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AUTHENTICITY AND THE IBAN:
Cultural tourism at Iban longhouses in Sarawak, East Malaysia

Thesis submitted by
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Assc. Dip. (Wildlife & Park Management) (SCAE),
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in August 1994

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the Material Culture Unit and Department of Tourism at
James Cook University of North Queensland
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

HEATHER D. ZEPPEL

31st August, 1994
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ABSTRACT

Iban longhouses are a key tourist attraction in Sarawak, a Malaysian state on the island of Borneo. This thesis examines tourist responses to authenticity in Iban culture at the Sarawak Museum, Sarawak Cultural Village, and during guided Iban longhouse tours. In addition to the investigation of tourist reactions to Iban longhouses, the present set of studies also examine significant factors influencing tourist demand for authentic cultural experiences. A main objective is to evaluate authenticity through the interplay between tourist responses to the longhouse setting (situational), and fulfilling inner needs (behavioural).

This field research on Iban longhouse tourism provides further insight into the concept of authenticity. It evaluates tourist reactions to the physical markers of Iban cultural identity, and the social mechanisms used by tourists to validate genuine cultural experiences. This thesis develops the notion that tourists actively select meaningful elements in Iban culture according to their own needs for authenticity. Tourist reactions to authenticity are evaluated using survey responses, supported by observations of tourist behaviour at Iban longhouses.

It is argued in the first study that commercial images of Iban culture direct the tourist's search for authenticity. Guidebooks, travel articles and postcards feature exotic markers of traditional Iban culture: trophy skulls, tattooed Iban men, dancing and ceremonial costume. Borneo adventure travel books highlight social encounters with Iban people at rural longhouses, and the impact of modernisation. Select travel reviews for the Ulu Ai River focus on the natural environment or everyday Iban life.

A second study found travel brochures selectively use authenticity to sell longhouse tours. These describe the unchanged Iban longhouse lifestyle, while many also refer to Iban headhunting. Most brochures depict Iban people posing in traditional costume, few include scenes of everyday Iban life. Mass tourism brochures describe organised Iban cultural activities, adventure travel and 'individual' travel brochures highlight social involvement or environmental experiences, while ecotourism brochures feature sharing daily life with the Iban. Behavioural aspects of authenticity are promoted to new travel market segments.
A field study conducted at the Sarawak Museum indicated that Iban culture is represented by artefacts, historic images, and a walk-through replica of two rooms in an Iban longhouse. Authenticity is projected through display techniques rather than a personal Iban 'voice'. Exhibits at the Sarawak Museum feature typical Iban objects (skulls, textiles, hornbill icon etc) with no personal accounts of Iban life. Tourists at the Sarawak Museum also construct their own meanings for Iban exhibits. This suggests authenticity is not tied to the object itself but is developed as a personal response, based on prior experience of Iban longhouse culture.

A second field study examined Iban longhouse tours in the Second Division of Sarawak, where visitors experience Iban lifestyle and culture. Such longhouse tours are object-oriented at Serubah, focus on social interaction with Iban people at Nanga Kesit, or allow tourists to share daily Iban life at Nanga Stamang. Tourists further enjoy modified Iban ritual events, revived Iban customs, outdoor excursions, and new visitor activities like games and a craft sale. Guided tours thus link authenticity with situational aspects of the longhouse location, or encourage tourist participation in social activities enhancing behavioural authenticity.

Field survey data on tourist responses confirmed that authenticity is specific to the longhouse destination and the kind of cultural encounter. In rating Iban cultural markers, most tourists considered the longhouse building, costumes, dances and, to a lesser extent, Iban lifestyle to be traditional, especially at Nanga Stamang. Tourist statements indicated that meeting Iban people and the personal meaning of a longhouse visit also contribute to authenticity. This personal aspect was enhanced by social interaction with Iban people and spontaneous behaviour.

A third field study conducted in the Iban longhouse at the Sarawak Cultural Village identified two groups of tourists who experienced authenticity in different ways. Survey data indicated that visitors with prior experience of Iban culture, on a longhouse tour, are more dissatisfied with the presentation of Iban lifestyle; instead they seek meaningful contact with Iban staff. Other 'first time' tourists linked authenticity with physical markers of Iban cultural identity, mainly dance and costume. While tourists seek authenticity at two levels, guided tours largely focus on Iban craft activities rather than meeting Iban people.
For tourists at Iban longhouses, achieving a genuine cultural experience is both situational and linked to satisfying inner needs. Field research indicated tourists are satisfied with key Iban cultural features. In this context, authenticity or personal meaning is mainly linked with meeting Iban people rather than seeing cultural markers. Tourist presentations of Iban culture, in different settings, should therefore address these personal needs for authenticity. Developing this behavioural aspect of authenticity would contribute to sustainable Iban longhouse tourism in Sarawak. Through Iban culture, tourists seek both a real world and their real self.

Additional research on cultural tourism would confirm when and how motivational aspects are important in defining authenticity. This behavioural dimension of authenticity requires more critical analysis, especially the element of spontaneity and the construction of personal meaning by tourists. Meeting this growing need for personal fulfilment in cultural encounters is central to 'new tourism'. Describing the various types of social interaction between tourists and their indigenous hosts, in varied cultural settings, would indicate which factors build a satisfying cultural experience. Authenticity needs to be further examined from the tourist perspective, for both cultural tours and built cultural attractions.
IBAN ORTHOGRAPHY

The spelling of Iban words, in this thesis, is largely based on Anthony Richards (1981) *An Iban-English Dictionary*, Petaling Jaya: Oxford University Press. Variations include words commonly written with the final glottal stop omitted. For example, jacket (*kelambi*), verandah (*tanju*), ladder (*tangga*), and ritual textile (*pua kumbu*). *Bilek* is used (instead of *bilik*) for a longhouse family room. The Malay form of the official title, Penghulu, or river headman (Iban, *pengulu*), is adopted. Other Iban words follow the standard spelling in Richards (1981), except when quoting directly from labels in the Sarawak Museum, books, brochures, travel articles etc.
Chapter 1. SARAWAK, TOURISM AND THE IBAN

'When you tell your friends how you holidayed amidst towering rainforests, with hosts who were formerly head-hunters, they'll see it as quite an achievement. As well as the adventure of a life-time. The fact is, you can still lose your head in Sarawak.' (Sarawak tourism advertisement)

For many international tourists in Sarawak, a highlight of their stay is making an overnight visit to an Iban longhouse. This personal adventure of meeting Iban people still living a longhouse lifestyle in a jungle setting is unique to Borneo. From Kuching, organised tour groups depart daily for rural Iban longhouses located on the Skrang and Lemanak Rivers, and more recently also the Ulu Ai and Engkari Rivers. Independent travellers usually venture up the Rejang River and its tributaries, to experience the Iban way of life at more remote longhouses.

Tourists in Sarawak can also visit an Iban longhouse without travelling inland. At the Sarawak Museum, there is a near life-size replica of two rooms in a traditional Iban longhouse, furnished with typical artefacts. The Sarawak Cultural Village, a new heritage tourist attraction which opened in 1990, has a reconstructed Iban longhouse with Iban staff giving craft and cooking demonstrations. These replica Iban longhouses allow tourists to experience select aspects of traditional Iban culture.

The object of this thesis is to evaluate tourist responses to authenticity in Iban culture at the Sarawak Museum, Sarawak Cultural Village, and on guided Iban longhouse tours. Authenticity includes tourist responses to the physical markers of Iban cultural identity, and also the personal meaning of tourist encounters with Iban culture in different settings. While investigating tourist reactions to Iban longhouses, this thesis also identifies key factors in the tourist need for authentic cultural encounters.

This initial chapter introduces the Malaysian state of Sarawak in Borneo and various ethnic groups, including the Iban, then describes Dayak longhouses in Borneo. Next, there is a review of traditional Iban culture identifying aspects of most tourist interest. The topic of tourism in Sarawak is then covered: overall within Malaysia, then for Sarawak, and also longhouse tourism in Borneo. Sarawak's key cultural attractions are next described, including the Museum, Cultural Village and Iban longhouse tours. This 'sets the scene' for a tourist journey to Borneo and memorable encounters with Iban longhouse culture in Sarawak.
The state of Sarawak

Sarawak is a Malaysian state located in Borneo. It extends some 700km along the north-west coast of the island of Borneo, flanked by the South China Sea and Kalimantan, the Indonesian portion of Borneo (Map 1). Sarawak is the largest of the 13 states in Malaysia, with a land area of 124,449 square kilometres, representing about 38% of Malaysia's total land area (Walton 1990). Borneo itself is the third largest island in the world, located in the centre of the south east Asian region. On its northern border, Sarawak encloses the small independent sultanate of Brunei Darussalam, and also adjoins Sabah. Sarawak and Sabah together comprise Eastern Malaysia. Peninsular Malaysia, with the federal capital of Kuala Lumpur, is located 500 kilometres away from Sarawak, across the South China Sea.

Sarawak is located between .5 and 5 degrees latitude, just north of the equator which crosses the upper part of the island of Borneo. It is a humid, tropical country with warm temperatures (25-35 degrees Celsius), high relative humidity and 3000-4000mm of rainfall each year (Lee 1970). The main wet season occurs in Sarawak between October and March when the north east monsoon blows. With this high rainfall and equatorial location, some 76% of Sarawak is covered with lush tropical rainforest (Scott 1988). Longhouse settlements in Sarawak are marked by secondary forest, due to the slash and burn methods used in the shifting cultivation of hill rice.

Geographically, the Sarawak landscape comprises an extensive swampy coastal plain area which extends towards rugged hilly country, intersected by many rivers, merging into a mountainous interior with Kalimantan. The border area with Kalimantan forms a natural watershed, the source of all major rivers in Sarawak which drain away westwards into the South China Sea. Major rivers in Sarawak include the Rejang (or Rajang) River (at 560km the longest in Malaysia), the Baram River and the Lupar River (Map 1). In Sarawak, the hilly landscape and the dense tropical vegetation encouraged human settlement along the many river networks. The towns, villages and longhouses in Sarawak are mainly situated along river banks (Chin 1980). The numerous river systems in Sarawak still provide the main means of access and transport throughout the rugged interior, especially to the many longhouses.
Map 1. Sarawak, Borneo

Source: Colchester 1989
The capital city of Sarawak is Kuching (pop. 370,000), located in the southwest corner of the state. The other main cities in Sarawak are the industrial coastal towns of Bintulu and Miri, and Sibu on the lower Rejang River. The state of Sarawak is administratively divided into nine divisions, each named after a principal town (see Map 1). These divisions were formerly known as the First to Seventh divisions, and are still commonly referred to by these names. Tourists in Sarawak mainly visit Iban longhouses in the Sri Aman or Second Division, a day's journey from Kuching. These Iban longhouses are located on the Skrang, Lemanak, Ulu Ai and Engkari Rivers, all tributaries of the main Lupar River (Map 2). Independent travellers venture up the Rejang River, beyond Sibu and Kapit, to visit other Iban longhouses found in the central and interior region.

The state of Sarawak has a colourful past associated with piracy, Dayak headhunting and 'White Rajahs' (Yates 1991). From the fifteenth century, Sarawak was a dependency of the Malay sultanate of Brunei. In 1839, an English adventurer, James Brooke, arrived in Kuching in his ketch 'Royalist' in the midst of a local rebellion against Brunei rule and assisted the Brunei commander to quell the uprising (Sarawak Museum 1988). As a reward for this action, in 1841, James Brooke became the first 'White Rajah' of Sarawak, with his kingdom covering only the south west portion of the present state. James Brooke fought against Malay and Iban pirates, banned headhunting, and led many battles against rebellious Iban groups eventually bringing them under his control. His nephew, Charles Brooke, became the second 'White Rajah' from 1868 to 1917, extending the territory of Sarawak to its present boundaries. Following Japanese military occupation of Sarawak during the Second World War, the third and last 'White Rajah', Charles Vyner Brooke, in 1946, ceded Sarawak to Britain as a Crown Colony. In 1963, Sarawak attained independence from Britain and became a member state in the Federation of Malaysia.

The economy of Sarawak is dominated by the export of three main primary commodities, oil and natural gas (60.4%), and timber (28.3%). Agricultural export products include pepper (1.7%), cocoa beans (0.6%), palm oil (0.5%), and rubber (0.3%), mainly produced by Dayak small holders (Colchester 1989). At present, tourism contributes about 3% of GDP in Sarawak. In 1991, the foreign exchange earnings brought in by tourism were estimated to be M$260 million (Borneo Post 1992a).
Map 2. Sarawak Second Division  Source: Padoch 1982
Sarawak aims to further develop tourism mainly to diversify its economy away from primary natural resources to other service-based industries (AsiaWeek 1992; Din 1990).

**Sarawak ethnic groups**
There are more than 24 ethnic groups in Sarawak, a state with a population of 1,648,217 people in 1991. The main cultural groups in Sarawak are Iban, Chinese, Malay and Melanau people (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iban</td>
<td>493,000</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>483,000</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>348,000</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidayuh</td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanau</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang Ulu</td>
<td>91,000</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: *Annual Statistical Bulletin Sarawak 1990*)

The Dayak peoples collectively comprise the Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu ethnic groups, and are unique to Borneo. Orang Ulu is a general term referring to the many smaller indigenous communities living in the hilly interior of Sarawak, including the Punan, Penan, Kayan, Kenyah, Kelabit, Bisaya, Lun Bawang and other minority groups (Tan, C.S. 1991). Sarawak has the largest number of ethnic groups in Malaysia, with the Dayak people forming a majority (43.4%) in the state. Within this Dayak population, the Iban are the most numerous group. The Chinese are recent immigrants, brought in by the 'White Rajahs' to be traders and the merchant class, a position they still largely occupy in towns throughout Sarawak.

Dayak is a generic term used to describe all non-Muslim indigenous people found in Borneo. There are about 3 million people throughout Borneo regarded as being Dayak (Ave & King 1986). Dayak (Dyak) is a Malay origin word meaning the 'interior' or 'inland'. Dutch and German writers have used the term Dayak to cover all non-Muslim indigenous people in Borneo, while English writers have used the term specifically to describe the so-called Land Dayak (Bidayuh) and Sea Dayak (Iban) people in Sarawak (King 1978). The Dayaks commonly live in longhouses situated on river banks, practise shifting rice cultivation, and still follow customary beliefs and practices based on longhouse living and animism.
(Hong 1987). In popular literature and tourist marketing, the term Dayak is often used to refer to the indigenous people of Borneo. In Sarawak, however, it is now preferable to refer to each indigenous group by the currently accepted ethnic name, e.g. Iban, Bidayuh, Orang Ulu (Kayan, Kenyah, Kelabit, Penan and other small groupings).

The Iban

The Iban are the largest ethnic group in Sarawak. They are found throughout the lowland and coastal regions of Sarawak, generally living in longhouses along the main rivers and streams (Map 3). Many Iban live along the Rejang River and its tributaries (Katibas, Baleh), and along the Lupar River and its tributaries (Skrang, Lemanak). These rural Iban still follow a lifestyle based on swidden rice cultivation (Plate 1). More Iban people also now live in towns and cities, following a rural-urban migration trend linked with economic development in Sarawak (Kedit 1980a, Sutlive 1988).

The Iban originally came from the Kapuas River area in west Kalimantan, and began moving into Sarawak around the middle of the sixteenth century. The original entry point was near Lubok Antu, on the Batang Ai River. From there the Iban moved northwards and eastwards in their migration following the main river systems (Kedit 1986). The constant search for new farmland, due to soil depletion, along with the individualistic and aggressive nature of the Iban contributed to their widespread expansion throughout the lowland areas of Sarawak. The name Iban is reputed to mean 'roving strangers' and is considered to derive from a Kayan word, hivan, meaning immigrant or wanderer (Richards 1981).

In former times, the Iban had a fearsome reputation as warriors and headhunters. They were called Sea Dayaks because of their headhunting raids along the north west coast of Borneo. Iban ceremonies, rituals and traditional art reflect this martial past. An important Iban ceremony, the Gawai Kenyalang (Hornbill Festival) was originally performed as a headhunting ritual (Sarawak Museum 1988). The Iban are a socially egalitarian people with status traditionally achieved through success in warfare or farming, bejalai (journey), ritual knowledge, healing expertise, or skill in craft work (Plate 2) (Mashman 1992). Iban women are well
Map 3. Iban areas in Sarawak

Source: Graham 1987
Plate 1. Rural Iban life. Nanga Stamang, Engkari River

Plate 2. Iban basket weaving. Nanga Kesit, Lemanak River
known for their skill in warp ikat weaving, making skirts, jackets, and ritual textiles (*pua kumbu*) (Ong 1986). The Iban also use many silver ornaments in their ceremonial costume (King 1991a; Ong 1991).

Vivid scenes of traditional Iban culture, longhouse living and ritual celebrations are depicted in *Life in a Longhouse* (Morrison 1962) and also in *Vanishing World: The Ibans of Borneo* (Wright, Morrison & Wong 1972). These illustrations warmly convey the vitality of Iban people, their unique longhouse culture, spiritual beliefs, and living in a tropical rainforest. The lively personality and vigorous culture of the Iban is again described in *Wild People* (Linklater 1990), a recent adventure travel book about Sarawak. In such publications and in numerous travel reviews, the outgoing, friendly and gregarious nature of Iban people remains an outstanding feature for all who visit Iban longhouses in Sarawak.

The Dayak longhouse

Borneo is world-renowned for the longhouse dwellings of the Dayak peoples (Waterson 1990). "Traditionally, most Borneo people lived in longhouses, a village, including the main street, under one roof" (Munan 1989:xii). Longhouses are communal dwellings raised on stilts and usually situated on a river bank. A longhouse has two main parts, a rear section with private family apartments divided by walls of bark or timber, and a public front section with a roofed gallery. Each family apartment, occupied by an independent household, is called a 'room' or 'door', referred to in Iban as *bilek* (Ave & King 1986). By joining apartments together in a longhouse, less time and materials are needed in construction. Being raised on stilts protects a longhouse against floods and also assists in circulating cool breezes from the river. The area underneath a longhouse is used for keeping domestic animals, pigs and poultry, and for storage of larger items. In the past, the longhouse also served a defensive function against enemy raids, being fortified and built on high stilts (Ave & King 1986; Salleh 1980).

In a Dayak longhouse, the family apartment is the focus of domestic activities, where women look after children, prepare and cook food, and practise some craftwork. Families eat their meals in the *bilek* and most family members also sleep there. Household property and valuable heirlooms, including gongs, jars, ceramic plates, antique beads, ceremonial clothing and jewellery, are stored in the *bilek*. The roofed gallery includes a passage-way or village street running the whole length
of the longhouse providing access to each apartment. This covered area is the main centre of public activity in the longhouse, the place where village meetings are held, guests received, ceremonies and other entertainment held, the place where (traditionally) rice is winnowed and pounded, where neighbours talk, where women make hats, baskets and mats and do their beadwork or weaving. Traditionally, human head trophies were hung on the main support posts running up through the gallery. Access to the longhouse is via notched logs which serve as ladders placed at either end of the gallery.

Each Dayak family has exclusive ownership of its part of the longhouse, comprising the family room, the adjacent section of the covered gallery, the storage loft above, and the ground beneath (Figure 1). 'The longhouse is not a communally owned dwelling' (Ave & King 1986:55). Individual sections of the longhouse vary in the construction materials used as well as in the general upkeep and maintenance of different parts of the dwelling. Across the longhouse, the roof sections may be made of palm leaves, ironwood shingles or corrugated iron. Family apartments also vary in their interior furnishing: one might have a linoleum floor, wardrobes and other modern items, while another may have a split bamboo floor, rattan mats and few consumer goods (Ave & King 1986). Longhouse members, however, combine their labour for farming, share ceremonial costs, contribute to the food and entertainment provided at festivals, and jointly participate in fulfilling the ritual requirements of their traditional religion (Kedit 1990a). For Dayak people, their traditional social system is centred around the longhouse (Sandin 1970). It is the focus for kinship relations, social interaction, ritual celebrations, family life, craft production, and the annual cycle of shifting rice cultivation, the main means of subsistence for the community.

The longhouse lifestyle in Borneo is now undergoing substantial modification. Recent social changes include men working for wages in the logging and oil industries, students leaving for further education, and the rural-urban drift attracting young people to towns and cities (Cramb & Reece 1988). Longhouses in Sarawak, particularly those near towns and main transport routes, including river 'highways', are progressively being modernised (Salleh 1980). Old longhouses are being upgraded or rebuilt with modern construction materials (sawn timber, glass windows
A Model Iban Longhouse of Seven Bilek-families

Figure 1. Plan of an Iban longhouse

Source: Kedit 1990a
and corrugated iron), equipped with modern amenities (piped water, toilets, generators, fluorescent lighting) and other modern appliances (TV, radio, video). Diesel generators provide power for lighting the longhouse, while outboard motors and chainsaws are now everyday items. The longhouse dwellers also wear casual western clothing of jeans, t-shirts and shorts for men, and mainly sarongs for women. Tourists visiting Dayak longhouses in Borneo now encounter this juxtaposition of traditional culture and modernisation.

Iban Longhouse

An Iban village usually comprises one longhouse dwelling (Plate 3). The main sections of an Iban longhouse include the open platform (tanju), the roofed gallery (ruai) with a sitting/sleeping area (pantar) and a common walkway (tempuan) (Plate 4), the family apartment (bilek or bilik) with a cooking area (dapor or dapur) inside, and a storage loft (sadau) (Kedit 1990) (see Figure 1). In the bilek, traditionally the cooking place (dapor) was placed in the front of the family room, now it is usually located at the back of the apartment (Kedit 1990). Fighting cocks are commonly tethered near the entrance door to each apartment. The loft is used to store rice, traditionally in large bark bins, various woven baskets and other farming equipment. Other domestic equipment, including rolled-up mats, fishing nets, baskets and parangs, is usually kept on the exposed rafters or support posts in the roofed gallery. A feature of the Iban longhouse is an open platform which adjoins the gallery and runs the length of the longhouse. This area is used for hanging out washing, and for drying pepper and rice, laid out on woven mats (Ave & King 1986). Ritual ceremonies (gawai) are also performed on this platform.

The Iban, a socially egalitarian people, practised shifting cultivation of hill rice and built less substantial longhouses than other groups in Borneo. When one area of farmland became exhausted the whole community shifted to another location and rebuilt their longhouse in an area with new forest to clear and farm. Because of this need for physical mobility, Iban longhouses were built of more versatile materials, being constructed from light woods, bamboo, bark and leaves (Ave & King 1986). Individual families could also leave a longhouse taking useable building materials with them to begin constructing another longhouse elsewhere. Iban longhouses were originally built to last for as long as two decades. Nowadays they are more permanent structures.
Plate 3. A contemporary Iban longhouse
Nanga Stamang, Engkari River

Plate 4. The gallery (ruai) of an Iban longhouse
Nanga Stamang, Engkari River
Traditional Iban culture

Iban culture traditionally revolves around longhouse living, swidden rice farming, ritual activities, social obligations and festive celebrations (Sandin 1976; Sutlive 1978). Rural Iban are still mainly farmers, engaging in the shifting cultivation of dry hill rice, along with small holdings of rubber and pepper, their main cash crops.

The cultivation of hill rice begins and ends the social and economic annual life cycle of the Iban in the longhouse. The shifting cultivation of rice is considered by the Iban to be the most important part of their life. Rice cultivation is related with all kinds of rituals, folk-lore and beliefs (Kedit 1986:8).

Each year around May, the Iban hold a major gawai or festival to celebrate the completion of the rice harvest. During a gawai, the Iban people wear ceremonial costume, perform traditional dances, and play gong ensemble or drum music, while much tuak or rice wine is consumed. Various rituals are enacted to ensure future prosperity for the community (Plate 5). Longhouse communities willingly host relatives, local guests and visiting tourists at their gawai celebration.

The Iban are widely known as a sociable, courteous and hospitable people.

Anthropologists who study the Iban argue that one of the basic reasons why the Iban are friendly and hospitable to visitors to their longhouse is because of their belief and value attached to the welcoming of the gods of their gawai celebrations. When visitors come to the longhouse it is akin to the gods coming bringing in good fortune and blessings to the community (Kedit 1990b:27).

The friendliness and hospitality with which the Iban welcome visitors can thus be equated with the special welcome they perform to invite the gods into their midst. Visitors at a gawai celebration proceed through the longhouse stopping at each family apartment to drink a toast of tuak. In addition, a miring ceremony (ritual food offering) will be performed (Plate 6) and a pig sacrificed with the liver read for good omens (Kedit 1990b). Miring rites are also performed to welcome some tourists.

Traditional Iban religion is animist, with every living thing, human, animal and vegetable, believed to possess their own soul (Jensen 1974). Iban rice cultivation is accompanied by many rituals which aim to
Plate 5. Ritual procession, Gawai Batu (whetstone festival)
Nanga Kesit, Lemanak River, 1st June 1992

Plate 6. Food offering (miring), Gawai Batu (whetstone festival)
Nanga Kesit, Lemanak River, 1st June 1992
appease the soul contained by rice. In their daily life and religion, the Iban seek to maintain a balance between the existence of the spirit world and the human/natural world. The Iban are polytheistic, with the gods (petara) believed to reveal themselves through divination (examining the liver of a butchered pig), through augury (insect and bird calls) (Cowan 1993), or through their spiritual attendance at ritual celebrations. Priests or ritual bards (lemambang) call on the gods by reciting sacred chants (timang) during a gawai (Kedit 1986). In their length and complexity, these sacred chants are the Iban equivalent of the 'Odyssey' or 'Iliad' (Rubenstein 1991). Some tourists hear short recitals of ritual chants (mengay) at select Iban longhouses (Plate 7).

Shamans or healers (manang) also call on the gods during the performance of curing rites (Graham 1987; Pilz 1988). The Iban believe that dreams are the wandering of a human soul during sleep. When a person becomes sick, a shaman is needed to locate and restore the wandering soul that has been lost or captured by malevolent spirits (Kedit 1986). Dreams are also regarded as portents or omens, guiding Iban behaviour. These traditional religious beliefs of the Iban remain largely unknown to foreign visitors. Some tourists though may chance upon a healing rite (Doyle 1991).

The ceremonial costumes, music, and traditional dances of the Iban people, however, have much visual and theatrical appeal for foreign tourists. The main musical instruments of the Iban are gong and drum ensembles. A gong ensemble comprises five to eight small gongs (engkerumong) laid out horizontally on a low wooden rack, two larger suspended gongs with a central boss (tawak and bendai) and two wooden hour-glass drums (ketebong) with a single skin tympanum. The gong ensemble is played by both men and women to accompany dancing. Drums were traditionally played to celebrate success in a head-hunting expedition or victory in battle. They are now played for general entertainment (Sarawak Museum 1988).

The traditional ngajat dance is performed by both Iban men and women to the melodic accompaniment of a gong ensemble. The dancer moves slowly on bent knees, taking small steps and circling around, together with graceful movements of the outstretched arms and head. Iban men often perform the ngajat holding a shield and sword, the theme of their
Plate 7. Iban ritual chant (*mengap*)
Serubah, Lemanak River

Plate 8. Weaving an ikat textile (*pua kumbu*)
Nanga Stamang, Engkari River
dance relating to combat and headhunting. The Iban ngajat is a solo
dance. Tourists at Iban longhouses frequently enjoy this gong music and
dancing.

Headhunting is the most famous of all Iban customs. The Iban became
notorious for their headhunting exploits in Borneo during the
nineteenth century. Iban motives for headhunting were to rectify a series
of misfortunes (crop failures, deaths, disease, infertility), to end
mourning periods and, indirectly, the need to acquire new land. For the
Iban, spiritually potent human heads were needed to restore fertility,
vitality and wellbeing to the longhouse community (Freeman 1979). Men
who had taken human heads were tattooed on the backs of their hands.
For Iban men, headhunting was proof of bravery and a means to acquire
personal prestige (Davison & Sutlive 1992). A successful headhunter was
said to be especially admired by young Iban women (Vayda 1976). Trophy
skulls are hung up in bunches on support beams in the covered gallery of
a longhouse. The skulls are spiritually appeased by being smoked with a
fire burning underneath, and honoured with food offerings. Tourists can
still see trophy skulls hanging in many Iban longhouses (see Plate 7).

The Iban are famed for their ikat textile weaving, particularly the highly
prized pua kumbu or ritual cloth. The pua kumbu, elaborately tied, dyed
and woven in geomorphic designs, is traditionally made only by Iban
women (Plate 8). The stylised and intricate motifs on pua kumbu possess
much spiritual and religious significance for the Iban (Ong 1986). Large
ceremonial pua kumbu cloths are hung up as a backdrop to a dance
performance, ritual event or healing ceremony. Traditionally, Iban
women used a pua kumbu to receive the severed heads brought back by
victorious Iban warriors. New born babies are wrapped in a pua, while
shamans (manang) also cover themselves with pua kumbu, to obtain
dream revelations from the spirit world (Ong 1986). Pua kumbu is now
limited in production. Large, old pua kumbu with fine designs are eagerly
sought after by textile collectors. Smaller pieces of pua kumbu, with
enlarged and simplified motifs, are now made for sale to tourists.

Iban people wear traditional costume for ceremonial occasions or when
entertaining tourists (Plate 9). Silver ornaments are the most visually
striking element of Iban traditional costume (Ong 1991). Both Iban men
and women wear one or more embossed silver belts around the waist,
multiple silver arm bracelets and long silver chain necklaces. Iban
women wear a tubular skirt (*bidang*), woven using the warp ikat or sungkit method, overlain by an outer 'girdle' made of multiple rows of silver coins linked together, a corset (*rawai*) around their midriff, threaded with small silver rings, a beadwork collar, woven chest sash, and silver ankle rings (Ong 1986). In their hair, Iban women wear an elaborate silver headdress (*sugu tinggi*'), with many decorative silver pieces standing out from the top and sides of the head.

Iban men also have an elaborate ceremonial costume (Plate 10). The men wear a headdress comprising a woven rattan cap or a patterned silver coronet topped with black and white hornbill feathers and the long spotted plumes of the argus pheasant. On their body, Iban men wear a loincloth (*sirat*), with broad shell bands around the upper arm, bead necklaces, and silver bands worn below the knee or around the upper arm. A short sword or parang (*nyabur*) is usually worn at the side of the waist, and unsheathed during a dance. Occasionally, Iban men may also wear a goat skin cloak or a woven jacket (*kelambi*), a sword belt decorated with beadwork and bells, and a decorative seat mat, as part of their ceremonial attire.

Tattoos are a distinguishing mark of Iban identity. At rural longhouses, senior Iban men, mostly over 40 years old, are extensively tattooed on their body with traditional designs. Tattoo patterns include rosettes (*bunga terong* or brinjal flower) on each shoulder, and down the back, and a star pattern (*buah andu*, or star-shaped fruit) on the back, both indicative of travel (Anggat 1989). Other common designs are a stylized scorpion (*kala*) on the arms and thighs, a distinctive frog pattern (*katak*) on the throat, and a fish hook on the calf, indicating possession of a *palang* or penis pin (Anggat 1989:64-65,68; McBain 1981:130). Some younger Iban men have larger versions of traditional tattoo patterns on their back (rosettes and stars), and other modern designs, of birds, anchors, aeroplanes, eagles, skull and dagger, or a woman, tattooed on their chest or arm. Iban women skilled in weaving are tattooed with a bracelet on the forearms, or a pattern on the backs of their hands. Tourists mainly photograph tattooed Iban men.

The Iban consider travel as part of their culture. Iban men have long had a tradition of going on *bejalai*, a journey made for economic gain, prestige
Plate 9. Iban women
Nanga Kesit,
Lemanak River

Plate 10. Iban men
Sarawak Cultural Village
and adventure (Kedit 1988, 1992). In the past this took the form of headhunting raids and trading expeditions. Travelling to coastal regions, Iban men obtained Chinese jars, Brunei gongs and brassware, together with tattoo patterns, as souvenirs of their travel. Young Iban men still go on *bejalai*, to purchase modern prestige items (outboard motors, chainsaws, portable generators) and acquire modern tattoos. Foreign tourists visiting Iban longhouses are incorporated in this Iban cultural tradition of journeying.

**Tourism in Sarawak**

Longhouses, exotic Dayak culture, a wild tropical landscape and the allure of a relatively unknown destination are the key features used to entice tourists to visit Sarawak. 'All foreign visitors concede that Sarawak's scenery is grand and the wildlife exotic, but their common goal is to spend at least one night in a real longhouse - a Sarawak speciality' (*New Straits Times* 1992; *Straits Times* 1992, see Appendix J). Iban longhouse tours offer this unique visitor experience.

**Malaysia and tourism**

Culture constitutes a main tourist drawcard for Malaysia (Dahlan 1990; King 1993; Sulehan & Kari 1989). In the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995), the exotic appeal and unique aspects of local cultures are being used to develop a distinct Malaysian cultural image and tourist identity. This includes the longhouse lifestyle and colourful features of Dayak groups in Borneo, especially the Iban in Sarawak (Figure 2). New cultural attractions are also integral to international tourism in Malaysia. Cultural product development has been allocated M$112.9 million in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (*Malaysia Tourism News* 1991). More handicraft centres, museums, galleries, and cultural villages (e.g. Pinang Cultural Centre) are being developed to diversify the range of cultural attractions in Malaysia.

Cultural tourist products, such as Iban longhouse tours, allow Malaysia to differentiate itself from and compete with the cultural exoticism of Thailand and Indonesia. For East Malaysia, tourist marketing emphasises the exotic culture groups living in Borneo, particularly those dwelling in communal longhouses. 'As Balinese culture did in Indonesia, ethnic "exotica" is playing a big role in the takeoff of East Malaysia's tourism industry, which has grown 15%-20% a year since 1989' (*Asiaweek* 1992:71). For Sarawak, this cultural tourist promotion mainly features
OUR 14 OTHER STOPOVER DESTINATIONS ARE JUST AS INVITING.

A$30 a day for a delightful stay.

This is just one of countless ways you can break your journey when flying Malaysia Airlines to London or Europe.

Our rhythmic music and lively dances are sure to get your feet tapping.

For adventure, you can explore the world's oldest rainforests and largest caves.

Our shopping malls are equally exciting, and you'll find lots of interesting bargains in our colourful bazaars and street markets.

As the sun sets, you can enjoy our vibrant night life.

A mere A$30* per night includes:

- A choice of 14 Malaysian destinations and Singapore.
- Free flight or appropriate transport to and from your holiday spot.
- Hotel and breakfast.
- Half-day sightseeing tour.
- Airport-hotel transfers.
- Optional Malaysia-On-Wheels package.

Malaysia Stopover offers much more, for far less.

Figure 2. Iban culture in Malaysia tourism advertisement.

Iban or Orang Ulu people. In the Malaysian Travel Planner, photographs of Iban people in ceremonial costume illustrate the section on Sarawak.

Tourism is now an important industry in Malaysia. In the last decade, tourist arrivals in Malaysia have trebled in number, from 2.25 million in 1980 to over 6 million in 1992, with a high of 7.48 million during Visit Malaysia Year 1990. Currently, tourism ranks as the fourth major foreign exchange earner for Malaysia, after manufacturing, crude petroleum, and palm oil, contributing 3% of Malaysia's GNP in 1992 (Tourism Malaysia 1993). Although a new entrant to tourism, with a federal Ministry of Culture and Tourism only established in 1987, Malaysia is now a leading tourist destination in South East Asia.

The primary tourist markets for Malaysia are Singapore (over 60% of all visitor arrivals but only 36% are considered tourists), other Asian countries, Europe, Australia and USA (Table 2). Tourists from Europe mainly come from Germany (47,324), France (24,346), Switzerland (18,278), Netherlands (17,790), Sweden (14,016), Austria (8,354), Belgium (6,959) and Denmark (6,708) (Tourism Malaysia 1993). Both northern Europe (Scandinavia) and southern Europe (Italy, Spain) are emerging as new tourist markets for Malaysia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Tourist arrivals to Malaysia, 1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Tourism Statistical Report 1992

Peninsular Malaysia attracts the majority of all international visitors, 94.5% of tourist arrivals in 1992. The East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, however, receive just 3.2% (195,000) and 1.7% (101,379) of total visitors respectively (Tourism Malaysia 1993). Within Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak are frontier states in Borneo, promoted as adventure travel
destinations, where visiting a longhouse is a key tourist activity. 'Travelling by longboat to the Dayak longhouses of the jungle interior of Malaysia’s Sarawak is ecotourism in the raw' (Kelly 1994:10).

The main tourist marketing emphasis for Malaysia is now on ecotourism. Recent magazine advertisements for 'Fascinating Malaysia' depict tourists exploring rainforest or tropical islands, linking Malaysia with the world-wide trend towards ecotourism. With a strong focus on Malaysia’s natural environment and wildlife, the emphasis is on holidays providing back-to-nature experiences and cultural encounters (Selamat Datang ke Malaysia 1992). Visit Malaysia Year 1994 is being promoted with the additional slogan 'Naturally more in '94' further emphasising ecotourism. Sarawak and Sabah, with rainforest, wildlife and Dayak longhouses, are increasingly popular as ecotourism destinations, particularly for tourists from UK, Europe and North America (Asiaweek 1992; Travel Trade Gazette Asia 1991). The new Batang Ai Longhouse Resort and longhouse tours on the Ulu Ai River are part of this ecotourism trend in Sarawak (Puah 1992; Ritchie 1992).

International promotion of Malaysia as a tourist destination is carried out by the Tourist Development Corporation of Malaysia (TDC), now renamed the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board (MPTB). A regional Malaysian tourist office is located in Kuching, Sarawak. Malaysia Airlines (MAS), the international carrier, also has an expanding worldwide network of flight destinations and travel offices. Malaysia hosts regular tourism promotion missions to major tourist markets. During 1992, Malaysian tourism promotion and sales missions were held in Japan, Australia/New Zealand, USA/Canada, South Africa, and Scandinavia (Denmark, Sweden, Norway). The TDC, Malaysian hoteliers and tour operators also participate in major international travel trade fairs. These include ITB Berlin, World Travel Mart London, Cologne Travel Mart, and similar events in other established or new tourist markets.

Sarawak and tourism
Sarawak is promoted as a culturally exotic and adventurous new holiday destination. Tourist brochures mainly depict Dayak people wearing traditional costume, Borneo wildlife, and spectacular natural scenery like Mulu or Niah caves, and tropical rainforest. British colonial buildings, Chinese temples, handicrafts, river scenery and the Sarawak Cultural Village are also depicted in tourist brochures for Sarawak. Tourist slogans
used to promote Sarawak include 'Land of the Hornbills', 'Land of Headhunters', 'Land of Many Rivers', and 'Land of the White Rajahs', indicative of the history, culture, wildlife and natural beauty found in Sarawak (Hon 1990). More recent tourist marketing proclaims Sarawak as 'Adventureland in Borneo', and as 'The World's Last Great Adventure'.

International visitors to Sarawak come from other South East Asian countries, mainly Brunei and Singapore, but foreign tourists, particularly from the United Kingdom, are also important (Table 3). Apart from numerous weekend visitors to Miri, from neighbouring Brunei, international visitors in Sarawak are generally the same as for Peninsular Malaysia. The visitors from non-ASEAN countries are largely from the United Kingdom, as well as from Japan, the Netherlands, USA, Australia, Taiwan, France, Germany and Canada (Hon 1988). In 1992, emerging tourist markets for Sarawak included visitors from Denmark, Italy, Spain and Korea. The visitors joining Iban longhouse tours in Sarawak are mainly from European countries (Teh 1989).

| Table 3. Visitors by Air, Land & Sea to Sarawak in 1989 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ASEAN countries                | Non-ASEAN countries             |
| Brunei (142,251)               | UK (11,220)                     |
| Singapore (17,845)             | Japan (3,176)                   |
| Indonesia (8,137)              | Australia (3,136)               |
| Philippines (2,111)            | Netherlands (3,067)             |
| Thailand (733)                 | USA (3,006)                     |
|                                 | France (2,160)                  |
|                                 | Taiwan (2,122)                  |
|                                 | Germany (1,876)                 |
|                                 | Canada (1,323)                  |
|                                 | Korea (1,028)                   |
|                                 | India (793)                     |
|                                 | Hong Kong (736)                 |
|                                 | Switzerland (715)               |
|                                 | New Zealand (675)               |
|                                 | Italy (576)                     |
|                                 | Other Countries (3,847)         |
| Total ASEAN (171,077)          | Total non ASEAN (39,456)        |

Note: 28,184 visitors were recorded as 'Stateless' and 6 were recorded as 'not described'. There were 238,723 visitors to Sarawak in 1989.

Source: Department of Statistics Malaysia, Sarawak Branch 1990 Visitor Arrival Statistics Sarawak 1989
Tourists in Sarawak include long-haul visitors, expatriates, business travellers, and convention delegates. Long-haul visitors derive mainly from Europe and North America, and also from the Asia-Pacific region (Australia/New Zealand, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong). Long-haul visitors include some independent travellers but the majority arrive on package tours. Expatriates holidaying in Sarawak are resident in Brunei, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, as well as within Sarawak (Miri, Bintulu). Business travellers, both expatriates and Asian, come from other cities in South East Asia (Bangkok, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur) to attend meetings and seminars in Kuching. Conventions held in Kuching are attracting more delegates, mainly from the Asian region. Expatriates, along with business and convention visitors, may also join organised tours while in Sarawak.

Most tourists visiting Sarawak arrive at Kuching International Airport. Air access to Kuching is via direct flights from Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru, Kota Kinabalu (MAS), Singapore (MAS, SIA), Pontianak in Kalimantan (MAS, Merparti), and Brunei (Royal Brunei). Singapore Airlines (SIA) began twice weekly air services to Kuching in January 1991. MAS also provides a direct international flight from Seoul to Kuching, launched in February 1992, as well as operating the domestic flight network in Sarawak. Land access is via bus transport from Pontianak to Kuching, or from Sabah and Brunei into northern Sarawak. Only independent travellers utilise bus transport in Sarawak because of the distances and long journey times. Cruise ships also stopover in Kuching. In 1992, some 2,000 tourists on seven cruise ships made a day visit to Kuching. These cruise ship travellers join a city tour, visit the Sarawak Cultural Village or go to a Bidayuh longhouse. A small number of private yachts call at Kuching each year.

Several agencies in Sarawak are involved with promoting tourism. These include the Sarawak Ministry of Environment and Tourism, established in 1986, with a Tourism Division and State Tourism Coordinator, and the Sarawak Ministry of Social Development with a dance troupe in the Cultural Division, and also the Sarawak Museum. The Sarawak Economic Development Corporation (SEDC), a semi-government organisation, is the main player in large tourist development projects in Sarawak. SEDC enterprises include the Sarawak Cultural Village, Damai Travel & Tours, the main tourist hotels and
small resorts in Kuching, and Sarakraf, a contemporary handicrafts enterprise mainly aimed at the tourist market.

The Sarawak Tourist Association (STA), formed in 1963, includes hoteliers, travel agents, tour operators and other members of the tourism industry. Since 1986, the STA has adopted a more aggressive strategy in marketing Sarawak as an international tourist destination. In 1989, the STA was instrumental in setting up a Sarawak Tourism Centre in Singapore. In early 1991 a second Sarawak Tourism Centre was opened in Kuala Lumpur. These Sarawak Tourism Centres provide more detailed tourist information on Sarawak than what is available at other Malaysian tourism offices.

Sarawak tourist promotion activities include overseas tours by cultural dance troupes, holiday sales missions, participation in travel trade fairs, and special museum displays (Table 4). At these events, Dayak culture is used to promote Sarawak as an exotic tourist destination. In August 1992, a 10 day cultural promotion, featuring an Iban dancer, was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. The promotion was co-sponsored by Malaysia and Singapore Airlines and the Sarawak Tourism Division, and organised in Copenhagen by Larsen Rejser, a Danish tour operator selling package tours to Sarawak. The Iban dancer, Bansing ak Usah, a *tuai rumah* (headman) from Murat on the Skrang River, performed a traditional *ngajat* or dance during calls made at various travel agencies in Copenhagen (*Borneo Post* 1992b, see Appendix J).

Package tours are a recent innovation in the tourist marketing of Sarawak. In 1988, Holiday Inn Kuching began promoting the first inclusive package tour to Sarawak, flying direct from Europe. This 14 day 'Adventure tour to the land of the hornbill' included a two night visit to an Iban longhouse on the Skrang River (*Fu* 1988; *Tourism Asia* 1988). In 1989, the Sarawak Tourist Association launched 'Hornbill Escapade' package tours in Singapore, and in April 1991 introduced 'Borneo Escapade' package tours sold through travel agents in Kuala Lumpur and Penang. Since 1989, 'Hornbill Escapade' package tours have resulted in more than 25,000 tourists from Singapore visiting Sarawak (*Star* 1991). Malaysia Airlines also market a Skrang River Safari in Sarawak, sold as a four day extension tour departing from Singapore or Kuala Lumpur.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22-29 March</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>MAS, Tourism Division, Cultural Troupe, Tour Operators</td>
<td>Launch MAS direct flight, Seoul-Kuching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-29 August</td>
<td>Copenhagen, Denmark</td>
<td>MAS, SIA, Tourism Division, Larsen Rejser, Iban dancer, C.P.H. Travel</td>
<td>Promote Iban longhouse tours in Sarawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 November</td>
<td>Copenhagen, Dusseldorf, Amsterdam, London</td>
<td>SIA, Tourism Division, Cultural troupe, Tour operators</td>
<td>Promote Sarawak to European travel agents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ASEAN TRAVEL TRADE FAIRS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17-23 January</td>
<td>ASEAN Tourism Forum, Penang &amp; Langkawi Is.</td>
<td>Tour operators</td>
<td>Travel sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 March</td>
<td>MATTA Travel Fair, Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>Sarawak Tourism Centre, SEDC</td>
<td>Tourism promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15 March</td>
<td>NATAS Travel Fair, Singapore</td>
<td>Sarawak Tourism Centre, SEDC, Tour operators</td>
<td>Tourism promotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL TRADE FAIRS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-17 January</td>
<td>PATA Adventure Travel Mart, Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>Tour operators</td>
<td>Travel sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-11 March</td>
<td>ITB, Berlin</td>
<td>Tour operators, Hoteliers</td>
<td>Travel sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-20 November</td>
<td>World Travel Mart, London</td>
<td>Tour Operators, Hoteliers</td>
<td>Travel sales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MUSEUM EXHIBITION 'Borneo Heritage'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 February-30 April</td>
<td>Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>Sarawak Museum, Tourism Division</td>
<td>Cultural exhibition, Tourism promotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: ASEAN=Association of South East Nations, MAS=Malaysia Airlines, SIA=Singapore International Airlines, MATTA=Malaysian Association of Tour and Travel Agents, NATAS=National Association of Travel Agents Singapore, PATA=Pacific Asia Travel Association, ITB=International Travel Bourse (Exchange), SEDC=Sarawak Economic Development Corporation.
Other Iban longhouse package tours are promoted by Sarawak inbound tour operators, and a wide range of other international travel companies selling holidays to Borneo.

**Longhouse tourism in Borneo**

Borneo is world-renowned for the traditional longhouse lifestyle and former headhunting practices of the Dayak people. Nowadays, however, it is only in Sarawak that the longhouse way of life has been both maintained and strongly promoted as a tourist attraction (*Asiaweek* 1992; Gocher 1988; Heiss 1987; Jenkins & Sacerdoti 1978; Kedit 1990; Nichols 1990). In Kalimantan, Indonesian authorities have persuaded Dayaks to pull down their longhouses and build separate family dwellings. Dayak cultural practices, such as tattooing, dances and handicrafts are also in decline (Jenkins & Sacerdoti 1978). Dayak longhouses deeper in the interior of Kalimantan are difficult to reach, requiring long and expensive river journeys. In Sabah, the longhouse lifestyle 'has all but disappeared' (Hutton 1992). This changing way of life, especially among the Murut people, is mainly due to the effects of modernisation and western influence. Some Rungus people still live in traditional longhouses, these can be reached by road on day tours from Kota Kinabalu (Wong & Liaw 1991). Oil-rich Brunei has some Iban longhouses in the Temburong region but these are not visited by organised tour groups. It is in Sarawak then that most foreign tourists will see the famed Dayak longhouse of Borneo. In contrast to Kalimantan, the Sarawak government has supported the maintenance of Dayak longhouses and Dayak cultural traditions. 'Recent statistics show that Sarawak has about 2,800 longhouses still occupied' (*New Straits Times* 1992). Most of these are Iban longhouses.

An overnight visit to an Iban longhouse is the most popular tour with international visitors in Sarawak (Hon 1989). The Iban people living in longhouses along the Skrang and Lemanak rivers, a day's journey from Kuching, are the main focus for overnight package tours. Smaller numbers of tourists on guided tours are taken to visit Iban longhouses on the Ulu Ai and Engkari Rivers, located above the Batang Ai dam. Occasionally, tour operators from Kuching or Miri take groups to visit Iban longhouses on the Rejang River and its tributaries, but these are not a regular event. Some tourists stay overnight at an Iban longhouse on the Medalam River in north east Sarawak, when visiting Mulu National
An Iban longhouse close to Niah Caves, now rebuilt and modernised, is frequently visited by day-tourists. Most tourists, however, join Iban longhouse tours which depart from Kuching.

To enhance visitor understanding of Dayak culture in Sarawak, the Tourism Division has produced a series of cultural leaflets for free distribution to travel agents, hotels and visiting tourists. The leaflets, which are printed in English, are colourful, well designed and contain excellent summaries about the handicrafts and cultural customs of the Dayak peoples in Sarawak. The brochures about Dayak crafts include *Pua Kumbu* (Iban textiles), *Baskets, Mats & Hats and their uses, Beads, Silver & Brass ware, Wood Carvings of Sarawak*, and *Tattooing: Ethnic art of Sarawak*. Other general brochures describe *The Cultural Dances of Sarawak and Festivals in Sarawak* for the main ethnic groups.

A special brochure presents a *Visitors Guide to a typical Iban Longhouse* (Appendix E). Independent travellers intending to visit a longhouse on the Rejang River are given a copy of this brochure at the Kuching Airport. Some tour operators in Kuching also distribute this brochure to visitors joining Iban longhouse tours. The brochure describes Iban customs on arrival, dress and bathing, meal time, greeting the guest, and *ngayap* (courting); Iban artefacts including *antu pala’* (human skull), ceramics, brassware, handicrafts, weaving and basketry; and important aspects of Iban culture, such as dance and music, the way of life, traditional beliefs and customs. A list of Iban phrases and some cultural rules of behaviour in an Iban longhouse complete the information in this brochure.

**Sarawak cultural attractions**

Cultural tourism, adventure tourism and nature tourism are the principal forms of tourism found in Sarawak. The main tourist drawcards include visiting longhouses, Dayak culture, the tropical rainforest environment, Borneo wildlife (orang utan etc), and National Parks (Niah Caves, Bako, Gunung Mulu). Cultural attractions, however, are the mainstay of the Sarawak tourism industry. 'The rich and diversified cultures of Sarawak provide one of the major sources of tourist attractions in the State' (Hon 1985:13). Indeed, the tourist emphasis on seeing Dayak headhunters and visiting Iban longhouses was established by early travellers in Sarawak (Saunders 1993). The cultural
features of most appeal to international visitors include Dayak people, local handicrafts, cultural heritage and museums (Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. Cultural tourist attractions in Sarawak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Indigenous ethnic groups (Iban, Orang Ulu, Bidayuh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse lifestyle &amp; culture, traditional costume, music &amp; dances, ceremonies &amp; festivals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) History of the White Rajahs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British colonial buildings dating from 1855 to 1931, including the Astana and the Sarawak Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Local handicrafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftwork decorated with traditional motifs and designs - textiles, woven baskets, mats and hats, wood carvings etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Cultural tourist attractions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawak Museum and Sarawak Cultural Village (Hon 1985,1988,1990)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sarawak Museum
The Sarawak Museum, dating from 1891, is often described in guidebooks as one of the best museums in South East Asia (Crowther & Wheeler 1988). Over the past century, the museum has built up an outstanding Borneo collection of prehistoric and ethnographic materials, particularly traditional Dayak arts and crafts (see Appendix G). The upper floor of the old museum building displays functional objects, ritual items and craftwork of the Iban, Bidayuh, Orang Ulu, Malay and Melanau people. The ethnographic exhibits include baskets, hats, beadwork, weapons, fishing equipment, musical instruments, wood carvings, masks, games, tattooing devices, palang (penis pins), charms, model boats and model longhouses. The walls of the Museum are adorned with colourful murals depicting scenes from traditional Dayak life, a spectacular Orang Ulu 'Tree-of-Life' pattern and other Dayak designs.

A feature exhibit in the Museum is a near life-size replica of two rooms and a covered gallery in a traditionally constructed Iban longhouse. The longhouse rooms are furnished with Chinese jars, brassware, ceramics, clay pots, and baskets. In the covered gallery, there are spears, parangs, shields, musical instruments, textiles, human trophy skulls, and other belongings found in a longhouse dating from the 1920s (Sarawak Museum Journal 1968). The Iban longhouse replica, 'traditionally constructed with typical raw materials and traditionally furnished, is one of the most popular attractions in the museum. This model exhibit has served as the backdrop of many of the films taken in the promotion of Sarawak' (Chin 1989:102).
A museum extension building, the Dewan Tun Abdul Razak, was opened in 1983. Located across the road from the old museum building, this extension houses further displays on the prehistory and rich cultural heritage of Sarawak. The exhibits include heirloom treasures (ceramics, brassware, beads) of various ethnic groups, traditional costume and jewellery items, Iban textiles, bark clothing, an Iban wedding diorama, and Dayak burial objects. Individual sections in a 'mock' Dayak longhouse are used to display Iban, Orang Ulu and Bidayuh artefacts. These cultural sections are used as a backdrop for tourist brochure photographs of dancers from various ethnic groups performing in traditional costume.

The Sarawak Museum in Kuching is a major attraction for both local people and foreign tourists (Appendix G). 'An average of 16,000 people visit the Museum monthly' (Kedit 1990c:219). The former museum director, Lucas Chin, estimated that 20 to 25% of visitors to the Sarawak Museum are international tourists. Such tourists visit the Sarawak Museum either as an independent 'walk-in' visitor, on tour with a guide from a local travel agency, or in a group tour with a foreign guide. Local travel agents include a visit to the Sarawak Museum as the final part of a three hour Kuching city tour, with 45 minutes to view the displays.

**Sarawak Cultural Village**

The Sarawak Cultural Village (SCV) is a 'living museum' recreating the traditional architecture and cultural practices of Sarawak's main ethnic groups. The Village mainly comprises seven traditional ethnic houses built around a man-made lake (Figure 3). The dwellings include Iban, Bidayuh, and Orang Ulu longhouses, a Penan hut, a Melanau *Rumah Tinggi* (tall house), a Malay house and a Chinese farmhouse. Located about 40 kilometres from Kuching, the Village was opened early in 1990. It was developed to preserve Sarawak's cultural heritage and to be a tourist attraction. The Village is built on a 6.8 hectare site, adjacent to the Holiday Inn Damai Beach, in a picturesque rainforest area below the summit of Mt. Santubong. A multi-purpose reception centre at the Village entrance includes a cultural theatre for dance performances, a handicraft shop and a restaurant. Beyond this entrance building, tourists follow a path visiting the ethnic houses at the Sarawak Cultural Village.
Figure 3. Ethnic houses at the Sarawak Cultural Village
These ethnic houses have been built in traditional architectural styles and furnished with customary artefacts. People from each ethnic group stay in the houses and demonstrate handicraft making, traditional games, food preparation and other cultural activities. There are 46 dancers (part-time and full time) and about 70 crafts people employed at the Village to demonstrate traditional cultural activities to visitors. Twice a day, at 11 am and 4.30 pm, there is a one hour dance performance at the cultural theatre. This show includes Iban, Orang Ulu, Bidayuh, Melanau and Malay dances. Some of the cultural demonstrators live in the traditional houses, but most commute daily from Kuching to work at the Sarawak Cultural Village.

Built at a cost of M$9.4 million, the Sarawak Cultural Village portrays 'live' the cultural diversity of Sarawak in one place. It is based on the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii (Stanton 1989). The Village presents traditional aspects of Sarawak cultures by 'simulating the authentic ways of life of the various major ethnic groups' (SEDC 1990:1). It provides tourists with limited time the opportunity to see and participate in the rich cultural heritage of Sarawak (Munan 1991). The entrance fee is M$45 per adult, including a cultural dance show and a guided tour of each traditional house. Cultural activities are scheduled into morning and afternoon sessions, thus allowing tourists to 'See Sarawak in Half a Day'.

Tourist arrivals at the Sarawak Cultural Village are about evenly divided between 'walk-in' visitors and those on group tours. Independent visitors mainly walk across from the adjacent Holiday Inn Damai Beach, while others arrive by bus or taxi from Kuching. Group tours, including cruise ship arrivals, are brought to the Village by local tour operators, accompanied by a guide. Such tours allow three hours to see the Village, including the one hour dance performance. Only travellers and tourists not tied to a schedule spend the whole day exploring the Cultural Village.

Iban Longhouse Tours
Iban longhouse tours are a feature product of the Sarawak tourism industry. The Iban people living in longhouses along the lower reaches of the Skrang, Lemanak, Ulu Ai and Engkari Rivers are the main focus of group tours (see Map 2).
Once the feared headhunters of Borneo, (the Iban) have traded headhunting for the hospitality industry and are happy to welcome visitors to their (longhouse), put on traditional dance shows and host visitors for the night (Nichols 1990:34).

There are two main reasons why Iban longhouse tours largely take place in this region. Firstly, the Iban people living on these rivers still continue a longhouse lifestyle, follow their animistic religion and practise traditional customs (Kedit 1980b). Secondly, these Iban longhouses are located within a day's journey from Kuching. Road access to the rivers and longboats powered by outboard motors expedite the movement of tourists. In 1991, some 16,500 tourists visited Iban longhouses in this area on overnight package tours (Zeppel 1994).

Iban longhouses on the lower Skrang River have been visited by organised tour groups since the mid 1960s. It is only more recently that tour operators in Sarawak have shifted to Iban longhouses at other river locations. In 1987, Borneo Transverse Tours began operating at Serubah on the Lemanak River, while Borneo Adventure commenced longhouse tours at Nanga Sumpa on the more remote Ulu Ai River. This movement inland to the other river regions came about because of new operators entering the industry, competition with established operators owning guesthouses, and the increasing commercialisation of Iban longhouses on the Skrang River (Hon 1990). In 1992, Asian Overland Services commenced regular Iban longhouse tours on the Engkari River.

Tourist guesthouses have been built at the most regularly visited Iban longhouses, particularly on the Skrang and Lemanak Rivers (Table 6). The first tourist guesthouses were built in 1976 on the Skrang River. Since 1986, another 11 guesthouses have been built, four each on the Skrang and Lemanak Rivers, two on the Ulu Ai River, and one on the Engkari River. The larger, more established tour operators, handling the greatest volume of tourists, exclusively own and operate most guesthouses. Tourists brought by other smaller travel agencies either sleep in the longhouse itself, or in a hired guesthouse. Most of the tourist guesthouses are built in a rustic 'longhouse' style, using timber planks, bamboo and often also a thatched roof. They include basic modern amenities such as mattresses, toilets, showers, a kitchen and lighting provided by a generator.
Table 6. Guesthouse accommodation at Iban longhouses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>OWNER</th>
<th>YEAR BUILT</th>
<th>CAPACITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SKRANG RIVER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunuk</td>
<td>C.P.H. Travel</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejong</td>
<td>Interworld Travel</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejong</td>
<td>C.P.H. Travel</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejong</td>
<td>Jeffrey Kiroh</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murat</td>
<td>Interworld Travel</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gemalong</td>
<td>Singai Travel</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jungle lodge only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEMANAK RIVER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serubah</td>
<td>Borneo Transverse</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Kesit</td>
<td>Insar Travel</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(now closed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Kesit</td>
<td>Kesit Longhouse</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubok Subong</td>
<td>Subong Longhouse</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU AI RIVER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Sumpa</td>
<td>Borneo Adventure</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Tibuk</td>
<td>Borneo Adventure</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGKARI RIVER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Sepaya</td>
<td>C.P.H. Travel</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An overnight visit to an Iban longhouse is marketed as a River Safari. Tour brochures promise a genuine encounter with Iban culture, by taking visitors to see an Iban longhouse in a natural jungle setting. The river journey by longboat promotes the idea of adventure, of 'safari travel' into the unknown interior to see a rural Iban longhouse. Standard activities in this overnight package tour include: longboat ride, guided tour of the longhouse, Iban dance performance, handicraft sale, cock fighting demonstration, blowpipe demonstration and often also a jungle walk. Other activities, provided by some tour operators, may include a jungle picnic, fishing, a farm visit, welcome ceremony (mirin), or Iban games.

Organised Iban longhouse tours are the result of agreements between local travel operators and Iban hosts. Sarawak tour operators negotiate with the tuai rumah (head man) and other longhouse residents before commencing guided tours. Issues discussed include the benefits of tourism, organisation of tour operations, tourist accommodation, and payments to be made to Iban people for providing various tourist services. A longhouse tourism committee is formed and rosters are drawn up designating Iban people to perform certain tourist tasks (Kedit 1990b). This includes providing longboat transport, cooking assistants,
dancers, musicians, jungle guides, cock fighting and blowpipe demonstrations, and other activities as requested by tour operators. To avoid conflict and share income, Iban people who wish to be involved in tourism take their turn at providing visitor services (Kedit 1990b). Hosting tourists is a community enterprise at Iban longhouses.

All tourist services provided by Iban people are paid for by tour operators. Iban longhouses most involved in tourism use an itemised bill printed with the name of the longhouse and listing the standard tourist services provided. For each tour group visiting a longhouse, a written record is made of tourist services, with guides making a direct cash payment to Iban people using money brought from Kuching. Alternatively, the longhouse secretary writes up the bills for each tour group, signed by the guide. The tour operator then makes payments to the Iban longhouse community at an agreed interval, such as every three months. These financial transactions or billing activities are carried out in the guesthouse or longhouse, at times when the tourist guide is free. Iban longhouse tours are sold as all-inclusive package tours. Some tour brochures mention that the cost of an Iban longhouse tour includes payment of an entrance fee and for the cultural dances. Most tourists, however, remain largely unaware of the payments made to Iban people for hosting their visit.

Summary
Iban longhouses are a feature tourist attraction in Sarawak, Borneo. The hospitable Iban are famed as former headhunters, and for their warp ikat textile weaving. Borneo itself is renowned for the unique longhouse dwellings of the indigenous Dayaks, with longhouse living still prevalent among rural Iban in Sarawak. For tourists, colourful aspects of Iban culture include festivals, traditional dances, trophy skulls, ceremonial costumes and tattooed Iban men. Iban culture features prominently in the tourist marketing of Sarawak as an exotic destination in Borneo. It is mainly tourists from European countries who join guided Iban longhouse tours in Sarawak. Other heritage attractions include the Sarawak Museum and Sarawak Cultural Village, both with a replica Iban longhouse. Tourists visiting Sarawak thus enjoy a diverse experience of Iban culture.
Chapter 2. CULTURAL TOURISM AND AUTHENTICITY

"For (modern tourists) reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.'
(MacCannell 1976:3)

Authenticity is an important social concept, much debated in tourism. This chapter presents significant ideas and findings relating to the concept of authenticity, while defining its research value in studying cultural tourism. In this literature review, the main theories concerning authenticity are discussed, then various tourism case studies further exploring this issue are summarised. Next, aspects of authenticity in tourist encounters are described, including the Toraja of Sulawesi (Indonesia), and the hilltribes of northern Thailand. This cultural context provides a rationale for the present study on Iban longhouse tourism in Sarawak. The appeal of using authenticity as a research tool for analysing tourist experiences and behaviour is then outlined, followed by a review of the methodology and research questions addressed in this field study.

Authenticity and Tourism

The notion of what constitutes an authentic tourist experience is a contentious matter. The term authenticity is therefore reviewed here both as a popular and a scholarly concept. Popular usage of the term is covered in the accounts of select travel writers, followed by the treatment of authenticity in tourism literature, as a theoretical and applied concept.

Defining Authenticity

In popular use, authenticity means achieving a genuine tourist experience of a place or people. Recent articles in the travel trade press consider the issue of authenticity in tourism marketing (Havenhand 1992), tourist contact with 'authentic local culture' in the Pacific region (Yeoh 1993), and traditional features of new village-style tourist hotels in Bali (Wall 1993). Another article, in the magazine New Traveller, addresses the problem of finding authenticity during a guided jungle tour in the Amazon rainforest (Hoggins 1992). One author contrasts his own experience of diverse tourist events as either staged or genuine activities (Lewis 1994). Witnessing a circumcision ceremony in Turkey and dancing with the celebrants, at a local hotel, was the "real thing". 'It wasn't staged as a tourist attraction to be observed, but occurred as a spontaneous authentic happening' (Lewis 1994:10).
In contrast, a tour of the Camargue area in France was spoilt by seeing 'wild' horses eating baled hay dropped off by an excursion boat. Similarly, a geyser eruption in New Zealand, prompted by adding soap suds and poking bags into the vent, was another example of 'staged authenticity' for this author. Strict criteria for authenticity influenced Lewis's responses to such events. In terms of rewarding tourist experiences, a large excursion ship in Norway was seen as 'distant, and general' while a small mail boat delivering supplies offered close personal involvement by 'observing authentic people, structures, and happenings' (Lewis 1994:11). For Lewis, authentic travel experiences are direct and immediate while staged events are altered or mediated in some way for tourists.

