

**SARAWAK CORRIDOR OF RENEWABLE ENERGY
(SCORE) PROJECT IN SARAWAK AND ITS IMPACT
TOWARDS THE PENAN COMMUNITY,
UPPER BARAM, MIRI, SARAWAK**



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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyse the political, economic, social and cultural implications of the SCORE Project towards the Penan community, with particular focus on Upper Baram, Sarawak. This research work used the human security theory which is apart of the non-traditional security issues. The actors involve in this study are Sarawak government, non-state actors such as Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM), Bruno Manser Fonds, *Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia* (JOAS) and *Sahabat Alam Malaysia* (SAM) and the Penan community in Upper Baram, Sarawak. It is divided into four parts. The first part looked at the political implications of the SCORE Projects towards the Penan Community. These included: lack of participation decision-making process on the part of the Penan Community, marginalization and the changes align with the development process. The second part looked at the the economic effects of the said projects such as hunting, fisheries and agriculture. The third part looked at its social implications such as the facilities, ethnic identity and land ownership. The last part looked at the cultural implications of the SCORE Project like heritage, traditions and identity of the Penan people in Upper Baram, Sarawak. The data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data includes the data from the government official website, speeches and report. Questionnaires were also distributed to extract much needed information. The secondary data includes the books, journals and newspapers. The study found out that there are several far-reaching implications of the SCORE Project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram, Sarawak. The SCORE Project brought changes that affected the traditional lifestyle of the Community through the introduction of modern lifestyle in the area. These contradictions led to a protracted conflict between the Penan Community and the developers of the SCORE Projects.

Keywords: *Penan community, human security, politics, economics, social and cultural*

ABSTRAK

Tujuan kajian ini dijalankan adalah untuk mengkaji dan menganalisa impak Projek SCORE terhadap politik, ekonomi, sosial dan kebudayaan komuniti Penan di Ulu Baram, Sarawak. Kajian ini menggunakan teori keselamatan manusia yang merupakan sebahagian daripada isu keselamatan bukan tradisional. Entiti yang terlibat dalam kajian ini adalah kerajaan Sarawak dan bukan kerajaan seperti Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia (SUHAKAM), Bruno Manser Fonds, Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia (JOAS) dan Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) serta komuniti Penan di Ulu Baram, Sarawak. Kajian ini dibahagikan kepada empat bahagian. Bahagian pertama akan memfokuskan kepada impak terhadap politik yang merangkumi kekurangan penglibatan komuniti Penan dalam proses membuat keputusan, peminggiran dalam penglibatan politik dan perubahan yang disebabkan proses pembangunan. Bahagian kedua akan memfokuskan kepada kesan terhadap ekonomi seperti aktiviti pemburuan, perikanan dan pertanian. Bahagian ketiga akan memfokuskan kepada implikasi sosial seperti kemudahan sosial, identiti etnik dan pemilikan tanah. Bahagian terakhir melihat kepada implikasi ke atas kebudayaan seperti warisan, tradisi dan identiti orang Penan di Ulu Baram, Sarawak. Data kajian ini diperoleh daripada data primer dan data sekunder. Data primer termasuklah data daripada laman rasmi kerajaan, teks ucapan dan laporan. Soal selidik juga dijalankan bagi memperoleh maklumat tambahan. Data sekunder pula terdiri daripada buku, jurnal dan surat khabar. Dapatan kajian mendapati terdapat beberapa implikasi kesan daripada Projek SCORE terhadap komuniti Penan di Ulu Baram, Sarawak. Projek SCORE telah membawa perubahan ke atas gaya hidup tradisional komuniti Penan menerusi penerapan masuk gaya hidup moden di kawasan tersebut. Percanggahan gaya hidup ini turut membawa kepada konflik yang berlarutan di antara komuniti Penan dan pihak pemaju Projek SCORE.

Kata kunci: *komuniti Penan, keselamatan manusia, politik, ekonomi, sosial dan kebudayaan.*

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	1
List of Figures	2
List of Appendices	3
List of Abbreviations	4
CHAPTER ONE: ANALYZING THE IMPACT OF SCORE PROJECT	5
Introduction	5
Statement of the Problem	5
Research Questions	6
Research Objectives	6
Significance of Study	7
Scope of Study	8
Theoretical Framework	8
Research Methods	14
Chapterization	15
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	17
History of Penan Involvement in Blockades	17
The Protest to SCORE Project by the Penan	18
The Sarawak Government and Penan Views on SCORE Project	22
Calls for UN Intervention, International Attention and Other Related Matters	24
CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	27
History of Malaysia	27
History of Sarawak	28
Indigenous People in Sarawak	30
Background of Penan Community	31
Development in rural area of Sarawak	33
About SCORE Project	34
The SCORE Project in Upper Baram	38

The Penan Participation in Political Phenomenon (Blockades).....	39
Conclusion	41
CHAPTER FOUR: POLITICAL IMPACT	45
Political Transformation: From Brooke Era until 1960s.....	45
Marginalization of their Political Views and Isolated.....	47
Penan Participation in Decision-Making Process	50
Developing in Political Views Due to Accessibility to Information among the Penan Community	52
Conclusion	56
CHAPTER FIVE: ECONOMIC IMPACT	61
Economic Transformation from Brooke Era until Adenan Sateem Era	61
Destruction of Fisheries	64
Destruction of Agricultural Activities.....	66
Destruction of Hunting Resources	68
Conclusion	72
CHAPTER SIX: SOCIAL IMPACT	77
Social Identity Problem.....	77
Right of Land Ownership.....	79
Education Services	82
Healthcare Services	83
Access to Water.....	86
Other Implications on Related Issues.....	88
Conclusion	91
CHAPTER SEVEN: CULTURAL IMPACT	96
Destruction of Graveyards	96
Endangered Musical Instruments	97
Demolition of Penan Handicrafts and Arts	100
The Fading of Ancestral Knowledge – The Usage of Plants for Medicinal and Cultural Purposes	102
Demolition of Religious Beliefs.....	103
Conclusion	107

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	112
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120



List of Tables

Location of SCORE projects (Source: SCORE Sarawak Website, 2014)	36
Penan Ethnobotanical Knowledge (Source: Pustaka Sarawak, 2014)	103



List of Figures

SCORE Project areas (Source: SCORE Website, 2014)	34
Types of project in SCORE (Source: SCORE Sarawak Website, 2014)	35
The Twelve Mega-Dams Project (Source: Annina Aeberli, 2012)	37
The affected villages in Baram area(Sarawak Report, 2014)	39
Penan Leader usually wears red <i>pendulum</i> (Luna, 2010)	46
Along Segu (Source: Bruno Manser Fond, 2005)	55
The Penan women is collecting wild-plants (Source: Coquentin, 2011)	66
Sago processing-stage (Source: Sarawak People Campaign, n.d.)	68
The Penan men used palm leave to attract deer (Source: Coquentin, 2011)	69
Hunting activities using <i>sumpit</i> or blowpipes (Sarawak Cultural Village, 2014)	70
The selection of medicinal plants (Source: Dr Hua, 2014)	86
Baram Dam protest (Source: Hornbill Unleashed, 2014)	88
<i>Keringot</i> or nose flute (Source: Mitchell, 2014)	97
<i>Sape</i> (Source: Larra, 2012)	98
<i>Uring</i> or <i>Oreng</i> (Source: Jeff, 2011)	99
<i>Atui</i> or wooden drum (Source: Paran, 2011)	99
<i>Parang</i> made by Penan (Keong, 2014)	100
<i>Penat</i> or small-knife that attached together with <i>parang</i> (ibid)	101
Woven rattan basket (Source: Adventure Alternative, 2014)	101
Woven bracelets (ibid)	102

List of Appendices

Appendix A.....	125
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List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BMF	Bruno Manser Fund
CHS	Commission on Human Security
DBP	<i>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka</i>
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FDS	Flying Doctor Service
GNP	Gross National Product
IHAS	Integrated Highland Agriculture Station
JOAS	<i>Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia</i>
MACC	Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission
NCR	Native Customary Rights
NRD	National Registration Department
PVC	Penan Volunteer Corps
PWPBS	Sarawak Baram Penan Women Association
REACH	Rural Expeditions Aiding Community Health
SAM	<i>Sahabat Alam Malaysia</i>
SEB	Sarawak Energy Berhad
SCORE	Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy
SESCO	Sarawak Electricity Supply Corporation
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SUHAKAM	Human Right Commission of Malaysia
ECOSOC	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
SUARAM	<i>Suara Rakyat Malaysia</i>

CHAPTER ONE

ANALYZING THE IMPACT OF SCORE PROJECT

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyse the political, economic, social and cultural impacts of SCORE Project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri. Basically, the starting of the Penan community participation in political phenomenon (blockades) was started from 1987 which they were fighting to stop the logging activities. Since then, they continuously conducted blockades to stop the SCORE Project because the projects destroyed the Penan's land. The destruction of jungle also destroyed the food chain and affecting the Penan security. They lose their worship places, graveyard, food and water supply, medicine resources and so on. When the contractors exploited the lands and flooded the dam with water, it destructed the Penan's villages and the habitat of flora and fauna. The development had affected the Penan's politics, economic, social and cultural in that affected areas.

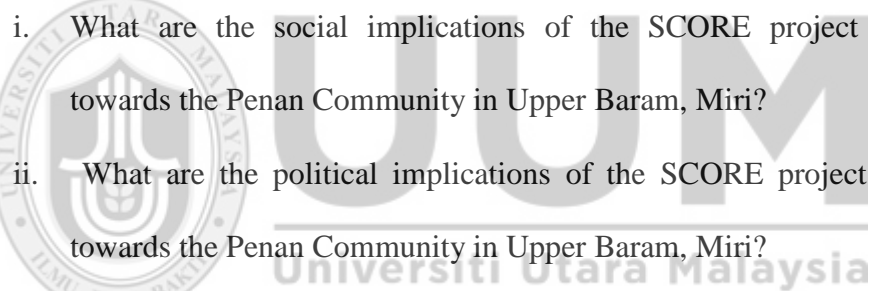
Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyse the political, economic, social and cultural impacts of SCORE Project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri. Indeed, this protracted conflict has started since 1987 when the Penan Community attempted to stop the logging activities. Since then, they continuously conducted blockades to stop the SCORE Project because the projects

destroyed their land. The destruction of jungle also destroyed the food chain and affecting the Penan security. They lose their worship of places, graveyard, food and water supply, medicine resources and so on. When the contractors exploited the lands and flooded the dam with water, it destroyed their villages and the habitat of flora and fauna. The development affected the Penan's politics, economic, social and cultural in that affected areas.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact of the SCORE Project towards the Penan Community. It has several questions. These include;

- 
- i. What are the social implications of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri?
 - ii. What are the political implications of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri?
 - iii. What are the economic implications of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri?
 - iv. What are the cultural implications of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri?

Research Objectives

This research study has several objectives. These include;

- i. To examine the social impact of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri.

- ii. To explore the political impact of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri.
- iii. To analyse economic impact of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri.
- iv. To discuss the cultural impact of the SCORE project in Sarawak towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri.

Significance of Study

This research study is important for several reasons. These include;

- i. Firstly, this study is very important because there is not much research done on this issue. Besides, the issue of Penan community is still an on-going problem especially with the construction of SCORE Project in Sarawak. This study could contribute information to the knowledge bodies so that they are aware on what is happening to the aboriginals' issues in Sarawak.
- ii. Secondly, this research is conducted to be references for policy makers which indirectly contribute for the good governance in handling the aboriginals' issues in the same time reduce the boundaries between the urban and rural areas. The study is important for the policy makers to evaluate and make a good decision to settle the conflict.
- iii. Thirdly, this report could develop knowledge amongst the public regarding the Penan's matters when their lives are threats after land and forest had been constructed for the sake of development.

- iv. Finally, this study is important for the practitioners like contractors, the loggers and the developers which interact or facing with the Penan community at the construction sites. This study is important for them to understand the views about the development from the Penan's side.

Scope of Study

The scope of this study is focus on the impacts of the development project towards the human security issues. The development project that the researcher choose is SCORE Project in Sarawak which giving impacts to the human security for indigenous people who living in the affected areas. By looking at the case study of Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri, the researcher looks how the SCORE Project has affects their security issues in terms of politics, economic, social and cultural. In this study, the researcher also gives the solutions or recommendations in the chapter seven.

Theoretical Framework

In analysing the impact of SCORE Project in Sarawak towards the Penan community, this study utilized the theory of human security. There are a lot of theories that are useful in this study. However, the researcher believes that the theory of human security is the most suitable. Human security is a human-centric security studies which located under non-traditional security. In contrast, traditional security if we refer to realists is more on state-centric security and issues. However, in this study, the researcher only focuses on human-centric security issue and chose Penan community in Sarawak as a case study.

In 1994, UNDP had established a report entitled, *“Human Development Report 1994”*. This report dealt with the sustainability of human development to ensure the human security – relate the human security with human development. In this report, human security can be defined in two definitions; first, *“safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression”* and second, *“protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions such as losing job and natural disaster”* (UNDP, 1994, p.23).

Besides, UNDP report had listed several threats to human security – economic security, food security, health security, community security, political security, environment security and personal security (UNDP, 1994, p.24). From this report, we can see the raising of awareness of human security issues apart of the arms development and technology advancement. The issues of human security become crucial matters amongst the international organization such as United Nation because it raised many issues related to human security in the UNDP report.

According to CHS on their final report, *“Human Security Now”* (2003) defined human security as *“freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment”*. In this report, it relates the human security together with the elements of human rights, security and development. It shows the shifting from the state-centric to the human-centric security. Where the people started to focus on human protection especially when they see the large number of humans died because of war and conflict over the years. When the Second World War ended, the international changed to collective security in order to ensure the security of the state, people, institutions and values in the territory.

According to Barry Buzan (1983) in his book, *“People, State and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations”*, individual security is very important which can be defined in many terms such as health, poverty, education, money and so on. Human security also interrelated with state security because the insecurity of the people is also the insecurity of the state as state represents their people. However, we cannot deny the state that sometime can be the party who create insecurity to the people. The individual security become a threat when there is a threats to rights, threats to position or status, threat of economic (destruction of resources and property). Human security can be avoided if the state can deliver the resources equally to the people and respect what the people want not just focusing on development itself.

Holsti (1988, cited in Jockel & Sokolsky, 2000) mentioned about the important to promote human security to maintain the stability and to play the effectiveness role in international arena. Besides, Jockel & Sokolsky also stated the contribution of Lloyd Axworthy in human security although he did not coin the term human security. Axworthy has played an important role in politics in Canada as he adopted the human security in Canadian foreign policy. Axworthy also giving understanding about human security as not only safety from violent threats, but includes other issues like poverty, disease and environment disasters (2004, cited in Floyd, 2007).

Human insecurity can be defined in many terms. Firstly is the development – poverty, inequity and insufficient of resources distribution could lead to the conflict as mentioned in the book entitled, *“Human Security and International Insecurity”* (Frerks & Goldewijk, 2007:50). The scarcity of resources is one of the reasons the

state to construct the renewable energy project – fuel and gas are getting less and the increasing of world population will not enough in consuming to non-renewable energy. So, taking early initiative to develop the green energy is important to reduce the carbon dioxide emission as stated in Kyoto Protocol and to preparing the state from depending too much on fuel and gas resources.

Other than that, the development also related to economic which refers to homeless people or poverty. As mentioned in UNDP report 1994, the political institution and policy makers should give more attention on this economic security issues because it might affect the human live. Through development, the economic goals can be achieved which also leads to better life of the people in the state – state could improve and provide conducive educational system, better facilities like healthcare, good infrastructure, many job opportunities and so on. These developments and improvements directly or indirectly will decrease the number of poverty because people start to compete to grab the job opportunities and increase their knowledge through educational system. At the end, people will realize the important of development to protect their rights and human security as they gain benefits from the development programmes.

The societal security also involve in this study – threat to identity. The threat to get recognition from the state to the citizen and the difficulties to register citizenship are the examples of threat to identity in social group. According to Buzan and Weaver (1994, cited in Collins, 2010:205) in the book entitled, “*Contemporary Security Studies*”, the society will work as a unit in international system. The community in the state will react according to the political and surrounding situation.

The conflict might turn to violence when the communities feel their security is threatened.

Besides, the social group also have right to survive and get their own identity. The social group might facing insecure in registering for citizenship and sometimes it also can be defined in the term of ethnicity. The ethnic identity also might influence by the cultural value such as the worship places, the traditional house, ethnic language, dance and traditional food. If there are certain individual or group trying to eliminate the cultural value of other group, it can harm the security of the ethnic community.

According to Buzan, Weaver and Wilde (1998) in their book *“Security: A New Framework for Analysis”*, societal security is about *“self-sustaining identity groups or collectives and their identity; ethnic, organic community, blood and culture”* which different from social security that relates to *“individuals and its largely economic”*. The cycle of poverty is one of the main causes that lead to societal security issues and sometimes societal security issue creates tribal-state conflicts. Other than that, the clash of civilization such as the westernization – modernization also harms the society security. So, the economic also interrelated with the societal security because both usually overlapping with one and another.

One of the social security that influenced the economic security is in Detroit city, Michigan, USA. We all know that Detroit City was a developed city in 1950s and popular with their automotive industry. In 1950s, the population of Detroit starts to decline from 1.5 million and decreased to 681 090 in 2013 reported by US Census Bureau (2014). The declined of the population is because of the collapsed of Detroit economy which some scholars say the city might become the ‘third world’.

On the other hand, in order to recover the economic problem in Detroit, it is a bit hard as the investors withdrew themselves because there are many social problems in that city relating to illegal activities. The involvement in illegal activities amongst the Detroit people is because of economic factors – jobless, high living cost and poverty. Apart of that, the economic declined in Detroit also leads to human security issue like problem to get access to water that they are facing now. So, it is clear that social security is overlapping with economy security.

Next, the disruption of ecosystems will leads to other problems such as food problem and economic problem. Destruction of environment could reduce the land nutrients, dissertation, climate change and loss of biodiversity which cause to decrease of natural resources and food production. Economic problem is one of the main issues that could affects human basic need. When the local government fails to increase the GNP per capita, provide the basic needs to the people and spreading the development to the communities, then, it might harm the survival of the state. Obviously environment is very crucial issue in security studies because it might affects human life and creates conflict among the people because it's interrelated with one another (Buzan, Weaver and Wilde, 1998).

Besides, food security also affects by the economy - if the person has no job then he/she could not get any food. The health problem also can affect the buyer power of the product and less access to food supply. It is important for the state and the people to have access to the food to avoid malnutrition, starving and death. In additional, the water security also related to human security issues. The less access to clean water obviously might harm the people security. The people might get sick because of cholera and diarrhoea because they consuming the polluted water. The

decreased of clean water resources like the oasis water, river, lake and sea also cause to dehydrating and "heat stroke" especially in African countries. Water insecurity also influences the food supply in the state especially in agricultural sector and affects the people who fully depending on natural water supply.

