

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BAJAU AND MARITIME AFFAIRS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

**“RE-EMERGENCE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS,
HERITAGE AND LEADERSHIP IN THE GLOBALISED WORLD”**

ICONBAJAU 2019

**23-27 APRIL 2019
TUN SAKARAN MUSEUM, SEMPORNA**

Organized by



Collaboration with



In Conjunction with



UMS
UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH



UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

**RE-EMERGENCE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, HERITAGE
AND LEADERSHIP IN THE GLOBALISED WORLD
(KEBANGKITAN SEMULA ADAT, WARISAN DAN KEPIMPINAN
MARITIM DALAM DUNIA GLOBALISASI)**

Proceedings of the International Conference on Bajau and Maritime Affairs
in Southeast Asia (ICONBAJAU2019)
23-27 April 2019

Compiled by
Hanafi Hussin & Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan



Council for Sabah Native Affairs, The Department of Sabah Museum, Sabah State Archives,
University of Malaya & Universiti Malaysia Sabah

Conference Committee

YAB Datuk Seri Panglima Haji Mohd. Shafie bin Haji apdal, Chief Minister of Sabah, YBhg. Datuk Sa'adilah Bin Haji Abdillah, Director, Council for Sabah Native Affairs, Tuan Arif Abd Hamid, Director, Department of Sabah Museum, Professor Dr Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Malaysia Sabah), Assoc. Prof. Dr Hanafi Hussin (University of Malaya), YBhg. Datuk Haji Said Hinayat, Mr Robin Fedilis Lojiwin, Mr Stanley Peter Pitol, Miss Judeth John Baptist, ADO Tuan Haji Abdul Iman Basinun, Sabah State Archives, Semporna District Office, Majlis Daerah Semporna, Semporna Police Station, Hospital Semporna, SESB Semporna, Water Department, Semporna, ESSCOM, Information Department, Semporna, District Chiefs, Native Chiefs, Native Chief Representatives, Village Headmen

Conference held at Tun Sakaran Museum, Semporna Sabah

CD copies 200

© 2019, Copyright by Council for Sabah Native Affairs, The Department of Sabah Museum, Sabah State Archives, University of Malaya & Universiti Malaysia Sabah

Conference on Bajau and Maritime Affairs of Southeast Asia (ICONBAJAU2019) (Semporna, Sabah)
Proceedings of the International Conference on Bajau and Maritime Affairs of Southeast Asia (ICONBAJAU2019): Re-emergence of Maritime Customs, Heritage and Leadership in the Globalised World (*Kebangkitan Semula Adat, Warisan dan Kepimpinan Maritim Dalam Dunia Globalisasi*)

Compilers Hanafi Hussin, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan ... [et.al]

CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (i-iii)

PAPERS PRESENTED (1-134)

A PERCUSSIVE DANCE: RELATING SOUND AND MOVEMENT IN THE SAMA-BAJAU IGAL TARIRAI (1)

MCM Santamaria (University of the Philippines Diliman)

UNSUR SINKRETISME DALAM ADAT TRADISI BAJAU-SAMA: KAJIAN DI DAERAH SEMPORNA SABAH (ELEMENTS OF SYNCRETISM IN THE TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE BAJAU-SAMA: A CASE STUDY IN SEMPORNA DISTRICT) (19)

Syamsul Azizul Marinsah & Mohd Jasmie Jasim (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)

ULA-ULA SAMA- PANJI KEBESARAN MASYARAKAT BAJAU INDONESIA (ULA-ULA SAMA: THE GREATNESS PANJI OF INDONESIAN BAJAU/SAMA) (30)

Zulkifli Azir (Independent Scholar)

PROSES ADAPTASI DAN SEDENTARISASI MASYARAKAT BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA: KAJIAN KES KAMPUNG BANGAU-BANGAU SEMPORNA (PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION AND SEDENTARISATION OF SEA BAJAU IN SEMPORNA: a CASE STUDY IN KG BANGAU-BANGAU) (46)

Rozaliah binti Mokhtar¹, Gusni Bin Saat¹ & Aisah Hossin² (Universiti Malaysia Sabah¹ & University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF²))

ETNOGRAFI KOMUNITI “KOTA” SAMA DILAUT: PENYISIHAN DAN KELANGSUNGAN HIDUP (ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE “URBAN” SAMA DILAUT : DISPLACEMENT AND SURVIVAL) (51)

Jamal Gabir, Junaenah Sulehan, Friscilla Saimun & Gusniar Nurdin (University College Sabah Foundation)

DIFFERENCES AMONG BAJAU HOUSES IN THE DIASPORA ZONE (70)

Muhammad Abdul Karim¹, Alfagana Rachmadani² (Universitas Indonesia¹ & Universitas Diponegoro²))

ETHNOHERBAL MEDICINES OF THE BAJAU IN NORTH OF SABAH, BORNEO, BORNEO (80)

Julius Kulip, Jauris Seligin @ Doris & Andy R. Mojiol (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)

KEARIFAN TEMPATAN BAJAU DALAM YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS KARYA ZUBIR OSMAN (2017) LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE BAJAU IN ‘YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS’ WRITTEN BY ZUBIR OSMAN (2017) (101)

Rabiatul Adawiah binti Ab. Samad & Azwan bin Arik (Kolej Poly-Tech Mara Semporna)

REVISITING THE BIOLA (BIULA) AMONG THE BAJAU AND IRANUN OF SABAH: THE INSTRUMENT, ITS PERFORMANCE, AND POSSIBLE ORIGINS (110)

Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)

REINSTITUTIONALIZING SULAT PASA: A TRADITIONAL DIVORCE PAPER AMONG THE SAMA IN TAWI-TAWI (115)

Alshadat B. Sabal¹ & Omarjan I. Jahuran² (Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography¹ & Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi²))

EMPOWERMENT OF THE SAMA-BAJAU IN GOVERNANCE THROUGH MANDATORY REPRESENTATION IN DECISION-MAKING BODIES AND OTHER LOCAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS: A CONTINUING ADVOCACY (125)

Filemon G. Romero (Protect Wildlife STawi TwiSite, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi)

ABSTRACTS (135-142)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SAMA-BAJAU ORIGIN AND CULTURE IN SABAH (135)

Stephen Chia (Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang)

POON TAUN OF MENAMPILIK ISLAND-SUSTAINING BAJAU GENEALOGIES AND IDENTITY (135)

Hanafi Hussin¹ & Judeth John Baptist² (University of Malaya¹ & Independent Researcher²)

TABAWAN, THE ISLAND OF DANCE, RITUALS AND TRADITIONS (136)

Bremarld Perong (Notre Dame of Tabawan High School, South Ubian, Tawi-Tawi)

BAJAU SPIRITUALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI (FILM DOCUMENTARY) (137)

Kelli Swazey (Gadjah Mada University)

FUNGSI STRUKTUR RUANG RUMAH-PERAHU/ LEPA DALAM KEHIDUPAN KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA (*THE FUNCTIONS OF STRUCTURAL SPACE OF THE HOUSEBOAT/LEPA IN THE LIFE OF THE SEA BAJAU OF SEMPORNA*) (137)

Rozaliah binti Mokhtar¹, Gusni Bin Saat¹ & Aisyah binti Hossin (Universiti Malaysia Sabah & University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF²))

ANOM TEPO: THE SAMA-BAJAU ART AND TRADITION OF MAT WEAVING (138)

Omarjan I. Jahuran¹ & Rozaliah Binti Mokhtar² (Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi, Philippines¹ & University of Malaysia Sabah)

PARTICIPATION OF THE BAJAU COMMUNITY IN MEDICINAL PLANTS MARKETS IN THE TAMU OF WEST COAST SABAH (39)

Jurry Foo (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)

MENGARANG SEBAGAI PENGETAHUAN EKOLOGI TRADISIONAL KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA, SABAH (*MENGARANG AS THE TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SEA BAJAU IN SEMPORNA, SABAH*) (139)

Aisah Hossin¹ & Rozaliah Mokhtar² (University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF)¹ & Universiti Malaysia Sabah²)

THE ECONOMY OF BOAT DWELLING SAMA DILAUT (140)

Erik Abrahamsson (Lund University)

MAGSINAMA KITA! EMPOWERING THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.(141)

Omarjan Ibrahim Jahuran (Public Information Research Center, Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi)

RADIO FOR PEACE: THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACEBUILDING, PRESERVATION AND PROMOTION OF THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAWI-TAWI (141)

Babylyn Kano Omar (DXGD AM Radio for Peace)

THE ARREST, DETENTION AND DEPORTATION FROM SABAH, MALAYSIA OF SOME SEA GYPSIES (142)

Sanen Marshall, Saidatul Nornis Hj Mahali & Junaidah Januin (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)

CONFERENCE PROGRAM (143-150)

SHORT-BIO OF THE PRESENTERS (151-154)

ORGANISING TEAM (155)

A PERCUSSIVE DANCE: RELATING SOUND AND MOVEMENT IN THE SAMA-BAJAU *IGAL TARIRAI*

MCM Santamaria
Professor of Asian and Philippine Studies
Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman
(constanciomat@yahoo.com)

Abstract

In this article, I attempt to relate the structure of music to the structure of dance. In particular, I examine the link between the Sama-Bajau music, *Titik Tarirai*, and its equivalent in dance, *Igal Tarirai*. I especially chose to examine the performance of *Igal Tarirai* because of its characteristic as percussive dance. In this performance, the dancers' moves to the accented music of the dance piece while beating specific rhythmic patterns with *bola'-bola'* clappers made of hardwood or bamboo. By performing an observable arrangement of structured movement while at the same time producing an equally observable arrangement of structured sound, the performer is all at once dancer and musician. In effect, simultaneous sounding and moving create a unique organic unity between music and dance while at the same time maintaining the respective autonomies of their fields through parallel compositions in sound and movement that interrelated with each other through what may be called a dialogue of expressive systems or structures. I further opine that this very close relationship between musicking and dancing, or corollary to the concepts, between sounding and moving, can best be understood through the performers' constant pursuit of developing *bunga*, a *Sinama* concept that places importance on the development of a personal style or individually distinct expression through improvisation in both music and dance. *Bunga* can also be used to describe a particular style of music and dance performance that is associated with a particular place. *Genis* (variant) or *kagenisan* (variation), maybe is often used as an alternate term for individual style or style associated with the place. In order to understand *bunga* in Sama-Bajau performance, an ethno-choreomusicological approach is necessary. This new approach to performance emphasises the need to interrogate the link between the structures of music and the structures of dance closely. In this approach, the examination of one leads to a greater understanding of the other or *vice-versa*. This shift from the long-established paradigm of examining music and dance as distinct forms to the new perspective of seeing them as forming an organic unity contributes to the development of a more integrated and sophisticated mode of knowledge production with very practical applications in performance practice.

Keywords: *Sounding and Moving, Music and Dance, Igal Tarirai, Styles, Variants*

Introduction

Igal Tarirai is dance originating from the Island of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi, Southern Philippines. In this dance, a female performer creates an improvised choreography by using a particular set of basic movements and kinetic ornamentation comprising of brief accents and expansive flourishes while simultaneously a specified set of rhythmic patterns through the percussive beating of *bola'-bola'* clappers made of wood or bamboo. There appears to an infinite number of personal styles in performing this dance. This personal styles, however, may be classified into local village- or island-based variants that serve as performance models or templates. I argue, in this article, that the idea of *bunga* or personal styles observed among individual artists as well as the *genis* or variants observe across island or village communities can best be understood through an ethno-choreomusicological approach that stresses the importance of jointly interrogating music and dance across performers and performance events.

Even as the dancer's body serves at the site of this organic unity of structures of sound and movement, the respective autonomy of the two are still maintained, if not highlighted through a well-defined outlining of spatial relations between the two. Indeed, the dancer enacts her musicking and moving in pre-determined space or zone of activity. The musicians enact their musicking and moving in a likewise pre-determined space just behind the dancer from the perspective of the audience's sight line.

First, by studying the structure of music (*Titik Tarirai*) one understands the structure of dance (*Igal Tarirai*). The structures of music and the structures of dance define each other. As such, dance movement alone does not define a dance piece. It has to be defined by how the movement composition relates to music composition. In a similar manner, musical notes alone do not define a music piece composed for dance. It has to be defined by how the musical notes are selected and ordered in relation to the dance piece it seeks to animate. Second, in attempting to understand structure in both music and dance, it is necessary, borrowing from Trimillos (2017), to understand how practitioners distinguish, from among many, those that are “critical” (those that are absolutely necessary), “desirable” (those that define a good performance), and “incidental” (those that are specific to particular performers) (pp. 4-5). Third, the improvisatory nature of both music and dance can be best understood through the concepts of *bunga* (individual style) and *genis* (local variants observed across village or island communities). In traditional dance performance, improvisation does not mean executing any movement that comes the dancer's mind. Improvisation within a tradition requires that the dancer choreographs her impromptu piece using movements from a predetermined set of kinetic vocabulary. She then combines this basic set of movements with kinetic ornamentation composed of accents and flourishes that she has developed in a very personal manner. Furthermore, she needs create her work of improvisation in line with the structure of the music, mindful to be mindful of the fact that the tempo, melodic line, stresses and rests will determine the corollary selection of the most appropriate movements. As such, *bunga* as improvisation in dance may be seen as instantaneous negotiations done by the individual dancer in attempting to create a viable or desirable relationship between movement and sound, using the act of moving as the primary mode of engaging the emerging or evolving relationship. In the same vein, *bunga* as improvisation in music may be seen as instantaneous negotiations done by the individual or group of musicians in attempting to create a viable or desirable relationship between movement and sound, using the act of sounding as the primary mode of engaging the emerging or evolving relationship. *Genis* as variants of practice observed across communities may initially have resulted from individual *bunga*. Unlike *bunga*, however, *genis* sets or freezes across time certain elements that are considered to be desirable. Our understanding of *bunga* and *genis* will be deepened examination of elements observed in *Igal Tarirai* performances in the field and onstage.

Pioneering Works on Igal Tarirai and Titik Tarirai

Tarirai (aka Tariray) first appears in scholarly literature through the seminal work of Jose Maceda and Alain Martenot (1980) on the music of the Sama Sitangkai. They note the one-to-one correspondence between music and movement in their description of a syncopated rhythm that “is accompanied by a quick, erotically suggestive jerking of the shoulders and torso.” They proceed to note that “...six or seven adjoining **kulintangan** gongs are used” and that “a single stick is used for the **solembat**.” (Section A.5, emphasis by the author). In this work, they include the following musical description of the melody played by the *kulintangan* using scale notation:

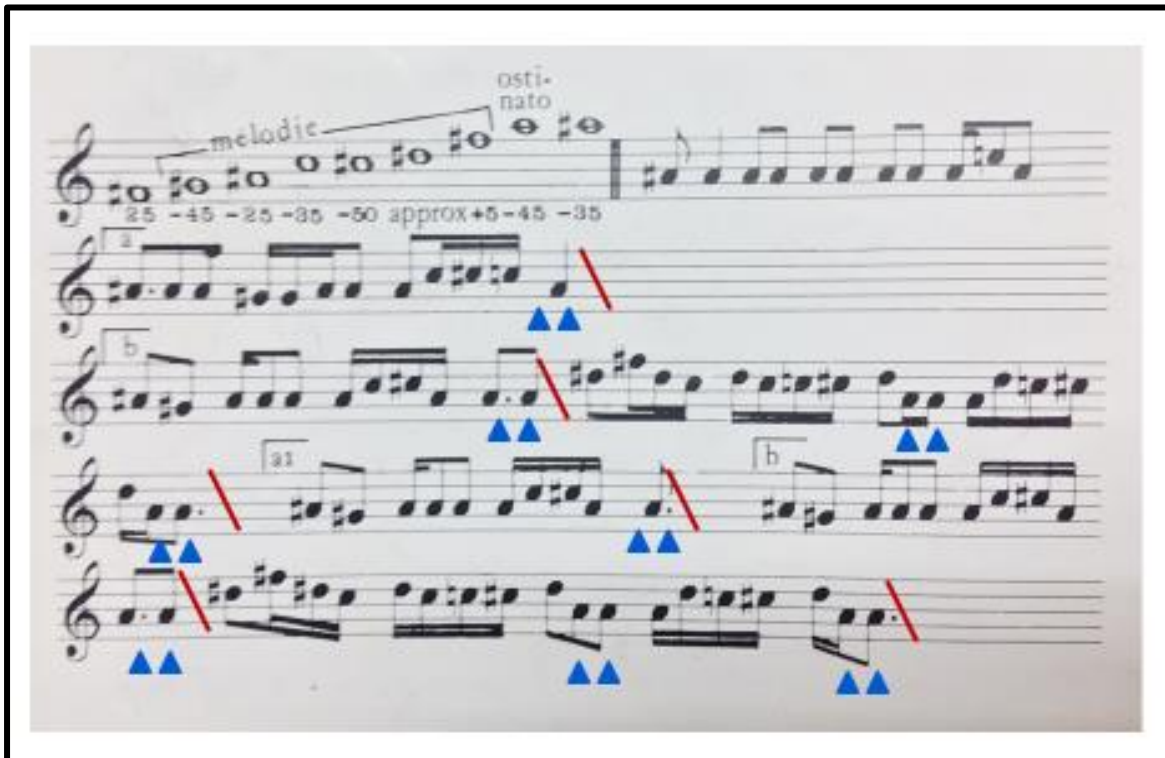


Figure 1: Scale Notation of the *Kulitangan* Music in *Titik Tarirai*

Source: Maceda, J. & A. Martenot. (1980). *Sama de Sitangkai, Philippines Archipel de Sulu*. Paris: SELAF, ORSTOM.

Superimposition:  Pinaglabbuk Pause;  Taroroh Double Beating

Tarirai reappears in Amilbangsa's tome (1983) on the pangalay dance. She describes the dance as "... a dance unique to the Badjaw of Sitangkai, Tawi-tawi (sic). The female dancer uses shell, bamboo or wooden *bulah-bulah* (clappers) clicked alternately to the staccato accompaniment of brass percussions." (p. 46) Like Martenot and Maceda, she does not explain origin of the dance or the meaning of its movements. The first mention of the dance's origin's comes from a brief liner note publication by

Leon Coma (ca 2013) who says that the dance depicts "men and women catching eels in shallow waters" (p. 6). Abdul Hamid Chan, Hafzan Zannie Hamza and Mayco A. Santaella (ca 2015) give a brief description range of movement centered on the "shoulders, legs and arms" and mentions a critical feature of *angijut baha* or the jerking movements of the shoulders (p. 19). This description is consistent to the earlier one made by Martenot and Maceda (1980) on the "quick, erotically suggestive jerking of the shoulders..." (Section A.5). This jerking movement of the shoulders followed by the act of "jumping" is explained by descriptive albeit awkwardly written entry on the dance found in Etawau.com (nd):

"Tarirai is a best-past (sic) dance choreographed following one's (sic) reaction that evolves around a story of one Bajau Semporna men (sic). While walking on the sandy shore looking for some cockles, he became terrifying (sic) upon seeing '*taliaga*' (a slimy snake like creature) and jumping (sic) around hysterically. He then ran home in the same ticklish feeling. As it will be seen, the following foot works (sic) on this dance are symbolism (sic) of one's (sic) feet during jumping."

Bernard Ellorin (2008) identifies unique characteristics of Sama Dilaut *kulintangan titik* for that gives some clue as to the relations of the music structure to the movement structure of Igal Tarirai's performance. He observes "... two improvisatory forms of embellishments that include

the *taroroh* or ‘double hitting’ and *pinaglabbuk* or ‘a brief pause’ in between or after a melodic phrase...” (pp. 53-54). He further shares his observation that these two types of ornamentation “are struck on the *palinduan* or second lowest gong known as the ‘beginning tome’... (p. 54). The important role played by these embellishments in signaling certain movement and kinetically held or “rest” passages will be seen in our discussion of movement and music from cases of Igal Tarirai performance observed in the field and onstage.

The importance of the structure of sound to the performance of *Igal Tarirai* rests on its fundamental as a “percussive dance.” Anita Gritsch (n.d.) underscores the centrality of rhythm in percussive dances. In these kinds of dances “...rhythm becomes visible and communicates both musical and non-musical content through structured movement. To put it differently, percussive dances speak both audible and visible, musical and physical languages” (p. 3). Ryan P. Casey (2017) points out that rhythm is “its driving force...transforming the body-not just the feet-into a unique audiovisual and percussive instrument that combines both movement and music” (p. 16). To produce rhythm via percussion, the dancer may play hand-held instruments such as castanets (non-body percussion), cause parts of the body to come into forceful contact with sounding surfaces such as stamping the feet on the floor (quasi-body percussion), or causing body parts to beat at each other thereby producing sound such as in clapping hands or beating the chest (body percussion). As described in the earlier sections of this article indicate, *Igal Tariray* produces percussion through the first and second methods. The second method mainly comes in the form of stamping (*tendak*), jumping (*laksu*), abrupt brushing or scratching floor surfaces with the balls of the feet (*kaghis*), and tapping of the feet (*kereg-kereg*, *ebed-ebed* or *oyo'-oyo'*). It will be seen through our examination of different interpretations of Igal Tarirai that the above-mentioned movements, among others, are executed at very specifically accented ornamental passages found in several parts of the highly structured *Titik Tarirai* music piece.

Re-examining *Igal Tarirai* in the Field and Onstage

This section analyzes the sound structure and the dance structure of a sampling of Igal Tarirai observed in the field and onstage. The sampling presented in this study is composed of the performances by the following artists or groups: 1) Ligaya Fernando Amilbangsa, Alun-Alun Dance Circle, 2) Handa Saudagal, traditional dance artist from Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province, 3) Bidduri, traditional dance artist from Sibutu, Tawi-Tawi Province, 4) Bilbirasa Badding, traditional dance artist from Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province, 5) Sumarin Salinhati, traditional artist from Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province, 6) Budaya Maju Dance Troupe, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia, 7) Tambuli Cultural Troupe, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi Province, 8) Meg De Jesus and Lyndon Bulaon, Kaloob Ministry, Manila, and 9) Intan Sulga, traditional dance artist, Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia.

Ligaya Fernando-Amilbangsa

Artistic Director, Alun-Alun Dance Circle
Mayamot, Antipolo City, Greater Manila Area

Performance Context. Owing to her seniority in the practice of dance performance as well as to the location of her cultural practice and social life in Metro Manila, Ligaya Fernando-Amilbangsa’s version of *Igal Tarirai* is arguably the most well known as widely viewed. A videotape of her performance of the dance in a concert titled *Pangalay ng Bayan* (12 January 2002) mounted by her dance company, the Alun-Alun Dance Circle at the Tanghalang Aurelio Tolentino of the Cultural Center of the Philippines serves as the sample analyzed in this section. At that time, I was still an active member of the said dance company.

Critical Features. In this concert, two critical features are observed to be in Amilbangsa’s performance as used. The first is the use of *Titik Tarirai* music, albeit in taped form. This recording hews closely to that of Martenot and Maceda which was rendered in scale notation in their 1980 publication. The music consists of two counts of eight followed by a musical “tail” consisting of four counts. The second is the production of percussion via *bola'-bola'* clappers. Other critical

features that link sound and movement structures appear to have been ignored by Amilbangsa. The *taroroh* double beats not reproduced in her evenly paced percussive renderings on the clappers. In no part of the dance does she attempt to synchronize her movement accents with the *taroroh* sections of the piece. Moreover, she also does not attempt to hold any movements in suspended poses in any of the *pinaglabbuk* pauses of the music piece. Amilbangsa executes her embellishment on the very 1st count of the first two phrases. On the third phrase, which is melodically different from the first two, she executes pivot turns on the 5th and 6th counts she executes a half pivot turn, holding a stationary pose on the 7th and 8th counts. She immediately proceeds to another pivot turn on the first 3 counts of the next phrase, which is 4-count tail, and ends with a stationary pose on the 4th count with one foot .

Desirable Features. In terms of “desirable features,” Amilbangsa executes kinetic accents in the form of abrupt alternate *engke* lifting of the leg with the raised foot in flexion which is then immediately followed by a *laksu* or jump.

Incidental Features. In terms of incidental features, Amilbangsa executes major departures from standard performance of the dance in her placement of the *engke'-laksu* kinetic accent at the first count of the melodic phrase instead of the usual practice of doing it at the third and seventh counts of the two 8-count phrases in the beginning of the piece. She likewise withholds the execution of the same kinetic accent at the seventh count of the third phrase and at the third count of the concluding 4-count tail. Instead she performs two half pivot turns which follows the extension of alternately leading right and left feet extended to the side.

She also ignores the *taroroh* or double hitting embellishment that is consistently sounded at the seventh count as a cue to be mimicked by the heavily accented sounding of the *bola'-bola'*. Instead she produces a monotonous percussive sound of eight counts for each phrase through an even alternate clicking of the clappers. She also does not perform the *angijut baha* (aka *kidjut baha*) or the jerking of the shoulders which should correspond to this point in the piece. It also appears that he is unaware of the function of the *pinaglabbuk* or the slight pause observed at the eighth count right after the *taroroh*. This very slight rest is supposed to cue the momentary suspension of the dancer's body or the lifting of the right or left leg, with the foot held at around the level of knee in a hardly perceptible pause.

Other Observations. Amilbangsa's use of recorded music in her performance offers no opportunity for interaction between the dancer and the (absent) musicians. Instead of a dynamic exchange of energies, variations in tempo, and unexpected embellishments, what is mainly noticed is the dancer attempting to do her utmost best in keeping time with the mechanically-reproduced music.

Handa Saudagal

Traditional Igal Dance Practitioner
Municipality of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province

Performance Context. I directly requested Handa Bagul on 26 April 2005 for a video-recording session of her demonstration of *Igal Tariray* during my field work in Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi for my Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture Research Merit Project titled *Capturing Pangalay*. Video documentation was done by Marta Prieto Lovina while local arrangements and project coordination were handled by Dr. Cynthia Neri Zayas and Dr. Adelina Amparo Umali III, both from the Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines Diliman. Handa was a student of famed *Igal Tarirai* dancer, Ennura Baruk, who was alive at the time but could no longer dance for extended periods. The recording took place at a stage put up for a wedding scheduled for that week. Since the instrumentalists have already set up the instruments for their group's *kulintangan* ensemble, my team took the opportunity to video several dances in the said site.

Critical Features. In this performance by Handa, live *Titik Tariray* music was provided by a local *tagunggo'an* (aka *kulintangan* ensemble) group. Handa's performance was very playful while at the same time very precise observing perfect timing of her double clicking of her bola'-bola' clappers with the *taroroh* syncopated double beats found in *kulintangan* melodic phrase endings. The rhythmic patterns of the bola'-bola' followed the rhythmic pattern produced by the *tambul* drum which also accompanied the melodic phrase endings with a double beat on the *tambul* augmenting the *taroroh* accent of the *kulintangan*. In Handa's performance the sound-movement structure relationship is well established in her very consistent kinetic accentuation of all *taroroh* sections. These kinetic flourishes can be observed in *kidjut-kidjut* or the jerking movements of her shoulders; in several *engke'* variants of her legs or feet; in *pariata tangan* or the raising or flailing of her arms; and finally, in the clearly defined moments of held pose or suspended motion which she strives to sustain in the *pinaglabbuk* section of the music piece. The percussive feature of the clappers were echoed by carefully placed *tendak* or heavy foot stamping in selected *taroroh* portions of the musical piece. In this aspect, Handa's critical feature of percussive creation by the dancer employed two sounding techniques: an instrumental technique using the bola'-bola', and a quasi-body percussion technique employing *tendak-tendek* or a series of alternating stamps of feet.

Handa executes her kinetic expressions of the *taroroh* on the 7th count of the first three phrases. The first two phrases are melodically the same while the third is different. She then executes a final embellishment on the 3rd count of the final 4-count tail.

Desirable Features. Handa's version of *Igal Tarirai* goes beyond the basic form through a demonstration of a *bunga* or personal style that appears to emphasize technical virtuosity through the presentation of a wide variety of *genis* or types of movement seamlessly executed at the *taroroh* sections of the *titik*. She alternates non-percussive movements such as *kaghis-kaghis* (chicken scratching the earth), *engke'-engke'* (sudden lifting of the leading foot reminiscent of a retiree or *passe* in a closed position), a *battlement* variant of the *engke'-engke'* (the sudden lifting or kicking of the leading leg towards the front, followed by brief holding of the pose mid-air), a *balloney* variant of *engke'-engke'* (the sudden lifting of the leading leg towards the front followed by its folding into a retiree position with the foot placed in front of the knee), and finally, the simplest *engke'* (resulting in the sudden lifting of body through the tip-toeing of both feet, simultaneously or in succession, with both extended feet being held briefly at its highest pose level). Although non-percussive, these movements trick the ears into "hearing" a percussive pattern emanating from them. This visual-sonic tricking of the mind is done through the very crisp execution of the movement in perfect tandem with the *taroroh* sonic accents. Adding further visual texture and vibrant energy to the improvised performance, Handa creates a sustained and consistently refined kinetic tremolo, ornamenting the horizontal line formed by her arms and of her shoulders with wave-like shapes in motion through the execution of a series of well-coordinated *kidjut-kidjut* or jerking of her shoulders. This ornamentation generally follows the even tempo and rhythmic pattern of the large hanging gongs but decidedly breaks this evenness by executing bigger *kidjut-kidjut* movements together with kinetic flourish created by the sudden raising or flailing of the arms, thus creating even larger accents accompanying the *taroroh* beats that mark the end part of each melodic phrase played by the *kulintangan*.

Incidental Features. Handa breaks the regularity of footwork by adding a *tendek-tendek* series of small stamps within the time frame of the melodic phrases. In *pinaglabbuk* sections of the music she also makes use poses held high on tip-toe and poses held low *en plier* or with bent knees, with her low center of gravity made to contrast with the vertical projection of her raised arms and shoulders. She also injects a playful ambiance into her dance performance by making eye contact with selected members of the audience, sometimes getting their attention by stepping on their feet or through some other similar harmless prank. Handa also actively communicates with the musicians through eye contact and other non-verbal cues. Her held pauses which come in varying lengths of duration lends her performance a degree of unpredictability of a game or contest that requires pro-active interaction between the musicians and the dancer.

Other Remarks. Handa's virtuosity and ability to show "many flowers" in the dance seems to be without par. Her choice of ornamentation in the *taroroh* sections of the music still largely favors the *engke'*, the abrupt raising of the foot from a demi-pointe position, and the *sintak*, the strongly accentuated raising of the foot through a brushing motion on the floor ending with a folded knee held in momentary suspension. This variant of *Igal Tarirai* (*Genis Igal Tarirai*) may be called the Genis Sitangkai, the Sitangkai Variant or Model. This variant was reportedly performed by Ennura Demingu in the past during her prime. She has passed on this variant to her student, Ligaya Fernando Amilbansa, who appears to have maintained it in a much modified form, indicating the development of her own *bunga* or personal style.ⁱ

Bidduri

Igal Djin Denda (Female Spirit Dance Medium)
Tongehat, Municipality of Sibutu, Tawi-Tawi Province

Performance Context. Bidduri's video footage is part of a recording of series of dances done on 25 April 2005 that I requested to be performed by group of traditional dancers and musicians who live in the Island of Sibutu. The commissioned performance was held in small house flanking the Community Center in Tongehat Village. The activity was arranged by Hadji Musa Malabong, who was the Deputy Superintendent of Schools in the Island of Sibutu, which at the time was part of the Municipality of Sitangkai. The activity was part of my Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture Research Merit Project titled *Capturing Pangalay*. Video documentation was done by Marta Prieto Lovina while local arrangements and project coordination were handled by Dr. Cynthia Neri Zayas and Dr. Adelina Amparo Umali III, both from the Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines Diliman. Serving as research assistant and translator for the research team was Hamka Malabong, Hadji Musa's nephew and son of his brother Hadji Jusuf Malabong who hosted us in his house in Sitangkai, which doubled as our research field center in Tawi-Tawi. Bidduri is an *igal djin denda* or female spirit medium through the dance. Igal Djin are a special class of ritual specialists who possess the ability to communicate with spirit guides, ancestors, seitan and other inhabitants of the spirit world. They often serve the local community as healers, midwives, and intermediaries with the spirit world for purposes of protecting it from epidemics and other disasters. As ritual specialists, they communicate with the spirit world through conscious trances called *patakahan* which they achieve through the performance of sacred dances.

Critical Features. Bidduri's performance of her version of *Igal Tarirai* was accompanied by a *tagunggo'an* ensemble composed of local musicians living in the Village of Tongehat. She embellished her dance performance with rhythmic patterns produced on a pair of clappers made of Kamagong (Philippine Ebony) hardwood. The clappers followed the rhythmic patterns of the *tambul* drum. The rhythmic patterns produced by the clappers and mirror the rhythmic pattern of the beating of the *tambul* drum which interlock with that of the *kulintangan*. The three instruments come together by jointly producing double beat at all *taroroh* sections.

Bidduri, for most part, consistently establishes the sound-movement structure link through her kinetic accentuation of *taroroh* sections through movements of her arms, legs and/or feet. Her shoulders do not appear to be kinetically involved in this creation of embellishment. As for held movements, these may be seen in the suspension of the movements of the arms, legs or feet, and knees. She makes up for the absence of the *kidjut-kidjut* by significantly making the concluding flick of the *kollek* or inward transitional rotation of her hands at the wrist kinetically well-delineated during directional transitions indicated by vertical *limbai* or swaying of the arms made towards the end of *Titik Tarirai's* short melodic phrases that are characterized by fast tempi and by the contrasting musical values of strong accents followed by brief pauses. In terms of footwork, Bidduri does away with *engke'* to embellish the *taroroh* sections. Instead, she uses a *tendek-tendek* variant that deploys the stamping of the feet in a rapid succession of each other, hopping downwards toward a spot where they land taking on a low posture held briefly in suspension *en*

plier. The stamping of the feet, in this case, does not only kinetically accentuate the *taroroh*, it also provides a supplementary percussive sound that mirrors its rhythmic pattern and strengthens presentational gravitas. Bidduri performs her stamping on the 7th count of the first musical phrase. She does this again on the 7th count of the second phrase which is a repetition of the first. She withholds the stamping on the third phrase which is melodically differentiated from the first and second, and she executes the last stamping on the 3rd count of a 4-count musical tail which complete one musical cycle.

Desirable Features. Bidduri's variant appears to be unique to Sibutu Island. Its desirable feature that determines its position as *segenis* or variant of *Igal Tarirai* is found in the *tendek-tendek double* stamping done at the *taroroh* section. Right after the kinetic pause corresponding to *pinaglabbuk* pause, the pose suspended in a low position is subtly marked off from the beginning of a new phrase with an almost imperceptible *kidjut baha* or jerking of shoulders may be observed.

Incidental Features. Bidduri is costumed in the traditional green and yellow clothes of *igal djin denda* or female spirit mediums.

Other Remarks. It appears that the tempo of this version is the fastest among all of those observed in this study. This may be a function of individual taste, a mark of virtuosity in the difficult task of combining the tasks of sounding and moving, or simply an adjustment to the relative youth of the dancer. Since this type of *Igal Tarirai* is first observed in the island-municipality, it may be named the Sibutu Variant (*Igal Tarirai Genis Sibutu*) Sibutu Model of Performance.

Bilbirasa Badding

Traditional Igal Dancer & Igal Djin Denda (Female Spirit Dance Medium)
Municipality of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province

Performance Context. The video-recording of Bilbirasa Badding's version of *Igal Tarirai* was part of a research project on intangible cultural property, climate change and other environmental problems headed by Dr. Hanafi Hussin of the University of Malaya (UM). Dr. Mohd Anis Nor Md, UM Professor of Dance, Mr. Wayland Quintero, UM Ph.D. Graduate Student of Dance, and I joined the team as collaborating researchers. Hadji Musa Malabong and Hamka Malabong, both from Sitangkai served as our local research counterparts and coordinators. For this project, five dancers-musicians and four dance artists were invited from Sitangkai to come to the Provincial Capital of Bongao to be interviewed. All of the interviews and dance performances were done on 24 January 2012 at Hotel Rachel, also located in Bongao. Security concerns relating to issues about the safety of travelling to Sitangkai were the primary reasons for deciding to adopt this research approach. Bilbirasa Badding is an *igal djin denda* (female dance spirit medium). She is married to Sumarin Salinhati, who is similarly an *igal djin lella* (male dance spirit medium). Although we recorded their individual versions of *Igal Tariray* dancing together as a couple, we have treated them as separate cases for the purpose of analysis.

Critical Features. Bilbirasa performed to a live rendition of *Titik Tarirai* performed by their musicians/co-ritual specialists from their community of *igal djin* in Sitangkai. She dances while playing the bola'-bola' clappers, supplementing the rhythmic patterns produced by the *tambul* drum, and interlocking her production of percussion with the *solembat* played on the highest pitched gong in the *kulintangan* instrument. These three instruments hit the *taroroh* double beats in perfectly synchronized manner. The *taroroh* is likewise kinetically expressed through synchronized and equally accented ornamental flourishes found in the movement of the *kidjut-kidjut* or jerking movement of the shoulders; the lifting of the feet via *kaghis-kaghis* (scratchin); *engke'* in tip-toe form, or the strongly accented *sintak* or lifting of the foot that commences with a brushing or stamping movement; the *engke'-engke'* direct lifting of the foot, and the flailing arms movements via a vertically swaying *limbai* that ends with an accented flick that completes the

kollek or inward rotation of the palm at the wrist. The brief *pinaglabbuk* pause that immediately follows the *taroroh* double beats is also kinetically expressed through a the suspension of movement resulting in a held pose lasting for the same duration as the moment of rest. Bilbirasa performs her kinetic flourishes on the 7th count of the first three phrases. (The first two are identical melodic phrases). She concludes with a final *engke'-kidjut-limbai* flourish on the third count of the 4-count tail, which concludes one set of the melodic cycle of the piece.

Desirable Features. Bilbirasa's kinetic interpretation of the piece's *taroroh* sections centers on the lifting of the feet alternately using *kaghis-kaghis* (lifting that commences with scratching the floor with the pointed toes or ball of the foot, *engke'* (tip-toeing through both feet, the *engke-engke* (the direct lifting of the feet from the ground), or the more vigorous *sintak* (a lifting of the feet that begins with either a forceful brush on the surface of the floor or a stamp). Given this variety of lifting techniques, her version may be classified under the Sitangkai Model of *Igal Tarirai*. Bilbirasa, in contrast to other versions that I have observed, favors interpreting the dance through a gentle and unhurried ambulation across the dance floor. The various types of lifting of the foot during *taroroh* sections are not heavily accented, and therefore acquire a subtle air. In a similar manner, her execution of suspending the lifted foot during *pinaglabbuk* pauses are not stressed giving the flourish an unperturbed, light and yet quite refined means of execution that exudes with the ease of a veteran who do not need to prove anything to anyone.

Other Remarks. During the husband and wife joint performance, Bilbirasa yielded center stage to her husband with great ease. She also appears to have also modulated the projection of her dance and personality, content to dance in such a decidedly restrained manner showing no intent at bravura and quite happy to dance around the margins of the performance space. Oddly, this gentle and soft rendition of *Igal Tarirai* that sought to draw attention from her artistic self to the point of approaching the total eclipse of the performing self, deferring to and elevating a performing other failed to hide her excellence in form and substance, thus attesting to a sublime beauty that can only come from the total integration of her performance of self into the philosophy, value system and kinaesthetics of a dance tradition that proves that true artistry and true artists cannot never be truly hidden from the sight of the world when they are completely embedded in the practice of their traditions and when they completely and sincerely live their art. Such greatness is shown by Bilbirasa's astonishingly sublime interpretation of *Igal Tarirai* composed of the smallest and simplest steps performed at the margins of a hastily-defined performance space on the tiled floor of a provincial hotel's multi-purpose hall *sans* lighting and other luxuries of theatrical conventions.

Sumarin Salinhati

Traditional Igal Dancer & Igal Djin Lella (Male Spirit Dance Medium)
Municipality of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province

Performance Context. The performance context of Sumarin Salinhati's interpretation of *Igal Tarirai* is the same as that of Bilbirasa Badding. What is interesting in this presentation is that Sumarin took center stage as Bilbirasa danced at the edge of the performance space.

Critical Features. *Titik Tariray* is played by a live *tagunggo'an* ensemble. The first percussive feature is a series of *tendek-tendek* stamps which recreate the beating of the drum on the floor of the performance area. This step substitutes for the *bola'-bola'* clappers. As such, it serves as supplementary percussion to the *tambul* drum and the *kulintangan* with pronounced *taroroh* accent produced by a syncopated double stamping of the feet. The *taroroh* is also kinetically expressed through the *kidjut baha* or jerking of the shoulders, the sudden upward flailing of the arms raised to the level above the head, and the upward motion of the body propelled by a *laksu* or an accented jump done together with the double stamping of the feet. The *pinaglabbuk* pause is bodily expressed through the arms held momentarily above the head, and the body held briefly in a lowered position through slightly bent knees executed with the double stamping. Sumarin

executes his kinetic flourishes on the 7th count of the first three phrases. (The first two phrases are identical to each other in terms of melody). He then executes a final *laksu-tendek-sintak-kidjut-limbai* on the 3rd count of the final 4-count tail, which concludes one set of the melodic cycle of the piece.

Desirable Features. The *taroroh* is kinetically animated by the double stamping executed via *laksu*. As such, Sumarin's version follows the Sibutu model of *Igal Tarirai*. The *pinaglabbuk* is highlighted by the arms held high with the body slightly lowered via bent knees. This lowered posture contrasts well with the initial height produced by the *laksu*, thus giving this version a rare compositional tension in verticality.

Incidental Features. Sumarin is costumed in the green and white clothes of an *igal djin lella* or male spirit dance medium. His dance is quite vigorous achieving the kinaesthetic excitement of the more bravura forms of percussive dance such as flamenco and tap-dancing.

Other Remarks. The virtuoso dancing of Sumarin would undoubtedly be better appreciated had it been performed on a wooden stage or a venue with a similar surface that enables a better reception of quasi-body percussive rhythms. On a different note, it is most interesting to see two models of *Igal Tarirai* performed in the same space at the same time. The husband and wife dance of Bilbirasa and Sumarin can be seen as a compound type of performance that interestingly contrasts two distinct vocabularies and kinaesthetics. As such it may deserve the separate label of the Sitangkai-Sibutu Model.

Budaya Maju Dance Troupe

(Four Pairs of Male and Female Dancers)

Performance for "Dance of Life, Sabah, Malaysian Borneo" Video (2003)

Performance Context. The Budaya Maju Dance Troupe is a professional performing group composed of non-Sama Bajau ethnicity. It is headed by Ms. Judeth John Baptist, a cultural figure in Kota Kinabalu who used to work as a curator for educational programs at the Sabah Museum. This performance was set at the beach, specifically stage for the purpose of recording this group's version of *Igal Tarirai* for the Video Publication titled "*Dance of Life, Sabah, Malaysian Borneo*" (Coma, 2003). The piece is a choreographed work for eight dancers (four pairs of male and female dancers).

Critical Features. Titik Tariray is played live by a *tagunggo'an* ensemble. The percussive feature, although present, is not immediately noticeable. This comes in the form of hopping and skipping steps that follow the *tambul* drum's rhythm. As the performance was done on a sandy beach. No sounds were produced by the dancer's footwork. It can however be assumed that this would be observable if the dance is performed on a wooden floor or a similar hard surface. The sounding of the *taroroh* is provided by a step-hop (a quick step by the leading foot followed by a hop on the supporting leg while simultaneously raising the foot of the other leg towards the back with the raised knee bent). This movement may be seen as a step-hop done via a *sintak* or an accented raising of the leg done with a brushing or tapping of the foot. Again, the sounding that accompanies this movement would again be observable if done on a wooden floor or a hard surface. The *taroroh* is likewise only kinetically expressed through this step-hop movement. It is not seen in the immobile shoulders or the arms which are for most part of the dance kept to the sides with the palms at hip or waist level. The raised foot and folded knee in suspension subtly marks the very brief, if not almost unnoticeable *pinaglabbuk* pause. The dancers execute their leg raises during the 7th count of the first three melodically identical phrases, and on the 3rd and 7th counts of the last phrase which is melodically differentiated from the first three.

Desirable Features. This variant of *Igal Tarirai* follows the Sintangkai model. The *taroroh* in this case is kinetically expressed through a raised leg or foot which is executed through a step-hop

via a *sintak*. As such, the suspended pose which is seen during the *pinaglabbuk* pause is that of the foot raised towards the back with the knee bent. The step-hop via *sintak* is consistently executed by the dancers at the 7th count of the first three phrases and the 3rd count of the 4-count tail of the piece.

Incidental Features. In this version, no flailing *limbai* swaying of the arms and no *kidjut baha* or jerking movement of the shoulders is seen in this choreography. The piece is basically a paired-ensemble dance. The dancers who wear uniformly designed costumes moved in a decidedly synchronized manner. Replacing the clicking of *bola'-bola'* clappers as a kinetic drone or repeated motif through the dance is the *ebed-ebed* flicking of fingers and palms of the dancers which follows the triple-beat pattern of the *agung*.

Other Remarks. As this is a choreographed dance for a group of performers, the dancers do not have much interaction with the musicians in terms of varying tempo or suspending certain parts. In this piece, the dancers adjust to musicians' relatively fast and even-paced playing of *Titik Tarirai*.

Tambuli Cultural Troupe

(Performed by a Female and Male Dance Pair)

Retrieved from "Tawi-Tawi Authentic," courtesy of YouTube

Performance Context. This version is taken from an uploaded video recording in YouTube. The performance site is in a beach. The recording appears to be a cultural or tourism promotion material of either the Province of Tawi-Tawi or the Tambuli Dance Troupe of the Mindanao State University Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography (MSU-TCTO).

Critical Features. *Titik Tariray* not used in this piece. Instead, a variant of *Titik Tungkil* or *Titik Tabawan* appears to accompany this dance performance which uses a live *tagunggo'an* ensemble. The percussive feature of *bola'-bola'* clappers are present but do not follow the rhythmic patterns of *Titik Tarirai*. Since the *taroroh* and the *pinaglabbuk* are not present, their kinetic expressions are likewise absent.

Desirable Features. The raising of the legs mark this version as belonging to the Sitangkai model, at least in terms of its distinguishing movement vocabulary. On the first count, the dancers first execute a right step while raising the left arm. On the second count, the left arm is pulled downward while the left leg with the knee bent. This is pattern is repeated to the left. Four sets of left and right movements are done. This is followed by the dancers striking individual poses while clicking the *bola'-bola'* following the *tambul* drum beat in eight counts. The first pattern is once again repeated. The downward arm-pull appears to be a misinterpretation of the flailing *limbai* done with a *kidjut baha*. The leg-raise also appears to be an unaccented version of the *sintak* done at every count of two. The clicking of the *bola'-bola'* does not follow the rhythm of *Titik Tarirai*, which is glaringly absent in this performance.

Incidental Features. The choreography is obviously for a male and female pair. The costumes worn by the dancers are the clothes of *igal djin* spirit dance mediums. In this version, both the male dancer and the female dancer use *bola'-bola'*. This property is traditionally used only by women.

Other Remarks. This version appears to have been choreographed by Mahail "Mark" Hajan. He is a Tausug with no field research experience in Sitangkai, the place associated with the dance. The Tambuli Dance Troupe was established by Ligaya Fernando Amilbansa when she resided in Tawi-Tawi Province in the 1960s.

Meg De Jesus and Lyndon Bulaon

Dance Artists of the Kaloob Ministry

Performance Context. This footage of *Igal Tarirai* as performed by Kaloob was requested by researcher for study from Dr. Ed Lapid, the founder and head minister of Kaloob Ministry. Mr. Merdin Mojica facilitated the request for a copy of the video recording of this performance. Kaloob is a unique Christian ministry that combines Philippine traditional songs and dances in its liturgy and worship. This footage of *Igal Tarirai* is part of a concert titled “*Kalooban --- Oneness of the Filipino Soul in Dance*” held at the Cultural Center of the Philippines Nicanor Abelardo Main Theatre on 09 & 10 November 2013. The concert was personally viewed by this research on 10 November 2013.

Critical Features. *Titik Tariray* was performed by a live *tagunggo'an* ensemble. The percussive feature is present with the playing of the *bola'-bola'* by the female dancer. This produced a supplementary percussion to the *tambul* drum and the *kulintangan* with pronounced a *taroroh* accent. The *taroroh* was kinetically expressed through the *kidjut baha* or jerking of the shoulders, the flailing of the arms executing the *limbai* swaying movement, the accented *sintak* and/or the ordinary *engke'* raised leg movements, and the raising of the level of body through the tip-toeing of the feet. The *pinaglabbuk* is emphasized through held *sintak* or *engke'* raised leg poses, the raised body of the dancer on tip-toe, or a simple “freeze” or stationary pose. The dancing pair execute their *taroroh* leg raising and other embellishments during the 7th count of the first three phrases. (The first two phrases are melodically identical to each other). They conclude with a final lifting of a leg or some other embellishment on the 3rd count of the 4-count tail of the piece.

Desirable Features. This version follows the Sitangkai Model which stresses the *engke'* raised leg pose or the accented *sintak* lifting of the foot. The pose on the *pinaglabbuk* is a raised leg held in suspension with the knee bent.