In these popular accounts, authenticity largely means finding events, places or activities unaltered by the presence of a tourist audience. Travellers who actively seek authenticity prefer to go behind the scenes and thereby share in the real lives of others. Such tourists avoid or overcome the superficial aspects of travel, seeking 'a spontaneous experience that reveals, or better yet allows, the sharing of some aspect of daily life of a different culture or community' (Getz 1994:315). Encounters with local people and events are thus considered to be either genuine or something 'done for tourists'. Tourist awareness of real life moments also gives authenticity 'an unexpected gift-like quality' (Pearce 1988:176).

**Authenticity as a scholarly concept**

At a deeper level, authenticity reflects tourists' desire to achieve genuine, worthwhile and spontaneous travel experiences (MacCannell 1976; Pearce 1988). 'Authenticity is a desired and actively pursued experience by tourists which is perceived to reflect or give access to the true and unadulterated nature of everyday life in the destination' (Vallee 1987:27). The nature of this experience is individually defined by tourists, according to their own need for authenticity. In the tourism literature though, there has been a greater emphasis placed on defining and describing the unauthentic or staged experiences provided by the tourism industry (Boorstin 1961; MacCannell 1976; Papson 1981). More recently, however, the issue of authenticity in culture and tourism has been considered as part of the social process of constructing reality and developing meaning for evolving new traditions (Cohen 1988; Getz 1994; Greenwood 1982). This research defines authenticity as a tangible feature of destinations or activities, and as a meaningful experience for tourists.
The topic of authenticity is explored in a range of tourism-related papers. Some authors address 'taking in' authenticity by consuming exotic ethnic food (Handler 1986:4; van den Berghe 1984:314), or how the decline of Balinese cuisine in restaurants is diminishing the tourist experience of Bali (Reynolds 1993). One paper lists criteria for maintaining authenticity in the Pentecost land jump or naghol in Vanuatu (Sofield 1991). Another establishes guidelines to ensure authenticity or cultural meaning in festivals, special events and heritage celebrations (Getz 1994). The tourist role in creating meaningful responses to authenticity, however, has been little explored. In particular, the way in which individuals respond to a range of tourist settings where authenticity may be seen as varied.

**Theories of authenticity**

Dean MacCannell (1973,1976) was the first to develop a theory of authenticity in modern tourism. According to MacCannell, modern life is fragmented and people travel to escape their alienation, searching for authenticity in places and peoples untouched by modernity. Important aspects of this authenticity include the search for pristine, primitive and natural qualities which tourists hope to find in earlier eras, unspoiled places, indigenous peoples and simpler lifestyles. MacCannell contends that all tourists are engaged in a quest for authenticity, hoping to find a 'connection between truth, intimacy and sharing the life behind the scenes' (1976:95). For people in modern society, authenticity or the search for 'our true self' is realised in someone else's reality (Handler 1986).

For MacCannell, this authenticity is considered to be a socially agreed upon and objectively defined entity, something that can be found and enjoyed by tourists. MacCannell, however, also contends that most tourists will only encounter staged authenticity, where the arrangement of tourist settings, through various degrees of staging, thwart tourists in their goal to achieve a genuine experience. In MacCannell’s theory of authenticity, tourists are passive consumers of staged events, occupying a controlled leisure space within modern society.

More recently, Cohen (1988) proposed that authenticity is not a fixed idea but that it varies across time, people and places. Cohen's main premise is that 'authenticity is a socially constructed concept and its social connotation is, therefore, not given, but "negotiable"' (1988:374). In this approach, tourists actively create meaning, using a variety of criteria to
define authenticity in their travel experiences. 'Authenticity is a personally constructed, contextual and changing concept' (Littrell, Anderson & Brown 1993:199). Personal definitions of authenticity are shaped by social influences, and also vary according to the type of tourist experience sought. Not all tourists are searching for authenticity, nor are they all alienated from modern society (Bruner 1991; Stephen 1990).

For some tourists, cultural villages, revived local customs and souvenir crafts decorated with 'typical' traditional designs, may suffice as authentic products. Tourist assessment of authenticity thus becomes a matter of focusing on those cultural traits which have personal significance and meaning.

These traits are then considered sufficient for the authentization (sic) of the product as a whole. One could say that they symbolize metonymically the authenticity of the tourist-oriented cultural product as a whole (Cohen 1988:378).

Following Cohen's theory of authenticity, tourists actively select central elements defining a real experience, within a dynamic social setting. Exploring this active construction of authenticity by tourists is the basis of the present research.

Locating Authenticity

In the tourism literature, authenticity is analysed according to a division of physical and social elements. These 'models' of authenticity provide a framework to locate and account for tourist experiences as being either genuine or not genuine. Goffman (1959) developed a dichotomy of 'front' and 'back' regions to account for social interaction between hosts and guests and where these encounters took place. The 'Front' region was characterised by artificial behaviour, formality and staged activities while the 'Back' region represented real life, with natural behaviour, familiarity, and people carrying out everyday activities. MacCannell (1976) referred to these regions as frontstage or backstage. The latter terms are commonly used in tourism definitions of authenticity:

Back stage: authentic tourist environments or people, that is not deliberately set up for or staged for tourists

Front stage: inauthentic in that the situation or its actors have been contrived or set up for the inspection of tourists (Pearce & Moscardo 1985: 161).
Goffman considered human interaction to be modified mainly by social roles, with architectural features often highlighting this division between social arenas of behaviour. The division of front and back regions is primarily a social one, based on the type of social performance that is staged in a place, and on the social roles found there (MacCannell 1976: 92). This notion of front and back regions (or frontstage/backstage) has been used to describe the authenticity of tourist settings (MacCannell 1973, 1976), people encountered by tourists (Pearce & Moscardo 1985, 1986), and the presentation of Pacific Islands dance performances (Sofield 1991).

MacCannell (1973, 1976) developed a continuum of six stages for tourist settings, based on physical appearance, going from the front region (staged) to the back region (real). The stages described various settings, to analyse whether tourists had achieved an authentic cultural experience. MacCannell's scheme included simulated reconstructions, such as cultural villages, a 'front' region set up to portray real life from a 'back' region. He conceived of action in these tourist settings as progressive movement between stages as tourists attempt to overcome or get behind the superficial aspects of staged attractions to experience real life and achieve authentic experiences. MacCannell's analysis of authenticity was situational or place-related and it is not always possible to distinguish between his intermediary stages. His approach to the staging of tourist settings downplays social roles (Goffman 1959) as the primary determinant of authenticity. MacCannell also varied the criteria used to define authenticity from physical settings (stages 2-5) to an undefined 'social space' at each end point (Stage 1 and 6).

Cohen (1979a) reduced MacCannell's six stages into two, real and staged, comparable to Goffman's back and front regions. He also looked at authenticity from the tourists' point of view. Cohen devised a four cell model, to locate whether or not tourists were able to perceive authenticity by distinguishing between (or failing to recognise) a real or staged setting (Figure 4). Cohen considered authenticity to be an 'objectively real' entity, recognised as such by tourists, and only found outside 'tourist spaces' (1979a). Denial of authenticity could also take place when doubting tourists saw real cultural features, such as local people still habitually wearing traditional costume, but considered these to be contrived or only done for tourists.
Figure 4. Cohen's four cell model of authenticity in tourist situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATURE OF SCENE</th>
<th>Real</th>
<th>Staged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>1) Authentic&lt;br&gt;Authentic and recognised as such</td>
<td>3) Denial of authenticity&lt;br&gt;Suspicion of staging, authenticity questioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staged</td>
<td>2) Staged authenticity (Covert Tourist Space)&lt;br&gt;Failure to recognise contrived tourist space</td>
<td>4) Contrived (Overt Tourist Space)&lt;br&gt;Recognised contrived tourist space</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(after Cohen 1979a, as modified by Pearce & Moscardo 1986)

Neither MacCannell or Cohen considered the possibility that tourists could achieve authentic experiences based on relationships with people in tourist settings. To include this aspect of authenticity, Pearce and Moscardo (1985,1986) developed four tourist 'scenes' addressing the role of both people and places in tourist settings. To assess tourist perceptions of authenticity, the 'scenes' were divided into nine tourist experiences, based on whether people, place, both or neither were important for defining authenticity. Pearce (1988) further contends tourists can achieve authenticity either through people-based experiences, environmental experiences, or joint interaction of these two elements. This scheme also recognises that some tourists place a low value on authenticity and are satisfied with their experience of staged cultural attractions.

Sofield (1991) extended these tourist 'scenes' to include the authenticity of host behaviour, in Pacific Islands dance performances. The setting, performers, and dances, were described as frontstage or backstage, with ethnicity, physical appearance, and the dance styles described as either real or contrived. Tourist responses to the dance shows were not addressed.

Another analysis of authenticity, relating to visitor management, is 'based on the level of emphasis placed upon authenticity by the providers of tourist experiences' (Richins & O'Keefe-Richins 1991). Four types of 'authentic' tourist situations were identified. Authentic Experiences (both 'True' and Culturally Mixed) involve 'true-to-life' encounters where tourists interact with a host culture in their original location. Other Re-Created Experiences involve tourist attractions which re-create aspects of
traditional cultures and lifeways to educate or entertain visitors. These cultural attractions are either Authenticity Dominated or Commercially Dominated tourism enterprises. This scheme further attempts to link tourist types with a range of culturally authentic experiences or attractions. The main features of each cultural encounter are not clearly defined, nor how social factors influence tourist responses to authenticity.

All of the various models describing authenticity as a division of elements, except for Pearce and Moscardo (1985, 1986), are largely based on physical features, paying little attention to social behaviour. The models do not specify whether tourists give equal importance to each element or that this remains constant, whatever the setting. One element could also dominate, depending on the observer's viewpoint, while various elements could change in importance during one tourist event. No consideration is given to a time frame, since the models only consider single episodes in contemporary tourist settings (Moscardo & Pearce 1986). They do not include host perceptions of authenticity, nor address the important aspect of social interaction with people in tourist settings (Pearce 1988). Yet as Pearce and Moscardo acknowledge,

it is the relationship between the tourist and host which determines authenticity... (therefore)...it is the relationship, not the backstage or frontstage role, which should be considered in defining the authenticity of the people in tourist settings (1986:129).

It is the quality or extent of this tourist-host relationship which can allow for the transformation of events and characters from a superficial encounter to a more meaningful experience.

**Analysing Authenticity**

Tourists vary in the degree to which they perceive authenticity, or that which they consider to be traditional or genuine in a cultural experience. Several factors are used to account for variations in tourist responses to authenticity. These include the tourist motivation for travel and the depth of the experience sought, referred to as tourism styles (Cohen 1979b; Redfoot 1984), the stage in the tourists' travel career (Pearce & Moscardo 1985), age and gender (Littrell 1990; Littrell, Anderson & Brown 1993), or the type of authentic experiences sought by tourists (Vallee 1987). Notably,
these are all off-site or pre-visit features, secondary to the immediate tourist experience of an authentic event, attraction, site or encounter.

Tourism styles classify or divide tourists into groups. These divisions are based on the type of travel activity, such as Cultural, Ethnic, Recreational or Nature tourism (Graburn 1989; Smith 1989). One craft study identified a group of 'Ethnic, Arts and People' tourists who seek authentic experiences by interacting with local residents during craft acquisition (Littrell, Anderson & Brown 1993). Other tourism styles are concerned with tourist motivations for travel. Cohen (1979b) relates the search for authenticity to the world-view of tourists, while Redfoot (1984) classifies tourists on the basis of their 'search for reality'. Experiential, Experimental and Existential tourists (Cohen 1979b), or Anthropological and Spiritual tourists (Redfoot 1984) are most concerned with finding authenticity, since they travel to fulfil psychological and emotional needs.

Tourist concern with authenticity also varies according to age and to stages or levels in personal travel careers. Tourists change in their needs, expectations and preferences for travel activities across their life cycle. Maslow's hierarchy of personal needs has provided a basis for designating stages in tourists' travel careers (Pearce & Moscardo 1985). Stages of travel that enhance personal development have a higher concern with experiencing authenticity. More travelled tourists are also considered to be less accepting of staged authenticity in host communities. This is supported by Littrell, Anderson and Brown who found, 'as tourists aged and travelled more, concerns about authenticity increased' (1993:208).

Pearce and Moscardo (1986) analysed authenticity using stated preferences for a range of holiday experiences. A set of nine holiday descriptions emphasised different elements of authenticity, emphasising people or place aspects important in tourist satisfaction. This scenario-based study asked subjects to imagine how they might respond to each holiday experience, covering a range of rural and urban settings. Authenticity was tested by respondents ranking each holiday experience according to whether it 'offers genuine experiences' or 'offers set up or staged experiences'. The results suggested that 'the authenticity notion is best seen as both an instrumental value and a property of environments' (Pearce & Moscardo 1986:173). The search for authenticity is both a motivation for travel and found in preferred places or tourist encounters.
Other research analyses the kind of authentic experiences sought by tourists. One market segmentation study considers motivational aspects influencing the tourist search for authenticity (Vallee 1987). A factor analysis of survey responses, generated in the 1983 Canadian Tourism Attitude and Motivation Study, indicated two main levels of authenticity. These were a situational or place-related dimension, focussing on unique destination features, and a behavioural dimension relating to the fulfilment of inner needs. This division was revealed in the distribution of authenticity-related tourism benefit statements concerning preferred holiday experiences (Table 7). Notably, the behavioural or motivational aspect had greater importance than the situational dimension, for defining authentic tourist experiences (Vallee 1987:67). These self motivated behavioural features include the need for spontaneity, simplicity, and a search for personal meaning.

Table 7. Authenticity-related tourism benefit statements (Vallee 1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavioural Dimension</th>
<th>Situational Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Being Free to Act the Way I Feel'</td>
<td>'Experiencing New and Different Lifestyles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Being Daring and Adventurous'</td>
<td>'Trying New Foods'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Experiencing a Simpler Lifestyle'</td>
<td>'Being Places My Friends Haven't Been'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Rediscovering Myself'</td>
<td>'Visiting Places that are Important in History'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paul Vallee (1987) Authenticity as a factor in segmenting the Canadian travel market

Vallee's study evaluates authenticity as one motivation for travel. It particularly highlights key personal factors influencing how tourists pursue and experience authenticity. These motivational features become significant only when linked to specific tourist activities, which Vallee did not address. The situational dimension is similarly treated in a very general manner and not linked to specific tourist places. In the present thesis, these behavioural and situational aspects will be linked to a specific cultural context, since it is anticipated that Vallee's distinctions in this area will be a valuable guide to analysing authenticity.

Vallee's selection of tourism benefit statements, to analyse the need for authenticity, are limited to what was included in the Canadian visitor study. There is also no account of how individual variables shape tourist responses to authenticity in different settings. Even so, Vallee's study is a comprehensive statistical analysis of general visitor opinions about the
search for authenticity. For this reason, his evaluation of authenticity comprising a situational and behavioural dimension merits further investigation in a field setting. Exploring this dual nature of authenticity structures the present study of Iban longhouse tourism in Sarawak.

**Case Studies of Authenticity**

This section presents the main findings of empirical and qualitative case studies which either directly or indirectly consider tourist responses to cultural authenticity. Research addressing the issue of authenticity in tourism occurs mainly in the areas of social psychology, anthropology and sociology. While the social psychology case studies report on Australian examples, the anthropological and sociological research provides an international context for this type of cultural inquiry.

**Social Psychology and Authenticity**

Empirical studies have considered the role of authenticity in tourist satisfaction with cultural attractions (Moscardo & Pearce 1986; Ross & Carment 1989), and tourist enjoyment of cultural tours visiting Aboriginal communities in Australia (Hughes 1991; Moscardo & Pearce 1989). These social psychology case studies used survey forms and interviews to elicit tourist opinions about authenticity.

**Authenticity at Cultural Attractions**

Authenticity is an important factor in tourist satisfaction with historic theme parks (Moscardo & Pearce 1986) and history museums (Ross & Carment 1989). Historic theme parks can provide tourists with an authentic insight into the past. At Timbertown, a re-created Australian sawmilling community of the 1880s, tourists were very satisfied with the historical accuracy or authenticity of the buildings (87%), the overall setting (83%), activities and demonstrations (72%), but less so with people working in the town (59%). While Timbertown staff wore historical costume they did not role play or act as someone from the past (Moscardo & Pearce 1986). Key situational features defined authenticity in this study.

Perceived authenticity provided the best indication of visitor satisfaction with Timbertown, rather than other tourist variables (time spent, travel career levels etc). While historic theme parks are considered to represent 'staged authenticity' (Cohen 1979a; MacCannell 1976) visitors, however, 'do perceive the experiences they have as authentic and seek authenticity'
Tourists therefore consider that historic theme parks can provide an authentic experience of the recreated past. This study did not include observations of tourist behaviour within Timbertown, and visitor interaction with people working there, nor allow tourists to state what personally defined an authentic experience.

Authenticity is strongly associated with other historical attractions, such as the Fannie Bay Gaol Museum (Darwin) in Australia's Northern Territory (Ross & Carment 1989). The Museum building is interpreted on its use as a gaol up until 1979, and also includes displays on Northern Territory history. Most visitors (91.4%) rated the Fannie Bay Gaol Museum very high in terms of authenticity, and therefore low on artificiality. Perceived authenticity provided the strongest visitor response to the Museum, more so than informativeness, excitement or enjoyment of the museum visit. Interstate and overseas visitors rated the Museum as more authentic than locals, hence proximity or familiarity may reduce the impact of authenticity (Ross & Carment 1989). The level of cultural knowledge or familiarity is one factor affecting how different visitors perceive and evaluate authenticity. This study did not explore which features of the museum provided the strongest indication of authenticity, nor describe visitor reactions to the various historical items.

**Authenticity in Cultural Tours**

The issue of authenticity has received scant consideration in cultural tours. In Australia, two case studies give minor mention to authenticity, in guided tours visiting Aboriginal communities (Hughes 1991; Moscardo & Pearce 1989). The first study evaluates tourist satisfaction with Tiwi Tours (Moscardo & Pearce 1989), on full day and half day trips to Bathurst and Melville Islands in the Northern Territory. These involve visiting an Aboriginal mission, a bush camp and various Tiwi handicraft enterprises on Bathurst Island. On the full day trip, tourists also visit Taracummbi Falls, Tiwi burial sites and an aboriginal community on Melville Island. Tourists do not see any dance performances. The main tourist satisfaction (26.9%) came from meeting Tiwi people (Moscardo & Pearce 1989). Negative comments (8.7%) concerned the perceived inauthenticity of Tiwi arts and crafts, but specific reasons were not mentioned. In seeking authenticity, tourists were mainly interested in personal contact with Tiwi people, as well as learning about Tiwi lifestyle. Experiencing the natural environment also enhanced visitor satisfaction.
A similar study examined tourist satisfaction with one day tours to Palm Island, an Aboriginal and Islander community in North Queensland (Hughes 1991). After a two hour cruise to Palm Island, tourists watched Aboriginal and Islander dance performances for about an hour, before being taken to nearby Falcon Island for lunch and snorkelling on the coral reef. Tourists expected their tour to Palm Island to provide an opportunity to learn about indigenous culture (93%) and to meet local people (83%). Related to this quest for cultural enrichment, tourist dissatisfaction mainly arose because of limited opportunities to interact with local people. Furthermore, only a small number of tourists considered the dance performance to be a tour highlight. Many tourists complained about the authenticity of the dancing but specific comments were not reported. On this Palm Island tour, visitor satisfaction 'largely depended on (tourist) evaluations of whether or not their encounter had been genuine' (Hughes 1991:170). The study did not address which cultural features defined an authentic tourist experience, nor describe how tourists interacted with local people during various visitor activities.

**Anthropology and Authenticity**

A recent area of anthropological study is the meaning of cultural travel experiences for the tourist. Such anthropological research has considered how tourists use the concept of authenticity to construct meaning in their cross cultural encounters. Anthropologists have described how the search for authenticity is revealed in tourist behaviour: visiting Melanesian people living on the Sepik river in Papua New Guinea (Errington & Gewertz 1989), at Indian craft sales (Evans-Pritchard 1987), Pueblo Indian ceremonies (Laxson 1991), and at Haitian voodoo shows (Goldberg 1983).

**Melanesian culture - Finding authenticity**

In Papua New Guinea, budget travellers and cruise ship tourists differ in how they seek authentic encounters with Melanesian communities living around the Chambri region of the Sepik river (Errington & Gewertz 1989). Village life, wood carvings, *haus tambaran* (ritual men's house), initiation ceremonies, masks and other features of traditional Melanesian culture are the focus of tourist interest. According to Errington and Gewertz, budget travellers verbally competed with each other about the relative authenticity of their travel experiences, based on their degree of immersion in native life. Their authentic encounters with Melanesian culture involved padding canoes, eating native food, visiting
more remote villages, exchanging gifts, sleeping in a *haus tambaran* (free of charge) and observing local customs such as a witch doctor at work.

Budget travellers evaluated their encounters with Melanesian people as either friendly and non-monetary, or impersonal and commercialised. Villages charging travellers to photograph or sleep in the *haus tambaran*, and with prices chalked on statues, were considered to be spoiled by tourist money and hence less authentic. For budget travellers, the search for authenticity depended on achieving a non-commercial encounter with 'pure' and 'primitive' Melanesian people, unaffected by tourism.

In contrast, cruise-ship tourists visited Chambri villages on four day package tours aboard the *Melanesian Explorer*. They also expected to see 'primitive' Melanesian people, mainly through guided tours, purchasing handicrafts and taking pictures. Cruise-ship tourists attended the final stage of a male initiation ceremony, delayed until their arrival. Tourists found the event disturbing; with the violence, aggression, heat, dust, loud noises in the men's house and scarred initiates. After the 'hazing' or ritual aggression shown to initiates, tourists were instructed to clap their hands and to take pictures. This command called into question the authenticity of the initiation, defining the performance as, in part, staged for tourists (Errington & Gewertz 1989). After the ceremony, the initiates were sent out and the men's house was cleared for tourists to look at and purchase carvings. For cruise ship tourists too, authenticity is influenced by commercial encounters but using different criteria to budget travellers.

**American Indian culture - Markers of authenticity**

Anthropologists have examined how Anglo-American tourists associate authenticity with the purchase of Indian crafts in New Mexico (Evans-Pritchard 1987), and attendance at Pueblo Indian ceremonies (Laxson 1991). In Santa Fe, New Mexico, American Indians sell their handicrafts of jewellery, pottery, sand paintings and other crafts at the Portal marketplace. The market is a tourist attraction, a place where visitors can 'see and buy genuine Indian crafts from genuine Indian craftsmen'. Pueblo, Navaho, Zuni, Hopi and other Indian traders are encouraged to dress 'Indian fashion'. According to Evans-Pritchard (1987), tourists use contextual factors and subjective criteria to confer authenticity to Indian craft items. These include materials of silver, turquoise, semi-precious stones and beads made into 'Indian style' jewellery, the display of crafts
laid out on a blanket, and expectations of tourists to buy a real, handcrafted Indian souvenir, that is, one made by an Indian craftsman (Evans-Pritchard 1987). A similar study of Northwest Coast Indian art also found that the main criteria used to define authenticity was the 'Indian-ness' of the art (Duffek 1983).

In New Mexico, restricted access to pueblo communities means that the tourist search for authentic Indian culture is often established through indirect means (Laxson 1991). Anglo-American tourists identify with Indian culture by wearing silver and turquoise jewellery, Indian style clothing, or other souvenir elements of Indian dress. At the Indian Market in Santa Fe, some tourists buy Indian crafts to make social contact with Indian people, or later on seek personal recognition from Indian craftsmen after buying and wearing their jewellery (Laxson 1991). At Indian dance events, most tourists stand and watch while Indian spectators sit in portable chairs, decorated with 'typical' Indian designs. Tourists who have befriended Indians also sit in these chairs, which convey authenticity by indicating tourists who have achieved closer ties with Indian people. For such tourists, the 'Indian' chairs provide 'symbolic status of access to the pueblo back regions' (Laxson 1991:370).

**Voodoo shows in Haiti - Staged authenticity**

Goldberg (1983) has described the reactions of 'mass' tourists and 'explorer' tourists (Smith 1989) to voodoo shows in Haiti. The voodoo show included episodes of spirit possession, indicated by emotional frenzy and wild behaviour. Tourists were told they were about to witness a real ceremony but theatrical devices marked the event as a staged performance. Mass tourists on standard package tours, while not seeking authenticity, regarded the voodoo show as something more than mere entertainment. When invited onstage to shake hands with performers possessed by a spirit they did so in a manner indicating either playfulness, or fear and hesitation. They commented on the strength of the handshake and the emotional power onstage. For mass tourists, 'authenticity' derived from personal contact with the voodoo performers.

Explorer tourists, according to Goldberg (1983), had a deeper interest in Haitian culture and in the voodoo religion. They would try to attend voodoo rituals performed for Haitians and denounced the commercial voodoo show as being of dubious authenticity. If they attended this show,
explorer tourists asserted their non-tourist identity by asking questions and inviting the owner to their table. They denied the authenticity of spirit possession but were affected by the music, dance and general emotional impact of the onstage performance. Their onstage behaviour did not differ from that of mass tourists. For explorer tourists, authenticity derived from personal experience and knowledge of voodoo.

Sociology and Authenticity
Research on the sociology of tourism has mainly considered theoretical ideas on the concept of authenticity (Cohen 1979a & b, 1988; Redfoot 1984). Other applied research considers the role of staged authenticity in tourist attractions portraying Amish folk culture (Buck 1977a & b, 1978). A recent study examines how Japanese tourists link authenticity and social meaning with heritage houses in Japan (Ehrentraut 1993). Such research describes the nature and meaning of authentic experiences for tourists.

Amish folk culture
The Amish follow strict religious beliefs and maintain a traditional rural lifestyle, giving them exotic appeal in modern America. In Lancaster Country, Pennsylvania, staged tourist attractions now largely represent Amish people and their unique folk culture. These vary in terms of authenticity, with the 'big' attractions more sensitive to Amish concerns. In the pre-attraction era, Amish people were harassed by tourists who 'sought and generally achieved direct experience' (Buck, 1977a:31). The advent of staged attractions protects the Amish from prying tourists, while also fulfilling tourists' desire to experience Amish life (Buck 1978).

Tourist brochures encourage visitors to see and learn about Amish people and their lifeways, at staged attractions presenting Amish culture. 'Many brochures feature aspects of Amish life hidden from public view' (Buck 1977b:197). These include religious beliefs, farm life, folk culture, and the Amish world view. Tourist brochures confer authenticity on Amish attractions by references to history or antiquity, comments by historians or tourists, and pictures of Amish people, homes and farms. These staged tourist attractions provide access to 'the "back" region of "real" Amish life' (Buck 1977b:199). A special booklet, Real People, also reassures doubting tourists that Amish culture is 'for real' and not staged.
Japanese farm houses

Traditional farm houses in Japan are culturally significant in Japanese domestic tourism. Designated as heritage buildings, they commemorate Japan's rural past. These farmhouses (*minka*) range from owner-occupied dwellings to collections of restored buildings in outdoor museums. Ehrentraut (1993) linked authenticity with the conservation and interpretation of these farm houses, along with their Japanese tourist image as rural heritage. In this analysis, the physical appearance of heritage farmhouses is secondary to their social significance as authentic symbols of an agrarian society. For Japanese tourists, 'the authenticity of the (farm houses) lies in their unequivocal evocation of a meaningful ideological universe: the communal and hierarchical world of village Japan' (Ehrentraut 1993:272). Heritage authenticity is socially constructed.

Other Studies of Authenticity

More recent research considers management issues and strategies for enhancing authenticity in tourist experiences. This includes the indigenous presentation of Plains Indian culture in Canada (Morgan 1993), interpretation facilities at sacred sites (Brayley 1993), the packaging of Balinese culture by Australian tour wholesalers (Small & Stear 1993), and through educational tourism (Litster 1993). In these, the tourist need for authenticity is linked with a particular type of attraction or experience.

Wanuskewin Heritage Park

Wanuskewin is a 6,000 year old Northern Plains Indian gathering place and a new heritage park near Saskatoon, Canada. The park contains precontact archaeological sites, a model dig-site and buffalo pound, interpretive theatres and other visitor facilities (Morgan 1993). Opened in June 1992, Wanuskewin portrays the cultural heritage of Northern Plains Indians through 'sites, spiritual character and artifacts', combined with scientific knowledge of Indian prehistory. Tourists consider authenticity to be the most satisfying aspect of their visit to Wanuskewin Heritage Park. 'This includes materials used, exhibits and languages and the exclusive presence of Indian staff in interpretive positions' (Morgan 1993:140). Credibility is achieved using scientific evidence and contemporary interpretive methods: not by Indian staff dressing up in 'tribal' costume.
At Wanuskewin, Indian board members both ensure cultural accuracy and decide on what activities or sites may be presented and how. A sweat lodge site, important for Indian spiritual quests, is not interpreted nor used by paying visitors. A medicine wheel, not easy to see, will be explained through interpretive signs rather than being artificially enhanced (Morgan 1993). Prehistoric Indian life is recreated, in the main exhibit hall, using scientific research across various disciplines. At Wanuskewin, matters of authenticity are decided by Indian people, who then legitimately present and interpret their own culture. This realistic presentation provides a genuine experience for visitors at Wanuskewin.

Tourist programs and authenticity
The tourist experience of authenticity is further related to the kind of program or tour offered. At sacred sites, tourists require reassurance their experience is indeed genuine (Brayley 1993). Commercialisation at sacred sites may induce scepticism and a denial of authenticity, while sacralized sites of national reverence may be perceived as either authentic or staged. The provision of interpretive facilities may well enhance the tourist experience of sacred sites. The extent to which interpretation can satisfy the tourists' need for authenticity, however, has not been addressed.

In selling package tours to Bali, Australian tour wholesalers consider destination authenticity to be generally important for most tourists (Small & Stear 1993). Bali was still seen to offer tourists' authentic cultural experiences, mainly by moving into the hinterland ('especially around Ubud') away from tourist areas. The tour agents considered tourists could easily observe everyday aspects of Balinese life but disagreed over the authenticity of cultural shows presented in hotels. 'One of the wholesalers mentioned that 10-15 years ago cultural experiences were more real' (Small & Stear 1993:673). In regard to authenticity, Australian wholesalers had little feedback on how satisfied tourists were with their Balinese cultural encounter. Tourist responses to this aspect were simply inferred from questions regarding excursions.

The emerging field of educational or cultural tourism is now seen to offer tourists more authentic experiences (Litster 1993). History, culture, art, architecture, or the environment are the main focus of educational tours. These study tours involve active or 'hands-on' participation, and travellers learning about what they see. Educational tourism takes the
tourist "back stage", while teaching participants to understand and interpret their experience as real. 'Consequently, the educational tourist experiences an authentic holiday’ (Litster 1993:478). Mediated by this educational process, however, tourist reactions to nature or culture may be a partly staged rather than wholly spontaneous experience. Tourist responses to authenticity are not described in these exploratory studies.

**Cultural tourism in South East Asia**

The following discussion about cultural tourism and authenticity will focus on the hilltribes of northern Thailand and the Toraja of Sulawesi. Tourism research for each culture region has documented the development and impact of tourism since the early 1970s. The issue of authenticity has indirectly been examined while reviewing the changing social and cultural traditions in each area. This research has also recorded some tourist reactions to the cultural authenticity of the Toraja and the hilltribes. This review will provide a comparative context for evaluating authenticity and assessing tourist responses to Iban culture in Sarawak.

**Toraja culture and authenticity**

Toraja culture is the main tourist drawcard on the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia. Of 43,840 international tourists visiting Sulawesi in 1987, 93% went to Toraja land (Gocher 1989). Toraja tourist attractions include traditional houses (*tongkonan*) with steeply arched roofs and decorated facades, grave sites cut into limestone cliffs with ledges housing funerary effigies (*tau*) believed to contain the spirit of deceased people, and dramatic funeral rituals culminating in the slaughter of water buffaloes and pigs (Volkman 1990). The 'cult of the dead' associated with the Toraja is of most interest to western tourists, who spend one to three days in Toraja land seeing a fixed itinerary of Toraja houses and grave sites and perhaps also attending a Toraja funeral ceremony.

In Toraja land, the Indonesian government, travel agents and Toraja people have redefined distinctive Toraja cultural features as tourist objects (Volkman 1990). For foreign tourists visiting Toraja land, authenticity is confirmed through a search for typical Toraja objects and events. Contact with Toraja people is secondary to the tourist goal of encountering physical evidence of traditional Toraja culture. The descriptive images used in tour brochures promoting Toraja culture have also become indices of authenticity for tourists visiting Toraja land.
(Adams 1984). Tourists are directed towards seeing high-status Toraja
cultural features, decorated houses, carved effigies and lavish funeral
ceremonies, formerly associated only with the Torajan noble class.

Toraja houses
The large and spectacular traditional house (*tongkonan*) is now an icon of
Toraja cultural identity. As an authenticating object, the appearance of
Toraja houses has been altered to meet tourist expectations. In tourist
areas of Toraja land, owners of traditional houses are encouraged to place
decorative patterns on house facades and to use a layered bamboo roof
instead of corrugated iron (Volkman 1990). Formerly, only the facades of
a house owned by a noble family were traditionally decorated with carved
and painted patterns, which signified status. Smaller rice granaries were
also built and decorated in similar style. In poorer villages, however,
granaries and houses were left undecorated (Volkman & Zerner 1987).
Most Torajans now prefer to live in concrete house or in Bugis-style
wooden houses built on stilts. Traditional Toraja houses and granaries
have been restored or built solely as tourist attractions. In 1980, life-size
unlived-in replicas of traditional Toraja houses were built near the cliff
grave site at Lemo, a popular tourist point. At Pallawa, Toraja people live
behind a row of restored Toraja houses referred to as a traditional village.
The traditional houses are left empty or used to sell souvenir crafts
(Volkman 1990). For tourists, seeing a Toraja house confirms the
authenticity of traditional Toraja architecture and house decoration,
rather than the house as a lived-in entity.

Funerary effigies
Toraja cliff grave sites and carved funerary effigies (*tau tau*) are a feature
tourist attraction and authenticating objects. In the 1970s, access roads
were constructed to grave sites and *tau tau* were relocated to lower cliff
edges to increase their visibility. By the 1980s, growth in tourism and
publicity about Toraja land resulted in widespread theft of *tau tau* figures
from grave sites. The Toraja reacted by removing the remaining *tau tau*
and hiding them away. In 1985, the *tau tau* were almost gone from Lemo,
while at the Londa cave burial site, by 1987, all the *tau tau* had
disappeared (Crystal 1989). Because the *tau tau* had been promoted as a
unique Toraja artefact, their removal caused a quandry for tourism. The
response was to make unconsecrated replicas of *tau tau* for tourists to
view. In 1989, at the Lemo cliff site, over 20 crudely carved *tau tau* figures
had been placed into the empty cliff ledges (Volkman 1990). These replacement tau tau were painted a murky brown to make them appear old, in contrast to the original figures carved from yellow wood.

For tourists in Toraja land, authenticity is conferred by visiting the cliff grave sites and viewing 'believed to be real' tau tau figures. Empty ledges at the grave sites, caused by the theft and removal of tau tau, caused dismay, anger and disappointment among tourists. Volkman (1990) reports that after seeing the empty ledges instead of the expected tau tau figures, one German tourist wrote to JooP Ave, the Director General of Tourism in Indonesia and threatened to sue for false promotion of Toraja land. After this incident, replica tau tau were made and placed on the ledges (Volkman 1990). Other tourists at the Lemo cliff grave stood and compared the site to travel brochures, postcards and National Geographic photographs depicting tau tau effigies filling the ledges. According to Volkman (1990), guides explained the fate of tau tau, conferring the 'authenticity' of a disappearing Toraja culture for dismayed tourists.

**Mortuary rituals**

Toraja funeral ceremonies are of great interest to foreign tourists. Large and spectacular funerals involve the construction of replica Toraja houses to accommodate guests, traditional dances, and ritual events ending in mass animal slaughter. Unlike graves, effigies and houses which are static objects, funeral ceremonies offer dynamic proof of the continuation of Torajan beliefs. 'Funerals are considered an essential part of the Toraja tourist experience, an authenticating rite' (Barnard 1983b:5). Scheduling of the delayed mortuary rites is unpredictable and guides rely on local knowledge to determine the location and timing of these ritual events. On one occasion, the sponsors of a Toraja funeral distributed leaflets to tourists arriving at Ujung Padang airport, listing the exact dates and times of the event. (Adams 1988:201 cited in Volkman 1990). At the Toraja Cottage hotel, arriving guests are shown a video of a Toraja funeral ceremony, to satisfy tourist interest should they not be able to attend an actual ceremony (Volkman & Zerner 1987).

In 1985, tourists attending Torajan funeral ceremonies considered that these events were real and provided a more authentic cultural experience than the dance and trance performances staged for tourists in Bali. Some funerals, however, have been rescheduled at the request of foreign tour
guides and villagers have been paid to demonstrate the slaughtering of a buffalo (Crystal 1989). The ceremonies have also been restructured to be shorter, more dramatic and on time (Barnard 1983b). With the influence of the Dutch Reformed church among the Toraja, the funerals have also undergone cultural modification. The rituals are no longer used to legitimate the traditional social order of nobles, commoners and slaves (Volkman 1987b). Nowadays, Torajan funeral ceremonies increasingly represent a display of prestige and modern status seeking.

For foreign tourists, however, the funeral ceremonies are considered to be authentic since they provide a direct and unmediated experience of Torajan beliefs in action. The spectacle of animal slaughter provokes both curiosity and horror among tourists. At a large funeral ceremony, tourists have been kept within their own bamboo shelter (Volkman 1990). Otherwise, tourists are treated the same as local guests and expected to bring gifts of betel nut and tobacco for the grieving hosts. Some consider this traditional custom to be a 'scam' and have departed, though most comply and participate in the ceremony (Barnard 1983b). Toraja mortuary rites, with all of their sensory impact, confer authenticity simply by the tourist experience of being there, at the centre of ritual action.

Hilltribes of northern Thailand

Over 100,000 tourists annually now go trekking in northern Thailand to see the hilltribes people (Dearden 1991). The hilltribes comprise 23 ethnic groups with the six largest being the Karen, Hmong (Meo), Akha, Lisu, Lahu and Mien (Yao). Each group has its own language, history, religion and distinctive style of dress. Traditionally swidden agriculturalists, the hilltribes live in villages scattered across the highlands region of northern Thailand. The simple villages, opium fields, rugged scenery and the opportunity to see people still habitually wearing their traditional costume are also part of the tourist appeal of visiting the hilltribes. Some 100 trekking companies now operate in Chiang Mai, the main centre for organising hilltribe tours. A standard trekking tour takes three or four days, visiting several different hilltribe villages. Other villages accessible by road, around Chiang Mai, are the focus for short sightseeing tours.

Anthropological research on hilltribe tourism has described the social impact of tourism on hilltribe villages (Cohen 1979c, 1983) and the role of guides leading hilltribe trekking tours (Cohen 1982; Meyer 1988). Other
On the Ulu Ai River, the non-commercialised and original ikat weavings were emphasised as unique souvenirs, providing tourists with an 'incomparable memento' of the longhouse visit (Tan, C.L. 1991). This souvenir purchase at the Ulu Ai longhouse was further considered to be a 'soft sell', since drinking rice wine and chatting with Iban people preceded the eventual appearance of the ikat weavings. To the travel writer, these textiles were further authenticated since Iban women also brought out incomplete ikat pieces to continue working on. At this longhouse, authenticity was enhanced by a non-commercialised sales approach, and the uniqueness of the Iban ikat textiles.

Food
Commenting about the food served on longhouse tours, travel writers distinguished between specially prepared tourist meals, and Iban cuisine (rice cakes, chicken and rice cooked in bamboo) served to visiting tourists. One writer, eating a Chinese meal prepared by the tourist guide, was however assured that 'the Ibans would gladly share their meal with us' (Gebbie 1981). Authenticity was partially experienced, by eating the tourist meal in the longhouse, sitting Iban-style on woven mats in a family room. Most tourist meals were eaten at a separate guesthouse, away from the Iban people. No illustrations were included of tourists eating a meal Iban-style, or Iban food.

Modernisation
In the travel articles, attitudes to modernisation at Iban longhouses usually consisted of a 'matter of fact' description of modern items, while noting other traditional Iban heirloom objects.

The room contained huge clay "dragon" jars, antique vessels from China that the Ibans brew tuak in; paintings on the walls of the family members dressed in their best Western attire; a mosquito-net-covered bed; a battery-powered record player; and posters of pop singers (Gebbie 1981).

For a Malay writer, however, such modern items and new objects in Iban longhouses were seen as an intrusion, with the traditional appearance of the longhouse 'spoilt' by modernisation.

Modernisation has also crept in. Some walls were made of formica, of wooden panellings or just thin partitions plastered all over with posters of local artists. Some of the longhouse dwellers also have television sets. There was even a safe in one room (Marzuki 1986).
This Malaysian newspaper feature article, however, included an illustration of an Iban woman in a sarong watching television in a modern bilek (family room), with a linoleum floor, wooden cupboards and a bed. In the illustrations used for other magazine and newspaper travel articles, the only visible sign of modernity was an iron roof longhouse.

**Personal appearance**
Authenticity was further associated with the personal appearance of Iban people. As an exotic marker of Iban culture, most writers referred to some aspect of traditional appearance such as tattooed men, stretched ear lobes and ceremonial costume. Several also described the contemporary appearance of Iban people. One writer noted with interest the current fashion of one Iban girl, wearing a "Melbourne" T-shirt, a sarong and a digital watch (Gebbie 1981). The Malay writer mentioned above, seemed disappointed to find the Iban wearing Malay sarongs, instead of loin cloths or short woven skirts. The one authentic feature, older Iban women who wore the sarong around their waist, leaving the upper body uncovered, was seen as somewhat indecent (Marzuki 1986). In travel articles about the Skrang and Lemanak rivers, the illustrations depict Iban people in traditional costume - dancing or in posed displays of other tourist-oriented activities, such as using a blowpipe. For the Ulu Ai, however, more realistic pictures depict Iban people going about their everyday tasks, such as washing clothes, walking to the farm, and fishing.

**Communicative staging of authenticity**
For a third analysis of these travel articles, a distinction is made between authenticity linked with Iban culture, the natural environment, or the overall tourist experience. Travel writer reactions to the whole Iban longhouse tour are thus taken into consideration rather than just responses to the specifically cultural components of a tour. The approach follows that of Cohen (1989) with text analysis based on keywords and their equivalent semantic fields of meaning. Additional travel articles with advice on visiting Iban longhouses (Gocher 1991), a general tourist review of Sarawak (Munan 1990; Peters 1992) or an Iban festival (Esteem 1990), are also included in this expanded analysis.

The descriptive phrases used by travel writers reviewing Iban longhouse tours are very similar to those used in advertisements for hilltribe
trekking tours in northern Thailand (Cohen 1989). The qualities of authenticity, primitiveness, naturalness, variety, colourfulness, exoticism, remoteness, unspoiledness and timelessness are used to create an appealing tourist image for both culture groups. While the word 'primitive' is applied to the hilltribe people and their villages it is not used to describe the Iban. Naturalness, while linked to the environment, also indirectly includes the rustic or 'natural' lifestyle of the hilltribes, or Iban people in longhouses. The hilltribes are further presented as co-existing with nature, in contrast to Iban longhouse tours where the tourist experience of the natural environment is emphasised. For the Ulu Ai region, back to nature experiences, such as the river journey, wildlife, and jungle treks, are given more prominence than cultural activities at the Iban longhouse.

Cultural variety is highlighted by contrasting the various hilltribe groups or, for the Iban in Sarawak, the unique longhouse lifestyle. Travel articles about Iban longhouse tours further emphasise unusual aspects of Iban culture: a healing ceremony, an Iban graveyard, and Iban tattoos. Greater use is made of the word 'traditional' in describing Iban culture (lifestyle, costumes, rituals, dances, weaving, a miring ceremony), as compared to the more limited use of this word in advertisements for hilltribe trekking tours. Similarly, the word 'exotic' is applied to Iban dancing and costumes, but for the hilltribes refers only to the environment in which they live. 'Traditional...is the epithet routinely described to tribal and ethnic people in advertisements for mass tourism' (Cohen 1989:49). This frequent reference to traditional/exotic Iban culture accords with the fact that mainly older tourists join longhouse tours.

For Iban longhouse tours, an additional qualifying category is the warm hospitality and lively personality of Iban people, characteristics not attributed to the hilltribes people. The hilltribes are presented simply as objects of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990), in contrast to the outgoing Iban who are presented as a sociable and gregarious people for tourists to interact with. 'The Ibans, as a people of unreserved friendliness, were easy to socialise with' (Esteem 1990). Important aspects of this Iban hospitality include the warm welcome shown to visitors, the friendliness of Iban people, and the general revelry that occurs at Iban longhouses. 'With the potent drink, tuak, saturating our bloodstream, we lost track of time and revelled till nearly midnight' (Tan, C.S. 1991).
As with the hilltribes, communicative staging of authenticity also occurs in most travel articles reviewing Iban longhouse tours. This is achieved through Selectivity: emphasising Iban characteristics with most tourist appeal; Exaggeration: overemphasising the geographic remoteness of the Iban longhouses, from urban centres and the modern world, and Misrepresentation: misleading coverage of the timeless and unchanging world of the Iban, but not to the same extent as for the hilltribes. Modern features of Iban life are noted by many travel writers. To this can be added Non-Inclusion: when writers exclude mentioning more commercial aspects, such as handicraft sales, making the Iban appear less worldly and hence more authentic to potential tourists. Travel articles for the Ulu Ai and Engkari, however, also consider Real Life. For the Iban, after a tourist visit, 'its back to the more mundane daily tasks of survival' (Kucway 1993).

The tourist experience of visiting the hilltribes or Iban longhouses is described in a similar manner, using the qualities of adventure, discovery, fascination, interest, enjoyment and escape. The challenge and physical ardour of trekking are emphasised for hilltribe trekking tours, in contrast to the thrilling and enjoyable aspects emphasised for Iban longhouse tours. On longhouse tours, there is no overt emphasis given to personal discovery or any great appeal to intellectual interest. More emphasis is given to social aspects such as enjoyment and amusement, rather than cultural discovery per se. An additional category used to describe the experience of visiting an Iban longhouse is that of amusement. Travel articles describe the laughter, high spirits (alcoholic and emotional) and general gaiety which tourists can expect to encounter during their longhouse visit.

Travel as escape figures more prominently in Iban longhouse tours than for the hilltribe trekking tours. The qualities of enjoyment and escape are more 'frequently suggested in routine mass touristic advertisements' (Cohen 1989:50). At Iban longhouses, tourists can get away to enjoy the natural environment and simple lifestyle of the Iban people. The basic guesthouse accommodation is included as part of this rustic simplicity. 'Getting to' the Iban people has also become 'getting away' from the pressures of modern life. This motif of escape and inner restoration is particularly emphasised in longhouse tours visiting the Ulu Ai region in Sarawak (Balasegaram 1992; Tan, C.L. 1991).
In these Sarawak travel articles, authenticity is often associated with traditional aspects of Iban culture, especially the genuine hospitality and friendliness of the Iban people. Authenticity is also linked to the natural environment and the Iban longhouse lifestyle. Some travel writers further define an authentic Iban longhouse as one not 'set up' for tourists. 'The farther from the city, the greater the chances of finding an authentic longhouse, rather than one dressed up for tourists' (Peters 1992). These authentic longhouses are no longer found in well known touristic locations: '(the Skrang River) is the most well set up area for tourists, although it lacks the authenticity of other more remote places' (Gocher 1991). Even remote areas, however, are not always traditional.

On the Rejang River, travel writers describe the effects of modernisation on these remote and supposedly more ‘authentic’ longhouses. This includes Iban men working in the oil industry and at timber camps, and the addition of generators, electricity and even refrigerators at more prosperous longhouses (Gocher 1991). Authenticity, in this instance, is therefore linked to the continuation and positive aspects of a communal lifestyle at Iban longhouses.

Kapit is the heartland of Sarawak’s vigorous Iban people. Here the longhouse is a way of life, not something preserved for the tourists to see. It may be a longhouse with indoor plumbing, electricity, glass windows, or one built of materials gleaned from the jungle, watered by a sparkling mountain stream. In either case, it will be home to a few dozen happy, confident families living together under one roof because they like togetherness in all its aspects (Munan 1990:22).

In most Sarawak travel articles, authenticity is equated with the traditional appearance of Iban people, and their communal lifestyle, rather than the physical structure of longhouses.

**Borneo guidebooks**

Guidebooks package travel destinations for tourist consumption. They indicate what is deemed to be of tourist interest, establish styles of travel, and set out ‘fields of action’ for tourists to engage in. Both alternative and mainstream guidebooks, published since the early 1970s, have popularised travel amongst exotic culture groups, mainly in Third World and developing countries (Handley 1989). Such guidebooks not only promote indigenous cultures as a unique tourist attraction, they also elevate this search for the authentic 'Other' as a new rite of travel (Cooper 1991:30-35).
There is no single guidebook covering the whole of Borneo. Travel information about Sarawak, Sabah (and Brunei) is included in guidebooks for Malaysia, while information about Kalimantan is included in tourist handbooks for Indonesia. More recently, an upmarket travel guide about Kalimantan has been published by Periplus Editions (Muller 1990). A Sarawak guidebook for German adventure travellers has been published by Reise Know How (Homann 1988). In addition, *Culture Shock! Borneo* (Munan 1988a) provides local advice about cultural customs and everyday life in modern Borneo. All Borneo guidebooks promote Iban longhouses as an essential tourist experience in Sarawak.

This section evaluates tourist images of Iban culture, as presented in the Sarawak section of various Borneo guidebooks. These guidebooks target different segments of the travel market. A content analysis of six different Borneo guidebooks considers these varied tourist perspectives of the Iban.

**The Guidebooks**

1. *Apa Insight Guide Malaysia* (Stephens *et al* 1980) and *TravBugs Travel Guide Malaysia* (Yeow 1992) both present a glossy, sophisticated image of Malaysia, aimed at upmarket travellers. The style setting *Apa* guide, first published in 1972, combines off-the-beaten-track ideals with high quality photographs, creative tourist writing and 'intensely detailed information' (Handley 1989:40). It imaginatively presents 'Sarawak: Tales from the longhouse' in a photo essay format. This guide describes independent travel up the Rejang River to visit Iban longhouses, evoking a sense of adventure in the reader. Its more recent imitator, the *TravBugs* guide, also features colourful photographs but more prosaically presents a tourist review of 'Sarawak: Land of the Hornbills.' In this guidebook, brief descriptions of Sarawak tourist attractions are complemented with informative travel essays on 'Visiting a longhouse' and 'Headhunting'.

2. *Lonely Planet Malaysia, Singapore & Brunei-a travel survival kit* (Crowther & Wheeler 1988) provides useful factual information and practical advice for alternative youth tourists or budget adventure travellers. As a 'do-it-yourself' guide, it allows adventurous visitors to 'discover' Sarawak. The guide provides directions and cultural rules of behaviour for independently visiting Iban longhouses along the upper Rejang river. Descriptions of the longhouse lifestyle are complemented with an appealing character sketch of a tattooed old Iban man (see Figure 1). A brief review of Sarawak, with the section on visiting longhouses
'Up the Rejang River', is included in the larger Lonely Planet guide, *South East Asia on a shoestring*. The main text reproduces a letter from a Canadian traveller describing 'A Longhouse Visit' in Sarawak, with cultural advice for other would-be adventurers.

(3) Fodor's '90 *Southeast Asia* (Gianetti 1990) presents a conventional, mainstream, mass tourist review of tourist attractions in 'East Malaysia: Sabah and Sarawak'. Itemised listings provide brief factual information about Sarawak tourist attractions, guided tours, souvenirs, lodgings and leisure activities. It recommends that visitors join a guided Iban longhouse tour. This guide is aimed at recreational, pleasure seeking tourists, making a short visit to Sarawak.

(4) *Culture Shock! Borneo* (Munan 1988a) can be regarded as a specialised form of 'cultural' guidebook, intended for expatriates, researchers and serious travellers in Borneo. It provides advice about cultural customs, social behaviour, rules for visiting longhouses, and everyday life in Borneo. It is written by a Swiss-German woman, married to an Iban man, who resides in Sarawak. Information about Dayak culture is included in the section 'Lo! The Cute Native', where visitors to Borneo are advised to join an organised longhouse tour.

Guidebooks reflect the viewpoints and interests of their authors, and also the market segment for which the guide is written (Handley 1989; Lew 1991). In the Borneo guidebooks, the varied presentation of 'authentic' Iban culture can be linked to the use of narrative style, keywords, photographic illustrations and sketch drawings. Narrative style relates to the manner in which information about Sarawak is communicated to guidebook readers. The Apa guide (Stephens *et al* 1980) uses a storytelling narrative to evocatively present Sarawak, based around colourful historic characters, the 'White Rajahs' and great Iban leaders. Other tourist guidebooks use a descriptive or factual narrative style to introduce Dayak culture and review Sarawak tourist attractions. When describing a visit to a longhouse, the guidebooks use an instructive narrative style to explain Iban customs and rules of behaviour. *Culture Shock! Borneo* (Munan 1988a) is written mainly in this instructive style, with four pages devoted to explaining 'Rules for longhouse visitors'.

Keywords are qualifying words, used in the text for guidebooks, which relate to the concept of authenticity (i.e. real, genuine, traditional,
unspoilt, authentic). The guidebooks differ in their use of keywords according to the kind of 'authentic' experience presented to the readers. In the Apa guide, an expedition upriver is described as a real challenge and the friendliness of the Sarawak people as genuine hospitality. At Iban longhouses, however, Iban 'warrior' dances are described as a traditional revival. The TravBugs guide simply refers to the traditional practice of headhunting. The Fodors guide emphasises an authentic native lifestyle, uncorrupted by tourism, and traditional longhouses. In the Lonely Planet guide, travellers are advised to visit authentic and unspoilt Iban longhouses, found in remote river areas and away from the influence of urban centres. There, travellers can experience traditional hospitality and get a real feel for Iban life by staying overnight at a longhouse. Culture Shock! Borneo refers to traditional costumes, now worn mainly for tourists, and 'unspoilt' upriver longhouses, which often lack basic sanitary facilities.

Iban illustrations
The upmarket Borneo guidebooks use glossy photographs to present exotic and compelling images of Dayak/Iban culture. The Apa guide (Stephens et al 1980) introduces Sarawak with a double page illustration of old black and white photos decorating an Iban longhouse wall. The historic images of Iban people, in both ceremonial costume and everyday wear, 'invite' the viewer to enter into another world. Turning the page, this other world of Sarawak is presented in 'Tales from the longhouse'. These old Iban photos are given cultural meaning with the caption, 'The legacy of Sarawak - Iban wedding ceremonies, family gatherings and Rajah Charles Brooke - remains enshrined in faded snapshots framed on a longhouse wall'.

Three pages further on, there is a sombre half-page photograph of a trophy skull, with the empty eye sockets facing the viewer. The caption reads, 'The skull of a slain enemy taken by head-hunting Ibans, on display at the Sarawak Museum'. Two pages later, in the section 'Up the Rajang River', there is a half-page photograph of a tattooed Iban man in ceremonial costume captioned, 'An Iban warrior in traditional dress'. This Iban man sits alone on a woven mat, with a long sword protruding to one side, evidence of his 'warrior' status. Light falling on one shoulder also highlights the striking Iban tattoo patterns. In the introduction to this Apa guide, there is a close-up photograph of the tattooed shoulder of
this Iban man. The life-size illustration of this shoulder tattoo directly confronts the viewer with exotic Iban culture. The caption reads, 'In Sarawak, tattooed patterns like twisting vines decorate the torso of an Iban tribesman, whose village occupies a single close-knit longhouse. Ibans have just recently abandoned headhunting for more peaceful ways'. Such photographs present the Iban as a colourful people, famed for their former custom of headhunting, and elaborate body tattoos.

The TravBugs guide also features colourful photographs of Dayak cultural markers: skulls, tattooed men, ceremonial costume, and a longhouse. Out of eight illustrations portraying Dayak culture, only two are specifically identified as Iban. A half-page photograph features a mixed group of Iban people in everyday clothing. The caption reads, 'Iban villagers just "hangin out" (sic) on the stoop of their longhouse along the Lemanak River'. This unposed photograph of a casual Iban gathering includes both men and women, young and old. On the opposite page, there is a small photograph of an Iban man dancing in ceremonial costume with the caption, 'An Iban chief in traditional warrior dress doing the virile warrior's dance'. The man holds a sword upright in his outstretched hand, behind him a bunch of skulls can be seen hanging from the rafters. The same elderly man is also depicted in the previous group photo wearing shorts, a t-shirt and a pair of glasses. A vivid contrast is made between everyday Iban life and the 'glamour' of a costumed dance performance.

This exotic glamour is repeated in two other full-page photographs of Iban people (not identified as such) wearing ceremonial costume. In the first photo, a young woman models wearing Iban silver jewellery, a woven skirt and bead collar. She wears make up and, in a Vogue-style pose, places one arm against a bark door. The caption reads, 'East Malaysian fashion consists of elaborate beading, woven sarongs and drippings of silver jewellery'. The other photograph is of a seated Iban man in traditional costume, with tattoos on his arms, throat and legs. The informative caption states, 'Apart from being a form of personal embellishment, tattoos are also symbols of manhood, denote success in war, and are a means of identification in battle'.

The travel essay on 'Visiting a longhouse' includes a half-page photograph of the communal gallery in a longhouse, not identified as
Iban. In this 'undiscovered' longhouse, the only sign of modernity is the fluorescent light tubes along the rafters. In the essay on 'Headhunting', a small photograph of some trophy skulls bears the caption, 'Skulls remain on the verandahs of some longhouses as a tourist attraction'. The photographs and captions used in the TravBugs guide portray a generally exotic image of Dayak culture, explicitly on show for tourists. Traditional costume becomes a fashion statement, skulls are kept for tourists to see, and even everyday Iban life at a longhouse is now represented as a tourist attraction.

Sketch drawings are mainly used to illustrate alternative travel guidebooks. The Lonely Planet guide includes a delightful character sketch of a tattooed old Iban man (Figure 5). In this skilfully drawn portrait, the lined face and friendly expression of this Iban man suggest a lively personality. The fourth edition of this guide (1991), however, features line drawings of an Iban man with a blowpipe and woven cap, an Iban woman in ceremonial costume, and a thatched roof longhouse. These are typical tourist images of Iban culture, rendered in sketch form to appear older and more traditional, thus conveying more authenticity than colour photographs. In contrast, the TravBugs guide, at the beginning of its Sarawak review, includes a cartoon sketch of a Dayak man dancing. The exaggerated dance posture and fanciful body decoration convey that this is an amusing and harmless tourist performance.

The various Borneo guidebooks use different approaches to assert the 'authenticity' of Iban culture. In the Apa guide, the Iban are defined historically, with reference to their headhunting, tribal wars, and famous leaders. 'Ibans were once the belligerent headhunters who romanticized Borneo into the fantasies of the world' (Stephens et al 1980:261). The storytelling narrative and evocative photographs establish that the Iban have an 'authentic' link with an heroic past. In the TravBugs guide, however, the Iban are presented as a modern day tourist attraction. The cartoon sketch, essays on Dayak culture, and colourful photographs present the Iban as worthy of tourist interest. In addition to the more exotic cultural markers, even ordinary Iban longhouse life is now a genuine tourist attraction. This recent Borneo guidebook clearly targets postmodern tourists (Urry 1990), who are interested in and able to turn any object or situation into one with a tourism focus.
Figure 5. Character sketch, old Iban headman
Illustration by Tony Jenkins in Lonely Planet *Malaysia, Singapore & Brunei-a travel survival kit* (1988:263)
In the Lonely Planet guide, the instructive text convinces alternative travellers that 'authentic' Iban culture can be found by visiting remote longhouses and experiencing non-monetary Iban hospitality. Alternative guidebooks promote authenticity in terms of achieving a genuine experience of everyday Iban longhouse life. 'Presumably you haven't come this far up the (Rejang) river just to see the plastic smiles of a tourist trap' (Crowther & Wheeler 1988:266). In Culture Shock! Borneo, the author dispels tourist poster images of Borneo by describing contemporary life and the modern attire of Dayak people. 'Look where you may, loincloths and feathers are about as common as kilts in the Edinburgh district on a workday morning' (Munan 1988a:130). However, visitors are advised to join a guided longhouse tour to guarantee seeing the colourful cultural presentations arranged at 'tourist longhouses'. The assumption is made that tourists will be content with seeing this 'staged authenticity' on a longhouse visit. Words and images are selectively used in Borneo guidebooks, to shape the tourist experience of 'authentic' Iban culture.

**Borneo adventure travel books**

For modern travellers, adventure travel books set in Borneo provide thrilling accounts of jungle journeys and encounters with Dayak people. Many of these adventure stories are about Sarawak, and most include entertaining accounts of visiting Iban longhouses. Borneo People (MacDonald 1958) describes official visits made to Iban longhouses on the Rejang and Baleh Rivers, by a British administrator, between 1946-1953. Dramatic accounts of living with Iban-related groups of people in neighbouring Kalimantan are recounted in Panjamon (Domalain 1972) and My Life with the Headhunters (Sargent 1976). A travelogue book, Malaysia and Singapore, includes a tourist account of the first guided visit made to Ensabang, an Iban longhouse (Nicol 1977: 156-178).

More recent adventure travel books, however, include A stroll through Borneo (Barclay 1980), Into the heart of Borneo (O'Hanlon 1984), Stranger in the forest (Hansen 1988) and Wild People (Linklater 1990). These popular accounts of modern day explorer-travellers contribute to shaping the tourist image of Borneo as a wild, exotic and adventure-filled destination. Such books provide interesting ethnographic details about Iban culture, traditional customs and the longhouse lifestyle, with revealing comments on the impact of modernisation. This review
considers recent Borneo adventure travel books, since these are currently available and the most widely read.

The books by Barclay and O’Hanlon are listed in the Lonely Planet guidebook (Crowther & Wheeler 1988:44), and in a brief travel review of Borneo included in the British *Geographic Magazine* (Grey 1987:41). These adventure travel books evocatively describe the experience of visiting an Iban longhouse in Sarawak. Both Barclay and Hansen visited Iban longhouses at the beginning of a longer journey across Borneo. For O’Hanlon and Linklater, however, their encounter with Iban culture was the central feature of the whole journey. My analysis summarises the salient features of each writer’s visit to Iban longhouses in Sarawak. Particular attention is paid to the writers responses to social change and attitudes towards authenticity - in Iban culture and the travel experience.

In *A Stroll through Borneo* the author was first invited to an Iban longhouse to celebrate a three day Gawai or festival. Barclay described Iban preparation for the Gawai, the ritual activities (bards, food offerings, pig slaughter, cockfighting), and general merrymaking with Iban dancing, and drinking *tuak* (rice wine). In particular, Iban girls in ceremonial costume served *tuak*, while young men performed solo dances. During the festival, Barclay noticed skulls hanging in the longhouse which ‘looked a bit dusty and I imagined they had been taken out of the attic for the occasion’ (1988:2). This can be taken as a partial denial of authenticity by Barclay, since Iban trophy skulls are usually left out on open display. On the second night of the festival, Iban girls began western style ‘pop’ dancing, further departing from tradition by asking Iban boys to dance with them. Barclay enjoyed this carefree Iban celebration so much, he decided to travel right across Borneo, staying in Dayak longhouses.

This journey began with a boat trip up the Rejang River to Kapit, during which Barclay noted richer longhouses had roofs made with ‘plastic corrugated sheets’, instead of traditional *atap* (thatch) or wooden shingles. Taking up an open invitation from an Iban acquaintance, Barclay detoured to visit an Iban longhouse on the Gaat River. During a two night visit, Barclay observed the end of a mourning period, marked by a ceremony with both Christian prayers and a traditional food offering. A garden gnome was presented by Barclay as a gift, for which the Iban made another food offering. Barclay slept in the headman’s quarters and found
that traditional Iban courting (*ngayap*) was still being practised. Other activities described by Barclay were the pounding of *padi* (rice) in wooden mortars, and Iban women making traditional *pua kumbu* textiles. For Barclay, authenticity was equated with experiencing almost unchanged Iban customs and beliefs, although (in 1978) the modern world was starting to impinge on Iban life, even in more distant river locations.

