



Communicating Ethnic Identity Through Ecotourism

Gaim James Lunkapis*
Universiti Malaysia Sabah

Abstract: Advertising is a ubiquitous medium of representation in tourism, often forming the first point of contact between the visitor and the destination. It is often however the case that such advertisements, especially when authored and promoted by commercial agents, may not faithfully depict or reflect cultural, social and environmental realities, and in some cases may not actually correspond with the characteristics of the advertised location or community at all. This paper seeks to understand whether ecotourism strategies can provide an alternative means of advertising, and the operation of sustainable, low impact tourism programs that provide a more faithful reflection of the host community and environment for the visitor, and harness the local knowledge and culture of the hosts to their own advantage. Based on field interviews and participant-observation, this paper presents an example of how the Murut Tahol community in the heartland of Borneo has employed the concepts of ecotourism in a variety of ways to attract visitors and to display their cultural and ethnic identity, and its connection with the environment. The results of this study indicate that ecotourism packages can be tailored, arranged and presented in such a way as to harness a more authentic cultural experience that benefits both the visitor and the host community. This paper argues that the state and commercial tour operators must engage, empower and employ local actors and communities as tourism agents, hosts and facilitators of ecotourism activities.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, Borneo, ecotourism, Murut Tahol, Sabah

Introduction

My interest in this paper regards the mediation of culture and ethnicity through ecotourism, and the degree to which the latter holds an advantage over commercial tourism. As such, my specific aim is to explore the relationship between the promotional media and the first-hand experience of ecotourism. I have chosen to focus on locally run ecotourism packages by the Murut communities in the interior of Sabah, in the Malaysian part of Borneo. Historically, the Murut are associated with headhunting practices as well as their unique gong ensemble music, and distinctive visual motifs and patterns

evidenced in elaborate beadwork, embroidered costumes, baskets, mats and various other forms of material culture. The richness of Murut culture is exemplary of the ways in which communities understand and engage with their environment (see Abdul Hakim Mohd 2014; Cleary 1992; Fung 2000; Miyakuni 1999; Subramaniam 2015; Woolley 1953; Jesselton 1953; Bradley 1968; Gingging 2007; Hose 1894; Wright 1966).

My theoretical starting point for this research was geographer Yi Fu Tuan's classic study of 1997, which enquired as to how human beings feel and think about space, how they form attachments to home, neighbourhood, and the broader community of nation, and how these feelings about space and place are represented and mediated. He describes the spirit of a place as being located inside the human imagination. Past events and experiences shape our relationship with space, and with each other. This theoretical perspective helps us to understand our connection with our environment, and the values that inform our way of life (Merriman et al. 2012). The phenomenological experience of a specific place, and membership in a specific community can be expressed or mediated in a variety of ways, such as through art, music, crafts and narrative storytelling, which are all rooted in the structural meanings and contexts of that ethnic group and its culture.

The difficulties in (re)presenting ethnic and cultural identities to outsiders are enhanced when such efforts are undertaken by people who are from different social and cultural backgrounds to the ones being represented. There will always be misunderstandings and discrepancies in a stranger's description of a place and its people. Moreover, even sound knowledge of another person's cultural context does not necessarily guarantee an authentic and faithful description. Therefore, the personal experience of community membership might appear a fundamental advantage in the effort to mediate the essence of that community's place and culture.

State initiatives to promote indigenous and ethnic-based cultural identities to the outside world under the rubric of tourism, will of course serve the state's political and economic agendas. Most advertisements in commercial tourism are produced through third party agents in any case, and these outsider perceptions regarding the cultural identities of certain communities may not necessarily correspond with reality (Belk and Kozinets 2005). In the ecotourism industry, the subject matter of advertisements and other promotional materials

often focuses on the environment, and the livelihoods and culture of the native communities. I argue here that native communities themselves working as tour operators and/or tour guides could potentially bridge this gap and provide better mediation and advertising. This might be achieved by focusing on a community's shared narratives of space, place and environment, and the aesthetic and material arts that communicate them.

