AN ACTION RESEARCH STUDY ON THE
CONSTRAINTS AND PROBLEMS IN THE IMPLEMENTION OF
THE NEW CONCEPT OF NATIVE CUSTOMARY RIGHTS [NCR]
LAND DEVELOPMENT PILOT PROJECT

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A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this work to
my wife, Felicity Ruran Garawat,
to my children,
  Bertran,
  Burdet,
  Benedict,
and Brendon,
and to my parents.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of carrying out this study, the researcher has received a lot of assistance and support without which he would not have completed and accomplished it. First of all, the researcher would like to give very special thanks to his Supervisor, Associate Professor Dr. Peter Songan who has unselfishly given his guidance, support and concern to accomplish this study. The researcher would also extend his thanks to his co-supervisor, Miss Elaine Khoo for her assistance and encouragement.

The researcher would like to extend his appreciation to the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Rural and Land Development, Tuan Haji Abang Helmi for his support and understanding. Special thanks goes to all the NCR Action Research/Learning Group members namely, Encik Wilfred Jolly, Tuan Haji Abdul Latiff Midai, Encik Joseph Blandoi, Encik Henry Singgon, Tuai Rumah Enggah and Tuai Rumah Kalong, who have given their full co-operation and 'worked together' with him during the whole period of the study. The researcher would like also to thank all the staff of the Ministry of Rural and Land Development and his former staff in Personnel Branch of JKR Headquarters for their assistance and encouragement.

Behind every man's success, there must surely have been some sacrifice from others. The researcher does hereby gives his special thanks and appreciation to his wife, children, parents and friends who have given him all the support and encouragement in his study and endeavour. Finally, to all those who have assisted the researcher, but whom he could not mention, he is really indebted.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are frequently used in this study.

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<tr>
<td>ADC</td>
<td>Area Development Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>AR/L</td>
<td>Action Research/Learning Group</td>
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<td>FELCRA</td>
<td>Federal Land Consolidation Rehabilitation Authority</td>
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<td>FELDA</td>
<td>Federal Land Development Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>Global Positioning System</td>
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<tr>
<td>IADP</td>
<td>Integrated Agricultural Development Project</td>
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<td>JVC</td>
<td>Joint Venture Company</td>
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<td>NCR Land</td>
<td>Native Customary Rights Land</td>
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<td>SALCRA</td>
<td>Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>Sahabat Alam Malaysia, an environmentalist group</td>
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This study examined the problems and constraints of implementing of Long Lama Pilot Land Development Project based on the New Concept of NCR Land Development, which was formulated in 1994.

The action research methodology was used in the study with its cyclical process of planning, action, reflection, observation and evaluation. A NCR Action Research/Learning group consisted of six members was formed. The members were directly involved in the implementation of the NCR Pilot Project. The action research process fitted nicely into their normal function of duties. The group members collected the data and information while they were doing their normal official duties. The researcher validated the data and information collected through interview and dialogue with the landowners.

The findings of the action research group revealed that the targeted landowners resisted to the land programme due to many factors which were inter-related with one another. No one factor was very prominent than the others. The study also revealed that the constraints were due to the physical nature of the NCR lands, which were unregistered and a lot of time was needed to do ground work such as doing verification of boundaries and ownership. This slowed down the process. But it had to be done. Another factor was the attachment of the farmers towards their land because of the social and cultural factors. The resistance of landowners towards the project made the dissemination and the promotion of information on the concept and objective more challenging in the part of the project implementers. The landowners objected due to external, political, and leadership factors.