*Into the heart of Borneo* recounts how O’Hanlon and his companion travelled up the Baleh River in 1983, expertly assisted by three Iban guides; Dana, Leon and Ingai. They began this adventure in Kapit, meeting their Iban guides and making arrangements for the river journey. Dana, who ‘had ear-lobes distended into hanging loops and was tattooed on his throat and hands’ (1984: 22), was the headman of an Iban longhouse close to Kapit, which the adventurers were taken to visit. The longhouse itself was divided into two sections, while the headman’s house was a separate dwelling, ‘two storeys high, roofed with corrugated iron and built with machine made planking’ (1984:24). Inside Dana’s house there were piles of clothing (shorts, tee-shirts and cotton trousers), modern chairs and magazine pictures of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. Sitting on the floor, Dana performed a traditional food offering, later emulated by O’Hanlon and Fenton at the main longhouse.

Going upriver, a stopover was made at Rumah Penghulu-Jimbun, the last Iban longhouse on the Baleh River. There, O’Hanlon made a close inspection of trophy skulls hung in rattan, and heard from Leon how Iban warriors had taken the heads of Japanese soldiers during the Second World War. Throughout the journey, O’Hanlon described how the Iban men manoeuvred the longboat upriver, and their jungle survival skills. Making camp at the riverside, the Iban men constructed a pole-frame shelter, roofed with palm leaves, and a smaller platform for smoking fish. Leon and Inghai went fishing with harpoons, while Dana used a *jala* or cast net. On other occasions, the Iban men captured a large mud turtle, and also went hunting for wild boar and deer with O’Hanlon. At the headwaters of the Baleh, the Methodist Ibans declined to climb Mt. Batu Tiban, for fear of disturbing the spirits believed to live there.

After a rapid descent of the Baleh River, the adventurers returned to Dana’s longhouse at Kapit for a welcome back party. In front of the entrance steps to the longhouse an Iban blanket had been hung out. 'Its
dyed rich red-brown background was patterned with stylised frogs, fish, deer and crocodiles: and, beneath the large-headed figures of the spirits at its base, were woven four glasses full of Guinness Stout' (1984:154). On being told that the longhouse was in mourning, and wearing gold was taboo, O'Hanlon removed his wedding ring before entering. In Dana's room, the adventurers enjoyed a meal of roast pig and mouse-deer, while all drank tuak and arak. Many Polaroid pictures were taken of the longhouse residents. So ended O'Hanlon's experience of 'free-and-easy Iban society' (1984:157). For O'Hanlon, authenticity was equated with experiencing the natural environment, Iban customs, and jungle survival skills.

Stranger in the forest begins with Hansen and a companion, Robyn, making a side trip to Sarawak in 1976 and travelling up the Rejang river 'to visit a real longhouse' (1988:17). In Kapit, the travellers met up with an Iban man, Mr. Das, who invited them to visit his longhouse. Going up the Baleh River, they arrived at a longhouse with a thatched roof but nearly empty of people. Hopping in a small dugout with four Iban men, they travelled to a nearby longhouse celebrating a Gawai Antu or festival for the dead. On arrival, the travellers were introduced to the headman and his wife, who was bare-breasted. When an Iban blanket (puqa) was laid out with small dishes of food, Mr. Das showed Hansen how to arrange the food offering. After this rite, Hansen touched Iban people about the head with a rooster, as a form of blessing and good luck. The rooster's head was subsequently pulled off and rubbed in the face of an Iban man.

An Iban girl sang a song to welcome Hansen, interrupted by having her face smeared with pot black. While drinking tuak, Hansen observed the Iban antics and riotous behaviour which marked the end of a period of mourning for dead relatives. Dietary and other restrictions were lifted for the Iban mourners. While Robyn went off to sleep in the headman's room, Hansen stayed up to enjoy the wild mayhem and 'Iban sense of fun' (1988:22). At 3am, Iban men fired rifles into the jungle while screaming out loud, and the longhouse caught fire before being extinguished. Hansen also joined in rubbing pot black onto the clothing of inebriated Iban people. Soon after, Hansen ran into a wire clothesline strung across the longhouse verandah and passed out cold. On waking in the early dawn, Hansen observed the debris of a wild Iban party 'guns,
broken dishes, animal bones, charred floorboards, and an overturned rice-wine jar' (1988:24), before returning to sleep, inside the longhouse.

Returning to Sarawak in 1982, Hansen travelled alone up the Rejang and Baleh Rivers to make a nostalgic visit to this same longhouse. On the new steel-hulled river boat, Hansen noted new consumer goods: rolls of linoleum, living room furniture, a television set and a small Honda generator. He also noticed, 'longhouse roofs were now covered with corrugated metal, rather than traditional *attap* thatch' (1988:32-33). Taken aback by this evidence of change, Hansen was reassured by the traditional appearance of Iban passengers on the boat, with their tattoos and brass ear weights. Rounding a remembered bend in the Baleh River, however, Hansen was stunned to find that the longhouse site had now become a log loading station. Disappointed, Hansen returned to Kapit where a Chinese tourist 'guide' offered to organise a one week trip upriver for US$1,000. 'Since my first visit large numbers of tourists had discovered Kapit as 'The Gateway to The Iban Longhouse Experience'. I was being treated like your standard 30-to 45-day mail-order catalog adventure traveler' (1988:35). For Hansen, the authentic longhouse experience of 1976 had been overtaken by rural change in Sarawak, and a commercialised approach to 'selling' Iban culture.

In *Wild People*, Linklater recounts the recent visit made by a Time-Life team to Iban longhouses on the Batang Ai and Bangkit Rivers in Sarawak. The Iban were included by Time-Life in a list of 'wild people', defined as 'remote peoples who have not yet yielded to the encroaching pressures of the modern world' (1990:5). A writer, photographer and anthropologist were duly dispatched by Time-Life to find and record traditional Iban culture. Most important of all for this Time-Life team, 'the Ibans had been declared to be unspoilt by contact with western civilisation and evidence to the contrary would not be well received' (Vines 1990). In Kuching, this pursuit of authenticity was boosted when Linklater observed a young Iban man acquiring a traditional throat tattoo. Going up the Batang Ai River to Nanga Bretik, however, the team were confronted with many modern items: iron roofs, outboard motors, chain saws, magazine pictures, plastic buckets and aluminium pans.

Most distressing of all to the photographer, the Iban were dressed in western clothing, with men in shorts, baseball caps and t-shirts with
slogans, while women wore sarongs tied over their breasts. There were no loincloths or short woven skirts to be seen. At one longhouse festival, ‘in what was surely an age-old, modernity-defying ritual, a parade of girls carrying rice wine came out of an apartment dressed in authentic short skirts with rows of silver jingling at their at their waists’ (1988:46). All of them were wearing Maidenform bras. Leaving the Batang Ai in search of a more traditional longhouse, the Time-Life team were joined by an old Iban man, Penghulu Ngali, who would ‘give us the flavour of the warlike past’ (1988:49). Other Iban people joined the group; Limbang, a headman, Danggang, a bard, and Inyang, a weaver, who had tattoos on the back of her hands. Travelling up the Rejang and Katibas Rivers, this Time-Life team at last found their prototypic Iban longhouse.

Located on the Bangkit River, this small longhouse, roofed with wooden shingles, at last met the Time-Life criteria of being ‘traditional in looks as well as habits’ (1988:63). Linklater observed Iban women carrying buckets and gourds to fill with water from the river, oil lamps, and a variety of objects in the longhouse ranging from 16 trophy skulls and bark bins filled with rice, to outboard engines and plastic hard hats. The photographer continued to bemoan the western clothing worn by Iban people and the modern appearance of longhouses close to ferry routes which had concrete foundations and electric lights. He commented ‘We’ve been misled about these Iban....They’re really quite up-to-date’ (1988:64). Despite this the Time-Life team stayed on at Rumah Langga, participating in a Gawai Kenyalang or hornbill festival and recording many other aspects of daily Iban life such as farming, fishing, and weaving.

For Time-Life, authenticity was linked to traditional appearance, compromised by any visible signs of the modern world. To maintain this fiction, the team resorted to obscuring, hiding or ignoring evidence of modernity. For ‘A Day in the Life’ photo session, the photographer chose Tigang, an old Iban man, ‘the last to still tie his hair back in an old-fashioned pigtail. The modern world had scarcely touched him...His shoulders and legs were heavily tattooed’ (1990:151). Linklater, however, more pragmatically reconciled modern items with the continuation of traditional Iban beliefs. He described how Iban men made food offerings to both a new chain saw, wrapped in a ritual pua blanket, and also to a new outboard motor. Given that traditional appearance counted more
than traditional beliefs, the team had problems in shaping the Iban to the 'wild people' mould expected by Time-Life. 'If the only authentic Iban wore loin-cloths or short skirts, and nothing from the waist up, that society was already wiped out' (1990:143). In the end, the Time-Life project was abandoned.

Several themes are common to these Borneo adventure books. Exploration and self discovery were the main motives for travel, with Iban longhouses providing a cultural backdrop for 'the unique experience'. The travellers first met up with Iban people, who became their cultural guides and companions in adventure. This enabled travellers to participate in real Iban life; celebrations, food offerings, jungle travel and other activities. Expectations of authenticity, however, were often based on preconceived images of Iban culture. This led the writers to focus on describing physical markers of Iban cultural identity and traditional forms of behaviour. While noting modern features, the authors exhibit a heightened appreciation or "contrast" of authenticity. Their dismay with the increasing impact of modernisation on Iban longhouses also reveals an ethnocentric static view of Iban culture. In this context, an encounter with 'authentic' Iban culture thus became secondary to achieving an exciting and adventurous journey in Borneo.

**Iban postcards**

Tourist postcards sold in Sarawak often feature colourful images of Iban people. During fieldwork in 1992, over 60 different Iban postcards were obtained from souvenir shops in Kuching. These postcard images of Iban culture span a time period from the 1960s, when organised tourism began in Sarawak, through to 1991. The early Iban postcards include 13 illustrations by K.F. Wong, of Sarawak, another 11 illustrations published in Singapore and two in Penang. The more recent Iban postcards, from the mid 1980s, include 8 pictures by Paolo Koch and 8 pictures by Robert Hoebel, both drawn from illustrated books about Sarawak (Hoebel 1986: Koch 1987). New and larger-size postcards, published by the Sabah Handicraft Centre in 1990/1991, include 8 illustrations of Iban people. Five other miscellaneous postcards feature colour or sepia-toned portraits of Iban people, a few also depict trophy skulls or longhouses.

These tourist postcards depict Iban people posing in traditional costume, longhouse interiors, Iban dancing, and other typical Iban activities, such
as cockfighting, weaving, cast net fishing, or a miring ceremony. As an historic record of Iban culture, these postcards illustrate the changing appearance of Iban people and longhouses. The postcards further indicate changing trends in the presentation of Iban culture as a tourist attraction. This is revealed in the composition of the photographs, the setting, type of stylised pose, Iban attire and appearance, and the activities depicted. A comparison is made between early Iban postcards (Table 13) and those published since 1986 (Table 14).

*Early Iban postcards,*

The postcards by K. F. Wong, a well known Sarawak photographer provide a genuine record of Iban life (Jennings 1971). Five of the illustrations were taken during a Gawai Antu festival, these depict Iban men and women wearing ceremonial costume for a ritual purpose. Another costume portrait features two Iban men carrying their children for a blessing ceremony (Figure 6). Other scenes drawn from everyday Iban life include carrying water gourds, weaving, playing a gong set, and Iban people relaxing inside a longhouse. River scenes depict a couple going to their farm in a boat, and Iban men fishing on 'the well known Skrang River'. Captions for the K.F. Wong postcards, published in Ireland, provide detailed ethnographic comments about Iban culture. These documentary-style postcards depict Iban people absorbed in their ritual or everyday activities. The Iban subjects, some with their backs to the camera, remain unaware of the photographer.

Early tourist postcards, published by S.W., Singapore and P.M.S. Mohamed Noordin, Penang, feature posed portraits of Iban people. In these, the Iban, usually women, are shown wearing traditional costume, either dancing or posing for static portraits on the longhouse verandah. In one ritual dance, the women are shown holding trophy skulls in their hands. Other naturalistic postcards depict bare-breasted Iban women paddling a longboat, standing in a river collecting water with gourds, or reclining on a riverbank and adorned with hibiscus flowers. One Penang postcard depicts an Iban cockfighting bout, enacted without spurs for tourists. Most of the postcards feature frontal portraits, with the Iban subjects looking directly at the photographer (Figure 7). The short captions identify the people as Dayaks or Sea Dayaks and state the location as Sarawak, (East) Malaysia or 2nd Division, Sarawak.
Figure 6. Documentary postcard of an Iban ritual event

"These two fathers of an Iban longhouse, have brought along their children for a traditional "blessing" ceremony,"

Published and Copyright by Anna Photo Company, Kuching

Figure 7. Tourist postcard of Iban dancers

'Sea Dayak's Malaysia', P.M.S. Mohamed Noordin, Penang
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K.F. Wong, Sarawak</th>
<th>CAPTION</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iban Festival</strong></td>
<td>Gawai Antu, Sarawak</td>
<td>Men in costume (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preparing for Gawai Antu, Sarawak</td>
<td>Man tying loincloth (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gawai Antu, Sarawak</td>
<td>Women in costume (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gawai Antu, Sarawak</td>
<td>Man &amp; child with offering (Lg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preparation for Gawai Antu, Sarawak</td>
<td>Women in costume (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Blessing</td>
<td>Men &amp; babies in back sling (Lv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Longhouse</strong></td>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>Woman &amp; water gourds (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities</strong></td>
<td>The gong set</td>
<td>Man playing gongs (Lg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family discussion</td>
<td>Men &amp; woman talking (Lg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weaving the &quot;Pua&quot;, Sarawak</td>
<td>Woman textile weaving (Lv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Longhouse, Sarawak</td>
<td>People on gallery (Lg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outdoors</strong></td>
<td>To the Farm, Sarawak</td>
<td>Couple &amp; dog in boat (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>River Fishing</td>
<td>Two men in a boat (O)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**S.W., Singapore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourist Show</th>
<th>CAPTION</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dayak couple in national costume</td>
<td>Ceremonial attire (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayak girls dancing</td>
<td>Welcome dance (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Dayak girls doing dance steps</td>
<td>Welcome dance (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male subjects of the Sea Dayak</td>
<td>Men in costume (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful Dayak girls in festival costumes</td>
<td>Portrait(Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two beautiful girls (Dayaks) of Sarawak</td>
<td>Portrait(O)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual dance by Dayak girls</td>
<td>Dance with trophy skulls (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A male Dayak dancing</td>
<td>'Warrior' dance (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outdoors</strong></td>
<td>Dayak beauty Sarawak</td>
<td>Woman on riverbank (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayak girls play at the stream</td>
<td>Fetching water in gourds (O)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Dayak beauties rowing canoe</td>
<td>Women &amp; girls in boat (O)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**P.M.S. Mohamed Noordin, Penang**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourist Show</th>
<th>CAPTION</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sea Dayaks Malaysia</td>
<td>Man &amp; women dancing (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock fighting</td>
<td>Men with roosters (Lv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Location: (O) Outdoors, (Lv) Longhouse verandah, (Lg) Longhouse gallery*
Recent Iban postcards

Recent tourist postcards feature brighter images, close-up portraits, more staged cultural activities, and a progressively larger card size. The postcards by Paolo Koch (1987) include both 'natural' and posed portraits of Iban people. Illustrations of everyday activities - fishing, weaving, longhouse life - show Iban people wearing casual clothing. In one portrait, a young Iban man standing on a boulder throws a cast net out into a clear river. The posed pictures feature close-up portraits of tattooed Iban men, and a costumed male dancer holding out a sword and shield in a stylised gesture. There is a contrast between tourist culture and scenes of ordinary Iban life. One montage postcard illustrates Iban cockfighting, a tattooed Iban man in a loincloth holding onto a prized rooster, a spur wrapped on a rooster's leg, and the flurry of a cockfight in progress (Figure 8). Five postcards state the location as Skrang River.

Tourist postcards by Robert Hoebel (1986-1991) feature posed portraits of Iban men in traditional costume. At the longhouse, tattooed Iban men perform a miring ceremony, or join in dancing with costumed Iban women. The jungle environment also becomes a scenic background for costumed Iban men, while paddling a canoe, 'hunting' in the jungle, or digging for roots. These staged pictures depict Iban men performing traditional tasks in a natural setting. It is unlikely, however, that Iban men went hunting in their ceremonial costume, took no dogs with them, or that only one man carried a blowpipe (Figure 9). Captions fancifully describe these Iban men as 'hunters' or 'warriors'. Other more casual portraits depict Iban people wearing sarongs - relaxing inside a longhouse, or a woman weaving. One postcard depicts an Iban leader (Penghulu) seated inside a longhouse, wearing traditional costume for an Iban event. In other postcards, Iban men in traditional costume are depicted dancing or standing on the longhouse verandah, in posed tourist portraits.

The newest Iban postcards (1990/91), photographed by Albert Teo, feature posed portraits, cultural activities staged for tourists, and river scenes. On a longhouse verandah, men organise a cockfighting demonstration (no spurs used), or costumed men dance with young girls, both events watched by an Iban audience in casual clothing. The Iban are spectators of their own culture. River scenes depict costumed men and women posing in a longboat, or young men wearing shorts, standing in a longboat while a cast net is thrown out into the river. Young Iban girls also model junior
Figure 8. Contemporary Iban culture, cockfighting scenes
'Sarawak. Cockfight', Copyright Paolo Koch

Figure 9. Staged Iban culture, 'traditional' jungle scene
'Iban Hunters crossing jungle bridge', Copyright Robert Hoebel
Table 14. Recent Iban postcards, 1986 to 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPTION</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATION (Location)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paolo Koch</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Show</td>
<td>Iban man with heavy earrings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban man with Hornbill headdress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban warrior dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse Activities</td>
<td>Traditional Iban backstrap loom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban longhouse interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cockfight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional Iban longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoors</td>
<td>Iban fishing with a casting net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Robert Hoebel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Show</td>
<td>Festival Dance at Iban longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gawai Festival Celebration at Longhouse of Iban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoors</td>
<td>Iban warriors from Lemanak longhouse on a hunting expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban man digging for roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban hunters crossing jungle bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse Activities</td>
<td>Iban women hand-weaving a Pua Kumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inside a longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penghulu of Skrang River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Albert Teo</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Show</td>
<td>Iban watching cockfighting in a longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban performing ngajat dance in a longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoors</td>
<td>Iban at Lemanak River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban fishermen at Skrang River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban Festival</td>
<td>A Miring ceremony in progress at Rumah Jamba near Kanowit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Girls</td>
<td>Iban at Skrang River longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban girls in traditional costume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Girl and Gong&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Iban girl&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Location: (O) Outdoors, (Lv) Longhouse verandah, (Lg) Longhouse gallery
Figure 10. Young Iban girls model ceremonial attire
'Iban at Skrang River longhouse', Photo by Albert Teo 1991,
Published by Sabah Handicraft Centre
versions of traditional costume as they pose in a longhouse doorway (Figure 10), sit holding a gong, stand as a group in front of a woven blanket, or smile in a close-up face portrait. Such postcards depict Iban people in a 'giving' relationship (Albers & James 1988:154), with Iban culture presented as a colourful and benign show for tourists.

The only 'natural' portrait by Albert Teo depicts a group of Iban people in casual clothing performing a miring ceremony on a longhouse verandah. Among this Iban group, one man has a tattooed back, a young man wears a token loincloth over a pair of shorts and some women wear costume skirts. Drinks are served from a plastic jug, and plates of food used in the ceremony are laid out on patterned mats woven in bright coloured strips. Unlike the other posed pictures, this postcard illustrates a genuine Iban event performed for ritual purposes. The Iban are turned away from the camera and engrossed in their own celebration. The other posed pictures, designed to appeal to a mass tourist market, feature staged activities and portraits of young Iban girls.

On Iban postcards, illustrations of genuine events and everyday activities, by K. F. Wong, have been overtaken by posed portraits and staged cultural events. In these standard tourist images, Iban people wear traditional costume, pose in static portraits, demonstrate dancing or perform other typical cultural activities. Tourist postcards are distinguished by frontal or close-up portraits, and other stylised poses of Iban people. Through these postcard images, Iban culture is presented as an 'authentic' tourist attraction. Some recent postcards now use the word traditional in their captions, to assert the genuineness of the Iban culture depicted (e.g. a longhouse, backstrap loom, dance or costume). A few recent postcards depict Iban people in casual clothing, carrying out ordinary domestic or ritual activities, but these images have steadily declined since 1986.

**Summary**

In popular travel literature, words and illustrations are selectively used to convey evocative images of 'traditional' Iban culture. This presentation of cultural authenticity incorporates Iban appearance and behaviour, ritual events, tourist entertainment, and the longhouse lifestyle. The treatment of authenticity also varies across different travel publications. Travel articles for the Skrang and Lemanak Rivers mainly review Iban activities organised for tourists, while those for the Ulu Ai describe
everyday Iban life and the jungle setting. Borneo guidebooks tailor their reviews of traditional Iban culture, to attract different types of travellers. Recent Borneo adventure travel books describe Iban culture in contrast to the effects of modernisation. Conversely, Iban postcards increasingly depict staged cultural activities and posed portraits of Iban people. The significant elements defining authenticity in Iban culture therefore vary over time, at different locations, and for different travel market segments.
Chapter 4. TOURIST MARKETING OF IBAN CULTURE

'There's a lot more to Sarawak's tribal culture than headhunting...There's been a tendency to look at skulls when the traditional costumes, music and dance, beliefs and environmental culture are really what tribal life in Sarawak is all about' (Wolfgang Maier, General Manager, Kuching Hilton cited in Maitland 1991: 15)

This chapter examines how Iban culture is portrayed in a range of tourist literature. My review includes Malaysian and Sarawak 'official' tourist promotion material, as well as commercial travel brochures featuring Iban longhouse tours. In this travel literature, both text and images are used to package Iban culture as an exotic tourist attraction. In reviewing this marketing of Iban culture, I mainly follow Cohen's (1989) analysis of 'communicative staging' of authenticity, in posters for hilltribe trekking tours. A contrast is made between contemporary Iban lifestyle and their tourist brochure representation as headhunters. Similarly, Iban culture is presented either as a standard set of tourist activities, or as a living culture for visitors to experience and interact with.

Brochure analysis: Representing the Other
Travel brochures often feature select images of indigenous people, to convey cultural authenticity (Cooper 1991:18-29). In marketing the Toraja of Sulawesi (Indonesia), travel literature highlights Toraja funeral celebrations, buffalo sacrifices, traditional houses, and cliff grave sites (Adams 1984). By focussing on these select cultural markers, the tourist industry establishes ethnic stereotypes as indices of authenticity for the Toraja. Tourist encounters with Toraja culture are thus defined by brochure images of marked events or sights.

With trekking tours among the hilltribes of northern Thailand, posters in Chiang Mai employ the 'communicative staging' of authenticity (Cohen 1989). The text convincingly portrays the authenticity of the hilltribes, the trekking tour itself, and the knowledge of local guides, to entice potential trekkers. Hand-drawn maps, on the posters, also exaggerate the remoteness of the hilltribes visited. These posters work at communicating authenticity, to counteract the commercialised nature of trekking tours, and present-day realities evident among the hilltribes.

Apart from this research, on commercial images of the Toraja and the Hilltribes, there is limited analysis on how the Other (i.e. indigenous
peoples) is represented in tourist literature. To account for tourist images of the Iban, prior to visiting Sarawak, I examine the commercial marketing of Iban culture by Malaysian and international tourism agencies. To move beyond cultural stereotypes, there is a need 'to link the study of touristic images with that of tourism proper' (Cohen 1993:42). These commercial images of the Iban, in travel brochures, are later compared with the responses of longhouse tourists to Iban culture (see Chapter 7).

Techniques for brochure analysis
The methods used to evaluate tourist literature include content analysis, based on 'generic' categories and quantification of brochure text or illustrations, and semiotic analysis, to highlight deeper meanings in this material (Dann 1993). Both techniques are used to analyse commercial tourist images of Iban culture. More specifically, this includes the 'buzzwords' (Britton 1979) or 'keywords' (Moeran 1983) used in brochures to market exotic cultures as a tourist attraction. Typical cultural descriptors are traditional, primitive, original or other similar apppellations (Cohen 1989). For the Iban, this includes the label of headhunters.

A review of brochure tour itineraries includes the destination, style of tour, and focus of tourist interest. One such review, of package tours to India, identified three main themes of encapsulation, directedness, and outsideness, and a low level of interaction with local Indian people (Weightman 1987). A similar approach is taken to analyse the structure and content of Iban longhouse tours. Another emphasis is the function of brochures, for the Amish community in Pennsylvania, 'in encouraging tourists to establish authentic "traveler-like" personal contact with the local people and area' (Buck 1977b: 195). These brochure devices to emphasise personal experience are examined for Iban longhouse tours.

Evaluation of brochure illustrations includes frequency count analysis of pictures, their relative size, and themed image categories (Dilley 1986). Photographs of Iban people in tour brochures are analysed in this manner, and by the message conveyed. Semiotic analysis offers further interpretation on the underlying meanings associated with photographs.
used in holiday brochures (Uzzell 1984). The type of pose, who is depicted, and in what activity, shapes tourist meanings. Another emphasis is on disparity between the images used in tourist marketing and actual reality (Britton 1979; Hughes 1992). This applies to brochure depictions of the Iban. Finally, adventure travel brochures now market native cultures with an emphasis on personal meaning, and self development of tourists (Beezer 1994).

**Promoting Iban culture: Malaysia & Sarawak**

A colourful image of Iban culture is featured in tourist promotion by the Tourist Development Corporation of Malaysia (now Tourism Malaysia) and the Sarawak Ministry of Environment and Tourism. This 'official' tourist material, promoting Iban culture and longhouse tours, includes magazine advertisements, posters, videos, and pre-visit material such as maps, guides, and travel planning booklets. The two government agencies differ, however, in their marketing of Iban culture.

**Malaysian tourist literature**

In Malaysian government tourism brochures, posters and advertisements, the Iban are presented as an exotic tribal culture within a multi-ethnic Malaysian nation. Images of tattooed Iban men dancing in a loincloth are presented in contrast with Malay culture, or Chinese and Indian celebrations. When images of Iban culture are combined with other Dayak people in Sarawak (mainly the Orang Ulu) or tribal groups in Sabah (Kadazan, Rungus & Bajau) they reinforce the exotic otherness of Borneo within the context of Malaysia. In this 'official' tourist literature, the Iban are depicted in a river or forest setting, still living a traditional lifestyle with unchanged cultural practices.

Photographs of Iban people wearing traditional costume are the main images presented in this Malaysian tourist literature. These costumed Iban people dance on a longhouse verandah, paddle or pole a longboat, or pose for a portrait (Table 15). There are few signs of modernity in these carefully composed and selected brochure illustrations. In the *Sabah-Sarawak Guide*, three Iban women in a longboat are depicted wearing a bra with their traditional costume. Another photograph depicts tourists waiting on a riverbank. In this scene, Iban women wear batik sarongs while an Iban man in casual clothes holds an outboard motor, with a boat petrol tank at his feet. This modern image of the Iban contrasts with
Table 15. Images of Iban culture in Malaysian tourist brochures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brochure</th>
<th>Images and Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sabah - Sarawak Guide (Nov. 1983)</strong></td>
<td>Men using a blowpipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Iban traditional dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Iban boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Iban women in ceremonial dress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban poling longboat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourists on riverbank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men with headdress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beadwork collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban dance on verandah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men poling a longboat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Skrang safari'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarawak Map and Guide (Jan. 1990)</strong></td>
<td>Iban dance on verandah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girl in silver headdress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iban girl with bead collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malaysia Travel Planner (revised 1991 ed.)</strong></td>
<td>Iban dance on verandah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourist arrival at riverbank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Ibans in their festive costumes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'An Iban elder, wearing sacred hornbill feathers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brochures produced by Tourist Development Corporation Malaysia.

Figure 11. Tourist images of the Iban, *Malaysia Travel Planner*
preceding and following illustrations of Iban people paddling a longboat in ceremonial costume. Other contemporary images depict tourists travelling in a longboat with an outboard motor, or being welcomed by Iban people in ceremonial attire (Figure 11). The Iban are shown providing tourist services, dancing or operating a longboat. Iban children, women at work, and domestic scenes, are not illustrated.

The accompanying text in this Malaysian tourist literature describes markers of Iban culture. The main focus is on the physical appearance of an Iban longhouse. The 1991 edition of the *Malaysia Travel Planner* still claims that Iban longhouses are 'made of ironwood and roofed with palm leaf or ironwood shingles'. The reality is that most Iban longhouses now have a tin roof. In the review of 'Skrang - A river safari', other features considered to be of tourist interest include wood carving, basket weaving, nightly ceremonies, and drinking rice wine. Tourists are also reassured that 'The Ibans are truly hospitable'. Authenticity in Iban culture is mainly linked with the traditional appearance of a longhouse and 'typical' Iban cultural activities.

For individual travellers, the adventure of visiting an Iban longhouse is featured in a 1992 brochure, *Fascinating Malaysia-Naturally more in '94*. The text indirectly confers authenticity by asserting that a personal visit to an Iban longhouse is not an organised tourist activity. Instead of describing the physical appearance of a longhouse, the text mentions the hospitality, courtesy and kindness Iban people extend to visitors. In return for this hospitality, travellers are requested to leave gifts of food, clothes or money. Through this meaningful exchange, the emphasis is on how travellers can achieve an authentic experience of Iban culture. From a motivational aspect (Vallee 1987), it suggests that tourists can manipulate their experience of authenticity by their own behaviour.

The text for a 1992 Malaysian tourist advertisement further emphasises when and how package tourists can find authenticity in Iban culture.

*The Iban warrior swishes by in full battle dress, his long sword flashing just inches away from your face. Visit Malaysia and you may chance upon the *ngajat*, or traditional warrior's dance, being performed in a Sarawakian longhouse.*

('Fascinating Malaysia' advertisement in *Good Weekend*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* magazine, Nov. 14, 1992)
Again, no mention is made of the physical appearance of an Iban longhouse. In this advertisement, the new emphasis is on personally experiencing Iban culture, through events rather than tourist behaviour. Notably, in this 'official' Malaysian tourist literature, no mention is made of the Iban as former headhunters, nor of seeing trophy skulls.

In Malaysian tourism advertisements, the Iban have shifted from being an exotic tribal culture per se to being more closely associated with the natural environment. In the 1987 advertisement, 'Only Malaysia', the dancing Iban are only one of 14 images depicting cultural, natural, and built tourist attractions or facilities in Malaysia. A 1992 advertisement for 'Fascinating Malaysia', however, depicts a dancing Iban man along with Mulu caves, rainforest and wildlife. This image shift ties in with the recent focus on ecotourism, with Malaysia attuned to this global trend. In both advertisements, the Iban are depicted dancing in ceremonial costume. The presentational context, however, has changed to equate authenticity in Iban culture with 'naturalness' or being close to nature.

Sarawak tourist literature
Sarawak promotes Iban/Dayak culture as a tourist attraction mainly through magazine advertisements. These advertisements are placed in Selamat Datang Ke Malaysia (a monthly Malaysian tourism magazine), Discover Borneo (The official tourism magazine of East Malaysia, 1987-1990), South East Asia Traveller (1992), and Travel Trade Canada (1990). Iban culture is represented by pictorial images, a specific text mention, or general Dayak cultural practices.

A 1987 advertisement, 'Sarawak-Experience the difference', invites tourists to 'drink tuak' (rice wine) and 'stay in a traditional longhouse'. Iban pictures depict a male dancer, traditional longhouse, and hornbill carving. In another advertisement, 'Our Hills are alive' tourists can 'wander through isolated villages of Iban longhouses and wonder at generations of shrunken heads' [actually trophy skulls]. The most striking advertisement, headlined as 'A real feather in your cap', portrays a tattooed Iban man wearing a plumed headdress (see Figure 12, over page). The text refers to 'hosts who were formerly head-hunters', 'spending a night in a native longhouse', and meeting 'intricately tattooed men adorned with a plumage of hornbill feathers.'
A REAL FEATHER IN YOUR CAP.

When you tell your friends how you holidayed amidst towering rainforests, with hosts who were formerly head-hunters, they'll see it as quite an achievement.

As well as the adventure of a lifetime.

The fact is, you can still lose your head in Sarawak. Only these days it will be over the spectacular sight of morning mists en-circling 2,000 metre-high mountains, rivers making through untamed jungles, or spending a night in a native longhouse. Or snapping up bargains in handicrafts like pottery, paintings, carvings and basketry.

And only in Sarawak can you stumble onto isolated thatched villages on stilts and be greeted by intricately tattooed men adorned by hornbills.

Of course, you needn't tell your friends about your five-star hotel with its sumptuous appointments and French cuisine.

And we'll forgive you if you boast that your tan was picked up while on a blowpipe expedition rather than by the hotel pool.

So see your travel agent or contact the tourist office. And let everyone take off their hat to you.

Sarawak
THE WORLD'S LAST GREAT ADVENTURE.

Sarawak Tourist Information Centre,
Main Bazaar
88000 Kuching
Sarawak
Tel: 082 - 114642/3/4
892 - 240020
In these Sarawak tourism advertisements, the Iban/Dayak are largely presented in terms of former customs based on a male warrior culture. Iban women and children, and domestic longhouse life, are not referred to or depicted. The Iban are presented as a cultural stereotype, not as real people. Images of Iban men, used in two advertisements, are isolated on a white background and depicted with wildlife, reinforcing their exotic appeal. The shoulder portrait of a tattooed Iban man prompted one viewer to comment, 'Who is headhunting whom?' There is some disbelief when the Iban are portrayed solely in terms of cultural markers, based on traditional appearance or former customs.

Sarawak tourism posters feature natural then staged images of Iban culture. A 1985 poster promoted 'Sarawak-The longhouse experience'. The main picture depicts a rambling Iban longhouse beside a river, with the roof made of tin, ironwood shingles and some palm leaf thatch. Two television aerials stand above the longhouse roof. Other inset pictures depict a painted Iban design, a longhouse verandah (with plastic jerry cans, fuel drums, and a boat petrol tank stored there), and a man throwing a cast net into the river, next to a longboat with an outboard motor. These unposed photographs are a realistic depiction of contemporary life at an Iban longhouse.

Another colourful mid 1980's tourism poster enjoins tourists to 'Discover Borneo through Sarawak'. The main picture depicts a tattooed Iban man performing a warrior dance with shield and sword. Seven inset pictures depict the wildlife, natural scenery, and Dayak people of Sarawak. These include Iban women in ceremonial costume, and a longhouse with a thatched roof. The images of Dayak people are posed portraits of costumed people, with the main picture of a male Iban dancer also a stylized pose. More recent glossy tourism posters, produced since 1990, promote 'Sarawak-Adventureland in Borneo' but these do not depict Iban people. With growth in mass tourism, Sarawak tourism posters have changed from natural to posed portraits of Dayak people. Such cultural images detract from the current emphasis on ecotourism.

Photographs of Iban people also illustrate magazine advertisements promoting 'Borneo Escapade' package tours to Sarawak, headlined as 'Sarawak Secrets'. One travel option includes 'The Native Package', with visits to longhouses. One advertisement depicts a tattooed Iban man
sitting cross legged on a woven mat. Other images depict the Mulu caves, Cultural Village, and wildlife in Sarawak. The second advertisement portrays an Iban man dancing on a low wooden platform while two Iban women and one man, in casual clothes, play gong and drum music behind. This Iban dance is a performance for tourists visiting Bunuk longhouse on the Skrang river. The Iban are defined by costume and dance, rather than their everyday lifestyle.

**Kuching travel brochures: Iban longhouse tours**

Some 20 Kuching travel agents conducted Iban longhouse tours during 1992. Of these, 17 agents marketed their Iban longhouse tours in travel brochures. The brochures varied from a mono-colour tract illustrated with sketches to fold out sheets illustrated with colour photographs, graphic art, or Dayak designs. A few depicted Iban people on the cover. The largest tour operator, C.P.H Travel, had a colourful brochure titled 'Unexplored Borneo'. All brochures include the itinerary for a guided Iban longhouse tour, with some agents providing extra travel advice about the journey. This itinerary describes the river journey, Iban culture, history, and the longhouse lifestyle (Figure 13).

In brochure descriptions, by Kuching tour operators, the Iban are frequently portrayed as former headhunters (Table 16). Many also mention trophy skulls. This warring image is further embellished by referring to the Iban as pirates and warriors. This emphasis on the Iban as headhunters, and seeing trophy skulls, is more pronounced in descriptions of a one day Iban longhouse tour.

The tour itinerary for one travel agent, Inter-continental Travel, only indirectly refers to headhunting, 'No air conditioning, no room service, but fun, and your head should be safe!'. Five Kuching tour operators make no mention of the Iban as headhunters (Saga Travel, Samasa Travel, C.P.H. Travel, Kalimantan Travel & Borneo Adventure). Instead, these established operators focus on Iban lifestyle and other cultural practices as the principal tourist drawcard.

Seven Kuching tour operators also mention the Iban now live peacefully as farmers, fishermen, and hunters. This present day description of the Iban usually follows the statement about being headhunters. The Iban are now safe for tourists to visit. 'Today however one does not have to
SKRANG/LEMANAK RIVER IBAN LONGHOUSE TOUR

DEPARTURE: TO BE BOOKED ONE DAY IN ADVANCE
DURATION: 2 DAYS/1 NIGHT

Skrang River Longhouse: Roughly 250 km from Kuching. The journey is made by car/coach for 4 to 5 hours and then by long boat for 1 hour.

1st Day

Depart Kuching By car/Coach for the Skrang River (234 km from Kuching). The journey will pass through breath-taking scenes of the typical up-country atmosphere of fine pepper plantations, rubber estates, padi-fields, cocoa gardens, sago farms and thick unspoilt rain forests covering the fantastic mountain range forming the Sarawak/Indonesia border.

Lunch enroute. Arrive Skrang River at midday. The journey to the longhouse is by powered longboat. The next hour is spent meandering through the most enchanting and primitive atmosphere of the river and its everchanging scenery. Arriving at the longhouse early afternoon. Explore the surrounding forest or take a dip in the cool Skrang River and study the life of the Ibans.

Dinner in the Longhouse with the chief. Evening witness the Iban War Dance with gong music. Iban Women will dress up in full ceremonial costumes for tourists to take photos. Overnight in the longhouse.

Sleep on the VERANDAH or in the chief's room. Pillows, bed sheets, blankets and mattresses will be provided.

2nd Day

Breakfast in the longhouse. Return to Kuching by long boat and then by car/coach via the same route. Lunch enroute. Arrive Kuching in the early afternoon. Check in hotel.

Figure 13. Iban longhouse tour itinerary, Journey Travel
Table 16. Description of Iban as headhunters in Kuching brochures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agas Pan Asia Travel</td>
<td>'The Illustrious Iban were once a fearsome tribe which dabbled show with trophies (skulls of enemies) hanging from the eaves of the longhouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel Air Travel</td>
<td>'Once known as the &quot;Headhunters&quot; of Borneo they were notorious for their exploits out at seas and rivers especially cutting heads as war trophies. Human skulls are still hanging from the ceiling as a reminder of their past exploits' (1 day tour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo Exploration</td>
<td>'the famous Ibans who were once the most fearsome pirates and headhunters, the proof of which still hangs from the rafters of the longhouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo Interland</td>
<td>'They were once headhunters...' 'You can still see skulls hanging up at the corridor. It is the significant of headhunters in the olden days' (day visit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo Transverse</td>
<td>'the famous Iban...who were once, the most notorious, fearsome pirates and headhunters' 'History claims that 'Headhunting' was a sign of manhood among the Ibans and that no girl would consider marrying a man if he had not taken a head' (1 day tour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damai Travel</td>
<td>'the Ibans - once a headhunting tribe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interworld Travel</td>
<td>'They were once headhunters' 'Not long ago, the Iban were Headhunters. The proof of which still hangs from the rafters of the longhouse' (1 day tour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journey Travel</td>
<td>'Some of them were once headhunters' 'the famous Ibans who were once &quot;Headhunters&quot;...Human skulls can be seen hanging in the longhouse' (1 day tour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L. Travel</td>
<td>'They were once the notorious warriors terrifying pirates well known all over the world as the headhunters of Borneo in the days of yore'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singai Travel</td>
<td>'clustered skulls hanging from the rafters, the longhouse evokes the era of headhunting and tribal wars' (Trans Borneo Safari, 6 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21st Century Travel (now Jolly Travel)</td>
<td>'They are called Sea Dayak as once they were known to be fierce pirates and headhunters - which was a manhood symbol, for a girl will not marry one who has never chop a head off 'the former Headhunters - the Iban' (1 day tour)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statements drawn from Iban longhouse package tours described in Kuching travel brochures.
scheme to keep one's head and valuables as they live peacefully farming the land, hunting in the wilds and fishing the waterways' (Agas Pan Asia Travel). The tour itinerary for Borneo Exploration states that the Iban now 'live harmoniously as farmers, fishing and hunting in the wilderness of the Borneo jungles', where tourists can see 'Ibans on their way to the farm in their dugout or longboat'. This text presents the Iban living close to nature.

Most Kuching tour agents highlight the Iban lifestyle (Table 17). Brochures refer to Iban communal living and the longhouse way of life, with the lifestyle described as unchanged, original, or traditional. Two operators refer to the natural Iban longhouse lifestyle, meaning unspoilt or close to nature. Some brochures mention Iban lifestyle skills: the past use of blowpipes and the skill of Iban boatmen in river travel. While the Kuching brochures focus on Iban lifestyle, there is scant reference to Iban people. One exception is Saga Travel, describing the Iban as friendly and helpful, with no mention of being headhunters. Borneo Adventure generally describe native people in Sarawak as 'open and warm in their hospitality', including the Iban.

Some longhouse tour itineraries emphasise Iban environmental 'know how'. Borneo Transverse feature a jungle walk where tourists learn 'the native ways of setting-up of animal traps'. Longer river tours include fishing and collecting jungle products 'like bamboo shoots'. Singai Travel describe setting fish and prawn traps in the river, on their 'Pantu Adventure with the Ibans'. On their 'Skrang Overlander', tourists 'Learn Iban jungle craft, hunting, fishing traps, collect jungle food, water, native cooking and help build jungle shelters for the night'. On a Singai Travel tour to Nanga Gemalong, ecotourists can 'Explore and learn the secrets of survival in our rainforest from the Iban'. This current emphasis on Iban environmental culture is a recent tourist marketing trend.

Other recreational activities now extend many Iban longhouse tours. These outdoor activities, described in Kuching tour brochures, include longboat travel (shooting the rapids, hauling the boat upriver), jungle treks, swimming at waterfalls, and a picnic lunch by the riverbank. On the Ulu Ai River Safari, searching for wild orang utan in primary rainforest is combined with an Iban longhouse visit, by both Borneo
Table 17. Description of Iban lifestyle & people in Kuching brochures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brochure Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agas Pan Asia Travel</td>
<td>'Accept the hospitality of one of Sarawak's largest ethnic groups and share in their unique style of communal living'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.H. Travel</td>
<td>'observe the fascinating lifestyle of the Ibans which depict that of their forefathers centuries ago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo Adventure</td>
<td>'an opportunity to meet with our local people and experience the unchanging traditional way of life in a fast changing world'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L. Travel</td>
<td>'a fascinating excursion to the worldwise visitors a chance to experience something totally different lifestyle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo Transverse</td>
<td>'see the original way of life of the people living in longhouses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimantan Travel</td>
<td>'see and experience the natural lifestyle in an Iban longhouse in the interior of Sarawak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interworld Travel</td>
<td>'see and experience the natural lifestyle in an Iban longhouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singai Travel</td>
<td>'The Pantu adventure brings you into intimate contact with Sarawak's native Ibans, in their rainforest habitat, to join in their family &amp; communal activities &amp; experience their culture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel Air Travel</td>
<td>'Skilled boatmen will amaze you with their ability to navigate the shallow and meandering river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saga Travel</td>
<td>'The natives are indeed friendly and helpful people and you can just sit back and relax among them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statements drawn from Iban longhouse package tours described in Kuching travel brochures.

Adventure and Kalimantan Travel. Such back-to-nature activities are a more recent feature of Iban longhouse tours. These extra recreational activities divert tourist attention away from the longhouse and from Iban culture per se. It is similar to the inclusion of river rafting and elephant rides as standard features of hilltribe trekking tours in Thailand (Dearden & Harron 1992, 1994).

**Authenticity in Kuching brochures**

Most Kuching tour brochures 'frame' authenticity by listing typical Iban activities for tourists to observe and record on their longhouse tour. Journey Travel, for example, explicitly state, 'Iban Women will dress up in full ceremonial costumes for tourists to take photos'. The longhouse tour itineraries indicate what tourists will see of traditional Iban culture - costume, dance, blowpipes, cockfighting, animal traps etc. There is a
further contrast between Iban culture performed for tourists, as passive observers, and opportunities for tourists to actively experience or participate in the Iban lifestyle. In the latter case, there is more emphasis on tourists joining in with everyday Iban activities - daily chores, feeding livestock, craft making, farm work, swimming in the river, or making a jungle shelter.

Kuching tour brochures describe Iban dance as an activity to either watch; 'Witness the Iban War Dance with gong music', or to participate; 'join in a traditional Iban dance'. Tourists may also 'Imbibe the locally brewed rice wine' and 'join the tribal revelry in the longhouse'. Most brochures encourage visitors to 'Mix with the local inhabitants', and 'Mingle with the people'. Kalimantan Travel further describe an intriguing tourist activity, 'witness the demonstration of head hunting', presumably a reference to seeing Iban trophy skulls.

The word authentic is not used in Kuching travel brochures to describe Iban culture. Instead, the word 'traditional' is often used to describe the Iban longhouse, Iban welcome ceremony, Iban dance, and rice wine. One brochure mentions a traditional longboat. Kalimantan Travel and Borneo Adventure refer to the Ulu Ai river as the traditional home of the Iban people. Tour brochures for C.P.H. Travel refer to Iban customs, and describe the appearance of an Iban longhouse to establish authenticity. The word 'primitive' is occasionally used to infer authenticity. It is applied to the Iban or an upriver longhouse (Borneo Exploration), and the river atmosphere (Journey Travel, Borneo Interland).

Authenticity is ascribed to tourist meals, more by where and how the food is eaten rather than culinary content. Brochures state that tourists will enjoy 'Dinner in the longhouse with the chief' (Journey Travel) or 'dinner with the headman'. A few operators use the more fanciful term of jungle feast to describe this tourist dinner (Borneo Transverse, Agas Pan Asia Travel). Others refer to 'a longhouse feast - a natural-style dinner on the mat-covered floor' (Interworld Travel, Inter-Continental Travel). Tourists may also 'adopt local custom' for meals (M.L. Travel), or simply 'dine longhouse style' (Singai Travel). For a river picnic, 'Lunch will be served in native style at the riverbank' (Borneo
Transverse) or, in the only reference to Iban culinary traditions, 'cook food, in the bamboos with Iban people' (Borneo Exploration).

Some Kuching tour brochures link authenticity with the type of travel, the river destination, or the distance travelled. Kalimantan Travel describe their Ulu Ai River Safari as a real adventure where tourists can experience the natural Iban lifestyle and search for wild orang utan. In this tour, the Iban are presented as part of the jungle environment. Greater authenticity is implied where tourists eat or sleep in an Iban longhouse. The search for authenticity also provides a marketing device to sell longer Iban river safari tours. Borneo Transverse offer a four day tour to Kachong, 'one of the most traditional longhouse' on the Lemanak river. C.P.H. Travel market a four day tour to Panchor longhouse, described as 'more primitive' because it is located 'deep in the interior and along the upper reaches of the Skrang River'.

Colourful photographs of Iban people illustrate most Kuching tour brochures (see Figure 13). These mainly depict Iban people wearing traditional costume, posing for the camera, dancing, or performing typical cultural activities (Table 18). Men are shown using the blowpipe, holding a rooster, poling a longboat, or collecting jungle produce, while Iban women demonstrate weaving. Other brochure illustrations include a river scene with Iban longboats moored on the bank, views of the longhouse, and trophy skulls. Two companies include a photograph of their tourist guesthouse. Tourists are usually shown travelling upriver in a motorised longboat. The C.P.H. Travel 'Borneo Unexplored' brochure further depicts a 'famous' tourist, Hollywood actress Jane Seymour, dancing with Iban men.

Everyday activities and domestic scenes inside a longhouse are not illustrated. There are no photographs of Iban children, mothers and babies, or Iban family groups. There are few pictures of Iban people in casual clothes, apart from men transporting tourists in longboats, or longhouse folk watching a male dancer or cockfighting session. These include a woman weaving in a batik sarong (Borneo Interland), a woman making a sun hat (21st Century Travel), and a man preparing food offerings, captioned as 'Prelude to a festival' (Borneo Adventure). These are unposed photographs depicting routine scenes of Iban life. Apart
from river travel in longboats, the brochures do not include photographs of tourists inside the longhouse or interacting with Iban people.

Table 18. Iban photographs in Kuching tour brochures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iban men</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>Iban women</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warrior dance</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Costume portrait</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costume portrait</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Welcoming Dance</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using a blowpipe</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Textile Weaving</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockfighting</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Making sun hat</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With cast net</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>'Weaving basket'</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miring ceremony</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Iban girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddling longboat</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Welcoming Dance</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the jungle</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Men &amp; Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Prelude to a festival'</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
<td>Costume portrait</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting a cigarette</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Welcoming dance</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pose in longboat</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Tourist Activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tourist related</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External view</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>In longboat</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>(1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trophy skulls</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River Scene</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Jungle feast'</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moored longboats</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longboat on river</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Brochure photographs of Iban people wearing casual clothes.

Hotel travel brochures

Brochures produced by the Kuching Hilton, Holiday Inn Kuching and Holiday Inn Damai Beach also feature Iban longhouse package tours. The Kuching Hilton Longhouse Excursion Package refers to 'A journey back in time. A discovery of age-old traditions and cultures'. The 1988 Holiday Inn brochure, Adventure tour to the land of the hornbill, described the Iban as 'formerly wild headhunters', but this description was changed to 'friendly Ibans' and 'their warm hospitality' in the 1992 promotional brochure, Asia's best kept secret...'. For tourists, a feature attraction is the 'traditional customs, music and dances' of the Iban, on a longhouse visit. Photographs of a thatched roof longhouse, or Iban in ceremonial costume, illustrate these hotel brochures.

Singapore & Kuala Lumpur travel brochures

Iban longhouse tours are included in brochures produced by outbound travel agencies in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. The brochures feature either Malaysia, Borneo, or Sarawak as the travel destination. In this
section, I examine the marketing of Iban longhouse culture in brochures produced by three Malaysian travel agents, based in Kuala Lumpur, and five travel agents in Singapore. This review includes the Malaysia Airlines (MAS) Golden Holidays travel booklet, with its glossy tourist image of Iban/Dayak culture.

**Singapore tour brochures**

Singapore travel brochures and flyers package standard Iban longhouse tours, by listing organised cultural activities. The tour emphasis is on passive observation of Iban culture. Marketed to the largely Chinese population, Singapore brochures play heavily on presenting the Iban as headhunters. Universal Travel, Destinations Holidays and German Asian Travels promote Sarawak as 'Land of the Headhunter', refer to the Iban as former headhunters, and feature a 'Headhunter tour' with an Iban longhouse visit in Sarawak. This tour headline is not used in Sarawak or Malaysian travel brochures. Santa Tours, however, make no mention of the Iban as headhunters, instead they describe visitors joining in with Iban dances or domestic tasks. The Singapore brochures do not include tours visiting Iban longhouses on the Rejang River.

**Kuala Lumpur tour brochures**

The Malaysian tour brochures include Inter-Pacific Travel and Tours (*Exotic Malaysia* 1990), Reliance SMAS Tours (*The Borneos* 1992), and Asian Overland Services (*Back to Nature-Malaysia* 1992). The latter two companies now conduct longhouse tours from their own branch offices in Kuching. These Malaysian travel companies simply repackage standard longhouse tours visiting the Skrang and Lemanak Rivers. The tour emphasis is on passive observation of Iban culture, and organised activities. Each brochure describes the Iban as former headhunters, now living as farmers. Brochure photographs depict tourists in longboats, posed portraits of Iban people in traditional costume, and one picture of a tourist using a blowpipe.

The Malaysian brochures, however, include an Iban longhouse tour visiting the Rejang River. Such tours emphasise the Iban jungle lifestyle, basic living conditions, and informal involvement with Iban people.

> Observe the lifestyles of the primitive natives, where hunting and gathering of food in the jungles is still in practice.
> 
> *(Rejang River Tour, Reliance SMAS Tours)*
Real adventure where our visits to the longhouse are not pre-arranged. (we) seek permission from the longhouse chief (to stay) and if there is no taboo on that day, we will be most welcomed by the natives. 

*(Rejang Longhouse Adventure, Inter-Pacific Travel)*

Facilities in the longhouse are primitive. Be prepared to bathe, local style in the river, use makeshift toilets and sleep on wooden floors. 

*(Sibu Longhouse Adventure, Asian Overland Services)*

Authenticity is inferred by the more arduous travel experience, by following Iban custom, and through the Iban living close to nature. The Rejang River tour itinerary for Inter-Pacific Travel mentions that tourists may not be able to enter an Iban longhouse if there is a taboo in place. Most commercial travel brochures, however, describe the Iban ever welcoming tourist arrivals, with no cultural restrictions or reservations.

**Airline tour brochures**

The Malaysia Airlines travel brochure, *Golden Holidays Malaysia*, highlights the exotic tourist appeal of Iban culture in Sarawak. A summary of tourist sights in Kuching concludes by stating 'A visit to the longhouses of the Ibans and Dayaks is also a must' (emphasis in the original). In this glossy brochure, Malaysian Borneo is promoted as 'The Frontiers of Adventure'. The text for this double page section focuses on the communal longhouse lifestyle, and traditional appearance of Iban/Dayak people in Borneo.

In the longhouses of the Ibans and Dayaks, a picture of harmony comes shining through. An entire village literally stays under one roof, continuing the traditions of their forefathers. Tribal elders sport tattoos on their necks and arms, and for some, elongated holes in their ears are considered beauty embellishment.

Photographs, in this section of the 1990/91 MAS brochure, depict an Iban welcome dance, a male Iban dancer, a tattooed Iban man, and Iban men in a longboat (only the last illustration is included in the 1991/92 brochure).

Iban longhouse tours are featured in the main part of the 1992/93 MAS brochure. Previously, tour details were included in a separate booklet. These Skrang River Safari tours emphasise tourist participation in Iban culture and adventure in a natural setting. Glossy posed photographs of Iban people illustrate these tour itineraries in Sarawak (Figure 14). These include a tattooed Iban man in a spectacular feather headdress, visitors
Figure 14. Staged Iban photographs, MAS Golden Holidays Malaysia 1992/93
watching an Iban warrior dance on a longhouse verandah, and tourists sitting in motorised longboats operated by Iban men in loincloths, who normally wear shorts and a t-shirt. These Iban photographs, in the MAS travel brochure, depict staged authenticity or 'hyper-reality' (Eco 1987). In a tourism context, this means the selective representation or exaggeration of traditional Iban cultural features in a modern setting. Text for the tour itineraries, however, implies that tourists will share in daily Iban life.

The Singapore Airlines (SIA) holiday brochure, *Asean Holidays 1992*, includes two tours in Sarawak visiting an Iban longhouse. These are 'Kuching & Longhouse (5 days) and 'Borneo' (12 days). The longhouse destination is Nanga Sumpa on the Ulu Ai River, visited by Borneo Adventure. The tour itinerary emphasises getting back to nature, and personal relaxation. In fact, there is no mention of Iban people or culture. Apart from 'an evening of entertainment' at the Iban longhouse, there is no other reference to organised cultural activities put on for tourists. Brochure illustrations depict a young Iban man posing in traditional costume, and a rainforest stream. In this SIA brochure, tourists simply encounter the Iban living close to nature.

**Australian travel brochures: Market strategies**

With Australian tour brochures, I compare the marketing of Iban culture by mass market, 'individual', and adventure travel companies (Figure 15a&b). These vary in the way they sell an Iban longhouse visit as an exotic travel experience. Different travel companies market authenticity in tribal culture according to the perceived needs of their tourist clienteles (Silver 1993). Tour itineraries in Australian brochures link authenticity in Iban culture with organised activities, former customs, the longhouse lifestyle, or, more rarely, the personality of Iban people. These Australian brochures target a particular segment of the travel market, by emphasising different aspects of Iban culture.

The former custom of Iban headhunting is mentioned by only half of the Australian companies packaging tours to Borneo (Table 19). Brochures for the two main adventure travel operators, Intrepid and Peregrine, highlight the Iban reputation for headhunting. The 1994 Peregrine brochure, however, contains no reference to Iban headhunting, while the 1993/94 Intrepid brochure excludes the former reference to seeing trophy skulls on display. With 'individual' tour operators, Adventure World
simply label the Iban as former headhunters while Destinations International elevate this former Iban practice to the realm of 'mythical' and 'fabled'. Of the mass market operators, only Venture Holidays mentions headhunting, erroneously referring to shrunken heads not skulls. In contrast to British travel brochures for Borneo, this historic aspect of Iban culture has limited appeal to the Australian travel market.

**Table 19. Iban described as headhunters in Australian brochures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A: ADVENTURE TRAVEL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrepid</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>South East Asia</em></td>
<td>'Not that long ago the Iban were headhunters, killing their victims with blowpipes. (Some longhouses still have the skulls on display)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990/91 to 1993/94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Peregrine**       |  |
| *Adventures 1991/92*| 'once-feared headhunters' |
| *Thailand & Borneo '92* | 'once fearsome headhunters' |
| *Thailand, Borneo,* | These people were headhunters until fairly recently, and the skulls of past victims can be seen hanging from the rafter!' |
| *Laos, Vietnam '92/93* |  |

[NO mention of headhunting in *Access Southern Asia: Adventures in Paradise* 1990/91; *World Expeditions International Adventures 1991/92,* or *Peregrine Thailand, Borneo, Vietnam 1994*]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B: 'INDIVIDUAL' TRAVEL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adventure World</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Malaysia including</em></td>
<td>'The natives here are Iban, the former headhunters of Borneo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Borneo 1991</em></td>
<td>'see first-hand the life of the former headhunters of Borneo!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Destinations International** |  |
| *Borneo, Malaysia & Indonesia 1991/92* | 'Sarawak is the home of the mythical headhunters of Borneo' |
|  | 'stay with people who were once headhunters' |
|  | 'Skrang River, home of the Iban tribe, fabled headhunters of years gone by' |

[NO mention of headhunting in *New Horizons Borneo: "The spirit of Adventure"* 1992/93, or *Special Interest Tours Borneo 1993/94*]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C: MASS MARKET TRAVEL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Venture Holidays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Malaysia &amp; Borneo</em></td>
<td>'In by-gone days these (longhouses) were the homes of 1991/92 headhunters and shrunken heads still take pride of place in some remote longhouses'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[NO mention of headhunting in brochures by Qantas Jetabout, Jetset, or Viva! Holidays]

Statements drawn from Iban longhouse package tours described in Australian tour brochures
Skrang River Safari
2 days/1 night
From Kuching
Code: SKRV1
Day 1: Kuching-Skrang River (LD)
The Skrang River is located 232 kilometres from Kuching and is reached by a four hour coach journey on bitumen and gravel roads and one hour in a native longboat up the Skrang River to the Iban Longhouse. Here you will experience the colourful sights and sounds of the Iban and life in the Jungle. You are accommodated in a special guest longhouse with basic modern facilities including toilet and cold water shower. (These are not private facilities)

Day 2: Skrang River-Kuching (B,L)
After breakfast depart on the longboat down the river to join your coach for the journey back to Kuching.

Departs daily
Code: SKRV2
3 days/2 nights: Same as above with two nights at the longhouse.

Day 3: Damai Beach
After breakfast witness a blowpipe demonstration and games of the native people, visit their burial grounds in the forest and see the traps made by the Iban to catch animals and fish for food. Return native longboat and then by road to Damai Beach Resort for an overnight stay. (B,L)

Day 4: Damai Beach
A whole day to relax, sunbathe, swim and enjoy the watersports facilities. Overnight at the Damai Beach Resort.

Day 5: Kuching
Return to Kuching and transfer to the airport for the end of your holiday.

Departures: Daily
Price: $365 share twin (minimum 2 people)
Single Supplement: $130 (Not available in the longhouse)

Price includes:
- Accommodation at Iban guesthouse Damai Beach Resort and Holiday Inn
- Meals where indicated
- All tours
- Transfers where indicated.

Kuching Longhouse Adventure and Beach Holiday
5 days/4 nights from $365
Itinerary
Day 1: Kuching
Arrive at Kuching and transfer to Holiday Inn. The rest of the day is free to relax and explore Kuching at your leisure.

Day 2: Lemanak River
Morning departure for the longhouse adventure on the Lemanak River. The journey takes about 4 hours by road and en-route stops at local villages and a pepper plantation. After lunch board a native longboat for a 40-minute ride to the guesthouse, which is equipped with shower and toilet facilities and located next to an Iban longhouse. Visit the longhouse and then there is free time to either swim in the river or mingle amongst the Iban people. After dinner you will be entertained with traditional dances by the Iban. (B,L,D)

Day 3: Damai Beach
After breakfast witness a blowpipe demonstration and games of the native people, visit their burial grounds in the forest and see the traps made by the Iban to catch animals and fish for food. Return native longboat and then by road to Damai Beach Resort for an overnight stay. (B,L)

Day 4: Damai Beach
A whole day to relax, sunbathe, swim and enjoy the watersports facilities. Overnight at the Damai Beach Resort.

Day 5: Kuching
Return to Kuching and transfer to the airport for the end of your holiday.

Departures: Daily
Price: $365 share twin (minimum 2 people)
Single Supplement: $130 (Not available in the longhouse)

Price includes:
- Accommodation at Iban guesthouse Damai Beach Resort and Holiday Inn
- Meals where indicated
- All tours
- Transfers where indicated.

Figure 15a. Iban longhouse tours in Australian travel brochures
DAY 11: VISIT A DYAK LONGHOUSE
We drive east to the Lemanak River where we board a longtail boat for the journey upriver through dense rainforest, arriving at a Dyak longhouse for the night. In the early evening we visit the Dyak families, where you’re sure to be offered a glass of potent rice wine.

DAY 12: A DAY IN THE JUNGLE
This morning the local people will show us how the blowpipe is used, and later on we go for a walk in the rainforest. Depending on the water level we may also be able to travel upriver to visit another longhouse.

ADVENTURE TRAVEL, Peregrine Thailand & Borneo 1992

Best of Borneo – NEW!

16 DAYS EX KUCHING
NATIONAL PARKS, LONGHOUSES, MOUNTAINS AND WILDLIFE

This new 16 day trip encompasses the best of Borneo in one compact package! We visit several National Parks, have two days with the Iban tribe, explore the world’s biggest cave system, climb Mt Kinabalu, see orangutans and nesting turtles. Wow, what a trip!

• DAYS 5 – 6
LONGHOUSES.(2B,2L,2D)
We travel by small motorised canoes to meet the wonderful Iban people in longhouses that rarely have western visitors. Not that long ago the Iban were headhunters, killing their victims with blowpipes. These days they are far more hospitable hosts and we often see displays of traditional dancing, hunting and craftwork. Be warned – the Iban love to party!

ADVENTURE TRAVEL, Intrepid South East Asia 1993-1994

Figure 15b. Iban longhouse tours in Australian travel brochures
Australian brochures emphasise different aspects of Iban lifestyle for potential tourists (Table 20). The adventure travel operators stress staying with Iban people in a traditional longhouse, to participate in the rural lifestyle. From this direct encounter, adventure tourists will best learn about the local culture (Beezer 1994). Some brochures use cultural facts or knowledge about the Iban to assert authenticity. The 1991/92 Peregrine brochure mentions animist beliefs, the only reference to Iban religion; the 1992 brochure lists an Iban guide explaining traditions and lifestyle; while the 1992/93 brochure mentions asking permission to stay in an Iban longhouse. None of these Iban customs are described in the 1994 Peregrine brochure. Unlike Kuching operators, Australian brochures do not describe the appearance of an Iban longhouse.