Theory and Method

The method used in this research was mostly qualitative, including field interviews and participant observation, undertaken in areas inhabited by native Murut communities in Sabah. This research formed one strand within a larger research initiative the spanned five years, under the umbrella of 'geo biodiversity research', which focused on the interconnections between space, place and identity. The main purpose of this particular strand was to understand how the Murut Tahol community promote their culture and identity to the outside world through ecotourism, using their connection with space and place, and how they translate the meaning of this connection to outsiders. These meanings relate specifically to how local people describe certain places within their community based on their activities, perceptions and understandings (Gustafson 2001; Hopkins and Dixon 2006; Tuan 1974, 1997, 2007).

This paper focuses on a locally designed and managed ecotourism business called Orou Sapulot. In order to evaluate visitor experiences of the ecotourism packages offered through Orou Sapulot, this study also reviewed similar packages organised by other local communities. Locations and activities represented in travel-related advertisements, forums and websites, including Lonely Planet and Trip Advisor, were also utilized.

This research also benefited from comments and discussions with several local eco-tourist operators with regard to the problems and opportunities of ethnic-based eco-tourism packages. Several issues were covered, including plans for new activities and further expansion. The information gleaned through these interactions provided another dimension of data through which to address the objectives of this study. These interactions also provided insights into several novel objectives of these tour operators, including conservation and environmental awareness programs, community development and 'capacity

building' of the younger generation of Murut, preservation of culture and heritage, and finally the socioeconomic development of rural communities.

For evaluative purposes, the ecotourism industry could be said to comprise of two halves. The first half includes destinations, sites, events, cultures and experiences, while the second half includes the agents and actors involved in planning, marketing, and management (Jamal and Hill 2004). As the title of this paper suggests, aspects of a local community's ethnic identity can be communicated within and by the physical space of tourist destinations themselves. As in the work of Jamal and Hill, space and place can be useful instruments for expressing the lived experiences of residents to outsiders. These places are visually interconnected with the objects, architecture and people they contain. In the course of promoting ecotourism to the outside world by way of advertisements and other communications, several elements of these interconnections may be lost in translation. As a result, the identity of such places is often distorted and misrepresented. In order to remedy this, Jamal and Hill suggest that persons native to such places should be encouraged to present accounts of their own culture and the surrounding environment, and to take up roles as tourist guides or interpreters.

The characteristics and images of people and communities as portrayed in ecotourism advertisements and travel brochures are often different from the reality. Travel brochures often leave out information regarding internal conflicts that may have occurred within the country, communication difficulties, intercultural difficulties and misunderstandings, health hazards, and commercial tourist traps. Instead, travel brochures promise potential tourists a variety of sensory pleasures (Laurence Wai-Teng 1997), associated with the sights, smells, food, people and geography of a particular place. Dorsey et al. (2004) also discusses advertising agents' use of photography and cinematography to represent ethnicity. Face-to-face interactions with local tour guides can correct such false impressions, and replace them with more meaningful encounters (Howard et al. 2001).

The potential for using ecotourism as a strategy to present more meaningful perspectives for engaging with a place or space is significant. Yi Fu Tuan's writings on this subject (1997) are both descriptive and theoretical. His geographical perspectives are informed by his personal experiences of living at home and abroad (i.e. the United States and China), which help enrich

his analysis and underline the ways in which identity is linked with place. Tuan's ruminations on place and space suggest ways in which ecotourism projects could harness these imbricated relationships and create itineraries and activities that are in harmony with the destination, the host community and their culture, better communicating the host's identity for the visitor's edification.

The signification, or indeed construction, of a culture through a community's physical surroundings necessarily reflects the day-to-day activities and way of life of that community (see Oakes 1997). As such, culture is firmly rooted in the physical and material environment of a community, and membership in that community should be the fundamental criterion for the presentation and explanation of its culture to visitors. Often, the state has a very different agenda than the communities themselves when it comes to the presentation of local culture under the rubric of tourism. This naturally results in contradictions and misunderstandings, from which a variety of problems arise (Yang et al. 2008). In addition, advertisements and promotional media created by advertising agents is often designed purely to attract as many visitors as possible, with little regard for the quality of experience being provided to the tourist, or the impact of high visitor numbers on the host community.