Incidental Features. The version seen in this footage is a paired male and female dance. The performers showed a very energetic and humorous version of *Igal Tarirai* choreographed with much synchronicity. In some parts, the male dancer creates variations in his movements by striking high and low suspended poses as the female dancer uses the usual *engke'* or *sintak*. In the middle part of the dance, an inlay of the undulating movement of the comic novelty Ocho-Ocho song-dance was incorporated by the performers into their improvised sections.

Other Remarks. The musicians interacted quite well with the dancers. The agung player sometimes created extra embellishments in the *taroroh* portions by playing triple and quadruple beats.

Ms. Intan Sulga

Tokoh Hidup (Living Master of the Arts for the Sama-Bajau *Igal* Dance)
Traditional Dance Artist, Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia

Performance Context. This researcher has personally observed Intan Sulga's performance of *Igal Tarirai* in many occasions. For this study however, a video footage of her performance is culled from a published DVD recording titled “A Bajau Heritage [*Warisan Bajau*]” (Abdul Hamid Chan, Hafzan Zainnie Hamza & Mayco Santaella, ca 2015). The recording was made on a beach with Intan's *kulintangan* group providing the music.

Critical Features. *Titik Tariray* was performed live in this footage by a *tagunggo'an* ensemble. The percussive feature is present in the use of *bola'-bola'* clappers by the dancer. This produces a supplementary percussion to the *tambul* drum and the *kulintangan* with pronounced *taroroh* accent. The *taroroh* is kinetically expressed through the *kidjut baha* or jerking movement of the shoulders, the raising of the arms through a *limbai* swaying movement, the raising of the feet via *engke'* ordinary lifting or *sintak* accented lifting, and, an additional gesture that pulls (*hela*) the arm

abruptly upwards at the final count of the double beat. The *pinaglabbuk* is marked through the suspended pose of the *engke'* or the *sintak*. Intan executes her *taroroh* leg raising embellishments during the 7th count of the first three phrases. (The first two phrases are melodically identical to each other). She concludes with a final lifting of a leg on the 3rd count of the 4-count tail of the piece.

Desirable Features. Given the *engke'* and *sintak* movement of the leg, this version of *Igal Tarirai* belongs to the Sitangkai Model. The *pinaglabbuk* pose proceeds from this movement with a suspended raised leg pose with bent knee.

Incidental Features. Intan performs a stationary version of *Igal Tarirai* by shifting weight to the left and to the right with the back leg serving as support. As she shifts from left to right or vice-versa, she lifts her body, repositions her supporting hip and leg towards the back, and then “sits” by lowering her body, buttocks leading, towards the opposite or new position with both legs slightly bent. This gentle shifting gives her performance a lilting quality akin to a swaying movement. Then performing the dance while walking, she recreates this sway by slightly bending her torso from side to side as she clicks the *bola'-bola'*. She also creates bouncing movements in the area of the elbows as she manipulates her *bola'-bola'* from side to side.

Other Remarks. Intan is known as the best performer of *Igal Tarirai* in Sabah, Malaysia. She produces at least three variants of *bola'-bola'* rhythmic patterns in each performance of *Igal Tarirai*.

Analysis: Discerning a Logic of Practice in *Igal Tarirai*

Upon describing the individual characteristics, in terms of observable shared patterns in music and dance movement, of each of the ten cases of *Igal Tarirai* performances in the previous section, it is now possible to analyze this universe of performance and to come up with some generalizations concerning acceptable practice. Acceptability, in the case of this paper, will be based on an understanding of shared performance practices rather than on prestige ascribed to or claimed by certain practitioners. Before proceeding any further, it should be pointed out that the discussion in the preceding section has underscored the importance of understanding the structure of music in order to fully appreciate the nuances of *Igal Tarirai's* movement vocabulary as assembled in the composition of the structure of the dance. This understanding of music as emphasized by the indigenous concepts of *palinduan* (the first and usually the last gong struck in specific *titik* or compositions for the *tagunggo'an* ensemble, a sounding that cues the beginning and end of a performance); *taroroh* double beating which demands a corollary kinaesthetic embellishment; and the *pinaglabbuk* pause which requires the suspension of movement usually in the form of a pose that ideally mediates between a state of rest and a state of movement, all of these concepts point to a sophisticated practice that favors musician-dancer interaction, the aesthetic need for a constant reading or anticipation of the actions and/or reaction of fellow artists, as well as the primacy of improvisation within the template of movement and conventions of tradition. Indeed, these concepts point to the ability of Sama-Bajau artists to differentiate good performances from bad ones following specific rules of practice, and not simply to base criticism on a matter of personal taste or preference.

Figure 2
Music-Movement Relationship and the Logic of Igal Tarirai Practice

	Melodic Phrases and Approximate Count																																	
Name (Location)	Phrase 1								Phrase 2								Phrase 3								Phrase 4									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	2	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	3	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	P	4	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Handa Bagul (Sitangkai)							T	P								T	P								T	P								
Intan Sulga (Semporna)																																		
Bilbirasa Badding (Sitangkai)																																		
Sumarin Salinhati (Sitangkai)																																		
Bidduri (Sibutu)																																		
Meg De Jesus (Metro Manila)																																		
Lyndon Bulaon (Metro Manila)																																		
Budaya Maju (Kota Kinabalu)																																		
Ligaya Amilbangsa (Metro Manila)																																		
Tambuli Dance Troupe (Bongao)																																		

source: Compiled by the author.

Note: "T" is the *taroroh* point, and "P" is the *pinaglabbuk* pause.

■ Leg Raise: *Engke'* *Sintak* or *Kagis*

■ Jump (Up)-Stamp: *Laksu* (*pariata*) and *Tendek*

■ Skip or Jump (Down) with Stamp: *Laksu*, *Samperet* (*pareyo*) and *Tendek*

■ Stand on Tip-Toe: *T'ntong* or *Paengke'un tape*

■ Leg Raise with a Jump: *Engke'* and *Laksu*

■ Turn (pivot turn): *Bulibud*

■ Standing pose with one foot to the side: *T'ntong*

Figure 2 shows the individual movement choices found in the sampling of Igal Tarirai performance in relation to the musical concepts of the *taroroh* and the *pinaglabbuk*. This matrix shows that the performers, for a large part, follow the musical cuing of the music in the *taroroh* and the *pinaglabbuk*. Although movement variations are apparent among the sampling of performers, they are mostly in agreement about how such movement embellishment should be performed, and in what part of the *titik* these embellishments ought to be enacted. As *igal* performances allow individual artists great leeway in choosing ornamental flourishes, the variation in movement found in this universe of performances can be considered as non-salient given or common variable. The premium placed on the development of a personal style or *bunga* within the tradition renders variation a common feature of practice. This very factor of variation as seen in living traditions such as dance indicate an even higher degree of closeness in the relationship between music and dance...between the instrumentalists and the dancers. This relationship can be best understood through three processes that center on the idea of "inter-relation" which were developed by Kendra Stepputat (2017). At one level, the relationship between music and dance can be labelled as "interconnected." By this we simply mean that the two practices share a common point in space and time. Stepputat says that this relationship "implies a very strong, preconditioned relation between sound and dance, one that does not change much from one performance to the next, and where both elements do not have a mutual, *ad hoc* influence on the other" (p. 32). She adds that the relationship in this case "...tends to be related to fixed and invariable..." or "static and fixed" (p. 32). The relationship of Amilbangsa's dance to her tape-recorded music seems to operationalize this state of static or invariable connectedness. No amount of visual, verbal or kinetic cuing could ever change any aspect of the recorded *Titik Tarirai* music. In a similar vein, Amilbangsa's dance can only follow the basic variables of time and space in dancer's entry; the tempo fixed music pre-determining the character of dancer's movement over space and time; and some aspects of melody as pegs for choreographic interpretation. Although definitely connected, Amilbangsa cannot hope to construct a more meaningful relationship with her impersonal music in encrypted form.

The next level of inter-relation is “interdependence,” which Stepputat describes as a “...mutual or reciprocal dependency” where one “could not exist or develop without each other” (p. 33). Although much more complex than interconnectedness, this concept is bedeviled by the actual rarity of cases of equality or near equality that can make this concept functionally operational. More often than not, the relationship of unequal parts results in a skewed dependency favoring the mightier of the two in what was proclaimed to be interdependent. Such limited [inter]dependency due to some tactical performance disadvantage can be seen in Budaya Maju & Kaloob’s interpretation of *Igal Tarirai*. The paired ensemble and paired dance choreographic qualities found in these two performances may be the source of the emergence of a skewed form of [inter]dependency between dancers and instrumentalists. Although performed to live music, a rigorous adherence to choreography is necessary for performances with these characteristics. Paired and ensemble performances offer very little avenues for individual agency of improvisation unless some sections are framed for such creative purpose. In these types of performances, the instrumentalists often exercise the upper hand over the dancers. Such is the [inter]dependency (of dancers on musicians) seen in these two cases is essentially a non-liberating and a non-transformative condition.

Interaction reinforces individual agency as it relates two parts as a whole. Stepputat defines it as “...mutual or reciprocal action or influence or, in the form of the verb *interact*, ‘to have an effect on each other’, indicating relationships where both elements actively influence each other” (p. 33). In our universe of *Igal Tarirai* samples, the performances of Handa, Bidduri and Intan Sulga approaches this relational arrangement. Live *kulintangan* ensemble music energizes the dance performance. The participation of artistically autonomous agents allows for deviations from set performance scripts. Communication is pro-actively pursued by both parties who change aspects of their prescribed performance models with confidence that rests on the dependability of co-artists and the desirability of genre transformation through experimentation mediated by experience and superb levels of skill. In many ways, interaction changes not only the performers but also the tradition itself, thereby expanding the possibilities of innovation through an interactive or collaborative approach that treats each instance of theatrical presentation as a social laboratory [re]creating selves and traditions.

Finally, it should be noted that among the performance cases studied, Ligaya Fernando Amilbangsa’s version of *Igal Tarirai* as well as that of the Tambuli Dance Troupe, a group that she established in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines are the outliers in the field. Given the great difference in the timing of the execution of movement, the non-recognition of the *taroroh* and *pinaglabbuk* critical points in the music, and the quality of movement execution, this divergence ought to be deemed as significant, if not “fatal” to claims of correctness, to self-proclaimed statements on proper interpretation of forms and to repeatedly voiced aspirations of cultural preservation, and also even to the very simple idea of adhering to a certain indigenous tradition. It may be surmised that the significant degree of divergence from the accepted types of *Igal Tarirai* performances found in the field may be attributed to the erroneous reception of observed performance models. More importantly, it also appears that the salience of music to dance performance was not well researched or not understood in Amilbangsa’s published works.

In fairness to Ligaya Amilbangsa, one could say that her divergence is simply an example of an incorrect performance of an accepted model, in this case the Sitangkai model which she purportedly learned from Ennura Demingu. She did feature *engke*’ or leg raises in her choreography, and she did also hit the mark in the stationary pose, arguably a motion held in suspension, as required in the *pinaglabbuk* section towards the end of the music piece. As a percussive dance however, her performance fails to impress and to inform given the importance of the role of the dancer as a provider of correctly produced percussive music and given the crispness and precision required of movements that animate *taroroh* musical equivalents. Still, this shortcoming is quite unnerving for a Ramon Magsaysay awardee who is cited for “her single-minded crusade in preserving the endangered artistic heritage of the southern Philippines...” (Citation for the 2015 Ramon Magsaysay Award). If one cannot recognize critical points in the junctures between music and dance in a traditional dance piece, what then can one claim to

preserve aside from the mistakes of reception or faulty recognition of a traditional performance template.

As for the Tambuli Dance Troupe performance, more serious issues of misrepresentation may be considered. Its total disregard for the correct music, the gendered rules of traditional performance practice (the bola'-bola' is a female property), and the liberties it takes in recreating traditional movement vocabulary and kinaesthetics can only make it a "fake tradition" that is heavy on invention and light on cultural sensitivity. As part of the dance company's repertoire which is in turn given legitimacy by its exalted position as the resident dance company of the Mindanao State University Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, its continued presentation as a theatrical form of the dance becomes problematic. Moreover, a situation of hegemonic appropriation becomes apparent when we consider the choreographer's status as a Tausug artistic leader in the Province of Tawi-Tawi. If plagiarism constitutes the act of claiming some other person's work of literature as one's own. What then is the label for the act of claiming something that is in very recent times personally invented to be a true cultural property or "tradition" of a group other than one's own? Who gives the permission to present and represent aspects of another people's culture? Does artistic license still operate?

What possible measures may be presented as solutions to the misreading of traditional performance models as shown in the case off Amilbangsa and Tambuli Dance Troupe? One immediate measure is to expand research and knowledge production in Philippine dance that utilizes multiple lenses and that are inter-disciplinary in methodological grounding. To leave the narrative of one tradition in the hands of one scholar or artist is to invite the death of tradition and the decline of critical thought in the field of culture and the arts. Various sources across national boundaries need to be considered in this search for a more inclusive process of scholarship and knowledge-based performances. Another measure worth pursuing extensively is to encourage documentation and study of the performances of as many artists in the field. This piece of research has shown via a limited universe of samples that diversity is the rule rather than the exception in the reception of forms and versions of traditional dance. This pursuit of studying as many performance models in the field aims to capture and sustain the genetic wealth of cultural diversity. It also serves to properly check and balance hegemonic models which may have been unwittingly or wittingly perpetuated by the knowledge production and creative work of artists and scholars residing in the centers of national power.

Conclusion

This paper has examined *Igal Tarirai* using the conceptual lens of the "percussive dance" in order to acquire a deeper understanding of how the structure of music relates to the structure of dance. It has reviewed the published literature on *Igal Tarirai* as well as *Titik Tarirai*, the music piece or sound model that accompanies it. Adopting indigenous sounding concepts gleaned from studies of *kulintangan* ensemble music, an effort was made to interrogate how they relate to specific movement vocabularies and kinaesthetics that make up the compositional structure of *Igal Tarirai*. Three concepts: the *palinduan* as the beginning sound or note produced by a specific knobbed gong in the *kulintangan* instrument set; the *taroroh* as an accented double beating used to ornament phrase endings; the *pinaglabbuk* as a musical pause or rest that demands holding of certain movement-derived poses in suspension, served as guideposts in mapping out the music-movement relationship structure reveal in a sampling of ten (10) *Igal Tarirai* performances.

It was discovered that the three guideposts served as sounding cues for movement to be deployed as essential kinetic embellishments in the composition of the dance. The sounding of the *palinduan* begins or ends a performance accompanied by the *kulintangan* ensemble. The *taroroh* was consistently seen to be kinetically expressed in movements of the shoulders, arms, and feet. Two movements of the legs or feet determined two models of *Igal Tarirai*. The Sintangkai Model favors the use of *engke'*, *sintak*, or *kagis*, variants of the movement raising the legs or feet. The Sibutu Model favors the use of *tendek* stamping in combination with jumps or hops.

Through a comparison of movement-music strategies seen across the 10 samples of *Igal Tarirai* performance, the image of what constitutes a “traditional” or “orthodox” model of performance gradually unfolded through the discussion of critical, desirable and incidental features. Through a comparison of features the logic of practice in *Igal Tarirai* performance was uncovered and discussed. Using the critical feature of the *taroroh* embellishment kinetically expressed via a corresponding accented movement, the a rudimentary mapping of performance practice in terms of acceptable or appropriate forms vis-à-vis outliers was graphically illustrated. In this mapping, the seminal choreography of Amilbangsa and the regional exemplar of the Tambuli Dance Troupe were recognized and reclassified as outliers or “aberrant” models of *Igal Tarirai* dance practice.

Given this unmasking of Amilbangsa’ “premier prototype” and Mahail Hajan’s regional exemplar as “nothing but second-rate, trying hard copy-cats” or poor interpretations of well-defined forms found in the field, critical reflection on the ethical and methodological issues regarding representation, poetics and politics of dance performance lead to the realization of the greater need to adopt measures that will lead to the expansion of knowledge production in the field of dance and music research as well as the need to pursue the viewing and documentation of as many *Igal Tarirai* versions performed by the greatest number of artists in the field, in order to gain a deeper and more complete understanding of dance and related practices.

I end this paper by borrowing from Jean Denney Grotewohl (2014), a scholar whose poetics is far more eloquent and far more profound than what I could manage to produce for the moment. Grotewohl observations serve to caution us from depending on single-set or limited engagements with the assumed exemplars of tradition. She also reminds us of the long and difficult path towards meaningful knowledge production in the field of dance:

“...Presenting concert stage versions of living traditions of dance means engaging processes of codification of repertoire. This assumption is based in the further assumption that one goal of presentational dancing is to repeat dance enactments with consistency. Such repetition provides a consistent, unified and easily observable representation of the form and culture. Such presentations for living traditions of dance generate a semi-static archive at best. Even if there is a moving record of a performance, the video clip or film, for example, provides only broad clues for how the tradition’s dancing looks and sounds since it is enacted by solo artists individually whose styles and repertoire, remain semi-static and incomplete. Likewise, the development of particular pedagogies via the establishment of curricula for dance schools and choreography represent a similar, semi-static archive, one that is partly fixed in moments of codified repertoire and partly living via the individual moving body that interprets and expresses the repertoire in performance.” (p. 74)

This embedded-ness and embodiment of pedagogy, repertoires, aesthetics and other pieces of knowledge in the living flesh of the performer should propel more like-minded scholars to seek out more seriously, as the heterogeneous case of *Igal Tarirai* illustrates, the “dancer and the dance.”

References

- Abdul Hamid Chan, Hafzan Zainnie Hamza & M.A. Santaella. (ca 2015). A Bajau Heritage: Warisan Bajau. Kuala Lumpur: Sultan Idris Education University.
- Amilbangsa, Ligaya Fernando. (1983). Pangalay: Traditional Dances and Related Folk Artistic Expressions. Makati City: Filipinas Foundation, Inc.
- Casey, R.P. (2017). Tap and Text: Using Poetry to Develop Rhythmic Proficiency in Percussive Dance Students. *Journal of Dance Education*, 17, 16-20.

- DOI: 10.1080/15290824.2016.1175569
- Coma, Leon. (ca 2003). *Dance of Life: Sabah, Malaysian Borneo*. Kota Kinabalu: Videographics Sdn Bhd.
- Citation for the 2015 Ramon Magsaysay Award: Ligaya Fernando-Amilbangsa, Retrieved from: <http://pangalaydance.com/congratulations-to-ligaya-fernando-amilbangsa-2015-ramon-magsaysay-awardee> Accessed: 31 August 2018.
- Denney Grotewohl, J. M. (2014). *Imagining Kitty O' Neil: Transmission, Somatic Memory, and Communion in American Percussive Dance*. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: Social Sciences; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global: The Arts. (1552714309). Retrieved from: <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1552714309?accountid=47253>
- Ellorin, B.B. (2008). *Variants of Kulintangan Performance as a Major Influence of Musical Identity among the Sama in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines*. [Master of Arts in Music Thesis]. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.
- Etawau.com. Retrieved from http://www.etawau.com/Geography/Sabah/5_TawauDivision/Semporna/LEPA/LEPADance.htm
- Gritsch, P. (n.d.). *Percussive Dances: Thoughts, definitions, Ideas & Questions*. Retrieved from: http://anitagritsch.weebly.com/uploads/1/2/9/2/12929107/Gritsch+percussive_dances_article_1.pdf
- Kartomi, M. (2007). *The art of body percussion and movement in Aceh and its link in countries around the northern rim of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean*. Paper delivered in the Conference on Music in the World of Islam, Assilah: 8-13 August 2007. Retrieved from http://lignes.maisonsculturesdeumonde.org/sites/default/files/fichiers_attaches/kartomi-2007.pdf
- Maceda, J. & A. Martenot. (1980). *Sama de Sitangkai, Philippines, Archipel de Sulu*. Paris: SELAF, ORSTOM.
- Stepputat, K. (2017). *The Balinese kecak: An exemplification of sonic and visual (inter)relations*. In Mohd Anis Md. Nor & K. Sendra Stepputat (Eds.), *Sounding the Dance, Moving the Music: Choreomusicological Perspectives on Maritime Southeast Asian Performing Arts* (pp. 31-41). London and New York: Routledge.
- Trimillos, R. (2017). *Understanding performance in Maritime Southeast Asia*. In Mohd Anis Md. Nor & K. Sendra Stepputat (Eds.), *Sounding the Dance, Moving the Music: Choreomusicological Perspectives on Maritime Southeast Asian Performing Arts* (pp. 1-12). London and New York: Routledge.

ⁱ Another possible explanation for the technical discrepancy between Ligaya Fernando Amilbangsa's version and the various samples found in the field, most especially in Sitangkai, may point to her mistaken reception of the performance model from the field. It is quite apparent in her performance practice and in her scholarly works that she has not acquired an ethnochoreomusicological understanding of the *Igal Tarirai* performance practice in the field. She has not described in great detail the one-to-one correspondence between the structure of the music and the structure of the dance. It appears that she has not encountered the emic concepts of the *palinduan*, the *taroroh* and the *pinaglabbuk* in the playing of *tagunggo'an* ensemble music for dance. She also does not seem to have an understanding of the vocabulary and aesthetic rules associated with various movements that can lend kinetic expressions to these musical parts. As her performance practice of *Igal Tarirai* departs greatly from the ones found in the field, her dance version ought to be more appropriately seen as "outlier" rather than a "normal" or much less a "central" one in the practical field. In descriptive terms, measured in this manner against the practice in the field, her version is an "aberration" and most certainly not an "exemplar."

UNSUR SINKRETISME DALAM ADAT TRADISI BAJAU-SAMA: KAJIAN DI DAERAH SEMPORNA SABAH (ELEMENTS OF SYNCRETISM IN THE TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE BAJAU-SAMA: A CASE STUDY IN SEMPORNA DISTRICT)

Syamsul Azizul Marinsah* & Mohd Jasmie Jasim**

**Corresponding Author*

Pusat Penataran Ilmu dan Bahasa, Universiti Malaysia Sabah

****Ph.D candidate, Faculty of Psychology and Education, Universiti Malaysia Sabah**
(syamsulazizul@ums.edu.my, mel:jasmie.jasim@moe.gov.my)

Abstract

Pertembungan budaya dan kepercayaan agama telah melahirkan satu fenomena menarik yang dikenali dalam khazanah disiplin ilmu antropologi sebagai sinkretisme. Sinkretisme merupakan isu kontroversi dalam disiplin ilmu antropologi kerana istilah ini sering diinterpretasikan dengan konotasi yang negatif. Objektif utama kajian ini cuba meneliti unsur sinkretisme yang berlaku dalam adat tradisi masyarakat Bajau-Sama di Semporna Sabah. Dalam masyarakat Bajau-Sama Semporna, amalan adat tradisi telah menerima perubahan melalui proses harmonisasi dengan ajaran Islam, namun begitu masih terdapat kecenderungan untuk mencampuradukkan unsur-unsur kepercayaan pra-Islam dalam adat dan budaya orang Bajau yang masih diamalkan secara tegar sehingga ke hari ini. Kajian ini termasuk dalam penyelidikan kualitatif. Oleh itu, kajian ini menggunakan metode pengumpulan data melalui dokumentasi, temu bual dan observasi. Dapatan asas kajian mendapati, terdapat banyak gejala sinkretisme yang berlaku dalam adat resam masyarakat Bajau yang sukar diketahui sama ada adat resam tersebut merupakan ajaran Islam yang tulen atau peninggalan tradisi silam pra-Islam.

Katakunci: Sinkretisme, Antropologi, Adat Tradisi, Bajau, Semporna

The clash between culture and religious beliefs has created an interesting phenomenon known in the anthropological discipline as syncretism. Syncretism is a controversial issue in anthropology because this term is often interpreted with negative connotations. In the Bajau community, traditional practices have gone through the process of harmonisation with Islamic teachings. Despite that, there is still a tendency towards the remnants of pre-Islamic beliefs in the form of superstitions. Hence, the objective of this study is to explain the syncretic phenomena that exist in the customs and common practices of the Bajau community in Sabah, particularly in Semporna. This qualitative research used a literature review together with fieldwork to achieve its objectives. Data collection was done using methods such as field documentation and interviews as well as observation. The findings suggest that there are many elements of syncretism in Bajau customary practices so that it is difficult to know whether those customs are from Islamic teachings or are pre-Islamic remnants.

Keyword: Syncretism, Anthropology, culture, Bajau, Semporna

Pengenalan

Etnik Bajau merupakan sebuah kumpulan etnik yang menetap di pantai timur dan pantai barat Sabah sejak beberapa abad yang lalu dan diiktiraf sebagai penduduk peribumi asli Sabah. Secara umumnya, orang Bajau merupakan kaum kedua terbesar di Sabah. Berdasarkan kajian ilmiah yang pernah dijalankan oleh para sarjana, orang Bajau di Sabah boleh diklasifikasikan kepada dua kelompok utama kelompok Bajau di pantai timur Sabah yang terkenal dengan perkerjaan berorientasikan laut serta kelompok Bajau pantai barat Sabah yang terkenal dengan kepakaran pembuatan parang, dan kemahiran menunggang kuda (Harrison, 1975: 38).

Secara makronya, adat masyarakat Bajau di Sabah hampir sama dengan adat orang Melayu di Semenanjung Malaysia. Hal ini disebabkan kedua-dua etnik ini berpaksikan kepercayaan yang sama iaitu beragama Islam di samping masyarakat Bajau turut dikategorikan dalam rumpun Melayu (Gusni, 2008:63 & Saidatul Nornis 2012: 87). Namun begitu, kedua etnik ini memiliki identiti dan keunikan budaya yang tersendiri sehingga memperlihatkan wujudnya unsur perbezaan di antara kedua etnik ini. Orang Bajau kaya dengan adat tradisi yang diwarisi daripada nenek moyang secara turun temurun hingga ke hari ini. Asimilasi orang Bajau dengan ajaran Islam menyebabkan berlakunya percampuran adat tradisi Bajau dengan ajaran Islam. Akibat percampuran ini, ada antara amalan yang diwarisi itu dianggap sebagai ajaran Islam yang murni, sedangkan ia hanya amalan yang diwarisi dan tidak diketahui dalil yang jelas daripada al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah. Rentetan daripada itu, pengamalan hukum ibadat dalam adat tradisi Bajau dalam kehidupan seharian telah bercampur-baur (sinkretis) dengan unsur-unsur luaran, khususnya hasil pengaruh daripada kepercayaan Bajau sebelum ini iaitu kepercayaan pra-Islam (Syamsul Azizul, 2016:135-149). Fenomena campur aduk amalan tradisi silam dengan ajaran Islam dikenali sebagai fenomena sinkretisme. Oleh itu, artikel ini merupakan kajian awal yang cuba membincangkan dan meneliti unsur sinkretisme yang berlaku dalam adat tradisi masyarakat Bajau-Sama di daerah Semporna Sabah.

Latar Belakang Masyarakat Bajau-Sama di Daerah Semporna

Di Sabah, orang Bajau terdapat di kedua-dua Pantai Barat dan Pantai Timur Sabah. Pola penempatan yang berselerak di kalangan etnik Bajau di Sabah menyebabkan wujud banyak perbezaan di antara dua kelompok etnik ini. Perbezaan tersebut lebih ketara dari aspek bahasa, kebudayaan, upacara adat dan sebagainya. Etnik Bajau Pantai Barat menetap di sekitar Putatan, Tuaran, Kota Belud dan Papar manakala etnik Bajau Pantai Timur menetap di sekitar Sandakan Lahad Datu, Semporna, Kunak dan Tawau (Rosazman, 2012: 2). Sementara di Filipina, mereka mendiami di Kepulauan Sulu (Nimmo, 1968: 37). Di Indonesia pula, orang Bajau kebanyakannya terdapat di sebelah timur, khususnya di daerah pantai timur Sulawesi (Matluda, 1995: 24).

Kajian ini dijalankan di Semporna yang terletak di pantai timur Sabah. Istilah Semporna berasal daripada perkataan Simporna yang bermaksud tempat untuk berehat. Nama Simporna ini diberi oleh gabenor Inggeris, iaitu W.M Crocker apabila beliau dan beberapa orang rakannya termasuklah seorang pedagang Cina yang bernama Toonah menemui daerah tersebut pada pertengahan tahun 1887 (K.P Tabrett, 1999: 57-60). Walau bagaimanapun, menurut Datuk Melali (2015), sebelum wujudnya nama rasmi bagi daerah Semporna, rakyat tempatan pada ketika itu hanya mengenali Semporna sebagai Tong Talun yang bermaksud hujung hutan kerana daerah Semporna pada ketika itu dilitupi dengan hutan belantara di awal penemuannya. Daerah Semporna secara rasminya dibuka sebagai penempatan baharu oleh Syarikat Borneo Utara British (SBBU) pada 10 Mei 1887 (Md. Saffie, 2012: 70). Daerah Semporna berkeluasan 442 batu persegi atau 111,412 hektar, iaitu bersamaan dengan 282,880 ekar. Daerah Semporna berkeluasan 442 batu persegi atau 111, 412 hektar, iaitu bersamaan dengan 282,880 ekar. Dari segi geografi, daerah Semporna terletak di lokasi yang strategik kerana kedudukannya disempadani oleh dua persempadanan perairan antarabangsa iaitu perairan Filipina dan Indonesia (Halina Sendera, 2007: 3).

Menurut laporan banci penduduk tahun 2010, bilangan penduduk Bajau bagi negeri Sabah ialah 418, 343 orang daripada jumlah penduduk yang seramai 2,603,485 orang. Statistik ini menunjukkan orang Bajau merupakan kumpulan penduduk bumiputera yang kedua terbesar selepas etnik Kadazan-Dusun yang berjumlah 479, 944 orang. Di daerah Semporna, penduduk Bajau di Semporna mempunyai populasi anggaran sebanyak 75, 889 orang. Selain etnik Bajau, penduduk Semporna juga terdiri daripada etnik lain seperti Kadazan (0.53%), Murut (0.04%), Melayu (3.10%), Cina (0.91%) dan bumiputera lain (6.29%) (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 2010).

Sehubungan itu, terdapat beberapa teori yang telah dikemukakan berhubung dengan asal-usul istilah Bajau. Kebanyakan teori ini ditulis oleh pengkaji barat yang menyelidik masyarakat Bajau di seantero dunia. Menurut Sopher (1977), perkataan Bajau itu berasal daripada perkataan Bugis iaitu *Waju* yang bererti orang yang bergerak secara kumpulan. Teori ini juga disokong oleh John Crowford dengan kata-kata beliau yang menggambarkan orang Bajau sebagai "*men that go in troops*" (Sopher, 1965). Ben J. Wallace (1965) berpendapat perkataan Bajau merupakan singkatan daripada perkataan Bajak Laut atau Baja Laut yang bererti lanun manakala Hasan Mat Nor (1980) pula berpendapat perkataan Bajau berasal daripada perkataan berjauhan yang menggambarkan cara hidup orang Bajau yang sentiasa berjauhan. Begitu juga menurut Yap Beng Liang (1977) bahawa segelintir orang Bajau yang berada di Semporna berpendapat perkataan Bajau dipetik daripada perkataan berjauhan kerana pada masa dahulu orang Bajau sentiasa berada di laut iaitu 'berjauhan' dari kawasan darat. Hal yang sama turut diperkatakan oleh Asmah Omar (1983). Menurut Saidatul Nornis (2011) pula, istilah Bajau merujuk kepada komuniti Bajau yang asal dan Sama merujuk kepada istilah memperkenalkan diri masyarakat Bajau kepada sub-etnik Bajau yang lain.

Konsep Sinkretisme dalam Disiplin Ilmu Antropologi

Secara tradisinya, asal usul adat tradisi orang Bajau merupakan hasil daripada kepercayaan animisme seperti pemujaan dan kepercayaan kepada perkara-perkara tahyul, semangat, kuasa jin, sihir dan sebagainya (Eshah, 2012: 514). Namun, pada hari ini kehidupan serta amalan beragama orang Bajau sudah mengalami banyak perubahan. Amalan-amalan animisme yang mendominasi kehidupan serta amalan beragama dan kepercayaan tradisi Bajau semakin terhakis akibat orang Bajau ramai yang memeluk agama Islam. Bahkan, orang Bajau yang mendiami pantai timur dan pantai barat di Sabah majoritinya adalah beragama Islam (Gusni Saat, 2003: 78). Walaupun secara umumnya adat-adat ini telah menerima perubahan yang telah diharmonisasikan dengan nilai-nilai agama Islam, namun begitu, masih terdapat beberapa amalan orang Bajau yang berhubung dengan adat tradisi pra-Islam yang masih diamalkan sehingga ke hari ini. Ini disebabkan amalan-amalan tradisi tersebut tidak menerima perubahan dan penyesuaian nilai-nilai agama Islam secara total atau menyeluruh.

Secara literal, sinkretisme dalam bahasa Inggeris disebut sebagai *syncretism* yang berasal daripada perkataan Greek *synkretismos* yang bermaksud merangkaikan, menggabungkan dan menyatukan (*Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion*, 1980) Istilah ini juga diguna pakai dalam bahasa Perancis (*syncretisme*), bahasa Jerman (*synkretismus*), dan bahasa Itali (*sinkretismo*) (*Encyclopedia of Philosophy and Pyschology*, 1986). Kesemua bahasa ini menjelaskan sinkretisme dari sudut bahasa membawa maksud menyatukan, mencampurkan, menggabungkan dan seumpamanya. Istilah sinkretisme dalam bahasa Inggeris juga merujuk kepada makna percampuran budaya/amalgamasi budaya (*Oxford Dictionary*, 2001) atau percampuran amalan dan praktik dari pelbagai agama (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1976). Senada dengan takrif ini, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2011) memberikan takrif sinkretisme sebagai "*the amalgamation or attempted amalgamation of different religions, cultures, or schools of thought*". Menurut Rick Brown (2006), berdasarkan takrif di atas, jelas difahami bahawa sinkretisme dalam bahasa Inggeris merujuk kepada dua jenis sinkretisme iaitu pertama, sinkretisme antara budaya yang mana wujud hasil daripada percampuran dan pembauran antara

budaya. Kedua, sinkretisme antara agama yang wujud hasil daripada percampuran dan pertembungan antara agama dan world-view sesuatu agama.

Konotasi ini biasa digunakan bagi menjelaskan fenomena penyatuan agama-agama, budaya-budaya dan falsafah-falsafah pemikiran yang berbeza. Pada kebiasaannya, konsep sinkretisme ini diguna pakai dalam usaha untuk menyatukan agama Kristian yang pelbagai aliran (Irina, 1993: 117-128). Pada hari ini, konsep tersebut diperluaskan penggunaannya bukan sahaja menggambarkan penyatuan antara agama, tetapi merangkumi penyatuan aspek falsafah, seni, budaya dan sebagainya. Dalam aspek agama, penyatuan dan pembauran kepercayaan setempat dengan agama Kristian misalnya dapat dilihat dalam amalan dan ritual penyembuhan penyakit yang berkaitan dengan spiritual (Norazit Selat, 1989: 130). Dalam amalan dan ritual tersebut, terdapat unsur-unsur percampuran, pembauran antara kepercayaan setempat dengan ajaran Kristian.

Walau bagaimanapun, fenomena sinkretisme ini dapat turut dilihat dalam amalan agama lain seperti agama Islam khususnya bagi masyarakat Melayu di Nusantara. Antara amalan masyarakat Melayu yang dapat dikenal pasti hasil daripada fenomena sinkretisme ialah seperti penggunaan jampi serapah yang diselitkan dengan nama Nabi, Allah SWT dan ayat-ayat al-Qur'an, kepercayaan kepada sial, kepercayaan kepada keramat dan sebagainya. Fenomena sinkretisme agama khususnya dalam agama Islam boleh menyebabkan kekeliruan dalam memahami sesuatu ajaran yang dipercayai oleh seseorang individu Muslim. Ini terbukti melalui fakta sejarah yang dicatatkan oleh Carsten Colpe yang mendakwa seorang pemerintah Dinasti Mughal di India telah mencampuradukkan ajaran agama Islam dengan Hindu dan Zoroastrianisme (Carsten Colpe, 1987: 13/226). Akibatnya, muncul agama baru yang dinamakan agama 'Din Ilahi'.

Begitu juga dengan bukti kelahiran agama Sikh yang terhasil daripada gabungan fahaman unsur nirguna (iaitu menganggap tuhan tanpa rupa dan bentuk) dalam tradisi agama Hindu dengan konsep beriman kepada tuhan yang satu dalam kepercayaan yang terdapat dalam ajaran Islam (Suraya Sintang, 2003: 7). Di Timur Tengah pula, sinkretisme yang berlaku hasil kesinambungan kepercayaan zaman purba sehingga menjurus kepada sinkretisme dalam agama seperti yang wujud dalam agama Druze (Encyclopedia, 2013), Ahl Haqq/Yarsanism (Hamzeh'ee, 1995) dan sebagainya. Agama-agama ini dianggap terpesong daripada ajaran Islam yang tulen. Berdasarkan contoh-contoh yang diberikan, tidak dapat dinafikan bahawa fenomena sinkretisme boleh menjejaskan pegangan akidah yang asal dan boleh membawa kepada pembentukan agama yang baru.

Hal yang sama turut berlaku kepada masyarakat Bajau. Namun dalam konteks kajian ini, fenomena sinkretisme tidak sampai ke tahap lahirnya agama baru yang dipercayai oleh orang Bajau. Ajaran Islam tetap dijadikan sebagai tunjang asas dan panduan hidup (*way of life*), cuma dalam penyelenggaraan sesuatu adat, terdapat unsur-unsur pra-Islam yang dipercayai mempengaruhi kehidupan masyarakat Bajau. Hanafi Hussin (2008a) dalam kajiannya menjelaskan bahawa banyak amalan tradisi masyarakat Bajau yang bercampur-baur dengan ajaran Islam hingga menyebabkan berlakunya proses sinkretisme.

Sinkretisme dalam Adat Tradisi Bajau-Sama di Daerah Semporna Sabah

Fenomena sinkretisme dapat dilihat dengan jelas dalam kebudayaan Bajau terutamanya dalam aspek amalan dan kepercayaan tradisi. Ini kerana amalan tradisi secara tidak langsung menggambarkan perlakuan budaya seharian mereka yang terus menjadi identiti mereka tersendiri. Tradisi keagamaan yang bersumberkan kepada kepercayaan asli nenek moyang Bajau dapat dikategorikan kepada empat bahagian iaitu;

- i. Ritual menghadapi krisis
- ii. Ritual mengharap keselamatan
- iii. Ritual menghadapi penyakit atau malapetaka
- iv. Ritual yang menggambarkan kesyukuran

Adat tradisi yang diamalkan oleh masyarakat Bajau Semporna sebenarnya bersangkut paut dengan ritual-ritual di atas. Mereka akan mengamalkan amalan dan adat tradisi tersebut kerana situasi yang dinyatakan di atas amat mempengaruhi kehidupan mereka. Dalam erti kata lain, beberapa adat tradisi yang dilakukan seperti upacara *magombo'*, *magtimbang* dan sebagainya adalah berbentuk sinkretisme antara ajaran Islam dan pra-Islam. Ini kerana mereka beranggapan sekiranya tidak dilaksanakan amalan-amalan tersebut maka akan mendatangkan bahaya dan malapetaka ke atas generasi muda Bajau. Adat tradisi yang mengalami fenomena sinkretisme dan dikenalpasti oleh pengkaji antaranya ialah:

Adat Tradisi *Magombo'*

Magombo' merupakan amalan orang Bajau Semporna untuk memuja roh leluhur nenek moyang dengan tujuan memohon rahmat dan kesejahteraan hidup (Halina Sendera, 2007: 22). Masyarakat Bajau percaya bahawa roh leluhur nenek moyang mempengaruhi kehidupan manusia di dunia. Istilah lain yang sinonim dengan *magombo'* ialah *hinang kok taun* (Saffie, 2012), *magmatalau*, (Yap Beng Liang, 1993), *magpaili-bahau* dan *magduwata kabusungan* (Hanafi Hussin, 2016). *Magombo'* merupakan ritual yang paling kompleks bagi komuniti Bajau di Semporna yang diwarisi sejak lama dahulu. Ia diperturunkan melalui keturunan jin yang merupakan pewaris rasmi *langkapan*. *Langkapan* secara mudahnya difahami ialah barang pusaka atau barang warisan nenek moyang yang ditinggalkan kepada generasi selepas mereka dengan tujuan untuk disimpan sebagai tanda peringatan hasil pemberian nenek moyang (Hjh. Salasiah, 2016). Barang pusaka atau warisan ini mesti dijaga dengan rapi dan ada di antara barang pusaka tersebut yang mempunyai pantang larang tertentu seperti tidak boleh dilangkah, tidak boleh dipijak, tidak boleh diberikan kepada kanak-kanak untuk dibuat permainan dan sebagainya. Dipercayai, jika pantang larang tersebut tidak dipatuhi, maka musibah tertentu berbentuk tulah akan menimpa keluarga tersebut dan perlu dipulihkan melalui amalan perubatan tradisional *magombo'* (Syamsul, 2017a: 72-86).

Amalan *magombo'* dilakukan oleh individu yang melanggar pantang larang atau sesuatu perkara tertentu. Upacara *magombo'* ini dilakukan jika seseorang itu terdapat 'tulah keturunan' yang berbentuk penyakit seperti kudis, kurap atau penyakit kulit lain yang berpanjangan dan tidak akan sembuh walaupun berjumpa dengan para doktor di hospital mahupun di klinik. Manakala upacara *magduwata kabusungan* akan dilakukan jika seseorang itu menghadapi penyakit yang lebih kompleks dan pelik seperti gila, tidak waras, tiada selera makan, kurus yang agak melampau, ketakutan secara tiba-tiba dan sebagainya (Hj. Kassim, 2015).

Upacara ritual *magombo'* biasanya akan dilaksanakan pada setiap tahun dan dilakukan mengikut upacara tradisi yang melibatkan orang yang memelihara jin dan upacara keagamaan yang melibatkan ahli agama dalam komuniti masyarakat Bajau (Syamsul, 2017b: 149). Dalam keadaan ini, amalan *magombo'* yang dimaksudkan dikenali sebagai *hinang kok ta'un* iaitu upacara yang mesti dilaksanakan setiap tahun (Hj. Amping, 2015). Ritual *magombo'* melibatkan jamuan besar-besaran yang juga dikenali sebagai *magjamu*. *Magjamu* dalam upacara *magombo'* merupakan satu upacara untuk memberi makan kepada roh nenek moyang. Mereka mempercayai roh semangat dan jin mempengaruhi kehidupan manusia di dunia. Sajian wajib yang perlu disediakan ketika amalan *magombo'* ini ialah padi baru (Hanafi Hussin, 2008b: 154).

Menurut temu bual pengkaji di lapangan, tujuan asal upacara *magombo'* ini dilaksanakan adalah untuk meminta dan menyeru roh nenek moyang agar anak cucu yang masih hidup sentiasa diberkati dan dijaga (Hjh Salasiah, 2016). Lazimnya, upacara tersebut dijalankan dengan memulai bacaan doa ke atas nenek moyang. Kata-kata yang dilafazkan adalah dalam bahasa Bajau. Selesai membaca doa, ketua adat akan mengambil barang yang dijamu untuk diasapkan pada kemenyan sebagai simbol mempersembahkan barang tersebut kepada roh nenek moyang. Semua anak cucu perlu berhadapan dengan peralatan yang akan disediakan dalam upacara *magombo'* berkenaan.

Sehubungan itu, walaupun ritual ini mengandungi amalan animisme, tetapi ia telah diharmoniskan dengan unsur ajaran Islam seperti pembacaan doa selamat, doa arwah, zikir

(*magjiki*) dan bacaan Barzanji yang diketuai oleh seorang imam. Ini bermakna, amalan tradisi ini walaupun telah menerima penyesuaian ajaran Islam seperti bacaan doa selamat, Barzanji dan seumpamanya, namun ia tidak menerima perubahan secara menyeluruh. Malah, adat tradisi ini telah mengalami fenomena sinkretisme antara ajaran animisme dan ajaran Islam. Sinkretisme dalam adat *magombo* ini jelas kerana berlakunya gabung jalin antara kepercayaan kepada Allah yang maha kuasa dan kepercayaan kepada roh nenek moyang. Dalam upacara *magombo*, orang Bajau sangat takut kemurkaan yang menimpa ke atas seseorang individu yang dikaitkan dengan roh nenek moyang. Seolah-olah terdapat suatu kuasa yang khusus boleh memberi mudarat selain dari Allah SWT iaitu nenek moyang. Hal ini jelas menjejaskan akidah sehingga boleh dihukumkan syirik yang besar dan nyata ke atas pelakunya. Fenomena sinkretisme dalam adat *magombo* ini juga berlaku dalam konteks jampi serapah yang bomoh gunakan ketika proses pengubatan atau penyembuhan. Keberadaan jampi serapah ini memperlihatkan berlakunya percampuran antara ajaran Islam dengan kepercayaan lama. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan penggunaan mantra yang cuba meminta pertolongan dengan nama Allah SWT dan selawat ke atas nabi, tetapi pada masa yang sama memohon keampunan dan bantuan daripada roh nenek moyang.

Selain itu, elemen sinkretisme pra-Islam dalam adat *magombo* ini juga berlaku dalam konteks kefahaman masyarakat Bajau dalam kepercayaan roh. Mereka percaya bahawa roh orang yang telah meninggal dunia mampu memberi manfaat dan mudharat kepada orang yang masih hidup. Kepercayaan ini merupakan kepercayaan asal animisme-dinamisme yang mendakwa roh bersifat aktif. Simuh (2003) menjelaskan perihal roh ini dengan membahagikan roh kepada dua kategori iaitu roh aktif dan pasif. Hal ini jelas ditegaskan oleh beliau;

“Prinsip ruh aktif menurut kepercayaan animisme adalah bahawa ruh orang yang mati tetap hidup dan bahkan menjadi sakti seperti dewa, bisa mencelakakan atau mensejahterakan manusia. Dunia ini dihuni oleh berbagai macam ruh gaib yang bisa membantu dan mengganggu kehidupan manusia. Seluruh ritus dan meditasi religi animisme-dinamisme dimaksudkan untuk berhubungan dengan dan mempengaruhi ruh dan kekuatan gaib tersebut di atas...”

Adat Tradisi Perbomohan dan Ilmu Sihir

Menurut kajian para sarjana, ilmu perbomohan dan sihir ini merupakan cultural universals bagi semua bangsa di dunia ini (Mohd Nizam, 2015: 18-44). Dalam kehidupan masyarakat Bajau Semporna, walaupun mereka berpegang teguh dengan ajaran agama Islam, namun mereka masih berpegang teguh dengan kepercayaan tradisi ilmu perbomohan dan ilmu sihir. Antara ilmu sihir yang biasanya menjadi perhatian dalam kalangan orang Bajau untuk mempelajarinya ialah ilmu pugai (ilmu pengasih), ilmu panglias, (ilmu kebal) ilmu pukau, ilmu bungkuang (ilmu santau) dan sebagainya (Hj. Kassim, 2015). Kesemua ilmu ini mempunyai peranan tersendiri. Upacara setiap ilmu ini juga turut berbeza antara satu sama lain. Lazimnya upacara mempelajari ilmu ini juga mengalami fenomena sinkretisme antara kepercayaan animisme dan ajaran Islam terutamanya dalam mantra dan jampi yang digunakan. Contoh mantra dan jampi yang mengalami gabung jalin antara adat tradisi dan ajaran Islam boleh dilihat seperti mantra di bawah;

- a. Mantra dan jampi ketika bergaduh: “*Alastum birabbikum kalu bala’..ah..ih..uh..*”. Mantra ini dibaca sambil menggenggam ibu jari (Lahajim, 2015).
- b. Mantra dan jampi untuk memikat wanita yang disukai (ilmu pengasih): “*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Anduk-anduk sin bulan. Anduk anduk sin matahari. Pabalik ataimu kaku*”. Mantra ini dibaca ketika mandi di bawah sinaran bulan purnama selama tiga malam berturut-turut (Lahajim, 2015).

Berdasarkan jampi dan mantra di atas, jelas kelihatan bahawa dalam kehidupan masyarakat Bajau Semporna, walaupun mereka berpegang teguh dengan ajaran agama Islam,

namun mereka masih berpegang teguh dengan kepercayaan tradisi ilmu perbomohan dan ilmu sihir. Penggunaan jampi dan mantera oleh masyarakat Bajau pada hari ini banyak memasukkan unsur-unsur doa dan petikan ayat-ayat al-Qur'an. Jampi dan mantera di atas merupakan hasil temu bual yang sempat pengkaji rakamkan dan ditranskrip dalam bentuk kenyataan. Kebanyakan daripada mantera ini tidak mempunyai elemen sinkretisme kerana ia telah menerima perubahan daripada animisme kepada ajaran Islam dan hanya unsur-unsur islamik yang kelihatan dalam mantera-mantera di atas. Namun begitu, terdapat juga jampi dan mantera yang tidak difahami bahasanya dan pengkaji tidak dapat nyatakan dalam kajian ini disebabkan larangan oleh bomoh tersebut kerana ia mempunyai pantang larang tertentu. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan pengakuan bomoh yang ditemu bual pengkaji sendiri. Beliau menegaskan;

"Amassa kita dua ingga ya taentom hek ta mareom Arab..Bassahan selawat hek suvai ni pa kosog dakiit jari mandusia magtambal ni kita hek parassaya agtui magtambal..ingga ayat anu issa tafahamta hek..daa ni pakosog hilingnya"

Terjemahan: "Kita baca sikit doa yang kita hafal dalam Arab. Bacaan selawat kita bagi baca kuat bahagian itu supaya orang percaya untuk berubat dengan kita. Lafaz yang tidak difahami bagi perlahan" (Lahajim, 2015).