The group had put forward several recommendations to improve the strategy. One important issue was the survey of the individual land claims that would enable the sizes of the land to be determined exactly. Another recommendation was to allow a period of one year to do pre-project survey on the community to be involved in the land project so as to find out their political, cultural and leadership background. In this way proper strategies can be formulated for implementation of the project.
ABSTRAK

SEBUAH KAJIAN PENYELIDIKAN TINDAKAN KE ATAS HALANGAN DAN MASALAH YANG DIHADAPI DALAM USAHA UNTUK MELAKSANAKAN PROJEK PERINTIS MELALUI KONSEP BARU PEMBANGUNAN TANAH HAK ADAT BUMIPUTERA (NCR)

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenalpasti masalah yang dihadapi dalam perlaksanaan Projek Perintis Pembangunan Tanah Long Lama yang melibatkan Tanah Hak Adat Bumiputera (NCR) melalui konsep baru yang telah diperkenalkan pada 1994. Metodologi yang digunakan dalam kajian ini ialah penyelidikan tindakan yang mengandungi proses merancang, bertindak, memerhati, mengimbas kembali dan menerima maklum balas.

Kumpulan Penyelidikan Tindakan NCR telah ditubuh, dan dianggotai oleh enam orang ahli. Mereka adalah terdiri dari pegawai-pegawai yang terlibat secara langsung dengan perlaksanaan projek pembangunan NCR. Mereka telah bertanggungjawab untuk mengumpul data yang diperlukan dalam penyelidikan semasa mereka menjalankan tugas rasmi mereka masing-masing.

Kajian telah menunjukkan masalah yang dihadapi untuk melaksanakan projek ini adalah tentang yang diberi oleh tuan punya tanah terhadap projek ini. Mereka menentang oleh sebab faktor-faktor yang berpunca dari pengaruh sosial, kebudayaan dan politik. Tiada sesuatu faktor pun yang dianggap mempunyai pengaruh yang kuat terhadap tuan punya tanah.

Kajian juga menunjukkan masalah yang asalketara untuk melaksanakan projek ini ialah keadaan tanah NCR yang tidak diukur dan usaha untuk menentukan pemilik tanah. Sebelum projek pembangunan dilaksanakan, banyak usaha ditumpukan untuk menentukan sempadan antara seorang pemilik tanah dan seorang lagi supaya tidak timbulnya tuntutan bertindih. Kedua ialah menentukan keluasan bidang tanah bagi seorang pemilik tanah.

Kumpulan penyelidikan telah mengesyorkan beberapa tindakan yang harus diambil seperti mengukur tanah yang terlibat untuk menentukan keluasannya. Syor-syor yang lain adalah berkumpul dengan strategi untuk menyampaikan maklumat kepada bakal penerima projek supaya objektif dan Konsep Baru Pembangunan Tanah NCR difahami dengan jelas.

Adalah disyorkan juga masa sekurang-kurangnya setahun dikhaskan untuk membuat kajian latarbelakang tentang kedaan sosial, kebudayaan, politik dan kepimpinan penduduk-penduduk di sesuatu kawasan yang akan dibangunkan. Dengan cara ini, strategi yang rapi dapat dirancang untuk melaksanakan projek NCR supaya tanya dapat dijalankan dengan lancar dan teratur.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The State Government of Sarawak in August 1996 officially launched two pilot projects in the Baram and Kanowit Districts based on the New Concept of Native Customary Rights (NCR) Land Development. Two years earlier, the NCR Land Development unit was established in the Ministry of Land Development to promote the concept to the intended landowners and subsequently, to facilitate the implementation of the NCR land development projects. As in other development projects, the participation of the intended target groups is very crucial in the success of the pilot projects. The implementation of the other planned projects based on the new concept in other areas depends very much on the success and smooth implementation of the pilot projects. The ultimate aim of development efforts is the well being of the people because they are both the means and the ends of development. In other words, for the landowners to reap the benefits from land development that the government has planned for them, they have to participate and to be totally involved in the development programmes.

