

Asia in Transition 4

Victor T. King
Zawawi Ibrahim
Noor Hasharina Hassan *Editors*

Borneo Studies in History, Society and Culture

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Asia in Transition

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This volume has had a rather long chequered history. As is often the case a project emerges from chance meetings and happy coincidental circumstances. After delivering an overview paper on the theme of ‘Culture and Identity: Some Borneo Comparisons’ at the Biennial International Conference of the Borneo Research Council, held at Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) during 25–27 June 2012, Victor King happened to be speaking with Poline Bala about the progress and development of anthropological studies in Borneo. It was really at her suggestion that we then began to think about providing a more comprehensive overview of Borneo Studies, and it was from this initiative that the current volume emerged. The co-editors, Zawawi Ibrahim and Noor Hasharina Hassan, enthusiastically embraced this project.

When Victor King was actively engaged in teaching and research at the Institute of Asian Studies, UBD from August 2012, and working closely with Zawawi Ibrahim, the opportunity presented itself and the decision was taken to organise, host and fund a workshop on Borneo Studies. This duly took place during 30 November–1 December 2012 at UBD when we brought several leading local scholars together in order that we could consider where we might take this proposal.

What was clear, however, was the following:

1. We had to try to widen the agenda beyond anthropology (though this remains a vitally important focus) to examine the contribution of the social sciences more generally to our understanding of Borneo societies and cultures and their transformations since the Second World War (which should also include the multidisciplinary fields of development studies, environmental studies, social policy studies, cultural studies and gender studies).
2. We should try to address a range of conceptual issues as well as more substantive problem areas in that, though Borneo Studies has quite understandably been preoccupied with ‘real world’ issues of modernisation and development and with the application of social science knowledge to practical and everyday problems and processes, there have been some significant contributions to concepts and theory as well.

3. We should attempt to locate Borneo Studies within the wider studies of Malaysia and Indonesia and within the context of Southeast Asian Studies; widening the frame of reference also applies to the only fully national territory in Borneo, Brunei Darussalam.
4. We should endeavour to locate Borneo Studies within disciplinary contexts and examine the contribution of the study of Borneo societies, cultures and transformations to the development of the social science disciplines more generally.
5. And, in contemplating the 'state of the art' in Borneo Studies we should be prepared to look to the future, and try to determine where we go from here. What are the urgent matters which we need to address that have not received the attention they deserve? What subjects have we been concerned with already but which need further elaboration and research? What is the scope for disciplinary and multidisciplinary collaboration? What is the scope for collaboration between some of the participants in this workshop?

We then invited the participants of the workshop to prepare their papers for publication and we contacted several other active researchers on Borneo to add to the range of issues and topics on what we wanted to cover and present. We do not claim that this is a comprehensive treatment of research on Borneo undertaken since the late 1940s when what we might term modern social science, based on primary field research, emerged in Borneo. Sadly we are still underrepresented in Kalimantan, and, as has always been the case, the field continues to be dominated by social science in Sarawak. We have managed, however, to secure some contributions from our Indonesian colleagues and to ensure that some of the major developments in the largest part of the island have been covered. As the workshop was organised in Brunei we have also been able to include recent research contributions from colleagues at the university there, and we have been fortunate in securing contributions from scholars in Sabah. Nevertheless, we recognise that this is only a modest beginning in the attempt to capture some of the major scholarly post-war developments in Borneo Studies, and much more needs to be done and continuing glaring gaps need to be filled.

The rather extended delay between the initial planning for this volume and its publication requires some explanation. After Victor King's temporary departure from Brunei in December 2012, though with a brief 10-week revisit in mid-2013, the project stalled due to the pressure of other research and publication commitments. It was re-energised in 2014 when Zawawi Ibrahim, as the local coordinator at UBD, and Victor King, with the assistance of Noor Hasharina Hassan, contacted those contributors who had committed to the publication and then approached other potential contributors to at least begin to fill some of the gaps in coverage. Much of 2014 and 2015 have been preoccupied with bringing together and editing the volume.