Table 20. Description of Iban lifestyle in Australian tour brochures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adventure Travel</th>
<th>Individual Travel</th>
<th>Mass Market Travel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'stay with the Iban people in a traditional Dyak longhouse'</td>
<td>'Facilities in the longhouse are primitive. Washing is local style-in the river, toilets are makeshift and you sleep on the wooden floor'</td>
<td>'An adventure into the thick jungle setting of the longhouse people at Skrang River to experience their unique lifestyle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'participate in the river life of the Iban people' (Intrepid Travel)</td>
<td>(Adventure World)</td>
<td>(Venture Holidays)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'visiting their farms and villages, and sleeping in traditional longhouses, we share the forest with them' (Peregrine)</td>
<td>'visit the Iban...staying in a traditional longhouse and learning about their communal lifestyle' (Destinations International)</td>
<td>'see the natural setting of the people living upriver...in traditional longhouses' (Jetset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a fascinating insight into the traditional culture of the Iban people'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'experience the colourful sights and sounds of the Ibans and life in the jungle' (Viva! Holidays)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stay in their traditional longhouse,....as an honoured guest' (Access)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'individual' and mass market travel brochures list organised activities as the principal tourist experience of Iban culture. 'Individual' travel operators also mention the communal Iban lifestyle, or basic facilities for tourists staying in an Iban longhouse. The New Horizons
Borneo brochure refers to both 'isolated Iban longhouse villages' and travelling by 'motorized longboat'. Iban blowpipe skills are mentioned either as a current (tourist) activity, or as a former means of hunting for animals. Mass market brochures emphasise the adventure of visiting an Iban longhouse in the untamed jungle environment.

The personality of Iban people is described in a few Australian tour brochures. Intrepid Travel highlight 'the wonderful Iban people' who are 'hospitable hosts'. In their 1993/94 brochure they add, 'Be warned - the Iban love to party!' The 1990/91 Access brochure refers to the Iban as 'hospitable people', while the 1991/92 Peregrine brochure states the Iban 'now graciously welcome guests', this hospitality is not mentioned in later brochures. In the New Horizons brochure, the Iban are described just as 'extremely friendly people'. To introduce their North Borneo tours, Viva! Holidays describe the 'overwhelming friendliness of the (local) people...who are genuinely interested in where you are from'.

Most brochures describe tourist involvement in Iban culture through passive observation of organised activities. Australian mass market brochures, along with Adventure World and Destinations International, simply list standard Iban cultural events on display for tourists to 'witness', 'enjoy' or 'be entertained'. Travel brochures from New Horizons and Special Interest Tours, however, encourage tourists to actively participate in Iban culture. Adventure travel operators highlight the tourist challenge of drinking Iban rice.

At night be prepared to indulge in Tuark - the local firewater. (Intrepid)

In the early evening we visit the Dayak families, where you're sure to be offered a glass of potent rice wine! (Peregrine)

In this brochure description of longhouse activities, there is a gradient from simply looking at events, to full involvement or being a part of Iban culture.

The Borneo tours described in Australian travel brochures are mainly illustrated with photographs of tattooed Iban men in traditional costume (Table 21). Wearing a loincloth, Iban men pose by the riverbank, hold or use a blowpipe, gather jungle plants, or dance on the longhouse verandah. Three mass market brochures depict Iban women in ceremonial costume along with Iban men. Adventure travel brochures
feature portraits of tattooed Iban men, which dominate the page because of their size and/or single image status. Occupying up to half a page, these striking photographs 'sell' a romantic tourist image of Borneo. The Access brochure further depicts a male tourist shaking hands with a tattooed Iban man, and Intrepid, a male tourist using a blowpipe. There are no pictures of Iban trophy skulls in Australian brochures.

Table 21. Photographs of Iban people in Australian tour brochures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSED PHOTOGRAPHS</th>
<th>'NATURAL' PHOTOGRAPHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adventure Travel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men in costume (All brochures)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jungle food trek (Peregrine)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist &amp; blowpipe (Intrepid)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist portrait (Access)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'Individual' Travel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men in costume</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mass Market Travel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costume portrait</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban man &amp; blowpipe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Iban woman (Access &amp; Peregrine)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Iban man (Intrepid '93/94)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing drums (Peregrine '92/93)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverbank lunch (Intrepid '93/94)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman basket weaving (Destinations International)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman washing by river (Adventure World)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some 'natural' portraits of Iban people, wearing casual clothes, are depicted in the adventure travel brochures. These everyday pictures include an old Iban woman, a mixed group of Iban drummers, and an Iban woman washing by the river. Such unposed photographs of Iban people, however, are usually quite small (about 5cm square) and located at the bottom of the page. Two larger 'natural' portraits appear at the top of a page, an Iban woman basket weaving, and an old Iban man in shorts. Both Peregrine and Intrepid highlight naturalness by depicting Iban men in the jungle, a river scene, or a contemporary longhouse verandah.

Australian travel brochures use other supporting statements to assert authenticity in their Borneo tours (Table 22). Peregrine and Intrepid emphasise that they visit remote, unspoiled Iban longhouses away from other tourists. Destinations International emphasise the ancient or unchanged character of Iban culture, customs, and heritage. The Jetset
brochure describes tourist meals eaten in the Iban manner, sitting on woven mats. Intrepid Travel and Peregrine highlight the knowledge and expertise of their Australian guides who have lived in Borneo. Intrepid also include written tourist testimonies about their Borneo trip, while Peregrine refer to an Iban guide explaining local customs and traditions. No reference is made to Iban anthropology or colonial history.

Table 22. Other devices to assert authenticity in Australian brochures

| 1. Remote/Unspoiled | 'meet Iban people in longhouses that rarely have western visitors' (Intrepid '92/93 & '93/94) 
|                     | 'reach Iban tribes-people in their jungle retreat' (Peregrine 1991/92) 
|                     | 'isolated Iban villages' (Special Interest Tours) |

2. Antiquity

| 'experience the ancient heritage of the Iban tribe' |
| 'experience the ancient customs of Sarawak's Iban tribe' |
| 'experience an ancient culture that is fast disappearing' (Destinations International) |

3. Native-style meals

| 'a jungle feast is laid out in the native style on the mat-covered floor' (Jetset) |

4. Expertise of guides

| Iban guide |
| 'Our Iban companion explains the traditions and lifestyle of the Dyak people' (Peregrine 1992) |

| Australian guides |
| Richard Mole - 'Richard's family spent many years in Borneo. He loves the place and his experience and knowledge of the area is invaluable' (Peregrine 1992/93) |
| Sally Goldstraw - 'Sally lived in Borneo for several years developing and leading our trips there' (Intrepid 1993/94) |

5. Tourist Comments

| 'Your trip showed us the real Borneo' Anthony Greer, Vermont Vic. |
| 'What Our Travellers Say' p. 15 (Intrepid 1992/93) |

The word authentic is not used in Australian tour brochures. Instead, the word traditional is often used to describe an Iban longhouse or Iban dancing. Adventure travel operators, and Destinations International, focus more on describing the Iban longhouse as traditional. The mass market and other 'individual' travel operators, however, mainly describe Iban dancing as traditional. In 1990/91 Intrepid referred to a traditional Iban longhouse, but their later brochures refer only to displays of 'traditional dancing, hunting, or craftwork'. Access refer to traditional Iban culture, Peregrine to a traditional Iban community or lifestyle, and Destinations International to a traditional Iban village. None of the brochures qualify their use of the word traditional.
Ecotourism at Iban longhouses
The promotion of ecotourism at Iban longhouses is a recent development in Sarawak's travel industry. Also known as 'chic travel', this new kind of tourism is marketed as 'avant-garde, culturally sensitive, and ecologically responsible' (Silver 1993: 315). Travel companies endorsing the benefits of ecotourism for Iban longhouse residents include Asian Overland Services (Malaysia) and Active Travel (New Zealand). Their travel brochures, aimed at different market segments, offer tourists a more traditional and authentic experience of Iban longhouse culture in Sarawak. Australian adventure travel operators, Peregrine and Intrepid, also follow eco-tourism principles but do not specifically support community development projects at Iban longhouses visited in Sarawak.

Asian Overland Services, in their *Malaysia Naturally* 1993 brochure, include a 'Stamang Longhouse River Safari' tour (see Figure 16, over page). This new Iban longhouse tour, on the Engkari River, is headlined as 'Exclusive and Non-Touristic'. The longhouse tour itinerary describes river travel and daily Iban life, along with standard tourist activities, such as a traditional welcome, dances and musical instruments, blowpipe and cockfighting demonstration, jungle trek and picnic. Above this tour description are two unposed photographs, depicting river travel by longboat, and Iban children clustered around a doorway. Another small picture depicts a food offering (*miring*) held outdoors, with a tourist watching the costumed male Iban officiants.

The personal benefits of visiting Stamang longhouse are outlined in a boxed set of additional information, placed on one side of the tour itinerary. To begin with, the longhouse tour is described as 'unspoilt, primitive and real adventure'. The text then links authenticity with the natural environment and the longhouse destination. Potential ecotravellers are assured 'this 60-year old 32-door longhouse offers...the true experience of traditional longhouse living.' The ecotourism aspect is reinforced with a list of improvements to Stamang initiated by Asian Overland Services such as upgrading the longhouse, providing employment and encouraging traditional Iban culture (see Appendix F). This approach targets upmarket tourists who both seek authenticity, and wish to travel in an ethically responsible manner.
Depart Kuching in the morning for a 4 hour drive to Batang Ai Dam jetty. We will be driving through the countryside, small towns, padi fields, rubber, oil palm and pepper plantations, sago palms, logging camps and secondary and primary rainforest. We will stop at a pepper plantation - Sarawak is the world's largest exporter of pepper and lunch will be at a local restaurant. From the jetty, we will proceed by motorised longboat to go across the dam and through rapids, underneath the cool thick overhanging jungle foliage. The boat journey will take approximately 2 hours. En route you will see the longhouses of the once feared pirates and headhunters of Borneo. A traditional Iban welcome awaits you on arrival at the longhouse. We will bring you on a tour of the longhouse after you have settled in. The rest of the day is at leisure for you to relax or join in the chores of the Ibans or swim in the cool crystal clear river. After dinner, the Iban people will entertain you with their traditional dances and musical instruments. Overnight. (Fullboard)

DAY 01

Depart Kuching in the morning for a 4 hour drive to Barang Ai Dam jetty. We will be driving through the countryside, small towns, padi fields, rubber, oil palm and pepper plantations, sago palms, logging camps and secondary and primary rainforest. We will stop at a pepper plantation - Sarawak is the world's largest exporter of pepper and lunch will be at a local restaurant. From the jetty, we will proceed by motorised longboat to go across the dam and through rapids, underneath the cool thick overhanging jungle foliage. The boat journey will take approximately 2 hours. En route you will see the longhouses of the once feared pirates and headhunters of Borneo. A traditional Iban welcome awaits you on arrival at the longhouse. We will bring you on a tour of the longhouse after you have settled in. The rest of the day is at leisure for you to relax or join in the chores of the Ibans or swim in the cool crystal clear river. After dinner, the Iban people will entertain you with their traditional dances and musical instruments. Overnight. (Lunch and dinner)

DAY 02

Woke up again to the crows of the roosters and join-in the activities of the Ibans as they prepare for their daily chores. After breakfast, you may go swimming or simply relax. We return by motorised longboat back to the Batang Ai Dam jetty and onwards to Kuching. We expect to arrive Kuching around 1600 hours.

DAY 03

Woke up to the crows of the roosters and join-in the activities of the Ibans as they prepare for their daily chores. After breakfast, you may go swimming or simply relax. We return by motorised longboat back to the Batang Ai Dam jetty and onwards to Kuching. We expect to arrive Kuching around 1600 hours.
Active Travel, a New Zealand ecotourism company, conducts 'Ecological Travel Adventures' in Malaysia and Indonesia. Their tours emphasise close cultural encounters, learning through personal involvement, and travel 'at the local level'. During a 21 day 'Sarawak-Borneo' tour, travellers spend three nights at an Iban longhouse, 'living as part of the community'. Living Iban-style in the longhouse, travellers learn first hand about Iban culture: 'edible and medicinal jungle produce...customs and superstitions...crafts and dance'. This cultural immersion is facilitated by not visiting as a tourist: 'You will live with a family and sleep and eat in the local way "at ground level". In this tour, authenticity is linked with the depth of involvement in everyday Iban life.

Active Travel also offer a 10 day 'Dayak Jungle Survival Course' with Iban people. Authenticity is again assured since travellers 'live as part of a family in their longhouse'. The ecotourism benefits for the Iban hosts are also stated, with this Survival Course 'Aimed at providing employment for young Dayak people and maintaining pride in traditional ways'. Another tour option is the four day 'Gawai Dayak Festival', where travellers fully participate in this traditional Iban celebration ('An open mind and stamina essential'). In this ecotourism, authenticity is defined by cultural immersion, and living as the Iban do.

**Summary**

In travel brochures packaging Iban longhouse tours, authenticity is linked either with past Iban traditions, most notably headhunting, or with the Iban longhouse lifestyle, including environmental culture. The 'official' tourist literature for Malaysia and Sarawak concentrates on traditional Iban longhouse culture and adventure in a jungle setting. Most commercial tour operators in Kuching, Singapore, and some in Australia, however, continue to promote the Iban as headhunters. This stereotype image of the Iban may no longer be seen as credible nor confer authenticity. Mass tourism brochures present staged Iban cultural activities while adventure travel and 'individual' travel brochures encourage tourist involvement with Iban people. New ecotourism operators emphasise sharing Iban life and the benefits of tourism for the Iban. This signifies a change from situational to behavioural elements of authenticity, for tourists visiting Iban longhouses. Some travel brochures now establish authenticity by promoting environmental or social experiences with Iban people as the main feature of a longhouse tour.
Chapter 5. SARAWAK MUSEUM: THE SOUL OF BORNEO

'Full of hunted heads and colonial jetsam, the Sarawak Museum in Malaysia's Kuching is, like Sarawak itself, a wondrous thing.'

(John Borthwick, Weekend Australian, Travel, 29-30 May, 1993, p. 9)

The Sarawak Museum contains the most comprehensive collection of Borneo cultural artefacts, on permanent display, anywhere in the world. Colourful and spectacular examples of Dayak tribal arts, and a walk through replica of two rooms in a traditional Iban longhouse, form eye-catching exhibits in the museum. To walk through the longhouse exhibit and observe the richness of Dayak art is to 'feel the exoticism of Borneo closing around you' (Nicol 1977:160). This chapter examines Iban cultural displays in the Sarawak Museum, in particular, tourist reactions to the replica Iban longhouse. The concept of authenticity is used to evaluate the museum setting, content of the Iban displays, and tourist responses to the museum presentation of Iban culture. This review begins with travel articles on the Sarawak Museum, and a semiotic analysis of Iban ethnographic displays, then examines the replica Iban longhouse exhibit (old Museum) and 'longhouse' gallery (new Museum).

Museums and Authenticity

There has been limited research on the question of authenticity in museums. It mainly seems to be a taken-for-granted concept, with the authority of the museum itself 'certifying' that artefacts are indeed genuine. Authenticity, however, is an ascribed value. In museums, authenticity has been linked with the appearance and presentation of artefacts (Adams 1994; Clifford 1985; Crew & Sims 1991; de Wetering 1989), the content and style of exhibitions (Schueler 1983; Vogel 1991), the overall museum setting (Longworth 1990), and the experience of the visitor (Ames 1992). These factors influencing authenticity are examined in Iban displays at the Sarawak Museum. Situational aspects are linked with the content of Iban exhibits while the behavioural dimension (Vallee 1987) considers the personal meaning of Iban displays for visitors.

Authenticity in cultural objects is verified through documentation, physical appearance, evidence of manufacture, uniqueness, historic or cultural association, context of use, proximity to related objects, and labelling. This 'aura' of realness can be enhanced through display techniques. For example, in a display of Northwest Coast Indian art,
woodchips were left around a freshly carved totem pole (Clifford 1985). Other authenticating devices include multiple groupings of related ethnographic artefacts, old photographs or films showing the object in use, and the use of detailed labelling.

Authenticity within museum displays is related to the style of exhibition, presentation of objects, curatorial 'voice', and the information given on labels (Schueler 1983). Natural history museums group related objects and use extensive labelling, while art museums isolate individual objects and use minimal labels. Both types of exhibits communicate authenticity, the former by displaying many objects together, the latter by elevating important or unique objects. Lighting or graphics and text reinforces each style of display.

Information labels assert authenticity, either by simply identifying objects, or by describing the historical, cultural and social context in which objects were made and used. Diagrams and photographs provide further support for the information contained in labels. Authenticity may even be explicitly stated or defined. In an exhibition of African art, labels with Baule masks identified fakes and a reproduction from old and authentic masks. In the same African display, an untranslated videotape showed local people installing a memorial post 'accompanied by a label stating that only the original audience could have the original experience - that all other settings were inauthentic and arbitrary to some degree' (Vogel 1991:197).

Authenticity can be influenced by the overall museum setting. At the American Museum of Natural History, a permanent display of traditional North West Coast Indian art is displayed in glass cases, while a special exhibition, 'Chiefly Feasts', included contemporary items and portrayed living Indian culture (Jonaitis 1992:259). Conversely, authenticity can be enhanced by the return of ethnographic artefacts to tribal museums. Such objects, restored to their original owners and original location, are imbued with greater meaning (Clifford 1991). In the same manner, authenticity could well be enhanced when viewing Dayak artefacts on display in Borneo museums, rather than other locations.

Curatorial 'voice' is becoming increasingly important in museum displays of tribal culture (Ames 1987; Bourne 1985; Clifford 1991; Doxtator
This 'voice' relates to whether a display is based on presenting western or indigenous categories and viewpoints. A recent travelling exhibition of Canadian Indian art, "Chiefly Feasts", involved Kwakiutl Indian people as advisers, cultural historians, and ceremonial leaders (Joints 1992; Ostrowitz 1993; Webster 1992). The potlatch or ceremonial items included traditional masks, carvings, and regalia, along with contemporary artwork and modern gift items in plastic laundry baskets. Kwakiutul leaders composed a welcome speech and narrated a legendary tale, heard on tape recorded messages. This native Indian 'voice' in the display 'was regarded by the majority of visitors as a powerful standard of authenticity for the information conveyed' (Ostrowitz 1993:51).

Another aspect of this native 'voice' is bringing life to indigenous artefacts displayed in museums. In New Zealand, fresh green leaves are placed on or near important Maori carvings or greenstone ornaments displayed at the Hawkes Bay Museum and the Rotorua Museum. These revered objects (taonga) are still imbued with spiritual meaning and ancestral power for local Maori people. Labels at the Rotorua Museum state, 'The green leaves represent the gift of life and are placed from time to time in front of taonga. This is done by descendants of Te Arawa (Maori) and visitors alike'. Bowls of water are further placed in the Maori gallery for visitors to wash their hands, 'for the symbolic cleansing of tapu (sacredness)', after seeing the taonga. This ongoing respect for Maori cultural objects conveys a deep personal message of authenticity to Museum visitors.

Aesthetic and emotional responses to museum exhibits must also be considered. Ethnographic displays, in particular, create an aura of authenticity by stimulating the imagination of visitors (Ames 1992; Clifford 1985). The inclusion of modern day items can also challenge museum visitors as to what constitutes 'authentic' native culture (Ostrowitz 1993:61-63). A recent exhibition of contemporary Maori art, Te Waka Toi, in America, was enlivened by the presence of Maori people, with both Maori and Indian protocol followed (Mana 1994:22-25). The contemporary Maori artworks linked past and present Maori traditions with living aspects of Maori culture. Authenticity derived from the cultural and personal meaning associated with these contemporary artworks by Maori artists. This behavioural aspect has been little studied.
Sarawak Museum: Travel reviews

The Sarawak Museum, with its unique collection of Borneo tribal artefacts, is a major visitor attraction in Kuching (Kedit 1990c). Indeed, 'No tourist would miss seeing the place!' (Munan 1988b:21). For international tourists, the Sarawak Museum provides an exotic showpiece of Dayak art, culture and traditions. Iban cultural objects are part of this rich ethnographic collection. The current tourist image of the Sarawak Museum is based on its reputation and history, as well as the quality of its exhibitions and diverse Borneo collection. To analyse this cultural image of the Sarawak Museum, various travel articles are reviewed according to how they describe the museum setting and ethnographic displays. Attention is given to descriptions of Iban exhibits.

In the Malaysia Travel Planner, the Sarawak Museum is described as 'one of Asia's finest museums with an excellent collection of Borneon [sic] ethnological and archaeological material'. A similar description of the museum is used in the Sarawak Map & Guide and A Visitor's Guide to Sarawak. In this official tourist material, the Sarawak Museum is featured first in the listing of 'Places of interest'. The MAS Golden Holidays travel brochure imaginatively proclaims, 'The soul of Borneo is kept alive in the corridors and on the walls of the Sarawak Museum'.

Tourist reviews of the Sarawak Museum are found in airline and travel magazines, a newspaper travel section, adventure travel books, tourist guidebooks, and other special travel supplements profiling Sarawak as a tourist destination (Table 23). A cultural review of the old Sarawak Museum has appeared in Arts of Asia (Fraser-Lu 1982). The articles focus on exotic or unusual Dayak artefacts displayed in the Sarawak Museum. The following review of exhibits in the Sarawak Museum, including the replica Iban longhouse, is based on this popular travel literature.

Indicators of authenticity for the Sarawak Museum are references to history, traditional Dayak life, interesting tribal artefacts, and use of the museum by locals. The historical comments refer to the opening of the Sarawak Museum by the second White Rajah, Charles Brooke, with the date variously stated as 1880, 1886, 1888 and 1891 (The last is correct). A sense of history is also associated with the content of ethnographic exhibits. Displays in the Sarawak Museum include traditional artefacts and historic photographs or, more dramatically, 'wild photographs of
even wilder tribal people from the beginning of the century' (Crowther & Wheeler 1988:250). This alludes to the meaning of a visit to the Museum.

Tourist reviews describe the exotic array of tribal artefacts found in the Sarawak Museum. The most detailed description of Dayak artefacts is presented in the Apa Insight Guide, under the title 'Images charged with intensity' (Stephens et al. 1980:257-259). Unique or curious Dayak artefacts are featured for their tourist appeal. These include skulls and burial poles, beadwork, costumes and other Dayak art forms or handicrafts (see Table 23). References to Iban artefacts include an Iban war boat (Leigh 1992), an 'Iban hornbill painted in bright colours' (Yeow 1992:338), Iban weaving (Munan 1988b) and a palang, 'a metal "tickler" driven through the human penis (which) was once an indispensable attribute for the Iban tribesman to win a wife' (Borthwick 1993).

The large numbers of local people visiting the Sarawak Museum reinforces the importance and authenticity of the cultural items on display (Munan 1988b; Stephens et al. 1980). Knowledgeable local people are considered to be astute critics, assessing the quality of artefacts displayed in the Museum. 'If a new display of Iban weaving is put up, any number of expert weavers are likely to walk past it within the next few weeks (Munan 1988b:21). This connection between past and present Iban cultural traditions provides further support for authenticity.

The replica Iban longhouse is generally described as a feature exhibit in the Sarawak Museum. Most of the travel reviews simply mention a longhouse display, but the Apa Insight Guide, and article by Munan (1988b), specifically refer to it as an Iban longhouse.

An entire corner of the museum has been transformed into an Iban longhouse, with simulated fires burning, genuine skulls hanging from the rafters, and a warrior's headdress and finely sharpened weaponry resting near his bedside as if he were about to walk in and sound the battle cry (Stephens et al. 1980:258).

With some imagination, this replica longhouse offers a 'real' experience of traditional Iban culture.

The Iban longhouse display is variously referred to as a mock-up, a recreation, a replica or a reconstruction. Real trophy skulls, however, are
Table 23. Travel reviews of the Sarawak Museum: Dayak displays

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel reviews</th>
<th>Dayak artefacts</th>
<th>Iban artefacts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRAVEL GUIDES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Apa Insight Guides</td>
<td>‘laughing’ skulls, Kelabit beads, Sru Dayak figurines, wall murals, burial poles</td>
<td>Iban Longhouse: fire, skulls, headdress, weapons, loft</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Stephens et al 1980:257-259)</td>
<td>Photo: Kenyah wall mural</td>
<td>Photo: Iban trophy skull</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet</td>
<td>tribal artefacts, <strong>Longhouse</strong>: head-hunting skulls, photographs, ceramics, brassware, Chinese jars; wall mural</td>
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<td>(Crowther &amp; Wheeler 1988:250-251)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fodors South East Asia</td>
<td>body tattoos, burial rites, face masks, carvings</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Gianetti 1990:253)</td>
<td>Longhouse: photographs, brass earrings, penis pins, games, wood carvings</td>
<td>Iban hornbill</td>
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<td><strong>TRAVEL ARTICLES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Weekend Australian</td>
<td>rattan basketry, Chinese urns, skulls, burial poles</td>
<td>Iban palang (penis pin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Borthwick 1993:9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business Traveller</td>
<td>Longhouse: skulls</td>
<td>Iban war boat</td>
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<td>(Leigh 1992:42)</td>
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<td>Muhibah</td>
<td>Chinese jars, Longhouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Winterton 1992:38)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Pacific Traveller.</td>
<td>skulls, tribal carvings, paintings, weavings, beadwork, weaponry, costumes &amp; relics</td>
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<td>(Maitland 1991:15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wings of Gold</td>
<td>Kenyah wall mural, beads, handicrafts, wood-carving, native costumes, longhouse gallery: household goods; Penan hut &amp; tree-bark canoe</td>
<td>Iban Longhouse: fighting cock Iban weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts of Asia</td>
<td>Longhouse: spirit figures, skulls, mats, gongs, sape (lute), blankets, Chinese jars, loft Other Dayak artefacts</td>
<td>Iban ornaments Iban weaving Iban hornbill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fraser-Lu 1982)</td>
<td>Photos: Various Bidayuh &amp; Orang Ulu artefacts</td>
<td>Photos: Iban costume, blanket, burial hut</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRAVEL BOOKS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malaysia &amp; Singapore</td>
<td>Longhouse: skulls, bark &amp; skin coats, feathered cap</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Nicol 1977:160-164)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Into the Heart of Borneo</td>
<td>palang (penis pin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(O’Hanlon 1984:17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stranger in the Forest</td>
<td>Longhouse: rice-pots, spears, rice-wine jars, skulls</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Hansen 1988:17)</td>
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the main artefact mentioned inside the replica longhouse. These headhunting skulls are the main marker of authenticity. Other domestic Iban items referred to are rice-pots and rice-wine jars, weapons such as spears, traditional costume, and 'even a fighting cock on the verandah (stuffed!)' (Munan 1988b:21). The Apa Insight Guide also mentions the longhouse loft, which recreates the former Iban tradition of anak umbong, or the secluded daughter of a 'noble' family, until marriage.

The Sarawak Museum replica longhouse exhibit provides tourists with a vicarious experience of traditional Iban culture.

Despite visitors being unable to enter in the traditional manner, by climbing up a slippery notched log, the museum has managed to create the authentic longhouse atmosphere, and the split bamboo floor "gives" under the feet; welcoming spirit figures stand by the door and skulls hang from the roof (Fraser-Lu 1982:117).

This museum longhouse also provides 'an excellent insight into the way of construction and the way of life, particularly useful if one intends to visit a longhouse in the interior of the country' (Nicol 1977:160).

The replica Iban longhouse in the Sarawak Museum is considered ideal, 'For those intrigued with longhouse living but unable to afford the time - or risk the discomfort - of staying in an off-the-beaten-path longhouse' (Leigh 1992:42). This substitution function is one role played by museums or visitor centres (Pearce 1991). For other more adventurous visitors, however, the Museum longhouse stimulates the desire to visit a rural longhouse community. These include the author, Eric Hansen, and a travelling companion, who saw the 'full-size, mock-up of a longhouse room on display....After a short discussion with a member of the museum staff and a glance through the airport tourist literature, we decided to go upriver to visit a real longhouse' (1988:17). The longhouse exhibit thus plays a vital part in the tourist experience of Iban culture.

The Tourist Experience: Iban displays
For tourists, Dayak culture 'lives' in the Sarawak Museum. Exotic ethnographic displays provide a strong visual and emotional experience of the unique cultures of Borneo. The tourist 'journey' through this Dayak/Iban world is described here, using the technique of semiotic analysis (Clifford 1991; Hodge & D'Souza 1979). While exploring the
special ambience of the Sarawak Museum, this review focuses principally on the presentation of Iban culture.

A visit to the Sarawak Museum is literally an elevation into a mainly Dayak world. Ethnographic displays are located on the upper floor of each museum building. Visitors to a longhouse enter via a notched log ladder, while tourists at the Sarawak Museum ascend a flight of stairs to view cultural exhibits. In the Sarawak Museum, however, tourists encounter a packaged presentation of traditional Dayak culture. The museum buildings and environs are further linked by the use of Dayak designs and displays of predominantly Dayak artefacts. A pedestrian bridge, painted with Dayak designs, connects the old and new museum buildings, each located on top of a small rise. Murals of traditional life decorate the centre walls in each building.

The old Sarawak Museum was built in 1891 with Normandy-style architecture. Approaching this building, visitors now walk over a paved roadway inset with angular Iban designs (Plate 11). Constructed in 1992, these yellow designs in the museum roadway are based on patterns used in Iban weaving. Inside the old Museum, spectacular Orang Ulu 'story' murals adorn the gables, while other Dayak designs are painted along the upper walls. Over at the new Museum building, more Dayak motifs are carved into the wooden columns of the entrance foyer. The use of distinctive Dayak designs provides a special Borneo ambience. Inside the Sarawak Museum, tourists 'journey' through this recreated Dayak world (Plate 12).

Most tourists begin this journey by first visiting the old Sarawak Museum building. On the upper floor, ethnographic displays represent the indigenous cultures of Sarawak: Dayak (Iban, Bidayuh, Orang Ulu), Melanau and Malay. The cultural artefacts, grouped according to type, are displayed in old-style wooden cabinets and wall cases. Each main group of artefacts (basketry, wood carvings, musical instruments etc) has a general explanatory label, in both Malay and English. Uncaptioned photographs, in the displays, illustrate how artefacts were worn or used by indigenous people. Photo stands, four in all, depict scenes from traditional life. Other objects, on open display, include gong ensembles, model longhouses, wood carvings (mainly Orang Ulu), tall baskets and fishing devices.
Plate 11. The old Sarawak Museum, Iban design in roadway

Plate 12. Wall mural of Dayak life, old Sarawak Museum
than artefacts and customs are presented either in separate exhibits, or included in general displays presenting Dayak culture. Following the usual route taken past the displays (see Figure 17), tourists learn about various aspects of Iban culture. I shall describe Iban exhibits in the Old Museum, followed by a summary of additional Iban displays in the new Museum. Comments about the replica Iban longhouse room are included in a separate section. Artefacts, labels and photographs are used to communicate authenticity in these Iban exhibits. Quotations are taken from display labels.

Figure 17. Ethnographic displays, upper floor, old Sarawak Museum
Numbers refer to Iban exhibits described in the text.

1) Tattooing
The first exhibit encountered is a wall case display on Dayak tattooing. Artefacts include various wood block tattoo patterns and tattooing instruments. Black and white photographs (not labelled) depict tattooed Dayak people, six of these being Iban. They include photographs of a young Iban man being tattooed, taken by Hedda Morrison in the 1950s and published in her book, Life in a Longhouse (Morrison 1962). The information label notes that Kayan/Kenyah tattoos are a sign of rank, while Iban tattoos are largely decorative. The Iban custom is different: the women are tattooed only on the throat, on the arms and on the fingers which signifies her capability of doing housework, while a man's
body may be almost covered with design....One distinctive design amongst the Iban may only be tattooed on the man's throat.' These traditional Dayak tattoo patterns are unique to Borneo.

2) Penis pins
A small cabinet display featuring *palang* (penis pins) attracts a lot of curiosity and interest. Tourists react with amusement, disbelief and horror (usually men, out of empathy), to evidence of this peculiar Dayak custom (Brown 1992). Male travel writers are particularly fascinated by *palang* (O'Hanlon 1984:17; Linklater 1990:11-12). The *palang* display has been aptly described as a 'gigglers choice' (Borthwick 1983). It includes small metal pins, a calcinated *palang*, and a diagram showing the method of inserting a *palang* into the penis. The brief label notes, 'Iban men commonly leave the *palang* in position permanently.'

3) Musical instruments
Four wall cases display traditional musical instruments of Sarawak. There are separate exhibits for stringed or wind instruments, and for percussion instruments. In the first wall case, musical instruments identified as Iban include an upright harp (*engkeratong*), five fiddles (*enserunai*), and two flutes (*suling idong*). A black and white photograph, not labelled, depicts tattooed young Iban men playing a native lute (*sapei'*) and a wind 'organ' (*engkerurai*). This photograph was taken by K.F. Wong in the 1950s and appeared in his book, *Pagan Innocence* (Wong 1960). The other wall case display of percussion instruments contains two Iban hour-glass drums (*ketebong*). There is a colour photograph of an extensively tattooed Iban man playing one of these drums.

4) Iban gong ensemble
The Iban gong ensemble is on open display, with the musical instruments arranged on a raised platform. These include two large gongs (*tawak* and *bendai*) hung on wooden racks, two short drums (*dumbak*), two hour-glass drums (*ketebong*), and six small gongs laid out on a low wooden rack (*engkerumong*). Behind this ensemble, two woven Iban blankets (*pua kumbu*) hang on the wall as a backdrop. A padded wooden beater hangs by one large gong. This Iban gong ensemble seems ready to be played. The descriptive label explains the changing purpose and meaning of different styles of Iban music. This includes both gong
ensemble and drum music. 'Traditionally, music created by the drums was used for ceremonial purposes, to celebrate a victory in battle or a head-hunting expedition. Today, it provides for general entertainment at festivals.'

5) Cock fighting
The display case on Iban cockfighting, labelled Sabung Ayam, features two (stuffed) roosters opposing each other, with a metal spur tied onto one leg. Other artefacts include sharpening stones, metal spurs, and a small wooden case opened up to reveal a metal spur. The actual process of Iban cockfighting is illustrated with seven black and white photographs taken by Hedda Morrison. The label explains the religious and social reasons for Iban cock fighting. 'According to Iban belief, cock fighting is an old tradition, originated by their war-gods who are also known as fighting cocks.' Changes in this Iban tradition are noted, with betting now the main reason for Iban cock fighting.

6) Model Iban Longhouse
A small scale model illustrates the main structural features of a traditional Iban longhouse. On one end, the thatched roof is left off, to reveal the internal divisions of an Iban longhouse. Other model longhouses on display are those of the Bidayuh, Kayan, Kenyah and Lun Bawang. On the model Iban longhouse, carved finials are shown projecting diagonally above the roof at either end. This is not a feature seen in any other illustrations of Iban longhouses.

7) Photo Stands
Four photo stands, displaying sixty photographs, illustrate scenes from traditional life. They depict both ceremonial events and everyday activities of the main ethnic groups in Sarawak. The photographs, nearly all black and white, carry brief captions. Iban people are shown dancing, celebrating a festival, or engaged in domestic tasks. Mainly Iban pictures are found on the photo stand nearest the entrance to the replica Iban longhouse rooms. Two other colour photographs of the Iban depict typical activities, such as, 'Iban traditional way of cooking glutinous rice in bamboo tubes for making rice wine', and 'An Iban dancer performing a "ngajat lesong" dance while holding a mortar with his teeth.' The latter picture depicts tourists watching this dance. By browsing through these photo stands, visitors obtain a vivid impression of traditional Iban life.
8) Spears
Various Dayak spears are displayed vertically in a wall case. The names for the spears are listed in Iban, Kayan and Kelabit. A general label describes Dayak warfare. The Iban spears include a warrior spear (sangkoh), a shield splitter (tirok), a barbed fish spear (gansai) and a three pronged fish spear (berayang). Also displayed are a blowpipe, with a spear blade attached, and a bamboo container for storing blowpipe darts.

9) Masks
The compelling features of Dayak masks confront visitors from three wall cases. Thirty masks are labelled as Iban. Other masks are Orang Ulu (14) and Bidayuh (3). Iban masks are typified by a simple, sculpted face and the use of black or white pigments. A photograph by Hedda Morrison, not labelled, depicts Iban masks being worn in a pantomime performance. A young tourist from South Africa commented that Iban masks, painted white and carved with a projecting nose, resembled Europeans (Plate 13). She speculated that the Iban used these masks for casting out 'bad' white spirits. Without specific labelling, such imaginative comments indicate tourists construct their own meaning.

10) Wood Carvings
Two wall cases contain a miscellaneous display of decorative wood carving, mainly Orang Ulu in origin. The general label about Wood Carving in Sarawak refers to Iban carving. 'The Iban's favourite carving is the hornbill, Burong Kenyalang, which is regarded as the most sacred of all birds. The Iban also carve and decorate their burial huts, (sungkup), trap charms (tuntun peti'), masks and images (agum). An eye-catching hornbill icon stands nearby.

11) Hornbill Icon
A large Iban hornbill icon, intricately carved and painted in bright colours, is prominently displayed on top of a carved table (Plate 14). Along the tail of the hornbill are small human figures decorated with cloth and beads. Tourists were clearly attracted to this colourful hornbill icon, on open display. The decorative carving of the hornbill could be inspected closely and admired from every angle. A detailed label explains the ceremonial importance attached to carving and displaying the hornbill icon in a ritual festival. 'Gawai Kenyalang, or bird festival, celebrated to honour the war god Singalang Burong or Aki Lang Menaul
Plate 13. Iban masks (*tuping*)

Plate 14. Iban hornbill icon (*Burong Kenyalang*)
Nyakai, is the greatest of all Iban ceremonies.' The label establishes a religious and social context for the Iban hornbill icon.

12) Trap Charms
Over fifty Iban trap charms are displayed in a wall case. These trap charms consist of a short wooden stick with a squatting figure carved at the top. The trap charms are artistically arranged in the wall case, emphasising their different carved features. A label with the title Tuntun Peti' describes Iban spiritual beliefs associated with using these trap charms. 'Wood carving in the form of human or spirit figures were used as charms by the Iban to lure wild games into their animal traps (peti').

Other wall case exhibits include basketry and woven items, a collection of parang hilts carved from deer horn, model boats, and contemporary craft items. Items on open display include figure carvings, large baskets, and fishing equipment, including conical traps, and nets made from cord fibre. Most of these additional items are not attributed to any specific ethnic group. The label about Basketry mentions 'seed baskets (raga') of the Iban', while a diagrammatic label about Boat Making notes, 'The Iban traditionally built their own war boats which they took out to the open sea.' The exhibit on contemporary crafts includes an Iban bead collar. A colour photograph, not labelled, depicts a young Iban girl wearing a bead collar and woven skirt.

Dewan Tun Abdul Razak (new Museum)
Tourists continue, or some begin, their cultural exploration at the new Sarawak Museum. In the foyer area, inside the building, three carved and painted Iban hornbill icons stand on tall white pedestals. The large stylized hornbills are elevated as they would be in an Iban festival, placed on a tall pole standing high above the longhouse verandah. The hornbill icons are displayed in this manner for their dramatic effect on visitors entering the new Museum. Further Iban exhibits are located around the upper floor of the Museum, their presentation is reviewed here. The main display of Iban artefacts, in a 'longhouse' gallery, will be described in a separate section.

1) Ornaments & Costume
Iban ceremonial apparel is represented by a table case of silver ornaments and mannequins exhibiting the traditional costume worn by Iban men
and women. The Iban 'man' has striking body tattoos and holds a blowpipe in one hand. These realistic life-size mannequins are on open display. Iban personal ornaments, under a perspex cover, include silver belts and bracelets, earrings, a silver comb and headdress, and a corset covered in tiny silver rings. Other ethnic groups represented, with their ornaments and apparel, are the Bidayuh, Orang Ulu, Malay and Melanau. Formerly, this costume exhibit was presented downstairs in the foyer area of the Museum.

2) Textiles
Iban textiles are displayed over three wall sections. The textiles include woven blankets (pua kumbu), tubular skirts (bidang), sashes, and loin cloths (sirat). The brick-red and brown colours of older ikat weavings are contrasted with the bright colours used in contemporary sungkit weaving. Two corsets covered in small brass rings are displayed under the woven skirts. Four historic black and white photographs depict Iban women wearing short woven skirts and a corset. Colour photographs depict Iban textiles (pua kumbu) being used for ritual purposes, wrapped around a shrine (pandong), and covering the head of a shaman. The label describes the different types of Iban weaving, (ikat and sungkit), the various forms of woven apparel and the many traditional uses of woven blankets - in birth, marriage, headhunting, healing and farming rituals. Tourist may step up to look more closely at the designs and patterns used in these Iban textiles.

3) Beads
The Iban section of the beads display includes colourful necklaces and a bead 'vest', exhibited in a glass wall cabinet (Plate 15). Colour photographs depict Iban women in ceremonial costume, including beadwork apparel. The label notes, 'Iban men traditionally wore heavy, long carnelian beads. Their womenfolk have a penchant for silver ornaments. Some Iban groups absorbed an interest in value beads from their neighbours.' The display includes Bidayuh and Orang Ulu beadwork apparel and decoration.

4) Wedding Diorama
An Iban wedding diorama is set out in one corner of the Museum (Plate 16). Costumed mannequins sit on brass gongs, under a canopy formed by an Iban blanket (pua kumbu). Other textiles are hung up as a backdrop.
Plate 15. Iban bead necklaces and bead 'vest'

Plate 16. Iban wedding diorama
Note the European mannequins in store-model poses.
Further items displayed on the dais include large brass gongs, Chinese jars, a brass bowl and a brass tray. On the wall, there is an oil painting of a traditional Iban wedding. This exhibit is set behind a roped off area and is not labelled. The diorama is notable mainly for the blue-eyed European mannequins in their store-model poses. Tattoos are printed on the arms, shoulders and throat of the male mannequin. Several tourist and some tour operators commented on the obvious artificiality of this wedding display. Some European couples, however, now wear ceremonial costume and go through a traditional Iban-style wedding ceremony, as part of their tourist visit.

5) Ritual Offering
The section on Uses of Ceramics includes an Iban exhibit, 'Ceramic objects used in the Iban ritual festival of Gawai Kenyalang' (Plate 17). The glass wall cabinet features various items used in a ritual offering. Bottles of rice wine (tuak) and ceramic plates containing popped rice, folded bundles (ketupat) and eggs, sireh leaves and betel nut, are placed at the foot of a small, painted hornbill icon. A black and white photograph depicts an Iban man waving a fowl over similarly prepared plates laid out on a longhouse verandah. The label explains that food offerings are presented to the hornbill icon as part of a ritual feast honouring the Iban war god.

Other general displays of bark cloth, brassware, and Chinese jars feature items traditionally used by the Iban and other Dayak people in Sarawak. The Iban formerly made jackets and loincloths from bark. Chinese jars, along with brass gongs, trays and bowls, were a form of wealth among the Iban. A wall cabinet display of brass gongs includes a black and white photograph by Hedda Morrison (not labelled) which depicts an Iban couple sitting on brass gongs during a wedding ceremony. Between the beads display and wedding diorama, other photographs depict Iban people in ceremonial costume. Old portrait photographs depict an Iban man, and some Iban women, in turn-of-the-century apparel. Other contemporary colour photographs are captioned as 'Young Iban dancers' (at the Sarawak Cultural Village) and 'A group of Iban men', dressed in jeans, shirts and colourful traditional jackets (kelambi).
Plate 17. Iban ritual offering

Plate 18. Iban war boat
6) War Boat

Outside the new Sarawak Museum, on the left side of the building, there is an Iban war boat on display (Plate 18). Set on wooden blocks, the ten metre boat with a stitched palm leaf canopy is fully equipped as it was for warfare. Items inside the boat include paddles, shields, a small hearth and trophy skulls. The label explains how this Malay-built boat was adapted and used by an Iban leader, aligned with the second White Rajah, to subdue other recalcitrant Ibans on the Mujong River in 1915. The war boat and label provide evidence for an authentic event in the colonial history of the Iban people in Sarawak.

Communicating Authenticity

In the Sarawak Museum, displays of Iban artefacts communicate authenticity in several ways. The main methods include multiplication, intimacy through open display, establishing a cultural context, and labelling (Schueler 1983), along with the museum setting, and the tourist imagination (Clifford 1985) (see Table 24). Authenticity is mainly achieved through the mass display of artefacts within the Sarawak Museum. In the context of individual exhibits, this includes multiplication of the same item, such as Iban trap charms. Repetition removes any doubts and establishes the veracity of objects (Schueler 1983). The display of Iban artefacts with other similar Dayak objects (masks, spears, beadwork, costume) provides authentication through comparison and reinforcement of form and function.

Intimacy is created by the open display of objects (Clifford 1991). This enables visitors to walk around artefacts, view them in three dimensions, and look closely at certain features. Distance is created when objects are laid flat in a display case, behind a glass or perspex cover. The use of open display reinforces the structural authenticity or physical reality of objects (Schueler 1983). Iban artefacts on open display include the gong ensemble, hornbill icon, and model longhouse (old Museum), war boat, textiles, costumed mannequins and wedding diorama (new Museum). With the scale-model longhouse, the open roof section allows visitors to peer inside and see the internal structure. Intimacy is further enhanced by viewing scenes of daily life, as illustrated in the photo stands depicting traditional Iban life. Authentic "backstage" scenes are exhibited in a "front stage" tourist environment.
Table 24. Authenticity in Iban displays, Sarawak Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communicating authenticity</th>
<th>Display factor</th>
<th>Old Museum</th>
<th>New Museum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Multiplication</td>
<td>a) Iban exhibit</td>
<td>trap charms</td>
<td>textiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Schueler 1983)</td>
<td>b) Dayak display</td>
<td>masks, spears, musical instruments</td>
<td>beads, costume, ornaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Intimacy</td>
<td>a) Open display</td>
<td>gong ensemble, model longhouse, hornbill icon</td>
<td>textiles, war boat, mannequins, wedding diorama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Clifford 1991, Schueler 1983)</td>
<td>b) Internal structure</td>
<td>model longhouse</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Cultural Context</td>
<td>a) Full set</td>
<td>gong ensemble, cock fighting</td>
<td>ritual offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Schueler 1983)</td>
<td>b) Use in situ (Photographs)</td>
<td>Tattooing, masks, musical instruments</td>
<td>textiles, beads, ritual offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Labelling</td>
<td>a) Name ‘tag’</td>
<td>masks, spears, musical instruments, model longhouse</td>
<td>ornaments, mannequins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Schueler 1983)</td>
<td>b) Minor label (type &amp; function)</td>
<td>tattooing, palang, wood carving, basketry, boats</td>
<td>beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Detailed label (social, religious &amp; historical context)</td>
<td>gong ensemble, hornbill icon, cock fighting</td>
<td>textiles, war boat, ritual offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Museum setting</td>
<td>a) Historic ambience</td>
<td>wooden cabinets &amp; wall cases</td>
<td>glass wall cabinets &amp; perspex cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Clifford 1985)</td>
<td>b) Dayak designs</td>
<td>roadway, wall murals</td>
<td>pedestrian bridge, entrance foyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Tourist Imagination</td>
<td>a) Personal</td>
<td>Iban masks</td>
<td>wedding diorama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Clifford 1985)</td>
<td>b) Interactional</td>
<td>palang</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Authenticity further derives from establishing a *cultural context*. This is achieved by displaying a full set of related items. Examples in the Museum include musical instruments used in an Iban gong ensemble, the cock fighting exhibit, and various items used in a ritual offering. In other exhibits, cultural context derives from photographs used in the display, depicting artefacts as used by Iban people. This evidence of *in situ* use reinforces structural authenticity (Schueler 1983). Such contextual photographs include Iban men being tattooed or playing musical instruments, Iban masks worn in a pantomime, the ritual use of Iban...
textiles, the blessing of a food offering, and Iban people in ceremonial apparel. These photographs are not captioned.

Labelling establishes the identity of Iban objects and, occasionally, also provides more detailed cultural information. In mixed displays of artefacts, name 'tags' identify Iban masks and the model longhouse, or state Iban names for spears and musical instruments. Minor labels include a summary of Iban customs: tattooing, palang, beads, and wood carving. Detailed labels for the hornbill icon, gong ensemble, cock fighting, textiles display and ritual offering, provide a religious and social context for these Iban items. These highlight past and present Iban practices. The label for the Iban war boat establishes authenticity by providing an historical context for this object.

The museum setting can create a particular emotional atmosphere. Dayak designs at the Sarawak Museum create a special Borneo ambience. In addition, a sense of history is imparted through the use of wooden cabinets and wall cases in the old Sarawak Museum. The museum itself has become an authentic historic exhibit, a reminder of former methods of collecting and displaying artefacts (Clifford 1985). One travel writer felt the ambience of the old Sarawak Museum was diminished by a new display format. 'Unfortunately the recent renovation has seen the intriguing jumble of exhibits become more ordered and somehow reduced....The once delightful disorder can now be covered in around 20 minutes - perfect for tour groups' (Gocher 1992).

The tourist imagination is stimulated by the display of ethnographic artefacts (Clifford 1985). Iban artefacts are artistically displayed in the Sarawak Museum, but minimal labelling provokes imaginative responses from visitors. One personal response is that of a young South African traveller who imagined that Iban masks resembling Europeans were used to cast out 'bad' white spirits. Other interactional responses included comments among visitors as to how and why the palang (penis pins) were used. In the new Museum, tourists commented on the European mannequins used in the Iban wedding diorama. The appearance and posture of these store-models were clearly felt to be inappropriate for this exhibit. Without any labelling, the authenticity and intention of this exhibit remained ambiguous for visitors.
At the Sarawak Museum, authenticity in Iban artefacts is reinforced mainly by object repetition, contextual photographs and, to a lesser extent, by the use of labels. Other national and tribal museums in Canada, however, now display Indian artefacts according to indigenous categories of meaning, supported by personal accounts of Indian life and aspects of contemporary Native Indian culture (see Appendix H).

Iban Longhouse Exhibits
A key tourist experience at the Sarawak Museum, however, is viewing Iban longhouse exhibits. These include a two room Iban longhouse replica in the old Museum and a general Dayak 'longhouse' gallery in the new Museum. Both are walk-through exhibits displaying Iban artefacts.

Replica Iban longhouse
A life-size replica of two rooms in a traditional Iban longhouse occupies one end of the old Sarawak Museum. Visitors first see the bark walls, thatched gable and open doorway of this longhouse. There is no label to introduce the exhibit or to identify the longhouse rooms as Iban. Most people approach the replica longhouse after viewing the Iban gong ensemble, cabinet display on cockfighting, and nearby photo stand depicting scenes of traditional life. Walking to the longhouse entrance, visitors first look inside then enter by stepping over the open doorway.

Pausing at the doorway, visitors focus their gaze on numerous skulls hanging from the rafters. Asking the inner question, 'Are they real?', visitors walk over to the skulls and inspect them closely (Plate 19). Satisfied with this physical evidence of headhunting, visitors then turn around and enter the first family room. Looking down, they see a cooking hearth with firewood, water gourds, ceramic plates and clay pots (Plate 20). Around the walls of the room there are Chinese jars, woven baskets and brassware, including gongs. Some visitors step up onto the low platform at the back of the room to inspect woven hats, corsets, brass bowls and other items. Moving on, visitors then bend down to go through a low passageway cut in the bark wall.

The second room is a copy of the first, with some additional decorative items - an elaborate bead headdress, and textiles hung up to display their patterns. A closer inspection is not possible here, since the upper platform at the back of the room is barricaded off with yellow nylon rope.
Plate 19. Human trophy skulls, replica Iban longhouse

Plate 20. Traditional cooking hearth, replica Iban longhouse
Going out of this second room, visitors step under a row of skulls tied along a rafter. Most people turn around and look at these skulls, and others tied along a parallel beam further out. In this gallery area, visitors look briefly at a wooden rice mill, stuffed rooster, weapons, musical instruments, costume, and other items openly displayed around the walls. After this visual review of contents, followed perhaps by a last look at the trophy skulls, most visitors then depart from the longhouse.

More curious visitors, however, notice a narrow log ladder in the gallery leading up to a loft. Only children, youths and young backpackers attempt to clamber up this ladder, placed at a steep angle. They cling precariously to the ladder, with the tips of their toes balancing on the small notched steps cut into the log. In the loft, there is a roped off bedroom area with a label, in English, explaining the Iban tradition of anak umbong, where the daughter of a 'noble' family was secluded until marriage. Visitors walk around the loft area, over split bamboo floor slats, and observe various other items on open display. These include a painted hornbill icon, bark rice bin, baskets, a woven shield, spinning loom, and unwoven ikat dyed textile. The rooms below can be seen through the gaps between the floor slats. Leaving the loft, a cautious descent is made down the narrow log ladder.

The average visitor spends just three to five minutes viewing this replica longhouse. It is literally a walk-through exhibit, with visitors pausing only briefly to look at eye-catching items, especially the trophy skulls. Artefacts are displayed in situ in the longhouse and identified with labels stating their Iban names. Tourists rarely sat down in the replica longhouse to absorb the atmosphere, while none removed their shoes to walk barefoot on the woven mats, in the customary Iban manner.

Tourist responses to authenticity
A questionnaire survey of 286 tourists was conducted in the old Sarawak Museum (Appendix B). After viewing the cultural displays and longhouse exhibit, 169 respondents agreed that the replica Iban longhouse was traditional (i.e. authentic) in nature. Another 105 people indicated that they did not know, as they had not yet visited a real longhouse, while six tourists declined to give a response. Despite the obviously traditional appearance of the replica longhouse, with bark walls and a thatched roof, its authenticity was not asserted in labels.
Instead, some tourists mentioned the 'longhouse' gallery in the new Museum, which had a label stating that it was a 'stylized form of a longhouse'. Visitors thus develop a mental prototype of a longhouse, in the Sarawak Museum, which would be authenticated only through comparison with other longhouses subsequently visited.

Six tourists in this survey considered that the replica longhouse was not traditional in nature. This opinion was expressed, in conversational interviews, by younger, more critical travellers who had already visited and stayed at Dayak longhouses in Borneo. In comparison to their own experience, the replica longhouse was too clean and tidy, there were no earthy smells or the usual sounds made by domestic animals, pigs, fowls, and dogs, and too many artefacts were displayed in the rooms. There was further disbelief at the sheer number of trophy skulls on display. For these tourists, the replica longhouse was not authentic since it portrayed a sanitised version of what daily life in a longhouse was really all about. It also projected 'hyper-reality' (Eco 1987) by displaying an over-abundance of traditional artefacts within one small, confined space.

A young South African tourist, however, found visiting the replica longhouse provided a good 'feeling', since it was a three dimensional exhibit and people could freely walk around inside the rooms. This tourist had just arrived in Sarawak. Authenticity was further enhanced by the sound of creaking floor slats, walking up the tiny steps of the loft ladder, and seeing objects displayed or stored as/where they would be used in a longhouse. Furthermore, as the final proof of authenticity, this tourist commented that there were 'lots of skulls' in the longhouse, and they were real. In museums, 'The "real thing" is the experience of the visitor, not the object or its interpretation by a curator' (Ames 1992:159).

**History of the Exhibit**

Authenticity can be further linked with the 'collection' data or history of museum objects (Schueler 1983). At present, this background information is not part of the replica Iban longhouse rooms. This additional information, however, establishes a cultural context for the longhouse exhibit. It also provides a behind-the-scenes perspective on the construction of this longhouse within the Sarawak Museum. The following review examines this aspect of situational authenticity, since it may well enhance tourist responses to the Iban longhouse as authentic.
This innovative walk-through longhouse display was officially opened on 14th March, 1968, by the Iban Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs, Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah. A speech about the longhouse was delivered by the Iban Curator of the Sarawak Museum, Mr. Benedict Sandin. This speech reviewed the history and structure of a traditional longhouse, along with some Iban customs. These two Iban longhouse apartments (bilek) in this Museum are constructed and furnished as traditionally as possible' (Sarawak Gazette 1968:50). The published account of this opening includes an illustration of Iban guests relaxing inside one room of the replica longhouse. This group of Iban people sat on woven mats, smoking and drinking rice-wine. Despite sitting behind barricade ropes, they were informally socialising in a customary Iban manner.

A more formal Iban welcome has also been staged inside this Museum longhouse. In 1972, Queen Elizabeth II visited the Sarawak Museum. Inside the replica longhouse the Queen was greeted by Iban people in ceremonial costume (Figure 18). As a customary form of welcome for an honoured guest, two young Iban women stood ready to offer a glass of rice wine. On one side, a tattooed Iban man sat and played a wind 'organ' (engkerurai). Twenty years later, a postcard of the Queen visiting the

![Figure 18. Formal Iban welcome inside the replica longhouse, 1972.](image)
Museum longhouse is still sold in Kuching. This royal visit, and the official opening in 1968, provide the only evidence that traditional Iban behaviour has taken place within the longhouse rooms in the Museum.

Further details about the construction of the replica Iban longhouse were provided by Mr. Tuton Kaboy, Assistant Ethnologist at the Sarawak Museum. The longhouse display was proposed by Mr. Benedict Sandin, the first Iban Ethnologist and, later, the Curator of the Sarawak Museum. Iban craftsmen were brought from Paku in the Saribas River district of the Second Division. The full-scale longhouse rooms were built inside the old Sarawak Museum in about one month, using traditional materials and construction techniques.

Human trophy skulls were taken from the Museum collection, cleaned up, and put on display in the replica longhouse. A small food offering (miring) was performed to appease the spirits when these skulls were shifted to their new location. One group of skulls was hung on a round cane frame, while other skulls were strung up in a line along two parallel rafters. The latter type of skull display was traditional on the Saribas for a great warrior who had taken a lot of heads. The skulls had been given to the Sarawak Museum by missionaries at Betong in the Second Division, who obtained them from Iban longhouses which had converted to Christianity.

Most of the skulls were thought to be over 100 years old, though some could have been Japanese heads taken during the Second World War. These skulls in the replica longhouse were smoked once, in 1970, for a film crew in the museum. In a traditional longhouse a hearth was kept burning below the skulls, which accumulated ash residue, dust and cobwebs. Many of the Museum skulls, however, have a clean-boned look, particularly the outer row of skulls tied around the cane ring. Museum staff cleaned up the skulls, so tourists are left in no doubt that these are real human remains. Other trophy skulls, placed in the Iban war boat and the 'longhouse' gallery in the new Museum, retain their fire-blackened appearance and resemble those seen in rural longhouses.

According to Mr. Tuton Kaboy, Iban visitors in the old Sarawak Museum consider the replica longhouse rooms are traditional in nature, apart from the square wooden support posts. Originally, tree trunks forming
the support poles for the longhouse were left rough and round. The museum longhouse has been largely built with traditional materials: sheets of bark for walls and doors, palm leaf thatch (atap) for the roof, a floor of split bamboo and nipah palm slats, and rattan binding. These lightweight materials were used since Iban longhouses traditionally moved in location every 10 to 15 years, following a cycle of shifting rice cultivation. When rubber trees were planted as a cash crop, however, solid wood longhouses were built by settled Iban people in the Saribas/Betong area. The inner wall in the Museum longhouse is made from wooden planks, instead of bark sheeting.

The placement of domestic and heirloom objects inside the replica longhouse follows their traditional use or storage by Iban people. "All the valuable properties and the things used by women are kept inside the family room, those used by men are kept outside the family room at the ruai" (Sarawak Gazette 1968:50). More items than was traditionally the case, however, are put out on display in the replica longhouse, for tourists to see. Such items include the woven blankets (pua kumbu) hung up on the walls and roof, otherwise seen only during a festival (gawai) or other ritual occasion.

Since 1968, there have been only minor changes in the appearance and presentation of this replica longhouse in the Museum. In the entrance area of the gallery, information labels used to be attached below the rafters. These labels can be seen in the 1972 postcard of the Queen standing inside this part of the longhouse. A travel writer described one of these labels, referring to the small raised platform in the gallery of the longhouse. 'Bachelors of the longhouse and male visitors sleep on this raised platform, and in no circumstances should any decent young woman sit there. Those who do so are considered bad mannered, as well as a disgrace to their parents.' (Nicol 1977:162). Such labels about Iban social customs are no longer to be seen.

A description of the replica Iban longhouse in Arts of Asia further mentioned that 'welcoming spirit figures wait by the door' (Fraser-Lu 1982:17). These spirit figures are no longer to be found by the entrance to the longhouse display. Indeed, there is a singular lack of spirit offerings of any kind inside this artefact rich but entirely secular longhouse. Yet such spirit offerings, placed over every entrance point, up in the loft and on
trophy skulls, were (and in many cases still are) a vital part of traditional Iban beliefs, safeguarding the longhouse from ill effects, misfortune and adversity. Their absence from the Museum longhouse could be explained by the fact that this replica was not built to be lived in. Nevertheless, for total authenticity, this Museum version of an Iban longhouse should include vital spirit offerings.

The 'Longhouse' Gallery
The new Sarawak Museum has a walk-through 'longhouse' gallery, with separate labelled sections featuring Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu artefacts. This enclosed ethnographic gallery has the general form and layout of an Iban longhouse. The internal wall of this 'longhouse' has been omitted, however, opening up the apartments as a display space for each Dayak group. There is no ceiling below the wood shingle roof, allowing visitors to look up into the loft area. Visitors enter this gallery through an open doorway at either end of the 'longhouse'. Large woven mats cover the entire floor of the gallery. Inside, artefacts are openly displayed around the walls, on the roof and tied onto the support posts. More artefacts are displayed along a platform area, built onto the front of the 'longhouse'.

The 'longhouse' gallery is entered through an open doorway, where a label summarises the main types of artefacts presented in the Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu sections of the gallery. Most people pause to read this label before entering the Iban section of the 'longhouse' gallery.

ETHNOGRAPHIC GALLERY
This gallery is a stylized form of a long-house, it displays traditional skills and artistic expressions of the Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu Ethnic groups, inside this 'long-house' gallery are three sections:

The Iban section focuses one of this community's highest material cultural achievements, that is their beautiful and intricately designed cotton weaving more often known as pua kumbu. Other exhibits in this section include wall-painting of traditional pattern, wood carving, especially of the ritual hornbill, and sacred hunting sticks, writing board, and different agricultural implements and heirlooms.

In the middle of the Iban section, a shrine (pandong) has been built around the central support pole (Plate 21). It is an eye-catching exhibit, located directly in front of visitors as they enter the gallery. A woven blanket (puakumbu) with intricate designs is wrapped around the framework. Over this, five swords (parang), five ritual staffs, a length of
Plate 21. Iban shrine (pandong), 'Longhouse' gallery

Plate 22. Iban backstrap loom, 'Longhouse' gallery
red cloth and a notched branch, (imitating an entrance ladder, tangga) are tied around the shrine. Hanging from a cane ring at the top are four wood hooks, three bunches of areca (betel) nuts, and six small woven cases (ketupat). Tied above the shrine are two small baskets and a ceramic plate (empty), used to hold food offerings for the spirits. On the floor, at the foot of the shrine, there is a length of iron, a small ceramic jar and a ceramic bowl.

This is a complete replica of a shrine (pandong), located where it would be built inside an Iban longhouse. It is almost authentic, except that swords are hung from the wood hooks, and ritual staffs are used by bards, instead of being tied onto the shrine. The roasted body of a fowl is also hung at the top of the shrine. Visitors can walk around the structure, thereby emulating Iban bards who circle the shrine, beating their ritual staff on the floor as they chant. The ritual use of this structure, however, remains unknown to visitors. There is no label to explain the function or meaning of this Iban shrine.

In the 'loft' space above the shrine, there is a carved and painted hornbill icon, about 2.5m long and 1.5m high. Traditionally, a hornbill icon was stored in the loft of a longhouse, after being used in a ritual festival (gawai kenyalang). Hanging from the centre roof beam are five types of woven Iban baskets, and a gas pressure lamp. Baskets, when not in use, are also stored in the loft of an Iban longhouse. These items in the 'loft' space, and the ritual shrine, are the only examples of in situ placement in this part of the gallery.

Most of the inner display area is devoted to Iban weaving and costume items. An Iban backstrap loom is set up against the end wall, with a half woven ikat dyed textile set out on the weaving frame (Plate 22). A label placed on this textile reads 'Iban blanket (pu'a) with 'buah terabai' designs'. The half finished state of this textile suggests that an Iban woman has just left the loom and will return shortly to sit inside the frame and continue weaving. Hanging on the wall behind this loom is an ikat blanket with striking designs. Adjacent diagrams illustrate and name the different sections of an Iban loom, and also the main patterns used in Iban weaving. A label explains the different types of Iban weaving, variety of woven apparel, and origin of the patterns used.
Eight more woven blankets are spread out under the roof, while other textiles hang down the inner dividing wall, forming a backdrop for costume items. Iban textiles are temporarily displayed in a longhouse, to enclose a ritual space for a wedding, healing rite, or ceremonial dance performance. Various types of weaving equipment, used in spinning, tying and weaving cotton, are set out on the back wall. A wooden tying frame has the beginning of a pattern tied onto the cotton, with the natural fibre used for tying hung on the frame. Skeins of white cotton further hang on the wall. Authenticity is promoted by integrating the natural materials and equipment used in weaving.

A colourful array of traditional Iban apparel - jackets, skirts, and loincloths - is set out on two walls. Visitors can step up and look closely at the patterns or other decorative features on this Iban costume. Four jackets are labelled as 'Iban man's coat' (baju anyam, baju sungkit, kelambi pantak, kelambi baju). One skirt is identified as 'Iban woman's skirt (Kain pandak)', another is labelled, in Iban only, as Bidang sungkit. The loincloths, with their decoratively woven end pieces, are labelled 'Iban loincloth (sirat)' or, in Iban only, as Sirat. A long sleeved jacket, and a black skirt decorated with cowry shells sewn on, are displayed together on a stand. The jacket is labelled, 'Iban woman's jacket (Baju burong) worn during the Kenyalang festival'. This is the only label that provides a cultural context, by indicating when and for what reason the jacket was worn.

