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RETROPROSPECTIVE OF SONGKET: A VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY DOCUMENTATION ON SONGKET RAJANG

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the documentation approach in recording *songket*, where previous research has placed too much emphasis on analyzing only the craft; and misinterpreting the craft as an object rather than a representation of a community. As a response, the researcher modified the viewpoint in documenting the craft into a record on *songket* as a community; a visual ethnographic documentation on Songket Rajang was carried out. For this study, a visual ethnographic approach was utilized to record the Songket Rajang manufacturing process as a binder in the community, and both observation methods were employed throughout the documentation: participant observation method and non-participant method. As a results, the researchers were able to capture Songket Rajang more successfully utilizing visual ethnographic techniques, without disregarding traditional *songket* craft art, while also displaying Songket Rajang as a symbol of communal togetherness.

Keywords: visual ethnography, participant observation, non-participant observation, Songket Rajang.

INTRODUCTION

As the humans slowly being aware of the importance on the integrity of one's culture and heritage, varies conservation and preservation initiatives and efforts in documenting the cultural heritage had been carried out by varies scholars and researchers in preserving the crafts and arts of the community before fully fading away; nevertheless, *songket* had also became one of the important studied subjects. However, the past research conducted on *songket* had emphasized more on the craft itself while neglecting the community that produces the craft. The separation of the craft with the community had cause imbalance in representation on the heritage. Hence, a visual ethnography research was conducted with a different perspective in documenting Songket Rajang as a community representation. Weaving is one of the earliest skills possessed by the mankind since the beginning of time (Dhamija, 2002), where mankind started weaving primarily to produced clothes to wear (Nawawi, 1989). Even though the techniques and tools from that time was not as advance as the tools we have now, but it was enough for them to create clothes to protect themselves from the cold. As the time passed, with new knowledge being introduced and discovered; the revelation of new technologies and innovation; the purpose of weaving too had evolved. Without being only to weave plain clothes to cover the bodies, patterns and

motifs were woven on the clothes to not only add aesthetic value to the crafts but also acts as a status for the hierarchy (Nawawi, 2016); which was the symbol that *songket* represents back in the days.

Despite the art of *songket* is being known as one of the renowned crafts in Malaysia; the origin of the weaving activity in the land of Malaya was unfortunately not vividly documented (Nawawi, 1989). However, only supportive sources that could assume the existence of the activity being introduced to the locals back in the days. According to Nawawi (2016), some sources speculated that the weaving activity centered around Asia, India and Southeast Asia, where the *ikat* technique was present; however, some scholar also claimed that the weaving activities could also be traced back on the land of Peninsula. Despite all the speculations and hypothesis being made, the Peninsula was indeed one of the most strategic port for traders from other countries such as China, India, Cambodia as well as the traders from the Middle East to gather (Nawawi, 1989); and this suggested that the knowledge of weaving might have been introduced by the traders to the locals during that time, where the weaving activities was presence in Terengganu and Pahang. However, there is also possibility that the weaving activities was already practiced by the locals before the arrival of the traders Fortunately, with the rise of awareness in preservation and conservation our culture and heritage in protecting our integrity and identity, many documentations and researches were conducted on recording the art of *songket*. However, it was then the researcher acknowledged the documentation executed had been rather "biased".

PROBLEM STATEMENT

There has been an ongoing debate on how craft is related to the status of the world (Greenhalgh, 1997), for craft had always been interwoven with cultural domains (Torell & Palmsköld, 2020); the economic; political; social and ritual; it is a form of expression of one's integrity among a broad spectrum of social phenomena (Costin, 1998). There is no doubt that crafts simply display the unique colours of one's heritage and cultural identity; which also applies to *songket*. The history of *songket* may not be clear however, in many classical poems and art had depicted the use of *songket* back in the Malay society (Nawawi, 2016); which could be concluded on how the craft holds the image of the society. Despite that, the conservation and preservation approach conducted by the researchers and scholars in documenting the craft had yet to achieve its full objective. In documenting a craft that is the representation of a certain society, the past documentation had somehow showed imbalance in documenting the subject by emphasizing too much on the craft itself and in turn neglecting the community that produced them.