The project might not have materialised had it not been for the support of colleagues in Universiti Brunei Darussalam's Institute of Asian Studies. We wish to acknowledge the financial support provided by the institute to enable the initial workshop to take place, and the copy-editing and indexing to be undertaken, a

substantial task given the size of the volume. Had it not been for the enthusiasm and encouragement of the then Director of the Institute, Prof. Tong Chee Kiong, for arguing for the importance of developing a Borneo Studies agenda within the university and securing funding for it, this project would not have been completed successfully. We owe him an enormous debt of gratitude. Sincere thanks are also due to Dr Yabit Alas at UBD for developing the network of Borneo institutions and for providing a framework for the inclusion of our contributors from Kalimantan. Our heartfelt thanks also go to Gareth Richards of Impress Creative and Editorial, Penang, who, in many respects has been our fourth co-editor. His professionalism, good humour, patience and sheer determination to see the project to a conclusion, and his meticulous copy-editing, ably assisted by Julia Tan and Siti Aishah Kamarudin, have ensured that what started as an interesting concept has turned into a publication which we hope will set an agenda for Borneo Studies in the next decade.

Brunei Darussalam
March 2016

Victor T. King
Zawawi Ibrahim
Noor Hasharina Hassan

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMA-JK	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Jalai dan Kendawangan (Jalai Kendawangan Alliance of Indigenous Peoples)
AMA-Kalbar	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan Alliance of Indigenous Peoples)
AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago)
AMBD	Autoriti Monetari Brunei Darussalam (Monetary Authority of Brunei Darussalam)
ANPRI	Aliansi untuk Perdamaian dan Rekonsiliasi (Alliance for Peace and Reconciliation)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BATAMAD	Barisan Pertahanan Masyarakat Adat Dayak (Dayak Customary Defence Guard)
BEM	Borneo Evangelical Mission
Berjaya	Parti Bersatu Rakyat Jelata (Sabah People's United Front)
Bernamea	Pertubuhan Berita Nasional Malaysia
BHEP	Bakun Hydroelectric Project
BKCUK	Badan Koordinasi Credit Union Kalimantan (Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Board)
BKSNT	Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional (Centre for Studies of History and Tradition)
BMT	Baitul Maal wa Tamwil
BRC	Borneo Research Council
CDD	Curriculum Development Department
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CoERI	Centre of Excellence for Rural Informatics
CSSRC	Colonial Social Science Research Council
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DAD	Dewan Adat Dayak (Dayak Traditional Council)
DBP	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
EVR	Ethnolinguistic vitality rating

FID	Financial Institutions Division
FPI	Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front)
GAD	Gender and development
GMTPS	Gerakan Mandau Telawang Pancasila (Pancasila Dagger and Shield Movement)
GPD	Gerakan Pemuda Dayak (Dayak Youth Movement)
GPPK	Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih (Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement)
IAIN	Pontianak Institut Agama Islam Negeri (Pontianak State Institute of Islamic Studies)
IAS	Institute of Asian Studies
ICT	Information and communication technology
ICTM	International Council for Traditional Music
IDRD	Institute of Dayakology Research and Development
IDS	Institute for Development Studies, Sabah
INDEP	Institute for Indigenous Economic Progress
INGI	International NGO Forum on Indonesia
ISAI	Institut Studi Arus Informasi (Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information)
Jatam	Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (Mining Advocacy Network)
JKKK	Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung (village development and security committee)
JMM	Jasa Menenun Mandiri
JTB	Jabatan Telekom Brunei
Kalteng	Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan)
KCA	Kadazan Cultural Association
KDCA	Kadazan Dusun Cultural Association
KKN	<i>korupsi, kulusi dan nepotisme</i> (corruption, collusion and nepotism)
KLF	Kadazandusun Language Foundation
KPA	Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (Consortium of Agrarian Reform)
LBBPJ	Lembaga Bina Benua Puti Jaji
LBBT	Lembaga Bela Banua Talino (Institute for Community Legal Resources Empowerment)
LCDA	Land Consolidation Development Authority
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
LP2M	Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian pada Masyarakat (Centre for Research and Community Service)
LP3S	Lembaga Pelatihan dan Penunjang Pembangunan Sosial (Institute for Training and Supporting Social Development)
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
MABM	Majelis Adat Budaya Melayu (Malay Custom and Cultural Council)
MABT	Majelis Adat Budaya Tionghoa (Chinese Custom and Cultural Council)
MAD	Majelis Adat Dayak (Dayak Traditional Council)

