated, but I

[4] Variable E.10.

am doubtful it can attract the better educated to work in these industries. As the results have suggested, the young, educated and the more progressive are less likely to take up CHP, instead they prefer to work as wage earners in the formal sector. For the young and better educated Iban, waged employment rewards them with a steady income, prestige and social status.

Second, there is reason to believe that it is the economic condition of the *bilik*-family which has a significant influence on their involvement decisions; the majority of the CPs in the research longhouses are not profit-maximisers. To a majority of the craftspersons CHP is simply an income-generating activity which provides them with the supplementary income, rather than an economic activity from which they can earn huge profits. With such perceptions, it is understandable why the rural craftspersons are only concerned with survival rather than growth. Also, when I consider the wide differences between income earned from waged employment or cash agriculture and that earned from CHP, the low priority allocated to CHP becomes understandable. Instead of seeking out new opportunities for expansion, they tend to limit their involvement to a level sufficient to provide them with an acceptable income or an economic activity that will "*keep them busy.*" Only those with commercial skills have realised the potential of their involvement in CHP and that it is a relatively open field for commercial ventures and provides a new and different market.

Third, the government and the *towkays* do not have a significant influence in shaping the craftspersons' involvement decisions. This suggests that Iban will take up (or reject) CHP regardless of whether there is outside support. What this result does not show directly is that the presence of outside support in marketing can have a positive influence on craftspersons decisions. The implication of this result is that outside support may not be

necessary at the initial stage, but such support is necessary for the survival and development of CHP.

Fourth, the craftspersons' decisions to adopt CHP does not only reflect their personal background, but also their financial expectations and attitude towards CHP. As I expected, craftspersons' who view CHP as being risky are less likely to be involved in it. Their decisions are mainly shaped by their perceptions of the costs and benefits of other economic activities. Also, the survey results show that the impetus to adopt CHP was a combination of community, *bilik*-family and personal factors which are shaped by the historical, social, economic and political context in which the craftspersons live.

Another point that is borne out by these results is that the Iban craftspersons are rational individuals who make their decisions according to their perception of the benefits and costs resulting from their involvement. They are not "*irrational peasants*" who resist innovation.

In the following section, I will analyse the factors influencing CPs economic "*success*" in CHP. I begin by assessing the extent of "*success*" and the economic performance derived from craftspersons' involvement in CHP.

6.2 Measures of Economic "*Success*" in CHP

In this section, I will measure "*success*" from the perspectives of both individuals and the development planners because both sets of actors tend to evaluate *"success"* differently. When asked to define economic success in CHP, the craftspersons tend to have different views. One commercial carver related: "*success is when I can sell every parang hilt that I carved. I also consider those who win prizes in the annual craft competition as successful."* One weaver who could only sell two small *pua selop* in one year explains her

views about success: "*For me, success is when I can sell some of my pua and earn some profits. It does not matter how many pua I can sell, as long as I can sell enough to cover the cost of cotton thread and the time spent producing the crafts.*" A weaver who sells her crafts directly to traders had this to say about economic success in CHP: "*I do not consider myself successful because I cannot sell my crafts according to the price I wanted.*" A weaver is successful if people come from far to *beragih* with a weaver or buy crafts directly from her. She is also successful if she can sell her crafts to customers beyond Kapit.

Casual discussions with CPs also revealed the role of CHP in the fulfilment of their material goals. According to a middle-aged carver, one of his goals was to purchase an electricity generator. He added that for the people in his longhouse, having an electricity generator would represent "*success*", because it enables the *bilik*-family to have its own television and radio. A more commonly held goal among the Iban men in the research longhouses is to be able to go on *bejalai* to Brunei, Singapore, Peninsular Malaysia or the Gulf States. Other craftspersons added more modest goals, such as to finance their childrens' education and to purchase basic necessities. Also there is evidence suggesting that CHP is an important means of providing a secondary income, particularly in families where the male head is involved in other economic activities or away on *bejalai*. In such families, the women and the elderly became involved in CHP, while their male family members worked as loggers, dredgers or casual labourers. An elderly skilled weaver who is not involved in commercial craft production defined success as follows: "*a successful weaver is a skilled weaver. She does not have to win any prizes at the yearly Gawai competition as a sign of her success. She is successful if influential individuals, such as the menteri (government minister) beragih with her.*" When asked to define success, a middle-aged basket weaver explains: "*Even after eight years of weaving mats, I still have much to learn. I can only consider myself successful if I can weave my own designs.*"

It appears to me that there is variation in the way the craftspersons define *"success"* in craft production. Those who are not involved in commercial handicraft production tend to equate success in it to such factors as skill and ability to establish *beragih*. They are more concerned with the non-economic benefits from producing crafts such as status in society as a skilled craftsperson. To them, being recognised for ones' skills craftsperson by one's peers and critics alike is important compared to winning prizes or earning profits. It is this perception which partly explains why some skilled craftspersons are unwilling to take up CHP. The CPs, however, were more inclined to measure economic success according to the amount of crafts sold, to whom they sold their crafts and the amount of profit earned. To the commercial craftsperson, the more income one earns from crafts, the more *"successful"* the craftsperson is.

I can also measure CHP *"success"* from the perspective of the rural development planners. The development thinking of the 1950s and 1960s tended to equate development with economic growth. Heavy industrialisation and agricultural commercialisation became the engine of growth and the measurement of *"success"*, yet numerous writings (Deere and de Janvry 1979; Hewitt, Johnson and Wield 1992) emerged demonstrating the ways in which industrialisation and agricultural commercialisation have aggravated the condition of the rural poor, undermined food security, damaged the environment and eroded local cultures. For these reasons, many rural communities opposed the urban-based large-scale economic development.

Although industrialisation and agrarian modernisation has had negative impacts in some cases, this does not mean that it will always be so, nor does it mean that they cannot contribute to the kind of development as envisaged by the proponents of *"Another Development."* In my theoretical discussion (Chapters 1 and 2), I proposed that the type of industrialisation that may be *"appropriate"* for the rural Iban of Sarawak is based on what

Parnwell (1990) and later Arnold (1993) have defined as sustainable industrialisation. This is deemed appropriate because it is in tune with the needs of the environment, uses locally available natural resources, has a high degree of freedom to operate independently of the metropolitan enterprises, is small-scale, uses simple technology and is able to distribute its benefits equitably. This shift in emphasis from large-scale to small-scale projects will reduce the negative side-effects of large-scale development schemes. Besides a *"small is beautiful"* approach is cheaper, more environmentally friendly, and technologically simple.

If I consider CHP as a reflection of this alternative development approach, or a development project that "*put*[s] *the last first*" - borrowing Chambers' (1989) terms - how has CHP fared? I can find some of the answers to this question by assessing the role of CHP in the rural Iban economy. My discussions will be guided by the following questions: (a) does CHP promote productive work that increases income? (b) does CHP, by the nature of its requirements, utilise resources available at the local level? (c) does involvement in CHP provide sufficient means to improve the quality of life of the rural people?, and (d) are the local people allowed to participate fully in the development initiatives? The answers to these questions will provide some means to evaluate the *"success"* of CHP, as a part of an alternative development strategy for the rural Iban.

(a) ***Does CHP promote productive work that increases income*?**

In order to answer this question, I must assess the contribution of income earned from selling handicrafts to total income. In this study, I define *bilik*-family income as the return to family labour and the assets owned after the current cost of production is deducted from the gross value of production. Current cost is the cost currently incurred by the *bilik*-family in purchasing inputs for economic activities and household expenditure. The disaggregation of total family income into a number of components provides a first-hand picture of the

the effects of handicrafts on the various sources of *bilik*-family income. I adopt the following scheme:

1. Income from Waged Employment (TINCWAGE)[5]
2. Income from Self-employment (TINCSELF)
   (a) Income from agricultural production, livestock and fisheries (AGRIC)
   (b) Income from handicraft production (KRAFT)
3. Income from Assets (TINCASET)
4. Income from Transfer Payment (TINCPNDH)
5. Total *bilik*-family income (TINCOME) comprises TINCWAGE + TINCSELF + TINCASET + TINCPNDH

Interviews with the CPs gave some idea of their income, which I have listed in **Table 6-2.** It must be remembered that the information requested was sensitive and the answers could not be easily cross-checked suggesting that the list is not a conclusive one. The survey results show that the average monthly income per *bilik*-family is RM1.070.36. *Bilik*-families who are involved in CHP earn an average monthly income of RM1,168.78 compared to RM942.51 for those who are not involved.

Table 6-2: Summary of Average Monthly Household Income By Involvement In Commercial Handicraft Production

Income Sources	CRAFTSPERSONS			
	All Household (RM)	Commercial (RM)	Non-Commercial (RM)	Difference* (Per cent)
Waged Income	564.35	599.18	519.10	15.4
Self Employment	331.10	398.22	243.92	63.2
Transfer Payment	99.46	93.33	107.40	(-13.1)
Asset	75.45	78.03	72.08	8.2
Total Income	1,070.36	1,168.78	942.51	24.0
Income Per *Capita*	209.64	234.49	177.36	32.2
Total Respondents	200	113	87	-

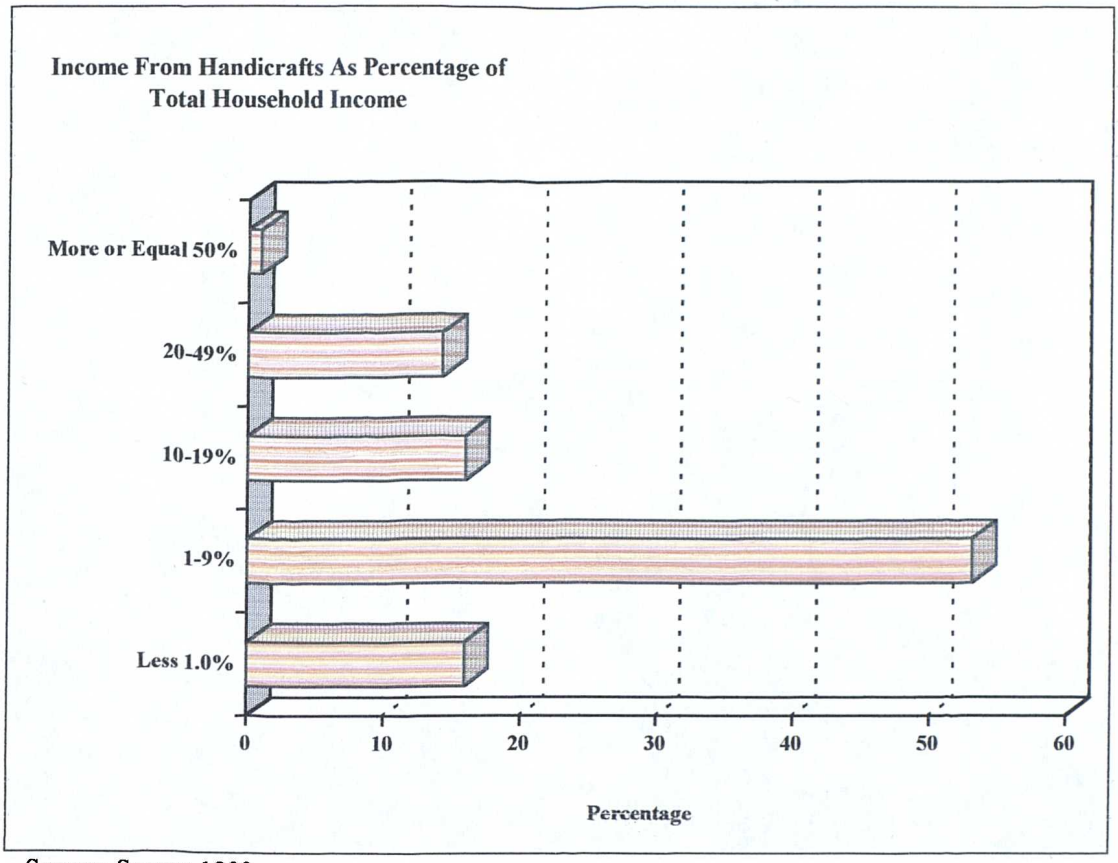
Source: Survey 1993
Note: ***Difference** = (CPs/NCPs)/NCPs x 100

[5] The letters in bracket refer to variable names used in the interview schedule.

The CPs earn 24 per cent more income than those who are not involved in CHP. This difference increases to 32.2 per cent on a per capita basis, reflecting the larger income and the smaller family size of those involved in CHP. One could argue that the high income earned by CPs could be attributed to their higher earnings initially. Recognising this, I have taken the discussion a step further by examining the contribution of income from crafts to total household income. A close examination of the data reveals that the main reason behind the high income earned by CPs compared to NCPs is primarily due to the presence of income from self-employment, including crafts. **Table 6-2** shows that there is a relatively small difference in income earned from waged employment and assets between CPs and NCPs, indicating a limited variation in terms of their waged employment and the assets they own. Those who are involved in waged employment are mostly employed in the logging industry, earning an average income in the range of RM800.00 to RM2,000.00. The difference is most prevalent in terms of self-employment; CPs earned 63.2 per cent more income from self-employment compared to NCPs. The main reason for the difference is the presence of income from crafts in the calculation of income from self-employment.

Income from handicrafts may be relatively low, but to some *bilik*-families, it contributes a large share of their total income. Of the total 113 CPs surveyed, forty (35.4 per cent) earned less than RM250.00, thirty-four (30.1 per cent) earned between RM251.00 to RM1,000.00, and thirty-nine earn more than RM1,000.00 from selling handicrafts in 1992. The CPs earned an average income of RM1,168.00 from selling handicrafts, however, one craftsperson claimed she earned as low as RM10.00 while another earned as high as RM8,940.00 throughout the whole year of 1992. **Figure 6.1** reveals a clearer picture of the contribution of income from crafts to total household income.

Figure 6-1: Income from Handicrafts as Percentage of Total Household Income



Source: Survey 1993.

Figure 6.1 shows that in some *bilik*-families income from crafts provides half of total household income. The majority (53.0 per cent), however, claimed that income from handicrafts constituted less than 10.0 per cent of total household income. Women and the poor *bilik*-families value craft production highly because it is one of the few sources of cash income available to them. For some craftspersons, particularly those in *Rumah A1*, craft production is not just a source of cash income but more important it is a secure one. For those who earn more than half of their total income from sale of crafts, CHP is not a trivial sideline activity to be pursued casually. Nor is it just *duit kopi* (income for simple luxuries) for the Iban in rural Kapit. In fact, income from crafts provides the *bilik*-families with cash income to cater for their expenditure.

To assess the relative contribution and the interrelationship of the factors contributing to craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP, requires a multivariate approach.[7] I use a correlation and multiple regression analysis and the results are presented in **Tables 6-3** and **6-4.** In Chapter Two, I have defined the dependent and independent variable used in this analysis. As we can recall, business success (SUCCESS) is the dependent variable and it is measured according to the amount of income earned from selling crafts in 1992. I recognise that the regression and correlation results are suggestive, but they do not account for the correlation among the independent variables and are thus inadequate to assess interrelationships. To surmount this difficulty, I conducted a causal analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in **Table 6-5** and **Figure 6-2.**

Table 6-3: Regression Coefficients of Success Factors in Craftspersons' Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production

VARIABLES	Expected Signs	Coefficients		
		$\hat{\beta}$	Standardised Beta (β^*)	T-statistic
Constant		**-2954.550**		**-1.672****
AGE	(-)	7.779	.055	.992
BEJALAI	(+)	61.155	.050	.953
SKILL	(+)	46.550	.025	.483
PROHANDI	(+)	226.728	.068	.687
EXPERIENCE	(+)	**13.445**	**.087**	**1.741****
WEALTH	(+)	**.019**	**.270**	**5.132*****
ATTITUDE	(+)	**47.634**	**.096**	**1.865****
SUPPORT	(+)	-159.552	-.048	-.514
PROBLEM	(-)	**-79.395**	**-.304**	**-3.820*****
TIME	(+)	**7.030**	**.398**	**6.301*****
SACRIC	(+)	92.798	.119	1.181
ENTREP	(+)	24.220	.058	.511
N = 113 **R^2 = .810**				

Source: Survey 1993

Note: *** - Significant at $p \leq 0.01$

** - Significant at $p \leq 0.10$

[7] A multiple regression equation expresses the joint effects of all the eleven variables used in explaining *"success."* The regression coefficients ($\hat{\beta}$) represent the explanatory strength of the single variables when all others are controlled or held mathematically constant.

educated Iban women, cash cropping and petty trading provide them with a stable source of income. Income earned from these two activities may not differ significantly from that earned from selling crafts, but it is relatively more reliable than that of crafts. However, cash cropping and petty trading can easily be combined with craft production. Those involved in waged employment generally earn three to four times as much as from selling crafts. It is a secure source of income, but it tends to discriminate against those without formal education. It is not surprising that CHP provides a source of income for the unemployed and those who are poorly educated.

To an outsider using quantitative methods, an increase in income is sufficient enough to indicate that the craftspersons have succeeded in CHP. However, a closer examination of these craftspersons who have achieved high "*economic success*" reveals a different picture. The majority of them are from *Rumah Al* who *beragih* with a *towkay.* One could argue that their heavy dependence on the *towkay* for their economic survival has rendered them "*poor*" because they have lost the basic means of survival: *self determination* (Md Anisur 1993:136). But, we must not overlook the fact that these craftspersons have achieved economic success where others have not. Rather than condemning the *beragih* relationship as a form of exploitation, one should view it as a way by means of which the rural Iban can develop their economic potential based on their traditional institutions of product-sharing.

(b) *Does CHP utilise resources available at the local level?*

One of the basic arguments against large-scale, growth-oriented projects is their non-utilisation or under-utilisation of local resources (such as skills, and human and natural resources) for development purposes. The rural Iban can benefit from alternative development because it is oriented towards the use of technology permitting full

development of their region's natural resources and human skills, labour-intensive activities, and small- and medium-sized projects. Handicraft production has some of the basic principles of alternative development because CHP enables the rural Iban to mobilise natural resources from their surroundings, such as rattan, wood, *bemban* and bamboo. As Kedit (1994:25) has rightly mentioned:

> The whole material culture of the Iban is based on the rainforest...The *pua* is a good representation of what the plant world can contribute to man for art and everyday utility purpose because the materials are from plants.

The Iban craftspersons use production techniques which are generally oriented towards minimising waste and maximising the use of natural forest resources. Indirectly, CHP can enable the Iban to retain their ethnic identity through their crafts' designs and art works. CHP also reflects Iban religious and cultural values and the very things which they consider important; for example their art forms and designs have important meanings such as unity, harmony, bravery, challenge, respect for others, responsibility and so on. The importance of CHP is not limited to increasing income; one also has to take into account the socio-cultural aspect of Iban life which has not been captured by statistical analysis.

One of the reasons for the limited *"success"* of many large-scale rural projects is that they tend to limit participation of certain underprivileged individuals (for example women, the elderly, landless and smallholders). CHP is only successful as a rural development project if all sectors of the rural population are able to be involved. A breakdown of respondents according to their gender and age shows a wide range of family life cycle circumstances. The survey results show that CHP is mostly pursued by women. Of the total number of CPs, 104 (92.0 per cent) are women. The majority (80.4 per cent) of the craftspersons are married (8.9 per cent are divorced, 8.9 per cent are widows) and 1.8 per cent are single. Of the married women engaged in CHP, the majority have husbands who are engaged in cash agriculture and waged employment. The data show that CHP does

provide income-earning opportunities to the disadvantaged groups such as divorcees, widows and single women. It appears that CHP provides a means of subsistence where there is no male provider.

In traditional Iban society, men and women differ in the kinds of crafts they produce. Weaving and plaiting are mostly done by women, while carving and blacksmithing are done by men. From the survey data, it is evident that the majority of the CPs are women. Women produce crafts in their own *bilik,* with the help of other family members. The pace of commercial craft production is generally attuned to the womens' *"free time."* The majority of crafts sold are *pua,* baskets and mats, which are culturally defined as *"women's craft."* Men do assist the women, but their involvement is limited to searching and preparing raw materials. Though male participants have learnt to weave *pua* and plait baskets as part of their training in government handicrafts institute, no Iban men in the research longhouses would weave *pua* or plait baskets and mats for fear of being ridiculed by others. This does not necessarily indicate that men would be scoffed at for taking up CHP. Men would not be demeaned at for selling crafts which are traditionally defined as *"male crafts"* such as carving and blacksmithing. However, craft production is not high on the Iban priority list of economic activities. To the Iban, craft production is only suitable for women or men who are elderly, sick and could not do hard physical labour. Many women take up CHP because such activity is not physically demanding, and it could be done in combination with other economic activities and household duties.

When I compared the *"success"* of the craftspersons on the basis of their marital status, I found that there is a higher percentage of female headed households (such as divorcees and widows) compared to married craftspersons who achieve high *"success"* in CHP. For example, 32.2 per cent of married craftspersons compared to 50.0 per cent of divorcees and 40.0 per cent of widows achieved high *"success"* in CHP. One of the

reasons for the low incidence of *"success"* among married craftswomen is their need to adhere a balance between household work and economic activities. Most married women are from relatively large *bilik*-families which means they have to allocate more time to extra household work than to economic pursuits. It is also reasonable to think that divorcees or widows had succeeded in CHP because it is an important source of household income. The married women are less pressured to succeed in CHP because they tend to view income from crafts as a supplementary income to their husband' s earnings.

Though the divorcees, widows and single women can allocate more time to other non-farm activities (such as CHP), they are not without problems. As heads of households, these women are the major income earners. While married women can rely on their husbands for their initial cash requirements, the divorcees, single persons and widows can only rely on their personal savings or contributions from their children. Although many of them face some difficulties meeting the initial cash requirements, this does not hinder them from earning substantial income from selling handicrafts.

As a rural development project, CHP not only provides employment and income-earning opportunities to the women, but also similar opportunities to the elderly, young, uneducated and the unemployed. As I have discussed in Chapter 5, the average age of craftspersons involved in CHP is 45 years. Of total CPs, only 23.9 per cent are less than 35 years old, suggesting that CHP is mainly pursued by the elderly. Those with limited education are also able to take up CHP and earn some profits from it. For example, 54.9 per cent of those involved in CHP, are without formal education, and 39.8 per cent are without primary education.

Another issue that I need to explore briefly is the *"trickling down effects"* of CHP. It is important to know whether CHP has led to the development of related businesses or economic activities. I must point out that I did NOT conduct a full-scale survey of inter-

industry linkages. Therefore, I am unable to quantify the effects of CHP. However, I will base my discussion on the qualitative data provided by the respondents and my observation.

I have observed that the development of CHP in the research longhouses has led to the formation of several new trading activities and to the growth of informal business in collecting and processing raw materials. New trading opportunities have been created for handicrafts which were previously regarded by the Iban as practically *"without any economic value."* Traditionally, the Iban only produced handicrafts for personal consumption. Nowadays, the rural Iban are able to sell their handicrafts and earn cash income from such activities.

Another example of a new trading field is the marketing of forest-based raw materials. In the past, the craftspersons relied on family labour to search for and prepare raw materials from the forest. During the survey, I found that several individuals have started to specialise in the searching, preparing and selling of forest-based raw materials, such as *bemban*, bamboo, and rattan. They usually sell these raw materials to the other craftspersons, particularly housewives in Kapit. One woman claimed she sold a monthly average of 20 bunches of well-processed bamboo at RM7.50 per bunch to her customers in Kapit. The number of individuals involved in this new form of trade is relatively small, but there is an indication that it will increase, because there is demand for their services. One successful craftsperson claimed she preferred to purchase the processed forest-based raw materials from other individuals because she did not have the requisite family members to assist her. The growing difficulties involved in the searching for and processing of raw materials, due to time and distance, and in part linked to growing scarcity of non-timber forest products, will increase the demand for processed raw materials. There is also a ready demand for processed materials from the urban-based craftspersons because they do not have the time or the proper knowledge to search for and prepare them.

Another business associated with CHP is the longhouse visit. *Bilik*-families who participated in the longhouse tourists visits were paid by tour agencies to display their skill in weaving, carving or plaiting to the tourist. Craftspersons became involved in these tourist visits, and can even benefit from such activities by selling their products to these tourists.

(c) *Does involvement in CHP provide sufficient means to improve the quality of life of the rural Iban?*

One of the basic arguments for alternative development strategies is their ability to improve the socio-economic position of the rural population. Undeniably, income earned from selling handicrafts is generally lower than that earned from other economic activities such as logging, cash agriculture and waged employment. But to the rural Iban who have few alternative sources of income, CHP provides them with the opportunities for gaining a reasonably profitable livelihood and earning a secondary income.

An examination of the respondents' expenditure, savings and investment patterns, reveals the importance of cash income in their economy. As I have discussed, the rural Iban use cash income to *"smooth their consumption,"* buy consumer items, improve their house and finance their farming activities and childrens' education. Some saved their income earned from selling handicrafts in banks, while others invested in units such as *Amanah Saham Bumiputera* (ASB), *Amanah Saham Sarawak* (ASSAR),and *Amanah Saham Nasional* (ASN). There is enough evidence to suggest that involvement in CHP has enabled the rural Iban to earn some cash income, which directly or indirectly helps them to improve their socio-economic position and their quality of life.

(d) *Are the local people allowed to participate fully in the development initiatives?*

According to Kottak (1990) compatible and successful projects avoid what he calls the *"fallacy of over-innovation"*, which means that realistic and workable projects should promote change; not innovate in excess. A successful project is one that does not require major changes to the participants' daily lives or interfere too much with customary subsistence pursuits. Successful projects respect, or at least do not work in opposition to local cultural patterns. Also, these projects should not be based solely on planners' objectives; they can only be defined as successful if they allow the rural people to participate fully in the development initiatives. The basic premise of the alternative development approach is that it is based on the principle of bottom-up, rather than top-down decision-making.

There is no straightforward answer to the question whether or not CHP allows the rural Iban to participate fully in development initiatives. On the one hand, one can argue that CHP as a rural development project has indeed created new income-earning opportunities for the rural Iban. However, the number of them involved in CHP is still limited. One of the major reasons cited for non-involvement in CHP is the difficulty in marketing handicrafts. Among those involved in CHP, the majority started selling handicrafts without much direct support from the government or the *towkays*, suggesting a high level of initiative among the rural Iban in the research longhouses. However, one must not overlook the fact that the government has played an indirect role by creating a favourable environment to enable the rural Iban to develop CHP. Those who started because of government or *towkays* support may appear to be dependent and lack initiative. However, viewed from a different perspective, these craftspersons are also the same people who took the initiative and established economic networks with government agencies or Chinese *towkays* .

On the other hand, there is no denying that craftspersons who *beragih* or those who participate in government handicraft projects are dependent on the *towkays* and government for support for things such as raw materials, innovation, credit and markets. For example, in the SEDC's Handicraft Project,[6] project participants are selected from interested craftspersons who are either experienced or are in the process of learning from the experienced weavers. The SEDC also identifies the product, markets and materials and even selects the *"potential entrepreneurs-cum-leaders"*, who will be responsible for supervising, monitoring, quality control, payment and delivery of the finished product. These nominated entrepreneurs are mostly skilled craftspersons who, in turn, assist in the selection of new project participants. SEDC provides training and dyeing materials, monitors production, identifies production problems and markets some of the products for its project participants. It seems to me that in such projects, the participants did not participate fully in the decision-making process. As one project participant claimed, *"we only receive orders from the top."*

It is also useful to examine the types and sources of innovation to establish the extent of government's or *towkays'* involvement in the creation of new ideas among the rural craftspersons. My survey results show that the majority of the craftspersons' have innovated to suit the changing demand for handicrafts. There are several sources of innovation. Many ideas originate from the craftspersons themselves, for example, the majority of the craftspersons claimed that innovations are *"leaked"* or spread through a network of family and friends. Usually these innovations represent a response to persistent problems related to fluctuations in price and demand for handicrafts and the availability of resources. Only a small percentage learn about new skills, production techniques or markets from the government agencies and *towkays*.

[6] Discussion with a government officer-in-charge of MHDC.

It is evident from the above discussions that there are differences in the level of initiative between those who have contracts with the *towkays* or the government agencies and those who do not. Participants in *beragih* or government-sponsored handicraft projects, tend to rely heavily on the government or the *towkays* for support. In contrast, the non-participants rely on their own initiatives. As I will discuss in the next section, the presence of this support may help to counter some of the problems faced by the craftspersons, but it has the tendency of stifling local initiatives. This suggests that government and *towkay* involvement in CHP promotion can have both positive and negative influences on the development of local initiatives.

6.3 Factors Underlying Craftspersons' Economic "*Success*" in CHP.

Craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP is based on a number of factors. In Chapter Two, I identified some factors that I hypothesised would be likely to have some influence on craftspersons' *"success."* In this section, I will analyse the interrelationship between these factors and assess their influence on craftspersons' economic *"success."*

It is worth emphasising that this mechanical exercise is part of my attempt to identify the factors and strength of their relationships to explain craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP. I cannot assume that the factors identified can explain fully the success of CPs; there are other non-quantifiable factors which are important too. I recognise that not all factors relevant to the different explanations were possible to investigate, so my analysis cannot be a definitive test of these explanations. I use a statistical technique to shape my interpretation of patterns of craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP.

To assess the relative contribution and the interrelationship of the factors contributing to craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP, requires a multivariate approach.[7] I use a correlation and multiple regression analysis and the results are presented in **Tables 6-3** and **6-4.** In Chapter Two, I have defined the dependent and independent variable used in this analysis. As we can recall, business success (SUCCESS) is the dependent variable and it is measured according to the amount of income earned from selling crafts in 1992. I recognise that the regression and correlation results are suggestive, but they do not account for the correlation among the independent variables and are thus inadequate to assess interrelationships. To surmount this difficulty, I conducted a causal analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in **Table 6-5** and **Figure 6-2.**

Table 6-3: Regression Coefficients of Success Factors in Craftspersons' Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production

VARIABLES	Expected Signs	Coefficients		
		β	Standardised Beta (β*)	T-statistic
Constant		**-2954.550**		**-1.672****
AGE	(-)	7.779	.055	.992
BEJALAI	(+)	61.155	.050	.953
SKILL	(+)	46.550	.025	.483
PROHANDI	(+)	226.728	.068	.687
EXPERIENCE	(+)	**13.445**	**.087**	**1.741****
WEALTH	(+)	**.019**	**.270**	**5.132*****
ATTITUDE	(+)	**47.634**	**.096**	**1.865****
SUPPORT	(+)	-159.552	-.048	-.514
PROBLEM	(-)	**-79.395**	**-.304**	**-3.820*****
TIME	(+)	**7.030**	**.398**	**6.301*****
SACRIC	(+)	92.798	.119	1.181
ENTREP	(+)	24.220	.058	.511
N = 113 R^2 **= .810**				

Source: Survey 1993
Note: *** - Significant at $p \leq 0.01$
** - Significant at $p \leq 0.10$

[7] A multiple regression equation expresses the joint effects of all the eleven variables used in explaining *"success."* The regression coefficients (β) represent the explanatory strength of the single variables when all others are controlled or held mathematically constant.

Table 6-4: Zero Order Correlation of Economic "*Success*" with Hypothesised Contributing Factors for Commercial Craftspersons.

Variables	Total (n=113)	Level of Success in CHP		
		High Success (n=39)	Medium Success (N=34)	Low Success (n=40)
AGE (X0)	.174	.185	-.135	.141
BEJALAI (X1)	.411**	.297	-.036	.013
SKILL(X2)	.254**	.332*	.047	-.087
PROHANDI (X3)	.474**	.381*	-.081	-.109
SUPPORT (X4)	.311**	.320*	.006	-.167
EXPERIENCE (X5)	.389**	.164	-.069	-.193
WEALTH (X6)	.358**	.446**	.007	.047
ATTITUDE (X7)	.463**	.119	.257	.481**
ENTREP (X8)	.497**	.288	.203	.235
PROBLEM (X9)	-.679**	-.519**	-.060	.124
SACRIC (X10)	.497**	.369*	.136	.219
TIME (X11)	.776**	.651**	-.143	-.031

Source: Survey, 1993

Note: ** Significance level at p≤0.01

* Significance level at p≤0.05

Table 6-5: Causal Effects and Ranking of Independent Variables on Craftspersons Economic "*Success*"

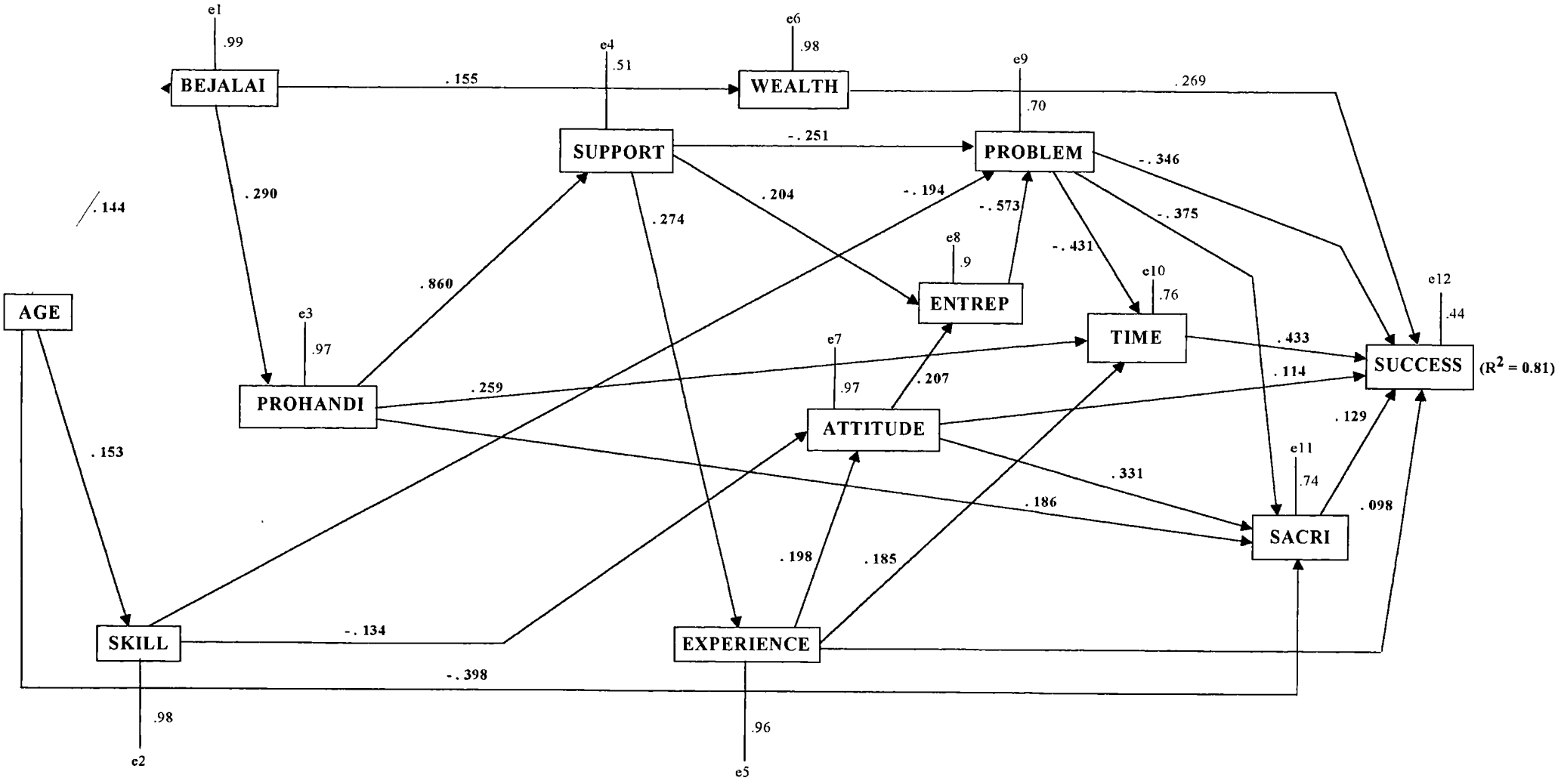
VARIABLES	CAUSAL EFFECTS*			
	Direct Effects (DE)	Indirect Effects (IE)	Total Effects (TE)	Ranking of Independent Variables**
AGE (X0)	.000	-.020	-.020	12
BEJALAI (X1)	.000	.134	.134	9
SKILL (X2)	.000	.082	.082	11
PROHANDI (X3)	.000	.320	.320	4
SUPPORT (X4)	.000	.0275	.275	5
EXPERIENCE (X5)	.098	.125	.223	7
WEALTH (X6)	.269	.000	.269	6
ATTITUDE (X7)	.114	.100	.214	8
ENTREP (X8)	.000	.333	.333	3
PROBLEM (X9)	-.346	-.235	-.581	1
TIME (X10)	.433	.000	.433	2
SACRIC (X11)	.129	.000	.129	10

Source: Survey 1993

Note: * See **Appendix 10** for the detailed calculation of the causal effects of the respective variables

** Independent variables are ranked according to their relative total effects on the dependent variable.

Figure 6-2: Recursive Path Diagram of Rural Iban Economic "*Success*" in Commercial Handicraft Production



Source: Survey 1993

What do these results indicate? Do they show that only craftspersons who are committed, economically secure and with fewer problems can succeed in CHP? Not necessarily. The multiple regression and path analysis presented in **Table 6-3** and **Figure 6-2**, suggest that the factors are interrelated and they can effect *"success"*, either directly or indirectly. For purposes of clarity, however, I shall discuss these factors according to the strength of their influence on the *"success"* factor (**Table 6-5**). When all variables were considered together, the problems they face (PROBLEM) have the highest total effects (TE=-0.581), while their age (AGE) has the lowest total effects (TE=-0.020) on their *"success"*.

6.3.1 Problems

The results of the two analyses reveal that the problems craftspersons encountered have the strongest effect on their *"success"*, as measured by its total effects (TE=-0.581). **Table 6-3** shows that there is a negative relationship between craftspersons' *"success"* and the problems (such as marketing, credit, labour) they faced ($\hat{\beta}$=-79.395; $p \leq 0.01$); those with fewer problems (PROBLEM) are more successful compared to their counterparts. In fact, the level of craftspersons' *"success"* is heavily dependent on their ability to minimise their problems, as suggested by a negative correlation shown in **Table 6-3**. I may be stating the obvious; but these results enable me to measure the strength of the effects of problems on craftspersons' commercial *"success"*.

As I shall discuss in detail in Chapter Eight, the Iban craftspersons face physical and non-physical problems such as market accessibility, competition, declining supply of raw materials, uncompetitive prices, rising costs of raw materials and limited demand for their crafts. The path diagram (**Figure 6-2**) shows that the problems faced by the craftspersons are dependent on the support (SUPPORT) they received and the skills (SKILL) they possess. The support received helps to minimise their problems while their

skill enables the craftspersons to produce better quality crafts, thus increasing their chances of achieving economic *"success"* in CHP.

6.3.2 *Time Commitment*

The second most important *"success"* factor is the amount of time the craftspersons allocated to craft production (TIME). The regression results (**Table 6-3**) show that the amount of time (TIME) they spend producing crafts commercially has a positive and significant influence ($\hat{\beta}$=7.030; p≤0.01) on *"success."* During their years of involvement in CHP, the craftspersons learn to minimise problems, identify new opportunities and establish contacts; each an experience potentially important in achieving *"success."* Experienced craftspersons are relatively more successful than the newcomers who are just starting to learn the *"tricks of the trade."*

The results of the causal analysis (**Table 6-5**) show that the time spent by the craftspersons in CHP has a direct influence (DE=0.433) on their *"success."* The more time the craftspersons spend on CHP, the higher are their chances of being economically successful. This may be an obvious result, but what it does is to confirm existing knowledge and suggest that the time spent on craft production is fairly rewarded. I am not denying the fact that there are craftspersons who spent a lot of time producing crafts but their income from crafts is still low. This is due to low prices or their inability to sell most of their crafts.

In order to understand the relationship between time commitment and *"success"*, it is useful to examine craftspersons' motivations for involvement in CHP. For example, craftspersons who became involved in CHP just to fill their spare time are less likely to spend more time in CHP compared to those who rely on CHP for their cash income. The majority of the high and medium successful craftspersons took up CHP in response to

market demand and availability of support. However, the less successful ones adopted CHP to increase their family income.

> Selin is a fifty-three year old *pua-weaver* from *Rumah A1*. In 1991, her family earned RM8,209.00 worth of income from selling *pua* to the *towkay*, thus making her one of the most successful craftspersons in the research longhouses. Her family was also one of the most committed to CHP. Four out of eight of her family members are actively involved in CHP. Her *bilik*-family allocated 308 person-days to CHP.

It is evident from craftspersons' responses that the less successful craftspersons were mostly motivated by their need to survive while the more successful ones became involved in CHP in response to market forces. What is the implication of this result? In my opinion, the result has an important implication for craftspersons' involvement in CHP. Assuming that income accrues to time expended, then craftspersons need to spend more time in CHP in order to succeed. They need to produce crafts regularly and not only when their need arises or when they are *"free."* The craftspersons must not only devote more time to production, but also to marketing. Spending more time to CHP is *"useless"*, as claimed by a carver, unless the craftspersons can sell their products. Those who fail to sell their crafts would find themselves with *"excess"* crafts. Except for craftspersons in *Rumah A1*, other craftspersons had an average of three *pua "waiting to be sold"*; a statement commonly made by the craftspersons to refer to their *"excess"* crafts.

It appears to me that craftspersons can succeed because they are willing to produce crafts and earn income beyond their basic requirement. They succeed because they are willing to search for better marketing outlets, improve their product and seek new ideas. Though the less successful craftspersons became involved in CHP to increase income, they are unable to commit more time and labour to such activities as those who are successful. The survey results show that the craftspersons in the *"higher success"* groups allocated an average of 162 person-days per year to CHP, compared to only 26 person-days and 40 person-days per year for those who are in the medium and low *"success"* groups

respectively[8]. This suggests that the craftspersons' efforts are fairly rewarded economically. The results also indicate that the successful craftspersons put more time into CHP. In some *bilik*-families, their increased time commitment to CHP was aided by the existence of linkages through transportation and availability of a *towkay's* support in marketing and the supply of raw materials.

Two factors seem to have a strong influence on time commitment to CHP: (a) their participation in a government-sponsored handicraft project (PROHANDI), and (b) experience (EXPERIENCE) in CHP (Figure 6-2). The survey results suggest that craftspersons who participate in government handicraft projects are more likely to allocate extra time to CHP than non-project participants. One explanation for this is that the latter were closely monitored and supervised by the leaders or entrepreneurs elected by the government agencies. Such monitoring ensures that handicrafts were produced on time. The project participants do not have the flexibility to produce handicrafts during their spare time or when the need arises. Unlike non-project participants, they learn to conform to certain work schedules and fulfil certain production requirements. Such monitoring may reduce flexibility for the craftspersons, but it ensures economic *"success"* for some.

What is the implication of this result on future Iban involvement in CHP? The study shows that the craftspersons can succeed if they are given the necessary support, particularly in marketing. This result also has important policy implications, particularly in terms of the government's future attempts at developing craft industries in the rural areas. Policy-makers must also take into account the extent of craftspersons' willingness to spend more time working in craft factories or the importance of succeeding in such activities. The tight work schedule of factory production may increase the number of crafts produced and thereby increase craftspersons' income, but it may not be suitable for the rural Iban. Mahzan's (Mahzan, *et.al* 1990) study has shown that the rural Iban have resisted

[8] I calculated *person-days* by multiplying the number of craftspersons involved in CHP by the number of days they spent producing crafts commercially.

the tight work schedule of waged employment in government-sponsored land development schemes. Part of the reason is the failure of development planners to recognise the way the Iban allocate their labour to various economic activities.

As I have discussed, the majority of the rural Iban are involved in multiple economic activities. Under such circumstances, factory production with its tight work schedule is not a viable alternative to the rural Iban because it does not allow them to take up multiple economic activities. The present method of craft production, with its low investment and flexible labour allocation, is more suitable to the rural Iban who are either paddy farmers or cash crop producers. As we can recall from our theoretical discussion in Chapter One, craft production is well suited to the monsoon climate and wet rice farming of Asia (Bray 1983; Oshima 1971). Craft production is a seasonal complementarity, with *bilik*-families working in the fields during peak agricultural months and producing crafts in lean months. Household rather than factory manufacturing enables the rural Iban to adjust craft production according to their agricultural cycle or when the need arises.

Another important factor which has an influence on craftspersons' time commitment is their experience (EXPERIENCE) in CHP. If continuity is an indicator of *"success"*, therefore, those with a longer history of involvement in CHP can be classified as the successful craftspersons. The more experienced craftspersons tend to allocate more time to CHP. What are the factors that underlie this? To answer this question, one must look at the relationship between experience and age. Experience usually comes with age. It is reasonable to suggest that the elderly have more time to produce crafts compared to the young whose labour is diverted to other economic activities. Craft production, particularly weaving, may be time-consuming but it does not involve strenuous tasks or much physical exertion, which makes it suitable for the elderly and women.