The literature source of *songket* is pretty much limited, and the documentation available mostly covers on the history of the craft in the land of Malaya and the process of making the craft; the tools and the techniques practiced; as well as the motifs and patterns woven on the *songket*. Most researchers conducted focused more on the craft itself: analysing and comparing the techniques and motifs with other weaving crafts; preserving the motifs and introducing new method in documenting the motifs. Despite the effort conducted in documenting the craft from being lost among the flow of time; however, the very community that produce the craft was somehow left aside. It can be seen that the past researchers focused more on the analysis process on the collected data instead of emphasizing on the process of documenting the data, where an important element can be seen missing. Consequently, the researcher acknowledged regarding the issue and decided to take on an approach in documentation that would include the community along with the craft. Hence, a visual ethnography in documenting Songket Rajang was conducted.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Songket Rajang got its name from the place of origin where the *songket* was produced; Kampung Rajang, Sarawak. Kampung Rajang is one of the oldest Melanau community residence that resides along the Sungai Rajang. It was believed that the locals had been carrying out the weaving activities

way before the arrival of James Brooke (Haji Suhaili, 2019), and the activity was still carried out even after the arrival. The weaving activity was speculated to have been practiced by the local through the influenced of the empire of Brunei around the 17th century where the empire had governed in many places (Awang Arshad et al., 2006). This hypothesis shown possibility with both Brunei and Peninsula sharing the same production in the pattern of *songket* known as *Jang Sarat* (Walsafelah, 2015). However, it was suspected that the weaving activities were neglected around the 1980s where one of the leading factors was the difficulties in obtaining the essential weaving materials such as the wools and gold threads; moreover, songket was considered as a luxurious item during that period of time where normal citizen could not afford the price of the item hence leading the decrease in the demands. Consequently, the locals shifted their activities in other economic activities such as farmers and fishermen. It was not until the Handicraft Extension Service Unit (HESU), that helped pick up the activity once more in Kampung Rajang. During the songket restoration program conducted by HESU, Kampung Rajang was chosen and eventually 19 candidates underwent weaving trainings and by 1991 the Rajang Songket Weaving Group was established with the help of The Sarawak Economic Development Cooperation (SEDC). Before 1994, the Rajang Songket Weaving Group carried out their weaving activities at two of the classrooms provided by Sekolah Kebangsaan Abang Galau, then moved to a sponsored building before officially settle at the current Pusat Tenunan Songket Kampung Rajang as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1: Pusat Tenunan Songket Kampung Rajang.

Currently, the 'Rajang Songket Weaving Group' consisted of 14 members where the 11 weavers were the weavers that underwent the trainings conducted by HESU, while 3 other members were newly recruited. Most of the weavers are still unmarried ladies where they spent most of their time dedicating in producing the beautiful *songket*. Even though the weaving group had been established for quite some time, however there has yet a formal documentation about Songket Rajang. This may be due to the lack of amount of *songket* produced by the weaving group due to the reason of not commercializing the craft and the amount of time to produce the craft takes longer than the mass production *songket* produced in other places. The reason to the long production time taken is due to the hidden thread techniques (Unveiling 'make-up' secrets, 2019) practiced by the weavers. The hidden thread technique practiced by the weaving group allows the produced *songket* to be worn in both sides without showing the trace of messy weaving threads. Other than that, Songket Rajang was also renowned with the motifs and pattern woven on the *songket*; the motifs were heavily based on the culture and local traditional motifs in Borneo, which made the craft more integrated with the culture.

METHODOLOGY

As mentioned previously, the researcher aimed to document the art of Songket Rajang without subjugating only on the craft itself; but rather including the community that is involved in the *songket* weaving production. The documentation of Songket Rajang had taken the approach of visual

ethnography where the methodology of visual ethnography was applied. Basically, visual ethnography is the extension of ethnography where visual ethnography uses visuals such as photography and videography in enhancing the documentation process, meaning the researcher was to gather data to communicate visually (Pauwels, 2019); in contrary to the conventional method which is documentating through written texts. The conventional ethnography methodology had subjugated documentation in the form of written text, which had been an ongoing argument on the authenticity of the data representation. "Words can sometimes be inaccessible or easily misinterpreted, which makes images an alternative source of communication" (Barrantes-Elizondo, 2019, p. 362), as suggested by Barrantes-Elizondo, the use of visuals could act as an alternative source in representing the data. This statement was supported by Redmon (2019), where he stated visual approach could provide a more sensual evidence on the researcher's experiences on the field site.