MADN	Majelis Adat Dayak Nasional (National Dayak Traditional Council)
MIKA	Percetakan Mitra Kasih (Mitra Kasih Printing House)
MiSEM	Mitra Sekolah Masyarakat (Public Schools Partners)
MTs	Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic junior high school)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OT1	Oral Tradition 1 project
PAR	Participatory action research
PASEA	Performing Arts of Southeast Asia
PBS	Parti Bersatu Sabah
PCN	Personal credit line
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)
PEK	Program Pengembangan Ekonomi Kerakyatan (People's Economic Development Programme)
PRCF	People, Resources and Conservation Foundation
PTUN	Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara (State Administrative Court)
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia Radio)
RTB	Radio Television Brunei
SDN	<i>sekolah dasar negeri</i> (state elementary school)
SEASREP	Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program
SEDIA	Sabah Economic Development and Investment Authority
SMP	<i>sekolah menengah pertama</i> (junior secondary school)
SMTE	Small-medium tourism enterprises
TAP	Tabung Amanah Pekerja (Employees' Trust Fund)
<i>Tidayu</i>	Tionghoa, Dayak and Melayu
UBD	Universiti Brunei Darussalam
UMS	Universiti Malaysia Sabah
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIMAS	Universiti Malaysia Sarawak
UNTAN	Universitas Tanjungpura
USNO	United Sabah National Organisation
VoIP	Voice over internet protocol
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Indonesian Forum for the Environment)
WID	Women in development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature
YKSPK	Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih (Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation)

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Chapter 1

Introductory Remarks

Victor T. King, Zawawi Ibrahim and Noor Hasharina Hassan

Keywords Chapter summaries · Borneo · Anthropology · Applied studies · Globalisation future

As we have already indicated, this volume emerged from discussions and deliberations held at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam's Institute of Asian Studies in 2012, and particularly from a workshop organised towards the end of that year. The focus was to take stock of the development of social science research in Borneo during the post-war period, to assess what had been achieved and to access some recent research by early career researchers.

We then invited the participants of the workshop to prepare their papers for publication, most responded and some did not, and we have since contacted several other active researchers on Borneo to add to the range of issues and topics on what we wanted to cover and present. This is not a comprehensive treatment of social science research on Borneo since the late 1940s when modern social science, based on primary field research, emerged in Borneo. We are still underrepresented in Kalimantan, and, as has always been the case, the field continues to be dominated by social science research in Sarawak. The early advantages that Sarawak enjoyed through the work of the Colonial Social Science Research Council and the Sarawak Museum under Tom Harrisson gave the state an enormous head start which it has

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continued to build on with the establishment of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) there in 1992 (see Poline Bala, Chap. 13) and other research institutions.

We have managed, however, to secure some contributions on Kalimantan (see Chaps. 9, 12, 15 and 20) and to ensure that some of the major developments in the largest part of the island have been covered. (Some of the general chapters on Borneo also cover literature and research on Kalimantan, see Chaps. 4, 5, 6 and 8.) As the workshop was organised in Brunei we have also been able to include some recent research contributions from colleagues at the university there (see Chaps. 14, 22, 23 and 24), and we have been fortunate in securing chapters from scholars in Sabah (see Chaps. 10 and 21). Nevertheless we recognise that this is only a modest beginning in the attempt to capture some of the major scholarly post-war developments in Borneo Studies, and much more remains to be done.

