



26 *for fieldwork. The extensive collection and attentive staff of SOAS University of London library is*

27 *acknowledged.*

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31           **ORGANIZING TOURISM POLICY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY IN DEVELOPING**  
32                           **REGIONS: THE CASE OF SARAWAK, MALAYSIA**

33  
34  
35  
36   1. INTRODUCTION

37   The creative industries, as most places routinely refer to their heritage and creative arts, are recognized as  
38   having appeal across socio-economic strata, and with that recognition has come economic and political  
39   significance. Many universities now offer qualifications in heritage and arts management, and scholarly  
40   interest has led to the Creative Industries Journal and thematic issues of Urban Studies, European Journal  
41   of Cultural Studies, and International Journal of Cultural Policy. Much of this attention has been directed  
42   to the putative potential for cultural projects and cultural activity per se to attract tourism, revitalize  
43   neglected urban areas and ameliorate social exclusion (Hall & Page 2009). In relatively undeveloped  
44   places, however, linkages between tourism, cultural activity and economic/civic development are less  
45   well-known (De Beukelaer 2015). This lacuna is disappointing, as the heritage and creative arts have  
46   managed to survive in many places that depend on a narrow range of economic activity and seek ways to  
47   broaden their economic bases (Sidaway 2013). The first aim of this paper, then, is to explore linkages  
48   between tourism, cultural activity and development by seeking answers to the following question:

- 49  
50           1. What aspects of policy are needed to foster functional linkages between inbound tourism,  
51                           cultural activity, and wider economic and civic development?

52  
53   In aspirational places such as Malaysia and newer members of the European Union, firm evidence has not  
54   emerged of a linkage between tourism, the heritage and creative arts, and development (Chou 2013, Tang  
55   & Tan 2013). Advocates have left unspecified both the policy objects (are they properly artists,

56 communities, tourism operators, ‘cultural entrepreneurs’, developers?) and the value-sets involved (are  
57 they ‘heritage preservation’, ‘development’, or ‘the environment’?). This has led some to question if the  
58 cultural turn in tourism (Blackstock 2005) and its potential for development are little more than  
59 marketization (Evan 2005). Although answers to that particular question are likely to differ between  
60 particular instances, it is a matter of observation that advocacy of a tourism / culture / development linkage  
61 is to be found most often couched in the instrumental language of commerce. Illustration is provided by  
62 UNESCO’s Creative Economy Report (UNESCO 2013), which uses terms such as “cultural value  
63 chains”, “human resources” and “management of assets” borrowed from commercial arenas. It is also  
64 probable that there exists a gap in knowledge of local participation in policy (Gilmore et al., 2019). The  
65 second aim of this paper, then, is to consider the following meso-level question:

66

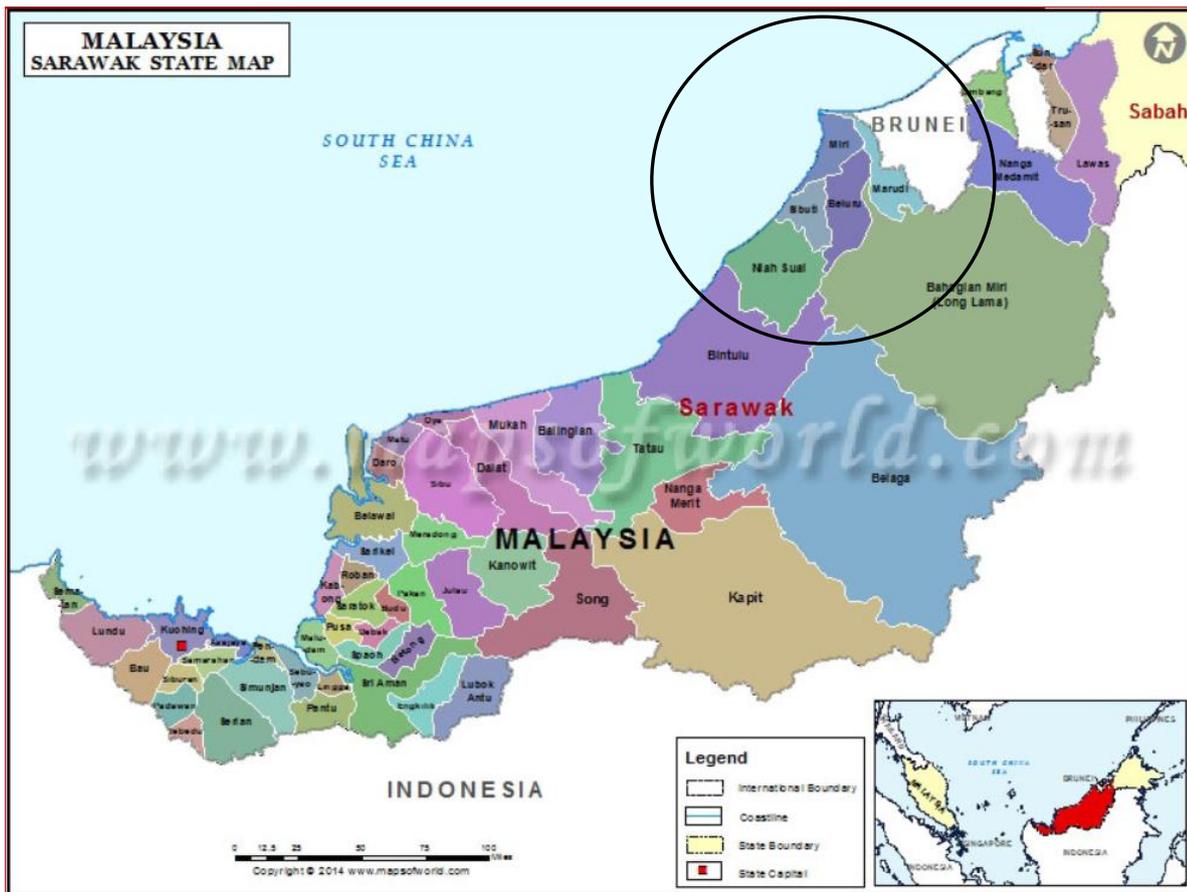
- 67 2. What models can be used to facilitate involvement of artists, performers and host  
68 communities in policy design?

69

70 The investigation relies on a comprehensive case. Justification for a case approach is found in De  
71 Beukelaer (2015) and Mulcahy (2006), each calling for in-depth, lengthy, exploratory studies in  
72 developing regions in which researchers may have immersed themselves. The research conducted for this  
73 paper identifies extant and potential cultural tourism development in the city of Miri, in Malaysian Borneo.  
74 Located close to Brunei and dubbed unceremoniously an oil city, Miri is also recognized as the centre of  
75 a region in which some twenty languages, most of them original to the region, are spoken and in which a  
76 variety of original arts is practised. Figure 1 below shows the area of interest.

77

78 **Nota bene: Color should be used for this figure in print.**



79

80 *Figure 1. Sarawak state map*

81 Retrieved at: <https://www.mapsofworld.com/malaysia/states/sarawak-map.html>. Administrative divisions  
 82 of Sarawak are shown. The circle shown contains the approximate area of interest, excluding the double-  
 83 enclave of politically independent Brunei, which appears in white.