Research Methods

This study examines and analyzes the political, economic, social and cultural impact of the SCORE project towards the Penan community in Sarawak. This study uses the qualitative approach which relies on document data which using primary and secondary data. The primary resources include the research report such as data from government websites (Sabah Government Official Website , 2014, and Sarawak State Library, 2014), publications from Bruno Manser Fonds (March 2012, Annina Aeberli about Mega dams threaten the rainforest the statement about the environment destruction impact from the dam construction), Dissertations and theses (Ezra Uda, 2002, "*Blockade: Sebagai Wadah Penyertaan Politik Kaum Penan di Sarawak*" which mentioned about the participation of Penan in political activities in Sarawak), press releases (18 June 2013, Penan Women Visit Kuala Lumpur to Highlight Lack of Progress on National Taskforce Report's Recommendations which highlighted the issue of Penan community, 14 November 2013, Over 25 International Organizations Voice Outcry Over Treatment of Penan Protestors published by The Borneo Project) and speeches (Associate Professor Dr Ramy Bulan, 20-22 January 2010, and Tun Pehin Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, 23 February 2013). In addition, interviews and questionnaires were also conducted.

Secondary resources include journals articles and some related books (Voices from the rainforest: Testimonies of a threatened people).

Chapterization

This study is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter one is the research proposal which include introduction, statement of problem, research questions, research objective, significance of study, scope of study, theoretical framework, research methods and chapterization of the study.

Chapter two is about literature review. This chapter is categorized into five categories. First, it explains about the history of Penan involvement in blockades. Second, it mentioned about the protest to SCORE Project by the Penan. Third it is about the Sarawak Government and Penan views on SCORE Project. Finally, it is about the calls for UN intervention, international attention and other related matters.

Chapter three is focuses on the historical background of the study. It is divided into six parts which includes the history of Malaysia, history of Sarawak, definition of indigenous people focusing in Sarawak, the background of Penan community in Sarawak, the development in rural area of Sarawak that led to the invented of SCORE Project, the SCORE Project generally, the SCORE Project specifically in Upper Baram and the starting point of the Penan participation in political phenomenon (blockades).

Chapter four is political impact that divided into four sections which consists of political transformation from Brooke era until Sarawak Independence Day in 1960s, marginalization of their political views and isolated, political participation of

the Penan community in terms of decision-making process and the developing in political views due to accessibility to information among the Penan Community.

Chapter five explained about the economic impact of the SCORE project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri, Sarawak. It is divided into five sections; economic transformation from Brooke era until Adenan Sateem era, destruction of the fisheries, destruction of the agricultural farm of the Penan community and destruction of hunting resources.

Chapter six analyzed of the social impact of the SCORE project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri, Sarawak. In this chapter, it covers several social issues such as social identity problem, right of land ownership, education service, healthcare services, access to water and other implication on related issues.

Chapter seven discussed the cultural impact of the SCORE project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri. This chapter is divided into five sections; destruction of graveyards, endangered of Penan musical instruments, demolition of Penan handicrafts and arts, the fading of ancestral knowledge – the usage of plants for medicinal and cultural purposes and demolition of religious beliefs.

Chapter eight is the last part which consists of conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is categorized into five categories. First, it explains about the history of Penan involvement in blockades. Second, it mentioned about the protest to SCORE Project by the Penan. Third it is about the Sarawak Government and Penan views on SCORE Project. Finally, it is about the calls for UN intervention, international attention and other related matters.

History of Penan Involvement in Blockades

Historically, the living places of the Penan community had been explored for years to get timbers which caused to environmental degradation in their areas. The logging activities had affected their water and food supply, the medicine resources, loss of flora and fauna habitats and worship places for the Penan (animism). The logging activities was started in 1980s had damaged a lot of valuable trees in the jungle. Since 1987 up to present, Penan community still conducting blockade to stop the logging activities which affected the community.

The involvement of Penan community in the blockade is an interesting political phenomenon to observe. Their involvement in blockades has brought new arena in Orang Ulu political system which they become so brave to fight for their rights as mentioned by Ezra Uda's thesis paper. Referring to Ezra Uda (2002) thesis paper entitled, *"Blockade: Sebagai Wadah Penyertaan Politik Kaum Penan di Sarawak"*. According to Ezra Uda, the blockades conducted by the Penan in the

early 1987 had led to other Orang Ulu ethnics to conduct blockade also such as Kelabit, Kenyah and Kayan.

Besides, the involvement of Penan in blockade such as in Baram area from 1987 until 2001 also led to the amendment of Forest Ordinance 1958. This author relates the involvement of Penan in blockade was actually created a pressure group in voice out their rights and stands to the Sarawak authority. The blockade and demonstration put pressure on the authorities which indirectly 'force' the Sarawak government to enforce law. The amendment of Forest Ordinance (1993) lead to jail sentence for two years and fine RM 6 000 is imposed to stop the Orang Ulu (Penan, Kenyah, Kayan) from conducting blockades, burnt the bridge at the construction sites and demonstration at the dams area.

In additional, it is important to know how the Penan community can involve in political phenomenon – blockades by looking at the previous years starting in 1987 which affected by the logging activities which also threaten their humanity issues in these areas. From the researcher point of view, everything that happened within the society or state there were always push and pull factors to it. Same goes to Penan community that protest and conducting blockades to the SCORE Projects. This indigenous people never protest if there were no threats to their security matters.

The Protest to SCORE Project by the Penan

In the book entitled, *"Pirates, Squatters and Poachers: The Political Ecology of Dispossession of the native Peoples of Sarawak"* written by Marcus Colchester (1989) mentioned the impacts of hydropower project in Batang Ai towards the Iban

community. The hydropower project was became the focus starting in 1980-1981 when SESCO exposed 51 sites which are worth in generating the capacity of 12 000 megawatt electricity. Those areas include Bakun and Batang Ai which attracted industrialists including the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr Mahathir.

The Batang Ai Dam is opened in August 1985 which caused a lot of impacts towards the 2 800 Iban people (from 26 longhouses); lost their lands, crops and homeless. Most of the Iban community were dissatisfied and claimed that the Sarawak Government owe them US\$ 3 million. Besides, Government promised the Iban to give them eleven acres with ready crops per family, free water, free electricity and a new house but failed to fulfil their promises. From this book statement, we could see the impact of SCORE project to the Penan livelihood in Upper Baram, Miri might be similar with the case of Batang Ai Dam.

Another SCORE Project is Bakun Dam which involves a huge areas approximately 69 000 hectares of forest and farmland which will be flooded. The hydropower project in Sarawak becomes a controversy issue because it surely destructs the habitats although it will distribute the energy to Sarawak, Sabah and Peninsular Malaysia (electric supply will be through undersea cable). We should take into account on how the Penan people react to the develop project, what are the security issues that they are facing and the question about are the Penan community able to adapt with the new way of life.

According to Savacool and Bulan (2011) in Energy Governance Case Study entitled, *“Settling the SCORE: The Implications of the Sarawak Corridor of Renewable Energy (SCORE) in Malaysia”* stated that, the SCORE project has affected the livelihood in the Bakun area. In Bakun area, the project has disrupted the

fishing and agricultural activities for nine to twelve months. Similar like what happened in Murum, the SCORE project has affected the fishing and agricultural activities for six thousand people in this area.

The implications of exploitations and explorations had caused to the slow river flow, environmental degradation, affect the food chain and people displacement. However, facing with the aboriginals' issues is challenging because not all could adopt and adapt with the modern life as transformation takes time to be accepted. In the other side, we should realize that in dealing with human matters, it is always subjective because human behaviour is always changing depending on their surroundings. Besides, look at the Sarawak itself, the actions sometimes hard to predict which their policies are based on national interest as Machiavelli said "the ends justify the means".

In developing progress, the deforestation cannot be avoided. Just that the matter of how small or big the destruction will be. In 2014, there was a press statement of the SUHAKAM report on "*Penan in Ulu Belaga Right to Land and Socio-Economic Development*". There were complaints of logging, oil palm plantation and reforestation activities (includes in SCORE Projects) around the Long Singu and Ulu Jaik, Ulu Belaga, Sarawak which affected the Penan community.

The ECOSOC and SUHAKAM had visited those areas and came out with several recommendations in term of human insecurities; health, poverty, education, development, documentation and human right. The issue of native land and the socio-economic in the Penan community are on-going problems which need the top-down cooperation. Means we need more attention from the government on the Penan issues.

Next, in order to develop twelve dams, it creates huge disaster to the environment which leads to the loss of diversity and disturb the ecosystem. The environmental degradation directly will give impact to the Penan community which have strong link to the nature and relies on flora and fauna to live. According to Newlands (2012) in the news analysis entitled *“One of the World's Oldest Tribes halts Dam Construction”*, the Penan community had conducted *“blockade for two month which they had set a fire to tyres and put up road blocks”* to stop the construction lorries to go to the Murum mega-dam site. It shows the continuity of the human security problems facing by the Penan in the developing areas.

Blockades are the expressions of their dissatisfaction because the flooding of the Murum Dam will create a huge damage to the environment. Murum Dam is the second dam after Bakun Dam under the SCORE Project and there are twelve dams still under construction. In order to protect their lands, the Penan in Belaga Division and Kapit Division in Sarawak sent a memorandum to Malaysia Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak in 25 September 2012 to raise their problems and demanding for solutions but there is no response from him.

In 2013, there was an effort to send the protest memorandum on the dam project to Temenggong Pahang Dain but failed to hand in the memorandum because Temenggong refused to accept it, as reported by Leong in Borneo Post newspaper entitled, *“Baram Folk Fail to Hand Over Memo”*. The failure actually gives bad impact on the Orang Ulu community – Kayan, Kenyah and Penan in Baram area. The reason was the less supportive from the community chief make them decided to continue the blockade, protest demonstration and bring up the issue through NGOs.

Besides, there was a letter sent to CEO of SEB stated that the Penan leaders lied by saying the Penan people agreed with the project but actually they were not. Not only that, the Penan community in Baram did not accept the decision made during the meeting with Sarawak leaders and developer companies because not all the people turned up during that three days meeting at Long Naah (Borneoproject.org, 2014).

However, as mentioned before, in this study, the researcher is focusing on the impacts of SCORE project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri. In addition, by looking at the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri, it will directly or indirectly relate to other Orang Ulu communities and other projects as well. This is because of the impacts of SCORE Project in Murum, Batang Ai and Bakun that can be applied to study about the impacts of Penan community in Ulu Baram, Miri in terms of similarities of the cases.

The Sarawak Government and Penan Views on SCORE Project

In contrast, we cannot fully blaming on the Sarawak Government and the developer companies because they have their own planning to exploit and explore those areas – for the sake of development and to stop the isolation on the Penan community. Other than that, the Penan did not understand about the “mandate” from the government to the contractors unless there were representatives to meet the community and explained to them about the project. Ling went to Long Lama and written report for the National Geographic News, entitled “*Megadam Project Galvanizes Native Opposition in Malaysia*” which discussed about the native tribes that live in Baram and affected by the SCORE Project.

Taking the view from the Government, the Sarawak Governor Tun Pehin Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud said that the development in those areas are very important to avoid the isolation of the community from the development. Besides, it helps to spread the development with enough facilities and increases the number of job opportunities, improves the education system in rural areas and to support the Sarawak population growth in 2030 (Ling, 2013). From the report, the author also includes the view from the Government which mentioned about the positive implications of SCORE Project to avoid the bias views on the issue.

In additional, Tun Pehin Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud stated in his speech during a meeting with the people at Long Lama, Baram on February 23, 2013, that he felt very positive on development projects in Baram. By giving an example of Kota Samarahan which had developed and increased more than 60 000 of population compared to 5 000 population before this. Apart from that, he explained about the strategic land of Baram for palm oil plantations, pulp and paper industry for the next 10 to 15 years and also the hydropower projects.

In the paragraph above, the Government viewed the SCORE Project spreading the development to the remote areas. In contrast, the perception of Penan community is opposite because they view jungle is like their home and their inherited the land from their ancestors. Besides, not all of them knew about development. The Penan preferred herbs from the jungle rather than panadol. Besides, they still having problems to get their MyKad because many of them did not have birth certificates and other related documents to prove their citizenship and they still cannot vote in elections. Not only that, the Penan women and children were raped by the

contractors and the girls were dropped out from school. So, they could not see the benefit they gain from the development.

In additional, from the Penan's views, the Penan community in Baram and Bakun areas felt unconfident with the benefit they might get from the development project. Although the Government provided them with new house in the new resettlement place but some of them went back to Bakun and live in the floating house. The unconfident feeling from the Penan community was because the failure of the Government to convince them. So, if the Government representatives show their effort to convince them, the Penan community surely agreed and understand about the development projects.

Calls for UN Intervention, International Attention and Other Related Matters

In 2013, the Bruno Manser Fonds calls for James Anaya a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to intervene into Malaysia Government to stop the dams' project (Bmf.ch, 2013). Recently, in 2014, the human rights organizations Save Sarawak Rivers, SUARAM and JOAS had sent an official appeal letter to Victoria Tauli-Corpuz a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. These organizations demand the Government to respect the aboriginals and protecting their rights. Then, they were questioning about approval of the exploration and exploitation of the Baram Dam construction site as the EIA and SIA reports have not done yet (Then, 2014).

Besides, there were rallies organized in Kuala Lumpur Parliament building and in Horbart, Australia to protest the dam projects. The protesters tried to make a collective effort to put pressure on Sarawak Government to stop the construction of

twelve mega-dams (The Green Journal AU, 2013). The actions from international and national communities had created a group which we called pressure group in raise up an issue of human rights faced by the indigenous people in Sarawak. Not only that, the issues voice out by the Penan can be heard clearly and louder through the cooperation between NGOs and international communities which might change the policies of Sarawak Government regarding its twelve mega-dams project.

Then, during the ASEAN Power Week Conference in Kuala Lumpur on 10-12 September 2014, the representatives for the communities in Malaysia also attended in the conference. The representatives had brought directly joint message which demanding the mega-dams project to be stopped by enlisted several reasons including the threatening of indigenous people livelihood and violation the rights like stated in international law and constitutional law. Not only that, they also calls for the state and non-state actors that involved in the project directly or indirectly to respect and uphold the Malaysia Constitution provisions and UNDRIP (Sarawak Report, 2014).

Recently, for some reasons, the hydroelectric power project in Long San, Upper Baram cannot proceed. The cancelation of the project in Long San shows the negative responses from the Penan leader and their people. The project should proceed as there are no resettlement problems and protest from the Penan community. Apart of that, the Penan community in Long San understood the benefits they gain from the SCORE Project. Besides, the cancelation of the project caused a mental pressure to a Penan leaders because they are the 'frontline' that promoting the good impacts of the project (Borneo Post, 2014). Then, suddenly without prior

notice, the project is stopped which might affects the spreading of development in Long San.

The conflict in Long San happened because Penan leaders were dissatisfied when the Government stopped the project. The reason was the Penan leaders were already put their effort in explaining the benefit to their people if the government develop their area. It takes time and many 'challenges' to get the 'approval' from the villagers. Then, when the Long San people had agreed, the project suddenly stopped in their area which causes disappointed amongst them. So, this situation actually shows the awareness amongst the Penan community about the important of development for better future and it helps the indigenous people to shift from the traditional lifestyle to modern lifestyle. Besides, the modernization is needed to ensure their rights protected and they are not left behind in term of development because the Penan children will get access to education, healthcare, job opportunities and so on.

From this issue, the researcher feels that the topic is interesting to study because it related to the contemporary strategic issue – non-traditional security involving the aboriginals' community in Sarawak. Besides, the human security issues are the current matters which become the focus nowadays. Previously, people are talking strategic studies to prevent war and promoting peace, but now the concept is widen as we could see the emergence of new security issues like human security issues. So, the strategic studies nowadays not restricted in preventing war and promoting peace but it has to be more research to be done in dealing with the conflicts not only state with state, state with non-state but also state with their people which usually relating with human rights.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This chapter is focuses on the historical background of the study. It is divided into six parts. First part is explained about history of Malaysia starting from the Parameswara era until the establishment of Malaysia in 1963. Second part explained about history of Sarawak starting from Brooke administration which Sarawak later joined Malaysia on 16 September 1963. Third part is about the definition of indigenous people focusing in Sarawak. Forth part explained the background of Penan community in Sarawak. Fifth part briefly looks on the development in rural area of Sarawak that led to the invented of SCORE Project. Next part explained about the whole SCORE Project in brief. Then, in other part explanation about SCORE Project specifically in Upper Baram. Last part looks on the starting point of the Penan participation in political phenomenon (blockades).

History of Malaysia

If we look at the historical background before Malaysia was invented, automatically it will relates to Melaka – establishment of Melaka kingdom by Parameswara from Temasik in the year 1 400 which led Melaka became a trade centre until fifteen century. Besides, there are also old Kedah kingdom and Perak kingdom but not many records on them compared to Melaka. In Melaka, the administrative system had influenced the Malaysia administrative system today – monarchy system. Starting in fifteen century, there was colonialism era where Portugal, Nederland and Britain had found Asia.

Melaka was conquered by Portuguese in 1511 and based on history records; it had led to several conquest powers to invade the Malay countries: First, the Portuguese invaded in 1511 until 1641 which succeeded to conquered Melaka. Second, Nederland (1641 – 1824) that invaded Melaka and succeeded to conquered Selangor and Perak. Third, the British (1824 – 1957) reigned through Kew letters, Nederland handed Melaka and all the colonies countries to British. Then, British expanded its colonization to Penang, Singapore, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu. Last was the Japanese (1941 – 1945) that had conquered the Malay countries but handed back north countries to Siam (Kelantan, Terengganu, Perlis and Kedah) in 1943.

On 27 May 1961, Tunku Abdul Rahman bounced the idea of Malaysia which faced with many difficulties and reactions from Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and Philippines. Although, Federation of Malaya already had their Independence Day on 31 August 1957, but the idea to form Federation of Malaysia combining with Sabah and Sarawak is to avoid the communism to spread and to balance the ethnic division. On 16 September 1963, the Federation of Malaysia was established with combination of Federation of Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore without Brunei, where Sarawak specifically discusses in the next coming paragraphs.

History of Sarawak

Zakiah Hanum (1989) wrote in her book entitled, *“Asal-Usul Negeri-Negeri di Malaysia”* stated that the placement ancient society in Sarawak began 35 000 years ago which we could see the evidences of the placement found in Mulu Cave and Chamber Cave. The trading activities were started since 1 200 years ago. There

were merchants from Arab, India, China and locals came which brought items like ceramics, silks, oil, metal items and so on. The exact history line in Sarawak still blurred (Aisah Zainab Mahmud, 1993) but based on records founded, the Sarawak River Delta was attracted place for the merchants until thirteen century.

The era of mercantilism has brought in Islam into Sarawak which influenced the lifestyle of the local people which also created intermarriage between Arabs and local women. During this period, Sarawak was not huge as now but it only covered the Kuching area. In 1872, during Supreme Council meeting, Charles Brooke proposed that the Kuching which they called “proper Sarawak” or “Sarawak” before should be used officially – Sarawak to refer the “area” and Kuching to refer the “city” (Zakiah Hanum, 1989). Back to Brooke’s journey, in 11 August 1839, James Brooke came through Santubong to meet the Sultan of Brunei since Sarawak was under his reigned.