A high rate of time commitment (and therefore *"success"*) among the more experienced craftspersons suggests that craftspersons' *"success"* takes time. Newcomers need time to adapt to new forms of handicraft production, improve their skill, adapt to CHP, access the lucrative markets, secure institutional support, and establish business networks. Unlike the newcomers, the experienced craftspersons are more likely to be skilled and have wider economic networks. They have a comparative advantage over the less experienced craftspersons in such aspects as production, marketing and design.

Overall my results show that the rural craftspersons do not oppose change totally. When I apply this to the principles of economic development, what it suggests is that people are unlikely to co-operate in *"new"* projects that require drastic or major changes in their daily lives. They need time to make the necessary adaptations. If I consider support as necessary for the economic survival of the CPs, then the government should reconsider the timing of its support. There are cases where government support is withdrawn or withheld from the craftspersons due to changes in government policies or political considerations. Like the *towkays*, the government should extend its support on a continuous rather than on an *ad hoc* basis. In the case of the *towkay*-Iban *beragih* relationship, the inter-dependency between the *towkay* and the craftspersons made it necessary for him to provide continuous support. Unlike the government agencies, which have no direct economic interest in the craftspersons, *towkays* usually have much to lose if they do not support the craftspersons in countering their productive capabilities.

6.3.3 Economic Status

According to the multiple regression results (**Table 6-3**), the economic position of the *bilik*-families (WEALTH) is another significant predictor of their *"success"* in CHP ($\hat{\beta}$=0.019; $p \leq 0.01$). The correlation results (**Table 6-4**) show a positive significant association between a *bilik*-family's economic position and their success in CHP. This

suggests that well-to-do *bilik*-families have better chances of earning higher income from selling handicrafts than those who are in the lower economic position. It appears to me that usually it is craftspersons' economic position that determines *"success"* and not the other way round. However, this may be true for the average *bilik*-family, but, in some *bilik*-families, it is the income from selling handicrafts which affects their economic status. When I compared household income, I found some differences between the two groups in terms of their economic status; CPs earned 32.0 per cent more income per capita and 24.0 per cent more monthly income than NCPs. There is a wider difference in income from self-employment between the two groups. Craftspersons involved in CHP earned 63.2 per cent more from self-employment than their counterpart, and this is mainly due to income earned from selling handicrafts.

The economic status of the *bilik*-family is directly influenced by the number of family members on *bejalai.* Unlike the Iban in Kedit's study (1993), the majority of those who are away on *bejalai* remit money to their families back in the longhouses. A majority (61.0 per cent) of *bilik*-families involved in CHP have family members currently on *bejalai.* Some of the common *bejalai* destinations are Miri, Kuching, Peninsular Malaysia and Brunei. There are *bilik*-families who also have members working in logging companies in Papua New Guinea, oil companies in Bahrain, and construction companies in Singapore. The results of the t-test (**Table 6-6**) show that *bilik*-families who have families currently on *bejalai* have a total mean income of RM11,984.73 compared to RM8,633.51 for those without family members on *bejalai.*

Table 6-6: T-Test Results for Equality of Means of Total Household Income and Wealth in 1992

Variable	Mean (*RM*)	t-value	2-tail Significance	SE of Difference
(a) Total Household Income		**-1.98**	**.050**	**1691.23**
With family members on *bejalai* (n=69)	**11,984.73**			
Without family members on *bejalai* (n=44)	**8,633.51**			
(b) Wealth		**-1.13**	**.262**	**4563.77**
With family members on *bejalai* (n=69)	**27,352.46**			
Without family members on *bejalai* (n=44)	**22,210.67**			

Source: Survey 1993.

Individuals who spent some years working as blue-collar workers during their *bejalai,* enjoyed much greater opportunities than those who never left their longhouses. Individuals on *bejalai* learn to acquire some familiarity with urban employment styles. Besides, their *bejalai* experience facilitates their acquisition of trading skills. The majority of those who have been on *bejalai* regard their experience useful in conducting their commercial operations.

Regarding wealth, I found no significant difference in the mean of *bilik*-family wealth between the two groups. However, although they may not differ statistically in terms of wealth, a casual observation of household belongings, heirlooms, and economic situation suggests otherwise. *Bilik*-families with family members on *bejalai* are economically more secure than their counterparts; they have the economic resources to enable them to adopt new income-generating activities such as CHP. Off-farm income also acts as an insurance or safety-net against economic risk. Besides, economic wealth also provides craftspersons with better opportunities to succeed in commercial activities. Those from well-to-do or economically secure *bilik*-families have better opportunities to acquire education, and the ability to take risks and invest in new ideas. Though *bilik*-family wealth is a significant determinant of their *"success"*, it is only ranked sixth in its

causal effect, indicating that it is not as important as other factors such as the ability to overcome problems faced, the level of entrepreneurship and the commitment of time.

6.3.4 Personal Characteristics

I shall now analyse the influence of other factors (such as personal characteristics, attitude, entrepreneurship, skill, age and willingness to sacrifice) on craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP. In evaluating craftspersons' development prospects it is crucial to know to what extent their success and achievement were determined by their background. I examined the impact of three of these factors: age, skill and experience.

The regression results (**Table 6-3**) show that craftspersons' age (AGE) has no significant influence on their *"success."* One can interpret from the data craftspersons can succeed regardless of their age. Nevertheless, though age does not have a predictable relationship to *"success"*, it has two contradictory effects on craftspersons' abilities. On the one hand, the elderly have more experience which provides them with a competitive edge in CHP. The process of adaptation and transformation from a subsistence to commercial producer takes years and the craftspersons have to learn new things or relearn old skills. It is the effectiveness of this learning process that is crucial to rapid change. Success will encourage the experienced craftspersons to validate their new gained knowledge, which in turn will increase their confidence to exploit more of the economic opportunities available to them. On the other hand, the elderly are less educated and have less recent experience in commercial activities than the younger craftspersons; the elderly tend to lose out to the young.

The path diagram (**Figure 6-2**) shows that age affects *"success"* indirectly through craftspersons' skills and the opportunities for *bejalai* in the *bilik*-family. The number of *bilik*-family members on *bejalai* is not directly influenced by a craftsperson's age, however, it reflects her (or his) *bilik*-family size and stage of development. The older the

craftspersons the more likely it is for them to have a larger family, and this in turn, has some positive influence on the *bejalai* pattern in the family. In my study I found a positive association between the presence of handicraft projects and the number of *bilik*-families with members on *bejalai*, suggesting the limited success of government handicraft projects in curbing rural out-migration.

Another important determinant of *"success"* is skill (SKILL). A closer examination of craftspersons' skill (SKILL) reveals that it is not a significant predictor of craftspersons *"success"* (**Table 6-3**) but it has a positive correlation with their *"success"* (**Table 6-4**), suggesting that craftspersons can succeed regardless of their level of skills. Both unskilled and skilled craftspersons have similar chances of achieving success in CHP. This finding partly reflects my sampling bias (previously described in Chapter Two) and craftspersons' background. The low correlation reflected the inclusion in my sample of a number of highly skilled craftspersons who had little potential for success, as well as some unskilled craftspersons but with some commercial experience. In order to succeed, craftspersons require more than just production skill; they must have some business knowledge, motivation, experience and entrepreneurship. Although craftspersons' skill does not have a significant influence on their *"success"*, it is the first step towards successful involvement in CHP as suggested by a positive correlation between the two variables (**Table 6-5**).

The path diagram (**Figure 6-2**) shows that craftspersons' skills (SKILL) influence their *"success"* through the problems (PROBLEM) they faced (P_{92}=-0.194)[9]. The results suggested that skilled craftspersons faced lesser problems compared to their unskilled counterparts. This reversed pattern and less direct effects may be picked up by other factors, such as craftspersons' age. The path diagram shows a positive relationship between age and skill (P_{20}=0.153), indicating that skill improves with age. Highly skilled

[9]See **Appendix 5** for brief description of path analysis.

craftspersons are usually older and with more experience producing handicrafts. Compared to younger craftspersons, the skilled and experienced craftspersons are capable of meeting consumers' demand such as by producing better designed crafts and having wider economic networks. Even the *towkays* are selective in their choices of craftspersons with whom they *beragih,* preferring the skilled craftspersons over the less-skilled ones. Having a *towkay* to *beragih* is the objective of many rural craftspersons, because such relationships provide them with the economic security they needed, and the solution to some of their major problems.

Being skilful may be an advantage in terms of problem-solving, however, it does not have the same effect on craftspersons' attitudes. The path diagram shows that craftspersons' skill has a negative influence on their attitude (P_{72}=-0.134). The more skilled the craftspersons, the less positive is their attitude towards CHP, and this could have some influence on their success. The less direct effects may be picked up by the age factor. Generally, the highly-skilled craftspersons are older; and with less education. They are mostly set in their ways. Alternatively, the less skilled craftspersons are usually young, educated and with better exposure to the benefits of modern economic activities. The attitudinal effect may be ranked eighth in its total effects on craftspersons' *"success"*, but one must not overlook the fact that attitude is not a variable that can be easily quantified.

It is also useful to examine craftspersons' attitudes and their influence on *"success."* I can start by analysing occupational aspirations and seeking basic information regarding attitudes towards the following: (a) the type of off-farm activities that attract these respondents, and (b) the extent to which they are willing to sacrifice their traditional economic activity and adopt CHP. From this information, I can identify the extent of craftspersons' need-achievement, which is a principal motivation for seeking changes.

Of the total respondents, 78.4 per cent consider agricultural activities, particularly cash crops, as the most important source of livelihood. Their heavy reliance on cash agriculture is understandable considering that all the surveyed longhouses are involved in different types of cash agricultural projects, such as the Cocoa Subsidy Scheme and Pepper Replanting Schemes. After cash agriculture, paddy farming is the next important source of livelihood for the Iban in the research longhouses. The importance of rice agriculture is not only because of its contribution as the main food source, but also its role in Iban culture. According to Sutlive (1972), the traditional Iban equate their *"success"* with plentiful harvests and *Petara's* blessings. From what I observed, the majority of the Iban no longer defined success as such, instead they tended to redefine it according to economic achievement in terms of shares (particularly in ASN, ASB and ASSAR), total income, or consumer durables. Though the Iban have redefined *"success"*, paddy continues to plays an important role in the economic life of the rural Iban. To them, paddy is an important asset which is sold when there is a need for quick cash. In my opinion, rural Iban economic needs can no longer be fulfilled by the unstable income from cash crops. The high cost of living also necessitates them earning higher income to compensate for the declining value of money. Involvement in CHP is one way through which the rural Iban can earn supplementary income to fulfil some of these needs.

Besides skill, craftspersons' experience in CHP (EXPERIENCE) has a direct influence on their attitude (ATTITUDE), as reflected by a positive path coefficient (P_{75}=0.198). The longer the craftspersons are involved in CHP, the more positive is their attitude towards such involvement. Those who have a positive attitude towards CHP should have facilitated success. As I expected, craftspersons who have a positive attitude towards CHP are more successful than those who perceive otherwise. To them, CHP provides a secure source of income and an opportunity to achieve economic success. CHP may not

guarantee the rural Iban new riches, but it provides them with sufficient incentives to earn profit, and allocate more time and resources to such activity.

The accessibility of the craftspersons' to support (SUPPORT) and their participation in government handicraft projects (PROHANDI) is expected to determine the salience of CHP as a viable economic activity. The support the craftspersons receive as participants in the project would make it more realistic for them to invest their time and effort in CHP. Craftspersons who participated in the government's project are expected to succeed compared to non-participants. The finding in this study, however, does not confirm this expectation. The regression results (**Table 6-3**) show that participation in government handicraft projects (PROHANDI) and the support they receive (SUPPORT) do not have any significant influence on their *"success."* Statistically there is no significant link between these variables. However, a closer examination of the research communities reveals that the presence of outside support has an important role to play in influencing craftspersons' *"success."* In my opinion, the support received by craftspersons in *Rumah Al* from the *towkay* is one of the important factors in their economic success. But casual discussions with the craftspersons, particularly the elderly, revealed a highly-charged atmosphere of distrust for "*orang bisness*" (businessperson). One can trace this negative attitude towards commercial activities to the Iban perception of the Chinese and their involvement in business. The general feeling is that the Chinese businesspersons are always out to earn profit through trickery, such as cheating on weights and measures. Besides, the Iban tend to be pessimistic about the prospect of competing with other races and gaining customers who are willing to buy their products. Years of involvement in commercial activities have taught the craftspersons some important lessons that have shaped their attitudes about commercial activities. Berinti's case illustrates the influence of experience on attitudes and business practices.

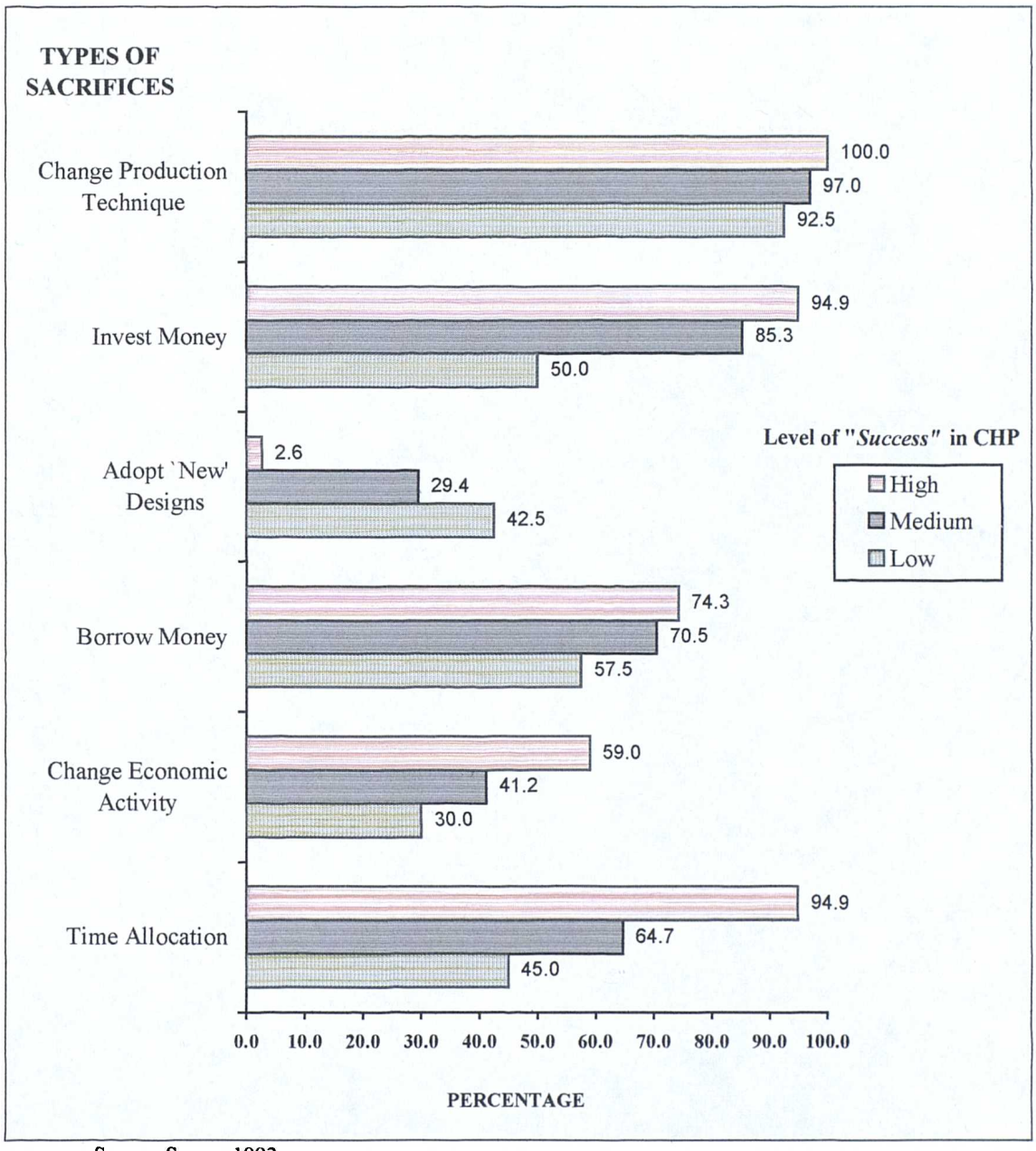
> Berinti had been selling handicrafts for six years and throughout these years, she learnt some valuable business techniques from the Chinese *towkay* with whom she *beragihs*. She learnt to compete for retail outlets by offering customers' terms which are designed to regularise relationships. She also learnt to earn profits by selling on credit terms. Her years of experience also taught Berinti to avoid carrying out certain kinds of business dealings with close kin, friends and neighbours. Berinti caused a cooling of relations with a friend when her friend later found out that Berinti had overcharged her for a *pua*.

Through her experience, Berinti learnt to earn profit without straining her relationships with friends and relatives by downplaying her profits. She does this by claiming that profits only provide "*duit belanja*" (pocket money) for her family. When dealing with friends and relatives, she will allow them to set the price and pay the sum which is appropriate for her time and effort. Her years of experience in selling handicrafts have taught her to balance between her economic need for profit and her social need for close relationships with relatives and friends.

Another important attitudinal factor relates to craftspersons' willingness to make certain sacrifices in order to be involved in CHP. The results show that craftspersons who are willing to do so are more likely to succeed compared to those who are unwilling. Their willingness is directly influenced by their attitude towards CHP, the presence of a government-sponsored handicraft project in the longhouse and the problems faced by the craftspersons. These three factors shaped the types of sacrifices the craftspersons are willing to make. The majority of them are only willing to make "*safe sacrifices*" such as adopting "*new*" production techniques and allocating more time to CHP shows the types of sacrifices the craftspersons are willing to make in order to succeed in CHP. Generally, there are six types of sacrifices; the willingness to change production techniques, invest more money, adopt "*new*" designs, borrow money, change their economic activity and allocate more time to CHP. The survey results show that there is a positive relationship between craftspersons' willingness to make certain sacrifices (for example, change their production techniques, invest and borrow money, change economic activity, and allocate more time) and their ability to succeed. The results show that there is a high level of

willingness to change production techniques among the craftspersons. More than 90.0 per cent of craftspersons (100 per cent of successful craftspersons, 97.0 of medium successful and 92.5 per cent of less successful craftspersons) are willing to make this sacrifice.

Figure 6-3: Types Of Sacrifices Craftspersons are Willing to Make In Order to Take Up CHP (Percentage)



Source: Survey 1993

The study shows that the successful craftspersons are the ones who are flexible and willing to adapt or change their production techniques. In order to penetrate the market, the craftspersons must be able to modernise and produce *"new"* handicrafts. To do so, the craftspersons must also be willing to adapt to new designs, use new raw materials and establish new production relations. Though the majority of the highly successful craftspersons are willing to sacrifice their techniques of production, only a few (2.6 per cent) are willing to sacrifice traditional Iban designs in place of modern ones. In contrast, 42.5 per cent of the less successful craftspersons claimed they are willing to make these sacrifices. The willingness to sacrifice traditional designs among the less successful craftspersons is understandable when it is remembered that the majority of them are young and unskilled. As such they are willing to adopt new designs and produce *"new"* crafts in order to earn at least some profit from crafts. They realised they could not compete with the skilled craftspersons whose crafts are generally of higher quality and earn higher profits. Though their crafts may be relatively of lower quality, they could earn at least as high a profit since *"new"* crafts could be produced much more quickly. Traditionally-designed handicrafts may fetch better prices, but they have a limited market.

This study also shows that the majority of successful craftspersons are from *Rumah Al*. They have yet to feel the force of competition because they can sell their crafts at the going market price to the *towkay*. In the future, however, there will be a certain amount of competition, particularly from the cheaper mass produced crafts. With the increasing diversity of demand for crafts (Graburn 1975; Joseph 1987) the Iban craftspersons may have to introduce new designs and patterns to be competitive. Some craftspersons are aware of what the market and customers tastes are like. One carver expressed his lack of faith in the buyer's taste, maintaining that the primary concern of the buyers is to buy the cheapest items they can get, regardless of the time and effort put into them. That these crafts are being bought indicates that there is a market for *"new"* crafts.

What is the implication of this result? It appears to me that any future attempt at encouraging the rural Iban to produce *"new"* crafts may receive differential response. The less successful craftspersons, who are mostly young and unskilled, are more likely to produce *"new"* crafts compared to the elderly and skilled ones. The results are also crucial to the continuation of Iban crafts. For some craftspersons, the use of a different medium and the introduction of new designs is the only way they can continue their trade. It is reasonable to think that CHP can provide income and regenerate interest in Iban crafts.

Besides willingness to sacrifice traditional techniques and designs, **Figure 6-3** shows that the craftspersons are also willing to sacrifice more time and money on CHP. Ninety-five per cent of successful craftspersons, and 50.0 per cent of less successful ones, claim they are willing to invest more money in craft production. However, a smaller percentage (74.3 per cent, 70.3 per cent, and 57.5 per cent highly successful, medium successful, and less successful craftspersons respectively) are willing to borrow money in order to succeed in CHP. There is also a low level of willingness to change their present economic activity and allocate more time to craft production in order to succeed commercially. This result confirms that the Iban are only willing to make *"safe"* sacrifices; ones which do not necessitate dramatic changes to their economic activities and financial status.

The extent to which the craftspersons are willing to sacrifice their tradition, time and money is influenced by three factors, namely their involvement in a government-sponsored handicraft project, their attitude, and the problems they face. The relatively high level of willingness to make certain sacrifices among *bilik*-families who are involved in government-sponsored handicraft projects is due to the support they receive from the government. The presence of support reduces the problems faced by the craftspersons and helps develop their sense of economic security. In contrast, those who face huge difficulties

in CHP are less likely to sacrifice their time, money and resources for fear that their sacrifices will not be fairly rewarded.

It seems to me that the craftspersons' willingness to make certain sacrifices in relation to CHP is largely shaped by craftspersons' age, the problems the craftspersons face, their attitude towards CHP, and the presence of outside forces (such as the government and Chinese traders). What these statistics do not show, is the effect of government support on craftspersons' attitudes. Like many rural *Bumiputera* communities in Malaysia, the Iban tend to rely heavily on the government, giving rise to what is commonly termed in Malaysia as the "*sindrom subsidi*" (subsidy syndrome). Many craftspersons, (particularly government project participants) succeed because they develop behind the safety of their favoured *Bumiputera* status and government's support. Some of them are willing to make certain sacrifices, because they assume that the government will always assist them.

In this study, I find that age is neither a predictor of nor is it significantly correlated with craftspersons' *"success."* The correlation of age (AGE) with success (SUCCESS) is positive but statistically insignificant for all craftspersons, except those with *"medium success"* (**Table 6-4**). One can interpret from the data that craftspersons' age does not have a significant influence on their *"success"*; craftspersons can succeed regardless of their age. Although craftspersons' age is not statistically significant in determining their *"success"*, it has some influence on their skill development and experience. Older craftspersons are more likely to be skilled and have more work experience compared to younger ones which provides them with the competitive edge. However, the majority of the elderly craftspersons are uneducated and had less commercial experience than the younger craftspersons.

In this study, I have also attempted to analyse the effects of craftspersons' entrepreneurial skill (ENTREP) on their success. The regression results (**Table 6-3**) show that the variable ENTREP, when combined with other variables, does not have a significant influence on the dependent variable, SUCCESS; craftspersons' entrepreneurial qualities do not have a significant influence on their *"success."* Part of the reason for such a result is that the CPs have an almost similar level of entrepreneurship. This result must be considered in the light of the difficulties involved in measuring entrepreneurship which led to an operationalisation in the research that does not tap all the relevant dimensions of the interrelationships. The findings have masked features which are truly personal to the craftspersons and unquantifiable, such as their *"real"* ability to take risk, sacrifice, innovate and identify new opportunities. The later qualitative analysis will try to explain the effects of these factors.

Entrepreneurship (ENTREP), though important in the economic *"success"* of many businesspersons, is ranked fourth in term of its causal influence on craftspersons' economic *"success."* It influences *"success"* through the problems faced by the craftspersons. The path diagram in **Figure 6-2** shows a negative relationship (P_{98}=-0.573) between entrepreneurship and the problems faced by the craftspersons. This suggests that craftspersons with high entrepreneurial skills have less problems and they are more likely to succeed. These craftspersons are more likely to succeed because of their innovative behaviour and willingness to take risks. I recognise that innovation is not easy to measure with a simple operational indicator. However, for discussion purposes, I consider a person as being innovative if s(he) has departed from established practices. By these criteria, craftspersons who reorganised traditional *pua* production into producing *pua*-based products (such as handbags, purses, wall hangers) are being innovative. The weaving of *pua* using improvised PVC pipes as opposed to the previously used hand-carved *belia* and *sengkabil,* was also innovative. It appears to me that the economic *"success"* of

craftspersons in *Rumah A1* is due to their willingness to depart from the established practice of selling handicrafts directly to traders and tourists. They became successful after the *beragih* with the Chinese *towkay.* At the same time, not all innovative craftspersons are successful. For example, some craftspersons in *Rumah U1* departed from their usual practice of selling handicrafts to Chinese traders in Kapit, and started to rely on tourists who came to visit their longhouses. Later they realised that income from selling handicrafts to tourists may be high, but it is irregular and highly dependent on tourist visits. I also found that not all successful craftspersons are innovative. For example, one successful craftsperson had been selling handicrafts to the same *towkay* for the last five years and made known that she would not use other marketing channels. It appears to me that significant original innovation among the craftspersons in the research area has yet to occur. However, I do recognise that some craftspersons have made successful adaptations of a practice observed elsewhere. For example, one carver learnt from his neighbours to use shoe polish to give a glossy image to his carvings. Another carver learn to use templates to trace designs onto his *terabai*, a technique he learnt from watching a television documentary of kite-making and wood-carving in Kelantan.

I recognise that a purely quantitative analysis has a series of limitations, brought about by the sample, operationalisation of the variables, and the assumptions it requires. In the following section I will discuss the influence of other factors, (which are not included in the multivariate analysis) on craftspersons' *"success"*, such as product demand, marketing networks, availability of opportunities, and innovation. My analysis will be based on my observations and discussions with key respondents.

6.3.5 *Demand for Handicrafts*

The absence of formal records on handicrafts makes it impossible for me to calculate the exact demand for them. However, based on my interview with a State government officer[10] I found that there had been an increase in the number of commercially-oriented craftspersons in the Kapit area in the last ten years - probably due to an increase in the demand for handicrafts or Iban response to the changing physical environment. Using the records provided by craftspersons in *Rumah A1*, I am able to draw some general conclusions regarding the demand for handicrafts. The records show that the craftspersons in *Rumah A1* were able to increase their handicraft sales every year. In 1986, they only sold RM28,000 worth of handicrafts and by 1992 they had crafts to a value of RM86,000. The craftspersons in *Rumah A1*, may be an exception because they have a ready market for their handicrafts; nevertheless, their records indicated that there is a demand for Iban handicrafts. Craftspersons from other longhouses claimed that there is a seasonal fluctuation in demand. The demand from local tourists is usually high during school holidays; for foreign tourists, the demand is usually high between June and September, with the highest being in June and August because of the *Gawai Dayak* festival and the *Hari Kebangsaan* (National Day) celebrations. At other times, the demand is relatively lower. The demand for handicrafts and the prices paid for these products have certainly contributed to the economic *"success"* of some CPs.

6.3.6 *Marketing Network and Economic Relationships*

The marketing of handicrafts is characterised by a trading network and credit relationship between long-distance traders in the major towns and the craftspersons in the longhouse. The commercial *"success"* of craftspersons in *Rumah A1* is certainly due to their accessibility to the wider market and their relationships with a Chinese *towkay*. Of all CPs interviewed, I consider the craftspersons from *Rumah A1* as one of the most successful.

[10] Interview with the Assistant District Officer (ADO) on 27/7/1993.

Their *"success"* has a lot to do with their close economic relationship with *towkay* Lim who is a very successful fashion-designer and handicraft dealer in Kuching. Here I shall discuss the Iban-*towkay* relationship to highlight its importance in the economic success of Iban craftspersons.

The *"success"* of craftspersons in *Rumah Al*, highlights the importance of establishing a business network with the Chinese *towkays*. These craftspersons also succeed because they are without competition from other craftspersons. Craftspersons from other longhouses are less fortunate because they have to compete among themselves for the limited market in Kapit. An ominous sign was the growing connection between the government officials, the politically well-connected *towkay* and the rural craftspersons. There is evidence that government officials are turning their public position to private economic gain, as in the case of Mrs. Chong.

As a product-sharing system, the *beragih* relationship can lead to craftspersons' dependency on the *towkay*. Even the literature on credit (Cook 1982; Littlefield 1979) saw the extension of credit as a symptom of merchant control and the craftspersons earning *"inferior wages"* (Cook 1982:390) as "*wage-workers for the entrepreneur*" (Littlefield 1979:476). As I have discussed earlier, the *beragih* relationship should not be interpreted merely as a form of Chinese *towkay* exploitation of the rural Iban. In the *beragih* relationship, credit and debt relations between the *towkay* and the craftspersons are vital in sustaining their economic survival. Both gain from the *beragih* relationship that is forged by credit, but they are equally susceptible to risk - the *towkay* risk losing the raw materials and cash advanced, while the craftspersons are forced to sell their crafts to the *towkay* at low prices. To the craftspersons, the advances received was not only to cover their production cost but also a way through which they can develop an on-going commercial relationship with the *towkay* who can provide the economic security in return for a regular supply of crafts.

6.3.7 *Infrastructure Development and Presence of Opportunities*

Infrastructure development can either have a positive or negative influence on craftspersons' *"success."* In the case of craftspersons from *Rumah A1*, their remote location and the absence of a good transportation network makes them an ideal candidate for the *beragih* system with the *towkay*. To craftspersons in other longhouses, it is the presence of a good transportation network that enables them to sell their products and survive in their commercial activities. This is best illustrated by the craftspersons in *Rumah J1*, located only fifteen minutes away by road from Kapit town. The longhouse is served by *jalai kompeni balak* (trunk road used and developed by logging companies) to Kapit. The majority of the *bilik*-families in this longhouse rely on income earned from cash crops and waged employment. According to one craftsperson, the idea of selling handicrafts 'seriously' was first mooted by the *tuai rumah*. However, it was only after the completion of the trunk road linking the longhouse to Kapit that the craftspersons became actively involved in CHP. Being near to Kapit, the longhouse community has a wider access to the handicraft market. With lower transportation costs, they are able to sell handicrafts to the tourists and *towkays* at a competitive price. They also have the advantage in terms of easier access to government institutions, which are all located in Kapit. According to the *tuai rumah*, their close proximity to Kapit makes it easier for craftspersons from his longhouse to seek advice and assistance from government departments.

The development of the road and its close proximity to Kapit, also makes *Rumah J1* a popular destination for day-tourist. Since 1990, *Rumah J1* has had an increase in its number of visitors, and this is partly due to its inclusion in a tour-agency's longhouse day trip. The tour-agency often encourages its clients to buy handicraft items from the longhouse communities. The business deal to include the longhouse in the tour-agency's day trip was initiated by a member of the longhouse, who is clerk in a government department and works informally as a tourist-guide for the agency. The tour operators paid

the *tuai rumah* and the longhouse community some *komesen* (commission) for their *"hospitality."*

Many of the craftspersons in *Rumah J1* are the elderly, who produce handicrafts as a part-time activity. Though many weavers can weave traditional *pua engkudu*, the limited demand for these expensive *pua* from the longhouse visitors, forced the skilled weavers to produce the less expensive *pua selop*. The craftspersons also produce *"new"* products such as handbags, purse, wall hangings and souvenir items from *pua*. They also make necessary adaptations to the size and colour of the products to make them more marketable. As a group, the craftspersons in *Rumah J1* do not have a production relationship with any Chinese *towkays*. The *towkays* with whom they interact are the general traders through whom they buy their raw materials from the same handicraft dealers to whom they sell their handicrafts. Their relationship with the Chinese general traders is the typical Iban-Chinese *towkay* relationship in rural Sarawak and does not extend beyond the symbiotic relationship as described by Fidler (1978). Though these craftspersons do not *beragih* with a Chinese *towkay*, individual *bilik*-families do practise this Iban tradition of *beragih* with individuals, such as Iban teachers and government officers from Kapit.

The studies provide some idea of the factors promoting *"success"* among the craftspersons in the research longhouses and the presence of business relations between the Iban, the *towkays* and the government administrators. The case studies highlight the important role of the Chinese *towkays* in the economic *"success"* (or lack of it) of the craftspersons in the research longhouses. The close relationship between the *towkay* and the craftspersons, as presented, can only be developed if they are co-dependent and rely on each other for economic survival as in the case of craftspersons in *Rumah A1*. Such a close relationship has failed to develop in *Rumah J1*, because of their market accessibility. Unlike craftspersons in *Rumah A1*, the craftspersons in *Rumah J1* have wider access to the

market and better income-earning opportunities because of their close proximity to Kapit. They do not rely on income from selling handicrafts for their economic survival.

6.3.8 *Production Flexibility*

CHP is a *bilik*-family activity that relies on family resources. Though production is less structured, there is some evidence of a division of labour. The searching and the processing of raw materials were mostly done by the unskilled craftspersons and the children, leaving the final stages of weaving or carving to the more skilled craftspersons. Family members are involved in different stages of handicraft production. The use of family labour can reduce the burden of capital costs. The informal structure of production enables skills and new techniques to be obtained quite easily without having to go through the highly bureaucratic process of interviews, as practised in the formal structure (such as factory-type production).

The Iban produce handicrafts on a part-time basis, which allows them greater flexibility in adapting to their needs or the changing market conditions. The craftspersons have the flexibility to change the raw materials they use or the quantity of handicrafts they produce when prices change. The flexibility also allows the craftspersons to combine handicraft production with other economic activities. Besides, the craftspersons can rely on their own expertise and knowledge to produce the handicrafts. Their techniques of production may be traditional, but it is appropriate for the rural craftspersons. They do not have to depend on *"outsiders"* to teach or supervise them in all aspects of production. Furthermore, the Iban craftspersons use a technology based on local products that does not displace labour or have an adverse effect on the physical environment, as in the case of large-scale factory production.

Many Iban *bilik*-families improved their financial position after taking up CHP. They are considered well-to-do in their communities. With few exceptions, the general reactions of the other Iban to successful *bilik*-families has been satisfactory. Perhaps, the old Iban tradition of trading *pua* and metal work (Chew 1990; Fidler 1978; Freeman 1970;) had made their involvement and success in CHP more *"socially acceptable"* than other businesses.

6.4 Summary

Based on the logistic analysis, I have identified twelve factors[11] as the main determinants of rural Iban involvement in CHP. Of the selected twelve factors, craftspersons time commitment towards CHP, *bilik*-families' economic status and the problems they face appear to be the best predictor[12] of their *"success"* in CHP. Other factors, such as craftpersons willingness to make certain sacrifices, their experience in CHP, and attitude towards CHP also appear to be important but their influences are statistically insignificant. The craftsperson' age and skill, their involvement in CHP, the number of family members on *bejalai*, the availability of support, and their involvement in government-sponsored handicraft projects are also related to their *"success."* However, when they are analysed together with the other variables, their effects are statistically insignificant.

The results of the path analysis suggest that physical and non-physical factors combine and affect craftspersons' economic performance. The study shows that successful craftspersons are mostly those who receive outside support (particularly from the *towkay*). In terms of entrepreneurship, there is evidence suggesting the craftspersons have some entrepreneurial qualities such as innovativeness and risk-taking attitudes. The results also show that there is demand for Iban crafts, but the craftspersons need to adapt to changing

[11] The factors are, craftspersons' age, the presence of family members on *bejalai*, the number of family members with employment, *bilik-family's* economic status, the value of non-craft income, *bilik*-family's experience in CHP, the extent of marketing and design problems, development conditions and craftspersons' attitudes towards risk and CHP.

[12] Statistically significant at 99.0 per cent confidence level.

consumer demands. Many of the Iban craftspersons have succeeded and achieved economic *"success."* However, there are others who have yet to take up CHP or have not been able to develop beyond their initial involvement. In Chapter Seven I shall identify some of the factors which prevented the Iban from taking up or achieving economic *"success"* in CHP.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONSTRAINTS AND POTENTIAL TO RURAL IBAN INVOLVEMENT AND *"SUCCESS"* IN CHP

7. Introduction

From the previous chapter we have learnt that the Iban do have the ability to succeed in CHP. While we know the factors that explain their success, it is also important to consider why some Iban to have had limited success or were even prevented from producing crafts commercially. The analysis of the problems confronting CPs and NCPs have a bearing on CHP's potential for economic and social development. Moreover, it is important to issues relating to Iban involvement and economic survival in CHP; what kinds of problems do the craftspersons face? Can the Iban craftspersons sell their products and produce the various products demanded in alternative markets? Do the Iban have the requisite production and commercial skills to produce crafts? The analysis presented in this chapter hopes to shed some light on the craftspersons' ability to innovate and bear risks, and identifies the constraints which impede them from entering into, surviving in and developing a successful economic activity.

I begin my analysis by discussing the problems with which the craftspersons have to contend. The problems discussed here relate to both the physical and non-physical aspects, such as marketing, finance and credit, raw materials, skill, entrepreneurship and attitudes. I have included the NCPs in my analysis to discover the general problems faced by the CPs or perceived by the NCPs in the research area. Having discussed the problems, I will then attempt to examine the future potential for CHP among the rural Iban in the research area.

7.1 Barriers to Iban Involvement In CHP

The results of my study show that Iban craftspersons face physical (market, raw materials, capital) and non-physical (attitudinal, cultural) problems which prevent them from initiating CHP, while other problems arise later to prevent them from surviving in and making a success of CHP.

7.1.1 Marketing and Sales

There are two categories of market constraints confronting rural craftspersons - demand and supply. Generally, the demand constraints are related to the restrictions on the size and pattern of the market including factors that account for the lack of or a fall in the demand for handicrafts. The supply constraints are related to restrictions on the market for inputs.

The Iban craftspersons attributed their marketing problems to several factors such as "*ignorance*", "*lack of exposure and assistance*", "*limited market*", "*non-availability of credit*", and "*price instability.*" The majority (73.3 per cent of CPs and 90.1 per cent of NCPs) ascribed their marketing problems to "*market unavailability.*" A closer examination of the market for handicrafts reveals that the problem is not so much one of unavailability but rather inaccessibility to a well functioning market. This prevented many Iban craftspersons from initiating CHP. There is no question that there is a market for handicrafts, but it is dispersed and there are difficulties of transportation, as well as a lack of business networks. A dispersed market may broaden the marketing sphere for handicrafts, but it also increases the costs of transportation. A basket and *pua*-weaver from *Rumah M1* put this point clearly,

> I cannot rely on the *orang putih* (Europeans) to buy my *pua*. I don't know when they come. When they come, everybody wants to sell their *pua* to them. Why? Because we can sell our *pua* at a higher price. They seldom bargain. *Orang putih* have lots of money. I have no choice but to sell my *pua* to the *towkay* in Kapit. He always buys my *pua*, but he pays very low prices. Sometimes it is not worth it. I have to go down to Kapit. The cost of petrol for the boat is getting expensive everyday....I want to sell my *pua* in Sibu or other places, but then I have to use the express boat. The ticket is not cheap. A one way trip to Sibu costs me fifteen to twenty *ringgit*. I cannot even think of selling my *pua* to Kuching.

To many rural craftspersons, the idea of selling their products beyond Kapit is remote. It is not only because of the distance but also their unfamiliarity with new places and people. Many craftspersons are unwilling to sell their handicrafts in places beyond Kapit because the economic benefits are often insufficient to cover the costs involved. Rather than exploring and taking a high risk, the craftspersons prefer to sell their products in the comfort of more familiar surroundings where the market may be limited, but the risk is relatively low. Furthermore, the high transportation costs make it uneconomic for the craftspersons to make a special trip just to sell their crafts. Usually, the craftspersons sell their handicrafts to the shopkeepers during their monthly *berbelanja* (spending) trip to Kapit. In my opinion, some craftspersons are classic examples of risk-averse individuals who try to profit from the *"spillover"* effect of other people's experience. Their common economic institution here is: wait until your neighbours strike profits, then take up CHP. In so doing, the neighbours, having successfully borne the risks of experimenting with new economic activities, give one a free ride.

I observed that foreign tourists are the most favoured by the craftspersons because they can be charged higher prices. However, tourist visits to the research longhouses are infrequent making them less reliable but prized customers. Although the craftspersons can earn higher profits from the tourists the prices are uncompetitive from the *towkay's* viewpoint compared to those found in the shops and tour agencies in the town. The higher their prices the less likely it is that the tourists will buy from the craftspersons.

The next common problem confronting the craftspersons is related to *"price instability"* and its effects on profits and income. Sixteen per cent of all respondents attributed their marketing problem to the rising prices of inputs.

> To produce a 3 feet by 6 feet *pua*, Nancy, a *pua*-weaver uses an average of RM12.00 worth of *ubong enjin* (cotton thread), RM10.00 worth of *ubong paut* (cotton thread), three tins of black dye at RM2.80 to RM3.00 each, and four tins of red dye at RM2.80 to RM3.00 each, two rolls of *tali ikat* (strings) and three candles worth RM3.00. In 1990, a tin of chemical dye cost RM2.00 but by 1993 it had risen to RM2.80.

To produce this *pua,* Nancy had to spend three weeks. Nancy and a few other weavers complained that they are unable to cover the costs of production. They are concerned about price instability because it is seen as a constraint on profits and income. Nancy is lucky enough if she can even sell her *pua* for RM100.00 to a Chinese shopkeeper in Kapit. From her experience, the shopkeeper is only willing to pay RM50.00 and that is after much haggling. In the worst situation, she can only sell her *pua* for RM30.00.

The problem arises because of the limited market and absence of price controls. Except for craftspersons in *Rumah Al,* the remainder have little choice but to do business with traders in Kapit or nearby towns. Since there are a few handicraft shops in Kapit town, the craftspersons are bound to face difficulties selling their products at competitive prices and many asserted that the traders paid low prices for their handicrafts, and these prices usually decreased near festive seasons or at the end of the year when supply exceeds demand. Although prices of handicrafts paid by the tourists and local individuals are higher compared to those of the Chinese traders, the infrequency of tourist visits and the craftspersons' immediate need for cash often forced them to accept low prices. It is for this reason that the craftspersons prefer to *beragih.* However, the possibility of craftspersons finding *towkays* with whom they can *beragih* is remote. They either have to bear the high costs of production or seek cheaper substitutes.

In the past, there were fewer people selling handicrafts, and therefore less market competition. The realisation that there are some economic benefits from selling handicrafts, and the availability of government assistance, have resulted in an increase in the number of commercial producers (Sarawak Second Tourism Masterplan 1993). Handicraft production is no longer confined to the Iban longhouse. Even the unemployed wives of Iban government officers in Kapit town are producing and selling handicrafts. Unlike the craftspersons who sell their products to tourists and visitors to their longhouses, these women only sell their products to the three Chinese handicraft traders in Kapit. Those

whom I had casual discussions with claimed that they sell handicrafts to earn *duit belanja anak sekula* (pocket money for their school-age children) indicating that income from sales of handicrafts is a form of supplementary income for housewives.

Iban craftspersons also have to compete with craftspersons from other ethnic communities. The Iban carvers realised that they had to face serious competition from the Bidayuh and Orang Ulu, who produce a variety of high quality bamboo and wood crafts. According to the traders in Kapit and nearby Belaga, there is more demand for Orang Ulu carvings than those of the Iban. The Iban weavers also face serious competition from ethnic groups, particularly the Malays, Orang Ulu, Melanaus and Bidayuh. In the Kapit area, the basket and mat weavers face stiff competition from the Penan and the Ukit, whose rattan mats and baskets are much sought-after. The Penan *ajat* and *serut*[1] (baskets) are made of finely split rattan and are among the more popular tourist items because of their relatively smaller size and intricate designs, compared to the Iban *uyut*-baskets. The Iban *bidai*-mats are used mostly in the longhouses and are not sold in the market like the *tikar lampit* (rattan mats) produced by the Penan, Kayan and Kenyah. The hard-wearing *tikar lampit* are in much local rather than tourist demand because they are bulky.

The *pua* is distinctively Iban, but as a commercial product it faces competition from other woven textiles, particularly the Malay *kain songket* and *selayah.* Like *pua*, the *songket* has been used to produce commercial items such as ladies purses, coin bags, handbags, and file covers, and as such they compete for the limited market. As I have discussed in Chapter Four, the Iban *pua* is less known in the national market. According to a study by PNBCD (1994), *pua* and other ethnic crafts from the eastern states of Sarawak and Sabah are sold in very limited outlets in Peninsular Malaysia, indicating the difficulty in penetrating the national market.

---

[1] The *ajat* is an elastic cylindrical carrying baskets with two shoulder straps. The *serut* is a diagonal interlaced basket with either a coiled or wrapped base.