For example, in the case of Belize as an ecotourism destination (Belsky 1999), the community itself was a strong element of the advertised attraction. However, they themselves actually played little or no role in the design and management of the tourism model and its promotion, which was instead undertaken by state agents and commercial interests. Political and economic considerations naturally outweighed and overshadowed the original 'ecotourism' aims and concerns.

The question of how ethnic identities can be represented in ecotourism needs to be further explored. Both the state and the community have a role to play (Yang 2011). In most countries, ethnic tourism is often harnessed for economic development (Henderson 2003; Walsh and Swain 2004; Yea 2002). It also assists ethnic minorities in highlighting and preserving their cultures, and even reviving old traditions (Santos and Yan 2008; Swain 1989, 1990). However, while ethnic tourism has the potential to bring economic and social benefits, it can also have an adverse impact on the culture and sense of identity of ethnic groups if mismanaged. Thus, as Yang (2012) points out, the state

can play a role in assisting these minorities by allowing them to represent themselves at certain levels of the ecotourism industry.

The specific purview of this research spans locally based Murut ethnic tour operators, their modes of presentation, and the substantive content of their tours. The details of the findings are presented below as narrative descriptions, followed by some discussion and concluding comments.

Ethnic-Based Ecotourism Agents

One of the objectives of this study was to investigate whether ethnic community-based ecotourism agents exist and to learn how these agents promote their ecotourism packages. To this end, we used multiple search engines to find websites that promote authentic ecotourism packages. Based on previous studies (Dorsey et al. 2004) and with reference to the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (World Tourism Organisation 2002), several criteria for this purpose were that eco tour agents must a) be representative and well-established; b) promote sustainable eco tour packages; c) be focused on local natural and cultural attractions; and d) specifically target certain areas as primary destinations for low density travel.

The Internet search was fruitful and interesting. Though other examples were in evidence, this paper focuses on the Orou Sapulot ecotourism website (www.orousapulot.com). The website is operated by a local man from the Murut community, Datuk Richard Gunting, with the support of his family members, particularly his son, Virgil Richard Gunting. Orou Sapulot's advertising strategy, as demonstrated by the website, is based around the concept of travelling 'back in time' to a world of natural wonder and traditional living. As translated on the website, the word '*orou*' means 'sun' in the Murut language. Orou Sapulot uses several taglines for its promotions and advertising, such as "Back in Time," "Natural Village Sanctuary," "Nature Living Experience" and several others. The programs established by this organisation are enabled by Borneo Outback Tours, whose stated vision is to assist in the economic development of the villagers, primarily in the Sepulot area in the district of Nabawan, Sabah, in the Malaysian part of Borneo. Orou Sapulot's website also states that they aim to inform visitors about the importance of nature and conservation in this part of the world.

These ecotourism programs have been designed to create awareness and educate villagers about their social and economic rights and privileges through a variety of planned activities. The activities are also aimed at minimising rural-urban migration among the younger generation in search of employment. There are also environmental education and conservation activities for young people, and opportunities for employment. Relative poverty is evident in the state of Sabah (Government of Malaysia 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015) and Orou Sapulot is trying to help local communities to generate sustainable income. The tourists themselves are encouraged to participate in various ecosystem improvement and preservation activities, as well as in the daily life of the host communities.

Place, Space and Associated Meanings

The researchers participated in several guided tour packages and observed how space, place and identity were presented to visitors. The following are accounts of specific locations on the tours and some of the findings.

Batu Punggul

One of the many landmarks promoted in the ecotourism packages is the legendary Batu Punggul, a limestone outcrop approximately 200 metres in height. Batu Punggul, which is referenced in many local legends and is one of the most famous limestone outcrops in Borneo, is being promoted and advertised as one of the area's central cultural and natural attractions. In terms of culture, one of the most famous legends about the location holds that Batu Punggul was once a traditional Murut longhouse that was turned to stone by angry gods because a taboo was broken during a big feast (Fung 2000). Despite the fact that most of the Murut Tahols have converted to Christianity (Abdul Hakim Mohd 2014), the legend of Batu Punggul is still a part of popular folklore and is known to most Murut community members. The location is also rich in biodiversity in terms of both flora and fauna, and has many interesting geological features.