Other Iban jackets and capes hang on the inner dividing wall. One long sleeved jacket features intricately woven ikat designs. This beautiful jacket, and the ikat blanket hanging behind it, are obviously related examples of Iban artistic expression. The shoulder capes (gagong) are made from leopard skin, and from pangolin scales sewn onto a sheet of bark. Neither labels or photographs are used to provide a cultural context of use. All of the costume items, however, are on open display. This apparel is normally kept stored away and worn only for ceremonial or ritual occasions. Below this costume display, there are Chinese jars, brassware and clay pots.

Strapped to a second supporting pole are a brass cannon, two blowpipes, three spears, and a 3m long wooden pole with a 'clapper' carved into the upper part. My curiosity about the function of this latter item was
satisfied only by visiting a business selling old, museum-quality Dayak artefacts in Kuching. The proprietor of this business informed me that this long wooden pole was traditionally used by the Iban in their rice planting rite. This cultural knowledge added to the authenticity of the original item seen in the Sarawak Museum.

Various examples of Iban woodcarving are displayed in one corner of the ‘longhouse’ gallery. Ornate Iban designs, painted on the end wall, form a backdrop to this display. A label about Iban wood-carving explains the function and ritual purpose of a hornbill icon, trap charms and carved images (agum). A painted hornbill icon stands nearby on a low box pedestal. The wall behind features a decoratively painted wall panel (with a label stating the name of the Iban artist), a ‘story’ board about animals written in Iban, eight trap charms standing in a perspex box, six pictographic boards (Plate 23), and three contemporary relief-carved wood panels depicting scenes from traditional Iban life.

The most unusual exhibit, displayed at eye height, is the pictographic boards. The carved symbols represent the stages in a ritual ‘journey’ undertaken by a bard calling on the gods to attend a festival. Underneath the pictographic boards there is a label explaining Iban use of these mnemonic items.

Papan Turai: Writing Board

*Papan Turai* are writing boards with simple symbols to indicate stages of ritual incantations chant by Iban bard (or *lemambang*). The boards are used as a means of committing to memory the stages of a ritual journey (called *timang*) undertaken by the lemambang’s soul to summon deities to attend a ritual festival (or *gawai*) in a longhouse. The symbols indicate persons, places and various challenges met by the lemambang’s soul on its way to summons the deities and to bring them to the festival.

This detailed label provides a cultural context by explaining the function and ritual importance of these Iban pictographic boards.

Five Iban masks are placed over the doorway to the outer platform (Plate 24). These striking masks, painted black with facial features outlined in white, appear to be watching visitors passing by in the gallery. Standing on either side of this doorway are crudely carved figures (agum). Their function, as spirit guardian figures, is explained in the general label about Iban woodcarving. Few visitors venture out to the dimly lit platform.
Plate 23. Iban writing boards, 'Longhouse' gallery

Plate 24. Iban masks, 'Longhouse' gallery
area. Here, there is a display of fishing equipment, a small spirit shelter (tudong long) and a very small model of an Iban burial hut (sungkup). A longhouse verandah is usually a drying area for clothes, or rice on mats.

In this 'longhouse' gallery, the aesthetic display of Iban artefacts predominates over in situ placement of objects. The opposite situation applies to the replica Iban longhouse rooms in the old Museum. Authenticity, however, is again promoted by the use of 1) open display, 2) multiplication of the same item (textiles, costume, clay pots, trap charms, masks, shields), 3) grouping sets of related items (weaving equipment), 4) reconstructed exhibits (shrine, backstrap loom), 5) name tags for generic items, and 6) detailed contextual labels (weaving, wood carving, writing board). The Iban section of the 'longhouse' gallery does not make use of photographs to establish a cultural context of use. Therefore, support for authenticity must come from other sources: books, knowledgeable handicraft dealers or personal experience of Iban longhouse culture.

Summary
At the Sarawak Museum, tourists 'journey' through a recreated Dayak world. Iban exhibits include two rooms in a replica longhouse, along with hornbill icons, textiles, traditional costume, masks, cock fighting, a gong ensemble, and other domestic, heirloom or ritual items. Authenticity is defined in travel reviews, through the content and presentation of Iban displays, and in tourist responses. Iban artefacts in the Sarawak Museum communicate authenticity through exhibit design, written or photographic evidence of use, and by establishing a cultural context. In the absence of detailed labelling or personal accounts of Iban life, tourists construct their own meaning for exhibits. With the replica Iban longhouse, personal experience seemed to be the main criterion for establishing the veracity of this exhibit. This suggests that authenticity is not tied to the object itself but instead derives from personal meaning.
Chapter 6. IBAN LONGHOUSE TOURS

'A traditional longhouse lost deep in the jungle.
Tattooed warriors, costumed maidens'
(Lemanak Iban longhouse tour, Ibanika Expeditions)

This chapter describes the presentation of Iban culture during organised longhouse tours. The Iban longhouse communities selected for this study were Serubah and Nanga Kesit, on the Lemanak River, and Nanga Stamang, on the Engkari River. Fieldwork on Iban longhouse tourism was completed during May to August, 1992, at the height of the tourist season. This review begins by describing the setting for each Iban longhouse, and visiting tour groups. This is followed by a more detailed description of Iban activities arranged for tourists at each longhouse. Authenticity is assessed with reference to Iban cultural traditions, as well as the content and format of tourist presentations. The emphasis is on situational aspects of the longhouse destination, and social activities enhancing the behavioural dimension of authenticity for tourists. Further analysis and discussion of tourist responses to authenticity, on Iban longhouse tours, are found in the following chapter.

Lemanak River: Serubah and Nanga Kesit

The Lemanak River is promoted as an alternative to the Skrang River, for organised longhouse tours (Gocher 1991). Serubah and Nanga Kesit are the two main Iban longhouses, on the Lemanak River, regularly visited by tour groups. Tourist guesthouses have been built at both Serubah (1987/90) and Nanga Kesit (1990/92). Serubah is the domain of a sole travel operator, Borneo Transverse Tours, while several different tour companies visit Nanga Kesit. Since 1990, there has been a substantial increase in visitation to the Lemanak River. Nanga Kesit received about 1,000 tourists in 1991 and over 2,000 tourists in 1992, while some 3,000 tourists visited Serubah in both 1991 and 1992.

The Lemanak River is a tributary of the main Batang Lupar river system, in the Second Division of Sarawak. Travelling to Serubah or Nanga Kesit involves a five hour bus journey from Kuching, followed by a one hour ride in a longboat. On arrival at the Lemanak River, tourists transfer into waiting Iban longboats, pre-arranged by each tour operator. This longboat journey up the Lemanak River provides an idyllic introduction to the riverine lifestyle of the Iban.
The Lemanak is a scenic, lowland river, passing through secondary rainforest, and hillside clearings planted with Iban pepper farms. Tall trees along the banks form a canopy overhead, while lower branches hang across the river. The longboat skims along this shallow and placid river, passing between shadow and sunlight, slowing only to pass under an overhanging branch or to round a bend in the river. Cool breezes lift off the river, and passengers relax as they dip their fingers into the cool, flowing water of the Lemanak. Bamboo stockades, built as freshwater turtle traps \textit{(panjok labi)}, are frequently seen on the deeper sides of the river banks. Other longboats are passed going downriver, while Iban men can be seen fishing with nets, and Iban children play along the riverbanks.

It takes about 40 minutes of river travel to arrive at Serubah. The longhouse itself is not visible from the river, instead tourists arrive below the guesthouse. For tourists going to Nanga Kesit, the longboats travel another 20 minutes further up the Lemanak River, round a bend, and moor at the guesthouse. At both places, longboats with arriving tourists are often greeted by Iban children. The tour guide and Iban people help unload the longboat, bringing the luggage and food supplies up to the guesthouse. Tourist groups arrive at Serubah or Nanga Kesit in the late afternoon, usually around 4pm. After settling in at the guesthouse, and having refreshments, tourists are taken by their tour guide to visit the nearby longhouse.

\textit{Serubah Longhouse}

Serubah is a 25 door longhouse, located on a flat area of land in a sweeping bend of the Lemanak River. The wooden longhouse has a corrugated iron roof, with a notched log ladder leading onto the verandah (Plate 25). Other wooden dwelling huts are built around the main longhouse building. In front of the longhouse there are two fish ponds, a small wooden chapel, and a store selling basic provisions. A wire fence runs around this longhouse settlement, to keep out domestic pigs, and some more recently introduced cattle. Rough, wooden troughs, where Iban women feed the pigs, are clustered around the main entrance gate leading to the longhouse. A wooden plank walk extends from this gate, through a swampy area and some rubber trees, over to the tourist guesthouse.
Plate 25. The Iban longhouse at Serubah

Plate 26. Headman at Serubah leading a ritual chant (mengap)
The two guesthouse buildings, owned and operated by Borneo Transverse Tours, are located a short distance above the riverbank. The main guesthouse has the general form of an Iban longhouse. It comprises a sleeping area for 45 guests, a wood hearth kitchen, showers and flushing toilets, and a verandah along the front. A second guesthouse building, built in March 1990, has a sleeping area to accommodate a further 20 visitors. Behind this additional guesthouse, there is a two storey house inside a fenced yard, built by a more prosperous Iban family. A portable generator provides power for fluorescent lighting in the guesthouses, otherwise kerosene lamps are used. Traditional Iban spirit offerings, placed in split bamboo cones, hang over the main verandah entrance to each guesthouse.

Footpaths used by Iban people pass directly in front of the main guesthouse. Tourists sitting on the guesthouse verandah can observe Iban people going about their daily tasks. On the river, this includes Iban people bathing and washing their clothes, other longboats passing by, Iban women and children gathering fish with baskets, and men fishing from boats on the river at night with lights. During my visit, an Iban man walked past the guesthouse carrying a large freshwater turtle on his shoulder, caught in a river trap. Along a path leading into the forest, Iban men and women walked by in the morning, carrying field baskets on their back, going to work on their farms. In the afternoon, Iban people again walked past the guesthouse, their baskets filled with vegetables, edible leaves and fern fronds, bananas, firewood and other forest products.

Borneo Transverse Tours began operating at Serubah in 1987; pioneering longhouse tours on the Lemanak river. Iban people at Serubah maintain the guesthouse facilities and co-operate in providing tourist services. A fully tattooed Iban man, known as 'Dr. Unding', was a lively personality involved in tourism at Serubah. Another colourful figure, often seen by tourists, was the energetic 71 year old headman of Serubah, Tuai Rumah Budit anak Libau (Plate 26). Wearing traditional costume, the tattooed headman led a ceremonial welcome, miring ceremony, or ritual chants. He also informally greeted tourists on their guided tour of the longhouse.

During 18 days of fieldwork at Serubah, I joined in with nine different
Tour groups (a total of 90 tourists) during their longhouse visit (Table 25).

The first group I encountered at Serubah was a TDC 'Make it Malaysia' familiarisation tour for travel agents, journalists, and Malaysia Airlines staff from Australia and New Zealand. Five small groups, with two to five people, comprised free independent travellers (F.I.T.). Three group tours, with five to 11 people, came from France, Canada and Australia. They were accompanied by a tour guide from their country of origin, and a local guide from Borneo Transverse Tours. An Italian incentive travel group (Aliviaggi), on a company paid holiday, was brought to Serubah by Asian Overland Services (A.O.S), the first incentive group hosted by this Malaysian travel company in Sarawak.

Tourists at Serubah participated in a standard program of cultural activities. Small groups of independent travellers (F.I.T.) began with a guided tour of the longhouse, including a visit inside a family room (bilek). Special group tours with more than 10 people (TDC, Aliviaggi, Planete) began with a ritual blessing ceremony (miring), and a costumed dance performance on the open verandah of the longhouse. This was followed by a short tour around the longhouse, and a visit inside a family room either in the afternoon or evening.
In the evening, after dinner at the guesthouse, all tour groups returned to the longhouse for an Iban cultural show. This usually consisted of Iban dances (ngajat), a ritual chant (mengap), and solo songs (sanggai), followed by a craft sale. The TDC 'Make it Malaysia' group also enjoyed a display of Iban martial arts (kuntau) and a 'wedding' dance (tanda'), while the Aliviaggi incentive travel group witnessed a display of Iban competitive drumming (gendang pampat). Small groups of independent travellers (F.I.T.) were entertained with a costumed dance performance in the evenings. For other special group tours, the Iban danced again in the evening, this time in everyday clothes.

On the following morning, tour groups gathered in front of the guesthouse for a demonstration of Iban cockfighting, and using a blowpipe. This was followed by a jungle walk, which culminated in a visit to an Iban graveyard and a demonstration of two Iban animal traps. Tourists returning to Kuching stepped into the longboats waiting on the riverbank at the end of their jungle walk. The longboats drifted quietly downriver for half an hour, occasionally poled or paddled by the Iban boatmen. After stopping briefly by the riverbank at Serubah, to drop off the Iban guide from the jungle walk, the longboats continued downriver, powered by an outboard motor.

Nanga Kesit Longhouse
Nanga Kesit is a 28 door longhouse, built along the riverbank, near where the clear water of Kesit River joins the muddy torrent of the Lemanak. (Nanga is an Iban word meaning river mouth). Longboats are commonly drawn up by the riverbank. The longhouse at Kesit is a low, wooden structure, with a tin roof, TV aerials, and a small verandah (Plate 27). A notched log ladder leads onto the verandah, and food offerings (piring) hang over each entrance-way. Directly behind Kesit longhouse, a new longhouse was under construction in 1992. Other separate dwelling huts, including three made of brick, occupy flat land between the longhouse and a sweeping bend in the river. A concrete footpath leads from the longhouse to a wood stile, crossing over a wire fence, with a dirt path then following the riverbank to the guesthouse.

There are two guesthouse buildings at Nanga Kesit. A wooden guesthouse next to Kesit longhouse was built by Insar Travel in May, 1990. In 1992, this privately owned guesthouse was closed, with all
tourists now sleeping in the community owned guesthouse. Located a short distance upriver, this local guesthouse was built at the end of 1990 by Iban people at Kesit. The Kesit guesthouse had two sleeping halls, a kitchen hut, showers, flushing toilets, fluorescent lights, and a wide verandah of bamboo poles lashed together. An offering tray (*piring*) was placed in the rafters. Responding to the growth in tourism, in February 1992 the community guesthouse doubled in capacity, to accommodate up to 74 visitors.

Everyday Iban activities took place around these guesthouse buildings. A jungle backdrop set the scene for longboats passing by. At the community owned guesthouse, tourists often bathed in the river with Iban people. A tattooed old Iban man, and another man bathing his fighting rooster, regularly plunged into the river, in front of tourists relaxing on the guesthouse verandah. Along the riverside footpath, leading to the guesthouse, an Iban man replaced some wooden planks in a longboat (Plate 28). Near the guesthouse, and along the footpaths, Iban boys often played a target game using slingshots. One morning, an Iban boy walked by the guesthouse, carrying a squirrel killed with his slingshot. These everyday Iban activities became part of the whole tourist experience at Kesit.

During 25 days of fieldwork at Nanga Kesit, I joined in with 18 tour groups (a total of 86 tourists) during their longhouse visit (Table 26). Ten small groups, with two to six people, comprised Free Independent Travellers (F.I.T.), mainly couples. Two young Chinese women from Singapore were travel agents taking an incentive tour in Sarawak. Other organised group tours came from France, Japan (East Corporation) and Denmark (Larsen Rejser). The Danish group tours arrived on a weekly basis. Larsen Travel of Denmark began conducting regular two week package tours in Sarawak from February to July, 1992. Four Danish tour guides were based in Kuching during this initial tour season. A freelance guide hired by Agas Travel, the local tour contractor, also accompanied each Danish group tour. Six different local tour companies also visited Nanga Kesit during the period of fieldwork.
Plate 27. Danish tourists on the longhouse verandah, Nanga Kesit

Plate 28. Repairing a longboat, Nanga Kesit
Kesit community guesthouse for tourists in the background
Table 26. Tour Group Arrivals, Nanga Kesit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date, 1992</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Tourists</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Group Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 19 May</td>
<td>Ibanika/ Agas Travel</td>
<td>6 men, 5 women</td>
<td>France/ Canada</td>
<td>Group Tour/ F.I.T.(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 21 May</td>
<td>Larsen Rejser (Denmark)</td>
<td>2 men, 5 women</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Group Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 24 May</td>
<td>Agas Travel</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>Switzerland, Singapore, Venezuela</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 27 May</td>
<td>Agas Travel/ Larsen Rejser</td>
<td>3 men, 3 women</td>
<td>Belgium, Denmark</td>
<td>F.I.T.(4)/ Group Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 - 28 May</td>
<td>Kalimantan/ 21st Century Travel</td>
<td>2 men, 4 women</td>
<td>Germany, France, Finland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 - 29 May</td>
<td>Borneo Exploration</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>USA, Britain</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 31 May/ 1 June</td>
<td>Kalimantan</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>Austria, Sweden</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 May - 1 June</td>
<td>21st Century Travel</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>Germany, Singapore</td>
<td>F.I.T.(2)/ Incentive Tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4 June</td>
<td>Agas Travel/ Larsen Rejser</td>
<td>7 men, 8 women</td>
<td>Australia, Denmark</td>
<td>F.I.T.(2)/ Group Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6 June</td>
<td>Agas /Borneo Interland</td>
<td>1 man, 3 women</td>
<td>USA, Norway</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7/8 June</td>
<td>Kalimantan Travel</td>
<td>3 men, 1 woman</td>
<td>Germany, Norway, France</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9 June</td>
<td>Borneo Interland</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9 June</td>
<td>East Corporation (Japan)</td>
<td>4 men, 1 woman</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Group Tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11 June</td>
<td>Ibanika</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11 June</td>
<td>Larsen Rejser</td>
<td>5 men, 5 women</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Group Series</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: F.I.T. = Free Independent Traveller; Larsen Rejser = Larsen Travel (Denmark)

Tourists at Nanga Kesit participated in a standard program of Iban cultural activities, with slight variations between different tour operators. Most groups began with a guided tour of Kesit longhouse, including a visit inside a family room (bilek), and informally socialising with Iban people. Some groups walked downriver from Nanga Kesit, to visit the Kesit school and clinic. Three groups were also taken to visit the longhouse at Lubok Subong, located across the river from Nanga Kesit, reached by walking over a suspension bridge. A French tour group with Ibanika Expeditions received a ceremonial welcome inside Kesit longhouse. This included a musical procession, a blessing ceremony (miring) and a costumed dance performance. Only special group tours had this ceremonial welcome at Nanga Kesit.
In the evening, after dinner at the guesthouse, tourists returned to the longhouse for an Iban cultural show. This entertainment included a craft sale and Iban dances in traditional costume, followed by tourists and other Iban people joining in with the dancing. After this, young Iban men frequently gave an impromptu solo display of their skill in martial arts (kuntau). Two groups with Kalimantan Travel also heard three Iban men give a short performance of a ritual chant (mengap). A Swiss couple with Ibanika Expeditions further witnessed a blessing ceremony (miring). All tour groups ended the evening by playing a variety of games with the Iban people. On one rainy night, this cultural show was performed in the guesthouse.

On the following morning, 16 tour groups tried using a blowpipe, while eight groups also witnessed a demonstration of Iban cockfighting. Standard group tours then left to return to Kuching. Other groups crossed the Lemanak River in a longboat and were taken on a jungle walk, past pepper farms and Iban animal traps, over steep hills to an Iban graveyard. At the end of this jungle walk, emerging at the Kesit River, tourists stepped into the waiting longboats, and were transported downriver. Tourists with Ibanika Expeditions went on a longer jungle walk, crossing the Kesit River, and enjoyed a jungle feast prepared on the riverbank, including rice cooked in bamboo. Occasionally, some tour groups went on a jungle walk as soon as they arrived at Nanga Kesit.

During the Gawai Dayak festival (31 May - 1 June), tour groups at Nanga Kesit participated in special Iban cultural activities, celebrating the rice harvest. Tourists took part in several blessing ceremonies (miring), witnessed displays of competitive drumming (gendang pampat), saw a traditional wedding rite (melah pinang) performed for a young Iban couple, joined in with a feast served at midnight along the gallery of the longhouse, and revelled with the Iban in a longhouse disco. On the following day, tourists were invited to an Iban meal inside a family room (bilek), and then participated in another blessing ceremony (miring), before leaving the longhouse to return to Kuching.

Engkari River: Nanga Stamang
The Engkari River is the newest destination for organised Iban longhouse tours in Sarawak. Tourism on this river began in 1990, when Ibanika Expeditions conducted some preliminary tours visiting th
longhouse at Nanga Stamang. The high cost of longboat transport, and log jams blocking the Engkari River, deterred this initial tourism venture. Other companies occasionally conducted tours to the Engkari River. A Swiss couple was taken to visit Nanga Stamang, early in 1992, by Borneo Interland Travel. In April, 1992, however, Asian Overland Services began taking regular group tours to Nanga Stamang, moving away from Nanga Kesit on the Lemanak River. As an ecotourism operator, Asian Overland Services 'adopted' the longhouse and negotiated all aspects of tourism with the community (see Appendix F).

The Engkari River is a branch of the Batang Ai River network, running parallel to the hill range border with Kalimantan, deep in the Second Division of Sarawak. A hydroelectric dam was built on the lower Batang Ai in 1986, creating a new lake and flooding the lower reaches of this river system. Travelling to the Engkari River involves a five hour bus journey from Kuching, followed by a two hour ride in a longboat across the Batang Ai dam, then up the Engkari River. This beautiful, unspoilt river winds between steep hills covered in rainforest vegetation, and hill slopes cleared for cultivation by the Iban. Along the flooded lower reaches of the Engkari River, a panorama unfolds of rolling green hills, three Iban longhouses remaining above the high water level, and jungle growing to the river edge. Further along, the hills become steeper and the river narrows, beginning to wind as the natural course of the Engkari River is resumed.

It takes about one hour of action filled river travel to get to Nanga Stamang. Reaching a log jam blocking the Engkari River, the outboard motor is gunned, driving the longboat over the logs. Shortly after, the longboat passes by an Iban longhouse at Nanga Sepaya and later on, a primary school. Along the riverbank, children swim around moored longboats and Iban men fish in the river. Boulders and rapids now appear in the Engkari River, with Iban boatmen poling and pushing the longboat over a series of rapids. Approaching Nanga Stamang, the longboat is driven over one last rapid, then beached on a shingle bank. Exhilarated by their river journey, tourists step onto the shore, to be warmly greeted by Iban people from the longhouse at Stamang.

*Nanga Stamang Longhouse*

Nanga Stamang is a 24 door longhouse, built on top of a high riverbank,
25 metres above the Engkari River. Another six dwelling rooms are built onto the longhouse verandah, close to the riverbank. All of the Iban people at Nanga Stamang, a total of 182 people, live in this one longhouse structure. A tall notched log ladder leads directly on to the enclosed gallery of the longhouse (Plate 29). A wide footpath goes from the longhouse, down a steep hillside, to the riverbank below. On each side of this path, small wooden sheds are used to lock up outboard motors. A separate building, near the river, is a medical clinic. Spirit offerings (piring) are placed along the footpath, while carved spirit figures (agum) stand at the bottom of the path, near the river. Arriving tourists further see a brightly painted sign, proclaiming Nanga Stamang to be an 'Unforgettable (sic) Fantasy Long House You Can Stay Here Forever and Ever 1992'.

At Nanga Stamang, pigs and chickens roam freely about under the longhouse. Iban people regularly walk up and down the footpath, between the longhouse and the riverbank. Outdoor activities are often seen by visiting tourists, including Iban people returning from their framework, unloading longboats, cleaning vegetables, washing clothes, and bathing in the river. Lively Iban children often swam and played in the river. The shingle bank, where tourists arrived, was also the community bathing area. In the late afternoon, tourists would mix with Iban people on this shingle bank, and swim in the cool, clear Engkari River. Most tourists join in with these ordinary Iban activities.

At Nanga Stamang, the main host for each tourist group was the tattooed headman, Tuai Rumah Sunok anak Ukar (Plate 30). His wife and daughter made up the sleeping mattresses, and helped the guide prepare meals for the tourists. All meals were eaten in the headman's room, with tourists sitting on woven mats on the floor. The younger brother of the headman, Penghulu Rentap (district head of the Engkari River), and his wife, also played a key role in entertaining tourists. The Iban cultural show, held in the evening, usually took place on the gallery area in front of Penghulu Rentap's apartment. These two Iban leaders had adjacent family rooms, located in the middle of the longhouse, with this area being the central focus of tourism at Stamang.

During 23 days of fieldwork at Nanga Stamang, I joined in with 13 tour
Plate 29. Australian tourists enter the longhouse, Nanga Stamang

Plate 30. Headman welcoming tourists, Nanga Stamang
groups (a total of 49 tourists) during their longhouse visit (Table 27). The
tour groups, with one to eight people, all comprised independent
travellers (F.I.T.), mainly couples. Tour arrivals are regular with no great
seasonal variation. Some tourists may witness a festival, like the Gawai
Kenyalang festival held early in July, 1992. All tourists at Nanga Stamang
slept in the longhouse, usually in a family room (bilek) or sometimes
out along the communal gallery. Tourists that stayed for two nights at
Nanga Stamang included one extended family group from Australia,
with five people, and six other young couples. Each tour group was led by
a freelance guide, employed by Asian Overland Services.

Table 27. Tour Group Arrivals, Nanga Stamang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date, 1992</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Tourists</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Group Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 - 24 July</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 - 25 July/</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>4 men, 4 women</td>
<td>Germany, Denmark, Sweden/U.S.A.</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 July</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 - 28 July/</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>3 men, 4 women</td>
<td>Germany, Australia/ Poland, Britain</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 - 29 July</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July - 5 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman/ 1 man</td>
<td>Italy/ France</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>2 men, 3 women</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>Italy, Holland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 7 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 12 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 3 women</td>
<td>Italy, Holland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 13 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 15 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>2 men, 2 women</td>
<td>France, Switzerland</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 15 August</td>
<td>A.O.S.</td>
<td>1 man, 1 woman</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>F.I.T.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: A.O.S. = Asian Overland Services; F.I.T. = Free Independent Traveller

Tourists at Stamang participated in a standard program of cultural
activities. All tour groups were met at the riverbank by Iban women
beating brass gongs, a few Iban men in ceremonial costume, and other
Iban people. After this colourful welcome, tourists walked up the steep
path to the longhouse, escorted by Iban women beating brass gongs, to
'announce' their arrival. In the gallery of the longhouse, tourists were
seated on fine woven mats in front of the headman's apartment. During
afternoon tea, the guide introduced tourists to the headman, his wife,
and younger brother, Penghulu Rentap. After this formality, tourists
were encouraged to walk freely around the longhouse, and to cool off by swimming in the Engkari River.

In the evening, after dinner served in the headman's apartment, tourists returned to the gallery and sat down on wooden bench seats, to enjoy an Iban cultural show. This usually consisted of costumed Iban dances (ngajat), some mimed comedy by clowns wearing masks, and a variety of simple games involving physical dexterity and skill. Some tour groups also saw a display of Iban martial arts (kuntau), competitive group drumming (gendang pampat), a mortar dance (ajat lesong), a few mimed skits by two Iban men, and a parade of two carved hornbill icons. One night, during my visit, tourists joined in with a blessing ceremony (miring) performed for a young Iban man leaving the longhouse to join the Malaysian army.

On the following morning, tourists gathered in front of the longhouse to try using a blowpipe, and maybe also to see a demonstration of Iban cockfighting. Some groups went on a one hour jungle walk in the rainforest behind the longhouse. All tour groups were farewelled at the riverbank, with Iban women again beating on brass gongs. Tourists staying for a second day were often taken to a nearby waterfall, where the guide and Iban helpers prepared a picnic lunch, including rice cooked in bamboo. Other groups were taken fishing, using a cast net (jala) thrown from a longboat, and on a short jungle walk, or they simply relaxed in the longhouse. One Italian couple went on a longboat trip further up the Engkari River, on a day visit to the small Iban longhouse at Lubok Pantu.

**Visiting an Iban longhouse**

Most tours began with the guide showing visitors around the longhouse building. At Serubah, tourists kept their shoes on as the guide led them along the gallery, pausing only to look at interesting Iban objects. These included the framework for a shrine left on the roof, sheets of rubber, musical gongs, and plant fibre strips used in weaving. A bunch of human trophy skulls hanging from a support post were frequently photographed by tourists. Other more topical items were also noted on the gallery: charts on hygiene and growing cocoa, political posters, and cards on spraying for malaria control. A few tourists tasted some tapioca tuber piled up in a field basket.
Stepping out onto the verandah, tourists at Serubah would look up at baskets stored in the loft. Some tourists paused along the verandah walkway to look at and photograph Iban men woodcarving, a woman grating tapioca tuber, and tattooed Iban men (Plate 31). Guides pointed out a rubber mangle, a hand-operated pepper processing mill, and tethered fighting roosters. At Serubah, the guide led tourists on an object-oriented tour around the longhouse (lasting 30 to 45 minutes), without sitting down or socialising with Iban people. Many tourists, however, were more interested in looking at everyday Iban activities, such as childminding, craftwork, food preparation, and group interaction; a search if not for authenticity at least for accessible activities of interest.

At Nanga Kesit, tourists usually removed their shoes before entering the longhouse, then shook hands with Iban children waiting near the entrance. The Iban custom is not to walk on finely woven mats, in the gallery, while wearing shoes. Most guides led tourists on a 30 minute walk along the gallery, focussing on a mix of traditional and contemporary items. Tourist attention was directed to the single human trophy skull, wrapped in rattan and hanging from a rafter. This single skull was placed in the longhouse for tourists to look at and photograph. On my first visit to Kesit, in June 1991, a fellow Australian tourist noted that we had not seen any skulls in this longhouse.

In the smaller gallery area at Nanga Kesit, more attention was given to Iban people and their daily activities. A Danish tour group stopped to look at Iban women setting up a loom for weaving, an Iban man making a new blowpipe, and a young Iban woman weaving two colourful sashes on a backstrap loom. Some tour groups or individuals sat down with Iban people in the gallery, to share in drinking rice-wine (Plate 32), eating rice-cakes, and smoking local cigarettes. Conversation was directed through the tour guide, who translated visitor questions and Iban comments. The conviviality of this social gathering was enlivened by drinking *tuak*, and calling out for other people, Iban and tourists, to join in. Tourists who joined in with this Iban socialising would stay in the longhouse at Kesit for one hour or longer.

At Nanga Stamang, there was no formal guided tour of the longhouse. After sharing afternoon tea with the headman, tourists were encouraged to walk freely around the gallery. More outgoing tourists approached Iban
Plate 31. Photographing a tattooed Iban man, Serubah

Plate 32. Drinking rice wine (tuak), Nanga Kesit
people with smiles, then photographed their daily activities: a man mending a fishing net, an old woman chewing betel nut, women making palm-leaf hats. Less confident tourists stayed around the headman’s apartment, in the middle of the longhouse. One guide accompanied tourists as they met Iban people on the gallery, then showed them two carved hornbill icons, kept in a storage shed built onto the longhouse verandah. After this, most tourists went down to the river.

Visiting a family room
Tourist groups were often taken inside a family room (bilek) at each longhouse. At Serubah, small tour groups removed their shoes before visiting a basic family apartment (room no. 20). Inside this room, with no Iban people present, tourists were shown an ikat blanket (pua kumbu) and a wood-fire kitchen hearth, as well as Chinese jars, gongs, and brassware kept as traditional heirlooms (Plate 33). One guide would spend 10 to 15 minutes in this room, describing the traditional manner of courting (ngayap) and other Iban customs. Larger tour groups at Serubah visited the more spacious apartments of the headman (room no. 9) and his neighbour (room no. 10), containing traditional heirlooms as well as modern furniture of beds, lounge chairs, and cupboards.

At Nanga Kesit, only small tour groups (up to 6 people) were taken inside a family room. In this brief visit, tourists were shown the wood-fire kitchen hearth, where Iban women were generally cooking. On my first visit to Kesit, in June 1991, an Iban woman in one bilek served my group with rice-cakes, then we were taken to visit the headman in his apartment. Some tourists, with one freelance guide, would be invited to visit the family room of an old Iban man, Melina, who ran the longhouse store. With Melina acting as the host, tourists were shown the kitchen hearth, an ikat skirt, Chinese jars, decorated parangs, and a feather staff used by bards performing ritual chants (Plate 34). Melina also offered tourists rice wine, and Iban cigarettes rolled in a nipah palm leaf wrapper. Sitting on the floor, tourists enjoyed this typical Iban hospitality.

These tourist groups usually sat on woven mats, in a side room of Melina’s apartment, next to the shelves holding supplies for the store. One Japanese group sat on lounge chairs in Melina’s apartment, but soon moved to sit on the linoleum covered floor with their host, where they smoked Iban cigarettes and drank rice wine. On one occasion, in the side
Plate 33. Iban heirloom gongs and jars, Serubah

Plate 34. Melina with a bard staff, Nanga Kesit
room, four Belgian tourists participated in a ritual libation, with each person adding some rice wine to a glass. Melina then offered this rice wine to the spirits by pouring it through the floor boards while intoning a short prayer. The guide explained the meaning of this ritual act to the tourists. This traditional act of libation was not performed on any other occasion when rice wine was served to tourists.

At Nanga Stamang, most tourists slept inside a family room in the longhouse. On arrival, the guide introduced tourists to their Iban hosts for the night. After this, tourists were free to use 'their' room for changing clothes or relaxing. All tourist meals were eaten in the headman’s apartment, together with the headman and his brother, Penghulu Rentap. During meal times, the guide explained features of the longhouse, together with Iban customs and traditions.

**Iban culture: Tourist activities & authenticity**

On guided longhouse tours, Iban cultural events are combined with outdoor activities exploring Iban use of the jungle environment. All tourists are conducted through a similar program to experience Iban longhouse culture. For tourists, authenticity is influenced by the content, format, and presentation of each type of activity. What now follows is a more detailed description of how these Iban activities are arranged for tourists participating in a longhouse tour program. While mainly describing situational aspects of the longhouse tour, social activities promoting the behavioural dimension of authenticity (Vallee 1987) are also highlighted. This review of authenticity considers the cultural or environmental setting, Iban roles, and the level of tourist involvement.

The Iban activities performed for tourists fall into four main groups. Most of the cultural events, central to a longhouse tour, comprise Iban rituals modified for tourist presentation, or Iban customs revived for tourist entertainment. New activities, introduced for tourists, include a regular handicraft sale, or various party games. Other outdoor activities, in a river or jungle setting, allow tourists to experience Iban use of the natural environment. These various Iban activities, both formal and informal, are described as they occur during a longhouse tour.

*Modified Iban rituals*

This main group of Iban cultural events includes: food offerings
(miring), ritual chants (mengap), cockfighting (nyabong), wedding rites (melah pinang), drumming (gendang pampat), and gong music (gendang raya). These activities are still an important part of Iban tradition, but modified for tourist exhibition. They each involve some ritual component or spiritual meaning for the Iban. While tour operators request these cultural activities, the Iban manage each performance. As with the Pentecost Land Dive or naghol in Vanuatu, indigenous people retain control, ensuring the cultural integrity and authenticity of such ritual events when performed for a new tourist audience (Sofield 1991).

**Miring ceremony**

The Iban miring is a ritual offering of food to the deities. Iban people perform this miring rite during a gawai (festival), to seek a blessing for any new endeavour (farming, building, before a journey, women dyeing or weaving), to welcome a returned traveller, and as a propitiatory offering to remedy a bad dream or omen (Richards 1981:285). A minor rite involves one to three dishes of food items, while a full miring has eight plates of food ingredients.

At Serubah, special group tours were welcomed with a miring performed on the longhouse verandah by either the headman or 'Dr Unding'. Sitting cross legged on a woven mat, the officiant took various food items from a brass pedestal tray and placed these on a metal plate. The ingredients included puffed rice (rendai), rice cooked in a leaf (asi'), fried cakes of rice or sago flour (tumpih), betel nut (pinang), tobacco (semakau), green leaf of the betel vine (sirih), and a dried, brown leaf of wild gambier (sedi'), the latter items combined with lime and used in chewing betel nut. Finally, some rice wine (tuak) was poured over this plate of arranged items. Standing up, the officiant waved a fowl (biau) over the food offering, while chanting a short prayer (sampi) (Plate 35).

Assisted by a second Iban man, the fowl was then slaughtered by slicing off the head with a sharp parang. Tourists reacted with fascinated horror at this killing, recording the event on their cameras and videos. Two tail feathers were plucked out and dipped in the blood. One feather was placed on top of the plate containing the prepared food offering. The other feather was placed by the officiant on the outstretched hand of each tourist, as a form of blessing (Plate 36). Five Iban people then danced in ceremonial costume, followed by serving rice wine and rice cakes to the
Plate 35. Waving a fowl (*biau*) in a *ming* rite, Serubah

Plate 36. Blessing tourists in a *ming* ceremony, Serubah
tourists. This Iban welcome ceremony lasted for about 40 minutes, after which tourists returned to the guesthouse.

At Nanga Kesit, the miring rite was performed in the longhouse gallery by two senior Iban men, for special group tours. On my first day at Kesit, I observed a miring ceremony held to welcome a group of French tourists. The first officiant arranged various food items, including glutinous rice (asi' pulut), in a metal dish, then scattered puffed rice on the woven mat. Tourists further took some puffed rice from a metal bowl, adding it to the prepared offering plate. Standing up, the second officiant replaced his baseball cap with a feathered headdress, then waved a small fowl (biau) over the food offering while chanting a prayer (sampi). The first officiant took this fowl and swiftly decapitated it with one blow from a sharp parang onto a stone slab. The severed head was rubbed on the hands of some French men, who shrank back from this gory procedure. The miring rite was followed by Iban dancing in the gallery.

At another miring, rite, performed for a Swiss couple visiting Nanga Kesit, the food items were placed onto a flat woven offering 'basket' (kelingkang), on which the tourists placed some popped rice. After the blessing (biau), a few feathers were plucked from the tail of a rooster (not slaughtered) and touched on each tourist's hand. After this, the woven offering 'basket' was tied to a rafter in the gallery. The Swiss couple filmed the miring on a video, then had their photograph taken with the tattooed male Iban officiants and the food items used in the ritual.

At Nanga Kesit, during the Gawai Dayak celebration, both tourists and Iban participated in a miring by pouring some rice wine from a glass into a plastic jug, and placing some popped rice from a bowl onto the offering plate. At Nanga Stamang, tourists joined a six plate miring held to farewell a young Iban man leaving to join the Malaysian army. The prepared plate of food items was placed in a hanging basket, which was wrapped in an ikat blanket (pua kumbu), and a parang further tied on. Tourists sat around this group of Iban people and were given tuak to drink. At both Iban miring rites, several drums were played loudly in unison (gendang pampat), by Iban men, to convey a ritual request.

Ritual chant - Mengap

Mengap is a ritual poem, sung by an Iban bard (lemambang) and a
'chorus' of two other men, invoking deities to attend a *gawai* (festival). A complete *mengap* recital lasts from one to five nights (Richards 1981:269-270). At both Serubah (every program) and Nanga Kesit (some groups with Kalimantan Travel), three Iban men in traditional costume performed a short segment from a ritual chant (*mengap*). Each man carried a long staff, struck simultaneously on the floor to set a steady beat for chanting. These were either plain or with incised red designs, some were decorated with rooster feathers. One staff used by the leading bard at Serubah had small bells (*gerunong*) on the top.

In this *mengap* recital, the lead singer or bard, a tattooed old Iban man, was followed by two other younger men providing the chorus. The chanting began as the men stood in line, then walked slowly past the seated line of tourists. Walking in an anti-clockwise direction, they circled twice around two support posts in the centre of the gallery, including one post hung with trophy skulls at Serubah (see Plate 26). The men ended their chant by again standing in a line, facing the tourists. This tourist performance of *mengap* lasted for around eight minutes, normally such chanting would go on all night long.

For this *mengap*, each Iban man wore a loincloth and feathered cap, a bead necklace, and other jewellery; some men also wore a short jacket (*kelambi*). Traditionally, the chant leader or bard (*lemambang*) wore a long-sleeved coat, together with a head cloth or turban (Richards 1981:269). During fieldwork at Nanga Kesit, an all-night performance of *mengap* was held for *Gawai Batu*, a whetstone festival to seek prosperity in the new rice farming cycle (Sandin 1980:44-45). Three Iban men chanted as they walked up and down the entire length of the longhouse gallery, proceeding in a clockwise direction. Despite the presence of a tourist group, and a film crew from Hong Kong, the bards continued with their chanting and walked right through the craft display.

**Drumming - Gendang pampat**

In *gendang pampat*, several hour-glass drums (*ketebong*) are played together in an escalating rhythm, until a crescendo of sound is reached. 'At the beginning of a major *gawai* (festival), many drums are played together in a contest of rhythm and skill' (Richards 1981:102). This drumming is a signal to the deities to come as guests to an Iban festival (Maceda 1962; Sandin 1973). During the Gawai Dayak celebration at
Nanga Kesit, this rapid drumming was performed by Iban women, while preparing small woven packets (ketupat) (symbolising head trophies and used in ritual offerings), and by Iban men during a miring offering held on the longhouse verandah. At Nanga Stamang, gendang pampat was played loudly by seven Iban men, during a miring rite held to farewell a young man about to join the Malaysian army.

At Serubah, this rapid drumming was performed for the Aliviaggi incentive tour from Italy. Four Iban women and one Iban man sat in a circle, with an hour-glass drum resting in their lap. The drummers passed a glass of rice wine around in one hand, while beating out a progressively faster rhythm, until one player lost the beat and drank from the glass. There were five rounds of this competitive Iban drumming, performed only for this incentive group tour.

At Nanga Stamang, gendang pampat was performed for tourists by seven men sitting around in a loose circle. A spectacular crescendo of sound was reached in this vigorous drumming. On one occasion, a young Iban man sat in the middle to serve a glass of rice wine to the drummer losing the rhythm (Plate 37). Some tourists joined in with this drumming, including three Italians (two men and one woman), a German man, and a British man, who asked for a repeat performance of this drumming, on the second night of his visit. On two other occasions, an Iban man played various drum rhythms in a solo performance.

Gong music - Gendang raya
One morning at Nanga Stamang, before tourists left the longhouse, five Iban men played a stately booming melody (gendang raya) on five hanging gongs (three bendai and two tawak). This formal gong music is normally played only for religious festivals (Sandin 1980:88), to cure sickness (Maceda 1962:496), and at weddings. A modified rhythm, with two to five hand-held bendai gongs, is played by Iban women to welcome tourists arriving at Nanga Stamang. This type of gong welcome is usually reserved for Iban visitors to a gawai (festival), or to greet important government officials.

Cockfighting - Nyabong
Iban cockfighting (sabong manok or nyabong) is a male ritual sport, enacted to honour deities during a gawai (festival) (Sandin 1976). Other
Plate 37. Iban drumming (*gendang pampat*), Nanga Stamang

Plate 38. Cockfighting demonstration, Nanga Kesit
Iban cockfighting meets, with gambling, are regular sporting events (both legal and illegal). A steel blade spur (taji) is lashed to one leg of each cock, the birds are matched beak to beak, and the fight is usually swift (Richards 1981:317). A cockfighting demonstration, without spurs, was commonly held for tourists at each longhouse (Plate 38). At Serubah, the guide first showed tourists two metal spurs, used in a real fight. Pairs of roosters were then matched in a short fighting bout, until they were pulled apart, or one bird ran away. At Serubah, both Iban men and women handled these fighting roosters, while only men were involved in the cockfighting demonstration at Kesit and Stamang.

**Iban wedding - Melah pinang**

During the Gawai Dayak festival at Nanga Kesit, tourists watched as a young Iban couple were married in a traditional ceremony (Plate 39). Wearing ceremonial costume, the Iban bride and groom each sat on a brass gong, with two ikat textiles hung on the wall behind them. A senior Iban man and woman prepared two plates of food offerings, while an areca (betel) nut was cut up by an older woman. The Iban marriage rite, *melah pinang*, literally means to split or divide the betel nut. A rooster was then waved (*biau*) over the food offering plates, and above the wedding couple, as a blessing. Tourists either sat or stood around the Iban wedding group as this ceremony was performed on the longhouse gallery. By way of contrast, Seewuthiwong (1989) describes tourists attending an Akha hilltribe wedding ceremony in northern Thailand.

Each year, some young foreign couples also take part in a traditional Iban wedding rite. The tourists wear Iban ceremonial costume (including imitation tattoos for men), then participate in a wedding rite performed by Iban people. These Iban-style weddings have been held at Kesit, Stamang and other Iban longhouses visited by package tours. So far, only Asian Overland Services has advertised an Iban wedding package tour, in its 1992 brochure. Several other inbound tour operators, however, also arrange these Iban-style tourist 'weddings', as requested, at Iban longhouses. Most of these tourists are recently married but enjoy the exotic spectacle of an Iban-style wedding ceremony held in a longhouse.

At Nanga Stamang, the Iban-style wedding for a Swedish couple (in July, 1992) was filmed by Asian Overland Services on a video camera. The wedding rite began with a procession around the longhouse gallery. After
Plate 39. Iban wedding ceremony, Nanga Kesit

Plate 40. Iban-style tourist wedding, Nanga Stamang
(Asian Overland Services)
this, the Swedish couple sat on brass gongs covered with an ikat textile (Plate 40). An offering of tuak and a 5 plate miring rite was performed by Penghulu Rentap, culminating in a rooster being waved (biau) over the food offering and wedding couple, then slaughtered. Next, a betel nut was dropped onto the gallery floor, where it split into different segments. Bracelets were placed on the arm of both bride and groom, who further bit down on a brass ring, to strengthen their marriage. This formal ceremony was followed by the Swedish couple serving rice-wine to their 'guests', then Iban dancing. According to Caslake (1994:85), in these tourist wedding ceremonies the Iban are simply 're-enacting an actual event, mirroring the authentic'; following a correct sequence of rites, but with reduced religious significance for the Iban.

Revived Iban customs
This second group of Iban cultural events includes: dancing (ngajat), martial arts (kuntau), mimed skits, clowning, social songs (sanggai), and using a blowpipe. These cultural activities are mainly performed for tourist entertainment and have no ritual associations. Their revival or frequent performance at Iban longhouses visited by group tours constitutes a new 'emergent authenticity' (Cohen 1989). At other Iban longhouses, such customs are either waning in importance, or performed only during a festival. Apart from using a blowpipe, these social events take place during the cultural show held for tourists in the longhouse.

This Iban cultural show takes place in the evening on one section of the longhouse gallery, lit by fluorescent lights or gas pressure lamps. Tourists sit down on woven mats, leaning against the outer wall of the longhouse. At Nanga Stamang, tourists usually sat on wooden bench seats, facing the gallery wall which was further hung with three pua kumbu blankets, forming a backdrop. On one side, Iban musicians sat by their instruments - a set of small gongs on a wooden rack, two large hanging gongs, and an hour glass drum - playing gong melodies as they warmed up. An expectant Iban audience - young and old; men, women and children, gathered around each side of the 'stage' area to watch.

At Serubah and Nanga Kesit, tourists walked over from the guesthouse to the longhouse, using torchlight to follow the footpath. With an air of expectancy and excitement, tourists clattered along the verandah walkway, then removed their shoes before sitting down in the gallery. If
tourists arrived early, there was a flurry of activity as Iban people pulled finely woven mats down from the rafters and spread these out across the longhouse gallery floor. Once seated, Iban people offered tourists a drink of *tuak* or rice wine (at Nanga Kesit also distilled rice spirit, *langkau* or *arak*), served in a plastic cup or a glass. While waiting for the cultural show to begin, tourists observed Iban people sitting nearby, cradling children in their laps, smoking, and chatting together.

Iban dancing - *Ngajat*

The tourist entertainment usually began with Iban dancing. Accompanied by the melodic rhythm of a gong ensemble, Iban men and women (two of each) danced in ceremonial costume. Before dancing, most performers drank a glass of rice wine. Stepping into the rhythm of the gong music, each dancer in turn performed a solo dance, lasting from three to five minutes. As a finale, all of the dancers joined in with a group ‘round’ dance, circling the ‘stage’ area.

The same type of Iban dances were performed for tourists at each longhouse. These included a welcome dance (*ajat semain*) by men and women; a warrior dance miming combat (*ajat bebunoh*), performed by men with a parang and shield; and a ‘sword’ dance (*bepenca*) by young men (Richards 1981:4, 267; Sandin 1980: 88). The graceful welcome dance involves slowly turning around or moving sideways with small steps, accompanied by flowing hand and arm gestures. It is performed as a solo dance and in a group ‘round’ dance (Plate 41).

The more vigorous male warrior dance is performed in a semi-crouch position, head tilted back, with crossing of the feet, pivoting, random stamps, and quick jumps or leaps from side to side (Crump 1991:164). While dancing, a parang is unsheathed and used to pick up a shield under the rear hand grip. Holding this shield in one hand, the unseen enemy is dispatched by thrusting with a parang, while lunging forward on one knee (Plate 42). A few men held a parang clenched between their teeth, while continuing to dance. Some Iban warrior dances were very flowing and stylised, with occasional leaps, while others were very realistic, with vigorous bounding, yells, and deep stabbing with the parang (cf. Seeler 1969:194). Older Iban men were more skilled in this warrior dance.
Only young Iban men performed the 'sword' dance (bepenca'), accompanied by gong music with a faster tempo. This dance was originally performed as a duel, using wooden sticks (Seeler 1969:195) or knives (Richards 1981:267). It is now performed as a solo dance, with a high-stepping knee action, hand clapping, and sweeping arm movements - based on a martial arts style. At Stamang, one young man also performed a mortar dance (ajat lesong), kneeling down to pick up and carry a 20kg mortar in his teeth, while dancing around.

These Iban dances are performed in close proximity to the seated tourists. Floorboards shake and parangs sweep the air. At Kesit and Stamang, the Iban audience calls out to the performers, commenting on their dance style. For tourists, the colourful costumes, graceful movements of the dancers, chiming gong music, and jingling bells or clinking coins worn as adornment, create a memorable visual and aural experience of Iban dancing. Each dance performance goes for about 20 minutes. Tourists then stand between the costumed dancers to have their photograph taken, while wearing a feathered cap or holding a shield.

At Serubah the costumed dancers then depart, while at Kesit and Stamang they invite tourists to join in dancing. Tourists are gestured towards the 'stage' or pulled onto their feet by the Iban dancers. Most tourists were persuaded to give an awkward version of Iban ngajat, either on their own or together with Iban performers. They usually wear a feathered cap to mark their participation. Quite frequently, female tourists danced with Iban men and male tourists danced with Iban women, provoking amused laughter from the Iban audience, who considered this tourist dancing both clumsy and inappropriate. The dancing was enlivened by the influence of tuak (rice wine). Groups of Iban children, often in traditional costume at Stamang, would also dance for tourists. Later in the evening, more Iban people would get up to dance in their everyday clothes, simply for enjoyment and to show their skill.

Social songs
Iban songs (sanggai or pantun) were only performed for tourists visiting Serubah. These solo songs were performed by an Iban man and woman dressed in casual clothing. They sat facing the tourist audience, with a glass of rice wine before them, and simply performed their song. The guide explained that these were social songs, performed solely for
Plate 41. Iban 'welcome' dance, Nanga Kesit

Plate 42. Iban 'warrior' dance, Nanga Stamang
Note the bundle of charms (pengaroh) on the waist cord.
entertainment (Maceda 1962; Sandin 1973). The songs were about welcoming the tourists, a love song, an episode in the singer's life, and other personal topics.

Clowning
At Nanga Stamang, masked clowns gave a pantomime performance to entertain tourists (Plate 43). The masks (tuping) were mainly made from the cross-section of a gourd, with holes cut out for the eyes and mouth, and a separate tall nose carved from wood often added on. One had a paper cigarette dangling from the mouth. Another mask, carved from wood, had a long moustache stuck on, made from human hair. Facial features were outlined in white paint. The masked clowns wore old clothes, padded out their torso, and further covered up their hands, feet and back of their head. The performers were young Iban girls, one married Iban woman, and sometimes also young Iban men.

The clowns gave a stumbling parody of Iban dancing (ngajat) or martial arts (kuntau), imitated performers in a rock band, and pretended to wipe mucus from their 'nose' and smear this onto the hand or face of each tourist. John Caslake, an English anthropologist who spent 12 days at Nanga Stamang in June 1992, further reported that the clowns imitated tourists taking pictures with their cameras. The pantomime ended with tourists joining the clowns in a lively 'disco-style' dance, performed to a rapid single tone gong beat. During this dance, some inquisitive tourists attempted to look behind the mask itself. The Iban react with good humour to such behaviour, which they tolerate and even encourage.

In Iban tradition, the light wooden masks (tuping) are worn on the last day of a festival, to provide merriment after the rituals are completed (Richards 1981:404). Iban women dressed up as men and put on these masks to dance and provide comic mirth (see Morrison 1962:183; Wright et al 1972: 80). The Iban also use masks, with teeth bared and lips everted, representing an evil female spirit (indai guru), to frighten misbehaving children (Heppell 1990:70). At Nanga Stamang, the masks were used for entertainment, being openly made in the longhouse gallery, while some were hung up on the gallery wall.

Martial arts - Kuntau
After the main dance performance at each tourist longhouse, some
Plate 43. Masked clowns, Nanga Stamang

Plate 44. Martial arts display (*kuntau*), Nanga Kesit
young Iban men gave an impromptu solo display of martial arts movements (Plate 44). Moving along in front of the seated tourists, various stylized leg kicks and thrusting arm movements were performed to the beat of gong music. This type of display is a dance form of boxing (kuntau), imitating Chinese martial arts movements (Richards 1981:171). Each boxing display only took a few minutes.

Mimed skits
Mimed dance skits were occasionally performed for tourists by two Iban men at Stamang. This form of dance (ajat) is a comic or topical 'party piece' showing the ordinary activities of people or animals (Richards 1981:4). One older man mimed using a fishing basket, scooping up 'fish' in an actual basket, then becoming afraid of something he had caught and throwing it aside. His other mimed piece was a parody of a woman washing clothes at the riverbank. A young Iban man performed a comic version of a 'sword' dance (bepenca') which ended as he knelt down, picked up a glass of tuak in his teeth, tipped his head back and drained the contents. Another young Iban man, a deaf mute from Lubok Pantu, imitated a wild cat crawling low over the floor, rolling on the ground and rubbing up against a 'tree' (a support post in the gallery). Such mime and burlesque are central to the Iban style of comedy (Seeler 1969:196-197).

Using a blowpipe - Nyumpit
At each tourist longhouse, an Iban man, dressed in a loincloth, gave a demonstration of using a blowpipe. At Serubah, the blowpipe (sumpit) was a plain wooden shaft, while at Kesit and Stamang a metal spear blade was lashed with rattan onto the tip. The blowpipes were aimed at a target some five to seven metres away. The target consisted of a leaf placed on a tree trunk (Nanga Kesit), a piece of foam or a leaf placed on a post (Serubah); and a bullseye painted on foam, with several inflated balloons attached to a pole (Nanga Stamang), giving tourists the satisfaction of hearing a balloon pop when their dart hit 'home'. Tourist attempts at using a blowpipe ranged from the dart simply dropping out of the end, falling short, shooting past, or occasionally hitting the target (Plate 45). Some tourists tried shooting two darts, Penan style, in one go.

An Iban blowpipe is made from polished hardwood, about 2m long, with a conical butt or flight made of soft pith, squeezed to fit the bore of a blowpipe (Richards 1981:355). Some Iban men at Stamang claimed that
Plate 45. Dutch tourist using a blowpipe, Nanga Kesit

Plate 46. Pole hopping game (*ketipong*), Nanga Stamang
smooth inner bore. The darts (laja') are made from tapered palm leaf rib, blowpipes were still used for shooting down small birds, otherwise shotguns are used for hunting. One young Iban man at Stamang shot 15 clay pellets out of a blowpipe during one tourist demonstration. In the longhouse gallery at Nanga Kesit, an Iban man was drilling out the bore of a half-size wooden blowpipe (made as a souvenir item), using an iron rod driven upwards by hand. Apart from this, blowpipes are rarely made or used by the Iban nowadays.

**New Tourist Activities**

At each longhouse, some new activities were introduced solely for tourist purposes. At Serubah and Nanga Kesit, this included a regular craft sale, included in the evening cultural show. Also at Kesit, and at Stamang, various party games were introduced or encouraged by tour operators to provide more tourist entertainment. Both the craft sale and games were more informal activities, promoting social interaction with Iban hosts. The level of tourist participation in these new activities highlights the importance of the behavioural dimension of authenticity (Vallee 1987).

**Iban games - Main**

At Kesit and Stamang, the cultural show ended with tourists playing simple Iban games (main). The director of Ibanika Expeditions instigated these games at Nanga Kesit, in 1992, to provide more entertainment for tourists, further stating 'You can't ngajat (dance) all night!' At Nanga Stamang, Asian Overland Services encouraged the Iban people to come up with their own traditional games to entertain tourists. At Serubah, such games were initiated once by a Canadian tour guide but otherwise were not a regular part of the program. Most tourists readily participated in these Iban games, involving feats of strength, agility, and concentration.

Iban games of agility involve nimble feet and good balance. At Nanga Stamang, tourists skipped over and between parallel poles held by two people near the floor and clashed together (ketipong) (Plate 46). The pace increased until the player either gave up or retired with a bruised ankle. Originally a Kenyah (Orang Ulu) game, pole hopping (ketipong) is now widely played by Iban people (Richards 1981:163). Tourists skipped between the bamboo poles, either on their own, or with an Iban person, in a contest of speed and agility. Other games played at Stamang were
limbo, and jumping sideways over a pole raised at a progressively steeper angle. At Kesit, in a game said to have been introduced by tour guides, four people locked their ankles together on one raised leg, then hopped around in a circle until losing their balance.

Tourists tested their strength against the Iban in various wrestling games. In leg wrestling (*beriba' betis*), the contestants sat with their legs locked together and arms crossed over underneath, attempting to topple over the other person by pushing against their shin. In another form of leg wrestling, the opponents lay down next to each other (in opposite directions) raised one leg in the air, locked their ankles together, and attempted to roll over the other person in a back flip. In finger wrestling (*bepanca*), the contestants used one hand, interlocked their fingers, and attempted to twist the opponent’s wrist. In a seated tug-of-war (*batak lumpeng*) each contestant held onto a wooden baton, with feet pressed together, and attempted to pull over the other person. The larger tourists would often win contests of strength, with the agile Iban winning more athletic games. At Stamang, other feats of strength included swinging around or hanging by the feet from a pole held up by two men.

At Nanga Kesit, the most popular game was 'find-the-ring'. In this introduced party game, tourists joined in with Iban people sitting around a string circle, moving a ‘ring’ about under their clenched hands. One person sat in the middle of this circle and had to guess where the ‘ring’ was hidden, after a standard chant was recited. One group of Canadian tourists at Serubah also played ‘find-the-ring’, where a wrong guess about the location of the ‘ring’ meant having to drink a glass of rice-wine (two bottles were consumed by the players). This simple game provided fun and enjoyment for both tourists and Iban players.

Another circular game, played at Kesit, involved chasing or 'catch-as-catch-can' (*main raja*). In this game, one person walked around the circle, dropped a baton, and attempted to run around the circle before being tagged. If caught, the penalty involved carrying the alert chaser once around the circle, seated on the baton carrier’s back. The larger but less nimble tourists usually ended up carrying Iban people around. At Kesit, some female tourists joined Iban girls in synchronised hand clapping, or tossing a group of stones in the air, picking up another stone, and catching the airborne stones on the back of one hand. At Stamang,
blindfolded tourists attempted to strike a gong hanging from one rafter, using a padded beater carried in one hand. Most tourists happily took on this challenge.

The Craft Sale
A craft sale was a regular part of the tourist program at Serubah and Nanga Kesit (see Appendix D). In the longhouse gallery at Serubah, Iban handicrafts were grouped together and displayed on the floor and wall. Tourists walked over to look at these handicrafts, after the entertainment was over. The Iban crafts at Serubah were contemporary souvenir items, mainly wood carvings and woven purses. Popular souvenirs were bamboo dart containers and wooden figure carvings of a hunter, with a separate blowpipe inserted into the mouth. One or two Iban men at Serubah acted as ‘brokers’, negotiating prices and accepting money from tourists for these souvenir crafts. The craft sale was organised in this manner at Serubah, to avoid competition between individual craft makers/sellers and thus reduce pressure on tourists to buy crafts.

The craft sale at Nanga Kesit usually took place as the first item in the evening program. Individual craft makers or family members sat behind their own display of handicrafts, spread out around the longhouse gallery. On my first visit, in June 1991, about 12 people were selling handicrafts. By May, 1992, the craft sale had become a longhouse bazaar with some 50 people selling hundreds of different craft items (Plate 47). Most handicrafts were souvenir items: figure carvings, wooden tops, woven baskets (*sintong*), hats, parangs, seed necklaces, bracelets, woven pictures, carved trap markers (*tuntun*), walking sticks, wooden miniatures of a rice mill (*kisar*), rice mortar (*lesong*), and longboat, some half-size wooden blowpipes, toy bamboo blowpipes, wood and bamboo containers. These crafts exhibit both ‘complementary commercialization’ of items still used by Iban people (such as hats and baskets), and 'substitutive commercialization' (Cohen 1993b) of modified or new crafts made solely as tourist souvenirs (such as carvings or small blowpipes).

One family at Kesit also purchased parangs, figure carvings, souvenir shields and small ikat textiles from a craft wholesale business in Kuching, then resold these items to visiting tourists. Apart from this, all other crafts were made by Iban people living at Kesit. Some old Iban artefacts were on sale at Kesit, including ikat skirts, brass pots, and a clay pot.
Plate 47. Handicraft sale at Nanga Kesit

Plate 48. Ikat textile (pua kumbu) for sale, Nanga Stamang
wrapped in rattan. Graburn (1984) considers such items as 'functional traditional arts', though the clay pot is no longer used for cooking. Male tourists usually bought wood carvings and blowpipes, while female tourists purchased baskets, bracelets, necklaces, and woven picture panels. The guide assisted tourists in negotiating and paying for these souvenir crafts, which were purchased directly from each crafts person.

There was no organised craft sale at Nanga Stamang, since this was a new tourist destination. Most craft items at Stamang, such as mats, hats, and baskets, were still made by Iban people for their own use. Several Iban women at Stamang were skilled in producing ikat textiles (*puu kumbu*), using store bought cotton and natural vegetable dyes. The wife of the headman had a backstrap loom set up on the gallery. On this, she gave a demonstration of ikat weaving to a family group from Australia. New ikat textiles were displayed to interested visitors and regular sales were made of these hand-woven Iban textiles, mainly to female tourists (Plate 48). In 1992, the ikat textiles sold for MR$200 to MR$400. Such tourists associated authenticity with unique textile characteristics of *puu kumbu*, buying directly from the Iban weaver, and the longhouse visit (cf. Littrell 1990). Some parangs and three batik sarongs were also sold to tourists.

Outdoor Tourist Activities

The outdoor activities for tourists include a jungle walk, jungle picnic, or fishing. In these 'back to nature' excursions, tourists learn about Iban use of the natural environment. Such activities divert tourist attention away from the longhouse and counter any tourist disappointment with signs of modernisation among the Iban (cf. Dearden & Harron 1994). Iban men and women become jungle guides introducing tourists to routine aspects of living in a tropical rainforest. On a cultural tour meeting Aboriginal people in northern Australia, environmental experiences also enhance authenticity and overall enjoyment for tourists (Moscardo & Pearce 1989).

Jungle walk - Jalan Hutan

During a jungle walk, tourists learn how Iban people live in their rainforest environment. The tour guide explains Iban use of plants for food, craft materials, medicinal remedies, and other practical purposes. At Serubah, the jungle walk went through a flat area of secondary rainforest, upriver from the guesthouse. The Iban guide chopped out bamboo shoots (later covered with leaves to not offend spirits by wasting food) (Plate 49);
Plate 49. Collecting bamboo shoots, Serubah

Plate 50. Setting a spring trap (peti'), Serubah
plaited a bangle using the brown inner stem (resam) of a fern (given to a female tourist to wear); sliced some bark fibre from a hanging liana and rolled a two-ply cord on his thigh (tourists pulled on this cord to test its strength); cut out the spongy pith from a sago palm frond, used for dart flights; and demonstrated rubber tapping.

On the jungle walk at Nanga Kesit, tourists walked over steep hills, past Iban pepper and cocoa plants, then through secondary rainforest, to emerge at the Kesit river. Only select tourist groups went on this jungle walk, often the track was too muddy and slippery after rain. In mid 1992, the Iban used branches to put in steps and handrails on the steeper sections of this path. On this walk, tourists learnt about pepper cultivation, saw tapioca plants (the leaves and tuber are eaten), and watched an Iban man use his parang to chop out the edible white inner trunk of a wild sago palm (mulong or pantu’). Other tourists were also shown bamboo shoots, a yam plant, rattan palm (wi, used to make mats and baskets), saw a demonstration of rubber tapping by the Chinese tour guide, and tasted the edible shoots of a climbing fern (miding).

