

THE PARADOX OF TRADITIONAL BOAT-MAKING: INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE VS. GLOBALIZATION

Siti Korota‘aini Omar
Mazlan Che Soh
Universiti Teknologi Mara
sitikomar@gmail.com

Abstract

A master craftsman builds a boat based on his excellent skill, knowledge, photographic memory and dedication. Today, traditional boat making in Malaysia appears to be a dying trade. The indigenous knowledge is fighting a losing battle with knowledge economy, a cohort of globalization. Indeed, globalisation has been knocking our doors since the days of Parameswara in 1400's. The difference then and today is on the conduct of the visits. The merchants from the West Asia brought their religion, Islam and knowledge, together with their goods. Today, globalization enters one's home through cyber technology. It demolishes borders, redefines rules, creates new culture, constructs new markets and wealth as well as discontents. Globalization brought employment opportunities to the needy. Yet, multinational corporations, due to their aggressive promotion through the media have created new consumerist culture. The global economy, supported by globalization, changes the way the local population views their traditional livelihood and ways of life. Indigenous knowledge faded into the background. Once a flourishing trade, traditional boat-making and repair work is facing serious problems with regards to its sustainability. Foreign craftsmen from Thailand are flooding the job-market in Kelantan and Trengganu. This paper is based on a research concerning the indigenous knowledge of boat-making

and repair at the Eastern Coast of Peninsular Malaysia, which aims to address issues, challenges and limitation of its existing situation. It is timely that an effective mechanism is instituted to protect this valuable indigenous knowledge.

Keywords: Indigenous knowledge, traditional boat making, sustainable livelihood

Introduction

Almost encircled by the sea, except for her northern border with Thailand, Peninsular Malaysia has abundant resources, including her all-year round summer, spells of rainfall, the monsoon, rainforests, and colourful sea-life. The environment accentuates the lifestyle of her people long before globalization started to knock on her door. The rivers that begin their journey from the mountains and the rainforests form the lifeline of the people, especially the indigenous community. Indeed the Malay community have a very strong relationship with either the sea or river. We note this element from their thousands of messages in proverbs such as *seperti aur dengan tebing* (like a bamboo and the river bank), *jika takut dilambung ombak, jangan berumah di tepi pantai* (if you fear to be tossed by the waves, do not live by the beach) and *belayar ke pulau* (sail to an island). These are messages of their sea-faring life long before globalization struck its information, communication and technological (ICT) weapon of economic supremacy in the name of knowledge economy. Therefore, it is extremely relevant that our examination of this community rests on the object linked to the river or the sea using boats *perahu*, which include, a small *sampan* (dingy) or as big as a *kapal* (ship) in the Malay language.

The indigenous people depend on rivers and the sea as their resource to sustain their livelihoods and as a highway for their communication channels from one place to another place. The rivers connect one place to another within the peninsular, while the sea provides the link between this country and another, either to explore, trade, form diplomatic relationship or to migrate. The Malays were great sailors and had travelled by sea as far as Madagascar. One such great

sailor was Enrique of Melaka or Panglima Awang, one of Ferdinand Magellan's crewman (Ferdinand Magellan left Spain in 1519, was killed in the Philippines and never returned to his point of embarkation). This part of history proves the close affiliation of the Malays and their maritime skills. This scenario directly provides the evidence that the Malays have the skills in water transportation and boat-making. This paper, therefore, aims to explore the indigenous knowledge and maintenance of traditional boat-making as they face globalization's vehicle of knowledge economy. This paper hopes to reveal indigenous knowledge perspective with the ultimate issues to address challenges and limitations of its existing situation as well suggest an effective mechanism to protect the Malay heritage of boat making. Our study concentrates on the east-coast states of Kelantan and Terengganu.