84

85 The paper identifies tourism activity in Sarawak, the factors shaping its cultural and tourism policies, the  
 86 impacts on policy objects such as artists and hotel and tour operators, the outputs of those policies in terms  
 87 of arts production and tourism activity in the state, and informants' specifications for a permanent all-  
 88 weather arts venue in the region. Five sections take up the remainder of this paper. Section 2 presents a  
 89 review of the literature on a form of development that has been associated speculatively with tourism,  
 90 cultural and artistic activity. Section 3 defines analytical concepts relied on in the fieldwork, and outlines  
 91 the theoretical orientation and the approach to data collection. Section 4 presents the findings, Section 5  
 92 is used to discuss the findings and Section 6 is used to conclude.

93

## 94 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

95 The organization of culturally themed homestays in the highlands of Sarawak, in Malaysian Borneo,  
96 where local communities have been able to survive, has been cited as an exemplar of linkages between  
97 tourism, culture and development (Harris 2009). Functional linkages in this context, however, are of little  
98 surprise. It can be expected that any economic activity managed by communities in remote, lightly  
99 populated areas would be welcomed. Such examples do not belong to urban environments, where any  
100 development (or de-industrialization) is contextualized by complex and fast-moving interactions of  
101 finance, labour, and information (Sassen 2002). A development strategy associated with heritage and  
102 creative activity, particularly in places experiencing increasing levels of internal migration, will require  
103 parsing between urban and rural areas if policy is to work for diverse social groups (Miles 2005).

104

105 The notion that cultural policy can articulate with localized civic and economic development priorities  
106 first came to light with establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural  
107 Organization in 1946, when cultural policies began to be formulated as ‘development’ policies. Cities have  
108 since enthusiastically promoted the use of culture-driven strategies to displace rival regional cities for  
109 tourism dollars and to address problems such as neglected urban areas and social exclusion, while places  
110 such as Singapore, and Burkina Faso in Africa, have treated the proliferation of their crafts and arts as  
111 markers of their economic development and status (De Beukelaer 2015). Knowledge of ways that tourism  
112 and cultural policies can articulate with local economic conditions is not helped, however, by the quality  
113 of evidence on development and cultural projects; nor is understanding facilitated by the pervasive use of  
114 assessment techniques borrowed from unrelated fields (Evans 2005). A relative absence of knowledge is  
115 exacerbated by operational risks existing in places which seek to enter the global economy. Places that  
116 become more closely linked to the global economy than to their local economies are likely to promote  
117 only that which they consider ‘export-grade’ (Sassen 2002), leading to a distinct possibility that localized

118 artists and performers that play no part in national aspirations will be abandoned. It is not so surprising  
119 then that research on combination of tourism, development and cultural policy-planning is marked by its  
120 relegation to the outskirts of each of those fields (Sidaway 2013, Yea 2003, Miles 2005).

121

122 The next section is used to define important definitional concepts, describe the theoretical orientation, and  
123 outline the design of the fieldwork.

124

### 125 3. APPROACH

#### 126 *3.1 Definitional concepts and theoretical orientation*

127 Cultural policy has been understood as a process of social change whereby a population is enabled to  
128 participate in artistic production and consumption of its cultural heritage preserved in museums, libraries  
129 and archives, maintained in botanic gardens and national parks and reserves, and expressed in the visual,  
130 literary and performing arts. While the scope of cultural policy might extend to activities usually thought  
131 of as popular entertainments such as folklore, “country” music, folk dancing, and crafts (Mulcahy 2006),  
132 in the usual case, artforms such as popular music and movies that cannot be meaningfully associated with  
133 cultural value/s are excluded (UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development 2016). In a  
134 world given to creating material wealth rather than cultural value, attention also needs to be directed to  
135 policy conceptions that mask systematic differences in access to educational, administrative and financial  
136 resources. Cultural policy is understood in this paper, then, to refer to

137

138 a process of social change involving a heterogeneous set of individuals and organizations  
139 engaged in the education, production, presentation, distribution, preservation and consumption  
140 of heritage objects, creative arts, and associated activities and products, within the political,  
141 economic and social institutions that might foster or marginalize such activities.

142

143 The scope of this definition includes complexities such as training and education, management expertise,  
144 attendant cultural infrastructure (Miles 2005), distinct sets of ‘interests’ vested in projects, and the distance  
145 between policy setters and policy objects.

146

147 For its theoretical orientation, this paper relies on Theodor Adorno’s insights into the interrelations of art  
148 and society, extending them -to the interrelations of tourism, culture and development. When Adorno  
149 wrote on the twentieth-century ‘culture industry’, he argued that the import of art – if crudely put, the  
150 significance or subjective value that viewers place on their enjoyment of art – is enmeshed with the  
151 economic activity that typically surrounds art, which Adorno understood as art’s social function (Adorno  
152 & Horkheimer 2002: 94). While this does not mean that we need the Frankfurt School to understand how  
153 tourism policy gets made, Adorno’s concepts of import and function offer a useful schematic model and  
154 a way of situating policy planning within a larger context of meaning. Following Paddison (1993: 317),  
155 the term ‘schematic model’ is used here in the general sense of representing a methodology such that it  
156 becomes possible to identify the terms and map the relations between them for the purposes of analysis.  
157 The aim of such an approach is to reveal patterns through limiting the scope of the investigation at any  
158 particular stage.

159

160 Adorno argued that to understand artworks, import (Gehalt), which refers to art’s significance, and  
161 Funktion, which refers to art’s social function, need to be understood in terms of each other. Justification,  
162 for Adorno, is empirical observation that society arranges creative activity and economic activity in such  
163 a way that both require the other. Cultural tourism, like art, gives rise to subjective experiences that are  
164 delivered by a set of commercial activities. Tourists might believe that they are enjoying art for its own  
165 sake as they experience a beautiful musical performance in a distant place, yet that experience is mediated  
166 by a sequence of prior commercial transactions and social activities. The quality of the performance, too,  
167 did not simply arrive but was produced by the acquisition of technical skills and a “handed-down,

168 historically changing set of [. . .] conventions, now social property” (Paddison 1993: 185). The  
169 significance of cultural tourism, in short, reflects its social function.

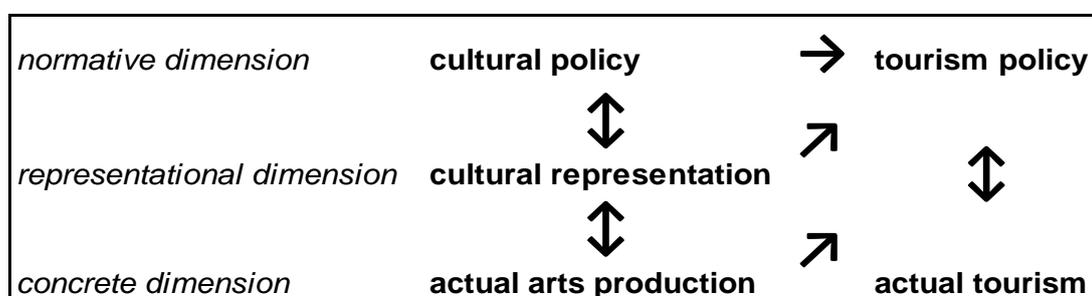
170

171 This speculative line of thinking finds parallels in Putnam (2015), who argues that research on policy  
172 needs to identify the connections between the representational dimension (or what is given as policy) and  
173 the concrete dimension (what is delivered as policy), an argument which this paper accepts as sensible. In  
174 situated research on messy practices such as tourism and cultural activity, it would also seem sensible to  
175 parse the representational dimension between the normative (what is said that should happen) and what is  
176 represented as happening. Accordingly, this paper adopts a normative / represented / concrete structure as  
177 the basis for a taxonomy used to identify, in a specific region of Southeast Asia, the interactions between  
178 tourism policy, cultural policy, and development priorities.