We decided to divide the volume into three sections to reflect the scope of the reviews. The first section comprises Borneo-wide perspectives and issues. Victor King provides some introductory reflections on the development of anthropological research in the early post-war years in Chap. 2. It serves as something of an extension to these introductory remarks. These pioneer fieldworkers set out the research trajectories for others to follow, and some of the major issues which were to dominate research agendas during the next two decades were guided by particular preoccupations in British social anthropology: social structure and organisation; the defining features of cognatic kinship including kindred relations and networks and affinal relations; cognatic descent categories and groupings; the main characteristics of the household or small family, the longhouse, longhouse clusters, village and community; residential and marriage patterns; jural personalities, corporate groupings, rights in land and other property and the operation of customary laws; social ranking, status, leadership institutions (secular and religious), and succession to office; local economic organisation, agriculture and commercial production; ethnic identities and river-based groupings.

What was also a noticeable characteristic of this early work was that it was pursued by anthropologists who happened to be recruited to undertake research in Sarawak and Sabah, as the early sites of modern field research, or decided that Borneo provided the opportunities to explore various issues which were exercising anthropology at the time. They were not Borneo specialists per se, but some had already completed projects on other parts of the world and then subsequently continued to carry out research beyond Borneo: other field sites comprised Fiji, Samoa, northern Thailand, Yunnan–Burma, mainland China, East Africa and eastern Indonesia. In this regard, they usually became interested in themes, issues and concepts which were rather different from those in which they had been engaged in Borneo (among others, upland–lowland relationships, unilineal descent, alliance and cross-cousin marriage, pluralism, gender relations and the ethical/moral order, religious change and conversion).

The main field research was undertaken in Sarawak and to some extent Sabah; very little was done in the vast territories and the complex mixes of populations and cultures to the south in Kalimantan. Kalimantan remained a relatively unknown

area to modern social scientific inquiry until the 1960s. We should also note that the scholarly terrain was set out and delimited by a handful of (male) anthropologists who undertook detailed ethnographic fieldwork, working in a colonial environment with its own demands and interests, and working on a delimited field site within one or more defined communities within one ethnic group, even though there might well be continued debate about what constituted that ethnic group, and how it related to other neighbouring groups, culturally, linguistically and historically. What is also noteworthy in this early work and even that undertaken up to the 1980s and 1990s was that much of it was confined to a particular part, state or province of Borneo. If a researcher worked in Sarawak or Brunei, he or she rarely moved to other parts of Borneo to undertake further research. There was little in the way of comparative studies, and almost no studies which adopted a Borneo-wide perspective.

The great divide, however, was that between the former British territories of northern Borneo and the former Dutch territories to the south. In the north the historical and archival materials were in English and there was early on in the post-war period a research infrastructure, at first established through the state museums (though the Brunei and Sabah Museums came much later than the Sarawak Museum with its internationally recognised journal) and then the universities. In the south invariably researchers had to at least read Dutch, and also for some purposes German, to gain some appreciation of the historical development, the geographies and economies of the societies and cultures there, and of the effects of colonial policies on local communities. For a considerable period of time into the post-war period the physical and research infrastructures were also relatively rudimentary, and sometimes permission to undertake research there was difficult to obtain. The comparative advantages of the northern areas of Borneo were therefore clear for foreign researchers, but these advantages have decreased over time, and now many more local researchers in Kalimantan are producing valuable research, sometimes in collaboration with overseas scholars.

What was to follow after the small number of early studies (mainly in Sarawak) was a burgeoning of research on Borneo from the late 1960s, an increase in the number of women researchers and a truly substantial expansion of work by locally-based social scientists working in local universities and research institutions; a widening of the range of perspectives, concepts and issues (an increasing focus on reflexivity and postmodern concerns; a shift to agency, fluidity and flexibility and away from earlier social structuralist and corporatist concerns; a focus on political ecology and environmental change; an all-consuming interest in identity construction, maintenance and transformation, to do with minorities, majorities, nation-states, borders and boundaries, political party development, the media and globalisation), an increase in research in hitherto unexplored fields (in Kalimantan, Brunei, Sabah) as well as a movement into more applied, developmental and policy-related issues, and engineered agricultural transitions (resettlement, land development, sustainability); and some reliance on collaborative and team research.