Sehubungan itu, fenomena sinkretisme dalam adat tradisi perbomohan ini berlaku dalam proses rawatan yang dilakukan oleh 'orang yang berjin' (individu yang memelihara jin) atau *kelamat* (bomoh) (Syamsul Azizul, 2013). Menurut masyarakat Bajau, 'orang berjin' ini sangat penting dalam masyarakat Bajau kerana atas dasar peranan mereka lakukan kepada masyarakat. Hal ini kerana pada masa dahulu, tidak wujud sebarang hospital atau klinik yang mampu mengubati orang yang sakit. Oleh itu, orang Bajau pada ketika itu sangat memerlukan bantuan mereka terutamanya dalam hal-hal kesihatan, dan pengubatan tradisional (Hj. Mokhtar, 2015). Sinkretisme yang berlaku dalam hal ini ialah dalam aspek rawatan. Hal ini kerana, cara rawatan tersebut mengandungi beberapa upacara ritual tertentu yang bercampur-baur dengan kepercayaan pra-Islam. Lazimnya, rawatan tradisi yang diamalkan oleh masyarakat Bajau selepas terkena tulah adalah dengan melakukan upacara tertentu seperti upacara *magombo* seperti mana yang dijelaskan sebelum ini. Upacara ini mempunyai beberapa pantang larang seperti isi rumah pesakit tidak boleh mandi, tidak boleh memakan benda yang pedas, berminyak dan bersantan, tidak boleh memakan ikan yang berbisa, dan sebagainya. Fenomena sinkretisme berlaku dalam adat ini di mana ia unsur-unsur alam seperti kuasa ghaib akan diselesaikan oleh 'orang yang berjin' manakala yang berkaitan dengan ajaran Islam akan dilakukan oleh imam atau ahli agamawan.

Ringkasnya, ilmu perbomohan dan ilmu sihir dalam masyarakat Bajau Semporna telah mengalami fenomena sinkretisme. Hal ini dapat dilihat di mana mantera-mantera yang digunakan menerima pengaruh agama Islam dan juga pra-Islam. Sehubungan itu, mantera yang digunakan dalam masyarakat Bajau khususnya dalam pengamal perubatan tradisional mempunyai beberapa fungsi antaranya mantera digunakan dalam upacara tertentu sebagai satu cara untuk berhubung dengan makhluk halus bagi menghubungkan antara alam nyata dan alam ghaib, sebagai pendinding diri daripada malapetaka dan kecelakaan, sebagai keperluan yang bersifat peribadi seperti tujuan ingin kelihatan cantik (ilmu pengasih), kebal (ilmu kebal) dan sebagainya.

Adat Tradisi Magtimbang dan Tolak Bala di Bulan Safar

Dalam adat tradisi kelahiran masyarakat Bajau Semporna, terdapat satu amalan yang unik berhubung dengan kelahiran anak mereka. Menurut Hj. Amping (2015), terdapat kepercayaan orang Bajau Semporna bahawa bayi yang lahir dalam bulan Safar membawa nasib malang kerana bulan Safar dianggap sebagai bulan yang tidak baik. Oleh yang demikian, cara untuk mengelakkan bayi tersebut membawa nasib malang, adalah dengan menimbang (magtimbang). Orang yang terlibat dalam upacara tolak bala ini ialah ahli keluarga, ketua kampung dan juga ahli agamawan dalam kalangan masyarakat Bajau-Sama Semporna.

Penimbangan bayi tersebut bertujuan untuk meminta pertimbangan daripada Allah SWT agar bayi tersebut tidak membawa nasib malang. Namun amalan ini sangat jarang kelihatan diamalkan oleh masyarakat Bajau Semporna disebabkan banyak faktor antaranya kelahiran bayi sekarang berdasarkan kalendar Gregorian bukan menggunakan takwim hijrah atau takwim Islam yang menyebabkan orang ramai lupa tentang bayi yang lahir dalam bulan Safar. Selain itu, pengaruh agama Islam yang dominan yang membuktikan tidak wujud bulan yang tidak baik dalam kalender Islam menyebabkan amalan ini sangat kurang diamalkan (Syamsul, 2017b: 187).

Alatan yang digunakan dalam upacara *magtimbang* ini antaranya sebatang penumbuk padi yang dijadikan sebagai batang penimbang. Batang penimbang ini dibalut dengan tujuh hasta kain putih. Selain itu, batu-batu timbang turut disediakan yang terdiri daripada sebalai air, seikat kayu, seperiuk nasi dan tujuh biji kelapa muda (Yap Beng Liang, 1993: 51-52). Upacara ini bermula dengan bahagian batang penimbang diikat dengan tali yang lazimnya disangkutkan pada alang bumbung masjid supaya batang tersebut dalam keadaan tergantung. Kemudian, pada satu hujung batang penimbang itu akan dipasangkan buaian berupa ayunan bayi yang hendak ditimbang sementara pada hujung batang penimbang yang satu lagi pula akan digantungkan batu-batu timbang. Batu-batu timbang yang terdiri daripada alatan-alatan yang disebutkan di atas akan cuba diseimbangkan beratnya dengan bayi tersebut. Kemuncak dan berakhirnya upacara *magtimbang* ini ialah apabila bayi seimbang beratnya dengan batu-batu timbang, seterusnya batang penimbang dan segala muatannya dilepaskan supaya ia berputar dengan keadaan asalnya.

Adat *magtimbang* ini bukan sahaja dilakukan oleh masyarakat Bajau-Sama di Semporna tetapi turut diamalkan oleh suku kaum lain di Sabah dan Asia. Hal ini terbukti seperti yang terdapat dalam kajian para sarjana antaranya Siti Faridah (2012) yang mengatakan bahawa masyarakat Banjar di Indonesia melaksanakan upacara batimbang anak pada bulan Safar. Abdillah Hassan (1974) pula mendakwa orang Suluk di Sandakan mengamalkannya tetapi dengan tujuan dan upacaranya yang berbeza. Di Filipina pula, orang Bajau Tawi-Tawi melakukan upacara *nimbang* tetapi dengan tujuan yang berbeza iaitu diadakan untuk menebus nazar yang dibuat ketika seseorang sakit tenat (Arlo, 1972: 29). Hal yang sama berlaku dalam suku kaum Idahan di Sabah. Mereka melaksanakan adat menimbang bayi yang dilahirkan pada bulan safar. Malah adat menimbang ini bukan sahaja terhad kepada bayi tetapi juga turut dilakukan oleh golongan dewasa (Jusman, 2011: 48-50).

Kesemua fakta ini menunjukkan bahawa adat *nimbang* merupakan adat yang dikongsi oleh masyarakat lain khususnya di Borneo. Dalam erti kata lain, terdapat nilai kesejagatan dalam adat *nimbang* ini dalam masyarakat di Sabah khususnya dan di Asia amnya. Walau bagaimanapun, adat ini juga telah menerima pengaruh agama Islam. Hal ini dapat dilihat di mana selepas upacara *nimbang* dilaksanakan, ia akan disusuli dengan majlis kenduri dan bacaan Barzanji. Oleh itu, adat *nimbang* ini telah bercampur aduk (sinkretisme) di antara fahaman animis dan juga agama Islam.

Sehubungan itu, selain daripada amalan *magtimbang*, terdapat juga adat tradisi menolak bala pada bulan Safar yang masih diamalkan oleh segelintir masyarakat Bajau di daerah Semporna. Upacara ini diketuai oleh seorang imam yang dimulai dengan mengumpulkan penduduk kampung dalam satu bulatan, kemudian disusuli dengan laungan azan dan bacaan doa serta jampi dalam bahasa Bajau (Eshah, 2012: 518). Selepas itu, orang kampung tersebut dikehendaki mandi di dalam air laut dengan tujuan membuang sial dan nasib malang pada bulan Safar.

Pada asalnya, amalan mandi Safar untuk menolak bala dan membuang sial merupakan kepercayaan Hindu melalui ritual sangam yang dilaksanakan dengan upacara mandi di sungai. Pada masa yang sama, ia merupakan saki-baki sinkretisme dari fahaman animis yang mempercayai kewujudan semangat dan nasib malang yang boleh mempengaruhi kehidupan manusia. Unsur sinkretisme dalam adat ini dapat dilihat dalam berlakunya percampuran kepercayaan wujudnya nasib malang atau sial dalam bulan Safar dan cuba disesuaikan dengan kehendak agama dengan melakukan beberapa ritual tertentu yang diketuai oleh ahli agamawan dalam komuniti masyarakat Bajau Semporna.

Adat Tradisi *Pabangkai-Bangkaian*

Secara literal, *Pabangkai-bangkaian* ialah sebuah tempat tidur yang terdiri daripada tilam beralaskan kain putih dan dihamparkan kain yang pernah digunakan si mati semasa proses memandikan jenazah dilakukan. Semua pakaian si mati ketika hayatnya hendaklah dilipat kemas dan diletakkan di bahagian kepala tilam arah ke dinding, bantal, al-Qur'an, segelas air dan dulang makanan tertutup disediakan untuk menunjukkan di rumah berkenaan berlakunya kematian. Dulang makanan tersebut akan diisi dengan makanan setiap awal pagi dan sebelum waktu maghrib untuk dimakan oleh imam *ngipat bahangi*, iaitu imam yang bertanggungjawab membaca doa pada waktu tersebut selama tujuh hari berturut-turut selepas pengebumian si mati. Adat *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini merupakan adat yang menjadi satu kemestian dalam kalangan masyarakat Bajau Semporna jika berlaku kematian. Ia dilaksanakan sejurus sahaja mayat dikebumikan (Hj. Hussin, 2015).

Tujuan *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini ialah menurut kepercayaan masyarakat Bajau, roh si mati akan kembali ke rumah untuk melawat serta melihat keluarganya (Halina Sendera, 2013: 155). Dengan wujudnya *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini, ia menunjukkan bahawa waris atau keluarga si mati memperingati pemergian si mati tersebut. Secara simbolik, *pabangkai-bangkaian* merupakan manifestasi simbol menyambut kedatangan roh ke rumah dan sebagai lambang penghormatan dan kasih sayang ahli keluarga kepada si mati. Berdasarkan pengamatan pengkaji, adat *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini merupakan saki-baki sinkretisme dari kepercayaan animisme sebelum masyarakat Bajau memeluk agama Islam. Malah, terdapat fakta beberapa masyarakat lain di Sabah turut mengamalkannya sebelum Islam datang seperti yang diamalkan oleh masyarakat Bisaya, Idahan dan juga Iranun (Halina Sendera, 2013: 159) Terdapat juga masyarakat lain selain di Sabah mengamalkan adat *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini. Hal ini dibuktikan oleh para sarjana antaranya Moh Daud Kadir bahawa adat *pabangkai-bangkaian* ini juga diamalkan oleh kaum Mantang di Kepulauan Riau (Mohd Daud, 1985). Menurut kepercayaan kaum Mantang, dalam tempoh tujuh hari selepas kematian jenazah, roh si mayat mampu kembali ke rumah dan atas dasar itu, mereka mengadakan adat *pabangkai-bangkaian*.

Kesimpulan

Masyarakat Bajau mempunyai pegangan yang baik terhadap agama Islam. Walau bagaimanapun, mereka masih berpegang kuat kepada amalan tradisi sehingga ke hari ini. Kedua-dua aspek ini dianggap sama penting demi kelangsungan hidup bermasyarakat. Sehubungan dengan itu, secara tidak langsung sebenarnya wujud konflik antara ajaran Islam dan amalan tradisi yang diamalkan orang Bajau Semporna. Konflik ini menimbulkan gejala sinkretisme dalam amalan tradisi orang Bajau. Amalan ini turut diwarnai dengan pengaruh tradisi setempat dari zaman pra-Islam.

Secara asasnya gejala sinkretisme dapat difahami sebagai proses percampuran dan pembauran beberapa bentuk pemikiran atau falsafah atau agama yang bersifat tertentu. Sinkretisme dalam masyarakat Bajau secara mudahnya dapat difahami 'campur aduk' antara syariat Islam dengan adat tradisi Bajau. Dari asalnya bersumberkan kepercayaan animisme, ia kemudiannya diwarnai oleh unsur-unsur Islam agar tidak bertentangan dengan syariat Islam. Hakikatnya, sinkretisme ini mencacatkan keaslian ajaran Islam yang murni. Fenomena sinkretisme dalam ajaran Islam boleh menyebabkan kekeliruan dalam memahami sesuatu ajaran yang dipercayai oleh seseorang individu Bajau Muslim. Apa yang lebih dikhuatiri ialah ia boleh menimbulkan gejala pemesonan akidah dan iman seseorang individu Muslim.

Sehubungan itu, penerimaan sesuatu amalan budaya secara membuta tuli tanpa melakukan analisis kritis bukanlah suatu tindakan yang bijak. Begitu juga sebaliknya. Penolakan bulat-bulat segala unsur asing tanpa penelitian yang rapi hanya akan merugikan masyarakat jika terdapat nilai yang positif dan baik. Hal yang sama berlaku dalam fenomena sinkretisme. Namun begitu, penerimaan sesuatu perkara yang berhubung adat tradisi wajar berlandaskan budaya ilmu dan tuntutan syariat Islam.

Rujukan

- Abdillah Hassan. 1974. Kepercayaan-kepercayaan dan Ilmu Dukun di Kelompok Taou Sug (Suluk) Daerah Sandakan. Latihan Ilmiah, Jabatan Antropologi dan Sosiologi, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya.
- Arlo Nimmo. 1972. *The Sea People of Sulu (A Study of Social Change in the Philippines)*. London: International Textbook Co. Ltd.
- _____. 1968. Reflections in Bajau History. *Philippines Studies* 16 (1): 32-59.
- Carsten Colpe. 1987. Syncretism. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Eliade, Mircea., ed. New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.
- Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion*. 1980. New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Encyclopedia of Philosophy and Pyschology*. 1986. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications,
- Eshah A. Wahab. 2012. Unsur-Unsur Agama, Ritual dan Sinkretisme Masyarakat Bajau Omodal. Kertas kerja dalam International Seminar On Community Development, 7-9 April 2012, Universiti Malaysia Terengganu.
- Gusni Saat. 2003. *Komuniti Samah Bajau di Bandar*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Gusni Saat. 2008. Implikasi Politik Melayuisme Sama-Bajau di Malaysia,” *Sari* (26): 63-70.
- Halina Sendera Mohd Yakin. 2013. Semiotik Dalam Adat Kematian Bajau, Sabah. Tesis kedoktoran, Jabatan Antropologi dan Sosiologi, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial Universiti Malaya.
- Halina Sendera Mohd Yakin. 2007. Identiti Budaya Etnik Palau’ di Semporna, Sabah: Konservasi, Adaptasi dan Transformasi Budaya. Kertas Kadangkala, Bil.7, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Halina Sendera Mohd Yakin. 2013. Manifestasi Identiti Budaya Bajau Menerusi Simbolisme. Dalam *Nilai dan Norma Masyarakat di Sabah*, ed. Saidatul Nornis Mahali. Kota Kinabalu, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Hamzeh'ee et al. 1995. *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East*. Leiden: Brill
- Hanafi Hussin. 2008a. Magpaii-Bahau: Reunion Between Living and Dead among Bajau Community of Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia. In *Southeast Asian Religion, Culture and Art of the Sea*, ed. Hanafi Hussin. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences.
- Hanafi Hussin. 2008b. Diaspora Bajau Laut dan Pengekalan serta Penerusan Amalan Tradisi di Sabah. *Borneo Research Journal*, no. 2:
- Harrison. 1975. The Bajaus: Their Origins and Wide Importance. *Sabah Society Journal* (6): 38-41.
- Irina A. Levinskaya. (1993). Syncretism, The Term and Phenomenon. *Tyndale Bulletin* 44, vol. 1:117-128.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia. 2010. *Taburan Penduduk dan Ciri-ciri Asas Demografi*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara.
- Jusman Aman Setia dan Mohd Sarim Mustajab. 2011. Pantang Larang dan Adat Suku Kaum Idahan. Dalam *Pluraliti dalam Kearifan Lokal di Sabah*, ed. Saidatul Nornis Mahali dan Budi Anto Mohd Tamring. Kota Kinabalu: Penerbit Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Matluda, H.A. 1995. The Bajau (Bajo) of South Sulawesi and Other Eastern Islands of Indonesia. Internatinal Conference on Bajau/Sama Progress through the Ages, Kota Kinabalu.
- Md Saffie Abd. Rahim et al. 2012. *Bajau Pantai Timur*. Kuala Lumpur: UMS & ITBM.
- Mohd Daud Kadir et al. 1985. *Upacara Tradisional (Upacara Kematian) Daerah Riau*. Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Mohd Nizam Sahad. 2015. Penggunaan Azimat Pelaris Perniagaan Menurut Perspektif Akidah Islam. *Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu*, Jilid 8, Bil. 1 :18-44.
- Norazit Selat. 1989. *Konsep Asas Antropologi*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Rosazman Hussin. 2012. Pengenalan dalam *Bajau Pantai Timur*, ed. Md. Saffie Abd. Rahim, Sabihah Osman, dan Ramzah Dambul. Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia.

- Rick Brown. 2006. Contextualization Without Syncretism. *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 23, no. 3.
- Saidatul Nornis Mahali. 2012. *Bajau Pantai Barat*. ed. Saidatul Nornis Mahali. Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia.
- Siti Faridah dan Mubarak. 2012. Kepercayaan Masyarakat Banjar Terhadap Bulan Safar: Sebuah Tinjauan Psikologis. *AL-BANJARI*, vol 11, no.1: 77-92.
- Simuh. 2003. *Islam dan Pergumulan Budaya Jawa*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Suraya Sintang. 2003. Fenomena Sinkretisme-Islam Dalam Adat Resam Masyarakat Bugis: Kajian Kes Daerah Tawau, Sabah. Seminar Zaba Mengenai Alam Melayu 1, Nilai-Nilai Peradaban Melayu, 12-14 Ogos 2003.
- Syamsul Azizul Marinsah dan Mohd Anuar Ramli. Amalan Tradisi Magombo' dalam Masyarakat Bajau di Semporna Sabah. 2007a. Analisis dari Perspektif Sosiobudaya dan Perspektif Hukum Islam. *Borneo Research Journal*, Vol.11.
- Syamsul Azizul Marinsah. 2017b. Unsur Sinkretisme dalam 'Urf dan Adat Masyarakat Bajau di Sabah: Analisis dari Perspektif Hukum Islam. Tesis Kedoktoran, Akademi Pengajian Islam Universiti Malaya.
- Syamsul Azizul Marinsah, et al. 2016. Amalan Tradisi Masyarakat Bajau di Semporna Sabah: Kajian Menurut Hukum Islam. *Jurnal Perspektif Jurnal Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan*, jilid 8.
- Syamsul Azizul Marinsah. 2013. Amalan Tradisi Dalam Masyarakat Bajau di Semporna Sabah: Analisis Dari Perspektif 'Urf dalam Hukum. Disertasi sarjana, Akademi Pengajian Islam Universiti Malaya.
- The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1976. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.
- The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*. 2011. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- K.P Tabrett. 1999. The Founding of Semporna. *Sabah Society Journal* (16): 57-60.
- Yap Beng Liang. 1977. Orang Bajau Pulau Omdal, Sabah: Satu Kajian Tentang Sistem Budaya. Disertasi Sarjana, Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya.
- _____. 1993. *Orang Bajau Pulau Omdal: Aspek-Aspek Budaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Temu bual

- Datuk Melali bin Hj. Mali. 75 tahun. 15 Oktober 2015 di Kg. Tagasan Semporna Sabah. Bekas Ahli-Ahli Majlis Daerah Semporna tahun 2011-2013.
- Encik Lahajim b. Etteng. 68 tahun. 2 Februari 2015 di Pulau Bum-Bum Semporna. Bomoh dan pengamal perubatan tradisional Bajau Semporna.
- Hanafi Hussin. 31 Mac 2016. Profesor Madya, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya. Beliau merupakan sarjana tempatan yang banyak mengkaji budaya masyarakat Bajau di pantai timur Sabah.
- Tuan Hj. Amping b. Udik di Kg. Gusung Malanta Pulau Bum-Bum pada 13 Februari 2015. Beliau merupakan orang tua-tua Bajau dari suku Kaum Bajau Bum-Bum dan sering menjadi rujukan berhubung adat tradisi Bajau Semporna.

ULA-ULA SAMA- PANJI KEBESARAN MASYARAKAT BAJAU INDONESIA

(ULA-ULA SAMA: THE GREATNESS PANJI OF INDONESIAN BAJAU/SAMA)

Zulkifli Azir
Independent Scholar
(zulkifli.azir@gmail.com)

Abstract

Panji Aheya atau *Panji Kabasaranta Sama* secara harfiah bermakna “panji yang besar”, adalah simbol identitas keberadaan masyarakat Bajau di seluruh negara yang dihuni oleh masyarakat Bajau. Panji ini memiliki nama khas di setiap negara: (1) Masyarakat Bajau di kawasan Philippine Selatan ada yang menamakannya *Paglamak*, *Bandila*, dan ada pula yang menyebutnya *Sambolayang*; (2) Masyarakat Bajau di Sabah menamakannya *Sambulayang*; (3) Masyarakat Bajau di seluruh Indonesia menamakannya *Ula-Ula Sama*. Memperhatikan bentuk fisik *Panji Aheya* di Philippine, sama di semua kawasan. Kalaupun ada perbedaan hanya pada warna. Hal serupa juga ditemukan di Malaysia. Berangkat dari kesamaan itulah maka *Panji Aheya* menjadi simbol pemersatu. *Ula-Ula* yang saat ini banyak ditemui di berbagai daerah di Indonesia lahir dari suatu *ijtihad* yang dilakukan oleh Tetua Adat dan Sesepuh masyarakat Bajau. Itulah sebabnya mengapa namanya menjadi *Ula-Ula* (bukan *Ula-Ula Sama*) dan bentuk fisik serta warna-warni juga berbeda di setiap daerah. Adanya berbagai perbedaan itulah menjadikan *Ula-Ula* tidak bisa digunakan sebagai simbol pemersatu secara nasional. Ditemukannya *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka* memberikan harapan baru bagi masyarakat Bajau Indonesia untuk kembali memiliki simbol persatuan nasional. Maka dibuatlah *Replika Ula-Ula Sama* yang serupa bentuk pusaka aslinya namun menanggalkan bagian-bagian yang bertentangan dengan makna-makna simbolik dan tidak ditemukan deskripsinya. Kendala yang dihadapi adalah tidak semua masyarakat Bajau Indonesia berani menerima *Ula-Ula Sama* sebagai warisan budaya leluhur. Sebagian besar bangga dengan *Ula-Ula Sama* tetapi tidak merasa memiliki. Hal ini adalah dampak dari pemikiran turun temurun bahwa *Ula-Ula Sama* /kawasan pemukiman masyarakat Bajau, membuktikan bahwa kepercayaan terhadap *Ula-* hanya boleh digunakan oleh kaum bangsawan Bajau. Observasi yang telah dilakukan ke beberapa daerah *Ula Sama* sebagai milik masyarakat Bajau bisa tumbuh kembali melalui *dialog interactive* dan tatap muka langsung sedangkan melalui *transfer of knowledge* dan korespondensi terbukti kurang optimal.

Panji Aheya or *Panji Kabasaranta Sama*, literally meaning "the flag of greatness", is a symbol of the identity and the existence of the Bajau/Sama throughout each country inhabited by the Bajau/Sama people. This *panji* has a distinctive name in each country: (1) In the Southern of the Philippine region it is called *Paglamak*, *Bandila*, or *Sambolayang*; (2) The Bajau/Sama in Sabah name it *Sambulayang*; (3) The Bajau/Sama throughout Indonesia name it *Ula-Ula Sama*. It has been noted that the physical shape of the *Panji Aheya* is the same for all regions of the Philippines, even if there are differences in colour. This is also true for Malaysia. Based on these similarities, the *Panji Aheya* could become a unifying cultural symbol. The *Ula-Ula* which is commonly found in various regions of Indonesia was born from an *ijtihad* carried out by the Elders of the Bajau/Sama people. That is why it is named *Ula-Ula* (not "Ula-Ula Sama") and its physical shapes and colours differ in each region. These differences meant that the *Ula-Ula* could

not be used as a unifying symbol nationally. The discovery of an heirloom *Ula-Ula Sama*, however, provided new hope for the Bajau/Sama people of Indonesia to once again have a symbol of cultural unity. A replica of *Ula-Ula Sama* was made which resembled the original shape but without parts that were contrary to the symbolic meanings or for which no meaning was found. The obstacle faced, however, is that not all Bajau Indonesians dare to accept *Ula-Ula Sama* as an ancestral cultural heritage. Most are proud of the *Ula-Ula Sama*, but do not feel they own it. The impact of hereditary thinking in Bajau settlement areas is that the *Ula* can only be used by Bajau nobility. Observations that have been made in several areas, however, show that the *Ula Sama* belongs to the whole Bajau society and this knowledge can develop again through interactive dialogue and direct face-to-face meetings, while currently the transfer of knowledge and correspondence has been less than optimal.

A. PENDAHULUAN

Latar Belakang

Panji Kebesaran Bajau atau dalam bahasa Bajau Indonesia disebut *Panji Kabasaranta Sama* dikenal oleh masyarakat Bajau Indonesia sejak lebih dari seabad lalu sebagai lambang kesatuan dan persatuan. Panji dimaksud memiliki sebuah nama yang sudah dikenal secara turun temurun yaitu *Ula-Ula Sama* dan masih diamalkan sampai hari ini oleh sebagian kecil masyarakat Bajau dari generasi ke generasi.

Tidak ada catatan resmi yang dapat dijadikan rujukan, misalnya sejak kapan tepatnya *Ula-Ula Sama* mulai dikenal, siapa yang menciptakannya, dari daerah mana asalnya, dan sejumlah pertanyaan ilmiah lainnya guna membantu memecahkan masalah dan memicu ide-ide penulisan komprehensif. Hal ini disebabkan karena budaya Bajau Indonesia yang hanya mengabadikan seluruh catatan peradaban masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia melalui “seni tutur” yaitu *Pakannaang* (dongeng, hikayat) dan *Iko-Iko Sama* (dongeng/hikayat yang didendangkan). Sementara pada saat ini keberadaan pelantun “seni tutur” yang sekaligus masih memahami sejarah Bajau sudah nyaris punah dari bumi Indonesia.

Punahnya peradaban suatu bangsa dimulai dari punahnya bahasa. Peribahasa Bajau/ Sama Delaut mengatakan: *Alungai bahasa, alungaina bangsa* artinya: Hilang bahasa, hilanglah bangsa. (Hinayat, 2003).

Pemerintah Republik Indonesia melalui Badan Pusat Statistik mengumumkan data hasil Sensus Penduduk tahun 2010 bahwa, secara keseluruhan, jenis bahasa daerah yang ada Indonesia mencapai 2.500 bahasa. (Akhsan Na'im, Hendry Syaputra, 2011). Mengutip hasil studi yang dilaksanakan pada tahun 1991 hingga 2017 oleh Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, bahwa ada 13 bahasa daerah di Indonesia yang telah punah, 4 bahasa daerah yang mengalami kritis dan 18 bahasa daerah yang masuk kelompok terancam punah. (Agam, 2018). Inilah yang melatar belakangi penulisan kertas kerja ini dengan mengangkat kembali dokumen-dokumen hasil observasi swakelola yang dilakukan sejak tahun 2009.

Ditemukannya benda-benda purbakala dan makam kaum bangsawan Bajau di Pulau Balu serta adanya keturunan Punggawa Bajau yang ternyata masih menyimpan benda-benda pusaka, termasuk *Ula-Ula Sama* di Desa Lemo Bajo, memberikan sedikit ruang bagi para peneliti dan pemerhati budaya Bajau untuk mendapatkan titik terang dan menjawab sebagian pertanyaan yang selama ini masih menjadi misteri. Inilah yang hendak dipaparkan dalam kertas kerja ini.

Keterlibatan Pemerintah Daerah Sulawesi Tenggara, melalui Dinas Museum dan Sejarah yang secara berkala menugaskan petugas untuk merawat benda-benda pusaka dimaksud, memberi cukup bukti bahwa benda-benda pusaka peninggalan leluhur Bajau tersebut terjamin keabsahannya (valid).

Maksud dan Tujuan

Memperkenalkan *Ula-Ula Sama* sebagai Panji Kebesaran Masyarakat Bajau yang sampai hari ini masih menjadi simbol persatuan dan kesatuan masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia. Kertas kerja ini disusun berdasarkan hasil observasi yang dilakukan secara swakelola sejak tahun 2009, dimaksudkan sebagai upaya turut serta memelihara Budaya Bajau agar tidak hilang bersamaan dengan terus meningkatnya jumlah bahasa daerah di Indonesia yang terancam punah.

Penemuan berbagai benda purbakala dan benda-benda pusaka peninggalan leluhur masyarakat Bajau di Sulawesi Tenggara yang dijadikan dasar penulisan kertas kerja ini, bertujuan untuk memberikan harapan baru bagi banyak pihak agar dapat membuka tabir Budaya Bajau yang selama ini dianggap masih menjadi misteri, sehingga melalui kertas kerja ini diharapkan dapat menjadi sumbangan pemikiran dalam upaya turut serta memperkaya khazanah Budaya Bajau di Nusantara, dan yang lebih penting adalah dapat mengembalikan *Ula-Ula Sama* kepada pemiliknya yaitu masyarakat Bajau Indonesia.

B. RAGAM BENTUK FISIK ULA-ULA SAMA

PANJI AHEYA secara harfiah bermakna panji yang besar, atau dalam bahasa Bajau kami menyebutnya *Panji Kabasaranta Sama* adalah simbol identitas keberadaan masyarakat Bajau di seluruh kawasan yang dihuni oleh masyarakat Bajau. Layaknya suatu identitas atau tanda pengenal, maka panji ini dikenal bukan hanya oleh masyarakat Bajau Indonesia, tetapi juga dikenal oleh masyarakat Bajau di Malaysia dan Philippine, sebagai *Panji Aheya* dan memiliki nama-nama khas di setiap negara:

- ✓ Di Philippine, masyarakat Bajau di kawasan Philippine Selatan menamakannya **Paglamak** dan di beberapa kawasan lainnya dinamakan **Bandila**. Dan ada pula kawasan yang menyebutnya **Sambolayang**.
- ✓ Di Malaysia, masyarakat Bajau di Sabah menamakannya **Sambulayang**.
- ✓ Di Indonesia, masyarakat Bajau di seluruh Indonesia menamakannya **Ula-Ula Sama**.

Berbagai macam bentuk dan warna *Ula-Ula Sama* sampai hari ini masih bisa ditemui di beberapa daerah/kawasan pemukiman masyarakat Bajau Indonesia, yaitu kawasan yang meng-*claim* masih memegang teguh adat budaya leluhur. Misalnya di Morowali – Sulawesi Tengah, Pagimana – Sulawesi Tengah, Torosiaje – Gorontalo, Sulawesi Utara, Kendari – Sulawesi Tenggara, Wakatobi – Sulawesi Tenggara, Selayar – Sulawesi Selatan, Labuan Bajo, Manggarai Barat – Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT).

Ragam bentuk fisik (penampakan) *Ula-Ula Sama* di Indonesia terjadi atas dasar *ijtihad* (usaha sungguh-sungguh menggunakan akal sehat dan pertimbangan matang) dilakukan di berbagai daerah melalui suatu musyawarah para Tetua Adat Bajau. Tetua Adat dimaksud adalah mereka yang hidup sekitar tahun 1950-an, namun tidak pernah melihat langsung bagaimana bentuk fisik *Ula-Ula Sama* pusaka Bajau, sehingga dilakukanlah rekayasa bentuk fisik melalui berbagai pertimbangan dan upaya pendekatan (*ijtihad*), misalnya:

- ✓ Ada yang terilhami oleh pesan orang tua pendahulu mereka tentang keberadaan suatu **panji kebesaran Bajau** yang menjadi identitas dan pemersatu masyarakat Bajau. Panji itu sejak dahulu kala oleh leluhur Bajau dinamakan *Ula-Ula Sama*;
- ✓ Ada pula yang terilhami oleh pesan orang tua dan ditambah pengalaman kunjungan ke negara tetangga sehingga pernah melihat bentuk fisik *Panji Aheya* di Negara lain;
- ✓ Sebagian lagi ada pula yang terpaksa melakukan rekayasa karena tuntutan keadaan. Misalnya pada saat Pemerintah Daerah meminta seluruh suku yang bermukim di suatu daerah untuk menampilkan kebudayaan khas daerah masing-masing. Pada saat itulah para Tetua Adat ber-*ijtihad* dan melakukan rekayasa bentuk fisik *Ula-Ula Sama* untuk memenuhi permintaan Pemerintah Daerah.

Berbagai tipikal pemikiran tersebut di atas hanya bersandar pada sebuah nama *Ula-Ula Sama*. Oleh karena terpisah jarak dan waktu, maka tidak satupun dari para perekayasa itu

pernah melihat langsung bagaimana bentuk fisik *Ula-Ula Sama* yang telah dibuat dan pernah digunakan oleh para leluhur Bajau di Indonesia lebih seabad lalu.

Setengah abad kemudian, anak-cucu para Tetua Adat Bajau itu dalam setiap pertunjukan dan pagelaran dengan penuh kebanggaan menampilkan, inilah ***Ula-Ula*** yang menjadi kebanggaan daerah kami, inilah ***Ula-Ula*** yang diwariskan oleh orang tua kami secara turun temurun. Itulah sebabnya mengapa bentuk fisik *Ula-Ula Sama* nampak berbeda di setiap daerah atau kawasan pemukiman masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia, seperti nampak pada gambar-gambar berikut ini:



Gambar-1, *Ula-Ula* di pemukiman masyarakat Bajau yang dibangun di atas permukaan laut Desa Torosiaje, Kabupaten Pohuwato, Provinsi Gorontalo, Sulawesi Utara. (Zacot, 2008).

Ula-Ula ini pernah dimuat dalam buku *Orang Bajo: Suku Pengembara Laut* (Pengalaman Seorang Antropolog) oleh Francois Robert Zacot, diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Indonesia oleh Fida Muljono Larue dan Ida Budi Pranoto, diterbitkan pertama kali oleh Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia tahun 2002. Terkendala oleh keterbatasan pengetahuan respondennya, oleh penulisnya *Ula-Ula* ini disebut sebagai “bendera Bajo”.



Gambar-2, *Ula-Ula* di Kabupaten Morowali, Sulawesi Tengah yang pernah ditampilkan dalam acara budaya Bajo Pasakaiyang Festival 2011, mengusung tema “Lautmu Lautku”. (**Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi**).



Gambar-3, *Ula-Ula* di Kabupaten Wakatobi, Sulawesi Tenggara. (**Inindonesiaku**, 2013)

Ula-Ula ini ditampilkan pertama kali di depan khalayak ramai dalam acara festival budaya Bajau Wakatobi pada November 2013. Perhatikan bentuk fisik *Ula-Ula* ini kemungkinan perancangannya terinspirasi oleh Sambolayang, Panji Aheya masyarakat Bajau di Philippine. Pada gambar nampak dua buah bendera *saka merah putih* dipasang lebih rendah dari

Ula-Ula, hal ini semestinya tidak boleh terjadi dan dilarang keras dalam adat tradisi masyarakat Bajau.



Gambar-4, *Ula-Ula* di Kabupaten Selayar, Sulawesi Selatan, dirancang untuk ditampilkan dalam acara Seminar Nasional Bajo/Sama dan Budaya Maritim Indonesia pada September 2017. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).



Gambar-5, *Ula-Ula* di Kecamatan Pagimana, Kabupaten Luwuk, Sulawesi Tengah, turut ambil bagian dalam acara festival budaya masyarakat Pagimana pada peringatan Hari Ulang Tahun Kota Pagimana, 12 Februari 2019. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).

C. ULA-ULA SAMA PUSAKA

Alhamdulillah, masukkor ne kami, di sebuah pulau kecil yaitu Pulau Balu, Kecamatan Tiworo Utara, Kabupaten Muna Barat, Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara, masih menyimpan benda-benda

purbakala sisa-sisa peninggalan leluhur Bajau, misalnya perabotan yang terbuat dari bahan tembikar dan gerabah, seperti: guci, piring, mangkok, perhiasan dari bahan emas, dll. Keluarga keturunan *Datu Sama*, *Lolo Sama* serta para Punggawa Bajau banyak yang dimakamkan di Pulau ini.

Lokasi lainnya adalah Desa Lemo Bajo, Kecamatan Lasolo, Kabupaten Konawe Utara, Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara. Di lokasi ini pada akhir abad ke 18 pernah dikunjungi kaum bangsawan Bajau (*Lolo Sama*) dan ternyata keturunan para Punggawa Bajau yang saat ini bermukim di kedua lokasi tersebut masih ada menyimpan benda-benda pusaka, termasuk diantaranya adalah *Ula-Ula Sama*.

Desa Lemo Bajo, terletak kurang lebih 2 jam perjalanan darat dari kota Kendari, Sulawesi Tenggara. Di desa inilah keberadaan seorang keturunan Punggawa Bajau yang masih menyimpan benda-benda pusaka peninggalan leluhur Bajau, seperti pedang, berbagai jenis tombak, tameng, berbagai atribut dan pernik-pernik upacara pernikahan, dan yang paling penting adalah *Ula-Ula Sama*, semuanya masih tersimpan dengan baik.

Benda-benda pusaka itu pernah diminta oleh Dinas Arkeologi Sulawesi Tenggara untuk disimpan di Museum sebagai warisan budaya leluhur dan agar bisa digunakan sebagai bahan penelitian, namun tidak diizinkan oleh pemegangnya karena mereka meyakini bahwa benda-benda pusaka itu adalah "*amanah*" leluhur yang harus dipertahankan hingga titik darah penghabisan.

Apa yang terjadi setelah penolakan itu, pada akhirnya pihak Museum yang mengalah, petugas dari Dinas Museum dan Sejarah Sulawesi Tenggara hingga saat ini secara berkala datang untuk merawat benda-benda pusaka itu agar tidak rusak oleh serangan serangga dan ditelan masa.

Masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia sebagian besar masih meyakini bahwa *Ula-Ula Sama* hanya bisa digunakan oleh *Datu Sama* dan anak cucu keturunan *Datu Sama*, termasuk anak cucu keturunan para *Lolo Sama* beserta para Punggawa Bajau. Selain mereka, tidak ada yang berani mendekat apalagi menyentuh *Ula-Ula Sama* Pusaka leluhur Bajau itu. Keyakinan ini masih melekat di kalangan masyarakat Bajau sampai hari ini.



Gambar-6, *Ula-Ula Sama* Pusaka yang saat ini masih tersimpan baik di Desa Lemo Bajo, Kendari. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).

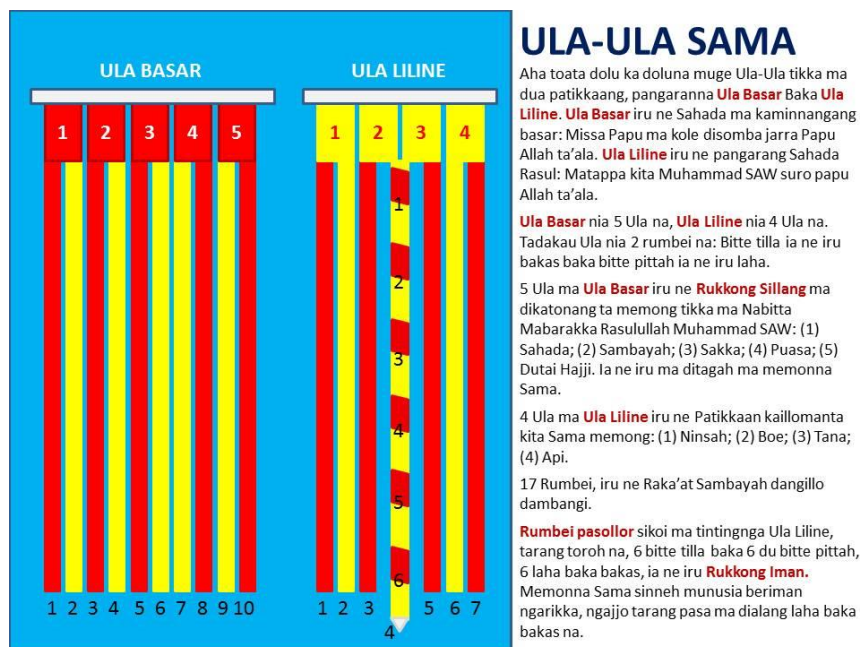
Keberadaan *Ula-Ula Sama* pusaka adalah bukti autentik sejarah perjalanan masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia yang sempat terputus lebih dari seabad lamanya. Untuk itulah maka kami merasa terpanggil untuk meluruskan dan menyambungkan kembali mata rantai sejarah masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia yang terputus itu. Upaya ini dilakukan melalui kunjungan ke beberapa kampung masyarakat Bajau yang dikenal masih memegang teguh adat-istiadat dan tradisi Budaya Bajau, menemui para pemangku adat dan menjelaskan asal-usul benda-benda pusaka peninggalan leluhur yang mereka fahami selama ini. Kepada merekalah dijelaskan apa saja arti penting dari sebuah panji kebesaran dalam pandangan masyarakat Bajau, berikut tata cara penggunaannya serta makna-makna simbolik yang terkandung di dalam setiap bagian dari *Ula-Ula Sama*.

D. MAKNA-MAKNA SIMBOLIK, TATA CARA PENGGUNAAN DAN PERLAKUAN ULA-ULA SAMA

Ula-Ula Sama terdiri atas dua bagian yang disebut *Ula Basar* (Ula Besar) dan *Ula Liline'* (Ula Kecil). Penjelasan tentang bagian-bagian dari *Ula-Ula Sama* (dikutip dari berbagai sumber yang dapat dipercaya kebenarannya), dijelaskan lebih lanjut dalam bahasa Bajau Indonesia sebagaimana tampak pada gambar-7 dan gambar-8.

1. Makna-Makna Simbolik *Ula-Ula Sama*

Leluhur kita (masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia) sejak zaman dahulu kala menciptakan Ula-Ula berdasarkan dua sumber, (dan selanjutnya) dinamakan Ula Besar dan Ula Kecil. Ula Besar itulah (simbol dari) Syahadat yang maha besar (agung): Tidak ada Tuhan yang bisa (patut) disembah hanya Allah Ta'ala. (sedangkan) Ula Kecil itulah (simbol dari) yang dinamakan Syahadat Rasul: Kita percaya (bahwa) Muhammad SAW (adalah) utusan Allah Ta'ala.



Gambar-7, Bagian-bagian dari *Ula-Ula Sama* beserta penjelasannya dalam bahasa Bajau Indonesia. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).

Ula Besar ada (terdiri dari) 5 Ula, (sedangkan) Ula Kecil ada (terdiri dari) 4 Ula. Setiap Ula ada (terdiri dari) 2 Rumbei (rumbai): Rumbai berwarna cerah itu adalah (melambangkan) tulang sedangkan warna gelap itu adalah (melambangkan) darah.

(Terdapat) 5 Ula pada Ula Besar itu adalah (melambangkan) Rukun Islam yang semuanya kita fahami (bersumber dari) Nabiullah penuh berkah Rasulullah Muhammad SAW: (1) Syahadat; (2) Shalat; (3) Zakat; (4) Puasa; (5) Naik (menunaikan ibadah) Haji. Itulah yang (hendaknya menjadi) pegangan bagi seluruh masyarakat Bajau.

(Terdapat) 4 Ula pada Ula Kecil itu adalah (melambangkan) sumber (adanya) kehidupan seluruh masyarakat Bajau: (1) Nafas (udara); (2) Air; (3) Tanah; (4) Api.

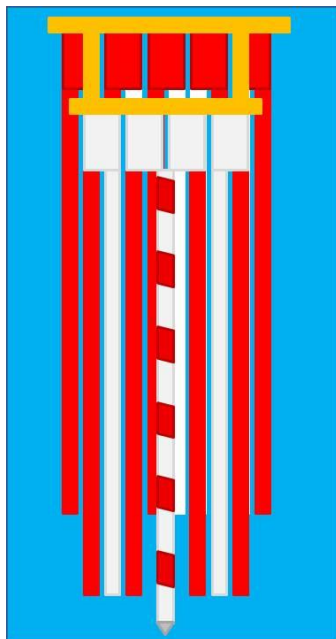
(Terdapat) 17 Rumbai, itu adalah (melambangkan jumlah) raka'at sholat sehari semalam. Rumbai terjulur saling berkaitan pada (pas) di (bagian) tengah Ula Kecil, tajam (pada bagian) ujungnya 6 warna cerah dan 6 warna gelap, (simbol) darah dan tulang (masyarakat Bajau) itu adalah Rukun Iman.

Seluruh masyarakat Bajau adalah manusia beriman (dilambangkan dengan rumbai terjulur yang) melekat, (dan) menusuk tajam ke dalam darah dan tulangnya.

2. Tata Cara Penggunaan dan Perlakuan *Ula-Ula Sama*

Ula Besar dan Ula Kecil apabila menyatu, (yang demikian) itulah dinamakan *Ula-Ula Sama* (yaitu): Menyatunya Syahadat Besar dan Syahadat Rasul menjadi Satu Syahadat (Syahadat 'Ain): "***Asyhadu allaa ilaha illallah wa asyhadu anna Muhammadar Rasulullah***".

Diberdirikan untuk memperkuat penyangganya: (bisa menggunakan) bambu, kayu, besi, kemudian ***dibangunkan***, kemudian dinaikkan lebih tinggi, (agar) tidak boleh dipegang-pegang (terjangkau) oleh orang meskipun dengan posisi berdiri.



ULA-ULA SAMA

Ula Basar baka Ula Liline lamo sidakau ya, iru ne pangarang
Ula-Ula Sama: Sidakau Sahada Basar baka Sahada Rasul dadi
Dakau Sahada (Sahadat 'Ain): "***Asyhadu allaa ilaha illallah
wa ashadu anna muhammadar rasulullah***".

Dipatinggeang puge pamajarre tannah na: bolo, kayu, bissi,
bona dipabolo, bona dipadutai lubbi langa, nggai kole
tatagah ale aha mao ningge.

Ia ne iru katungguan na Sama ma muge gau: Sunna, Pasoroh
na mapabotteh, Pabotteh, Maulud Illo Lassu Nabitta, Illo
Lassu aha Sama ma ada dipamaroa, Illo-illo sadiri ma nia
sama pupo muge gau.

Mengga-mengga nia sinnah baka mamarannu ma dimunang
ale Papu Allah ta'ala masukkor ne. Daha takaluppanang
dipadutai Ula-Ula bona takatonang ale Sama memong, nia
aha masukkor meru.

Sai-sai ma masukkor ma dalle maditarima na, dalle iru tikka
ma Papu Allah Ta'ala, na ditambangang jana dalle iru ale la
ma kaminah basar, ma kaminah kuasa munang dalle.

Nia jana dakau battu nggai lagi kolena pabolo ula-ula iru,
palimbadi ma patikkaanna, ditunu.

Gambar-8, Penggunaan dan Perlakuan *Ula-Ula Sama* dalam bahasa Bajau Indonesia. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).

Itu adalah tanda (simbol) bagi masyarakat Bajau yang menggelar perhelatan: (seperti) Khitanan, Lamaran Pernikahan, Pernikahan, Perayaan Maulid hari kelahiran Nabiullah (Muhammad SAW), Hari Ulang Tahun masyarakat Bajau yang hendak dirayakan, Hari-hari (besar) lainnya yang melibatkan masyarakat Bajau berkumpul membuat acara.

Dimana-mana (pada setiap) ada kesenangan dan kegembiraan yang diberikan oleh Allah Ta'ala (hendaknya) disyukuri. Jangan pernah melupakan (untuk) menaikkan *Ula-Ula Sama* agar seluruh masyarakat Bajau mengetahui (bahwa) di tempat itu ada orang (saudaranya yang sedang) bersyukur.

Barangsiapa yang mensyukuri rezeki yang diterimanya, rezeki itu datangnyanya dari Allah Ta'ala, niscaya rezeki itu akan ditambah oleh Dia yang Maha Besar, yang maha kuasa memberi rezeki.

Pada suatu waktu nanti *Ula-Ula Sama* itu tidak lagi dapat dibangun (diberdirikan), kalian (mesti) mengembalikan pada asalnya, (dengan cara) dibakar.