In Malaysia, competition from cheap and better quality handicrafts from Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines is also becoming a serious problem. In the Kapit area, illegal Indonesian traders cross the Sarawak-Kalimantan border on foot to trade. Besides the two major items, namely *batik sarong* (*batik* cloth) and *kretek* cigarettes, the Indonesian traders also sell crafts such as carved figurines and woven textiles to the Iban longhouse communities and the Chinese traders in Kapit. Although the Indonesian handicrafts cannot be sold openly in Kapit due to strict government regulations, the Chinese traders are known to buy from the Indonesian traders, because of lower prices and superior quality. I was told by some craftspersons that the Chinese traders even sell Indonesian handicrafts to unwary tourists or local buyers who are in search of discount products. Clearly, the craftspersons in Kapit face competition not only from other ethnic groups but also from cheaper products from Kalimantan.

The problem of competition is further complicated by the presence of a protected market niche for handicrafts. From the opinion of "*successful*" craftspersons, it is clear that they are unable to penetrate the more lucrative markets because they are "*controlled by Chinese towkays and government agencies.*" This sentiment was echoed by an elderly basket and *pua* weaver:

> I am sad. We Iban can produce good *pua*, but we simply have to rely on the Chinese *towkay* to sell our products. The Chinese don't even know how to weave a simple *pua* or basket, yet they can earn so much money from selling our *pua*, our baskets and mats. We Iban can never become rich from selling handicrafts. We are not like the Chinese or the government; they control everything. We can only sell our products to the *orang putih* and visitors to our longhouse. How can we dream of even selling our *pua*, baskets and mats to *negeri orang putih* (western countries) or *negeri Jepun* (Japan) as advised by *menteri* (government minister). It is easy for *menteri* to say we are not taking the opportunities. Tell me how many of us in this longhouse can even sell our *pua* to Kuching? Even selling our *pua* in Kapit is difficult enough.

The majority of the craftspersons realised that there is potential in the selling of handicrafts and wanted to commercialise production. However, their ability to sell their products and penetrate the protected markets (such as the lucrative export market) is very

limited. Given their limited social and business networks, the rural craftspersons are often unable to compete with the more established Chinese traders or government agencies such as SEDC and MHDC.

Some Iban craftspersons were prevented from surviving and developing into successful CPs because they do not have the requisite commercial skills. In my previous chapter, I mentioned that some of them succeeded because of antecedent entrepreneurial qualities. While the Iban may have these qualities, not all are able to apply them to achieve success. Those who faced marketing difficulties admitted that they are unable to apply their previous experience in selling cash crops, forest products, and riverine fish in CHP. Unlike cash crops or forest products, the selling of handicrafts must take into consideration product design, size, colour, packaging, presentation and prices. A combination of these factors requires that the craftspersons must have some basic knowledge of marketing in order to penetrate, survive and develop in the more lucrative markets. Craftspersons' marketing knowledge and techniques may be sufficient for selling (as opposed to marketing) at the local level, however, without improvement to such knowledge and skills, I doubt they can survive or penetrate the national, let alone the international market.

One aspect which I consider important for the survival and future development of the craftspersons is their knowledge of pricing. Pricing is the basic element in any commercial activities, and failure to price a product properly is bound to affect sales and profits. The following example of Jenderai (a basket and mat weaver) provides us with some insight into the pricing methods commonly used by the craftspersons. According to Jenderai,

> Since I use *bemban* from the forest, I don't have to worry about how much people should pay for our mats and baskets. I always ask them to give me a good price. If I think the price is reasonable for our effort, I will first try to ask them to increase, if not, I am happy. But selling *tikai berbuah* (patterned mats) is more difficult. I will see how much our neighbours are selling for the same-sized mat, and we will agree to sell at similar prices. Sometimes, I have to break our promise, and sell at a lower

> price, especially when the buyer can really bargain. I usually can sell at a higher price to *orang putih* or *temuai* (visitors), but it is difficult to sell for the same price to the *towkay* in Kapit. The best time to sell *pua* is during the *gawai* festival, when many *orang putih* come to visit and join us in the *gawai* celebration.

Jenderai, like other craftspersons is more concerned about selling her products than gaining economic benefits from such sales. I noticed that the pursuit of maximum profit is of secondary importance. To the craftspersons, a sale always means profit, because they seldom calculate the real costs involved in the search, preparation and production of handicrafts. Unlike the formal traders who have a proper pricing structure based on their calculation of the costs of goods sold, demand, prices set by competitors, quality of goods and profit margins, the majority of craftspersons conceptualised their prices in terms of what they considered a "*fair return*" for their effort. As the above example illustrates, the craftspersons often have an agreed price range for their products. They are more concerned about maintaining good relations with each other, and therefore seldom charge prices outside the acceptable price range for fear of "*offending*" fellow craftspersons in the longhouse. A craftsperson who continually undercuts prices and earns profits from such behaviour is bound to become unpopular or may even be ostracised as "*kepapas*" (greedy). From my experience, I found that the craftspersons (particularly the elderly) often "*seek advice*" from fellow craftspersons of the prices they should charge; not that they are unaware of the prices, but implicitly, they are seeking approval for them. Like Sutlive (1972), I observed that, while there is competition, there is also co-operation among the Iban craftspersons in the research longhouses.

The pricing problem is further compounded by the presence of *tawar-menawar* or haggling. Unlike their counterparts in the town, the craftspersons do not have fixed prices for their goods, and as such bargaining is widely practised. According to a tourist guide[2], this practice of haggling can be intimidating, especially to foreign tourists, and often

[2]Interview with an informal tourist guide on 18/8/1993

discourages them from buying directly from the craftspersons. Government officers and extension agents argued that lack of standardisation in prices of crafts reflects the non-existence of price planning or a proper pricing system among rural craftspersons. Such a system may be necessary in a formal business but I am doubtful that the rural CPs will find it useful. In my opinion, the practice of haggling works well for the craftspersons, where sales rather than profits are the objective. Furthermore, most business transactions in the rural areas, such as the selling and buying of *ikan ulu* (riverine fish), forest products, and commercial products are usually conducted through haggling. According to one petty trader, it is the only technique of selling and buying that they know and with which they are familiar.

A government officer attributed craftspersons' low profits to the fact that they charged uncompetitive prices. Based on my market survey, I found that prices of handicrafts sold in craft shops are much more competitive compared to those sold directly by the craftspersons. The crafts sold by craftspersons may be overpriced compared to those sold by the Chinese traders or government agencies, but the price is reasonable if one considers the real costs of the inputs and labour time. The traders and government agencies are able to sell at competitive prices because of their comparative advantage. For example, the agencies can purchase their raw materials at lower costs through bulk purchase. The Chinese traders are able to charge lower prices and maximise their profit because they buy the handicrafts from the producers at a much lower cost.

The extent to which craftspersons can survive and succeed in CHP is also judged by their ability to cope with the market that is continuously changing and full of risk. Crafts for utilitarian purposes (such as baskets, mats) are mostly purchased by consumers within the low-income bracket, who for obvious economic reasons look for lower-priced goods. However, as their level of income rises, people tend to substitute these traditional handicrafts with manufactured products. An examination of the market reveals an increase

in the demand for handicrafts as souvenir items rather than for utilitarian purposes. As income and the number of tourists increase, there is bound to be a decrease in the demand for utilitarian objects. Unless the rural craftspersons make necessary changes (for example in design, motifs, colour, sizes) to their handicrafts to suit the changing trend in demand or they create a market niche for themselves, they are bound to face a decline in the demand for their products. A basket and *pua* weaver recalled the difficulties she had in selling her products:

> It wasn't many years ago we were able to sell five or six *pua* and mats to the *orang putih* in a year. Now, this is no longer possible. There are many *orang putih* who visit our longhouse, but we cannot easily sell even one small *pua* to them anymore. Sometimes we have to persuade them to buy. I think they always buy out of pity. Nowadays, there are so many people selling *pua*. Even the wives of teachers and policemen in Kapit are weaving and selling *pua*, baskets and mats.

It is evident from the above response that some craftspersons have difficulties selling their products. The number of tourists visiting the longhouses may have increased, but not all of them buy handicrafts directly from the craftspersons. A tour guide claimed that tourists often buy items which are small-sized, durable and easy to carry. Except for minor changes in colour and design, most of the types of handicrafts produced and sold by the rural craftspersons still retain their original form, size, and function, making them less attractive to tourists. In contrast, handicrafts sold by Chinese traders and government agencies to tourists have been modified to make them more attractive and marketable. The rural craftspersons can hardly compete with the varieties of handicrafts sold by the traders and government agencies. From my survey of handicrafts sold in the market in Kuching I found that there are no less than fifteen different types of *pua* products, ranging from handbags to folders; sixteen rattan, three *bemban*, twelve *pandan*, and three types of nipah and sago products (**Appendix 8).**

7.1.2 Financial Constraints

Another problem confronting craftspersons is the availability of finance to start and survive in CHP. The survey results show that 76.1 per cent of CPs are burdened with capital problems. Though the amount required by them is relatively small by formal business standards, for a *bilik*-family with an average monthly income of RM350.00, the capital requirement is substantial. The craftspersons in this study are mostly farmers or housewives who produce and sell handicraft as a part-time activity; they do not have a permanent income. They tend to rely on their limited personal financial resources for capital, and therefore have less surplus to spare compared to those who have a permanent income. The difficulty of funding from internal resources obliges them to resort to an element of external finance. Yet 45.4 per cent of total respondents reported that there is no financial assistance for them. Upon closer examination, the problem is not one of lack of financial assistance as claimed by the craftspersons, but one of access to this support.

The problem rural craftspersons encounter in generating capital and gaining access to funds often arises from simple ignorance on their part of the various sources available. This study reveals that 11.8 per cent of total respondents (15.1 per cent of CPs and 7.6 per cent of NCPs) claimed that they are unaware of the availability of financial support and ways of obtaining it. The problem of awareness arises because the majority of rural craftspersons have low formal education and lack of information. Even those with higher education find difficulties securing financial support from formal institutions because the process is lengthy, highly bureaucratic in nature and requires collateral. The craftspersons rarely resort to the banks or government agencies to obtain loans for production purposes, because the amount needed is not considered worth the trouble involved. Siak and her husband recalled their first experience at seeking a loan from a bank:

> I swear, I will not step into a bank and borrow money again. First I have to go to the bank at Kapit which is two hours by boat. They (the bank clerks) told me to come again another time because the "*boss*" who is in charge of borrowing is away for a meeting. I met the officer three weeks later. He is a young Chinese man from Miri. He cannot understand Iban, and I cannot speak English, Chinese or Bahasa Malaysia. So we spoke in "*broken*" Malay (Sarawak Malay dialect). He asked me too many questions. He asked me whether I have ever borrowed before, whether I have ever been to school, whether I have a business license, how much income I have, the amount of our debt, how many children I have, why I need to borrow from the bank, whether I can pay them back, whether I can pay the interest, whether I know any *orang besai* (somebody in high position) who can become our guarantor. Please explain to me why he needs to know all those things. I got angry, then he asked me, how much I need to borrow. I told him, I need to borrow, three hundred *ringgit* to buy some *perengka* (tools and raw materials) for me to produce *pua* and my husband to start our *kedai runcit* (retail shop) in the longhouse. He told me the amount is small, and that I should have borrowed from our relatives. Then he gave me some papers which I had to fill up, get it stamped by the Resident or District Officer, signed by an *orang besai*, and then bring them back to him with other papers, our land titles, bank statement, income slips of our children who worked at the logging camps ... I never returned.

Thus, Siak did not get the RM300.00 she needed to buy silk thread and other expensive raw materials as part of her expansion plans in *pua* production. Neither did her husband manage to get the loan to start his retail shop selling tinned foodstuffs in the longhouse. Siak and many craftspersons like her are always up against considerable odds when they go out looking for funds.

7.1.3 Production

The system of craft production, whether it be the putting-out system, factory manufacture or small-scale production by craftsperson will greatly influence production flexibility, Innovativeness, marketability and the extent of the risk incurred. Handicrafts are valued for their intricate designs, texture, raw materials used and above all workmanship. On the basis of the survey results, I find that the craftspersons face several production problems.

> Keramak, a *pua* weaver for more than sixty years claimed that she has been using the materials and equipment used by generations of Iban women for *pua*-weaving. She does not know of other methods of weaving *pua* other than the one learnt from her mother and grandmother. She still practices the traditional method of hand weaving. She uses a weaving loom or *tumpoh* which consists of a warp beam, breast beam, *karap* (thread heddle and shed stick), *bila* (beater-in), and a *sengkabil* (back-strap). She stretches the warp yarn between bars, one of which she attaches to a fixed point on the *dinding* (walls) or *tiang* (posts); the other she attaches as a cord around her waist. During the process of weaving, she winds the weft yarns inside a shuttle to facilitate the thread moving back and forth across the warp. She holds the weft cotton thread with her *jengkuan* (spool). To enable the shuttle to pass, she raises and lowers the alternate warp by creating an opening through it, using the rods and strings. To prevent the warp threads from getting entangled, she

uses a *lidi* (laze rod). She uses a *karap* to facilitate the raising of alternative warp threads. To complete her weaving she uses a *bila* (beater-in) to facilitate the insertion of the weft thread onto the warp strands and to press the new weft evenly into the web.

The weavers still use the old technique of resist dyeing by applying colours and designs in fabrics before weaving on the yarn. As I have discussed, they control the spread of dyestuffs by binding and knotting to resist the dye. The covered or bound portion remains uncoloured, while the rest absorbs the dye. From this, contrasting patterns are produced. It is through this skilful control of the application of resist that the weavers create their desired pattern, design or motif. The need to find alternative methods is seen by many craftspersons as a way of minimising the problems related to the diminishing supply of natural forest products and therefore the increased time taken in searching for raw materials, the increasing competition from other crafts, and the lack of skilled labour.

The majority of the craftspersons are willing to make use of new production techniques, but are unaware of better alternatives and up-to-date production technologies. Probably this explains why some continue to produce handicrafts using traditional or semi-traditional techniques. Moreover, this is the most appropriate technique known to the Iban; one which they have adapted through the years. The use of traditional techniques in handicraft production continues to persist among the craftspersons, not only because of lack of awareness but also their unwillingness to use alternative methods. To the older weavers, a *pua* is not a *pua* unless it is woven using the *tumpoh, jengkuan, lidi, karap* and *bila*, and natural products such as *engkudu, engkerbai* and *lia amat.* The younger generation of weavers, are more willing to use alternative techniques. This change in technique undoubtedly increases the durability and marketability of the final product, but at the expense of the quality.

A boom in the tourist industry means that the handicraft market is changing. The craftspersons are aware that cheap and mass-produced handicrafts are flooding the market. They are aware that consumers now are much more selective and demanding in the types

and quality of craft items they purchase. Some basket and mat weavers face difficulties selling their products, either because the novelty of such items has worn off, or because competing low-cost manufactured products have edged out their traditional handmade crafts. Fourteen per cent of total craftspersons in the study mentioned that they lack the necessary skills (such as marketing and production) to enable them to commercialise handicrafts and meet the changing demand.

Among the *pua* weavers, the problem is not one of unavailability of raw materials, but one which is production-related. Chendi, like other *pua* weavers, always pays particular attention to the dyeing process. She has long ceased to use traditional dyes because of the difficulties involved in this. According to Chendi:

> In this longhouse, there are only two women who can perform the *ngar*. One of them is very old, and can no longer lead the *ngar*. The other women who can perform the *ngar* is her forty year old adopted daughter. Both of them had led the *ngar* several times. But that was many years ago, before both were converted to Christianity. After becoming Christian, they no longer lead the *ngar* because the daughter fell seriously ill when leading the *ngar*. People say it is because she didn't *bersampi* (pray) to *Petara Iban* (Iban Gods) and didn't use the *pengaroh* (magic charms) any more. Now there is nobody to lead the *ngar*, so we cannot use *cara lama* (traditional methods). Some of us tried to use *cara lama* several times, but our thread *enda mansau* (didn't turn out the right colour). In my opinion, it is better to use *selop pasar* (commercial dye). At least we do not have to rely on anyone to perform the *ngar*. It is quite cheap and we can always go to the *towkay* in Kapit when we need to dye our *ubong*.

Traditional dyeing methods not only require the use of scarce forest products, but also the necessary skill to perform the dyeing ritual - *ngar*. Even if forest products are easily available, the absence of expert weavers and dyers means that the dyeing and weaving of traditional *pua* is no longer possible. Although handicraft production is an important aspect of Iban culture, only a small percentage of the craftspersons (none of the CPs and 1.4 per cent of NCPs) consider tradition as a hindrance to them improving the quality of design. The craftspersons usually try to adapt by producing only designs that are "*permissible*" in Iban culture. Sendi, a 32-year-old *pua* weaver who managed to sell her *pua* to a government agency, puts her point as follows:

> At first people in this longhouse do not want to follow the designs suggested by the government officers. These officers prefer us to weave small sized *pua*, with no *gambar mensia* (human design). The older women cannot understand why we should not weave *mensia* (human beings) or living beings on our *pua*. We want to sell our *pua* to the government. If they don't want designs of *mensia*, then we don't do so. After all we can always weave simple designs such as *paku* (ferns) *tubu* (bamboo shoots). Anyway, we Iban women always weave such designs when we first learn to weave *pua*.

Many of the *"new"* handicrafts sold in the market are modified standardised items and they seldom have intricate designs which are considered *mali* (sacrilegious) to the Iban. By adapting handicraft designs to the needs of the market and tradition, the Iban craftspersons are able to sell their products, while at the same time maintaining respect for their culture. Sendi, and other Iban craftspersons may not have realised that the government agencies are managed by Muslim-Malays, and there is a strong preference for handicrafts and designs to adhere to the Islamic cultural tradition which prohibits the representation of living beings - human or animal. Some Iban craftspersons, particularly the younger generations, are more adaptable and are willing to meet the demands of the market. In line with the demand of government agencies, many more craftspersons are producing and selling handicrafts with coil patterns[3] than those with figurative designs.[4]

An equally important aspect in production is the extent to which the craftspersons can meet both the demand for appropriate tourist items (for example small items at the right price) and traditional handicrafts. The specialised demand for traditional, hand-made, and natural-based handicrafts from collectors require the craftspersons to weave high-quality *pua*, baskets and mats. This brings us back to the question of supply of skilled workers, and the ability to up-grade skill. The numbers of women who have achieved the status of *"indu ngar, indu nakar"* or men who are skilled carvers are rapidly diminishing,

---

[3] They are mostly representing the curvilinear designs of trees, fruits, plants, leaves, tendrils, bamboo shoots and branches.

[4] These are Iban designs of living beings, such as *engkeramba* (representation of human figures), vertebrae animals such as *rusa* (deer) *remaung* (tiger), *burung* (birds), *baya*, (crocodile), *aji* (shrew), *engkarong* (lizard) and *mensia* (human beings).

Many of them have died, taking their knowledge and skill with them, because the younger generations are "*less interested*" or are "*unsuitable*." This factor has a long-term implication for the ability of the craftspersons to weave *pua* using traditional methods.

A majority of the weavers make a distinction in the way *pua* are produced. In order to produce the traditional *pua engkudu*, a majority of the weavers strongly believe that no compromises are to be made in terms of the preparation of the yarn and the weaving, and as such only skilled weavers and dyers are permitted to weave such *pua*. The absence of skilled dyers who can successfully complete the *ngar* hinders the *pua* weavers from making traditional *pua* and meeting the specialised demand for such products. Alternatively, the weavers pay less attention to culture in the production of *pua selop*. Therefore, those who are less skilled or who have not received the approval of *petara* are permitted to weave such *pua*. Even then, many are unwilling to take the risk of weaving potent designs on their *pua selop*, for fear of falling sick.

There are some craftspersons who continue to produce handicrafts using traditional techniques. Inja, a *pua* weaver, changed back to natural dyes as a way of improving and controlling the quality of her product. According to her,

> I am old. I weave as I learned from my mother and grandmother. We used *engkudu* then, because that was the only thing that we knew how to use. Now, I use dylon, because everybody in the longhouse uses it. It is cheap. I can easily buy it from *towkay* Ah Chai at Nanga Merit, and Kapit. But then, our *pua* is not *manah* (good) as compared to our *pua* woven using *engkudu*. The patterns are easily smeared if they are not properly dyed, *ikat* (tied) and dried. A few years ago, some of our *pua selop* (chemical dyed) could not be sold because the patterns are smeared and the colour does not hold. I feel *malu amai* (really shameful) when I look at such *pua*. Now I am more careful. I use *engkudu*, so that the colour holds fast and the patterns are less smeared and visible.

Inja's response reflected the extent to which the craftspersons are exposed to modern techniques. Exposure to modern equipment among the craftspersons is mainly confined to chemical dyes and silk thread in *pua* weaving. By using chemical dye, Inja may reduce the time taken in the searching for and the processing of raw materials. However, she has

difficulties in controlling the quality of her product. Many craftspersons are aware also of alternative techniques, but they lack the knowledge to introduce them. For example, in *pua* production, many weavers are aware of the availability of up-to-date raw materials, such as silk. However, very few are willing to use them. Some craftspersons are aware of the economic benefit of selling silk *pua*, yet, they do not have the money and the skill to produce them. Others are reluctant to introduce new techniques because of their negative effect on the quality of their products.

When asked to comment on the quality of crafts sold in the market, some craftspersons claimed that they are "*malu*" (embarrassed) at the sight of these so-called Iban crafts. They do not consider these "*new*" handicrafts in the market as quality products. Some craftspersons define quality according to their perception of how close these crafts represent the traditional ones. To them, the "*new*" crafts are of lower quality, because they do not look like "*pua kitai Iban*"[5] or they are not produced according to the original colour scheme, designs, patterns or sizes. Others tend to base their judgement on such criteria such as "*none use of standard models*", "*refined work*", and "*unsmeared patterns.*" They also assess the quality on the basis of the raw materials used. Before the presence of many new synthetic raw materials in the market, the craftspersons were aware that natural raw materials are superior to synthetic raw materials. To the *pua* weavers the quality of raw materials is related to the type of dye and thread used. Among them, it is widely accepted that *pua* made from traditional dye and silk thread are far superior to those woven using chemical dye and cotton thread. Among the mat, basket and hat weavers, raw materials such as rattan are considered superior to *bemban, sengkuang* and *kerupok* because of its durability. Among the carvers, soft wood such as *pelai* is considered superior to hard wood.

---

[5] This can be translated as "*pua produced by we Iban*"

New products (which are mass-produced in government workshops) may be of lower quality compared to traditional handicrafts, but the demand for these products as tourist items has a positive effect on their prices. The elderly craftspersons, however, are not that happy with changes in Iban crafts. As stated by an elderly *pua* weaver:

> if we go to Kapit, Sibu or Kuching, we can see the market is full of Iban-handicrafts which are products of machines, and by the designs of women and men who are insensitive to our culture and beliefs.

The above statement is more than adequate to establish that the rural craftspersons are aware of the presence of cheap and mass-produced handicrafts in the market. The presence of new products and improvised designs, angered some craftspersons, particularly the older generation. They claimed that people who are not Iban are producing *pua* without "*bebasa*" (respect) for Iban beliefs and culture. A weaver highlighted the case of the trainees in the government handicraft workshops, who improvised some traditional designs to make the *pua* more marketable. These trainees improvised and wove designs which, in traditional Iban society, should only be woven by "*qualified*" individuals. As a result, some of the Iban religious motifs had been reproduced for commercial purposes and quick profits on table mats, plastic carrier bags, handbags, wall hangings and even slippers.

7.1.4 Raw Materials

The craftspersons are often plagued with problems of raw materials supply; these are not only matters of non-availability but also of availability of quality raw materials. On the question of raw materials, the study reveals that 58.5 per cent of total respondents (49.6 per cent of CPs and 70.1 per cent of NCPs) had some kind of problem. A majority of the respondents (75.0 per cent of CPs and 73.8 per cent of NCPs) attributed the problem simply to the supply of forest products. The problem is acute for woodcarvers like Ngali.

> Ngali, a woodcarver had to spend several days in the forest before he could find high quality wood. Ngali's father and those before him, had no such problems - the wood is easier to find, and nearer to the longhouse. With heavy logging activities in the nearby forest, Ngali has to spend more time looking for wood, particularly *pelai* which he considers the best wood to carve his *terabai* (shields) and bird carvings. Ngali is lucky, because he can always request from his two sons working in the logging camps to bring back the wood he needs. Even then it is not easy for Ngali's sons to find the right wood. Unlike Ngali, his sons did not know how to carve and their knowledge of timber and wood for carving is limited. More often they bring back to Ngali less suitable timber species which have been felled by logging companies.

Ngali's problem is common among craftspersons in the Kapit Division who rely on the forest for their raw materials. Heavy logging activities in the area has made it difficult for the carvers to find high quality soft wood for their carving. Unlike other crafts, carvings hardly use any synthetic materials, and as such the craftspersons have to rely heavily on the forest. The time involved in searching for raw materials and the near absence of synthetic materials have been cited by many craftspersons as the reasons for their unwillingness to produce for the market. The carvers prefer to carve for local use because there is less pressure to find raw materials continuously. Others who sell their carvings have resorted to using harder wood where they can, which often results in poorer quality products. Since not all carvings (for example *parang hilts* and sheaths) can use hard wood the carvers continue to use soft wood where the intricacies of designs are of importance.

The survival and development of a business is dependent on the availability and accessibility to the market which in turn is determined by the quality of the products sold. The quality of handicrafts is determined by the quality of its inputs. The extent to which the craftspersons can have access to good quality raw materials is important in determining their survival and expansion in the business. Sixty-nine per cent of total respondents have some difficulties in the quality of raw materials. The problem arises because of the increasing number of substitutes and the presence of *"new"* synthetic raw materials (for example silk, prestogen PC, soda ash, PVC, plastic) in the market, which makes it difficult for the craftspersons to determine their quality. The problem is linked to craftspersons' lack of skill in using these new materials. For example, *pua*-weavers who intend to use

soda ash and prestogen need to know the correct measurement for these raw materials to enable them to be effective. Besides, synthetic raw materials such as prestogen PC or soda ash are not easily available in the rural market compared to ordinary chemical dyes. Even if they are available, they may not be cost-effective unless purchased in bulk. As a result, the craftspersons tend to rely on a very limited range of materials. Maria, a weaver stated:

> Everyone that I know is using the dye in the small round tin (Dylon). It is good. The *towkay* said it is made in England. It must be good. It is expensive, but we have no choice. The shops in Kapit only sell the same dye... It is not as good as *engkerbai*, or *engkudu*, but it is ten times easier to use. At least I don't have to go to the forest or ask our neighbours for *engkudu, tarum, lia amat,* and *minyak kepayang* for dyeing.

The craftspersons tend to rely on a very limited range of raw materials. For example, a majority of those who use chemical dye rely on one particular brand - *Dylon*. Only very few *pua* weavers have experimented with other types of dye, such as *selop Indonesia.*[6] The chemical dyes are relatively more expensive but they are easily available and in great demand because of craftspersons' biases towards "*Made in England*" or "*Made in USA*" branded products. Besides, *selop Indonesia* are sold illegally and only in limited quantities in the shops in Kapit, therefore restricting its wide usage.

The high incidence of raw materials-related problems, has a long-term implication on the small-scale craftspersons. Unless they make the necessary efforts at using alternative raw materials, or cultivating some of the raw materials from the forest which are rapidly diminishing, they will not be able to survive, let alone develop into a competitive business enterprise.

---

[6] These are chemical dyes which are produced in Indonesia and sold in packages by Indonesian traders.

7.1.5 Labour

The craftspersons in this study face labour constraints both in the number of people who are willing to produce handicrafts and the quality of labour. Thirty-six per cent of total respondents (36.0 per cent of CPs and 40.0 per cent of NCPs) faced some degree of labour problem. Of those who did, the majority (95.8 per cent of CPs and 68.6 per cent of NCPs) cited lack of workers and unwillingness of *bilik*-family members to take up handicraft production as their major labour problem. Although the craftspersons are from relatively large families, this is no indication that family members are willing to take up handicraft production. The problem arises because of the way *bilik*-family labour is divided between agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits. Often waged employment draws labour away from the rural sector. Inja, a weaver noted that:

> Nowadays, the young people cannot even weave simple baskets and mats properly. How can we expect them to weave *tikai berbuah* (mats and baskets with designs). They go to school. They can read, and they can write, but they cannot even weave. How can I sell more baskets and mats, when there is nobody to help me to weave baskets and mats. I wish our children had the *pengelandik* (skill) to weave mats and baskets so that they can help me. Now it's too late. They are not interested in learning anymore.

Handicraft production does not seem to be appreciated by a majority of the young people in the research area. The problem is compounded by the limited number of the young and better-educated Iban who can produce handicrafts or are willing to participate. The problem is partly due to the urban-biases in their education, their career-orientation and the higher income from alternative employment, particularly in the timber industry. This has some bearing on the "*desirability*" of craft production for the rural Iban. For several people, CHP appears not to be so desirable.

Lack of skilled workers is another important factor that constrains the survival and expansion of CHP in rural Sarawak. In the longhouses, the numbers of skilled weavers, dyers, carvers and bead workers are limited. In handicraft production, a craftsperson must

have an array of skills, because s(he) is involved in the whole process of production, with very little division of labour.

Besides having production skills, craftspersons who are involved in selling their products must also have some knowledge of commercial activities, such as pricing, profits and marketing. One is incomplete without the other. One of the most common ways through which rural craftspersons can up-grade or develop specialised skill is by attending appropriate formal courses on production or entrepreneurship. But the survey results show that they lack the necessary awareness about the need for undergoing training as well as a realisation of the benefits from attending courses. It appears to me that this is due to several factors. *First*, the craftspersons do not think that such training is necessary. *Second*, these craftspersons are mostly farmers, therefore they are more aware of the role of agricultural-related agencies (such as the Agriculture Department and Fisheries Department), rather than non-agricultural agencies such as the MHDC, SEDC, and MARA. *Third*, government agencies are mostly located in the big cities, which makes them less accessible to rural craftspersons. Nevertheless there are craftspersons (3.3 per cent) who are aware of the services provided by these agencies. But for them the problem is more one of access than of ignorance. Several craftspersons were quoted as saying:

> The government always takes in the Malays to attend courses at the *pusat kraftangan* (handicraft training centre) in Kuching.
>
> I never go to school. They always want people with certificates to attend courses.
>
> We don't know any *menteri*. We don't have any *kaban-belayan* (relatives). There is no one who can help me get accepted at the institute... Furthermore, I don't need to attend all those courses to learn to weave a simple *tikai* or *raga*..

The above statements indicate that the problems relate essentially to the lack of the requisite training facilities or interest in them. Although government-sponsored handicraft courses are officially declared as open to all Malaysians, the number of non-Malays being accepted is very limited. From the list of graduates of these courses, it clearly shows that

the number of Iban graduates is less than five per cent.[7] The reason for their limited number is either the lack of access to information regarding the courses or their inability to fulfil the basic educational requirements.[8] In addition, these courses are mostly conducted on a long-term basis,[9] which requires the participants to reside in Kuching during their duration. According to one female respondent, not many young Iban women are permitted to leave their families for such periods of time to attend a weaving course. The unwillingness to attend handicraft courses is also common among the young Iban, particularly among the educated Iban who prefer to pursue a career with the government or the private sector.

The importance of providing easy access to training facilities for the rural craftspersons in order to bring about a gradual adaptation in their techniques of production and to orient them from their present status of producer to one of entrepreneur needs no emphasis. On the other hand, there is some discontent with government-sponsored courses. One of the complaints is that they do not take into account the "*different needs*" of the craftspersons. The course participants were often treated as if they were a homogeneous group with similar needs and problems. In most cases, they were only taught the basic techniques of "*starting a business*", with very little emphasis on the techniques of surviving, let alone expanding their activities.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the survival and expansion of the craftspersons in commercial production is highly dependent on the production of "*quality*" products, the availability of skilled craftspersons, and access to institutional support.

---

[7] Calculated from the list of MHDC's graduates.

[8] The basic educational requirement is a *Sijil Rendah Pelajaran*

[9] MHDC's basic handicraft course runs for one year.

Without these, the craftspersons are either forced out of their business, or if not, they will continue to subsist in their present condition without much change.

7.1.6 Institutional Barriers

Government policies can either have a direct or an indirect effect on rural Iban involvement in CHP. Throughout this thesis, I have discussed some of the institutional barriers faced by the Iban in general which prevented them from reaping the full benefits of development.

Undeniably, there is no dearth of support for craftspersons in Malaysia as reflected by the number of agencies involved in promoting craft production (Ismail 1990; Ma'rof 1994). However, the survey results show that only 3.0 per cent of total respondents in the study claimed they have ever received direct assistance from government agencies and Chinese *towkays*. What is obvious from this study is that government support does not extend beyond the entry or start-up level. While government assistance may encourage traditional craftspersons to commercialise their activity, it is insufficient for its survival and growth. The government often withdraws support after a certain period. For example, craftspersons in *Rumah A1* and *Rumah U1* received government assistance for only one year. This was later withdrawn because of a change in government policy in that only participants in its Integrated Agricultural Programme were entitled to receive assistance. Since the craftspersons in these two longhouses were not participants in the programme, their subsidies were withdrawn. This non-continuity in government policy prevented some craftspersons from selling handicrafts or forced them to find alternative sources of assistance such as the *towkay*.

The problem of small-scale craftspersons is vitiated by the bias in government policies and practices. Ismail (1990:93), in his study on SMIs in Malaysia, discovered that government programmes tend to be discriminatory against small rural craftspersons. Rural

craftspersons have limited access to facilities, productive resources, and markets for their products because most of these facilities are urban-based; thus supporting my earlier discussion about urban-bias in Malaysian planning. Apart from locational incentives, other forms of government discrimination against rural craftspersons are less subtle, but no less important. Government handicraft training programmes also enrol participants on the basis of their paper qualifications, age and their willingness to stay at the training centres throughout the course. Due to such requirements, many rural craftspersons, particularly women, who have limited educational qualifications, are indirectly discriminated against. An informal discussion with some trainees at the MHDC Handicraft Training Centre at Kuching reveals that the main reason why most of the trainees join the programme is because they are unemployed and they have "*nothing better to do.*" None of them joined because they are interested in it, or that they plan to become entrepreneurs after their training is completed.

What I could conclude from these findings is that there are two kinds of need: first there is the government need reflecting political and societal interests in terms of handicraft production; and secondly, the craftspersons' needs. Both these needs differ and at times may even conflict with each other. For example, the government needs an efficient and economically viable handicraft sector managed by qualified and skilled personnel as part of its overall development strategy. This requires the government to introduce mechanisation manned by technically qualified personnel. On the other hand, the craftspersons' needs are related more to their own production requirements, such as how to improve production, marketing, and skills rather than fulfilling the needs of the whole economy. Since it is the government which formulates policies, it comes as no surprise when these tend to reflect national objectives rather than local ones.

One form of subtle discrimination against rural craftspersons is related to the selling of handicrafts. From my survey, I discovered that none of the craftspersons have trading

licences which permit them legally to sell handicrafts. According to some craftspersons, the main reason for their difficulties in obtaining licences, is their inability to handle the paperwork and the specific requirements (such as business experience) needed to obtain these licences. Since it is unlawful to trade without a valid licence, the craftspersons often experienced *"business disruptions."* As such, their market is limited. They can only sell informally in their longhouse to tourists and visitors. Occasionally when the craftspersons visit Kapit town, they take the opportunity to sell their products informally at strategic places such as the sidewalks, jetties or coffee shops. Most of them sell their products to Chinese shopkeepers for which no licence is required. The fact that they are without licences makes these craftspersons heavily dependent on Chinese *towkays* as their marketing channels. Unlike the craftspersons, the shopkeepers, antique traders or tour operators have licences which permit them to sell handicrafts without being harassed by the proper authorities. In the long run, without proper licences, these craftspersons will find it difficult to survive, let alone expand from small-scale production into a business enterprise.

7.2 Non-Physical Barriers

Seemingly, there are both positive and negative elements in Iban culture which either promote or discourage Iban participation in commercial activities. The presence of Iban cultural values suggests to me that the Iban in the research longhouses are trapped in what I term the Iban commercial dilemma; borrowing Ever's notion of the *"traders' dilemma"* (Evers, *et.al* 1991; Evers and Heiko 1994). Iban CPs are trapped in a dilemma when they have to balance two opposing demands: *first*, the market demand to maximise economic profit, and *second*, the societal demand to maximise *"social capital"* through maintaining good interpersonal relationships. Failing to balance these two needs will lead to either (a) economic success but a failure in interpersonal relations, or (b) increase in social capital, but at the expense of economic profit.

The observed absence of Iban participation in commercial activities can also be explained by the nature of Iban relationships with other ethnic groups. It is fundamental to the image Iban hold of themselves as an ethnic group. In part, the unwillingness of some Iban craftspersons to sell their handicrafts (particularly to fellow Iban) is related to their unwillingness to be *"like the Chinese"*, whom the Iban perceive to earn profit through trickery, or the Malays who profit through government support. Many Iban believe that this difference in morality and attitude towards commercial activities gives the Chinese and Malays economic advantage over them. The Chinese are usually ranked very low in terms of Iban values. The Iban often attributed the problem of sharing resources and unwillingness to gain large profit at the expense of fellow Iban to a special Iban failing in commercial terms, in contrast to the Chinese, who they claimed to be less sensitive, and willing to become rich at the expense of friends and foe alike. The low Iban evaluation of the Chinese has its roots in the nature of economic transactions between the Chinese and the Iban in the rural areas. The rural Iban rely heavily on Chinese traders to sell their agricultural products and to supply them with credit. It is during these economic transactions that the Iban often feel that they have been *"manipulated"* or even *"cheated"* by the Chinese. A common expression among the Iban in the research longhouses is that a Chinese is only a friend to an Iban when (s)he expects economic benefits from such a relationship.

The Ibans are no match for the Chinese *towkays*, with their resources and years of experience in commercial activities. The Iban may be the craftspersons, but the market is definitely controlled by the Chinese *towkays*. As much as the Chinese compete with the Iban traders, and therefore stifle Iban entrepreneurship, they are equally important in promoting Iban participation in commercial activities as is evident by the success of craftspersons from *Rumah A1*. When this relationship was first established, the Iban were able to conduct their business in purely economic terms, because they considered the

Chinese *towkay* from Kuching as "*orang bukai*" (outsider). Through the years, and with closer co-operation, the purely economic relationship began to take on a new dimension, with a stronger emphasis on social and personal relationships. The very fact that the *towkay* is now considered by the Iban in *Rumah Al* as "*one of us*", has made it difficult for pure economic transactions to take place. It hinders the Iban from accumulating profit at the expense of the Chinese *towkay*. So the traders' dilemma is no longer confined to the Iban conducting business transactions with fellow Iban, but is now extended to outsiders who are considered as fellow Iban. The full trust of the craftspersons in the Chinese *towkay* is exemplified by their absence (therefore non-negotiation) during the pricing of *pua* by the *towkay*. Very few craftspersons from *Rumah Al* considers the possibility that they have been underpaid or cheated. It is evident that the credit relations between the *towkay* and craftspersons are now marked by a relatively low bargaining power and dependence of craftspersons on the *towkay*. In my opinion, these economic transactions with an embedded social dimension will be a source for their commercial failure in the future.

An examination of Iban culture suggests to me that it can act as an incentive as well as an impediment to Iban entrepreneurial efforts. On the positive side, the Iban cultural emphasis on personal equality, self-sufficiency, competition, mobility and opportunism (Sutlive 1978) provides a strong incentive for individuals to make their own decisions, speak their own mind and follow their chosen course of action. On this basis, it is reasonable to assume that individuals will be encouraged to undertake new activities and to accumulate personal wealth. Sutlive and later Kedit (1988) consider this value of personal equality as the basis for the high achievement orientation and competitiveness among the Iban. As stated by Kedit (1988:30) Iban "*spiritual beliefs provide the rationale and psychological support to equip them with self-confidence.*" I can see that the Iban belief system not only rationalises but also reinforces their social structure towards an achievement orientation. This sense of achievement and independence is also responsible

for the creativeness of Iban craftspersons. Being independent, the Iban craftspersons are free to express their dreams in the motifs and patterns of their weaving, carving and other art-forms.

But a closer examination of Iban society reveals that there are contradictory elements in the relationship between Iban culture and economic values. Their strong emphasis on egalitarianism, personal freedom and competition has a potentially positive effect on Iban entrepreneurship, but other values such as the importance of interpersonal relations have negative effects on Iban participation in commercial activities. Furthermore, individualism often overrides the possible benefit of co-operation. For example, although a majority of the craftspersons in my study face problems relating to production and lack of capital, skill, and raw material, less than 1.0 per cent consider "*co-operative efforts*", such as the pooling of resources, as a way of solving their problems. This is further support for Freeman's (1970) and Sutlive's (1978) observations that the Iban are highly individualistic, despite their outward display of co-operative efforts. Unlike the Chinese who have their clan system to support socio-economic co-operation, or the Malays who are united by their culture and religion, Iban individualism and egalitarianism often prevent them from having strong social, political and economic leverage. The absence of such leverage is part of the reason for the limited ability of the Iban to face the social and economic challenges posed by these two ethnic groups, particularly in business activities.

In addition, in the longhouses, a person is still judged by the extent to which (s)he is able to maintain good interpersonal relationships with relatives, neighbours, visitors and friends. Unlike Scott (1986), I do not think that Iban limited economic success is due to their need to invest in social capital. Moreover, there is evidence of economic differentiation between *bilik*-families and longhouses, suggesting that the Iban are not homogeneous, despite living under one roof. With the growing income disparity between longhouses, I observe a strong but subtle sense of envy of wealthy and successful Iban.

Tuai rumah A1 claimed that craftspersons from other longhouses "*enda nyamai ati*" (felt uneasy) about his longhouse's "*success*" in CHP. In some cases, this envy of wealth and success translates itself into tensions, hostility and ill-feelings. When asked to comment on the success of craftspersons from *Rumah A1*, craftspersons from other longhouses have this to say:

> The craftspersons of *Rumah A1* are just like us. The only difference is that they have a *towkay*. If we have a *towkay*, we too can succeed. They are not as *kemerah* (generous) as they used to be. They are unwilling to tell me how to use the new *selop* given to them by the *towkay*. I don't think that they are that successful. If they are that successful, they would have set up a shop selling crafts in Kapit.

A factor which increases the vulnerability of the Iban commercial producers is that they live in longhouses, where they are more vulnerable to anxieties about their status in the community and more open to accusations of pride and other feelings of *kepapas* (jealousy) than in a non-communal environment. Another important factor is the need for the rural Iban to minimise risk. A majority of the craftspersons who sell their products tend to bear two types of risk - economic and social. Economic risk arises when the craftspersons are confronted with the uncertainties of demand and supply and the rising costs of raw materials. Those who sell their products to fellow Iban at competitive prices are likely to bear the risk of being stigmatised as "*terlalu berkira*" (too calculating in their dealings). The fear of being stigmatised as such forced many Iban CPs to avoid selling to fellow Iban or establishing credit relations with friends and relatives, although such activities may have proven to be economically viable or profitable. In the face of such situations, the commercial producers are continually pressured to minimise the risks involved and create a balance between personal and social demands. Let us consider the case of Kino, who has been selling mats and baskets for the last five years.

> Kino finds it difficult to sell or charge higher prices to her friends and fellow Iban because she always thinks of them as her *madi* (relatives). She often said "*they are like my family; poor, with little money to spare and with big families to support.*" Often Kino is obliged to sell her mats and baskets to fellow Iban at lower prices without really "*thinking about the profits.*" She finds it "*more comfortable*" selling her products to *temuai* (visitors) and *orang putih* than to her friends.

The craftspersons can bargain for higher prices from the non-Iban visitors and the *orang putih*, without having to worry about the social implications of such actions. The fear of offending a fellow Iban by getting maximum profit is influenced by Iban social organisation and culture which emphasise good interpersonal relations. Therefore, the Iban CPs consider it "*enda nyamai ati*" earning maximum profit at the expense of a friend or a fellow *madi*. In the Iban view, precise and explicit calculation or the obvious pursuit of maximum profit with little consideration for a fellow *madi*, negates the social relationships which they have developed with fellow Iban on the basis of mutual willingness to "*berbagi enggau pangan diri*" (share with each other) and giving of gifts.