We observed that visiting Batu Punggul with a local tour agent that not only knows the area but is also a member of the community certainly enriches the experience. Visitors have to travel by road to Tataluan Village, which is a four-hour drive from Kota Kinabalu, the state capital of Sabah, Malaysia.

Nearby tourist accommodation includes the Romol Village Eco-Lodge, which is operated by local communities. From there, it is a short river trip on a traditional wooden boat powered by an outboard engine, and then a trek through virgin jungle to the foot of the outcrop, which is the starting point for the climb. During the jungle trek, visitors can also enter a small cave along the way where a large Buddha-shaped rock is located. Since the trek route passes through virgin jungle, visitors can expect to encounter much interesting wildlife and plants along the way.

Adventurous visitors are given the option to ascend to the top of Batu Punggul via a guided climb with members of the local community. Before the climb, guides from the Murut community give a briefing and a summary account of Batu Punggul drawing on stories passed down through the generations in their own communities.



Figure 1. Batu Punggul. Source: the author.

Alternative activities include visits to several nearby caves including Tinahas Cave, which is a short hike from the foot of Batu Punggul. The local guides explained that according to legend, this was another longhouse on the other side of the river, which was turned into rock at the same time as Batu Punggul. At the entrance to the Tinahas cave, there is a wooden beam imbedded in the

limestone. There are also jar-shaped stalagmites. According to legend, these are tapioca and rice-wine jars which had been turned into stone when disaster struck several Murut Villages in that particular valley. It was noted during a visit to this site that the guides were attentive to the many questions from visitors and very knowledgeable about the site. They were more than willing to tell stories about these places and attend to the needs of the visitors. The locals were well versed about Batu Punggul, local culture and the surrounding environment.

The Pungiton Cave

The Pungiton cave is a series of caves advertised in the Sapulot eco tour package. The name “Pungiton” is derived from the Murut word “Pungit”, which means bats, whom are found in abundance in this cave. Local legend has it that the Pungiton cave is actually the lair of a dragon. One of the village elders explained that according to stories passed down through generations, some villagers had actually seen this dragon. According to one version of these legendary dragon stories by KK Laminit Bakayas of Kg. Tataluan, the nearest settlement to the cave, the dragon still lives in the cave and protects it from being disturbed (personal communication). Outside the cave’s entrance along the Pungiton River, a large log can be seen blocking the entrance to the stream. This wooden obstacle was apparently left behind when the dragon destroyed several boats blocking the entrance.

It was noted during the field activities that the local guide provided guidance on some of the basic equipment needed for trekking, such as a torch, sufficient water supply and a camera. Visitors had to follow a one-kilometre trail. Proper hiking shoes were recommended, but the natives preferred rubber shoes, locally known as *Adidas kampung* (Figure 2). They wore these shoes on a daily basis. The shoes were waterproof, could be wiped dry, and had better traction, symbolising resilience and adaptability to the local environment.



Figure 2. The ‘Adidas kampung’ shoes. Source: the author.

Visitors were expected to provide their own accessories, however, the guides retained several spare pairs of these shoes. Some members of the research team asked if they could borrow a pair since their own were unfit for trekking. The hosts obliged, and took the opportunity to tell stories connected with each pair of the shoes, recalling the treks they had been used on, and anecdotes about the previous tourists who had borrowed them. The *Adidas kampung* ended up unlocking more information about the attractions, including local stories and anecdotes, and thus enriching the tourist experience.

Inside the cave, the native guides were always there along the wooden steps to assist visitors. The cave itself was divided into three levels: the ground level, which required visitors to walk in the stream and get wet, the middle level where the bats and various statues were located, and the upper level, where tree roots and various wildlife were visible, notably snakes, insects and other species. It was observed that a minimum of building or structural development had taken place in this cave.