Victor King takes the story on from Chap. 2 and in Chap. 5 develops these themes from the later 1960s and 1970s up to the present. Chapter 5 is arranged

chronologically, and thematically, as well as in terms of individual legacies and intellectual histories, and on debates and controversies (which include discussion of the factors which might explain variations in land tenure systems and property rights; ethnic nomenclature, classification and identity; the characterisation, definition and explanation for the nomadic way of life; explanations for symbolic forms; the nature of cognation and the analysis of social forms [kindreds, households, longhouses, communities]; and the relationships between equality and hierarchy). His final general Chap. 8 then focuses on a set of themes which have commanded increasing attention in Borneo Studies and that is identities or ethnicities and their constructions and transformations. Major work of international importance has been undertaken on these themes from Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's work to that of Jérôme Rousseau, Bernard Sellato and Zawawi Ibrahim. The work is grouped under seven categories: (1) the nation-state, majorities and minorities; (2) religious conversion and identities; (3) the media, identities and nation-building; (4) borderlands, margins, migrations and identities; (5) interethnic relations and violence; (6) arenas for identity construction in tourism and museums; and finally (7) emerging middle classes, lifestyles and identities in urban settings.

Zawawi Ibrahim's Chap. 3 comprises a critical overview of current scholarship on the issues of representation, identity and multiculturalism in Sarawak. It examines works in anthropology and other disciplines, from both local and foreign scholars (Western, Japanese and Korean), whose contributions have been foregrounded on concrete, recent empirical research. Here a senior Malaysian scholar invites critiques of earlier colonial knowledge on Sarawak society and examines subsequent contributions of new knowledge by both Western and locally-based researchers on its changing communities. By predominantly drawing his theoretical nuances from cultural studies, these alternative writings attempt to pluralise, decentre and contest dominant discourses on Sarawak society by articulating fluidity, agency, alternative representations and reconstruction of identities from the margins of society and the nation-state. Going beyond postmodernist anthropology, and inspired by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's landmark *Decolonizing methodologies* (1999), Zawawi's own research draws critical attention to indigenous people's storytelling as a way that anthropologists should epistemologically mediate their research with 'the Other' (also see Chap. 14). His chapter provides an appropriate counterbalance to both King's theoretical and empirical focus on largely earlier-derived Western literature and anthropological research in Borneo. Some of this work returns us to the important themes of the construction and transformation of local identities.

Other general contributions to the review of Borneo Studies comprise Bernard Sellato's consideration of material culture studies in Chap. 4, which, as his bibliography suggests comprises a very substantial field of scholarly endeavour. Sellato returns to the importance of the relationship between the material world and ethnocultural identities. He also notes the changing conceptualisations of material culture when he says

The concept of material culture today covers a much broader scope, concerned as it is with the forms, uses, and meanings of objects, images and environments in everyday life. Material culture is the product of the interaction of people and their material world, and one means by which culture is stored and transmitted. An artefact, therefore, can no longer be reduced to the status of a 'thing'. It is, in an important way, a social, rather than individual creation and, therefore, material culture as a whole reflects the conceptual context of a society.

In two interesting case studies (the Pinyawa'a Bidayuh red basket [*juah bireh*] and the *raong* hat, which he extends to the basket-and-hat pair of the Lun Bawang; and the Kenyah-Kayan baby carrier) he demonstrates the malleability of material culture. From their earlier religious, ritual and symbolic contexts, they are translated into new symbols of ethnic identity ('icons of tradition'), in the Bidayuh case, incorporated into Catholic church-based rituals, and with constructed ethnic costumes worn in public dancing competitions, and, in the case of the Kenyah baby carrier originally serving as an expression and embodiment of social relations and as a protective device, it becomes a 'trademark artefact' removed from its socio-cultural context and sold in tourist and souvenir shops. Sellato also notes the more recent phenomenon of the appropriation from one ethnic group of items of material culture by another group to transform its ethnic-specific role into a generic symbol of Dayak culture.