Rotter (1966) claimed that entrepreneurs are individuals who possess what he termed as an *"internal locus of control."* They believe that they are in control of their own destiny. In contrast, individuals with an *"external locus of control'"* are thought to have limited entrepreneurial qualities because they believe that events are independent of behaviour and are instead, the results of such forces as fate, luck and the supernatural. The implication is that individuals who possess an internal locus of control have greater chances of becoming entrepreneurs because they have greater ability to master and manipulate the environment. On the basis of Rotter's definition, it is reasonable to say that the Iban have a higher tendency to have an external locus of control. Although only 10.0 per cent of respondents agreed that the Iban should maintain their traditional way of life, almost all respondents still have a strong belief in fate, luck, *Petara* (gods), *mimpi* (dreams) and omens. The more favourable attitude of the Iban towards economic wealth did not necessarily preclude a belief in the relations between accumulation of wealth and luck: 33.5 per cent of respondents believe that a person's economic progress is highly dependent on luck. This belief is most prevalent among the older generation. For example, craftspersons in *Rumah E1* consider it their *nasib* or luck when they were being chosen to take up a government handicraft project. Craftspersons who have their subsidies of raw materials

withdrawn by the government consider it their bad luck and therefore usually make no attempt to seek alternative sources.

This strong element of luck is tied closely to the Iban belief in the supernatural powers such as the blessings of *Petara* (Gods) and the assault of *antu* (spirit). The Iban believe that there are certain aspects of their lives over which they have little control. Economic success is one sign of *Petara's* blessing while an illness is often attributed to an assault by *antu*. Also, the Iban believe that their knowledge is insufficient, therefore it is necessary to seek directions from *Petara* for all important decisions and events through the analysis of pig's livers, *mimpi* (dreams) and bird omens. (Sutlive 1978:99). According to Jensen (1974:119), *"dreams provide the essential spirit endorsement before the Iban dare embark on a new, important or difficult project."*

The Iban belief in the supernatural forces is not limited to the old or the uneducated. Even among the young and educated Iban craftspersons interviewed, there is still a firm belief that a correct attitude towards handicraft production, particularly *pua* and mat weaving, is necessary to ensure success and the blessings of *Petara.* At times, this beliefs in luck, fate, *Petara, antu* and dreams restricts the craftspersons from responding to market opportunities. Craftspersons are known to postpone their plans after having *mimpi ringgat* (dream giving rise to frustration or anger) or *mimpi malu* (shaming dreams). *Mimpi jai* (bad dreams) even caused individuals from going to work for fear of undesirable consequences. There is still a widespread belief among the craftspersons (even among the educated Iban), that they can fall sick or even die if they fail to heed the warnings of their dreams when attempting new designs for their *pua* and mats. Craftspersons in *Rumah Ul* related an incident of how a weaver from the longhouse fell ill and died "*mysteriously*" after attempting to weave the design *kuku remaung.* An informant claimed the woman

continued to weave the design, although she had been advised against it in her dream by *Lulong.*[10] To the Iban in *Rumah Ul*, the weaver's untimely death from a short "*mysterious*" illness is enough proof of her failure to heed the warnings of the Gods. Clearly, economic profits alone are insufficient to encourage the craftspersons to produce handicrafts. To the craftspersons, the approval of *Petara* is equally important, particularly in the weaving of traditional *pua.*

There is also reason to believe that the Iban are constrained by cultural factors from accumulating capital. Capital represents a stock of goods and services not devoted to immediate consumption but to increased consumption in future periods. The craftspersons in the study longhouses lack all various forms of capital. They needed technological capital to increase their productivity, wealth capital to increase their purchasing power, and human capital (skills, entrepreneurship) to affect productivity. Without technological and wealth capital, the craftspersons will have limited success sustaining their commercial activities. Human capital, particularly education, facilitates capital formation and encourages the Iban to look beyond their longhouse. Education and entrepreneurship provide the Iban with the objectivity to be responsive to changes and to be innovative. Domestic capital formation must be as high as possible if Iban involvement in CHP is to be sustained or developed into a successful business. What is capital formation? Capital formation is an act of deferring present consumption for future productivity (Griffiths and Wall 1991). Implicit in this definition is the need for individuals to participate more in saving rather than spending activities.

According to the results of the survey, only 35.5 per cent of the respondents claimed to have savings in formal institutions such as the post office and banks. I can infer from

[10] A goddess in Iban mythology.

this observation that saving in formal institutions is still unpopular among the Iban compared to holding traditional wealth in the form of Chinese *tajau* (jars), brassware, *perak* (silver), *utai lama* (antiques such as beads and plates), and gold jewellery. What factors account for the lack of savings in formal institutions? To answer this question, I need to examine two things: first the extent to which Iban values and institutions are compatible with savings and investment, and second the availability of savings institutions in the rural areas.

To a certain extent, there is an inherent incompatibility between the traditional values and institutions of Iban society and the accumulation of cash. Both Freeman (1970) and Sutlive (1978) state that the Iban are inclined towards immediate gratification: Sutlive (1978:111) observed that the Iban *"are inclined to seize the opportunity of the moment, regardless of the ramification of their actions."* I believe it is the insecurity of livelihood in the rural areas of Kapit, the quick and high income from risky employment (such as logging), and Iban attitudes towards savings and investment which explain why there is need for immediate gratification and which explains the Iban "*ethic of expediency*" (to borrow Sutlive's term). To the Iban, the force of immediate reward is usually greater than delayed rewards, and when applied to economic behaviour concerning money income, they prefer spending to saving.

The low level of savings in formal institutions among the rural Iban can also be explained by their preference for spending money and lack of thriftiness.

> An Iban officer, a university graduate, claimed that the Iban can never become rich like the Chinese or the Malays unless they learn to be thrifty like the Chinese or receive financial support from the government like the Malays. According to him, the Iban *rumah panjai* spent too much money during *gawai*, (festivals) and *nyengai orang mati* (death rituals), for *nyabung* (cock-fighting), and for *nupi pangan diri* (boozing). He feels the Iban do not realise that money has value. While other races save their money in the bank, the Iban spend it on eating, boozing, friends and relatives. He recalled with mixed feeling of sadness and anger at the way the Iban men spent their money on *arak* (liquor) at the Chinese coffee shops after earning some money from selling their pepper or receiving salaries from the logging companies.

Among those Iban who save, it is common to do so in the form of hoarding; and from my discussions with key respondents, I find that hoarded money seldom lies idle too long under the *tilam* (mattress). Apart from the usual expenditure on basic necessities, assets, technological capital, festivals and reserves for contingencies, a proportion of hoarded money is spent on *berjudi* (gambling), *nyabung manok* (cock-fighting),[11] lottery tickets and drinking. My study of Iban spending and saving behaviour confirms the observations made by the government officer.

Savings need to be translated into investment in order for capital formation to occur. Despite the social pressure to spend, the Iban in the study area understand well the profitability of investment of wealth and capital to realise interest. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents in this study invest directly in shares. Among those who invest, the majority do so in the *Amanah Saham Nasional* (ASN), *Amanah Saham Bumiputera* (ASB) and *Amanah Saham Sarawak* (ASSAR) which are all *Bumiputera* investment trust agencies specially established by the government. These investments are popular; even among the rural Iban this popularity is largely attributed to heavy government publicity, extensive institutional networks in the state which even reach the rural Iban, as well as the recent implementation of the programme for poverty eradication among the hard-core poor through various forms of financial assistance. As *Bumiputeras*, the Iban are qualified to receive subsidised loans to purchase these three types of shares. But for many rural Iban, it is more of a form of saving than investment. Many equate dividend and bonus to *anak duit* (interest). None of the rural craftspersons invest in the open-market type of investment. This confirms my earlier observation that the rural Iban have limited knowledge of what investment is all about.

[11] Sandin (1977) stressed the importance of cock-fighting in the Iban tradition and way of life.

Among the rural Iban, there is still a strong emphasis on acquiring capital for farming which reflects their strong cultural ties to agricultural activities. An examination of physical capital resources reveals that there is a high concentration of resources related to agriculture or timber production (for example chainsaws, fertiliser, insecticides, rubber-pressers), compared to other activities, such as handicraft production and fishing. In handicraft production, technological capital formation is non-existent. None of the respondents in the study have invested their profits on physical capital outlays for handicraft production. A majority of the craftspersons produce handicrafts using tools they inherited from their elders. Many of these tools have lost their traditional form, but not their function. I found that many weavers are using poorly designed *rakub, belia* and *sengkabil* or poor adaptations of these tools; for example, one weaver made a *gasing* (spinning wheel) from a hollow-PVC pipe (which her son used in electric wiring), which she tied with bamboo and strings. One of the commonly cited reasons why the weavers are using poorly designed tools and equipment is because of the "*absence of carvers*" in the bilik-family. According to one weaver, it is the duty of the men to carve weaving tools for women, but now, many young men are "*away on bejalai*", "*not interested*" or are "*unskilled.*" I constantly met women who make their own weaving equipment by improvising with old equipment.

I must recognise that the limitations in capital investment in craft production are not due to the short-sightedness of the rural craftspersons, but because they have little need for heavy capital investment. The major problem to most craftspersons is not producing but accessing the wider and more lucrative market to sell their handicrafts. Besides, there is no immediate need for the rural craftspersons to use machines or the latest production technology. And of course, there is always the question of quantity versus quality, when machines replace human creativity. Even without mass-production, the rural craftspersons

are unable to sell their products, so if machines were introduced, the market would possiblly be flooded with cheap crafts.

I find that Iban values and institutions are not the only significant obstacles to the acquisition of productive knowledge, savings and investment. As I discussed in Chapter Six the rural Iban have very little assistance in capital formation. The government administrators often claimed that their policies on credit and capital assistance are mostly in the form of expert advice or technological capital itself rather than cash. The administrators also argued that it is the rural Iban lack of knowledge and willingness which prevented them from converting cash into productive capital. I find this explanation difficult to follow, because it is not a true representation of what is actually happening in the research area. I find that even relevant expert advice and suitable technological capital are almost as scarce as government financial assistance, particularly in longhouses that are known to support the political parties opposing the state government. In short, there is limited assistance in capital formation; as a result, many Iban prefer to hoard or save their money in the form of gold jewellery.

Regarding human capital, Iban values are not usually a significant obstacle to the acquisition of productive knowledge. In the past, the Iban were known to have resisted sending their children to school but now such attitudes have changed. Most of the respondents recognise the positive relationship between education and economic progress. However, although a majority of the Iban realise the important role of education, there are very few who actually succeed in putting this belief into practice. This is reflected by the high rates of illiteracy among the respondents and the low educational achievement of many of their children. The high illiteracy rate in the study longhouses is partly due to the forces of supply and demand for Iban labour. The wages paid by the timber companies are high while the educational requirement is low, and because of this, many Iban do not

consider it necessary to have high educational qualifications to seek employment in the logging companies.

In this section, I have discussed some of the major factors impeding craftspersons from commercialising handicraft production. **Table 7-1** summarises some of the general constraints on rural Iban involvement in CHP.

Table 7-1: Different Barriers to Commercialising Handicraft Production by the Level of Involvement in CHP

CONSTRAINTS	LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN CHP		
	ENTRY	**SURVIVAL**	**DEVELOPMENT**
Physical Factors	Market Raw materials Labour Production Finance Accessibility to external support	Coping with the market networking, competition, product Continued availability of raw material Need for quality labour and upgraded skill Changing technology Accessibility to and reliability of capital resources Continuity of institutional support	Heavy total investment Market information Inaccessibility to modern technology Capacity (labour, premises, raw materials, capital) Existence of protected niche Need for specialised skill Non-availability of raw materials
Non-Physical Factors	Cultural hostility Motivation '*Desirability*' of CHP. Responsiveness to change Prioritisation	Commercial culture	Strategic vision Experience and learning Competitive needs Lack of awareness

Source: Adapted from El-Namiki (1988)

7.3 Potential of Iban Involvement in CHP

I begin the discussion by examining the potential for rural Iban involvement in CHP in the research area. I will then follow it with a discussion of the extent to which they are willing to make certain sacrifices in order to take up CHP, of rural Iban willingness to adopt CHP in the future and their perceptions regarding the most urgently needed projects. Some of these questions may be hypothetical, but responses to these questions can serve as useful indicators about future involvement of rural Iban in CHP.

Rural industrialisation based on craft production cannot exist effectively unless the rural Iban are willing to participate in it. In this section, I shall attempt to gain more information about the potential of Iban involvement in CHP by examining their perceptions of such activity. As I have discussed in Chapter Six, the majority of CPs perceived that their *bilik*-family socio-economic position will improve if they continue producing crafts commercially. To them, CHP is a *"desirable"* economic activity, as long as there is demand for their crafts and the prices are high. However, when asked for their occupational choice, only 8.8 per cent of CPs (none NCP) consider CHP as an economic activity that provides the rural Iban with a source of living. The results show that the craftspersons have some negative attitude towards CHP and a preference for other kinds of work, particularly waged employment and cash crops. The majority of young Iban, when asked about their ideal job, or the kind of job they like most, replied that they prefer *kerja balak* (logging) or *kerja perintah* (public sector employment). To them, these jobs promise a *"better life"* or a source of upward mobility. Furthermore, the rural Iban assigned high social prestige to these occupations. This high rank is due, in part, to the high income earned from these activities. There is substantial agreement among the young and educated Iban that rural producers, particularly paddy farmers and craft producers, have the least respected occupations. They tend to describe these occupations as having lower prestige in

terms of lack of education. Unlike the young, the elderly tend to regard these two activities as having quite a high prestige value

With regard to the needs as perceived by the respondents, two kinds of development projects have a high positive response compared to others. Intensive land development is the highest priority, followed by infrastructure development. Many of the respondents prefer intensive land development schemes by agencies like the Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA) Nevertheless, there is one major drawback in intensive land development. The Rural Growth Centre Feasibility Study (1992:5-2) shows that suitable land for agricultural development in Kapit Division is scarce, which prevents the planting of cash crops like oil palm. However, the study reveals that the terrain and soil may be suitable for the planting of rattan (*Calamus spp.*), which is an important raw material for rattan mats and baskets. The main limitations are associated with the steep terrain, susceptibility to erosion and shallow soils.

Handicraft projects are also popular among the respondents; 76.0 per cent of the respondents prefer such projects. All who responded would prefer government agencies to implement these development projects. Though handicraft projects do not seem to be high on the respondents' list of preferred projects, one explanation for this is that the Iban do not perceive CHP as a development project; to them it is just "*pengawa*" or work. Their responses do not necessarily indicate that they are against CHP, as we shall discuss in the following sections.

7.3.1 Willingness to Adopt CHP in the Future

Future orientation is another important feature of entrepreneurship and the Iban craftspersons must engage themselves in activities that are aimed at providing new products to meet changing demand. In this study, I assume that future willingness will translate into

action. To analyse whether the respondents are future-oriented. I conducted a study to examine specifically craftpersons' (a) willingness to take up CHP, (b) willingness to participate in a government handicraft project, (c) willingness to work in a government handicraft factory, and (d) whether they will encourage their children to take up CHP in the future. By asking these questions, I hoped to be able to analyse whether or not the NCPs will participate and the CPs will continue their involvement in CHP.

In terms of future involvement, 91.1 per cent of CPs are certain they will continue with CHP, and 56.3 per cent of NCPs are interested in taking it up in future. Their involvement in CHP, however, is subject to several conditions; the most important one is improvement in the prices of handicrafts. Sixty-three per cent of CPs and 65.5 per cent of NCPs will continue or take up CHP in the future if prices improve. The serious concern on price improvement among the craftspersons reflects their immediate need for quick profit and for long-term economic benefit in the form of assured markets for their products.

There exists a difference in opinion between the CPs and NCPs regarding their children's future involvement in CHP. While a majority (62.3 per cent) of CPs are certain, the majority of the NCPs are uncertain that they will encourage their children to take up CHP in the future. One of the major reasons cited by the craftspersons for encouraging their children to take up CHP is to ensure "*penemu Iban enda pupus*" (Iban knowledge will not decline). The result shows that there is much concern among the Iban *rumah panjai*, particularly the elderly, about the rapid decline in Iban tradition, culture and knowledge. Many are willing to encourage their children to take up CHP for cultural continuity. Both the CPs and the NCPs share the same feeling that only by encouraging the children to take up CHP in the future and earning income from such activities, will their children's interest in Iban handicraft production be sustained, and Iban traditional art survive. Some parents are sceptical that their children will learn the art of craft-making, if there is no economic benefit from such activities. Furthermore, there is a poor image of handicraft production

among the youths, and this image is partly created by the fact that young people who stayed in the longhouse and produced handicrafts are academic "*failures*" and could not find employment elsewhere. The negative image of handicraft production is further compounded by the fact that income from handicraft production is low compared to that from other non-farm activities, particularly logging.

Besides the need for maintaining cultural continuity, the parents also emphasised the economic contribution of handicraft production; most of them will certainly encourage their children to take up CHP, if the activity can provide their children with an important source of income and employment in the future. Evidently there is some hope for future Iban involvement in CHP, as reflected by the high level of willingness among the craftspersons for their children to take up handicraft production in the future.

Despite the fact that handicraft development projects do not rate as high as land and agricultural development projects, there is nevertheless a high level of willingness to take them up, should the government introduce them. The survey results show that 64.6 per cent of CPs are willing to participate together with their *bilik*-families in future handicraft projects and 42.5 per cent of NCPs are interested in them (**Table 7-2**). However, when it comes to the participation of certain family members, I found that the response is higher for NCPs (39.1 per cent) compared to CPs (23 per cent). Probably, the CPs are more optimistic of the economic benefit that could be obtained by participating as a group. The fact that the NCPs are currently not selling handicrafts is in itself a reflection of their unwillingness to rely on handicraft production as a major source of bilik-family income, though individual family members could do so.

Table 7-2: Percentage Distribution of *Bilik*-family Members Who Will Participate in the Government's Handicraft Project in Future.

FUTURE PARTICIPANTS IN GOVERMENT HANDICRAFT PROJECTS	CRAFTSPERSONS		TOTAL
	Commercial	Non-Commercial	
Whole *bilik-family*	73 (64.6)	37 (42.5)	110 (55.0)
Certain *family* members	26 (23.0)	34 (39.1)	60 (30.0)
Children only	8 (7.1)	8 (9.2)	16 (8.0)
Relatives (Non-*bilik* family)	6 (5.3)	8 (9.2)	14 (7.0)
Total	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: Survey 1993

This brings us to the next important factor, that is the level of willingness to innovate and make certain sacrifices. It is only by soliciting information on craftpersons' level of willingness to innovate, that I am able to explain the reasons behind the apparent lack of innovation among the Iban. I posed two related questions to the craftpersons: (a) in what aspects are they willing to innovate, (b) what sacrifices are they willing to make to achieve economic success in CHP?

7.3.2 Willingness to Innovate and Make Certain Sacrifices

The research findings reveal some mixed reactions among the craftspersons. The study shows that there is a high level of willingness to undertake innovation in production. Sixty-three per cent of the craftspersons claimed that they are most willing to use new production techniques. This is probably due to their sense of control and familiarity with production. It

is one aspect that is concrete and the craftpersons are convinced that they can control, improve and gain benefit from such improvements. Other aspects, such as marketing and credit are beyond their control; they are unsure as to the extent to which it will improve their lives. Naturally one would expect them to be less inclined toward seeking changes in the market compared to production.

In Chapter 5, I mentioned that some craftpersons face difficulties producing handicrafts because of their existing techniques of production, which tend to be time-consuming. The study shows that there is some level of willingness among the Iban craftspersons to introduce new designs for their products indicating their adaptability to market demand. Craftspersons gave clear responses to innovation in raw materials. Only 7.0 per cent of craftspersons claimed that they are "*most willing*" to undertake innovation in raw materials (**Table 7-3**).

Table 7-3: Percentage Distribution of Craftspersons by Types of Innovation They Are "*Most Willing*" and "*Most Unwilling to Undertake*"

Areas of Innovation	*"Most Willing to Innovate*		*"Most Unwilling to Innovate"*	
	Number	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**
New Designs	26	13.0	54	27.0
New Techniques of Production	80	63.5	58	29.0
New Market	48	24.0	20	10.0
New Product	25	12.5	53	26.5
New Raw Materials	14	7.0	8	7.5
Total (n=200)	-	100.0	-	100.0

Source: Survey 1993.

On the other hand, 7.5 per cent claimed that they are "*most unwilling*" to innovate in raw materials. The low response from the craftpersons indicates the low priority given to this aspect of production. That most craftpersons are using synthetic raw material explains why there is no immediate need for them to use new raw materials; besides, employing new raw materials involves some process of experimentation, which not many craftpersons are willing to do.

Sacrifice is the element which links plans to action. It is a person's willingness to sacrifice which reflects their true willingness to carry their plans through to success. In Chapter Six, it was indicated that craftspersons' willingness to make certain sacrifices has a significant influence on their economic performance. In this section. I will mention the difference between the CPs and NCPs in their willingness to make certain sacrifices in order to undertake CHP.

Involvement in CHP involves sacrifices. which many will find difficult to make. However, the survey results shows that 91.5 per cent of craftspersons are willing to make sacrifices in order to take up or succeed in CHP. An analysis on the types of sacrifice the craftpersons are willing to make reveals that slightly more than half of them are only willing to make "*safe*" sacrifices, that is those which are still compatible with Iban culture. Of 183 craftspersons who are willing to make certain sacrifices, 54.2 per cent are willing to sacrifice more time and money on producing handicrafts. The remaining 45.8 per cent of the craftspersons, are willing to make sacrifices that are incompatible with their culture, such as borrowing money, adapting to new designs and changing their present activity from subsistence to commercial-oriented handicraft production. A closer examination of the characteristics of craftspersons who are willing to sacrifice reveals the following. Between the CPs and NCPs, there is a higher percentage of CPs (95.5 per cent) willing to sacrifice compared to the NCPs. In terms of the types of sacrifices these two groups are willing to take, I find that there is a higher tendency among CPs compared to NCPs to sacrifice their

time and adopt new designs. As for the NCPs, they have a higher tendency to sacrifice money (borrow, spending) and economic activity. It is evident that there is a high level of willingness to sacrifice and a mixed level of willingness to innovate among the Iban craftspersons. These results indicate that the Iban craftpersons are not totally resistant to change or unwilling to adapt their productive activities to modern conditions and requirements.

7.4 Summary

The craftspersons in the study longhouses are changing and have made moves towards becoming CPs, but in some respects they remain under the influence of Iban culture and trapped in the Iban "*commercial dilemma*." Many of them face the usual constraints, such as marketing, raw materials, capital and labour. The Iban, however, faced more problems because of their need to balance economic and social demands. Furthermore, there are elements in Iban culture, such as their belief in dreams, *Petara* and omens which restrict them from responding to market opportunities. But there are also critical elements in Iban culture which allow them to adapt and confront some of these problems. The presence of Iban values and institutions such as competition, co-operation, *bedurok* (labour sharing), and *beragih* enables them to adapt to their changing socio-economic environment. With these positive values, the Iban craftspersons can be as forward-looking, as progressive and economically dynamic a group of producers in their outlook as almost any *"modern"* producers.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RURAL INDUSTRIALISATION BASED ON CRAFT PRODUCTION: A *"VIABLE"* AND *"DESIRABLE"* ALTERNATIVE FOR THE RURAL IBAN

8. Introduction

The focus of this study has been on rural Iban craftspersons in Kapit Division. Some were involved in CHP while others were not. Rural Iban involvement (or non-involvement) in CHP can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, one can view such involvement as the penetration of capital into rural economics, resulting in uneven economic relations and the loss of economic independence of rural Iban. Alternatively, one can view CHP as an alternative economic activity, providing new income opportunities, particularly for the disadvantaged groups such as the poor, unemployed, women and elderly. Also, I have identified and discussed the factors that determine craftspersons' *"success"* in CHP.

In this concluding chapter, I will recapitulate the main findings and answer the major research question: to what extent is small-scale industry based on handicraft production a viable and desirable means of addressing the development problems of the rural Iban in Sarawak? I conduct my discussion by addressing the research hypotheses.

8.1 Is Modernisation the Key to Economic Progress in Handicraft Production?

Reviewing the experience of the craftspersons discussed in this study, I can conclude that the role of CHP for the Iban *bilik*-family is a mixed one. On one hand, CHP yields to the unemployed, elderly and women a dependable cash income. In some *bilik*-families it cushions the effects of setbacks, like helping *"smooth consumption"* during poor harvests.

On the other hand, income from crafts is low compared to other non-farm income; it can hardly offer opportunities for accumulation. Income from crafts may be low, but it is a viable alternative source of livelihood for the rural Iban, particularly the poor. Looking at the state of Iban craft production and the way the Malaysian craft industry is structured, the Iban craftspersons have limited choice; they have to change. But as, Parnwell (1993:253) has discussed, there are two opposing views around the issue of the need to modernise; that of the *"purists"* who prefer to retain crafts in their traditional state, and that of the *"pragmatists"* who see modernisation of craft production as an inevitable process of development. However, one must not lose sight of the fact that the agendas of the *"purists"* and the *"pragmatists"* are different, and therefore not directly comparable. The *"pragmatists"* views have changed to a developmental perspective; the others have not.

The results of my study show that the majority of Iban crafts are produced as tourist products rather than for utilitarian use. Nowadays, there is very limited practical use of traditional crafts in the daily life of Iban *bilik*-families. Malaysian tourists prefer to buy functional crafts, but they also buy tourist crafts such as *pasu Sarawak* (Sarawak vases) or the cheap handicrafts sold in the towns. Foreign tourists more frequently buy crafts but they prefer those which are cheap, durable, functional and *"authentic."* The craft market shows a demand for different needs; on the one hand there is the demand for cheap functional tourist crafts, and on the other hand there is a demand for high quality traditional and *"authentic"* crafts. In order to benefit from this diverse market, the Iban craftspersons are faced with two alternatives. On the other hand, they need to modernise and adapt new designs, patterns and techniques of production in order to meet the changing demand for tourist crafts. According to this view, the gradual shift from hand loom to machine loom, or from using materials from forest products to synthetic raw materials seems inevitable if Iban craftspersons want to reap economic benefits from CHP or to remain competitive. After all, traditional Iban crafts (particularly *pua*) are of interest only to the connoisseurs or

antique dealers. On the other hand, the *"purists"* would argue that production for the tourist market will lead to a decline in traditional Iban craft production, bring about cultural erosion and loss of identity. They would move far from being *"authentic"* and became detached from their material cultural setting. Thus the *"ethnic niche market"* may be lost (Caslake 1994; Cohen 1986; Meyer 1988; Parnwell 1994).

Based on the survey results, the best compromise between these two positions is for the Iban craftspersons to improve their crafts without radical transformation. By improving their crafts the rural Iban can enter into new market segments, and expand their artistic creativity without sacrificing completely their tradition and culture. Modernisation is one way to revive the Iban image of a traditional and authentic culture and identity, up-grade product quality, promote sustainable development through use of local resources, and generate income. Modernisation may compromise the authenticity of Iban crafts, but it does not necessarily entail a loss in quality. In fact, as I have discussed in Chapter Five, there are customers who prefer machine-produced crafts over hand-made ones because they are neater and better-designed and often cheaper. From what I observed, there is strong evidence that patterns, designs, and colours of *"new"* crafts have been inspired by traditional designs, suggesting that all is not lost.

8.2 Is CHP *"Feasible"* and *"Desirable"*?

The first sub-hypothesis is: there is lack of modernisation and economic progress in handicraft production in the study area because such activity is not *"feasible"* and *"desirable"* from cultural, social, economic and political perspectives. I tested this hypothesis by analysing the feasibility and desirability of CHP from the perspectives of (i) the CPs and NCPs, (ii) the public sector, and (iii) the private sectors.

CHP is a viable income generating project: it fits in well with the government's rural development programme aimed at poverty eradication; it provides the rural Iban with an income-earning opportunity, and it acts as an alternative to those who wish to stay in the rural areas; it can also slow the rate of out-migration from the rural areas. It may seem to be an ideal solution to the problems of Iban *rumah panjai;* but I doubt that it is a feasible project from the cultural, economic and political perspectives.

The majority of the craftspersons, recognise the potential positive effects from CHP. To some, CHP is desirable because involvement in it helps the individual to increase their income and provide support for basic family needs. Profits earned from CHP may be small by formal business standards, but they are more reliable than those obtained from petty trading. To others, CHP entails changes that interfere with their daily lives, culture and tradition.

From the cultural perspective, there are several reasons why modernisation and commercialisation are resisted by the Iban. They perceived a close link between CHP and a decline in the cultural relevance of traditional crafts. This is partly due to the need to change to cater for consumer demand. In order to survive and succeed in CHP, change is almost inevitable. However, it must be remembered that changes often involve certain sacrifices; the craftspersons must be willing to change designs, style, colour, sizes, raw materials and techniques of production. The results of this study show that some craftspersons are unwilling to make these sacrifices. Others are only willing to make "*safe sacrifices*", such as borrow money, spend more time, and change production techniques, suggesting that the Iban are not totally against innovation. In fact, the majority of CPs are willing to continue producing crafts commercially or participate in future government-sponsored handicraft projects as long as CHP does not require major changes in their daily lives, especially ones that interfere too much with Iban culture. However, there are others who are unwilling to take up CHP or adopt new designs, style, raw materials and

production techniques. One of the major reasons why some craftspersons are unwilling to take up CHP is because of its socio-cultural incompatibility and socio-economic constraints. The majority of the elderly or skilled craftspersons are unwilling to participate in government-sponsored handicraft projects because they have found difficulty reconciling their tradition and practices with the demands of the state agencies or the growth of the tourist industry. Among the younger generation, their limited involvement in CHP is often due to their perception of CHP as an economic activity of last resort. They take it up only when they cannot find other jobs in the urban areas. Even then they view it as a temporary economic activity - a safety net - only to be abandoned when they find a new job. In some *bilik*-families, particularly those with family members working in waged employment, profits from crafts are not sufficient or stable enough to encourage them to take up CHP. However, we must not overlook the fact that the craftspersons from *Rumah Al* have introduced significant radical innovations, while others have introduced minor innovations leading to changes in raw materials, patterns, colour, sizes and designs. Furthermore, the survey results show that some young Iban have shown interest and taken up CHP. Their involvement may be limited, but it shows that CHP has helped to regenerate - albeit in modified forms - Iban interest in their crafts which is implicitly subordinated to mainstream Malay/Muslim-based *kebudayaan nasional* (national culture).

CHP has its drawbacks, but as the survey results have shown, it is unfair to claim that it destroys traditional crafts and denigrate their cultural position and significance. In fact, I agree with Cohen's (1983:21) and Parnwell's (1993:256) claims that commercialisation keeps the folk arts alive; indeed in its absence, they would "*wither.*"

To the government planners, there is no economic justification for modernising the craft sector in the rural areas. As long as the government follows the conventional development approach based on the principles of economies of scale, it is doubtful that it will divert resources to the rural areas, particularly to craft production. To achieve

economies of scale, the government considers it more economical to focus its resources where there is a high development potential, that is the urban rather than rural areas. The government has built handicraft institutes in the urban areas and used these to train craft entrepreneurs (rather than craftspersons) and conduct research-and-development (R&D) activities. As government agencies, their policies are implicitly biased towards Malay-Muslim culture. When the government introduces craft programmes in the rural areas, it is more of an effort to alleviate rural poverty than a programme to develop craft production. Moreover, the government tends to interpret the problems faced by craftspersons as if they are similar to that of agriculture.

The private sector comprising traders and tour operators has a fluid attitude towards the modernisation of craft production, in the sense that they can decide to reject a "*modern*" handicraft if the demand changes or the real profits are lower than expected. Among the traders there is a higher preference for the modernised *pua selop* than the traditional *pua engkudu*, and this may seem paradoxical when *pua engkudu* can fetch higher prices. Unfortunately, there is a much more limited market for *pua engkudu*. Though the traders sell *pua selop* for lower prices, they can earn at least as high a profit since they are produced much more quickly and are more in demand.

Available evidence also provides limited indication of the ability of the Iban to convert and utilise spin-offs (such as profits) of development in CHP so that real benefits accrue to them. The rural Iban have yet to realise the full potential of CHP because they do not convert and utilise the profits earned from CHP into productive uses, such as reinvestment. The majority treat profits from CHP as supplementary income to sustain their livelihood. The survey results also show that all the CPs treat profits from crafts as income rather than capital for reinvestment. In my opinion, there are two reasons for this. *First*, income from crafts is low and in some *bilik*-families its share of total household income is less than five per cent. Income from crafts may help the poor *bilik*-families to

survive, but it is does little to compensate for their limited productive capacity. The low income from crafts is often spent to cover daily expenses; it is seldom accumulated for productive investments. *Second,* for those craftspersons who receive capital support from *towkays* and government agencies, there is a tendency for profits to flow back to these external economic agents. None of the longhouses had reinvested its profits to start a community-owned craft business. Furthermore, the Iban are prevented from earning maximum profits by low prices, seasonal demand, and high cost of synthetic raw materials. This argument, however, is only relevant for explaining certain craftspersons experiences. Some craftspersons have invested their gains from agriculture in the acquisition of raw materials. As one *tuai rumah* claimed "*we are not in the business to get rich quickly*"; but they were constantly looking for ways to expand and increase production. Some *bilik*-families were not *"impressed"* by the government's handicraft projects and undertook their own initiatives to *beragih* and improve their marketing channels. If other craftspersons have not used their profits to replace handlooms, open an automated workshop near their longhouses or develop into a small business, it is not because of their cultural incompatibility which includes conservatism, lack of entrepreneurial qualities, ignorance of the market and a lack of economic motivation. To them, there is just no need for heavy reinvestment.

Based on the survey results, I cannot attribute the limited *"success"* of CHP solely to the fact that it is neither *"feasible"* nor *"desirable"* from the economic perspectives. CHP is not *"feasible"* and *"desirable"* because it necessitates changes in designs, styles, materials and production techniques that make it culturally incompatible. Furthermore, it does not provide sufficient income to enable accumulation in productive resources. But, there is positive evidence from CHP suggesting that commercialisation does not necessarily result in the deterioration in the quality of Iban traditional crafts. In fact, CHP

provides the Iban craftspersons with the necessary means for supporting craftspersons' skills and techniques (Parnwell 1993:256).

It appears to me that there is no conclusive answer to this research question. The survey results neither support nor reject the hypothesis that CHP is *"desirable"* and *"feasible"* to the Iban craftspersons. It is evident from the survey results that there are other factors, such as marketing, credit, production, labour and raw materials, which prevent Iban craftspersons from taking up CHP or achieving commercial *"success."*

8.3 Why is there Limited Iban Involvement and "*Success*" in CHP?

To answer this question, one must first examine the craftspersons' *level of involvement* and *"success"* in CHP. The study shows that the majority of Iban craftspersons show some signs of commercial production but generally lack *"success."* Most of them earn profits from crafts but few prosper, and though a small percentage does prosper, I doubt that this would be sustained for long without external support. Despite years of involvement in CHP, the majority of Iban craftspersons have not developed their activities into small businesses. Some have not even taken the step towards producing crafts commercially. The important questions are: are there barriers which prevent the Iban from producing crafts commercially or achieving economic *"success"* in CHP? If there are barriers, what are they? This brings me to my second sub-hypothesis, which is: rural Iban lack physical and non-physical resources needed to initiate, sustain and develop handicraft production into a modern economic enterprise.

In Section 8.2, I have shown that CHP is a desirable activity to some Iban craftspersons. However, the Iban craftspersons are confronted with barriers which hinder them from initiating, maintaining and developing CHP into a viable economic enterprise. Iban involvement (or lack of it) in CHP is not only shaped by external factors (such as

government, *towkays*) but also internal ones. Internal factors are those related to individuals (such as age, education, skill), the *bilik*-family (such as size, *bejalai* experience, income status), and longhouse (such as availability of development projects, infrastructure).

The nature of present Iban involvement in CHP is also shaped by their historical experience and their social, economic and political environment. In my analytical framework the roots of limited Iban involvement in CHP are part of a deeper problem which can be traced back to the early period when the Iban economy was first incorporated into the world economic system. Iban involvement in trade was constrained by the introduction of economic policies aimed at transforming them into settled farmers. The colonial and Malaysian economic policies are partly responsible for stifling Iban entrepreneurship. In brief, what is being suggested here is that the development of certain requisite entrepreneurial characteristics needed to initiate, survive in and develop CHP, have been impeded by ethnic groups who control the two most important resources - politics and the economy. Since the Malays and Chinese controlled the politics and economy respectively, they have both worked to preserve their advantages through direct and indirect discrimination against other ethnic groups. Since new opportunities are channelled through the politically- and economically-dominant Malay and Chinese communities, the less dominant and mainly rural-based Iban have experienced socio-economic isolation and neglect. In my opinion, if this trend continues, Iban institutions (social, economic, cultural) will decay and self-induced change will be more difficult.

I have provided quantitative evidence to show that the craftspersons are confronted with external barriers such as declining availability of raw materials, heavy dependence on government subsidies, market inaccessibility and policy biases. The Iban were also held back by factors internal to them, such as traditional socio-cultural factors (for example beliefs and practices), and lack of entrepreneurial skills. However, as my study on

craftspersons' economic *"success"* has shown, the internal factors (skill, age, education) can also be a source of strength and not just weakness.

As the results of this study have shown, the Iban craftspersons are not homogeneous; some are successful and some are not. The successful and less successful craftspersons operate in related but different systems. In general, earning supplementary income is the central concern of the less successful craftspersons. They use itinerant traders, rely on personal capital, produce crafts using manufactured raw materials, sell crafts when the need for cash arises, perceive CHP as a residual activity, and make limited efforts at modifying their products. The successful craftspersons, however, have external business links with Chinese *towkays*, allocate more person-days to CHP, treat it as a major income-earning activity, undertake radical modifications in their products, and are more adaptive to consumer demands. In particular, the *beragih* system provides them with the opportunity to expand sales, handle bulk orders, broaden their market and improve product quality. These successful craftspersons were able to develop, as they had the capability to service a wider market, suggesting that they have fewer barriers compared to those who rely on itinerant traders. However, they were still constrained in making the move to small business status. The fact that the Iban craftspersons conceded all the marketing, designs and customer relations to the *towkay* restricted their experience in those aspects and prevented them from developing into small businesses.

For those who relied on the *towkays*, expanding sales presented a hurdle because the *towkays* could only handle a small volume at one time and the craftspersons have to rely on personal resources. Regardless of their *beragih* situation, the Iban craftspersons do not control the market; they can only react to it on an individual basis. For those who do not *beragih*, the majority produce tourist crafts in a vacuum; they tried to guess the nature of the market and geared their production accordingly, simply hoping the traders or

retailers would buy their crafts. These factors combined with limited capital prevented Iban craftspersons from achieving *"success."*

Although the Iban have not developed formal businesses, yet enterprising individuals do have the capacity to manipulate the fluid structure of CHP to their own advantage. What may be absent is the Western notion of a formal business enterprise. The craftspersons in *Rumah A1* have succeeded in uniting informally under the leadership of the *towkay* and his two assistants. They have overcome their structural limitations at the individual level by uniting as a group. They behave like any enterprise, minus a formal structure. Seen from a different perspective, craftspersons in *Rumah A1* can be seen as a small business with the *towkay* as the manager. In fact, as craftspersons in *Rumah A1* have stated, it is difficult for casual customers to buy directly from them. The *towkay* even reinvests his profits in the *"business."* This study shows that the Iban do possess institutions that can function dynamically and succeed within a market structure.

My study thus supports the hypothesis that the Iban are confronted with physical and non-physical factors which prevent them from initiating, surviving in and developing successful enterprises. These constraints are a combination of the historical economic exploitation of the Iban by the state and dominant ethnic communities, economic and structural impediments existing in the rural areas, and Iban attitudes towards change.

8.4 Is There a Relationship Between Basic Characteristics and Craftspersons' Ability to Modernise Handicraft Production?

The theory and research reviewed here supports the third sub-hypothesis that there is a relationship between the basic characteristics of craftspersons and their ability to modernise and commercialise handicraft production. There are certain characteristics that disposed individuals to take up (or reject), survive and succeed in CHP. Some factors are inherent

(such as family background, age, sex) while others are acquired (such as education, training, business networks). The decision to take up and succeed in CHP is related to individual and *bilik*-family characteristics such as education, age, skill, number of family members on *bejalai,* and the employment and economic status of the *bilik*-family. The study shows that the elderly and less educated Iban are more likely to take up CHP. Craftspersons who have taken up CHP are those who come from low income *bilik*-families, with less experience in craft production, have a positive attitude towards CHP, receive a large percentage of their income from agriculture and are located far from the town. Factors such as craftspersons' age, and the number of *bilik*-family member on *bejalai*, level of skill in craft production, the number of unemployed family members do not have a significant effect on Iban decisions to take up CHP. It was interesting to find that craftspersons' experience, economic status, attitude and time allocated to CHP all have significant positive effects on craftspersons' ability to modernise and *"succeed"* in CHP. Craftspersons' level of entrepreneurship and skill when combined with other factors are not the determinant of *"success."* However, when examined individually, both factors have a significant and positive relationship with craftspersons' ability to modernise and *"succeed"* in CHP. In fact, the results of the path analysis also show that craftspersons' *"success"* is influenced by a combination of craftspersons' basic characteristics and other factors, such as the presence of support, craftspersons' experience in CHP, time commitment to CHP, and *bilik*-family's economic status, including craftspersons' willingness to make certain sacrifices.

8.5 Does Involvement in CHP Necessitate Changes and Sacrifices?

The results of this study support the sub-hypothesis that Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production necessitates changes and sacrifices. Development always involves changing the pre-existing structure. The *"success"* of rural industrialisation hinges on the

ability of craftspersons to produce varied and high-quality products, handle bulk orders, use higher quality raw materials, reduce costs of production, increase the value of their products (such as through packaging and advertisements), and respond to market demand. All these necessitate changes in the structure of production, types of crafts produced, raw materials used, amount of capital needed, new economic alliances formed, production time and the level of risk involved. In order for these changes to happen, the Iban craftspersons need to make certain sacrifices such as borrow money, modernise production and allocate more time to CHP.

While the data are inconclusive in determining the types of sacrifices that craftspersons have made in order to modernise, my discussions with the key respondents suggest that there are varying degrees of sacrifice that Iban craftspersons have made. Many have adapted traditional methods of production and used industrial processed raw materials. Some have modified the designs, colour, shapes and sizes of their crafts, while others have sacrificed their time and money for CHP. Regarding craftspersons' willingness to sacrifice, the results show that there is a high level of willingness to invest and borrow money and allocate more time to CHP in order to succeed. This suggests that the Iban are not totally resistant to change and they do have one of the basic qualities of an entrepreneur - the ability to innovate.

8.6 Is There a Future for Iban Involvement in CHP?

The answer to this question is provided by the results of the fifth sub-hypothesis which states that: future Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production is determined by the extent to which they can have access to external support and their perception of the benefits from CHP. There is a mixed reaction about craftspersons' future involvement in CHP. There is a high percentage of CPs who are willing to continue producing crafts commercially in the future. Among the NCPs, there is less willingness to take up CHP in

future. However, both CPs and NCPs share similar willingness to encourage their children to take up CHP in future. It is reasonable to think that rural industrialisation based on craft production can provide income and regenerate interest in Iban culture, particularly among the younger and educated Iban. A closer examination of Iban employment priorities, however, indicates that CHP is not a priority compared to that of agriculture and waged employment. Iban attitudes towards CHP would probably change with higher sales and increased income from crafts.

The extent to which the Iban can and will take up CHP is also dependent on the nature of the national development objectives pursued and on their translation into promotional policies. State policies have been biased towards traditional Malay craft industries (such as *batik* and silverware) as part of the government's implicit effort to protect the Malay traditions; and non-Malay crafts have been saved from decay by providing subsidies. If such biases persist, the case for modernising rural industries based on Iban handicraft production will not be a government priority. This policy bias, when translated into a strategy, will continue to treat craft production as a residual economic activity. The propositions for continuing CHP as a programme of rural industrialisation cannot succeed unless modernisation takes place and marketing outlets (for example, for export) are found for Iban crafts. The small-scale craftspersons running a craft factory workshop will be up against the odds if they go out looking for funds because of their limited experience, and lack of access to credit institutions as well as biases of state policies against small-scale rural producers. With no experience of factory production, it is reasonable to assume that they have limited knowledge about optimum size, costs and revenue, and new technologies to enable them to produce crafts using factory methods. With limited involvement of the young and educated Iban in CHP, I doubt rural industrialisation can develop beyond home production on a part-time basis.

As much as there are constraints for future Iban involvement in CHP, there is also some potential. One pre-condition for the *"success"* of CHP is the existence of a growing market for its products in terms of purchasing power and physical size. The development of the tourist industry in Malaysia, however, seems to be concentrated in the urban areas. With the growing popularity of eco-tourism, the rural areas should be able to attract more tourists. There is a potential market for crafts in the rural areas and, with proper support, the Iban can take advantage of this opportunity and claim their share of the spoils from the development of the tourist industry (Cohen 1987; Parnwell 1993).

In the following section, I will summarise the findings of my research, tie them together and present my view of Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP.

8.7 Iban Involvement and *"Success"* in CHP: An Iban *Nengeri* Interpretation

This is my personal view of the "*what*", "*how*", "*why*" and "*who*" of Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP. It may be an oversimplified view, but it is one which I developed based on my perception, understanding, interpretation and knowledge of the Iban craftspersons in the research area.