Waterfalls

The Sapulot area contains many natural waterfalls hidden away from the main routes and surrounded by tropical jungle. Each of these waterfalls has its particular stories, legends and taboos, which the local guide shared whilst trekking en route to the destination. Some of the popular waterfalls include the Kabolungou Waterfall (seven levels of falls), the Bantul Waterfall and the Sosogoh Waterfall. In order to reach these locations, visitors were required to trek across streams and pools, and climb hills. To reach certain areas, visitors had to board a wooden boat to cross rapids. These journeys, with different landscapes and natural scenery, added to the experience. Finally, on reaching their destination, visitors could rest, take natural spas or simply relax with the sound of the waterfall behind them, or enjoy a high tea served by the local guides. Some locations had basic facilities that could accommodate overnight stays for several people. Local guides were always stationed nearby to attend to the needs of visitors. The findings of this study also revealed that the local guides comprised youths from several communities who were cooperating through their common interest of conserving and sharing their culture and identity.

River Transport

Apart from participating in the advertised activities, the research team went further downstream to the communities living at the border between Malaysia and Indonesia, where rivers are used as the main transport network. The experience was similar to white water rafting using traditional wooden boats powered by outboard engines. The team stayed at several Murut community longhouses along the riverbanks between Sepulot and Bantul, and had a clear view of native villages along the riverside as well as evidence of native agricultural practices. Various types of rapids lay between the villages of Salung and Bantul, and there were times when the boatman requested that the team members walk along the riverbank to the other end of the rapids for their own safety. The most interesting observation was made during and after heavy rain when the river transformed into high rapids and flooded areas from upstream. The locals welcomed these floods since it was easier to manoeuvre the boats in high water, and their specialised skills were much in evidence.



Figure 3. The boat owner, Ringo Garing, with a native settlement in the background.
Source: the author

The group was fortunate to be able to have lunch on the Indonesian side of the border. Their observations revealed that this border village was home to several families from both the Malaysian (Bantul) and Indonesian (Labang) side of the border. The findings also revealed that although the communities were bifurcated administratively, they lived in harmonious cooperation. Residents from both sides of the border often belonged to the same family. For example, the research team's host belonged to the Garing clan (Figure 3) and had family members residing on both sides of the border. They crossed on a daily basis to see each other.

The Romol Village House

The "Murut Land" eco tour package normally ends at the Romol Eco-Lodge, the design of which is based on a typical modern Murut dwelling with elements of the traditional longhouse design. The house was equipped with amenities for the accommodation of guests, whom are put up in the common hall, similar to the traditional way of Murut living. Basic amenities, including mattresses, pillows and bed sheets were provided for the comfort of visitors. The lodge receives its water supply from a hill stream nearby. It also hosts meetings and puts on traditional cultural performances in the common hall as well as hosting guests. The team had a comfortable stay at the Romol Villa House, and were impressed by their experience of traditional Murut culture and hospitality.

Discussion and Conclusion

Orou Sapulot runs a successfully low impact ecotourism package, in which group numbers are kept to a minimum, allowing for more prolonged and meaningful exchange between the visitors and guides. The research shows that Orou Sapulot focuses its tours on both the physical environment and the host community and its culture, which are profoundly interconnected. The group is committed to environmental conservation and raising awareness of it through education, and employs its proceeds in a responsible way.

The tour guides provided the research team with a localized account of the space and places of their community and its surrounds in relation to the traditions, cultures and legends of the Muruts. The Pungiton Cave, Batu Punggul, the cultural shows and also the boating trips were some of the main features of the tour packages that helped to explicate the identity of the Murut communities and their connection with the physical features of the environment. Throughout the journey, their character and specialized skills reflected this connection. For example, Garing and his family members had been handling the banana-shaped longboats since they were very young. Their aptitude and specialized knowledge of river conditions were gained not only through personal experience, but also through the tutelage of senior members of Garing's clan. Yi Fu Tuan (1997) writes that the spirit of a place resides in the mind and is expressed through personal encounters and connections. For the research team, the boating trip was a thrilling experience. However, as was eminently observable, for the Garing clan the river transport system was a quotidian element in their environment and everyday experience. Observing their fluency in using this transport system was both edifying and spectacular.