179

180 Figure 1 below schematizes the approach. The arrow-headed lines in Figure 1 denote the broadest (but not  
181 the only) interactions of interest. Relevant power relations in Sarawak’s political economy are identified  
182 by observing the differentials between public discourse and privately expressed discourse. Investigation  
183 includes effort made to identify the presence of what Michel Foucault (1979: 135ff.) called a  
184 ‘superdiscourse’ – a way of understanding, representing and doing things which has become normalized  
185 across a population.

186



187

188

189 *Figure 1. Research approach*

190

191 *3.2 Fieldwork and other research activities*

192 The fieldwork was enabled by the fact that the researcher worked for a period in a university in Malaysian  
193 Borneo, which afforded convenient access to all areas of the region and an available network of research  
194 contacts. One of the activities undertaken during this period was a twelve-month period of research  
195 motivated by public discussions that had been held in the city of Miri, in northern Sarawak, concerning  
196 the lack of an all-weather venue in the region that could be used to exhibit art and crafts and stage cultural  
197 performances.

198

199 The fieldwork consists of a series of interviews and site visits. A referral method of informant selection  
200 was used, beginning with hotel operators, tour operators and event organizers in Sarawak's northern city  
201 of Miri, some of whom referred the researcher to local, regional and international artists, as well as to  
202 members of the city's chamber of commerce and the city council. In Kuching, the research approached  
203 the city council directly and was granted access to two of its archivists. Twenty-seven informants were  
204 accessed in four regions (northern and southern Sarawak, Kuala Lumpur (the Malaysian capital) and  
205 Singapore). Repeat interviews were made on four occasions. Of the twenty-seven informants, eighteen  
206 are female. Informants' demographic profiles at the time of fieldwork range from school-leavers employed  
207 as occasional musicians and dancers and full-time hotel workers, recent art school graduates, other  
208 performers and artists ranging between twenty-five and fifty years of age at the time of fieldwork, and  
209 late-career presidents of city chambers of commerce and cultural outreach officers attached to local  
210 councils.

211

212 Audio recordings were made and transcribed wherever informants granted permission, and notes taken  
213 during and immediately following fieldwork were recorded in journals that are kept by the researcher. A  
214 period of ten months was used to collect the primary data. The fieldwork is augmented by accessing the

215 archives of the daily English-language newspapers The Borneo Post and New Sarawak Tribune, used to  
216 search for available records and histories of the visited sites, while desk research and direct inquiry were  
217 used to identify Sarawak's tourism practices, tourism policy, cultural policy and recent arts production.

218

219 Site visits were made to two tourist destinations in gazetted parks of northern Sarawak, as well as twenty-  
220 one social history museums in Malaysia, Singapore and England, selection of which was made on a basis  
221 that their collections include items from northern Sarawak.

222

223 Relevant organizations and activities with which the informants were associated are mentioned in Table 1  
224 below. Table 1 also lists the visited sites.

225	SITES – ENGLAND	251	
226	Brunei Gallery, London (9)*	252	INFORMANTS
227	Horniman Gardens, London (2)	253	Performing musicians and dancers, artists and art
228	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,	254	administrators based in Miri (northern Sarawak),
229	Cambridge (1)	255	Kuching (southern Sarawak), Kuala Lumpur and
230	Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (3)	256	Singapore
231	SITES – SINGAPORE	257	
232	Asian Civilisations Museum (3)	258	Hotel and tourism operators in Miri and Mulu
233	Colonial Heritage Garden (1)	259	(latter a World Heritage tourist destination in
234	National Gallery Singapore (4)	260	northern Sarawak)
235	National Museum of Singapore (2)	261	
236	Singapore Botanic Gardens Museum (2)	262	Officers in Miri City Council Local Agenda 21
237	The Arts House (2)	263	(sustainability) and public relations sections, and
238	SITES – MALAYSIA	264	the then-president of Miri Chamber of Commerce
239	Badan Warisan Malaysia (heritage collective), Kuala	265	
240	Lumpur (3)	266	Organizers of Bario & Kelabit Highlands Food &
241	Chinese History Museum, Kuching (1)	267	Cultural Festival, Asia Music Festival, and Miri
242	Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur (2)	268	Country Music Fest, all staged regularly in northern
243	National Museum of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur (1)	269	Sarawak
244	National Visual Arts Gallery, Kuala Lumpur (1)	270	
245	Niah National Park Museum, Sarawak (1)	271	<i>Table 1. Visited sites and informants accessed</i>
246	Petroleum Science Museum Sarawak, Miri (3)	272	*Numbers in parentheses indicate number of
247	Sarawak Cultural Village (1)	273	visits by the researcher.
248	Sarawak Museum of Ethnology, Kuching (2)	274	
249	National Textile Museum, Kuala Lumpur (2)	275	
250	Textile Museum Sarawak, Kuching (2)		

276

277 The next section is used to present the findings. Five subsections are used for the purpose: respectively, a  
278 description of the local tourism economy; an assessment of relevant tourism and cultural policy-making;  
279 interview data; a survey of local cultural arts production; and an attempt to sketch the specifications for a  
280 permanent arts venue.

281

## 282 4. FINDINGS

### 283 *4.1 The tourism economy in Sarawak*

284 Historical and more recent material that has issued from Sarawak's Ministry of Tourism, Arts, Culture,  
285 Youth and Sports, the Malaysian agency charged with tourism policy in that state, contains claims that  
286 tourism policy is directed to economic an uplift to economic activity and that cultural proliferation is an  
287 essential part of tourism policy<sup>1</sup>. Economic diversification certainly has never been more important for  
288 Sarawak, currently suffering from a protracted slump in the extractive industries on which its economy  
289 depends. Northern Sarawak (consisting of Miri and Limbang Divisions), a linguistically, ethnically, and  
290 religiously diverse area the size of Belgium, holds nearly one-fifth of Sarawak's 2.4 million population  
291 (2010 population, 451,132)<sup>2</sup>. The pattern of tourist visits to northern Sarawak suggests that any effort to  
292 promote tourism by way of its heritage and creative arts should be directed at nearby Brunei and at western  
293 Malaysia lying across the South China (see Figure 1 above). The northern parts of Sarawak receive a  
294 substantial proportion of incoming tourism from the rest of Malaysia and neighbouring Brunei, and a

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<sup>1</sup> Retrieved at: <https://mtacys.sarawak.gov.my/page-0-269-52-vision-mission.html>, and  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20151231053701/http://www.newsarawaktribune.com/news/13258/preserve-traditional-culture-for-prosperity-Ibans-urged>.

<sup>2</sup> Retrieved at: <https://www.sarawak.gov.my>.