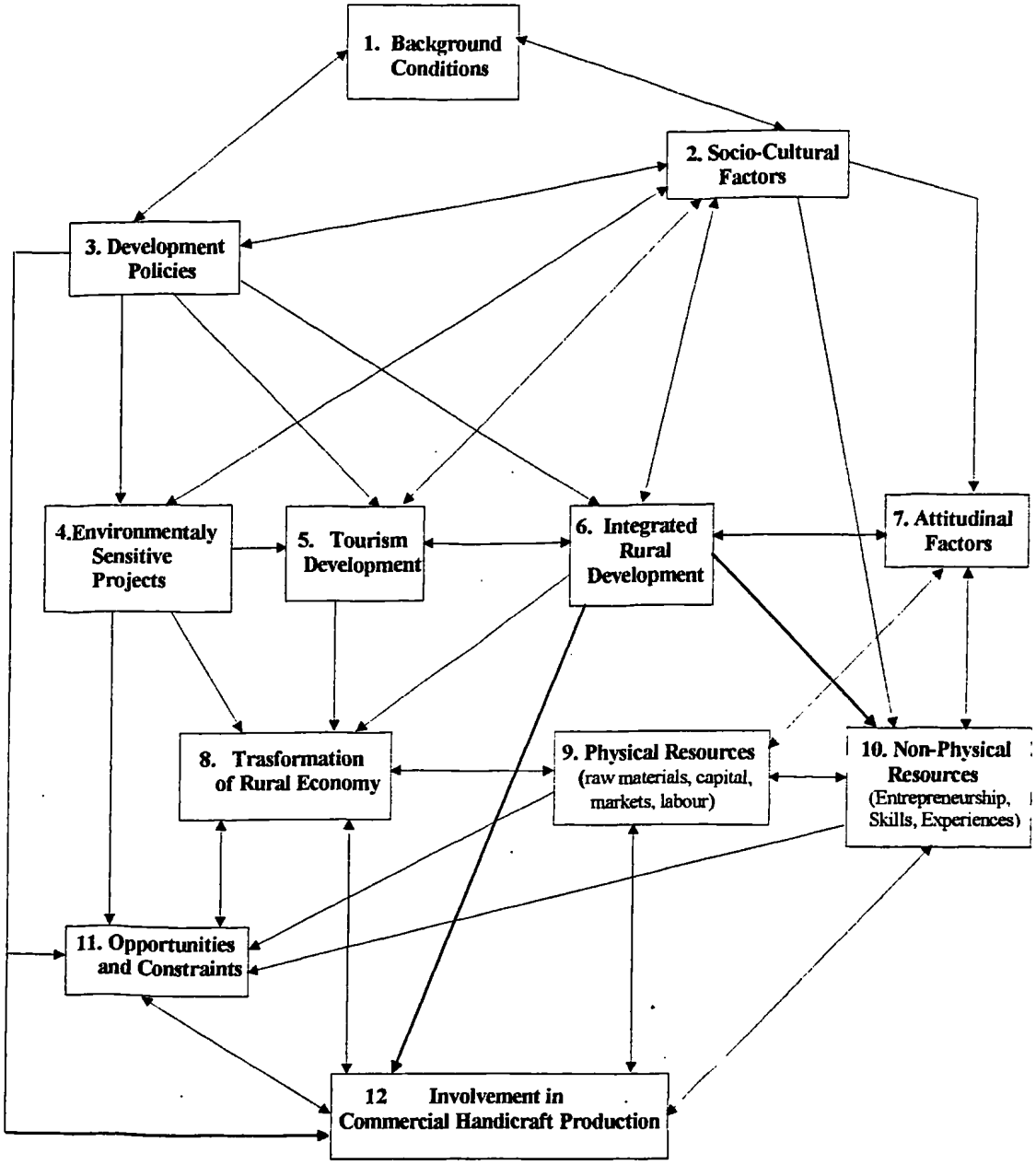
I start my discussion by emphasising a simple point, that individual or *bilik*-family decisions to take up CHP are shaped by internal and external factors. Iban involvement in CHP does not happen in an evolutionary path from subsistence to CHP. The Iban produce crafts regularly, but not in one single direction. Their involvement in CHP through the years is part of their interaction or response to the environmental, economic, political and socio-cultural factors that operate at a particular time and place (Alexander, Boomgaard and White 1991; King 1993). It is these factors which shape the Iban responses, set their limits and offer opportunities for involvement and *"success"* in CHP.

In my analytical framework, I have incorporated eleven key factors (but by no means the only factors) which shape Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP. The major components are illustrated in **Figure 8-1** and include: Iban background conditions (**Box 1**), socio-cultural factors which shaped government policies and Iban attitudes (**Box 2**), development policies (**Box 3**), the types and availability of development projects (**Box 4, 5,** and **6**), craftspersons' attitudinal factors (**Box 7**), transformation of rural economy (**Box 8**), availability of physical and non-physical resources (**Box 9** and **10**), and availability of opportunities (**Box 11**). I will now discuss the interrelationship of these factors and how I expect them to influence Iban involvement in CHP.

The results of this study show that the Iban craftspersons in the research longhouses are not homogeneous and this explains why some become involved or succeed in CHP, while others do not. Though they are all Iban from the same area, yet, due to differences in location and accessibility to the market and types of support received, they have different incentives for getting involved in CHP. Craftspersons' involvement (non-involvement) in CHP is shaped by their background conditions (**Box 1**). This study recognises that Iban involvement in CHP does not exist in a vacuum; instead they are affected by historical events and government policies that have shaped Sarawak and the Iban through the years.

To better understand the present socio-economic environment in which the Iban live, I examine the terms of the **conditions (Box 1** in **Figure 2.1)** in which the Iban environment was created by examining its historical origins, government policies (**Box 3, 4, 5 and 6**) and the process of transformation of the Iban economy (**Box 8**). Past and present development policies (**Box 3**) shaped the conditions in which the Iban live by affecting their opportunity options (**Box 11**).

Figure 8-1: Framework for Analysing Rural Iban Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production



From Jawan (1984, 1991), King (1988) Ooi (1995) and Pringle (1970), we learn that state policies are set within a regional history of social tensions based on ethnicity. These policies have created the agricultural and rural orientation of the Iban, which have shaped their opportunities. An examination of the historical process provides the framework for discerning the factors that lead to certain individuals, *bilik*-families, communities, areas or sectors having better opportunities (**Box 11**) compared to others. I

am setting the physical and social context - those geographic, historic, demographic, socio-economic and political forces - that have shaped the rural Iban way of life. This study recognises that government policies are shaped by the government perception of the Iban economy. This determines the way the government perceives the problems confronting the Iban, the way they define them and the approach taken to solve them. Through the years, the Iban have always been perceived as shifting cultivators who needed to be settled because of their "*waste of land resources*"; and as a traditional society that needed constancy guidance and moral education which only the state could offer. It is not surprising that the kinds of support extended to the Iban have a strong technocratic thrust as reflected by the heavy emphasis on increasing production through the use of modern inputs.

To me, government policies affect and are affected by **socio-cultural factors (Box 2).** In recent years, there is evidence that Iban culture has been appropriated by dominant external institutions (government and businesspersons) for economic and political reasons which have, in turn, resulted in the "*packaging*" of Iban identity (Caslake 1992; Kedit 1980, 1990; King 1992; Zeppel 1992). As Kedit has mentioned, the creation of a marketable Iban identity is not without consequences for the internal life of the Iban. Traditionally, the Iban produced crafts for personal use. The commoditisation of an externally defined Iban identity will and can affect the Iban **attitude (Box 7),** particularly towards craft production. The first option is that some craftspersons may take the opportunity and establish *beragih* (contract production) with a government agency or the businesspersons, thus increasing Iban economic and political marginalisation. The second option is that the Iban craftspersons can take up CHP by relying on community institutions (such as extended kin networks and reciprocal labour exchange). This option is important for two reasons: *first* it reinforces and builds upon existing Iban social institutions; *second* it fits in with the alternative development approach which seeks to foster productive

projects that are consistent with a self-defined indigenous identity. This option does not reject totally outside support, but it places great emphasis on Iban economic self-management. The third option is that craftspersons can reject this new economic opportunity.

Government policies are *"urban-biased"* resulting in the urban areas having better facilities and more economic opportunities which make them more attractive than the rural areas. The latter, however, are often confronted with problems of unemployment, indebtedness, poor harvests, price fluctuations and income instability. The wide socio-economic differences between the urban and rural areas of Sarawak have led to the oft-repeated Iban evaluation (**Box 2**) that the rural sector is only for those who cannot find employment in the urban areas; a sector of last resort.

In the research area, there are three major development projects which had and will have important implications for the rural Iban, namely (a) environmentally-sensitive projects (**Box 4**), (b) tourism development (**Box 5**), and (c) integrated rural development (**Box 6**). Environmentally sensitive projects (logging and hydro-electric dams) have **transformed the rural economy** (**Box 8**) and affected the relationship between the Iban and their environment. For the rural Iban, deforestration means the depletion in their supply of food resources and raw materials. In this way, environmental projects have a negative impact on tourism development (**Box 5**) and reduce craftspersons' opportunities to sustain their livelihood from selling crafts. With the promotion of eco-tourism in Sarawak, there is bound to be a shift in tourist destinations away from the urban towards the rural areas. If the trend continues, the rural craftspersons will have better opportunities of earning income from crafts.

Integrated Rural Development (IRD) Projects (**Box 6**) are one of the most visible features of rural economic transformation in Sarawak. The government, based on its

interpretations of rural Iban problems (**Box 2),** has introduced integrated programmes to provide marketing, credit, production, storage, transport support to Iban farmers (SADP 1991a). These development projects do not only affect the Iban social-cultural environment but also their management and distribution of physical and non-physical resources (**Box 9** and **10)** and their attitudes (**Box 7).** For example, the development of the timber industry has the effect of depleting forest products and increasing out-migration among the youths (**Box 9**). IRD projects have the effect of making Iban farmers heavily dependent on government subsidies and they reduce their ability to compete in the open market (**Box 10**). Rural transformation can also affect the number of skilled craftspersons. individuals with entrepreneurial qualities and experience in commercial production.

With the introduction of IRD in the rural areas, Iban *bilik*-families were forced to allocate a greater part of their labour to the production of export crops on a large scale at the expense of economic activities aimed at local needs. The increasing money income from cultivating export crops will increase the Iban need to buy material necessities, thus increasing their need for cash income. Also it will encourage the Iban to produce and aspire to *"succeed"* in CHP. For those not involved in government agricultural projects, their agricultural cycle provides them with a fair amount of slack time which they can devote to producing crafts commercially.

According to Oshima (1986:53) the population pressure on agricultural land *"pushes"*, while the availability of off-farm non-agricultural activities *"pulls"* the rural labour into non-agricultural activities. Oshima's discussion is only relevant to countries with high population pressure on land resources and not to Sarawak where the problem is less acute. In my opinion it is the state of agricultural development which *"pushes"* or *"pulls"* rural labour into non-farm and off-farm activities. Agricultural development, particularly with commercialisation, affects the rural family income and labour supply. Increased agricultural commercialisation is likely to reduce rural family involvement in

non-agricultural activities as a secondary occupation, because labour is reallocated from these activities to cash agriculture. Besides, many may be *"pulled"* by the availability of opportunities elsewhere. In some cases, commercialisation increases rural family income, which, in turn, increases their socio-economic status. A community that has a higher standard of living, is more likely to be involved in non-farm activities or produce handicrafts for the market because they have fulfilled the basic needs for family consumption. This has been demonstrated in studies of migration; families that have a higher standard of living are less likely to migrate in search of new economic opportunities. In other *bilik*-families, a higher standard of living can also discourage involvement in non-farm activities (Schneider-Sliwa and Brown 1986). A community that has a higher level of socio-economic development have the stock of physical resources (such as financial, infrastructural and communicational) which can be used by rural families to seek alternative income-earning opportunities in other areas. The presence of alternative opportunities away from the longhouse for the rural Iban may actually decrease their involvement in rural non-agricultural activities, particularly in CHP. The above discussion suggests that the economic environment does not have similar effects on all rural Ibans.

Craftspersons in different situations and with different resources should have different needs and perceptions of how involvement in CHP matches those needs. The extent of Iban involvement in CHP is dependent on the availability of physical and non-physical resources **(Box 8 and 9)** such as markets, skills, raw materials, capital and entrepreneurship. Before a person can produce and sell handicrafts, (s)he must have some basic production skills. Having these is not sufficient if the craftspersons are producing for commercial purposes. They need to have some knowledge of marketing techniques, without which they may have difficulties selling their products and accessing the more lucrative markets. In order to survive and develop into a lucrative business, the craftspersons need capital to finance their increased production. Initially, they can rely on

their savings, but with increased demand and production, they will have to seek alternative financial sources. Lack of access to formal and informal financial institutions is bound to hinder craftspersons' economic survival and development, which are, in turn, dependent on the availability of other factors of production such as raw materials and labour. The availability and accessibility to these physical resources will have a significant influence on craftspersons' involvement decision.

Craftspersons' involvement and *"success"* are also determined by their attitudes towards CHP, willingness to make certain sacrifices and entrepreneurship. Craftspersons' perception of the attributes of CHP, in terms of its economic contribution, prestige, simplicity, compatibility, security and risk have important implications for their willingness to be involved in CHP. Those who perceive involvement in CHP as a means of acquiring higher socio-economic status are more likely to be involved than those who perceive involvement as non-beneficial. Craftspersons' favourable subjective assessments also reflect the attractiveness of estimates of net earnings from CHP. Those who view *"success"* in commercial activities as an avenue for economic and social mobility are more likely to be involved in CHP rather than producing handicrafts for personal use. That the craftspersons do not respond to price functions does not make them "non-rational", "lazy", "resistant to development" or "tradition-bound" as claimed by the proponents of the neo-classical economics approach. In the first place, the Iban do not operate in a perfect market which is impersonal and highly competitive.

Development projects (**Box 4, 5** and **6**) can shape the kind of opportunities available for the rural Iban and indirectly influence their attitude (**Box 7**) towards these opportunities. In order for an attitude to be formed or changed about a given object or situation, some sort of appraisal of the object or situation must take place. One of the bases of this appraisal is the benefit perceived to be associated with the object or situation. Craftspersons who perceive they will benefit from CHP are more favourable towards CHP

than those who perceive they will not gain benefit. Similarly, those who are more favourable towards CHP are more likely to take up CHP compared to those who are unfavourable towards it.

One can also determine craftspersons' involvement in CHP by their perception of CHP in terms of its status-providing capacity. Rogers (1983:215) explained that one of the important motivations for adopting innovation is *"the desire to gain social status."* As a new idea or technique, CHP must be compatible with the craftspersons' cultural values and needs before they can accept it. There is a positive relationship between compatibility and rural Iban involvement in CHP. Security and risk are two other important determinants of Iban involvement in CHP. Craftspersons are more likely to become involved in CHP if they perceive that such involvement entails low risk and promises economic security. The inclusion of these six attitudinal variables rests on the premise that people with a positive attitude towards CHP are more likely to take up or renew their involvement in it.

Another important aspect is the availability of entrepreneurial qualities. The literature on entrepreneurship clearly shows that it is the key to business survival and development. Entrepreneurs, as opposed to producers, are risk-takers, and they seize opportunities. Entrepreneurship may be an important ingredient in business survival; but the question that needs to be addressed is whether the Iban craftspersons **want** to be entrepreneurs. This study shows that the Iban craftspersons are not the typical entrepreneur; they do not produce crafts simply to maximise profits in the long run. The surveyed craftspersons differ in their interest in crafts. The poor rely on income from crafts for survival. Others who are less needy took up CHP to earn supplementary income to spend on daily expenses. Regardless of their economic position, the craftspersons consider involvement in CHP as a part-time activity, to be pursued during spare time or between other tasks. They hardly pay much attention to the net earnings; the only thing that counts in their eyes is the number of crafts sold and the prices paid for them. The majority are not

interested in making long-term plans to improve their production process or possibly venture into other crafts. Their orientation remains one of producing crafts and yielding quick returns. This is understandable considering their limited access to market and the low prices of crafts.

One must also remember that the Iban craftspersons have faced numerous constraints and some have managed to overcome these by adapting production and establishing production relations. With limited resources, and having survived in CHP, it shows that the Iban have the requisite entrepreneurial qualities.

The Off-farm Labour Model (Huffman 1980; Rief and Cochrane 1986; Sumner 1982) stresses the importance of personal resources and characteristics such as age, education and skill in determining individual decisions to participate in off-farm activities. The craftspersons' age determines their level of education and skill. In terms of age, the elderly have less opportunity of receiving education compared to the young. Although age and education may be related, their influence on skill varies. Undeniably, age is an important determinant of skill in handicraft production because it is often acquired through years of informal training and experience. While age has a positive and strong influence on skill formation, education does not have a similar influence because of the informal way the rural Iban acquire their skills. Formal education is not required by the craftspersons; some are almost illiterate. I foresee that the relationship between age and skill will change, once the younger generations and the state become actively involved in CHP. The younger generations are better educated and their educational background will influence their ability and willingness to acquire production skills. On the other hand, government handicraft institutes tend to select course participants on the basis of their educational qualifications. As such, only individuals with certain qualifications will have better opportunities for improving their skills. This brings us to the role of training institutions. I tend to share Md Anisur's (1993) argument that the training process hardly improves the craftspersons'

skills; it is more of a place to acquire certificates and prepare the trainees to enter the market as *"craft entrepreneurs."* What these institutes fail to realise is that craft production is not mechanical but creative. I seriously doubt that Malaysia's craft institutes can teach creativity.

Now, the education-involvement connection is complicated in that education is possibly tied simultaneously in a negative relationship with age and may also be strongly associated with the attitudinal variables. Those with higher education are more likely to have better access to resources and support. Therefore, they face fewer difficulties producing handicrafts. They are more likely to be involved in CHP than those with lower education. This ties in closely with Huffman's (1977) concept of *"allocative ability"*; that is the ability to adjust to changes. Applying Huffman's concept to this study, one can argue that craftspersons with higher education possess higher *"allocative ability"* and can adjust faster to new ideas and techniques. On the other hand, high education may open the rural Iban to better employment opportunities *ex-situ,* thus preventing them from taking up CHP.

Another important factor which I have included in this conceptual model is the *bejalai* factor. *Bejalai* has an important role to play in the cultural and economic life of the rural Iban (**Box 2, 9** and **10**). Traditionally, Iban men leave their longhouses to go on *bejalai* in search of adventure and better economic opportunities. I have included the element of *bejalai* in my analysis because of its influence on the economic position of the *bilik*-family. I assume that *bilik*-families who have members on *bejalai* have higher income or income potential; therefore they are in a better economic position compared to those families without any *bejalai* experience. Family members on *bejalai* often contribute to the family income through their remittances. Besides, *bilik*-families who have *bejalai* experiences, have better exposure to what Rogers termed *"awareness-knowledge about alternatives"* (Rogers 1983:164). These *bilik*-families are better exposed to new ideas,

norms and techniques which makes them more likely to be involved in commercial activities. On the other hand, the *bejalai* factor may also have a negative effect on rural involvement in CHP. The more family members there are away on *bejalai*, the less labour there is available in the longhouses, making it less likely for the *bilik*-family to be involved in non-farm activities. Besides, they are economically secure, which means they are less pressured to find alternative income-earning opportunities.

The financial position of a *bilik*-family is also expected to have different influences on craftspersons' involvement in CHP, depending on the amount and source of their income. *Bilik*-families who earn a large percentage of their income from selling handicrafts are more likely to be involved in CHP, compared to those who rely on income from other sources such as non-crafts production. Besides, those in a higher financial position can afford to take some risk that involvement in CHP entails. New ideas are risky and costly to adopt because they usually require sacrifices and investment in capital outlay. Only those in a higher financial position can and are willing to make certain sacrifices or try these new ideas. Alternatively, those with higher income have less need for extra income from selling handicrafts, therefore, reducing their propensity to be involved in CHP. The lower income *bilik*-families also have reasons for getting involved in CHP. They have little to lose by getting involved in this *"new"* form of economic activity. Therefore, the financial position of the *bilik*-family can have both positive and negative influences on their involvement in CHP. In my opinion, it is the interrelationships among these factors; Iban historical background, social-cultural environment, government policies, development projects, attitudes, and availability of physical and non-physical resources, that offer the opportunities and set the constraints (**Box 11**) which consequently shape Iban involvement and *"success"* in CHP.

8.8 Implications for Public Policies

In light of the development effects of rural industrialisation which are brought out in this study, the following implications for public policies are of some importance. If Sarawak wishes to develop rural industrialisation (based on handicraft production) to provide real income alternatives to the rural Iban, and contribute significantly to rural poverty alleviation, the following issues need to be addressed carefully.

8.8.1 Development Strategy and Rural Industrialisation

It is argued here that the development of rural industry based on craft production has a key role to play in any development strategy, and such a strategy must emphasise modernisation and equity. Without modernisation, CHP will not be able to realise its full potential. This study has shown that overall CHP is not attractive, particularly to young Iban. With some changes, for example the construction of small-scale industries based on craft production, equity ownership in these industries, and flexitime for labour, I anticipate that more rural Iban would choose factory employment because of the relatively continual, secure and guaranteed wages associated with this form of craft production. There is an urgent need to direct planned efforts for the modernisation of Iban crafts. The gradual decay of Iban crafts can be reversed through promoting organisational changes among the craftspersons, arrangements for supply of finance and raw materials, and the creation of a suitable marketing infrastructure. Probably rural industrialisation needs to be planned around a series of centres in rural areas with groups of linked activities. The size and location of these centres will have to be thought out in relation to the ultimate objectives and operational practicality. This may mean a phased programme which begins with small centres in areas where longhouses are in close proximity and where there is "*willingness*" to take up CHP. Based on the literature and casual discussions with some government officers, there are a number of popular perceptions that can foster opposition to rural industrialisation based on crafts in rural Sarawak. These perceptions are:

(i) *Rural industrialisation can lead to the subordination of rural Iban.*

Arguments for and against the effects of rural industrialisation are as follows: the antagonists argue that the process of rural industrialisation will eventually lead to the subordination of the rural Iban in a centre-periphery relationship. This line of thinking is closely connected with the perspective of the "*dependency*" theorists. The basic argument is that, most "*benefit*" from rural industrialisation accrue to the urban areas (or "*metropolis*") while rural areas (or "*satellites*") remain underdeveloped; profits generated by rural producers are then siphoned off to the urban areas, leaving the rural areas in a continual state of underdevelopment and dependence.

The protagonists counter this by saying that rural industrialisation does not necessarily promote underdevelopment in the rural areas as long as the rural producers are able to convert and utilise the spin-offs of development. Rural industrialisation creates profits which can be reinvested in the rural areas. Studies have proven that rural industrialisation based on craft production can promote self-managed economic development that strengthens local and cultural institutions (Parnwell 1993 and 1994; Stephen 1991). The rural Iban may be subordinated but they are still better off than they would otherwise be without rural industrialisation, since that expansion represents a movement towards a local economy, increases economic diversification, and results in a level of "*economic development*" otherwise unattainable in the traditional craft sector.

(ii) *Rural industrialisation makes the rich Iban richer and the poor Iban poorer.*

The essence of this argument is that distribution of the benefits from rural industrialisation is determined by initial ownership of capital resources, skills, and economic and political networks. Considering that rural industrialisation generates its benefits through improvements of these resources, it is the rich Iban *bilik*-families who eventually benefit from the process of rural industrialisation.

On the contrary, I think it is the income and employment opportunities for the rural Iban that matters. Even if rural industrialisation makes asset-holding *bilik*-families richer at a faster rate than it increases the income of the poor *bilik*-families, the long term socio-economic benefit to the rural Iban make it a desirable policy instrument. The poor may be short of capital resources but the majority have land, which, when combined with human resources (skill and labour), is an advantage in labour-intensive rural industries. This is the more reason why small-scale rural industrialisation based on local resources, as envisaged by the neo-populists, appears to be a viable development alternative

(iii) *Rural industrialisation is "wasteful"*

From my discussion with development officers, I can summarise their arguments against rural industrialisation as follows. Some argue that rural industrialisation based on craft production is *"wasteful"* because its rate of return from investment is low compared to that of agriculture. Others argue that rural industrialisation is not an effective policy because it is unable to prevent the young and educated Iban from leaving the rural areas. Sometimes they maintain that Iban involvement in rural industries would encourage the Iban to abandon agriculture. There is also concern that the Iban will resist the rigid work arrangements associated with industrial production. Some officers were even concerned that rural industrialisation would lead to Chinese exploitation of the Iban.

In my opinion, rural industrialisation is *"wasteful"* only if it is evaluated using the common techniques used in project evaluation; the benefit-cost analysis and rate-of-return criteria. These quantitative analyses hardly take account of non-economic factors such as culture, values, ethnicity, tradition, attitudes, informal market structures and indigenous institutions. As this study has shown, rural industrialisation is not as *"wasteful"* as perceived by some government officers; in fact it develops initiatives and self-reliance at the local level. The argument that rural industrialisation will not stop rural Iban

outmigration is a nebulous one. Regardless of the presence of rural industries, young educated Iban will move out of rural areas because there are better opportunities available to them and life is more attractive in the urban areas. If employment and income opportunities are available in the rural areas, those who choose to stay behind can avail themselves of the opportunities created by rural industrialisation. Rural industrialisation cannot stop but it can slow outmigration; that can hardly be a serious argument against promoting it.

The argument that the Iban will abandon agriculture and resist rigid industrial work is a valid one. This is precisely the reason why Iban involvement in CHP is the major concern of this study and why rural industrialisation has to be examined in a broader context. The argument that the Iban will abandon agriculture totally in favour of rural industries is quite weak. My research results show that Iban craftspersons produce crafts alongside other activities such as farming, petty trading, and waged employment.

If all this occurs while the rural Iban are involved in multiple economic activities and in juggling between agriculture and non-agriculture, there is no reason to expect them to abandon agriculture completely. Past examples of Iban hunger, agricultural abandonment, land loss and indebtedness to Chinese traders due to their introduction to cash cropping, are a weak justification for under-investment in rural industries. The argument that the Chinese will manipulate the Iban has emerged strongly every time Iban underdevelopment is discussed. The critics who raise this issue may have assumed that every Chinese-Iban economic relationship is exploitative and that the *towkays* do not have a positive role to play in the rural Iban economy. Evidence from this study suggests that the Chinese *towkays* have played an important role in the economic *"success"* of some rural Iban craftspersons. Even if rural industrialisation benefits the Chinese more than the Iban, Iban-Chinese economic interdependencies will prevent exploitation; Chinese business *"success"* hinges on Iban economic *"success."* The very basis of the Iban-*towkay*

relationship is that of a human relationship. In a *beragih* situation where the economic actors are in almost continuous interaction and co-dependence, there are reasons to believe that potential opportunists or exploiters would refrain from committing dishonest actions; this could ruin their long-term interests. Furthermore, the *"success"* of rural industrialisation is not through severing Iban-Chinese economic relationships, but through close co-operation between the Iban, *towkays* and government agencies based on a three-dimensional approach.

This study contradicts the commonly-held conception that the Iban economic systems have moved and will move from one stage to another in a progressive fashion. This has important implications; left on their own, the Iban in the research area are less likely to follow the next logical step and become small-scale industrialists or small businesspeople. They will continue to *"move in and out"* of CHP; and aspire to earn huge profits from such involvement. I am not suggesting that the Iban craftspersons will resist any form of involvement in rural industries; in fact, as the results show, the Iban are most willing to participate, provided they can earn reliable profits from it. That the Iban are living in a dynamic socio-economic environment gives them more reason to adjust and adapt their handicraft production to benefit from the new opportunities. They cannot afford to over-specialise or avoid modernising production because they can become vulnerable. In a dynamic environment, the survivors are usually those who adapt not those who over-specialise.

The argument that the rural Iban will resist the tight work schedule associated with factory production is valid, particularly if one draws past examples of Iban resistance to work rigidity in land development schemes (Ahmad Mahzan *et.al.*, 1990; King and Jawan 1992). Here lies the challenge for policy-makers and development planners. Rural industrialisation based on craft production does not have to start or even develop along the same lines as a typical industry, with its production lines, tight work schedule and formal

hierarchy. I may be oversimplifying the issue, but I propose a kind of rural industrialisation programme which builds upon existing Iban institutions in combination with formal industrial structures. I envisage an industrial unit that will (a) be joint-managed by the Iban craftspersons and external techno-economic advisers, (b) build upon existing Iban institutions and values such as *bedurok* (labour-exchange) and co-operation, *beragih* (sub-contracting), *berpekit* (competition), skill up-grading through apprenticeship, profit sharing (rather than wages), decisions based on consensus from an *aum* (meeting), and flexible work schedules.

8.8.2 Non-Bounded Approach in Rural Development.

The policy-makers and public and private decision-makers must realise that any programme to promote non-farm activities in the rural areas must take into consideration the wider socio-economic environment. CHP is only one component of programmes to promote rural economic development. It is very ineffective to plan for rural industrialisation based on a bounded approach which only focuses on the rural or agricultural sector. Rural industrialisation can be more effective if it can be linked horizontally and vertically with other sectors in the rural and urban areas.

Although it is easy to make broad generalisations on development strategy, it is extremely difficult to prescribe how to accomplish it. The type of policy support for the rural craftspersons needs to consider the types and intensity of barriers faced by Iban craftspersons. Government initiatives towards small-scale producers have mainly addressed resource constraints (Ismail 1990). The government set up various agencies and addressed human, financial and physical resource constraints by providing training, credit, infrastructure and incentives. These policies, however, tend to treat craft production like any other small-scale enterprise. These policies fail to recognise two things: (a) craft production is <u>not</u> small-scale enterprise, and (b) types and intensities of problems faced by

the craftspersons are different. Recognising these two limitations, I have proposed some policy instruments to help reduce the problems faced by craftspersons at different levels of involvement in CHP as summarised in **Table 8-1.**

Table 8-1: Types of Barriers to Rural Iban Involvement and *"Success"* in CHP and Selected Policy Recommendations.

		ENTRY BARRIERS	
		Low (L1)	**High (H1)**
SURVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT BARRIERS	**Low (L2)**	• **Maintain existing method of production** • **Promote individual gains but also support community innovation** • **Very limited government involvement**	• Establish entry incentives • Provide support • Promote community entrepreneurship • Identify opportunities • Establish *beragih* • Limited government involvement
	High (H2)	• Use existing institutions • Establish noncapitalist institutions (such as kin network) • Promote community entrepreneurship • Direct government involvement	• **Establish incentives for *beragih*** • **Public and private sector support** • **Provide continual support** • **Promote eco-tourism** • **Reinvestment in community institutions** • **Development of a broad network of institutions, organisations, services and groups to express the economic and non-economic interest of the craftspersons** • **Promote cultural entrepreneurship** • **Active government involvement**

≡ High Priority

Low Priority

In a situation where there is a low entry and survival barrier (L1/L2 quadrant), the government could encourage Iban craftspersons to develop private entrepreneurship. Private entrepreneurship is the classical form of entrepreneurship where the exploitation of market opportunities is the basic objective. Since there are low barriers, the craftspersons should be allowed to develop their own potential solve their own problems, and adapt to changing socio-economic environments, with limited government intervention or support.

For those who face a high entry but low survival barrier (H1/L2 quadrant), the government can provide entry incentives (such as credit with low interest), and assist them to initiate CHP. Government involvement should focus on creating an *"enabling environment"* conducive for those who wish to take up CHP, but who are constrained by lack of physical and non-physical resources. Craftspersons in this category are usually newcomers who have yet to face survival or development constraints. In longhouses where there is a higher survival barrier, the government can encourage the Iban craftspersons to combine their efforts and develop community entrepreneurs. Through this way, the government can introduce support in marketing, credit, raw materials, skill improvement, production and channel its scarce resources to a group of craftspersons (rather than individuals).

The third (L1/H2 quadrant) and fourth type (H2/H2 quadrant) of craftspersons are those who face high survival and development barriers. Both have almost similar policy instruments, except that priorities should be given to those with high entry, survival and development barriers (H2/H2 quadrant). The government can encourage the Iban to modernise craft production; make some modifications to their products, search for new channels of marketing, establish new marketing networks, etc. The government can use its existing programmes to help the Iban solve their production, marketing, supply and credit problems.

The kind of support programmes for those who face high entry and survival barriers should be comprehensive, yet focused in its approach. Support needs to be extended according to individual requirements and capabilities. Besides providing the necessary supporting mechanism and developing community entrepreneurship, the government can promote cultural entrepreneurship by launching some kinds of cultural project for the whole community. One example is to develop cultural institutions and businesses which can interact with the tourism industry. The government can introduce incentives to encourage *beragih.* Rural industrialisation based on craft production is one form of cultural project which can be prioritised because it has a strong interrelationship with the tourism industry and can provide a more vital economic basis for future development.

8.8.3 Credit and Not Subsidy

There is a need for a gradual shift away from production based on subsidy programmes to one based on credit systems. This may need some time in order to acclimatise the rural producers and to provide time for an operational rural credit system to be developed in rural Sarawak. In designing programmes to phase out subsidies, timing and action must reflect varying conditions of rural Iban, and whether crafts are being used for cash or subsistence purposes (or both). Rural Iban need to engage outside support (government and *towkays*) to develop opportunities in their areas, but they must do so selectively and carefully to avoid outside domination of their development process. This can occur if the requirements of the Iban become the focus of public policy and private support. By providing credit, the rural Iban can mobilise local resources as an alternative to outside investment and check exploitative tendencies in rural development.

8.8.4 *Avoiding the Fallacy of Homogeneity and Over-Innovation*

Policy-makers must learn to realise that the Iban are not homogeneous, and as such their potential and constraints differ according to where they are located, their historical background, political affiliation and availability of resources. We must also recognise that potentially enterprising rural Iban may never actually embark upon CHP or business ventures simply because of their disadvantaged economic positions. There is an urgent need to recognise that the rural Iban experience a wall of visible and invisible obstacles which are different from those faced by other *Bumiputera.* This study shows that the existing technique towards classification for all phenomena is, however, dangerous as far as the Iban economy is concerned. Labelling the rural Iban as *"subsistence farmers"* or *"shifting cultivators"* is less appropriate considering the broad-based subsistence of the Iban in the rural areas. Such labels suggest a kind of homogeneity and result in generalised solutions, without sufficient attention being put to individual needs and capabilities. The analysis also shows that rural Iban are not against change, but they are willing to adapt to improve the marketability of their crafts. Rural industrialisation can succeed, provided it is built upon existing Iban structures (such as craft production) and takes into consideration the Iban social and economic environment.

8.9 Research Contribution

In this section, I will analyse some of the contributions of this study to the existing discourse of the role of craft production in economic development. Entering the 2000s in Sarawak, a series of "*new*" challenges to rural development is becoming apparent. Among these challenges are a growing crisis in survival strategies as a result of environmental degradation, population pressure, rural out-migration and high instability of commodity prices. These changes increase pressure on rural communities to increase productivity, lower production costs or seek alternative sources of livelihood. The presence of non-

agricultural activities, such as CHP will make an important contribution to rural Iban responses to these challenges.

A study of Iban involvement in CHP adds a new dimension to our understanding of contemporary production and economic relations in rural Sarawak. It is evident from this study that craftspersons' production and economic relations are a complex combination of traditional and modern, of selective modifications and radical transformations, and of economic and non-economic considerations. This complex combination reflects rural societies' pragmatic responses to an increasingly difficult and modernising environment (Parnwell 1993:256).

The experiences of the Iban craftspersons also represent a case in which the approach of the rural society has not been to reject modernisation, but rather to pursue local and grassroots control of modernisation. The experiences of Iban craftspersons confirm that craft production has an important role to play in the grassroots efforts of rural families. Iban involvement in CHP does not necessarily result in the loss of their economic independence or subsistence security. In fact, CHP represents a case of Iban grass-roots efforts to empower themselves to meet their own household and community needs and achieve a socially acceptable standard of living. The *"success"* of some *bilik*-families shows that the rural Iban could sell crafts to initiate and implement on their own terms development that is needs-oriented, self-reliant, indigenous and ecologically sound. Also, the *"success"* of the *beragih* relationship shows that traditional institutions are capable of generating a reliable income to supply the Iban with their basic needs.

Their experiences also suggest that government support alone is not enough to launch successful grassroots-controlled rural development alternatives. There has to be increased local control over the economic and social relationships that traditionally have contributed to the economic problems of the rural community. Though I have emphasised

craftspersons' knowledge and expertise, I am not suggesting that the *"outsiders"* such as the government or Chinese traders, have no important role to play in these grassroot efforts. This study has shown that the rural producers can succeed if they are helped by the government or *towkays*. In my opinion, the challenge to the rural producers is therefore not to accept or reject totally modernisation, but to control and use it to negotiate market relationships and to do what they want to do. In essence, this study reaffirms the need for a development strategy that is based on a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach. I hope that such a strategy would bring about the possibilities for improving the socio-economic situation of one of the poorest communities in Sarawak - the Iban *rumah panjai*.

This study illustrates several fundamental issues in conceptualising the significance of non-agricultural activities to the rural Iban. One important issue that seems to be of concern is the conception of non-agricultural activity as a very complex and contextual social phenomenon. Any attempts at studying rural Iban involvement in small- scale industries or non-agricultural activities must do so within a wider framework. I recognise that agendas for Alternative Development (AD) involve arguments for small-scale rural industries. However, AD need neither be purely *"indigenous"* nor wholly *"small"*, for it may not be feasible or *"desirable."*

Another issue is related to the implications of the AD approach. The results of this study show that the implications are complex and one has to treat generalised diagnosis of rural Iban economic problems with care. One must also be careful before accepting generalised remedies, such as rural industrialisation. It may be an *"alternative"* to some rural Iban, but it may **not** be the *"appropriate alternative"* for another. I recognise that while an important place must be kept for CHP as part of the Alternative Development approach, it must be situated in economic, social, political and cultural structures.

8.10 Future Research

This study only discusses Iban involvement in CHP using cross-sectional data, thus limiting its applicability in discussing trends. One area which future research could focus on is that of discussing the trends of Iban involvement in craft production using longitudinal data. Information gathered from such research will be useful because it provides information about the changes in craft production.

A study of the effect of government policies on the Iban is also needed. Too little attention has been given to the study of the impact of Malaysia's New Economic Policy on the rural Iban. A study of this nature should not be limited to an evaluation of official documents or government-sponsored consultancy reports alone, but it requires a systematic study using different research methodologies and theoretical approaches. As my study has shown, there are many unfounded assumptions, untested assertions and misconceptions about the Iban economy and society. Part of this problem is due to lack of information and biases in past writings on the Iban. There are two broad areas which I consider to be of top research priority: (a) human resource development, such as education, skill, training, and (b) the non-economic factors in Iban economic development, such as culture, ethnicity, indigenous knowledge, and politics.

8.11 Conclusion

When I embarked on this research, I started out with the intention of assessing the desirability and feasibility of CHP for the rural Iban. I found that CHP is looked upon favourably by the majority of the rural Iban because they can earn a reasonable income from it without having to abandon other economic activities or leave their longhouses. They can earn profit from CHP to the degree that some of their material goals can be achieved and *bejalai* can be partly financed. CHP has been successful in creating income-earning and employment opportunities for the rural community, particularly for the

disadvantaged groups such as women, the elderly and uneducated. Though the Iban face physical and non-physical barriers which prevent them from initiating or achieving *"success"*, they are still willing to take up CHP in the future. They are even willing to make certain sacrifices in order to participate and succeed in CHP. Rural industrialisation is not only feasible but also desirable for the rural Iban. By getting involved, the rural Iban are able to participate in the type of economic development which is based on the neo-populist principle of *"small is beautiful."*

Rural industrialisation based on craft production is one way of fulfilling the objectives of Iban development; the satisfaction of basic needs, the freedom of expression and impression, the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus, finding self-realisation in work, and most importantly the right to define one's own economic, social, political and cultural existence (Md Anisur 1993). I cannot be so naive as to believe that rural industrialisation based on craft production can fulfil all these development objectives. I could easily be pessimistic, but I can also say *"yes"*, rural industrialisation **can** fulfil some of these development objectives in the long run. I believe that once introduced, Iban involvement in commercial craft production will go a long way to encourage Malaysian planners to rethink the kind of development strategies they are providing for the rural Iban and stimulate further research on the Iban of Sarawak. Even if all these things do not happen, at least research on rural Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production or the state of their economy can stimulate the minds of some Iban *nengeri* like myself.

References

Abdul Kadir Haji Din (1992) 'The Relevance of Tourism to Socio-economic Development in Sarawak', in King, V.T. (ed.,) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia**, Borneo Research Council Proceeding Series, pp.113-130.

Abdul Rashid Abdullah (1990) 'The Response of Farmers in Two Bidayuh Communities to an *In-Situ* Land Development Programme', in King, Victor T and Parnwell, Michael J.G (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp.184-207.

Abrahamson, J.A. (1975) 'Style Change in a Upper Sepik Contact Situation', in Graburn, Nelson H.H (ed.,) **Ethnic And Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World,** Bekerley: University of California Press, pp.249-264.

Adams, Bill (1993) 'Sustainable Development and the Greening of Development Theory', in Schurmann, Franz J. (ed.), **Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory,** London: Zed Books, pp 207-220.

Adams, W. (1990) **Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in the Third World,** London: Routledge.

Agarwall, B.L. (1989) 'Rural Industrialisation in India', *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol.44, No.2, pp. 343-371.

Ahmed, R. and Hossain, M. (1990) **Development Impact of Rural Infrastructure in Bangladesh,** Washington D.C: International Food Policy Research Institute, Research Report No.83.

Alexander, Paul, Boomgaard, Peter and White, B. (eds.,) (1991) **In the Shadow of Agriculture: Non-farm Activities in the Javanese Economy, Past and Present,** Amsterdam: Rural Tropical Institute.

Allal, M. and Chuta, E. (1982) **Cottage Industries and Handicrafts: Some Guidelines for Employment Promotion,** Geneva: International Labour Office.

Allen, T. and Thomas, A. (eds.,) (1992) **Poverty and Development in the 1990s,** Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press in Association with Open University.

Amarjit Kaur (1995) 'The Babbling Brookes: Economic Change in Sarawak, 1841-1941', *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol.29, Part 1, pp.65-110.

Anderson, A.J.U., (1978). 'Malnutrition Among Sarawak Shifting Cultivators and Remedies', Paper Presented at the Workshop on Shifting Cultivation, Kuching, Sarawak.

Anderson, D and Leiserson, M.W. (1980) 'Rural Nonfarm Employment in Developing Countries', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.28, No.2, pp. 227-248.

Anderson, D. (1982) **Small Industry in Developing Countries - Some Issues,** Washington D.C.: World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 518.

Angeles-Reyes, E. (1994) 'Nonfarm Work in the Philippine Rural Economy: An Omen of Change or a Change of Omens?', in Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William. (eds.,) **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.133-166.

Anggat, A. (1989) 'Basic Iban Designs', *The Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XL, No. 61, pp.61-74.

Apthorpe, Raymond and Krahl, Andras (eds.,) (1986) **Development Studies: Critique and Renewal,** Leiden: E.J Brill.

Arnold, J.E.M. (1993) **Non-farm Employment in Small-Scale Forest-Based Enterprises: Policy and Environmental Issues,** Oxford: Oxford Forestry Institute Working Paper No. 12.

Atwood, Donald W. (1987) 'Irrigation and Imperialism: The Causes and Consequences of a Shift from Subsistence to Cash Production', *The Journal of Development Studies,* Vol. 23. No. 3, pp.341-64.

Austin, Robert F. (1974) **Iban Migration: Patterns of Mobility and Employment in the 20th Century,** Ph.D Dissertation, University of Michigan, (unpublished).

Aziz, Ungku A. (1964) 'Poverty and Rural Development in Malaysia', *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia,* Vol.1, No.1, pp.70-96.

Bailey, M and Weller, Robert H. (1987) 'Fertility Differentials in Rural Sierra Leone: A Path Analysis', *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol.21, No.2, pp. 191-206.

Balisacan, A. (1993) 'Agricultural Growth, Landlessness, Off-Farm Employment, and Rural Poverty in the Philippines', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.41, No. 3, pp.533-562.

Baring-Gould, S and Bampfylde, C.A. (1909) **A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, 1839-1908,** London: Henry Sotheran and Company.

Beavitt, Paul (1995), 'Selling Tradition - The Pesaka Industry in Sarawak', *Sarawak Gazette,* Vol.CXXII, No.1533, pp.15-19.

Becker, G. (1976) **The Economic Approach to Human Behaviour,** Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Beckerman, Wilfred (1995) **Small is Stupid: Blowing the Whistle on the Greens,** London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Limited.

Beccari, Oduardo (1986) **Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo,** Singapore: Oxford University Press, (First Published in 1904).

Bernstein, H. (1979) 'African Peasantries: A Theoretical Framework', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol.6, No. 4, pp.421-443.