However, the core of both of the methodology is still the same, as according to Pink (2020), visual ethnography is an approach in experiencing, interpreting and representing the studied culture trough imagery. As stated by Gobo and Molle (2017), the key element for ethnography is 'observation'. Gobo and Molle further explained that in ethnography methodology consists of two types of observations: non-participant observation and participant observation. Non-participant observation was conducted with the researcher only observing on the side during documentation without being involved with the studied subjects; whilst participant observation involved the interaction of the researcher with the studied subjects, experiencing and observing through fist-hand experience. "The researcher pays attention to not only specific questions the researcher seeks to answer but also immerses herself in the broader meaning-laden context in which her interlocutors live" (Schwedler, Simmons & Smith, 2019); as supported by Seim (2019), the researcher acts as an individual that not only "takes" but also to "take part" in their studies. In this research, the researcher will be documenting without interrupting the weaving activity of the studied subjects; and will only be engaging with the subjects when documenting certain information. The engagement between the researcher and the people of the studied subject is essential element in ethnography (Hänninen, 2020). Other than that, according to the research conducted by Zouggari (2018) through the application of ethnography method in understanding the cabinetmakers in Switzerland, where Zouggari explained that through the observation method in ethnography is effective in order to create an understanding on the social practices of the cabinetmakers.

The research was conducted where informal interviews, observation and ethnographic interviews were carried out by mixing the method depending on the situation. The method applied by Zouggari gave the researcher a guideline in executing the visual ethnography method in documenting Songket Rajang. In order to document efficient visual aspect visual data, the researcher had taken the approach in applying visual art practice during the documentation process. The visual ethnography documentation method introduced by the social science researchers had displayed insufficiency in terms of visual aspect, which is supported by Rafee et al. (2016); where Rafee et al. explained that the method introduced does not focus on the image making process but rather subjugating on the transcription of the information which is contradict to visual art method practiced by visual art researchers in documentation. This statement was supported by Brockway et al. (2019), where Brockway et al. mentioned that the social science researches used visuals to translate into texts whilst visual art researchers used visuals to communicate with the audience. The visual data produced through the method appeared to be bland and could only be analyzed on face-value. As explained by Sullivan (2010), the integration of visuals in documentation are not just merely showcasing visual consent, but rather, visuals can be used as a platform to evoke conversations; a direct comparison that evokes differences (Pink, 2020), visuals can also act as a passageway of emotions towards the audience (Schembri & Boyle, 2013), allowing the audience to feel and make an understanding based on their own understanding. Consequently, the researcher had taken the approach by integrating visual art practices, which is visual analysis in overcoming the shortage. As mentioned earlier, there are two types of visual documentation in visual ethnography: photography and videography; the researcher had applied both photography and videography in documenting Songket Rajang. A more intensive discussion on the methodology applied will be discussed later in the article.

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY DOCUMENTATION ON SONGKET RAJANG

In order to efficiently document Songket Rajang with the given circumstances, the researcher had taken the approach in applying focused ethnography. Focused ethnography had been practiced by researchers that specified in documenting professional activities or detail representation on people's way of living and the activities carried out by the subjects (Knoblauch, 2005). As opposed to conventional ethnography research that required long-term research on the field site; focused ethnography allows the researchers to focus more on documenting the specific activities, without spending too much time on the field site. This statement was supported by Pink (2020), where Pink explained that there are times where the research location may be inconvenient for the researchers to conduct their research for a long period of time. Knoblauch (2005) further explained that with the modern advance technology available in the market had helped making the documentation process much easier compared to previous time. Hence, a focus ethnography research consisted of eight researchers had been conducted at the Pusat Tenunan Songket Kampung Rajang, Sarawak on the 24th and 25th January 2019 and on the 29th and 30th March 2019. The second trip was conducted in order to cover up the information that was not able to be recorded during the first trip. According to Gobo and Molle (2017), it is important for the researchers to have an understanding on the subject studied in order to decide on what to observe and what is needed to be done during the research. Before departing for the research trip, a precisive literature review was conducted on understanding about Songket Rajang.