295 minority of the region's population is engaged in a small hospitality sector<sup>3</sup>. Sarawak's Ministry of  
296 Tourism records 4.5 million inbound visits to the whole of Sarawak in 2015, representing a slight decrease  
297 from 2005. If assuming that visitors from The Philippines and Indonesia are not tourists (most arrivals  
298 from those places are associated with the oil and gas industries), the number of tourist arrivals in 2015  
299 was just under 3.9 million. Just over two million of those visits arrived from elsewhere in Malaysia, and  
300 a further 1.85 million visits can be attributed to a weekly exodus of visitors from Brunei<sup>4</sup>. Hotel and  
301 hospitality operators in the city of Miri would be very familiar with the weekend influx of Bruneians and  
302 expatriates making the short road trip in order to enjoy the relaxed licensing laws of Malaysia.

303

#### 304 *4.2 Tourism policy and cultural policy*

305 In Sarawak, as in most parts of Malaysia outside its capital, policy direction for the arts remains in a state  
306 of flux (Wiess & Puyok 2017: 12). Claims from Sarawak's government that cultural tourism can generate  
307 desirable forms of economic activity can be assessed against a backdrop that the performing arts have  
308 been reserved for remote, relatively inaccessible areas, sanitized cultural camps placed near urban areas,  
309 and temporary venues in cities and towns used to stage music and craft festivals<sup>5</sup>. A swathe of policies,

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<sup>3</sup> Northern Sarawak is engaged in the main in four economic activities: swidden agriculture, plantation agriculture, oil and gas extraction, and the timber industry, currently being phased out and replaced by urban property development.

<sup>4</sup> Retrieved at: [http://www.mtac.sarawak.gov.my/upload/file\\_folder/2005.pdf](http://www.mtac.sarawak.gov.my/upload/file_folder/2005.pdf) (2005 figures), and [http://www.mtac.sarawak.gov.my/upload/file\\_folder/va2015.pdf](http://www.mtac.sarawak.gov.my/upload/file_folder/va2015.pdf) (2015 figures). Visitors arriving from other countries rarely fly directly into Miri due to a long-standing arrangement that Sarawak's southern capital of Kuching receive all international visitors to the state.

<sup>5</sup> Retrieved at: <https://mtacys.sarawak.gov.my/page-0-269-52-vision-mission.html>. For other instances, see, footnote 4 above.

310 including those of tourism, culture and development, is shaped by the pattern of land titling in Sarawak.  
311 The Native Customary Land category created by the felling of primary forest in Sarawak did not lead, as  
312 had been expected, to the replacement of Sarawak's former subsistence economy by the plantation sector<sup>6</sup>.  
313 The importation of cheap labour from neighbouring Philippines and Indonesia to remove primary forest  
314 was disastrous, with rural areas experiencing sudden homelessness and high levels of unemployment  
315 (Ngidang 2003), and with many of those of working age forced to leave, often with their families, in  
316 search of employment in distant places.

317

318 A further aspect of land-titling bearing on heritage and artistic activity is the long-held right of political  
319 office in Sarawak to allocate and reserve the use of land for the most productive purposes. In the execution  
320 of this right, the government has passively encouraged artistic activity from rural community longhouses  
321 to the extent that it is seen as posing no threat to the definition and disposition of land and forest (Bulan  
322 2008), while directing tourism revenues **to the enjoyment of biodiversity and the great**  
323 **outdoors**. Although instances do exist in Sarawak of successful tourism-related exploitation of heritage  
324 (Harris 2009, Yea 2003), land-titling has wrought deleterious effects on music and oral traditions (Hai  
325 2013) without redress coming from the state or developers.

326

327 That substantial funding for development outside of Malaysia's capital cities has not occurred is plainly  
328 evident in Sarawak<sup>7</sup>. In its southern capital of Kuching, only one permanent indoor performing arts facility

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<sup>6</sup> Sarawak Land Code 1958, clauses 5(1) and (2) (retrieved at: <https://landportal.org>) dispenses with the previous 'native' customary rights of ownership, possession and use.

<sup>7</sup> Although Malaysia has included heritage and creative arts development as a priority area of its Economic Transformation Programme to 2020, the main facilities that exist in Malaysia for supporting the arts (Tourism Development Infrastructure Fund, Special Tourism Fund, Culture

329 has ever existed and at the time of writing is not used for purpose. A desk survey of marketing material  
330 from 2015 to 2018 confirms Hon's (1989) finding from thirty years ago that the state's rulers have  
331 preferred to emphasize the anthropological aspects of Sarawak's heritage arts over their artistic values.  
332 Preference for anthropological aspects is reflected performatively, linguistically and visually throughout  
333 Sarawak. Three examples are given here.

334

335 i) Sarawak Cultural Village, the cultural theme park located in the extreme south of Sarawak, stages  
336 scheduled dance and music events loosely based on the heritage arts of various original communities  
337 (including the Malay and the Chinese). The dominant discourse in 'the Village' is one of exoticization.  
338 Performative illustration is supplied by the routine use of Orang Ulu ('outside peoples') masks in mock-  
339 rituals and celebrations. The lack of variation in the daily performance schedule of the Village, the use of  
340 actors to perform some of the stagings, and the routine prevention of opportunity for meaningful  
341 interaction between tourists and performers are performative aspects of the "public heritage discourse"  
342 that Smith (2006: 29) sees as naturalizing the status of the indigenous as outsider.

343

344 ii) An exoticisation discourse is confirmed by the government-issued document The Guide to Sarawak:  
345 Essential Information for Business and Pleasure in the Heart of South-East Asia 2015, selected extracts of  
346 which read as follows:

347

348 'Age-old dances are as exotic and as colourful as the costumes the dancers wear. [...]

349 Sarawak is fortunate to possess an amazing reassure trove of artists. [...]

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Assistance and Arts Guidance Schemes) are not intended for economic development. Retrieved at:  
[http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/malaysias\\_prime\\_minister\\_shares\\_development\\_vision](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/malaysias_prime_minister_shares_development_vision).

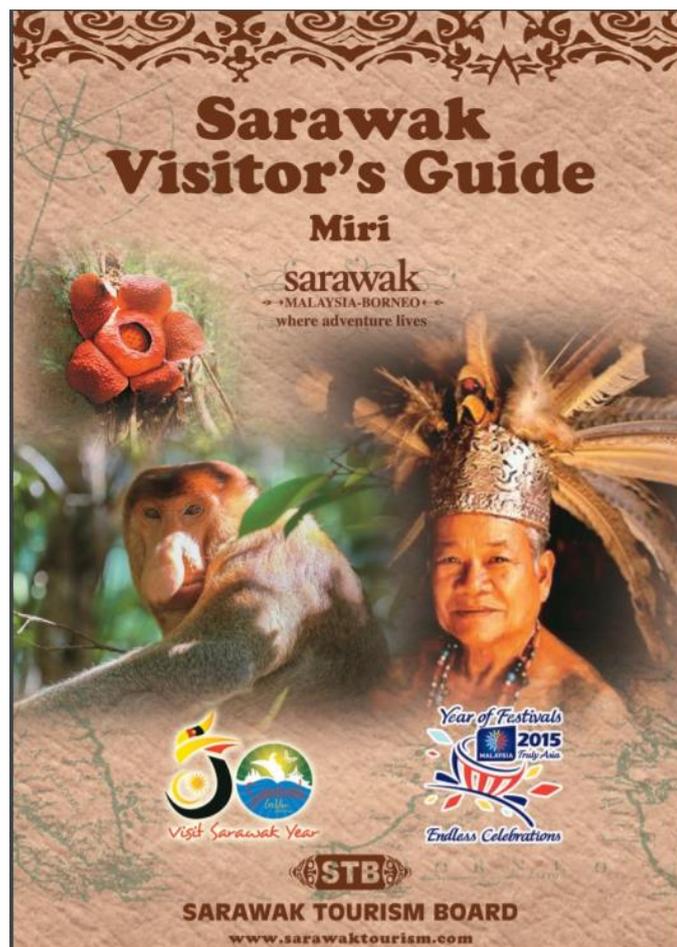
350 The Rainforest World Crafts Bazaar offers a colourful feast for the eye.’