---------- (1992) 'Agrarian Structures and Change: Sub-Saharan Africa', in Bernstein, H., Crow, B., and Johnson, H. (eds.,) **Rural Livelihoods: Crises and Response,** Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with Open University, pp.51-65.

Beveridge, Andrew A. and Oberschall, Anthony R. (1979) **African Businessmen and Development in Zambia,** New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Binswanger, Hans P. and Rosenweig, Mark R. (1986) 'Behavioural and Material Determinants of Production Relations in Agriculture', *Journal of Development Studies,* Vol.22, No.3, pp.503-539.

Booth, D. (1985) 'Marxisim and Development Sociology: Intepreting the Imapasse', *World Development,* Vol.13, No.7, pp761-787.

Bottomley, A. (1965) 'The Fate of the Artisan in Developing Economies', *Social and Economic Studies, Vol.14, No.2, pp.194-203.*

Boyle, F. (1865) **Adventures Among the Dayaks of Borneo**, London:Hurst & Blacket.

Bray, F. (1983) 'Patterns of Evolution in Rice Growing Societies', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol. 11, pp.431-443.

---------- (1986) **The Rice Economies: Technology and Development in Asian Societies,** Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Bromley, D.W. and Chavas, Jean-Paul (1989) 'On Risk, Transactions, and Economic Development in the Semiarid Tropics', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.37, No.1, pp.719-736.

Brooke, Charles Anthony Johnson (1866) **Ten Years in Sarawak,** London: Tinsley.

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy (1996) 'Deagrarianization and Rural Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sectoral Perspective', *World Development,* Vol. 24, No.1, pp.97-111.

Bryman, A and Cramer, D. (1990) **Quantitative Data Analysis for Social Scientists,** London: Routledge.

Bugo, Hamid (1988) 'Economic Development Since Independence: Performance and Prospects', in Cramb, Rob and Reece, R.H.W (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No.17, pp.49-56.

Buttel, Frederick H and Gillespie, G.W. (1984) 'The Sexual Division of Farm Household Labor: An Exploratory Study of the Structure of On-farm and Off-farm Labor Allocation Among Farm Men and Women', *Rural Sociology* Vol. 49, No.2, pp.183-209

Caslake, John (1992) 'Tourism, Culture and the Iban', in King, V.T. (ed.,) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia**, Borneo Research Council Proceeding Series, pp. 67-90.

Chambers, R. (1989) **The State and Rural Development: Ideologies and Agenda for the 1990s,** Brighton: Institute of Development Studies Discussion Paper No. 269.

Chambers, R. and Conway, Gordon R. (1992) **Sustainable Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century,** Brighton: Institute of Development Studies Discussion Paper No. 296.

Chamhuri Siwar and Nik Hashim Nik Mustapha (1988) **Integrated Rural Development in Malaysia,** Bangi: Faculty of Economics, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Monograph No.4.

Chee Peng Lim (1985) 'A Review of Rural Non-farm Activities in Malaysia', in Mukhopadhyay, S. and Chee Peng Lim (eds.), **Development and Diversification of Rural Industries in Asia,** Kuala Lumpur: Asia Pacific Development Centre, pp 1-39.

---------- (1987) **An Introduction to the Malaysian Industrial Master Plan,** Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications.

---------- (1990) 'Promotion of Small Industries. The Malaysian Experience', in Esderts, Hans J. and Ismail Md.Salleh (eds.,) **Promotion of Small-Scale Industries and Strategies for Rural Industrialisation. The Malaysian Experience,** Kuala Lumpur: Sun U Book Co., Sendirian Berhad, pp.25-61

Chew, Daniel (1990) **Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontiers, 1841-1941,** Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Chibnick, M. (1980) 'The Statistical Behaviour Approach: The Choice Between Wage Labour and Cash Cropping in Rural Belize', in Barlett, Peggy F. (ed.), **Agriculture Decision-Making: Anthropological Contribution to Rural Development**, New York: Academic Press, pp.87-112.

Chin, John M. (1981) **The Sarawak Chinese,** Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Chin, L. and Nyandoh, R. (1975) 'Archaeological Work in Sarawak', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XXIII, No.44, pp.1-7.

Chin, Lucas (1981) **The Cultural Heritage of Sarawak,** Kuching: Sarawak Museum.

---------- and Mashman, Valerie (1991) **Sarawak Cultural Legacy - A Living Tradition,** Kuching: Society Atelier Sarawak.

Chinn, D. (1978) 'Rural Poverty and the Structure of Farm Household Income in Developing Countries: Evidence from Taiwan', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.27, No.2, pp. 283-301.

Cho, George (1990) **The Malaysian Economy: Spatial Perspective,** London: Routledge.

Choe, Yang Boo (1985) 'Development of Rural Non-farm Activities in Korea', in Mukhopadhyay, S. and Chee Peng Lim (eds.), **Development and Diversification of Rural Industries in Asia,** and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

---------- (1986) 'M-Cycle Hypothesis, Non-farm Activities and Rural Industrialisation in the Asian Monsoon Economy', in Choe, Yang Boe and Lo, Fu-Chen (eds.), **Rural Industrialisation and Non Farm Activities of Asian Farmers,** South Korea: Korean Rural Economic Institute.

---------- and Lo, Fu-Chen (eds.) (1986) **Rural Industrialisation and Non Farm Activities of Asian Farmers,** South Korea: Korean Rural Economic Institute.

Cholchester, Marcus (1989) **Pirates, Squatters and Poachers: The Political Ecology of Dispossession of the Native People of Sarawak,** Kuala Lumpur: INSAN, A Report from Survival International.

Chuta, E and Liedholm, C. (1990) 'Rural Small-scale Industry: Empirical Evidence and Policy Issues', in Eicher C. K and Staatz, John M. (eds.), **Agricultural Development in the Third World**, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, Second Edition.

Clay, J. (1982) 'Introduction to Ethnic Art:Works in Progress', *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol.6, No.4, pp.5-18.

Cleary, Mark and Eaton, P. (1992) **Borneo: Change and Development,** Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Cleary, M.C. (1996) 'Indigenous Trade and European Economic Intervention in North-West Borneo, 1860-1930', *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol.30, Part 2, pp.271-300.

Cobb, D. David (1988) **Iban Shifting Cultivation: A Bioregional Perspective,** Ph.D Dissertation, Arizona State Univesity, (unpublished).

Cohen, Erik (1983) 'The Dynamics of Commercialised Arts: The Meo and Yeo of Northern Thailand', *Journal of the National Research Council of Thailand.* Vol. 15, No.1, pp.1-34.

---------- (1987) 'Alternative Tourism - A Critique', *Tourism Recreation Research,* Vol. XII, No.2, pp.13-18.

Corbridge, S. (1986) 'Capitalism, Industrialization and Development', *Progress in Human Geography,* Vol.10, pp.48-67.

Cook, Scott (1982) **Zapotec Stoneworkers: The Dynamics of Rural Simple Commodity Production in Modern Mexican Capitalism,** Washington D.C: University Press of America.

---------- (1984) 'Peasant Economy, Rural Industry and Capitalist Development in the Oaxaca Valley, Mexico', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol.12, pp.3-40.

Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W (eds.,) (1988) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No.17.

Cramb, Rob A. (1988) 'The Commercialization of Iban Agriculture' in Cramb, Rob A and Reece, R.H.W (eds.,) (1988) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No.17, pp.105-134.

Crisswell, Colin N. (1978) **Rajah Charles Brooke. Monarch of All He Surveyed,** Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Stephen J. (1991). 'The Entrepreneurial Capabilities of Rural Furniture Manufacturers in Central Java, Indonesia: A Framework and Case Study', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, Vol.3, pp.253-367.

Deere, Carmen D and de Janvry, Alain (1979) 'A Conceptual Framework for the Empirical Analysis of Peasants', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol.61, No.4, pp.601-611.

de Geer, John P. Van (1971) **Introduction to Multivariate Analysis for the Social Sciences,** San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company.

de Kadt, Emanuel (1990) **Making the Alternative Sustainable: Lessons from the Development for Tourism,** Brighton: Institute of Development Studies Working Paper No. 272.

de Souza, A. (1982) 'Commentary: Dialectic Development Geography', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol.73, pp.122-128.

Dillon, W.R and Goldstein (1984) **Multivariate Analysis: Methods and Applications,** New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Dow, Malcolm M. (1985) 'Agricultural Intensification and Craft Specialization: A Nonrecursive Model', *Ethnology*, Vol.24, pp.137-152.

Drake, Richard A. (undated) ' The Cultural Logic of Textile Weaving Practices Among the Ibanic People' in Sutlive, Vinson H (ed.) **Female and Male in Borneo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies.** The College of William and Mary in Virginia: The Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol.1, pp. 271-294.

Dunsmore, S. (1991) 'Basketwork' in Chin, Lucas and Mashman, Valerie (eds.,) **Sarawak Cultural Legacy - A Living Tradition,** Kuching: Society Atelier Sarawak, pp.191-215.

Edgren, G and Muqtada, N. (1987) 'Rural Employment Creation in Asian and the Pacific: An Overview' in Edgren, G and Muqtada, N. (eds.,) **Rural Employment and Creation in Asia and the Pacific**, Manila: Asian Development Bank, pp.7-12.

Empiang Jabu (1989) 'The Traditional Values and Functions of *Pua Kumbu'*, *The Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XL, No. 61, pp.92-98.

---------- (1991) 'Pua Kumbu - The Pride of the Iban Cultural Heritage', in Chin, Lucas and Mashman, Valerie (eds.,) **Sarawak Cultural Legacy: A Living Tradition,** Kuching: Atelier Society Sarawak, pp.75-90.

Esderts, Hans J and Ismail Md.Salleh (eds.,) (1990) **Promotion of Small-Scale Industries and Strategies for Rural Industrialisation. The Malaysian Experience**, Kuala Lumpur: Sun U Book Co. Sendirian Berhad.

Evans, Emrys and Ngau, P. (1991) 'Rural Urban Relations, Household Income Diversification and Agricultural Productivity', *Development and Change,* Vol. 22, pp.519-545.

Evers, Hans-Dieter (1989) **Trade as an Off-farm Employment in Central Java,** Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld, Working Paper No. 14.

---------- (1991) **A Critical Evaluation of the Traders Dilemma,** Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld, Working Paper No. 152.

Evers, Hans-Dieter and Heiko, Schrader (eds.,) (1994) **The Moral Economy of Trade Ethnicity and Developing Markets,** London: Routledge.

Feder, G., Just, R.E. and Zilberman, David *(1982)* **Adoption of Agricultural Innovation in Developing Countries,** World Bank Staff Papers No. 542.

Feder, G. and Zilberman, David (1985) 'Agricultural Innovation in Developing Countries', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 33, No. 2, pp.255-298.

Fernando, M.R. (1996) 'Growth of Non-Agricultural Economic Activities in Java and the Middle Decades of the Nineteenth Century', **Modern Asian Studies,** Vol. 30, No. 1, pp.77-119.

Fidler, Richard C. (1978) 'Chinese-Iban Economic Symbiosis', *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol.6, No 1-2, pp.56-77.

Freeman, Donald. B and Norcliffe, Glen B. (1983) 'Relations Between the Rural Nonfarm and Small Farm Sectors in Central Province, Kenya', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en sociale Geografie,* Vol.75, No.1, pp.61-73.

---------- (1985) **Rural Enterprise in Kenya: Development and Spatial Organization of the Nonfarm Sector,** University of Chicago: Department of Geography, Research Paper No.214.

Freeman, J. Derek (1955) **Iban Agriculture: A Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak,** London: Colonial Research Studies No.18.

---------- (1970) **Report on the Iban,** University of London: London School of Economics, Monograph on Social Anthropology No. 41.

---------- (1981) **Some Reflections on the Nature of Iban Society,** The Australian National University, Department of Anthropology Occasional Paper.

Gavin, Traude (1991) '*Kayau Indu*: The Warpath of Women. A *Ngar* Ritual at Entawau, Balleh in October, 1988', *The Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XLII, No.63, pp.1-42.

Gill, Sarah Hall Sharples (1971) **Selected Aspects of Sarawak Art,** Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, (unpublished).

Goldin, Liliana R. (1992) 'Work, Ideology in the Maya Highlands of Guatemala: Economic Beliefs in the Context of Occupational Change', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.41, No.1, pp.103-124.

Gonsalves, Paul S. (1987) 'Alternative Tourism - The Evolution of a Concept and Establishment of a Network', *Tourism Recreation Research,* Vol. XII, pp.9-12.

Graburn, N.H (ed.) (1976) **Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World,** Bekerley: California University Press.

Grabowski, Richard (1995) 'Commercialisation, Nonagricultural Production, Agricultural Innovation and Economic Development', *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol 30, No.1, pp. 40-61.

Green, D.A.G and Ng'ong'ola, D.H (1993) 'Factors Affecting Fertiliser Adoption in Less Developed Countries: An Application of Multivariate Logistic Analysis in Malawi', *Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol.44, pp.99-109

Grijpstra, Bouwe G. (1976) **Common Effort in the Development of Rural Sarawak, Malaysia,** Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

---------- (1993) 'Long-term Change Among the Bidayuh: The Desirability of a Restudy' in Sutlive, Vinson H (ed.,) **Change and Development in Borneo: Selected Papers from the First Extraordinary Conference of the Borneo Research Council, Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia,** The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Borneo Research Council Inc., pp. 253-276.

Guerreiro, Antonio J. (1988a) 'Swidden Agriculturalist and Planned Change: The Model Village Program in Belaga District (Sarawak, 7th Division). A Preliminary Report', *Borneo Research Bulletin,* Vol.20, No.1, pp.3-14.

---------- (1988b) 'Cash Crops and Subsistance Strategies: Towards a Comparison of Kayan and Lahanan Economies', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XXXIX, No. 60, pp.15-52.

Guillet, D. (1981) 'Surplus Extraction, Risk Management and Economic Change Among Peruvian Peasants', *Journal of Development Studies,* Vol. 18. No. 1, pp.3-24.

Gupta, Davendra B. (1978) **Employment Implications of Cottage Industries,** University of Hull: Hull Economics Research Papers No. 35.

Haddon, Alfred Cort and Start, L.E. (1936) **Iban or Sea Dayak Fabrics and Their Patterns: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Iban Fabrics from the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,** Cambridge University: Museumn of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Haggblade, S., Hazel, P. and Brown, J. (1989) 'Farm-Nonfarm Linkages in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa', *World Development,* Vol.17, No.8, pp.1173-1201.

Hara, Y. (1981) 'Off-farm Employment in Economic Development: Some Theoretical Considerations', Paper presented at International Seminar on Off-farm Employment and Rural Industrialisation, FFTC/ASPAC, Tokyo.

Hatch, T. (1982) **Shifting Cultivation in Sarawak: A Review,** Kuching: Sarawak Department of Agriculture Technical Paper No. 8.

Harrisson, Tom (1949) 'Gold and Indian Influence in West Borneo', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol.XXII, No.4, pp.33-110.

---------- (1955) 'Ceramics Penetrating Central Borneo', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.VI, No.6, pp. 549-60.

Hart, G. (1994) 'The Dynamics of Diversification in an Asian Rice Region', in Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William (eds.,) **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.47-72.

Hawkins, Everett D. (1961) 'The Batik Industry: The Role of the Javanese Entrepreneur,' in Higgins, B (ed.,) **Entrepreneurship and Labor Skills in Indonesian Economic Development: A Symposium,** Yale: Yale University Monograph Series No. 1, pp.39-74.

Heppell, M. (1989) 'Whither Dayak Art?', *The Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XL, No. 61, pp.75-92.

Hettne, Bjorn (1990) **Development Theory and the Three Worlds,** London: Longman Scientific and Technical.

Hewitt, Tom., Johnson, Hazel and Wield, Dave (eds.,) (1992) **Industrialization and Development,** London: Open University.

Higgins, Benjamin H. (ed.,) (1961) **Entrepreneurship and Labor Skills in Indonesian Economic Development: A Symposium**, Yale: Yale University Monograph Series No. 1.

Hill, Lewis (1991) 'Tourism and Tourist Art in South-East Asia', Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, 25-28 March.

Hill, P. (1970) **Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hipkins, James R. (1971) 'The History of the Chinese Settlement of Borneo', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XIX, No.38-39, pp.109-154.

Hitchcock, Michael, King, V.T. and Parnwell, M.J.G (eds.) (1993) **Tourism in South-East Asia,** London: Routledge.

Hornaday, William (1885) **Two Years in the Jungle. The Experience of a Hunter and Naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo,** London: Kegan Paul and Trench.

Ho, Samuel P.S (1976) **The Rural Non-farm Sector in Taiwan: Studies in Employment and Rural Development'**, Washington D.C: World Bank Studies in Employment and Rural Development, Working Paper No. 32.

---------- (1978) **Small Scale Industries in Two Rapidly Growing Less Developed Countries Korean and Taiwan - A Study of their Characteristics, Competitive Bases and Productivity**, Washington D.C. World Bank.

---------- (1979) 'Decentralized Industrialization and Rural Development: Evidence from Taiwan', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.32, pp.77-96.

---------- (1986) 'Rural Nonagricultural Development in Asia: Experiences and Issues', in Choe, Yang-Boo and Lo, Fu-Chen (eds.,) **Rural Industrialisation and Non-Farm Activities of Asian Farmers,** Proceedings of the International Seminar on the Role of Rural Industries for National Development in the Asian Region, 22-25 April, 1985, South Korea, pp. 43-72

Hon, Denis (1988) 'Sarawak Tourism Potential', *Sarawak Gazette,* Vol. CXIV, 1504, pp.4-7.

---------- (1989) 'Culture Designed for Tourism: The Sarawak Context', *The Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol.XL, No.61, pp.285-292.

---------- (1990) 'Tourism Potentials in Sarawak', *Sarawak Gazette,* Vol. CXVII, 1513, pp.4-10.

Hong, Evelyn (1987) **Natives of Sarawak: Survival in Borneo's Vanishing Forest,** Pulau Pinang: Institut Masyarakat.

Huang, Yukon (1979) 'The Behaviour of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Farmers: A Case Study', *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol. 14, No.2, pp.175-186.

Huffman, Wallace E. (1977) 'Allocative Efficiency: The Role of Human Capital', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 91, No. 1, pp.59-80.

---------- (1980) 'Farm and Off-farm Work Decisions: The role of Human Capital', *Review of Economics and Statistics,* Vol. 62, pp.14-23.

Hulme, David and Turner, Mark M. (1990) **Sociology and Development: Theories, Policies, and Practices,** Hemel Hempstead Harvester: Wheatsheaf.

Hutton, C. and Cohen, H. (1975) 'African Peasants and Resistance to Change: A Reconsideration of Sociological Approaches', in Oxaal, I. Barnett, T. and Booth, D. (eds.), **Beyond the Sociology of Development: Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa,** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.105-130.

Hymer, S and Resnick, S. (1969) 'A Model of An Agrarian Economy With Non-Agrarian Activities', *The American Economic Review*, Vol.59, pp.493-506.

INSAN (1989a) **Logging Against the Natives of Sarawak,** Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Social Analysis.

-------- (1989b) **Logging in Sarawak: The Belaga Experience,** Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Social Analysis.

International Labour Office (1972) **Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya**, Geneva: mimeographed.

---------- (1978) **World Employment Programmes - Rural Small Scale Enterprises and Employment in Sri Lanka**, Geneva: mimeographed.

Islam, Rizwanul (eds.,) (1982) **Rural Industrialisation and Employment in Asia,** New Delhi: International Labour Organisation and Asian Employment Programme.

---------- (1984) 'Non-Farm Employment in Rural Asia: Dynamic Growth or Proletarianisation?', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 14, No.5, pp.306-324.

---------- (1986) 'Non-Farm Employment in Rural Asia: Issues and Evidence', in Shand, R.T. (ed.,) **Off-farm Employment in the Development of Rural Asia,** Australian National University: National Centre for Development Studies, Vol.1, pp.153-174.

---------- and Jin Hehui (1994) 'Rural Industrialisation: An Engine of Prosperity in Postreform Rural China', *World Development,* Vol.22, pp.1643-1659.

Ismail Md.Salleh (1990) 'Small and Medium Scale Industrialisation: Problems and Prospects', in Esderts, Hans J. and Ismail Md.Salleh (eds.,) **Promotion of Small-Scale Industries and Strategies for Rural Industrialisation. The Malaysian Experience**, Selangor: Sun U Book Co. Sendirian Berhad, pp.1-24.

Ismail, Pengiran Haji bin Pengiran Ibrahim (1985) 'The Craft of the Silver-smith in Brunei', *The Brunei Museum Journal,* Vol. 6, pp.89-106.

Janowski, Monica H. (1991) 'The Making of Earthenware Cooking Pots in the Kelabit Highlands', in Chin, Lucas and Mashman, Valerie (eds.,) **Sarawak Cultural Legacy - A Living Tradition,** Kuching: Society Atelier Sarawak, pp.135-148.

Jawan, Jayum (1990) 'The Dayak in Sarawak: Politics and Participation in the National Development', in King, V.T. and Parnwell, M.J.G. (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and People of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp.147-162.

---------- (1991) **Political Change and Economic Development Among the Ibans of Sarawak, East Malaysia,** Ph.D Dissertation, University of Hull, (unpublished).

---------- (1994) 'Kemunduran di Kalangan Masyarakat Dayak', *Ilmu Masyarakat,* Vol.7, pp.55-67.

---------- (1992) 'Between Tradition and Change: A Re-examination of Some Fundamental Assumptions about the Ibans', *Borneo Research Bulletin,* Vol.24, pp.24-32.

Jenkins, Rhys (1992) 'Theoretical Perspectives', in Hewitt, Tom., Johnson, Hazel and Wield, David (eds.,) **Industrialisation and Development,** London: Open University, pp.128-166.

Jensen, Erik (1974) **The Iban and their Religion,** Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jomo Kwame Sundaram (1977) **Class Formation in Malaya: Capital, the State and Uneven Development,** Ph.D Dissertation, Harvard University, (unpublished).

---------- (1986) **Development Policies and Income Inequality in Peninsular Malaysia**, *Universiti Malaya: Institut Pengajian Tinggi.*

---------- (1993) **Beyond 1990: Considerations for a New National Development Strategy,** Universiti Malaya: Institut Pengajian Tinggi.

Joseph, Ko Tee Hock (1989) 'A Socioeconomic Study of the Iban To-day', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Special Issue No.4, Part 4, Vol.XL, No.61, pp.79-96.

Joseph, Rebecca M. (1987) **Diffused Batik Production in Central Java,** Ph.D Dissertation, University of California, San-Diego, (unpublished).

Junankar, P.N. (1989) 'The Response of Peasant Farmer to Price Incentives: The Use and Misuse of Profit Functions', *The Journal of Development Studies,* Vol.25, No.2, pp.169-182.

Kada, R. (1980) **Part-time Family Farming: Off-farm Employment and Farm Adjustment in the United States and Japan**, Tokyo: Centre for Academic Publications.

---------- (1982a) 'Changing Rural Employment Patterns: Role of Off- farm Employment for Balanced Rural Development', Paper presented at the 18th International Conference on Agricultural Economics, Jakarta.

---------- (1982b) 'Trends and Characteristics of Part-Time Farming in Post-War Japan', *GeoJournal,* Vol.6, No.4, pp.367-372.

Kahn, J. (1982) 'From Peasants to Commodity Production in Southeast Asia', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars,* Vol. 14, pp. 3-14.

---------- (1992) 'Class, Ethnicity and Diversity: Some Remarks on Malay Culture in Malaysia', in Kahn, Joel S. and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.,) **Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia**, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, Pty.Ltd., pp.158-178.

---------- and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.,) (1992) **Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia,** New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, Pty.Ltd.

Kaplinsky, Raphael (1990) **The Economies of Small: Appropriate Technology in a Changing World,** London: Intermediate Technology International.

Kedit, Peter M. (1979) **Modernisation Among the Iban of Sarawak,** Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka.

---------- (1988) 'Iban Bejalai and Sarawak's Development', in Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W. (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper No.17, pp.135-156.

---------- (1989) 'An Overview of Iban Traditional Cultural Values and Social Implications for Contemporary Sarawak', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Special Issue No.4, Pt.4, Vol.XL, No.61, pp.1-14.

---------- (1991) 'The Importance of Preserving the Heritage of Ethnic Cultures to the State and Nation', *Sarawak Gazette,* Vol. CXVIII, No.1517, pp.19-21.

---------- (1993) **Iban Bejalai,** Kuala Lumpur: Ampang Press Sendirian Berhad.

---------- (undated) '"Meanwhile, Back Home..." *Bejalai* and their Effects on Iban Men and Women', in Sutlive, Vinson H. (ed.,) **Female and Male in Borneo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies,** The College of William and Mary in Virginia: The Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol.1, pp.271-295.

---------- (1994) 'Uses of Plants for Architecture and Decorative Purpose of the Iban in Sarawak', *Sarawak Gazette,* Vol.CXII, No.1528, pp.25-31.

---------- and Sabang, Clement L. (1992) 'Tourism Report: A Restudy of Skrang Longhouse Tourism', in King, V.T. (ed.,) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia**, Borneo Research Council Proceeding Series, pp.45-58.

King, Victor T. (1976) 'Migration, Warfare and Culture Contact in Borneo: A Critique of Ecological Analysis', *Oceania,* Vol. XLVI, pp.306-327.

---------- (1986a) 'Anthropology and Rural Development in Sarawak', *The Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XXXVI, No.57, pp.13-42.

---------- (1986b) 'Land Settlement Schemes and the Alleviation of Rural Poverty in Sarawak, East Malaysia: A Critical Commentary', *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol.14, pp.71-99.

---------- (1988a) 'Models and Realities: Malaysian National Planning and East Malaysian Development Problems', *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol.22, pp.263-298.

---------- (1988b) 'The Cost of Development in Sarawak - Review Article', *Borneo Research Bulletin,* Vol.20, No.1, pp.15-28.

---------- (1990a) 'Land Settlement Programme in Sarawak: A Mistaken Strategy?', in King, Victor T. and Parnwell, Michael J.G. (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp. 163-183.

---------- (1990b) 'Why is Sarawak Peripheral?', in King, Victor T and Parnwell, Michael J.G (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp.110-129.

---------- (1991) 'Tourism and Culture in Malaysia', Paper presented to Annual Conference of the Association of Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, 25-28 March, 1991, Hull.

---------- (1992a) '*In Situ* Land Development in Sarawak', in King, V.T. and Nazarrudin Mohd.Jali (eds.,) **Issues in Rural Development in Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp.82-94.

---------- (1992b) 'Tourism in Borneo: General Issues', in King, V.T. (ed.,) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia,** Borneo Research Council Proceeding Series, pp.1-10.

---------- (1992c) 'Tourism and Culture in Malaysia, With Reference to Borneo', in King, V.T. (ed.,) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia**, Borneo Research Council Porceeding Series, pp.29-44.

---------- (ed.,) (1992d) **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia,** Borneo Research Council Porceeding Series.

---------- (1993) **The Peoples of Borneo**, London: Blackwell.

---------- (1996) 'Environmental Change in Malaysian Borneo: Fire, Drought and Rain', in Parnwell, Michael J.G and Bryant, Raymond L. (eds.), **Environmental Change in South-East Asia: People, Politics and Sustainable Development,** London:Routledge, pp.165-189.

---------- and Jawan, Jayum (1992) 'Resettlement in Sarawak', in King, V.T. and Nazarrudin Mohd.Jali (eds.,) **Issues in Rural Development in Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp.145-170.

---------- and Parnwell, Michael J.G (eds.,) (1990a). **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press.

---------- (1990b) 'The Peripheral Areas of Malaysia: Development Problems, Planning and Prospects', in King, V.T. and Parnwell, Michael J.G (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp.1-23.

King, Victor T and Nazarrudin Mohd.Jali (eds.,) (1992a) **Isu-isu Pembangunan Luar Bandar di Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

---------- (1992b) 'Pembangunan Luar Bandar di Malaysia; Isu dan Arah Aliran', in King, Victor T and Nazarrudin Mohd.Jali (eds.,) **Isu-isu Pembangunan Luar Bandar di Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp.1-18.

Kitching, G. (1982) **Development and Underdevelopment In Historical Perspectives: Populism, Nationalism and Industrialisation,** London: Methuen.

Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William (eds.,) (1994) **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Koppel, B and Hawkins, John (1994a) 'Rural Transformation and the Future of Work', in Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William (eds.), **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner, pp.1-46.

---------- (1994b) 'Development or Deterioration? Understanding Employment Diversification in Rural Asia', in Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William (eds.,) **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 249-275.

Korten, D. (1992) 'People-Centred Development: Alternative for a World Crisis', in Bauzon, Kenneth E. (ed.), **Development and Democratisation in the Third World:Myths, Hopes and Realities,** London: Crane Russack, pp.58-77.

Kottak, Conrad P. (1990) 'Culture and Economic Development', *American Anthropologist,* Vol.92, No.3, pp.723-731.

Lee, Y.L. (1964) 'The Chinese in Sarawak (and Brunei)', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XI, No.23-24, pp.516-532.

Leinbach, Thomas R. and Smith, Adrian (1994) 'Off-farm Employment, Land and Life-Cycle: Transmigrant Households in South Sumatra, Indonesia', *Economic Geography,* Vol. 70. No.3, pp.297-313.

Lim, David (1986) 'East Malaysia in Malaysian Development Planning', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp.156-170.

Lim Teck Ghee (1977) **Peasants and Their Agricultural Economy in Colonial Malaya, 1874-1941,** Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Lipton, M. (1977) **Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development,** London: Temple Smith.

Littlefield, A. (1979) 'The Expansion of Capitalist Relations of Production in Mexican Crafts', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.6. pp.471-88.

Llambi, L. (1988) 'Small Modern Farmers: Peasants Nor Fully Fledged Capitalist? A Historical and Theoretical Discussion', *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 350-372.

Long, Norman (1977) **An Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development,** London: Tavistok.

---------- and Long, Ann (eds.,) (1992) **Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking Theory and Practice of Social Research and Development,** London: Routledge.

Lockard, Craig Alan (1971) 'Charles Brooke and the Foundation of the Modern Chinese Community in Sarawak, 1863-1917', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XIX, No.38-39, pp.77-108.

---------- (1987) **From Kampung to City: A Social History of Kuching, Malaysia 1820-1970,** Ohio University: Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No.75.

Loh Chee Yin (1989) 'Residents and District Officers of Kapit', *Sarawak Gazette*, Vol.CXVI, No.1509, pp.20-22.

Low, A.R.C. (1981) 'The Effects of Off-farm Employment on Farm Income and Production: Taiwan Contrasted with South Africa', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.29, pp.741-48.

Low, H. (1848) **Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Production: Being Notes during a Residence in that Country with H.H the Rajah Brooke,** London: Richard Bentley.

Loether, H and McTavish, Donald G. (1980) **Descriptive and Inferential Statistics: An Introduction,** Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Incorporated.

Marris, Peter (1968) The Social Barriers to African Entrepreneurship', *Journal of Development Studies,* Vol.5, No. 1, pp.29-38.

Norusis, Marija J. (1990) **SPSS/PC+ Statistics 4.0 for the IBM PC/XT.AT and PS/2,** Chicago: SPSS, Incorporated.

Mackenzie, Fiona (1992) 'Development from Within? The Struggle to Survive', in Taylor, Fraser D.R and Fiona Mackenzie (eds.,) (1992) **Development from Within: Survival in Rural Africa,** London: Routledge, pp. 1-32.

Maithreyi Krishnaraj (1992) 'Women Craft Workers as Security for Family Subsistence', *Economic and Political Weekly,* April 25, pp.WS7-17.

Ma'rof Redzuan (1994) **Constraints and Potential in the Development of Rural Industries: A Case Study of Silverware and Batik Production in Kelantan, Peninsular Malaysia**, Ph.D Dissertation, University of Hull (unpublished).

Mashman, Valerie (1989) 'Ethnic Arts and Society - An Orang Ulu Study', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XL, No.61, pp.215-230.

---------- (undated) 'Warriors and Weavers: A Study of Gender Relations Among the Iban of Sarawak', in Sutlive, Vinson H (ed.) **Female and Male in Borneo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies,** The College of William and Mary in Virginia: The Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol.1, pp.231-270.

Masing, James (1988) 'The Role of Resettlement in Rural Development', in Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W. (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper No.17, pp.145-70.

Mathieson, Alister and Wall, G. (1982) **Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts,** London: Longman Group Limited.

Maurer, Jean-Luc (1991) 'Beyond the Sawah: Economic Diversification in Four Bantul Villages, 1972-1987', in Alexander, P., Boomgaard, P and White, B. (eds.), **In the Shadow of Agriculture: Non-farm Activities in the Javanese Economy, Past and Present,** Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, pp.92-112.

Maurier, Richard C and Napier, Ted L. (1981) 'Rural Residents Perspective of Industrial Development', *Rural Sociology,* Vol.46, No. 1, pp.100-111.

McCounnaughey, John S. Jr. and Strassmann, W.P. (1979) 'The Economic Characteristics and Origins of Building Innovations in Developing Countries', *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol.13, No.2, pp.143-160.

Mckinley, Robert (1978) 'Pioneer Expansion, Assimilation and the Foundations of Ethnic Unity Among the Iban', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. XXVI, No. 47, pp.15-28.

Md Anisur, Rahman (1993) **People's Self Development. Perspectives of Participatory Action Research: A Journey Through Experience,** London: Zed Books.

Meyer, R.L. and Larson, D.W. (1978) **Rural Enterprise and Nonfarm Employment,** Washington D.C: World Bank.

Meyer, Walter (1988) **Beyond the Mask: Towards a Transdisciplinary Approach of Selected Social Problems Related to the Evolution and Context of International Tourism in Thailand,** Saarbrycken:Verlag breitenbach Publishers.

Mikeswell, Raymond F. (1992) **Economic Development and the Environment. A Comparison of Sustainable Development with Conventional Development Economics,** London: Mansell Publications Limited.

Miles, Nicholas and Norcliffe, Glen (1983) 'An Economic Typology of Small-Scale Rural Enterprises in Central Province, Kenya', *Institute of British Geographers,* Vol. 9, No.3, pp.211-229.

Moi-Thomas, A.H. (1961) 'Economic Development Under the Second Rajah (1870-1917)', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.X, No.17-18, pp.50-57.

Morrison, A. (1987) 'Development in Sarawak in the Colonial Period: A Personal Memoir', in Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W. (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper No.17, pp. 34-48.

Mukhopadhyay, S and Chee Peng Lim (eds.,) (1985) **Development and Diversification of Rural Industries in Asia,** Kuala Lumpur: Asia-Pacific Development Centre.

Munan, Heidi (1989) 'Sarawak Handicrafts: The Economic Aspect', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XL, No. 61, pp.117-124.

---------- (1991) 'Contemporary Chinese Pottery', in Chin, Lucas and Mashman, Valerie (eds.,) **Sarawak Cultural Legacy - A Living Tradition,** Kuching: Society Atelier Sarawak, pp.149-154.

Mundy, R. (1848) **A Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes from the Journal of James Brooke,** *Esquire,* Vol.2, London: John Murray.

Muzaffar, Chandra (1989) **The New Economic Policy, Development and Alternative Consciousness,** Penang: ALIRAN.

Nachmias, David and Nachmias, Chava (1981) **Research Methods in the Social Sciences,** New York: St.Martin's Press.

Nakajima, C. (1969) 'Subsistence and Commercial Farms: Some Theoretical Models of Subjective Equilibrium', in Wharton, C.R. (ed.), **Subsistence Agriculture and Economic Development,** Chicago: Aldine

Nan Lin (1976) **Foundations of Social Research,** New York: McGraw Hill.

Nee, V and Young, Frank W. (1991) 'Peasant Entrepreneurs in China's Second Economy: An Institutional Analysis', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 292-310.

Nieuwenhuijze, van C.A.O. (eds.,) (1983a) **Development Regardless of Culture?,** Leiden: E.J.Brill.

---------- (1983b) 'Does Development have Anything To Do With Culture', in Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O. (eds.,) **Development Regardless of Culture?,** Leiden: E.J.Brill, pp.11-24.

Nieuwenhuijze, Chris van (1986) 'Culture and Development: The Prospects of an Afterthought', in Apthorpe, Raymond and Krahl, Andral (eds.,) **Development Studies: Critique and Renewal,** Leiden: E.J Brill, pp.95-108.

Niemeijer, David (1996) 'The dynamics of African Agricultural History: Is it Time for a New Development Paradigm?', *Development and Change*, Vol.27, pp.87-110.

Nolten, Marleen and Tempelman, Gert-Jan (1986) 'Handicrafts as a Means for Rural Development - A Case Study from Pahang, Peninsular Malaysia', *Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography,* Vol.13, pp.37-45.

Ooi Keat Gin (1990) 'Education in Sarawak during the Period of the Colonial Administration 1946-1963', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. 63, Part 2, No.259, pp.35-68.

---------- (1995) **An Economic History of Sarawak during the Brooke Rule, 1841-1946,** Ph.D Dissertation, University of Hull, (unpublished).

Oshima, Harry T. (1971) 'Labor Force Explosion and the Labor Intensive Sector in Asian Growth', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.19, pp.pp.161-183.

---------- (1983a) **Off-farm Employment and Income in Postwar East Asia,** University of Philippines: School of Economics. (unpublished).

---------- (1983b) **The Transition to an Industrial Economy in Monsoon Asia.** Manila: Asian Development Bank Staff Paper No.21.

---------- (1986) 'Levels and Trends of Farm Families', Nonagricultural Incomes at Different Stages of Monsoon Development', in Choe, Yang-Boo and Lo, Fu-Chen (eds.,) **Rural Industrialisation and Non-Farm Activities of Asian Farmers,** Proceedings of the International Seminar on the Role of Rural Industries for National Development in the Asian Region, 22-25 April, 1985, South Korea, pp.17-42.

Oshima, Kazunori (1990) 'An Ethnographic Study of the Iban Bilik-Family', in Sutlive, Vinson H (ed.,) **Change and Development in Borneo: Selected Papers from the First Extraordinary Conference of the Borneo Research Council, Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia,** The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Borneo Research Council Inc., pp.169-188.

Padoch, Christine (1978) **Migration and Its Alternative Among the Iban of Sarawak**, Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, (unpublished).

---------- (1984) 'The Iban of Engkari: A History of Migration and Settlement', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol XXXIII, No. 54, pp.1-14.

Parkinson, Brien K. (1967) 'Non-Economic Factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays', *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol.1, No.1, pp.31-46.

Parnwell, Michael J.G. (1988) 'Regional Planning and the Development of Rural Industries in North-East Thailand'. Paper presented at the Symposium on the Peripheral Areas and Minority Groups of South-East Asia, 20-22 April, University of Hull.

---------- (1990) **Rural Industrialisation in Thailand,** University of Hull: Hull Paper in Developing Area Studies, No.1.

---------- (1991) 'Environmental Issues and Tourism in Thailand'. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, 25-28 March.

---------- (1992) 'Tourism and Rural Handicrafts in Thailand: To Change or Not to Change?' Paper presented at the International Conference on Geography in the ASEAN Region, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, 31 August to 3 September, 1992.

---------- (1993) 'Tourism and Rural Handicrafts in Thailand' in Hitchcock, M., King, V.T. and Parnwell, M.J.G (eds.), **Tourism in Southeast Asia,** London: Routledge.

---------- (1994) 'Environmental Degradation, Non-timber Forest Products and Iban Communities in Bintulu Division Sarawak: Impact Response and Prospects'. Paper presented at the ASEAUK Conference on 'The Environment in South-East Asia', University of London, 28-30 March.

---------- and Khamanarong, S. (1990) 'Rural Industrialisation and Development Planning in Thailand', *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science,* Vol. 18. No. 2, pp.1-28.

---------- and Taylor, David M. (1996) ' Environmental Degradation, Non-Timber Forest Products and Iban Communities in Sarawak: Impact, Response and Future Prospects' in Parnwell, Michael J.G and Bryant, Raymond L. (eds.), **Environmental Change in South-East Asia: People, Politics and Sustainable Development,** London:Routledge, pp.269-300.

Payne, R. (1960) **The White Rajahs of Sarawak,** London: Robert Hale, (Reprinted in Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987)

Peattie, L. (1987) 'An Idea in Good Currency and How It Grew - The Informal Sector', *World Development,* Vol.15, No. 7, pp.851-860.

Person, Lars Olof (1983) 'Part-time Farming - The Cornerstone or Obstacles in Rural Development', *Sociologia Ruralis,* Vol XXXIII, No.1, pp.50-62.

Peet, W and Watts, M. (1993) 'Introduction: Development Theory and Environment in An Age of Market Triumphalism', *Economic Geography,* Vol. 69, No. 3, pp. 227-53.

Pollard, H.J. (1981) 'The Personal Factors in the Success of Planned Development', *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol.15, No.2, pp.561-584.

Pringle, R. (1970) **Rajah and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak Under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941,** London: MacMillan.

---------- (1971) 'The Brookes of Sarawak: Reformers Inspite of Themselves', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. XIX. No.38, pp.53-76.

Pye, E. (ed.,) (1987) **Artisans in Economic Development: Evidence from Asia,** Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Ranis, Gustav and Steward, Frances (1993) 'Rural Nonagricultural Activities in Development: Theory and Application', *Journal of Development Economics,* Vol. 40, pp.75-101.

Rao, V.V. Bhanoji (1980) **Malaysia Development Pattern and Policy,** Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Rauniyar, Ganesh P and Goode, P. (1992) 'Adoption on Small Scale Farms', *World Development*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp.275-82.

Rawson, P. (1967) **The Art of Southeast Asia,** London: Thames and Hudson.

Ray, Dennis M.(1993) 'Understanding the Entrepreneur: Entrepreneurial Attributes, Experience and Skill', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development,* Vol.5, pp.345-357.

Reardon, T., Delagado, C. and Matlon, P. (1992) 'Determinants and Effects of Income Diversification Amongst Farm Households in Burkina Faso', *The Journal of Development Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 2, pp.264-96.

Redclift, M. (1987) **Sustainable Development: Exploring the Contradictions,** London: Methuen.

Reece, R.H.W. (1982) **The Name of Brooke. The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak,** Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

---------- (1988) 'Economic Development Under the Brookes', in Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper No.17, pp.21-34.

Richter, Linda K. (1987) 'The Search for Appropriate Tourism', *Tourism Recreation Research,* Vol. XII, pp.5-8.

Riddle, J.Barry (1985) 'Urban Bias in Underdevelopment: Appropriation from the Countryside in Post-Colonial Sierra Leone', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* Vol.76, No.5, pp.374-383.

Rief, Yaffa Machness and Cochran, Susan Hill (1990) 'The Off-farm Labour Supply of Farmer of Chiang Mai, Valley of Thailand', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.36, No.4, pp.683-695.

Rietveld, Piet (1984) 'Non-Agricultural Activities in Rural Areas: A Global Analysis by Mean of a Social Accounting Matrix', *Ekonomi dan Keuangan,* Vol.XXXIII, No.4, pp.427-445.

---------- (1986) 'Non-Agricultural Activities and Income Distribution in Rural Java', *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies,* Vol.22, No.3, pp.106-119.

Rogers, E.M. (1983) **Diffusion of Innovations,** New York, The Free Press.

Ronnas, P. (1993) 'The Samoan Farmer: A Reluctant Object of Change', *Development and Change,* Vol. 24, No. 2, pp.339-362.

Rosenzweig, M.R. (1988) 'Risk, Implicit Contracts, and the Family in Rural Areas of Low Income Countries', *The Economic Journal,* Vol.98, pp.1148-1170

Roth, H. Ling (1896) **The Natives of Sarawak and North Borneo,** Vol.1 and II, London: Truslove and Hanson.

Rotter, J.B. (1966) 'Generalised Expectancies for Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement', *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied,* Vol. 80, No.609.

Rudner, M. (1975) **Nationalism, Planning and Economic Modernisation in Malaysia. The Politics of Beginning Development,** London: Sage Publications.

Runciman, Steven (1960) **The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946,** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rutten, Rosseane (1990) **Artisans and Entrepreneurs in the Rural Philippines: Making a Living in Two Commercialised Crafts,** Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Saith, A. (1987) 'Contrasting Experiences in Rural Industrialisation: Are the East Asian Successes Transferable?', in Islam, Rizwanul (ed.) **Rural Industrialisation and Employment in Asia,** New Delhi: International Labour Organisation, pp. 241-303.

---------- (1990) 'Location, Linkage and Leakage: Malaysian Rural Industrialisation Strategies in National Perspective' in Esderts, Hans J. and Ismail Md.Salleh (eds.,) **Promotion of Small-Scale Industries and Strategies for Rural Industrialisation. The Malaysian Experience,** Selangor: Sun U Book Co. Sendirian Berhad, pp. 64-100.

Sandin, B. (1967) **The Sea Dayaks of Borneo: Before White Rajah Rule,** London: Macmillan.

---------- (1977) **Gawai Burong: The Chants and Celebrations of the Iban Bird Festival,** Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia.

---------- (1994) **Sources of Iban Traditional History,** *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XLVI, No.67. Special Monograph No. 7.