The Indigenous People

The Malays are one of the many indigenous people of Malaysia. They have "existed as a society for thousands of years (Syed Husin Ali, 1981, p.11). Some theories suggest that the early settlers (Mesolithic groups) arrived from Indo China circa 5,000 to 3,000 BC. The Neolithic groups arrived between 3,000 and 1,500 BC. In 1991, this southbound theory was debunked by a discovery of a human skeleton of a man found at Gua Gunung Runtuh, Lenggong, in the state of Perak in Malaysia. The skeleton, which was dated around 11,000 BC confirmed that a civil society had existed long before the westerners arrived in this country.

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 2004 define the indigenous communities, peoples and nations as:

"Those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in

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accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.”

The economically non-dominant sector in Malaysia is the rural segment of the country where the Malays reside in villages, carrying out agricultural activities and practicing their *adat* (customary law) and *adab* (code of conduct). Traditionally, they are known to be capable and skilled in the arts and crafts of wood, bamboo and metal well pottery, *batik* printing, *songket* weaving and so forth. These were to be sold elsewhere via the mode of transportation that they expertly and beautifully built: boats.

Indigenous Knowledge and Boat-Making

Indigenous knowledge (IK), traditional knowledge (TK) and Traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) are three different sources of intellectual capital. They bear similarities that they are generally referred to as matured-long-standing traditions and practices of certain regional, indigenous, or local communities. It also encompasses the wisdom, knowledge, belief and teachings of these communities. In most situations, these forms of knowledge have been orally passed on from person to person for several generations. These are expressed through stories, legends, folklore, rituals, songs and local communication laws (Acharya & Shrivastava, 2008).

The indigenous people use their knowledge to interpret their relationship with the local environment. Indigenous knowledge is a holistic approach of managing of natural resources with conservation and sustainability as their core values. Among the Malays, indigenous knowledge considers the spiritual values (religion and customary), *ilmu kebatinan* (metaphysics), natural science and competency in utilizing the adaptive processes of change and social control. In our context of study, indigenous knowledge is a composite set of know-how, expertise and skills, which is derived from different sources that include as their parents, indigenous experts (elders), empirical trials and even scientific information. Indigenous knowledge is value-laden and involves an experiential learning process which in itself is scientific. This has yet to be explored and documented.

A notable artefact, the *nekara*, was discovered in Kampung Sungai Lang, Banting, Selangor (Peacock, 1965). The *Nekara*, a finely-decorated drum-like object made of bronze is claimed to be similar to an artefact found in Dongson, IndoChina and Java, Indonesia. The artefact is said to be dated around 5th Century BC. The similarities implied that the artefact was brought to this country by certain form of water transportation since the regions are separated by sea.

Dunn (1975) believes that early navigation system connecting the Malay Archipelago and her neighbouring continents was by rafting (see also FL Dunn & DF Dunn, 1984). As they came face to face with the increasing demand for better quality of life and competition for survival, the early Malays started to build improved transportation system. Boats and rafts were used to explore to forage for food. This enhanced their maritime trade and sea travels especially in Southeast Asia.

Anthropologists believe that the evolution of boat-making as parts of the Austronesian culture existed since 4,000 BC (see Belwood, 1985; also Peacock, 1965) A formation of boat was also discovered near Kampung Jenderam, Sungai Langat, Selangor, estimated to be dated about the 6th Century BC (Batchelor, 1977). Some artefacts that resembled parts of a boat; boards, a keel and a few *gaung* had been found at Kuala Pontian coast of Pahang.

The development of boat making makes sense in areas of the coastal area of the Peninsular of Malaysia such as in states of Kelantan and Terengganu. Terengganu has the longest coastline in the Malay Peninsula along the 225 km stretching from the north (Besut) to south (Kemaman). The natives make a living as sailors and fishermen along the coast, which had resulted in manufacturing industries of boats using traditional wood. This traditional industry continues to grow until today, despite the competition from modern boats made of fiberglass. There are various types of boats which symbol the pride of the Malays such as the *jong Melayu*, *perahu bedar*, *perahu kolek*, symbolise *perahu sekoci* and so forth.