From the experience of the agencies that had been involved in land development, the participation of the target groups remained much to be desired. Lang (1986) who was then the General Manager of SALCRA stated that “without the support of the target group, such plans and programmes may not be able to bring about desired results” (p. 30). Other than the poor participation from the farmers, he also cited cases where landowners withdrew halfway, putting the agency in “legal quandary and embarrassment ... as the result of reduction in the size of the areas...in turn impair the viability” (p. 32). Puthucheary (1988) also cited the difficulty of land development agencies in getting the cooperation of the very people that the scheme was designed to assist. Their unwillingness to allow their land to be developed had made the problem of development implementation became much more complicated. The Chief Minister of Sarawak remarked that, “the only missing link, for some years now, was the cooperation and understanding of NCR owners” (1997 p. 8).

The Long Lama NCR Pilot project in the Baram District was initially planned to consist of three blocks, Block A, B, and C. Block C with an area of 7,000 hectares had to be left out because the people from Long Laput and Sungai Dua longhouses whose lands were affected totally refused to participate. The size of Block B was also reduced from 6,613 hectares to 4,300 hectares because the landowners from Uma Akeh and Long Puak longhouses decided not to participate. Similarly, for Block A which consisted of land from people of 11 longhouses in Ulu Teru, 76 families out of total families of 355 decided not participate in the pilot project programme. On 25 September 1997, the Police from Miri arrested 42 people and a headman, Tuai Rumah Rayong for illegal assembly and trying to obstruct the survey team from conducting the perimeter survey. They were very much against the NCR land development project. The pilot project in Kanowit in the Sibu Division was also facing the same problem as far as participation from the landowners was concerned. For example, the longhouses in Sengan area strongly objected to the new concept of land development.

The Minister of Land Development, who was then Datuk Celestine Ujang (1997) had the opinion that the reluctance of the natives to participate was due to the perception and attitude of landowners, arising from their “deep rooted phobia”, “fear of unknown” and the “question of land security” (p. 8). Tan Sri Datuk Alfred Jabu who was then the Deputy Chief Minister and
Minister for Agriculture and Community Development cited the existence of some elements of confusion and doubts in the minds of NCR landowners with regard to the success of land development schemes involving NCR. The question that needs to be answered is why did some landowners participate in the development programmes and why did some refuse even though they came from the same longhouse and area. It is the focus of this study to determine the problems in implementing the Long Lama Pilot Project based on the New Concept of NCR Land Development. The project is located in the administrative District of Baram of Miri Division as shown in Figure 1 and 2.

**Definition of NCR Land**

Sarawak Land Code (Cap. 81) defines NCR as land created prior to 1st January 1958 in accordance with the native customary law of the community or communities concerned by any of the methods specified in sub section 5 (2). The methods are:

(a) the felling of virgin jungle and the occupation of the land thereby cleared;
(b) the planting of land with fruit trees;
(c) the use of land for burial ground or shrine;
(d) the use of land of any class for rights of way; or
(e) any other lawful method.

Foo (1986) and Zainie (1997) defined Native Customary Land as:

1. land in which native customary rights, whether communal or otherwise, have lawfully been created prior to the 1st January 1958, and still subsist as such;
2. land from time to time comprised in reserve to which section 6 of Land Code applies; and
3. interior Area Land upon which native customary rights have been lawfully created to section 10 of the Land Code.

Lembat (1994) referred to the land classified by the Land Code as NCR as “pemakai menoa” in Iban and it included both cultivated and uncultivated land. According to him, a person created exclusive cultivation rights over the pieces of land that he first felled. Once such rights were created on a particular piece of land, such rights were heritable by the descendants of the person who first obtained cultivation. Cultivation rights was lost once the person transferred it to another person or that he had moved out of the community through marriage or migration.