351

352 iii) A further illustration of exoticization is given in visual form. Sarawak Tourism Board, the marketing  
353 arm of the Ministry of Tourism, makes its annual guides freely available at outlets across the state’s cities  
354 and towns. Recent issues have used an identical cover. The cover of Sarawak Visitor’s Guide 2015 appears  
355 as Figure 3 below. The reader is invited to reflect on the possible significance of contiguous head shots of  
356 a proboscis monkey and an elder in ceremonial dress. One might easily understand both images as  
357 connoting Sarawak’s wonderful biodiversity.

358

359 **Nota bene: Color should be used for this figure in print.**



360

361

362 *Figure 3. Sarawak’s exotic public image*

363 Retrieved at: [sarawaktourism.com/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/sarawak-visitor-guide-miri.pdf](http://sarawaktourism.com/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/sarawak-visitor-guide-miri.pdf).

364

365 If Sakai (2010) is accurate in arguing that designation of ‘traditional’ performers as exotica represents  
366 attempt to circumscribe the opportunities for unmanaged collective sentiment in the politically unruly  
367 state of Sarawak, it is likely that Sarawak’s tourism policy – sanitized and spectacularized – can be  
368 accurately characterized as a ‘superdiscourse’. This can be put to the test.

369

370 Foucault (1970: passim) characterizes a superdiscourse as the presence of two or more mutually  
371 supportive discourses, each entangled so as to be not easily identifiable on its own, that work to benefit  
372 some groups and not others. The three instances of discourse given above – performative, linguistic and  
373 visual – contain overlapping connotations of exoticisation and ethno-centrism. Such material can be read  
374 as a celebration of the dominant economic/political power bloc in Sarawak and the mechanisms by which  
375 it has sought to control communities in the state (Muzaini 2017, Ngu 2017). The first part of the definition  
376 of a superdiscourse, then, appears to be satisfied.

377

378 In other part, differential access to resources is characteristic of non-Malay groups in Sarawak relative to  
379 the close-knit oligopoly of political and economic interests that has governed Sarawak since its cession in  
380 1963 from post-war British colonial rule (Hai 2013). On this basis, it can be concluded that Sarawak’s  
381 tourism policy constitutes a superdiscourse. The point of this analytical effort is to show that the state’s  
382 rulers, by promoting indigenous communities as spectacle while not directing funds to capital projects,  
383 have constrained the capacities of those communities to meet tourism supply on their own terms.

384

#### 385 *4.3 Informants’ views on Sarawak’s cultural policy*

386 A sense of having been marginalized and abandoned by the state’s policy makers is discerned in the  
387 interview data. An artist based in Sarawak’s northern city of Miri was asked if and how the city council,

388 the state government or the local chamber of commerce had provided resources to local artists. He  
389 expressed in urgent terms that he and other artists in his “community” needed people to advocate on their  
390 behalf, even pointing to the researcher in that regard. The informant had exhibited his paintings on the  
391 walls of a late-closing restaurant, constituting his principal economic activity, located off the highway that  
392 leads out of Miri to Brunei. The following extract indicates a sense of abandonment.

393

394 You are Western [pointing at the researcher] and you live here. You can speak to the Tun  
395 about an art gallery in Miri. We have spoken to the Tun already but he will listen to you.  
396 He will understand, he is an artist himself, his background is in art. Go and talk to the Tun  
397 in Kuching.<sup>8</sup>

398

399 Another informant worked in a luxury hotel located close by a national park and popular tourist destination  
400 in northern Sarawak. The daughter of a village headman from the nearby uplands, she had been trained in  
401 the ceremonial music traditions and heritage crafts of her community. On enquiring, she described her  
402 assessment of her employment prospects.

403

404 All my brothers went into the oil and gas sector and have done alright, so I had to try really  
405 hard to convince my parents that I wanted to work in hospitality. I love our music and  
406 traditions of course but there’s no work in music. No one wants to do that.

407

408 It is hardly surprising that the informant giving the extract immediately above had overlooked the arts as  
409 her choice of career. There are no educational facilities on the island of Borneo that offer programmes in

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<sup>8</sup> The honorific title Tun is used in Malaysia to designate those holding the highest office of state.

The reference in point is to Sarawak’s then-chief minister.

410 the performing arts, and nor has there been organization of teaching programmes on Sarawak's music and  
411 oral traditions.

412

413 Some informants were frustrated that opportunities to exhibit and perform to a continuing stream of  
414 visitors had not been utilized. A tour organizer operating from leased premises in Miri's largest hotel  
415 explained the local tourist scene.

416

417 People that come here have to be taken straight away to other places – Niah, Mulu [nearby  
418 gazetted national parks] or Brunei – before they disappear to places like Bario [a homestay  
419 site in rural uplands northern Sarawak, accessible by air from Miri]. There's nothing to  
420 keep people here when they visit. People [referring to locals] can't perform in tourist shops.

421

422 Miri's designated community arts centre (under redevelopment at the time this research was conducted)  
423 is a converted hall offering a small café and a series of retail stalls stocked with wood carvings, beadwork  
424 and other items intended for the tourist market. On enquiry of the building management, a large stage in  
425 the hall had never been used for music or oral performance.

426

427 An artist selling his work from a leased shop in the nearby grounds of Miri City Library expressed  
428 resignation in regard to his prospects.

429

430 I'm lucky. I've been here a long time and I could apply for this space from the Council. But  
431 I can never do anything else, and I don't have the space to exhibit other artists. This is it. If  
432 you like my pictures, you can buy some and tell people to send me an email when you go  
433 back home.

434

435 Informants recognized but resisted an exoticisation/ethno-centric discourse operating in places like  
436 Sarawak Cultural Village (discussed already in a section above) and semi-regular music festivals dotted  
437 around the state. Such resistance is identified in comments such as

438 “I’m creative not a relic”,

439 in the words of a working artist (self-described) based in Kuching, and

440 “We know what we want to do, we want to be out there”,

441 from another artist living in Miri. On probing, the latter informant was referring to a hoped-for civic space  
442 in which he and others might pursue and exhibit their work.

443

444 A certain level of pessimism identified in interview data from informants in northern Sarawak contrasts  
445 with upbeat albeit cautious attitudes of informants based in Kuching, the state’s southern capital. One  
446 informant based in Kuching showed the researcher around an array of artists’ stalls and studios ranged  
447 inside a converted courthouse, commenting as follows:

448

449 We don’t know how long we can continue here. There’s no real rent [charged for the  
450 premises]. If a developer comes, and it’s happened in other places we’ve been in, we might  
451 have to go. This is the best place we’ve been in. We can show lots of art. There’s a café.  
452 There’s space. We had an artist here visiting from Australia. He made a whole series of  
453 paintings on cats when he was here. But it might not always be like this.