Knowledge Economy

Investing in sophisticated technology to boost productivity could never be rendered forceful without its real driver – the human factor. All successful companies consider intellectual capital as one of the critical success factor which distinguishes them from those that failed. Computer as part of technology would die and need to be incessantly replaced. A person who uses a computer as a digital assistant to do tasks is only a knowledge user and therefore does not add any value. It is the knowledge worker who possesses knowledge and converts it to real value. Humans are the real assets because they are the ones who create the computer, can convert data, information and knowledge into wisdom. Based on this premise, investing on human intelligence as intellectual capital should be a priority in formulating a business strategy to be ahead of the artificial intelligence.

Stewart (2000) classifies intellectual capital into three components: human capital, structural capital and customer capital. Thinkers, inventors and innovators are the human capital. They are neither the money nor the machines. They are the hired minds, not hired hand (Stewart, 2000). Placing the hired minds at the core through correct knowledge sharing practices is the answer to organisational dysfunctions. Binding this package of human collaboration is the organisational system - the structural capital and the group who actually finance the organisation – the customer capital. In a state, the customer capital comprises of a large group of diverse stakeholders: the citizens.

There is no silver bullet for knowledge creation. Yet knowledge is a very critical component of our modern life. The pursuit for advanced knowledge is a must among the people as one of the indicators to measure the progress of a nation. The knowledge economy refers to economic activities that are focused on acquisition, sharing and utilization of knowledge. Some would equate it to knowledge-based economy in which the use of knowledge technologies (such as knowledge engineering and knowledge management) to increase productivity, economic benefits and job creation (see Drucker, 1969 and for cases read Geisler and Wickramasinghe, 2009).

In Malaysia, the National Vision Policy could be taken as the cornerstone from production-based economy to a knowledge-based economy. The development of a Master Plan to chart the strategic direction towards the knowledge-based economy was announced in Budget 2000. Prior to this, however, the Government has adopted several initiatives aimed at developing Malaysia into a knowledge-based economy (EPU, 2010).

The establishment of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) in 1996 provides the infrastructure to foster the development of high technology and innovations for domestic and foreign companies and the implementation of several flagship applications. These include the multi-purpose card, smart schools, tele health, e-government and technopreneur development. Tax incentives were introduced to promote an information technology-savvy society. This is the starting point of the knowledge economic policy. Subsequently, the Knowledge-based Economy Master Plan provides a strategic framework outlining the changes to the fundamentals of the economy to further accelerate the development of the nation into a knowledge-based economy as well as in achieving the objectives of Vision 2020.

A policy supporting the k-economy was advocated by then Prime Minister Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad when he launched the Outline Perspective Plan 3 (OPP3) (EPU, 2001). Among the initiatives were to develop basic knowledge workers through revision of education and training system, introduction of a system of lifelong learning and intelligent program (brain gain), increase of the initiative of science and technology (S&T) and research and development (R&D) to strengthen the national innovation system and accelerate the development of infrastructure to facilitate the development of knowledge-based economy. The OPP3 asserts that the financial system would be restructured to provide appropriate funding for the knowledge-based activities as well as providing tools for macro-economic management.

The points regarding surviving challenges associated with knowledge-based economy, improving content knowledge in agriculture, manufacturing and services were also mentioned in the OPP3. The private sector would be encouraged to participate actively in identifying and exploiting opportunities within the framework of the k-economy.

Last, but not least, is to ensure that the public sector becomes more efficient in acquisition, dissemination and knowledge management, promote the ethical use of knowledge and takes decisive action to bridge the digital gap between the poor and the affluent, different ethnicities, age groups, urban and rural communities and across borders. The Knowledge-based Economy Master Plan (KEMP) contains 136 recommendations, which includes human resource development, information structure, incentives, science and technology development, reorientation of public and private sectors and also to address the digital divide.

The KEMP has outlined that in order to become a knowledge-based economy, Malaysia would focus on two critical tasks: (a) absorbing and adapting existing knowledge from around the world as well as producing and commercializing new cutting-edge inventions; and (b) supplying the skilled manpower with the requisite technical and managerial qualifications needed by a modern, innovative economy. Malaysian universities are to play a leading role in achieving both objectives (EPU, 2006).