E. PANJI BUKAN BENDERA

Layaknya suatu identitas atau tanda pengenal, *Ula-Ula Sama* adalah sebuah **panji** bukan **bendera** dan tidak boleh disebut sebagai “bendera”. Penyebutan bendera pada *Ula-Ula Sama* dapat memicu terjadinya konflik, menimbulkan dampak buruk bagi masyarakat Bajau Indonesia karena bisa dianggap sebagai upaya membentuk negara di dalam negara.

Indonesia adalah negara kesatuan (*Darul Ahdi*), negara yang di bawah perjanjian. Perjanjian untuk hidup bersama, dan bukan negara serikat. Pluralisme masyarakat Indonesia yang mayoritas (87,18%) beragama Islam. (Akhsan Na'im, Hendry Syaputra, 2011) dibangun melalui tatanan kehidupan beragama, bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara di wilayah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) sama seperti halnya yang terjadi semasa Rasulullah SAW di bawah perjanjian Piagam Madinah.

Konsep Piagam Madinah sebagaimana dikemukakan oleh Pakar Sejarah, Prof. Dr. Ahmad Mansyur Suryanegara, adalah membangun *religio political community* (komunitas politik keagamaan) yang didalamnya terdapat masyarakat Islam, Yahudi, Nasrani dan Majusi. Demi menumbuhkan rasa solidaritas dan saling bertanggung jawab, diciptakanlah *Covenant of Madinah* atau Piagam Madinah atau Konstitusi Madinah, 622 M. Peristiwa ini merupakan yang pertama dalam sejarah upaya penegakan hukum di dunia dengan adanya konstitusi tertulis. (Suryanegara, 2015).

Karena itu, siapapun yang ingin hidup di Indonesia maka juga harus mengikuti konsensus yang telah dibangun berpuluh-puluh tahun, yaitu siap hidup bersama walaupun berbeda-beda agama, suku, bahasa, dan mengamalkan falsafah Pancasila.

Beberapa perkumpulan atau organisasi massa (ormas) telah ditindak tegas oleh Pemerintah RI karena dipandang memaksakan diri untuk membentuk negara di dalam negara. Tindakan tegas tersebut setiap saat bisa diberlakukan bagi perkumpulan atau ormas yang melakukan upaya atau aktivitas yang tidak sesuai dengan kehidupan ideologi Pancasila dan NKRI.

Pendekatan persuasif dilakukan kepada masyarakat melalui media sosial dan media elektronik lainnya setiap kali ditemui pemahaman yang keliru dalam menafsirkan *Ula-Ula Sama* sebagai suatu bendera.

Mengutip sebuah artikel yang dimuat laman resmi Kementerian Pariwisata Republik Indonesia pada 16 September 2018, dengan judul Bendera Ula-Ula Bagi Masyarakat Suku Bajo: “ ... ula-ula yang selalu ada dalam upacara fase kehidupan masyarakat Bajau. Bendera ula-ula berkibar saat adanya prosesi khitan, pernikahan, dan ketika seseorang sakit. Bendera tersebut berbentuk menyerupai manusia, yakni memiliki kepala, dua tangan, dan dua kaki, ... ” (Redaksi Pesona, 2018), dalam upaya meluruskan pemahaman yang keliru, kepada redaktur rubrik budaya yang menangani laman ini telah diberikan penjelasan pada tanggal 12 Maret 2019, sbb:

1. *Ula-Ula Sama* bukanlah sebuah bendera melainkan “panji”, dalam bahasa Bajau disebut **panji kabasaranta Sama** (**panji** kebesaran Bajau). Ada 3 jenis panji kebesaran Bajau, yaitu: *Ula-Ula Sama*, *Lammeh* dan *Tipas-Tipas*. Masing-masing panji memiliki makna dan peruntukan yang berbeda.
2. **Prosesi Khitan** apabila yang dimaksud dalam artikel tersebut adalah pesta khitanan yang dilaksanakan setelah anak-anak selesai dikhitan, boleh bahkan dianjurkan untuk mengibarkan *Ula-Ula Sama*. Namun apabila yang dimaksud adalah **saat pelaksanaan khitan** atau **terjadi pendarahan setelah selesai khitan**, atau **ketika seseorang sakit**,

maka dalam tradisi budaya Bajau yang dikibarkan adalah Panji Bajau lainnya yang dikenal dengan nama **Lammeh**.

3. *Ula-Ula Sama* dikibarkan sebagai simbol tanda syukur kepada Allah SWT Sang Pencipta. Maksudnya adalah mensyukuri nikmat yang telah diberikan sebagai suatu rezeki, karunia yang datang dari Allah SWT dengan harapan agar rezeki yang telah diberikan itu dapat turut dinikmati oleh orang banyak sehingga rezeki itu bisa terus bertambah. Itulah sebabnya pada saat **pelaksanaan khitan, terjadi pendarahan pasca khitan** atau **ketika seseorang sakit**, tidak boleh mengibarkan *Ula-Ula Sama*.

F. REPLIKA ULA-ULA SAMA

Belajar dari bagaimana Pemerintah RI memperlakukan bendera pusaka sang saka merah putih yang hingga saat ini masih tersimpan dengan baik di Istana Negara, dengan membandingkan perlakuan ***Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka*** yang dirawat oleh masyarakat Bajau Indonesia saat ini, maka dibuatlah ***Replika Ula-Ula Sama*** tanpa mengubah sedikitpun bentuk fisik aslinya, ukuran, makna-makna simbolik hingga seluruh detailnya mengacu pada deskripsi *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka*.

Pembentukan *Replika Ula-Ula Sama* tersebut adalah upaya untuk mengembalikan Panji Kebesaran Bajau ini kepada pemiliknya yaitu kami semua masyarakat Bajau di seluruh Indonesia sebagaimana sangsaka merah-putih yang menjadi lambang negara, identitas bangsa dan sudah menjadi milik kami semua bangsa Indonesia.

Kendala kemudian muncul adalah tidak semua masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia berani menerima *Ula-Ula Sama* sebagai warisan leluhur, sebagai lambang kesatuan dan persatuan masyarakat Bajau Indonesia. Hal ini adalah dampak dari pemikiran masyarakat yang masih memegang teguh pesan para orang tua secara turun temurun bahwa: *Jarra Datu baka ana-umpu Datu ma kole mattaba ia*. Artinya: "Hanya Datu dan anak-cucu keturunan Datu yang boleh (berhak) menggunakannya". Pesan ini masih melekat sedemikian kuat dan tidak ada yang berani melanggarnya. Konon, sudah beberapa kali terbukti bahwa pelanggaran yang dilakukan berakibat fatal pada penyelenggaraan apapun yang digelar. Para tetua kampung di beberapa kawasan pemukiman Bajau menjelaskan sudah sering kali terjadi, disaksikan oleh banyak orang, misalnya beberapa orang yang hadir mengalami Kejang-kejang, kesurupan (*duataang*), atau tiba-tiba tersulut emosi sehingga mengamuk tidak karuan, akibatnya penyelenggaraan pesta menjadi kacau balau. Peristiwa ini dipercayai bahwa *Ula-Ula Sama* lah penyebabnya karena *busoh* (durhaka) yaitu telah terjadi pelanggaran amanah leluhur.



Gambar-9, Replika *Ula-Ula Sama* dikibarkan di halaman Museum Tun Sakaran, Sabah, Malaysia, Maret 2017. **(Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).**

Dalam Tata Cara Penggunaan dan Perlakuan *Ula-Ula Sama*, tidak ada ditemukan satu katapun yang menyatakan bahwa *Ula-Ula Sama* itu eksklusif, hanya diperuntukkan bagi kaum bangsawan Bajau. Menyikapi fenomena yang terjadi selama ini, kepada para tetua kampung Bajau dijelaskan bahwa leluhur kita mengkhawatirkan *diare-are* (pelecehan) pada benda-benda pusaka itu. Dengan logika sederhana, adalah wajar apabila leluhur kita lebih percaya kepada anak cucu keturunannya untuk merawat benda-benda pusaka itu agar terhindar dari segala bentuk tindakan pelecehan dan penyalahgunaan. Atas dasar kekhawatiran itulah maka mereka para leluhur itu memasang perangkat metafisis pada *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka* yang bisa bereaksi kapan saja saat terjadi pelanggaran. Perangkat metafisis dimaksud dilambangkan dengan bentuk rupa manusia yang terdiri dari kepala, tangan dan kaki, tanpa ada penjelasan.

Tradisi budaya Bajau yang dikenal Islami, dalam menyikapi suatu perkara, senantiasa mengembalikan dan menyelaraskan budaya dengan syariat Islam. Demikian halnya dengan bentuk rupa manusia yang sama sekali tidak ditemukan deskripsinya itu, maka apabila dikembalikan kepada hukum dalam syari'at Islam adalah termasuk perkara yang diharamkan dan dilarang untuk digunakan dengan alasan apapun, sebagaimana dijelaskan dalam sebuah hadits berikut ini:

Dari Said bin Abul Hasan diriwayatkan bahwa ia menceritakan: Saya pernah duduk dalam majelis Ibnu Abbas Radhiallahu 'anhuma. Tiba-tiba datang seorang lelaki bertanya: "Wahai Abu Abbas! Saya ini orang yang kerjanya cuma dengan cara ini. Saya seorang pelukis". Ibnu Abbas RA menjawab: "Saya hanya akan memberitahukan kepadamu apa yang kudengar dari Rasulullah SAW. Aku pernah mendengar baginda bersabda: "Barangsiapa yang melukis gambar, pasti akan disiksa oleh Allah sampai ia mampu meniupkan ruh ke dalam gambar-gambar tersebut. Padahal ia tidak akan mampu meniupkan ruh tersebut selamanya". Serta merta lelaki tadi merangkak dengan susah payah, wajahnya memucat. Maka Ibnu Abbas berkata: "Kalau kamu masih membandel, silakan kamu menggambar pepohonan dan segala sesuatu yang tidak bernyawa". HR. Al-Bukhari (2112) dan Muslim (2110).



Gambar-10, Perangkat metafisis pada Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka, bagaikan minyak dan air. (Sumber: Dokumentasi pribadi).

Mencermati makna-makna simboliknya, jelas sekali bahwa setiap bagian dari *Ula-Ula Sama* mengandung makna-makna simbolik yang bernafaskan syari'at Islam, maka bak kata pepatah “bagaikan air dan minyak”, adalah tidak mungkin syari'at Islam menyatu dengan perbuatan haram.

Dalam upaya memberikan ketentraman dan rasa aman serta menumbuhkan rasa bangga memiliki Panji Kebesaran pusaka leluhur milik seluruh masyarakat Bajau di Indonesia, maka semua bentuk metafisis perbuatan supranatural yang mendekati amalan syirik dilepas, ditinggalkan. Inilah yang membedakan *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka* dan *Replika*

Ula-Ula Sama.

Sebagai warisan budaya leluhur, biarlah *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka* itu tetap terjaga dan terpelihara seperti apa adanya diperlakukan layaknya sebuah benda pusaka. Hal ini dilakukan sebagai bentuk amanah dan menjunjung tinggi pesan dan nilai-nilai budaya leluhur. Bahkan apabila memandang lebih jauh ke depan, sewaktu-waktu apabila diperlukan, maka *Ula-Ula Sama Pusaka* itu dapat dijadikan sebagai alat ukur (parameter) bagi mereka yang merasa bangsawan Bajau atau mengaku anak-cucu keturunan Datu, mari kita buktikan.

G. TIPAS –TIPAS PENUNJANG PANJI KEBESARAN BAJAU

Pertanyaan yang tidak kalah pentingnya dari para Tetua Adat dan penggiat Budaya Bajau adalah: “Bagaimana selanjutnya menyikapi *Ula-Ula* hasil rekayasa dan pemikiran para Tetua Adat dan Tokoh Masyarakat Bajau di kampung kami?”

Lazimnya setiap pemangku adat memiliki kelebihan berupa kemampuan berfikir jernih, kearifan lokal, santun dan bijaksana. Kemampuan yang dimiliki seorang pemangku adat melebihi kemampuan rata-rata masyarakat pada umumnya. Kelebihan ini diwarisi secara turun temurun dan atas dasar itulah mereka dipilih oleh masyarakat. Apapun yang mereka ciptakan tujuannya adalah *sampa'* (laksana pagar) untuk melindungi sekaligus memenuhi kepentingan masyarakat adat. Perhatikan, dari *Ula-Ula Sama* menjadi *Ula-Ula* (semacam short-cut) itu hanyalah sebuah kata sederhana namun lahir dari hasil pemikiran yang jernih sebagai upaya antisipatif manakala kelak di kemudian hari sejarah mampu membuktikan yang benar itu benar adanya berikut bukti-bukti autentik. Hasil pemikiran itu kini terbukti, sehingga tidak masalah apabila buah pikiran hasil karya para Tetua Adat dan Tokoh Masyarakat Bajau itu tetap dipertahankan.

Dalam tradisi budaya Bajau terdapat suatu perangkat pendukung yang dikenal dengan nama *Tipas-Tipas*. Keberadaan dan peran *Tipas-Tipas* adalah sebagai perangkat pendukung panji kebesaran Bajau atau dalam bahasa Bajau disebut *panunjah panji kabasaranta Sama*. Masyarakat Bajau di Malaysia dan di Philippine juga mengenal perangkat pendukung ini sebagai *panoon panji aheya*.

Dalam tradisi rakyat di seluruh Indonesia, makna *Tipas-Tipas* memiliki kesamaan (sinonim) yang dapat dimaknai layaknya ***Umbul-Umbul***. Dalam setiap perayaan hari besar Nasional nampak bendera Nasional Sang saka Merah Putih berkibar tinggi dan sejumlah umbul-umbul memenuhi sebagian besar sudut tempat pelaksanaan perayaan. Jelas bahwa Umbul-Umbul memiliki peranan penting sebagai penunjang bendera Nasional, menjadikan tempat-tempat itu terkesan meriah. Demikian pula halnya dengan sebuah *Ula-Ula Sama* dapat dihiasi dengan beberapa *Tipas-Tipas* yang diangkat dari karya cipta para Tetua Adat dan Tokoh masyarakat Bajau agar menjadikan setiap pagelaran terkesan meriah.

H. KESIMPULAN

1. *Ula-Ula Sama* adalah milik masyarakat Bajau Indonesia. Opini masyarakat yang terlanjur menganggap panji kebesaran Bajau ini sebagai milik bangsawan Bajau dan hanya boleh digunakan oleh kaum bangsawan, sangat sulit diubah apabila hanya dijelaskan melalui korespondensi. Untuk itulah maka pendekatan persuasif dilakukan melalui Tetua Adat, Para Tokoh dan Sesepuh Masyarakat melalui dialog dan tatap muka langsung di setiap lokasi pemukiman masyarakat Bajau.
2. Luasnya lokasi sebaran pemukiman masyarakat Bajau Indonesia, apabila hanya mengandalkan sumber daya pribadi, menjadi kendala dalam upaya memberikan pemahaman dan mengembalikan *Ula-Ula Sama* kepada pemiliknya.
3. Kegiatan dialog dan tatap muka langsung bersama Tetua Adat, Para Tokoh dan Sesepuh di setiap lokasi pemukiman Masyarakat Bajau diharapkan menjadi sarana *sharing of knowledge* (berbagi pengetahuan) agar pada masa-masa yang akan datang kawasan inilah yang selanjutnya dijadikan panutan kegiatan *transfer of knowledge* oleh masyarakat Bajau yang bermukim di lokasi berdekatan.
4. Tetua Adat, Para Tokoh dan Sesepuh Masyarakat Bajau yang pernah dikunjungi ada diantaranya yang menyatakan ketidaksanggupan mereka untuk melakukan *transfer of knowledge* ke desa terdekat sekalipun. Hal inilah yang menjadi kendala dalam upaya percepatan penyebaran *Ula-Ula Sama* kepada masyarakat Bajau Indonesia.
5. Di beberapa kawasan pemukiman masyarakat Bajau yang pernah dikunjungi, *Replika Ula-Ula Sama* telah difahami dan diterima sebagai lambang kesatuan dan persatuan dan telah dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya. Hal ini sangat menggembirakan terbukti dari beberapa event budaya yang dilaksanakan oleh Pemerintah Daerah, masyarakat Bajau turut ambil bagian dan tampil dengan penuh percaya diri.
6. Minat masyarakat Bajau untuk memiliki Replika Ula-Ula Sama dan berpartisipasi memelihara keberlangsungan tradisi budaya Bajau cukup tinggi, namun terkendala oleh kemampuan daya beli masyarakat. Kepada para Kepala Desa di lokasi-lokasi yang mayoritas masyarakatnya adalah etnik Bajau disarankan untuk menyertakan pengadaan, pembinaan dan pemeliharaan atribut Budaya Bajau ke dalam program kerja tahunan dan mempertanggungjawabkan pembiayaan kegiatan ini ke dalam Alokasi Dana Desa (ADD).

I. PENUTUP

Demikianlah kertas kerja ini dibuat sebagai referensi dan dipersembahkan khususnya bagi peserta ICONBAJAU 2019. Sadar akan keterbatasan kemampuan kami secara akademik yang masih banyak kekurangan, namun kata pepatah: ***"Tak kenal maka tak sayang, tak sayang maka tak cinta"***. Maka wujud kecintaan kepada Budaya Bajau di negeri kami itulah yang kami bentang dalam tulisan ini.

Kami merasa bangga dapat turut serta berbagi (*sharing*) khazanah budaya Bajau, dan turut serta menyumbang pemikiran bagi masyarakat Bajau Nusantara yang tersebar di Indonesia, Malaysia dan Philippine. Untuk itulah beribu terima kasih kami ucapkan kepada Panitia Pelaksana ICONBAJAU 2019. *Masukkor*.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Akhsan Na'im, Hendry Syaputra. (2011). *Kewarganegaraan, Suku Bangsa, Agama, dan Bahasa Sehari-hari Penduduk Indonesia. HASIL SENSUS PENDUDUK 2010*. Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik.
- Agam, S. (2018, January 30). *Bahasa-bahasa Daerah Yang Telah Punah*. Dipetik February 16, 2019, dari Indonesia Baik: <http://indonesiabaik.id/%20infografis/bahasa-bahasa-daerah-yang-telah-punah>
- Hinayat, M. S. (2003). *Glosari Bahasa Bajau/Sama - Bahasa Melayu*. Kota Kinabalu: PSBB Sabah.
- Inindonesiaku. (2013, October 18). *Prosesi Duata, Ritual Adat Suku Bajo*. Dipetik November 26, 2015, dari Inindonesiaku.com: <http://inindonesiaku.com/prosesi-duata-ritual-adat-suku-bajo>
- Redaksi Pesona. (2018, September 16). *Bendera Ula-Ula Bagi Masyarakat Suku Bajo*. Dipetik March 12, 2019, dari Pesona Indonesia: <https://pesona.travel/keajaiban/2136/bendera-ula-ula-bagi-masyarakat-suku-bajo>
- Suryanegara, A. M. (2015). *Api Sejarah Jilid Kesatu*. Bandung: Surya Dinasti.
- Zacot, F. R. (2008). *Orang Bajo: Suku Pengembara Laut (Pengalaman Seorang Antropolog)*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

PROSES ADAPTASI DAN SEDENTARISASI MASYARAKAT BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA: KAJIAN KES KAMPUNG BANGAU-BANGAU SEMPORNA (PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION AND SEDENTARISATION OF SEA BAJAU IN SEMPORNA: a CASE STUDY IN KG BANGAU-BANGAU)

Rozaliah binti Mokhtar¹, Gusni Bin Saat¹ & Aisah Hossin²

¹Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah

²Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS)

University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF)

(azliah.zai@gmail.com, aisahhossin.ucsfmalaysia@gmail.com & sgusni@gmail.com)

Abstract

Proses sedentari yang berlaku dalam kehidupan komuniti Bajau Laut merupakan satu bentuk proses perubahan kehidupan yang berlaku bagi membentuk kehidupan yang lebih baik. Proses sosial yang berlaku juga menuntut masyarakat Bajau Laut untuk lebih peka dengan perubahan yang berlaku di sekeliling mereka dengan menguatkan lagi jaringan sosial yang ada. Kehidupan masyarakat Bajau Laut yang memperlihatkan kehidupan yang diwarisi secara turun temurun daripada nenek moyang mereka telah mengalami adaptasi dan menjalani proses sedentari. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji proses adaptasi dan sedentari masyarakat Bajau laut di Semporna khususnya di Kg. Bangau-Bangau. Kajian ini akan memfokus kepada (i) faktor adaptasi dan sedentari masyarakat Bajau Laut dan (ii) cabaran yang dihadapi oleh masyarakat Bajau Laut semasa proses sedentarisasi mereka. Kajian kualitatif ini dilakukan di Kg. Bangau-Bangau Semporna, Sabah dan melibatkan seramai sepuluh orang responden. Data diperolehi daripada kaedah kualitatif iaitu menerusi sesi temu bual secara mendalam dan dianalisis menggunakan kaedah analisis tematik. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa terdapat beberapa faktor adaptasi dan sedentari masyarakat Bajau laut. Antaranya termasuklah dari aspek agama dan ekonomi. Melalui faktor-faktor ini, masyarakat Bajau laut secara tidak langsung telah beradaptasi dan mengubah corak kehidupan mereka daripada mobile, semi sedentari dan seterusnya sedentari. Walau bagaimanapun, adaptasi yang berlaku tidak berlaku secara pantas tetapi telah melalui beberapa peringkat kehidupan dalam masyarakat Bajau laut.

Kata Kunci: *Masyarakat Bajau laut, adaptasi, sedentari, faktor dan cabaran*

Processes of sedentarisation that have occurred among the Sea Bajau are forms of change in terms of a better life. These social processes also requires the Sea Bajau to be more sensitive to the prevailing changes around them by reinforcing existing social networks. The lives of the Sea Bajau community shows that their lifestyle inherited from their ancestors has experienced adaptation and is still undergoing processes of sedentarisation. This purpose of this study was to examine the processes of adaptation and sedentarisation of the Sea Bajau community in Kg. Bangau-Bangau, Semporna. This study focused on (i) the factors for this adapataion and sedentarisation in the Sea Bajau community, and (ii) the challenges faced by the Bajau people in their sedentarisation process. This qualitative study was conducted at Kg. Bangau-Bangau, Semporna and involved ten respondents. The data was obtained through in-depth interviews and was analysed using the thematic analysis method. The findings show that there are several facotrs for adaptation and sedentarisation among the Sea Bajau, including religious and economic aspects. Due to these factors, the Sea Bajau community has indirectly adapted and changed

their lifestyle from mobile, to semi-sedentary and then to sedentary. However, this adaptation did not happen quickly, but has gone through several levels of life in the Sea Bajau community.

Key word: *Sea Bajau community, adaptation, sedentarisation factors, challenges*

PENGENALAN

Palau' mungkin berasal daripada perkataan perahu atau pelaut yang menggambarkan corak kehidupan orang bajau sebagai maritim, sea nomad atau pengembara laut yang tinggal di dalam perahu (Yap Bing Liang 1993:3). Di kepulauan sulu masyarakat bajau dikenali dengan pelbagai gelaran seperti badjau, sama, samal, kaliaggeh, lutaw, luwaan dan palau tetapi mereka hanya mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai sama atau samal menurut (Wallace 1971: 43). Di sabah, masyarakat bajau laut boleh ditemui dalam daerah semporna dibahagian pantai timur sabah.

Meskipun terpinggir jauh daripada sebarang kemajuan, Perubahan sikap masyarakat Bajau Laut pada masa kini jauh berbeza dengan sikap mereka pada tahun 70-an hingga 90-an mereka telah mula berubah untuk membina petempatan dikawasan air dan di daratan (Harlina sendera 2005:106-118) Walaubagaimana pun mereka telah melalui proses perubahan dalam melakukan proses penempatan kekal dengan mengadaptasikan kehidupan mereka untuk membina penempatan kekal dirumah, dalam masa yang sama juga melakukan perubahan dalam kehidupan mereka, walaupun mereka seharusnya menghadapi cabaran dan rintangan dalam melakukan perubahan untuk mereka.

KONSEP TEORI

ADAPTASI

Adaptasi merupakan salah satu kompetensi komunikasi. Adaptasi antara budaya dalam "Stranger Adaptation" adalah penyesuaian diri oleh seseorang atau kumpulan individu yang memasuki budaya yang berbeza (Furnham, 1992:?). Ellingsworth (1988: 259), adaptasi merupakan konsep yang menonjol ditahun 1980-an. Adaptasi merupakan perubahan yang dibuat oleh individu didalam mereka dan di dalam tingkah laku interaktif mereka yang berkaitan dengan persekitaran budaya baru. Dalam masyarakat bajau laut di semporna, proses adaptasi merupakan fasa yang baru bagi masyarakat bajau laut, kerana perubahan yang dilakukan daripada kehidupan lepa kepada rumah mengambil masa yang lama untuk melakukan proses adaptasi dalam kehidupan mereka.

SEDENTARISASI

Menurut Gusni Saat dalam buku beliau yang bertajuk sama bajau dalam kanca urbanisasi: pengalaman di teluk bone, Sulawesi selatan dan pengkaji mengambil konsep Sedentari ialah proses untuk mengasaskan penempatan tetap disebuah kawasan adalah merupakan fasa yang terpenting dan kritikal buat komuniti bajau laut dan merupakan banyak faktor yang dilalui oleh komuniti tersebut.

TEORI AKULTURASI

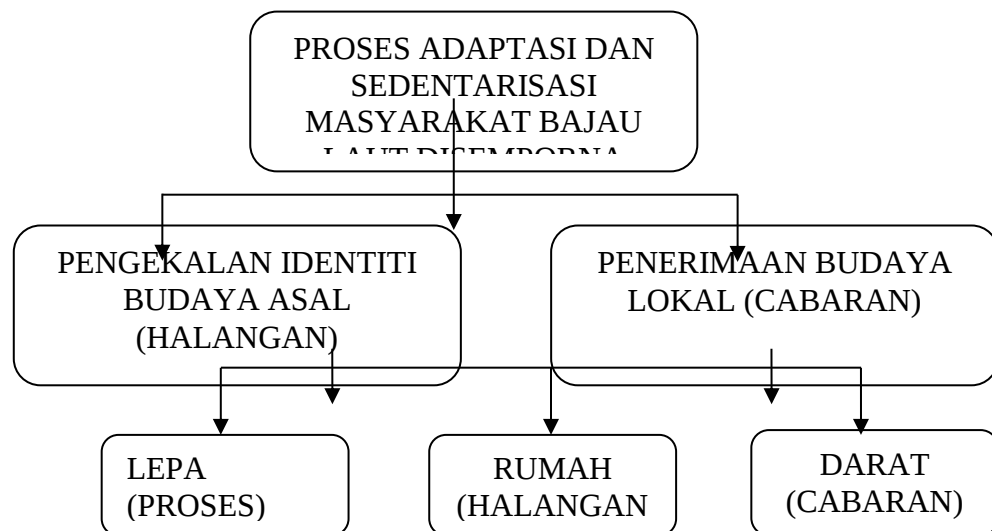
Dalam teori akulturasi oleh berry memusatkan persoalan mengenai akulturasi dan identiti budaya. Menurut kim (1977) pula telah memperkenalkan sebuah teori yang memusatkan kepada bentuk tingkah laku komunikasi para imigran dalam proses akulturasi. Teori komunikasi – akulturasi kim ini mengandaikan bahawa komunikasi manusia dan komunikasi massa menyumbang kepada keberkesanan akulturasi imigran.

Kim (1977) pula mengemukakan enam pemboleh ubah utama dalam teorinya iaitu perpesi terhadap budaya (termasuklah ahli kumpulan budaya orang bajau), komunikasi antara peribadi (yang dirujuk sebagai hubungan peribadi yang dibina oleh para imigran), penggunaan media massa (yang dirujuk sebagai frekuensi atau kekerapan sebagai pengetahuan tentang sesuatu orientasi budaya serta keinginan untuk mempelajari), kefasihan berbahasa (iaitu kebolehan untuk

bercakap dan memahami sesuatu bahasa) dan akses saluran (termasuklah akses kepada saluran antara peribadi dan saluran media massa).

Melalui model ini pengkaji menyimpulkan bahawa tingkah laku akulturasi masyarakat bajau laut dapat dilihat dari kedua-dua isu yang dikemukakan dalam teori akulturasi oleh berry iaitu pengekalan identity budaya asal dan penerimaan budaya local. Selain itu juga, penyelidik membuat model yang berkaitan dengan pengalaman kampung bangau-bangau semporna dimana, terdapat cabaran dan halangan yang dilalui oleh masyarakat bajau laut semporna. Walaubagaimana pun, terdapat juga faktor-faktor lain yang mendorong proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut.

RAJAH 1.1 MODEL PENGALAMAN KAMPUNG BANGAU-BANGAU SEMPORNA



Konsep proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut di semporna adalah, pengkaji mengambil model rentetan daripada pengalaman kampung bangau-bangau sendiri, dimana pengkaji akan melihat bagaimana proses menetap dilepa, dirumah dan darat. Pengkaji melihat kepada penetapan dilepa dan bagaimana kehidupan masyarakat bajau laut di lepa sebelum melakukan perubahan.

Masyarakat Bajau Laut yang lain masih mengamalkan kehidupan sepenuh masa dalam lepa. Selain mendirikan rumah di atas perahu, terdapat juga masyarakat Bajau Laut yang masih lagi tinggal bersama keluarga mereka dalam lepa dan hanya sekali sekala naik ke kawasan pulau dan kawasan daratan untuk tujuan tertentu. Antara alasan utama yang seringkali diberikan untuk tidak berpindah ke daratan ialah jatuh sakit, ditimpah malapetaka, menyambung tradisi nenek moyang dan tidak mampu mendirikan rumah. Dalam erti kata lain, masyarakat Bajau Laut yang tinggal dalam perahu ini hanya menjadikan daratan sebagai tempat persinggahan sementara, terutama bila laut bergelora. Masyarakat Bajau Laut yang tinggal dalam lepa juga menjalankan kehidupan harian mereka seperti memasak, makan minum, membasuh dan menjemur pakaian, berehat dan tidur, beranak pinak, menangkap ikan, memproses dan menjemur ikan dan sebagainya semua di dalam lepa.

Tradisinya iaitu sebelum mengalami proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut dapat dilihat daripada melalui kepercayaan, corak pemikiran kehidupan dan penempatan di dalam rumah perahu iaitu di lepa yang mana mempunyai hubungan rapat dengan laut dan dunia animisme. Bagi masyarakat bajau laut di semporna.

ANALISIS KAJIAN

RUMAH (CABARAN)

Orang Bajau Laut di kampung Bangau- Bangau Semporna mereka sudah membina kehidupan mereka yang tersendiri, mereka sudah berubah kepada kehidupan yang sebenar iaitu mereka lebih beragama dan tidak mengamalkan lagi agama kepercayaan nenek moyang mereka. Bagi komuniti Bajau Laut di kampung Bangau-Bangau, kehidupan asal mereka seperti di lepa tidak akan mereka kekalkan kerana mereka sudah ada kehidupan yang lebih selesa serta mempunyai pegangan agama yang lebih baik.

Pada pertengahan abad ke-20 iaitu sekitar tahun 1950 an merupakan detik-detik yang bersejarah dalam kehidupan masyarakat bajau laut kerana telah membawa kepada perubahan yang besar dalam sistem dan struktur hidup mereka . setelah usia penghijrahan mereka mengjangkau beberapa tahun , akhirnya masyarakat bajau laut telah mengubah identiti budaya mereka yang sekian lama diwarisi dari “tinggal dilepa kepada rumah”. Panglima haji tiring yang telah berusia kira-kira satu abad mengakui beliau merupakan orang bajau laut yang terawal membina rumah bersama-sama seorang rakan beliau iaitu suami kepada iparnya.

Mereka membina penempatan rumah di atas air iaitu berdekatan dengan pinggir darat. Beliau mengakui banyak cabaran yang harus dilalui untuk membuat penempatan dirumah kerana beliau telah diperkenalkan kepada agama islam oleh seorang khatib untuk membawa ajaran islam kepada bangsa beliau sendiri dan juga kepada keluarganya. Setelah itu, kebanyakan masyarakat bajau laut yang lain telah mengikut rentak baru dimana mereka membina penempatan mereka. Dapat dilihat bagaimana proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut di kampung bangau-bangau. Selain itu juga Menurut Gusni Saat dalam buku beliau yang bertajuk sama bajau dalam kanca urbanisasi: pengalaman di teluk bone, Sulawesi selatan dan pengkaji mengambil konsep Sedentari ialah proses untuk mengasaskan penempatan tetap disebuah kawasan adalah merupakan fasa yang terpenting dan kritikal buat komuniti bajau laut dan merupakan banyak faktor yang dilalui oleh komuniti tersebut.

Antaranya ialah sebagai proses intergrasi ke dalam masyarakat yang dominan kerana menetap di sekitar laut mahupun darat yang dapat menukar imej masyarakat dominan yang negatif kepada positif terhadap mereka. Jika dahulu hidup mereka menetap di rumah perahu oleh masyarakat bajau laut mereka dianggap sebagai “masyarakat terasing” tetapi setelah mereka membina penempatan kekal mereka sudah menjadi sebahagian masyarakat yang dominan. Selain itu juga dalam konsep sedentari merupakan fasa baru dalam transformasi sosial bagi masyarakat bajau laut, apabila permukiman mereka itu termasuk dalam lingkungan pekan bagi masyarakat bajau laut disemporna iaitu fasa yang sudah dimajukan oleh kerajaan dengan pembinaan kawasan pelancongan.

DI DARAT (CABARAN)

Cabaran utama bagi masyarakat bajau laut membuat penempatan didarat adalah mereka tidak suka tinggal didarat kerana mereka akan berasa tidak sihat dan sentiasa jatuh sakit. Menurut masyarakat bajau laut, mereka tidak biasa dengan keadaan persekitaran didarat kerana mereka susah untuk menyesuaikan diri dengan persekitaran malahan mereka juga dikatakan takut dengan binatang seperti anjing dan kucing. Selain itu juga, bagi masyarakat bajau laut, keadaan tinggal di darat tidak sama dengan dilaut, kerana mereka senang untuk melakukan aktiviti harian mereka seperti turun ke laut untuk mencari rezeki dan mudah untuk mereka melakukan kegiatan ekonomi yang berasaskan kepada perikanan.

FAKTOR AGAMA

Selain daripada faktor lain, aspek agama merupakan transformasi sosial budaya masyarakat bajau laut di semporna. Pada masa kini, kehidupan serta amalan beragama serta kepercayaan etnik Bajau Laut telah mengalami sedikit perubahan serta amalan beragama dan kepercayaan tradisi etnik Bajau Laut kini semakin terhakis namun amalan memuja roh leluhur nenek moyang

masih terus dipratikan sehingga kini. Upacara magomboh ini dilaksanakan pada setiap bulan ogos hingga September.

Kebanyakan daripada etnik Bajau Laut di kampung bangau-bangau Semporna kini sudah pun memeluk agama Islam dan mereka mengidentifikasikan diri sebagai 'sama islam' yang bermaksud muslim Bajau. Kewujudan sebuah masjid yang terletak di kampung tersebut menunjukkan bahawa masyarakat ini beragama Islam dan mengamalkan segala yang telah ditetapkan dalam agama Islam. Dalam hal ini, agama Islam telah menjadikan penduduk kampung bangau-bangau semporna lebih bertamadun. Islam telah membawa banyak perubahan dalam sosio budaya masyarakat bajau laut termasuk sistem pendidikan, status kehidupan serta corak pekerjaan, corak penempatan serta kepercayaan dan juga adat resam mereka.

FAKTOR LAIN

Selain faktor agama, terdapat juga faktor lain yang mendorong proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut ialah transformasi sosiobudaya masyarakat bajau laut iaitu jangka masa penempatan di semporna dan gelombang penghijrahan yang berbeza dengan masyarakat bajau laut di pulau omadal. Dimana masyarakat bajau laut yang tinggal di kampung bangau-bangau mengalami perubahan sosiobudaya yang ketara berbanding masyarakat bajau laut di pulau omadal, kerana orang bajau laut di pulau omadal masih lagi mengekalkan corak penempatan iaitu tinggal di lepa.

Senario ini berlaku kerana etnik bajau laut di kampung bangau-bangau semporna telah berhijrah ke sekitar pekan semporna lebih awal iaitu sebelum pertengahan abad ke 20. Jangka masa yang lama di tempat baru membolehkan masyarakat bajau laut membuka pemikiran yang jauh lebih terbuka dan moden serta seterusnya memudahkan mereka mempelajari agama, budaya dan corak kehidupan masyarakat setempat yang lebih bertamadun melalui proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi.

Faktor ekonomi dan pendidikan juga merupakan faktor penarik yang membawa impak dalam proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut khususnya di kampung bangau-bangau semporna. Daripada proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau maka ilmu pengetahuan yang dimiliki dan diperolehi daripada pengalaman dan pembelajaran secara formal dan tidak formal telah menaikkan taraf hidup dan menambahkan sumber pendapatan mereka. Pada masa sekarang, sumber pendapatan masyarakat bajau laut bukan hanya terbatas kepada sumber laut malah telah ramai anak-anak bajau laut yang berkerja di kerajaan dan terlibat perniagaan.

Melalui analisis yang dibuat daripada kertas kerja ini mendapati bahawa masyarakat bajau laut khususnya di daerah semporna iaitu di kampung bangau-bangau semporna telah Berjaya dalam proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut yang mana mereka mampu melakukan perubahan yang sama dengan masyarakat setempat, dimana mereka telah mengalami fasa-fasa yang kritikal dimana mereka harus berdepan dengan pelbagai cabaran dan persekitaran baru untuk memulakan kehidupan baru mereka.

Orang Bajau Laut di kampung Bangau- Bangau Semporna mereka sudah membina kehidupan mereka yang tersendiri, mereka sudah berubah kepada kehidupan yang sebenar iaitu mereka lebih beragama dan tidak mengamalkan lagi agama kepercayaan nenek moyang mereka. Bagi komuniti Bajau Laut di kampung Bangau-Bangau, kehidupan asal mereka seperti di lepa tidak akan mereka kekalkan kerana mereka sudah ada kehidupan yang lebih selesa serta mempunyai pegangan agama yang lebih baik.

Berdasarkan kepada temu bual yang pengkaji buat keatas seorang pak cik yang bernama Intiniu, berkata, memang dulu mereka tinggal di atas perahu, setelah berlaku perubahan keatas kehidupan mereka, mereka sekeluarga telah memeluk islam, serta semua ahli keluarga mereka. Menurut responden penyelidik, perubahan struktur kehidupan mereka adalah di sebabkan oleh panglima haji tiring, dimana panglima tersebut merupakan orang Bajau Laut yang pertama membina rumah serta memeluk agama islam dan diikuti oleh kaum keluarga yang lain. Selain itu juga mereka kebanyakan sudah berkerja di sector kerajaan dan mampu membuat bisnes sendiri serta mampu bersaing dengan penduduk di sekitar semporna.

PENUTUP

Kesimpulan yang dapat diperolehi daripada proses adaptasi dan sedentarisasi masyarakat bajau laut di semporna ialahn masyarakat Bajau Laut Semporna merupakan masyarakat asli yang tinggal di persisiran pantai, mereka masih mengamalkan kehidupan yang nomad. Masyarakat Bajau Laut Semporna menjadikan perahu dan rumah sebagai tempat tinggal mereka ini kerana bagi mereka ia memudahkan pergerakan mereka kemana-mana saja dan mereka membina penempatan kekal dikawasan laut bagi membolehkan mereka untuk mencari rezeki. Selain itu juga, mereka tidak akan ketinggalan dalam proses transformasi yang akan datang, kerana mereka merupakan golongan yang sentiasa terpinggir daripada arus kemodenan, dari aspek politik, sosial, pendidikan, ekonomi, agama serta mampu mengangkat diri mereka setanding dengan masyarakat lain.

Rujukan

- Eder, James F. and Thomas M. McKenna. 2004. "Minorities in the Philippines: Ancestral Lands and Autnomy in Theory and Practice." In Duncan, Christopher R. ed., *Civilizing the Margins: Southeast Asian Government Policies for the Development of Minorities*. Ithaca: Cornell University, pp. 56-85.
- Gusni Saat (2010). *Sama-Bajau Dalam Kanca Urbanisasi, Pengalaman di Teluk Bone, Sulawesi Selatan*, Penerbit UNIMAS.
- Yap, Beng Liang. (1993). *Orang Bajau Pulau Omdal: Aspek-Aspek Budaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa danPustaka.
- Yap Beng Liang. (2001). *Politik dan Ekonomi Masyarakat Bajau Kota Belud, Sabah*. Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya.
- Carol Warren. (1980). *Consciousness In Social Transformation: The Bajau Laut OfEast Malaysia*, *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 227-238. Diakses pada 5/1/2015.
- Halina Sendera Mohd. Yakin & Saidatul Nornis Hj. Mahali (2008). *Duang: The Semiotic Interpretation And Perception Of The Bajau-Sama Community In Sabah*: *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication* Vol 24: 63-71 63. Diaksespada 5/1/2015.
- Halina Sandera Mohd Yakin: *Identiti Budaya Etnik Pala'u di Semporna, Sabah: Konservasi, Adaptasi dan Transformasi Budaya*. Occasional Paper No. 7, Pusat Penataran Ilmu dan Bahasa, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Kim, y.y 1977 A communication patternts of foreign immigrants in process of acculturaltion. *human communication research* 4:66-77
- Kim, y.y 1987 A communication patternts of foreign immigrants in process of acculturaltion. *Human communication research approach to acculturation process: a study of Korean immigrants in Chicago international journal pf intercultural relations* 2: 197-223
- Kim, y.y 1991. *Communication and cross-cultural adaption*. Dlm samovar, l.a & porter, r.e (pnyt). *Intercultural communication: a reader*.ed.ke-6 california: wadsworth publishing

ETNOGRAFI KOMUNITI “KOTA” SAMA DILAUT: PENYISIHAN DAN KELANGSUNGAN HIDUP (ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE “URBAN” SAMA DILAUT : DISPLACEMENT AND SURVIVAL)

Jamal Gabir, Junaenah Sulehan, Friscilla Saimun & Gusniar Nurdin
Institute Borneo Studies, University College Sabah Foundation, Kota Kinabalu
(mal_ir85@yahoo.com, june@ukm.edu.my)

Abstract

Penyisihan dan kelangsungan hidup yang terbatas merupakan fenomena yang mendorong kepada putaran ganas kemiskinan bergenerasi. Dilema ini turut dihadapi oleh kelompok Sama DiLaut yang asalnya dari kawasan maritim di pantai timur Sabah. Agar dapat menampung hidup walaupun di aras sara diri, ramai daripada mereka memilih untuk berhijrah ke kota dan bandar-bandar terutama Semporna, Lahad Datu, Kunak, Kudat dan Kota Kinabalu. Sama Dilaut merupakan kumpulan etnik minoriti yang dikategorikan sebagai Bajau Laut dalam kumpulan etnik Bajau/Sama. Akibat insiden Tanduo, Lahad Datu pada tahun 2013 dan penguatkuasaan perintah berkurung kawasan keselamatan khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM), telah memperlihatkan pergerakan komuniti Sama DiLaut yang semakin ketara ke kawasan bandar-bandar dan Kota Kinabalu. Penghijrahan ini menjelmakan satu pola dimana desakan hidup telah mengakibatkan kelompok komuniti maritim tersebut rela meninggalkan kawasan asal mereka. Bagaimanakah komuniti ini menghadapi dinamik kota yang memberi dampak terhadap sosio-ekonomi mereka dan berupaya mengadaptasi budaya untuk kelangsungan hidup di kota? Kertas kerja ini cuba merungkakan persoalan yang dinyatakan melalui dua objektif berikut : 1) mengenalpasti punca dan tekanan hidup dalam persekitaran laut sehingga mendorong mereka berpindah ke kota. (2) Membincangkan bagaimanakah mereka mengadaptasi budaya dan pandang dunia (world view) mereka untuk kelangsungan hidup di kota besar? Perbincangan kertas kerja adalah berdasar penyelidikan etnografi yang telah dijalankan sejak tahun 2015 sehingga tahun 2018 terutamanya di kawasan pantai serta kepulauan di kawasan pantai Timur Sabah dan di pantai Barat Sabah khususnya di Pulau Gaya dan Kawasan Taman Tun Mustapha, Kudat.

Katakunci: Penyisihan; kelangsungan hidup maritim; adaptasi kota

Displacement and survival depict a phenomenon that propels a vicious cycle of poverty for generations. This dilemma inevitably is faced by the Sama DiLaut communities in the maritime areas of the eastern coasts of Sabah. To survive their livelihood at subsistence level, these seafarers had chosen to move to cities and towns, in particular, Semporna, Lahad Datu, Kunak, Kudat and Kota Kinabalu. The Sama DiLaut is a minority group and clustered under the Bajau Laut in the Bajau/Sama ethnic category. After the Tanduo incident in 2013 and the enforcement of curfews within the special security areas of the Eastern Coast (ESSCOM), the Sama DiLaut had been affected and slowly preferred to move out to nearest towns and the furthest is Kota Kinabalu. These migrations manifest a pattern where the survival of the maritime people is the ultimate that they chose to leave their area of livelihood and culture. How do these people brace the city's dynamics that impact on their socio-economy and able to adapt to the new culture of the city in order to survive? Having these issues, this paper aims to highlight two objectives : 1) to identify the causes and pressures on their livelihood that push them to the towns/city from the maritime areas which used to be their homes; 2) to discuss how do they adapt their culture and world views to survive to live in big cities. Discussion on this paper is based on the ethnographic

research from 2015-2018 at coastal areas and islands on the eastern coast of Sabah and the west coast which include the Tun Mustapha Marine Park in Kudat and Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu.

Keywords: Displacement, maritime livelihood, urban adaptation

Pengenalan dan Latarbelakang

Kertaskerja ini menampilkan dua isu utama dalam pembangunan yang telah mendampak kemajuan masyarakat dalam dinamik perubahan yang berlaku dengan pantas. Dua isu itu berputar kepada fenomena penyisihan sosial dan kelangsungan hidup komuniti yang menghadapi pelbagai tantangan serta cabaran ketika tinggal dan hidup di kota besar. Keadaan ini di alami oleh komuniti laut yang terpaksa berhijrah ke Kota Kinabalu dan beberapa bandar-bandar utama di negeri Sabah. Komuniti Sama DiLaut atau umum digelar sebagai Bajau Laut menghadapi dilema tekanan hidup yang mendorong mereka terperangkap di dalam kemiskinan tegar yang berterusan jika tidak ditangani dengan serius. Dampak penyisihan ini bukan hanya kepada komuniti tersebut, tetapi kesannya juga akan terasa oleh masyarakat besar terutama dari segi ekonomi, kesihatan dan keselamatan umum.

Kawasan asal kediaman komuniti Sama DiLaut rata-rata terdapat di persisir pantai dan pulau-pulau kecil di pantai Timur Sabah terutama di Semporna. Penghijrahan keluar dari kawasan pantai Timur bukan suatu yang baru, pun begitu insiden Tanduo pada 2013 di Lahad Datu dan penguatasaan perintah berkurung Kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM) telah mempengaruhi penghijrahan keluar yang semakin bertambah. Kajian etnografi oleh tim penyelidik UCSF yang telah dijalankan sejak 2015 menunjukkan bahawa pilihan bandar-bandar besar yang mereka tuju ialah bandar Semporna (yang terdekat dengan perkampungan di pulau-pulau luar Semporna), Lahad Datu, Kunak, Kudat dan Kota Kinabalu. Beberapa faktor akan diketengahkan dalam kertaskerja ini untuk menunjukkan hasil data etnografi tentang faktor-faktor yang telah mendorong ahli-ahli komuniti Sama DiLaut berpindah ke kota dan bandar-bandar besar bagi meneruskan kelangsungan hidup mereka. Tanpa pendidikan dan ketrampilan yang sesuai untuk digunakan dalam pasaran buruh semasa, juga sebahagiannya tanpa ada dokumen diri yang sah, mereka terpaksa mengharung hidup yang relatifnya susah dan miskin. Mereka memilih berpindah ke bandar agar dapat menampung hidup walaupun taraf hidup mereka berada di bawah aras sara diri.

Isu keselamatan di kawasan laut di pantai Timur dan juga pengazetan sebagai kawasan taman-taman laut merupakan dua punca utama mereka terdesak keluar daripada tempat kediaman asal. Penghijrahan ini memanifestasikan satu pola umum yang sering diambil oleh komuniti yang tertekan dengan aspek pencarian hidup sehingga rela meninggalkan kampung halaman serta kawasan asal mereka. Persoalan utama yang timbul, bagaimanakah komuniti ini menghadapi dinamik hidup di kota yang mendampak taraf sosio-ekonomi mereka dan kedua, sejauhmanakah ahli-ahli komuniti berupaya mengadaptasi budaya demi kelangsungan hidup di kota?

Bersandarkan latarbelakang ini, kertaskerja ini cuba merungkaikan persoalan yang dinyatakan melalui dua objektif berikut : 1) mengenalpasti punca dan tekanan hidup di persekitaran laut sehingga mendorong ahli-ahli Sama DiLaut berpindah ke kota, dan 2) membincangkan bagaimanakah serta apakah mekanisme yang mereka rujuk untuk mengadaptasi budaya asli dan pandang dunia (*world view*) mereka demi kelangsungan hidup di kota besar?