The Iban guide also set and activated two animal traps, during a jungle walk at both Serubah and Nanga Kesit. These were a bird trap with a noose (panjok), and a spring trap for pig or deer (peti’) with a swinging bamboo dagger (Plate 50). At Kesit, two traps were built near the start of the jungle walk, with a spirit offering placed nearby, while another trap was located further along on a steep hillside. At Serubah, the animal traps were set up on the riverbank, at the end of the jungle walk. The traps were for demonstration only, and not used for hunting.

Tourists further visited an Iban graveyard (pendam), at Serubah and Nanga Kesit. At Serubah, the guide pointed out the spirit offerings (piring) and Chinese jars placed along the path leading to the graveyard. Old Iban men called out as they came near the graveyard, warning spirits of the deceased of their approach. Both graveyards had some traditional wooden tomb huts (sungkup), with a carved hornbill head and tail jutting out from the end. Other modern tomb huts had tin roofs, the sign of a cross, and a concrete slab over the grave. Tour guides at Serubah explained Iban burial customs (Plate 51). The grave goods included Chinese jars (usually broken to deter theft), traditional objects like a spear for a man and weaving shuttle for a woman, and modern items: beer
bottles, tin plates and kettles, a record player, lounge chair and brief case.

At Nanga Stamang, some tourists went on a jungle walk in the patch of secondary rainforest behind the longhouse. The tourists further visited a hut used as a rice store by the headman, looked at vegetable gardens, walked over the cleared earthen site for a new longhouse, and saw Iban people collecting pandanus leaves (kerupok) to be used in mat weaving. On another jungle walk, tourists climbed up a steep hill behind the longhouse to visit a nearby waterfall and enjoy a picnic lunch. Tourists did not visit a graveyard nor see animal traps.

Jungle picnic
At Nanga Kesit, a jungle picnic for tourists was held on a shinglebank beside the clear-flowing Kesit river. Iban men cut and trimmed bamboo tubes for cooking rice in, placed on a rack over a fire, and bamboo 'cups' for drinking (Plate 52). Tourists were given cans of soft drink, while the guide stirfried vegetables and chicken, brought from Kuching, in a wok placed over a fire. While waiting for lunch to be cooked, some tourists waded across the river to look at a small waterfall. One couple joined in with an Iban girl and child searching the river bed for fish and prawns. A frog was grilled over the fire and this couple tried the white flesh, then tasted some jungle fruit found nearby. An Iban family poling their longboat up the Kesit river was called over to join in with this picnic lunch. Various food dishes were set out along the riverbank, from which tourists ate first, then the Iban. This relaxing jungle picnic would last for one or two hours.

At Nanga Stamang, tourists walked inland to have a picnic lunch above or below a beautiful waterfall set in the rainforest. Food for the picnic lunch was carried by two Iban men in their back baskets. Both chicken and rice were cooked in bamboo tubes, either brought along or cut down at the waterfall, while the rice was wrapped in leaves (daun lemba') collected along the walk. Tourists swam and relaxed in waterholes while lunch was prepared by the guide and two Iban helpers. After lunch, the headman of Stamang would climb up the waterfall on a rope, this feat emulated by two adventurous Australians. Other tourists taking a longboat trip upriver also enjoyed a picnic lunch on the riverbank.
Plate 51. Iban graveyard at Serubah

Plate 52. Jungle picnic on the Kesit River
Rice cooking in bamboo tubes
Fishing
Some tourists at Nanga Stamang went fishing with Iban men. A Swiss man awoke at 6am to go fishing with the headman, using a cast net (jala) thrown from the prow of a longboat; the tourist caught one fish. Other male tourists also tried throwing out this cast net, during boat trips up the Engkari River. A British man tried rod fishing (baur ginti’) in a small creek, following the example of two Iban men casting the hook in front of them. The rod was made from a flexible palm rib (ridan), using nylon line, and a small metal hook with worm bait. The small fish caught were cooked in bamboo and eaten at a picnic lunch.

A Frenchman spent one week at Stamang fishing with his own fibreglass rod, spinners and lures. After a frustrating day, with no fish caught, he tried throwing an Iban cast net (jala) by gathering the net onto one arm and shoulder, then swivelling his body to launch the weighted net out into the river. At the longhouse, he photographed a home-made Iban spear gun (senapang ikan), made of a carved wood stock, iron rod spear and a rubber ‘spring’ cut from a tyre tube. Young Iban men use these spear guns, with a face-mask, to fish in the river.

Summary
Tourists experience diverse aspects of Iban lifestyle and culture during guided longhouse tours. Field research indicates these Iban longhouse tours are object-oriented at Serubah, focus on social interaction with Iban people at Nanga Kesit, or encourage tourists to share daily Iban life at Nanga Stamang. Guided tours thus link authenticity with situational aspects of the longhouse destination, or through social activities enhancing the behavioural dimension of authenticity. Tourist exposure to Iban culture includes modified ritual events (miring ceremony), revived Iban customs (dancing), outdoor excursions (jungle walk, jungle picnic), and new tourist activities (craft sale, games). In these organised activities, Iban people take on the role of hosts, entertainers, jungle guides and cultural demonstrators for visiting tourist groups. Field observations of guided tours indicate that tourists associate authenticity with seeing Iban cultural markers, and experiencing the Iban lifestyle, or seek authenticity through social interaction with Iban people. These dual level tourist responses to authenticity are evaluated in the next chapter.
Chapter 7. TOURIST RESPONSES TO AUTHENTICITY

'Experience of Iban culture however it is currently lived is important. If they no longer live traditionally I would not want them to do it just for tourists'
(American student, female, age 30 - Tourist at Nanga Stamang in July, 1992)

This chapter evaluates when and how tourists experience authenticity on Iban longhouse tours. These responses to authenticity are revealed in a visitor survey, informal conversations with tourists, and through observations of tourist behaviour at Iban longhouses. In this review, I focus on organised longhouse tours visiting Serubah, Nanga Kesit and Nanga Stamang. I begin by presenting survey responses to authenticity for primary Iban cultural markers, then discuss tourist enjoyment in terms of personal comments about genuine or meaningful aspects of a longhouse tour. This is followed by a review of spontaneity in tourist and Iban behaviour, contributing to moments of authenticity within a longhouse tour. Finally, as a contrast, I review the search for authenticity by backpackers visiting Iban longhouses on the Rejang River. This covers most authenticity-seeking behaviour by tourists at Iban longhouses.

Importance of authenticity

Cultural authenticity is an important motive for tourist participation in organised longhouse tours. Travel brochures play on tourist desire to 'see the original way of life of the people living in longhouses'. Over 95% of all tourists surveyed affirm the importance of seeing traditional Iban longhouse culture (Table 28). These results were obtained from a survey of international tourists visiting Serubah (39), Nanga Kesit (58) and Nanga Stamang (122) on guided Iban longhouse tours (Appendix B). The majority of tourists visiting Nanga Stamang, a new destination, consider authentic Than culture to be very important. On the more popular

Table 28. Importance of traditional Iban culture on longhouse tours

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<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Fairly Important</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Slightly Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serubah/Kesit</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
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Lemanak River, tourists moderate their need for authenticity to fairly important. With a higher level of longhouse visitation, tourists expect Iban culture to be less traditional. Some tourists were unconcerned with
seeing only traditional Iban culture. An American couple at Nanga Stamang qualified their neutral response by adding, 'Experience of Iban culture however it is currently lived is important', and that traditional culture is 'hard to do (keep up) without becoming fake'. Other responses to authenticity now follow.

**Iban cultural markers**

Tourist perceptions of authenticity are first considered in terms of situational or place-related characteristics of Iban longhouse culture. On a survey form, tourists rated how traditional (i.e. authentic) they considered the longhouse building, Iban lifestyle, Iban dances and ceremonial costume to be. These particular features are the key elements of Iban culture emphasised in package tours visiting Iban longhouses. In this review, a comparison is made between tourists staying in guesthouse accommodation (Serubah & Nanga Kesit) and tourists sleeping in the longhouse (Nanga Stamang). Tourist responses to authenticity, recorded on a survey form, are contrasted with statements made by Iban people, and cultural observations during fieldwork (see also Appendix D).

**The longhouse building**

On a River Safari tour, the longhouse building is featured as the main tourist attraction. Appealing to human curiosity, travel brochures entice tourists to visit 'the famous Iban in their traditional longhouses'. At Serubah and Nanga Kesit, tourists are taken on a guided tour around the longhouse, while at Nanga Stamang, tourists are hosted inside the longhouse. The majority of tourists surveyed at Nanga Stamang strongly agreed the longhouse was traditional in nature, as compared to more moderate agreement from tourists surveyed at longhouses on the Lemanak River (Table 29). This general agreement was qualified by adding 'to (the) structure but not all building materials', 'with modern modifications', and 'except for (the) roofing'. At Nanga Stamang, tourists

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<th>Table 29. Tourist rating of authenticity - Iban longhouse</th>
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<td><strong>Strongly Agree</strong></td>
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in strong agreement added 'that the longhouse was 'very very' (traditional), mainly 'because other than the metal roof, construction is primitive'. At the time, each longhouse had a roof of corrugated iron, more visible on the low-set Lemanak longhouses. Both Serubah and Nanga Kesit were also surrounded by other separate dwelling huts, whereas Nanga Stamang was still a single longhouse.

In contrast to these tourist opinions, Iban informants on the Lemanak disagreed, indicating that the longhouse building had changed in its layout, materials, and overall structure. New building materials included sheets of iron, plywood, chipboard, and chain-saw-hewn timber planks. Some apartment walls facing the gallery featured louvre windows along with painted walls or doors. The kitchen hearth (dapur) was now located at the rear of each family room, instead of at the front (Kedit 1990a). The communal walkway went along the outer verandah (tempuan tanju), under the roof overhang, instead of through the gallery (tempuan ruai), as at Nanga Stamang. The floor area of the gallery no longer included a raised platform (pantar), a sitting and sleeping area formerly used only by Iban men. Additional storage sheds and sleeping huts had also been built onto the longhouse verandah.

At Nanga Stamang, however, Penghulu Rentap agreed that the longhouse was still traditional, except for the tin roof added in 1977. Amenities were sparse, only the Penghulu and his brother, the headman, had simple toilets in their apartments. The outer verandah (tanju) was made of split bamboo lengths, tied on with rattan. The gallery floor was unevenly constructed of wood planks and bamboo, tending to roll up and down when walked upon. On top of some support posts in the gallery, carved hornbill and deer heads were inserted through the pole (sumping tiang). Decorative Iban designs were painted on the outer wall of the adjoining apartments of the present and former Penghulu (head of the Engkari River) resident at Nanga Stamang.

Guides mediated the tourist experience of visiting an Iban longhouse. At Nanga Kesit, one guide brought tourists into the gallery area then stated how the longhouse differed from a traditional type. Formerly, an Iban longhouse was a temporary residence constructed mainly of bamboo, set high above the ground, with a walkway through the gallery. This said, the guide moved on to explain contemporary Iban life and cultural
customs. Another guide disparaged the modern materials used in Kesit longhouse, then led tourists over the river to visit the longhouse of Lubok Subong. Here, the guide commented on the timber plank walls, gallery walkway, and face carved on top of the entrance ladder. At Kesit, however, three Danish tourists considered the longhouse too 'primitive,' and did not attend the evening cultural show. Similarly, some German tourists at Stamang found sleeping in the longhouse, with the basic amenities and lack of privacy, too authentic an experience.

Tour operators strive to meet tourist expectations of seeing a traditional longhouse. Usually, there is no attempt to alter the longhouse structure or cover up signs of modernity. Instead, guides direct tourist attention to traditional markers of Iban culture. At Nanga Stamang, however, Asian Overland Services has replaced the tin roof with atap thatch (Kucway 1993). While I was at Stamang, the headman nailed bamboo slats onto the outer wall and door of his apartment, covering up the plywood panels. Drums, gongs and parangs were hung on this new bamboo wall. At Nanga Kesit, inside the new wooden longhouse under construction in 1992, the outer apartment walls had flattened bamboo stems woven in a lattice, contrasting with shiny metal doorknobs. These Iban attempts at producing a 'mock traditional' appearance were the first signs of staged authenticity, or presenting a desired image to visitors (Straits Times 1992).

Iban lifestyle
Longhouse tour programs allow tourists to briefly experience the Iban way of life. Everyday Iban activities also take place in and around the longhouse, during a tourist visit. The majority of tourists surveyed on longhouse tours agreed that the Iban still followed a traditional lifestyle (Table 30). At Nanga Stamang, where tourists slept in the longhouse, three times as many tourists strongly agreed that they had experienced a traditional Iban lifestyle. One tourist at Stamang qualified his strong response to an unchanged Iban way of life by stating, 'Because this

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longhouse is relatively new to tourists and they are also interested in our lifestyle'. An American couple at Stamang agreed the way of life was traditional, while noting, 'tradition is (a) very vague term, hard to say', and 'what's traditional now - They live 2 lifestyles, (1) for tourist, (2) normal'. A few tourists disagreed that the Iban lifestyle was still traditional, with an American tourist at Nanga Kesit commenting, 'how could they with outboard motor and TV?' Tourists at Iban longhouses differ in how they conceive of authenticity: for some it as 'without modernity' in the Iban lifestyle, for others 'without intent to stage for tourists', and others again, the lack of commercial orientation.

My Iban informants agreed that the Iban still followed a traditional way of life. For daily subsistence, longhouse people still largely relied on the cultivation of hill rice, vegetable gardens, rearing pigs and chickens, gathering jungle plant foods, fishing, hunting for wild boar or deer, and some store-bought food (biscuits, canned fish, noodles etc). Incorporated in this rural Iban lifestyle were modern items such as outboard motors, chainsaws, nylon fishing nets, shotguns, plastic or metal spray packs, and sacks of fertiliser. Cash crops included pepper and cocoa, along with rubber tapping. Sheets of rubber (getah) were run through a mangle then stored in the longhouse. Tourists often saw hill rice or pepper berries spread out on woven mats to dry on the verandah.

Each longhouse had a diesel generator, fluorescent lights, piped water, and a rice husking machine. Water was no longer brought up from the river in gourds. The old wooden rice mills (kisar) and mortars (lesong), no longer used, were placed along the verandah walkway. The former daily sound of rice being pounded in a wooden mortar was no longer heard. TV aerials now stood above the tin roof at each longhouse, with the single aerial at Nanga Stamang a recent addition to this longhouse. At Nanga Kesit and Serubah, sanitation and hygiene had been improved with simple toilets, and a fence built around the longhouse to keep out pigs. Previous to this, the area under the longhouse was said to have been dirty and smelly. Iban people still bathed daily in the river, using soap and toothpaste for their ablutions.

At each longhouse, tourists saw a mix of traditional and contemporary artefacts. Woven mats (tikai) were spread across the gallery floor, or rolled up and stored in the rafters or along the walls. Iban people used a
variety of woven baskets (ajat) in their farm work, and a special sieve basket for fishing (pemansai). Woven scoops (capan) were used for winnowing rice or pepper berries. Bamboo strips were used to make fish traps (bubu) and chicken coops (kerungan, tansang). Conical palm leaf hats (tanggi) were worn out in the sun, or hung up on the walls. Feather headdresses (ketapu) and parangs (duku’) hung on deer antlers, attached to support posts. Whetstones, fibre or twig brooms, wooden animal bowls, and bark carrying straps were also common.

Interspersed with these traditional Iban artefacts were manufactured items. These included metal biscuit tins, polyester sacks, boat petrol tanks, plastic shoes and rubber thongs, store-bought clothing, plastic tarpaulins, and sheets of iron. Fluorescent light tubes, electrical wiring, and fire extinguishers were found in each longhouse. Traditional fishing nets (pukat, jala) were made using nylon line and metal weights. Iban babies were rocked to sleep in a spring sling tied to a rafter, with a clothes hanger and tubular sarong forming a swinging ‘cradle’. Washing hung on nylon or wire lines strung across the verandah. Walls and doors were decorated with posters of Hollywood movie stars (Rambo, Arnold Shwarzenegger), Malaysian pop stars and politicians, magazine illustrations, calendars, Gawai posters, and Fulmen battery stickers. Agricultural posters, hygiene charts and longhouse rosters hung in the gallery.

Iban people carried on with their normal activities while tourists walked through the longhouse. Various domestic tasks took place along the outer portion of the gallery, covered with woven mats. This included Iban women weaving mats or baskets, processing plant fibre materials, or looking after children. Iban men repaired their nylon fishing nets, pared down rattan strips with a small knife, or relaxed as they sat or slept on the mat-covered floor. Men and women also sat together in small groups, chatting, eating, or smoking local cigarettes. Men wore shorts or trousers and the women sarongs, with only a few old women staying bare breasted in the traditional manner.

At Serubah and Kesit, men and women were busy making tourist handicrafts. Iban men sat in doorways making bamboo containers and figure carvings, or incising decorative patterns onto a wooden parang sheath. Iban women sat in the gallery weaving bamboo pictures, purses, and baskets. At Stamang, however, Iban women were busy making palm
leaf hats (*tanggi*), and weaving mats (*tikai bemban*), for domestic use. Some women wove *pua kumbu* textiles for sale. Tourists sitting in the longhouse gallery at Stamang could watch a constant parade of Iban people walking by or family groups involved in their domestic tasks. It was a real experience of everyday life in a longhouse.

Penghulu Batu at Serubah claimed that Iban people were now Christians and no longer followed the omens and other signs of their traditional religion. Animistic Iban beliefs were still evident at each longhouse, however, with spirit offerings, healing rites, augury, and personal charms. The Iban people at Nanga Stamang were strongly animistic, with every entrance/exit in the longhouse ‘protected’ by a spirit offering or charm. Other carved figures (*agum*) were placed at the riverbank, below the entrance ladder, and in the gallery of the longhouse (Plate 53). During my visit, new food offerings were placed on a single skull in the gallery and at the bottom of the entrance ladder.

At Serubah, there was a spirit hut (*langkau ampun*) built along the pathway to the longhouse (Plate 54), with two carved figures (*engkeramba*) standing below (Richards 1981:181). In the longhouse at Serubah, pig jaw and honeycomb charms were placed near apartment doors, while spirit offerings were placed along the forest path to the Iban graveyard. At Nanga Kesit, spirit offerings were placed above the verandah entrance at each end of the longhouse, while other charms hung over many doorways. Tour guides pointed out and explained these signs of animistic Iban beliefs.

Tourists experienced various aspects of Iban lifestyle during their longhouse visit. They travelled in a longboat and spent some time in a longhouse; most tried Iban dancing and using a blowpipe. Some tour groups also participated in a *miring* rite, went on a jungle walk and enjoyed a jungle feast. Most tourists were happy with this presentation of Iban culture, but some were more critical in their evaluation of authenticity. At Nanga Kesit, for example, one male tourist was disappointed to hear the animal traps were for demonstration only, and not actually used by Iban people for hunting at that site.
Plate 53. Spirit figure (*agum*) in the longhouse, Nanga Stamang

Plate 54. Spirit hut (*langkau ampun*), Serubah
Iban dance

A performance of Iban dancing (*ngajat*) is included in every longhouse tour. Travel brochures invite tourists to 'witness the colourful traditional dances'. This Iban dancing usually takes place in the longhouse gallery in the evening, with performers wearing ceremonial costume. At Serubah, Iban dances were also performed on the longhouse verandah in the afternoon, to welcome special group tours. The majority of tourists surveyed on longhouse tours agreed that the Iban dances were traditional (Table 31). At Nanga Stamang, twice as many tourists strongly agreed that

Table 31. Tourist rating of authenticity - Iban dances

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<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serubah/Kesit</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

this Iban dancing was traditional, as compared with performances at the tourist longhouses on the Lemanak River. Knowing Nanga Stamang was a new destination, more tourists expected Iban dance to be traditional. Respondents who agreed that Iban lifestyle was traditional also tended to agree that Iban dance and costume were still traditional.

Usually four Iban people, two men and two women, performed these Iban dances at each longhouse, accompanied by music from a gong ensemble. Each dancer in turn performed a solo dance, lasting from three to five minutes. Occasionally, two men or two women danced in unison. The dance bracket ended with all the performers dancing around in a circle. The same type of Iban dances were performed at each longhouse. These included a welcome dance (*ajat semain*), performed by men and women, and a warrior dance (*ajat bebunoh*) or 'sword' dance (*bepenca*) performed by Iban men. Older men performed the warrior dance wielding a parang and holding a shield. At Nanga Stamang, a young Iban man occasionally performed a mortar dance (*ajat lesong*), carrying a 20kg wooden mortar in his teeth (Plate 55).

My Iban informants all agreed these Iban dances were still traditional. At each longhouse, there were Iban men, women and children skilled in dancing. There were some differences, however, in Iban dances
Plate 55. Mortar dance (*ajat lesong*), Nanga Stamang
(Asian Overland Services)

Plate 56. Tourist dance on the longhouse verandah, Serubah
performed for a tourist audience. Originally all Iban dancing took place in the longhouse gallery, the performance given on the verandah at Serubah was just for tourists (Plate 56). Iban dance is traditionally a solo performance. Formerly, Iban men and women never danced together as now happened in tourist performances. Iban children usually danced in a group for tourists, though sometimes at Nanga Stamang young girls gave a solo performance or children danced with adults. Only adults danced during Iban festivals. In the warrior dance, Iban men at Stamang and Serubah used a full-size shield (*terabai*) while at Nanga Kesit some men danced with half-size shields, including those sold as souvenirs.

*Ceremonial costume*

Iban people wore ceremonial costume for specific tourist activities, to perform traditional dances, and to welcome special groups on their arrival. Iban men also wore their costume when performing a blessing ceremony (*miring*), reciting a ritual chant (*mengap*), at the blowpipe demonstration, for the cockfighting demonstration (Nanga Kesit only) and to lead the jungle walk (Serubah only). Travel brochures invariably include photographs of Iban people dancing or posing in ceremonial costume. The majority of tourists surveyed on longhouse tours agreed that this Iban ceremonial costume was traditional (Table 32). Again, nearly twice as many tourists at Stamang strongly agreed with Iban costume being traditional. One tourist at Stamang, however, perceptively noted that some costume items were traditional, while other items of Iban apparel were now contemporary.

My Iban informants generally agreed that the current form of ceremonial costume was traditional. Iban men and women at each longhouse wore a standard outfit, with individual variation in the amount of silver jewellery worn, use of substitute items, and the degree of costume embellishment. New costume items and substitute materials were mixed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serubah/Kesit</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32. Tourist rating of authenticity - Iban ceremonial costume
with older forms of clothing and adornment, especially woven skirts and jackets (refer to Appendix C). At Nanga Stamang, there was a revival in making bark loincloths and jackets. Iban people, especially at Stamang, shared their ceremonial costume and jewellery to adorn dancers performing for tourists. Traditional tattoo designs, however, were seen only on older Iban men and women.

**Enjoyment of the longhouse visit**

On the survey form, tourists freely responded to one open-ended question about the most enjoyable feature of their longhouse visit. Many of these written comments relate to the tourist desire for authenticity, in particular what factors provided a meaningful experience of Iban longhouse culture. These visitor statements define authenticity as a genuine and worthwhile travel experience (MacCannell 1976; Pearce 1988). The responses mainly focus on situational authenticity or unique features of the longhouse destination. Other comments relate to behavioural authenticity, or the inner motivational needs of tourists realised on a longhouse package tour. Analysis of these comments reveals a more personal response to authenticity, beyond a standard set of Iban cultural markers.

The presentation of these tourist comments is based on the two-dimensional nature of authenticity identified by Vallee (1987). Of relevance to this study, Vallee's factor analysis linked situational authenticity with the statement 'Experiencing new and different lifestyles' (1987:61). The interpretation of this statement in the fieldwork setting will refer to the physical and environmental resources viewed by tourists on Iban longhouse tours. By way of contrast, behavioural authenticity was linked by Vallee to 'Experiencing a simpler lifestyle' and 'Rediscovering myself' (1987: 61). In the field context, this was interpreted as visitor actions, the realisation of visitor needs, and the personal links or meanings associated with the experience. These features, linked to each level of authenticity, provide a guide for this analysis of tourist responses to Iban longhouse tours. The present data includes written comments from tourists visiting Nanga Kesit (32), Serubah (29) and Nanga Stamang (103). Rather than comparing these longhouses, there is a focus on individual responses to Iban culture.
Tourist comments about the Iban longhouse visit referred to: 1) Meeting Iban people, 2) Iban lifestyle, 3) Aspects of the tour program, 4) Cultural adaptation, 5) the Natural environment, and 6) the Longhouse building. These features correspond to similar people or environment aspects included in Pearce and Moscardo's (1986) scenario-based presentation of holiday experiences highlighting different aspects of authenticity. In this context, tourist reactions to authenticity are analysed as either situational or behavioural (Vallee 1987). This combined approach takes a fuller account of tourist responses to authenticity, as written by tour participants and not the researcher. It particularly highlights the motivational aspects influencing the tourist experience of authenticity, features not readily apparent in other survey data. While other survey responses generate grouped or quantified results, this analysis allows individual tourist comments to stand out and be accounted for.

Most tourist responses were single comments, but some statements combined various features, mainly relating to Iban people and their longhouse lifestyle. Each cultural referent or stated characteristic of the longhouse destination is analysed individually. Simple, factual statements are taken as indicators of situational (place-related) authenticity. Tourist comments which indicate a closer experience of Iban culture, or the personal meaning of a longhouse visit, are analysed as indicators of behavioural (motivational) authenticity. Further cultural tourism research would support the reliability of this type of analysis.

For most tourists, the outstanding feature of a longhouse tour was simply meeting Iban people (Table 33). Memorable personal characteristics of Iban people included their friendliness, warmth, and openness towards tourists. At Nanga Stamang, the hospitality of Iban people and the genuine welcome extended to visitors were also much noted features. In contrast to these numerous personality-related statements, only one tourist at Nanga Kesit specifically mentioned the physical appearance of Iban people. A more personal response is indicated in tourist comments about social interaction with Iban people, and the feeling of being accepted.
Table 33. Tourist responses to authenticity - Meeting Iban people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nanga</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kesit</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The Iban are very friendly’</td>
<td>‘Mixing with the local people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘optimistic, jolly people’</td>
<td>‘Eating with a family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘warm &amp; friendliness of everyone’</td>
<td>‘Visit &amp; talk to a family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the old men, tattoos’</td>
<td>‘Being able to mingle with the Ibans’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Serubah** |               |
| ‘The warmth and friendliness of the Iban people - the feeling of being welcome’ | ‘Meeting and communicating with the Ibans’ |
| ‘The friendly cultural people’ | ‘Contact with the people’ |
| ‘The friendliness of the people and their genuine pleasure in having visitors’ | ‘To meet and talk together, especially in the evenings’ |

| **Nanga**   | **Stamang** |
| ‘The people, their friendliness. The way they greeted us as if we were special friends. Their enthusiasm for life’ | ‘The friendliness and willingness to accept you into family groups and activities’ |
| ‘Meeting the very likeable Iban people...Their hospitality & warmth was quite moving’ | ‘Interaction with such a nice people, always ready to have fun’ |
| ‘The friendliness of the people. I had the feeling that the Ibans, too, enjoyed our visit’ | Reasonably close contact with families and sharing their everyday experiences’ |

Selected quotes are used to illustrate each dimension of authenticity.
Total number of responses in each category = Situational (88), Behavioural (11)

In addition to meeting Iban people, tourists were keen to see and learn about the Iban way of life. Most comments reveal a general interest and curiosity about the Iban longhouse lifestyle (Table 34). Some tourists contrasted the uncomplicated Iban lifestyle with their own urbanised existence - ‘the style of life is different as our lifestyle, very easy’, or ‘People and his freedom’. At Nanga Stamang, tourists mentioned Iban people ‘living in harmony’ and ‘seeing people virtually unspoilt by “western” ideals’. Other more specific comments referred to the communal lifestyle, Iban family life, treatment of children, and the general cultural encounter. Personal responses to authenticity were indicated by tourist statements about sharing Iban life and close family relationships between Iban people.
Table 34. Tourist responses to authenticity - Iban lifestyle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Way of Life</strong></td>
<td>'To see the Iban's way of life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the natural way of life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'original lifestyle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The way of life in &amp; out the longhouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'being part of such a different lifestyle for a short time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'To really live with them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discover how nice life can be, just to live this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communal Lifestyle</strong></td>
<td>'How they live together and how they share everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Unity of people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The friendliness and community spirit of the Iban people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Witnessing a true communal spirit in action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Many poor but friendly and happy people are living under one roof and we will see never conflicts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Life, Children</strong></td>
<td>'They are lovely to the children. The children are never alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I loved to watch how women use to carry their babies everywhere they go. The children are beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'seeing such happy, contented children in a natural, loving environment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the evident loving bond between parents and children was most revealing. We in Europe could learn from this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture</strong></td>
<td>'Traditions and people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Insight into Iban culture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'An opportunity to know Iban culture and share their daily life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Meeting another culture, so close, and feel in one way you are a part of it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selected quotes are used to illustrate each dimension of authenticity.
Total number of responses = Way of life (31), Family Life/Children (8), Communal lifestyle (5) and Culture (5).

Tourist comments about the tour program mainly referred to activities including social interaction with Iban people (Table 35). Specific cultural activities mentioned were drinking rice wine, Iban dances, party games, the evening entertainment, and miring (blessing) ceremony. At Nanga Stamang, tourists commented on the special welcome given by Iban people, while at Nanga Kesit, one tourist mentioned shaking hands with the Iban. Other one-off cultural events, mentioned by tourists, were the Gawai Dayak feast at Nanga Kesit and the traditional Iban marriage experienced by a German couple at Nanga Stamang. The recreational activities most enjoyed by tourists were the longboat ride, as well as the jungle walk, fishing, and jungle picnic. Comments about social interaction with Iban people indicate a personal response to authenticity.
Table 35. Tourist responses to authenticity - Aspects of the tour program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Miring ceremony, rice wine’</td>
<td>‘playing games with the Iban people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The traditional dance and games’</td>
<td>‘ring game and interacting with the Iban people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘being there at Gawai feast’</td>
<td>‘them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘our traditional marriage’</td>
<td>‘Talking with the Iban people, dancing with them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Drinking rice wine’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Having the opportunity to observe specific activities eg basket weaving, carving, operating boat’</td>
<td>‘The evening entertainment, the games and dances and tricks we did together with Iban people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcome (Nanga Stamang only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Welcoming’</td>
<td>‘The reception given by the Iban, the way we were accepted, and the hospitality’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Very good welcome’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The welcome of the people’</td>
<td>‘We felt really like welcome guests’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selected quotes are used to illustrate each dimension of authenticity.
Total number of responses = Cultural activities (16), Welcome (10), Recreational activities (10)

Many tourists were curious to know about the modern day lifestyle of Iban people. Tourist comments about Iban cultural adaptation referred to modernisation, the lack of commercialisation, and observations regarding the impact of tourism. These statements incorporate aspects of situational authenticity mainly related to the longhouse destination. Other tourist comments on the personal significance of natural Iban behaviour, and the impact of tourism, highlight the behavioural dimension of authenticity (Figure 19). These more perceptive comments were recorded by female tourists (11 out of 14), with three other responses from men expressing similar sentiments to their female companions.

Figure 19. Authenticity and Iban cultural adaptation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situalional</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continued Iban lifestyle &amp; modernisation</td>
<td>Natural Iban behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern life, traditional Iban culture &amp; role in tourism</td>
<td>Impact of tourism (altered Iban behaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncommercialised; friendly Iban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncommercialised; cf. Hilltribes, Batak, Toraja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At Nanga Stamang, authenticity was linked to the continuation of a traditional Iban lifestyle, despite the use of modern consumer items.

Seeing people living nearly the same way they did for centuries, mixed up with modern things useful for them e.g. (for example) gas, pesticides, motor-saw.

(German teacher, female, 47)

I have great respect for their self reliance and the way they have so far been able to combine modernisation with their traditional lifestyle e.g. skills to navigate the Engkari river.

(Finnish designer, female, 63)

For one tourist at Nanga Kesit, the issue of authenticity in Iban culture was reconciled both with modernisation and the advent of tourism.

The opportunity to see how the Iban are combining “modern” life with the elements of their traditional culture that they either wish to preserve or feel it is important to preserve for tourism purposes.

(retired American teacher, female, 63)

For a British couple at Nanga Stamang, authenticity was linked to the absence of commercialisation and the warm welcome from Iban people.

It was also so very real & uncommercialised & the people friendly & as yet not affected by tourism.

(British social worker, female, 46)

The friendly welcome and acceptance of us in what appeared to be a genuine way - i.e., not done for tips.

(British personnel officer, male, 47)

For two Belgian tourists at Serubah, the experience of visiting an Iban longhouse was more authentic in comparison to other culture groups which are the focus of tourist attention around South East Asia.

Not as commercialised as hill tribes in Thailand, Batak around Lake Toba & even Tana Toradja (sic). Let’s make it stay still. (Belgian lawyer, male, 24)

Iban people don’t pursue visitors with handicrafts. They are reserved and have consideration for the tourist. So that’s very different from other countries

(Thailand, India, Indonesia). (Belgian teacher, female, 48)
At Nanga Stamang, some tourists equated authenticity with the natural behaviour of Iban people, as yet unaffected by tourism.

The naturalness that the people fell back into their work routine & worked around the tourists who stayed more than one day.

(American computer consultant, male, 32)

we should not influence the way in which they (the Iban) treat us at all.

(English nurse, female, 34)

Other tourists at Nanga Stamang had reservations about the impact of tourism on the Iban, with changed behaviour reducing authenticity.

It would be a great pity if these people were exploited under the guise of tourism. The culture becomes very shallow & false when high pressure tourist salesmanship takes over.

(Retired Australian woman)

The guide told us that visits in that longhouse have only started in April this year (1992). I’m afraid that in 2 years the longhouse people will have changed.

(German teacher, female, 43)

Such tourist comments indicate that authenticity is equated more with the behaviour of Iban people rather than physical features of the longhouse. This highlights the personal meaning of meeting the Iban.

Tourist comments about the natural environment referred to the Iban jungle lifestyle, or the beautiful rainforest and river scenery (Table 36).

Table 36. Tourist responses to authenticity - Natural environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jungle lifestyle</td>
<td>‘To find out how the natives live in jungle’</td>
<td>‘To make experience of living with Ibas in a jungle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Traditional Iban lifestyle (in a jungle)’</td>
<td>‘Their traditional way of life and their contact with nature’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Scenery</td>
<td>‘The river trip, the jungle, the unspoilt area’</td>
<td>‘Avoiding “civilised” towns. Getting back in touch with nature’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The rainforest’</td>
<td>‘Authenticity of environment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The river scenery was great’</td>
<td>‘Experiencing the serenity of the place &amp; the people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of these environment-related comments, except one, applied to Nanga Stamang. Iban contact with nature provided some tourists with a meaningful ‘back to nature’ experience. The spectacular scenery and unspoiltil area of the Engkari River impressed other tourists. Comments about the meaning of an encounter with nature indicate a personal response to this environmental aspect of authenticity.

The final category of tourist comments referred to the longhouse building and the longhouse lifestyle (Table 37). One tourist at Stamang mentioned the old appearance of the longhouse. Other tourists at Stamang mentioned the sounds heard in a longhouse, mainly domestic animals, as well as sleeping in the longhouse. For one tourist at Serubah, going ‘behind the scenes’ to visit a family room in the longhouse was a

Table 37. Tourist responses to authenticity - Iban longhouse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational</th>
<th>Behavioural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse building</td>
<td>‘To have seen it’ (the longhouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Longhouse building’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘the first impression, it looked like a museum’ (Nanga Stamang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Visit private room’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The visited longhouse was very pure and also very primitive’ (Nanga Stamang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse lifestyle</td>
<td>‘Silence of the children. Noise of the chickens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nanga Stamang only)</td>
<td>‘Sleeping in the (long) house and meeting the people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘To sleep in the longhouse and to wash in the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Falling asleep to all the noises of life in a longhouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The stay overnight with the noise of the dogs, cocks &amp; pigs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘To stay/sleep with these people in one (long) house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

highlight. Other personal comments refer to the simplicity of the longhouse building or rural Iban lifestyle.

These tourist statements indicate authenticity is both place-related (i.e. situational) and linked to the fulfilment of inner motivational needs (i.e. behavioural). The written comments further indicate that tourist perceptions of genuine Iban behaviour, and involvement in the lifestyle, plays a major part in determining an authentic experience of Iban longhouse culture.

Spontaneity and authenticity
Spontaneity overcomes the pre-arranged aspects of a longhouse tour. The unpredictable nature of spontaneous tourist/Iban behaviour generates a
sense of cultural adventure on each longhouse tour. In organised tourist settings, it is the element of spontaneity that gives authenticity the opportunity to occur (Boorstin 1961; MacCannell 1976; Vallee 1987). Spontaneous behaviour involves a spur of the moment decision by tourists to participate in some aspect of Iban life. Iban people also step beyond their tourist roles, to extend further hospitality or just to be themselves. This spontaneous behaviour, by tourists and Iban people, contributes to moments of authenticity within a tour.

Vallee (1987) has located the tourist desire to behave spontaneously in the behavioural dimension of authenticity. In his factor analysis, Vallee linked spontaneity with the statements, ‘Being free to act the way I feel’ and ‘Being daring and adventuresome’ (1987:61). In a cross-cultural encounter, this corresponds with tourists seeking to interact with indigenous people and participating in various aspects of the host culture. On Iban longhouse tours, several instances of spontaneous behaviour by tourists, and Iban people, were noted during field research.

Spontaneous tourist behaviour

More lively and outgoing tourists would spontaneously join in with Iban merrymaking. This adventure of spontaneity involved a range of Iban cultural activities. Some tourists participated quite enthusiastically in Iban dancing. At Nanga Kesit, three Danish men picked up a shield and parang to do their own version of a ‘warrior’ dance. At Nanga Stamang, two German women dressed up in Iban ceremonial costume and performed their own welcome dance (Plate 57). Also at Stamang, tourists danced disco-style with masked clowns.

A few tourists tried playing Iban musical instruments, usually after a dance performance. One Danish man in a group tour at Kesit tried playing the small gong set (engkerumong) (Plate 58). At Serubah, two Canadian women, and two elderly women from New Zealand, approached the female musicians to play on their gongs and drum. Three Italian tourists at Nanga Stamang joined in playing drums with Iban men. A British man who tried this rapid Iban drumming (gendang pampat) remarked, ‘I like the sound of these drums but I’m not very good at playing them!’ (Plate 59). Some female tourists at Kesit and nearby Lubok Subong also briefly tried beating on the Iban drums.
Plate 57. German women dancing at Nanga Stamang

Plate 58. Danish tourist playing small gong set, Nanga Kesit
Plate 59. Playing Iban drums, Nanga Stamang

Plate 60. Dutch woman mat weaving, Nanga Kesit
On a longhouse tour, there was generally little time or opportunity for hands-on involvement in craft making. Two tourists at Nanga Kesit briefly attempted some Iban craft making, with encouragement from their tour guide. A Dutch woman tried weaving some plant fibre strips into a new mat (*tikai bemban*) being woven in the gallery (Plate 60). A Danish woman in a group tour tried making loops in a nylon fishing cast net (*jala*), being mended by an Iban man.

At Nanga Kesit, tourists would often join in with Iban socialising by sitting down in the communal gallery (*ruai*) to share in drinking *tuak*, eating rice cakes, and smoking local cigarettes. This type of hospitality was initiated by Iban people at Kesit, who regularly invited tourists to sit down in the gallery. All the members of one Danish tour group sat down to drink rice wine, while a few people from other tours stayed behind in the longhouse to enjoy this hospitality, instead of returning directly to the guesthouse. Small groups with one tour guide enjoyed similar hospitality from an Iban man, Melina, inside his apartment (*bilek*) in Kesit longhouse. Five Japanese tourists sat down on Melina's lounge chairs but soon moved to sit on the floor with their Iban host.

At Nanga Kesit, some tourist groups drinking rice wine would join in with Iban men by calling out 'U-Ha' (Ho there!) as a drinking salutation. Normally, this call is repeated three times at the beginning of a prayer (*sampi*) to attract the attention of deities and ancestors (Richards 1981:321). At Serubah, the headman twice called out 'U-Ha' as a salutation, followed by reciting a short prayer. The call was made after a *miring* welcome ceremony held for tourists on the longhouse verandah. On the first occasion, the headman was dressed in ceremonial costume, the second time he wore casual clothing. With the headman, guide, and tourists all standing up, each held out a glass of rice wine and joined in calling out 'U-Ha' as a drinking salutation.

At the evening cultural show, some tourists provided entertainment for the Iban. At Serubah, Australian travel agents with the TDC 'Make it Malaysia' group sang 'Waltzing Matilda', a popular Australian folk song. A Canadian man initiated some magic tricks which soon had the full attention of all the Iban people gathered along the gallery. Three Italian tourists at Stamang sang 'Bella Ciao', with the bemused Iban joining in. At Kesit, a Japanese man with an instant picture camera became highly
popular as he took portrait photographs and gave these away to the Iban people depicted. Other tourists sent back photographs to be distributed to Iban people at the longhouse visited.

Spontaneous Iban behaviour
Iban people would spontaneously include some tourists in everyday events or special cultural activities. At Stamang, a German woman was given an Iban baby to hold. Guides at Serubah reported that one tour group entering the longhouse had a baby laid at their feet, the Iban way of asking for a blessing. At Kesit, during Gawai Dayak, tourists entering the longhouse were repeatedly offered a glass of rice wine by a waiting row of Iban women, part of the festive welcome. Also during Gawai Dayak, tourists were invited to join an Iban meal served inside a family room (bilek) for this special occasion (Plate 61).

At Serubah, a young Iban man spontaneously performed a rhyming song (pantun) farewelling tourists, as their longboat drifted slowly downriver. At Stamang, when the blowpipe demonstration began, one old Iban man crept up towards the foam target with a crouched stalking posture. Laughed at by other Iban people, he stopped this simulation of hunting with a blowpipe. At Kesit, a senior Iban man, Melina, performed a ritual libation in his apartment. Four Belgian tourists participated by each pouring some tuak into a glass. Melina then offered this tuak to the deities, by pouring it away through the floorboards while intoning a short prayer. Melina also trimmed some blowpipe darts (laja'), then gave these to three Japanese men as a memento.

At each longhouse, Iban people would spontaneously entertain tourists with unrehearsed and impromptu performances. This included Iban men, and some women, dancing in their everyday clothes, simply for enjoyment. Young Iban men frequently gave a solo display of martial arts (kuntau). At Stamang, mimed skits, masked clowns, a mortar dance (ajat lesong), drumming (gendang pampat), dancing by Iban children, and stately gong music (gendang raya) were all impromptu cultural performances. Iban people, young and old, also joined in playing a variety of games with visiting tourists. One Iban man at Stamang brought out a string puzzle for a British visitor to solve (Plate 62). The implication to be drawn from such outgoing behaviour is that these additional activities eventuated simply because the Iban seemed to be enjoying a tourist visit.
Plate 61. Iban lunch for tourists, Gawai Dayak, Nanga Kesit

Plate 62. Solving a string puzzle, Nanga Stamang
Special cultural events

At each longhouse, tourists joined in with Iban festivals or witnessed other traditional Iban ceremonies. These events were an integral part of Iban life, and seen by tourists if they happened to be visiting a longhouse at the right time. At Nanga Kesit, a traditional Iban wedding (*melah pinang*) was held from 11 to 12pm on the night of Gawai Dayak (31 May, 1992). After this ceremony, tourists were invited to join in with a Gawai Dayak feast served along the entire length of the communal gallery. Each Iban family prepared numerous food dishes and placed these on the mat covered floor in front of their apartment. Tourists and Iban people freely wandered along the gallery, sharing this food and rice wine. The festivities lasted till early morning.

Some spontaneous Iban cultural events were of a more serious nature. One travel writer at Serubah reported watching a healing ceremony, before the cultural show for tourists began.

Back in the longhouse, we watch an unusual healing ceremony for a sick man.
Round a collection of plates with food offerings on them, circles a medicine man, holding a live cockerel and muttering incantations. This is followed by a family group walking the length of the longhouse, chanting to the beat of hand-held drums. The healing ceremony will continue for three days, we're told.

(Doyle 1991:19)

During research work at Serubah, two different healing rites were performed for a married Iban woman; not witnessed by visiting tourists.

Iban *Gawai* or festivals took place at each tourist longhouse. At Kesit, the secular Gawai Dayak or new year celebration was followed by a *Gawai Batu* (Whetstone festival), to invoke success in the new rice farming cycle. Tourists joined in with *miring* rites and watched ritual drumming performances. At Stamang, a *Gawai Kenyalang* (Hornbill festival) was held on 10th July, 1992. One tourist was present during this festival, along with the branch manager of Asian Overland Services, who filmed all the ritual activities in this important Iban festival. Subsequently, one freelance guide began the cultural show at Stamang with a parade of the two hornbill icons used in the festival (Plate 63). The colourful hornbills were placed in front of tourists while the guide explained their cultural significance to the Iban.
Plate 63. Parade of hornbill icons, Nanga Stamang

Plate 64. Tourists bathing in the Kesit River
Other impromptu activities

Some activities were either accidental or unplanned events. At Serubah, during a miring rite, a rooster fell through the longhouse verandah after the head was sliced off with a parang. This incident was later followed by the near collapse of the verandah as 21 travel agents gathered on one spot for a group photograph, only to flee from the sagging bamboo platform. Both incidents were regarded as humorous by tourists and the Iban audience.

On another day, a group of Canadian tourists left Serubah with the headman and his prized fighting rooster. The headman was dropped off at the nearby town of Sri Aman for a cockfighting session. One Canadian tourist insisted on photographing the researcher standing next to the headman holding his rooster. My presence seemed to verify that Iban culture was still genuine and worthy of both tourist interest and anthropological study.

At Kesit, some environmental excursions happened quite spontaneously. After a jungle walk in the late afternoon, six tourists were taken further up the Kesit river for a swim in the cool, clear water (Plate 64). During one jungle picnic beside the Kesit river, an Iban family poling their longboat upriver were invited to join in with the tourist meal. Some Iban children usually came along with each jungle picnic or bathing trip. At the waterfall picnic site behind Nanga Stamang, the headman would climb up the waterfall on a rope, this feat emulated by two Australians. Five male tourists at Stamang caught small fish using a cast net (jala), rod and line, or a home-made spear gun.

Other Iban activities in which tourists became involved were very impromptu events. A Dutch couple, not long after they arrived at Kesit guesthouse, joined in with Iban boys playing a target game using rubber band slingshots. The next evening, the same couple discovered some Iban men roasting a pig under the guesthouse, and were invited to taste a few pieces of grilled pork. During the Gawai Dayak celebration at Nanga Kesit, a Swedish man joined a longhouse disco band, drumming until morning on a home-made drum kit. Two days later, a young Australian couple joined in with this ongoing longhouse disco.
At Nanga Stamang, a Swiss tourist joined young Iban men playing a game of *sepak takraw* in front of the longhouse. During one cultural show, after a mortar dance (*ajat lesong*), tourists held the 20kg wooden mortar in their outstretched arms to test its weight. A young Australian man then held the mortar in his teeth, as the Iban dancer had done. Some female tourists at Stamang were given a batik sarong to wear, after bathing in the river, dressing as the Iban women did. By following local practices, tourists could join in with everyday Iban life and achieve a genuine experience of Iban culture.

**Authenticity and spontaneity**

Spontaneous behaviour contributes to moments of authenticity within a longhouse tour. Despite the constraints of formal tour arrangements, some tourists and Iban people interacted in a more natural manner. This self motivated behaviour created opportunities for a more genuine and meaningful encounter between tourists and Iban hosts. ‘Certain travellers behave in patterns that induce the outcome of authentic experiences’ (Vallee 1987:61). Conversely, inappropriate tourist behaviour may invalidate authenticity by exposing ‘show’ or pretence in another culture. For tourists that spontaneously participated in cultural activities initiated by the Iban, however, authenticity was an actively pursued experience.

Other factors influence the likelihood of tourist spontaneity on longhouse tours. At Nanga Kesit, half of the independent (F.I.T.) and group tour travellers had spontaneous cultural encounters (Table 38). This result is based on field observations of tourist interaction with Iban people during guided longhouse tours. Friendly Iban people at Kesit longhouse willingly extended further hospitality to visiting tourists, mainly by offering rice wine and local cigarettes. Guides at Kesit also

**Table 38. The incidence of spontaneity on Iban longhouse tours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Longhouse</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Group tours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serubah</td>
<td>0 out of 15</td>
<td>48 out of 63*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Kesit</td>
<td>20 out of 40</td>
<td>19 out of 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang</td>
<td>14 out of 49</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mainly verbal 'interaction' at Serubah*
encouraged tourists to join in with Iban socialising, or try craft making. Another reason for this spontaneous hospitality may well be that Iban people at Kesit operate their own guesthouse and directly benefit from tourism.

At Serubah, however, guides did not encourage informal interaction between tourists and Iban people. The spontaneous group interaction at Serubah was mainly verbal: a salutation (22 people) or song (21 people). At Stamang, tourists were welcomed formally by the headman, then invited to wander around the gallery and verandah of the longhouse. Guides at Stamang encouraged tourists to join in with drumming, dancing with masked clowns, participate in party games, or to wear Iban ceremonial costume. Most tourists visiting Nanga Stamang freely joined in with Iban socialising.

**Adventure travellers: Finding authenticity**

Independent adventure travellers also pursue authenticity at two distinct levels. This is revealed in the personal accounts of backpackers visiting Iban longhouses on the Rejang and Katibas Rivers in central Sarawak. For backpackers, as with guided longhouse tours, a genuine encounter with Iban culture is defined by cultural markers or by personal meaning.

*Up the Rejang River*

Adventure travellers, mainly young backpackers, venture up the Rejang river and its tributaries to independently visit Iban longhouses (Kelly 1994). Travelling on their own, these backpackers are British, American, Canadian, German, Swedish, and other western nationalities. To visit an Iban longhouse, most follow the instructions given in the Lonely Planet guidebook for travelling 'Up the Rejang River'. 'Naturally, the more "authentic" longhouses are to be found on the upper reaches of the (Rejang) river, furthest away from "civilisation"' (Crowther & Wheeler 1988:264). After meeting a local guide, purchasing food and drink, then finding longboat transport, backpackers pursue their "authentic" Iban longhouse experience at different localities.

While resident at St. Thomas' guesthouse in Kuching, the researcher heard a dozen or so backpackers recounting their experience of visiting an Iban longhouse. These personal accounts are representative or typical of the backpacker quest to experience Iban longhouse culture away from
other tourists. The backpackers comprised two main groups, distinguished by the distance travelled up the Rejang River, amount of money spent, and the importance of their individual quest for authenticity. The first group of dedicated adventure travellers went beyond Kapit to visit more remote longhouses on tributaries of the Baleh River. The second group merely travelled a short distance up the Katibas River, from the town of Song, located on the middle Rejang River. In Kuching, backpackers told of their Iban longhouse adventure, without recourse to either photographs or souvenir handicrafts.

In Kapit, on the middle Rejang River, a young American man was approached by a local guide to visit an Iban longhouse. The charge was MR$300 for a four day trip, together with two other Swedish travellers. The trio spent one day travelling by longboat up the Baleh and Mujong Rivers. The chosen Iban longhouse had a zinc roof and people were in mourning. The American man was disappointed that he didn't see more "culture", or a traditional longhouse. However, he did see an old Iban man with tattooed hands, the "sign" of a headhunter. He further went on a fishing trip and gleefully described eating tadpoles. Memorable features were being away from other tourists, pulling the longboat through rapids, eating local food, and a sense of being involved in everyday Iban life.

A young British man spent MR$800 ($300 on boat fuel alone) for one week visiting a remote Iban longhouse on the Gaat River, another tributary of the Baleh River. He also went with a local Iban guide from Kapit. At the chosen longhouse, he saw the end of a mourning period, with wailing, drinking and music. However, he was excluded from seeing the erection of a tomb hut (sungkup) over the grave of the headman who had died. While at the longhouse he ate rice, sago and vegetables, and was invited to help with everyday tasks. The longhouse had a zinc roof, while the headman's room had a linoleum covered floor and a fridge, not plugged in. Returning to Kuching, he expressed his disappointment with seeing this modernised longhouse. Then, being realistic, he simply stated, 'I expected too much' (of unchanged lifestyles).

Katibas River Iban longhouse
Other backpackers visited an Iban longhouse on the Katibas River, a 20 minute boat journey from Song. Their contact was an Iban forest ranger who worked in Song and ferried travellers to his longhouse, of which he
was headman. Backpackers learnt of this Iban longhouse through word-of-mouth, or visited with a local guide (unlicensed) who targeted backpackers in Kuching. The Katibas River meets the Rejang River at the town of Song. Travellers simply hopped off the Rejang River express boat at Song, provisioned with food and gifts, and met up with the Iban forest ranger who provided longboat transport. The ranger's longhouse had a tin roof and mainly older people lived there.

A trio of women, Christina (German), Katherine and Diana (British), all backpackers who met in Kuching, independently visited this longhouse. Diana and Christina made a day visit only, while Katherine stayed on for two nights. The women each tried chewing betel nut, Christina continued until she felt 'high'. Other visitors were Claire (English) and Dario (Canadian) who came with a local guide from Kuching. Claire observed some mat weaving and spent one night at the longhouse. Dario stayed on for a few days, joining a hunting party, then participating in a Gawai Antu or festival for the deceased, held at this longhouse on the 28th November, 1992. Each backpacker was happy to have participated in some aspect of normal life at this longhouse.

Another German man first went up to Kapit, and was not willing to pay the MR$250 fee for a local guide to take him to an Iban longhouse. He then met a Spanish traveller who had just visited the ranger's longhouse near Song. The German man, and one other traveller, purchased gifts (MR$100) and returned downriver to Song. They stayed with the headman/ranger in his longhouse apartment, with a linoleum floor, TV, and lounge chairs, but ate their meals Iban-style, sitting on the floor. The travellers saw Iban dances and went out to the rice field. Happy with his longhouse experience, the German man had simply been interested to see everyday life and stay with an Iban family.

The Spanish traveller, mentioned above, first went on a group tour to an Iban longhouse but was not satisfied with this tourist encounter. Looking for a more meaningful experience, he then travelled up the Rejang River and stayed at the ranger's longhouse on his own. The Spanish tourist-turned-traveller found this second Iban longhouse visit to be 'more natural'. Authenticity was equated with experiencing everyday Iban life rather than organised tourist activities. For this traveller, the quality of
the personal encounter with Iban people mattered more than the physical appearance of the longhouse.

Experiencing authenticity
Adventure travellers also vary in their criteria for authenticity at Iban longhouses. Firstly, many backpackers prefer to be invited to visit a longhouse and actively seek to make contact with local people for this reason. The Iban forest ranger at Song and Iban guides at Kapit both provide this essential local ‘invitation’. Backpackers at Kapit, who paid for an Iban guide to take them up the more remote Baleh River, had a greater concern for physical authenticity and were more disappointed about not seeing a traditional Iban longhouse. For other travellers visiting the longhouse near Song, authenticity was linked with personal involvement and a meaningful encounter with Iban people.

Summary
For tourists at Iban longhouses, the search for authenticity is both place-related (i.e. situational) and linked to the fulfilment of inner motivational needs (i.e. behavioural). With Iban cultural markers, most tourists considered the longhouse building, Iban lifestyle, dances and costume to be traditional. Iban informants agreed these features were traditional, except for some changes to the longhouse building and lifestyle. Other tourist comments indicate a more personal response to authenticity, mainly based around meeting Iban people. Spontaneous behaviour, by tourists and Iban people, also contributes to a meaningful encounter. More outgoing tourists actively pursue authenticity by socialising or freely participating in Iban cultural activities. Iban people spontaneously offer further hospitality or include tourists in everyday or special cultural activities. Backpackers also evaluate authenticity in terms of traditional Iban cultural markers, or by the quality of their personal encounter with the Iban. The argument can be advanced therefore that tourists seek and respond to authenticity at two different levels.
Chapter 8. SARAWAK CULTURAL VILLAGE


(Brochure - Sarawak Cultural Village)

This chapter describes the tourist experience of Iban culture at the Sarawak Cultural Village. It begins by describing the physical appearance of the Iban longhouse, and the individual roles of Iban cultural demonstrators. Then it reviews guided tours given within the longhouse, and tourist participation in Iban cultural activities. Tourist responses to authenticity in Iban culture are mainly evaluated using a survey form, completed by 300 international visitors at the longhouse. The survey findings are reinforced by observations of tourist interaction with Iban people in the Village longhouse, and personal comments by tourists about their experience of Iban culture.

The Iban longhouse

At the Sarawak Cultural Village, the Iban longhouse is one of seven traditional ethnic houses built around a man-made lake. The Iban longhouse is situated beside the central lake, replicating a river setting. To reach this longhouse, visitors follow a loop detour along a narrow plank walk (Plate 65). The longhouse building is a low, wooden structure, built mainly of ironwood (belian). The overall structure is unusual in that it combines both traditional and contemporary architectural styles in one building. The traditional part of the longhouse, which tourists enter on a notched log ladder, includes two family rooms (bilek) and a parallel gallery (ruai). It has bark sheet walls and doors, and a springy floor made of nipong palm slats with rattan lashing. The adjacent modern section features a spacious hallway with a nailed and polished ironwood floor. Three private rooms in this section are used for staff accommodation. Tourists depart from the Iban longhouse down a staircase.

Political decisions influenced the final form of this Iban longhouse in the Cultural Village. Datuk Alfred Jabu, a prominent Iban politician in Sarawak, wanted a post World War Two style of Iban longhouse built, as well as more traditional rooms. The contemporary longhouse building is intended to show the Iban as modern and progressive. The whole longhouse is covered with an ironwood shingle roof, considered to be more sturdy and waterproof than atap thatching, and less 'primitive'.
Plate 65. Iban longhouse, Sarawak Cultural Village

Plate 66. Iban spirit hut (*langkau ampun*) near the longhouse
Iban craftsmen were brought from Betong (Saribas district, Second Division) to build this Iban longhouse in the Sarawak Cultural Village.

At the walkway junction, leading to the Iban longhouse, there is a small spirit hut (*langkau ampun*) with two carved figures (*engkeramba*) dressed in cloth, two other small abstract figures (*pentik*), and a platform for food offerings (Plate 66). I saw a clay bowl with new offerings - banana leaf, *ketupat*, rice, chicken feather, *sirih* betel vine leaf, cigarette wrapper, and *tumpih* cake. The carved figures and food offerings ward off malevolent spirits from the longhouse. Once a year a ceremony is held, with new 'clothes', food and drink for the carved figures, to cleanse and remove bad spirits. At the main entrance to the Iban longhouse, however, there is no face carved into the top of the log ladder, neither do any spirit offerings hang above the doorway.

On the left of the main entrance to the longhouse, there is a small wooden pen built for cockfighting. There were no demonstration bouts held while I was at the Iban longhouse, but fighting roosters were sometimes tethered near the entrance ladder during the day. The crowing roosters, and two wandering geese, give a rural atmosphere to the longhouse visit. Near the lake, an Iban boat painted with designs stands under a thatched roof shed. Few visitors venture down to the lake side, or look at this Iban boat.

An Iban garden grows near the main entrance to the longhouse. Food plants include papaya, banana, pineapple, rambutan, coconut, and jack fruit (*buah nangka*). Other useful plants are oil palm (*sabun*), bamboo, Areca palm (*pinang* or ’betel nut’), a reed plant (*senggang*), Cordyline or ’croton’ (*sabang*) with red and green leaves used for ritual decoration, and *Morinda citrifolia*, (engkudu) with the skin of the roots yielding a red dye used in *pua kumbu* textiles. Behind the longhouse, a vegetable garden contains sweet corn, bean, eggplant (*terong*), chilli, *sirih* or betel vine, a plant with edible leaves (*daun jangkut*), and Mangifera trees with sour fruit used for flavouring. At the far end of the longhouse, other plants include tapioca (*ubi*), rice, durian, yam (*keladi*), and a reed (*bemban*) with the stems peeled for mat weaving.

The vegetable gardens, crowing roosters, and 'other minutiae of daily longhouse life' contribute to 'a more authentic atmosphere' at the Iban
longhouse (Gocher 1992). From the main walkway, visitors see this vegetable garden, along with chicken coops and washing on the line, all signs of everyday life (Plate 67). Domestic pigs, however, are not kept at the longhouse for hygiene reasons and to avoid offending Muslim staff and visitors.

*Iban artefacts in the longhouse*

Inside the longhouse, various Iban artefacts are displayed around the walls, mainly in the traditional section of the building. This collection of Iban artefacts was organised by the Sarawak Museum, accession numbers are clearly visible on some baskets and wood carvings. Various woven mats (*tikai*) cover the floor, with the finest mats (*tikai bemban*) placed on the raised seating platform (*pantar*) in the gallery. Each family room (*bilek*) has a floor level kitchen hearth (*dapur*), other domestic utensils, and heirloom items (ceramic jars and plates, brassware). Backstrap looms, weaving equipment, dye plants, woven textiles (*sungkit, pua kumbu*), a jacket (*kelambi*) and silver headdress are also displayed inside the rooms.

Inside each family room, a narrow notched log ladder leads up into the loft. Stored in the loft are baskets, fish traps, bark rice bins, a wood hoe, a net trap for deer, sieve trays, winnowing scoops, a coil of rattan rope, a bark cone for holding honey, and bundles of plant fibre strips (bamboo, rattan, pandanus). Few tourists venture up into this loft area. Those who do are shown the fish traps and other devices, with an explanation of their function or use.

Out on the gallery, domestic Iban artefacts are displayed where they were normally stored or used. The functional items include hunting and fishing equipment, musical instruments, weapons, ritual objects (bard staff, hornbill carving, masks), and wooden paddles. Deer antlers, brass cannon, masks, and woven caps are placed on the support posts. Other items are stored in the rafters: these include a wooden baby 'cradle' (*wa' anak*) and a bat net. Beside the *bilek* wall are two rice mortars, and a rice mill. There is a space left in the ceiling to accommodate the swinging pestle pole when pounding rice.

In the centre of the traditional gallery, firewood smoulders in a hearth, the smoke rising into a ring of trophy skulls (Plate 68). The six black plastic skulls nestle between bunches of decorative leaf strips (*daun isang*). Two monkey skulls, adorned with pig tusks, and a bunch of
Plate 67. Domestic garden behind the Iban longhouse

Plate 68. Replica trophy skulls in the longhouse gallery
monkey bones hang below this ring. According to Edric Ong, the Village architect, there was a taboo against placing real skulls in the longhouse so plastic replicas were used instead. Some guides in the Iban longhouse admitted these were imitation skulls, though one claimed the skulls were over one hundred years old!

Several masks are displayed on support posts in the gallery. Four older masks are of dark wood, either plain or with facial features outlined in white paint. Five new masks are made from yellow wood, some have fangs and a long red tongue. The new masks were carved by Ubang, a senior Iban man and former employee at the longhouse. One 'devil' mask, representing a sago ghost, has a name and date written on the forehead - *Antu Tendoh Pengaruboh Pun Mulong* 1992. These new Iban masks were for sale (MR $50-$70).

Decorative artefacts are placed around the hallway in the contemporary section of the Iban longhouse. The outer wall is hung with six large *pua kumbu* textiles, to display the striking designs. Two hour-glass drums (*ketebong*) hang on support posts, while six small gongs and a painted shield decorate the end wall. On the *bilek* wall is a map of Sarawak showing 'Areas of concentration of the Iban', flanked by palm leaf hats (*tanggi*) decorated with beadwork and strips of cotton cloth. Hanging from the ceiling of the hallway are 14 empty bamboo-strip baskets, normally used to hold food offerings.

White paper cut-outs of an Iban design adorn the upper walls, while shaved wood poles decorate the rafters. There are four 'mobiles' in the ceiling, consisting of rattan rings with hanging wooden 'leaves' (*lilap*) painted in bright colours. Other decorative wood 'leaves' hang in the ceiling of the traditional gallery, and out on the open verandah (*tanju*). These wooden 'leaves' (*lilap*) originally hung on the carved hornbill icon used in a *Gawai Kenyalang* (Hornbill festival). Other flat, painted 'hornbills' decorate the tops of poles placed along the verandah and near the main entrance. This decoration gives a festive atmosphere to the Iban longhouse.

Four backstrap looms are set up along the hallway, where Iban women sit weaving. At the far end of the hall, there is a painted cross pole hung with small ritual baskets (*garong*) used in a *Gawai Antu* festival. A *pilih*
woven textile is draped over one cross bar. Another decorative pole, by the doorway, has a coconut face, wood skull, and five woven packets each in the shape of a chicken, hanging from it. These are clearly more fanciful tourist decorations.