The researchers had gathered secondary sources from journals, books and even newspaper in having a clear perspective on the craft itself. However, as mentioned before, the craft was yet to be documented properly hence the lack of information and data could be gathered during that time. The other more precise information could only be obtained when arriving at the field site. Admittedly, the methodology applied for this research is the method practiced by visual ethnographers; however, the researcher had also applied qualitative practices in collecting data, such as interviews and feedbacks. Before the actual documentation took place, an informal feedback session was conducted with Puan Hajah Sa'anah Haji Suhaili, the chairwoman of the Rajang Songket Weaving Group amidst the arrival on the very first day. The feedback session conducted covers briefly on the history of the songket weaving activity carried out in Kampung Rajang as well as the establishment of the Rajang Songket Weaving Group. As stated by Maying et. al (2019), it is essential for the researcher to obtain an understanding on the background on the research subject in order to take further action in the research. Other than that, Puan Hajah Sa'anah also briefed the researchers regarding the weaving process that the Rajang Songket Weaving Group practiced as well as the motifs and patterns produced by the fellow weavers; the researchers were also introduced to the weavers that were present at the facilities during that time. The feedback session was conducted in order to validate the information collected before arriving at the field site; this is also to ensure that the researchers had a proper understanding in which approach should be taken in documenting the weaving activity, hence increasing the effectiveness of the documentation process.



Figure 2: An informal feedback session was conducted upon the arrival at the facility.

During the first day, other than the feedback session, the researchers also explored the weaving facility and during the exploration, experimental photographs were taken. The function of the

experimental photographs was to identify the suitable lighting, and environment for the documentation; the experimental photographs were also used as collaborative photographs. As according to Pink (2020), a collaborative photograph provides an insight from the subject's point of view to the researchers; by looking at the photographs taken by the researchers, the respondent will point out or comment based on their understanding and opinions regarding the documented photographs. Collaborative photography also allows the researcher to have a better understanding in documenting the subjects efficiently.





Figure 3: Example of experimental photographs taken during the exploration at the facility.



Figure 4: Collaborative photographs were taken to obtain feedbacks from the weavers.

After collecting the needed information and feedbacks, the researchers then sat down for a discussion session regarding on the documentation process. Ultimately, the subjects and the approach for the documentation were decided, where the actual documentation were conducted on the second day. The documentation process will be elaborated closely according to Table 1 shown below.

Table 1:	Visual	documentation	subjects

Subject/ Method	Weavers	Weaving Process	Songket	Others
Participant observation	 Group Portrait Portrait	FeedbacksMelonsengMenganing	 Motifs/Pattern Materials Models	 Tools Documents

Non- participant observation	PortraitActivity	 Menggulung benang Mengisi gigi jentera Mengarap Mengangkat butang bunga Menyongket bunga Menenun 	Motifs/PatternMaterials	• Scenary
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As shown on Table 1, the horizontal columns are the subjects and the vertical columns are the method applied. The researchers had categorized the documentation subjects into four categories, which are: weavers, weaving process, *songket* and others; while there are two types of method applied for the documentation process: participant observation and non-participant observation. For the participant observation approach, the researchers will document the subjects through informal interview and feedbacks conducted by interacting with the weavers covering on the subjects listed, while non-participant observation were conducted by the researcher in documenting the subjects through visuals without interacting with the weavers. The process of documentation will be explained based on the four subject categories.

A) Weavers

There are a total of 14 weavers currently still active under the Rajang Songket Weaving Group; with Puan Hajah Sa'anah Haji Suhaili as the chairwoman. However, among the 14 weavers, only nine of the members carried out their daily weaving routines at the weaving facility whereas the remaining five members carried out their weaving activities at their own household. Consequently, the researchers had to document the weavers not only at the facility but also at their respective location. For the documentation on the weavers, as stated on Table 1, the researchers applied participant observation in collecting the data through engaging with the weavers. In applying participant observation, the researchers covered on the basic information such as the background of the weavers; working experiences; as well as the motifs created by them. For this documentation process, the information was collected through an informal interview conducted with the weavers individually; and the information were recorded in a form of videography and voice recording. Informal interview was chosen as the approach in interviewing the weavers is to ensure the weavers were comfortable with the interviewing process and being able to answer the questions without being too aware with the cameras. The informal interviews were conducted when the weavers were carrying out their weaving routine, where it could create an environment as if the interviewer was having a casual conversation with the interviewee as shown in Figure 5. The informal interview took approximately 5 minutes per weavers who were working at the facilities; informal interviews were also conducted at the other weavers who were working at their respective household. However, only two weavers who was working outside of the facility had accepted the interview session as shown in Figure 6 and Figure 7, while the other weavers declined for personal reasons.