Sorotan Kajian-Kajian Penghijrahan serta Kehidupan Komuniti Maritim

Beberapa penulisan mengenai Bajau Laut atau Sama DiLaut telah banyak menyentuh secara jelas mengenai sosio-budaya, pandang dunia, politik dan sejarah. Walau bagaimanapun, pengkaji mendapati perkara-perkara yang berkait penyisihan dan kelangsungan hidup Sama DiLaut masih terus menjadi topik perbincangan yang berterusan serta belum menemui titik temu khususnya ke

arah penyelesaiannya di Sabah, Malaysia. Walaupun begitu, kajian ini diharapkan dapat memberi maklumat yang boleh menyumbang kepada penulisan berkaitan Sama DiLaut.

Acciaioli et.al (2017) telah membincangkan konsep peminggiran komuniti Sama DiLaut telah mencetuskan istilah orang tanpa negara (*Stateless People*). Istilah ini dilabel kerajaan Malaysia terhadap komuniti ini. Penyisihan Sama DiLaut juga dilihat berbeza dibandingkan dengan peminggiran sosial yang berlaku terhadap komuniti lain yang memiliki kerakyatan contohnya komuniti Bajau/Sama darat yang turut digelar *Bajau Tempatan* di Semporna yang memiliki akses kepada pendidikan, kesihatan, pekerjaan dalam sektor ekonomi dan keselamatan. Fokus perbincangan artikel oleh Acciaioli et.al (2017) juga melihat kelangsungan hidup dan identiti komuniti Sama DiLaut kesan daripada inisiatif pembangunan dan pemuliharaan terutamanya dalam melindungi sempadan negara yang dilaksanakan oleh kerajaan negeri Sabah. Perbincangan seterusnya dalam artikel ini adalah mengenai impak pelaksanaan kawasan pemuliharaan Taman Laut terhadap Sama DiLaut yang mendiami kawasan Taman Marin Tun Sakaran yang telah digazet pada 2004. Berdasarkan kepada isi perbincangan yang dikemuka, artikel ini akan digunakan sebagai sebahagian rujukan untuk membincangkan isu-isu penyisihan Sama DiLaut khususnya di Sabah.

Satu laporan oleh *Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network* (APRRN), 2015 telah mengetengahkan isu utama individu tanpa negara (*Stateless people*) yang dilihat menghadapi kesukaran menuntut hak-hak kemanusiaan, termasuk perundangan, pekerjaan secara formal dalam sektor ekonomi, akses kepada pendidikan, pemilikan harta dan hak perlindungan. Komuniti Bajau Laut telah dikenalpasti sebagai komuniti yang terpinggir di Malaysia. Perbincangan dalam artikel ini menyatakan bahawa sehingga hari ini sebahagian besar komuniti Bajau Laut tidak mempunyai dokumen kerakyatan sah yang boleh dikait dengan sesebuah negara. Situasi ini kini menjadi sangat sensitif dan berdasarkan itu, laporan tersebut menyatakan beberapa tindakan dan cadangan khususnya berkaitan peminggiran individu tanpa negara (*Stateless People*) dari arus pembangunan perdana dan masyarakat di negeri Sabah. Fenomena peminggiran akan mewujudkan tekanan sosial yang akan membawa kepada ketidakstabilan diperingkat antarabangsa termasuk konflik dan penyisihan. Antara yang ditekankan dalam artikel ini adalah memohon kerajaan negeri Sabah membangun projek untuk mengatasi masalah pengenalan diri (*Stateless*) terutamanya kepada komuniti Bajau Laut seperti yang telah dibincang dalam telah dibincang dalam *Royal Commission of Inquiry* (RCI) pada tahun 2013 di Sabah. Seterusnya dicadangkan untuk mengenalpasti secara holistik perkara yang membawa kepada isu kemiskinan dan peminggiran misalnya kesihatan, perancangan keluarga, pendidikan dan inisiatif kelangsungan hidup dan alam sekitar. Kekurangan pendedahan terhadap perkara ini telah menyebabkan banyak perkara berkaitan seperti kematian bayi yang dibawah umur 5 tahun (*Under-five mortality rate*), penyakit berjangkit dan buta huruf dalam kalangan komuniti Bajau Laut. Perkaitan isu-isu utama yang dibincang dalam laporan akan digunakan sebagai rujukan dalam menjalankan kajian ini. Manakala Sather. C (1997) membincangkan mengenai adaptasi komuniti Bajau Laut dalam proses perubahan, pada struktur sosial masyarakat, sifat hubungan kekeluargaan dan perkahwinan, penempatan dan kepimpinan, konflik, agama dan bentuk-bentuk kebudayaan yang membentuk kehidupan konsisten komuniti maritim ini.

Berdasarkan penulis Junaenah & Gusniar (2017) Pala'u Lepa biasanya dikenali sebagai Bajau Laut oleh masyarakat di Sabah. Secara umum komuniti ini dikategorikan di bawah etnik Sama Dilaut yang tinggal di pantai timur Semporna. Komuniti ini tinggal dalam kumpulan-kumpulan yang kecil di dalam lepa tariggung dan pondohan di pulau-pulau yang terletak di perairan Semporna iaitu pola petempatan mereka adalah secara berselerak. Penulisan Ismail Ali (2007) pula telah membincangkan tentang masyarakat Bajau Laut di Semporna yang kini mula mengalami transformasi sosial yang agak ketara iaitu mereka telah mendirikan rumah kediaman di atas air atau tanah daratan di beberapa buah pulau seperti Pulau Mabul, Dinawan, Omadal, Bohey Dulang dan lain-lain pulau di perairan Semporna. Keadaan ini menunjukkan perubahan sikap komuniti Bajau Laut pada masa kini jauh berbeza dengan sikap mereka pada tahun 70-an hingga 90-an iaitu lebih suka tinggal di dalam bot sahaja dan enggan membina penempatan di daratan. Sungguhpun komuniti Bajau Laut (Pala'u) sudah mula mendirikan rumah di atas daratan, namun masih terdapat segelintir komuniti ini yang masih tinggal di dalam bot bersama dengan

keluarga dan hanya naik ke pulau untuk tujuan tertentu. Alasan utama seperti jatuh sakit, ditimpa malapetaka, untuk menyambung tradisi nenek moyang dan tidak mampu mendirikan rumah seringkali mereka nyatakan untuk tidak berpindah ke darat. Kehidupan harian mereka seperti memasak, makan dan minum, membasuh dan menjemur pakaian, berehat dan tidur, menangkap dan menjemur ikan dan sebagainya dilakukan dalam bot mereka. Mereka menggunakan bahasa Suluk sebagai bahasa pertuturan seharian dan tidak begitu fasih bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu. Dari aspek makanan pula, komuniti ini menjadikan ubi kayu yang dikenali sebagai putu dan dimakan bersama dengan ikan bakar sebagai makanan utama memandangkan bentuk muka bumi pulau tidak sesuai untuk aktiviti bercucuk tanam. Ismail Ali dan Yusten Karulus (2012) menyatakan, sebagai satu komuniti marginal dan terpinggir daripada arus pembangunan di Sabah, identiti, sejarah asal usul dan keberadaan mereka di Sabah masih tidak jelas. Komuniti ini ketinggalan dari segi pembangunan dan terputus komunikasi. Rentetan itu, kebanyakan masa kanak-kanak komuniti ini diluahkan dengan bermain, bermandi-manda dan mengikut keluarga menangkap ikan kerana tidak bersekolah.

Teori Penyisihan Sosial dan Kelangsungan Hidup Komuniti Sama DiLaut

Fenomena penyisihan sosial dan kelangsungan hidup merupakan suatu perkara yang mencabar kerana wujudnya keadaan ini yang saling berkait dengan kepelbagaian sifat serta persepsi masyarakat dan persekitaran. Konsep penyisihan sosial diambil daripada konsep kemiskinan dan ketaksamaan untuk menggambarkan pembahagian sosial (Muddiman, 2000). Secara takrifan, konsep penyisihan sosial bermaksud wujudnya komuniti serta individu yang kurang bernasib baik (*the disadvantaged population*) dan tidak sepenuhnya berupaya turut serta dalam masyarakat dan pembangunan, (Bhattacharjee, 2018). Walaupun begitu, kajian lepas mengenai penyisihan sosial dalam perspektif sosiologi boleh dilihat dalam karya seperti Emile Durkheim (1893) yang mengaitkan teori penyisihan sosial dengan idea keteraturan sosial dan perpaduan. Beliau mendakwa bahawa masyarakat industri moden mengalami transformasi yang signifikan iaitu pembaharuan daripada masyarakat agrarian yang mewujudkan perpaduan sosial dan pada masa yang sama penyisihan turut berlaku akibat permodenan (O'Brien and Penna, 2007).

Bagi Durkheim, penyisihan dan masalah sosial merupakan akar penyebab kepada penyisihan sosial dalam masyarakat (Rawal, 2008). Pada 1970-an R. Lenoir menggunakan istilah penyisihan sosial dan menyatakan bahawa kumpulan minoriti selalu dikecualikan dalam masyarakat (Saith, "undated"). Sementara itu, terdapat empat pendekatan terhadap penyisihan sosial; (i) pendekatan oleh populasi di mana masyarakat dibahagikan kedalam kelas sosial utama yang terdiri daripada kumpulan yang bernasib baik dan kumpulan yang kurang bernasib baik; (ii) pendekatan ekonomi di mana penyisihan sosial ditakrifkan berdasarkan beberapa indikator seperti pendapatan, ketidaksamaan sosio-ekonomi, dan tahap kemiskinan; (iii) pendekatan penafian hak atau kekurangan akses kepada sumber; dan (iv) pendekatan situasi ekstrim iaitu keadaan dimana satu kumpulan dianggap sebagai orang luar, asing dan tidak diterima (Bhattacharjee, 2018).

Proses perbandaran di Sabah mengalami pembangunan yang pesat dalam tempoh lebih 30 tahun kebelakangan ini sehingga memberikan kesan ke atas migrasi penduduk ke kawasan bandar. Sehubungan itu, proses interaksi yang berlaku khususnya kepada penduduk yang berhijrah semakin kompleks. Fenomena ini mewujudkan keadaan sosial yang tidak sekata digambarkan melalui penyisihan sosial. Dalam konteks ini, Sama DiLaut mengalami pelbagai situasi dari aspek sosial, ekonomi, politik, budaya dan ruang. Hal ini menekankan kepada penyertaan dan peluang yang dimiliki oleh komuniti ini. Proses adaptasi menjadi samar ketika aspek sosial, ekonomi, politik, budaya dan ruang berada dalam konteks penyisihan sosial yang melibatkan penyertaan dan peluang bagi kelangsungan hidup komuniti ini. Sama DiLaut yang meninggalkan tempat asal mereka, dinafikan hak-hak kemanusiaan contohnya pendidikan dan kesihatan. Komuniti ini berada dalam keadaan yang diasingkan daripada komuniti bandar kerana identiti etnik mereka, stigma masyarakat dan modal sosial yang lemah. Penyisihan sosial yang dapat digambarkan dalam konteks ini ialah diskriminasi yang dialami Sama DiLaut dalam

kehidupan keseharian mereka di bandar. Hal ini meliputi kekurangan sumber dan peluang serta tidak memiliki kuasa dari aspek sosial, ekonomi, politik, budaya dan ruang.

Latar Kawasan Kajian

Pantai Timur Sabah khususnya Semporna merupakan satu daerah kepulauan yang sangat unik terutamanya apabila berbicara mengenai lautan dan keindahan pulau-pulau serta komuniti maritimnya. Sejak menjadi tarikan sektor pelancongan, kawasan kepulauan di Semporna telah membangun dan ini memberi kesan kepada pertumbuhan sosio-ekonomi kawasan tersebut. Landskap maritim juga turut telah terkesan dengan kewujudan kawasan konservasi atau taman marin dimana impaknya begitu ketara terhadap perubahan sosio-ekonomi komuniti maritim khususnya Sama DiLaut. Polisi kerajaan seperti penguatkuasaan zon Kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM), perintah berkurung, pewartaan taman negara dan kerancangan pembangunan aktiviti pelancongan khususnya di kepulauan Semporna sedikit sebanyak memberi tekanan serta memaksa komuniti maritim terutamanya Sama DiLaut meninggalkan kawasan asal mereka untuk mencari nafkah dan perlindungan keselamatan dikawasan lain. Beberapa lokasi di Pantai Timur, Pantai Barat dan Pantai Utara negeri Sabah yang telah dikenalpasti didiami Sama DiLaut telah dipilih sebagai lokasi kajian bertujuan meneliti budaya hidup, ekonomi dan punca-punca yang mengakibatkan Sama DiLaut meninggalkan tempat asal.

Penempatan Sama DiLaut di Daerah Semporna

Daerah Semporna mempunyai keluasan 442 batu persegi atau 113 412 hektar (282 880 ekar) dan terletak dilokasi yang strategik kerana terletak di antara dua sempadan perairan antarabangsa iaitu Filipina dan Indonesia (Syamsul Azizul (2015). Memiliki lebih kurang 40 buah pulau menjadikan daerah Semporna sangat terkenal terutamanya Pulau Sipadan dan Pulau Mabul. Pada umumnya, Daerah Semporna didiami oleh majoriti etnik Bajau/Sama, Suluk dan etnik bumiputera lain-lain iaitu meliputi jumlah 137,868 ribu penduduk (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 2015). Bagi jumlah etnik Bajau/Sama di Semporna adalah berjumlah 78,550 orang atau meliputi 57 peratus daripada jumlah keseluruhan penduduk di daerah Semporna (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 2015). Manakala bagi populasi Sama DiLaut, seramai 26,015 orang telah direkodkan menduduki Pantai Timur Sabah (Kajian profiling ESSCOM pada 19 March 2015 sehingga 17 November 2016). Daripada kajian profiling ini, direkodkan sebanyak 78.49 peratus komuniti Sama DiLaut di Pantai Timur iaitu di Semporna dan Kunak adalah bukan warganegara. Manakala penumpuan penempatan utama komuniti ini adalah di Kampung Bangau-Bangau, Kampung Halo dan Pulau Nusa Tiga dengan jumlah populasi iaitu 15,525 orang. Sama DiLaut turut didapati mendiami kepulauan sekitar seperti Pulau Omadal, Kampung Labuan Haji, Pulau Bum-Bum, Pulau Bohean dan Taman Tun Sakaran meliputi Pulau Bohey Dulang, Pulau Maiga, Bodgaya dan Pulau Selakan. Kawasan-kawasan tersebut telah diliputi dalam kajian etnografi ini.

Penempatan Sama DiLaut, di Kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu

Pulau Gaya merupakan sebuah pulau kecil yang berkeluasan 1,465 hektar dan terletak di barat Bandaraya Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. Kedudukan Pulau Gaya hanya terletak lebih kurang tiga kilometer dari bandaraya Kota Kinabalu serta mengambil masa lebih kurang 10 minit perjalanan menggunakan bot. Penempatan Sama DiLaut di Pulau Gaya tertumpu di Kampung Laban iaitu sebuah perkampungan atas air yang terletak berhampiran dengan Kampung Pondo dimana kampung ini turut dihubungkan dengan jeti yang dibina menggunakan kayu terpakai. Melalui temubual dengan En. Warisal bin Kan, (Ketua Kampung Laban merangkap Ketua Ahli Jawatankuasa Keselamatan dan Kebajikan Masyarakat Pelarian bagi Kampung Pondo yang telah dilantik oleh Majlis Keselamatan Negara, Negeri Sabah berkuat kuasa bermula 1 April 2015 hingga 31 Mac 2017 pada 9hb Disember 2016), memaklumkan bahawa Kampung Laban telah dibuka oleh En. Sukarno atau dikenali sebagai Pak Sagai pada awal tahun 1990. Pada awal penubuhan kampung ini, hanya terdapat enam (6) buah keluarga termasuk En. Sukarno yang

berpindah dari Kampung Pondo, Pulau Gaya dan berasal dari Kampung Bangau-Bangau Semporna.

Penubuhan Kampung Laban adalah bermatlamatkan untuk menyatukan komuniti Sama DiLaut yang berselerak di Pulau Gaya, terutamanya di Kampung Pondo dan Kota Kinabalu. Penyelerakan ini disebabkan oleh faktor dominan suku Bajau dan Suluk. Selain aspek keselamatan dan kelangsungan budaya Sama DiLaut, turut menjadi faktor utama komuniti Sama DiLaut mahu keluar dari Kampung Pondo adalah disebabkan komuniti ini sering didiskriminasikan suku Bajau dan Suluk di Kampung Pondo.

Sejarah pembukaan Kampung Laban berkait rapat dengan kata kotak iaitu dalam bahasa Bajau bermaksud *Laban* dimana rumah-rumah penduduk awal ketika itu dibina dengan bahan kayu terpakai dan berdingkingan kotak. Sehingga 12hb Disember 2016 terdapat seramai 118 Ketua Isi Rumah (KIR) dan seramai 711 penduduk yang tinggal menetap di kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya Kota Kinabalu.

Penempatan Sama DiLaut, Taman Tun Mustapha, Kudat

Taman Tun Mustapha (TTM) terletak di utara negeri Sabah dan telah diwartakan pada 19 Mei 2016 di bawah Enakmen Taman-Taman Sabah 1984 (pindaan 2007) sebagai kawasan perlindungan marin. TTM mempunyai anggaran keluasan 898,762.76 hektar meliputi lebih 50 buah pulau di perairan tiga daerah iaitu Kudat, Kota Marudu dan Pitas (Warta Kerajaan Negeri Sabah, 2016) serta merupakan taman marin terbesar di Sabah dan Malaysia. Pewartaan Taman Marin Tun Mustapha sebagai kawasan perlindungan marin memberikan banyak manfaat bukan sahaja kepada kepelbagaian hidupan marin di perairan TTM malah kepada lebih 80,000 orang di sekitar TTM (Utusan Online, 2011) yang kebanyakannya bergantung kepada sumber hasil laut sebagai punca rezeki utama. Tidak terkecuali komuniti Sama DiLaut yang turut telah didapati mendiami beberapa kawasan kepulauan sekitar TTM Kudat. Antara lokasi penempatan yang telah dikenalpasti didiami iaitu Pulau Sibogo, Pulau Banggi, Pulau Malawali, Teluk Lepa, Pulau Balambangan dan Kampung Landong Ayang Laut yang terletak di pinggir bandar Kudat. Jadual 1 dibawah menunjukkan taburan penduduk mengikut lokasi didiami oleh Sama DiLaut di sekitar TTM, Kudat.

Jadual 1. Jumlah Ketua Isi Rumah (KIR) di TTM.

Bil	Lokasi TTM yang didiami Komuniti Sama DiLaut	Jumlah KIR	Bilangan (Orang)
1	Kampung Landong Ayang Laut	14 KIR	115
2	Kg. Teluk Lepa, Balambangan	6 KIR	46
3	Pulau Sibogo, Banggi	5 KIR	41
4	Pulau Malawali	4 KIR	33
	Jumlah	29 KIR	235

Sumber. Kerja lapangan ekspedisi saintifik TTM pada Mei 2017

Hasil tinjauan profiling komuniti Sama DiLaut pada Mei 2017 di Taman Marin Tun Mustapha, Kudat, mencatatkan seramai 235 orang termasuk KIR mendiami lokasi kajian seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam Jadual 1 diatas. Hasil kajian juga mendapati sebanyak 72.4 peratus komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal menetap di Kudat telah tinggal menetap dalam tempoh masa 10 tahun, manakala 27.6 peratus responden Sama DiLaut tinggal menetap tidak melebihi 30 tahun.

Pendorong Migrasi dalam Kalangan Sama DiLaut di Kota dan Pinggir Kota, Sabah

Dalam kajian ini, khususnya untuk melihat migrasi dan faktor yang mendorong komuniti Sama DiLaut meninggalkan tempat asal berhijrah ke kota atau pinggir kota di Sabah dapat dijelas melalui corak migrasi komuniti ini. Daripada hasil kajian, migrasi Sama DiLaut ini dibahagikan kepada dua jenis iaitu migrasi dalaman dan migrasi antarabangsa. Migrasi dalaman melibatkan perubahan tempat tinggal yang tetap dalam sempadan negara yang sama. Manakala, migrasi

antarabangsa pula dirujuk kepada perpindahan yang melibatkan sempadan Negara (Imang, U. 2003). Kedua-dua jenis migrasi berkaitan Sama DiLaut ini dapat dijelaskan dalam kajian yang telah dijalankan di Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu pada 9hb-12hb Disember 2016 dan Taman Tun Mustapha Kudat pada 5hb-10hb Mei 2017.

Kajian di Pulau Gaya melibatkan 118 orang responden iaitu KIR mendapati Sama DiLaut terutamanya yang lahir di Semporna mencatatkan peratusan yang tertinggi berhijrah ke Kota Kinabalu iaitu sebanyak 61.9 peratus diikuti oleh responden yang lahir di negara Filipina sebanyak 34.7 peratus. Sementara itu, responden yang lahir di Kota Kinabalu, khususnya di Kampung Pondo, Pulau Gaya hanya mencatatkan 2.5 peratus, dan responden Sama DiLaut yang lahir di Kunak adalah 0.8 peratus sahaja. Taburan peratusan ini memperlihatkan ramai komuniti Sama Dilaut dari Pantai Timur Sabah khususnya Semporna dan dari negara Filipina datang ke Kota Kinabalu sejak tahun 2000 iaitu sebanyak 53.4 peratus, manakala sebanyak 42.4 peratus datang ke Kota Kinabalu pada tahun 1990 dan 4.2 peratus pada tahun 1960. Sila lihat jadual 2 dibawah.

Jadual 2. Tempat Kelahiran (KIR) di Kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya

Tempat Kelahiran	Bilangan KIR	Peratus
Filipina	41	34.7
Semporna	73	61.9
Kota Kinabalu-Pulau Gaya	3	2.5
Kunak	1	0.8
Jumlah	118	100

Sumber. Kerja lapangan di Kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya pada Disember 2016

Manakala hasil tinjauan terhadap corak migrasi di kawasan Taman Marin Tun Mustapha (TTM), Kudat melibatkan seramai 29 orang responden KIR. Kajian menunjukkan komuniti Sama DiLaut dari Semporna turut mencatatkan peratus tertinggi berhijrah ke TTM iaitu sebanyak 86 peratus, diikuti Sama DiLaut yang berasal dari Filipina iaitu sebanyak 10.6 peratus serta 3.4 peratus Sama DiLaut yang berasal dan dilahirkan di TTM. Sebanyak 72.4 peratus Sama DiLaut direkodkan tinggal menetap di TTM, kurang daripada tempoh 10 tahun, seterusnya sebanyak 17.2 Sama DiLaut menyatakan telah tinggal menetap di TTM, Kudat dalam tempoh masa tidak melebihi 20 tahun. Hanya seorang responden yang dicatatkan telah tinggal menetap di TTM, Kudat dalam tempoh masa 30 tahun. Penumpuan penempatan utama Sama DiLaut di TTM juga boleh di dapati dikampung Landong Ayang Laut, iaitu sebuah perkampungan atas air yang terletak di pinggir bandar Kudat.

Jadual 3. Tempat Kelahiran KIR, di TTM, Kudat

Tempat kelahiran	Bilangan KIR	Peratus
Semporna	10	34.5
Kg. Bangau-Bangau, Semporna	8	27.6
Kg. Labuan Haji, Semporna	2	6.9
Kg. Halo, Semporna	1	3.4
Pulau Bodgaya, Semporna	1	3.4
Pulau Omadal, Semporna	1	3.4
Pulau Tabalanus, Semporna	1	3.4
Pulau Salakan, Semporna	1	3.4
Pulau Sibogo, Kudat	1	3.4
Filipina	1	3.4
Pulau Siasi, Filipina	1	3.4
Pulau Bongao, Filipina	1	3.4
Jumlah	29	100

Sumber: Tinjauan Sosio-ekonomi Komuniti Pulau (Sama DiLaut) di Kawasan

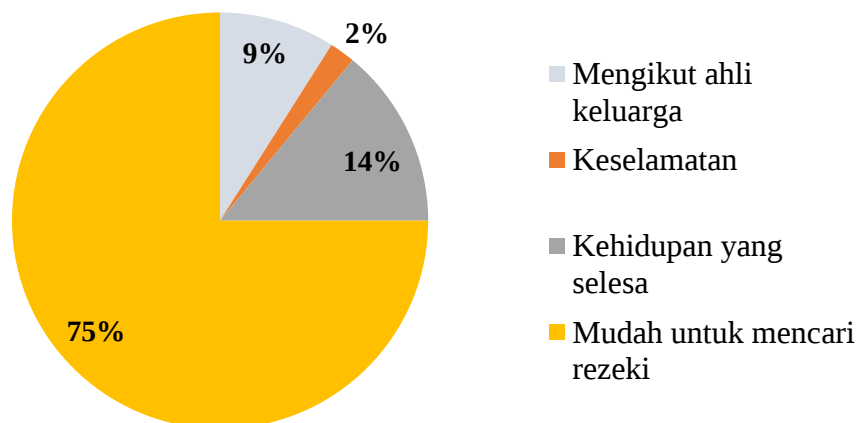
Konservasi Taman Tun Mustapha Kudat

Daripada hasil kajian ini juga turut didapati bahawa Sama DiLaut lebih memilih datang ke Kota Kinabalu dan Kudat berbanding daerah lain seperti Tawau, Lahad Datu dan Sandakan. Peta 1 dibawah menunjukkan corak pergerakan Sama DiLaut dari tempat asal ke kawasan baru khususnya Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. Ini akan dijelaskan secara rinci.



Peta 1. Corak Migrasi Sama DiLaut
Sumber. Kajian Komuniti Pulau di Pinggir Bandar:

Isu-Isu Keselamatan dan Transformasi Sosial Komuniti Bajau Laut (Pala'uh) di Perkampungan Atas Air, Pulau Gaya, 2016

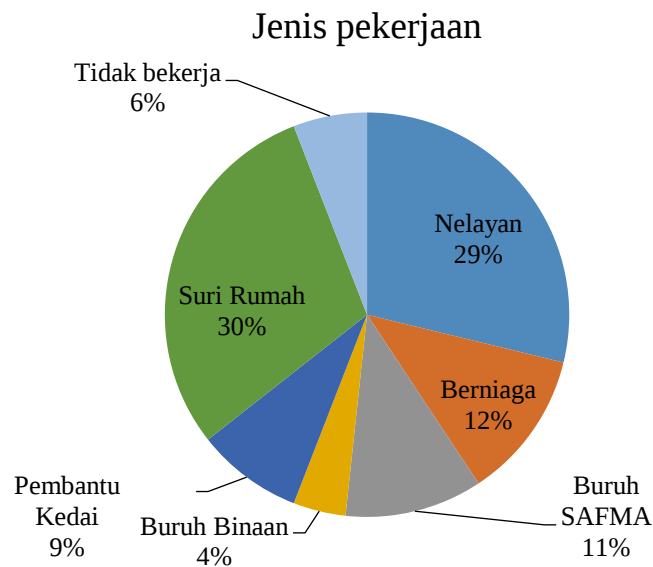


Gambar Rajah 1. Faktor mendorong Sama DiLaut datang ke Kota Kinabalu
Sumber. Kerja lapangan di Kg. Laban, Pulau Gaya pada 9hb-12 Disember 2016

Kajian ini mendapati empat faktor utama yang mendorong migrasi Sama DiLaut ke Kota Kinabalu iaitu seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam gambar rajah 2 diatas. Sebanyak 75 peratus responden Sama DiLaut menyatakan mereka mudah untuk mencari rezeki menjadi sebab utama komuniti ini memilih untuk berhijrah ke Kota Kinabalu. Penjelasan lanjut mengenai hal ini diketengahkan oleh beberapa responden, yang menyatakan bahawa peluang untuk memenuhi keperluan hidup lebih banyak jika mereka menetap di Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu berbanding di

kampung asal iaitu Semporna. Misalnya, walaupun sektor pelancongan makin pesat di Semporna, namun peluang pekerjaan yang tercipta hanya melibatkan komuniti Bajau/Sama atau Bajau Tempatan yang memiliki dokumen pengenalan diri. Selain itu, peluang pekerjaan yang terbatas seperti buruh di pasar ikan, pembantu kedai dan buruh binaan di Semporna telah menyukarkan kehidupan seharian Komuniti Sama DiLaut. Tambahan pula, penguatkuasaan taman marin dan Kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur Sabah (ESSCOM) turut telah menyukarkan pekerjaan rutin mereka sebagai nelayan sehingga ada dikalangan komuniti ini yang terpaksa meminta sedekah atau *Ag-pangamuh* dalam bahasa Bajau untuk meneruskan kehidupan seharian.

Manakala, sebanyak 14 peratus daripada jumlah keseluruhan responden Sama DiLaut berpendapat bahawa kehidupan yang selesa di pinggir kota atau Pulau Gaya dirasakan sebagai sebab utama mengapa mereka meninggalkan tempat asal. Selain itu juga, boleh dilihat aspek penumpuan kawasan penempatan yang didiami suku yang sama iaitu Sama DiLaut turut mempengaruhi mengapa mereka meninggalkan kawasan asal dan tinggal menetap di kawasan baru. Seterusnya, sebanyak 9 peratus responden pula didapati hanya mengikut keluarga yang berhijrah ke Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu dan sebanyak 2 peratus responden menyatakan faktor keselamatan merupakan penyebab utama mereka memilih untuk untuk menetap di Pulau Gaya. Daripada penerangan hasil kajian di atas, jelaslah bahawa responden berpendapat bahawa peluang ekonomi iaitu peluang pekerjaan, keinginan untuk merubah hidup ke arah lebih baik dan memiliki kehidupan selesa di Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu merupakan antara sebab utama mereka berhijrah dari kawasan asal.



Gambar rajah 2. Pekerjaan utama Sama DiLaut di Kota Kinabalu
Sumber. Kerja lapangan di Kg. Laban, Pulau Gaya pada Disember 2016

Gambar rajah 2 diatas menunjukkan pekerjaan utama yang menjadi faktor pendorong Sama DiLaut datang ke Kota Kinabalu dan jumlah pendapatan KIR turut ditunjukkan pada jadual 4. Sebanyak 67.8 peratus KIR seperti ditunjukkan dalam jadual 4, memperolehi pendapatan kurang daripada RM 500 sebulan. Dengan purata bilangan ahli isi rumah iaitu seramai enam (6) orang bagi setiap KIR Sama DiLaut di Pulau Gaya, sudah pasti keadaan ini akan menyukarkan lagi kehidupan seharian khususnya kesihatan.

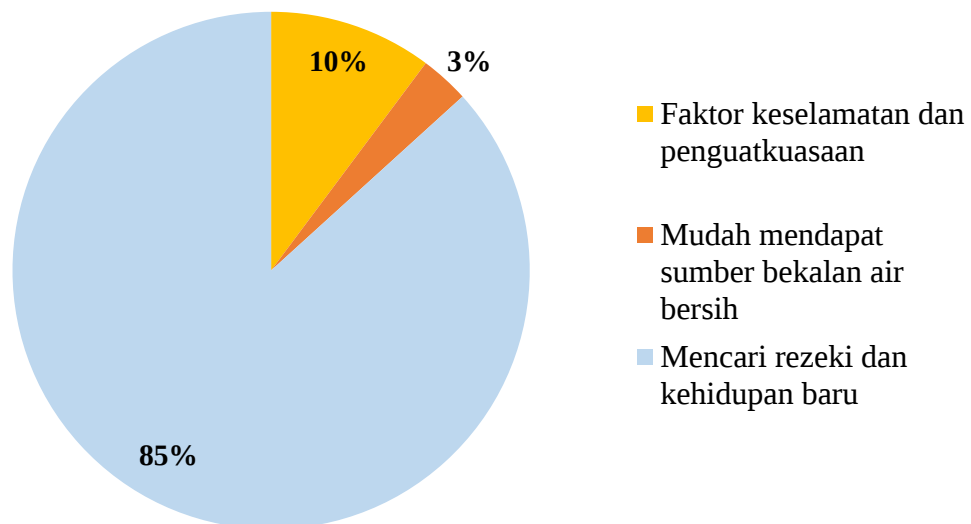
Sebanyak 20.3 peratus KIR pula hanya memperolehi pendapatan tidak melebihi RM1000 diikuti oleh sebanyak 7.6 peratus memiliki pendapatan kurang daripada RM1500. Manakala 4.2 peratus KIR memiliki pendapatan melebihi RM1500. Jika diperhati, majoriti KIR Sama DiLaut yang memperolehi pendapatan rendah ini adalah disebabkan faktor pekerjaan utama mereka yang bekerja sebagai nelayan, suri rumah, buruh binaan, pembantu kedai dan buruh *Sabah Fish Marketing Sdn Bhd* (SAFMA).

Jadual 4. Jumlah pendapatan KIR di Kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya.

Pendapatan (RM)	Bilangan KIR	Peratus
<500	80	67.8
501-1000	24	20.3
1001-1500	9	7.6
>1501	5	4.2
Jumlah	118	100

Sumber. Kerja lapangan di Kg. Laban, Pulau Gaya pada Disember 2016

Bagi hasil kajian Sama DiLaut dikawasan TTM pula, tiga faktor utama telah mendorong migrasi berlaku iaitu seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam gambar rajah 3. Punca tekanan hidup dalam kehidupan komuniti Sama DiLaut telah mendorong mereka berpindah dan tinggal di kawasan TTM. Majoriti responden iaitu sebanyak 85 peratus KIR menyatakan kesukaran mencari nafkah hidup disebabkan penguatkuasaan taman marin dan Kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM) di tempat asal adalah punca utama yang menyebabkan mereka berhijrah ke TTM untuk mencari rezeki dan mendapatkan kehidupan baru. Alasan lain yang diberikan oleh responden ialah merasa lebih selamat tinggal di kawasan Kudat iaitu sebanyak 10 peratus responden. Isu keselamatan dilihat sebagai alasan berpindah ke TTM untuk kelangsungan hidup mereka yang terancam oleh isu keselamatan khususnya penguatkuasaan perintah berkurung kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM) dipantai timur akibat insiden Tanduo dan penculikan oleh kumpulan militan Abu Sayaf, Filipina. Seterusnya, didapati sebanyak 3 peratus responden menyatakan lebih mudah untuk mendapat sumber bekalan air bersih di TTM Kudat berbanding tempat asal menjadi sebab untuk mereka terus tinggal di TTM Kudat.

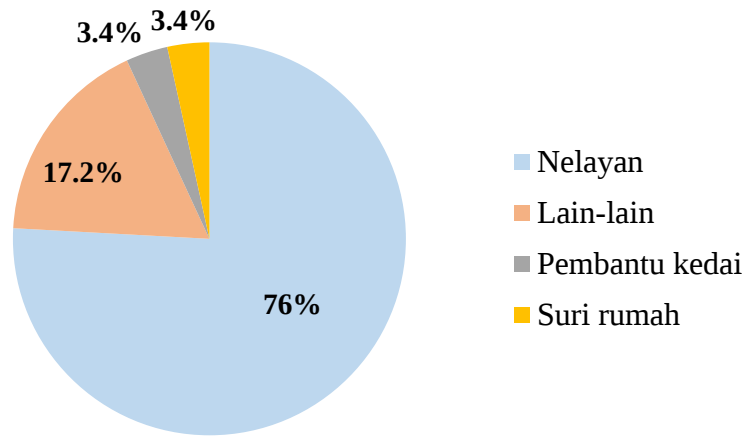


Gambar Rajah 3. Sebab tertarik tinggal di kawasan Kudat

Sumber: Tinjauan Sosio-ekonomi Komuniti Pulau (Sama DiLaut) di Kawasan Konservasi Taman Tun Mustapha Kudat

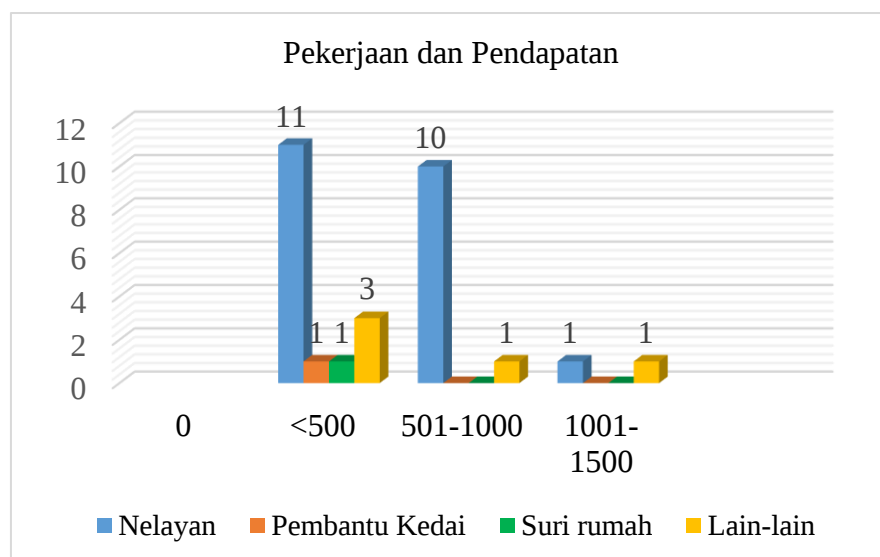
Aspek pekerjaan yang turut menjadi faktor pendorong migrasi ditunjukkan pada carta pai dalam gambar rajah 4. Berdasarkan carta pai tersebut, jelas dilihat sebanyak 76 peratus responden bekerja sebagai nelayan. Diikuti dengan kategori lain-lain sebanyak 17.2 peratus bekerja diantaranya sebagai buruh mengangkat barang dari kapal, buruh di pasar dan buruh

pembinaan. Terdapat dua jenis pekerjaan yang dikenalpasti sangat rendah jumlahnya iaitu hanya 3.4 peratus bekerja sebagai pembantu kedai dan bekerja sebagai suri rumah yang juga merupakan seorang balu.



Gambar Rajah 4. Jenis pekerjaan
Sumber: Tinjauan Sosio-ekonomi Komuniti Pulau (Sama DiLaut) di Kawasan Konservasi Taman Tun Mustapha Kudat

Gambar rajah 5 menunjukkan pekerjaan dan pendapatan ketua isi rumah. Sebanyak 55 peratus responden mempunyai pendapatan kurang daripada RM500 sebulan yang diantaranya bekerja sebagai nelayan, pembantu kedai, suri rumah dan kategori pekerjaan lain-lain. Manakala sebanyak 40 peratus responden yang bekerja sebagai nelayan dan bekerja dalam kategori lain-lain memiliki pendapatan diantara RM501-RM1000 sebulan. Diikuti dua (2) peratus responden memiliki pendapatan di antara RM1001- RM1500. Dapat disimpulkan bahawa sebahagian besar daripada ketua isi rumah bekerja sebagai nelayan, 75 peratus memiliki jumlah pendapatan kurang daripada atau sama dengan RM1000. Oleh yang demikian, purata jumlah pendapatan adalah berjumlah RM150 sebulan. Berdasarkan hasil kajian, jumlah pendapatan paling rendah di kalangan responden bekerja sebagai nelayan dengan pendapatan sebanyak RM150 sebulan, manakala jumlah pendapatan paling tinggi iaitu RM1400 sebulan juga merupakan seorang nelayan.



Gambar rajah 5. Graf Bar Pekerjaan dan Pendapatan

Sumber: Tinjauan Sosio-ekonomi Komuniti Pulau (Sama DiLaut) di Kawasan Konservasi Taman Tun Mustapha Kudat

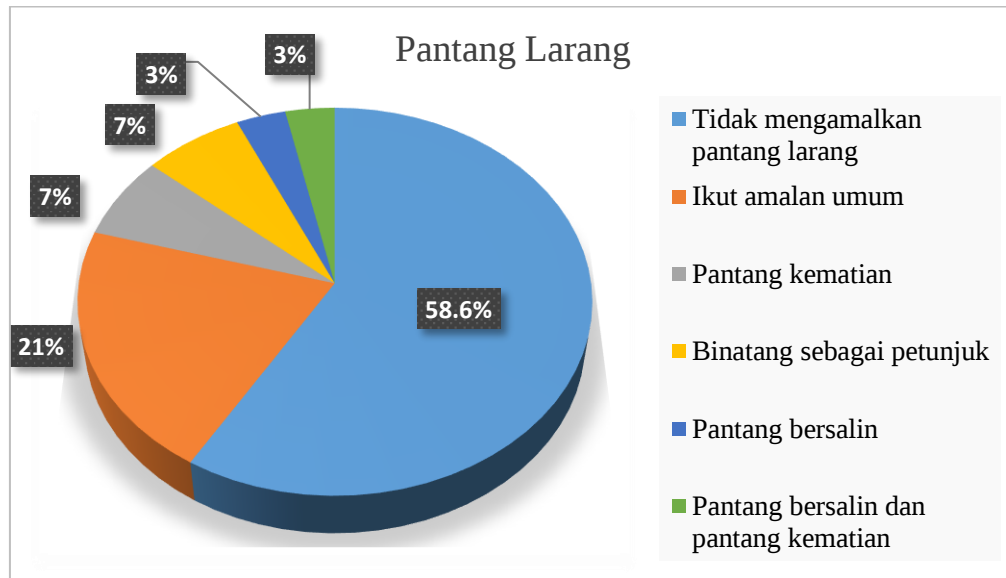
Mengikut Unit Perancang Ekonomi (2014) yang menjelaskan mengenai pendapatan garis kemiskinan (PGK) purata luar bandar Sabah/Labuan, komuniti dalam kajian ini dapat dikategorikan sebagai miskin dan miskin tegar yang memiliki jumlah pendapatan isi rumah kurang daripada dan sama dengan RM1,180 dan RM760 sebulan. Hasil kajian menunjukkan hanya seorang ketua isi rumah yang memiliki pendapatan RM1,400. Individu tersebut adalah nelayan dan juga bekerja sembilan sebagai buruh binaan. 96.6 peratus responden memiliki jumlah pendapatan kurang daripada RM1,180 yang mana dikategorikan sebagai miskin. Begitu juga dengan Sama DiLaut di Pulau Gaya yang majoriti penduduknya terdiri daripada golongan miskin.

Adaptasi Budaya dan Pandang Dunia (*world view*) Komuniti Sama DiLaut untuk Kelangsungan Hidup di Pinggir Kota

Dalam kajian ini majoriti komuniti Sama DiLaut di Kampung Labban Kota Kinabalu dan TTM, Kudat adalah berasal dari Pantai Timur Sabah. Perubahan atau adaptasi sosial dalam masyarakat akan melibatkan kekentalan budaya suatu komuniti untuk menerima, menyesuaikan dan bertahan dengan persekitaran dan budaya ditempat baru. Adaptasi antara budaya merupakan proses panjang penyesuaian diri seseorang dan akhirnya dapat menimbulkan perasaan selesa dalam persekitaran yang baru (Kim, 2001). Dari aspek bahasa pertuturan, hasil kajian mendapati komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di pinggir Kudat iaitu Kampung Landong Ayang Laut berkomunikasi dengan masyarakat yang tinggal berdekatan dengan mereka dengan menggunakan bahasa Bajau dan turut berusaha menguasai bahasa melayu sebagai proses interaksi. Manakala, bagi Sama DiLaut yang menetap di Kota Kinabalu, bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu juga menjadi masalah. Mereka terpaksa bergantung dengan rakan yang boleh bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu terutama untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan di kota. Komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di kawasan kajian menyatakan mereka terbuka untuk berinteraksi dengan komuniti yang berbeza budaya dan cuba untuk menyesuaikan diri dalam alam budaya yang berbeza dan masyarakat yang tinggal dalam lingkungan mereka. Penyesuaian dan adaptasi adalah dua perkara yang mereka utamakan ketika tinggal di kota.

Pengertian budaya dalam perbincangan ini memberi penekanan aspek budaya bukan material yang diwarisi sejak zaman nenek moyang dan masih diamalkan oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal sama ada di Semporna, Kota Kinabalu dan di kawasan TTM, Kudat. Budaya bukan material adalah sesuatu amalan yang bukan berbentuk kebendaan yang merangkumi kepercayaan, adat resam dan pantang larang yang diwarisi dari generasi ke generasi bagi menjaga interaksi mereka dengan alam secara berterusan (Rani, 2005). Perkataan amalan merujuk kepada perbuatan yang dilakukan, dilaksanakan dan dikerjakan sebagai suatu kebiasaan (Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu, 2008). Amalan juga dikenali sebagai aktiviti kerana ianya adalah perbuatan yang kerap dilakukan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari (Siti Aminah, 2015).

Carta pai dalam gambar rajah 6 menunjukkan pantang larang yang semakin kurang diamalkan oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut khususnya di TTM, Kudat. Majoriti komuniti Sama DiLaut iaitu sebanyak 58.6 peratus KIR menyatakan tidak lagi mengamalkan pantang larang tradisi nenek moyang dalam kehidupan mereka kerana sudah menganut agama Islam. Diikuti sebanyak 20.7 peratus KIR menyatakan mengikut amalan umum, termasuklah pantang naik ke darat, tidak boleh keluar dari kawasan tempat tinggal di kawasan laut, kanak-kanak dan anak perempuan yang belum berkahwin dilarang turun ke laut jika tidak ada kepentingan kerana dipercayai akan sakit. Responden (KIR) menyatakan mereka tidak lagi mengikut amalan umum yang diwarisi dari nenek moyang iaitu pantang naik ke darat untuk mengelakkan daripada terkena bala disebabkan pengaruh amalan hidup etnik lain dalam lingkungan komuniti lain. Kini majoriti mereka terpaksa naik ke darat kerana desakan untuk mencari rezeki hidup.

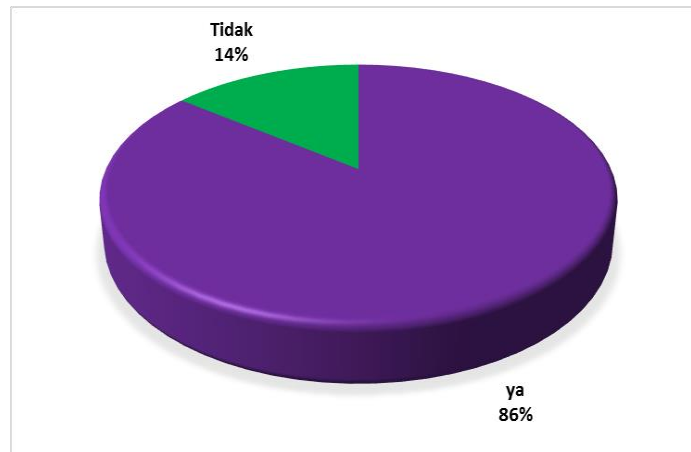


Gambar Rajah 6: Pantang Larang KIR di TTM

Seterusnya pantang larang ketika kematian berlaku dan haiwan sebagai petunjuk masih diamalkan oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut di TTM yang masing-masing mencatatkan sebanyak 7 peratus. Komuniti Sama DiLaut percaya bahawa terdapat haiwan (ular hitam, burung *linggis*, buaya, kucing dan kambing) yang boleh dijadikan sebagai petunjuk dalam menjalankan kehidupan seharian mereka kerana percaya adanya roh semangat dan alam ghaib yang akan mempengaruhi kehidupan mereka. Penelitian ini mendapati anutan agama Islam telah memberi impak dalam kehidupan komuniti tersebut. Implikasinya, amalan adat resam dan pantang larang dari tempat asal seperti dalam gambar rajah 6 sudah semakin ditinggalkan pada masa kini.

Sungguhpun begitu, tidak dapat dinafikan masih terdapat amalan dan kepercayaan kepada roh nenek moyang, bidan dan Jin dalam kehidupan komuniti Sama DiLaut di TTM yang masih dilestarikan sehingga kini. Hal ini jelas dilihat menerusi amalan dari tempat asal yang masih diamalkan dalam kehidupan komuniti Sama DiLaut yang terlibat dalam kajian ini. Hasil kajian mendapati, majoriti komuniti Sama DiLaut masih mengamalkan upacara tradisional di antaranya *magtolak bala*, *magjamu*, *pitulak* dan *magmatalau*. *Magtolak bala* dilakukan untuk mengelakkan daripada terkena bala, manakala upacara *anambal* pula dilakukan untuk mengubati penyakit yang dikaitkan dengan Jin dan penyakit yang disebabkan kecederaan yang parah pada anggota badan.

Seterusnya upacara *magombo* iaitu amalan pemujaan roh nenek moyang (*magombo*) akan dilakukan sekiranya ada ahli keluarga yang sakit disebabkan terkena tulah atau diganggu oleh Jin akibat melanggar pantang larang. Adat bergunting yang disebut *maggunting* atau *aggunting* dalam bahasa Sama DiLaut dijalankan oleh bidan atau pandai untuk doa selamat kepada bayi yang bercukur. Mereka masih mengamalkan adat *magjamu* setiap tahun untuk menjamu roh nenek moyang agar tidak terkena *tulah* leluhur mereka. Upacara *pitulak* adalah konsep perubatan dengan cara menghanyutkan perahu kecil atau tempurung ke laut akibat diganggu oleh jin. Mereka percaya bahawa penyakit dan jin yang mengganggu tubuh budak yang sakit akan hanyut bersama perahu yang dihanyutkan. Akhirnya, upacara *magmatalau* pula dilakukan untuk tujuan memulihkan semangat orang yang sakit kronik dan keadaan badan yang sangat lemah akibat terkena tulah.