From the solidity of material culture we move into the realm of media-generated images and meanings—into the world of mass communications, the electronic, the visual, oral and sensory—in Fausto Barlocco's overview of research in Chap. 7 on the media in Borneo during the past 30 years, with reference to his own work on the Kadazan of Sabah, Victor Caldarola's research on the Banjarese in South Kalimantan, and that of John Postill on the Iban of Sarawak, among others, as well as the stream of publications, including Poline Bala's doctoral research on the eBario project among the Kelabit of Sarawak. Barlocco refers to John Lent's earlier surveys of research on the media and the fact that high-quality work undertaken by well-trained researchers using appropriate methodologies and with an understanding of the contexts and sensitivities of mass communication in a plural, multicultural society was 'seriously limited' up to the late 1970s. The situation had improved immeasurably when Lent undertook a second major survey of the field in the 1990s (popular culture in music, films, cartoons, the press, advertising, educational broadcasting, videocassettes, and in television, radio, telematics and computerisation).

What the detailed ethnographic studies draw our attention to are the ways in which the media are deployed by governments to promote a national agenda and a national culture in both the Indonesian and Malaysian cases. Caldarola reveals these 'assimilationist policies' in the case of the minority Banjarese reception of media messages from Jakarta. Postill, in the Iban case, has argued for the success of the Malaysian media (television, clock and calendar time and state propaganda) as they became increasingly national in direction from the formation of Malaysia in 1963 and the incorporation of Sarawak and Sabah into a federal system, in 'Malaysianising' the Iban. On the other hand Barlocco, in examining in detail the

national government's messages of modernisation, economic and educational development and national unity, proposes that Kadazan perceptions and feelings of marginalisation and of being second-class citizens as against the Malay political elite, leads them to 'reject many aspects of the propaganda'. Instead they locate themselves within the oppositional categories of ethnic Kadazan, Christian or local Sabahan.

Barlocco also reviews a set of other studies which rather than conceptualising the media as vehicles of culture sees the media in an instrumental way as a mechanism used by government to institute developmental changes, for example in rural information and communication technology (ICT) projects, and of influencing people to behave in certain ways. He focuses on the very important community ICT and internet programme and the setting up of a telecentre, started by Universiti Malaysia Sarawak in 1999 as a means to promote development and socioeconomic wellbeing in the context of the formation of a knowledge society and as part of a participatory action research approach. Barlocco evaluates the research of Matthew Amster, Poline Bala, Peter Songan and others in demonstrating the successes but also the limitations of the project, and the overriding role of the government as the primary agent of change, a role which is seldom challenged.

Finally in the Borneo-wide reviews, Lars Kaskija explores in Chap. 6 what is now a voluminous and complex literature on hunter-gatherers in Borneo, a category of diverse, small-scale populations which lived by utilising the resources of the tropical forests and waterways in hunting, gathering and fishing. Nevertheless, a seemingly straightforward category in Borneo ethnography and history has generated all kinds of conceptual complexities, debates and disagreements among researchers. Kaskija has undertaken a formidable task in bringing this literature together and making sense of it. He demonstrates their 'cultural diversity, variation and elusiveness'; he examines their credentials, authenticity and 'genuineness' as hunter-gatherers and the physical-anthropological and phenotypical evidence; he explores in detail the controversy generated from Carl Hoffman's revisionist thesis that the Punan hunter-gatherers are not thus by origin but are agriculturalists who have moved out of farming to specialise in the collection of commercially valuable forest products which they then channel into trading networks. Kaskija argues, however, that it is unhelpful to categorise hunter-gatherers in terms of too simplistic dichotomies and ideal or homogeneous types (between foragers and farmers and pre-Austronesian foragers and Austronesian farmers, for example), or to assume that they have devolved from farming populations. Indeed, Kaskija draws attention to the fact that the process of change has usually operated in the other direction in Borneo from nomadic lifestyles to more settled modes of existence, and trade and commercial gathering have not been central elements or the *raison d'être* of hunting-gathering economies.

The second section of the book focuses on particular political units in Borneo: Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei and Kalimantan. These comprise overviews of research or research plans, specific institutions which have been involved in research or areas of research that have commanded significant attention. Christina Kreps in Chap. 9 looks back at her earlier research on Museum Balanga, the Provincial Museum of