On 29 August 1940, James Brooke has reached to Sarawak and met Pangeran Muda Hashim. Pangeran Muda Hashim asked for Brooke’s help to settle the civil war and pirates’ attacks (Haji Buyong Adil, 1981). After Brooke and Pangeran Muda Hashim had succeeded their mission, Brooke then signed an agreement with Sultan of Brunei which stated that he was given a land approximately 18 000 kilometre square (from Tanjung Datu to Samarahan River) (Aisah Zainab Mahmud, 1993). Then in 1842, James Brooke was declared as White Rajah in Sarawak (Kuching). However, the history of Sarawak not stop until Brooke era, but it was once invaded by Japan during World War II. Sarawak later joined Malaysia on 16 September 1963 together with Sabah, Singapore and Federation of Malaya.

Indigenous People in Sarawak

This study dealt with the Penan community in Sarawak which is one of the Indigenous communities living in interior area. Indigenous people are the origin community who live in one country before the coming of other people that becomes the dominant community. Other definition for indigenous people is the first nations or tribes or groups that usually located in uphill, jungle, near the river and so on. They are usually nomadic ethnics and the occupations are fishermen, hunters-gatherers, agriculture in small scale and so on.

The indigenous people of Malaysia are known as Orang Asli, aboriginals, natives or *Bumiputera* (Princes or son of the soil). In Malaysia Constitution, natives in Sarawak are stated in the Article 161A and specified in Clause (7). Article 161A defined natives as:

(a) in relation to Sarawak, a person who is a citizen and either belongs to one of the races specified in Clause (7) as indigenous to the State or is of mixed blood deriving exclusively from those races.

(7) The races to be treated for the purposes of the definition of "native" in Clause (6) as indigenous to Sarawak are the Bukitans, Bisayahs, Dusuns, Sea Dayaks, Land Dayaks, Kadayans, Kalabit, Kayans, Kenyags (Including Sabups and Sipengs), Kajangs (including Sekapans, Kejamans, Lahanans, Punans, Tanjongs dan Kanowits), Lugats, Lisums, Malays, Melanos, Muruts, Penans, Sians, Tagals, Tabuns and Ukits.


(Constitution of Malaysia, n.d)

In Sarawak, the Rajah Charles Brooke had set up the Natives Court in the late 1860s to deal with the justice of customs and native law of the native communities. The justice matters of Muslim had been taken over by Sharia Court. The objectives of Native Court System are; to improve the management efficiency;

to maintain the natives' cultural and social values to help promote peace, harmony social-well-being of the native communities in Sarawak (Native Court of Sarawak, 2013). The rights of indigenous people in Sarawak are one of the matters concerned by the Brooke Empire. The district offices and the sub-district offices will come to the Registrar Office to discuss the miscarriage of the justice in natives' issues.

Background of Penan Community

*The government says we are animals,
- like animals in the forest.
We are not animals in the forest.
We are Penan. Humans.
I myself know I am human.*



*We want to see the land preserved – a very large area.
Up to how many acres? Up to how many acres?
Up to how many acres?
To enable hornbill,
to enable deer,
to enable pig,
- so they will have a way to stay.
- Penan Spokesman, Dawat Lupung-
(Cited from Manser, 1996)*

If we talk about Penan groups, that will be not complete if we do not mention about Bruno Manser. He was an environmental activist and had played a big role to help the Penan people and had lived with the Penan almost six years. He also known as *Lakei Penan* (Penan Man) and the Penan asked for his advice and help regarding the logging issue in their jungle (Manser, 1996). According to Brosius (1991) The Penan usually live in upriver; mountain and forested terrain and they are fully-depending on forest resources to gain food, medicine, shelter, cloths and so on. In

Brosius writing, he defined Penan and Punan as a same ethnic as Needham (1954) also mentioned in his paper "*Penan is another Name for Jungle Punan*".

However, these groups actually totally different in term of lifestyle. Firstly, the lifestyle of "*Punan is a settled and agriculturalist community*" (punan.org, 2013). Although they live in jungle but the Penan do not have exact place to stay. They mobilized from one place to another places within two or three weeks and they built a hut made from palm leaves as a roof and wooden grate as the floor. Contrast, the Punan settlement is modernized and built in complete structured. Secondly, the Punan can be found in Bintulu and Kapit which is the permanent placement for them to stay. Besides, they are expert in making *parang* (long knife) and the agriculture activities based on slash and plant. They are advanced in lifestyle rather than Penan people who use the blowpipes (*sumpit*) and poison (*tajem*) arrows for hunting.

From the physical appearance of the Penan and the Punan also not similar as defined by Joshua Project (2013), "*the Punan have a darker complexion, wear their hair in a different style, have natural body hair, and don't put tattoos on their bodies. The Penan, on the other hand, pluck their facial hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes, and tattoo their bodies*". The differences of the two ethnics are very obvious so we cannot say that the Punan was became nomads which called Penan. However, after the media coverage on the blockade of the Penan, people had recognized the identity of this minority ethnic.

Penan community is the aboriginals in Sarawak that have strong link to the natural resources especially the flora and fauna in the rainforest. They can be categorized as primitive people because of their life and culture. The hut that they built is made from natural resources like bamboo, rattan and leaves and they will

stay at one place for two or three weeks before they move to another places. However, the development and exploitation of the rainforest has affected their life.

The population of the Penan community is roughly about 17 000 people. However, some researchers believe that there are thousands of the Penan still living in the jungle spotless. Somehow, many of them were converted into Christian and Islam then left the hunter-gathering as a way of live. For the Penan, jungle is like their home and they are moving to new jungle, they will be following their feelings or *mal cun uk*. However, when the government started to develop the forest areas, thousand hectares of lands were destroyed and affects the Penan's life.

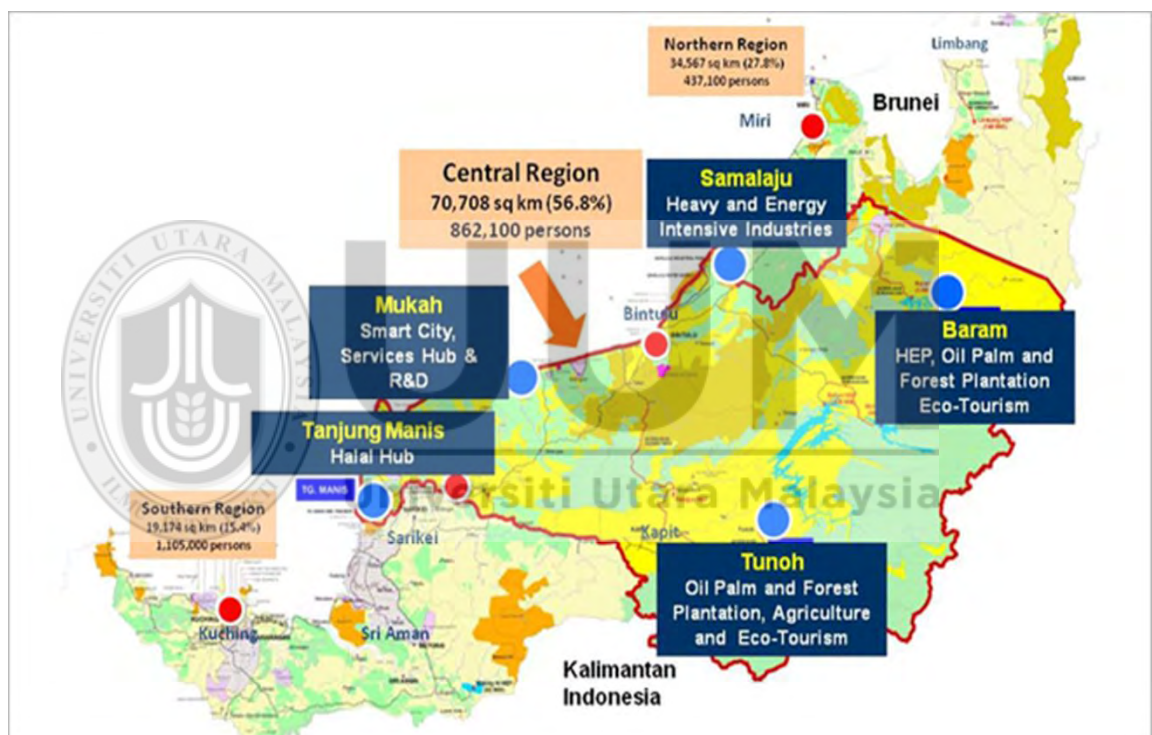
Development in rural area of Sarawak

According to Cramb and Reece (1988: 66-67) in the book, "*Development in Sarawak*", it is very important to develop the socio-economy among the rural population. In the year 1980s, the Sarawak authority and social scientists had worked together to come out with the good decisions regarding the resettlement programs that relevance and suitable for different ethnics. Starting in 1980s, the transformation of development is changing align with the population growth. The forest was cleared for hill paddy during Brooke Era. Then, forests were explored for agricultural sectors and now for industrial sector. We noted that energy is very important for domestic uses and industrial development that is one reason dams are built in SCORE Project – to provide energy for agricultural system and food industries to feed the hungry people in developed and developing countries.

In 1994, EIA needs to be prepared for development in Bakun Dam as the issue of environmental becomes a big concern globally. In preparing the EIA report,

it involved a team from 120 foreign and local scientists together with University Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) – which the report is called as the biggest EIA study in the history of the nation because the hydro-electric project cost multi-billion ringgit. However, stated in the report, the experts see there are possibilities of disaster if the Bakun dam break or overflow (Ritchie, 2005).

About SCORE Project

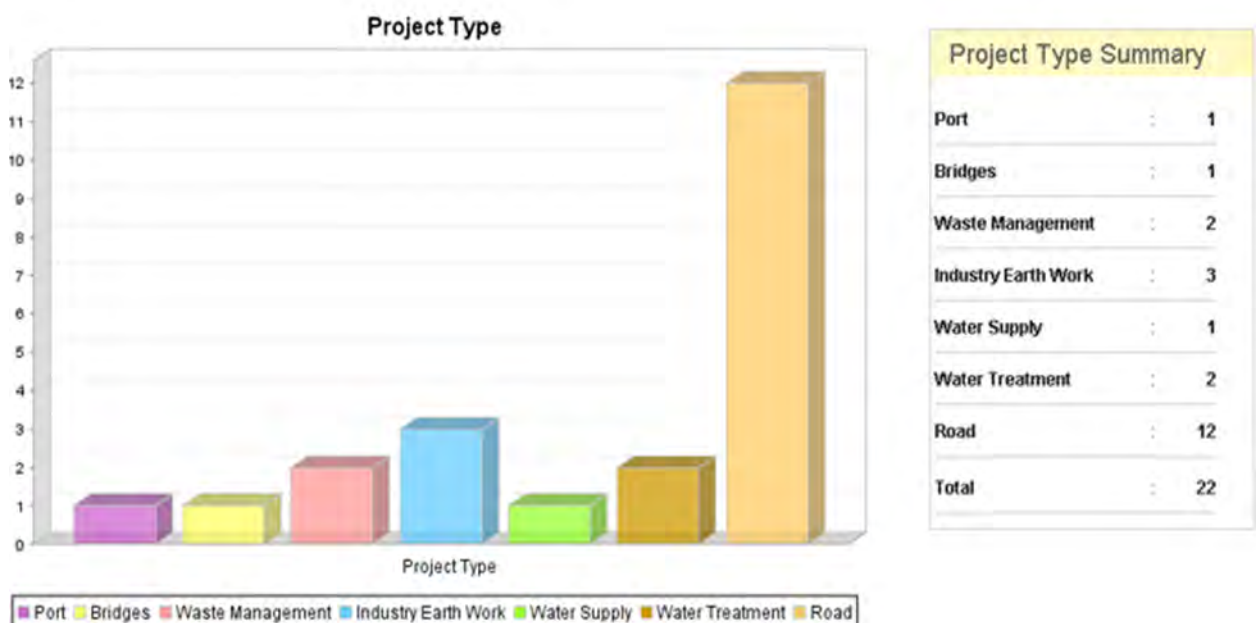


SCORE Project areas (Source: SCORE Website, 2014)

SCORE is a mega project which located in five areas; Tunoh, Baram, Samalaju, Mukah and Tanjung Manis as shown in the map above. There are about 17 784 of Penan living in the 135 resettlement areas in Miri, Belaga, Limbang, Bintulu and Marudi. The SCORE is covered around 70 000 km² of the lands for the maximum exploitations of the natural resources and the use of hydropower (SCORE Website, 2013). The Bakun Dams is the first dam that starts operating which include

under the mega project of the government to achieve the SCORE vision. The destruction of lands in huge areas had caused the threats to aboriginals. For example is the loss of aboriginals' longhouses in Kapit, the scarcity of food in the jungle and water pollution.

The companies that also invest in SCORE project are: *Asia Minerals Limited / Permata Ferroalloys Sdn. Bhd. - Wanchai, Hong Kong, OM Holdings Ltd / OM Materials (Sarawak) Sdn. Bhd. - Singapore, Press Metal Sdn. Bhd. – Selangor, Asia Cement Co., Ltd. / Asia Advanced Materials Sdn. Bhd. - Sarawak, Malaysia and Tokuyama Corporation / Tokuyama Malaysia Sdn. Bhd. - Sarawak, Malaysia* (ibid). Those companies are the main contributors for the financial of the development projects. If looks at the companies, the project had attracted foreign companies because the SCORE Project beneficial projects for business opportunities such as food industries, heavy industries, plantation project and so on – creates economic corridors.

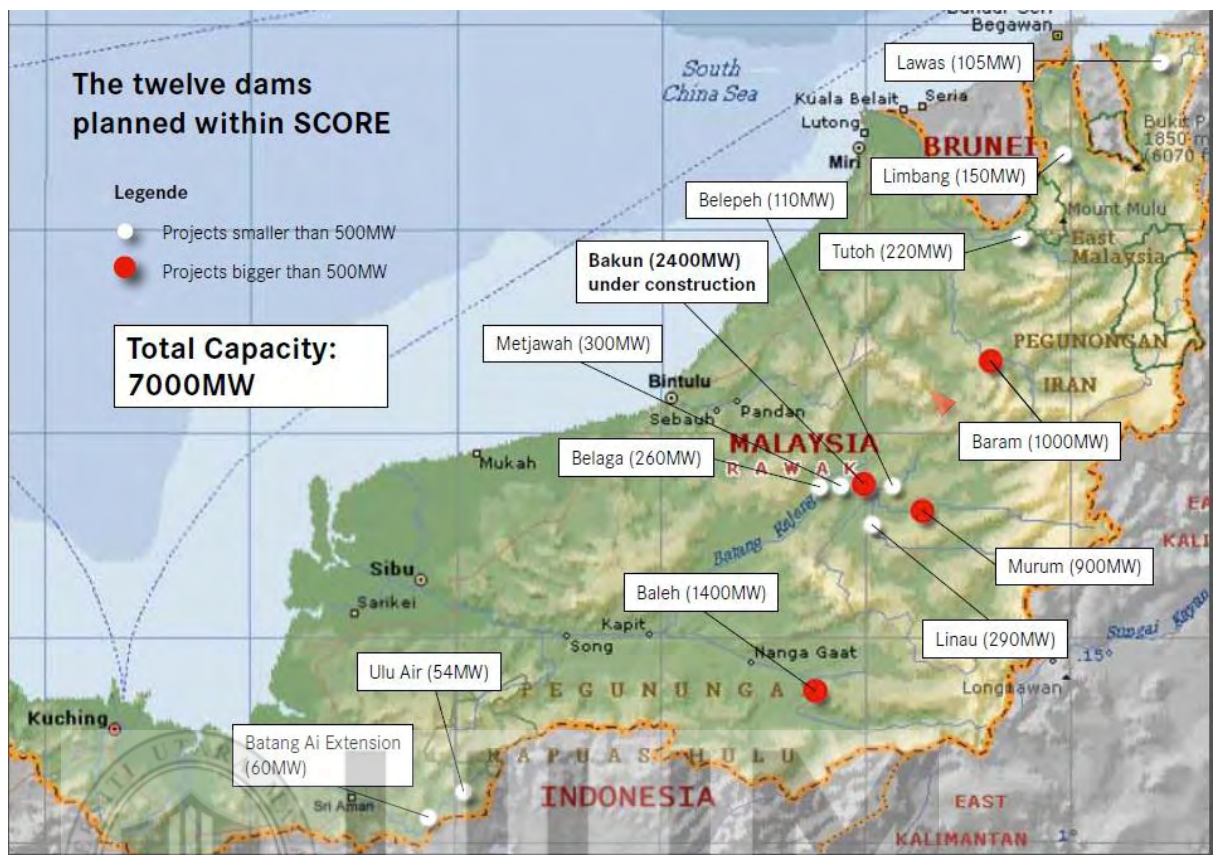


Types of project in SCORE (Source: SCORE Sarawak Website, 2014)

However, the SCORE Project is not only focusing on the hydroelectric power alone. There are consisting of bridges, ports, waste management, industry earth work, water supply, water treatment and road. As shown in figure above, SCORE Project has 22 types of projects. The SCORE Project is one of the five Malaysia's economic corridors and the areas covered have 1.2 billion of oil reserves, 8 million hectares of forests and 5 million hectares lands for plantation (ibid). Each places for the SCORE developments have their own potential and division of projects which shown in the table below.

LOCATION	PROJECTS
Samalaju	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heavy industries
Tanjung Manis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrials port city • Halal hub
Baram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hydroelectric power generation • Oil palm plantations • Forest plantation • Eco-tourism
Mukah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headquarters for the SCORE project • R&D center • Training center for the workers
Tunoh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oil palm plantation • Forest plantation • Agriculture • Eco-tourism

Location of SCORE projects (Source: SCORE Sarawak Website, 2014)



The Twelve Mega-Dams Project which facing with the protest among the indigenous people at Murum, Bakun and Baram (Source: Annina Aeberli, 2012)

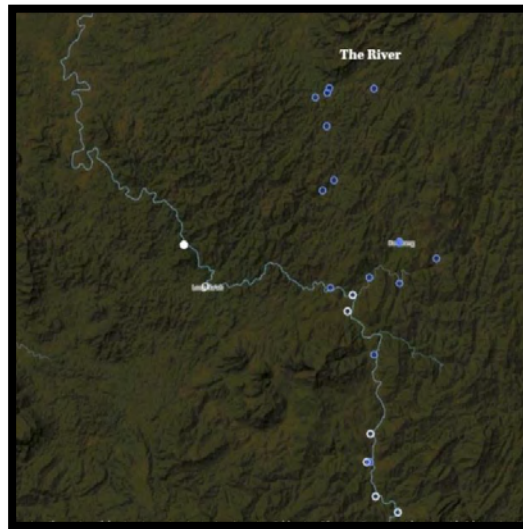
Regarding the hydropower projects, SCORE Project had planned to construct twelve mega-dams in several locations in Sarawak as shows in map by Annina Aeberli (2012). The construction of twelve dams will be finished in 2030 according to the planned which will provide complete facilities to the people and thousands of job opportunities. In fact it will attract the young generation to work in that area rather than migrate to cities. The Sarawak government is aimed to construct six dams in 2020. Until 2014, three dams had been constructed; Bakun Dam, Murum Dam and Batang Ai Dam and had started its operation.