Gambar Rajah 7. Adat resam dan pantang larang KIR di Pulau Gaya.
Kerja lapangan di Kg. Laban, Pulau Gaya pada Disember 2016

Daripada hasil kajian di Pulau Gaya, 86 peratus responden menyatakan masih mengamalkan adat resam dan kepercayaan di tempat asal seperti *Maggombo*, *Magtolak bala*, *Maggunting*, *mengigal*, upacara bulan Syaaban dan menggunakan khidmat bidan (*Pandai*) ketika bersalin walaupun mereka telah berpindah ke Pulau Gaya. Hal ini kerana, menurut mereka adat resam adalah warisan daripada nenek moyang dan tidak sepatutnya dilupakan. Walaupun begitu, 14 peratus responden menyatakan mereka tidak lagi mengamalkan adat resam dari tempat asal.

Bagaimanapun, dalam keadaan hidup di kota yang penuh pelbagai cabaran amalan-amalan lama/tradisional semakin berkurangan kerana majoriti ahli-ahli Sama DiLaut tersebut telah menganut agama Islam. Perubahan ini bukan atas dasar mereka melupakan amalan dari tempat asal tetapi disebabkan pengaruh agama dan desakan hidup yang telah mempengaruhi pandang dunia dan kepercayaan mereka berubah untuk serasi dengan lingkungan persekitaran. Hasil kajian mendapati kebanyakan responden iaitu sebanyak 83 peratus KIR dalam kajian di TTM menyatakan telah menganut agama Islam, manakala hanya 17 peratus KIR masih menganut kepercayaan Animisme. Manakala penganut Islam dalam kalangan responden di Pulau Gaya mencatatkan 99.2 peratus KIR.

Kesimpulannya, adat resam dan pantang larang komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di TTM dan Pulau Gaya dapat dilihat dengan jelas dalam kebudayaan mereka terutamanya dari aspek amalan tradisi. Lazimnya, amalan tradisi secara tidak langsung menggambarkan perlakuan budaya seharian mereka yang terus menjadi identiti mereka iaitu komuniti Sama DiLaut. Selain itu, dari pengamatan di lapangan, walaupun sudah tinggal di kota, amalan tradisi telah menyatukan mereka dan mempercayai bahawa mereka harus sama-sama melalui kesusahan dan kebahagiaan hidup baru di kota. Penyatuan rasa ini adalah pengikat dan penyambung identiti dan rasa kekitaan antara mereka.

Adaptasi Budaya Komuniti Sama DiLaut untuk Kelangsungan Hidup

Bahagian ini membincangkan aspek adaptasi budaya untuk kelangsungan hidup komuniti Sama DiLaut. Menurut Koentjaraningrat (1985) unsur utama kebudayaan merangkumi sistem organisasi masyarakat, bahasa, pakaian, sistem mata pencarian hidup dan sistem ekonomi, sistem pengetahuan dan agama. Berdasarkan unsur kebudayaan yang dijelaskan, komuniti Sama DiLaut dalam kajian ini boleh dikategorikan sebagai sudah mula menyesuaikan diri dan selesai tinggal dalam lingkungan persekitaran mereka. Majoriti responden menyatakan bahawa bagi menjaga hubungan mereka dengan kumpulan etnik yang tinggal dalam lingkungan mereka, komuniti Sama DiLaut terbuka untuk berinteraksi dan menghormati perbezaan amalan dalam kehidupan mereka.

Berdasarkan data yang diperolehi, komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di pinggir Kudat dan Pulau Gaya telah melalui proses penyesuaian dengan komuniti setempat. Jelas kelihatan dari aspek penggunaan bahasa pertuturan mereka dengan bukan sesama suku, mereka akan menggunakan bahasa Bajau/Sama. Komuniti Sama DiLaut di Pulau Gaya menyatakan mereka

belajar untuk bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu dari rakan yang sudah fasih agar mereka boleh berkomunikasi dengan masyarakat kota. Walaupun mereka tidak fasih bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu, mereka menerangkan bahawa apa yang penting adalah mereka boleh berkomunikasi untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan di kota. Bagi komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di TTM, Kudat pula hanya responden yang tinggal di pinggir kota (Kampung Landong Ayang) yang sudah mula bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu. Mereka menjelaskan bahawa mereka belajar untuk bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu daripada komuniti Bajau Ubian yang tinggal dalam lingkungan mereka untuk memudahkan komunikasi mereka dengan komuniti di pinggir Kudat dan bagi tujuan mencari rezeki dengan bekerja di Kudat.

Salah satu aspek yang dianggap penting dalam kajian ini ialah mengenalpasti jenis aset yang dimiliki oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut bagi menggambarkan corak sosial dan ekonomi mereka. Kajian mendapati komuniti ini sudah mula menyesuaikan diri dengan gaya hidup kota yang moden. Antara aset yang dimiliki oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut di Pulau Gaya termasuklah rumah/pondohan, perahu, enjin sangkut, generator, dapur gas, telefon bimbit, televisyen, radio dan kipas meja. Sebahagian bahan-bahan ini jarang-jarang mereka perolehi di kampung halaman asal mereka.

Aset yang dimiliki oleh komuniti Sama DiLaut termasuklah pondohan, kumpit, tariggung, lepa, perahu, pam bot, enjin sangkut, genset, dapur gas, telefon bimbit, televisyen, radio dan kipas meja. Jika diamati, pemilikan aset komuniti di TTM, Kudat tidak jauh berbeza dengan komuniti di Pulau Gaya. Perbezaan ketara dapat dilihat dari aspek tempat tinggal apabila semua komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di Pulau Gaya telah membina dan tinggal di pondohan dan kini tidak lagi menjalankan cara hidup mereka dari tempat asal iaitu tinggal di dalam lepa tariggung. Perubahan corak kehidupan komuniti Sama DiLaut juga dapat dilihat dalam kehidupan komuniti ini di TTM, Kudat. Hasil kajian mencatatkan sebanyak 83 peratus responden memiliki dan tinggal di pondohan, manakala hanya 17 peratus responden yang masih tinggal di dalam lepa tariggung. Mereka menyatakan bahawa perubahan tersebut bukan atas dasar mereka melupakan amalan dari tempat asal tetapi disebabkan agar serasi dengan komuniti dalam lingkungan mereka.

Responden yang memiliki genset (*electric generator*) menyatakan mereka berkongsi kemudahan ini sebagai sumber bekalan tenaga elektrik untuk lampu, menonton televisyen dan mengecas telefon bimbit. Responden menjelaskan bahawa mereka berkongsi kemudahan ini dengan jiran yang lain dengan mengenakan bayaran bulanan bergantung kepada penggunaan mereka. Seterusnya alasan bagi responden yang memiliki telefon bimbit pula menyatakan bahawa ianya penting untuk memiliki telefon bimbit kerana dapat memudahkan komunikasi antara mereka dengan ahli keluarga yang tinggal di kawasan yang jauh. Aset televisyen dan radio dinyatakan untuk tujuan hiburan dan maklumat. Dalam kajian yang dijalankan di TTM, Kudat didapati terdapat sebanyak tujuh peratus responden menyatakan mendapat maklumat tentang pewartaan TTM, Kudat sebagai Taman Marin daripada televisyen.

Dari aspek sistem mata pencarian hidup dan sumber ekonomi komuniti Sama DiLaut di pinggir kota menunjukkan jenis pekerjaan yang lebih pelbagai. Berbeza dengan pekerjaan mereka sebelum datang ke pinggir kota iaitu majoriti mereka hanya bekerja sebagai nelayan. Hasil kajian di Pulau Gaya mendapati terdapat enam jenis pekerjaan komuniti Sama DiLaut yakni bekerja sebagai nelayan, berniaga, buruh di SAFMA, buruh binaan, pembantu kedai dan suri rumah. Manakala jenis pekerjaan komuniti Sama DiLaut yang berhijrah ke TTM, Kudat pula merekodkan sebanyak lima jenis pekerjaan iaitu nelayan, pembantu kedai, buruh mengangkat barang dari kapal di pasar, buruh pembinaan dan sebagai suri rumah.

Perkembangan budaya komuniti Sama DiLaut juga dapat dilihat dengan jelas dari aspek fizikal iaitu budaya pemakaian yang kini telah dipengaruhi gaya kota. Alasan utama mengapa mereka bersifat lebih terbuka mengikut cara berpakaian di kota adalah untuk mengurangkan rasa kekok apabila bertemu dan berkomunikasi dengan masyarakat umum. Pengaruh agama dan desakan hidup telah mempengaruhi pandang dunia dan kepercayaan komuniti Sama DiLaut dimana majoriti komuniti Sama DiLaut menyatakan tidak lagi mengamalkan pantang larang tradisi nenek moyang dalam kehidupan mereka kerana sudah menganut agama Islam.

Kesimpulannya, amalan dan perubahan gaya hidup komuniti Sama DiLaut yang tinggal di pinggir kota seperti di Pulau Gaya dan TTM, Kudat dapat dilihat dengan jelas terutamanya dari aspek aktiviti seharian mereka yang kini sudah mula berubah mengikut komuniti di persekitaran mereka dan juga gaya hidup di kota. Bahasa, pakaian, sistem mata pencarian hidup dan sistem ekonomi serta agama telah mempengaruhi perubahan pandang dunia mereka. Desakan dalam hidup mereka telah mempengaruhi gaya hidup untuk kelangsungan hidup mereka.

Komuniti “Kota” Sama Dilaut, Kelangsungan Hidup dan Pengiktirafan

Sejak Malaysia mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1963, majoriti komuniti Sama Dilaut masih dilihat sebagai satu kelompok yang masih terpinggir dibanding dengan komuniti lain-lain di Malaysia khususnya negeri Sabah (APRRN, 2015). Penyisihan atau peminggiran sosial dan kelangsungan hidup adalah sesuatu keadaan yang mencabar terutamanya bagi majoriti komuniti Sama DiLaut yang secara perundangan tidak mendapat pengiktirafan kewarganegaraan daripada kerajaan Malaysia seterusnya membawa mereka kepada diskrimasi dan penyisihan daripada struktur masyarakat dan sosio-ekonomi (Greg Acciaioli etl. 2017). Disebabkan itu, bagi memahami secara jelas mengenai makna penyisihan atau peminggiran sosial iaitu dalam konteks Sama DiLaut dalam kajian ini, perlu dilihat bahawa secara pengiktirafan politik atau undang-undang khususnya di Sabah, Malaysia telah meletakkan kedudukan majoriti Sama DiLaut sebagai individu yang tidak mempunyai negara (*stateless Person*). Situasi ini telah meletakkan sebanyak 78.49 peratus daripada 26,015 orang Sama DiLaut di Pantai Timur iaitu di Semporna dan Kunak yang telah direkodkan sebagai bukan warganegara (Kajian profiling ESSCOM, 19 March 2015 - 17 November 2016) dalam keadaan yang sukar dari segi hak untuk mendapatkan perlindungan, pendidikan, peluang ekonomi dan kesihatan. Begitu juga dengan Sama DiLaut di Kudat yang keseluruhannya tidak memiliki kewarganegaraan serta di Pulau Gaya, hanya sebanyak 4.2 peratus sahaja yang memiliki kad pengenalan dan yang selebihnya hanya memiliki surat pengiktirafan sebagai Bajau Laut Pala'uh yang dikeluarkan oleh pemimpin tempatan di Semporna serta tidak diiktiraf oleh perundangan atau penguatkuasa seperti polis dan imigresen.

Selain daripada isu individu tanpa negara ini, isu seperti mengkategorikan kelompok Sama DiLaut sebagai sebahagian daripada imigran Filipino juga telah menyebabkan kedudukan komuniti ini menjadi lebih kompleks dan berpanjangan. Isu keselamatan dalam kalangan Sama DiLaut telah mengakibatkan mereka di tahan di pusat-pusat tahanan sementara Imigresen dan tidak kurang juga yang dihantar pulang ke Filipina kerana tidak memiliki kad pengenalan diri yang diiktiraf kerajaan Malaysia (Greg Acciaioli etl. 2017).

Jadual 5. Pemilikan pengenalan diri KIR di Pulau Gaya.

Jenis Dokumen	Bilangan KIR	Peratus
Tiada pengenalan diri	2	1.7
Kad Pengenalan Malaysia	5	4.2
Kad pengenalan merah (MyPR)	7	5.9
Surat pengesahan suku kaum Bajau Laut/Pala'uh	99	83.9
IMM13	3	2.5
Pasport	2	1.7
Jumlah	118	100

Sumber: Kerja lapangan di Kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya pada Disember 2016

Berdasarkan kajian, khususnya di Pulau Gaya, jadual 5 menunjukkan majoriti Sama DiLaut tidak memiliki pengenalan diri dan hanya 4.2 peratus sahaja memiliki kad pengenalan diri. Keadaan ini telah meletakkan Sama DiLaut yang berhijrah ke kota mengalami tekanan dari pelbagai aspek khususnya dari aspek keselamatan bukan tradisonal (*Non-Traditional Security*) seperti ancaman pencemaran alam sekitar dan kekurangan sumber, kesihatan dan penyakit berjangkit, migrasi yang tidak sekata serta tidak teratur, kekurangan makanan, pemerdagangan

dadah, dan jenayah rentas sempadan. Ancaman berbentuk keselamatan bukan tradisional berlaku akibat daripada keporosan keselamatan tradisional.

Kajian mendapati, pencemaran alam sekitar berada di tahap serius akibat cara hidup komuniti yang tinggal tidak teratur dan terurus di perkampungan atas air di Pulau Gaya, Kota Kinabalu dan Landong Ayang Laut Kudat. Komuniti membuang sampah dan najis dari rumah mereka terus ke dalam laut. Keadaan ini amat membimbangkan kerana kawasan laut yang didiami, merupakan tempat mereka mencari rezeki malah digunakan untuk tujuan seperti mencuci kain, mandi dan sebagainya. Sekiranya keadaan ini tiada pencegahan dan kesedaran dikalangan komuniti ini sendiri, dikhawatiri ianya akan menyebabkan ancaman terhadap kesihatan bukan sahaja dikalangan mereka malah masyarakat disekitarnya.

Dari segi kesihatan, rata-rata komuniti Sama DiLaut berada pada tahap yang agak membimbangkan. Ketiadaan dokumen yang sah majoriti Sama DiLaut menyebabkan mereka tidak layak mendapat perkhidmatan kesihatan secara formal. Perkhidmatan kesihatan hanya diperolehi pada masa tertentu sahaja iaitu dilakukan oleh Jabatan kesihatan untuk tujuan kawalan penyakit berjangkit dan bantuan ubat-ubatan seperti masyarakat yang lain di Sabah adalah sukar dan memerlukan kos yang tinggi. Misalnya untuk mendapatkan rawatan ketika bersalin untuk wanita akan mencecah kos RM700- RM1400 (Kadar Caj & Keperluan Asas untuk Mendapatkan Rawatan di Hospital Wanita dan Kanak-Kanak Sabah). Walaupun komuniti Sama DiLaut ini tinggal dalam lingkungan kawasan Kota, yang mana ianya dilengkapi dengan pelbagai akses kemudahan namun ini tetap tidak dinikmati oleh komuniti tersebut. Keadaan mereka yang dilabelkan sebagai pendatang asing dan individu tidak bernegara bagi sesetengah orang, mengeruhkan lagi pandangan masyarakat terhadap mereka. Keadaan tersebut menyebabkan masyarakat setempat takut dan mendiskriminasikan kelompok Sama DiLaut.

Kesimpulannya ancaman berbentuk keselamatan bukan tradisional berlaku akibat daripada keporosan keselamatan tradisional. Dalam konteks kehidupan komuniti Sama DiLaut, mereka tidak dapat dilindungi secara keseluruhannya kerana status kewarganegaraan yang tidak sah. Status kewarganegaraan tersebut menyebabkan komuniti ini terpinggir dan tidak dapat menikmati kemudahan, keselesaan dan jaminan keselamatan yang berpatutan berdasarkan hak-hak kemanusiaan sebagaimana yang dinikmati masyarakat lain yang berstatus warganegara.

Kesimpulan

Penyisihan daripada pembangunan perdana menjadi satu isu sosio-ekonomi yang boleh membebankan negara khusus dari segi pendapatan dan integrasi sosial yang sering menjadi retorik politik yang melaungkan agar masyarakat negara ini tidak dikotak-kotak mengikut suku bangsa, taraf hidup, agama dan warna kulit. Kerapuhan sosial dan penghijrahan komuniti Sama DiLaut bukan sekadar untuk memperbaiki taraf hidup mereka (migran ekonomi) tetapi juga didorong untuk kelangsungan serta kelestarian hidup akibat sistem kelangsungan hidup mereka yang terancam oleh isu keselamatan, kesukaran mencari nafkah hidup dan diskriminasi sosial. Dari segi perspektif sosiologikal, apabila fenomena ini berlaku, kumpulan seperti ini terangkum sebagai komuniti yang sangat rapuh (*vulnerable*) tersisih dan tersingkir dari pembangunan perdana. Pelbagai kaedah cuba dipenuhi untuk kelangsungan mereka dalam ruang sosial yang baru, sama ada melalui adaptasi, asimilasi mahupun membina semula yang baru untuk menyambung kehidupan mereka dalam perubahan budaya yang sentiasa kompleks. Beberapa kajian ilmiah telah menunjukkan serta membuktikan bahawa kelangsungan hidup dalam ruang sosial serta ekonomi yang kompleks dalam kalangan migran kota telah memberi impak yang berbeza-beza. Demi meneruskan kehidupan yang serba kekurangan, komuniti yang berhijrah ini terpaksa membina daya diri dan kekentalan budaya mereka dalam menghadapi tuntutan berbeza dari segi ekonomi, politik dan interaksi sosial di tempat baru. Istilah “melukut kota” adalah yang paling sesuai untuk menjelmakan keadaan yang paling sesuai untuk menjelmakan keadaan hidup Sama DiLaut dalam kota besar.

Nota hujung

1. Temubual dengan En. Warisal bin Kan, (60-an) ketua kampung Laban merangkap Ketua Ahli Jawatankuasa Keselamatan dan Kebajikan Masyarakat Pelarian bagi kampung Pondo yang telah dilantik oleh Majlis Keselamatan Negara, Negeri Sabah berkuat kuasa bermula 1 April 2015 hingga 31 Mac 2017, kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya pada 9hb-12hb Disember 2016.
2. Temubual dengan En. Riki Biduin, (50-an) Ahli jawatankuasa Keselamatan dan Kebajikan Masyarakat Pelarian bagi kampung Pondo yang telah dilantik oleh Majlis Keselamatan Negara, Negeri Sabah berkuat kuasa bermula 1 April 2015 hingga 31 Mac 2017, kampung Laban, Pulau Gaya pada 9hb-12hb Disember 2016.
3. Temubual dengan En. Jaddil Bin Bahaddin, (50-an), merangkap Ketua Komuniti Sama DiLaut Kampung Landong Ayang Laut, bertempat di Kampung Landong Ayang Laut, Kudat pada 6 April 2017
4. Temubual dengan En. Ahmat Daud merangkap Timbalan Pengerusi Persatuan Kebajikan Bajau Laut (PERKEBAL), Kampung Bangau-Bangau Semporna pada 18 Oktober 2015.
5. Kajian Profiling Masyarakat Pala'u Pantai Timur Sabah oleh Kawasan Keselamatan Khas Pantai Timur (ESSCOM) pada 19 March 2015 sehingga 17 November 2016.
6. Temubual dengan en. Haji Abdul Muhi Bin Marhaban, (460416-12-5091), Ketua Kampung Pulau Bohean, Semporna pada 11hb November 2016.

Rujukan

- Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN), (2015). The vulnerability of Bajau Laut (Sama Dilaut) children in Sabah, Malaysia. Bangkok, Thailand, dalam Website: www.aprrn.org. Dimuat turun pada 26hb March 2019.
- Bhattacharjee, Mowsume. (2018). Dynamics of Social Exclusion in Urban Bangladesh: A Sociological Study of Bihari Community. Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology. Volume 15, No.1, pp. 97-112.
- Greg Acciaioli etl. (2017). Foreigners Everywhere, Nationals Nowhere: Exclusion, Irregularity, and Invisibility of Stateless Bajau Laut in Eastern Sabah, Malaysia. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies ISSN: 1556-2948 (Print) 1556-2956 (Online) Journal homepage:<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wimm20>. Dimuat turun pada 26hb March 2019.
- Imang, U. (2003). Imigran dan Pembandaran: Kesan ke atas Pola Ruang Mobiliti Penduduk di Pusat Bandaraya Kota Kinabalu. Vol 9 dlm www.ums.edu.my/fksw/images/files/Bil92003/imigran%20dan%20Pembandaran.Pdf diakses pada 8 April 2017
- Ismail Ali. (2007). Petempatan dan Kehidupan Komuniti Bajau Laut di Pulau Gusungan, Semporna, Sabah.
- Ismail Ali & Yusten Karulus. (2012). Pulau Mabul: Dulu, Kini dan Masa Depan. Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Negeri Sabah (2015). Buku Tahunan Perangkaan Sabah 2014. Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Negeri Sabah.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (2010). Banci Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia 2010 dalam <http://www.reigroup.com.my/wp-content/uploads/pdf/resources2/Housing%20census%202010.pdf>
- Junaenah Sulehan & Gusniar Nurdin. (2017). Rituals, Magic and Sacred Place of the Pala'u Lepa Communities. Perspectives on Bajau/Sama' Diaspora. Sabah Museum Monograph Volume 13. Department of Sabah Museum, Kota Kinabalu.
- Kadar Caj & Keperluan Asas Untuk Mendapatkan Rawatan Di Hospital Wanita dan Kanak-Kanak Sabah dimuat turun dari <http://hwkks.moh.gov.my/data/pdfdocS.i.m.xev/kadar.bayaran>. Dirujuk pada 12hb April 2019

- Kim, Y.Y. (2001). *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1985). *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Jakarta: Aksara Baru.
- Maklumat diperolehi melalui Laman Web Rasmi Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu. Dirujuk pada 27 Oktober, 2017 dari <http://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Search.aspx?k=amalan>
- Muddiman, Dave. (2000). Theories of Social Exclusion and the Public Library. In: *Open to all?: the Public Library and Social Exclusion*. London: Resource: The Council Museums, Archives and Libraries, pp. 1-15. [Book chapter]
- O’Brien, M and Sue Penna. (2007). “Social Exclusion in Europe: Some Conceptual Issues”, *International Journal of Social Welfare*. pp.1-9.
- Rani, F. (2005). Kebijakan Indonesia di Era Pemerintahan Susilo Bambang Yudoyono Dalam Melestarikan Warisan Budaya. *Prosiding Seminar Antarabangsa ke-5* Riau: Universitas Riau
- Saith, Ruhi. “undated”. Social Exclusion: the Concept and Application to Developing Countries. QEH Working Papers qehwps72, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford. <https://ideas.repec.org/p/qeh/qehwps/qehwps72.html> dilayari pada 27 Mac 2019.
- Syamsul Azizul.et.al (2015). *Manhaj Wasatiyyah Dalam Menangani Fenomena Sinkretisme Dalam 'Urf dan Adat Masyarakat Bajau: Kajian di Daerah Semporna Sabah*. Prosiding Seminar Fiqh Semasa (SeFis) 2015, ISBN:978-967-13426-1-9
- Taib, A. (1985). *Asas-asas Antropologi*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia.
- Utusan Online (25 Ogos 2011), Miliki 50 buah Pulau Seluas 1 Juta Hektar. Diakses pada 19 April 2017 dalam http://ww1.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2011&dt=0825&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Sabah_%26_Sarawak&pg=wb_04.htm
- Unit Perancang Ekonomi. (2014). *Risalah 'Perangkaan Pendapatan & Kemiskinan Isi Rumah Sepintas Lalu, 2012 & 2014*. Diakses pada 20 Oktober 2017 dalam <http://epu.gov.my/sites/default/files/Perangkaan%20Pendapatan%20%26%20Kemiskinan%20Isi%20Rumah%20Sepintas%20Lalu%2C%202012%20%26%202014.pdf>

DIFFERENCES AMONG BAJAU HOUSES IN THE DIASPORA ZONE

Muhammad Abdul Karim¹, Alfagana Rachmadani²

¹Universitas Indonesia, ²Universitas Diponegoro
(K_muhammadabdul@yahoo.co.id, dhanidika@gmail.com)

Abstract

Bajau peoples or Sama Bajau in Sabah, Malaysia, and Philippines are sea peoples who traditionally lived on the sea and travelled around eastern Indonesia, the Celebes Sea, Northern Borneo and the Southern Philippines. The Bajau have had reputations as fisherman, raiders, and traders, as recorded in history or oral narratives. Most of their life is very much related to the sea from birth to death, but they have now settled in houses along shorelines and have traded with local peoples. This has formed a wide diaspora of Bajau people in Eastern Indonesia. The house become more important after most Southeast Asian states became stabilised in the 1970s which navies made borderlands more secure. This has meant that most seafaring peoples, including Bajau, cannot travel as easily as in the olden days, although the tradition of seafaring is still strong among Bajau people. The traditional house of Bajau is now influenced by many aspects such as locale and culture. Although most of Bajau houses are quite similar, there are some different styles. In this paper, researchers identify the various Bajau house styles in different regions of their diaspora in South Celebes province, North Maluku, and East Lesser Islands provinces in Indonesia, Sabah in Malaysia, and the Sulu archipelago in the Philippines. It combined two methods, taking an historical perspective for exploring the background of Bajau diaspora, and architecture for knowledge of what has made Bajau houses different in many areas.

Keywords: *Bajau, house, architecture, heritage, history.*

Introduction

The Bajau tribe or known as 'Sama-Bajau' in East Malaysia or Sea Bajau or Bajo in Indonesia or Badjaw in the Philippines¹ is nomaden sea peoples and hard to track in history record except colonial record. The oral history is the only chance for researcher tracking the story of Bajau's Peoples, and the anthropologist tried to join Bajau's community to learn more about Bajau such as Zacot, Nimmo, and Sather.² The anthropologist's research very important to know more about Bajau and Bajau's diaspora have a different characteristic in many places such Zacot in Nain island at north Manado and Torosiaje in Pohnpei

Regency, Gorontalo, the place where Zacot got most of the information about Bajau. Based Big Dictionary of Indonesia Language or KBBI (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*), Bajau's people is a social group who live in a boat, stay in sea or strait around east coast Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and Flores, what KBBI said based on research in past. In nowadays, Bajau's people identified by A.B.Lapian in his book, *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, & Raja Laut*. In his dissertation, *orang laut* or sea peoples is sea nomaden in Malacca strait and Riau archipelago³, but a lot of nomaden sea peoples in Southeast Asia especially Bajau's people. Lapian said the concept of *orang laut* is a society which doesn't have any state formation and lives as sea nomaden or in the village⁴. Bajau is one of *orang laut* type.

¹ H.Arlo Nimmo, Januari 1968, Reflections on Bajau History *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1. pp 33

² A.B.Lapian. 2009. *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, & Raja Laut*. Komunitas Bambu:Depok. pp 18

³ Ibid. pp 78

⁴ Ibid. pp 14

Bajau's people spread in the area as KBBI mentioned, but Lapien sure the Bajau also in Sulu archipelago, North Mollucus, and the Celebes Sea is part diaspora Masyarakat Bajau⁵. If using the named topology, actually the Bajau's people spread out around Indonesia such Bojo island at Nias, Sibajau island in Mentawai, but it's not related although there are many places called Labuan Bajo such in Manggarai at Flores, and Tomoni gulf in Central Celebes which means the Bajau's people sailing zone very wide⁶.

The most interesting is the word of "Sama or Samal", the linguistic sea peoples group in Sulu archipelago and mostly related to Bajau's peoples at Sulu (actually separated since different ethnic), but also Bajau's people in Celebes as Zacot reported⁷. The term of Sama-Bajau used researcher, especially linguistics. For Tagalog's people, they call Bajau in the land as Samal, and in Malaysia and Indonesia, there are many names to call such as Bajau Laut⁸.

Identification of Bajau's people become attention for the maritime historian and also an anthropologist. Bajau's people in South Philipina, mentioned by Spanish as 'Moro' since Bajau is Muslim⁹. Bajau's people like to call themselves as 'Sammah' since Bajau name got from an outsider. Also, Zacot mentions the Bajau's people in Gorontalo and North Celebes fell different from Bajau in Philipina, and they think their ancestor from Bajo'e in Watapone, South Celebes and now is a district in Bone regency¹⁰. There is a legend in Torosiaje; they are the descent of Mallaca princess which fled with Bajau peoples and reached Bone. King of Bone gives port to Bajau after his son married the princess and that port called Bajo'e. This made Bajau's people fell they close to Bugis society, including the culture and they see the Bajau Philipina same with Tobelo, North Halmahera tribe, from South Philipina which not true¹¹.

⁵ Ibid. pp 80

⁶ ibid

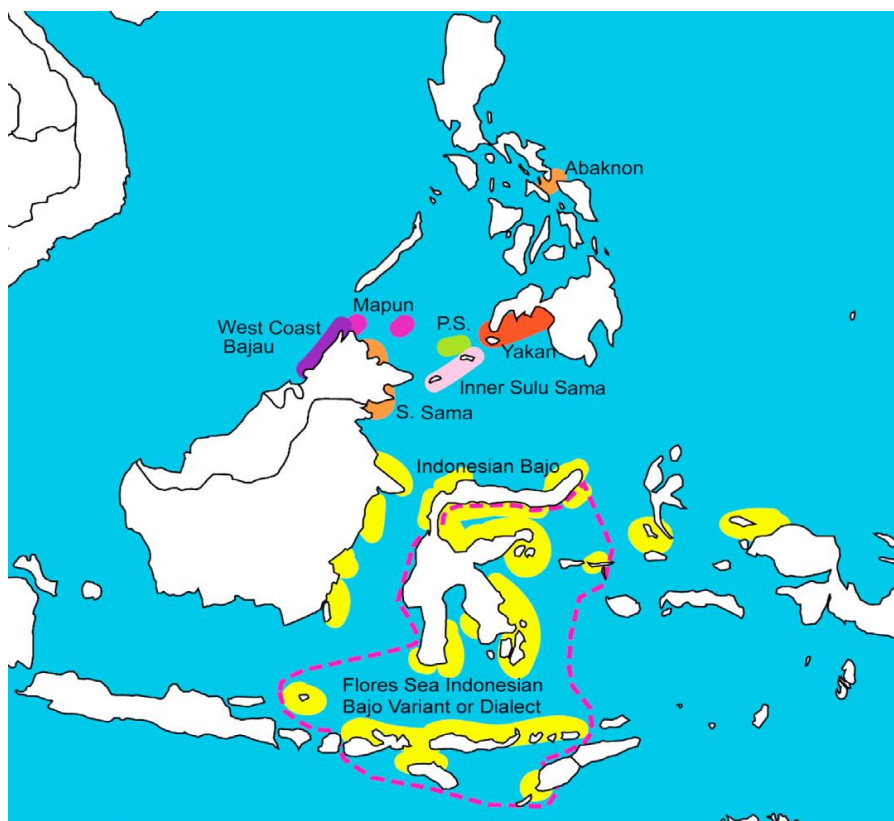
⁷ Ibid

⁸ Natasha Stacey. 2007. *Bajo Settlement History Bajo Fishing Activity in the Australian Fishing Zone*. pp 7-8

⁹ Op.cit 33

¹⁰ Francois-Robert Zacot. 2008. *Orang Bajo:Suku Pengembara Laut Pengalaman Seorang Antropolog*. KGP:Jakarta. pp 77

¹¹ Ibid. pp 78



Chandra Nuraini, 2016 The intangible legacy of the Indonesian Bajo. *Wacana Vo*;17 No.1. pp 3

The Bajau's society Identified as sea peoples in Riau or Orang Laut. However, the most interesting is Bajau society in Tawi-Tawi and Sibutu have a similar legend but have small different. According to the legend¹², their ancestor from Johore and because there is a big storm, the chief tied his boat to a wooden pillar, which he think connected to the sea floor and his peoples tied their boats to chief's boat. However, the pillar not connected to the sea floor, but big giant stingray and the stingray move in midnight when all peoples sleep, and when they awake, they realized they not in Johore sea. For one week, they searching the way to return and the chief pray to god and some spirit enter the chief which made tranced chief ordered his peoples move to the east for 2 days until they found land and tied their boats to big pillar called 'Samboangan' in Samal language. In later day become Zamboanga¹³. Most of the legend of where Bajau from Johor and most of the researcher do not know when Bajau come to Sulu archipelago.

In Sulu archipelago, there are two big Bajau group; in Sulu archipelago where Bajau stay in Tawi-Tawi, Sibutu and Semporna which connected by marriage. In another place, Bajau in Siasi, Jolo, Basilan and Zamboanga different although join in a group of Samal. Moreover, the classification of Bajau can more divided¹⁴. Comparing Northern Bajau's people, Southern Bajau people (Tawi-Tawi, Sibutu and Semporna) less nomadan and stay around the reef and the Northern Bajau like to sailing to Palawan, Cagayan de Sulu, Borneo, Celebes, and Manila for catching the fish¹⁵.

Bajau from Nomadan to Live in House

¹²H.Arlo Nimno. pp 39

¹³ Ibid. pp 39-40

¹⁴ Ibid. pp 37

¹⁵ Ibid. pp 38

Bajau's peoples either in South Philipina or Eastern Indonesia in first time know a house is a place for a temporal stay in the coast and they real house is the boat. They live in the boat and do all daily activity in the boat until they die. Sometimes they go to land for some business and live short duration. The Bajau society change when World War II and decolonization of most Southeast Asia states. The government such British administration in Sabah want Bajau peoples live in a house near land with stage house at the coast. The self-initiative by Bajau happened in Tungbangkao and Sitangkai where many fish buyers came to Sitangkai and made Bajau's fisherman build stage house although they still live in a boat, but at a time to time, fisherman more like stay in stage house and made new culture for Bajau 's society¹⁶. Also in Tawi-Tawi and Tungbangkao which Bajau build masjid in their sea village¹⁷.

However, according to Lapien, the process has started in the 16th century with process landing process and continued until the peak is Bajau build stage house near or at land and relinquish the title of Bajau. Same with Orang Laut in Johor who live in land and they do not want call as Orang Laut again¹⁸.

In Orang Laut's theory, Bajau's people become land people because they are already knew state formation. In another hand, according to Warren, Bajau's peoples in Sulu archipelago and Sabah start to build villages since impact from Sabah, and Sarawak join Federation of Malaysia which made the borderline in Sulu zone and new government give the citizenship for Bajau's people. Also the British Government in 1964 build bridge to Bajau's village and 6 years later, more Bajau comes which made the village bigger.¹⁹

The modern state formation was forcing Bajau's people to choose to be Indonesian, Malaysian, or Philipino and made they must stay permanently to get nation protection. This made them become poor fisherman and not good in the economy. Especially in some region, Bajau's people cannot easily accept although it has stayed very long like in Flores²⁰.

The modern Bajau's society still cannot separate with the boat and they will be uneasy if they did not have a boat and will do anything to get it²¹. *Leppa*, The Bajau's boat in North Celebes have a facility like a house with long about 6 meters and wide about 1 meter. This boat has outriggers which called as *sapel* and peoples can live here about 5-7 or one families²². In Sulu zone, *djenging* is Bajau's boat reported in 1968 which only in Tawi-Tawi. Beside it, there are *Lipa* or *Leppa*, but unlike in North Celebes, this boat did not have outriggers like popular traditional boat in Borneo and often called as *Samal djenging* by Bajau Tawi-Tawi.²³

According to Bajau housing from Amir Sessu in *Sekitar Tentang Suku Bajo Di Desa Bajo's Kecamatan Tanete Riattang Kabupaten Bone*, he divided 4 phase of Bajau's society in Bajo'e region and can apply in many places²⁴:

1. Bajau's society live in boats and searching fish only for food (*orang laut*)
2. Bajau's society builds stage house at sea with road tied by pillar for boat(s). However, do not need accessories because not need.
3. Bajau's stage house try to imitate Bugis's stage house and need accessories, but tides still threats house.
4. Phase modern, but still, live in stage house although Bajau's society becomes modern peoples.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp 56

¹⁷ Ibid. pp 57

¹⁸ Lapien. pp 85

¹⁹ Carol Warrenm. 1980. Consciousness in Social Transform: The Bajau Laut of East Malaysia *Dialectical Anthropology*. Vol 5 No. 3 November 1980. pp 228

²⁰ Chandra Nuraini. 2016. The intangible legacy of the Indonesian Bajo. *Wacana* Vol. 17 No. 1. pp 4

²¹ Zacot. pp 127

²² Ibid. pp 128

²³ Op.cit. pp 37

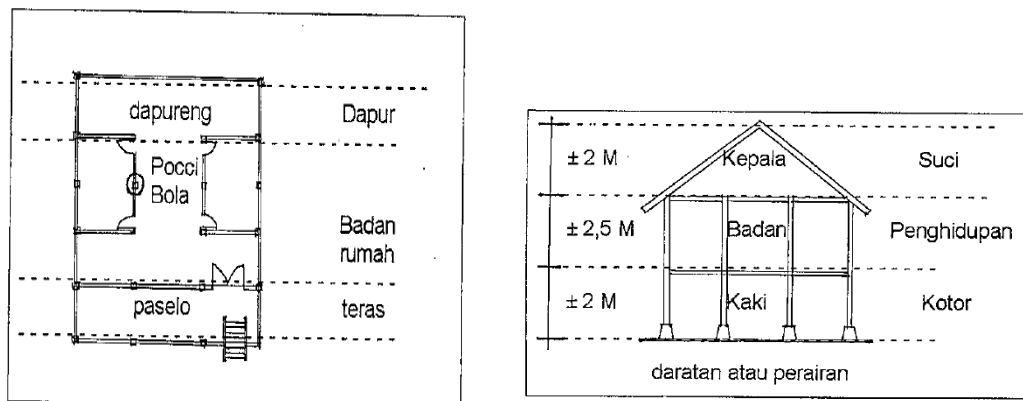
²⁴ Juhanna. 2000. Pengaruh Bentuk Arsitektur dan Iklim Terhadap Kenyamanan Tehermal Rumah Tinggal Suku Bajo di Wilayah Pesisir Bajo'e Kabupaten Bone Sulawesi Selatan (Thesis). Semarang : Universitas Dinopegoro. pp 22-24.

Stage house is new life for Bajau's peoples which not so far from they live in the sea since stage house like their boat and most of the house still need a boat(s) for going to another house if bridge not existed²⁵. Stage house of Bajau build in the coast or connected with land. There are very few house boat family, about a hundred families, who live in the sea at eastern Celebes²⁶. According to Zacot's research, Bajau's people have two types: Sama peoples and Bagai. Sama peoples are they who live in the sea and Bagai is peoples who live in land. The Bajau who live in land not recognize as Sama again²⁷. This why Bajau's house is stage house at coast or sea and connected with bridges or boats.

The architecture of Bajau's stage house research very lack. Either old or now. There is some but very small spacial area. The stage house in Nusantara is the most common house like in swamp, flood area, or coast like Bajau. Besides protecting from the flood, stage house is also protecting peoples from a wild animal.

Characteristic of Bajau stage house influence from Alloping, the Bajau's culture to Roof(Kepala or Ulu), the main body(*Badan* or *Watang*), and pillars of stage house (*kaki* or *aje*)²⁸. *Mapatettong Bola* is ritual for constructing house and must schedule with good day²⁹. According to Juhanna, appabolang culture made Bajau house adapted with temperature and the give convenience for the family to stay. Beside the house, appabolang culture covers many of Bajau's cultures.

Each type of stage house has different. Pillar of stage house symbolized as dirty nature, and most of Bajau see foot of house surrounded by evil from the sea. For body or *Watang* is the life of peoples and roof or head is a holy place. In *watang*, there are kitchen, rooms, and, Terrance. No toilet or bath room since for Bajau, the house must be protected from dirty things and for bathing, they will go to land ³⁰. For the roof, this must clean to make the spirit who lives in the house happy³¹. Bajau stage house effected with tides and influencing peoples daily work as a fisherman and also Bajau's family³². Especially kids who like to swimming and to play in the sea³³.



The architecture of Bajau's Stage House according to appabolang tradition. Reference: Juhanna. 2000. PP 108-109

Facing the humidity from the sea, Bajau's people use paint to the wooden wall for preventing wooden become wet. Also for house pit open in every time so wind can enter. Also for

²⁵Op.cit. pp 129

²⁶ Stacey. pp 11

²⁷ Lapian. pp 84-85

²⁸ Juhanna. pp 108.

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Ibid. pp 114

³¹ Ibid. pp 108

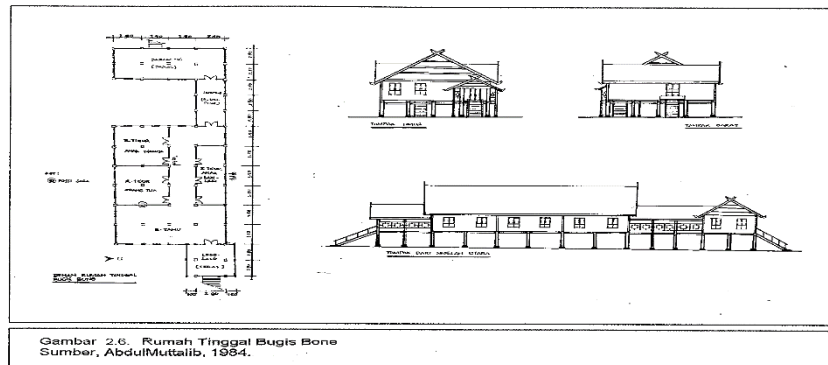
³²Ibid . pp 101

³³ Juhanna. pp 114

face tides, Bajau's people build a dyke around the village, but it depends for village community and local government.

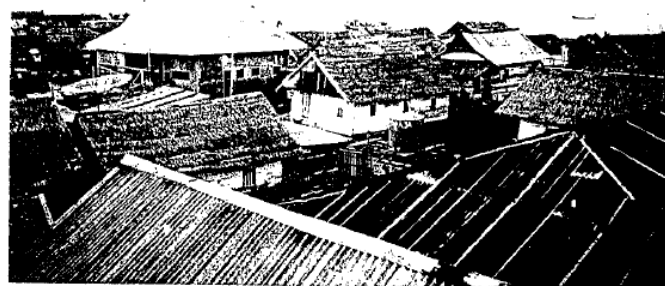
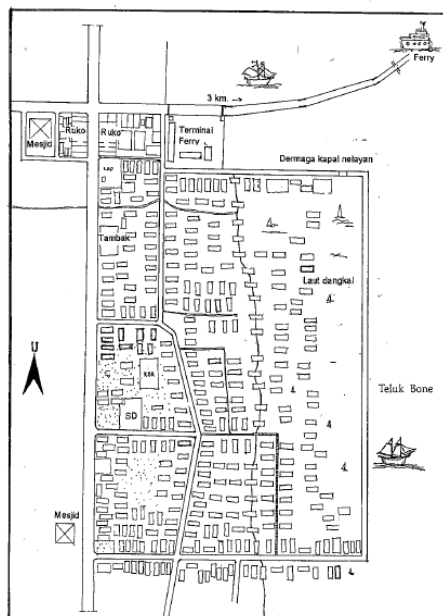
In construct house, besides appabolang culture, there are some steps. First (preparation) is visiting local leaders to search for the best schedule and property. The second phase (constructing): beside worker, there are some praying and feast or *selametan* in *mappanre* ritual. The third phase is building the house with pillars by peoples help for work or *gotong royong*: with the first pillar in the first row at the centre and continue to another pillar. The last phase is feast before the roof put in the house and after that floor and wall.³⁴

Either Bugis influence the Bajau's stage house or not it is debatable since relation Bugis and Bajau in Eastern Indonesia very close and sometime Bajau fell Bugis is their siblings. Also the diaspora of the Bugis community in Eastern Indonesia more bigger than Bajau.



The Bugis stage house concept. Juhanna. 2000. Pp 22.

House of Bajau in Bajo'e district, Bone



(Left) The village of Bajau in Bajo'e districts. Reference. 2000. Juhanna. pp 64

(Right) House of Bajau from above. Reference: Juhanna. 2000. pp 11

³⁴ibid. pp 118-119



House of Bajau from the side. REFERENCE Juhanna. 2000. pp 116

Bajau's village in Bajo'e district, South Celebes and become a reference of ancestor Bajau for several communities in Indonesia since Bugis-Bajau relation very good and impacted in some traditional story. For architecture perspective, the Bajau stage become model since most of Bajau's stage house have similarity with Bajo'e. 3 main concept of Bajau's house took from this place such as foot, body, and head.

A roof is a holy place, and Bajau's people use it as a water tank for rain and also parabola antenna. The roof used iron sheeting or roof tiles as to how strong the economy owner. As mention before, there are no toilet or bathroom in Bajo'e except for those who have to accept modern house culture.

House of Bajau in West Manggarai, Flores

West Manggarai is a most western area in Flores, East Lesser Islands or Nusa Tenggara Timur. Labuan Bajo is an important port in this area since becoming bridge for Komodo islands, the hinterland of Manggarai. In the first time, Labuan Bajo is a fisherman village which not important or not exists in the 19th century. However, from time to time, Labuan Bajo become a strategic port. Now, Bajau's people live in stage house or abandoned it like Bajau Community in another place. In demography, Labuan Bajo very lack of population, but many ethnics live and blended including Bajau.



Reference: <https://labuanbajotour.com/wisata/informasi-tentang-suku-asli-labuan-bajo>

In concept, Bajau's house very influences by the modern culture of Indonesia since Labuan Bajo is a gate for visitors visiting Komodo island. A lot of Bajau's people live in the land than sea although several stage house in land and not different from stage house on the coast. For

architecture, not so different as Juhanna explains in Bajo'e with appabolang's concept, but some of Bajau's people have lived in the land and clashed with the old belief the Bajau's people.

Bajau's House in North Mollucas



Rerefence: Faris Bobero, 17 August 2017, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2017/08/17/potret-kehidupan-orang-bajo-di-negeri-seribu-pulau>

Bajo Sangkuang village located in South Halmahera regency, North Mollucas Province and become one of Bajau's community place in Mollucas and Papua. This village unlike Labuan Bajo, Bajo Sangkuang very small and only become small fisherman village since not strategic like many Bajau's villages in Eastern, and Southeast Celebes, and North Mollucas.

From an architecture view, Bajo Sangkuang stage house mostly in the coast and the concept of stage house same with Bajo's and Labuan Bajo. What makes different is modernization in this village quite slow compare Bajo'e and Labuan Bajo since geography factor and North Mollucas more isolated than those places.

Bajau's House in Semporna, Sabah and Tawi-Tawi, Sulu Archipelago



Stage house around Semporna. Reference: 19 April 2015, <https://www.dreamstime.com/editorial-image-village-bajau-laut-semporna-sabah-borneo-semporna-malaysia-april-bajau-floating-village-stilted-houses-off-coast-image99214485> (left) Reference: 17 December 2011, <https://www.dreamstime.com/editorial-stock-image-semporna-sabah-malaysia-december-bajau-laut-woman-wearing-traditional-beauty-mask-standing-outside-her-stilt-house-shalow-image50769604>. (right)

Different in 3 places before, Bajau's village in Semporna quite different. Bajau Village has two locations in Semporna; one relocated by the government and one in the coast. From an architecture perspective, the structure of the house very different. There are *Sibai* (*serambi*) or

guest house, *ibu Rumah* or (main room), *kusih* (*dapur*) or kitchen, *pentan* (*pelataran*), and *Jambatan* or catwalk³⁵. The concept of *appabolang* existed among Bajau's in Semporna, but the term of *appabolang* more likely not known by Bajau's people in around Sabah and make the different from Bajau in eastern Indonesia. Most likely the influence of Bugis.