Sather, C. (1981) 'Benedict Sandin, 1918-1982: A Biographical Memoir', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.29, pp.101-136.

Schmitz, Herbet (1982) 'Growth Constraints on Small Scale Manufacturing in Developing Countries: A Critical Review', *World Development,* Vol.190, No.6, pp.429-450.

Schneider-Sliwa, R and Brown, L.A. (1986) 'Rural-nonfarm Employment and Migration: Evidence from Costa Rica', *Socio-economic Planning Sciences: An International Journal*, Vol.20, No.2, pp.79-93.

Schroll, Michael (1991) **Off-farm Employment and Temporary Migration: A Case Study from Nepal,** University of Bielefeld: Sociology of Development Research Centre Working Paper No. 145.

Schumacher, E.F. (1973) **Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered,** London:Sphere Books Limited.

Schurmann, Franz J. (1993) **Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory,** London: Zed Books.

Schwenk, Richard L. (1973) **The Potential for Rural Development in the New Seventh Division of Sarawak. A Preliminary Background Report,** Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, *Occasional Paper No.17.*

---------- (1975) **Village and Regional Determinants of Family Innovativeness Among the Rural Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia,** Ph.D Dissertation, Cornell University, *(unpublished).*

Scott, James C (1986) **Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in Southeast Asia,** London: Cass.

Sellato, Bernard (1989) **Hornbill and Dragon,** Kuala Lumpur: Elf Aquitanine Malaysia.

Shamsul, Amri B. (1993) Book Review of Kahn, Joel S. and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.), 'Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia', *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 52. No.3, pp.783-785.

Shand, R.T. (1983) **Off-farm Labour Supply of Padi Farmers in Kemubu, Kelantan, Malaysia,** The Australian National University: Development Studies Centre.

---------- (1985) 'Off-farm Employment in the Development of Rural Asia: Issues'. Paper presented at an International Conference on Off-farm Employment on the Development of Rural Asia, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

---------- (eds.,) (1986) **Off-Farm Employment in the Development of Rural Asia,** Australian National University, National Centre for Development Studies, Vol.1 and 2.

---------- and Chew Teck-Ann (1986) 'The Off-farm Labour Supply of Padi Farmers in Kelantan, Malaysia', *The Singapore Economic Review,* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, pp.23-34.

Shari, Ishak (1984) 'The New Economic Policy and "National Unity": Development and Inequality 25 Years after Independence', in Ali, Syed Husin (ed.), **Ethnicity, Class and Development in Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur: Social Science Association, pp.329-385

Sheppard, M (1972) **Taman Indera. Malay Decorative Arts and Pastimes,** London: Oxford University Press.

---------- (1978) **Living Crafts of Malaysia,** Singapore: Times Books International.

Silver, Harry R. (1981) 'Calculating Risks: The Socioeconomic Foundations of Aesthetic Innovation in an Ashanti Carving Community', *Ethnology,* Vol.20, pp.101-115.

Simmons, Colin and Salinder Supri (1994) **Participation in Rural Non-Farm Activity in India: A Case Study of Cultivating Households in Jalandhar District, Punjab,** University of Salford: Salford Papers in Economics No.94-4.

Singh, I., Squire, L. and Strauss, J. (eds.,) (1986) **Agricultural Household Models: Extensions, Applications and Policy,** Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Smith, Paul (1992) 'Industrialization and Environment', in Hewitt, Tom., Johnson, Hazel and Wield, Dave (eds.,) **Industrialization and Development,** London: Open University, pp.277-302.

Solhee, Hatta (1988) 'The Rice Self-Sufficiency Policy: Its Implementation in Sarawak.', in Cramb, Rob A. and Reece, R.H.W (eds.,) **Development in Sarawak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,** Monash University: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Paper on Southeast Asia No. 17, pp.85-104.

Strange, H. (1984) 'Craftswomen and Women's Crafts', in Hing Ai Yung, Nik Safiah Karim and Rokiah Talib (eds.,) **Women in Malaysia,** Kuala Lumpur:Pelanduk Publications, pp.61-77.

Stavenhagen, R. (1986) 'Ethnodevelopment: A Neglected Dimension in Economic Development Thinking', in Apthorpe, Raymond and Krahl, Andras (eds.,) **Development Studies: Critique and Renewal,** Leiden: E.J Brill, pp. 71-94.

Stephen, Lynn (1991) 'Culture as a Resource: Four Cases of Self-Managed Indigenous Craft Production in Latin America', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol: No, pp.101-130.

Spenser, St.John (1862) **Life in the Forest of the Far East,** 2 Volumes, London: Smith, Elder and Company.

Stockwell, Tony (1991) 'Early Tourism in Malaya'. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, 25-28 March.

Sumner, D.A. (1982) 'The Off-farm Labour Supply of Farmers', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics,* Vol.64, pp.499-509.

---------- and Frazao, Elizabeth (1982) 'Wage Rates in A Poor Rural Area with Emphasis on the Impact of Farm and Non-farm Experiences', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol.37, No.4, July, pp.709-18.

Sutlive, Vinson H. (1972) **From Longhouse to Pasar: Urbanization in Sarawak, East Malaysia**, Ph.D Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, (unpublished).

---------- (1978) **The Iban of Sarawak,** Illinois: AHM Publication Corporations.

---------- (ed.,) (undated) **Female and Male in Borneo. Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies,** The Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, Vol. 1.

Tadjuddin N. Effendi and Manning, Chris (1994) 'Rural Development and Nonfarm Employment in Java', in Koppel, B., Hawkins, John and James, William (eds.,) **Development or Deterioration? Work in Rural Asia,** London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.211-247.

Tarling, Nicholas (1971) **Britain, the Brookes and Brunei,** Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, Fraser D.R. and Mackenzie, Fiona (eds.,) (1992) **Development from Within: Survival in Rural Africa,** London: Routledge.

Toh Kin Woon (1982) **The State in Economic Development: A Case Study of Malaysia's New Economic Policy,** Ph.D Dissertation, University of Malaya, (unpublished).

---------- and Jomo K. S. (1982) 'The Nature of the Malaysian State and Its Implications for Development Planning', Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia: Faculty of Economics.

UNDP (1991) **Human Development Report 1991,** New York: Oxford University Press.

Vandergeest, P. (1988) 'Commercialization and Commoditization: A Dialogue Between Perspectives', *Sociologia Ruralis,* Vol. XXVIII. No. 1, pp.6-27.

Vayda, Andrew P. (1975) 'Antecedents and Effects of Coastal Raidings by Iban in the Nineteenth Century', *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol.XXIII, No. 44, pp.111-138.

Verdon, Michael (1979) 'African Apprentice Workshops: A Case of Ethnocentric Reductionism', *American Ethnologist,* Vol.6, pp.531-542.

Walton, John R. (1990) 'The Economic Structure of Sarawak', in King, V.T. and Parnwell, M.J.G (eds.,) **Margins and Minorities: The Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia,** Hull: Hull University Press, pp.130-146

---------- (1992) 'Economics of Tourism in Malaysia, With Special Reference to East Malaysia', in **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives. Papers from The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia,** Borneo Research Council Porceeding Series, pp.11-20.

Ward, A.Bartlett (1966) **Rajah's Servant,** Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper No.61.

Ward, Barbara E. (1960) 'Cash or Credit Crops? An Examination of Some Implications of Peasant Commercial Production with Special Reference to the Multiplicity of Traders and Middlemen', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 8, pp.148-164.

Webster, Andrew (1984) **Introduction to the Sociology of Development,** Second Edition, London: Macmillan Education Limited.

Wolf, Diane L. (1992) **Factory Daughters. Gender, Household Dynamics, and Rural Industrialization in Java,** Bekerley: University of California Press.

---------- (1991) **World Development Report 1991,** New York: Oxford University Press.

Wood, Robert (1991) 'Tourism, Culture and Sociology of Development'. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, 25-28 March.

Zainie, C. (1969) **Handicraft in Sarawak.** Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau.

Zeppel, Heather (1992) 'Getting to Know the Iban: The Tourist Experience of Visiting an Iban Longhouse in Sarawak', in **Tourism in Borneo: Issues and Perspectives**. Papers from **The Second Biennial International Conference, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia,** Borneo Research Council Porceeding Series, pp.59-66.

Reports and Government Publications

Abdul Kadir Haji Din (1995) **Report on the Study on Impact of Tourism on the Local Population,** Kuching: Report Submitted to Angkatan Zaman Mansang (AZAM).

Ahmad Mahzan Ayob *et.al* (1990) **A Socio-economic Study of Three SALCRA (Sarawak) Land Development Schemes: Participants' Perception, Atttiudes and Level of Living,** Consultancy Report Submitted to Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority.

Colonial Annual Reports (1951) **Annual Report on Sarawak for the Year 1951.**

Food And Agriculture Organization (FAO) (1989) **Policies, Programmes and Projects for Poverty Eradication in Sarawak. Mission Findings and Recommendations,** Rome: Report Prepared for the Government of Malaysia.

Jataban Pertanian Kapit (1992) **Lapuran Tahunan,** (unpublished).

Kandungan Profil Bahagian Kapit (undated and unpublished)

Kedit, Peter M. (1980) **Tourism Report: A Survey of the Effects of Tourism on Iban Longhouse Communities in the Skrang District, Second Division, Sarawak,** Kuching: Sarawak Museum Field Report No.2.

Malaysia (1966) **First Malaysia Plan, 1966-1970,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1971) **Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1976) **Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1981) **Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1983) **Mid-Term Review of Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1985) **Feasibility Study on Tatau-Kapit Road Project in Sarawak. Draft Final Report, Vol.1,** (unpublished)

---------- (1986) **Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986-1990,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

---------- (1991) **Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991-1995,** Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer.

Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation (MHDC) (1985) **Handicraft Industries in National Development: Problems and Prospects in Malaysia,** Research Report (unpublished).

McCoppeland (1992) **Sarawak Tourism Masterplan Project: Economic Impacts Report.** (unpublished)

PNB Corporate Development Sdn. Berhad (PNBCD) **(1993) Study on The Craft Industry in Malaysia.** Draft Final Report Submitted to Malaysian Handicraft Development Corporation (unpublished).

SARAKRAF Sendirian Berhad (1989) **5 Years Business Plans,** (unpublished).

---------- (1992) **Strategic Plan 1990 and 1992,** (unpublished).

Sarawak Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) (1991) **Handicraft Project: Business Plan 1991,** (unpublished).

Sarawak Government (1963) **Sarawak Development Plans, 1964-1968,** Kuching: Government Printer.

---------- (1987) **Investment Guide to Sarawak, Malaysia,** Kuching: Government Printer.

---------- (1990a) **Key Economic Indicators, Sarawak,** State Planning Unit, (unpublished).

---------- (1990b) ***Laporan Tahunan Daerah-Daerah***, (unpublished).

---------- (1993) **The Sarawak Second Tourism Masterplan Study**, 3 Volumes, (unpublished).

Sarawak Agricultural Development Project (SADP) (1991a) **Sarawak Agricultural Development Strategy: A Perspective Plan Approach,** (unpublished)

---------- (1991b) **The Planning Framework for Sarawak Agricultural Development Planning. A Discussion Paper,** (unpublished)

---------- (1991c) **The Sarawak Economy: Context for Agricultural Planning. A Discussion Paper,** (unpublished).

Sarawak Agriculture Department (1980) **Agricultural Statistics,** Kuching: Government Printers.

---------- (1985) **Agricultural Statistics,** Kuching: Government Printers.

---------- (1990) **Agricultural Statistics,** Kuching: Government Printers.

---------- (1992). **Agricultural Statistics,** Kuching: Government Printers.

---------- (1993) **Agricultural Statistics,** Kuching: Government Printers.

Sarawak Department of Agriculture (1981) **A Socio-economic Survey of the Mujong-Balleh Area in Kapit District, Seventh Division,** Planning Division Report, No.45.

Sarawak Gazette, (various issues).

State Planning Unit (1987) **Basic Socio-Economic Statistics of Sarawak,** (unpublished).

---------- (1992a) **Key Economic Indicators, Sarawak.** (unpublished)

---------- (1992b) **Feasibility Studies of Rural Growth Centres (RGC's) In Sarawak,** Interim Report, Vol.2. Initial Findings and Proposals for the RGC Development Areas (Central Zone) Song Complex RGC, (unpublished).

United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) (1985a) **Medium and Long Term Industrial Master Plan: Malaysia, 1986-1995. Executive Highlights,** Vol. III, Part 7, (unpublished).

---------- (1985b) **The New Economic Policy (NEP) and Industrial Development,** Vol. No.III-I-15, (unpublished)

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (1994) **Poverty Study of Selected Areas in Sarawak,** Final Report Submitted to Unit Perancang Negeri Sarawak, (unpublished).

Appendix 1

Translation of Interview Schedule

COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION AMONG RURAL IBAN IN SARAWAK

Name of Respondent: .....

Name of *Tuai-Bilik*: .....

Surveyed Longhouse (*Tuai Rumah*) .....

Name of Enumerator: .....

Date of Interview: ..... **Time: Starts .....**
Ends .....

Respondent's Code

Interview Schedule

COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION AMONG RURAL IBAN IN SARAWAK

PART A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENT

Coding

A.1 Status of Respondent in the *bilik*-family

1. Head of household
2. Spouse
3. Children
4. Other, (specify).....

A.2 Gender

1. Male
2. Female

A.3 Respondent's Age: (*Last Birthday*) .....

A.4 Education: (*Total Number of Years*:.....)

A.5 Respondent's Highest Educational Achievement:

1. No formal education (*PROBE*: Level of literacy.....)
2. Primary education
3. Lower secondary (*SRP/LCE/SJC*)
4. Upper secondary (*MCE/SC/SPM*)
6. 'A' Level (*STPM/HSC*)
7. Tertiary (*Diploma/Degree*)
8. Others .....

A.6 Marital Status

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widowed

A.7 Total Number of Children.....

A7.1 *Bilik*-Family Size: Total Number .....

A.7.2: Please provide some information on your *bilik*-family in 1992. (Use Table 1)

Table 1: INFORMATION ON *BILIK-FAMILY*

No.	Name	Gender 1. M 2. F	Relationship with Head of Household (*Code 1*)	Highest Education (Code 2)	MAJOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITY					SECONDARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY				
					Major Econ. Activity	Status (*Code 3*)	Sector (*Code 4*)	Location (Code 5)	Average Monthy Income	Major Econ. Activity	Status (*Code 3*)	Sector (*Code 4*)	Location (Code 5)	Average Monthly Income
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														

Code 1 **Code 2** **Code 3** **Code 4** **Code 5**

Relationship with Head of Household	*Highest Education*	*Employment Status*	*Sector*	*Location*
1 Head of household 2 Spouse 3 Children 4 Parents 5 Parents-in-law 6 Relatives 7 Others, (please specify).	1. No formal education 2. Not school going age 3. Nursery/Kindergarden 4. Primary (P1-P6) 5. LCE/SRP 6. MCE/SPM/SC 7. HSC/STPM 8. Diploma 9. Others, please specify	1. Owner operator 2. Waged employee 3. Self-employed 4. Family worker (waged) 5. Family worker (nonwaged) 6. Homemaker 7. Retired 8. Not in labour force (sick, handicap) 9. Child labour (Below 10 yrs)	1. Agriculture 2. Forestry 3. Fisheries 4. Horticulture 5. Manufacturing 6. Construction 7. Handicraft 8 Commercial 9. Government 10. Multiple 11. Others, please specify	1. Different village, same district 2. Towns in Sarawak 3. Rural areas in Sarawak 4. Other States in Malaysia 5. Foreign countries

PART B

BEJALAI and MIGRATION

B.1 Has anyone in your *bilik*-family migrated or gone on *bejalai*?

1. Yes
2. No. ——— **Skip to Question B2**

B.2 Please provide information on *bilik-family* members who are currently migrating or on *bejalai.* OR have previously migrated or gone on *bejalai.* (Use Table 2)

1 Name of *Bilik*-family member
2 Age
3 Gender
4 Highest Educational Achievement
5 Major Reasons for Migrating or '*bejalai*'
6 Destinations
7 Major Activity While on '*bejalai*' or migration

Table 2: Migration

Name	Gender 1. M 2. F	Relationship with Head of Household (Code 1)	Age when migrating	Highest Education (Code 2)	Destination (Code 3)	Period		Reasons (Code 4)
						From (Year)	To (Year)	

Code 1

Relationship with Head of Household
1. Head of Household
2. Spouse
3. Children
4. Parents
5. Parents-in-laws
6. Relatives
7. Others, please specify ...

Code 2

Highest Educational Achievement
1. No formal education
2. Primary school
3. LCE/SRP/SJC
4. MCE/SPM/SC
5. STPM/HSC
6. Diploma
7. Others, please specify ..

Code 3

Destinations
1. Different village, but same district, please specify .....
2. Towns in Sarawak, please specify ....
3. Rural areas (other than 1) in Sarawak, please specify .....
4. Other States in Malaysia, please specify.....
5. Foreign countries, please specify .....

Code 4

Reasons
1. Education
2. Seeking employment
3. Employed
4. Follow family
5. Cultural
6. Others, please specify

B2 **If anyone in the *bilik*-family intends to go on *bejalai* or migrate, please provide the following information.** (Use Table 3)

Table 3.

Household Number (Use Nos. As in Table 1)	Destination	Year	Reason (Code 1)	If you intend to "*bekuli*" or "*bekerja*" (work related migration), please specify the type of employment

Code 1

Reasons for Migration
1. Education
2. Seeking employment
3. Employed
4. Follow family
5. Cultural
6. Others, please specify .....

B.3. **Have you or any of your *bilik*-family been involved in commercial handicraft[1] in the last FIVE years (since 1988).**

1. YES → Continue with **Part C**

2. No → Skip to **Part D**

[1] INSTRUCTIONS: Commercial Handicraft Production here refers to involvement in the production of handicrafts for the purpose of selling.

PART C

PARTICIPANTS IN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

Coding

C.1 How long have you been involved in commercial handicraft production (CHP) ?

Nos. of Years:.....

C.2. Please specify the major types of crafts produced.
(You can answer more than one)

1. *Pua*-based
2. Beadwork
3. Carving (wood, bamboo)
3. Plaiting (basket, mats)
4. Blacksmithing
5. Others, please specify .....

C.3 On the average how many *bilik*-family members are involved in CHP ?

Number of *bilik*-family members:.....

C.3 What factors motivate you to produce handicrafts for the market?
(Please prioritise your answers)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....

C.5 If you have previously <u>stopped</u> producing handicrafts for the market please explain why. (Please prioritise your answers)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....

C.6 When do you produce handicrafts (commercially) ?

1. Off-peak season
2. When harvest is bad
3. When the economic returns from other economic activities are low
4. When labour is abundant
5. When there is a need for immediate cash
6. When there is demand
7. When the price of handicraft is good
8. Other, please specify..... .

C.7 Please indicate whether you consider your involvement in CHP, as :

1. Family business
2. Joint-business with other people
3. Production worker/contract with the government
4. *beragih* (product-sharing) with individuals (or *towkays*)
5. Others, please specify .....

C.8 Please provide information regarding the types of handicrafts produced by *bilik-family* members and number of days/month and the number of months/year involved in CHP and average income earned from producing handicrafts. (Please use Table 4)

Table 4: Production of Commercial Handicrafts

Name	Crafts	Purpose of production 1. Mostly marketed 2. Mostly for personal use 3. Both	Number of days in a week producing crafts	Number of months in a year producing crafts	Average income from selling crafts (RM)
Respondent					
1					
2					
3					
4.					
5					
6					
7					

Note: Cross-check with Question C3.

C.9 Please provide information on Total COST for and INCOME from CHP for the whole of last year (1992). Please provide information in **Table 5.**
(Hint: *Calculate for annual cost and income*)

Table 5: Production Cost and Income from CHP

CRAFT	Units	Collection of raw materials Total Days/ Total Months	Production Total days/ Total Months	Total Cost (RM)	Income (Gross) (RM)	Total Net Income

C.10 Please indicate the types of handicraft sold, your major customer, reasons for using this marketing channel and level of satisfaction. (Use Table 6)

Table 6: Marketing Channels.

CRAFTS	Major Customer (Code 1)	Marketing Channel (Code 2)	Reasons for Using Marketing Channel (Code 3)	Level of Satisfaction with marketing channel 1. Satisfied 2. Disatisfied
Pua				
Mats				
Baskets				
Carvings				
Blacksmithing				
Beads				
Others, please specify.....				

Code 1

Major Customer
1. Individual 2. Tourist 3. *Towkay* 4. Government agency 5. Others, please specify.....

Code 2

Marketing Channel
1. Middleperson 2. Personal 3. Government agency (PKKM, SEDC) 4. Others, please specify .....

Code 3

Reasons for Using Marketing Channel
1. Higher prices 2. Credit facilities 3. Proximity to customer 4. *Beragih* (production contract) 5. Others, please specify .....

INSTRUCTIONS

Skip Part D and Proceed to Part E

PART D

NON - PARTICIPANTS IN COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

INSTRUCTIONS: This section (PART D) only applies to those who are NOT producing crafts for the market, or who have NEVER produced crafts commercially

D.1. You mentioned that you (or your *bilik-family*) do not produce crafts for commercial purpose. Please explain why. (Please prioritise your answers)

Coding

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

D.2 Are you (or any of your *bilik*-family) producing crafts for personal use this year?

1. Yes 2. No

D.3 If you (or your *bilik-family*) are producing crafts for personal use, please indicate the major type of crafts produced.

1. *Pua- based*
2. Mats
3. Baskets
4. Carving
5. Beadwork
6. Blacksmithing
7. Others, please specify .....

D.4 How many years have you (or your *bilik-family*) been involved in producing crafts ?

Number of years .....

D.5 How many *bilik*-family members are involved in producing crafts? (Including respondent)

Number of *bilik*-family members: .....

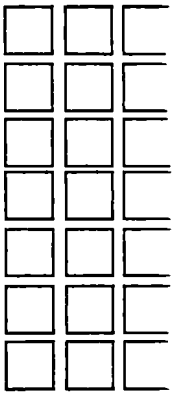
D.6 When do you (or your *bilik*-family member) produce craft?

1. Off-peak season
2. When harvest is bad
3. When the economic returns from other economic activities are low
4. When labour is abundant
5. When there is a need for immediate cash
6. When there is demand
7. When the price of handicraft is good
8. Other, please specify.....

D.7 **If you or your *bilik*-family members are producing crafts for personal use, please say who they are, types of crafts produced, and the number of days involved in producing crafts.** (Use Table 6)

Table 6: NON-COMMERCIAL CRAFT PRODUCTION

Name	Crafts	How many days in a week involved in craft production? Days/Week	How many months in a year involved in craft production? Months/Year	Average units produced in a month



PART E

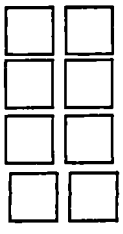
SKILL, SUPPORT, PERCEPTION

E.1 **You mentioned that .....** (number) **of your *bilik*-family members are producing crafts. Please indicate their level of skill and how they obtain their skill .** (Use Table 7)

(Hint: This question needs probing. Verify with other family members for level of skill)

Table 7: Level of Skill

Name	Crafts	**What is their level of skill?** 1. Able to *nengkebang* (create) own designs, patterns etc. 2. Able to copy (without much guidance) 3. Unskilled (need much guidance) 4. Others, please specify.....	**How do they acquire their skills?** 1. Learn from others 2. Self-taught 3. Attend formal courses 4. Others, please specify.....



Coding

E.2 **Have your *bilik*-family ever received assistance (such as financial, marketing, advice) from the government or individuals (*towkays*)?**

1. Yes 2. No

E.3 **If you have received support, please indicate the type of support and who provided it.** (Use Table 8)

Table 8: Support Received

Year	Types of Support 1. Equipment 2. Credit 3. Marketing 4. Technical 5. Capital 6. Others, please specify....	Souce of Support 1. Government 2. Individuals 3. *'towkays'* 3. Others, please specify	Are you satisfied with the support provided? 1. Yes 2. No

E.4 **Please indicate whether you face (or perceive) the following problems producing handicrafts commercially.** (Use Table 9)

Table 9: Types, Source and Degree of Problems Faced by Commercial or Perceived by Non-Commercial Craftspersons

PROBLEMS	Level of Problem 4 - No Problem 3 - Slight Problem 2 - Some Problem 1 - Huge Problem	Please say what the source of the problem is.	Please suggest how these problems can be solved.
1. Supply of Raw Materials			
2. Quality of Raw Materials			
3. Product Quality			
4. Production Technique			
5. Designs			
6. Marketing			
7. Labour supply			
8. Supply of Skilled Labour			
9. Credit			
10. Other problems, please specify.....			

'Slight Problem' - craftspersons can solve their problems without outside assistance, and using available resources

'Some Problems' - craftspersons need to rely on outside support (relatives, friends) to solve the problems faced.

'Huge Problems' - problems which the craftsprsons percieved could not be easily solved, or they may take a long time for the craftspersons to solve.

Perception Towards Iban Involvement in Commercial Handicraft Production

E.5 **I would like to know what you think about Iban involvement in commercial handicraft production. Please indicate whether you "*Totally Agree*", "*Agree*", "*Disagree*" or "*Totally Disagree*" with the following statements.**

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS

PLEASE READ THE STATEMENTS BELOW CAREFULLY, THEN CHOOSE THE BEST THAT COME CLOSEST TO REPRESENTING RESPONDENT'S OPINION. USE THE FOLLOWING FORMAT: *"STRONGLY AGREE"* - 4; *"AGREE"* - 3; *"DISAGREE"* - 2; *"AGREE "* - 1.

		Coding
1.	**Commercial handicraft production can improve the economy of rural Iban *bilik-family*.**	☐
2.	**Rural Iban who produce handicrafts for the market are economically better off than those who do not produce.**	☐
3.	**The Iban should produce crafts ONLY for personal or cultural use.**	☐
4.	**We *should NOT respect Iban bilik-families who produce handicrafts for* the market.**	☐
5.	**It is easier (simpler) to produce crafts for the market compared to producing handicrafts for cultural purpose.**	☐
6.	**There is risk involved in CHP compared to the production of handicrafts for cultural use.**	☐
7.	**We need to be skilled to produce crafts for the market**	☐
8	**The Iban *bilik*-families sell handicrafts only when they need extra income.**	☐
9.	**The Iban *bilik*-families sell handicrafts because of government support.**	☐
10.	**The Iban *bilik*-families took up CHP because they can combine it with other economic activities.**	☐
11.	**Rural Iban should concentrate more on the production of handicraft for the market than on farming.**	☐
12.	**The young and better educated Iban are not interested in producing handicrafts for the market.**	☐
13.	**I can achieve economic success by changing my craft production techniques.**	☐

E.6 **If you know of a NEW technique in producing handicrafts, you will:** ☐

1. Be the first person to use the new technique,
2. Use the 'new' technique, but will NOT be the first one to use it,
3. NOT use the technique,
4. Other responses, pleas specify .....

E.7 **Suppose that the Government will introduce a new technique in the production of handicrafts. Under what circumstances would you accept this new technique?** ☐

.....

.....

E.8 **How would you describe the involvement of your *bilik*-family in craft production?**

1. Very active
2. Active
3. Non-active
4. Others, please specify.....

E.9 **What would you say about the economic position of your family after producing handicrafts** (for NCPs) **or producing crafts for the market** (for CPs)**?**

1. Much improved
2. Some improved
3. Not improved
4. Worse off

E.10 **If you continue to produce handicrafts for the market** (for CPS) **or produce crafts for personal use** (for the NCP)**, what do you expect your life to be five years from now?**

1. Better off economically
2. About the same
3. Worse off
4. Do not know

E.11 **Do you plan to participate in commercial handicraft production in the future?**

1. Definetly *"Yes "*
2. Probably, *"Yes"*
3. No
4. Do not know

E.12 **Please explain why.**

.....

.....

E.13 **Under what conditions will you participate in commercial handicraft production in the future?**

.....

.....

E.14 **Will you encourage your children to produce handicrafts commercially in the future?**

1. Definetly *"Yes"*
2. Probably, *"Yes"*
3. No
4. Do not know

E.15 Why?

.....

.....

E.16 Under what conditions will you encourage your children to participate in commercial handicraft production in the future? (Please prioritise your answers)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

E.17 In your opinion, what is the profit situation of CHP in the future?

1. Highly profitable
2. Profitable
3. No Profit
4. Loss

E.18 Please indicate whether you have OTHER TYPES OF SKILLS. Please rate yourself on the following (a) skills, and (b) your level of willingness to improve these skills. (Use Table 10)

Table 10: Level and Acquisition of Skills

Types of Skills	Please rate your skills. 1. Highly skilled 2. Skilled 3. Limited Skill 4. Unskilled	How do you acquire your skill? 1. Government 2. Private sector 3. Inherit 4. Experience	How many years have you had this skill?	Are you willing to improve on these skills? Definetly Yes - 4 Yes - 3 Probably - 2 No - 1
Creative				
1.drawing, painting, design				
2. handicrafts				
3. house-building				
Influencing				
4. persuading & managing				
5. sales				
6. managing other people				
7. organising				
Communicating				
8. literate				
9. promoting ideas				
10. analyse instructions				
11. follow instructions				
12. assembling parts & components				
13. servicing equipment				

Problem Solving				
14. analysing detailed information				
15. using hand or power tools				
16. operating plant or machines				
17. doing agricultural work				
Social				
18. able to relate to a wide range of people				
19. can train others				
Numerical				
20. keep simple accounts & budget				
21. make projections				
22. make plans				

PART F

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

F.1 **Please specify what is your principal and secondary occupation.**

Principal Occupation:.....

F.2 Secondary Occupation: .....

Please indicate the number of years you have been involved in the following occupations.

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF YEARS
Principal Occupation:	
Secondary Occupation:	

F.3 **In your opinion, (a) in which occupation is the source of income very dependable, and (b) in what type of occupation are you willing to participate? Please prioritise your answers.** (Use Table 12)

Table 12: Occupation

Occupation where the source of income is dependable	**Occupation you are willing to participate in**
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

F.4 Please provide information regarding your involvement in agricultural production. (Use Table 13).

Table 13: Agriculture Production

Agriculture Products	Total size (acres)	Average monthly production (kilogramme) in the last 1 year (RM)	Total monthly cost in the last 1 year (RM)	Average net income (RM)

F.4 Here are some typical examples which might describe your present occupation. Can you please tell me about each statement, whether you *"STRONGLY AGREE"*, *"AGREE"*, *"DISAGREE"*, or *"STRONGLY DISAGREE"*.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS
PLEASE READ THE STATEMENTS BELOW CAREFULLY, THEN CHOOSE THE BEST THAT COME CLOSEST TO REPRESENTING RESPONDENT'S OPINION OF HIS/HER PRESENT OCCUPATION. USE THE FOLLOWING FORMAT: *"STRONGLY AGREE"* - 4; *"AGREE"* - 3; *"DISAGREE"* - 2; *"AGREE "* - 1.

1. In this occupation, there is a lot of opportunities to achieve what I want to achieve.
2. In this occupation, there is a considerable return for hard work.
3. In this occupation, there is a high financial reward.
4. This occupation enables me to achieve a good standard of living.
5. Income from this occupation is regular and reliable.
6. This occupation allows me to enjoy high social status.
7. This job involves a lot of risk and uncertainties.
8. I would participate in a small economic activity which promises fixed returns rather than participate in a larger economic activity whose returns are uncertain.

F.5 If you are *"willing"* to make certain sacrifices in order to take up or succeed in CHP, please indicate these sacrifices:

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

H2. Please indicate your level of willigness to undertake the following innovations in Table 14.

Areas of Innovation	**Level of Willingness to Innovate** 4 - Most willing to innovate 3 - Willing to innovate 2 - Unwilling to innovate 1 - Most unwilling to innovate
Designs	
Techniques of Production	
Market	
Product	
Raw Materials	
Others, please specify	

SECTION G

ASSET, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

G.1 I would like to know the amount of income earned by your *bilik*-family in the last 12 months. (Use Table 15)

e 15: Income Received

Income Sources	Amount of Income by Respective *Bilik*-family Members						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A. INCOME FROM WAGED EMPLOYMENT							
1. Wages, salaries							
2. Bonus							
3. Housing (provided by employers)							
4. KWSP, PERKESO							
5. Others, please specify							
Total Income Received (A)							
B. INCOME FROM SELF-EMPLOYMENT							
1. Agriculture (refer Table 13)							
2. Handicrafts							
3. Others, please specify...							
Total Income Received (B)							
C. TRANSFER PAYMENT							
1. Remittances							
2. Pension							
3. Scholarships/Grants							
4. Social support							
5. Others, please specify....							
Total Income Received (C)							
D. INCOME FROM ASSETS							
1. Dividends (ASN, Co-op, ASSAR)							
2. Interests from savings							
3. Rent received							
4. Others, please specify.....							
Total Income Received (D)							
TOTAL INCOME (A+B+C+D)							

G.2 Please mark (X) if you own these assets or consumer durables. What is the estimated value of these assets in 1993? (Use Table 15)

Table 15: *Bilik*-family Assets

ASSETS	Mark (X) if you own these assets	Estimated Value (RM) in 1993
1. Houses (other than the longhouse you live in)		
2. Cars, vans		
3. Motorbikes		
4. Bicycles		
5. Televisions		
6. Radio		
7. Refrigerators		
8. Outboard engines		
9. Boats		
10. Boats and engines		
11. Electric generators		
12. Rubber pressers		
13. Inheritance		
15. Others, please specify		
Total Value of Assets		

G.3 Please provide information regarding your *bilik*-family expenditure in the last 12 months in Table 16.

Table 16: Average Expenditure

EXPENDITURES	VALUE (RM)
A. Average Monthly Expenditures	
1. Daily expenditures for basic necessities	
2. Rent (for example housing, electricity and waterbills)	
3. Transportation	
4. Medical	
5. Education	
6. Others, please specify	
Total Monthly Expenditure (A)	
B. Annual Expenditure	
1. Payment for tools, apparatus, furniture, etc..	
2. House improvement	
3. Others, please specify	
Total Annual Expenditure (B)	
Average Monthly Expenditure (C) = (B)/12	
Total Monthly Expenditure = (A) + (C)	

G.4 Is income sufficient to meet your total *bilik-family's* financial requirement?

1. Yes, always sufficient
2. Yes, sometimes sufficient
3. Irregular
4. Insufficient

E.2.1 When income is insufficient to meet your *bilik-family's* financial requirement, what do you normally do? (Multiple Answers)

1. Borrow money and food from relatives
2. Borrow money and food from friends
3. Obtain credit from formal institutions
4. Sell assets
5. Seek off-farm activities
6. Others, please specify.....

G.6 What are your forms of savings, and if possible please provide information on the value of your savings. (Please use Table 17)

Table 17: Major Forms of Savings and their Value

Form of Savings	Estimated Value of Savings (RM)
1. Banks	
2. Post Office Savings	
3. Co-operatives	
4. Shares	
5. Jewelleries	
6. Others, please specify	

SECTION H

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

H.1 If the government introduces a handicraft project,

(a) your *bilik*-family will be the first to participate in the project
(b) only you will participate in the project
(c) only your children will participate in the project
(d) only elderly family-members will participate in the project

H.2 If the government develops a craft factory in your area,

(a) you will work in the factory and will not participate in other economic activities
(b) you will work in the factory only when there is no other jobs available
(c) only your children will work in the factory
(d) only elderly members in your *bilik*-family will work in the factory

H.3 What economic benefits do you expect from participating in commercial handicraft production NOW, and in FUTURE, compared to other economic activities? (Use Table 18)

Table 18: Perception of Economic Benefits from CHP

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	LEVEL OF ECONOMIC BENEFITS FROM COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION *"NOW"* AND IN *"FUTURE"*. 1. CHP is more beneficial 2. CHP is slightly beneficial 3. Equally beneficial 4. CHP is non-beneficial	
	NOW	**FUTURE**
1. Public sector employment		
2. Agricultural activities		
3. Employment in private sectors		
a. Logging activities		
b. Factory work		

H.4 What do you expect your life to be five years from now?

1. Better off economically
2. About the same
3. Worse off
4. Do not know

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix 2

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - SCALE (ALPHA)

1. F41 PERCEPTION CHP - ACHIEVEMENT1
2. F42 PERCEPTION CHP - ACHIEVEMENT2
3. F43 PERCEPTION CHP - ECONOMIC1
4. F44 PERCEPTION CHP - ECONOMIC2
5. F45 PERCEPTION CHP - SECURITY1 (Copy f55)
6. F46 PERCEPTION CHP- RESPECT
7. F47 CHP Highly Risky (Copy f57)
8. E51 PERCEPTION - CHANGES FROM OLD TO NEW TECHNIC
9. E52 PERCEPTION - COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PROMO
10. E53 PERCEPTION - COMMERCIAL HANDICRAFT PRODU

		Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1.	F41	2.9050	.6619	200.0
2.	F42	3.2100	.6387	200.0
3.	F43	2.8350	.5188	200.0
4.	F44	2.8600	.5762	200.0
5.	F45	2.7200	.6586	200.0
6.	F46	1.9950	.6458	200.0
7.	F47	2.8500	.4886	200.0
8.	E51	3.2850	.5149	200.0
9.	E52	3.0400	.5832	200.0
10.	E53	3.0450	.5871	200.0

N of Cases = **200.0**

Statistics for	Mean	Variance	Std Dev	N of Variables
	28.7450	10.3919	3.2237	10

Item Means	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Max/Min	Variance
	2.8745	1.9950	3.2850	1.2900	1.6466	.1265

Item Variances	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Max/Min	Variance
	.3487	.2387	.4382	.1995	1.8357	.0055

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - SCALE (ALPHA)

Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
F41	25.8400	7.9743	.5295	.3970	.6949
F42	25.5350	8.0390	.5370	.4093	.6941
F43	25.9100	8.5446	.5204	.5044	.7014
F44	25.8850	8.4641	.4759	.4381	.7057
F45	26.0250	8.8788	.2750	.1922	.7382
F46	26.7500	9.2136	.1942	.1122	.7502
F47	25.8950	10.2452	-.0294	.1186	.7683
E51	25.4600	9.0537	.3464	.2547	.7247
E52	25.7050	7.9276	.6468	.6430	.6785
E53	25.7000	8.2814	.5226	.4769	.6982

Reliability Coefficients 10 items

Alpha = .7383 Standardized item alpha = .7342

Appendix 3

Construction of ENTREP Index

The entrepreneurship index (**ENTREP**) is a composite variable containing eight variabales. For the first indicator, (**A0PART**), I use the nature of involvement in handicraft production to indicate whether the respondent is currently producing handicraft for the market or not. If the producer or any member of the *bilik-family* produce and sell handicrafts, I allocate the *bilik-family* a score of `1'. I allocate a score of `0' to those who do not produce and sell handicrafts. I allocate a higher score to those who sell handicrafts because I consider them as innovators , who introduce new products or new methods of production.

The second indicator (**F1AX**) measures the respondents' major economic activity. I allocate a score of `1' to respondents who are involved in trading, and a score of `0' to those who are involved in non-trading activities. I use this approach because I assume that a person who is involved in trading or commercial activities as his/her major economic activity has some basic entrepreneurial qualities such as profit maximisation and risk taking. Alternatively, I allocate a lower index score to the wage earners and farmers, because I assume they prefer to earn income rather than profit. Besides, entrepreneurs are individuals who are not engaged in routine economic activities that promise fixed income.

For the third index, I use the level of willingness to make certain sacrifices in order to be involved in CHP (**Z1SACRIC**) as one of the indicators of entrepreneurship. I assign a maximum score of `4' to the respondents who are most willing to make each of the following sacrifices: (a) borrow money, (b) change major economic activities, (c) allocate more time to commercial handicraft production, (d) adopt to new techniques, (e) adopt new designs, (f) use new raw materials, and (g) adopt new techniques of production in order to participate in commercial handicraft production. I assign a score of `1', for each sacrifices the respondents are unwilling to make. The maximum score is 28 points (if the respondent is willing to make all the sacrifices and the minimum score is 7. I assume the higher the score, the higher is the respondents' willingness to make certain sacrifices in order to be involved in CHP.

Indexing the level of entrepreneurship with respect to risk-taking is complicated. Since risk taking is not scale neutral, I have to provide for building into the index (F48) the craftspersons' response towards a statement on risk-taking. I use the response to this statement " *I would participate in a small economic activity which promises fixed returns rather than participate in a larger economic activity but whose returns are uncertain"* as the proxy for the risk-taking scale. I allocate the highest score of 4 to those who totally disagreed with the statement and a score of 1 if they totally agree with the above statement. I allocated a high score of 4 points to those who disagreed with the above statement because I consider them as *"risk-takers."* Since entrepreneurs are *"risk-takers"*, respondents who have a high score on this index are more likely to be entrepreneurs than producers.

The fifth index I use in entrepreneurship index is the marketing of handicrafts (**ZC1001A** to **ZC1007A**). Craftspersons who sell their products to individuals, retailers, tourists and government agencies score 2 points for each type of handicrafts sold. I assign a score of 1 point to those who sell their products to Chinese *towkays* on contract and zero point if they do not sell the selected handicrafts. I assigned a lower score to craftspersons who sell their products to *towkays* because they merely serve as producers, they do not make business decisions and above all, they do not take risks. I assigned a higher score for those who are not on contracts with *towkays* because they take risk and make their own decisions. Since there are seven types of handicrafts, a respondent can score a maximum of 14 and a minimum of one[2].

[2] The total minimum score is 1 and not zero, because the commercial craftspersons sell at least one product.

The sixth indicator in the entrepreneurship index measures the extent to which craftspersons are willing to participate in commercial handicraft production in the future. (**ZE7**). Although it is hypothetical, I consider the response as reflective of craftspersons' attitudes towards commercial handicraft production. Those who perceive such projects as beneficial, have a higher tendency to participate in a project in the future. Also it indicates a high level of willingness to take risk. If a craftsperson stated that s(he) will be the first to participate in a government project on handicraft production, he or she will be allocated the highest score 3. If, however, the craftspersons is unwilling to be the first to participate, then I assign a score of 2. Those who are unwilling to participate in the project but will encourage family members to participate in the project will be allocated 1 point. I assign a score of zero if none are willing to be involved in CHP in the future. I include this variable in our measurement because it allows us to identify craftspersons' willingness to become commercial craftspersons in the future, and the extent to which they are willing to take up new income generating opportunities.

In the entrepreneurial index, I also include indicators on the way the craftspersons solved their problems (variables **ZE401C** to **ZE410C**) related to handicraft production. If the craftspersons solve or attempted to solve the problems themselves, such as through co-operative efforts, searching for alternative solutions, attending courses of their accord) without relying on government or *towkays*, I allocate the highest score of 2 points. If, however, they rely on the government agencies or *towkays* to solve their problems, then I assign a score of 1 point. I assign a high score to respondents who solve or manage their problems because I assume they will have better abilities to survive and develop into entrepreneurs. Besides, I assume that entrepreneurs must be self-reliant and learn to cope with their problems effectively. They must know how to operate their business without having to rely heavily on others every time they have a problem. The maximum score for this index is 20 points and the lowest is 10 points. The higher the score, the more problems the craftsperson has.

The last indicator that I have included in the entrepreneurship index measures the percentage contribution of income from commercial handicraft production to total income (**ZPERCENT**). I allocate the highest score of 10 points to those who receive between 90.01 to 100 per cent of their total household income from handicraft, and the lowest score of 1 point to those who receive less than 10.0 per cent of their total income from handicraft. I recognise that percentage is not a strong indicator, because it does not reflect the real value of the income earned from handicrafts. I use the percentage of income rather than the value of total income earned from selling handicrafts as an indicator, because I will be able to measure its relative contribution to total income. I assume that craftspersons who earn a high percentage of their income from selling handicrafts, as an indicator of their success in CHP in relation to other economic activities.

Appendix 4

Logistic Model: Involvement in CHP Behavioural Model

Conceptually, I use the following involvement behaviour model (Green and Ng'ong'ola 1993) to examine the factors influencing rural Iban involvement in CHP.

$$\mathbf{Y_i = g\ (I_i)} \qquad \text{..... (1)}$$

$$I_i = b_o + \sum_{j=1}^{n} b_j X_{ji} \qquad \text{..... (2)}$$

where:

Yi is the observed response for ith observation (i.e the binary variable, Yi = 1 for involvement in CHP, Yi = 0 for non-involvement in CHP.

g is the functional relationship between the field observation (Yi) and the stimulus index (Ii) which determines the probability of involvement to be explained below.

$\mathbf{I_i}$ = 1,2,...m are observations on variables for the involvement model (defined in Table 2.1 for this analysis), m being the sample size.

$\mathbf{X_{ji}}$ is the jth explanatory variable for the ith observation, j=1,2,...,n

$\mathbf{b_j}$ is an unknown parameter, j=0,1,2....,n.

j = 0,1,2...,n. where n is the total number of explanatory variables.