The SCORE Project in Upper Baram

Baram is located under Marudi District under Miri division, Sarawak. The land size is approximately 22 069 km² which consists of 62 883 population (Miri.sarawak.gov.my, 2014). The new township has been developed that called Telang Usan which become a center to all activities – economic, social and development. Telang Usan will attract the young people to help the government spread the development indirectly.

SCORE Sarawak (2014) had divided the development projects in Baram into four sectors; there are hydroelectric power generation, oil palm plantations, forest plantation and eco-tourism. Sarawak Energy has estimated there are about 6 000 to 8 000 people will be affected by the development project which involves 32 longhouses. The communities that get affected by the project are Kenyah, Kayan and Penan communities as verified by the Miri Resident Office (Sarawakenergy.com.my, 2014).

As shown at the picture below, the blue circles are indicated the indigenous people villages in Baram. The constructed of Baram Dam will definitely flood their homelands which also change the topography of that area. Besides, it might affect the Baram River flow.



*The blue circles are the Orang Ulu villages including the Penan's at the Baram River and The Baram Dam will definitely flooding those villages
(Sarawak Report, 2014)*

The Penan Participation in Political Phenomenon (Blockades)

Basically, the starting of participation in political phenomenon (blockades) within the Penan community was started from 1987 which they are fighting to stop the logging activities. Since then, they continuously conduct blockades to stop the SCORE Project because it destroyed the Penan's land. The destruction of jungle also destroyed the food chain and affecting the Penan security. They lose their worship

places, graveyard, food and water supply, medicine resources and so on. When the contractors exploit the lands and flood the dam with water, it will destroy the Penan's villages and the habitat of flora and fauna. The development affects the community live in that affected areas.

The land that they inhabitant was destructed and affects the supply of their food, medicine and clean water. The deforestation of the Penan's habitat has threatened the existence of Penan community because it's affected their medicine resources, food and water supply. As a result, they have decided to protest by conducting blockade in the SCORE project. This was not the first time the threat faced by the Penan community. In 1986 up to 2012, some logging companies exploited the timber resources that cause damage to their economy, culture, medicine resources, food and water supply.

According to Sarawak Report (2014), the Baram Dam will destroy 26 villages which cause to 20 000 displace people and it is about 400 km² of the Baram area will be flooded with water. The blockades are conducted in two sites; dam site and the access road to Long Lama. For the Baram Dam project, the protest started in September 2013 in Kuala Lumpur. The Blockades at the Baram Dam and roads construction sites were started in October 2013 and the blockades had been dismantled in October 2014. However, the protest is not ended yet the human rights organizations Save Sarawak Rivers, SUARAM and JOAS had sent an official appeal letter to Victoria Tauli-Corpuz a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in October 2014.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter explains about the historical background of this study to view the general concept or idea of this study. Its briefly explained about the founded of Melaka Empire by Parameswara which led to invented of Federation of Malaya. Before Federation of Malaya was established, there were several foreign powers invaded and conquered Malaya; Starting with Portuguese in 1511 that conquered Melaka. Second, Nederland (1641 – 1824) that invaded Melaka and succeeded to conquered Selangor and Perak. Third, the British (1824 – 1957) reigned through Kew letters, Nederland handed Melaka and all the colonies countries to British. Then, British expanded its colonization to Penang, Singapore, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu. Last was the Japanese (1941 – 1945) that had conquered the Malay countries but handed back north countries to Siam (Kelantan, Terengganu, Perlis and Kedah) in 1943.

Next, it tells about the history of Sarawak which reigned by Rajah Brooke. The clear history line of Sarawak is blurred and during this time, Sarawak only covered Kuching area until 1872 where Charles Brooke proposed to use Sarawak to refer “area” and Kuching to refer “city” during Supreme Council Meeting. Many researchers believed the placement of ancient society began 35 000 years ago from the evidences founded in Mulu Cave and Chamber Cave. Apart of that, the trading activities were began 1 200 years ago. During this period, the record shows Sarawak River Delta was the main attraction for the merchants until thirteen centuries. In 1842, Brooke was declared as White Rajah because he succeeded to settle the civil war and pirates’ attacks. In 16 September 1963, Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and Federation of Malaya formed Malaysia.

Then, to understand the concept of indigenous people, the definition of indigenous people is explained in this chapter. Not only that, during Brooke era, he took care of the natives very well and he invented Native Court in 1860s to handle the natives' issues. In addition, this chapter explained about the historical background of the Penan community in Upper Baram, Sarawak which the population is approximately 17 000 people. Firstly, Penan people are mobilized from one place to other places within two or three weeks and they built a hut made from palm leaves as a roof and wooden grate as the floor. Secondly, Penan people used the blowpipes (*sumpit/keleput*) and poison (*tajem*) arrows for hunting. Thirdly, for the Penan, jungle is like their home and they are moving to new jungle, they will be following their feelings or *mal cun uk*.

Development programme in rural Sarawak was started in 1980s where the Sarawak authority and social scientists cooperated to come out with the best decision for resettlement programme for different ethnics in Sarawak. Through SCORE Project, Sarawak could develop the economy, provide energy for agricultural system and feed the hungry people. First dam project was Bakun Dam and EIA was prepared because in 1990s the issue of environmental is a major concern globally. The EIA report was prepared involving 120 foreign and local scientists together with UNIMAS.

SCORE Project is located in five areas; Tunoh, Baram, Samalaju, Mukah and Tanjung Manis which covered 70 000 km². There are about 17 784 of Penan people living in 135 resettlement areas in Miri, Belaga, Limbang, Bintulu and Marudi which get affected by the project. According to the SCORE Project plan, Bakun Dam is the first dam to be built. There are foreign and local companies that invested in SCORE

project; Asia Minerals Limited / Permata Ferroalloys Sdn. Bhd. - Wanchai, Hong Kong, OM Holdings Ltd / OM Materials (Sarawak) Sdn. Bhd. - Singapore, Press Metal Sdn. Bhd. – Selangor, Asia Cement Co., Ltd. / Asia Advanced Materials Sdn. Bhd. - Sarawak, Malaysia and Tokuyama Corporation / Tokuyama Malaysia Sdn. Bhd. - Sarawak, Malaysia.

However, the SCORE Project is not only focusing on the hydroelectric power alone. There are consisting of bridges, ports, waste management, industry earth work, water supply, water treatment and road. Besides, the areas of projects covered have 1.2 billion of oil reserves, 8 million hectares of forests and 5 million hectares lands for plantation. In term of hydropower project, the construction twelve dams will be finished in 2030 according to the planned which will provide complete facilities to the people and thousands of job opportunities. Until 2014, three dams had been constructed; Bakun Dam, Murum Dam and Batang Ai Dam and had started its operation.

SCORE Project is located in Baram. Looks at background of Baram, it is located under Marudi District under Miri division, Sarawak. The land size is approximately 22 069 km² which consists of 62 883 population. The new township has been developed that called Telang Usan which become a center to all activities – economic, social and development. SCORE Sarawak had divided the development projects in Baram into four sectors; there are hydroelectric power generation, oil palm plantations, forest plantation and eco-tourism. Sarawak Energy has estimated there are about 6 000 to 8 000 people will be affected by the development project which involves 32 longhouses.

Finally, the historical of Penan participation in political phenomenon (blockades) was started from 1987 which they were fighting to stop the logging activities. The land that they inhabitant was destructed and affected the supply of their food, medicine and clean water. As a result, they decided to protest by conducting blockade in the SCORE Project. This was not the first time the threat faced by the Penan community. In 1986 up to 2012, some logging companies exploited the timber resources that cause damage to their economy, culture, medicine resources, food and water supply.

In fact, Baram Dam will destroy 26 villages which cause to 20 000 displace people and it is about 400 km² of the Baram area will be flooded with water. The Penan's blockades are conducted in two sites; dam site and the access road to Long Lama. For the Baram Dam project, the protest started in September 2013 in Kuala Lumpur. The Blockades at the Baram Dam and roads construction sites were started in October 2013 and the blockades had been dismantled in October 2014. However, the protest is not ended yet the human rights organizations had sent an official appeal letter to Victoria Tauli-Corpuz a UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in October 2014.

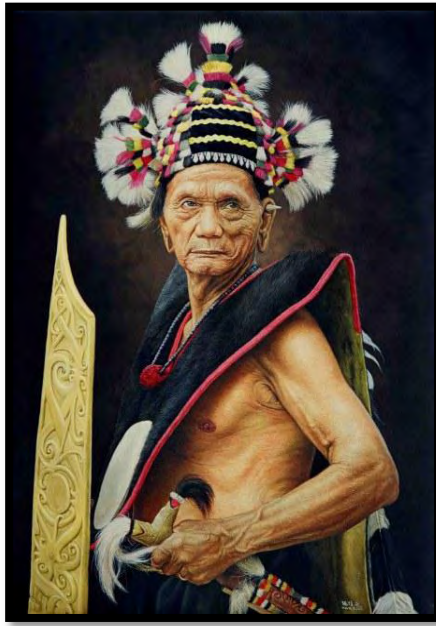
CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL IMPACT

This chapter discusses the political implications of the SCORE Projects towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri. It is divided into four sections. The first part looks at the political transformation from Brooke era until Sarawak Independence Day in 1960s where the Penan people were resettled to give a way to development. The second part looks at the marginalization of their political views and isolated. The third part explained about political participation of the Penan community in terms of decision-making process. Then, the last part explained about the developing in political views due to accessibility to information among the Penan Community.

Political Transformation: From Brooke Era until 1960s

During James Brooke administration, he gave freedom for the Penan to practice their own political system based on their belief and tradition. The Penan community usually held a meeting to discuss about their community in terms of their interests and needs. Their political system is based on negotiation, dialogues and consultation. Their will held dialogue session with Brooke to voice their opinions as the Penan feels Brooke took care of the very much (Yan, 2012).



Penan Leader usually wears red pendulum (Luna, 2010)

Penan community is practicing egalitarian society where there are no social classes and hierarchies. In Penan community, there is also no poverty or wealth because they share what they have among each other (Sarawak People Campaign, n.d). The elders usually become the spokesperson if there are visitors come. The leaders can be men or women because there is no gender inequality. The Tua Kampung usually wears red pendulum or bead necklaces (Chen, 1990). For the, living as hunter is a nature as human. Whether they are settled or nomad, they still go for hunting for food or collecting medicine and wild-plants. However, many of them are settled near the riverside and practicing traditional lifestyle.

After the British came in Sarawak, they resettled the Penan to the proper place and allocated them with land that called as NCR. However, these NCR lands are not recorded yet after the Independence Day. So, a lot of the lands were destructed by the logging men and construction companies. Now, the Penan are having problem with NCR land which also related to the issue of government

lands. For the Penan community who are living in Baram, Belaga and Limbang Districts, they had been resettled in the nearest locations.

Since 1960s, the resettlement villages for them are in Suai and Niah in Miri District, Lower Tinjar in Baram, Bintulu, Belaga and Limbang Districts. After Sarawak celebrate its Independence Day in 1963, the Penan facing with a lot of difficulties because of the changing of political system and leaders in Sarawak government. They feel the Brooke administration was very good because he looked after the Penan community well compared to the new administrative leaders.

Marginalization of their Political Views and Isolated

In term of negative implications of SCORE Project towards the Penan community, first is the marginalization of their political views and isolated. Majority of Orang Ulu (including Penan community) who are living in rural areas usually facing with the marginalization of their political views and isolated (Junaidi Awang Besar, Lyndon & Mohd Azlan Abdullah, 2014). The isolation and marginalization led the NGOs to be representatives for the aboriginals in international consultations to voice out their problems (Bulan, 2010). The awareness to protect the rights of indigenous people rise amongst the government organizations and NGOs such as SAM, SUHAKAM, JOAS and BMF.

Besides, we should understand the Penan that living as primitive only use blowpipes (*keleput* or *sumpit*) to hunt is quite difficult to understand the interests of the politicians, the companies and the investors towards the forest resources. They see the forest in different view; the Penan seeing it as the garden to hunt animals and get their vegetables, but in other hand, the politicians see the forest resources as the

opportunity in development (Manser, 1996). However, we should not forget they are updated with current issue especially the issues that related with their security matters. Apart of that, the Penan community is very responsible with the new generation future. They sent their child in boarding school in Miri city which far from them.

Second is the political issue like corruption which involving SEB CEO, Torstein Dale Sjøtveit that granted contracts worth over US\$ 200 million (Bruno Manser Fond, 2014). The case had been lodged in 2013 by BMF to MACC (Sarawak Report, 2014). Another political issue is the loan which was offered to SEB by ADB. The loan had been warned by more than forty NGOs around the world and the NGOs claimed SEB and the Sarawak Government is opposing the international law which needs the consent of affected population regarding the dam construction (Stop-corruption-dams.org, 2014).

From the researcher views, the development process creates different opinions among the Penan community in Upper Baram. First, the deforestation affected their lifestyle like hunting activities which influenced their negative views on development. Second, some of the Penan people adopted the development and had settled but still practicing hunting and agricultural. Third some of the Penan people granted the development process because they knew the development projects are benefiting their young generations. So, the Sarawak government and SEB should continue their effort to gain support from the Penan and take initiatives to understand what they wants.

They are natives people that practicing hunting and depending to the forest resources to survive because they hard to accept the development as Manser (1996)

says, “...they try to avoid the hot sunshine of the cleared areas, preferring to hunt and gather in the shadows of the forest”. As a rational human, we cannot force them to accept the modern of life because they have their own thinking and they are comfortable with that, so we should respect their wants. We have to accept that in this development world, the rights of the indigenous people should not be left aside. We share the resources and we have our own interest which supposed not only focusing on one part but as the whole – the all community in the state including the aboriginals.

Responding to the Penan community issues in Upper Baram, from the questionnaire result, the public mostly opined that the political impact from the SCORE Project is whether the Penan community will support the government or not support the government depending on how the government treats them. The public also realised the Penan community had been marginalized in term of political participation or political process in the government. Besides, the Penan people seem powerless and less recognition in the political arena as their opinion had been rejected by the government – the government proceeds with the project without the Penan people consent.

However, some respondents expressed their hope to see the development in Penan politics especially after the SCORE Project done in Baram. Some of the respondents target the positive changes in Penan politics in the next 15 years because within this period they already adopted and adapted with the modernization era. Other than that, the Sarawak government should make the Penan people understand and build their trust to avoid them continuously conducting protest towards the projects in Baram.

Penan Participation in Decision-Making Process

Penan community in Upper Baram was living in isolation from the development and they were faced with marginalization in decision-making process. For the Penan, the logging activities and development projects in their areas were not respecting their ancestors and traditions. The projects were executed without their consent. The former Chief Minister Tun Pehin Sri Haji Abdul Taib bin Mahmud pointed out the idea of SCORE Project is to spread the development in rural Sarawak. Not only that, it allowed the rural communities to contribute in development programme – serve in government institutions and involve in decision-making process by hiring the penan leaders to be Sarawak Government representative and selected the qualified Penan to represent in Sarawak administrative bodies.

Mentioned about positive impact of SCORE Project towards the Penan community, first, the Penan community in Upper Baram in Miri have their representative and increased the participation in political decision-making process. After the development of Telang Usan in Baram, the Sarawak government selected their Assemblyman, Dennis Ngau to represent the Baram Penan. Besides, Dennis Ngau also becomes the middle person between state and the people in that area.

Second, they have YB Datuk John Sikie Tayai whom served at the Chief Minister's office (Native Adat and Penan Affairs) to protect their rights. Recently in December 2014, YB Datuk John Sikie Tayai had received a proposal from a permanent Penan Affairs Department on the issues related to Penan community. He brought the issue to State Planning Unit (SPU) and suggested the unit to conduct a study tour to Orang Asli Department, Kuala Lumpur. The study tour is very important to learn an effective way to in change the Penan community in Sarawak by

adopting certain ways from the Minister in charge of Orang Asli Affairs. Furthermore, Datuk John calls the PVC to play more roles especially in Baram and Belaga (Borneo Post, 2014).

Third, to involve more participation among the Penan people in Sarawak decision-making process, Sarawak government established PVC in 1989 with the main duty is *“to help the nomadic and semi-nomadic Penans roaming the jungles in Baram, Belaga and Limbang to transition to a settled way of life”* (ibid). Concerning about the issues of Penan community in affected areas like Baram and Belaga, PVC was called by Datuk John to strengthening their roles. However, there were 31 volunteers of PVC distributed in Miri (27 volunteers), Kapit (2 volunteers) and Limbang (2 volunteers). PVC have annual workshop in December which was recently held in Kuching on 2-4 December 2014.

Next, concerning about Penan transformation in politics – aware of their difficulties to adapt the changes of lifestyle, Sarawak Government had established Penan Development Programmes under SPU. This programme enlisted several action plans to planning, coordinating and implementing the programme effectively. There are Secretariat to the State Level Penan Affairs Committee; Funding and Management, 1AZAM Handicraft for Penan Community, Penan Volunteers Programme, Human Capital Development Programme for Penan Community, Rural Service Centres and Issues Management (Basic Human Rights). Penan Development Programmes was invented to ensure the Penan community is benefited from the SCORE Project as Sarawak aims for market-driven economy in 2030.

Developing in Political Views Due to Accessibility to Information among the Penan Community

In other positive impact from the SCORE Project, it benefited the local especially when they could have access with information. It creates the openness of the people and alerts with current issues especially issues that related to indigenous people. First, The Penan community in those areas were updated with their developing projects issues especially the dams' project which had affected the population in Belaga (Bakun Dam). The Baram people aware of negative implications from Baram Dam project because they knew the conflict of Penan community in Bakun, Belaga and Batang Ai. Information enhanced their knowledge and develops their political views on current issues. From political perspective, the development project in rural area such as in Baram, Telang Usan and Belaga had directly or indirectly affected the Sarawak election.

Aware of the important support from the Penan community in Upper Baram, on 4 November 2014, Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu and other dignitaries in his entourage had visited Ba Muboi village for opening ceremony of Rural Service Centre (RSC), Handicraft Room and Tabika Kemas. Furthermore, he called up the Penan community in Selaan, Upper Baram to continue supporting Barisan Nasional in the next election (Ongie, 2014). The support and voting from Penan people and other indigenous people is very important to ensure the existence of Barisan Nasional. Besides, the election helps the people to choose their leader that could protect the rights and provide what they need.

To avoid alienation amongst the Penan community in Baram area, the Sarawak government increased the Penan representatives and awarded them with

monthly payment. Recently reported on Borneo Post News in November 2014, there were seven *Penghulu* and one *Pemanca* were selected to become the government representatives amongst their community (Pail, 2014). The representative amongst the Penan community is very important to proof that they are not isolated and neglected by the government. Besides, the representatives could help the Sarawak government to become speakers for the Penan people and to know what are the problems they facing with. In additional, the representatives amongst Penan community will decrease the location barrier and language problem.

To increase the accessibility to the Upper Baram area, a 32-metre long bridge was built across the Kubaan River in 2009. This bridge was a symbol of cooperation between the Sarawak Government, Samling Company, International Tropical Timber organization (ITTO) and the Penan community. The upgrade of access roads to Penan villages in Upper Baram, help them to develop and enjoy the benefit of development projects organized by the state. Improvement in access roads is important to supply reading material to schools, allocated service centres, distribution of modern machineries and allowed the Penan working in ecotourism sector especially as forestry staff, tourist guide, homestay programme and so on. Not only that, meeting with timber companies people, statesmen, foreign tourists and NGOs contribute to development of political views among the Penan people.