**Reducing poverty through NCR Land Development**

According to Zaine (1997) based on the Land and Survey Department’s records there were 1,628,699 hectares of NCR land in Sarawak scattered and fragmented all over the State. This accounted for thirteen percent of the area of land in Sarawak. The Natives have large tracts of land, which made them “rich” landlords, but ironically, they are poor. Studies by Ayob, Isa, Yaakub, Tayan, and Noweg (1990a, 1990b) in Bau, Lundu and Serian Districts found out that there was high incidence of malnutrition among the natives in the areas studied. They were socio-economically backward and poverty was rampant with an average income per family of RM395 per month, which was below the poverty line for Sarawak. They also found that the more remote the longhouses/villages the poorer the people. In comparison, the natives were much poorer than the Chinese farmers living nearby. Puthucheary (1988) said that the incidence of poverty for categories of target groups was higher in Sarawak than the Peninsula.
Figure 1: Map showing the locality of Long Lama NCR Land Development Project
Figure 2: Locality map of Long Lama NCR Land Development Project
The incidence of poverty was highest among padi farmers where more than two thirds of the households lived in poverty. It was widely believed that the cause of poverty among the native farmers was due to under-utilization or non-utilization of their NCR land.

The only way to upgrade the quality of life of the farmers is through the intervention of the government by involving the private sector in the commercialisation of NCR land so that it can give maximum benefits. The farmers through their own efforts are not able to do so because of financial and management constraints.

SALCRA’S role in NCR Land Development

SALCRA was formed in 1976 with the objective of developing NCR land on behalf of poor farmers through its in-situ land development. Due to budget constraints the agency was no longer able to continue with the existing policy of land development. Its source of fund was in the form of grants and loan from the state government and loans from the federal government. Since its inception it has developed 34,500 hectares of land involving 11,700 landowner participants. At its present situation, SALCRA could no longer cope with the increasing requests for land development. With the present policy of the government to accelerate the pace of land development, a new strategy must be adopted. In order to meet the target where one million hectares are to be planted with oil palm by the year 2010, about 400,000 hectares is expected to come from NCR land. This means that the government has to develop about 33,000 hectares of NCR land annually.

To relieve the government and SALCRA from manpower and financial constraints, it was felt that the private sector should play a more active role in NCR land development. It has been proven in Peninsular Malaysia that private companies that had financial standing and management capabilities managed successful plantations.

The New Concept of NCR Land Development

Activities to promote the new concept started in 1994. The officials from the Ministry of Land Development held dialogues with the targeted landowners in the Baram and Kanowit Districts explaining to them the concept, modus operandi and benefits in participating in the land development programme. In August 1996 the two pilot projects were launched officially by the Chief Minister. One was in Kanowit, in the Kanowit District and another in Long Lama in the Baram District.

The Concept

The new concept of NCR land development was defined as:

The bringing together of NCR landowners with their land and private sector with their capital and expertise, to develop NCR land for commercial farming on joint venture basis. The Government will appoint its agency to be Trustee for the landowners. (1997, p. 27)

The new concept was formulated on the premise that the vast tract of such land could be turned into “Land Bank” with new forms of land ownership to enable it to be developed on a large-scale commercial basis with the participation of the private sector through joint-venture operations.
The Joint Venture Model (JVC)

In this model, the government agency would hold in trust the interest of NCR landowners. The trustee would form a Joint Venture Company (JVC) with a well-established private company approved by the government. No individual land titles would be issued to the landowners, but instead one title would be issued to the JVC for a period of sixty years. The JVC equity structure is as follows.

<table>
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<th>Parties</th>
<th>Shareholdings (%)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Investor</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landowners</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustee (Management Agent)</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The private sector and trustee would pay cash for their shares. The landowners' equity in the JVC would be paid through the land value. The summary of the concept is as shown in Figure 3.

Statement of problem

The new concept of NCR land development is entirely a new shift in strategy in rural development especially in developing NCR land as compared to in-situ approach that had been practised by SALCRA. In this approach the private sector was involved in providing the finance, the management skills and expertise in plantation business, while the farmers had to surrender their land to the Joint-venture Company for sixty years to be developed into commercial plantation. The objective was to up-grade the living standard of the landowners socially and economically through their assets, which among the most important thing is their land. The participation of the target group was very critical in the success of NCR Land Development project. Their future would depend on whether they would participate in the programme or not. It was through their participation that the landowners could be assured of the benefits from the intended objective of the land development programme. Yet, the landowners who were supposed to participate and to benefit from the project refused to participate, thus hindering the implementation and undermining the success of the New Concept of NCR land development pilot project. According to the Minister for Land Development, who was then Datuk Celestine Ujang (1997), “any attempt to introduce the private sector within the framework of NCR land development is naturally being met with resistance” (p. 8). Their decision not to participate would be a disadvantage to their future. The Minister cautioned:

If we should miss out this time, that is, the opportunity of having our NCR land developed in business way, our rural communities will not only remain stagnant but that the very land which they fear to lose by having them used in business investments, will all be lost eventually. This is because there will be poverty and poverty will get more severe as time goes. When there exists a situation of extreme poverty everything will be lost, including land. (1997, p.9)
NCR HA 5,000 - 10,000

Landowners Assign Rights Interests, Shares And Estate In Land To Government Agency As Trustee (Managing Agent)

Government Agency Forms Joint Venture (JVC) With Established Private Sector Company

Land Title To Be Issued To Joint Venture Company For 60 Years

Joint Venture Company Pays Value Of Land (Consideration) To Landowners

Equity In The Plantation

Investment Of Consideration/Income By Managing Agent

Investment of fund

Cash Payment

*(60% of the value of land to represent 30% of the paid up capital of the JVC)

*(30% of the value of land to be invested in Government Unit Trust)

*(10% of the value to be paid in cash to the landowners)

*The percentage of distribution indicated above may vary according to the value of the land, the cost of the project and its debt equity ratio.

Figure 3: The Joint Venture Model (JVC)
Source: Ministry of Land Development Sarawak (1997)
Tan Sri Alfred Jabu (1997) who was then, the Deputy Chief Minister and Minister for Agriculture and Community Development also warned that if the landowners missed this opportunity, they would be left behind from the mainstream of development.

**Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to identify the constraints in the implementation of the New Concept of Native Customary Rights (NCR) Land Development Pilot Project at Long Lama so as to come up with suggestions and ways to improve its implementation. The specific research questions are as follows:

1. What are the operational problems faced by the Ministry in the implementation of the Long Lama NCR Pilot Project?
2. What is the level of understanding of the landowners on the New Concept of land Development?
3. How effective is the dissemination of information about the New Concept?
4. In what ways could the strategy of implementing the New Concept of NCR land development programme be improved?

**Assumptions**

It is assumed that the constraints faced in the implementation of NCR Pilot Project may be due to the resistance of landowners towards the land development programme. Their resistance may be caused by many factors, which are inter-related and multi-dimensional in nature. It is also assumed that landowners from different ethnic communities and cultural backgrounds have their own particular reasons to resist the NCR land development pilot project.

**Conceptual framework**

The conceptual framework of the study is as shown in figure 4.

**Significance of the study**

This research is the first study on the New Concept of NCR Land Development. Since it is a study on the pilot project it will be of interest to gauge the reception of landowners towards the new concept. Secondly, it will act as an evaluation of the programme while still under implementation. Thirdly, the findings will be beneficial, as they will become guidelines for the implementation of similar future projects that are to be launched in other areas. Fourthly, the study will be useful to formulate policy and strategies for rural development programmes in Sarawak and fifthly, it will add to literature in rural development, especially in land development involving NCR land.

**Definitions of terms**

Adat. Customary laws of the natives.

Bumiputera. A term usually used to refer to the Malay, but later on the definition covers all the ethnic groups of Sabah and Sarawak.
New Concept of NCR Land Development

Problems and Constraints of implementation

Action Research/Learning

NCR AR/L Group

Problem sharing  Collaboration  Working together as a team  Shared vision and objective  Team learning

Problem solving  Climate of learning

Improvement & Change to practices & policies  Practical solution to organisational problem  Enhanced skills & knowledge  Learning culture

Towards

Smooth implementation of NCR Land  A Learning Organisation

Figure 4: Conceptual framework
Gantang. A capacity of measurement to measure padi or rice.