Globalization

Globalisation knocked on the door of the Malay Archipelago in the days of the Golden Chersonese, long before Parameswara docked his ship on Melaka's soil in 1400's. The difference then and today is on the *adab* of the visits. The merchants from Arabs brought their goods with their religion, Islam, as value-added. The traders from the Indian Continent and China peddled their spices and silk. The Portuguese, Dutch and English carried their guns and possibly opium. They were, in today's terminology, advocates of global economy. Their adventures or misadventures have been recorded in history.

Today, with improvements in transportation, communication and cyber technology, globalisation demolishes borders, redefines rules and challenges sovereign political power. It creates new markets and wealth as well as discontents (Hertz, 2001). It even kills the roots of Western creation: democracy. Globalisation has become the enemy of small nations struggling to sustain its socio-cultural identity and limited resources. The United Nation (UN) was established to monitor this

globalisation phenomenon: that is the political and economic reformation, welfare and environment in the global economy.

Globalization is one of the drivers of knowledge management, the tool that propagates knowledge economy and produces knowledge society. It makes sense as many billionaires of today are those from the technology and information sector, such as Bill Gates and Rupert Murdoch. Today more disciplines have jumped onto the bandwagon of knowledge management because it is the tool for building sustainable advantages. Hertz (2001) questions the sincerity of the multinational corporation motives of doing what appears to be 'good'. Now, the consumers are 'sheep in wolves' clothing' (Hertz, 2001, p. 177), for supporting the multinational corporations. Similarly, the indigenous knowledge, in which the greater part of it is still tacit, is left behind by the internet and the technological media applications. As such the quality of the Malaysia indigenous knowledge is under serious threat. While the Monsoon cup arrived with the glamorous film-stars, traditional boat-making succumbed to the onslaught of the globalised economy. Globalization with the Pandora box on board poses as a challenge to citizens of developing countries. There are benefits as well as consequences.

Sustainability

How do we arrive at the formula of sustainability? How do we ensure that what we build today will be available in the same form and quality in the future, if not better? This efficient structure is what is known today as the structural capital.

Structural capital is a composite of policies, processes, competitive intelligence and other supportive infra-structure, which is value-added to the organizational capacity to sustain the intellectual capital of the organization. Creation and leveraging on knowledge is facilitated through the construction of the structural capital, as a "knowledge asset" (Stewart, 2000, p. 75). For the public sector, the composition of the structural capital consists of two layers: one resides in the policy process while the other is located in the public sector organizations/agencies.

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Sustainable development is a dream phrase of today's policy outcome. The United Nations has identified four pillars of sustainable development. Economic development, social development, and environmental protection are the "interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars" of sustainable development (United Nations World Summit Outcome Document, 2005). The fourth pillar is cultural diversity (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004).

The United Nations Division for Sustainable Development listed about forty diverse areas to be within the scope of sustainable development, which include agriculture, biodiversity, capacity building, climate change, decision making and participation, education and awareness, energy, health, human settlement, international law, poverty, technology, water and waste. Indigenous knowledge resides within all the areas.

Sustainable development could not be achieved merely through economic tools because it is not a homogenous concept, since its pillars are divergent despite harmonizing. Agenda 21 recognizes this diversified facet and proposes that to build the sustainability pillars, the materials needed are information, integration, and participation. It means that the governance actors could not implement the development processes alone without people and their network of social capital, which covers knowledge sharing, collaboration, environmental and social diversity concerns, if sustenance of all aspects of human life is fundamentally significant. Sustainable development, therefore, could not be dictated by the developed nations and should not be limited by rigid metrics and indices, which strangle the developing world (Dresner, 2002).

Social Capital

Natives of a developing country possess indigenous knowledge which teaches them how to survive within their environment. This knowledge incorporates human and social component in examining societal and environmental problems on how to reach their own solutions. The components of this knowledge in practice cover historical, political, economic, social, cultural and ethical perspectives could be explained scientifically. The components form a network of relationship, in which,

today is known as social capital that represents the people's power and a necessity. Social capital is an enabler for cooperative action of a community bounded via "trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviours" (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 4).