The rubric of ecotourism has become effective in attracting visitors from other parts of the world to relatively unspoiled locations, and is often promoted through the advertisements of third party agents. In the case of Orou Sapulot, what was advertised in the tour package was reflected in the actual experience. All the tour guides were members of the local communities whom were equipped with local knowledge and wisdom about the attractions and locations. As such their cultural and ethnic identity was an asset, as evidenced through some of the skilled tasks required of them throughout the journey, and the legends and social context of the locations they were able to describe for visitors. The opinions of previous customers of Orou Sapulot, the main

advertising agent, further endorse and reflect the findings of this research. The following feedback was published by Trip Advisor and Lonely Planet:

Trip Advisor, posted 15 May 2015 and accessed on 19 July 2015

Upon reading the Lonely Planet book on Borneo and the reviews here, my partner and I decided to start our little Borneo adventure at Orou Sapulot. Words really can't do this tour enough justice. Richard, Virgil and the rest of his family went far beyond the extra mile to look after us, feed us and keep us well entertained! The activities were adrenaline-packed, and the guides were full of knowledge and were there to help straightaway if, and when, needed. The setting is breath taking; to be able to climb rocks and swim in rivers in a primary rainforest is a dream come true. The food is delicious; the rice wine is strong. The Murut culture is heart-warming, very hospitable, welcoming, hardworking and giving. What Richard and Virgil are doing for the rainforest and local villages is admirable and very generous. A great project, a great cause, don't miss out. We miss Sapulot already! We will be back (Trip Advisor.com)

Lonely Planet, posted 1 June 2013 and accessed on 19 July 2015

It's a fantastic area well off the beaten track, and the guy who set it up is really into his eco-tourism, for want of a better word. You can book direct with a group, like we did, but because it is not cheap on your own – it's a long way from anywhere else really - you may want to ask other companies if they have any trips going there. I know Adventure Alternative Borneo run out there, including Batu Pungul and the whole Orou Sapulot thing.

Great fun and a lot of variety, caves, rivers, waterfalls, comfy homestay, rafting

Been there, done that, wished I had more time there. The jungles and facilities were pristine with everything opposite of a commercialized destination spot. If you are a person that loves Nature and wants to get away from the bustling and hectic places, going there would definitely be a treat!

Cheers! Hope you enjoy as much as I did (Lonelyplanet.com)

In conclusion, it was suggested above that ethnic and cultural identity could be better represented and communicated through strategies of ecotourism and its associated agents, whom provide an alternative model for native communities to build and advertise tourist ventures, instead of going through commercial marketing agents. This paper concludes that Orou Sapulot represented and promoted their packages and host communities with fidelity, to the advantage of both host community and tourist. The soundness of this approach is reflected in the positive customer feedback evidenced in the independent reviews from Lonely Planet and Trip Advisor.

These findings strongly indicate that the development of quality, sustainable tourism benefits from recognising and utilizing local communities as stakeholders and assets in the tourism industry. This extends beyond mere employment as guides and hosts, to active roles in the creation of advertising and related media.

Acknowledgement

An earlier version of this paper was presented as an oral presentation during the International Conference on “Tourism and Ethnicity in ASEAN and Beyond 2015”, on the 15-16 August 2015, in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The author wishes to acknowledge the generous support from the Universiti Malaysia Sabah Research Scheme (SBK0007-SS-1/2012) and the Higher Degree Research Unit, Macquarie University, Sydney (2007-2010). The author wishes to record his sincere appreciation to the host cum eco-tour operator, Datuk Dr. Richard Gunting and his family (including their extended family members) for their kind hospitality throughout this ongoing research. The same goes to Father Dr. Jojo M Fung and Dr. Paul Porodong for engaging the author as part of the prestigious Geo-Biodiversity Research Team and finally, to our host family, the Garing Clan and all family members at the Long House of Kg. Bantul.

Notes

***Gaim James Lunkapis** is a senior research fellow at Research Unit for Ethnographic and Development and a senior lecturer at Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. He achieved his PhD from Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Email: gaim.ums@gmail.com