Iban. One of the ethnic groups found in Sarawak, formerly known as the Sea Dayak.

Kampung. A village or settlement, administratively under a headman or tua kampung.

Kayan. One of the indigenous groups of Sarawak found mostly in Belaga and Baram Districts.

Kenyah. One of indigenous groups mostly found in Belaga and Baram Districts of Sarawak. Although culturally similarly to the Kayan, they distinctively speak different dialects.

Longhouse. A dwelling place that is common among the Iban, Kayan and Kenyah, with apartments structurally connected and having a common platform and verandah. Sometimes it is described as a village under one roof.

Native. A person from any of the ethnic groups listed under the Interpretation Ordinance of Sarawak.

Orang Ulu. A term used refers to the many ethnic groups other than the Iban, Bidayuh and Melanau.

Pasu. A measure of capacity equivalent to eight gantangs of padi.

Pemanca. A community leader looking after a certain area consisting of several longhouses or villages. He is appointed by the government.

Penghulu. A community leader appointed by the government looking after a certain area consisting of several longhouses or villages. He is under a Pemanca.

Tua Kampung. A headman of a village or settlement.

Tuai Rumah. A headman of an Iban longhouse. He is responsible for looking into the administration of the longhouse and the customary aspects of the people.

Scope and limitations of the study

The study made use of an action research method to identify problems in the implementation of Long Lama NCR pilot project. Initially, during the first semester in UNIMAS the researcher was exposed to the traditional method of research. The whole paradigm had to be changed when the research went to Giharan Action Research Management Institute in Australia from the last week of November to the first week of December 1997. The researcher was at loss, unlike traditional research there was no previous study available on action research to refer to as guide. The only materials available were two books written by Dr. Selva Abraham. The researcher relied on comments and feedback from Giharan and the researcher's supervisor, which were of great help. Dr. Abraham's visit to UNIMAS on 5 - 6 March 1998 gave confidence to the research that the study was on the right track.
Another limitation was the time frame. Even though the duration of the course programme was one year, the actual time available to carry out the actual action research study was only about six months that was from the middle of December 1997 to June 1998. As such, the researcher could not carry out as many mini cycles and cover as much materials and data as he wanted to. As action research required the involvement of others, to start the action research study was also a problem. December and January were busy months for government departments. It was also a period of school holidays, public holidays for Christmas, Chinese New Year and Muslim Hari Raya celebrations. Most people took a long break to bring their families for holidays.

Another problem was the distance and the composition of the action research group. The site of study was in Ulu Teru and Long Lama areas in the Baram District of Miri Division. To go there one had to take one hour of flight to Miri and then two or three hours of journey through gravel roads, logging tracks and rivers. As most of the members were from Miri and Ulu Teru, meetings had to be held either in Miri or Ulu Teru for the convenience of the majority. To save costs and time, meetings and activities were arranged to coincide with other programmes so that the group members from Kuching and Miri could also carry out their normal official duties. To attend meetings and dialogues, the researcher had to miss few lectures.

It was assumed, therefore that all the relevant materials were collected and uncovered during the action research period. It was assumed that data and information collected were accurate reliable and individuals were honest. That is, the group members were accurate and unbiased in their perceptions and the respondents interviewed and the landowners involved gave their honest opinions.

The scope of study was confined to the constraints and problems faced by the Ministry of Land Rural and Land Development and SLDB, the managing agent in implementing the NCR land development project. Due to time factor, the study did not look into the problems faced by the investor, which had its own problem, nor did it look into the physical problems faced by the Land and Survey Department in conducting the perimeter survey. The study also did not cover other aspects, such as the legal and the financial aspects.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter discussed the literature related to the general concept of development. Focus will be given on different definitions of development and the concept and policies that had been advocated by the Malaysian Government in its development plans. It will also briefly review literature on rural and land development in Sarawak. Lastly, this chapter will review literature on the issues encountered in the implementation of the in-situ land development programme associated with NCR land.