The development projects had increased the accessibility to information among the Penan community in upper Baram to the outside world. The developments of ICT centres at the Penan villages allow them to gain information from the internet. Apart of them, the literacy project increased the number of readers and writer among the Penan in Murum. Those projects also developed in Upper

Baram which also contributes to human capacity building. Not only that, it helps the Penan to develop their knowledge by getting access through internet; newspapers, blogs, videos, magazines and so on. The exposure to current news allows them to learn new things, analyse and make up the mind about their views on political arena.

Not to forget, the Penan community is very intelligent and know about their rights. This is because the Penan community had mixed with foreign people earlier than others although they live in the jungle. For example, they experienced the good environment of life during Brooke era. Then, after Sarawak Independence in 1963, the Penan was visited by Bruno Manser and Brosius, the researchers from the west and living with them for years. So, by mixing with foreign comers, the Penan people were getting knowledge from them through the exchange ideas. Save Rivers Chairperson Peter Kallang said, *"We are all out against destructive projects such as the proposed Baram Dam. Has the government been fair to the people, such as when the Asap and Murum dams were built and the local communities were forced to resettle?"* (Hornbill Unleashed, 2014). His statement was responding to the on-going issue like better life, free electricity and free housing facing by Penan community in Asap and Bakun.



Along Sega (Source: Bruno Manser Fond, 2005)

Refers to the picture above, Along Sega was a headmen for Penan community that fight to protect his jungle. In the picture, Along Sega was holding a map of his forest areas which destroyed by logging activities. Like mentioned above, the Penan community is very clever and concern about their environment because it is important for nest generations. Along Sega was died in 2011 and he believed the Penan young generation continue fight for Penan because the exploitation of forest threatens their basic needs and violate their rights.

Being exposed to information and current issues of Penan make them stronger to face the challenges. The Penan in Baram knew their rights as they said, *“Born and raised in Baram, we are not against development, but we are concerned with our rights as enshrined in the constitution as well as stipulated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)”* (Hornbill Unleashed, 2014).

The Penan community in those affected area had noticed about the flooded area plan. Realized their NCR land is threatens, the Penan community opposed the dam project because the project is crossing their land boundaries and destroyed their life. Apart of that, the Penan also very concern about the other Penan in other villages which already affected by the SCORE project especially in Bakun and Belaga. Aligned with this issue, the Penan community proposed the government to keep the 60 per cent of intact forest for future generations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter explained about political transformation from Brooke era to Sarawak Independence Day (1960s) where the Penan was resettled. During James Brooke administration, he gave freedom for the Penan to practice their own political system based on their belief and tradition. The Penan community usually held a meeting to discuss about their community in terms of their interests and needs. Their political system is based on negotiation, dialogues and consultation. Penan community is practicing egalitarian society where there are no social classes and hierarchies. In Penan community, there is also no poverty or wealth because they share what they have among each other. The Tua Kampung usually wears red pendulum or bead necklaces which are elders in the village and usually became spokesperson for their people.

After the British came in Sarawak, they resettled the Penan to the proper place and allocated them with land that called as NCR. However, these NCR lands are not recorded yet after the Independence Day. So, a lot of the lands were destructed by the logging men and construction companies. Now, the Penan are

having problem with NCR land which also related to the issue of government lands. After Sarawak celebrate its Independence Day in 1963, the Penan facing with a lot of difficulties because of the changing of political system and leaders in Sarawak government. They feel the Brooke administration was very good because he looked after the Penan community well compared to the new administrative leaders.

Second part in this chapter mentioned about marginalization of the Penan's political views and isolated from others. Majority of Orang Ulu (including Penan community) living in rural areas usually facing with the marginalization of their political views and isolated. This situation led the NGOs to be representatives for the aboriginals in international consultations to voice out their problems. Some of the NGOs are SAM, SUHAKAM, JOAS and BMF. There are contradiction views between the Penan and Sarawak authority, the Penan seeing it as the garden to hunt animals and get their vegetables, but in other hand, the politicians see the forest resources as the opportunity in development.

Due to marginalization and isolation, the development projects were executed without the Penan's consent. Related to this matter, is the political issue like corruption which involving SEB CEO, Torstein Dale Sjøtveit that granted contracts worth over US\$ 200 million. The case had been lodged in 2013 by BMF to MACC. Another political issue is the loan which was offered to SEB by ADB. The loan had been warned by more than forty NGOs around the world and the NGOs claimed SEB and the Sarawak Government is opposing the international law which needs the consent of affected population regarding the dam construction.

The development process creates different opinions among the Penan community in Upper Baram; first, the deforestation affected their lifestyle like

hunting activities which influenced their negative views on development. Second, some of the Penan people adopted the development and had settled but still practicing hunting and agricultural. Third some of the Penan people granted the development process because they knew the development projects are benefiting their young generations. Responding to this issue, public mostly opined that the political impact from the SCORE Project is whether the Penan community will support the government or not support the government is depending on how the government treat them.

Next part is about Penan participation in decision-making process. The SCORE Project gives positive impact to the Penan; first, the Penan community in Upper Baram in Miri have their representative and increased the participation in political decision-making process such as Dennis Ngau to represent the Baram Penan. Besides, Dennis Ngau also becomes the middle person between state and the people in that area. Then, YB Datuk John Sikie Tayai whom served at the Chief Minister's office (Native Adat and Penan Affairs) to protect their rights.

Datuk John had brought the Penan issues to State Planning Unit (SPU) and calls the Penan PVC to play more roles especially in Baram and Belaga. Furthermore, Sarawak government established PVC in 1989 with the main duty is to help the Penan to transition to settled way of life. Less but not least, Sarawak Government had established Penan Development Programmes under SPU to ensure the Penan community is benefited from the SCORE Project as Sarawak aims for market-driven economy in 2030.

Last part is about developing in political views due to accessibility to information among the Penan community. SCORE Project is benefited the local by

having access with information. First, The Penan community in those areas were updated with their developing projects issues especially the dams project which had affected the population in Belaga (Bakun Dam). The Baram people aware of negative implications from Baram Dam project because they knew the conflict of Penan community in Bakun, Belaga and Batang Ai.

Their knowledge of current issues will affected the election results as Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu has called up the Penan community in Selaan, Upper Baram to continue supporting Barisan Nasional in the next election. Besides, Sarawak government increased the Penan representatives and awards them with monthly payment. Not to forget, the developments of ICT centres at the Penan villages allow them to gain information from the internet.

In additional, the Penan community is very intelligent and knows about their rights. The Penan community had mixed with foreign people earlier than other although they live in the jungle. For example, they experienced the good environment of live during Brooke era. Then, after Sarawak Independence in 1963, the Penan was visited by Bruno Manser and Brosius, the researchers from the west and living with them for years.

By mixing with foreign comers, the Penan people were getting knowledge from them through the exchange ideas. The Penan also knew their rights as listed in UNDRIP. Realized their NCR land is threatens, the Penan community opposed the dam project because the project is crossing their land boundaries and destroyed their life. Apart of that, the Penan also very concern about the other Penan in other villages which already affected by the SCORE project especially in Bakun and

Belaga. Aligned with this issue, the Penan community proposed the government to keep the 60 per cent of intact forest for future generations.



CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC IMPACT

This chapter discusses the economic implications of the SCORE Projects towards the Penan Community in Miri, Sarawak. It is divided into five sections. The first part looks at the economic transformation from Brooke era until Adenan Sateem era. Second part tells about the destruction of the fisheries. The forth part is the impact of the SCORE Project towards the agricultural farm of the Penan community. The last part looks at the impact on the hunting activities of the Penan community.

Economic Transformation from Brooke Era until Adenan Sateem Era

Before the Brooke era, Penan people used barter system to exchange food. The barter system is to get food from other Orang Ulu such as Kenyah and Kayan. The Penan people will go to Kenyah village or Kayan village to exchange their hunting goods like monkey, bear, wild pig and so on. On the other hands, the Kenyah and Kayan will exchange their agricultural products such as rice, tapioca, corn and so on. During this period, their barter systems close to certain communities in certain location. Compared to Brooke era, he had established the *tamu* concept which allowed the Penan community to sell their jungle products through barter system. The *tamu* also allowed the other communities to involve in this barter system – it involves the Penan, the villagers and the colonial officers.

During Brooke administration, the Penan had their trade meeting or *tamu* supervised by Brooke administrative that usually held near the river or at the longhouse. The purposed of *tamu* was to ensure the fair and clean barter system amongst the Penan with other Orang Ulu or amongst themselves. Besides, *tamu* was

also to protect the Penan's rights from discriminate or manipulate by violators in the village (Yan, 2012). During colonial era, we could see how Brooke manages to tackled the aboriginals' hearts to support them. Brooke had succeeded to get the support and trust from the Penan community. The trade relations between Penan and other ethnics also mentioned by Brosius in his report published in 1991 entitled, *"Foraging in Tropical Rain Forests: The Case of the Penan of Sarawak, East Malaysia (Borneo)"*.

In the book entitled, *"Penans: The Nomads of Sarawak"* written by Paul C.Y Chan (1990) mentioned that the Penan in Upper Baram in 1990s were semi-nomad people which some of them converted into Christian. They learnt farming from the Kenyah and Kayan but the Penan found that agricultural is difficult for them – the Penan plant tapioca and banana which were easy for them. Semi-nomad Penan still depending on hunting and gathering activities to get their foods because they cannot really accept the taste of rice – usually the rice is consumed by the young generation and the elders usually prefer sago or mixed sago with rice. Until the Independence Day, Penan community still practices their traditional economic system.

During Taib era the SCORE Project was launched and up to Adenan era, the SCORE Project still in progress. The positive impacts from the SCORE Project to the Penan community in Upper Baram; first, the development allowed the Penan people to involve in modern economic activities – cooperate in rubber planting project. The location had been identified approximately 20 acres site for the rubber plantation project. In additional, Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu had given a task to a research team under Minister of Modernisation of Agriculture and Minister of Rural Development to set up Integrated Agriculture Research and

Development (R&D) (Ongie, 2014). This project helps the Penan people in Upper Baram to earn side income and develop their knowledge in farming activities.

Next, positive impact from the SCORE Project is Sarawak government has guaranteed to provide thousands of job opportunities to the people after the SCORE Project is finished like in Bakun and Murum. However, they Penan people did not have skilled to work in fields, accept for new generations which exposed with modern lifestyle and education which could contribute to Sarawak economic development. From the government side, the Telang Usan Assemblyman Dennis Ngau had explained that the Penan community are refused to cooperate during the survey was conducted in their villages. The survey was collecting data of their economic status and population. Besides, he said the Penan should not blame the government on their poverty issue (FMT Staff, 2014).

Other than that, the development projects in Upper Baram, Miri led to economic development in that area like in Bakun and Murum after the dam is operating. Besides, it helps the Penan community to get access with basic needs and improved their household income through job opportunities provided in SCORE Project. However, the question is, can those facilities provided and spread the development without building the dam? We knew that the dam destructed the environment and caused to displacement of the people. Twelve mega-dams are giant project which cost billions and affecting many aspects including the right of indigenous people. In fact, the SCORE Project caused to drastic changes in Penan economic and social system (Borneoproject.org, 2014).

Not all Penan people are opposing the development to their areas. Some of them really hope to develop like other ethnics such as Kenyah, Kayan, Iban and so

on. However, they need time to accept the development process like the Penan community in Marudi, Miri which get new longhouses and church building sponsored by Samling Company. As many of them converted into Christian, they are adapted with new lifestyle where they need church to pray and proper place to stay which still practising hunting and gathering activities. In term of economy, Dennis Ngau suggested to them to practicing agricultural and sells the crops to the timber workers as a side income (The Borneo Post, 2014).

According to Zawawi Ibrahim, an anthropologist from Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS), the development had created the new way of life for the Penan community which their economic is based on jungle resources. The development had brought new way for them to get their economic resources through cultivation which changed their way to access to environment. Aligned with the economic issue in Upper Baram, the researcher can relates to Barry Buzan's theory on human security. He relates the human security problem occurs if there was unfair distribution of economic resources between the state and the people.

Destruction of Fisheries

If we refer to Sarawak Report (2012), the resettlement Penan in Murum Dam, Balaga were facing with a lot of conflicts in the Resettlement Action Plan. Some of the problems were starving Penan, compensation issue and poverty. Refer to Environment Justice Atlas (2013) the SCORE Project is aimed to finished build six dams in 2020 which caused to negative impact on socio-economic such as land degradation, changing of nature sense, water pollution, displacement and corruption. In Upper Baram, the dam project had caused to environmental changes in that area.

First, the changes of the river water flow affected the fisheries resources in Upper Baram. It affected the protein resources to the Penan community which depending on the fisheries to get food. Although the Sarawak government guarantee the job and better life opportunities, but the Penan people still need jungle to rely on. The poverty and lack of infrastructure make them feel comfortable to continue with hunting activities to get food. Besides, for them living in rural is basically about the nature not about the money. Besides, Penan people using traditional method to catch fish which brings no harm to fisheries resources like using fishing net. If the environment is good, they will not get sick. In additional, the constructed of the dam also destroy their land that threatens their food chain (Survival International, 2010).

Second, not only for protein resources, river is important for drink. Tua Kampung Asai Berat from Long Siang in Upper Baram said, *"Rivers are like our blood and they are important. If rivers are clean, we can drink the water but if rivers are polluted, we'll be in trouble. Rivers are just like our blood, if our blood is dirty, we will fall sick,"* (Borneo Post, 2014). His statement shows that they still depending on river water especially for domestic uses. Although the government had developed their village, but in certain time, the water pipes are not working due to dry season or burst pipelines.

Third, in term of fisheries activities, the Penan in Upper Baram facing with the changing of fish composition during the impoundment process in Baram Dam. The changes of fish composition are affecting their fishing activities. Besides, the fisheries activities affected due to the climate changes in that area such as increased temperature, humidity, wind speed, evaporation and so on. All those changes affected the production of protein resources for the Penan community in Upper Baram.

Destruction of Agricultural Activities



The Penan Women is Collecting Wild-Plants (Source: Coquentin, 2011)

The dam project threatens the women economic activities. During the Regional Dialogue Workshop with Media on Emerging Issues and Concerns of Indigenous Peoples in ASEAN in 1 until 2 October 2014, Caroline Nyurang had presented his slides on the topic, “*The Impact of Proposed Baram Dam on Women*”. Generally, we noted that in Baram, Sarawak, the populations consists of Orang Ulu which includes the Penan community. She stated that the women in Baram contribute in their economic activities together with the men.

Focusing on women contribution, Caroline Nyurang said, the women usually help the men to get their food by farming activities that easily can be reached nearby or by boat. Apart of that, they also depend a lot with jungle products such as fruits, animals for meats and medicines. They opined the construction of Baram Dam will destroy their lands; food resources and medicine resources. Aligned with that, some people whom rejected the Baram Dam construction said Bakun Dam and Murum Dam were enough and they are pressuring on the Sarawak Government to stop the Baram Dam.

In the other side, knowing the wild plants resources for Penan agriculture sector was destructed from the development projects, the government introduced new agriculture scheme for the Penan community in Upper Baram. Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu went to Long Beruang in Upper Baram during the session with Penan community in April 2014. He explained the involvement of Penan community in agricultural sector such as in oil palm plantation and rubber plantation. Working in these plantations helps the Penan to develop their skill in cultivation and earn income. Apart of that, the Penan still can go to the jungle and collect their wild-plants and sell them to contractors or loggers to earn side income.

Starting in 1960s to 1970s, the Penan community were settled and practicing rice cultivation and planting taro, corn, yam, sweet potato, papaya, banana and so on. After harvesting season, the penan people abandoned their land for several period and they went to jungle and collecting wild-plants. Then, in SCORE Project, the Penan was introduced with oil palm plantation and rubber planting. However, the Penan community in Baram facing with problem where they cannot sell their oil palm. Borneo Protection Action Committee (BPAC) Chairperson Philip Jau said the Penan people lost their land, forest and resources and now they cannot sell their oil palm production (Hornbill Unleashed, 2014).

Not only that, the SCORE Project had destroying the Penan land for cultivation and planting. Besides, the development projects threatens their agricultural resources – wild-plants resources and food resources like sago palm trees that easier to get in jungle but after the forest exploitation, the sago palm trees was hard to find. In fact, the Penan need to go further deep into jungle to harvest

sago palm – a high-starch flour from the sago palm, which is processed into a sort of porridge as shown in picture below.



Sago processing-stage (Source: Sarawak People Campaign, n.d.)

The Penan also needs the clean water to process the sago before bring the starch to the village. Usually after cut off the sago palm tree, the Penan clean and process the sago palm near the river to use the water. Now, the development projects polluted their water resources which not only destructed their fisheries resources but also the water for food processes. Not only process the sago palm, the Penan depending on river water to clean the fish that they caught.

Destruction of Hunting Resources

As the researcher mentioned above, the *tamu* is one of the ways for the Brooke administration to create peace amongst the aboriginals and to avoid chaos in their controlled area. To get jungle products, *tamu* is quite effective to manage the trade and provide the jungle products during colonial era like stated in BBC News (2014) about the “Tribe – Penan” mentioning that “...forest products like damar (now used

in eco-paints), rattan mats and baskets, rhino horn, gaharu wood (or eagle-wood), wild rubber, monkey gallstones (for Chinese medicine), bills of hornbills, skins, deer antlers and of course meat. These were traded for manufactured good like knives, cooking pots and shotguns – some Penan still own colonial era shotguns”.



The Penan men used palm leave to attract deer (Source: Coquentin, 2011)

The development projects and logging activities destructed their economic resources. They naturally could recognise many species for food, medicines and for hunting whether it safe or contained poisons. The Cultural Survival (2010) had stated that Penan people have ability to recognise “*over 100 fruit trees, 50 medicinal plants, 8 dart poisons, and 10 plant toxins used to kill fish*”. They also have speciality to attract the animals during hunting activities where they use leaves to mimic the animals’ sound. Besides, if they find fruit trees, they use certain signs to let others know whether they are going to harvest the fruit later or the fruits have poisons. So, indirectly, the land destruction and deforestations affected their economy resources although they are only practicing barter system.

Living in the modern era does not stop them to continue their hunting activity. Previously, the men and women went hunting together in the jungle and come back

to their village in the next morning. Now, the men will go to hunting with dog and the women will stay at the longhouses.



Hunting activities using sumpit or blowpipes (Sarawak Cultural Village, 2014)

Realized with the negative impact from the logging and deforestation towards the Penan community, Sarawak Government together with timber companies and contractors cooperate to reduce the impact. The logging activities and conservation must be balanced to reduce the impact towards the Penan. Apart of that, Sarawak Government had organized a dialogue between Sarawak Forestry Corporation and the Penan community in Mulu to involve them in eco-tourism and plantation programme (Borneo Post, 2014). In additional, the Penan also get much help from the timber companies such as providing them with transportation to go to hospital and school, supply them with housing material and so on.