Figure 5: Individual informal interview conducted with the weavers at the facility.



Figure 5: The researchers setting up the cameras and an informal interview session with the oldest weaver of Rajang Songket Weaving Group,

Puan Hajah Dayang Nurusalam Pengeran, was carried out at her house.



Figure 6: Informal interview conducted at Puan Hajah Fatimah Hadi's house, where she carried out her weaving activities.

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A photography session was carried out in documenting the portraits of the weavers as shown in Figure 7. The researchers set up the location for the photoshoot which was identified during the exploration at the facility on the first day. The weavers were asked to wear their group uniform for the photoshoot. Since only the weavers that worked at the facility were able to manage their time for the photoshoot, hence only nine of the weavers were included for the photoshoot. Single portrait of each weaver was documented as well as group portraits.



Figure 7: The researchers setting up the location for the photoshoot and directing the weavers for the photoshoot.

For non-participant observation, the researchers documented the weavers through photography and videography without interacting with the weavers. The photographs and videos collected by the researchers focused on the weavers' daily routine carried out at the weaving facilities as well as portraits of the weavers. The researchers did not interrupt the weavers and only recorded them quietly on the side. The portraits and videos taken were candid where the weavers were not aware of the cameras. Candid photographs were taken in order to present a more strip down presentation of the weavers; as stated by Fried (2008), candid photographs could unveil the truth of the documented subject, exposing the bare emotions to the public.





Figure 8: Example of non-participant observation photographs taken by the researchers.

B) Weaving process

As shown in Table 1, there are a total of eight weaving processes listed down. These eight processes are the main weaving process practiced by the weavers of the Rajang Songket Weaving Group, which is quite similar to the other weaving method practiced by the weavers from other places such as Terengganu and Pahang. The weaving process were documented according to the actual flow of the weaving process practiced by the weaver; starting from *melonseng; menganing; menggulung benang; mengisi gigi jentera; mengarap; mengangkat butang bunga; menyongket bunga;* and lastly *menenun*. During each documentation of the process, the weavers would demonstrate the steps taken for the specific process and they would explain to the researchers on what they were doing and the purpose of doing so. Both non-participant observation and participant observations were applied simultaneously during this documentation; where the researchers would document the process without interrupting the weavers, and would only engage with the weavers when there were some confusions or questions that needed to be clarified as shown in Figure 8; feedbacks were also given by the weavers. Both visuals and oral data were collected during this documentation.







Figure 9: non-participant observation and participant observation were applied during the documentation of the weaving processes.

C) Songket

In documenting the *songket*, the researchers focused on the materials and the motifs of the craft. For the documentation on the *songket*, the researchers had applied both participant observation and non-participant observation in documenting the craft where the motifs/pattern and materials were emphasized. The researchers were divided into two teams where one of the team would be engaging with the weavers while the other team would only be documenting the *songket* without interacting with the weavers. For the team that applied participant observation were assisted by Puan Hajah Sa'anah Haji Suhaili in identifying the name for each motif and pattern woven on the *songket*. The names of the motifs and patterns were jotted down for later labelling. Whereas the non-participant team will take the *songket* for documentation in the form of photography and videography. The second team had taken different shots such as closeup, establishing shot, extreme closeup etc. in order to capture the intricate motifs effectively. Other than documenting *songket* for proper documentation purpose, the researchers had also taken aesthetic photographs on the craft itself (Figure 11).



Figure 10: The researchers were divided into two teams in documenting the *songket*. Different shots were taken in order to document the craft effectively.



Figure 11: Examples of aesthetic photographs taken.

In documenting the models wearing the *songket*, participant observation was applied. The researchers had the models wore the *songket* in different style according to the type of *songket* chosen. The weavers were present along the photoshoot to assist the researchers in adjusting the proper way to wear the songket as well as giving feedbacks in adapting the best approach in framing the models and *songket* effectively. The photoshoot was conducted in varies places around the facility to create a more aesthetic outcome.



Figure 12: The researchers preparing and guiding the models with the placement with the assistant from the weavers.