References

- Abdul, H. M. (2014). Spiritual Journey of Murut Tahol in Sabah and Its Effect to Their Headhunting Practice. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 4(6), pp. 426-29. doi: 10.7763/IJSSH.2014.V4.392
- Borneo, Colony of North (1953). *Annual Report 1953*. Jesselton: Government Printing Department, North Borneo.
- Bradley, C. P. (1968). Communal Politics in Malaysian Borneo. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 21(5), pp. 123-40. doi: 10.1177/106591296802100110
- Cleary, M. C. (1992). Plantation Agriculture and the Formulation of Native Land Rights in British North Borneo c. 1880-1930. *The Geographical Journal*, 158(2), pp. 170-81.
- Dorsey, E. R., Leslie, S. H. and Porras, L. E. (2004). Advertising ecotourism on the internet: commodifying environment and culture. *New Media & Society*, 6(6), pp. 753-79. doi: 10.1177/146144804044328
- Fung, J. M. (2000). Glimpses of Murut shamanism in Sabah. *Shaman*, 8(2), pp. 181-193.
- Gingging, F. A. M. (2007). "I Lost My Head in Borneo": Tourism and the Refashioning of the Headhunting Narrative in Sabah, Malaysia. *Cultural Analysis*, 6, pp. 1-29.
- Government of Malaysia (2010). *Statistics Handbook, Malaysia 2010*. Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur: Pencetak Nasional.
- Government of Malaysia (2011). *Tenth Malaysia Plan 2010-2015*. The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department: Putrajaya.
- Government of Malaysia (2012). *Population and Housing Census 2011, Sabah*. Malaysia Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur: Pencetak Nasional.
- Government of Malaysia (2015). *Eleventh Malaysia Plan 2015-2020*. Putrajaya: The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department.

- Gustafson, P. E. R. (2001). Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(1), pp. 5-16. doi: 10.1006/jevp.2000.0185
- Hopkins, N. and Dixon, J. (2006). Space, Place, and Identity: Issues for Political Psychology. *Political Psychology*, 27(2), pp. 173-85. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2006.00001.x
- Hose, C. (1894). The Natives of Borneo. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 23, pp. 156-72.
- Howard, J., Thwaites, R. and Smith, B. (2001). Investigating the Roles of the Indigenous Tour Guide. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, 12(2), pp. 32-39.
- Jamal, T. and Hill, S. (2004). Developing a framework for indicators of authenticity: the place and space of cultural and heritage tourism. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 9(4), pp. 353-72. doi: 10.1080/1094166042000311246
- Laurence Wai-Teng, L. (1997). Commodifying Ethnicity State and Ethnic Tourism in Singapore. *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lonely Planet Travel Guides and Travel Information*. 'Orou Sapulut' [online]. Available at: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/southeast-asia/malaysia-singapore-brunei/malaysia/sabah/southwestern-sabah/the-interior/batu-punggul/activities/local-culture/orou-sapulot> [Accessed 19 July 2015].
- Miyakuni, K. (1999). Changes of land tenure and the introduction of tree cash crops by shifting cultivators: The case of the Paluan Muruts in Sabah, Malaysia. *Journal of Forest Research*, 4(2), pp. 67-74. doi: 10.1007/BF02762228
- Oakes, T. (1997). Ethnic Tourism in Rural Guizhou: Sense of Place and the Commerce of Authenticity. In M. Picard and R. E. Wood, eds., *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Subramaniam, Y. (2015). Ethnicity, Indigeneity and Indigenous Rights: The 'Orang Asli' Experience. *QUT Law Review*, 15(1), pp. 71-91. doi: 10.5204/qutlr.v15i1.562

- Trip Advisor.com (2015) 'Orou Sapulot: Trip Advisor Review' [online]. Available at: http://www.tripadvisor.com.my/Attraction_Review-g3533519-d4611593-Reviews-Orou_Sapulot-Keningau_Sabah.html [Accessed 19 July 2015].
- Tuan, Y. F. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitude, and Values*. Edgewood Cliff, New Jersey : Prentice Hall.
- Tuan, Y. F. (1997). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minniapolis: Minnesota Press.
- Tuan, Y. F. (2007). Power, Modernity and Traditional Cultures. *New Global Studies*, 1(1), pp. 1-9. doi: 10.2202/1940-0004.1012
- Woolley, C. G. (1953). Dusun Adat: Some Customs of the Dusun of Tambunan and Ranau. *Native Affairs Bulletin*, pp. 21.
- World Tourism Organisation (2002). *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*. Santiagi, Chile: World Tourism Organisation.
- Wright, L. R. (1966). Historical Notes on the North Borneo Dispute. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25(3), pp. 471-84. doi: 10.2307/2052002