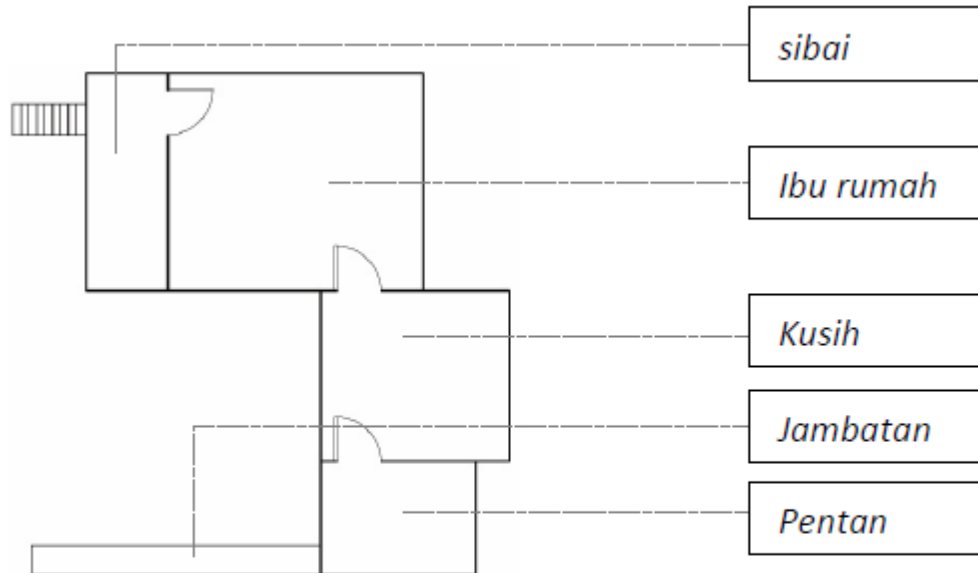


Figure 1: A typical configuration of a complete Sama-Bajau house in coastal area

Reference: Iziq Eafifi Ismail & Abdullah Sani Ahmad. November 2015. Spatial Arrangement of Coastal Sama-Bajau Houses Based on Adjacency Diagram. International Journal of Built Environment and Sustainability. Johor: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia. pp 286

Also in Tawi-Tawi, Sulu archipelago. Tawi-Tawi island not so far from Semporna and have a similar culture with Bajau's Semporna. With Tausug's peoples or original Sulunese, they live harmony in Tawi-Tawi with building the village at sea coast quite far from land unlike Bajau in Bajo Sangkuang, Labuan Bajo, or Bajo'e.



Reference: Jacob Maentz, 19 April 2016 <http://thecoraltriangle.com/stories/tawi-tawi-the-philippines-most-beautiful-province-is-also-its-most-feared>

Conclusion

³⁵Iziq Eafifi Ismail & Abdullah Sani Ahmad. November 2015. Spatial Arrangement of Coastal Sama-Bajau Houses Based on Adjacency Diagram. International Journal of Built Environment and Sustainability. Johor: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia. pp 286

The diaspora of Bajau in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philipina have many different from their point of view to thyself to the architecture of the stage house. In big line, the house of Bajau have similarity with appabolang culture and stage house at sea, but in concept, there are some different in location or room divided such Bajau in Bajo'e and many places in Eastern Indonesia. This made the architecture of Bajau's stage house can be classified with the linguistic area of Bajau Indonesia and Sama Bajau in Sabah, and Sulu archipelago.

However, behind different stage house structure, main belief of Bajau in many places is not a mixed bathroom or toilet with the house. This same with most of ethnics in Indonesia which did not mix it before government introduce it. Also for main concept of Bajau's house; foot, body, and head which like Bugis concept. Need a more comprehensive study to know more the different of Bajau's house in Bajau's diaspora area with combine the culture and architecture perspective.

Reference

- Ahmad, Abdullah Sani & Ismail, Iziq Eafifi . November 2015. Spatial Arrangement of Coastal Sama-Bajau Houses Based on Adjacency Diagram. International Journal of Built Environment and Sustainability. Johor: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia. Pp 284-291.
- Juhanna. 2000. Pengaruh Bentuk Arsitektur dan Iklim Terhadap Kenyamanan Tehermal Rumah Tinggal Suku Bajo di Wilayah Pesisir Bajo'e Kabupaten Bone Sulawesi Selatan (Thesis). Semarang : Universitas Dinopegoro.
- Lapian, Adrian B.. 2009. Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, & Raja Laut. Komunitas Bambu:Depok.
- Nimmo, H. Arlo. Januari 1968 Philippine Studies, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 1968), pp. 32-59.
- Nuraini, Chandra. 2016. The intangible legacy of the Indonesian Bajo. *Wacana* Vol. 17 No. 1. Pp 1-18.
- Stacey, Natasha. 2007. *Bajo Settlement History Bajo* Fishing Activity in the Australian Fishing Zone. Pp 7-30.
- Warren, Carol. 1980. Consciousness in Social Transform: The Bajau Laut of East Malaysia *Dialectical Anthropology*. Vol 5 No. 3 November 1980. Pp. 227-238
- Zacot, Francois-Robert. 2008. Orang Bajo: Suku Pengembara Laut Pengalaman Seorang Antropolog. KGP: Jakarta.

ETHNOHERBAL MEDICINES OF THE BAJAU IN NORTH OF SABAH, BORNEO, MALAYSIA

Julius Kulip^{1*23}, Jauris Seligin @ Doris^{1*} and Andy R. Mojiol⁴

^{*}(Correspondence author)

¹Institute for Tropical Biology and Conservation, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

²Research Fellow, Borneo Research Institute for Indigenous Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

³Research Fellow, Borneo Research Center for Medical and Health, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

⁴Faculty of Science and Natural Resources, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

(erismz@yahoo.com)

Abstract

A study on the ethnoherbal medicines was conducted among the Bajau ethnic in the north of Sabah, Malaysia, from February to June 2018. This study aimed to document the traditional knowledge of medicinal plant uses, to name the plants into scientific names and to know their significance for the Bajau's daily livelihood. There were 24 respondents interviewed who were aged between 20-83 years old, from 20 villages. In this study, we recorded a total of 114 species and two varieties in 56 families of plants as ethnoherbal medicines. The total number of native species was 30 (27%). In Kudat District, a total number of ethnoherbal species was 41 in 29 families of which 8 species (19%) were natives. In Kota Marudu District, the total number of ethnoherbal species was 81 with one variety and in 49 families of which 19 (24%) were natives. Pitas District had a total number of ethnoherbal species of 76 with one variety in 42 families of which 10 (13%) were natives. There were 10 types of preparations and 12 plant's parts used. The number of '*pantang larang*' was nine. The illness and symptoms were 39. There were 11 popular species, namely *Imperata cylindrica*, *Hydrocotyl sibthorpiodes*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Aloe vera*, *Crinum xanthophyllum* and *Melasotma malabathricum* and *Uvaria littoralis*. Local ethnoherbal medicines contributed significantly to the primary health, economic income of the Bajau and contributed indirectly to the conservation of plants in the north of Sabah.

Keywords: *Ethnoherbal medicines, traditional knowledge, Bajau, north Sabah, Malaysia, Borneo*

INTRODUCTION

Sabah is a state located in the west coast of Malaysia with the total land mass of nearly 73,620 square kilometres, divided into divisions of namely; East Coast, West Coast, Kudat and Interior. It has a tropic weather and 4,200 mm annual rain fall. The forest cover in Sabah encompassed approximate area of 37,600 square kilometers, of which considered high according to Southeast Asia region's standard (Reynolds *et al.*, 2011). Forests in Sabah provide a unique spectrum of tropical rain forest species that each of them has their own ecological functions. Sabah is estimated to house about 10,000 species of plants which almost 30% of them are endemic to Sabah. Ethnic in Sabah is estimated with more than 50 languages and 80 dialects (Muhammed & Muthu, 2015).

Together with the diverse of plants species and ethnicity, the traditional knowledge know-how on plants utilizations became great abundance. Traditionally, Sabah's ethnic groups are using many plants as their source of medicines. Kulip (2004) estimated that there were more than 1,300 species of common medicinal plants used by the natives in Sabah. The Muruts alone have around 68 species of native common traditional medicinal plants (Kulip, 2003). This fact also implies that significant cultural and ethnic diversity as well as traditional arts can have expected to be found within its boundaries; notably the

indigenous healing practices among native tribes in the rural areas as modern health facilities in Sabah are still lacking especially in rural areas. This practice is evidently diverse and unique throughout the region, based on their traditional belief systems respectively.

The Bajau community is the second largest native ethnics after Dusunic group, the Bajau make 13% of total native population in Sabah (Muhammed & Muthu, 2015). Bajau or its variants (e.g. Badjao, Bajo, Bajao) is a generic word used to group several closely related sub ethnics, their diaspora covers the Sulu Archipelago and Borneo shorelines and islands, which today known as modern territory of Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia (Miller, 2011; Halina, 2013). In state of Sabah, Malaysia, Sama-Bajau and Aa'a Sama, are the two large sub groups of Bajau (Saat, 2003). The Sama-Bajau or the Jomo Sama of Kota Belud, is acknowledged as inland Bajau due to their livelihood that more related to activity such as paddy agriculture, forest foraging, livestock rearing, and also as skillful horsemen (Miller, 2011; Halina, 2013; Lailawati et al., 2014). Other than Kota Belud, the Sama-Bajau settlements in west coast of Sabah also include Kudat, Tuaran, Putatan, and Papar (Halina & Saidatul, 2008; Halina 2013).

They are skillful boat builders, navigators, and fishers of various species of aquatic resources which they barter for potable water, rice, cloth, salt and other comestibles, and metal tools and equipment. Their simple semi-nomadic way of life as fishers and boat builders without permanent dwellings on land and ability to endure privations fascinated many outside observers who called them "Sea Gypsies" or "Sea Nomads," who freely come and go unburdened by possessions and political obligations. These marine-oriented people have been the subject of ethnographic and historical research since the 1960s.² However, these researches gloss over the suffering of Sama-Bajao due to socioeconomic iniquities primarily brought about by their marine-oriented life (Roxas-Lim, 2017).

In previous study noted that decline of traditional knowledge among group with higher household income compare to the lower income group (Muhammed & Muthu, 2015). Moreover, traditional knowledge in Sabah is not well documented orthographically, it often remains in the memory of elderly people, and merely passed down to younger generation through informal oral communication and by observing practice (Awang-Kanak et al., 2017; Awang-Kanak et al., 2018) especially the ethnoherbal medicines as more modern medical facilities are growing up. Therefore, this study aims to present traditional knowledge on local plants that have been used traditionally by Sama-Bajau in three districts namely Kudat, Kota marudu and Pitas as their ethnoherbal medicines.

LITERATURE REVIEWS

A study on preparations of eight plant species used traditionally for postpartum care by Sama-Bajau people in Kampung Taun Gusi and Kampung Menunggu, Kota Belud, Sabah by Awang-Kanak *et. al.* (2018a) concluded that various parts of plants have been prepared differently for oral consumptions, e.g. freshly eaten, boiled before eaten, decoction, drink, and also for external use, e.g. bathing mixture.

Awang-Kanak *et. al.* (2018b) conducted a preliminary ethnobotanical survey of traditional salad food or Ulam within Sama-Bajau community in Taun Gusi Village, Kota Belud Sabah, Malaysia on May 2017. A total of 28 species of plants from 26 genera and 20 families were recorded have been consumed as Ulam. The study also revealed that apart from being consumed as traditional salad food (Ulam), 15 species were also used as herbal medicine to treat or prevent various diseases such as cough, diabetes, high blood pressure, cancer, flu, fever, red eyes, ringworms, and for postpartum treatment.

Zingiberaceae was the most utilized plant family as an herbal medicine by Sama-Bajau community of Kampung Taun Gusi, Kota Belud. The Zingiberaceae species were namely; *Curcuma caesia* (kunyit hitam), *Curcuma zanthorrhiza*, (temulawak), and *Zingiber zerumbet* (lempoyang) were recorded to be used as herbal medicine to treat diabetes and high blood pressure. The decoction of the young shoot of *Capsicum annum* (lada) had been used to treat ringworms among children and red eyes, moreover, the paste of the leaf had been used to reduce high fever. Meanwhile, *Cosmos caudatus* (ransa ransa) and *Centella asiatica* (pegaga) had been consumed for health and wellness maintenance and as anti-aging herbs.

Preliminary study on ethnopharmacological application of 'ulam' or traditional vegetables among Sama-Bajau of Kampung Menunggu, Kota Belud, Sabah conducted on June 2017 and November 2017 by Awang-Kanak et. al. (2018c) found that a total of 33 species from 30 genera, and 19 families of plants and a species of green algae, *Caulerpa lentillifera* (Caulerpaceae) or locally known as "latok" have been consumed as 'ulam' or traditional vegetables. Other than being used as food source, 7 species also have been applied as traditional dietary resource and as herbal medicine for postpartum women, treatment for high blood pressure and diabetes, as well as as anti-aging botanicals for health maintenance purposes. The decoction of papaya (*Carica papaya*) flower and inner bark of coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) have been eaten fresh to control high blood pressure, leaves of pegaga (*Centella asiatica*) and the fruit of bitter gourd (*Momordica charantia*) have been eaten fresh to lower high blood sugar. Young shoots of "buluh" or *Bambusa* sp., fresh leaves of "ransa ransa" or *Cosmos caudatus*, and decoction of "kunyit" or *Curcuma longa* have been utilized as traditional diet and herbal medicine for postpartum women. *C. caudatus* was also consumed fresh for health maintenance and as anti-aging herbs. Meanwhile the fruit and young leaves of *M. charantia* have been used as bathing mixture for postpartum recovery, and decoction of *C. asiatica* has been used to treat jaundice among new born infants. Sellers of medicinal plants by Bajau women in west coast of Sabah was 7.1% as reported by Jurry (2016).

PROBLEM STATEMENTS

1. Lack of scientific documentations on Ethnoherbal traditional knowledge of the Bajau people in the north region of Sabah. This study will save some of them before it lost forever.
2. Some modern medical treatment also fails to heal mysterious diseases that cannot be detected by modern medical apparatus. Thus, the documentation of traditional healing using plants will add as an alternative medical systems.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study were:

1. To assess the knowledge about plants that used as medicines traditionally in term of quality and quantity.
2. To know the role of traditional medicinal plants.
3. To know the conservation status of traditional medicinal plants

LOCALITY OF STUDY

Localities of study (Figure 1) were namely:

- i) Kudat District:
Bangi Island: Kg. Buanog, Kg. Bangau, Kg. Tigaman darat, kg. Tanah Merah, Kg. Bangau Besar and Kg. Tanjung Kapur.
- ii) Kota Marudu District:
Kg. Gana, Kg. Tambun, Kg. Mengkupi, Kg. Tanjung Batu Laut, Kg. Marasimsim/
- iii) Pitas District:
Kg. Dandun, Kg. Kanibungan, Kg. Kabatasan, Kg. Rukom Laut, Kg. Pondo, Kg. Kalumpang, Kg. Indah, Kg. Sungai Iloi, Kg. Mangkapon, Kg. Longsom, Kg. Bangkau-Bangkau and Kg. Kerasik.



Figure 1. Localities of study (Circled in green) (Source:Google).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

An open ended semi structured questionnaires based on Martin (1995) was used in this survey. A total of 24 respondents were interviewed using a set of questions on knowledge of traditional medicinal plants which nine of them were female and 15 male. Most interviews were conducted in Bajau language, a translator was hired, were taped and later translated.

The APG IV system (2016) is used in the naming and classifications of all plants specimens in this study. The APG IV system of flowering plant classification is the fourth version of a modern, mostly molecular-based, system of plant taxonomy for flowering plants (angiosperms) being developed by the Angiosperm Phylogeny Group (APG).

Surveys

There were 24 informants were chosen by snowball sampling technique. Informants were selected based on (i) Their knowledge on traditional uses of plants as medicines and (ii) Their willingness to share their knowledge on herbal medicine. The demographic detail of informants and data of plant parts that have been used were also recorded.

Collection and identification of plants

Plants were collected and made into voucher specimens whenever it was difficult to identify scientifically in the field. This Including taking photographs for references. Identifications of the plants were done by the first and second author.

Analysis of data

Quatitative data were analyzed by using Statistical Packages for Social Students (SPSS) version 19.0. Data were classified according to ethnic, village (Kg.), types of plants. For qualitative data, RFC index was used to find the most common and popular plants that were used as ethnoherbal medicines. Ethical issues, such as autonomy, confidentiality, and anonymity, were observed and followed the Nagoya 2010 Protocol throughout the study. The written ethical approval for the study was obtained from the Sabah Biodiversity Council, District Offices of Kudat, Kota marudu and Pitas and Native Customary Laws offices.

RESULT

A total of 24 respondents were interviewed using a set of questions on knowledge of traditional medicinal plants which nine of them were females and 15 males. Most interviews were conducted in Bajau language and a translator was hired, were taped and later translated. Data were analyzed using thematic content analysis.

In this study, we recorded a total of 114 species and two varieties in 56 families of plants as ethnoherbal medicines. The total number of native species was 30 (27%). In Kudat District, the total number of ethnoherbal species was 41 in 29 families of which 8 species (19%) were natives. In Kota Marudu District, the total number of ethnoherbal species was 81 with one variety and in 49 families of which 19 (24%) were natives. Pitas District the total number of ethnoherbal species was 76 with one variety in 42 families of which 10 (13%) were natives.

There were 10 types of preparations before the herbs were used and 12 plant's parts used. The number of taboos or 'Pantang Larang' involved was nine. The illness and symptoms were 39. There were 10 species of plants that were used more often, there were namely *Imperata cylindrica*, *Hydrocotyl sibthorpiodes*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Aloe vera*, *Crinum xanthophyllum* and *Melasotma malabathricum*. The most highly priced herbs used by the Bajau was *Uvaria littoralis* (Annonaceae) or (Tambu-tambu in Bajau) which was used to cure cancer. Sources of herbal medicines were from the nearby undisturbed (primary) forests, disturbed (secondary) forests, cultivated lands, house compounds and planted on pots. Local ethnoherbal medicines contributed significantly to the primary health and economic income to the Bajau. Traditional knowledge of local herbs uses also contributes indirectly to the conservation and preservation of plants in north of Sabah.

Characteristics of participants

In total, 24 respondents aged between 20-83 years old in 20 villages were interviewed in the three districts (Table 2).

Table 1. List of Bajau respondents.

NO.	NAME	AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION
1.	Mohammad Azzri	15	Male	Student
2.	Nuraina Baidura	31	Female	Self employment
3.	Mustaja B. Hj. Mastan	35	Male	Fisherman
4.	Harum Bt. Ingatan	37	Female	Self employment
5.	Zainab Amizan	37	Female	House wife
6.	Ilan Bt. Usman	40	Female	House wife
7.	Amit Abdullah	46	Male	Fisherman
8.	Daud B. Kanet	49	Male	Self employment
9.	Awang Damit	51	Male	Teacher
10.	Majin Asau	51	Male	Fisherman
11.	Ali Osman B. Pikin Alin	54	Male	Fisherman
12.	Atong B. Rajah	56	Male	Fisherman
13.	Pakamah Bt. Tambisan	58	Female	House wife
14.	Im. Hj. Ali Akhbar	59	Male	Imam
15.	Idris Mualam	60	Male	Pensioner
16.	Nordin Jasmin	60	Male	Pensioner
17.	Yahya B. Tamin	64	Male	Self employment
18.	Ajjah Bt. Utuh	65	Female	Fisherman
19.	Jamari B. Nasirin	65	Male	Head Village
20.	Ungga Bt. Mamarun	70	Female	House wife
21.	Sitak Asma	73	Male	Fisherman
22.	Tanbariah Bt. Hj. Siroh	75	Female	House wife
23.	Idum Bt. Keningan	83	Female	Self employment
24.	Hj. Mastan Hj. Duasa	87	Male	Self employment

Table 2. List of ethnoherbal medicines used by the Bajau in Kudat District.

No.	Family	Species	Bajau Name	Treatment of	Part used and methods
1.	Amaryllidiaceae	<i>Crinum xanthophyllum</i>	Pijihun	Flu	Leaf
2.	Annonaceae	<i>Annona muricata</i>	Durian Belanda	Inflammation of pancreas	Leaf. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
3.	Apocynaceae	<i>Vinca rosea</i>	Bunga Cina	Swollen bosc	Latex. Applied.
4.	Arecaceae	<i>Areca catechu</i>	Pinang	Diuretic	Fruits
5.	Asteraceae	<i>Blumea balsamifera</i>	Sambung	Flatulence after deliver a baby.	Leaf. Boil and taken as bath.
6.	Asteraceae	<i>Cosmos caudatus</i>	Ulam Raja.	Strengthen bone.	Leaf and stem. Eaten raw.
7.	Balsaminaceae	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i>	Bunga letup-letup	Diabetis	Leaf. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
8.	Cactaceae	<i>Pereskia sacharosa</i>	Jarum tujuh bilah	Antidote for snake bite	Sap. Applied on affected area.
9.	Caricaceae	<i>Carica papaya</i>	Betik	Reduce HBP	Flowers. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
10.	Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	Ubi manis	Flatulence	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
11.	Costaceae	<i>Costus speciosus</i>	Setawar putih	Flu, cough and tooth ache.	Sap. Drink.

12.	Crassulaceae	<i>Kalanchoe blossfeldiana</i>	Setawar	Headache, fever and flatulence.	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
13.	Dilleniaceae	<i>Tetracera indica</i>	Ampalas	Stomach pain and diarrhea	Roots. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
14.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Jatropha curcas</i>	Tangan-tangan	Mouth ulcer, swollen and muscle dislocation.	Sap. Apply.
15.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Manihot esulenta</i>	Ubai Kayu	Small pox	Root. Grated and mix with water. Extract is apply.
16.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i>	Pokok Dukung Anak	Inflammation of pancreas	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
17.	Fabaceae	<i>Cassia alata</i>	Gelangang besar	Ring worm and skin itchy.	New and old leaf. Pound and apply.
18.	Lamiaceae	<i>Orthosiphon grandiflorus</i>	Misai Kucing	Diuretic	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
19.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium sativum</i>	Bawang Putih	Phlegm	Bulb. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
20.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium ascalonicum</i>	Bawang merah	Phlegm	Bulb. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
21.	Liliaceae	<i>Aloe vera</i>	Lida buaya	Skin burns, wounds and scars.	Sap. Apply.
22.	Lythraceae	<i>Lawsonia inermis</i>	Inai	Diuretic	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
23.	Malvaceae	<i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i>	Bunga raya	Phlegm	Flowers. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
24.	Melastomataceae	<i>Melastoma malabathricum</i>	Senduduk	Stomacache	Roots. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
25.	Menispermaceae	<i>Tinospora crispa</i>	Patawali	Reduce HBP.	Stem. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
26.	Moraceae	<i>Ficus deltoidea</i>	Sempit-sempit	Post partum treatment.	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
27.	Myrtaceae	<i>Psidium guajava</i>	Jambu	Stomach ache	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
28.	Pandanaceae	<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>	Pandan	Post partum	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
29.	Poaceae	<i>Cymbopogon calcicola</i>	Serai geliga.	Post partum	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
30.	Poaceae	<i>Cymbopogon citratus</i>	Serai	Post partum	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
31.	Poaceae	<i>Imperata cylindrical</i>	Lalang	Fever	Rhizome. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
32.	Rubiaceae	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	Mengkudu	Diabetis	Fruits. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
33.	Rutaceae	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i>	Limau Kasturi	Influenza	Fruit. Eat.
34.	Simaroubaceae	<i>Eurycoma longifolia</i>	Tongkat Ali	Reduce HBP	Root. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
35.	Solanaceae	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i>	Cili padi	Phlegm	Fruit. Eat.
36.	Solanaceae	<i>Physalis minima</i>	Letup-letup	Diabetis	Fruit. Eat.
37.	Solanaceae	<i>Solanum torvum</i>	Terung pipit	Hole in heart and stones in gall bladder.	Root. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
38.	Umbelliferae	<i>Hydrocotyles sibthorpiodes</i>	Pegaga	Diabetis	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
39.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Alpinia galangal</i>	Lengkuas	Cough	Rhizome. Eat.
40.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma domestica</i>	Temulawak	Stomach ache	Rhizome. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
41.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Halia	Post partum treatment and rheumatism.	Rhizome. Pound and apply.

Table 3. List of ethnoherbal medicines used by the Bajau in Kota Marudu District.

No.	Family	Species	Bajau Name	Treatment of	Part used and methods
1.	Acanthaceae	<i>Andrographis paniculata</i>	Hempedu bumi	Reduce HBP, fever and phlegm	Old and new leaf. Boil 15 pcs leaves and dring the tea 2x daily.
2.	Acanthaceae	<i>Clinacanthus nutans</i>	Belalai gajah	Inflammation of pancreas	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
3.	Agavaceae	<i>Sansevieria trifasciata</i>	Lida jin hijau	Diuretic	Leaf. Boil 7 pcs with roots and drink the tea 3x daily.
4.	Amaranthaceae	<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>	Bayam duri	To make blood flows smoothly.	Entire plant. Pounded and tie on foot when sleep,
5.	Amaryllidaceae	<i>Crinum xanthophyllum</i>	Pijihun	Itchy skin	Leaves. Apply.
6.	Anacardiaceae	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	Manga	Phlegm	Fruit. Eat.
7.	Annonaceae	<i>Annona muricata</i>	Durian belanda	Fever and diabetis	Fruit and leaf. Boil the leaf and drink the tea 3x daily. Fruit is eaten.
8.	Annonaceae	<i>Polyalthia cauliflora</i>	Delamato	Cough	Stem. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
9.	Apocynaceae	<i>Catharanthus roseus</i>	Kemuning cina	Inflammation of pancreas	Leaf. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
10.	Apocynaceae	<i>Kopsia pauciflora</i> var. <i>pauciflora</i>	Lampada	Epilepsy treatment	Root. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
11.	Apocynaceae	<i>Vinca rosea</i>	Bunga cina	Reduce HBP	Leaf. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
12.	Araceae	<i>Colocasia gigantean</i>	Kaladi	Small pox	Tuber. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
13.	Arecaceae	<i>Areca catechu</i>	Pinang	Reduces HBP	Fruit. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
14.	Arecaceae	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	Kelapa	Speedy recovery after deliver baby.	Fruit juice. Drink.
15.	Asteraceae	<i>Blumea balsmifera</i>	Sambung	Post Partum treatment	Leaf and stem. Sun dried and boil. Take for bath.
16.	Asteraceae	<i>Eupatorium odoratum</i>	Rumput Malaysia	Bleeding skin	Leaf is crunched and apply.
17.	Balsaminaceae	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i>	Bunga letup-letup	Dislocations of muscles	Flowers are heated and apply.
18.	Bombacaceae	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	Kapuk	Reduces HBP	Fruit. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily
19.	Cactaceae	<i>Pereskia sacharosa</i>	Jarum tujuh bilah	Ulser	Sap. Apply
20.	Caricaceae	<i>Carica papaya</i>	Betik	Reduces HBP	Flowers.
21.	Clusiaceae	<i>Garcinia mangostana</i>	Manggis	Ulser	Fruit's skin. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily
22.	Commelinaceae	<i>Rhoeo discolor</i>	Daun kepah	Skin burnd	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
23.	Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomea pes-caprae</i>	Bulakan	Anti-dote poisonous fish and snake.	Young roots. Pounded and apply.
24.	Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomea reptans</i>	Kangkung	Stomach ache	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily
25.	Crassulaceae	<i>Kalanchoe blossfeldiana</i>	Setawar	Head-ache, fever and boils.	Leaf. Pound and apply.
26.	Cucurbitaceae	<i>Momordica charantia</i>	Peria	Reduces HBP for new mother.	Fruit. Eaten raw.
27.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i>	Patik-patik	Wounds	Sap. Apply

28.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Jatropha curcas</i>	Tangan-tangan	Itchy skin	Sap. Apply
29.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Mallotus mollissimus</i>	Dahu	Post partum treatment.	Roots. Boil for bath,
30.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Pedilanthus tithymaloides</i>	Bunga lipan	Anti-dote for centipede bite	Latex. Applied on the affected part.
31.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i>	Pokok Dukung anak	Fever and new tooth.	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily
32.	Fabaceae	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	Asam jawa	Cough and flu	Barks. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
33.	Hypericaceae	<i>Cratoxylum cochinchinense</i>	Maran Palawan	Ear pain	Sap. Apply.
34.	Iridaceae	<i>Eleutherine palmifolia</i>	Bawang jabu	Fever	Bulb. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily
35.	Lamiaceae	<i>Ocimum basilicum</i>	Selasih	Boils	Leaf. Pounded and apply.
36.	Lamiaceae	<i>Ortosiphon aristatus</i>	Misai kucing	Cleanse blood	Leaves. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
37.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium sativum</i>	Bawang putih	Ring worm and itchy skin.	Rhizome. Pounded and apply.
38.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium ascalonicum</i>	Bawang merah	Tooth-ache and bees sting.	Rhizome is pounded and apply.
39.	Liliaceae	<i>Aloe vera</i>	Lida buaya	Cut, scar and wound.	Sap. Apply on the affected area.
40.	Lythraceae	<i>Langerstromia speciosa</i>	Jambu-jambu	Phlegm	New leaves. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
41.	Lythraceae	<i>Lawsonia inermis</i>	Inai	Nail and hair treatment	Leaf. Pound 100g and warp.
42.	Malvaceae	<i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i>	Bunga raya	Hair treatment	Flowers. Pounded and apply
43.	Maranthaceae	<i>Phrynium</i> sp.	Kebu	Post partum	Leaves. Boil and taken as bath
44.	Menispermaceae	<i>Tinospora crispa</i>	Patawali	Reduce HBP	Stems. Boil and drink 2 times daily.
45.	Moraceae	<i>Morus alba</i>	Bebesaram	Ulser	Fruits. Eaten fresh.
46.	Musaceae	<i>Musa acuminata</i>	Pisang rebus	Hair treatment	Sap. Apply
47.	Musaceae	<i>Musa sapientum</i>	Pisang hutan	Mouth ulser	Sap. Apply
48.	Myristicaceae	<i>Myristica cinnamomea</i>	Darah-darah	Cleanse blood	New leaves. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
49.	Myrsinaceae	<i>Ardisia elliptica</i>	Serusup	Diuretic	New leaves. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
50.	Myrtaceae	<i>Psidium guajava</i>	Jambu	Stomach-ache and diarrhea	New leaf and unripe fruit. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
51.	Nyctaginaceae	<i>Bougainvillea spectabilis</i>	Bunga kertas	Ear pain	Sap. Apply
52.	Olacaceae	<i>Scorodocarpus borneensis</i>	Bawang hutan	Cleanse blood	Fruits. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
53.	Oxalidaceae	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i>	Belimbing besi	Cough	Fruits eaten raw or ripe.
54.	Oxalidaceae	<i>Averrhoa carambola</i>	Belimbing	Reduce HBP	Fruits. Eaten ripe and raw
55.	Poaceae	<i>Coix lacrym-jobi</i>	Jelai	Fever, cough and flu	New soft stems. Boil and drink 3x daily.

56.	Poaceae	<i>Cymbopogon calciola</i>	Serai geliga	Cough	Stems. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
57.	Poaceae	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	Lalang	Small pox and fever.	Roots. Boil 400g and drink the tea 3x daily.
58.	Poaceae	<i>Zea mays</i>	Jagung	Blood cleanser	New leaves. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
59.	Piperaceae	<i>Piper longum</i>	Sireh makan	Strength teeth	Leaves. Pounded and eat.
60.	Piperaceae	<i>Piper sarmentosum</i>	Kaduk	Itchy skin	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
61.	Rhamnaceae	<i>Alpitonia incana</i>	Belili	Hole in heart	leaves Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
62.	Rubiaceae	<i>Ixora stricta</i>	Bunga jarum	Post partum	Flowers. Soak in hot water and bath.
63.	Rubiaceae	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	Mengkudu	Reduced HBP	Fruits. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
64.	Rubiaceae	<i>Mussaenda elmeri</i>	Beliadok	Treatment hair	Leaves. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
65.	Rubiaceae	<i>Uncaria ferrea</i>	Lumbut-lumbut	Gastritis	Stems. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
66.	Rutaceae	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i>	Limau kasturi	Reduce HBP	Fruit and leaf. The juice and tea are drink 3x daily.
67.	Sapindaceae	<i>Lepisanthes fruticose</i>	Belingason	Treatment nail	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
68.	Simaroubaceae	<i>Eurycoma longifolia</i>	Tongkat Ali	Anti malarial	Roots. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
69.	Smilacaceae	<i>Smilax borneensis</i>	Hungkung	Epilepsy	Leaves. Soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
70.	Solanaceae	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i>	Cili padi	Itchy	Ripe fruit. Pound and apply.
71.	Solanaceae	<i>Physalis minima</i>	Letup-letup	Reduce HBP	Roots. Boil 250g and drink the tea 3x daily.
72.	Umbelliferae	<i>Centella asiatica</i>	Pegaga embun	Reduce HBP	All plants. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
73.	Umbelliferae	<i>Hydrocotyles sibthorpiodes</i>	Pegaga	Reduce HBP	Whole plants. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
74.	Verbenaceae	<i>Clerodendrum paniculatum</i>	Bunga pagoda	Fever	Rhizome. Pounded and soak in hot water and bath.
75.	Verbenaceae	<i>Latana camara</i>	Bunga Tahi ayam	Itchy skin	Pounded and apply
76.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Alpinia galangal</i>	Lengkuas	Cough	Rhizome. Boil 2 inches and drink the tea 3x daily.
77.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma domestica</i>	Temu lawak	Stomach ache	
78.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	Kunyit	Post partum treatment.	Rhizome. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
79.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Kaempferia galangal</i>	Kusur	Rheumatism and flatulence	Rhizome. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
80.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Halia	Rheumatism and flatulence	Rhizome. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.
81.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Zingiber purpureum</i>	Banglai	Rheumatism and flatulence	Rhizome. Pounded and soak in hot water, Drink the tea 3x daily.

Table 4. List of ethnoherbal medicines used by the Bajau in Pitas District.

No.	Family	Species	Bajau Name	Treatment of	Part used and methods
1.	Acanthaceae	<i>Justicia gendarussa</i>	Selimbangun	Swollen body, broken bones and dislocation of muscles.	Leaf. Warm it and apply.
2.	Acanthaceae	<i>Andrographis paniculata</i>	Hempedu bumi	HBP and Diabetis	Leaf. Boil 7 pcs with roots and drink the tea 3x daily.
3.	Agavaceae	<i>Sansevieria trifasciata</i>	Lida jin hijau	Diuretic	Leaf. Boil 7 pcs with roots and drink the tea 3x daily.
4.	Agavaceae	<i>Sansevieria trifasciata</i> var. <i>laurentii</i>	Lidah jin kuning	Diuretic	Leaf. Boil 7 pcs with roots and drink the tea 3x daily.
5.	Amaranthaceae	<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>	Bayam duri	To cleanse blood	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
6.	Amaryllidaceae	<i>Crinum xanthophyllum</i>	Pijihun	Ring worm	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
7.	Anacardiaceae	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	Mangga	Influenza	Fruits. Eaten ripe.
8.	Annonaceae	<i>Annona muricata</i>	Durian belanda	Cleanse blood	Fruits. Eaten raw.
9.	Annonaceae	<i>Uvaria littoralis</i>	Tambu-tambu	TB and Cancer	Leaves and stems. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
10.	Apocynaceae	<i>Vinca rosea</i>	Bunga cina	Cancer	Leaf. Sun dry about 15 pcs and boil. Drink the tea 2x daily.
11.	Apocynaceae	<i>Catharanthus roseus</i>	Kemuning cina	Diabetic and reduce HBP	New leaf. Boil 14 pcs. And drink the tea 2x daily.
12.	Asphodelaceae	<i>Aloe vera</i>	Lidah buaya	Treat skin burns, wounds and scars.	Sap. Fresh plant is cut and apply.
13.	Arecaceae	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	Kalapa	Small pox and stones in gall bladder.	Young coconut water is drink.
14.	Arecaceae	<i>Areca catechu</i>	Pinang	Diuretic	Fruit. Eat fresh.
15.	Aspleniaceae	<i>Asplenium nidus</i>	Tapako	Generates new blood.	Leaf. Dried. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
16.	Asteraceae	<i>Gynura procumbens</i>	Akar Sebiak	Bleeding skin	Leaves. Pounded and apply
17.	Balsaminaceae	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i>	Bunga letup-letup	Muscle dislocation	Leaf. Pound and apply.
18.	Bombacaceae	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	Kapas	Ulser and fever	Barks. Pounded and apply.
19.	Cactaceae	<i>Pereskia sacharosa</i>	Jarum tujuh bilah	Cancer	New leaf. Eaten fresh.
20.	Caricaceae	<i>Carica papaya</i>	Betik	AntiMalarial	Flowers. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
21.	Clusiaceae	<i>Garcinia mangostana</i>	Manggis	Inflammation of pancreas	Fruits. Eaten raw when ripe.
22.	Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomea pes-caprae</i>	Bulakan	Flatulence	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
23.	Convolvulaceae	<i>Ipomea reptans</i>	Kangkung	Fever	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
24.	Crassulaceae	<i>Kalanchoe blossfeldiana</i>	Satawar	Boils	Leaves. Boil and apply 3x daily.
25.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i>	Patik-patik	Itchy skin	Sap. Apply
26.	Euphorbiaceae	<i>Jatropha curcas</i>	Tangan-tangan	Mouth swollen, ulser, and dislocating muscles.	Leaf and latex. Latex apply. Leaf is warm up over fire and apply.

27.	Fabaceae	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	Asam jawa	Cough and flu	Fruits. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
28.	Fabaceae	<i>Mimosa invisa</i>	Duri semalu	Inflammation of pancreas	Roots. Boil 200g and drink 3x daily.
29.	Labiata	<i>Solenostemon amboinicus</i>	Bangun-bangun	Earpain	New shoots. Pound and the extract is drop into the ear.
30.	Lamiaceae	<i>Orthosiphon aristatus</i>	Misai kucing	Gall bladder stones.	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
31.	Lamiaceae	<i>Orthosiphon grandiflorus</i>	Misai kucing	Gall bladder stones.	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
32.	Lamiaceae	<i>Ocimum basilicum</i>	Selasih	Tooth ache	Leaves. Boil and gargle tea 3x daily.
33.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium sativum</i>	Bawang putih	Ring worm and itch	Bulb. Pounded and eat.
34.	Liliaceae	<i>Allium asclonicum</i>	Bawang merah	Tootache and sting by bees	Bulbs. Pounded and apply
35.	Lythraceae	<i>Lawsonia inermis</i>	Inai	Nail problem	Leaves, Pounded and apply.
36.	Malvaceae	<i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i>	Bunga raya	Hair treatment and boils.	New leaf. 30 pcs pounded and apply on hair.
37.	Malvaceae	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	Kapas	Ulser and flu	Barks. Boil 300g. Gargle and drink.
38.	Malvaceae	<i>Hibiscus tilliaceous</i>	Kayu balu-bal	Blood cleanser	Flowers. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
39.	Menispermaceae	<i>Arcangelisia flava</i>	Lengkumis	Stones in kidney	Stem. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
40.	Menispermaceae	<i>Tinospora crispa</i>	Patawali	HBP	Stem. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
41.	Moraceae	<i>Morus alba</i>	Bebesaram	Diabetic	Fruits. Eaten raw.
42.	Moraceae	<i>Ficus septica</i>	Lintotobow	Post partum	Leaves. Boil and bath 2x daily.
43.	Moraceae	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>	Nangka	Flatulence	Fruits. Eaten ripe.
44.	Moraceae	<i>Ficus deltoidea</i>	Sampit-sampit	Post partum use and fast recovery from deliver baby.	Entire plant. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
45.	Myristicaceae	<i>Myristica cinnamomea</i>	Darah-darah	Heart pain	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
46.	Myrsinaceae	<i>Ardisia elliptica</i>	Serutup	Cleanse blood	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
47.	Myrsinaceae	<i>Embelia philippinensis</i>	Sowolikan	Cough and flu	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
48.	Myrtaceae	<i>Psidium guajava</i>	Jambu	Stomach ache	Leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
49.	Myrtaceae	<i>Syzygium malacensis</i>	Jambu merah	Hole in heart and heart pain	Barks of stem. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
50.	Nyctaginaceae	<i>Bougainvillea spectabilis</i>	Bunga kertas	Boils	Roots. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
51.	Oxalidaceae	<i>Averrhoa carambola</i>	Belimbing	Reduce High Blood Pressure	New shoots. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
52.	Oxalidaceae	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i>	Belimbing besi	Cleanse blood	Leaf. Boil and drink the tea 2 x daily.
53.	Piperaceae	<i>Piper longum</i>	Sireh makan	Swollen nose/bleeding and diuretic	Leaf and root. Warm up over fire and apply. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
54.	Plantaginaceae	<i>Plantago major</i>	Ekor anjing	Diuretic	Whole plants. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
55.	Poaceae	<i>Zea mays</i>	Jagung	Flatulence	New leaves. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
56.	Poaceae	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	Lalang	Small pox and fever.	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
57.	Poaceae	<i>Eleusine indica</i>	Rumput Sembau	Cough and flu	Young stem. Pounded and mix with hot water. Drink the tea 3x daily.

58.	Poaceae	<i>Cymbopogon calcicola</i>	Serai geliga	Post partum use	Entire plant. Boil and take for bath.
59.	Poaceae	<i>Saccharum bangalense</i>	Tebu hutan	Treatment of epilepsy.	Young stem. Pound and mix with coconut milk and drink tea 3x daily.
60.	Portulacaceae	<i>Talinum triangulare</i>	Korokot belanda	Swollen nose	Sap from the plant. Apply.
61.	Rubiaceae	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	Mengkudu	Reduce HBP	Ripe fruit and roots. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
62.	Rutaceae	<i>Clausena minutum</i>	Entut palanuk	Cough and flu	Roots. Boil and drink the tea 3x daily.
63.	Rutaceae	<i>Citrus paradisi</i>	Limau kapas	Reduce HBP	Fruit and leaf. The juice and tea are drink 3x daily.
64.	Rutaceae	<i>Citrus aurantifolia</i>	Limau gajah	Cough	Fruits. Eaten ripe.
65.	Simaroubaceae	<i>Eurycoma longifolia</i>	Tongkat ali	Aphrodisiac (Libido booster)	Root. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
66.	Solanaceae	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i>	Cili padi	Itchy skin	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
67.	Solanaceae	<i>Physalis minima</i>	Lapak-lapak	Reduce HBP	Fruits. Eaten raw.
68.	Umbiliferae	<i>Hydrocotyles sibthorpiodes</i>	Pegaga	Diabetic	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
69.	Umbiliferae	<i>Centella asiatica</i>	Pegaga embun	Diabetic	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
70.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Zingiber purpureum</i>	Banglai	Flatulence	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
71.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Halia	Flatulence	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
72.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	Kunyit	Flatulence	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
73.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Kaempferia galangal</i>	Kusur	Cough	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
74.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Alpinia galangal</i>	Lengkuas	Ring worm and skin itchy	Leaves. Pounded and apply.
75.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Costus speciosus</i>	Setawar putih	Tooth-ache, flu and cough.	Boil and drink tea 3x daily.
76.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma domestica</i>	Temu lawak	Stomach ache	Rhizome. Boil and drink tea 3x daily
77.	Zingiberaceae	<i>Curcuma manga</i>	Temu kuning	Swollen body and dislocating muscles/	Rhizome. Pound and mix with coconut oil and apply.

Frequency of utilisations by plants:

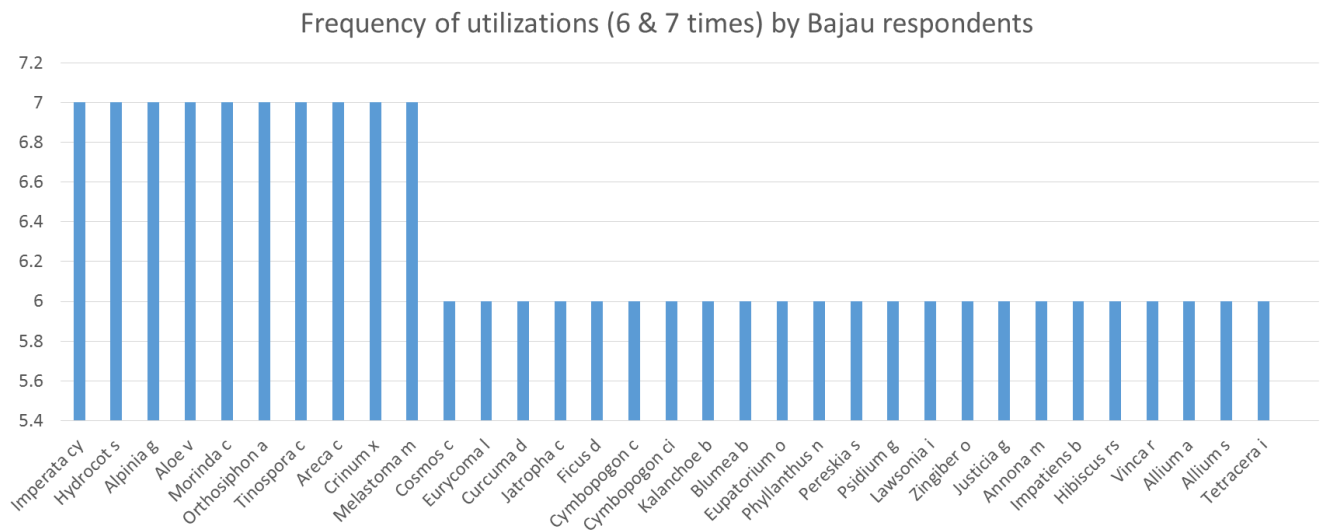


Figure 2. Frequency of utilizations (6 & 7 times) of ethnoherbal medicines by the bajau respondents in north Sabah.

Figure 2 above shows that there were 10 species of plants that were used more often there were namely *Imperata cylindrical*, *Hydrocotyles sibthorpoides*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Aloe vera*, *Crinum xanthophyllum* and *Melasotma malabathricum*. All of them were exotics except *Melastoma malabatricum*. Amongst the 6 times utilizations or 23 species, only 5 species were natives or 21%, they were namely *Eurycoma longifolia*, *Ficus deltoidea*, *Blumea balsamifera*, *Impatiens balsamina* and *Tertacera indica*. This is a high number of frequency of utilizations for the Bajau community and a concern for the community who relied on the existence of the plants in their natural habitat such as in Lowland Mix Dipterocarps forests. If the natural habitats are gone due to the opening of land for agriculture, these plants also gone and this will also effects the health status of the Bajau in north Sabah.

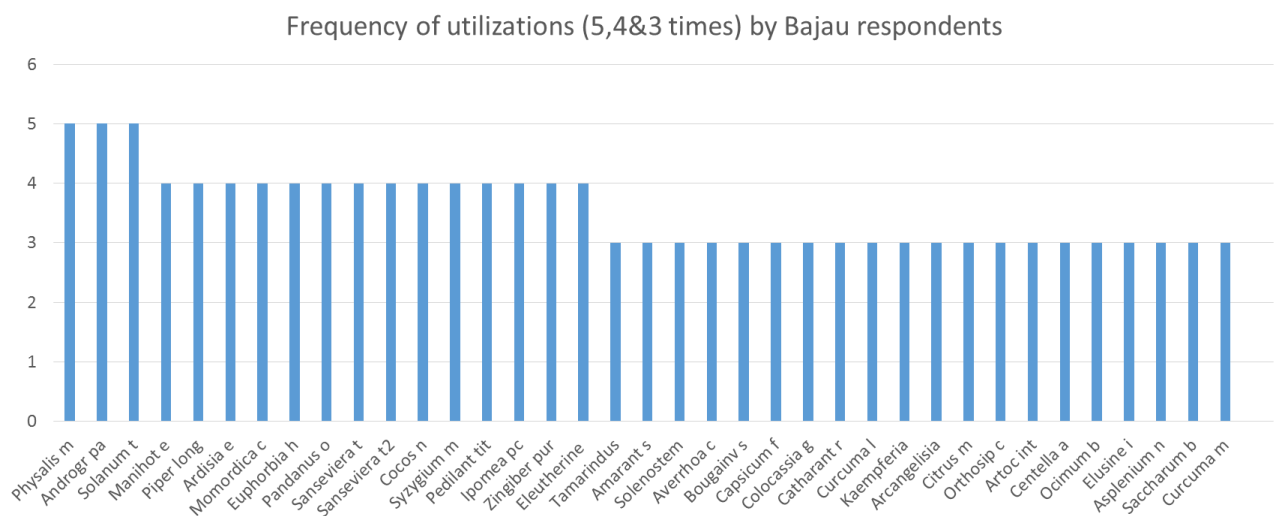


Figure 3. Frequency of utilizations (5, 4 and 3 times) by the Bajau respondents on ethnoherbal medicines in north Sabah.

Relative Frequency of Citation (RFC) Index

The Relative Frequency of Citation index which shows the local importance of ethnoherbal medicines used by the Bajau people in the north Sabah showed that there were 10 species with highest index, namely *Aloe vera*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Areca catechu*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Crinum xanthophylla*, *Hydrocotyles sibthorpiodes*, *Imperata cylindrical* and *Melastoma malabatricum*.

From the figure 3 above, it can be concluded that only 4 native species of plants were used three times and above by the respondents, there were namely *Ardisia elliptica* (Serusup), *Colocasia gigantean* (Kaladi), *Asplenium nidus* (Tapako) and *Curcuma manga* (Temu Kuning).