What is critical for sustainable human and economic development and poverty alleviation is social capital. Connections are built as social capital also operates through psychological and biological processes to improve individual's lives'. Having embraced the 'problem-solving' concepts normatively enables the citizen to deal with conflicts collectively (Putnam, 2000; 2002).

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Governance trespasses existing system of the social capital of the natives. It intercepts in two stages. First, it stands between the local custom and the social contract with its own buckets of efficacy techniques of targets; key performance indicators; quality and standardization system, balance scorecard and other management gobbledegook. The techniques, their parameters and metrics are dictated top-down and monitored stringently by decision makers at the headquarters. Governance actors weaken traditional legends and impose alien codes of conduct which become more problematic because they are entirely profit-driven without knowledge of local problems and issues.

The KEMP was successful in producing IT-savvy public sector employees, but failed to establish the synergetic or symbiotic relationship with the stakeholders of indigenous knowledge of boat-making. The Monsoon Cup held as an international event in the East coast does not show enough evidence to substantiate the claim that the programme has generated higher income to traditional boat-makers of Kelantan and Terengganu. Boat-makers, builders and repairers that support the fishing

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industry of Kelantan and Terengganu continue to be plagued by scarcity of resources and materials. Skilled and unskilled workers continue to flood the coastal region of Kelantan and Terengganu as boat-builders, sub-contractors and boatmen. There obviously exists a gap between the policy of attracting investors within the globalized economy and the need to preserve the national heritage of boat-building.

The issue regarding the problematic resources is that the younger Malays leave their villages to work in the cities. This is a conflict of policy implementation. If a conflict between a community and the authority over many 'development issues' is kept 'on hold' for a long time, finding 'peace' between them would become harder. There is a need for a flexible platform where negotiation is possible without pressure or prejudice. A social capital is a hidden tool. In order to optimize its utilization, social capital needs to be reinvented with new alliance.

The objective of reinventing social capital is to determine responsibility gaps and to develop workable connections. The resulting outcome would be a connected knowledge community that is capable of preventing breach of policy implementation (which is a contract) committed by the governance actors. Through this collaborative relationship, a superordinate goal would be achievable. The market forces dealing with development, trade and so forth will have no choice but to place the community's need as a key consideration. Indeed, social capital also operates through psychological (trust, sense of place, security, voluntariness etc.) and biological (health, hygiene, etc.) processes to improve the lives of individual's (Putman, 2002).

Spiritual Capital

Religious values have been around long before fossil fuel was discovered and exploited. It is God's promised bridge of prosperity, which might be ignored by believers and non-believers alike. For centuries, faith and belief, nevertheless, have been unfairly associated with crusaders and their religious agendas. Today, more and more scholars are talking about the contribution of a belief system for policy design.

People identify themselves with their faith and beliefs. It is a normative contract. For example, the love for the environment is an obligation in Islam. The symbiotic relationship of man and his environment is consistent with the teaching of Islam as stated in Surah al-Qasas, verse 77:

But seek, with the (wealth) which God has bestowed on thee;
The home of the Hereafter;
Nor forget thy portion in this world, but do thou good;
As God has been good to thee,
And seek not (occasion for) mischief in the land;
For God loves not those who do mischief.

Islam advocates that if humans need to create an environment to live or to work in, it must be built with sustainability of nature in mind. The world, however, is witnessing more than ‘mischief in the land’. In the developing world of Africa, was where paradoxically, public policy and decision making process began long before management books were written. The story tells of Prophet Yusuf’s advice to the people of Egypt of the impending drought, as stated in the following text in the Qurán.

“He (Yusuf) said: Ye shall sow seven years as usual, but that which you reap, leave it in the ear, all save a little which you eat. Then after that will come seven hard years which will devour all that you have prepared for them, save a little of that which ye have stored”

(Al-Qurán, *Surah Yūsuf* [يوسف]: 47-48)

[Translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali]

Subsequently, Prophet Yusuf was appointed the financial advisor to the ruler of ancient Egypt (equivalent to Chancellor of Exchequer). How one would decode the advice given in today’s socio-political and economic scenario?