For display purposes, the Iban longhouse has track lighting with spotlights, fluorescent light tubes, and plastic power points. A fire extinguisher and fire control chart hang on the end wall of the traditional gallery. Where tourists enter the longhouse there is a low wooden desk where visitors get their Village passport stamped. Some tourists hear the sound of a phone ringing or a Tamil Indian movie on television, coming from private rooms in the modern section of the longhouse. Inside the second family room, a sign advises tourists to 'Exchange 1 coupon for 1 piece of rice cake (kuih jala). Another notice advertises rice wine for sale - 'Tuak $6.00 one bottle'.

Iban staff sell souvenirs in the longhouse. These are mainly plastic bangles and rings, made by Iban women and displayed on a ceramic plate or low wooden stand. Other souvenir items include purses, key rings, small woven caps, carved walking sticks and trap markers. New pua kumbu textiles and woven skirts are also displayed for sale on the walls of each family room. There are no prices marked on these craft items. Sales depend on tourist interest, with no bargaining over the asking price.

*Iban cultural demonstrators*

Cultural demonstrators working at the longhouse include Iban weavers, dancers, and musicians (Table 39). Six older Iban women, aged 40 to 50, sit at backstrap looms to demonstrate Iban textile weaving techniques. These include kain karap, or weaving with metallic thread (Plate 69), sungkit, using coloured cotton threads to embroider patterns on the loom, and pua kumbu, with ikat tying (kebat) and weaving warp ikat designs dyed in cotton (see Plate 75). The oldest Iban woman, Peni (aged 60), makes rice cakes (kuih jala) using a gas cooker. Other Iban women assemble bead collars (marik empang) on a hat base or weave bamboo strips in decorative patterns. These Iban women all wear a pua print sarong and blouse as a work uniform.

Two or three young female dancers perform an Iban welcome dance (ajat indu') for longhouse visitors (Plate 70). They each wear a pua print
Plate 69. Melie demonstrates karap weaving

Plate 70. A welcome dance (ajat indu') for tourists
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Cultural activities</th>
<th>Home area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iban Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoi ak Sangap</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain karap</em></td>
<td>Sri Aman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca ak Jalak</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain sungkit</em></td>
<td>Lubok Antu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gindu ak Linsum</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Ikat tying: <em>Kebat</em></td>
<td>Saratok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10th Sept.-14th Oct.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Pua Kumbu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tol ak Galeh</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain karap</em></td>
<td>Sri Aman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Basketry: Bamboo strips</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melie ak Ganja</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain karap</em></td>
<td>Lundu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Basketry: Bamboo strips</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedang ak Ngelana</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain sungkit</em></td>
<td>Lubok Antu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peni ak Saoh</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Cook rice cakes: <em>Kuih jala</em></td>
<td>Tebon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamak ak Marajan</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Weaver: <em>Kain karap</em></td>
<td>Kota Samarahan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selina ak Akai</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td>Kota Samarahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulina ak Tanjong</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat indu’</em></td>
<td>Sri Aman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginju ak Mat</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat indu’</em></td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bead collar: <em>Marik empang</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie ak Ibin</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat indu’</em></td>
<td>Kota Samarahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iban Men</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedek ak Bujang</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Headman or <em>Tuai Rumah</em></td>
<td>Kota Samarahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tour guide</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat lesong</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Musician: gongs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kintang ak Elin</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Musician: gongs &amp; drum</td>
<td>Kota Samarahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tend hearth fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keristter ak Maja</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat lesong/bebunoh/pahlawan</em></td>
<td>Rejang River/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tour guide</td>
<td>Balingian,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Musician: gongs, flute</td>
<td>Bintulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstrate: trap, hand drill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilfred ak Edward</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat lesong/bebunoh</em></td>
<td>Mejong,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skrang River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dickson ak Bundak</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dancer: <em>Ajat lesong</em></td>
<td>Serian/Simunjan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Iban cultural demonstrators, working in the Iban longhouse, included 5 female dancers (4 Malay, 1 Bidayuh), and 3 male musicians, all Malay.

(Note: ‘ak’ is an abbreviation for anak, Iban for ‘child of’).
sarong, a black sleeveless blouse, and a bead collar. Some eight different women, aged 18 to 26, took their turn at performing this welcome dance. By ethnic origin, these women were Malay (4), Iban (3) and Bidayuh (1). Most of the dancers fill their time making bead collars, while one Malay woman wove two sashes (*selampai*) on a backstrap loom. Tourists assume the dancers are Iban.

Only three Iban men are full time staff working at the Iban longhouse. The current *tuai rumah* or headman of the longhouse is Dedek anak Bujang, known as Edmund. He welcomes visitors to the longhouse, stamps their Village passport, conducts tours, and occasionally dances in the theatre show. Dedek lives at the Iban longhouse, together with his wife Selina and their baby son, Frederick. When at work, Dedek wears maroon or black pants, with a *pua'* print jacket or a long ikat woven coat (both sleeveless), and a woven cap. Dedek also makes rice wine (*tuak*) for sale, and unpicks woven skirts (*kain sungkit*) to sell as textiles in the longhouse.

Most tourists at the Iban longhouse meet Keristter anak Maja, an enthusiastic young man, who wears colourful traditional costume. His outfit includes a loincloth, silver belt and bracelets, bead necklaces, hooped calf rings, and a woven cap. Keristter has long hair tied in a bun, with a straight fringe falling over a shaved forehead. He is the only young Iban man I saw in Sarawak with this traditional hair style. Keristter lives at the Iban longhouse. He cheerfully welcomes all visitors to the longhouse, takes guided tours, plays gong music for dancing and demonstrates artefacts in use. These include setting a spring trap, using a hand drill, top spinning, and playing a bamboo flute (Plate 71).

Keristter dances twice daily in the theatre show (Appendix C). Before leaving the longhouse, he embellishes his costume by adding a beadwork seat mat, sword, a decorative bead rope with bells, and other jewellery. Occasionally, Keristter wears imitation tattoos stamped on his legs (see Plate 79). Two other young Iban men occasionally perform in the theatre show. They either fill in or join Keristter in a mortar dance (*ajat lesong*) or warrior dance (*ajat bebunoh*). These men work as cultural demonstrators in the other ethnic houses. At the Iban longhouse, Malay men also work as musicians, playing gongs or drums.
Plate 71. Keristter playing a bamboo flute (kesuling)

Plate 72. Food offering under a weaving loom
An old Iban man, Kintang anak Elin (aged 76), is a general handyman
around the longhouse. He tends the wood fire smouldering in the
hearth, plays gongs or a drum to accompany dancing, and participates in
demonstration cockfighting bouts, when these are held. During the
research period, Kintang carved a wooden gong beater, and added a rim to
a basket. Kintang wears black trousers, a pua print shirt, and a woven cap.
Two other senior Iban men, Ubang and Albert Jarau, had recently retired
from working at the Iban longhouse. Ubang carved several new wooden
masks, and two hornbills, on display in the longhouse, while Albert
carved wood block tattoo patterns for printing 'tattoos' on arms and legs.

Most of the Iban cultural demonstrators commute daily from Kuching to
work at the Village. They are mainly urban, Christian Iban, though some
retain ties with their original longhouse. Traditional beliefs still persist.
Bedang observes Iban rituals and taboos for ikat tying and weaving pua
kumbu textiles, in order to demonstrate this activity open to public view.
Melie placed a plate of food offerings under her karap loom, to invoke
spiritual help in weaving ritual designs (Plate 72). To remedy a bad
dream, Dedek placed food offerings in the spirit hut and his room in the
longhouse.

Daily life in the longhouse
Iban people working in the longhouse carry on with ordinary activities,
despite the presence of tourists. Sitting in the gallery, Kerisitter gave
Dedek a back massage using a rattan ring and oil. Tourists arriving in the
longhouse saw this traditional massage technique. The young baby
Frederick, Dedek and Selina’s son, could often be seen in his wooden cot
placed on the gallery. Washing was hung out to dry on the verandah,
including ikat skirts and jackets. Other items drying on the verandah
were firewood, balls of yeast (ciping) used for making rice wine, the
yellow roots of a jungle plant (tungkat ali) used as a male aphrodisiac,
and a new goat skin bought by Kerisitter to wear as a shoulder cape. One
group of tourists with Dedek saw these items.

Iban staff often sit near each other, to converse while working or relaxing.
Kerisitter and Kintang both smoke local Iban cigarettes, while Peni chews
betel nut. Various domestic activities took place in the gallery, seen by
passing tourists. One afternoon, Dedek trimmed the leaf sheath from
stems of the senggang plant, rolling these into fibre coils hung in the
gallery to dry. Over several days, Keristter made a black and yellow beadwork design, of a stylised human face, to decorate a new headdress. Keristter's mother, who stayed for a week in the longhouse, wove a headband as a base for this beadwork design.

**Authenticity of cultural presentations**

Cultural activities at the Iban longhouse highlight a former way of life and the tradition of skilled weaving. Some modifications are made for tourist presentation of Iban culture (Table 40). These include wood frame looms, women weaving all day, and regular performances of Iban dance and music. The dance performances are choreographed for a tourist audience (refer to Appendix C). At the longhouse, a contrast is made between old and new architectural styles, and changes to the Iban way of life. In the traditional section, women weave and cook in the family rooms, while men occupy the gallery. In the modern section, women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>SCV Iban longhouse</th>
<th>Rural Iban longhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ikat tying</td>
<td>Lemba' plant fibre</td>
<td>Plastic twine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pua kumbu textile</td>
<td>Store-bought cotton</td>
<td>Store-bought cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vegetable dyes</td>
<td>Aniline or vegetable dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woven in family room</td>
<td>Woven out on gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observe rituals &amp; taboos</td>
<td>Observe rituals &amp; taboos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Displayed on walls</td>
<td>Stored until festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sungkit, Karap &amp; Pua weaving</td>
<td>Wood frame loom</td>
<td>Loom rolled up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women weave all day</td>
<td>Women weave after work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketry</td>
<td>No mat weaving or basketry</td>
<td>Mat weaving &amp; basketry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weave coloured bamboo strips</td>
<td>Weave coloured bamboo strips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practised by women</td>
<td>Practised by women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuih jala cakes</td>
<td>Made using a gas cooker</td>
<td>Made using a gas cooker</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Exchange coupons for cakes</td>
<td>Cakes eaten at festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gong music</td>
<td>Male musicians</td>
<td>Male &amp; female musicians</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Gendang raya to entertain</em></td>
<td><em>Gendang raya for festivals</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing (women)</td>
<td>Group dance</td>
<td>Solo dance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choreographed steps</td>
<td>Individual steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Instant' dance for tourists</td>
<td>Dance at festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solo or duo dance</td>
<td>Solo dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parang held up in mouth</td>
<td>Parang held sideways in mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dance twice daily</td>
<td>Dance at festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perform on theatre stage</td>
<td>Dance in longhouse gallery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Guided longhouse tours
All tourists who visit the Iban longhouse have a fairly similar experience of Iban culture. At the walkway junction leading to the longhouse, tourists pause to read a large sign describing the main features of Iban culture. This sign, written in English, introduces the Iban: their Festivals and Ceremonies, Iban weaving, Head Trophies, Heirlooms jars, Tomb hut, Pig-Traps Charms (sic), Gong Ensemble (Music), and Hornbill Festivals. Moving on, tourists enter the Iban longhouse on a notched log ladder (Plate 73). A Liaison Officer welcomes visitors to the longhouse before they hand over their Cultural Village passport to be stamped and signed by an Iban man (Plate 74). The Iban longhouse passport stamp features a logo of an Iban woman dancing (see Appendix I).

After this formality, Keristter cheerfully informs tourists they are now 'safe from (Iban) headhunters'. Children, and some women, are sometimes given a tattoo stamp on the back of their hand. After this 'check in' procedure, tourists are led on a guided tour of the Iban longhouse. Most of the tours are conducted by a Liaison Officer, with Keristter, Dedek, and Martina (a dancer) giving tours as well. During fieldwork, the main Liaison Officer was a Malay woman, who also compered the theatre show. Other fill-in Liaison Officers were two Iban women, and a Bidayuh man. Each guided tour follows a set route in the Iban longhouse (Figure 20).

Standard longhouse tour
During a tour of the longhouse, visitors see Iban weaving, cooking, and beadwork demonstrations, along with various artefacts. A typical tour of the Iban longhouse lasts, on average, about 15 minutes. Each tour begins in the traditional section of the longhouse. In the first family room, tourists are shown gourds used to fetch and carry water, a kitchen hearth with firewood stacked on top, ceramic plates and brass trays stored on wall racks, tall Chinese jars, and a ladder leading up to the loft. The guide mentions the use of traditional building materials: bark sheet walls, rattan, and a palm wood floor.
Plate 73. Tourists entering the Iban longhouse

Plate 74. Dedek stamping a Cultural Village tourist 'passport'
Figure 20. Standard tourist route in the Village Iban longhouse
The main craft activity in the first room is ikat weaving. Tourists watch Gindu, or Bedang, demonstrate either ikat tying, or weaving a pua kumbu textile (Plate 75). Linked with this ikat process, tourists are shown dye plants, strips of lembo’ fibre used in tying warp patterns, and a finely patterned old pua kumbu textile hanging on the wall. Leaf cuttings from Iban dye plants - indigo (tarum) and a tree (engkerbai) yielding a brown dye - stand in jars. These cuttings from dye plants were regularly replaced.

Few tourists climb up the narrow notched log ladder to look around the loft. During fieldwork, a Swiss man and a Scottish woman went up into the loft, above the first room, with encouragement from a friendly Liaison Officer. In this loft, Dedek showed the Swiss man bamboo fish traps, a bark cone for holding honey, bark firebrands, a rattan rope, and a deer net. Other tourists stand on the bottom of this ladder and peer into the loft, without going up.

Tourists then move into the second family room, stooping to walk through a low gap in the bark dividing wall. They look at Rebecca as she demonstrates sungkit weaving, wrapping colourful cotton threads into the weft or passing a shuttle through to fix the pattern in position. Some tourists bend down to look at the underside of this sungkit textile, to see the completed design. A small piece of sungkit weaving, or a beautiful sungkit jacket with elaborate designs, is shown to visitors. Along the back wall, tourists look at a silver headdress, and the ikat designs on a partially woven pua kumbu textile.

Moving over to the kitchen hearth, at the front of this room, tourists watch Peni cooking a rice cake (kuith jala) (Plate 76). Using a coconut shell scoop with holes, Peni lets the cake mix drain slowly down, moving this scoop in a circular motion over a wok, while beating the handle with a small stick for an even flow. The rice cake cooks in a circle of many strands, which Peni folds in half, then lifts out to drain. Some visitors accept a rice cake directly from Peni, though most exchange a coupon for an Iban rice cake, which they promptly eat. A few tourists are given a taste of tuak, brewed at the longhouse. Male tourists often purchase a souvenir bottle of Iban rice wine.

Stepping out onto the traditional gallery, tourists look at a bunch of trophy skulls, and the smouldering hearth fire directly below. They may
Plate 75. Weaving a pua kumbu textile

Plate 76. Peni cooking rice cakes (kuh jala)
pause to listen as gong ensemble music is played. Tourists then sit or stand to watch two or three young women perform an Iban welcome dance (ajat indu'). Standing in a line, or in a 'V' formation, the women simultaneously perform choreographed dance movements. This brief welcome dance is performed either in the gallery or hallway, before tourists move on.

The guide informs tourists they are now stepping into a more contemporary style of Iban longhouse, built since the second World War, and made from ironwood planks. In this hallway, tourists look at Selina making a beadwork collar, then at Melie as she demonstrates karap weaving, using metallic gold thread to weave Iban designs. The guide holds up a woven skirt (kain karap) for tourists to handle and admire. Three other Iban women also demonstrate karap weaving. Souvenir crafts are displayed for sale in front of each weaver. Tourists look at the weaving, or souvenir items, then leave the longhouse.

A longhouse tour with Keristter

In his longhouse tour, Keristter shows visitors more traditional artefacts and also demonstrates objects in use. In the first room, Keristter indicates a broom sweep made of rib stems from coconut fronds and, occasionally, holds up a clay pot traditionally used for cooking in. While explaining the pua kumbu and sungkit weaving, Keristter verifies that Iban women 'use a pattern from their own mind'. In the next room, he offers some tourists a taste of Iban rice wine. Out on the gallery, Keristter refers to 'the skulls of our enemies', while smoke rising from the hearth fire provides spirit protection and keeps mosquitoes away. He further explains the ritual or everyday use of other items: wooden masks, rice mortars, a hornbill icon, parangs, and gongs.

Standing by the end wall, Keristter points out carved fish floats, a blowpipe, and bamboo quiver with darts. He takes two trap charms (tuntun) out of a bark holder to explain how they mark the height of traps (Plate 77). Next, Keristter loads and activates a spring trap (peti') mounted safely on the wall. Keristter often picks up a hand drill and walks out onto the verandah to demonstrate how to use it. Placing the metal bit in a wood plank he rotates the drill, using a hand-held bar with a string device (Plate 78). Back in the longhouse, Keristter points out the shaved wood poles, decorating the rafters, and brings tourists over to a
Plate 77. Keristter with Iban trap markers (*tuntun*)

Plate 78. Keristter using a hand drill
wall map showing Iban areas in Sarawak.

A longhouse tour with Keristter is both animated and lively. Tourists seem to be impressed by his knowledge and traditional appearance. It appears that tourists respond to the pride in his culture and concern for showing Iban traditions in the correct manner. Some visitors ask Keristter about his traditional hairstyle, silver jewellery, and beadwork designs on his seat mat and loincloth. With his friendly nature, tourists often ask Keristter further questions about Iban culture or his own life. On the wall map, Keristter points out the location of his home longhouse near Bintulu. He may also demonstrate top spinning in the hallway. With these extra activities, Keristter's longhouse tour goes for 20 to 30 minutes.

**Experiencing Iban culture**

Tourists at the Cultural Village further enjoy an Iban dance performance in a twice daily theatre show. Within the longhouse itself, other tourist encounters with Iban culture may include impromptu music, hands-on participation in crafts, or spontaneous socialising with Iban staff. Taking photographs or purchasing souvenirs is a minor activity for most tourists.

**Iban dancing: Theatre show**

Three types of male Iban dances are performed during the 'grand finale' theatre show (Appendix C). These include a solo warrior dance (*ajat pahlawan*), the mortar dance (*ajat lesong*), performed with a 20kg wooden rice mortar (Plate 79), and a combat dance (*ajat bebunoh*) involving two men, each with a shield and sword. The Iban dance is usually the second item presented during the one hour multi-ethnic Sarawak theatre show. A compere introduces each main ethnic group and explains the meaning of each dance performance. Amplified gong ensemble music accompanies the Iban dancing. Several women in Iban costume perform simple steps behind the male Iban dancer.

Tourists from the audience are usually invited to try the Iban mortar dance. The female compere selects two male visitors, who join the Iban dancer on stage. Here, the tourists emulate basic dance steps demonstrated by the Iban performer (Plate 80). This includes hopping sideways, swivelling around with the knees bent, bounding, waving the
Plate 79. Keristter performing a mortar dance (*ajat lesong*)
Note the imitation tattoos stamped on his legs.

Plate 80. French tourists try Iban dancing in a theatre show
arms, or yelling in a fierce manner. The tourists then kneel down to pick up the mortar in their teeth. Some quickly drop the mortar, while others stand up with the mortar in their mouth. With this feat, the compere announces that they are 'recognised as an Iban warrior now'. After tourists leave the stage, Iban men perform the mortar dance. With tourist participation, this mortar dance segment lasts for 15 minutes.

**Impromptu Iban music**

Some musical performances in the Iban longhouse are impromptu events. During my visit, five large gongs were hung from the rafters, around the edge of the platform in the gallery. Three Iban men, and one dancer, played a low booming melody on these five hanging gongs (*gendang raya*), to entertain visitors in the longhouse. This type of gong music is normally played on ritual occasions. The men also played a similar melody on three large gongs.

Lively gong ensemble music accompanies Iban dancing, or is played while tourists walk around the longhouse. Often, one man would play both hanging gongs, striking out the different rhythms. One rainy afternoon, the Iban women also played gong ensemble music, for their own entertainment. Occasionally, Kerister played a long bamboo flute (*kesuling*) while sitting in the gallery (see Plate 71). A Japanese man stopped to listen to this gentle music, then had his photograph taken with Kerister playing this flute.

**Tourist participation**

In the longhouse, tourist involvement with Iban culture is mainly initiated by the guide. I saw only a few tourists participate in a small range of Iban cultural activities. At the entrance desk, four children and three women received a tattoo stamp on the hand. Two Swiss women also had a brinjal flower tattoo put on their shoulders. Most tourists ate an Iban rice cake, while just six tourists tasted some rice wine. Two young boys tried operating the hand drill, with some help from Kerister. Six children tried playing gongs, while two girls joined in with Iban dancing. A Japanese man, and a Chinese woman from Singapore briefly tried Iban dancing, mainly to be photographed. In the hallway, a British woman threaded some beads into Selina's beadwork collar, watched by her children.
Other more spontaneous involvement with Iban people occurred on only two occasions. A Belgian woman began with the standard longhouse tour then chose to stay in the gallery with Keristter. Her attention was drawn by Keristter making a beadwork design near the gallery doorway. Sitting on the floor, she drank rice wine and smoked Iban cigarettes, while chatting with Keristter and Dickson (Plate 81). Both men wore casual clothes on their day off. Fascinated with Keristter's conversation, this young Belgian woman spent two and a half hours in the Iban longhouse. Another British man also enjoyed some impromptu hospitality with Keristter, after being held up in the longhouse during heavy rain. Keristter brought out a bottle of rice wine, served drinks, and chatted with this British tourist for 50 minutes, until the rain cleared up. These tourists enjoyed a typical form of Iban hospitality.

Photographs and souvenirs
At the longhouse, tourists mainly photographed or took video film of animated Iban weaving, dancing, cooking, beadwork, and musical activities. Some took pictures of the trophy skulls. Popular tourist snapshots were Dedek in a feather headdress and Keristter with his colourful traditional costume. A few tourists were photographed while playing gong music or dancing with the young women. Other tourists preferred a quick souvenir photograph with Iban staff (Plate 82). The male Iban staff were not photographed with weapons, nor asked to pose as 'warriors' by the tourists.

Few tourists bought souvenirs in the longhouse. The most popular souvenir item was a bottle of rice wine, purchased by male tourists, some couples, and a few women. The shiny plastic bangles and rings, made by Iban women, were mainly bought by Asian tourists and a few western women. An American woman, on a group tour, bought a beaded sun hat for MR$80, made by Keristter's mother. Wooden masks, woven textiles and bead collars were also for sale but not often bought. Tourists paid the asking price with no bargaining. Most visitors simply looked at the displays of craft items, without being pressured to buy anything.

Tourist questions
Tourists at the Sarawak Cultural Village have a fairly structured encounter with Iban culture. This includes a limited range of craft activities within the longhouse, and Iban dance in the theatre show.
Plate 81. Belgian tourist chatting in the longhouse
Authenticity through personal involvement

Plate 82. Souvenir photograph with Iban staff
Authenticity through Iban cultural markers
Tours of the longhouse also focus on explaining craft activities rather than meeting Iban people. Inside the longhouse, Iban staff are seen only working as cultural demonstrators, and are not introduced to visitors. Iban family life and social relations between Iban people working in the longhouse are not mentioned to visitors (refer to Appendix D).

However, some tourists manage to go 'behind the scenes', by asking personal questions about Iban life. This often happens during a longhouse tour with Keristter or Dedek. In response to visitor questions, both men talk about their own life and discuss Iban culture in more detail. By moving beyond the standard craft tour, and asking questions, tourists hear and learn about everyday Iban life by talking with Iban staff. Through conversation, visitors achieve a deeper and more meaningful experience of Iban culture.

**Locating authenticity: Tourist responses**

Tourist opinions about authenticity are evaluated using survey responses to select aspects of Iban culture. This survey was conducted from 17th September to 31st October (1992) in the Iban longhouse, with 300 respondents. The dual nature of authenticity - linked to Iban cultural markers or personal meaning - is examined by comparing two distinct groups of tourists at the Sarawak Cultural Village. Tourists in Group A, comprising 77 respondents, had been on a guided Iban longhouse tour before visiting the Village. Tourists in Group B, comprising 82 respondents, indicated they were joining a longhouse tour after visiting the Cultural Village. The purpose of comparing Group A and Group B respondents is to establish whether there are any significant differences in tourist responses to situational and behavioural dimensions of authenticity, at the Village Iban longhouse. Tourist reactions to both aspects of authenticity are therefore evaluated in a staged cultural setting.

**Importance of authenticity**

The majority of tourists sought a genuine experience of traditional Iban culture at the Sarawak Cultural Village (Table 41). Authenticity was considered to be either very important or fairly important for 90% of tourists. Expectations of authenticity are slightly higher when the Cultural Village is a 'first visit' attraction (Group B), but moderate for tourists who had completed a guided Iban longhouse tour (Group A). A neutral response to authenticity was more pronounced among Group B.
tourists, perhaps keeping an open mind about this experience. Only four tourists, two from each Group, attached little or no importance to authenticity in Iban culture at the Village. In this review, authenticity is evaluated by comparing the quality and depth of the tourist encounter with Iban culture, for Group A and Group B respondents.

*Presentation of Iban culture*

Tourist satisfaction with the Village presentation of Iban culture provides a general 'measure' of authenticity (Table 42). The level of satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, is an indirect way of gauging tourist responses to

### Table 42. Tourist satisfaction with Iban culture, Sarawak Cultural Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Generally satisfied</th>
<th>Partly satisfied</th>
<th>Little satisfied</th>
<th>Not satisfied</th>
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<tr>
<td>LONGHOUSE</td>
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<td>Group A</td>
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<td>Group B</td>
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<td>Group A</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>LIFESTYLE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Group B</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>CRAFTS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

Group A: Completed an Iban longhouse tour, Group B: Joining an Iban longhouse tour
authenticity in Iban culture. On a survey form, tourists rated the Iban longhouse, costumes, dances, lifestyle and crafts on a scale ranging from 1 (not satisfied) to 5 (very satisfied). Group A tourists gave a lower response rate, at the level of 'very satisfied', to Iban crafts and especially Iban lifestyle. Group A tourists, 22 out of 27 respondents, were also more likely to be dissatisfied with their Village experience of Iban culture (refer to Appendix D). Conversely, Group B tourists had a higher level of satisfaction with all of the Iban cultural factors, especially costumes. For them, authenticity was linked with seeing Iban cultural markers.

*Experience of Iban culture*

Tourists further nominated the main factors contributing to a genuine experience of Iban culture at the Village longhouse (Table 43). These general responses to authenticity, involving significant Iban cultural features and people oriented factors, were ranked from one to four in order of importance (Appendix B). Being in an Iban longhouse is the main authenticating factor for both Group A and B tourists. For Group A tourists, however, the second indicator of authenticity is 'Friendly Iban people', while 'Longhouse activities' (crafts etc) rank second for Group B tourists. The same factors, in reverse order, provide the third marker of authenticity for each tourist group. The fourth ranked factor, conveying authenticity, is gong music (Group A) or traditional costume (Group B). Overall, Group A tourists exhibit a stronger response to personal involvement while Group B tourists focus on dance and costume.

| Table 43. Tourist experience of Iban culture, Sarawak Cultural Village |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Ranking** | **Group A** | **Group B** |
| First | Being in a longhouse (44) | Being in a longhouse (33) |
| Second | Friendly Iban people (30) | Longhouse activities (26) |
| Third | Longhouse activities (14) | Friendly Iban people (16) |
| | Personal involvement (12) | Ngajat dances (11) |
| | Textile weaving (9) | Personal involvement (8) |
| | Traditional costume (8) | Human trophy skulls (5) |
| Fourth | Gong music (15) | Traditional costume (15) |
| | Human trophy skulls (10) | Textile weaving (14) |
| | | Tour information (12) |

Group A: Completed an Iban longhouse tour, Group B: Joining an Iban longhouse tour
Rating of authenticity

One survey question specifically asked tourists 'How authentic was your experience of Iban culture?' Tourists located their response on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (not authentic), to 5 (partly authentic), and 10 (very authentic). Twice as many Group B tourists considered their experience of Iban culture to be very authentic, as compared to Group A tourists (Table 44). Moreover, seven Group A tourists considered their experience of Iban culture to be lacking authenticity, compared to just one Group B tourist who felt this way. Four tourists qualified their rating with comments such as 'authentic?', 'How would I know?', 'As far as I know', and 'Unfortunately I have no experience to compare with' (see also Appendix D). A Belgian woman commented that the Village tourist experience was partly authentic 'if you pass through the longhouses without talking to people', or very authentic 'if you take time to talk to people'; she spent over one hour talking with staff in the Iban longhouse.

Table 44. Tourist rating of authenticity in Iban culture, Cultural Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating scale</th>
<th>Not authentic</th>
<th>Partly authentic</th>
<th>Very authentic</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Group B</td>
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Group A: Completed an Iban longhouse tour, Group B: Joining an Iban longhouse tour

Group A tourists link authenticity with the quality of their personal encounter with Iban people, while Group B tourists consider authenticity in terms of visible features of Iban culture. Previous interaction with Iban people, during a guided Iban longhouse tour, predisposes Group A tourists to seek authenticity through personal contact rather than through viewing Iban cultural markers. A few tourists, such as the Belgian woman mentioned above, intrinsically evaluate authenticity in terms of personal interaction with Iban people, and actively pursue this type of close experience. The daily life and personal background of Iban people working in the Village longhouse (Munan 1991) is in itself a vital and authentic feature building a genuine visitor experience.
The tourist experience of Iban culture at the Sarawak Cultural Village illustrates that authenticity can be found in a recreated setting. Contributing factors include the physical appearance of the Iban longhouse, the animated cultural activities, friendly Iban people, and outgoing tourist behaviour. In particular, the tourist need for authenticity is satisfied in two main ways. Group A tourists with prior experience of Iban culture, on a guided longhouse tour, seek authenticity through personal involvement. This included asking questions, and chatting with Iban staff in the longhouse. Other Group B tourists, yet to join a longhouse tour, equate authenticity with physical markers of Iban cultural identity. They focus on craft activities and other visible features of Iban culture. This significant difference in tourist responses, at the Village Iban longhouse, therefore provides further support for the behavioural and situational dimensions of authenticity.
Chapter 9. CONCLUSIONS: AUTHENTICITY AND TOURISM

'Our search for authentic cultural experience - for the unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional - says more about us than others' (Handler 1986:2)

The purpose of this research was to evaluate tourist responses to authenticity in Iban culture at the Sarawak Museum, Sarawak Cultural Village, and during guided Iban longhouse tours. While investigating tourist reactions to Iban longhouses, in different settings, it also identified key factors in tourist requirements for authentic cultural encounters. These included tourist perceptions of traditional aspects of Iban longhouse culture, along with factors promoting spontaneous, genuine and worthwhile tourist experiences. In particular, this study examined how "authenticity" is shaped by the interaction between tourist responses to the various physical longhouse settings (situational), and through tourists fulfilling inner needs (behavioural).

This field research on Iban longhouse tourism elaborated on the concept of authenticity, from a tourist perspective. It evaluated tourist responses to the situational and behavioural aspects of authenticity (Vallee 1987). Exploring these two main dimensions of authenticity, as place-related or meeting personal needs, encapsulates the main tourist encounters with Iban culture in Sarawak. The following conclusions summarise how tourists responded to both aspects of authenticity, at Iban longhouses in different settings. The tourist experience of authenticity was linked with marketing of Iban culture, on-site cultural presentations, social factors, environmental experiences, and spontaneous behaviour. The theoretical implications of this study are also discussed, including future research needs for the study of cultural authenticity and sustainable tourism.

Dimensions of authenticity

The presentation of authenticity in Iban culture is a changing affair. Significant elements of authenticity vary between official and commercial tourism agencies, and different travel companies, in their packaging of Iban culture and Iban longhouse tours. The predominant emphasis on presenting only staged aspects of Iban culture is giving way to a new 'emergent authenticity' (Cohen 1988) based on social interaction with Iban people, and experiencing the natural environment. This approach is diverting tourist attention away from ethnic authenticity and moderating the need to experience only traditional Iban culture. Tourist responses at
Iban longhouses substantiate this current trend to achieve a realistic encounter with Iban people, their longhouse lifestyle and contemporary Iban culture in Sarawak.

Tourist images of the Iban are still largely based on exotic cultural markers rather than contemporary features. Travel articles describe Iban cultural activities organised for tourists, though reviews of Iban longhouse tours on the Ulu Ai River focus on the natural environment. Guidebooks present the historic or colourful aspects of Iban culture, largely ignoring modern features now found at longhouses. Alternative guidebooks though, such as Lonely Planet and the Culture Shock series, inform tourists about everyday Iban life. Borneo adventure travel books describe social encounters with Iban people at rural longhouses, and the impact of modernisation. Iban postcards, however, largely feature posed costume portraits of Iban people, and staged cultural activities. These variable images of the Iban influence tourist responses to authenticity.

Tourist brochures selectively use authenticity as a marketing strategy to sell Iban longhouse tours. Malaysia and Sarawak both promote Iban longhouses as a unique cultural attraction, with a current emphasis on ecotourism. Commercial tour brochures in Kuching and Singapore feature the Iban way of life, though many also refer to headhunting. Some Kuching tour operators now emphasise environmental experiences with Iban people. In Malaysian brochures, Rejag River Iban longhouse tours are presented as remote, basic, 'back to nature' and hence more authentic. Australian brochures describe organised Iban cultural activities (mass market travel) or feature social involvement with Iban people ('individual' and adventure travel) in longhouse tour itineraries. New ecotourism operators emphasise sharing daily life with Iban people. Behavioural aspects of authenticity are promoted to new travel markets.

The Sarawak Museum affirms authentic Iban culture through display techniques rather than a personal 'voice'. Exhibits present an historical view of Iban culture, seemingly little changed by modernity. Authenticity is communicated through open display, multiplication of objects, photographs, and labels explaining cultural use or meaning. The Iban are represented by artefacts or historic images, rather than as named individuals or by personal accounts of Iban life. Tourists also construct their own meanings for Iban exhibits. With the replica Iban longhouse
rooms, despite the use of natural building materials, many tourists deferred their rating of authenticity until visiting a rural longhouse. Likewise, the human trophy skulls on display were either too abundant, or evidence of 'authentic' Iban culture. These varied tourist reactions indicate authenticity is not tied to the object itself, but is developed as a personal response, dependent on prior experience of Iban culture.

The authenticity of Iban culture on longhouse tours depends on the content, format and presentation of each activity. Tourists at Serubah experience an object oriented tour and very limited interaction with Iban people. At Nanga Kesit, longhouse tours focus more on Iban people and their daily activities. Guides encourage social interaction, where tourists sit down with Iban people, drink rice wine, and enjoy a closer experience of Iban life. At Nanga Stamang, tourists sleep in the longhouse, mingle with Iban people, and share in the lifestyle. Longhouse tour programs include modified Iban rituals (mirimg ceremony, ritual chant, drumming, gong music, cockfighting, wedding), revived Iban customs (dancing, social songs, clowning, martial arts, mimed skits, blowpipe use), outdoor excursions (jungle walk, jungle picnic, fishing), and new tourist activities (craft sale, games). These tourist events are based on Iban cultural traditions, though performed in a new context for a foreign audience.

Companies conducting Iban longhouse tours use diversionary strategies and extra activities to draw tourist attention away from signs of modernity. Tour guides highlight traditional features of a longhouse, especially trophy skulls. Some 'substantive staging' (Cohen 1989) has occurred, with a single skull placed in Kesit longhouse, and thatch replacing the tin roof of Stamang longhouse. There is a growing emphasis too on environmental activities, with jungle walks or a jungle picnic now included in many longhouse tours. At Kesit and Stamang, tour operators also include party games to provide further entertainment and encourage social interaction with Iban people. The tourist focus is drawn way from Iban culture per se to more personal involvement.

The tourist experience of authenticity in Iban culture is specific to the longhouse destination and social involvement with Iban people. This corresponds with the situational and behavioural dimensions of authenticity identified by Vallee (1987). With cultural markers, most tourists considered the longhouse building, dances, costumes and, to a
lesser extent, Iban lifestyle to be traditional, especially at Nanga Stamang. Iban informants agreed that these features were still largely traditional. Other tourist statements indicate a more personal response to authenticity, with meeting Iban people central to the experience. Authenticity was further enhanced by social interaction, the natural behaviour of Iban people, environmental experiences, and the absence of overt commercialisation on longhouse tours.

The element of spontaneity or acting on impulse also contributes to a meaningful encounter between tourists and Iban people. More outgoing tourists actively pursue authentic experiences by joining in with Iban activities: dancing, beating gongs or drums, playing games, or wearing Iban costume. Lively Iban people, especially at Nanga Kesit, often involve tourists in socialising or other impromptu activities in the longhouse. Backpackers also equate authenticity with seeing traditional features of Iban culture, in more remote areas, or by the depth of their personal encounter with Iban people. Tourists on Iban longhouse tours, and backpackers, respond to authenticity in Iban culture at two main levels.

Tourists at the Sarawak Cultural Village can find authenticity within the recreated Iban longhouse. Physical factors include the longhouse itself, built of natural materials, with a smouldering hearth fire, and typical artefacts. Iban vegetable gardens, poultry, and a rainforest backdrop complete this realistic setting. At the longhouse, tourists encounter friendly Iban staff, animated cultural activities (weaving, beadwork, cooking), and domestic Iban life. Guided tours in the longhouse focus on craft activities rather than meeting Iban people. Some Iban guides, resident in the longhouse, convey more personal information about Iban culture. Staged Iban dances and souvenir crafts contrast with the personal experience of eating rice cakes or tasting rice wine made at the longhouse.

Tourists at the Village Iban longhouse experience authenticity at two levels. Visitors with prior experience of Iban culture, on a longhouse tour, tend to pursue authenticity through personal involvement. They spend more time in the longhouse, interact socially with Iban staff, and are more dissatisfied with the Cultural Village presentation of Iban lifestyle. Such tourists seek meaningful contact, by learning about the daily life and personal background of Iban staff working in the longhouse. Other tourists, yet to join a longhouse tour, link authenticity with
physical markers of Iban cultural identity, especially dance and costume. This key difference in responses to Iban culture, for each visitor group, highlights the behavioural and situational dimensions of authenticity.

The main contribution of this study has been to provide further insights into aspects of authenticity by examining actual tourist experiences at Iban longhouses. Analysis included a review of Iban travel literature and tourist encounters with Iban longhouses in different settings. Various tourist responses to Iban culture have been described, the issue of authenticity examined in a 'real life' setting, and important trends identified. 'Situational' tourists link authenticity with seeing traditional markers of Iban culture, such as trophy skulls and tattooed Iban men. 'Behavioural' tourists develop personal meaning out of their encounter with Iban people, mainly through social involvement. Most Iban longhouse tours, along with the Sarawak Museum and Cultural Village Iban exhibits, focus on physical markers of Iban culture. Tourist responses though indicate authenticity is now linked with social and environmental experiences and a personal encounter with Iban people.

This field study of Iban longhouse tourism supports Vallee's (1987) analysis of authenticity comprising situational and behavioural dimensions. It extends Vallee's research by reviewing tourist reactions to visible features of related Iban longhouse settings, and by linking personal responses to authenticity with specific activities or social behaviour. The situational and behavioural aspects of authenticity are therefore evaluated in a specific cultural context. In so doing, the present study provides a dynamic account of how authenticity derives from the interplay between tourist responses to longhouse settings, and tourists finding personal fulfilment through Iban culture. This field research supports Vallee's (1987:67) claim that behavioural or motivational aspects have greater importance than the situational dimension, for defining authentic tourist experiences. Identifying the relative importance of each dimension of authenticity, for different tourist groups across a range of cultural settings or experiences, is one area for future research.

**Authenticity and tourism research**

The tourist experience of cultural authenticity at Iban longhouses clearly occurs at two distinct levels. Tourists actively participate in the social construction of authenticity, while responding to the longhouse
destination and Iban people, or meeting their own inner needs. The marketing and presentation of Iban culture provides a framework for tourist action, by establishing markers of authenticity and worthwhile travel experiences. Within this social context, tourists engage in various levels of authenticity-seeking behaviour at Iban longhouses. Tourists negotiate a meaningful social response to authenticity based either on Iban cultural markers, or by self motivated interaction with Iban people.

Variable tourist responses to Iban culture support the claim by Cohen (1988) that authenticity is a negotiable idea rather than a fixed concept. The social need to experience authenticity is influenced by the longhouse setting and by tourist motives. Other determinants include prior experience of Iban culture, the style of guided tours, display techniques (Sarawak Museum), opportunities for social interaction, and moments of spontaneity. Authenticity is therefore not an immutable concept, linked to physical features, but is derived instead from a social context. Iban people, Sarawak cultural institutions and tourism agencies engage in this social presentation of authenticity. Within this context, international tourists seek a meaningful experience of Iban culture in Sarawak.

The social realisation of authenticity is a dual process. Tourist responses, on guided Iban longhouse tours, highlight either place-related features or more personal motivations. This division provides fieldwork verification for the situational and behavioural dimensions of authenticity identified by Vallee (1987). The situational component involves tourist perceptions of the longhouse setting, including Iban behaviour, as either genuine or not genuine. Tourist satisfaction with the cultural setting promotes reflection on meaningful aspects of a longhouse tour. This behavioural dimension relates to the fulfilment of inner needs, with the tourist experience of Iban culture facilitating self-realisation or emotional satisfaction. 'An authentic experience...is one in which individuals feel themselves to be in touch both with a "real" world and with their "real" selves' (Handler & Saxton 1988:243). This key premise centrally defines the tourist search for cultural authenticity.

Tourists looking for 'surface' authenticity focus on situational features while more personal responses indicate a need for 'deep' authenticity arising from meaningful encounters. The tourist experience of authenticity therefore involves both outer-directed evaluation of physical
features and the realisation of inner-directed benefits. At both levels, tourists select meaningful elements of cultural authenticity to search for and then confirm or realise through direct experience. These significant elements include cultural, social, or environmental factors and they may change in relative importance during the course of an Iban longhouse tour. Tourist encounters with Iban culture may also involve spontaneous behaviour, impromptu activities or special events, with this unexpected element conferring a gift-like quality to authenticity.

A dual approach is more flexible in accounting for the range of social responses shaping the tourist experience of authenticity. A genuine encounter with Iban culture is defined according to what tourists believe constitutes authenticity. This includes the objective assessment of Iban cultural markers and more subjective responses manifest in tourist behaviour or comments. These overt actions include spontaneous tourist involvement in Iban culture, outgoing Iban behaviour, and guided tours which encourage social interaction with Iban people. The occurrence of these social or cultural features alters the tourist experience of authenticity. At Iban longhouses, tourists can move from a concern with cultural markers to a more personal experience of Iban culture.

This dual approach partially supports Pearce and Moscardo's (1986) model of four tourist 'scenes', emphasising the role of both people and places in tourist settings. Their model expands on the physical definition of tourist space (Cohen 1979a; MacCannell 1976) by including the idea that authenticity can be achieved through relationships with people in tourist settings. Pearce and Moscardo assert that 'it is the relationship between the tourist and the host which determines authenticity' (1986:129). This field study of tourist encounters with Iban people illustrates how social relationships contribute to the tourist experience of authenticity. Tourists at Iban longhouses can achieve authentic cultural encounters through participation in social activities, and routine aspects of everyday Iban life.

While Pearce and Moscardo (1986) describe a range of host-guest encounters, those involving extended social interaction are one category. Their use of holiday scenarios (1985) or tourist accounts (1986) to examine tourist responses to authenticity gives a more static view of visitor interaction with local people in a limited range of settings. The present
study provides a dynamic account of tourist interaction with Iban people and Iban culture in a range of social situations and longhouse settings.

One main deviation from Pearce and Moscardo's (1986) model is the social significance of people-related authenticity. They use these tourist-host encounters to define the authenticity of people involved in tourist settings. Instead, fieldwork analysis suggests that tourists use social relationships to confer authenticity on the overall cultural encounter. A preliminary focus on cultural markers may be replaced by social interaction with local people as the main criterion for authenticity. Personal participation by tourists can transform events and characters from a superficial encounter to a more meaningful experience. Social interaction with Iban people is therefore a significant aspect contributing to the tourist experience of authenticity.

Further research on cultural tourism would confirm when and how these people-related variables are important in defining authenticity. There is a need to consider the character of varied tourist settings and the range of cultural encounters. The various opportunities for social interaction between tourists and their indigenous hosts, in different cultural settings, then need to be described and elaborated. The social or behavioural dimension of authenticity needs to be further explored, especially the element of spontaneity and the development of personal meaning. In discussing what constitutes an authentic tourist encounter, 'ways of evaluating "meanings" come into play' (Getz 1994:328). Identifying key features defining a genuine tourist experience would enable comparison between different attractions presenting indigenous cultures to visitors.

The role of authenticity in tourism can be developed through cultural and social analyses (Ehrentraut 1993; Hollinshead 1993; Squire 1994). There is a need to give further depth to the meanings and values tourists ascribe to cultural experiences with indigenous people. Similar research in other cultural locations would lend credence to the central claim that tourists actively engage in the social construction of authenticity. Other related studies of cultural tourism would also provide further support for the two main levels or dimensions of authenticity. The relative importance of these situational and behavioural dimensions (Vallee 1987) could also be determined for different cultural settings. This would
enable comparison between locations with differing levels of tourism, monitor changes over time, or be linked to varying styles of tourism.

Research Implications
The search for cultural authenticity is best revealed in survey responses, reinforced with observations of tourist behaviour. Empirical data provide a framework to measure authenticity, with tourists identifying and rating elements which contribute to a genuine cultural encounter. Using a standard question format enables comparison between different groups of tourists or related attractions, in response to the varying need for cultural authenticity. These survey responses, however, may not clearly confirm when and how different tourists experience cultural authenticity. The participant observation of tourist behaviour, in various cultural settings, may thus provide a more complete overview of the authentic moment (Errington & Gewertz 1989; Seewuthiwong 1989).

Open-ended survey questions allow tourists to comment on meaningful or enjoyable aspects of guided cultural tours (Moscardo & Pearce 1989). These tourist comments reveal a more personal response to authenticity, beyond a standard set of cultural markers. Effective interpretation of these statements includes the physical and environmental resources viewed by tourists, in contrast to personal comments on the realisation of visitor needs and the personal links or meanings associated with the experience. Similar research of this type, based on tourist comments, would support the reliability of this qualitative analysis (Pearce & Moscardo 1985).

A more informed analysis of tourism is achieved by analysing a wide range of tourism and travel-related literature (Dann, Nash & Pearce 1988). The present study reviewed 'authentic' Iban culture as portrayed in travel articles, guide books, adventure travel books and postcards, along with 'official' tourism promotion material and a variety of travel brochures. This method expands on tourist responses to indigenous hosts or a particular type of cultural experience, beyond the time and place constraints of select field work localities. Cohen (1993) re-examined tourist images of indigenous people by comparing their representation in printed media, advertisements, souvenirs, art, and in cultural events. To avoid creating or perpetuating cultural stereotypes, Cohen proposed this image review should be related to 'the sociological study of the tourists themselves' (1993:42). The present study linked tourist images of Iban
culture, in popular and commercial literature, with tourist responses to authenticity at different Iban longhouses. Field research indicated tourist experiences differ from stereotype images of the Iban.

There is wide scope for more applied research on tourist perceptions of authenticity in a range of cultural settings. In particular, there is a need for more information on tourist responses to cultural authenticity in museums (Ross & Carment 1989). The Canadian Museum of Civilization, for example, aims to 'substitute the authenticity of the visitor experience for the authenticity of the "real" object' (Ames 1992:159). Display techniques include replicas, simulations, performances and electronic media mixed with real objects to provide Museum visitors with near-authentic experiences. Tourist opinions on the authentic presentation of indigenous cultures in museums need to be evaluated for varied exhibition devices and across a range of museum settings (Vogel 1991). The impact of virtual reality devices may alter the visitor belief of what is genuine, with a virtual native American longhouse planned for the Vancouver Museum (Statham 1993). Authenticity should also include the personal meaning of cultural exhibits for museum visitors.

Tourist perceptions of authenticity merit further investigation in cultural villages or heritage centres portraying indigenous cultures. This extends previous research on historic or cultural theme parks (Moscardo & Pearce 1986; Stanton 1989). It should include tourist rating of historical or cultural accuracy for visible features including the overall setting, buildings, activities or demonstrations, and people working in the cultural village. Further evaluation of authenticity should include tourist reactions to role play (Moscardo & Pearce 1986), the type of guided tour, and other interpretive devices, including whether or not staff wear ethnic costumes for visitors (Morgan 1993). Examining these features would provide insight on tourist interaction with staff, the credible presentation of indigenous cultures, and other personal aspects of authenticity.

Key factors influencing tourist reactions to authenticity need to be further described and elaborated for guided cultural tours visiting indigenous people in varied locations. Survey-based research should evaluate tourist perceptions and satisfaction with select destination features, and open-ended visitor responses describing enjoyable aspects of the cultural tour (Moscardo & Pearce 1989). A specific survey question could further ask
tourists which features they perceive as inauthentic, including arts and crafts (Moscardo & Pearce 1989), cultural dances (Hughes 1991), behaviour of the hosts, visible features of the destination, tourist food or activities. A full account of tourist responses may involve interviewing non-participants on reasons for not joining these guided cultural tours (Dearden & Harron 1994). The relative importance of social, cultural and environmental factors in authenticity also require further investigation; comparing tourist opinions with those of indigenous hosts (Sofield 1991).

**Authenticity and sustainable tourism**

Maintaining cultural authenticity is central for sustainable tourism among indigenous peoples. With hilltribe trekking tours in northern Thailand, the links between authenticity and sustainability include changes in the cultural attraction, and changing motivations of travellers (Dearden & Harron 1994). Adaptive strategies are adopted by trekking companies, and by tourists, to redefine cultural authenticity (Figure 21). Methods employed by the tourism industry include moving to new locations, staging authenticity at hilltribes villages, adding new recreational activities, or building new cultural attractions. Trekker motivations have also changed to emphasise 'the experience of the trek itself, rather than a concern purely with the ethnic authenticity of the hilltribes' (Dearden & Harron 1994:95). Adaptation ensures sustainability.

Figure 21. Authenticity and adaptive change: Hilltribe trekking tours
These adaptive strategies reflect the two main dimensions of authenticity. Changes in the physical appearance of hilltribes people and their villages relate to situational authenticity, while the changing motivations of trekkers correspond to the behavioural dimension of authenticity. At Iban longhouses in Sarawak, the maintenance of cultural authenticity is following a similar dual path, for sustainable tourism in this setting. Situational responses include the Engkari River as a new tour destination, arranged presentations at Iban longhouses, the inclusion of social games and environmental excursions in longhouse tours, and development of the Sarawak Cultural Village as a new visitor attraction. Behavioural responses by tourists highlight social interaction with Iban people and the personal meaning of a longhouse tour, for authenticity.

The issue of sustainable tourism and cultural durability can be related to the dual nature of authenticity, for both hilltribe trekking and Iban longhouse tours. Authenticity is a socially constructed feature in tourism. As with guided cultural tours, similar adaptive changes may well apply in other staged cultural settings. Tourists respond to the content or presentation of displays and also develop personal meaning for the exhibits. Museum displays should incorporate an indigenous 'voice' and portray contemporary aspects of indigenous cultures, including tourism. Cultural Villages may rely on non-costumed interpreters, encourage tourist involvement and focus on meeting local people (Morgan 1993). These adaptive changes would promote sustainability in culture as a tourist attraction, enhancing visitor fulfilment in varied cultural settings.

'New tourism' and authenticity

Tourist responses to the behavioural dimension of authenticity at Iban longhouses can be linked with the current trend towards 'new tourism'. Poon (1993) identifies 'new tourism' as travel involving discovery, new experiences, learning, and personal enrichment. This 'new tourism' is a reaction to the routine packaging of mass tourism and the current impact of high technology on leisure and society. New tourists seek 'more natural, more authentic and "down-to-earth" vacations', where the holiday emphasis is on personal fulfilment. For new tourists, 'vacations need to be more than just escape mechanisms: there will be a need to be, rather than to merely exist, and demand will be generated for true recreation possibilities' (1993:120). At Iban longhouses in Sarawak, many tourists now link authenticity with fulfilment of inner needs.
These personal responses to authenticity at Iban longhouses reflect what is socially significant in the post modern 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990). Tourist interest and select travel marketing has moved beyond staged Iban cultural activities to focus on everyday Iban life, contemporary Iban culture, and personal involvement. The environmental setting and social interaction with Iban people now feature in this new 'tourist gaze'. The wider focus of this contemporary 'tourist gaze' is seen in the content of recent guidebooks and tour brochures targeting new travel market segments. For post modern tourists, cultural encounters at Iban longhouses largely provide a setting for the realisation of inner needs.

Tourist perceptions of authenticity highlight this trend to 'new tourism'. Visitor responses link authenticity with the real or direct experience of contemporary Iban lifestyle, while the tourism industry still mainly links authenticity with traditional Iban culture. Iban longhouse tours could be re-marketed as a social experience of living Iban culture. By promoting authenticity through personal involvement, the task of achieving a direct and spontaneous experience of Iban culture is placed on the tourist. The longhouse setting becomes the location for experiencing authenticity, rather than a fixed set of cultural markers which must be seen. A genuine cultural encounter is then shaped by behavioural aspects of authenticity.

Field research conducted at different Iban longhouses has provided information on tourist criteria for authenticity that can be used to enhance the visitor experience of Iban culture. In particular, tourist responses have indicated that authenticity comprises situational and behavioural dimensions. For many tourists, achieving a genuine encounter with Iban culture is now linked with social or environmental experiences, and a need for personal meaning, rather than just seeing traditional cultural markers. Meeting this need for personal fulfilment in cultural encounters is central to 'new tourism'. Through Iban longhouse culture, tourists in Sarawak seek both a real world and their real self.
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  Iban Ceremonial Costume
  Iban Dance: Sarawak Cultural Village

APPENDIX D: Tourist Responses to Iban Culture
  Finding Authenticity: Iban Longhouse Tours
  Evaluating Authenticity: Sarawak Cultural Village

APPENDIX E: Visitors Guide to a typical Iban Longhouse

APPENDIX F: Ecotourism at Iban Longhouses
  Asian Overland Services

APPENDIX G: Sarawak Museum
  Newspaper review
  Visitor statistics

APPENDIX H: Museums and Authenticity

APPENDIX I: Sarawak Cultural Village
  ‘Passport’ entry, Iban longhouse
  Visitor statistics, 1992

APPENDIX J: Newspaper Articles
  ‘The longhouse goes upmarket’
  ‘Promoting Sarawakian culture in European market through ngajat’
APPENDIX A

Research in Sarawak

Sarawak Research Permit
Malaysia Research Permit
This administrative form has been removed
This administrative form has been removed
APPENDIX B
Data Collection Forms
Sarawak Museum Visitor Survey
Iban Longhouse Visitor Survey
Sarawak Cultural Village Visitor Survey
Visitor Surveys in Sarawak

Three international visitor surveys were completed in Sarawak in 1992. The cultural location and number of respondents for each survey were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarawak Museum</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban Longhouse Tour</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawak Cultural Village</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These visitor surveys were administered by the researcher at each location, with the forms completed by international tourists able to read and understand English. This appendix includes copies of the survey forms used and a profile of survey responses for each cultural attraction. Further details on field survey methods at each location are given below.

Sarawak Museum
This survey was conducted in the old Sarawak Museum building, with a table set up near the entrance/exit stairs on the upper floor. Visitors were approached after viewing the ethnographic exhibits and replica Iban longhouse rooms in this part of the Museum. International visitors willing to participate in this survey sat at the table to complete their survey form. Conversational interviews were also held with respondents during and after completion of the survey form. These included visitor responses to Iban cultural exhibits in the Museum and personal accounts of visiting Iban longhouses in Sarawak. All completed visitor survey forms are kept in the Sarawak Museum Reference Library.

Iban Longhouse Tours
International visitors on guided Iban longhouse tours were surveyed in two main ways. Firstly, survey forms were handed directly to visitors by the researcher, during fieldwork at Serubah and Nanga Kesit longhouses. The forms were completed by tourists on the morning of their departure, either at the guesthouse or during the return bus journey to Kuching. In the second survey method, tour guides were asked to distribute this survey form to visitors on their return bus journey. Copies of the survey form were given to each tour operator who agreed to participate. The completed survey forms were regularly collected from tour operators at their office in Kuching. A Belgian couple mailed their forms to Australia. All completed survey forms remain with the researcher in Townsville.

Sarawak Cultural Village
This survey was conducted inside the Iban longhouse at the Sarawak Cultural Village. Visitors were given a copy of this survey form either on arrival at the longhouse, or just after completing a guided tour of the Iban longhouse. Survey forms were handed out directly by the researcher, or by Iban staff and Liaison Officers working in the longhouse. International visitors willing to participate in this survey sat on the floor and completed this survey form before leaving the Iban longhouse. Conversational interviews were also held with respondents during and after completion of the questionnaire. These visitor survey forms are kept in the Heritage Resources Library at the Sarawak Cultural Village.
INTERNATIONAL VISITOR SURVEY - SARAWAK MUSEUM

This survey has been developed by a PhD student at James Cook University of North Queensland (Australia). It is part of a research program investigating cultural tourism in Sarawak and has the official approval of the Sarawak Museum. Please fill out the survey form individually. Write or select your responses as required. The information you provide will be used to develop a Sarawak tourism database.

1) Age...................... 2) Gender: Male □ Female □

3) Occupation.......................... 4) Nationality..........................

5) How many countries have you previously visited as a tourist?
   up to 5 □ 6-10 □ 11-15 □ 16-20 □ 21-25 □ more than 26 □

6a) How did you visit the Museum?   6b) Who came with you?
   Independent visitor □ Group tour □ Single □
   Group tour □ Family □
   With friends □

7) How long have you spent visiting the Sarawak Museum (Old & New Buildings)?
   Less than 1 hour □ 4-5 hours □
   1-2 hours □ 5-6 hours □
   2-3 hours □ 6-7 hours □
   3-4 hours □ 7-8 hours □
   Half day □ Full day □

8a) Is this your first visit to the Sarawak Museum? Yes □ No □
8b) How many times will you visit the Museum during your stay in Kuching?
   Once only □
   Twice □
   3 or more visits □

9) What mainly prompted you to visit the Sarawak Museum?
   Word of mouth from friends □ A leisure activity while in Kuching □
   You like visiting museums □ To accompany family or friends □
   To learn about Sarawak culture □ Interest in traditional arts & crafts □
   To see genuine cultural objects □ Nothing else to do in Kuching □
   Travel magazine article on Sarawak □ Entrance to the Museum is free □

10) How well do you think the Sarawak Museum presents the traditional cultures of Sarawak?
    Excellent □ Very Good □ Good □ Fair □ Poor □ Don't Know □

11) Do you consider that the cultural objects on display at the Sarawak Museum represent traditional arts and crafts?
    Strongly agree □ Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don't Know □
The next four questions are about the replica Iban longhouse in the Sarawak Museum.

12) Do you consider that the replica Iban longhouse rooms are traditional in nature?
   Strongly agree □ Agree □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t Know □

13) Does the Sarawak Museum replica Iban longhouse interest you in visiting a real Iban longhouse community? Yes □ No □

14) Have you already been on a group tour visiting an Iban longhouse community in Sarawak? Yes □ Go to Q. 15
   No □ Do you still intend to join a tour? Yes □ No □ Maybe □ Go to Q. 16

15) What have you seen at the Sarawak Museum replica Iban longhouse that you did not see on your group tour of a real Iban longhouse?
   Brown Chinese jars □ Woven textiles □ Loft area of longhouse □
   Spinning loom □ Cooking hearth □ Bark rice bin □
   Hornbill sculpture □ Brass cannon □ Spears □
   Human skulls □ Brass ware □ Shields □
   Water gourds □ Wooden rice mill □ Wooden rice mortar □

16) How important is the genuine experience of traditional culture to you, in your visit to the Sarawak Museum?
   Very important □ Fairly important □ Neutral □ Only slightly important □ Not at all important □

17) Have you also visited the Sarawak Cultural Village?
   Sarawak Cultural Village Yes □
   No □ Do you still intend to visit? Yes □ No □ Maybe □

18) What additional tourist or cultural information would you like to be available at the Sarawak Museum?
   Brochures about the Sarawak Cultural Village □
   More labels to explain how objects were made and used □
   Souvenir tapes of traditional Sarawak music □
   Tourism Division brochures on Sarawak traditional crafts & dances □
   Copies of the brochure - ‘Visitors Guide to a typical Iban longhouse’ □
   Videos or slide shows about Sarawak traditional culture □
   Other........................................................................................................... □
## Sarawak Museum International Visitor Survey
12th February to 2nd March, 1992
Profile of Survey Responses

**Number Surveyed:** 286

1) **Age:**
- Less than 20: 8
- 20 to 30: 89
- 31 to 40: 69
- 41 to 50: 47
- 51 to 60: 39
- 61 to 70: 28
- 71 to 80: 5

2) **Gender:**
- Male: 157
- Female: 129

3) **Occupation:**
- Professional: 95
- Student: 30
- Retired: 29
- Business: 27
- Home duties: 24
- Services: 17
- Labourer: 15
- Travel industry: 15
- Clerical: 11
- Other: 19

4) **Nationality:**
- Britain: 84
- USA: 44
- Australia: 41
- Germany: 14
- Switzerland: 13
- Canada: 13
- Denmark: 12
- Sweden: 12
- France: 8
- Belgium: 7
- Italy: 2
- Singapore: 7
- Spain: 1
- Austria: 6
- Ireland: 1
- Finland: 4
- Japan: 1
- New Zealand: 3
- Pakistan: 1
- Philippines: 3
- Argentina: 1

5) **Number of countries visited as a tourist:**
- Up to 5: 40
- 6 to 10: 58
- 11 to 15: 68
- 16 to 20: 35
- 21 to 25: 21
- More than 26: 48

6a) **Type of visit:**
- Independent: 236
- Group Tour: 48

6b) **Who with?:**
- Single: 69
- Couple: 119
- Family: 31
- With friends: 83

7) **Time spent in Museum:**
- Less than 1 hour: 49
- 1 to 2 hours: 149
- 2 to 3 hours: 75
- 3 to 4 hours: 13
- Half day: 3
- 4 to 5 hours: 2

8a) **First visit to Museum?:**
- Yes: 258
- No: 28

8b) **Number of visits?:**
- Once: 227
- Twice: 5
- Three or more: 9

9) **Reason for Museum visit:**
- Learn about Sarawak culture: 176
- Review in a travel magazine: 27
- Like visiting Museums: 89
- Free entrance: 14
- See genuine cultural objects: 81
- Mentioned in guidebook: 13
- Traditional arts & crafts: 79
- Accompany family or friends: 9
- Recommendation by friends: 69
- Nothing else to do: 4
- Leisure activity in Kuching: 51
- In tourist map of Kuching: 1
10) Standard of cultural presentation in the Museum:

- Excellent: 61
- Very good: 128
- Good: 76
- Fair: 8
- Poor: 1
- Don't know: 12

11) Cultural objects represent traditional crafts:

- Strongly agree: 65
- Agree: 189
- Disagree: 1
- Don't know: 28

12) Replica Iban longhouse rooms are traditional:

- Strongly agree: 27
- Agree: 142
- Disagree: 5
- Strongly disagree: 1
- Don't know: 105

13) Stimulate interest in visiting a real Iban longhouse:

- Yes: 252
- No: 30

14) Already been on Iban longhouse tour:

- Yes: 26
- No: 253

Interested in joining longhouse tour:

- Yes: 96
- No: 110
- Maybe: 41

15) Items seen only at Museum Iban longhouse:

- Hornbill icon: 14
- Bark rice bin: 9
- Brass cannon: 14
- Brassware: 5
- Hand rice mill: 14
- Rice mortar: 6
- Chinese jars: 5
- Human skulls: 12
- Spears: 5
- Spinning loom: 9
- Water gourds: 3
- Shields: 5
- Woven textiles: 2
- Loft area: 5
- Cooking hearth: 1

16) Importance of traditional culture at Museum:

- Very Important: 144
- Fairly important: 109
- Neutral: 23
- Slightly important: 5
- Not at all important: 1

17) Already visited Sarawak Cultural Village:

- Yes: 47
- No: 224

Interested in visiting Sarawak Cultural Village:

- Yes: 92
- No: 63
- Maybe: 69

18) Additional cultural information at Sarawak Museum:

- More labels to explain how objects were made or used: 163
- Videos or slide shows about Sarawak traditional culture: 114
- Brochures on the Sarawak Cultural Village: 85
- Brochure, Visitor's guide to a typical Iban longhouse: 83
- Brochures on traditional crafts & dances of Sarawak: 67
- Tapes of traditional Sarawak music: 61
**INTERNATIONAL VISITOR SURVEY - THE IBAN LONGHOUSE EXPERIENCE**

This survey has been developed by a PhD student at James Cook University of North Queensland (Australia). It is part of a research program investigating cultural tourism in Sarawak and has the official approval of the Sarawak Tourist Association. Please fill out the survey form individually. Write or select your responses as required. The information you provide will be used to develop a Sarawak tourism database.