The logit model assumes that the underlying stimulus index (Ii) is a random variable which predicts the probability of involvement in CHP:

$$P_i = \frac{e^i}{1 + e^i} \qquad \text{..... (3)}$$

Therefore, for the *i*th observation (an individual craftsperson):

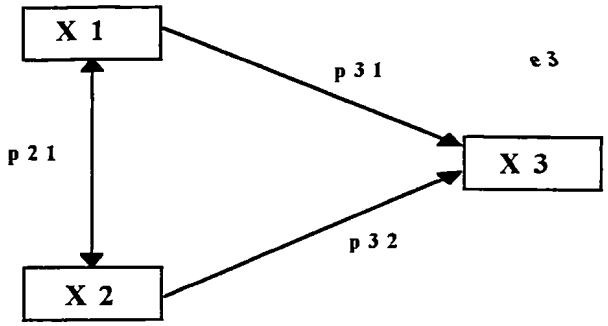
$$I_i = \ln\frac{p_i}{1 - P_i} = b_0 + \sum_{j=1}^{n} b_j X_{ji} \qquad \text{..... (4)}$$

which is a logit model, which is similar to equation (1).

Appendix 5

PATH ANALYSIS[3]

Path analysis amounts to a sequence of linear regression analyses, and the path coefficients are simply the standardised regression coefficients (Beta coefficients - β*) A path coefficient is usually denoted by ρ_{ij} where *i* refers to the dependent variable and the *j* the independent variable, whose direct effect is measured by the path coefficient. One can use the standardised regression coefficients β* in the path as in the following diagram:



The solid lines and arrows specify the β* for each independent variable as it predicts the dependent variable. The arrow line from **e** to the independent variables **X** indicates the residual coefficient from a residual variable to the dependent variable. For example, **e1** indicates the residual coefficient to the dependent variable **X1.** The path model shows that variable **X3** is dependent on two independent variables **X2** and **X1,** and a residual **e3.** I can estimate the path equations as follows:

$$X3 = \rho_{31}X1 + \rho_{32}X2 + \rho e3$$

[3] See Bailey and Weller. (1987: p.196)

Assuming:

X1 = Problems faced by craftspersons
X2 = Craftspersons skill in handicraft production
X3 = Income from handicrafts
$\mathbf{r_{y1}} = 0.123$
$\mathbf{r_{y2}} = 0.456$
$\mathbf{r_{12}} = 0.678$

I can calculate the β* coefficients from the correlation coefficients as follows:

$$p_{31} = \frac{r_{y1} - r_{12}r_{y2}}{1 - r_{12}^{\ 2}}$$

$$p_{32} = \frac{r_{y2} - r_{12}r_{y1}}{1 - r_{12}^{\ 2}}$$

$$p_{31}\frac{.123-(.678)(.456)}{1-(.456)^2} = -0.234$$

$$p_{32}\frac{.456-(.678)(.123)}{1-(.456)^2} = 0.571$$

One can estimate the standardised regression coefficient for the residual variable **e3** using the following formula:

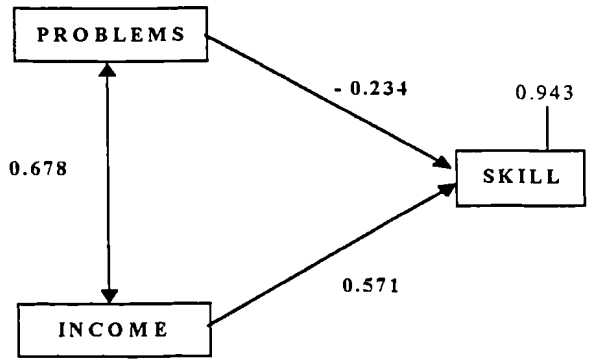
$$p_e\sqrt{1 - p_{31}r_{y1} - p_{32}r_{y2}}$$

Using the above example, I can estimate the standardised regression coefficient for **e3** as follows:

$$p_{e3}\sqrt{1-(-.234)(.123)-(.571)(.245)} = 0.942$$

Note that the regression coefficient from the residual variable **e3** to variable **X3** is the square root of 1 - R^2 or $\sqrt{1-R^2}$

I can now assign the β* to the respective paths and show their relationships as follows:

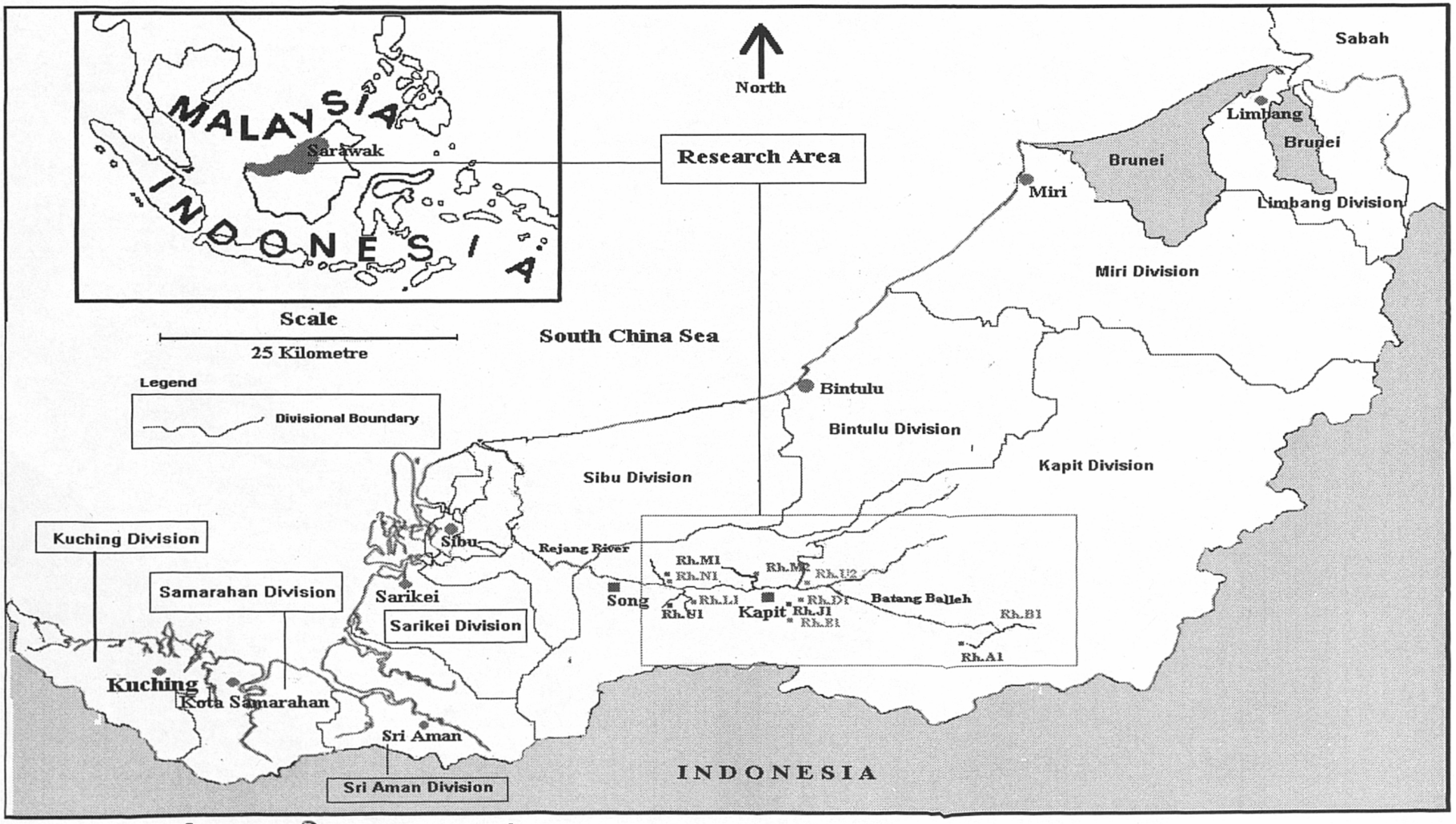


According to Dillon and Goldstein (1984), the effective use of path analysis is predicated by on a number of assumptions, of which the more important ones are:

1. The relationships among the variables are linear
2. All error terms (i.e residuals) are assumed to be uncorrelated with each other.
3. Only recursive models are considered; reciprocal causation between variables are prohibited. The influence of one variable on another is asymmetrical.
4. The model must be treated as a closed-system.
5. The causal ordering of the independent and dependent variable are known.

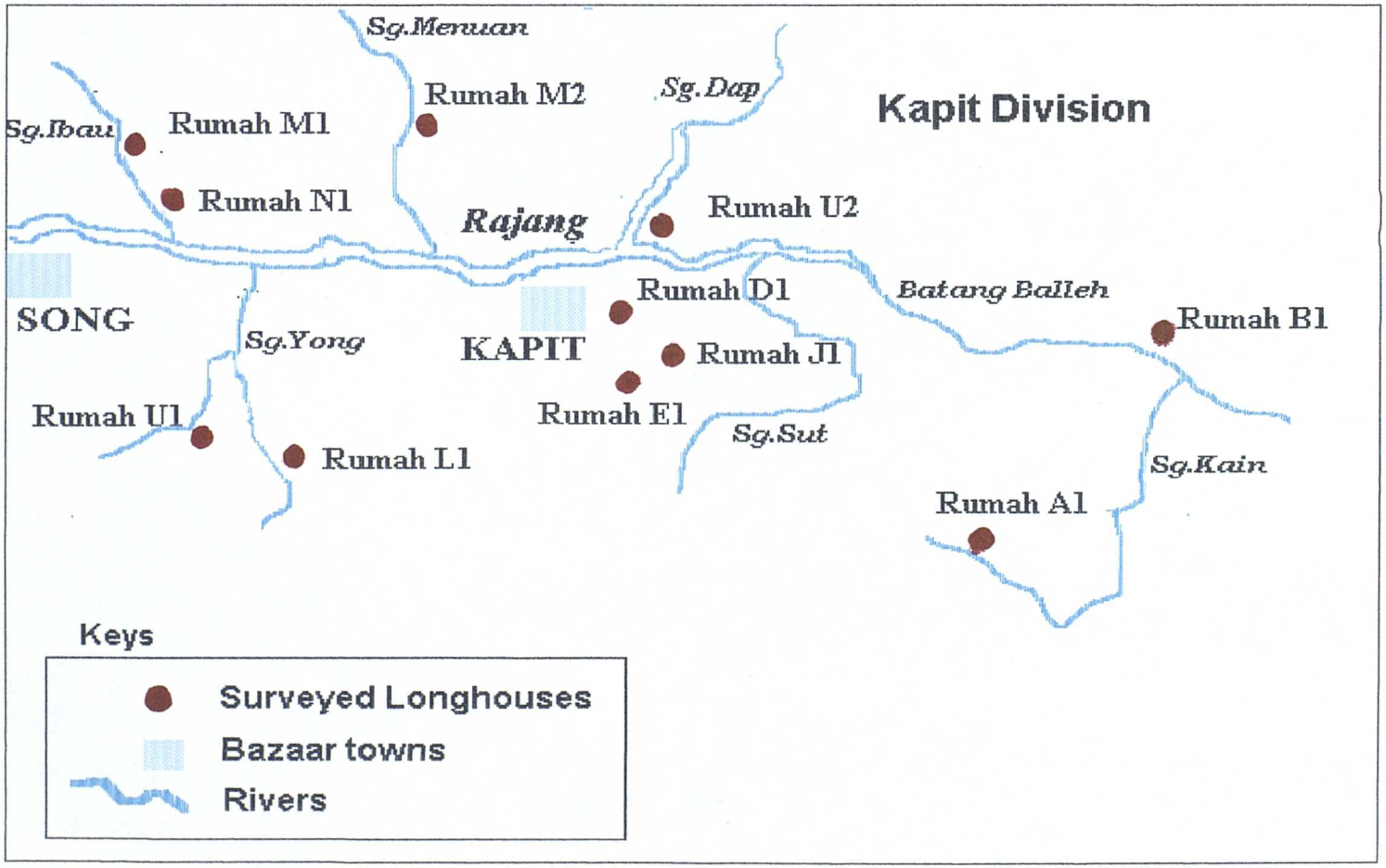
According to Nan Lin (1976:320), a low R^2 in a path model is "acceptable" because the more important task is to establish the relationship as it exists. A high R^2 is desirable only when one is making a predictive statement.

APPENDIX 6
Research Area



Source: Sarawak Planning Unit (1992b)

Map 2: Map of Surveyed Longhouses



Note: This map is NOT drawn according to scale. It shows the approximate location of the surveyed longhouses.

Appendix 7

SCIENTIFIC NAMES

bemban - Donax spp
engkudu- Morinda citrifolia
entemu- Curuma spp.
rattan - Calamus spp., Daemonorops spp., Korthalsia, spp., Ceratolobus spp., Plectocomiosis spp.,
bamboo - Bambusa spp., Dendrocalamus, spp., Dinochloa, spp., Gigantochloa, spp.,
pandan - Pandanus spp.,
nipah palm - Nyapa fructicans,
senggang - Hornstedtia scyphifera,
resam - Dicranopterix linearis,
tarum- (Marsedia tinctoria)
tekalong - Artocarpus spp.,) and
lemba Curculigo spp.,
engkabang - illepenut
damar
gutta percha
ramin - Gonystylus bancanus,
meranti - Shorea spp.
alan - Shorea albida,
kapur - Dryobalanops spp.
belian - Eusideroxylon zwageri.
engkerbai - psychotria viridiflora
jering - pithecellobium jiringa
tarum - marsdenia tinctoria, indigofera
minyak kepayang - oil extracted from pangium edule
lia kumang - zingiber spp,

Appendix 8

"*NEW*" CRAFTS IN THE MARKET

Raw Material Base	Product	Shapes	Sizes	Pattern/Style
	1.1. Bamboo Baskets			
1. Bamboo	Laundry Basket	Standard	Different	Pattern
	Fruit Basket	Oblong	one size	Pattern
	Semaba Fruit Basket			Pattern, Plain, Support
	Pengayak (rough weave)	Standard	Different	Rough & Fine Weave
	Ajat bag	Standard	Different	Pattern
	Multi-purpose basket	square, shallow, rectangular, round	Different	Pattern, plain
	Sekop	Standard	Different	Pattern
	Star Bottom Basket	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Gadai Basket	Standard	Different	Pattern. Plain
	Waste Paper Basket	Standard	Different	Pattern
	1.2. Bamboo Accessories			
	Stud Wallet	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Curry Puff Zip Purse	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Zip Wallet	Square	Standard	Pattern
	Purse	oval, round, rectangular	Different	Pattern
	Wallet	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Handbag	Flat, Heart-shape, oval base, square	Standard	Pattern, Plain, Pua base
	Carry bag	Square, rectangular	Standard	Plain with PVC
	1.3. Bamboo Stationaries			
	File	Standard	Legal size	Pattern, Pua, Bamboo, plain
	Letter opener	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Pencil case	Standard	Standard	Pattern,
	Pencil holder			Pattern,support, *cantong*-syle, standing horizontal or vertical,
	Wall letter holder	Different	Standard	Pattern
	Jewellery box	Standard	Different	Plain Bamboo or wood
	Money box	Standard	Standard	-
	Serobok (smoking pipe)	Standard	Standard	-
	Tobacco container/case	Standard	Standard	-
	Key chain	Standard	Standard	-
	1.4. Bamboo Tablewares			
	Table mat set	Standard	Standard	Coloured, pattern
	Coaster	Stndard	Different	Plain

	Bamboo/Wood Tray	Rectangular, square, oblong, fish-spae heart-shape	Different	Plain
	Wine bottle holder	Standard	Standard	Pattern, with/without handle
	1.5. Bamboo Decorations and Ornaments			
	Tampi (Winnowing basket	Standard	Different	Pattern, plain
	Star flowers	-	-	-
	Nyiru	Standard	Different	Pattern, coloured
	Kedidik	Standard	Different	Pattern, plain
	Fan	Standard	Different	Pattern
	Tissue Box	Standard	Stnadard	Pattern
	Bamboo decorated cannon	Standard	Different	Patterm
	Bamboo sun cap	Standard	Different	Pattern
	1.6. Bamboo Musical Instruments			
	Angklong	Standard	Standard	Pattern, plain
2. Rattan	**2.1 Baskets**			
	Lunch box	Round, square-open	Standard	Plain
	Tabok	Standard	Different	Fine, rough weave
	Shopping basket	Rectangular. oval	Different	Plain
	Cantong Mongkos	Standard	Different	Coloured
	Harvesting basket	Standard	Different	Pattern
	Banyut	Standard	Different	Pattern
	2.2 Rattan Stationaries			
	Note pad holder	Standard	Standard	Pua, p.v.c
	Quarter folder	Standard	Different	Plain
	File	Standard legal size	Standard	Plain
	Writing case	Standard	Different	Plain
	Pencil case	Different	Different	Pua, rattan, pattern
	Letter holder	Different	Different	Pattern, plain, cloth
	Tissue box	Different	Standard	Pattern, plain
	2.3 Rattan Accessories			
	Key chain	Stnadard	Standard	-
	Purse with ring	Different	Standard	Pattern
	Coin purse	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	3.1 Bemban Stationaries			
	Letter Holder	Standard	Standard	Pattern
3. Bemban	**3.2 Bemban Mat & Wear**			
	Mat	Different	Different	Single/Double-Pattern, Coloured/Plain

	Sun cap	Standard	Standard	Pattern
4. Pandan	**4.1 Pandan Accessories**			
	Carry bag	Standard	Standard	Open, zipped, plain, pua
	Purse	Standard	Standdrd	pandan-pua
	Shoulder bag	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Clutch bag	Standard	Standard	Zipped, plain
	Sun cap	Standard	Standard	-
	4.2 Pandan Stationaries			
	Letter holder	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	File	Standard	Standard	pua and pandan
	Note pad holder	Standard	Standard	Pua and pandan
	Three-way organiser	Standared	Standard	plain, pua
	4.3 Pandan Housewares			
	Table mat	Standard	Standard	Pattern
	Toilett box	Standard	Standard	Pattern, plain
	Mats	Different	Different	Pattern, plain
5. Nipah	**5.1 Nipah Basketries**			
	Plant hanger	Different	Different	Patterned
	Braided basket	Standard	Different	Patterned
	Braided plate	Standard	Standard	Patterned
6. Sago	**6.1 Sago Basketries**			
	Nyiru	Standard	Different	Plain
	Laundry basket	Standard	Different	Pattern, plain
	Magazine basket	Standard	Standard	Pattern
7. Bark	**7.1 Bark Accessories, Stationaries**			
	Wallet	Standard	Standard	-
	Letter holder	Standard	Standard	-
	File	Standard	Stnadard legal size	bark, pvc.
	Baby carrier	Standard	Standard	-

Source: Market Survey 1993.

Appendix 9

Logistic Regression Results

15 Aug 95 SPSS for MS WINDOWS Release 6.0

Total number of cases: 200 (Unweighted)
Number of selected cases: 200
Number of unselected cases: 0
Number of selected cases: 200 Number rejected because of missing data:
0 Number of cases included in the analysis: 200

Dependent Variable Encoding:

Original Value	Internal Value
0	0
1	1

	Value	Freq	Coding
PROHANDI			
No Project	.00	141	1.000
Handicraft Project	1.00	59	-1.000
SUPPORTX			
No Support	.00	132	1.000
With support	1.00	68	-1.000
SKILLX			
No skill	.00	45	1.000
With some skill	1.00	155	-1.000
BEJALAIX			
No members bejalai	.00	90	1.000
With members bejalai	1.00	110	-1.000

Note: Category variable(s) with 0,1-values have been recoded using the above coding scheme.
Parameter estimates are not the same as for indicator(0,1) variables.
Beginning Block Number 0. Initial Log Likelihood Function -2 Log Likelihood 273.86929
* Constant is included in the model. Beginning Block Number 1. Method: Enter
Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

AGE	age
EDUC	RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION (YRS) - COPY A4
BEJALAIX	(Bejalai >=1)
WORKNON	TOTAL WORKERS UNEMPLOYED (ANS=3)
WEALTH	COMPUTE wealth = tyincom2 + asset + save (COMPUTE)
WORK	COMPUTE work = workgov + workhil + worklog + workagri + worktrd (COMPUTE)
SUPPORT	(zaidnos >=1)
SKILL	Skill in HANDICRAFT PRDN (skill recoded)
PROHANDI	Existence of Gov't Sponsored Handicraft Project PROJECTS Nos. of Government Dev't Project
PRODUCER	TOTAL NOS PRODUCERS (CHP or NCHP) c3 + d2
PRBCREDT	PROBLEM - CREDIT (E410A recoded)
PRBDESIG	COMPUTE prbdesig = e405ax + e406ax (COMPUTE)
PRBLABOR	COMPUTE prblabor = e408a + e409a (COMPUTE)
PRBMRKT	PROBLEM - MARKETING (e407a recoded)
PRBPRDN	COMPUTE prbprdn = e403ax + e404ax (COMPUTE)
PRBRAW	COMPUTE prbraw = e401a + e402a (COMPUTE)
FUTURE	COMPUTE ZFUTURE = (E10X + E11X + E18X + h500x) / 4 (COMPUTE)
HSENO	Total nos hsehold
HANDIYRS	COMPUTE HANDIYRS = C1 + D4 (COMPUTE)
NCOM	TOTAL INCOME (1992) minus income from handicraft (TYINCOM2 - KRAFT)
DISTANCE	DISTANCE TO KAPIT (minutes)
ARISK	COMPUTE ARISK = (E67 + F57X) / 2 (COMPUTE)
AECON	PERCEPTION CHP - ACHIEVEMENT2

Estimation terminated at iteration number 8 because Log Likelihood decreased by less than .01 percent.

-2 Log Likelihood 64.104

Goodness of Fit	100.234		
Chi-Square df Significance			
Model Chi-Square	209.765	24	.0000
Improvement	209.765	24	.0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	R	Exp(B)
AGE	-.0756	.0702	1.1580	1	.2819	.0000	.9272
EDUC	-.5623	.2129	6.9737	1	.0083	-.1348	.5699
BEJALAIX(1)	-.3211	.4447	.5213	1	.4703	.0000	.7254
WORKNON	1.6430	1.0461	2.4671	1	.1163	.0413	5.1709
WEALTH	-7.5E-05	4.296E-05	3.0827	1	.0791	-.0629	.9999
WORK	.6401	.3659	3.0606	1	.0802	.0622	1.8966
SUPPORTX(1)	-.1388	.6697	.0430	1	.8357	.0000	.8704
SKILLX(1)	.7992	.6190	1.6669	1	.1967	.0000	1.2237
PROHANDI(1)	-.9730	.8982	1.1734	1	.2787	.0000	.3780
PROJECTS	-.3900	.3957	.9711	1	.3244	.0000	.6771
PRODUCER	.0271	.5281	.0026	1	.9591	.0000	1.0274
PRBCREDT	.1663	.6120	.0738	1	.7858	.0000	1.1809
PRBDESIG	1.1502	.4786	5.7749	1	.0163	.1174	3.1588
PRBLABOR	.3917	.4893	.6407	1	.4235	.0000	1.4794
PRBMRKT	-2.2000	.8161	7.2671	1	.0070	-.1387	.1108
PRBPRDN	-.3814	.4920	.6008	1	.4383	.0000	.6829
PRBRAW	-.1853	.3707	.2499	1	.6172	.0000	.8309
FUTURE	8.6189	2.0901	17.0042	1	.0000	.2341	5535.053
HSENO	-.1726	.1832	.8876	1	.3461	.0000	.8415
HANDIYRS	-.2684	.0754	12.6545	1	.0004	-.1972	.7646
INCOME	.0002	.0001	3.0072	1	.0829	.0606	1.0002
DISTANCE	.0321	.0142	5.1166	1	.0237	.1067	1.0326
ARISK	-1.7028	.9200	3.4256	1	.0642	-.0721	.1822
AECON	1.8323	.9669	3.5910	1	.0581	.0762	6.2482
Constant	-16.9251	6.8844	6.0440	1	.0140		

Appendix 10

Results of Causal Analysis

30 Jan 96 SPSS for MS WINDOWS Release 6.0

Equation Number 0 Dependent Variable.. SUCCESS INCOME FROM HANDICRAFT

Block Number 1. Method: Enter
EXPERIENCE WEALTH ATTITUDE PROBLEM TIME SACRIC AGE SKILL PROHANDI SUPPORTX ENTREP BEJALAI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	BEJALAI	Nos bejalai
2..	ENTREP	ENTREP=A01PART+F1AX+SACRIC+ZRISK+MARKET
3..	SKILL	SKILL HANDICRAFT (copy e202a)
4..	AGE	age
5..	SUPPORTX	(zaidnos >=1)
6..	ATTITUDE	ATTITUDE = f51 + f52 + f53 + f54 + f55 +
7..	EXPERIENCE	Length doing handicraft
8..	WEALTH	*COMPUTE wealth = tyincom2 + asset + sav*
9..	TIME	TOTAL NOS PERSON-DAYS YR CHP (TIMEDYP1 +
10..	PROBLEM	Level of Problem (e41a + e42a..e411a) Hi
11..	PROHANDI	Existence of Gov't Craft Projects
12..	SACRIC	ATTITUDE SACRIFICE (COMPOSITE) = s1actim

Multiple R	.90011
R Square	.81019
Adjusted R Square	.78742
Standard Error	775.56338

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	12	256750420.92925	21395868.41077
Residual	100	60149855.06733	601498.55067

F = 35.57094 Signif F = .0000

Equation Number 1a Dependent Variable.. SUCCESS INCOME FROM HANDICRAFT

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
EXPERIENCE	13.445429	7.720900	.087155	1.741	.0847
WEALTH	.019211 .	003743	.270494	5.132	.0000
ATTITUDE	47.633765	25.545690	.095517	1.865	.0652
PROBLEM	-79.395039	20.784489	-.304145	-3.820	.0002
TIME	7.030175	1.115770	.397616	6.301	.0000
SACRIC	92.797505	78.556691	.118772	1.181	.2403
AGE	7.779560	7.839866	.054966	.992	.3234
SKILL	46.549420	96.409454	.025209	.483	.6303
PROHANDI	226.727585	330.242182	.067628	.687	.4940
SUPPORTX	-159.552459	310.194938	-.047621	-.514	.6081
ENTREP	24.220181	47.368575	.058662	.511	.6103
BEJALAI	61.155236	64.199052	.050126	.953	.3431
(Constant)		-2954.549963	1766.906602	-1.672	.0976

Equation Number 1 **Dependent Variable.. BEJALAI Nos bejalai**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter **AGE**
Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. AGE age

Multiple R	.14416
R Square	.02078
Adjusted R Square	.01196
Standard Error	1.37047

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	2479	.42479
Residual	111	208.47786	1.87818
F =	2.35589	Signif F =	.1277

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AGE	.016724	.010896	.144164	1.535	.1277
(Constant)	.459507	.507171		.906	.3669

Equation Number 2 **Dependent Variable.. SKILL SKILL HANDICRAFT (copy e202a**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter **AGE**
Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. AGE age

Multiple R	.15375
R Square	.02364
Adjusted R Square	.01484
Standard Error	.90415

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	2.19707	2.19707
Residual	111	90.74099	.81749
F =	2.68759	Signif F =	.1040

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AGE	.011785	.007188	.153753	1.639	.1040
(Constant)	1.752666	.334600		5.238	.0000

Equation Number 3 **Dependent Variable.. PROHANDI Gov't Craft Project**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter **BEJALAI**
Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. BEJALAI Nos bejalai

Multiple R	.29081
R Square	.08457
Adjusted R Square	.07632
Standard Error	.48221
Analysis of Variance	

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	2.38440	2.38440
Residual	111	25.81029	.23253

F = 10.25437 Signif F = .0018

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
BEJALAI	.105828	.033048	.290808	3.202	.0018
(Constant)	.349572	.060524		5.776	.0000

Equation Number 4 **Dependent Variable.. SUPPORTX (zaidnos >=1)**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter PROHANDI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. PROHANDI Existence of Gov't Projectsed Handicraft

Multiple R	.86073
R Square	.74085
Adjusted R Square	.73852
Standard Error	.25672

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	20.91433	20.91433
Residual	111	7.31576	.06591

F = 317.32752 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
PROHANDI	.861268	.048349	.860728	17.814	.0000
(Constant)	.101695	.033423		3.043	.0029

Equation Number 5 **Dependent Variable.. EXPERIENCE Length doing handicraft**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter SUPPORTX

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. SUPPORTX (zaidnos >=1)

Multiple R	.27404
R Square	.07510
Adjusted R Square	.06677
Standard Error	10.53332

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	999.99500	999.99500
Residual	111	12315.54483	110.95085

F = 9.01295 Signif F = .0033

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
SUPPORTX	5.951724	1.982482	.274044	3.002	.0033
(Constant)	8.600000	1.420313		6.055	.0000

Equation Number 6 **Dependent Variable.. WEALTH COMPUTE wealth = tyincom2**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter BEJALAI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. BEJALAI Nos bejalai

Multiple R	.15514
R Square	.02407
Adjusted R Square	.01528
Standard Error	23502.48092

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	1512152669.03128	1512152669.03128
Residual	111	61312693627.13350	552366609.25346

F = 2.73759 Signif F = .1008

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
BEJALAI	2665.061784	1610.731568	.155143	1.655	.1008
(Constant)	22119.256599	2949.874594		7.498	.0000

Equation Number 7 **Dependent Variable.. ATTITUDE ATTITUDE = f51 + f52 + f5**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter EXPERIENCE SKILL

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
1.. SKILL SKILL HANDICRAFT (copy e202a)
2.. EXPERIENCE Length doing handicraft

Multiple R	.23438
R Square	.05493
Adjusted R Square	.03775
Standard Error	3.30873

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	69.99819	34.99910
Residual	110	1204.24959	10.94772

F = 3.19693 Signif F = .0447

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
EXPERIENCE	.061333	.028708	.198267	2.136	.0349
SKILL	-.499863	.343620	-.134996	-1.455	.1486
(Constant)	28.930873	.893778		32.369	.0000

Equation Number 8 **Dependent Variable.. ENTREP ENTREP=A01PART+F1AX+SACRIC**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter ATTITUDE SUPPORTX

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. SUPPORTX (zaidnos >=1)
2.. ATTITUDE ATTITUDE = f51 + f52 + f53 + f54 + f55 +

Multiple R	.31683
R Square	.10038
Adjusted R Square	.08402
Standard Error	3.89919

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	186.60632	93.30316
Residual	110	1672.40253	15.20366

F = 6.13689 Signif F = .0030

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ATTITUDE	.249834	.111224	.206841	2.246	.0267
SUPPORTX	1.656716	.747258	.204157	2.217	.0287
(Constant)	37.895547	3.142398		12.059	.0000

Equation Number 9 **Dependent Variable.. PROBLEM Level of Problem**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter ENTREP SKILL SUPPORTX

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. SUPPORTX (zaidnos >=1)
2.. SKILL SKILL HANDICRAFT (copy e202a)
3.. ENTREP ENTREP=A01PART+F1AX+SACRIC+ZRISK+MARKET

Multiple R	.71736
R Square	.51461
Adjusted R Square	.50125
Standard Error	4.55072

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	2393.17612	797.72537
Residual	109	2257.28406	20.70903

F = 38.52066 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ENTREP	-.906043	.108846	-.572851	-8.324	.0000
SKILL	-1.372152	.473351	-.193977	-2.899	.0045
SUPPORTX	-3.219755	.884670	-.250860	-3.639	.0004
(Constant)	69.520171	5.005514		13.889	.0000

Equation Number 10 **Dependent Variable.. TIME TOTAL NOS PERSON-DAYS YR**

Block Number 1. Method: Enter PROBLEM EXPERIENCE PROHANDI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. PROHANDI Existence of Gov't Craft Projects
2.. EXPERIENCE Length doing handicraft
3.. PROBLEM Level of Problem (e41a + e42a..e411a) Hi

Multiple R	.65420
R Square	.42798
Adjusted R Square	.41224
Standard Error	72.93739

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	433854.17830	144618.05943
Residual	109	579865.04294	5319.86278

F = 27.18455 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
PROBLEM	-6.374530	1.172483	-.431755	-5.437	.0000
EXPERIENCE	1.611159	.653030	.184654	2.467	.0152
PROHANDI	49.219745	15.021622	.259576	3.277	.0014
(Constant)		183.107350	32.895535	5.566	.0000

Equation Number 11 Dependent Variable.. SUCCESS INCOME FROM HANDICRAFT

Block Number 1. Method: Enter
EXPERIENCE WEALTH PROBLEM TIME ATTITUDE SACRIC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	SACRIC	ATTITUDE SACRIFICE (COMPOSITE) = slactim
2..	WEALTH	COMPUTE wealth = tyincom2 + asset + sav
3..	EXPERIENCE	Length doing handicraft
4..	ATTITUDE	ATTITUDE = f51 + f52 + f53 + f54 + f55 +
5..	PROBLEM	Level of Problem (e41a + e42a..e411a) Hi
6..	TIME	TOTAL NOS PERSON-DAYS YR CHP (TIMEDYP1 +

Multiple R	.89738
R Square	.80529
Adjusted R Square	.79427
Standard Error 762.95595	

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	6	255197486.45100	42532914.40850
Residual	106	61702789.54557	582101.78817

F = 73.06783 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
EXPERIENCE	15.121360	7.090601	.098019	2.133	.0353
WEALTH	.019127	.003088	.269310	6.195	.0000
PROBLEM	-90.314214	14.294195	-.345973	-6.318	.0000
TIME	7.666499	.994154	.433605	7.712	.0000
ATTITUDE	56.628457	23.513758	.113553	2.408	.0178
SACRIC	100.809648	39.545092	.129027	2.549	.0122
(Constant)	-1510.182575	926.566732		-1.630	.1061

Equation Number 12 Dependent Variable.. SACRIC ATTITUDE SACRIFICE (COMPOS

Block Number 1. Method: Enter PROBLEM ATTITUDE AGE PROHANDI

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	PROHANDI	Existence of Gov't Projects
2..	AGE	age
3..	ATTITUDE	ATTITUDE = f51 + f52 + f53 + f54 + f55 +
4..	PROBLEM	Level of Problem (e41a + e42a..e411a) Hi

Multiple R	.67621
R Square	.45726
Adjusted R Square	.43716
Standard Error 1.61519	

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	237.37959	59.34490
Residual	108	281.75315	2.60883

F = 22.74775 Signif F = .0000

---------- Variables in the Equation ----------

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
PROBLEM	-.125263	.026133	-.374914	-4.793	.0000
ATTITUDE	.211225	.046590	.330927	4.534	.0000
AGE	-.072221	.013133	-.398680	-5.499	.0000
PROHANDI	.798593	.338472	.186110	2.359	.0201
(Constant)	18.911246	1.540424		12.277	.0000

X0

PATHS FOR VARIABLE AGE

Paths	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1												0.00		0	
2	0.144					0.155						0.269	0.006		
3	0.144		0.290	0.860					-0.251			-0.346	0.003		
4	0.144		0.290	0.860					-0.251		-0.375	0.129	0.000		
5	0.144		0.290	0.860					-0.251	-0.431		0.433	0.002		
6	0.144		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573			-0.346	0.001		
7	0.144		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.000		
8	0.144		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.001		
9	0.144		0.290							0.259		0.433	0.005		
10	0.144		0.290								0.186	0.129	0.001		
11		0.153							-0.194			-0.346	0.010		
12		0.153							-0.194		-0.375	0.129	0.001		
13		0.153							-0.194	-0.431		0.433	0.006		
14		0.153					-0.134	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	-0.001		
15		0.153					-0.134	0.207	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.000		
16		0.153					-0.134	0.207	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.000		
17		0.153					-0.134					0.144	-0.003		
18		0.153					-0.134				0.331	0.129	-0.001		
19	0.144		0.290	0.860	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	0.000		
20	0.144		0.290	0.860	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.000		
21	0.144		0.290	0.860	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.000		
22	0.144		0.290	0.860	0.274		0.198					0.114	0.000		
23	0.144		0.290	0.860	0.274		0.198				0.331	0.129	0.000		
24	-0.398											0.129	-0.051		
TOTAL													-0.020	0	-0.020

X1 PATHS FOR VARIABLE 'BEJALAI'

Paths	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1											0		0	
2					0.155						0.269	0.04170		
3		0.290	0.860					-0.251			-0.346	0.02166		
4		0 290	0.860					-0.251		-0.375	0.129	0.00303		
5		0.290	0.860					-0.251	-0.431		0.433	0.01168		
6		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573			-0.346	0.01009		
7		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.00141		
8		0.290	0.860				0.204	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.00544		
9		0.290							0.259		0.433	0.03252		
10		0.290								0.186	0.129	0.00696		
Total												0.134	0	0.134

X2 PATHS FOR VARIABLE SKILL

Paths	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1							-0.194			-0.346	0.067		
2							-0.194		-0.375	0.129	0.009		
3							-0.194	-0.431		0.433	0.036		
4					-0.134	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	-0.005		
5					-0.134	0.207	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	-0.001		
6					-0.134	0 207	-0.573	-0 431		0.433	-0.003		
7					-0.134					0.114	-0.015		
8					-0.134				0.331	0.129	-0.006		
9										0		0	
Total											0.082	0	0.082

X3

PATHS FOR VARIABLE PROHANDI

Paths	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1									0.000		0	
2	0.860					-0.251			-0.346	0.0747		
3	0.860					-0.251		-0.375	0.129	0.0104		
4	0.860					-0.251	-0.431		0.433	0.0403		
5	0.860				0.204	-0.573			-0.346	0.0348		
6	0.860				0.204	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.0049		
7	0.860				0.204	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.0188		
8							0.259		0.433	0.1121		
9								0.186	0.129	0.0240		
Total										0.320	0	0.320

X4

PATHS FOR VARIABLE SUPPORT

Paths	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1								0		0	
2	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	0.002		
3	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.000		
4	0.274		0.198	0.207	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.001		
5	0.274		0.198					0.114	0.006		
6	0.274		0.198				0.331	0.129	0.002		
7	0 274					0.185		0.433	0.022		
8	0 274							0.098	0.027		
9				0.204	-0 573			-0.346	0.040		
10				0.204	-0 573		-0.375	0.129	0.006		
11				0 204	-0 573	-0.431		0.433	0.022		
12					-0 251			-0.346	0.087		
13					-0 251		-0 375	0.129	0.012		
14					-0 251	-0 431		0.433	0.047		
	Total								0.275	0	0.275

X5 PATHS FOR VARIABLE EXPERIENCE

Paths	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1							0.098		0.098	
2		0.198	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	0.008		
3		0.198	0.207	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.001		
4		0.198	0.207	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.004		
5		0.198					0.114	0.023		
6		0.198				0.331	0.129	0.008		
7					0.185		0.433	0.080		
Total								0.125	0.098	0.223

X6 PATHS FOR VARIABLE WEALTH

Paths	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1						0.269		0.269	
2							0		
Total							0	0.269	0.269

X7 PATHS FOR VARIABLE ATTITUDE

Paths	X8	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1					0.114		0.114	
2	0.207	-0.573			-0.346	0.041		
3	0.207	-0.573		0.375	0.129	-0.006		
4	0.207	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.022		
5				0.331	0.129	0.043		
Total						0.100	0.114	0.214

X8 PATHS FOR VARIABLE ENTREP

Paths	X9	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1						0	
2	-0.573			-0.346	0.198		
3	-0.573	-0.431		0.433	0.107		
4	-0.573		-0.375	0.129	0.028		
Total					0.333	0	0.333

X9 PATHS FOR VARIABLE `PROBLEM'

Paths	X10	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1			-0.346		-0.346	
2	-0.431		0.433	-0.187		
		-0.375	0.129	-0.048		
Total				-0.235	-0.346	-0.581

X10 PATHS FOR VARIABLE COMIT

Paths	X11	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1		0.433		0.433	
			0		
Total			0	0.433	0.433

X11 PATHS FOR VARIABLE SACRI

Paths	SUCCESS	INDIRECT	DIRECT	CAUSAL
1	0.129		0.129	
		0		
Total		0	0.129	0.129

Appendix 11

Glossary

Terms	Definition
adat	Iban customary laws
aum tuai rumah	Meeting for *tuai rumah*
Anugerah belia negara	National Youth Award
Ba' or Avet	Baby carriers which made from wood or wooven rattan and adorned with fine beadwork
bala laut	Iban term for Malays
Bas	Orang Ulu musical instrument
bandongs	Chinese junks
bebatak prau	Iban term for boat hauling
belelang	To go on extended and distant journeys in search for a job without any date of return
bekuli	Labour-migration and to undertake manual labour
bila	Iban term for the beater used in weaving.
bilik	The term *bilik* in Iban applies to the privately owned apartment unit or the nuclear family unit
blum or *dakan*	Melanau sickness image
buah abok	Iban term for sweet potato
cara injin manchit	Literally translated as "*spraying-can approach*"
changkok manis	The scientific term is Sauropus albicans
drian tanah	Iban bride price
duit pokok	Iban term for capital investment
duit sagu ati	Iban term for compliments in the form of cash
Engkeramba	Iban designs representing human figures
Engkerimok	Garters worn by Iban men.
Engkiling, lampit, lumit, segai, sementing	Belts worn by the Iban.
ensabi	Iban term for mustard
entekai	Iban term for pumpkin
Gelang kaki, gerunong	Iban term for angklets
Gawai	Iban term for festivals
Hudok neng	Orang Ulu face mask
ikan masin	salted fish
ikat	Tie-dyeing technique used in weaving
jerunei or *keliding*	Melanau funerary pole
kacang lendir	okra
kain asap	Nankeen cotton used as a medium of exchange in barter trading.
kain bidang	Iban woven skirts
kain songket	Malay term for ornate brocade cloths woven with gold or silver thread.
kampongs	Malay villages
kampar	To stay in a longhouse or place as a visitor on an extended journey (Kedit, 1993)
karap	Iban term for thread heddle and shed stick used in weaving
kayau indu	Iban term for women headhunting. Traditionally, the Iban equate *pua*-weaving to headhunting.
kelambi	Iban woven jackets
kerja	Labour-migration and to undertake non-manual labour
kerja kompeni	Iban term for private sector employment

kerja perintah	Iban term for public sector employment
kerja rumah panjai or *kerja menoa*	Iban term for rural economic activities
klirieng	Orang Ulu tomb post
Kenyalang	Hornbill
Kerungsang	Brooches
kursus kepimpinan	Leadership course
labu	Iban term for gourd
Lemaji, tali mulong	Waist decorations worn by the Iban.
liak	Iban term for ginger
lidi	Iban term for laze rods used in weaving.
lubang penatai pemisi baru	Iban term for Malaysia's New Economic Policy
miring anak mandi	The Iban ceremony for a baby's first bath
menteri	Government minister
nengkebang	*"ability to create"*
ningi ke diri	*"to think highly of oneself"*
padi paya	Iban term for lowland paddy
Parang	A bush-knive
Parang ilang	A ceremonial sword, with its hilt either made of hardwood or deer horn. It is elaboratedly carved with stylished human figure.
pasar	Iban or Malay term for market.
periok tanah	Iban earthernware pots
pengasih	Ritual gifts given to weavers for the right to use their patterns
pengelandik	Iban term for skill
penggap	Iban oral literature
pileh	Floating weft technique used in Iban weaving.
pindah	to migrate permanently as a family group (Kedit, 1993)
piring	Iban sacrificial offerings
pisang	Iban term for banana
Prau panjai	Iban term for longboats
Pua	Ceremonial cloths of the Iban.
Pupu tahun	A yearly door-tax paid.
rampo	Iban term for cucumber
randau ruai	Iban term for casual discussions.
rakup	Iban term for crossbars used in weaving.
Rumah panjai	longhouse
salong	Orang Ulu tomb hut which are constructed only for deceased aristocrats. The structure is elaborately carved with stylished human figures.
Sape	Orang Ulu musical instrument.
sapat	An object (*pua*) used to screen a corpse
Selungan	Orang Ulu dart container
Sekim Anak Angkat and *Sekim Kampong Angkat*	MHDC'S Adopted Village and Entrepreneurs Scheme
Selampai	Iban woven sashes
Simpai,	Armlets worn by Iban men.
soldadu ranger	An Iban term refering to a soldier in the Royal Ranger Regiment
Sugu pirak	Ornamental tiaras worn by Iban women
susu cap junjung	Milk maid
suling	Orang Ulu musical instrument
sum padi bukit	The Iban term for hill paddy fertiliser
Sungkup	Iban funery monument
terabai	Iban carved and painted wooden shield
tulong	Assistance
tumpu	Iban term for weaving loom

tasih tanah	Iban term for land fees
Tik	Orang Ulu tobacco container
terong	Iban term for eggplant
temuda	Secondary forest
tuai bilik	Head of *bilik*-family
tukang jual	A term the Iban used to refer to an informal marketing agent.
tusut	Iban memorized geneologies