Responding to the SCORE Project in their area, eighteen of the Penan leaders had suggested preserving jungle for “*Penan Peace Park*” which free from logging, oil plantation and dam construction which their delegation were “*proposing the*

implementation of 16 projects in the areas of cultural heritage protection, nature conservation, as well as economic and institutional development” (Bruno Manser Fonds, 2014). However, their proposal was rejected by the Tun Pehin Sri Haji Abdul Taib as well as the Chief Minister Tan Sri Datuk Amar Haji Adenan Satem.

Although the proposal was rejected, the Sarawak Government had replaced it with IHAS in three Penan villages in Upper Baram – Peluan village, Banga village and Beruang village. The IHAS Project planning is consists of Agriculture Department office, police station, Immigration office and a secondary school. Concerning of Penan community economic issue, IHAS provides agriculture training station in Long Peluan, Long Banga, Long Beruang, Bario Highlands and villages in Kedaya Telang Usan, Upper Baram (Ongie, 2014).

From the questionnaire distribution, the respondents or the public knew that the Penan economic activities are based on hunting, gathering, cultivation and producing traditional handicrafts. In term of negative impact, the Penan community in Upper Baram will affected by the development because the land degradation, loss of flora and fauna and changing of temperature in that place. These effects from the development projects also decreased their agricultural productivity. Some respondents wrote in the questionnaire answered that the Baram Dam could affected the Penan community although there still no conclusive evidence. By giving example of the Three Gorges Dam in China, and the Nile Dam in Egypt, the respondent sure the Baram Dam affects the people in that area.

Then, the negative impact of the SCORE Project towards the Penan community is, it created the problem where the people need to abandon their homeland and accept the new lifestyle proposed by the government in the name of

“development”. The public opinion views that the drastic changes in Penan economic transition will make them difficult to adapt with new life. The situation may get worst if there is not continuous plan to help them because they have lack of skill and knowledge to involve in new economic activities like ecotourism, technical workers and so on. The Resettlement Action Plan and the compensation are not enough to get their consent to proceed with the projects as they need government support to help them face the new environment of life.

In the other hands, the positive impact of the SCORE Project helps to develop the Penan economic income. Firstly, the development in Baram area helps the Penan community to promote and sell their handicraft products abroad. Secondly, the development in Baram area expected to boost up the economics of the indigenous people in Baram area. Besides, the development in Baram area improves their economic development in long term because the SCORE Project provides thousands of job vacancies after the project finished. Apart of that, the respondents expected the involvement of the Penan people in the new economic activities increased because the development attract the new generations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter focuses on impact of SCORE Project towards Penan economic in Upper Baram. First part in this chapter looks at economic transformation from Brooke era until Adenan Sateem era. Previously, Penan people used barter system to exchange food. The barter system is to get food from other Orang Ulu such as Kenyah and Kayan. During Brooke era, he had established the

tamu concept which allowed the Penan community to sell their jungle products through barter system.

The *tamu* also allowed the other communities to involve in this barter system – it involves the Penan, the villagers and the colonial officers. The purposed of *tamu* was to ensure the fair and clean barter system amongst the Penan with other Orang Ulu or amongst themselves. Besides, *tamu* was also to protect the Penan's rights from discriminate or manipulate by violators in the village. In 1960s after Christianity was spread, the Penan learnt to farming from the Kenyah and Kayan but the Penan found that agricultural is difficult for them – the Penan plant tapioca and banana which were easy for them.

During Taib era the SCORE Project was launched and up to Adenan era, the SCORE Project still in progress. First, the development allowed the Penan people to involve in modern economic activities – cooperate in rubber planting project. Second, Sarawak government has guaranteed to provide thousands of job opportunities to the people after the SCORE Project is finished like in Bakun and Murum. Third, the development projects in Upper Baram, Miri led to economic development in that area like in Bakun and Murum after the dam is operating. Not all Penan people are opposing the development to their areas. Some of them really hope to develop like other ethnics like the Penan community in Marudi, Miri which get new longhouses and church building sponsored by Samling Company.

Second part in this chapter is about the destruction of fisheries in Upper Baram impact from SCORE Project. In Upper Baram, the dam project had caused to environmental changes in that area; first, the changes of the river water flow affected

the fisheries resources in Upper Baram. It affected the protein resources to the Penan community which depending on the fisheries to get food. Besides, for them living in rural is basically about the nature not about the money. If the environment is good, they will not get sick. Second, not only for protein resources, river is important for drink. Third, in term of fisheries activities, the Penan in Upper Baram facing with the changing of fish composition during the impoundment process in Baram Dam. The changes of fish composition are affecting their fishing activities. Besides, the fisheries activities affected due to the climate changes in that area such as increased temperature, humidity, wind speed, evaporation and so on. All those changes affected the production of protein resources for the Penan community in Upper Baram.

Next, this chapter explained about destruction of agricultural activities – wild-plant resources. The dam project threatens the women economic activities because the Penan women usually help the men to get their food by farming activities that easily can be reached nearby or by boat. Apart of that, they also depend a lot on jungle products such as fruits, animals for meats and medicines. They opined the construction of Baram Dam will destroy their lands; food resources and medicine resources. Not only that, the SCORE Project had destroying the Penan land for cultivation and planting. Besides, the development projects threatens their agricultural resources – wild-plants resources and food resources like sago palm trees that easier to get in jungle but after the forest exploitation, the sago palm trees was hard to find. In additional, the development projects polluted their water resources which not only destructed their fisheries resources but also the water for food processes.

In the other side, knowing the wild plants resources for Penan agriculture sector was destructed from the development projects, the government introduced new agriculture scheme for the Penan community in Upper Baram such as in oil palm plantation and rubber plantation. Working in these plantations helps the Penan to develop their skill in cultivation and earn income. Apart of that, the Penan still can go to the jungle and collect their wild-plants and sell them to contractors or loggers to earn side income.

Last part in this chapter looks at destruction of hunting resources impact from SCORE Project towards the Penan community in Upper Baram. the “*tamu*” is one of the ways for the Brooke administration to create peace amongst the aboriginals and to avoid chaos in their controlled area. To get jungle products, “*tamu*” is quite effective to manage the trade and provide the jungle products during colonial era

The development projects and logging activities destructed their economic resources. They naturally could recognise many species for food, medicines and for hunting whether it safe or contained poisons. The land destruction and deforestations affected their economy resources although they are only practicing barter system. Apart of that, living in the modern era, did not stop them to continue their hunting activity. Usually the men will go to hunting with dog and the women will stay at the longhouses.

Finally, aware of the negative impact from the logging and deforestation towards the Penan community, Sarawak Government together with timber companies and contractors cooperate to reduce the impact. The logging activities and conservation must be balanced to reduce the impact towards the Penan. For example, the authority organized a dialogue between Sarawak Forestry Corporation and the Penan community in Mulu to involve them in eco-tourism and proposed projects of plantation programme and Integrated Highland Agriculture Station (IHAS) in three Penan villages in Upper Baram – Peluan village, Banga village and Beruang village.



CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL IMPACT

This chapter discusses the social impact of the SCORE Projects towards the Penan Community in Upper Baram, Miri, Sarawak. It is divided into six parts. The first part looks at the social identity problem. The second part looks at the right of land ownership. The third part looks at the education service. The forth part looks at healthcare services. The fifth part looks at an access to water. The last part looks at some other implications on related issues impact from the SCORE project in Upper Baram.

Social Identity Problem

Firstly, the Penan had identification problems. Many of them still did not have MyKad (identification card for Malaysia citizen). Radio Free Sarawak is one of the agencies which involves actively in natives' issues on SCORE Projects. Radio Free Sarawak stated that the Penan in Mulu and Upper Baram demanding the government to give them MyKads. By having these MyKads, the access for the Penan to get with government subsidies and access to other facilities is much easier. The recognition of Penan identity is what they really wish for not the Baram Dam which threatening their livelihood (Radio Free Sarawak, 2014). Besides, identification matters is one of human security issues that also relates with the recognition of Penan identity as the aboriginals people which have unique attachment with the forest in Sarawak.

Not only that, the awareness of the Penan community is rising because they know if they have MyKads, their life is secured. Documentation is important to get

access to education system, register to healthcare facilities, applying for jobs and so on. In addition, having MyKads give opportunities to the Penan community to vote in elections – rights to choose their representatives. Living in the rural areas without any nearest government office to manage the documentation process make them faced with difficulties to get the documents. Besides, the transportation cost to reach to the nearest city also influenced them not to do their documents. Sometimes, the cost is about MYR 300 for boats and four-wheel drive (4WD) especially when they go to Miri city with their families (The Penan Support Group, et.al., 2010). So, it is not worth for them to pay the huge amount to get the documents especially for the low-income families.

On 9 October 2013, there was an accident happened to a Penan woman when she was on her way to make her MyKad at NRD office in Miri. She was all the way from Long Palai, Upper Baram which travelled about 100 km and was hit by the bus while crossing Lutong–Pujut road in Miri (The Borneo Post, 2013). The long travelled from rural area in Long Palai actually takes high cost for transportation. They need to take four wheel or boat before they could reached Miri city, that is one of the reasons why many of the natives still not having documents. The transportation cost sometime about MYR 300 make them cannot afford to do their document at the nearest NRD office in Miri city.

The accident became an issue which led a group of civil society members to voice out their dissatisfaction towards the NRD office and demanding them to be more people-friendly. Lim Kwong Kee, a spokesperson of that group said the NRD should be more friendly and transparent by providing the rejected applications in black and white, not denying the information of the applicants and there should be an

effort to inform the applicants when the documents are ready. Lee also said, in 2010, there were 1 657 approved personal documents was returned to Putrajaya to be destructed because the applicants did not received any information letter or notice about their documents (Bhatt, 2013).

Right of Land Ownership

Secondly, the Penan community in Upper Baram faced an issue of ownership which the researcher relates to the land ownership. The main issue facing by the Penan is land issue. When the logging and the exploration of forest for the sake of development taken place in forest areas, the destruction of the flora and fauna has affects the food supply for the Penan. Besides, the river water that polluted with the mud and timber wastes had killed all the fish and also affects their water supply. The Penan people also use natural herbs and leaves as their medicine to cure the snake bite and so on.

Penan group or *panyen* inherited the land based on oral traditions and they use river, hill, tree or big stone as their land boundaries (Bujang et.al., n.d). When the Penan claimed their NCR land, it led to problem because they do not have land title document. NCR is according to the Sarawak Land Code in Section 5; *NCR land only can be claimed by the native communities if they are already on the land before 1 January 1958 that had using the land for agriculture, burial ground, clearing the forest and so on. After 1 January 1958, NCR cannot be claimed according to adat but must get permit from the Land and Survey Department to stay on the land.* This is difficult for the Penan people to proof their rights on the land after 1 January 1985,

because they do not have letters or document to proof the NCR land. Besides, they have to stay in the place and practicing the *adat* or customary law.

NCR land is the toughest problem facing by Sarawak government because it creates conflict between state and the people where it is difficult to define the Government land and NCR land. The Land and Survey Department and the ministry related to this issue should take action and end the Penan issues which already take long time to be settled. There are 22 cases of land issues that will be brought in court which related to the construction of 12 dams in Sarawak. However, many of the Penan do not have land title document. If they have, it is still benefit if the development on their land for the companies that joint venture with the government. For example, the government has joint venture with private sectors to rent the land for the palm tree project, but none of the profit received by the landowners. The renting programme is actually violated the rights of the landowners/Penan people.

Tanya Lee from International Rivers stated, *"We are calling on M.M. Golden, SEB and the Government of Sarawak to respect the native customary rights land designation and the rights of Indigenous Peoples to free, prior and informed consent,"* (Suaram.net, 2014). The NGOs such as International Rivers, JOAS and SUARAM had written a report on Joint Venture statement to protect the rights of the Penan community on land ownership. They are standing for the villagers in Baram which defending their NCR lands and rights by building barricades at the construction sites.

As reported by Then (2014) in The Star News entitled, *"Blockades Against Dam Dismantled"* published on 1st November 2014, the Penan community had conducted blockade led by the native rights group, Save Sarawak Rivers which

demand the government to stop the Baram Dam project. According to the electronic media, there are several issues still going on in that area. There are the illegal logging activities on the NCR lands (owned/claimed by the Penan), the problems of bribery issue amongst the loggers which also destroying the protected trees – Tapang trees and the EIA and SIA in Baram Dam site also have not done yet.

On the same matter, although the Tan Sri Adenan Satem replaced Tun Abdul Taib Mahmud as the Sarawak Chief Minister, the dams' projects still proceed. Baram Dam will affected 25 longhouses which consists of 20 000 natives including Penan community and the flooded area is 34 000 hectares. The protest towards the Baram Dam also occurred in October in 2013 where the people set up blockades at the access road to Long Kasseh and Long Naah to deter the SEB people to enter the areas (Then, 2014).

Penan's viewed the jungles as their ancestors' land and it needs to be protected. There are about 400 pending cases in the High Court to claim the NCR land among the indigenous people in Sarawak as a whole – not only Penan community. Suffered from lost in land cases and due to the rising dispute between the indigenous people and the state, Sarawak Government proposed to invent a special court – NCR land court to deal with NCR land cases. The establishment of NCR land court is aligned with the proposal from Baru Bian (Ba'Kelalan assemblymen) and SUHAKAM Report. According to Nicholas Bawin, Chairperson of PKR in Lubok Antu, "...NCR lands should include '*pemakai menua*' (territorial domain) and '*pulau galau*' (reserved forests) besides the '*temuda*' (farm land), '*tembawai*' (old longhouse sites) and '*pendam*' (graveyards) (Hornbill Unleashed, 2014).

Education Services

Thirdly, the development contributed to better education service in Upper Baram. During the launching of Litumoh Zone Sport Carnival in Upper Baram, the government grants MYR 5 000 to SK Long Moh and MYR 3 000 each to SK Long Tungan and SK Lio Mato (Borneo Post, 2014). Apart of that, under the Ministry of Rural Development, Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu had announced the implemented projects such as the ICT Centre at Long Beruang and pre-schools at rural areas (Ongie, 2014). The objective is to spread the development effectively to the Orang Ulu and provides them with good infrastructures. In fact, the projects led the progressive improvement for rural people.

Besides, it is to provide the good education facilities for the Penan in order to reduce the dropout among them from school. Government had established the Cohort School (primary and lower secondary school - form three gathered together) in Long Belian, Baram. The primary schools in the area are: SK Long Kevok, SK Long Pelutan, SK Long Luteng, SK Long Bedian, SK Long Bemang, SK Batu Bungan and SK Long Seridan. The secondary schools are SMK Tutoh Apoh and SMK Long Lama. The Cohort School has benefited not only the Penan but also the Kenyah and Kayan communities in the nearest areas (Rintos Mail, 2013).

However, although the development provided the remote population with education services, the people still facing with education problem. The schools are insufficient to support the numbers of the students. In Baram, the focus areas are Long Win, Long Nen, Long Beluk, Long Lilin and Long Kawi which demand the government to build more primary school. The memorandum had been sent to the ministry and department which deal with the natives' issue regarding the Penan

problems (Borneo Post, 2013). Besides, many of the SPM and STPM holders are facing with the unemployment problem because lack of training from the government for them. Responding to this education services problem, once again the Penan community want the government to take actions on rather than focusing on the Baram Dam which destroying their homes and lands.

Healthcare Services

To reduce the healthcare problems within the Penan people, Federal and Sarawak Government provide the FDS to the people. Other than that, the timber companies also built longhouses for the Penan with transportation services in Long Kawa, Upper Baram, Miri (Khaidir Ahmad, 1994). However, these services are not enough to encounter the health problems faced by the Penan community in those areas. Apart of that, in case of emergency such as incidents or maternity, the flying doctors cannot reach on time. Besides, the transportation service provided by timber companies is not complete without any proper roads constructed.

Another healthcare services provided by the Sarawak Government are clinics and trained medical assistants. The population had increased in that area and they are demanding the government to build more clinics to cater the need of the people in the settlement areas. The PWPBS requested for more clinics, hospitals and healthcare facilities to be provided. Now, they need to go to Hospital Marudi and Hospital Miri which is very far from their village (Ramani, 2013). It create a lot of difficulties especially when emergency cases happen that takes a long time to reach to the hospital. The clinics with the enough facilities should be provided for them because it takes hours with high cost to go to the nearest medical center.

Still in healthcare facilities problems, According to Telang Usan assemblyman Dennis Ngau, it usually costs MYR 80 to MYR 1 000 for the Penan community to get health treatment in Miri. The reason is because the transportation by 4WD or boat will cost the about MYR 80 just to reach Miri and the cost will be doubled or tripled because the Penan usually bring together their families. Dennis had spoken during the closing ceremony of Health Carnival in Baram in September 2012 as he appreciated the effort to organize such programme (Cinderella, 2012).

Not to forget the 1Malaysia Clinics introduced by Datuk Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak. Stanely Petrus, a Penan from Long Lamai together with ex-*Penghulu* James Lalo Keso, *Tua Kampung* Bian Belare (Long Lamai), *Tua Kampung* Pada Jutang of Long Pakan and eight other Penan members went to Kuching in 2013. They have visited the Department of Health and Education to request for clinics and schools in their village. Apart of that, they are questioning the purposed of 1Malaysia Clinics which built in town and city that already have health services. Contrast with Penan villages in Long Lamai and Long Pakan for examples which have no clinics and schools – they have been requested those issues since 20 years ago but no actions from the government. Furthermore, they are facing with money problems and identity issues to seek medical treatment. In additional, the nearest clinic for Long Lamai villagers is located in Long Banga takes hours on foot and for the Long Ajeng villagers the nearest clinic is located in Lio Matu takes two weeks walking (Tawie, 2013).

Concerning about healthcare services to Penan community in rural Baram and for the purposed of social responsibility, REACH was founded by Sarawak General Hospital medical specialist Dr Xavier Sim. The main objective of REACH

is *“to improve rural healthcare and advocate equity of access through REACH”*. Served as volunteer for 10 years gave him many experienced and knew the Penan people life very well. Dr. Sim found the main problems faced by the rural Penan community are; poor access roads, Health Ministry’s FDS often without doctors and not covered all villages in Baram, not well-equipment in rural clinics, the poor life make them could not afford to get medical treatment in city or town (Chia, 2014).

As mentioned in previous chapter, the development projects in Upper Baram destroyed the Medicine resources for Penan. They are very good to recognize plants for medical uses as they adopted the nomadic life and depending on jungle products to live. As shown in picture by Dr. Hua (2014), the Penan man had shared their knowledge of medicine plant with Dr. Sim and his volunteers’ team – REACH. Not all Penan people could compatible with modern medicines especially the old Penan which prefer traditional medicines. The REACH team and outside visitors in Penan villages feel their visited was fruitful because they could exchange the knowledge and learned Penan’s culture.



*Headman of Long Spigen Village shows the selection of medicinal plants
(Source: Dr. Hua, 2014)*

Pioneer project from 1Malaysia Clinics cooperated with ministry of Health and 1Malaysia Development Berhad, Datuk Seri Najib had launched 1Malaysia Boat Clinics for Marudi and Baram people. Facing with poor life could not afford the people to get medical treatment at the Hospital and clinics which far for their village.

1Malaysia Boat Clinics provides medical treatment and checkup assist by trained pharmacist, medical assistant, nurses, dentist and doctor (Utusan Borneo, 2011). This is a good project to provide health services at the remote areas especially in Upper Baram where there is no access road to their village – like Benawa Village.