454

455 The informant’s warning came to be realized. Following the date of fieldwork, it was noted that the artists’  
456 studios referred to immediately above had been dismantled following a city council decision to use the  
457 space as a conference and tourist facility. Despite such setbacks, Kuching’s art scene has attracted attention  
458 in this part of the world. The administrators of an artists’ collective in Singapore, visited by the researcher

459 following the date of Kuching fieldwork, were aware of and curious as to the activities of artists in  
460 Kuching.

461

462 A finding common to the informants is a view that generating income from artistic activity, for so long as  
463 one is confined to Sarawak, is precarious and difficult. One informant worked independently on Kuching's  
464 Waterfront Bazaar on the Sarawak River, singing and playing traditional songs on his sape' (a form of lute  
465 original to the island of Borneo) for tourists boarding river cruises, and attiring himself for the purpose in  
466 skimpy ritual clothing. This young man, a trained musician and warrior in his longhouse community, had  
467 travelled 800 kilometres south to Kuching on a promise of participation in an international cultural festival  
468 in Australia (which because of funding problems had not eventuated). Since arriving in Kuching, this  
469 informant had supported himself by busking in what was to him distressing competition with the amplified  
470 pop music that floods over Kuching's main tourist area. Saddened at how his prospects had panned out,  
471 he consoled himself by wiring money occasionally to his family back in his longhouse community.

472

473 The next section is used to assess the ways in which cultural policy operative in Sarawak has been reflected  
474 in artistic activity in the state.

475

#### 476 *4.4 Arts production in Sarawak*

477 The artistic output of communities in Sarawak has been successful in international competitions and has  
478 attracted the attention of expert scholarly institutions in Europe and America. Notable examples are  
479 Sarawak's entries in the "World Eco Fiber & Textile Art Exhibition", 2013, which showcased Malaysian  
480 textiles traditions and contemporary work, and the prizewinning Sarawak entry in the "World Ikat

481 Textiles...ties that bind” exhibition, 2016. An image of Sarawak’s Ibanic pua kumbu textile was used to  
482 advertise the latter exhibition and is given as Figure 4 below.<sup>9</sup>

483

484 **Nota bene: Color should be used for this figure in print.**



485

486 *Figure 4. Bungie Embol pua kumbu*

487 Retrieved at: [soas.ac.uk/gallery/previous/world-ikat-textiles](http://soas.ac.uk/gallery/previous/world-ikat-textiles).

488

489 As well as being responsible for much of Sarawak’s textile production, northern Sarawak hosts the music,  
490 dance and oral traditions of communities such as the Berawan, Bisaya, Iban, Lun Bawang, Kayan, Kelabit,  
491 Kenyah and P’nan, with significant contributions from the Chinese and Malay parts of the population.  
492 Notable examples are the aforementioned sape<sup>9</sup> (lute), the agung (gong) and the 36-member lun ngiup  
493 suling (flute and bass drum band) belonging to the Lun Bawang. While melodic singing or chanting can

---

<sup>9</sup> Both exhibitions were held at the Brunei Gallery, University of London. The Iban accounts for about a third of the state’s population (records are not always accurate). *Ikat*, a dyeing technique applied to pattern textiles that employs a resist-dyeing process, similar to tie-dye, is practiced in places throughout Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas, where the textiles produced are recognized as symbols of prestige and status.

494 be present in some configurations, costumed dance tradition is a feature of most. Tekná (Kayanic ritual  
495 poetry) and various other oral traditions also persist in a few places. Northern Sarawak also has a rich  
496 history of anthropological photography beginning, perhaps, with District Officer Charles Hose's  
497 Victorian-era romantic photographic records of the region's original communities, extending today to  
498 Dennis Lau's ongoing visual chronicle of communities threatened by economic development in the  
499 interior parts. It is not reported if the region's photographic production has ever been displayed to the  
500 public, although indications are that it has not (Chiarelli & Guntarik 2013).

501

502 The prospects for continuance of such traditions are precarious. While isolated, now dated attempts have  
503 been made to notate the music traditions of a few communities<sup>10</sup>, comprehensive survey studies of  
504 northern Sarawak's music and oral traditions have not emerged, and given the current rate of  
505 disappearance of these art forms (Wan et al. 2018), may never emerge. Current arrangements affording  
506 permanent, all-weather access to the performing and material arts in Sarawak consist of Sarawak Cultural  
507 Village established in Santubong, in the extreme south of the state (discussed already above). Other than  
508 the Village, people may participate in the cultural arts by attending scheduled regional festivals of music  
509 and food, usually held outdoors, in the state's coastal cities and towns and a few far-flung rural areas  
510 accessible by small plane. Visitors have also arrived for international conferences on 'sustainable tourism'  
511 and 'adventure tourism' (see, as examples, World Tourism Organization 2017, 2016, 2013).

512

513 A survey was made for this paper of Sarawak's heritage and creative arts events staged or exhibited to the  
514 public between 2008 and 2016. A summary appears below as Table 2.

---

<sup>10</sup> A literature review revealed Lin 1998, Department of Sabah Museum and State Archives 1992, Matusky & Hussein 1991, and Rubinstein 1973. Folklore and scraps of music notation also appear in the accounts of District Officers before 1939 and the pages of Sarawak Museum Journal.

ART FORM	EVENT / ACT	VENUE
Craftwork	Occasional non-ticketed public events World Eco-Fibre and Textile Forum (biennial)	Retail outlets attached to various museums Sarawak Cultural Village, Kuching Society Atelier Sarawak (established 1986), Kuching
Body tattooing	International Tattoo Convention (annual since 2011)	Borneo Convention Centre, Kuching
Heritage music & dance	Borneo Cultural Festival (annual) Teochew Chinese Orchestra Pesta Babulung and Buffalo Race, Lawas (annual) Bisayah Gong Orchestra Rainforest World Music Festival (annual) Dayak Artistes and Musicians Association P. Ramlee Annual Singing Competition	Jong San Si Temple, Kuching Outdoor markets, town squares, shopping malls Sarawak Cultural Village, Santubong Shangyin Music Centre, Kuching Temporary stages in tourist hotels for private events Tua Pek Kong Temple, Kuching Auditorium P Ramlee, Kuching
Classical music	Radio and Television Sarawak Sarawak Music Society Simfoni Orkestra Negeri Sarawak	Public library, Kuching Television studios
Country & jazz music	Borneo Jazz Festival (annual since 2005) Country Music Fest (annual since 2002) Kuching Waterfront Jazz Festival	Hotel grounds, Miri
Contemporary art	Static and temporary non-commissioned exhibitions	Artists' premises, cafés, shopping malls Sarawak Museum, Kuching The Old Court House, Kuching
Photography	Borneo International Salon of Photography (annual)	Sarawak Photo Arts Society Facebook webpage
Spoken word	Various cultural ceremonies	Private venues

515 *Table 2. Arts production in Sarawak 2008-2016*

516 Sources: [The guide to Sarawak](#), Sarawak Ministry of Tourism (2015); The Borneo Post; New Sarawak Tribune; informants.