Drought in the twenty-first century may literally mean extremely dry weather leading to poor harvest of crops in third world countries such as Bangladesh, Somalia or Rwanda. In actual terms, it list means economic recession. Many policy makers may have never read the Qurán nor were at all aware of Prophet Yusuf’s story. However, they know

what recession means, and it is this economic catastrophe that policy makers try to avoid. In today's terms, the Prophet's message could be decoded as a suggestion for a sustainable economic planning. Times when revenues are growing, the government should create a substantial fund in order to sustain prioritized state programmes for the people during recession.

Globalization and Impact on Indigenous Knowledge

Despite its economic benefits, globalization creates externalities with regard to indigenous knowledge. Examples are:

- Multinational corporations, such as fast food outlets, due to their aggressive promotion through the media have created new consumerist culture. This phenomenon is a form of 'cultural imperialism' that slowly kills the *adat* or culture of staying at home for tea. Young men who left their fishing villages to work in these types of establishments as low-level staffs have failed to continue their fathers' career to service the boat-making industry.
- The hegemony of popular culture that arrived with globalization has brought along not only the screaming rock music, but also punks, ecstasy pills and young people living together out of wedlock and other social delinquencies. These elements weaken the social capital of village communities. Dreaming to be pop stars (celebrities) has become their choice rather than working in a dockyard.
- The improvement in addressing digital divide brought along the world of social networks via Internet. This brings people together for business as well as social purposes. Yet it also has brought along with them values which may contradict religious and indigenous values. Working in local villages as boat-makers/builders/repairers/services providers are not seen as 'glamorous' jobs.
- Local contractors servicing the boat building industry face difficulties in getting workers as well as materials (nails, screws, etc.) from the local retailers. This is an indication of inadequate support system for the industry to flourish.
- Foreign companies taking part in local economies intervene in the local religious practices and culture. For example, in Malaysia all companies (foreign or local) must conform to the public sector requirements that Muslims be allowed to perform their Friday noon

prayer; failing which the company would face a breach of contract. Yet, in some private corporations Muslim men are seen to be still at work during the Friday prayer period.

Diversity of culture, if indeed it is supported by globalization, does not mean that the Malays can now forget their heritage. A Malay behaviour is guided by his religion. Therefore, in Malaysia, diversity of culture means accepting a Malay culture in content and practices, with tolerance to the practices of other religion, in accordance to the Federal Constitution, Article 3 (1). Malaysia's greatest challenge is first, to balance economic growth with equity; second, to deal with the first challenge without compromising the cultures of the indigenous groups in the country.

Conclusion

Globalization exposes a country to the benefits and ills of the global economy, which could make her boom or burn. Young people who left their villages and their traditional opportunities to try a new life in the cities will face this risk and uncertainty. Recession creates many unemployed to turn to crimes to sustain their living. This situation is worse for a developing country as social and political chaos tend to be taken as indicators by the international business community. Social relation is confronting a great strain that community structural capital is put at risk that an act of civic duty may cause one's life. Some survive to bring happiness to their community back at home, but many are defeated by the challenges of city-living. Environment, therefore, is not just a natural eco-system, but also heritage.

The economic perspective considers that an acceptable pricing of resources is an important component for sustainable development of a state. This would mean that both the governance actors (agencies and citizens) must reach an agreement on a price strategy. How do we arrive at the accounting system, which could be enforced without pains to the end-users? The economist claims that the maintenance of economic sustainability is achievable by procuring a healthy balance of payments and fiscal positions, as well as stable prices and exchange rates. The government need a policy that would cushion the catastrophic impact of price distortion, stock exchange and currency speculation and other

economic destabilisation played by the external economic forces, in the name of the free market, appearing with the trade treaties, blocs or as other globalisation side effects.

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