1) Age
2) Gender: Male □ Female □
3) Occupation
4) Nationality

5) How many countries have you previously visited as a tourist?
   - up to 5 □ 6-10 □ 11-15 □ 16-20 □ 21-25 □ more than 26 □

6) Which Iban longhouse did you visit?
   - Skrang River: Bunuk □ Belawie □ Tebat □
     - Murat □ Panchor □ Mujan □
     - Mejong □ Tabau □ Kujoh □
   - Lemanak River: Serubah □ Kachong □ Bela Antu □
     - Kesit □ Janggin □ Ngemah □
   - Ulu Ai River: Sumpa □
   - Rejang River: □
   - Karibas River: □

7) How did you visit this longhouse?
8) Who came with you?
   - Small group tour (10 or less people) □
   - Large group tour (11 or more people) □
   - Single □
   - Couple □
   - Family □
   - With Friends □

9a) How long have you stayed at this longhouse?
   - Day visit only □ Go to Q.10 3 nights □
   - 1 night □ 4 nights □
   - 2 nights □ More than 4 nights □

9b) Where did you spend the night at this longhouse?
   - Slept in a guesthouse □
   - Slept in the longhouse □

10) Is this your first visit to an Iban longhouse? Yes □ No □

11) Which Tour Company are you travelling with?
    - Agas-Pan Asia Travel □ Interworld Travel Service □
    - Bel-Air Travel & Tours □ Journey Travel Agencies □
    - Borneo Adventure □ M.L. Travel Service □
    - Borneo Interland Travel □ Saga Travel & Tours □
    - Borneo Sightseeing □ SITT Travel □
    - Borneo Transverse Tours □ Vista Borneo □
    - CPH Travel Agency (Sarawak) □ Wonderful Discovery Tours □
    - Ibanika Expeditions □ Other: ............................. □
12) What stimulated your interest in visiting an Iban longhouse?

- Books about Borneo
- Television program on Sarawak
- Travel magazine article about Sarawak
- Travel Guide Book
- Word of mouth from friends
- Package tour brochure
- Newspaper travel review of Sarawak
- Other

13) Which sources of travel information did you use to plan your visit to Sarawak?

Please circle the main source of information used to visit an Iban longhouse.

- Travel agent (home country)
- Travel guide book (eg Lonely Planet)
- Tourist Development Corporation Malaysia
- MAS (Malaysia Airlines)
- Friends or associates
- Sarawak Tourist Information Centre in Kuching
- Sarawak travel agent
- Sarawak Tourism Centre in Singapore
- Sarawak Tourism Centre in Kuala Lumpur
- Other

14) What are your main reasons for travelling to Sarawak? Please number your first 4 responses, in order of interest.

- Exotic Asian destination
- Being in the rainforest
- Visit a new country
- Alternative travel experience
- Holiday with friends or companions
- On a business trip
- Purchase native crafts
- Longhouse lifestyle
- Traditional Dayak culture
- Warm tropical climate
- Discover a popular travel spot
- Other

15) How far in advance did you begin planning this trip to Sarawak?

- less than 2 weeks
- between 2 weeks and 1 month
- between 1 and 3 months
- between 3 and 6 months
- between 6 and 12 months
- one year or more

16) Have you also visited these other Sarawak cultural attractions?

- Sarawak Museum
- Sarawak Cultural Village

Please circle yes or no. Do you still intend to visit? Yes, No, or Maybe.

17) What were the most enjoyable aspects of your Iban longhouse visit? Please number your first 5 responses, in order of enjoyment.

- Friendly Iban people
- Longhouse building
- Dance performances
- Crafts for sale
- Drinking rice wine (tuak)
- Longboat ride
- Blow-pipe demonstration
- Traditional Iban lifestyle
- Jungle trek/jungle feast
- Ceremonial costumes
- Cock fighting demonstration
- Learning about Iban culture
- Other
18) Do you consider that the Iban dances you have seen at this longhouse are traditional performances?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

19) Do you consider that the Iban ceremonial costumes at this longhouse are traditional items?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

20) Do you consider that the Iban people at this longhouse follow a traditional lifestyle?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

21) Do you consider that the Iban longhouse building you have visited is traditional in structure?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

22) How important is the genuine experience of traditional Iban culture to you, on this longhouse tour?

- Very important
- Fairly important
- Neutral
- Only slightly important
- Not at all important

23) What kind of handicrafts did you purchase at this Iban longhouse?

(If you did not purchase any crafts go to Q. 25).

- Palm leaf hat $........
- Woven scoop $........
- Woven basket $........
- Woven hat $........
- Woven place mat $........
- Other: $........

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wood carving</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden top</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parang (long knife)</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incised bamboo</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow pipe</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beadwork necklace</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamboo dart quiver</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile weaving</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woven mat</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved pig stick</td>
<td>$........</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24) Total amount spent on handicrafts. $...........

25) What do you think about the level of tourism at this Iban longhouse?

- Not at all commercialised
- A little commercialised
- Moderately commercialised
- Very commercialised

26) Would you have liked to stay longer at this Iban longhouse? Yes No

27) What has been the best feature of your Iban longhouse visit?
### Iban Longhouse Tour International Visitor Survey

**May to September, 1992**

**Profile of Survey Responses**

Number Surveyed: 219

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Age:</th>
<th>2) Gender:</th>
<th>3) Occupation:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student</td>
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<td>31 to 40</td>
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<td>41 to 50</td>
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<td>Business</td>
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<tr>
<td>51 to 60</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Home duties</td>
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<tr>
<td>61 to 70</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 to 80</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 80</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Travel industry</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Age:</th>
<th>2) Gender:</th>
<th>3) Occupation:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Other</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4) Nationality:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland (33)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5) Number of countries visited as a tourist:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 5 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 15 (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 20 (41)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 to 25 (17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>more than 26 (47)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6) Iban longhouse visited:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serubah (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang (122)</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7) Size of tour group:</th>
<th>up to 10 people (175)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 to 20 people (28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8) Who with?:</th>
<th>Single (30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Couple (111)</td>
<td>Family (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends (37)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9a) Length of stay:</th>
<th>1 night (160)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 nights (56)</td>
<td>4 nights (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 4 nights (2)</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9b) Accommodation:</th>
<th>Lemanak River</th>
<th>Engkari River</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guesthouse (91)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse (9)</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 10) First visit to Iban longhouse: | Yes (207) No (7) |
12) Stimulate interest to visit Iban longhouse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Iban people</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse building</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance performances</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts for sale</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking rice wine (tuak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing drums &amp; gongs</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tour guide commentary</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Longboat ride</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blowpipe demonstration</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

16) Already visited Sarawak Museum: Yes (134)
No (73):

  Interested in visiting Sarawak Museum:
  Yes (42)
  No (30)
  Maybe (27)

Already visited Sarawak Cultural Village: Yes (46)
No (149):

  Interested in visiting Sarawak Cultural Village: Yes (47)
  No (68)
  Maybe (38)

17) Most enjoyed aspects of Iban longhouse tour:

Other* (Nanga Stamang): Clear River Water/River; the evening entertainment: the games and dances and tricks we did together with Iban people
Other* (Serubah): Quite quiet; (Nanga Kesit): Preparing meals in bamboo

RATING OF AUTHENTICITY (see Chapter 7)

18) Iban dance, 19) Iban costumes, 20) Iban lifestyle, 21) Iban longhouse, 22) Iban culture

25) Level of tourism at Iban longhouse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not commercialised</th>
<th>A little commercialised</th>
<th>Moderately commercialised</th>
<th>Very commercialised</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nanga Stamang</td>
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<td>Nanga Kesit</td>
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<td>Serubah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

27) Best feature of Iban longhouse visit: (see Chapter 7)
INTERNATIONAL VISITOR SURVEY - SARAWAK CULTURAL VILLAGE

This survey has been developed by a PhD student at James Cook University of North Queensland (Australia). It is part of a research program investigating cultural tourism in Sarawak and has the official approval of the Sarawak Cultural Village. Please fill out the survey form individually. Write or select your responses as required. The information you provide will be used to develop a Sarawak tourism database.

1) Age......................
2) Gender: Male □ Female □
3) Occupation........................
4) Nationality........................

5) Who came with you? Single □ Family □
Couple □ With Friends □

The next five questions are about the Iban longhouse at the Cultural Village

6) How important is the genuine experience of traditional Iban culture to you, on your visit to the Sarawak Cultural Village?
Very □ Fairly □ Neutral □ Only slightly □ Not at all □

7) How satisfied are you with the presentation of traditional Iban Culture?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not Satisfied</th>
<th>Partly Satisfied</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iban longhouse</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban dances</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban lifestyle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iban crafts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) Which factors provided a genuine experience of Iban culture for you? Please number your first 4 responses, in order of importance.

- Being in a longhouse □
- Longhouse activities □
- Friendly Iban people □
- Human trophy skulls □
- Personal involvement □

- Ngajat dances □
- Textile weaving □
- Traditional costume □
- Gong music □
- Tour information □

9) How authentic was your experience of Iban culture?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not authentic Partly authentic Very authentic

10) What do you think about the level of tourism at this Iban longhouse?
Not at all □ A little □ Moderately □ Very □
commercialised commercialised commercialised commercialised commercialised
12) What mainly interested you in visiting the Sarawak Cultural Village?

- Sarawak traditional culture
- Longhouse buildings
- Longhouse lifestyle
- Craft demonstrations
- Accompany family or friends
- Sarawak traditional dances
- Traditional performances
- A novel tourist attraction
- Exotic South East Asian culture
- Other

13) What are the most enjoyable aspects of your visit to the Sarawak Cultural Village?

Please number your first 4 responses, in order of enjoyment.

- Meeting local people
- Live craft demonstrations
- Traditional houses
- Seeing traditional costumes
- The longhouse buildings
- Cooking & food preparation displays
- Watching dance performances
- Tour guide commentary
- Seeing traditional lifestyle
- Learning about Sarawak culture
- Being outdoors
- Other

14) Have you already been on a group tour visiting an Iban longhouse community in Sarawak?

- Yes
- No

Do you still intend to join a tour? Yes No Maybe

15) Have you also visited the Sarawak Museum?

- Yes
- No

Do you still intend to visit? Yes No Maybe

16) What are your main reasons for travelling to Sarawak? Please number your first 4 responses, in order of interest.

- Exotic Asian destination
- Being in the rainforest
- Visit a new country
- Alternative travel experience
- Holiday with friends or companions
- On a business trip
- Purchase native crafts
- Longhouse lifestyle
- Traditional Dayak culture
- Warm tropical climate
- Discover a popular travel spot
- Other

****Thank you for completing this visitor survey form****
Sarawak Cultural Village International Visitor Survey
17th September to 31st October, 1992
Profile of Survey Responses

Number Surveyed: 300

1) Age: 
   - less than 20: 4
   - 20 to 30: 70
   - 31 to 40: 90
   - 41 to 50: 68
   - 51 to 60: 38
   - 61 to 70: 23
   - 71 to 80: 2

2) Gender: 
   - Male: 139
   - Female: 161

3) Occupation: 
   - Professional: 106
   - Student: 14
   - Retired: 18
   - Business: 31
   - Home duties: 28
   - Services: 28
   - Labourer: 11
   - Travel industry: 9
   - Clerical: 27
   - Other: 4

4) Nationality: 
   - Britain: 82
   - Australia: 40
   - Germany: 38
   - Singapore: 28
   - Switzerland: 26
   - Netherlands: 19
   - Canada: 10
   - New Zealand: 7
   - Belgium: 7
   - New Zealand: 7
   - Austria: 3
   - France: 2
   - Norway: 6
   - China: 1
   - Korea: 1
   - Poland: 1
   - Ireland: 1

5) Who with?: 
   - Single: 36
   - Couple: 141
   - Family: 50
   - With friends: 76

Iban longhouse, Sarawak Cultural Village

6) Importance of experiencing traditional Iban culture (Chapter 8)

7) Satisfaction with presentation of Iban culture (Chapter 8)

8) Factors providing a genuine experience of Iban culture (Chapter 8)

9) Rating of authenticity in tourist experience of Iban culture (Chapter 8)

10) Level of tourism at Iban longhouse: 
   - Not commercialised: 23
   - A little commercialised: 145
   - Moderately commercialised: 107
   - Very commercialised: 20
   - No response: 3

11) Visitor knowledge of Sarawak Cultural Village:
   - Word of mouth: 122
   - Hotel desk: 44
   - Advertisements: 37
   - Guide book: 31
   - Kuching travel agent: 27
   - Brochure at airport: 22
   - Sarawak Tourism Centre, Singapore: 10
   - Tourist Information Centre, Kuching: 9
   - Travel magazine article: 5
   - Tourism Malaysia: 4
   - TV program on Sarawak: 1
   - Other: 22
12) Main interest in visiting Sarawak Cultural Village:

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<tr>
<td>Longhouse lifestyle</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse buildings</td>
<td>(79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance performances</td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft demonstrations</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional costumes</td>
<td>(35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exotic S.E. Asian culture</td>
<td>(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novel tourist attraction</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompany family/friends</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Other*: The people, Friendly people, Talking to people
| Educating our children age 6 & 10, Family history
| To see differences in culture without intruding

13) Most enjoyable aspects of visiting Sarawak Cultural Village:

<table>
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<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Rating</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Cooking &amp; food preparation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Learn about Sarawak's culture</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| General view of different cultures, Friendliness of native people
| Hands-on activities, Being away from work

14) Already been on Iban longhouse tour: Yes (77)

No (217): Interested in joining longhouse tour: Yes (44)

No (99)

Maybe (38)

15) Already visited Sarawak Museum: Yes (170)

No (21): Interested in visiting Sarawak Museum: Yes (64)

No (22)

Maybe (22)
APPENDIX C

Iban Cultural Descriptions

Iban Ceremonial Costume

Iban Dance: Sarawak Cultural Village
Iban Ceremonial Costume

This section reviews Iban ceremonial costume worn during guided longhouse tours visiting Serubah, Nanga Kesit and Nanga Stamang. It describes both traditional and contemporary aspects of Iban adornment.

Some Iban women wore traditional ikat skirts (kain kebat) with finely woven designs in brick-red hues. Younger women wore colourful skirts (kain sungkit) embroidered with multicoloured geometric designs on a red background. Modern skirts featured brocade designs woven in with metallic silver, gold or blue thread. Silver coins, small bells and beads were added around the hem of some skirts. A young Iban bride at Kesit wore a special black skirt with cowry shells sewn on in patterns (kain pantak ridun). Each female dancer wore a wide bead collar (marik empang) around their shoulders, with a fringe of pink or orange woollen pom-poms. Traditionally, Iban women went bare-breasted. Nowadays, this bead collar and a wide sash (selampai), with designs woven in metallic silver thread, are worn over the top of a t-shirt. The single sash was usually worn crossed over the chest, with tails hanging at the back.

Sungkit jackets (kelambi), worn by men, featured colourful human and animal figures, along with geometric designs, woven onto a red or blue background. Modern jackets had designs woven in with metallic gold or silver thread. Iban men wore a cotton print loincloth (sirat) tied on over underpants or a pair of shorts. Polka dots and floral designs were popular patterns. Cotton loincloths have long been worn in Borneo, indeed, ‘It’s an old and authentic fashion’ (Steinmayer 1991: 49). Only one old man at Kesit tied the loincloth directly onto his body. Young men were not very adept in tying on a short loincloth. Some men at Serubah had extra decoration on the front apron (tampang) of their loincloth, such as rows of silver tassels. One man simply wore sungkit tail ends (kelapong) tucked into a waistband.

For dancing, a ceremonial parang (nyabur or duku’ ilang) was tied around the waist, with a carved wooden sheath, a few attached hornbill feathers, a carved deer horn hilt, and human hair tassels. One old man at Stamang had a wrapped bundle of personal charms (pengaroh) attached to his parang waist cord. The full-size shield (terabai) was either plain wood (Serubah) or painted blue and yellow (Kesit). Smaller dance shields were painted on the face with intricate ‘giant’s face’ designs (Anggat 1989). For the blowpipe demonstration, a bamboo dart quiver (temilah) was worn at the waist, and a back basket (raga’).

At each tourist longhouse, silver jewellery was a distinctive part of Iban costume. Women wore multiple silver bracelets (tumpa’ pirak), ankle rings (gelang kaki), filigree necklaces (tenggak pirak), a hooped corset (rawai), several belts (lampit), and waist chains. Some Iban men wore hooped calf rings (engkerimok), arm bands (simpai), necklaces, and a single silver belt (lampit). Old Dutch (1922-1943) or Sarawak Rajah Brooke (1898-1925) silver coins were added to the hem of skirts, worn as a ‘girdle’
below a corset, and on necklaces. At Serubah, hooped silver calf rings worn by some Iban men were embellished with small bells and beads, or silver coins.

The tiara like 'silver' headdress (sugu tinggi'), worn by women, was now made of aluminium. It was held in place with plastic pegs and further decorated with pink wool (Kesit) or fake pink flowers (Stamang). This elaborate Iban headdress is a twentieth century fashion, based on Malay ceremonial headwear (King 1991a: 167) or Chinese bridal headdress (Ong 1991:116). The tall spangled Iban headdress, always worn by women dancing, features diamond shaped attachments which move and shimmer in the lamplight. Two young Iban women, one each at Serubah and Kesit, wore other substitute silver jewellery - bracelets and ankle rings, or a belt and 'coins' - all made of aluminium. One man at Serubah wore an aluminium headband with embossed patterns.

Formerly, Iban jewellery was made of brass (King 1991b). Only the headman at Serubah wore heavy brass earrings in his slit earlobes. One woman at Kesit wore a hooped brass corset, while at Stamang a pair of wide brass ankle rings were worn with difficulty by a woman dancing. A few Iban men at each longhouse wore a thick shell band (Conus spp., tumpa' rangki') around their upper arms, formerly used to ward off slicing cuts from a parang. At Kesit, four men wore substitute white plastic arm bands and wrist bracelets. Two young Iban women at Stamang also wore multiple white plastic bracelets, imitating shell.

Iban men wore a variety of bead necklaces (tenggak marik). The old-style bead necklaces include long faceted cornelians and other large beads. Some bead necklaces at Serubah were decorated at the end with small bells. One man at Serubah wore a bead rope necklace. At Stamang, men wore flat collar-necklaces made of numerous small seed beads. Other modern necklaces had long thin strands of seed beads. One modern bead necklace at Stamang was decorated with a wild-cat jaw and large snail shells. Male dancers at Kesit commonly wore a grey 'job's tears' seed necklace, a new item. One shell necklace at Stamang was made from the ground ends of cowry shells.

Men commonly wore a feathered headdress (ketapu) as part of their costume. These included a woven cap with four pointed corners, a shaped rattan cap, open at the top, and (at Kesit) an Orang Ulu cap with a stiff fibre brim jutting out at the front and back. Men decorated their woven caps with black and white hornbill feathers or spotted argus pheasant feathers. Other adornment placed on these caps included tinsel, printed weaving patterns, wool pom-poms, alfoil, fur, and woven cloth. Many caps had contrasting patterns woven in using fibre strips painted white and black, red and blue, or green and yellow. Two men at Serubah had a silver coronet on the front of their headdress, further decorated with goat hair and a shell disc. One old man at Kesit had a skein of black hair tied in a knot attached to the back of his cap, imitating the traditional long hair style.
Revived male costume items at Nanga Stamang included bark loincloths, a bark jacket, and a skin cape (gagong). Young people at Stamang had not previously seen these old-style costume items, made again to show tourists traditional Iban apparel. While I was at Stamang, an old man pounded out a wide roll of bark (tekalong) using a wood maul (pemalu’). The bark was further softened by rubbing it around a support post in the gallery, then cut into long strips to be worn as a loincloth by several Iban men. Penghulu Rentap also made a bark sleeveless jacket, cutting a fringe along the bottom, then colouring some strips with a blue texta, imitating indigo dye.

In former times, bark clothing as traditionally worn in Borneo. During the second World War (1941-1945) lack of imported cloth saw Dayak people return to their traditional bark apparel (Richards 1981: 375). Sellato (1989:113) depicts an old Puanan man in the upper Kapuas River region, west Kalimantan, wearing a bark loincloth, one of the last to do so in Borneo. As a costume item, bark jackets are occasionally worn by Iban or Bidayuh male dancers in Kuching.

The skin cape (gagong) worn by men at Stamang was made from the skin of a small wild cat (Felis spp., remaung), with the lower edge decorated with small wooden pieces painted black and white, imitating hornbill feathers (Hornbills are a protected species). A full-size gagong or cape, formerly used as a war-jacket, was made from the skin of a goat, bear, or tiger-cat, decorated on the back with overlapping rows of hornbill tail feathers, and a pearl shell disc hung on the breastplate (Richards 1981: 92). Men at Stamang longhouse wore the cape while dancing, or welcoming tourists at the riverbank.

For tourists, tattoos are the distinguishing mark of Iban identity. At each longhouse, only senior Iban men - mostly over 60 years old - were extensively tattooed on their body with traditional designs. Tattoo patterns included rosettes (bunga terong, or brinjal flower) on each shoulder and down the back, and a star pattern (buah andu, or star-shaped fruit), both indicative of travel (Anggat 1989). Other designs were a stylized scorpion (kala) on the arms and thighs, a distinctive frog pattern (katak) on the throat, and a fish hook on the calf, indicating possession of a palang or penis pin (McBain 1981: 130; Anggat 1989: 64-65, 68). Iban men at Stamang had finely marked butterflies and naga dragons tattooed on their arms and back.

Some Iban men in their 40s had larger versions of traditional tattoo patterns on their back (rosettes and stars), and other modern designs - of birds, anchors, aeroplanes, eagles, skull and dagger, or a woman - tattooed on their arm or chest. Also tattooed on their arm was the name of the place where they had worked - B.S.B.B. (Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei) or visited, and phrases such as ‘Kiss me’. A few older Iban women were tattooed around their forearm, indicating proficiency in ikat weaving. One old woman at Kesit had a throat tattoo, more commonly seen on Iban men. Tourists mainly photographed tattooed Iban men.
Than tattoos (*pantang* or *kelingai*) seem to have been adopted from the profusely tattooed Kayan/Kenyah (Orang Ulu) and Bakatan people. The Iban fashion for tattooing only became widespread after 1850 (Richards 1981:253). Nowadays, young Iban people, and those living in urban areas, are no longer tattooed. Male Iban dancers at the Sarawak Cultural Village use a wood-block design to print temporary tattoo patterns on their body. At tourist longhouses, young Iban men do not wear such imitation tattoos. This may occur in the future as senior Iban men with tattoos begin to pass away.

At Serubah, the jungle walk was usually led by a tattooed Iban man. At Nanga Kesit, tour guides would frequently request that a tattooed older man give the blowpipe demonstration. For the director of Ibanika Expeditions, operating at Nanga Kesit, tattooed Iban men were the main authenticating feature, even more so than seeing an Iban longhouse still traditional in appearance. Guides at Serubah reported that in 1990 a young American couple were each tattooed on their shoulder, with the tattooing performed by the headman. Some male tourists had imitation tattoos drawn on their arms and shoulders, when dressed up as an Iban 'warrior' for their traditional Iban-style wedding ceremony.

References

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Iban Dance: Sarawak Cultural Village

Three types of male Iban dances are performed during the ‘grand finale’ theatre show, held twice daily at the Sarawak Cultural Village. These include a solo warrior dance (ajat pahlawan), a combat dance involving two men, each with a shield and sword (ajat bebunoh), and the mortar dance (ajat lesong), performed with a 20kg wooden rice mortar. The Iban men who performed these dances in 1992 were the principal dancer, Keristter, supported by Dickson, Wilfred and Dedek. Several women would also dance on stage, forming a semi-circle behind the male dancer. A synopsis of each type of choreographed Iban dance is presented below.

Warrior dance: Ajat pahlawan
This Iban dance celebrates the return of a victorious warrior. Keristter begins by placing his shield on the stage, and a parang on the stage border. While dancing, he stamps on the parang blade, then picks up this sword to slash the air. Stepping back, the parang is used to pick up the shield, inserting the blade under the handle grip, then holding it aloft. On one occasion, he picked up the shield using his teeth on the handgrip. Holding the shield and parang, Keristter mimes combat with an unseen enemy. The parang is next held briefly upright, with the tip clenched between the teeth. Holding the shield out sideways, in front of the body, Keristter then hops forward on bent knees, hitting the shield face with the parang blade. Sheathing his parang, Keristter dances off stage.

Mortar dance: Ajat lesong
The mortar dance is a popular Iban item in the theatre show. Dancing out, Keristter places a wooden mortar and a parang at the front of the stage. Kneeling down, he picks up the mortar between his teeth, then stamps along the parang blade. Holding the mortar in his mouth, Keristter hops forward in a semi-crouch position. After dropping the mortar, and placing it upside down, he picks up the parang and bounds back to dance on top of the mortar. With two men performing, they hop across to the other mortar and back again. Standing on top of the mortar, Keristter holds the parang blade upright, clenched between his teeth. After sheathing the parang, the mortar is picked up, and held above the head in one hand while leaving the stage.

Combat dance: Ajat bebunoh
Keristter and Wilfred would sometimes perform a combat dance (ajat bebunoh), during the afternoon theatre show. In this dance, they each hold a shield and parang. Keristter moves around the stage, while Wilfred dances on top of a small platform. With energetic leaps and bounds, Keristter mimes battle manoeuvres. Leaping down from his platform, Wilfred joins Keristter on stage. While dancing, both men briefly hold a parang in their mouth, with the blade clenched sideways between their teeth. They turn towards each other and mime combat, with the shield held out defensively in front of the body and a parang raised to strike or parry. After this mock attack they dance off the stage.
Iban dancing for tourists

Iban dancing at the Cultural Village varies both in authenticity and performance standards. The female dance steps are choreographed and performed in unison by several dancers, both Iban and Malay. The female dance includes eight basic steps, with the style of dance influenced by urban Iban living in Kuching. Some Iban people, visiting the Village, have commented that this choreographed female dance is not the style of dance that they perform. The male Iban staff, however, maintain creative control over their dance performance. Dedek, the current headman of the Village Iban longhouse, objected to a Filipino choreographing Iban dances at the Cultural Village. Dickson meanwhile learnt to perform Iban ngajat at the Village, taught by Keristter and Dedek, since young men no longer danced at his home longhouse.

Keristter is the most energetic, graceful and skilled Iban dancer at the Sarawak Cultural Village. Ever inventive in his dancing, only Keristter balanced a parang blade upright in his mouth or, more dangerously, once tried to hold up a blowpipe/spear with the blade clenched in his teeth. It is not possible to perform these balancing acts in a longhouse, due to the low ceiling in the communal gallery. Normally, Iban men simply hold the parang blade sideways in their mouth while dancing. For Keristter, however, his ngajat performance is a true Iban dance and not a ‘play’ dance (i.e. not made up for tourists). Keristter returns to his home longhouse, to check his dance steps and style, in order to reflect a true Iban dance tradition. Only the dance venue and audience are new.

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APPENDIX D
Tourist Responses to Iban Culture
Finding Authenticity: Iban Longhouse Tours
Evaluating Authenticity: Sarawak Cultural Village
On guided Iban longhouse tours, the tourist search for authenticity includes the purchase of Iban handicrafts and picture taking. With limited time for personal contact, such activities provide a tangible or visible reminder of the tourist encounter with Iban culture.

**Souvenir handicrafts**

Most tourists purchased souvenir handicrafts as a tangible reminder of their visit to an Iban longhouse (Table 1). The crafts chosen were made of natural materials: woodcarvings; bamboo dart quivers, toy blowpipes, and containers; bamboo strips woven into purses, picture panels, caps, and bangles; rattan and fern stem bangles, palm leaf hats; and seed necklaces. Nearly all the crafts were made by Iban people living at each longhouse. In one craft sale at Kesit, two German men selected Iban crafts according to perceived authenticity: a plain basket used by an Iban woman to carry her handicrafts in, instead of a new basket with decorative designs, and a roughly shaped figure carving, instead of the smoothly finished tourist carvings. This crudely carved image met the German tourists criteria of 'authentic' primitive art (Lewis 1992).

Tourists assumed that the crafts were made at each longhouse. At Serubah and Nanga Stamang this was indeed the case. At Nanga Kesit, however, the Chinese/Iban entrepreneur was selling souvenir shields, parangs, wood carvings and small textiles (*pua kumbu*) bought wholesale in Kuching. When an American man asked who made one of these imported parangs, a vague gesture was made towards a group of men at the other end of the longhouse. Apart from this incident, and the marketing of store-bought crafts by one family at Kesit, all other Iban crafts were handmade by longhouse residents.

At Serubah and Nanga Kesit, tourists purchased a range of souvenir handicrafts. Distinctively Iban crafts included bamboo dart quivers, wooden statues of blowpipe hunters and other figure carvings, woven caps, wood or bamboo containers, spinning tops, woven baskets, blowpipe darts and palm leaf hats. Souvenir items included bangles, necklaces, woven purses, woven picture panels (depicting cats, hornbills and Iban people in costume), bird or hornbill carvings, woven ‘vase’ containers, toy bamboo blowpipes, store-bought parangs and shields, walking sticks, and wooden model items (longboats, a bowl, a rice mortar, small jars). Incentive travel tourists (Aliviaggi at Serubah) and group series tours (Larsen Rejser at Kesit) were most prolific in purchasing Iban handicrafts.

At Nanga Kesit, tourists purchased a greater number of souvenir handicrafts (149 items) as compared to Serubah (87 items). While this included trinkets such as bangles and necklaces (91 at Kesit, 12 at Serubah), a greater number of distinctively Iban handicrafts were purchased at Kesit (55 items) as compared to Serubah (32 items). At Kesit,
tourists had the opportunity to interact directly with Iban craft sellers. ‘Crafts or other souvenirs can serve as tangible evidence of having found the authentic or having participated in the indigenous life of a community’ (Littrell 1990: 230). The souvenir crafts served as a reminder of a personal encounter with Iban people at a longhouse. Tourists at Kesit wore their souvenir bangles and necklaces as an exotic Iban fashion accessory.

At Nanga Stamang, female tourists bought hand-woven plant-dyed Iban pua kumbu. The beautiful textiles were displayed on request for interested tourists. The women purchasing Iban pua kumbu expressed admiration for the distinctive designs, indigo and pink colouring from vegetable dyes, the technical skills and amount of work involved in making each ikat woven textile. Authenticity derived from the history and tradition of Iban weaving, together with the distinctive textile features of pua kumbu. (Littrell 1990: 237). Two male tourists at Stamang acquired Iban parangs, one having a carved hilt. A Dutch women bought three batik sarongs after wearing a borrowed sarong in the longhouse. By purchasing these items, tourists showed interest in and empathy for Iban culture, thereby expressing another aspect of authenticity.

Several tourists at Stamang commented on the fact that there was no
handicraft sale. Dutch travel agents stated 'fortunately not' and 'none luckily', while an English nurse noted 'None for sale...Not a commercialized longhouse'. Authenticity was enhanced by the absence of tourist handicrafts. A young Danish couple stated 'You could buy nothing - that's OK' and 'we prefer it that way.' Other tourists, an Australian jewellery artist and a Finnish craft teacher, specifically visited Stamang in order to purchase Iban pua kumbu textiles.

For tourists, the acquisition of Iban handicrafts depends on the longhouse visited, the type of craft product for sale, and the 'shopping' experience. In acquiring these souvenirs, tourists use various criteria for authenticity in handicrafts (Littrell et al 1993:204-207). Longhouse tourists looked for distinctively Iban products (uniqueness and originality), hand-made with natural materials (workmanship), made by the Iban (cultural integrity), with appealing colours and designs (aesthetics), or used by Iban people (functional). Tourists expected to purchase crafts made at the longhouse (local artisan), exhibiting either fine workmanship as in textile weaving (pua kumbu) or roughly finished carvings denoting primitive art.

Authenticity also derived from meeting the craft makers or watching crafts being made. Written documentation was not common, although the name of the craft maker was included on some souvenir crafts sold at Serubah and Kesit. There was a preference for crafts expressing 'Ibanness' or a personal association with Iban culture (Duffek 1983; Evans-Pritchard 1987; Littrell 1990:327). For most longhouse tourists, authenticity meant purchasing unique and original Iban handicrafts, regardless of whether these were traditional or contemporary in nature.

Photographs and video cameras

Most tourists used a photographic or video camera to record their longhouse visit (Table 2). The 23 tourists using video cameras were Europeans, and one Canadian, on package tours. A few tourists at Serubah used a tape-player to record Iban gong music or tour guide commentary. A French man at Kesit painted the Lemanak river using watercolours. Sightseeing tourists, at Serubah and Kesit, were preoccupied with taking photographs and video film, compiling a visual record of their encounter with exotic Iban culture. At each longhouse, tour groups moved systematically along the gallery (ruai) and verandah (tanju) recording snapshots of Iban life. A particular feature was the tourist rite of photographing the skull (Kesit) or skulls (Serubah).

Tourists mainly used their cameras and videos to record organised cultural activities - the costumed Iban dancers, miring ceremony, blowpipe and cockfighting demonstration. After each dance performance, guides invited tourists to be photographed with the costumed dancers, explicitly marking this activity as a tourist event and a 'photo opportunity' (Cohen et al 1992: 22). More spontaneous opportunities for picture taking occurred during a guided tour of the longhouse, and on a jungle walk. Iban residents were quite tolerant of the tourist need for
photographs, some Iban people even asked to be photographed.

Table 2. Equipment used to record a longhouse visit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equipment</th>
<th>Serubah</th>
<th>Kesit</th>
<th>Stamang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camera</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tape player</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Total tourists observed at each longhouse: Serubah (90), Kesit (86), Stamang (49)

A few tourists expected Iban people to pose in their photographs. One Iban man at Kesit posed as a ‘warrior’, holding up a blowpipe/spear in a menacing posture, next to a Japanese man. Some Iban men were asked to hold up their blowpipe in a hunting pose. At Serubah, an Italian man using a video camera directed an Iban man to aim his blowpipe up at a tree instead of shooting at a target post. In general, while Iban people wore traditional costume for tourist activities they did not usually ‘play the native’ in this way.

Some tourists used Iban costume items as cultural markers for photographs. In group photographs with Iban dancers, tourists usually wore a feather cap, or held up a painted shield. At Kesit, three Japanese men wore a feathered cap, and a basket on their back, while using the blowpipe. A retired American man wore a cap and jacket (kelambi), and held a blowpipe at his side. At Stamang, an Italian couple dressed up in Iban ceremonial costume for portrait photographs on the longhouse verandah, using a blowpipe, and down at the riverbank. A video was made of a German couple at Stamang, dressed in Iban costume for a traditional wedding ceremony.

For most tourists picture taking involved reproducing brochure pictures of Iban people in traditional costume, tattooed men and trophy skulls. Pictures were personalised by tourists posing with Iban people, or occasionally at Nanga Stamang, by tourists wearing Iban costume for portrait photographs. More candid pictures of Iban people were taken around the longhouse, and sometimes by the guesthouse at Kesit. Different kinds of tourists 'tend to photography and documenting "authentic" experiences in different ways' (Chalfen 1979: 439). During the cultural show, a few tourists focussed their attention and picture taking on the seated Iban audience instead of the dancers.

Participants in jungle trekking tours in northern Thailand also disperse around hilltribe villages to record individualised pictures. They eagerly "hunt" for objects, situations and scenes that appear to them to be "authentic", in the sense that they are part of the flow of "primitive" life, undisturbed and uniformed by the presence of strangers’ (Cohen et al 1992:218). This photographic search for authenticity, among the hilltribes,
focused on recording natural settings and normal activities. Some tourists at Iban longhouses photographed this unaffected cultural behaviour - men woodcarving or mending fishing nets, women making or wearing sun hats, and other everyday tasks. Longhouse views and river scenes were also filmed.

Some tourists involved in a small group 'meet the people' experience tended not to use their camera at all, or at least very sparingly. Tourists at Kesit socialising with Iban people tended to put aside their cameras and enjoy the personal encounter. This also happened at Stamang, when arriving tourists shared afternoon tea with the headman. By foregoing photography, a genuine opportunity was created for human contact and cultural exchange (Siebert 1981:20). Other picture taking was noticeably reduced in each longhouse, when tourists experienced this personal meeting with Iban people. This suggests that many tourists use photographs, and handicrafts, to compensate or act as a substitute for a meaningful encounter with Iban people.

References
Evaluating authenticity: Sarawak Cultural Village

Comments by tourists at the Sarawak Cultural Village indicate that strategies based on comparison are used to assess authenticity. Tourists review authenticity in Iban cultural presentations by comparing the Village Iban longhouse with other related cultural experiences. According to this personal evaluation, the Village Iban longhouse is considered to be either more or less authentic than other tourist settings. This judgement of authenticity is based on expectations about Iban longhouses, or prior experience of Iban culture.

For some tourists, the Village provides a substitute experience of Iban culture. Backpackers, who independently visit rural Iban longhouses, consider the Cultural Village to be 'touristic', 'just for show' and 'not real'. Other tourists modify their need for cultural authenticity in this recreated setting. A Swiss couple, for example, did not wish to visit a real longhouse and disturb local people. An Asian woman from Brunei thought a real longhouse was too dirty and instead came to the Cultural Village. An Australian man stated that tourists still need to go to a real longhouse for an authentic cultural encounter. Another Australian man purchased a bottle of rice wine, to prolong his experience of drinking *tuak* on a guided Iban longhouse tour.

Other tourists compare the Sarawak Cultural Village with similar cultural displays. A Chinese couple from Singapore felt unable to rate the authenticity of their experience as they had not seen a real Iban longhouse. Instead, they compared the Village longhouse to replica Iban longhouse rooms in the old Sarawak Museum. Two other Chinese women, also from Singapore, considered the Sarawak Cultural Village to be more authentic in its environmental setting, compared to other cultural village tourist attractions in Manila and Bangkok. The rainforest trees, greenery, and jungle sounds provided a realistic natural setting for the Iban longhouse.

Several tourists compared the Village longhouse with the Iban longhouse they had just visited on a guided tour. Their comments mainly referred to Bunuk, a heavily visited Iban longhouse on the Skrang river. An Australian couple were disappointed that the Iban women wore printed t-shirts with their woven skirts and were not enthusiastic in their dancing. In contrast, the female dancers in the Village longhouse were considered to be more traditional, with their uniform of *pua* print sarongs and a black top. A Belgian couple considered Bunuk longhouse too modern with its tin roof, whereas the Village longhouse had traditional bark walls and a wood roof. Conversely, an American couple found the Village longhouse too well built and tidy, while Bunuk longhouse provided an authentic experience with its uneven floor, gaps between the planks, creaking slats, and roaming livestock.
For two female British medical students, their main interest in visiting the Sarawak Cultural Village was to see an Iban longhouse. In reviewing the authenticity of their cultural experience, they compared the Iban longhouse to the Bidayuh longhouse. Genuine aspects in their personal experience of Iban culture were eating rice cakes (kuih jala), loom weaving, and the energetic Iban dancing by Keristter with his strong leg muscles. However, they considered the Iban longhouse was too touristic and commercialised, with handicrafts pushed for sale. There was more emphasis on crafts rather than people, and they did not hear about the Iban way of life. In contrast, the students most enjoyed visiting the Bidayuh longhouse, where the use and meaning of objects and the traditional way of life was fully explained.

Signs of modernity led some tourists to question authenticity in the Village Iban longhouse. Tourists from Singapore heard a phone ringing in the longhouse, and commented that Iban people would also have television and video. A Canadian woman mentioned the electric rice cooker used by Iban women to prepare their lunch. This modern appliance jarred with the bark walls and wood fire hearth in the family room. She also considered the trophy skulls were too small to be real. An American woman thought it was good to see the old and new style of Iban longhouse in one building, it was more realistic. The contrast between traditional and modern elements can either decrease or enhance the tourist experience of cultural authenticity.

Some tourists evaluated authenticity in Iban culture by contrasting artificial behaviour (i.e. done for tourists) with more natural behaviour from Iban staff. An Australian couple thought the theatre show was too contrived, with the 'Iban' women in their uniform costumes and synchronised dance steps appearing artificial. Inside the Iban longhouse, however, the presence of the young baby Frederick, family interaction, and normal social behaviour between Iban people gave a more realistic impression of Iban life. The Australian couple were happy to sit down in the longhouse, eat rice cakes, and watch their two young daughters beating on gongs with a stick.

More outgoing tourists seek authenticity through personal involvement with Iban people. A music teacher from Singapore, who taught percussion instruments, thought that not enough was heard or seen of Iban musical instruments to involve visitors. For the young Belgian woman who spent two and a half hours in the Iban longhouse, her experience became very authentic through personally meeting and talking with Iban men. Most tourists use photographs, videos, souvenir crafts, rice wine or rice cakes as a substitute for the lack of personal authenticity in meeting Iban people.

*****
APPENDIX E

Visitors Guide to a typical Iban Longhouse
Some Iban Phrases

Aku i
Kami or kita We
Nuan You
Selamat pagi Good Morning
Selamat Tengah-Hari Good Afternoon
Selamat Malam Good Night
Mauoh aku (kami-plural); selamat tinggal
Oii I (We) go, Good bye
Rinda amat betemu enggau nuan (Kita-plural).
Please to meet you.
Ari ni penutup nuan (kita-plural)?
Where are you from?
Gerai nuan?
Are you well? How are you.
Manah amat nasi salari tu?
It's a fine day today...
Sapa nama nuan?
What is your name?
Berapa pints kita serumah ditu?
How many doors (meaning families) do you have in the house?
Sapa主要用于 kita ditu?
Who is the Headman of your house?
Ni penyah ualai kita aru namah tu?
How far is your padi field from your house?
Ams, sama manah meri kita.
Come, let us have our bathe.
Dint endor kita mendi?
Where do we have our bathe?
Ni penyah sungai naa aru?
How far is the stream/river from here?
Tou aku ngambil gambar nuan (kita-plural)?
May I have your photograph taken, please?

Some Iban Traditional Beliefs and Customs

The traditional beliefs of the Iban are animistic in origin. Hence, they are predominantly superstitious. Due to their high dependence on farming, they hold their rice god more than anything else. Many major festivals or the harvested crops was only after the end of World War II, when schools were opened extensively by Missionaries throughout various parts of Sarawak, the Iban gradually converted to Christianity, though some still hold on to their traditional beliefs.

Iban Way of Life

By and large, the longhouse Iban are rice (padi) planters. Those living beyond the tidal plain and in the interior plant hill padi and those living down river, wet padi i.e. on swampy land where water is available. The Iban never make a padi farm on a large scale, hence the yield is just enough for a year's consumption before the next harvest comes around. Today, some Iban supplement their padi by planting rubber, pepper or cocoa, again not on an estate site.

Take off your foot-wear before sitting on the mat in the longhouse. Ask for water for washing if you need it. Do not stretch your legs when sitting on a mat. If you have to do so for one reason or another ask for an apology from your host. This applies also during meal time. Do not expose yourself bare when bathing in the stream or river. If you & your spouse sleep together in the past/PANTAR, remember that some Iban go to work or come back from fishing at early hours of the morning and there is little privacy. Do not spit, or blow your nose, or utter any vulgar during meal time. Do not feel shy but be at home with your hosts, particularly at meal time. The more you talk or the more question you ask, the happier would be your hosts. Do not hesitate to ask for any information that you would like to know e.g. the Iban Way of Life, custom or traditions. Do not hesitate to try to speak a phrase or two in Iban language. This will give your host an impression that you feel at home. The more you feel at home the more you can learn about the people.

With Compliments from the Tourism Division Ministry of Environment and Tourism

Though the information contained within focuses on the Iban Community, it is worthwhile to note that other longhouse communities observe similar considerations, such as the Bidayuh or Orang Ulu.
ON ARRIVAL

Traditionally the Iban do not normally shake hand with any visitors on their arrival but today shaking hands has become highly acceptable.

Often the Iban hosts would say "Lalai meh oh sib niah mah mena kum" welcome to our house/ place. The response should be "Ma" yes.

The Headman of the longhouse is addressed as "TUAI RUMAH". Hence, when addressing him in the course of conversation, following the Iban practice he should be addressed as "NIA" (UNCLE) "TUAI RUMAH".

DRESS AND BATHING

Owing to the hot climate, some visitors, particularly foreigners, prefer to dress sparingly. Although the Iban, by and large, do not cover all parts of their body, they dress decently and expect others to do the same. The Iban in rural areas normally bathe in the open, usually in a river or stream. For men, they are expected to put on their underpants and after bath, towel before putting on the usual attire. Similarly for women, it is advisable to put on sarong that will cover the lower part of the body including the breast, both in the water and outside.

MEAL TIME

The Iban normally have their meals in the Meeting room, sitting in a circle; rice, the staple food, and other supplementary dishes are put in plates or bowls. They use their hands although customary and water for washing hands will be provided. Everyone is expected to help oneself by taking what one would like to have and put on their plate. To make sure that you can finish what you take, take a little fast and thereafter take more of what you like best. Your host may give some more helpings if he/she detects that you do not feel at home during the meal time. You are excusable if you cannot finish the helpings given by your host.

Your host expects you to eat well and delights in seeing how satisfied his guests are.

GREETING THE GUEST (NGULU TEMULAI)

It is the tradition in the Iban longhouse for dwellers to socialise with their visitors after an evening meal. Men, women, young and old expect to hear tales from their visitors. Similarly, visitors may ask any questions they want to. This is not fixed bedtime, but one can excuse oneself to turn in early.

NGAYAP

There is no English word that aptly describes NGAYAP. The nearest is counting or a social tete-a-tete. NGAYAP is only confined to the Iban community when a boy goes to a girl's (not necessarily a girl-friend) house and bedroom at night. This is done very discreetly, often without the knowledge of the parents who may be sleeping in the same room. The purpose of this nocturnal visit is not in the first place for sex but just for the fun of visiting the girl. If the girl declares the visit, often she will give all sorts of excuses. It is only after several visits that true love between the two may be forged but still the girl has to maintain her modesty.

Non-Iban are not encouraged to attempt to go for a NGAYAP in an Iban longhouse.

SOME INTERESTING THINGS TO SEE

Antu Pala - human skull

They remain as the legacy of the Iban head who fought with spear and blow-pipe against their adversaries. The warriors' back of the skull are skinned and later hung from the rafters of a longhouse. To the Iban, the skulls are not only con-

sidered as trophies or a symbol of bravery but the testimony of the unity of the longhouse. A dream that the ANTU PALA asked for food, the longhouse concerned is compelled to hold a festival rice (GAWA) to appease the spirits of those whose skulls they preserve.

Ceramics

The Iban of yester-years treasured heirlooms that could be handed from one generation to another. Hence they collected some antique bronzes or eastern Chinese jars when they travelled to far off places and in later years bought them from local Chinese shops. Among the most prized items are: Tupa LANS - Old Chinese earthenware jar with various designs and sizes, and the most prized one is TAUJU GUUCHI, which is very rare.

Brass Wares

Ketawak - a big gong
Bebundal - a small gong
Engkeremumang - a set of eight small gongs
Lunggi - a big container
Tabak - a flat top container, usually used for putting offering (PIRING) during a festival rice (GAWA).
Baka - an oblong container for putting areca nuts, betel and eel.

Handicrafts

Sumpit - a blow pipe used during the head-hunt- ing days to kill an enemy with a dart often with poisonous tip blow from it. It may be used to kill domestic game.

Tersai - a shield used to protect one's body from being slashed by an enemy during the head-hunt- ing days.
Pedang - a sword.
Bang - a special kind of knife used during the head-hunting days.

Pua Kumbu - a traditional Iban blanket or coverlet. The motifs represent some Iban cultural and traditional beliefs. This cloth is often used as a decorative backdrop on any Iban festive rice or GAWA.

Selamuk - a suck, often turned into a turban (LABONG) - and used by Iban on festive oc-
casions.
Temulah - used for blow-pipe darts.

Weaving and Basketry

Tikai - a mat woven either from certain kind of water reed (bembian/kas/teungkuang) or cane (rotan).
Kandi/Bakul - a bag/basket usually woven from bamboo (rotan).

DANCES AND MUSIC

The Iban have some popular dances & musical productions:
Ngajat - a warrior dance
APPENDIX F
Ecotourism at Iban Longhouses
Asian Overland Services
ADOPTION OF IBAN LONGHOUSE

A tourism responsible on eco-tourism project by Asian Overland Services Tours & Travel Sdn Bhd (AOS), after 18 years of involvement in tourism with Sarawak.

We set up an office in Kuching in 1991 headed by Ngu Ka Sen, a senior AOS staff. One day, while on one of his trips researching and trekking around in the jungle, Ngu discovered this particular longhouse in Stamang in the upper reaches of the Engkari River, somewhere between Lemanak and Batang Ai Dam. It is also very fortunate that this is a forest reserve protection area.

Tour operators normally put their tourists up for the night in a guest house built near the Iban longhouse. The facilities available there are unfortunately for use of the tourists only. This we felt alienated the natives in the longhouse from the tourists. Therefore we decided to come up and start a new concept whereby not only will it assist and preserve the way of life of the natives of the longhouse, but benefit them as well.

Before we started, brainstorming sessions which lasted for hours and stretched to days were held, with the village elders of the Stamang longhouse and the chief of that area. This was to ensure that all areas were covered and the shortcomings of tourism be taken into consideration. It was also clearly stated and acknowledged by all that tourism will only be a form of supplementary income, rather than the main stay and means of support for the natives livelihood.

CONCEPT

The idea of this concept is to improve through stages the standard of living of the natives by upgrading the infrastructure through AOS's financial contributions.

Secondly the bulk of the income from tourism would go to the longhouse and thirdly, to create an on going awareness and instill pride in preserving their cultural heritage, from the oldest to the future generations.

STEPS TAKEN BY AOS

* AOS bought two aluminium boats with big engines to ferry the tourists right up to the mouth of the river, where the Iban longboat will then take them to the longhouse. This step is to ensure the safety of the tourists in the anticipation of choppy waters during bad weather.

Update 22/01/94
* AOS installed a new sewerage system. Every four units now share a toilet each unlike before where these facilities were nearly non-existent. Besides being more hygienic, the livestock seem to be more healthy too.

* AOS purchased and fixed a new atap thatch roof for the longhouse and this keeps the longhouse cooler unlike their previous zinc clad roofs.

* AOS installed a new piping system to pipe water to the longhouse to overcome the problem of low water supply and especially to assist accessibility in times of urgent need.

* AOS advised and encouraged the natives to grow their own vegetables and rear more livestock, which AOS will purchase instead of getting their supply from the town, thus benefitting the natives.

* AOS also mentioned to the Chief that during the Rice Planting and Harvesting Season, the arrivals of tourists should not affect too much of the natives lifestyle.

* AOS did not build a guest house for their tourists but instead extended the longhouse longer by two units. These two units consists of twenty beds and four toilets each. Thus, this gives the tourists the opportunity to experience life in the longhouse where they will sleep, eat, play, hear and smell together with the natives.

* AOS installed a mobile phone with a high powered antenna for which can be used by the whole community in times of urgent need.

* AOS purchased four units each of fire extinguishers and huge rubberized rubbish bins for the use of the longhouse.

* AOS organised a 4 Days/3 Nights Familiarisation Trip to Kuching visiting places of interest such as the Sarawak Museum and Sarawak Cultural Village to educate the community on long house tourism. Currently there are 32 families in the longhouse and we invited one member from each family to participate in this trip.

* AOS contributes in kind annually towards the longhouse for the Gawai Dayak Festival.

Update 22/01/94
AOS does not encourage daily tours. Our minimum stay is 3 Days/2 Nights, and we have fixed our departure days to Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. This is to ensure there is more time for interaction between tourists and the natives as most of the other tour operators' programs are one night stay only.

AOS is in the final stages of setting up a Community Co-operative Shop not only in Kuching but Kuala Lumpur as well to help promote and sell the handicrafts and products of the natives. This shop will not be restricted to the natives of the Stamang Longhouse only, but will be made available for the natives of the longhouses upstream as well. Thus, this will indirectly help generate income for the natives in that area.

CONCLUSION

AOS endeavours to carry on more of such projects and is thus influencing tour operators, not only in Malaysia but the rest of South East Asia to practice responsible tourism.

Update 22/01/94
APPENDIX G
Sarawak Museum
Newspaper review
Visitor statistics
The Sarawak Museum stands majestically on a hill, where time stands still as the modern city outside evolves at breakneck speed. It remains a top tourist puller in the city. More than 200,000 people file past its corridors each year and the number is still escalating. It has an intriguing story to relate. Established in 1886, it is the oldest museum in Borneo. The second Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, first proposed the building of a museum in 1876.

This proposal was published in the Sarawak Gazette on March 26, 1878, which said ‘His Highness the Rajah intends on a future day to establish a museum, for which a suitable building will be constructed at Kuching by the Government.’

That same year, the Private Secretary to the Rajah, R. V. Awdry, was authorized to receive contributions for the proposed museum and this received overwhelming response. The collection was first housed in the Antara and later in a room over the Clock Tower opposite Penrangan Bank. However, it did not continue for long and the scheme was abandoned in adversity. The project was revived by the end of 1886, when it was decided to acquire the H. Brock Low’s collection of ethnographic specimens from Bajang to form the nucleus for the museum collection. This was placed in a temporary museum over the marketplace in Kuching, which was later converted to provide space for the museum.

The museum was again placed under the Ministry of Local Government and in 1973, came under the Ministry of Culture and was converted to provide space for exhibitions offered visitors a wide collection of specimens consisting of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes and insects collected all over the country. There are presently 70,000 specimens.

Also housed in the building are articles of art, crafts and heirlooms of all the ethnic groups in the State, Chinese furniture, brass and ceramic wares and a State Reference Library which is also a depository library and State Archives. The Museum also administers ordinances and regulations. These include the Antiquities Ordinance, 1954; Turtle Trust Ordinance, 1957; Wild Life Protection Ordinance, 1958; Local Newspapers Ordinance, 1959; Sarawak Museum (Deposit Library) Ordinance, 1961; Miscellaneous Licence (Edible Birds’ Nest) Regulations, 1963; Preservation of Books Act, 1966; Malaysia, Act of Parliament, No. 35 of 1966.

Under the listed law, it is the responsibility of the Director (then known as the curator) of the Sarawak Museum and his staff to search, acquire and to protect antiques. The Director is also an Executive Officer of the Turtle Board. He also assisted the Chief Game Warden (Director of Forests) as a Game Warden in the conservation of wildlife. Other responsibilities of the Museum include acquiring books, newspapers and other publications in the state besides preserving model of Bizen traditional longhouse.

As it appears now (above) and as it was then, patterned after a Normandy Town Hall (below) -

*As the Borneo Post * Sunday July 19, 1992 * 9
### VISITORS ATTENDANT

**Sarawak Museum**

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<th>YEAR</th>
<th>JANUARY</th>
<th>FEBRUARY</th>
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<th>APRIL</th>
<th>MAY</th>
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APPENDIX H
Museums and Authenticity
Museums and Authenticity

At the Sarawak Museum, Iban culture is represented by artefacts, unlabelled historic images, and a walk through replica of two rooms in a traditional Iban longhouse. Authenticity is projected through display techniques rather than a personal Iban 'voice'. The displays present a static, historical view of Iban culture, unsupported by personal accounts of Iban life or features of contemporary Iban culture, including tourism.

Other methods are used to communicate authenticity in permanent displays of North West Coast Indian art found in two national and two tribal museums in Canada (Clifford 1991). Animation and sound is used to bring vitality to Indian exhibits in the Royal British Columbia Museum. 'A silent video projection (from Edward Curtis's early film, *In the Land of the Headhunters*) shows traditional canoes with masked dancers in the bows (It is mesmerising to see these familiar masks and canoes in motion)' (Clifford 1991: 216). Indian mythology is incorporated in the historical narrative. 'In a dark space, masks are illuminated sequentially, with recorded voices recounting their different myths' (1991: 216). The Indian world is evoked through artefacts and the use of wall-size historic photographs depicting a traditional lifestyle, and larger-than-life portraits of Indian people.

A reconstructed chief's house has been built inside the Royal British Columbia Museum. This is a 'dimly lit long house, atmospheric with simulated fires and recorded chants' (Clifford 1991: 217). Inside, there are totem poles along with masks and other ceremonial objects displayed in cases. Rather than simply being an 'archaic traditional space', the chief's house is surrounded by exhibits on missionary influence, potlatch suppression, and Indian land struggles. In this context, the house is 'a powerful site of cultural authenticity surrounded by conflict and change' (Clifford 1991: 218). In contrast, the replica Iban longhouse rooms in the old Sarawak Museum are grounded in the ethnographic past.

North West Coast Indian wood sculptures are openly displayed in the Great Hall of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. The ambience of this building conveys 'intimate monumentality', since visitors can freely walk among the large sculptures. The brief labels include small drawings indicating where the sculpture was located in its original setting. One label, for a contemporary carving of a bear, states 'This sculpture can be gently touched' (Clifford 1991: 218). Cultural continuity is emphasised in this Indian art. Outside the museum, there are two reconstructed Haida houses and several totem poles, carved by contemporary Indian artists.

Native Museums communicate authenticity by presenting Indian artefacts as tribal or family property. At the Kwagiulth Museum, several masks displayed in conventional glass cases have labels stating which ceremony they were used in. 'Moreover, each label at the museum
concludes with the phrase "owned by" and an individual's proper name' (Clifford 1991: 227). Full names are also given to the Indian people depicted on postcards sold in the museum shop. This approach emphasises both personal identity and the continuing cultural value of these artefacts to specific Indian families.

At the U'mista Cultural Centre, masks and other ceremonial objects are openly displayed around the walls, in a big-house setting. This regalia, 'massed in a ritual procession', is placed on a low seating platform where the audience would normally sit during a potlatch ceremony. In a reversal of roles, the Indian masks are exhibited as 'spectators', enabling visitors to 'experience something of the potlatch itself' (Houlihan 1991: 206). Historic documents and oral testimonies from Indian elders are used on general labels. These recount the history of a 1921 potlatch ceremony, from an Indian point of view. Authenticity derives from the cultural context of presentation.

While the replica Iban longhouse rooms, built inside the old Sarawak Museum in 1968, are ethnographically accurate they lack any presence of Iban people. A full-size reconstruction of a Mohawk Indian bark longhouse opened in the New York State Museum in late 1992 (Jemison 1992). The longhouse interior, viewed through a plexiglass wall, includes life-size figures of Indian people and their family pets. One figure is that of a female storyteller recounting Indian tales and legends from a hidden speaker. In the roof of this longhouse, bundles of corn and other dried plants hang on cross beams. This exhibit represents a Mohawk Indian village in 1600. A small scale diorama in front of the longhouse provides a cultural and environmental context, by depicting everyday Indian activities and the surrounding forest. A similar cultural context, food products such as rice, and recordings of Iban people talking mixed with other domestic sounds would animate the replica Iban longhouse rooms.

References

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APPENDIX I
Sarawak Cultural Village
'Passport' entry, Iban longhouse
Visitor statistics, 1992
Iban

The Iban, once known as "Sea Dayaks", built their longhouses to last fifteen to twenty years, or until the farm land in the surrounding area was exhausted. Then they packed up their goods and chattels and moved inland, upriver, along the coast, wherever fresh farm lands looked promising. About one-third of all Sarawakians are Iban; while some of them live in towns or individual houses, a large number still prefer longhouses.

A traditional longhouse is built of axe-hewn timber, tied with creeper fibre, roofed with leaf thatch. It is nearly always built by the bank of a navigable river, and the visitor approaches it from the boat jetty. He climbs up a notched log that serves as staircase and finds himself on the open verandah, scene of community and domestic activity. Several doorways lead from the outer to the inner verandah, under the roof. This is the village street of the longhouse; the individual family rooms or "doors" front the common walkway. A casual visitor is invited to sit down on a mat here for a chat with the longhouse elder; family members enter their relatives' doors and make themselves at home.
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APPENDIX J

Newspaper Articles

'The longhouse goes upmarket'

'Promoting Sarawakian culture in European market through ngajat'
The longhouse goes upmarket

The longhouse, the traditional abode of Sarawak's tribal peoples, has now become a tourist attraction that the state is betting on.

A Sarawak longhouse... in recent decades, longhouse hospitality has been abused by travellers who found the free board and lodging almost too good to be true.

OF THE 14 states in Malaysia, Sarawak is the only one that occupies its own place on the international tourist map.

Total foreign arrivals have risen from 172,380 in 1981 to over 200,000 last year. All foreign visitors concede that Sarawak's scenery is breathtaking and the wildlife exotic, but their common goal is to spend at least one night in a longhouse - a Sarawak specialization.

The longhouse is a form of habitation once common all over Borneo. It is literally a long house, a village of 20 or more households living together under one roof with wide, sheltered verandahs that run the length of the building.

Family rooms open onto the verandah where the community's social life takes place. Here large mats are woven, fish traps mended and children run all over the place.

After nightfall, chatting groups assemble around small fireplaces or flickering kerosene lamps. The house bores a generator, and the evening's entertainment proceeds under electric lights. Recent statistics show that Sarawak has about 2,800 longhouses still standing.

Longhouse hospitality has a long history in the past, when callers were accommodated as a matter of course. They tied up their boats and scrambled up towards the house on the notched log that serves as a staircase.

Any outsider would direct them to the chief's room usually in the centre of the house. At meal times, they were invited to share the frugal fare of rice, jungle vegetables which the women had gleaned on the way home from the fields, or maybe fish or game if one of the longhouse folk had been lucky that day.

Stranglers were allocated sleeping places on the verandah, while visiting relatives were invited into the family's private rooms.

When longhouse folk went walking in the past, they could count on a welcome as long as they stayed among friendly tribes.

In recent decades, longhouse hospitality has been abused by travellers who found that free board and lodging almost too good to be true. It was an easier to the Iban tribe conceding, 'innocent abuse in most cases. 'We don't tell any-thing other people about our food; that's how far they are when they come and stay. Our people are used to the way we live in primitive, unspoiled conditions."

Mr S. C. Chan, secretary of the Sarawak Tourist Association, says he would like to see Longhouse Tourism Zones identified and developed, along the lines of a 'beach tourism zone' around the Sarawak River delta.

The upper reaches of the Batang Lupar river network, including the Segar, Lemassak and Ulu rivers, are earmarked for a project that will include improved access roads, bus parking facilities, emergency points, safe jetties and periodical river clearance.

The plan would make the remote area, located about 240 km north of Kuching, more accessible, but it will not guarantee a welcome from longhouse folk, unless it can be demonstrated that there is a living in it for them.

It is estimated that there are about 400 longhouses in the area. "Our people are getting more business-minded," comments Mr Chan. "They know they offer something unique, something other people want; it is only fair that they should be paid for it."

— NST
Promoting Sarawakian culture in European market through ngajat

KUCHING: An Iban tuai rumah and his delicate ngajat dance will be the latest effort to promote Sarawakian culture in the European market.

The 55-year-old headman Bansing ak Usah of Nanga Murad, Ulu Skrang will be accompanied by the managing director of the CPH Travel Agency (Sarawak) Sdn Bhd Jimmy Choo for the 10-day roadshow at Copenhagen, Denmark.

Said Choo during a press conference here, “the roadshow will see Bansing performing the ngajat as and when requested at each of our calls on Copenhagen’s travel agencies.”

“We’ll lay the carat for the promotion in the city which is organised by a major Copenhagen tour operator Larsen Rejser. “We’ll hope to project a Sarawakian identity. During my 30 years of experiencing the Iban culture and dances, Bansing is the most graceful dancer I’ve ever seen.”

Their trip is sponsored by the Singapore Airlines, the Malaysia Airlines and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

CPH Travel Agency has three rest houses: Bunulonghouse, Mejong and Ugat longhouse all located at Skrang, about 232 km from here.

These rest houses, Choo said, can accommodate about 180 tourists.

According to him, about 600 to 800 foreign tourists visited Sarawak monthly.

Meanwhile, he added that the Federal Ministry of Arts, Culture and Tourism has made an allocation of $300,000 for the provision of the visitor’s facilities at Skrang.

“This will include the construction of the public toilet facilities, resthouse and public telephones at Pias Jetty and new jetties at five longhouses in Skrang. As a tour operator who has been bringing tour groups to Skrang since the early 1980’s, I am happy at this new development as the new facilities will provide even greater convenience for tourists and visitors to Skrang.”

“I would also like to thank the State government, for upgrading the road to Pias, Skrang. This enables tour coaches to travel on surfaced roads all the way from Kuching.”

Mr Jimmy Choo with the graceful dancer, Bansing.
The Iban of Sarawak

'It can be a remarkable experience to stay among people once considered "primitive savages", but whose courtesy and integrity, not to mention sense of fun and ability to adapt to the challenging environment of the wilds of Borneo, make them truly civilized.'