517 The haphazard pattern and wide variety of stagings suggested by Table 2 indicate that the exigencies  
518 demanded of a vibrant cultural tourism sector are not present in Sarawak. Stagings are not assured due to  
519 the absence of permanent for-purpose venues coupling with fickle environmental patterns, public health  
520 events, and political machinations in the state. The next section discusses the likely specifications for a  
521 permanent arts venue in the state and models the expected level of associated continuing revenues.

522

#### 523 *4.5 Specifications for a permanent arts venue*

524 Specifications were produced for a notional, permanent arts venue located in northern Sarawak. Three  
525 sources were accessed for the purpose:

- 526 - Informants were asked for their ‘ideal yet feasible’ suggestions for a permanent arts venue.
- 527 - Selected heritage centres, art galleries and museums in Sarawak, nearby Kuala Lumpur and  
528 Singapore, and England were visited in person (see, Table 1 above). All visited sites held items  
529 from or relating to northern Sarawak. Details were recorded of the features of buildings and  
530 grounds, and provision of guided tours, curated exhibitions, programmed performances and  
531 education, children’s areas, shops, restaurants and other facilities.
- 532 - Specifications found in De Beukelaer (2015), Pillai (2014), Rowland (2014), Grodach (2010) and  
533 Harris (2009).

534

535 Specifications emerging from this exercise are for a covered, all-weather space located in or near the city’s  
536 principal entertainment precinct, with drive-up road access and parking for cars and tourist coaches,  
537 containing at the minimum three spaces: i) a museum space, ii) another space used for static and temporary  
538 exhibitions and for hands-on activities such as the playing of musical instruments, and iii) a further seated,  
539 configurable space for use as cinema, rehearsal room, performance space and provision of planned  
540 education programmes, equipped with audio-visual production and screening facilities.

541

542 Additional ideal specifications are living quarters for conferred artists-in-residence charged with  
543 promoting the objectives of the centre during their residences, a specialist bookshop combining with a  
544 research library, a children's play area, and a restaurant whose menu reflects, in part, local food customs  
545 that relate to the showcased arts. One informant suggested provision of unpaid internships to local school  
546 children and school-leavers who would be supervised by conferred artists-in-residence.

547

548 Financial modelling effort is restricted to the continuing revenues that could be expected from such a  
549 venue. No attempt has been made to estimate the full cost as adjustments may be required if discounted  
550 rates for any element were to become available.

551

552 If using an estimate based on data submitted by Miri's largest hotels to Sarawak's Ministry of Tourism in  
553 August 2016 (obtained by the researcher), a ticketed footfall of 600 for a single weekend performance in  
554 Miri would seem immediately possible. If the individual charge for a single performance were 30  
555 Malaysian ringgit, an estimate based purely on the full-price charge for a music performance event staged  
556 by the Malaysian Philharmonic Orchestra in September 2016, annualized revenues for such an enterprise  
557 could total 2 million ringgit (approximately USD 500,000).

558

559 If factoring in likely associated tourist revenues from meals and transportation, such an enterprise, offering  
560 only weekend performances but active during other times, might generate an increment of five to ten per  
561 cent of gross tourism revenues (2017) in Sarawak<sup>11</sup>. These projections are given support by the size of  
562 receipts from individual tourist visits to Miri, averaging at 700 USD according to industry return data  
563 (2017) obtained for this research.

---

<sup>11</sup> Data retrieved at: <http://www.mtac.sarawak.gov.my>.

564

## 565 5. DISCUSSION

566 The findings presented in the preceding section suggest that the interaction of political will in Sarawak  
567 and strong affective connections maintained to communities in remote places have stymied cultural  
568 tourism activity across the state. This section uses two sub-sections to discuss the findings with respect to  
569 the interview data and policy-building models, respectively.

570

### 571 *5.1 Informants' understandings of cultural policy*

572 Informants understood Sarawak's cultural policy as restricting their abilities to co-ordinate among  
573 themselves and as splitting a nascent cultural sector along ethnicity lines. The meaning (Gehalt) of cultural  
574 policy was understood as serving political ends (Funktion) that work against the proliferation of cultural  
575 tourism. This particular understanding had led to feelings of isolation, exasperation and resentment.

576

577 While all informants looked for more support from the state, it was observed that informants based in  
578 Kuching were quietly confident and appeared more 'in control' (with one exception, which might be  
579 explained by the location of that informant's original community in northern Sarawak). Perhaps this  
580 finding can be attributed to an observation that artists in Kuching had formed open communities used to  
581 seek ways to increase their participation in arts management, enhancing the significance (Gehalt) of their  
582 artistic production in their own terms. Art communities in Kuching appear to perform an important support  
583 role. The importance of affective (roughly, emotional) community for artists can be witnessed in places  
584 such as Kuala Lumpur and Singapore in the form of arts collectives that have leased physical premises,  
585 appointed administrators and gone on to design and stage various projects and public performances.  
586 Plainly, affective infrastructure is needed as much as physical spaces in which artists can work and display  
587 and perform their work.

588

589 Informants based outside Sarawak's capital city or whose home communities are located in rural regions  
590 had internalized their frustrations by caricaturing themselves, by producing cheap 'commercial' art for the  
591 domestic tourist market or by turning to available sources of employment such as the hospitality sector.  
592 Such sublimated/repressed reactions to social realities highlights the oppositional character of cultural  
593 tourism. Adorno argued that aesthetic forces may temporarily dominate economic forces.

594 There are times when aesthetic forces of production are given completely free rein because  
595 the material ones, hemmed in as they are by existing relations of production, cannot be  
596 unleashed. (Adorno 1997: 48)

597

598 It is equally likely and can equally be expected that there are times when aesthetic forces are constrained  
599 by economic priorities.

600 There are historical moments in which forces of production emancipated in art represent a  
601 real emancipation that is impeded by the [material] relations of production. (Adorno 1997:  
602 42)

603

604 It is the latter situation, where economic priorities are given full rein, that conforms most closely to the  
605 affective sentiments and behaviours of artists and performers interviewed for this research.

606

607 All informants – Kelabit, Kayan, Visayan, Iban, Hakka Chinese and Malay – placed value on connections  
608 with their home communities. For some, such as the hotel workers required by their employers to perform  
609 dances for commercial functions, authentic performance could only take place in their home communities.  
610 Heritage music and dance performed in urban areas constituted little more than an employment function  
611 for the performer and an economic function for the employer. In a region where in declared holiday periods  
612 hotels and offices are routinely evacuated of workers headed to their longhouses in rural areas, the force  
613 of connection to community presents a challenge for organized cultural activity.

614

615 At this point, political will for development of a self-sustaining heritage and creative arts sector deserves  
616 mention. The next section is used to discuss the ways that policy-building might proceed.

617

## 618 *5.2 Policy-building models*

619 The findings presented in a section above suggest variation between the significance and functions of  
620 policy planning. At the representative dimension (Gehalt), cultural arbiters in Sarawak have claimed  
621 that tourism policy is directed to economic diversification and seeks to promote cultural proliferation.