Access to Water

The development projects had affected the access to clean water among the Penan community in Upper Baram. As mentioned earlier, the Penan community in the Upper Baram relies on Baram River for domestic uses and transportation services.

The Borneo Post Newspaper (2014) had posted the issue of water runs out in Baram which affected the daily life in getting access to water and the schooling activities because the boats could not plying from the villages to school. The run out of water level at Baram River is affecting the community people in Long Lama, Marudi and several natives' villages. Besides, the Penan community in Baram demand the construction of Baram Dam to stop because it destroyed the rivers system in the area which important for their sustainability and development (Tawie, 2012).

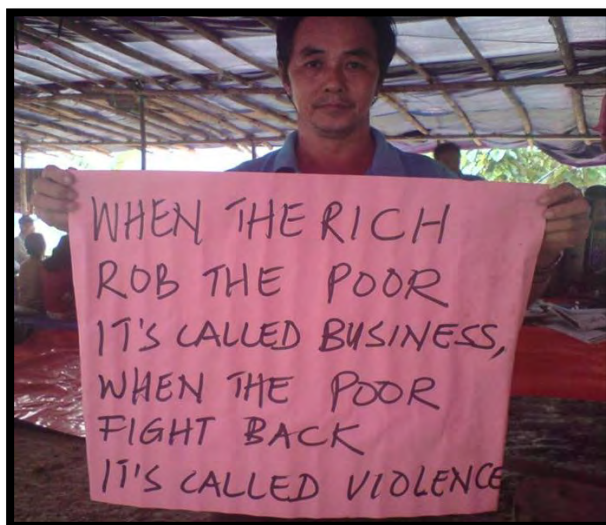
The people are opposing the Baram Dam because they might face the same problem with the people near the Bakun Dam and Murum Dam. The water issues that make the Penan community worried is aligned with statement from Tan Sri James Masing. He said, *"...the low water level was caused by the impoundment of the Bakun hydroelectric (HEP) dam upriver since October last year and was compounded by the current dry spell"* (Sibon & Pilo, 2011). EIA also reported the risk of Murum Dam failure which could cause to flood at Rajang River Basin (Lin, 2014). In additional, the Sarawak Report had shown the EIA report in 2008 which shows the high risk of environmental damage and disaster to Sarawak if Murum Dam and Bakun Dam are failed (Sarawak Report, 2014). So, if the two largest dams have high risk to fail, it might happen to Baram Dam. The reason to build 12 mega-dams definitely caused to another conflict of water access in the affected area.

However, the Penan community is not fully opposed the development projects as it beneficial for new generations. They realize the development help them to have access with education, healthcare infrastructure, better public facilities, better sanitation, clean water and so on. In the other sides, the dam project is not necessarily continued to construct because it makes them lose their cultural heritage,

homeland, food resources and lands. So, to make it simple to understand, they do not want dam. What they wanted is the development to provide them with better basic needs infrastructures.

Other than that, the gas pipelines project in Upper Baram also threaten their water access because the project polluted their water resources – Baram River. As an example, there were few blockades conducted by Penan community from Long Meraan, Magoh River in Upper Baram. The purposed was to stop the gas pipelines project because the people and environment were affected the jungle production and water resources. Concerning with water issues, SEB sponsored MYR 400 000 to develop water system at Long Naah Village in Upper Baram. The clean water is supplied to school, clinics and longhouses. Although there are not all Penan villages get access to water supplies yet, but the contractor companies and Sarawak Government tried to develop those areas. The main part to spread the development is to have better roads to access to remote areas.

Other Implications on Related Issues



Baram Dam protest (Source: Hornbill Unleashed, 2014)

Refers to picture taken by Hornbill unleashed (2014), the Penan community in upper Baram fought strongly for their rights. The project was launched without their consent and it destroyed their NCR land and the land boundaries. The Penan community also aware the bad impact from twelve mega-dams project, because the dam projects destructed the ecosystem and diversity in their jungle they live in. The picture was taken during the blockades in Baram Dam site where the Penan people built their temporary tents and hut to pressure the contractors to stop the Baram Dam projects. Apart of that, the blockades had attracted attention from international and local media, NGOs and individuals about SCORE hydropower-projects.

American scientists – Rebekah Shirley and Daniel Kammen (2013) from the California University of Berkeley had published a report entitled, *“Kampung Capacity: Local Solutions for Sustainable Rural Energy in the Baram River Basin, Sarawak, Malaysia”* concluded the small-scale hydroelectricity combining with biogas generators and accompanying batteries are more preferable compared to large-scale hydroelectricity which destructed economic, social and environment (Green Empowerment and Tonibung, 2013). The former energy, green technology and water minister, Tan Sri Peter Chin, had said the decision makers and planners should revise the twelve mega-dams project and focus on the long term damage which affected large number of populations (Davidson, 2014).

Sarawak Report (2012) entitled, *“GENOCIDE! – Murum’s Secret ‘Resettlement Action Plan’ Revealed – EXCLUSIVE EXPOSE”* had exposed the issues and problems faced by the Penan community at the Murum Dam in Belaga. The report showed the farm land given by the Sarawak government to the Penan community is actually the land for the oil plantations. In fact, the farm land for the

Penan is not suitable for farming. Besides, there was also a problem with the monthly state assistant which potentially cause to poverty among the Penan in the resettlement areas in the future.

The researcher distributed questionnaire to get the views from the public regarding the SCORE Project and its impacts towards the Penan community in Upper Baram. There were many views from the public towards this issue. From the negative impact, there were some problems especially with the new resettlement place for the Penan which some of them could not adapt with the new places. Firstly, at the new resettlement places, there were some issues from the past plans of Penan resettlements plan which was inconclusive success.

Secondly, there was no follow-up by previous administrations on how Penans in permanent settlements are faring if it does, it needs more effective way to guide the Penan to transit from nomadic lifestyle to modern lifestyle. Thus, to ensure Penans are resettled successfully, there should be an effective safeguard plans as we understand the difficulties to adapt and adopt the new lifestyle which is so much different from their original lifestyle. Apart of that, the development projects indirectly or directly disrupted the patterns of social interaction among the Penan community.

Then, the other negative impact towards the Penan community in Upper Baram was the openness of new generations to get involved in illegal activities such as drugs, theft, rape and so on. Besides, the foreign workers at the construction sites also threats for the Penan girls and women as it creates social problems like rape cases which will contribute to the birth of illegitimate child or single mother issue if the husband left them and went back to his country.

In the other sides, the SCORE Project also gives positive impact to the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri. The first positive impact is the Penan will be provided with the new facilities and better infrastructure. Secondly, the Project SCORE allows the Penan community is accessible with the built of roads, shop lots, schools, clinics, hospitals and so on. It will end the isolation of the Penan community from the outside world and increased the connection with outsiders. Then, the development of the Upper Baram will help the Penan to get involve in tourism activities such as to work as tour guide in ecotourism program or create the homestay and attract the tourists with traditional Penan activities.

Conclusion

Firstly, the Penan faced identification problems. Many of them still did not have MyKad especially for Penan in Mulu and Upper Baram that demanding the government to give them MyKads. The Penan community realized if they have MyKads, their life is secured. Documentation is important to get access to education system, register to healthcare facilities, applying for jobs and so on. Besides, identification matters is one of human security issues that also relates with the recognition of Penan identity as the aboriginals people which have unique attachment with the forest in Sarawak. Furthermore, having MyKads give opportunities to the Penan community to vote in elections – rights to choose their representatives. However, living in the rural areas without any nearest government office to manage the documentation process make they faced with difficulties to get the documents. Besides, the transportation cost to reach to the nearest city also influenced them not to do their documents.

Secondly, the Penan community in Upper Baram had an issue of land ownership. Penan group or *panyen* inherited the land based on oral traditions and they use river, hill, tree or big stone as their land boundaries. When the Penan claim their NCR land it led to problem because they do not have land title document. Sarawak Land Code in Section 5 is a burden for the Penan people to proof their rights on the land after 1 January 1985, because they do not have letters or document to proof the NCR land. Besides, they have to stay in the place and practicing the *adat* or customary law. There were about 400 pending cases in the High Court to claim the NCR land among the indigenous people in Sarawak as a whole – not only Penan community. Recently, Sarawak Government proposed to invent a special court – NCR land court to deal with NCR land cases.

Thirdly, the development contributed to better education service in Upper Baram. For example, during the launching of Litumoh Zone Sport Carnival in Upper Baram, the government grants MYR 5 000 to SK Long Moh and MYR 3 000 each to SK Long Tungan and SK Lio Mato. Apart of that, to provide them with good infrastructures, under the Ministry of Rural Development, Deputy Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Alfred Jabu had announced the implemented projects such as the ICT Centre at Long Beruang and pre-schools at rural areas. Besides, to provide the good education facilities for the Penan and to reduce the dropout among them from school, Sarawak Government had established the Cohort School which benefited the Penan, Kenyah and Kayan communities in the nearest areas. However, although the development had provided the remote population with education services, the people still facing with education problem. The schools are insufficient to support the numbers of the students. In Baram, the focus areas are Long Win,

Long Nen, Long Beluk, Long Lilin and Long Kawi. Besides, many of the SPM and STPM holders are facing with the unemployment problem because lack of training from the government for them.

In term of healthcare services in Baram, the Government had provided flying doctor, trained local medical assistants and clinics for each village. Then, to provide healthcare services in rural Baram, Datuk Seri Najib had launched 1Malaysia Boat Clinics for Marudi and Baram people. However, those services are not enough to cater the rising population of the Penan community as the PWPBS requested for more clinics, hospitals and healthcare facilities to be provided. Besides, the equipment is not enough to handle emergency and critical issues need them to go to Hospital Marudi and Hospital Miri which is very far from their village. Telang Usan assemblyman Dennis Ngau said it usually costs MYR 80 to MYR 1 000 for the Penan community to get health treatment in Miri because of the high transportation cost.

Not to forget, the Penan community is questioning about the 1Malaysia Clinics which built in town and city that already have health services. For them, 1Malaysia Clinics should be built in Penan village which have no clinics. Concerning with healthcare services in rural, REACH team has served as volunteers in 10 years under Dr. Sim. Dr. Sim found the main problems faced by the rural Penan community are; poor access roads, Health Ministry's FDS often without doctors and not covered all villages in Baram, not well-equipment in rural clinics, the poor life make them could not afford to get medical treatment in city or town.

Next, the development projects had affected the access to clean water among the Penan community in Upper Baram because they rely on Baram River for domestic uses and transportation services. The issue of water runs out in Baram also make them worried which affected the daily life in getting access to water and the schooling activities because the boats could not plying from the villages to school. The run out of water level at Baram River was affecting the community people in Long Lama, Marudi and several natives' villages. Besides, the Penan community in Baram demand the construction of Baram Dam to stop because it destroyed the rivers system in the area which important for their sustainability and development. Other than that, the gas pipelines project in Upper Baram also threaten their water access because the project polluted their water resources – Baram River. As an example, there were few blockades conducted by Penan community from Long Meraan, Magoh River in Upper Baram. The purposed was to stop the gas pipelines project because the people and environment were affected the jungle production and water resources.

Lastly, other issues related to SCORE Project in Upper Baram are; first, the project was launched without their consent and it destroyed their NCR land and the land boundaries. The Penan community also aware the bad impact from twelve mega-dams project, because the dam projects destructed the ecosystem and diversity in their jungle they live in. Second, the researchers found the small-scale hydroelectricity combining with biogas generators and accompanying batteries are more preferable compared to large-scale hydroelectricity which destructed economic, social and environment. Third, Tan Sri Peter Chin, had said the decision makers and planners should revise the twelve mega-dams project and focus on the

long term damage which affected large number of populations. Forth, the report shows the farm land given by the Sarawak government to the Penan community is actually the land for the oil plantations. In fact, the farm land for the Penan is not suitable for farming. Besides, there is also a problem with the monthly state assistant which potentially cause to poverty among the Penan in the resettlement areas in the future.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CULTURAL IMPACT

This chapter discusses the cultural impact of the SCORE projects towards the Penan Community, in Miri. It is divided into five sections. The first section looks at the destruction of graveyards which is the sensitive issue for the Penan because it kept their ancestors' death bodies. Second section looks at the endangered Penan musical instruments such as *keringot*, *sape*, *uring* and *atui*. Third section is about demolition of Penan handicrafts and arts such as *parang*, *penat*, *keva* and bracelet which made using weaving techniques. Next section explained about the fading of ancestral knowledge – the usage of plants for medicinal and cultural purposes. The last section looks on demolition of religious beliefs like worship places and also the contradiction between Penan's belief and technologies controlled.

Destruction of Graveyards

Graveyard is one of the sensitive matters that worrying the Penan community if the Baram Dam is built. The flooding area will destroy their ancestors' graves. Thomas M. is one of the Baram Dam protestors from Long San, Upper Baram stated that, "*My father died in 2002. I will not let them flood my father's grave*" (Sarawak Report, 2014). He was worried that the Baram Dam not only flooded their ancestor's land but also his father grave. People in Long San are the settlement Penan which still depending to flora and fauna to get their access with food, clean water and so on.

Refers to Chen's book, "*Penans: The Nomads of Sarawak*" (1990), previously the nomad Penan community moved to other places if someone died in

their groups or families. However, they usually come back to the same place after within a certain period to get food. Chen wrote, “...*death requires them to break camp and move, since death brings fear into their lives.*” (1990:19). In the other hand, when the Penan community abandoned their nomadic lifestyle, they are slightly left some of the traditional cultural. They have their graveyard to keep the death bodies. Besides, some of the Penan people had converted into Christian and Islam change their lifestyle.

Endangered Musical Instruments



Keringot or nose flute (Source: Mitchell, 2014)

Penan community has thousands of cultures which not really exposed to others. For example, they have music instrument called *keringot* which they use nose to blow the instruments – need breathe skill to produce good sound. As the modernization take place, the new generations no longer know how to play *keringot*. The new generations also migrated to the town or city which adapted with modern style of life. Other than that, Penan cultural also threatens by the development project in their

area. They have skilled in producing clothes made from the tree bark. However, their culture is only become a legendary as forest had been exploit for development.



Sape (Source: Larra, 2012)

Sape is another music instrument for Penan ethnic which is like guitar because it has two strings to produce the sound. *Sape* was made from wood and length is approximately one meters. Now, in the modern world, the *sape* was upgraded to three or four strings and some produced electronic *sape*. Furthermore, another musical instrument is *uring* or mouth flute made from sago tree which usually played by women. For men, they usually made *uring* for his girlfriend because Penan believed if men played *uring*, they might lose in the jungle. To play this instrument, it needs tongue vibration.



Uring or Oreng (Source: Jeff, 2011)



Atui or wooden drum (Source: Paran, 2011)

Other unique traditional music instrument is *atui* or wooden drum made from big trees. *Atui* is protector tree according to Penan belief. There are researchers still believe that minority of the Penan community still living in nomad lifestyles, so, forest is very important for them to keep alive. Besides, the Penan people have their own ways to communicate with others in the jungle. They use wooden stick and leaves as signs. Their way of life shows how close linked between them with the

nature which they had used to be that way. The development had change their way of life with the environment and this make them feel threaten with the development projects in Upper Baram area.

Demolition of Penan Handicrafts and Arts

Penan community living based on natural resources to produce their handicrafts and arts. The development and urbanization had threatens their resources to produce handicrafts and arts which based on jungle materials. Living as nomads and hunter-gatherer need them to have weapons to get food, build hut and to protect them from danger. Penan learnt to made *parang* or long-knives from other ethnics especially Kenyah, Punan, Kayan and Kelabit. Penan people have their own *parang* design which reflects their identity.



Parang made by Penan (Keong, 2014)

Besides *parang*, Penan people also have *penat* or small-knife with long handle that attached together with *parang*. It is easier for them to use in the jungle to catch fish, process the sago palm, and make animal traps and so on.



Penat or Small-Knife that attached Together with Parang (ibid)

Other than that, penan community also famous with their handicrafts like rattan basket or *keva* and traditional bracelet made using weaving techniques. Their handicrafts were made from jungle rattans as presenting their identity which have strong linked with nature. However, the deforestation had destroyed their resources to make their traditional products because rattans are endangered species as forests were replaced by oil palm forests. In order to buy these souvenirs at the shop, they are quite expensive because not all new generations of Penan knew how to weave the basket and bracelet. Besides, the limited of resources drive to high cost to get them.



Woven Rattan Basket (Source: Adventure Alternative, 2014)



Woven Bracelets (ibid)

The Fading of Ancestral Knowledge – The Usage of Plants for Medicinal and Cultural Purposes

The openness with outside world had driven to the fade away of Penan ancestral knowledge. The development projects such as logging activities and palm oil plantation in Baram caused to destruction of their resources plants for medicines and cultural ritual ceremony. Usually, the ancestral knowledge is educated from the elders to their children. However, the exposure of young generation to the modernization had affected this knowledge.

During the documentation process of this knowledge was conducted, the Pustaka Sarawak found only few Penan people still knew about ancestral knowledge. There are Penan community in Long Latei', Ba' Puak, Long Kevok, Long Keluan, Ba' Abang, Long Beku/Long Lewe' and Ba' Data Bila which are located in resettlement villages in Miri. From the documentation, Pustaka Sarawak found information as shown in table next. However, as listed in the table, it is hard to find the plants because of forest exploitations and explorations.

<i>Plant name</i>	<i>Usage</i>
<i>Akar Tuban</i>	<i>Cure for boils.</i>
<i>Kayew</i>	<i>Toothache remedy.</i>
<i>Kelang burak</i>	<i>Used as a traditional form of soap.</i>
<i>Laka Daha 'a</i>	<i>For the treatment of ulcers.</i>
<i>Laka Kemelut</i>	<i>Used as a traditional form of soap.</i>
<i>Laka Sevului</i>	<i>Diarrhoea medicine.</i>
<i>Pu'an</i>	
<i>Lake'Sakit</i>	<i>Toothache remedy</i>
<i>Jipen</i>	
<i>Ngetimang</i>	<i>A type of tree bark that can be used to cure headaches. The tree bark is secured to the forehead.</i>
<i>Pitah Ujung</i>	<i>Used to keep children entertained during their nomadic days.</i>
<i>Selegah</i>	<i>The leaves when crumbled produces a red pigment.</i>
<i>Savitk Levu</i>	<i>Used to increase appetite.</i>
<i>Shakului</i>	<i>Plant used to cure abdominal pain.</i>

Penan Ethnobotanical Knowledge (Source: Pustaka Sarawak, 2014)

Demolition of Religious Beliefs

In Malaysia Kini (2013) on the titled, “*Ancaman Pemusnahan budaya Orang Asal*”, aboriginals’ people in Sarawak treat forest as their soul. Besides, they have protect the jungle and living closely to the nature, but their life had been threatens by the twelve mega-dams project. The project also destroyed the worship areas especially for those that still practicing animism that use trees, hills and stones as their worship places. Although the Sarawak government had provided the resettlement place for them, but the policy of “new villages” was like during the war era in 1940s. Apart of that, the schools, clinics and infrastructures at the resettlement villages were not enough to cater the people.