D) Others

Under the others category, the subjects included are tools, scenery and documents. For this category, the researchers had applied participant observation in recording the subjects: tools and documentation; whereas non-participant observation was applied in documenting the scenery of the facility as well as the scenery around the facility. Informal interviews and feed backs were conducted with Puan Hajah Sa'anah Haji Suhaili and the other weavers in identifying the tools used for the weaving activities as well as the achievements made by the Rajang Songket Weaving Group. The researchers also documented important documents archived by the weaving group. The documentation of the scenery was conducted without engaging with the weavers and were executed by the researchers by exploring the field site.



Figure 13: The researchers documented the tools used; important documents as well as the scenery of the Pusat Tenunan Songket Kampung Rajang.

Other than applying the methods in visual ethnography, in order to document the background of Kampung Rajang as well as the establishment of the weaving facility, the researchers had applied qualitative method. A formal interview was conducted with the ex-chief of Kampung Rajang, Tuan Haji Morshidi bin Ali and one of the members of Kampung Rajang community, Tuan Haji Saidol bin Bolhassan (Figure 14).



Figure 14: Formal interview conducted with the ex-chief of Kampung Rajang, Tuan Haji Morshidi bin Ali (right) and Tuan Haji Saidol bin Bolhassan (left), member of the Kampung Rajang community.

Through the visual ethnography methodology applied in this Songket Rajang documentation research, had successfully captured not only the craft but also the community as well. A total of 5289 visual data were collected; with 508 videos and the remaining 4781 are photographs.

FINDINGS

From the visual ethnography method applied in documenting Songket Rajang; by applying participant observation and non-participant observation in documenting through visuals, the researchers had concluded the method applied as shown in Figure 15. Through the method applied in this research, the researcher had successfully documented Songket Rajang without excluding the weavers.

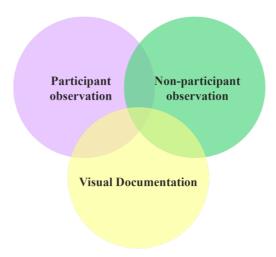


Figure 15: Visual Ethnography method applied in the documentation of Songket Rajang.

As this research had taken the approach in documenting through the integration of visuals, visual documentation was applied by the researcher throughout the whole research in either participant observation approach and non-participant observation approach. Through the process of documenting the community of Songket Rajang, the researcher had applied the method reflexively according to the subject recorded. Under certain circumstances, the observation method would be applied individually; whereas both of the observation method would be applied simultaneously according to the situation.

A) Participant observation; visual documentation

Participant observation would be applied under the circumstances in documenting objects that needed explanation and feedbacks from the studied subjects. In this research, participant observation was applied in documenting the tools used by the weavers in carrying out their weaving routines. The names

and the function of the tools were confirmed by engaging with the weavers through either informal interviews or feedbacks. Other than that, the documentation on the motifs and patterns woven had also applied participant observation where the weavers would explain the background of the motifs and pattern. Basically, participant observation will be applied when the researcher would not make an understanding based solely on what they observed; which the knowledge could only be obtained through the interaction with the studied subject.

B) Non-participant observation; visual documentation

Non-participant observation could be applied in documenting subjects that the researchers would not need explanation or guidance in making an understanding through self-observation. Such as in documenting candid portraits of the community and the sceneries, which does not need the interaction with the studied subjects.

C) Participant observation; non-participant observation; visual documentation

Researchers might apply both observation methods simultaneously in documenting subjects that the researcher may only understand partially through self-observation; and would need the clarification and explanation from the studied subject. For this research particularly, the researchers had applied both participant observation and non-participant observation in documenting the weaving process practiced by the weaver in Pusat Tenunan Songket Kampung Rajang. The researcher could only make an understanding based on what was being done without engaging with the weavers through self-observation on the side; however, the researcher may not be able to fully understand the actual process and the reason behind the process being executed. Hence, the researcher had to engage with the weavers when the weavers were demonstrating on the weaving process in order to make a full understanding of the process.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned previously, the researcher aimed to document the craft as an art of a community instead of neglecting the community that produced it. Through the visual ethnography method applied in this research, the researcher was able to document the heritage of Songket Rajang by engaging the community throughout the entire documentation process. With the data collected will be able to represent the art of the craft more effectively. By the end of this research, it is in hope that this research had demonstrated a more effective way in documenting craft related subject by not putting too much emphasising on the craft itself but by analyzing and understanding craft as a whole community.

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