Concept of development

Development is multi-dimensional, covering a wide range of activities and is interpreted and defined in many ways. Until today nobody has given a satisfactory or complete definition to development. Terms such as growth, modernisation and progress have been used interchangeably and almost synonymously with development. One thing for certain, development is about changes. Some scholars viewed development as growth, either economically or socially. According to Indiresan (1990), development "involves multi-dimensional qualitative changes" (p. 14). Abang Abdul Rauf (1992) described it as "the change for the better of the state of physical and non-physical (mental, spiritual and social well-being) of the individual, family, community and nation" (p. 72). Abang Abdul Rauf (1991) also described it as "change in the positive direction. This change is planned which is the result of the integrated efforts of both the government and people within limits of their capabilities" (p. 152). Similarly, Nasrudin Mohamed (1997) considered development as the process and effort to strive for social change, from that of one state to another that is considered much better and desirable. Todaro (1981) summarised development as:

A multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. In addition to improvement to incomes and output, it typically involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes and in, many cases, even customs and beliefs. (p. 56)

Leigh (1990) mentioned that there are three broad interpretations of development, the Marxist, the free marketeer and the participatory. He briefly outlined the interpretation as follows:

(a) Marxist

The Marxist, according to Leigh (1990), view "assigns pride of place to the state as initiator of development". The phenomenon of colonialism was blamed as the contributing factor for the past and present for the lack of development in a country. The Marxist school had considerable influence throughout Latin America and Africa. According to Lim (1991), Marxism had a strong appeal to the Third World:

Not just because of its uncompromising championship of the working class but also because of its outright condemnation of the excesses and the evils of capitalism, which were then identified and identifiable with
imperialism. Indeed, Marx provides the best intellectual base for an anti-capitalist ideology, besides championing the subject peoples under colonial rule. (p. 74)

It is now very evident the Marxist solutions failed to develop stagnant economies especially with the break-up of powerful country like USSR and opening of China to the outside world.

(b) Free marketeers

Practitioners of development in the third countries according to Leigh (1990) are guided by the philosophy of the free marketeers. In fact, free market policies are only practised partially by the developed countries. They viewed that growth must precede development, and the extension of economic, political and citizens' rights must wait, for all of those rights should be and necessarily will follow upon the achievement of economic growth.

(c) The participatory approach: The primacy of politics and people

According to Leigh (1990), development is fundamentally the result of a set of political choice. Who gains and who loses depend very much upon the relative influence of particular group in the process of decision-making. The discretion exercised by leadership should never be underestimated. Type and choice of development are decided and based upon politically determined priorities. The idea is that democracy only requires periodic elections, hence the government therefore has the mandate to proceed to act on behalf of the people. There should be a balance approach between top-down development and development with the participation of the people. Democracy permits freedom for people to air conflicting views and provides avenues through which to participate. It is the interest of those who are at the apex of decision-making to provide certain degree of access to the people who are supposed to benefit from the development to participate in deciding how and what is best for them.

Economic development

To economists, development means economic growth. Clark (1991) described development as “the achievement of economic growth” (p. 20). This is only one aspect of development, even though it is very important to overall development. There are other non-economic variables and non-economic scholars who discuss development as the development of the totality of the human society. Szirmai (1997) and Nasrudin Mohamed (1997) conceived economic development as growth of national income per capita or gross national product (GNP). Lim (1991) defined economic development as:

As dynamic and cumulative process of raising the real per capita income of a nation. Despite the difficulties and limitations, per capita index still remains the best single overall indicator of economic development, both over time and for international comparisons. (p. 25)

Development conceived as economic growth is a quantitative concept. Max-Nef, Elizalde and Hopenhayan (1991) stated that GNP is in a way an indicator of the quantitative growth of objects. Meanwhile, Szirmai (1997) stated that economic development is more than economic growth alone. It also refers to qualitative changes in the structure of the economy. He argued that economic growth could occur without economic development. He gave an example of oil-