The logging activities and dam project had ruined the Penan life. The noisy sound from the machineries polluted their areas. The machineries are noise day and night make all the animals run away make their food supplier getting limited. Besides, the sago palms also getting hard to find with the destruction of their lands.

The deforestation destroyed their mountaintop where the place for them to pray because they believe the spirits in the stones, hills, trees, rivers and mount are link with the past, present and future life (Cultural Survival, 2010).

The Penan community in Upper Baram will face the natural disaster which caused by cultural construction. The Baram Dam construction affected their environment especially when the “disaster” is controlled by the technologies. This natural disaster is contradicted with the Penan nature which lives in natural way without any cultural construction or controlled by technologies. This explanation is aligning with the Katsumi’s ideas wrote in her work entitled, “*Natural Disaster, Men and Animals among the Penan: Beyond "Thunder Complex"*” published in 2012 which stated this natural disaster as western tradition by giving example in Murum Dam, Belaga. The author explained that the Penan community still controlled by the nature and believe the nature is *self-ruled*.

Although the Penan people relies on animals to survive, but they only hunting and gathering the animals for food not mistreat them. The Penan believe the mistreat (*penyalah*) behavior may cause to bad luck or *baley* that may leads to bad weather like thunder, lightning and flooding because the animals’ soul reported to *Baley*. They believe about nature spirits called Thunder God (*Baley*) and Storm God (*Baley Liwen*). The ritual also conducted for Thunder God to reduce its anger which they called it as *piah tivai* (ibid).

The Penan believes they are not supposed to mistreat the animals because they have spirits which could bring good luck or bad luck. If refers back to Bruno Manser (1996) book entitled, “*Voices from the Rainforest: Testimonies of a Threatened People*” the Penan also believe the stone inside the monkey could bring

good luck to the person who keep the stone. However, not all the monkey has the stone, only the King of the monkey has the stone in their body. In additional, the Penan community will share the animals they got from hunting to other people in their village.

The Save Sarawak Rivers President, Peter Kallang said, “...our cultural heritage is lost too. Being uprooted destroys the social bases of our longhouse culture forever”. Besides, the threatening of Penan culture through tsunami created by humans explained by Annina Aeberli (2012) saying that, “The indigenous peoples of the Baram region are also lamenting the loss of their history and their social cohesion, which it defined strongly through their ancestors”. From those two statements, the development projects had affected the cultures. Besides, their ancestor history and heritage were threatens by the development.

In the government side, in order to preserve the culture of Penan community, the Sarawak Government takes initiatives to protect Penan language and traditions. Through Sarawak Tourism Boards, the government invented Sarawak Rainforest World Music Festival to promote indigenous identity and traditional music from more than 40 ethnics in Sarawak (Citrinot, 2014). Besides, DBP Sarawak also contributes in protecting the indigenous identity, culture, traditions and heritage through documentation of ethnics’ languages (The Sarawak Energy Newsroom, 2014). In contrast, the documentation is not enough in protecting the Penan traditions and cultures, but, the implementation on the site itself is also important by giving the Penan rights to live in the jungle like they wanted. However, they are living in the jungle, but the government should ensure that their rights and security are protected.

In term of cultural impact, mostly the public opinion views the SCORE Project will destroying the Penan cultures, heritage and traditions. The respondents opined the modernization will destroy the Penan culture time by time. Besides, the coming of outsiders into Baram area also affects the Penan tradition. Other than that, the Penan tradition will be contradicted with the new traditions brought by the outsiders. For the long term impact, the Penan culture will be blended with the new tradition brought by the newcomers.

Next, the Penan heritage will be threatened because the SCORE Project cleared their homeland to build dam, roads and new buildings. The heritage and civilized evidence of Penan community in Upper Baram swiped out by flooded Baram Dam. Then, the exploitation and exploration of the forest for the sake of development are destroying the Penan cultures like their homes, churches, traditional monuments and so on which were gone. The development projects were crossing over their land boundaries and damaged their NCR land. Besides, the project destroyed their customs and historical places.

Worried about the loss of worships places in Upper Baram, the Penan community opposed the development projects especially when the projects affected their ancestors' land and the place for they pray like in Murum. Giving example in Murum, Belaga where the Penan community almost lost their worship place that located exactly at the Murum dam site. Assistant Minister of Culture and Heritage Liwan Lagang knew about the Batu Tungun which was almost blown away to build the Murum Dam. Batu Tungun is a "stairway to heaven" which considered as a sacred place for the Penan to pray every year. It is like Mecca for Muslim where the Muslim went pilgrimaged each year. However, Liwan succeeded to convey the

foreign contractors about the significance of Batu Tungun and the contractors had changed the design to keep the sacred rock intact (Cheah, 2014).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter is divided into five sections. First section is about the destruction of graveyards which is the sensitive issue for the Penan because it kept their ancestors' death bodies. The flooding area for dam construction will destroy their ancestors' graves. Thomas M. is one of the Baram Dam protestors from Long San, Upper Baram that worried the flooded area destroyed not only their land but also his father's grave. Previously the nomad Penan community moved to other places if someone died in their groups or families. However, they usually come back to the same place after within a certain period to get food. After the Penan converted into Christian and Islam, they abandoned their nomadic lifestyle and slightly left their tradition lifestyle. They have their graveyard to keep the death bodies.

Second section is about the endangered of Penan musical instruments such as *keringot*, *sape*, *uring* and *atui*. Penan community has thousands of cultures which not really exposed to others. For example, they have music instrument called *keringot* which they use nose to blow the instruments – need breathe skill to produce good sound. As the modernization take place, the new generations no longer know how to play *keringot*. Besides, they have skilled in producing clothes made from the tree bark. However, their culture is only become a legendary as forest had been exploit for development. *Sape* is another music instrument for Penan ethnic which is like guitar because it has two strings to produce the sound.

Furthermore, another musical instrument is *uring* or mouth flute made from sago wooden stick which usually played by women. For men, they usually made *uring* for his girlfriend because Penan believed if men played *uring*, they might lose in the jungle. To play this instrument, it needs tongue vibration. Other unique traditional music instrument is *atui* or wooden drum made from big trees. *Atui* is protector tree according to Penan belief. The development had change their way of life with the environment and this make them feel threaten with the development projects in Upper Baram area.

Third section is about demolition of Penan handicrafts and arts such as *parang*, *penat*, *keva* and bracelet. Penan community living based on natural resources to produce their handicrafts and arts. The development and urbanization had threatens their resources to produce handicrafts and arts which based on jungle materials. Mixing with other Orang Ulu ethnics, give opportunity for Penan learnt to made *parang* or long-knives from other ethnics especially Kenyah, Punan, Kayan and Kelabit. However, Penan people have their own *parang* design which reflects their identity. Besides *parang*, Penan people also have *penat* or small-knife with long handle that attached together with *parang*. It is easier for them to use in the jungle to catch fish, process the sago palm, and make animal traps and so on.

Other than that, Penan community also famous with their handicrafts like rattan basket or *keva* and traditional bracelet made using weaving techniques. Their handicrafts were made from jungle rattans as presenting their identity which have strong linked with nature. However, the deforestation had destroyed their resources to make their traditional products because rattans are endangered species as forests

were replaced by oil palm forests. Nowadays, to buy these souvenirs at the shop, they are quite expensive because not all new generations of Penan knew how to weave the basket and bracelet. Besides, the limited of resources drive to high cost to get them.

Next section is about the fading of ancestral knowledge – the usage of plants for medicinal and cultural purposes. The openness with outside world had driven to the fade away of Penan ancestral knowledge. The development projects such as logging activities and palm oil plantation in Baram caused to destruction of their resources plants for medicines and cultural ritual ceremony. Usually, the ancestral knowledge is educated from the elders to their children. However, the exposure of young generation to the modernization had affected this knowledge. From the documentation process conducted by Pustaka Sarawak, they found only liitle Penan people knew about ancestral knowledge. There are Penan community in Long Latei', Ba' Puak, Long Kevok, Long Keluan, Ba' Abang, Long Beku/Long Lewe' and Ba' Data Bila.

Last section is dealt with demolition of religious beliefs. The aboriginals' people in Sarawak especially Penan community treat forest as their soul. The project also destroyed the worship areas especially for those that still practicing animism that use trees, hills and stones as their worship places. Besides, the logging activities and dam project had ruined the Penan life. The noisy sound from the machineries polluted their areas. The machineries are noise day and night make all the animals run away make their food supplier getting limited. Not only that, the deforestation destroyed their mountaintop where the place for them to pray because they believe

the spirits in the stones, hills, trees, rivers and mount are link with the past, present and future life.

The Baram Dam construction affected the Penan environment especially when the “disaster” is controlled by the technologies. This natural disaster is contradicted with the Penan nature which lives in natural way without any cultural construction or controlled by technologies. Researchers like Katsumi found that Penan community still controlled by the nature and believe the nature is *self-ruled*. Although the Penan people relies on animals to survive, but they only hunting and gathering the animals for food not mistreat them. Katsumi also found the Penan believe the mistreat (*penyalah*) behavior may cause to bad luck or *baley* that may leads to bad weather like thunder, lightning and flooding because the animals’ soul reported to *Baley*. They believe about nature spirits called Thunder God (*Baley*) and Storm God (*Baley Liwen*). The ritual also conducted for Thunder God to reduce its anger which they called it as *piah tivai*.

From Manser’s research, he found that the Penan believe the stone inside the monkey could bring good luck to the person who keep the stone. However, not all the monkey has the stone, only the King of the monkey has the stone in their body. In the government side, to preserve the culture of Penan community the Sarawak Government takes initiatives to protect Penan language and traditions. Through Sarawak Tourism Boards, the government invented Sarawak Rainforest World Music Festival to promote indigenous identity and traditional music from more than 40 ethnics in Sarawak.

Besides, DBP Sarawak also contributes in protecting the indigenous identity, culture, traditions and heritage through documentation of ethnics' languages. In contrast, the documentation is not enough in protecting the Penan traditions and cultures, but, the implementation on the site itself is also important. Not to forget, Penan in Upper Baram is worried about their places for pray like happened in Murum Dam where the Penan community almost lost their worship place that located exactly at the Murum dam site – Batu Tungun is a “stairway to heaven” which considered as a sacred place for the Penan to pray every year.



CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

As pointed earlier, the purpose of this study is examine and analyze the political, economic, social and cultural implications of the SCORE project towards the Penan community in Sarawak. Firstly, in term of political impact, the researcher found that SCORE Project had brought good impact to the Penan community; the selected of Penan members as state representatives which allow the reachable of Penan political views. In term of politics, the Sarawak government had selected the Penan members as their middlemen between state and the people. The state has hired them with the monthly income above MYR 450 with several incentives.

Besides, the development had reduced the marginalization of Penan political views which the voice can be heard in state legislative assembly through the selected Telang Usan Assemblyman, Dennis Ngau and Datuk John. Under their representatives, the development programme for the Penan can be managed and distributed effectively. Apart of that, exposure with information among the Penan built their political views especially when the government developed ICT centres and schools in Penan villages which increased the numbers of literate people. The voting from the rural people is important for the Sarawak government which the Penan people voting is based on how the authority treat them that influenced their views on the political parties. Realized with this matter, the Sarawak authority organized meeting, dialogues and events to reach the Penan community.

From this study, the researcher found, the Penan community in Upper Baram worried their life will facing with same problems like their families in Murum and

Bakun where there are still on-going issue like compensation, poverty, destruction of food chain, housing issues and so on. Apart of that, the EIA report for Baram Dam still not yet has done that demands the Penan to ask for UN intervention in their issue. The Penan also proposed to have Penan Peace Park but rejected by government because they want to live in the jungle without any exploitation and exploration of the forest. The proposal of Penan Peace Park was the first proposal that shows the development of Penan political views because they are implementing the peace way to meet the Sarawak authority rather than protest and demonstrate at the construction sites.

Secondly, the economic problem faced by the Penan is aligned with the Barry Buzan statement that says the human security issue occurs if the distribution of economic resources is unfair. Besides, the state is one of the actors that may violate the rights of the people like what happen in Upper Baram. The Penan community is depending with the jungle to get their raw materials for economic purposed. The development projects had destroyed the flora and fauna including their medicine resources.

In terms of hunting resources, the Penan is facing with limited hunting resources because the animals run into deep jungle to find new habitat and run away from noisy machineries. This situation caused the Penan to go into deep jungle for hunting activities. Then, in term of fisheries resources, the Penan is having problem with clean water issue because the river was polluted due to logging activities. The polluted river damaged their protein resources. Apart of that, it harms their staple food processing because the Penan needs clean water to process their sago palm. Not only logging activities and deforestations that polluted the river water, but the gas

pipelines project also threaten the Penan water resources like in Long Meraan, Magoh River in Upper Baram.

Besides, the development projects also threaten their agricultural resources especially the wild-plants resources and medicines plants. The development projects also had changed their ways in interaction with the environment. Besides, the Penan need to adapt and adopt the new life of economic development which transition from hunting and gathering to cultivation. Not only that, consists in SCORE Project plans, the oil palm plantation and rubber plantation are the new agricultural programme for the Penan to involve in. somehow the agricultural activities needs the Penan to be trained because they are not good farmers like Kenyah or Kayan. Although, these agricultural activities could develop their income, the Penan still need the guidance from authorized organizations to help them adopting the new ways of lifestyle. Furthermore, the Penan are not restricted to go for hunting and collecting jungle products as their side income.

Next, the SCORE Projects give social impact toward the Penan community in Upper Baram, Miri. The social impact including the identification problems, land ownership, services matters, access to clean water and food. The project is giving more negative impact towards the Penan security issues. The Penan people which are nomadic people who practicing hunting and gathering found the development projects had destructed the flora and fauna in their homeland. Besides, the exploitation and exploration of the forests destroyed the diversity in the Sarawak rainforest in Baram. These created chaos in the food chain of the people which their protein resources, flora and fauna are polluted and destroyed. This situation needs them to go hunting and gathering in the deep jungle to get food.

In the other point, they are understand that the needs of identification and documentations to get access with healthcare, education, banking system and most important the rights to vote. However, in order to make their MyKad and documents, they need a lot of money to go to their nearest city – Miri. The need to cover the diesel price to the place and transportation costs which usually about MYR 300 and above. Realized about the importance of MyKads and documents, the Penan demands the government to find the good solutions for them.

Another social problem they faced is the lands issues which the researcher found it has created the conflict to claim the ancestor lands for the Penan and to claim the state lands for the Sarawak government. It somehow related to the land title documents that the Penan did not have as they inherited the lands from their ancestors without any black and white document. Although the Brooke had given them the lands with NCR titled, but he did not given out the land document to the Penan community. In fact, Sarawak Land Code in Section 5 is a burden for the Penan people to proof their rights on the land after 1 January 1985, because they do not have letters or document to proof the NCR land. The toughest land disputes between state and the indigenous people led the Sarawak authority to establish NCR land court.

In term of healthcare facilities and education system, there are several problem that the Penan facing with. They are facing with the healthcare facilities which not enough equipment in the clinics. Besides, it cannot effort if the emergency case has happen and it will take along hours to transfer the patient to the nearest hospital in Marudi or Miri because of bad condition roads. Other than that is the education facilities in Upper Baram which faced with lack of teachers and if the

students want to further study, they need to go to the city that far away and live in boarding school.

Apart of that, the Penan people are facing with the access to water for domestic uses and water transportations. The projects had decreased the water level in Baram River and affected the river water flow. The alarming to get access to water affected the agricultural production, affecting the domestic uses and difficult to move by boats. Aware of those negative implications the former Energy, Green Technology and Water Minister, Tan Sri Peter Chin advised the Sarawak Government to revise the twelve mega-dams projects and focusing on long term damages.

Finally, in term of cultural impact, the researcher found out that the project has affected the Penan community culturally, because it has threatened destroy their heritage, traditions and cultures. The Penan community in Upper Baram is facing with destruction of graveyard because the flooded areas not only destroyed their land, but also their graveyard which is sensitive issue for them. Not only that, Penan community has thousands of cultures which not really exposed to others like traditional music instruments and traditional cloths; *keringot*, clothes made from the tree bark, *sape*, *uring*, *atui*. The Penan also facing with demolition of traditional handicrafts and arts such as *parang*, *penat*, *keva* and bracelet. The development and urbanization had threatens their resources to produce handicrafts and arts which based on jungle materials.

Although the Sarawak government had took initiative to documentation and indexed the Penan lifestyle to protect their heritage and traditions but it's not enough if in the reality the Penan security is threaten by the state act. The Penan community

had proposed clearly that they are not opposing the development projects but they are opposing the Baram Dam construction which will flood their ancestor lands. They also voice out their need and wants – the reserved park for the Penan without any development projects that has been rejected by Sarawak government.

Not only that, in term of cultural impact, the researcher found the Penan is facing with fading of ancestral knowledge – the usage of plants for medicinal and cultural purposes. The openness with outside world had driven to the fade away of Penan ancestral knowledge especially among the new generations. In term of demolition of religious beliefs, the project also destroyed the worship areas especially for those that still practicing animism that use trees, hills and stones as their worship places. Deforestation destroyed their mountaintop where the place for them to pray because they believe the spirits in the stones, hills, trees, rivers and mount are link with the past, present and future life. In fact, Penan believe the nature is *self-ruled*. The Penan believed forest and animals have soul which cannot be mistreated. They believe mistreat the animals can caused to lightning, thunder and flooding because the animals' soul reported to *Baley* (God).

Generally speaking, the SCORE Projects have brought more positive development than negative one towards the Penan Community. It modernizes or urbanizes the Penan community's socio-political life through and provides them employment and social facilities such as schools, clinics, roads, shop lots and so on though they may not enough to cater the population in Upper Baram. However, in the other side views, the SCORE Project give negative implications for the Penan in term of the destruction of their environment and lands. Especially for the nomad and

semi-nomad Penan that still practicing hunting and traditional lifestyles, they see the development projects threaten their life.

From this study, the researcher highlighted some recommendations. Firstly, the Sarawak Government should send their representatives to meet the protestors in Upper Baram. The negotiation and consultation are important elements to build mutual understanding and to end the conflict. There are many villages in affected areas, but only few were get attention from the government. So, it needs more effort to meet those Penan communities in 32 villages in Upper Baram and convince them about the beneficial of SCORE Project. Besides, the government should listen their opinion as they are clever and knew their rights which could not be underestimated. The Penan is alert with issues related to their community and rights.

Secondly, the researcher agreed with Tan Sri Peter Chin statements that Sarawak Government need to revise the twelve mega-dam projects because it is important to know the long term implications – who will get more benefit from the dam projects and who will suffer. EIA report in Murum also shows the huge destruction is in high risk if the Murum Dam is failure or cracked. The few areas in Sarawak will sink such as Sibul, Kanowit, Belaga, Song and Dorin. So, rather than have twelve mega-dams, it better to have few dam and focus more on human building and develop the remote areas with better facilities and good infrastructure.

Lastly, the contractors, investors and government should rethinking whether it is necessary to build twelve mega-dams or not because it involves with the capacity of the land areas to support the building structure – soil compaction issues from the development projects. The dam projects will totally change the original landscape in that environment. Although the project beneficial for the local people,

in the other side it needs second consideration to proceed with the projects. In fact, they should prepared with safeguard plans to recover the failure of the dams because the EIA shows high risk of the dams failure.



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