622 The concrete dimension suggests a very different state of affairs. Sarawak's economy remains wedded  
623 to agriculture and resource extraction and all-weather arts venues in the state are conspicuous by their  
624 absence. Most visitors to Sarawak seek no more than a short break from the working week, with a  
625 minority arriving for adventure holidays spent in national parks. Adorno wrote that "all mass culture  
626 is identical, and the lines of its artificial framework begin to show through. The people at the top are  
627 no longer so interested in concealing monopoly. . . Movies and radio need no longer pretend to be art"

628 (Adorno & Horkheimer 2002: 94). Adorno's perception of mass culture would be shared by many  
629 today. The deep appeal of cultural tourism is surely an escape from mass culture to authentic experience  
630 (even seemingly authentic), which is unlikely to be found in cultural camps where city locals perform  
631 to recorded music. The Funktion of Sarawak's tourism policy, it seems, currently resides in building  
632 capacity to secure World Heritage status for more of the state's national parks, music performance  
633 traditions and the like.

634

635 Two models of policy creation are proffered for consideration. The principal difference between the  
636 models, often seen as binary alternatives, consists of the ways policy is created in each.

637

638 A top-down, centre-periphery model would see policy set by parties who in the usual case can be  
639 distinguished from policy objects. A top-down model is used in Norway, a large, sparsely populated nation  
640 with its cultural institutions concentrated in Oslo, the capital and largest city. With public subsidies, these  
641 national institutions have extensive touring programs to bring symphonic music, opera, ballet, and theatre  
642 to the remotest regions of the nation and to culturally under-served areas within cities (Mulcahy 2006). A  
643 top-down model is used to direct the activities of the Malaysian Philharmonic Orchestra, Malaysia's  
644 leading cultural institution, which visited regional Malaysia twenty times between 1998 and 2016. Of  
645 those visits, none took place in a dedicated, permanent arts venue<sup>12</sup>. As it is only in the federal capital that  
646 the educational institutions required to support the full range of arts are to be found in Malaysia, a top-  
647 down model is unlikely to have much more success than already achieved.

648

649 A participatory policy model offers opportunity where its alternative does not. In a participatory model,  
650 there being "no curatorial hand or check at work assessing the importance or correctness of [members']  
651 contributions" (Long & Collins 2012: 155), policy is created and agreed by the policy objects themselves.  
652 The political economy of Sarawak, discussed already in several places above, suggests the potential of a  
653 participatory approach. Pillai (2014: 9-32) demonstrates that community-initiated capital works and  
654 artistic programmes can be successfully delivered in Malaysia. Precedent also exists from Sarawak's post-  
655 war colonial era. The effort of the Community Development Projects of 1953 to create cooperatives,  
656 training schemes and innovative forms of project financing transformed a series of longhouse communities  
657 for an entire decade (Ngidang et al. 2000: 23-25).

658

659 A participatory policy model is destined to impact artists and artists' communities. Derek Freeman (1975)  
660 underlined the importance of autochthony (the connection between physical place and the spiritual world)

---

<sup>12</sup> Personal correspondence, Malaysian Philharmonic Orchestra Outreach Department.

661 when he studied the Iban Lemanak in Sarawak's southern lowlands in the 1960s and 1970s.  
662 Autochthonous value in Sarawak's rural communities is maintained mundanely by the daily rice meal  
663 (Janowski 2014), the interiors of longhouses of a morning where the community decides how to be guided  
664 by dreams (Janowski 2007) and by church and mosque meetings. When the maintenance of a sense of self  
665 requires mobilization of such as dream communications, how can artists, once located in urban areas, be  
666 enabled to be productive on their own terms, and how can communities lend support to their artists?  
667 Consider too that artists based in urban environments in places like Sarawak face extended separation  
668 from their communities located in relatively inaccessible places. How then can music, dance, craft and  
669 oral tradition practices in such places be expected to survive?

670

671 These questions relate to the paper's second line of enquiry on the participation of artists and host  
672 communities in policy creation. Answers might be found in spaces reserved for producing and teaching  
673 arts and crafts. Artists and communities involved in city- and town-based projects might fruitfully use  
674 innovative forms of networking in order to avoid affective loss experienced by physical separation (as  
675 reported in a section above). Reserved space for artistic activity becomes reserved networked space,  
676 reflected in its ideal in collaborations, learning and teaching opportunities, the embrace of food, video  
677 hook-ups with longhouse communities, and innovative use of collaborative online tools. At the time of  
678 this research, such a space in the city of Miri consisted of a busy lunchtime restaurant serving uplands rice  
679 meals. Specifications for a prospective venue can be found in a section above. Artists and heritage  
680 custodians will need to mobilize among themselves if it is hoped that a participatory model can be used  
681 to channel the affective attachments and cultural antipathies of diverse communities. Support networks  
682 are likely to be valued as artists broker their artistic production and find their place in regional cultural  
683 circuits.

684

685 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

686 The research presented above has highlighted in a particular setting the interactions between cultural  
687 activity, tourism policy, and organised attempt to generate wider economic activity. This effort, in the  
688 author's estimation, can be considered novel and significant for several reasons. The case-based findings  
689 address an absence of evidence on tourism-associated re/generation in developing places, evidence which  
690 is needed given the literature that argues for putative linkages between cultural activity, tourism and wider  
691 economic activity (Grodach 2010). The findings also widen case-based research on relatively undeveloped  
692 regions, which has been concerned in the main with social problems such as displacement, loss of  
693 communal values and relative access to education (Cramb & Sujang 2013, among others).

694

695 The findings provide evidence needed to support Miles's (2005) argument that a development strategy  
696 predicated on cultural tourism requires parsing between urban and rural areas. Support networks for  
697 Sarawak's indigenous artists tend to be found only in rural areas, and development strategy may need to  
698 direct resources accordingly. In this respect, it is hoped that the paper advances the literature on the often-  
699 difficult balance in developing places like Malaysia between post-industrial career advancement and  
700 affective values placed on communal aspects such as kinship and cosmology (Janowski 2014).

701

702 For policy makers, tour operators and cultural producers (artists, writers and performers), promotion of a  
703 participatory policy-building model may hold potential. One of possibly several caveats to a participatory  
704 policy model is that the political/business bloc holding sway in places like Sarawak is likely to be reluctant  
705 to support a policy that funnels economic returns directly into local communities, especially, in the case  
706 of Sarawak, non-Malay communities. It is harmony, not empowerment, that is sought in Sarawak's  
707 cultural policy. Capital funding sources are also not assured in Sarawak. It can be expected that longhouse  
708 communities (commonplace sites of heritage and creative art production in Sarawak) would be unwilling  
709 to expend precious financial resources on lengthy stays in distant places. In that regard, endowment funds,

710 ‘impact investments’ (carrying requirement for return of funds), and tailored lines of credit made available  
711 to visiting artists might all be attempted.

712

713 In closing, tourism, artistic activity and development are complex, uncertain sets of activities prone to  
714 interruption, yet the scale of changes required for a population to increase the level of its participation in  
715 any of these areas requires that policy priorities and public support coalesce over a lengthy period of time.  
716 This observation justifies a call for further research that identifies the efforts of cultural producers to build  
717 coalitions with tourism operators, cultural arbiters, financiers and non-profit institutions, and that  
718 identifies the ways that artists and performers identify the success of their objectives. In this context,  
719 research in the same or similar locales might be attempted.

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