Type of illness and symptoms:

NO.	ILLNESS / SYMPTOMS	LOCAL NAME
1.	Anti-dote for centipede bite	Penawar racun gigitan Lipan.
2.	Anti-dote for poisonous fish	Penawar racun gigitan ikan
3.	Anti-dote for snake bite	Penawar racun patukan ular.
4.	Bleeding	Berdarah
5.	Boils	Nanah
6.	Cancer	Barah
7.	Cleanse blood (from toxins).	Cucu darah dari racun
8.	Cough	Batuk
9.	Diabetic	Kencing manis
10.	Dislocation of muscles	Silahau
11.	Diuretic	Menggalakkan kencing.
12.	Ear pain	Sakit telinga
13.	Epilepsy treatment	Gila Babi
14.	Fever	Demam
15.	Flatulence	Berangin dalam badan
16.	Generating new blood cells	Tambah darah
17.	Heart pain	Sakit jantung
18.	Hole in heart	Jantung dinding berlubang
19.	Inflammation of pancreas	Sakit ulu hati
20.	Influenza	Selesma
21.	Itchy skin	Kulit gatal
22.	New tooth	Pertumbuhan gigi baru
23.	Phlegm	Kahak
24.	Post partum treatment	Ibu selepas bersalin
25.	Reduce High Blood Pressure (HBP)	Menurunkan Tekanan darah Tinggi
26.	Reduce High Blood Pressure (HBP) for new mothers.	Menurunkan tekanan darah Tinggi bagi ibu-ibu baru melahirkan anak.
27.	Ring worm	Panau
28.	Skin burns, wounds and scars	Kulit terbakar, luka dan parut.
29.	Small pox	Cacar
30.	Speedy recovery from delivery new baby.	Cepat sembuh selepas melahirkan anak
31.	Sting by bees	Digigit penyengat
32.	Stomach-ache	Sakit perut
33.	Stones in gall bladder	Batu Karang
34.	Strengthen bones	Penguat tulang
35.	Swollen body	Badan bengkak
36.	Swollen nose	Hidung bengkak
37.	Tooth-ache	Sakit gigi
38.	Treatment nail	Pembaikan kuku
39.	Treatment hair	Pembaikan rambut

40.	Tuberculosis	Batuk kering
41.	Ulser	Radang

Table 6. List of plants species and their value in local markets.

NO.	TYPE OF PRODUCTS	SCIENTIFIC NAME	BAJAU NAME	PRICE (RM)/ UNIT	UNIT SOLD/ MONTH	MODAL (RM)	PROFIT (RM)/MONTH (Maximum)
1.	Entire plant	<i>Tetracera indica</i>	Ampalas	1-10	15	5	145
2.	Bark	<i>Langerstromia speciosa</i>	Jambu-jambu	1-10	10	5	95
3.	Root and bark	<i>Cinnamomum grafithii</i>	Kayu manis	11-20	14	0	240
4.	Fruit	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	Mengkudu	2	20	0	40
5.	Stem	<i>Tinospora crispa</i>	Patawali	1-10	50	30	470
6.	Entire plant	<i>Hydrocotyles sibhorioides</i>	Pegaga	1-10	50	40	460
7.	Root	<i>Stachytarpheta jamaicensis</i>	Selasih dandi	30	10	20	280
8.	Entire plant	<i>Ficus deltoidea</i>	Sampit-sampit	1-10	25	0	250
9.	Leaf	<i>Piper longum</i>	Sireh makan	1-10	20	0	200
10.	Root	<i>Uvaria littoralis</i>	Tambu-tambu	50	10	30	470
11.	Root	<i>Kleinhovia hospital</i>	Tagag	1-10	4	0	40
12.	Root	<i>Eurycoma longifolia</i>	Tongkat ali	20-40	10	0	400

There were 12 species of Bajau ethnoherbal medicines that being sold in the local markets at present in north Sabah. The highest priced fetched per unit was *Uvaria littoralis* (Tambu-tambu) followed by *Eurycoma longifolia* (Tongkat ali), *Stachytarpheta jamaicensis* (Selasi dandi) and *Cinnamomum grafithii* (Kayu manis) (Table 6). Other than selling directly to the local markets, some plants were sold based on demand. The practitioners will only find and ptpared the herbs when there was a demand. The sales of ethnoherbal medicines had somehow contributed towards the uplifting of the economy of the Bajau communities in north Sabah.



Figure 4: Ethnoherbal medicines sold in market.

They were several practices of taboos or 'Pantang Larang' during seeking treatment of ethnoherbal medicines by the Bajau in north Sabah. Table 7.0 shows the types of 'Pantang Larang' that were applied during treatment by the traditional ethnoherbal practitioners:

NO.	TYPES OF TABOOS OR 'PANTANG-LARANG' IN MALAY	MEANING
1.	Membayar upah mengikut kerelaan hati si pesakit.	Paying 'upah' according to your will. ('Upah' means the cost of treatment).
2.	Mengambil tumbuhan herba pada waktu sebelah awal pagi waktu matahari mahu terbit.	Harvesting herbs at dawn.
3.	Membaca doa sebelum mengambil herba.	Praying before going to take the herbs.
4.	Membaca doa sebelum dan selepas memakan ubat.	Praying before and after consuming the herbs.
5.	Tidak boleh memakan makanan jeruk, pedas dan berminyak semasa sesi rawatan.	Abstinence from consuming fermented, pungent and oily foods during treatments.
6.	Meminta izzin daripada roh penunggu herba di hutan.	Seek permission from the Spirit of the herbs in the forest.
7.	Mengganti ramuan herba baru selepas tiga hari.	Replace to new herbs after three days.
8.	Membaca mentera sebelum mengambil herba	Read the prayers before taking the herbs.
9.	Tidak boleh minum minuman lain selain susu.	Prohibited to drink any other than milk.

Table 7.0 Types of taboos or 'Pantang Larang' applied during treatment.

DISCUSSION

The informants utilized in this study predominantly ranged from 15 years young to more than 80 years old, with 66% of the age was 50 years old or more. This reflects the older people are the ethnoherbal medicinal knowledge use repository in this community

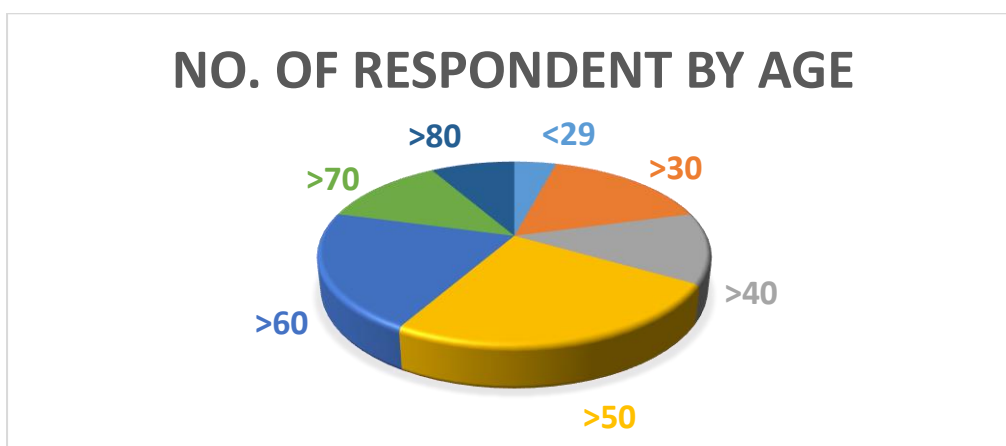


Figure 5. Distribution of respondents' age.

This study documents a total of 114 species and two varieties in 56 families of plants as ethnoherbal medicines. The total number of native species was 30 (27%). In Kudat District, the total number of ethnoherbal species was 41 in 29 families of which 8 species (19%) were natives. In Kota Marudu District, the total number of ethnoherbal

species was 81 with one variety and in 49 families of which 19 (24%) were natives. Pitas District the total number of ethnoherbal species was 76 with one variety in 42 families of which 10 (13%) were natives.

This survey also reported that there were 10 types of preparations before the herbs were used and 12 plant's parts used which leaves was the highest. The number of taboos or 'Pantang Larang' involved was 9. The illness and symptoms were 39. There were 10 species of plants that were used more often, there were namely *Imperata cylindrica*, *Hydrocotyl sibthorpiodes*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Aloe vera*, *Crinum xanthophyllum* and *Melasotma malabathricum*. The most highly priced herbs used by the Bajau was *Uvaria littoralis* (Annonaceae) species (Tambu-tambu in Bajau) which was used to cure cancer.

The documented ethnoherbal medicines informations were compared with previous published Bajau's ethnobotanical studies in Sabah, namely Awang Kanak, F. et. al., (2017, 2018a & 2018b); Kibong et. al. (2017), Fasihuddin et. al. (1995), Kodoh et. al. (2017) and Jurry, F. (2016) and this study found that there were 15 newly described therapeutic uses. These were unique (1st time recorded) for the Bajau in the north of Sabah. These species are: *Polyalthia cauliflora*, *Uvaria litterolis*, *Kopsia pauciflora*, *Impatiens balsamifera*, *Rheo discolor*, *Eleutherine palmifolia*, *Solenostemon amboinicus*, *Phrynium sp.*, *Morus alba*, *Myristica cinnamomea*, *Scorodocarpus borneensis*, *Saccharum bangalense*, *Talinum tribgular*, *Uncaria femea* and *Lepisanthes fruticose*. Future research is recommended to investigate the pharmacological properties of these plants species, in order to validate their traditional use. Furthermore, one ethnoherbal species ie. *Uvaria littoralis* was used to treat TB and cancers, therefore, this species warrant particular pharmacological investibation,

Respondents collected their herbal medicines from the nearby undisturbed (primary) forests, disturbed (secondary) forests, some of them were cultivated in their lands and house compounds as seen when their houses surrounded by pots of plants and flowers that were with medicinal values. This showed that the Bajau people still practices of using traditional herbs for curing illness and maintain their health. Local ethnoherbal medicines contributed significantly to the primary health and economic income to the Bajau. This was seen when 12 species of ethnoherbal medicines were found sold in nearby local markets and weekly 'Tamu' or open field markets. The most expensived and popular bought were. namely *Tinospora crispa* (Patawali), *Hydrocotyles sibhorpoides* (Pegaga), *Uvaria littoralis* (Tambu-tambu) and *Eurycoma longifolia* (Tongkat Ali).

The market value of these ethnoherbal medicines showed that the ethnoherbal medicines were still accepted by the people in north Sabah. This improves the economic to the sellers and well being of the communities. Other than direct sales in the markets, the ethnoherbal medicines can also be obtained by special order. Traditional knowledge of local herbs uses also contributes indirectly to the conservation and preservation of plants in north of Sabah.

Figure 6 shows the number of ethnoherbal medicines in each Districts and the overall total.

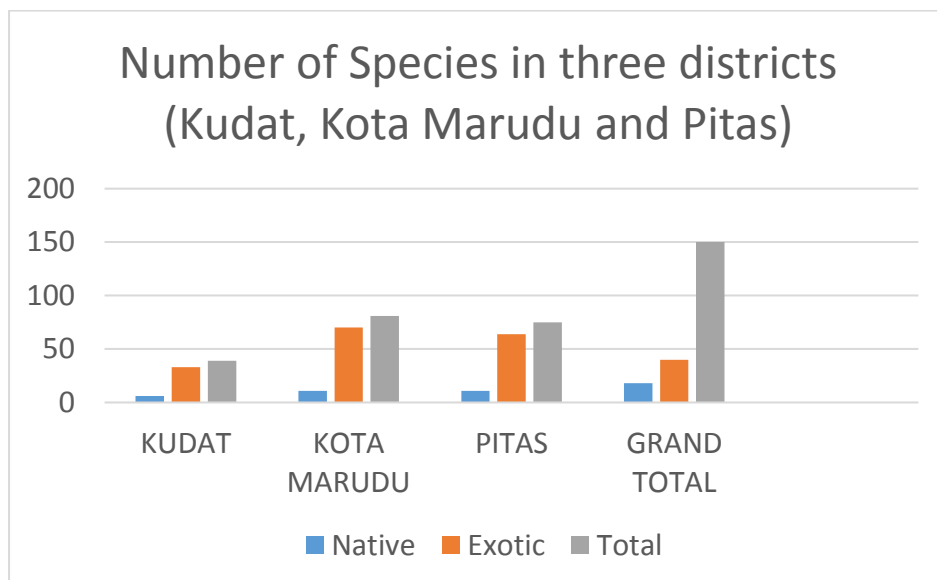


Figure 6: Number of ethnomedicinal species in each districts and the grand total.

Ethnoherbal medicines fetched high priced among the locals in north Sabah. Practitioners of Bajau ethnoherbal medicines sold their products in local markets due to demand. Most of the ethnoherbal plants were collected from the nearby forests.

According to respondent Mr. Sitak (A Bajau ethnic), the root of *Uvaria littoralis* of Tambu-tambu (Bajau) is very effective in treating Tuberculosis (TB). Due to the herbs were highly priced. Sometime they could gained up to about RM5,000 per month by selling these herbs. That was why some practitioners will not shared their traditional knowledge because afraid losing business. They will only shared their knowledge to their family. Some of them will go to other districts to sell their products.

Sickness such as bitten by snake, bees and poisoned were most popular kind of treatment by the traditional ethnoherbal medicines practitioners. They preferred to seek treatment traditionally. Several ethnoherbal medicines were sold in multiply species up to 18 species in one product.

CONCLUSION

This present study records 114 species and two varieties in 56 families of plants as ethnoherbal medicines. The total number of native species was 30 or 27%. There were 10 species that were used more often which was highest in Relative Frequency Citation Index (RFC), namely *Imperata cylindrica*, *Hydrocotyl sibthorpiodes*, *Alpinia galangal*, *Morinda citrifolia*, *Orthosiphon citratus*, *Tinospora crispa*, *Aloe vera*, *Crinum xanthophyllum*, *Melasotma malabathricum* and *Uvaria littoralis*. Herbs, small trees and shrubs were the highest life form of plant used. The present study records 15 new ethnoherbal medicinal species used by the Bajau in Sabah with their therapeutic uses, which can potentially lead to the development of new therapies and may represent novel

bioresources for phytochemical and pharmacological studies, notably *Uvaria littoralis* (Annonaceae) or Tambu-tambu (Bajau), which has claimed anticancer and antiTB effects by the traditional healers and the most highly priced.

There were 10 types of preparations before the herbs were used and 12 plant's parts used which leaves was the highest. The number of taboos or 'Pantang Larang' involved was 9. The Illness and symptoms were 39. Sources of herbal medicines were from the nearby undisturbed (primary) forests, disturbed (secondary) forests, cultivated lands, house compounds and planted on pots. The present study showed that traditional treatment systems using plants with medicinal properties contributed significantly to the primary health and economic income and is still prevalent in the studied areas. It underlines the important in the documentation of traditional ethnoherbal medicinal knowledge before losing this diverse resource. Traditional knowledge of local herbs uses also contributes indirectly to the conservation and preservation of plants in north of Sabah.

ETHICS STATEMENT

This study was carried out in accordance with the recommendations of the Code of Ethics of the International Society of Ethnobiology, Sabah Biodiversity Enactment 2000 and Native Customary Laws of Sabah 1999. Written and audio informed consents were obtained from each Head of Village and District Offices involved prior to all interviews.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author thanks the Universiti Malaysia particularly the staff of the Institute for Tropical Biology and Conservation and Faculty of Science and Natural Resources for their assistance during this study and also all the study participants for their invaluable contribution.

REFERENCES

- Awang-Kanak, F. (2018a). Plants used for traditional postpartum care by Sama-Bajau people in Kota Belud, Sabah, Malaysian Borneo. *The 3rd International Conference on Tropical Biology Ecological Restoration in Southeast Asia: Conservation, Enhancement and Sustainable use of indigenous Tropical Flora and Fauna. SEAMEO BIOTROP*, Bogor-Indonesia.
- Awang-Kanak F, Abu Bakar MF, Mohamed M. (2018b). Ethnobotanical survey on plants used as traditional salad food (ulam) in Kampung Taun Gusi, Kota Belud, Sabah, Malaysia. *AIP Proceedings: International Conference on Biological Sciences*, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
- Awang-Kanak F, Abu Bakar MF, Mohamed M, Norazlimi NA. (2018c). Utilization of natural resources: Preliminary study on ethnopharmacological application of 'ulam' or traditional vegetables among Sama-Bajau of Kampung Menunggui, Kota Belud, Sabah. *AIP Proceedings: International Conference on Applied Science and Technology*, Penang, Malaysia
- Jurry, F., Latiff, A., Omar, M. and Amir, A.A. (2016). Women's perception on medicinal plants in traditional Tamu, West Coast, Sabah, Malaysia. *Malayan Nature Journal*, 68 (3), 95-104.

- Kulip, J. (2003). An ethnobotanical survey of medicinal and other useful plants of Muruts in Sabah, Malaysia. *Telopea* 10(1): 81–98.
- Kulip, J. (2004). Medicinal plants in Sabah: How much do we know? (2004). *Proceedings of the Seminar on Medicinal Plants and Herbal Industry. Opportunities and challenges*. Jointly organised by Forest Research Institute, Malaysia (FRIM), Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) and Borneo Herbal Cooperation (Sabah) S/B (BHCS).
- Martin, G.J. (1995). *Ethnobotany: A methods manual*. London: Hall.
- Muhammed, N. & Muthu, T.A. 2015. Ethnics in Sabah (2015). Indigenous People and Their Traditional Knowledge on Tropical Plant Cultivation and Utilization: A Case Study of Murut Communities of Sabah, Borneo. *J. Trop. Resour. Sustain. Sci.* 3 (2015) 117-128
- Population statistics, Sabah (2000). (<http://www.sabah.gov.my>, accessed on 22 January 2007).
- Reynolds G1, Payne J, Sinun W, Mosigil G, Walsh RP. (2011). Changes in forest land use and management in Sabah, Malaysian Borneo, 1990-2010, with a focus on the Danum Valley region. *Philos Trans R Soc Lond B Biol Sci.* Nov 27;366(1582):3168-76. doi: 10.1098/rstb.2011.0154.
- Roxas-Lim, A. (2017). Marine-Oriented Sama-Bajao People and Their Search for Human Rights. *Public Policy Phillipines*.
- Saat G. 2003. The identity and social mobility of Sama-Bajau. *Sari*, 21(1), pp.3-11.

KEARIFAN TEMPATAN BAJAU DALAM YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS KARYA ZUBIR OSMAN (2017) LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE BAJAU IN 'YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS' WRITTEN BY ZUBIR OSMAN (2017)

Rabiatul Adawiah binti Ab. Samad & Azwan bin Arik
Kolej Poly-Tech Mara Semporna
(rabiatul_adawiah@gapps.kptm.edu.my, azwanarik@gapps.kptm.edu.my)

Abstract

Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus merupakan sebuah kumpulan puisi karya Zubir Osman yang dihasilkan pada tahun 2017 dalam usahanya untuk menyampaikan puisi-puisi berunsurkan alam khususnya aspek kearifan tempatan masyarakat Bajau. Kertas kerja ini memberikan tumpuan terhadap tiga puluh lima (35) buah sajak pilihan dalam *Kumpulan Puisi Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus*. Puisi-puisi yang dipilih mengandungi pelbagai unsur kearifan tempatan dan budaya bahari masyarakat Bajau. Perbincangan akan dikaitkan dengan budaya, cara hidup dan keperibadian etnik Bajau itu sendiri yang dipaparkan lewat puisi-puisi tulisan Zubir Osman. Pendekatan Alamiah iaitu salah satu prinsip yang terkandung dalam Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu dipilih untuk menelusuri aspek kearifan tempatan yang cuba diketengahkan oleh penulis melalui pemaparan puisinya. Puisi-puisinya didapati mengandungi unsur-unsur kearifan tempatan yang memperlihatkan warisan dan identiti masyarakat Bajau di Sabah. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa karya sastera, khususnya puisi-puisi bukan sahaja melibatkan daya imaginasi dan kreativiti pengarang tetapi juga merupakan wadah penyampai yang berkesan kepada masyarakat. Kesimpulannya, *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus* (2017) mengetengahkan pemaparan unsur alamiah sekaligus berkait rapat dengan kearifan budaya tempatan masyarakat Bajau. Bait-bait puisi ini digunakan sebagai manifestasi pandangan hidup dan kepercayaan masyarakat Bajau.

Katakunci: Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Putus, kearifan tempatan, warisan, Bajau

Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus is a collection of poems written by Zubir Osman, published in 2017, as an effort to present nature-themed poems especially on aspects of local Bajau expertise. This paper focuses on thirty-five selected poems in the collection *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus*. These selected poems contain various elements of local expertise and culture of the Bajau people. The discussion will be incorporated with the culture, lifestyle and personality of Bajau ethnic groups themselves as was portrayed in the poems written by Zubir Osman. The Naturalism Approach is a principle in Malay Methodology Theory which has been chosen to describe the local expertise aspect as it is highlighted by the writer through the poems. All these poems have been found containing local expertise elements which portray the heritage and identity of Bajau people in Sabah. The research has shown that literature pieces like poems are not only about imaginative ability and the writer's creativity, but are also an effective medium of conveying a message to society. Thus, *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Terputus* (2017) highlights the portrayal of naturalism elements as related to the local culture expertise of Bajau people. Every line in the poem is used as a manifestation of the worldview and beliefs of Bajau people.

Keywords: Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus, local knowledge, heritage, Bajau

Pengenalan

Kearifan tempatan dalam konteks perbincangan merujuk kepada pengetahuan yang diperolehi dalam sesebuah komuniti berdasarkan pengalaman serta pengumpulan jenis pengetahuan (Kamonthip, 2007:1). Kearifan tempatan juga berhubungkait dengan unsur tradisi dan amalan masyarakat serantau yang merangkumi kebijaksanaan, pengetahuan dan ajaran seperti undang-undang, keselamatan, kehidupan, sumber manusia dan kepercayaan (Nyoman Utari Vipriyanti, 2008:4). Kajian ini akan menggunakan pendekatan alamiah dalam usaha menelusuri aspek kearifan tempatan khususnya masyarakat Bajau di Sabah berasaskan 35 buah puisi pilihan dalam *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Putus 2017*.

Umumnya, masyarakat Bajau merupakan etnik Bumiputera di Sabah yang memiliki pelbagai ciri dan keunikan yang tersendiri. Etnik Bajau merupakan salah satu kaum bumiputera yang terbesar di Sabah (Yap Beng Liang, 1993: xi). Masyarakat Bajau diklasifikasikan kepada dua kelompok, iaitu kelompok Bajau di Pantai Barat yang dikenali sebagai petani dan kelompok Bajau di Pantai Timur Sabah yang mahsyur sebagai nelayan. Sejarah awal masyarakat Bajau juga datangnya dalam pelbagai versi yang berbeza, misalnya melalui penelitian orientalist Barat seperti Forest yang mencatatkan bahawa beliau telah menemui nelayan Bajau di sepanjang Tenggara Pulau Borneo dan dipercayai nelayan tersebut berasal dari Johor (Dipetik oleh Warren, 1971: 65). Pengkaji tempatan seperti Yap Beng Liang (1993: 13), mengklasifikasikan masyarakat Bajau Laut dan Bajau Darat berdasarkan aspek fizikal, bahasa, corak kehidupan serta adat resam walaupun kedua-duanya dikenali dengan panggilan Bajau. Bajau Laut menetap di kawasan pesisir laut seperti Semporna, Kunak, Lahad Datu dan Sandakan. Bajau darat pula menetap di kawasan seperti Kota Belud dan Tuaran. Masyarakat Bajau Laut merupakan komuniti yang begitu akrab dengan alam semulajadi. Keakraban inilah yang mempengaruhi kearifan tempatan masyarakat seterusnya membentuk identiti yang tersendiri. *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Putus* (2017) merupakan cetusan idea penyair dalam usaha memperkenalkan identiti dan kebudayaan masyarakat Bajau secara keseluruhannya kepada khalayak pembaca. Antologi ini secara langsung memaparkan keseluruhan cara hidup, pengenalan dan ciri-ciri yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat Bajau.

Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu Hashim Awang (1989)

Hashim Awang (1989: 60) telah memperkenalkan Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu kerana keinginannya untuk mentafsir dan menanggapi karya sastera yang lahir dalam kebudayaan Melayu dengan menggunakan acuan teori yang bersesuaian. Hashim Awang (1989) beranggapan sudah tiba masanya karya kesusasteraan Melayu yang bercirikan acuan tempatan dikupas berdasarkan teori-teori baharu yang dapat memberikan impak positif kepada masyarakat, sekaligus mengurangkan kebergantungan dengan teori-teori Barat yang kurang relevan untuk digunakan mengupas karya-karya tempatan. Teori ini lahir berasaskan pandangan Melayu yang berhubungkait dengan agama dan falsafah hidup Melayu itu sendiri.

Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu terbahagi kepada dua pendekatan utama, iaitu Pendekatan Alamiah dan Pendekatan Keagamaan. Kajian ini hanya akan memberi penumpuan kepada Pendekatan Alamiah sahaja. Pendekatan Alamiah ini terbentuk kerana faktor budaya, kehidupan dan pegangan agama Islam yang menjadi tunjang kehidupan masyarakat Melayu. Alam merupakan sahabat yang paling akrab dengan manusia dan membawa makna yang besar dalam kehidupan masyarakat Melayu, sehingga seringkali digunakan sebagai panduan dan pengajaran dalam pepatah atau pantun yang kita gunakan sehingga kini. Pendekatan Alamiah terbahagi kepada beberapa bahagian kecil lain, iaitu Pendekatan Gunaan, Pendekatan Moral dan Pendekatan Firasat. Pendekatan Gunaan bermaksud setiap yang dijadikan oleh Allah S.W.T mempunyai peranan dan kepentingannya. Begitu jugalah dengan karya sastera yang terhasil dengan izin Allah S.W.T sememangnya terhasil bersebab, berhikmah dan mempunyai fungsi tertentu. Pendekatan ini melibatkan unsur intrinsik dan ekstrinsik yang merangkumi latar belakang penciptaan, masyarakat, pembaca, pengarang dan ideologi. Karya sastera ini dilihat sebagai

penzahiran perasaan penulis mengenai sesuatu perkara yang ingin disampaikan kepada lingkungan masyarakatnya.

Pendekatan ini didapati relevan dalam usaha menelusuri kumpulan puisi *Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus* (2017) kerana latar masyarakat dan kehidupan yang hampir sama dengan kebudayaan Melayu. Pendekatan ini secara langsung dapat menganalisis puisi-puisi tulisan Zubir Osman yang seiring dengan kearifan tempatan masyarakat Bajau Laut sehingga menggambarkan identiti, kehidupan dan kebudayaan mereka.

Bahan Kajian

Antologi puisi *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Putus* karya Zubir Osman, yang diterbitkan pada tahun 2017 oleh Institut Terjemahan dan Buku Malaysia Berhad (ITBM) mengandungi sebanyak seratus buah puisi yang merangkumi pelbagai tema seperti kemasyarakatan, alam, dan kearifan tempatan. Penulis cuba untuk mengetengahkan gambaran mengenai kehidupan bangsanya yang unik dan tersendiri. Gambaran kepayahan hidup masyarakat Bajau yang terpinggir, tertindas dan bergantung kepada alam semata-mata turut menjadi fokus utama puisi-puisinya. Hasil tulisan Zubir Osman (2017) dilihat melahirkan kembali kebudayaan, warisan, identiti dan kepercayaan bangsanya dalam bentuk yang lebih indah sebagai tatapan khalayak pembaca agar lebih memahami tatacara kehidupan orang Bajau di Sabah.

Kearifan Tempatan

Proses kehidupan yang dilalui penyair sebagai salah seorang ahli komuniti Bajau didapati dimanifestasikan melalui bait-bait puisinya. Berdasarkan Pendekatan Gunaan, puisi dilihat menjadi representatif pengalaman hidup, kebudayaan, kesenian dan warisan penulisnya. Hakikatnya, kumpulan puisi *Yang Terhempas Dan Yang Putus* (2017) merupakan garapan idea dan pengalaman penulisnya yang telah lama berkecimpung dalam genre puisi, yang seharusnya dijadikan cerminan hidup bangsanya untuk masa hadapan. Orang Bajau mula kenal dengan ilmu kesusasteraan dan penyampaian idea dalam bentuk yang lebih kreatif. Tahap ini digambarkan melalui proses kehidupan yang amat payah, berdepan dengan pelbagai ranjau dan dugaan secara turun temurun sehinggakan susah untuk mempertahankan identiti bangsa tersebut.

Zubir Osman (2017:1) menerusi beberapa buah puisinya masih mengetengahkan elemen kearifan tempatan seperti perahu yang menjadi lambang dan identiti utama bagi masyarakat Bajau Laut. Perahu atau nama lain baginya *lepa*, *boggo'*, *kumpit*, *bayanan* dan *sappit* merupakan kenderaan laut, rumah atau tempat tinggal bagi masyarakat Bajau Laut yang menetap di lautan tanpa memiliki rumah yang sebenar. Perahu ini menjadi simbol kepada penyatuan masyarakat Bajau dengan lautan yang sekian lama menjadi guru dalam kehidupan seharian mereka. Penulis menghasilkan 5 buah puisi yang menggunakan perahu sebagai judul dalam antologi puisi ini. Perkataan perahu, *lepa*, *boggo'*, *sappit*, *kumpit*, *bayanan* dan *sappit* ini terdapat dalam bait beberapa buah puisi seperti Puisi Manusia Kaya (2017: 2), Manusia Marga Laut (2017:14), Lukisan Perasaan (vii) (2017:17), Lukisan Perasaan (viii) (2017:26), Pandang Warga Bumi Manusia (2017:53), Mimpi dan Perahu Kecil (2017:75), A'A Lepa (2017: 92) dan Pintu, Perahu dan Pantai (2017:152) dan Orang Tua dalam Laut (2017: 155). Penulis secara jelas mengetengahkan elemen ini agar masyarakat mengetahui bahawa masih terdapat etnik yang menetap di lautan yang luas dengan hanya berbekalkan rumah kenderaan yang dipanggil perahu ataupun *lepa*. Bajau Laut sememangnya sinonim dengan perahu yang menjadi pelengkap kehidupan seharian mereka dan representatif kepada *world-view* kehidupan mereka.

*boggo'-boggo' ku
bawa daku bersamamu
tika mendekati pantai tak terhampiri bayanan*

(*Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus* (2017):92)

Puisi Mata Gadis Perahu cuba untuk menggambarkan situasi hidup yang dilalui oleh gadis perahu yang merujuk kepada masyarakat Bajau Laut. Gadis itu masih muda namun sudah terdedah kepada kehidupan yang sulit dan sukar. Hidup menetap di sebuah perahu tua dan hanya mengharapkan hasil laut serta huluran daripada orang-orang yang bersimpati. Penulis cuba untuk menanamkan sifat kesedaran kepada khalayak betapa peritnya kehidupan golongan ini yang jelas terpinggir dari arus kemajuan dan kepesatan pembangunan. Puisi Perahu Tua (2017: 5) pula menggambarkan kehidupan seorang nelayan yang terpaksa bergelut dengan pelbagai risiko dan permasalahan seperti kesempitan hidup. Mereka terpaksa berhadapan dengan perbelanjaan yang mencabar seperti harga minyak dan bayaran peraih hasil mereka yang kadang kala tidak setimpal dengan usaha dan kepenatan seorang nelayan. Puisi ini dilihat selaras dengan pendekatan gunaan iaitu melibatkan unsur intrinsik dan ekstrinsik yang merangkumi latar belakang penciptaan, masyarakat, dan pengarangnya sehingga puisi-puisi ini mampu menzahirkan perasaan penulis mengenai bangsanya yang ingin diketengahkan kepada khalayak pembaca.

*Di sudut paling terpuruk
Perahu tua mengungsi segala hanyut tak mahu
Gigit maut diterjah badai kemajuan
Harga segelen minyak baginya*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):5)

Puisi A'A Lepa (2017:92) pula merupakan pandangan ikhlas penulis dalam usahanya memberi gambaran jelas kehidupan sebenar penunggu-penunggu perahu yang hanya bersandarkan kepada alam semesta bagi meneruskan kehidupan mereka. Mereka cuma berhutang pada nyawa masing-masing kerana terpisah dengan kemajuan, kemodenan, kekayaan dan kemakmuran. Hidup mereka semata-mata hanyalah pukut, jala dan pancing demi kelangsungan hidup mereka.

*hutangku hanya nyawaku
yang tergadai pada pukut, jala dan pancing
di tengah segera.*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):92)

Kehebatan masyarakat Bajau yang dikenali sebagai pelayar juga diketengahkan dalam beberapa buah puisi antaranya puisi Tong-Talun Simporna 1887-2014 (2017:3). Puisi ini memaparkan masyarakat Bajau itu arif mengenai selok belok samudera dan lautan sehingga digelar sebagai *ladja laut* dan membantu beberapa buah kerajaan lama seperti Melaka, Johor, Brunei dan Sulu. Sejarah sendiri ada menukilkan bahawa kejayaan ketika zaman kegemilangan Melaka itu dibantu oleh pertahanan orang laut yang sangat mahir dalam selok belok di lautan. Kearifan khususnya terhadap lautan ini tidak dapat dinafikan kerana Orang Bajau itu sendiri menganggap laut umpama ayah dalam kehidupan mereka, manakala perahu itu adalah ibu kepada kehidupan mereka. Kearifan atau kebijaksanaan dalam ilmu pelayaran dan lautan ini juga dikongsikan lewat bait-bait puisi Manusia Marga Laut (2017:14).

*Tiada istilah pandai di sekolah
Bijaksana kerana di didik alam
Panas hujan bayu ombak dan laut
Adalah guru tanpa tauliah.*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):14)

Puisi A'A Lepa pula menunjukkan bahawa penyair mengandaikan masyarakat Bajau Laut itu seorang insan yang berani dan tabah. Mereka menganggap nyawa yang dimiliki hanyalah untuk mencari rezeki demi kelangsungan hidup. Sebahagian besar kehidupan mereka adalah untuk menjadi nelayan, memukat, menjala dan memancing ikan. Lautan sememangnya adalah rakan akrab kepada masyarakat Bajau Laut.

*hutangku hanya nyawaku
yang tergadai pada pukut, jala dan pancing
di tengah segara.*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):92)

Kehidupan masyarakat Bajau Laut sebagai pengembara juga di nukilkan lewat puisi Pengembara Laut (2017:51) yang memahat peradaban tersendiri. Alam Samudera menjadi saksi perjalanan mereka untuk mengabadikan kenangan sebagai pahlawan di lautan.

*Pengembara laut
Bayu longlai bawa resah berabad
Dari srivijaya hingga Maguidanao
Mimpinya sama mesra manja
Alam samudera sesetia cinta selama riwayat*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):51)

Puisi Lukisan perasaan I, II, III, IV,V (2017) pula dilihat sebagai puisi berantai yakni bersambung-sambung dalam menggambarkan perjalanan hidup masyarakat Bajau Laut itu sendiri. Mereka menggambarkan kesedihan yang bersarang di hati melihat keadaan masyarakat Bajau Laut yang terpaksa hidup meminta-minta ehsan dan belas masyarakat. Hakikatnya, Bajau Laut berdepan dengan kehidupan yang menyedihkan dan tidak terbela. Mereka ketinggalan dalam pelbagai aspek kehidupan termasuklah pendidikan, teknologi dan kemajuan hidup. Paling memeritkan lagi, golongan ini tidak memiliki dokumen pengenalan diri.

Lazimnya, masyarakat Bajau Laut adalah peribumi yang tidak memiliki kad pengenalan sekaligus enggan berhijrah dan tidak memiliki tanah sendiri. Masalah tanpa dokumen pengenalan diri ini juga diketengahkan oleh penulis sebagai suatu manifestasi kepada kehidupan sebenar masyarakat Bajau Laut yang sememangnya tidak memiliki sebarang pengenalan diri.

*Mama tidak pernah datang ke klinik
kerana wang tidak pernah mencukupi
antaran mama tak punya KPT*

*pernah mama protes untuk mati saja dalam derita TB
kerana hospital tidak menyantuni mama
yang tiada dana membayar fi ratusan harga
menyesali hidup ke dunia tanpa warganegara*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):28-29)

Puisi Mama begitu menyentuh jiwa kerana penulis menggambarkan kisah sebenar kehidupan Bajau Laut tanpa dokumen yang kurang di endahkan, dipinggirkan dan dipandang sepi oleh masyarakat di sekeliling. Dokumen pengenalan diri ini akhirnya menyebabkan situasi kehidupan mereka semakin sukar. Urusan kesihatan juga seringkali menjadi kekangan kepada golongan Bajau Laut. Apabila menghadapi masalah kesihatan, amat sulit untuk mereka mendapatkan rawatan segera kerana faktor ketiadaan dokumen pengenalan diri. Puisi ini juga

menggambarkan kesedihan Orang Bajau laut yang kadang kala hanya mampu tinggal dan terus menetap di pulau tanpa perlu ke bandar lagi.

*Kerana mama bukan warganegara
Hidup atas belas ihsan semua
Rela mati di lautan tanpa pusara
Kerana pemilik tanah hanya mereka yang warganegara*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):29)

Bait-bait indah ini jelas manifestasi kesedihan yang terbit dalam hati masyarakat Bajau Laut. Mereka tidak mempunyai hak apatahlagi meminta sesuatu sedangkan mereka juga manusia biasa. Ketiadaan dokumen memaksa mereka dipinggirkan dari arus pembangunan material masyarakat setempat.

Zubir Osman (2015: 18) rangkap ketiga mengetengahkan ungkapan puitis seperti:
*“Kajang tuan kajang berlipat,
Kajang saya mengkuang layu
Dagang tuan dagang bertempat
Dagang saya tersalah rindu”*

Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017:34)

Bait-bait indah ini dinukilkan lewat puisi bertajuk Potret. Ungkapan puitis, perlambangan dan pantun merupakan khazanah warisan yang berharga dan menjadi lambang identiti sesebuah masyarakat yang menyintai kesantunan dalam berbahasa. Orang Bajau juga mengutamakan adab dan kesopanan terutamanya apabila bertutur dan berinteraksi dengan masyarakat. Kata-kata puitis dan gramatis adalah wadah dalam menyampaikan perasaan yang hadir di minda dan fikiran masyarakat yang kemudiannya diluahkan melalui cara yang lebih halus dan beradab.

Penulis menggunakan elemen keperitan hidup, kesabaran dan pengajaran berdasarkan pengalaman untuk menyatakan hasrat hatinya demi sebuah perjuangan yang tulus moga bangsanya beroleh kekuatan dan kesedaran mencapai kejayaan. Sekalipun kudrat kita terbatas tetapi usaha yang berterusan perlu dilakukan untuk mencapai matlamat dalam kehidupan. Penceritaan ini sangat bertepatan dengan nilai-nilai Islam yang sentiasa mengalakkan umatnya untuk berusaha merubah nasib dan kehidupan mereka selaras dengan firman Allah dalam surah ar-Ra'd ayat 11 iaitu *“sesungguhnya Allah tidak akan mengubah nasib sesuatu kaum melainkan kaum itu sendiri mengubah nasibnya”*. Masyarakat Bajau begitu bersemangat untuk meneruskan kehidupan masing-masing.

*Ajari anakmu mencapai tajalli
Kelak engkau seperti Muhammad
Suri teladan di antariksa
Leluhurmu sendiri*

Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017:114)

Puisi Ajari Anakmu di atas menunjukkan bahawa penulis cuba untuk memberi gambaran jelas kepada khalayak bahawa masyarakat Bajau Laut juga ada yang menganuti agama Islam. Walaupun tidak semua, namun masih ada yang terus berpegang dengan tali Allah. Kehidupan yang disandarkan kepada Islam dan pendedahan terhadap cerita-cerita nabi seperti Muhammad S.A.W. Kearifan tempatan ternyata menjadi salah satu aspek yang cukup penting dalam usaha beliau untuk menggarap puisi-puisi terbaik kepada khalayak pembaca. Kearifan tempatan yang dipaparkan termasuklah alur pemikiran, falsafah hidup dan pegangan orang Bajau itu sendiri.

Pendekatan guna menekankan setiap yang diciptakan itu memiliki peranan masing-masing. Pengalaman hidup itu akhirnya menjadi mesej berguna yang disampaikan kepada khalayak pembaca.

*biar derita seketika namun bahagia selamanya
biar terasing namun dekat pada-Nya
biar miskin harta namun kaya gelora batin rasa
biar melangkah namun hasrat melayang saujana
biar menyimpang namun terbilang*

(Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017):64)

Ungkapan “tutul, kalang, kissa, suli, sagha dan siaka” membawa maksud yang tersirat di sebalik penggunaannya. Ungkapan ini bermaksud cerita ataupun kisah yang disampaikan oleh generasi terdahulu dan ditinggalkan kepada generasi muda sebagai panduan dalam kehidupan mereka. Penyair mahukan orang Bajau mengingatkan komuniti agar tidak melupakan pesanan orang yang terdahulu. Apabila terdapat majlis keramaian bagi masyarakat Bajau Laut, maka kissa dan kalang dalam bentuk nyanyian turut di perengarkan sebagai suatu penghormatan terhadap seni dan kebudayaan masyarakat Bajau itu sendiri.

Puisi Ini Lauk Yang Ku Suap (*Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus (2017:133)*) pula dilihat menggambarkan secara terperinci kehidupan Orang Bajau tradisi yang diwarisi turun temurun masih diamalkan sehingga kini. Makanan seperti *dollen, kima, lato', kahanga* dan *tayum* merupakan makanan menjadi lambang identiti Bajau Laut. Makanan ini juga amat mudah diperolehi lantaran hanya perlu turun ke laut untuk mendapatkannya. Makanan laut seperti ini mempunyai *sentimental value* kepada seluruh komuniti Bajau. Hanya komuniti ini sahaja yang mengerti kepayahan dan kesukaran untuk mendapatkan makanan ini di dasar laut. Namun, penyair memasukkan unsur sindiran dengan mengetengahkan makanan generasi hari ini lebih kebaratan seperti *sandwich* dan *maggi*. Penyair cuba menggambarkan realiti kehidupan anak laut yang perit dan pahit. Kehidupan seharian orang Bajau dirasakan tidak lengkap tanpa kehadiran makanan laut yang pelbagai. Udang, ikan dan sotong kering dalam puisi merupakan hidangan laut yang melambangkan kegiatan seharian mereka sebagai nelayan. Nelayan inilah yang berjuang membelah samudera untuk mencari sumber dan rezeki bagi memenuhi keperluan keluarga. Kehidupan yang digambarkan penyair juga turut melahirkan kesan yang mendalam kepada pembaca. Orang Bajau yang dihipit kemiskinan nyata sehingga tidak mampu memiliki lampu apatahlagi penghawa dingin.

Penyair juga seringkali menggunakan perkataan Sama Buddhi yang jelas merujuk kepada kaum Bajau Laut yang tinggal menetap dalam perahu. Penggunaan dialek tempatan dalam bait-bait puisi begitu mengesankan dan memberi sedikit sebanyak mengenai prinsip hidup masyarakat Bajau. Ulang kaya, Naqiub dan Ladja Laut merupakan gelaran bagi orang-orang Bajau yang cukup berpengaruh pada zaman dahulu. Penyair juga berjaya memperlihatkan keadaan sebenar anak-anak golongan ini yang cuma dilahirkan sehelai sepinggang dan serba kekurangan. Situasi ini telah menghimpit hidup mereka sehingga ada yang menjadi pencandu gam di lorong-lorong jalan. Apabila melihat realiti sebenar, terdapat pengemis-pengemis yang tergolong dalam kalangan kanak-kanak bawah umur dua belas tahun. Mereka merempat dan menagih ihsan kepada golongan yang mahu membantu terutamanya menghulurkan duit atau syiling yang amat diharapkan. Namun penyair sentiasa menyelitkan dakwah berbentuk pengharapan insan agar Allah sentiasa menjaga kebajikan mereka dan kehidupan yang dilalui oleh masyarakat ini. Keindahan ini dapat membuktikan bahawa penyair yang hidup dalam ruang lingkup masyarakat Bajau mampu menginterpretasikan keadaan bangsa ini.

Bait-bait indah puisi Pengembara Buana ini jelas memaparkan usaha penulis untuk memberikan suatu tafsiran dan lukisan yang berbeza dalam kerangka kehidupan Bajau yang sebahagiannya merempat dan terpinggir dalam masyarakat. Lazimnya, orang luar mempunyai tanggapan dan persepsi khusus apabila berbicara mengenai Bajau, terutamanya Bajau Laut.

Puisi ini berjaya mengesankan suatu perasaan yang luhur dengan memberikan gambaran terdapat segelintir komuniti Bajau yang tidak terbela dan menghadapi liku-liku perjalanan hidup yang memerlukan. Garapan ini sudah cukup memberikan tafsiran mengenai konflik identiti dan pandangan sinis masyarakat terhadap anak-anak laut yang memerlukan bantuan dan pertolongan untuk mengubah nasib bangsa mereka. Kemajuan dan peradaban itu masih jauh dari gapaian mereka lantaran masyarakat mengabaikan kehadiran dan keberadaan mereka sebagai komuniti yang perlu dibantu sewajarnya.

Kesimpulan

Kesimpulannya, kajian ini menemukan paparan kearifan tempatan yang menonjolkan identiti, falsafah, cara hidup dan kebudayaan penulis serta komuniti Bajau itu sendiri. Zubir Osman (2015) berusaha untuk menempatkan dirinya sebagai penyair yang mampu menginterpretasikan kehidupan dan kebudayaan Bajau yang sebenar dalam setiap bait puisi ciptaannya. Puisi-puisi Zubir Osman nyata memberikan kesan katarsis kepada khalayak pembaca terutamanya apabila menempatkan dirinya ke dalam keperitan hidup masyarakat Sama Buddhi. Secara tidak langsung, penyair berusaha menyedarkan bangsanya mengenai kewujudan masyarakat yang memerlukan bantuan dan ihsan untuk mereka beradaptasi dengan kemajuan dalam kehidupan mereka. Masyarakat Bajau Laut harus diberikan ilmu pengetahuan, tidak dipinggirkan serta mendapat layanan selayaknya sama seperti bangsa yang lain di Sabah. Bajau Laut mengajarkan kita erti kehidupan dan nikmat yang wajar disyukuri oleh masyarakat di sekeliling mereka. Sejauh mana pun mereka pergi, identiti, kebudayaan dan nilai Bajau Laut tetap terpamer dalam keseluruhan cara hidup mereka.

Bibliografi

- Chong Ah Fok. 2008. *Kajian Novel Terpilih Brunei Darussalam dari Perspektif Pengkaedahan Melayu*. Brunei Darussalam: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei.
- Hashim Awang. 1984. *Kesusasteraan Melayu dalam Kritikan dan Sejarah*. Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.
- Hashim Awang. 1988. *Kritikan Kesusasteraan: Teori dan Penulisan*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Hashim Awang. 1989. "Kajian Sastera: Suatu Pendekatan Melayu" dlm. *Dewan Sastera* (Disember), hlm 60-63. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Hashim Awang. 2002. *Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu dan Prinsip Penerapannya*. *Kertas Kerja Bengkel Teori Sastera*. Anjuran Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Melaka, 28-29 Jun.
- Kamonthip. 2007. Local Wisdom, environmental protection and community development: The clam farmers in Tambon Bangkhunsai, Phetchaburi Province, Thailand. *MANUSYA: Journal of Humanities*. Vol.10 No 1 : pp 1-10
- Nyoman Utari Vipriyanti. (2008, July). Banjar adat dan local wisdom : Community Management for public space of sustainability in Bali Province. Paper Presented in IASC 2008 12th Biennial Conference.
- Rabiatul Adawiah, Low Kok On, Hashim Awang. 2017 elements of dakwah and local wisdom of the Bajaus in The Anthology of Poetry Itizam. *Malay Literature DBP*.p. 99-120.
- Warren, J. F. 1971. The North Borneo Chartered Company's Administration of the Bajau, 1878-1909. *Kertas kerja Internasional Studies, Southeast Asia Series*, 22, Ohio University Centre For Internasional Studies, 1971. pp :65-70
- Yap Beng Liang. 1977. *Orang Bajau Pulau Omdal, Sabah: Satu Kajian Tentang Sistem Budaya* (Tesis Sarjana, Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya).
- Yap Beng Liang. 1985. *The Traditional World –View of the Indigenous Peoples of Sabah*.

- dlm. Mohd Taib Osman (pnyt.), *Malaysian World View*:76-130. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Yap Beng Liang. 1993. *Orang Bajau Pulau Omdal, Sabah: Aspek-Aspek Budaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Zurinah Hassan. 2008. *Puisi Melayu Moden: Kajian Teori Pengkaedahan Melayu*. (Tesis Ijazah Doktor Falsafah). Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya.
- Zubir Osman. 2017. *Yang Terhempas dan Yang Putus* . Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia Berhad

REVISITING THE *BIOLA* (*BIULA*) AMONG THE BAJAU AND IRANUN OF SABAH: THE INSTRUMENT, ITS PERFORMANCE, AND POSSIBLE ORIGINS

Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan
Professor of Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, and
Research Fellow, Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies
Universiti Malaysia Sabah
(jacquie@ums.edu.my)

Abstract

The *biola* is relatively rare in Sabah and was traditionally found only among certain maritime communities, such as the Brunei and Kadayan, the Iranun, some west coast Bajau, and east coast Bajau, including the Sama Dilaut. In the Kota Belud District of Sabah, the *biola* (Bajau) or *biula* (Iranun) is a three-stringed bowed lute shaped like a violin. It is stood in a somewhat vertical position in front of the seated performer, with its scroll leaning back towards one shoulder, and is bowed with a horsehair stringed bow. Among the Sama Dilaut, however, the *biola* has four strings and is often held horizontally when played with its base against the side of the performer. Nowadays, east coast Bajau performers play the four-stringed European violin held like a fiddle, with its base against the chest near the armpit. Many scholars claim the *biola* came from the European violin and viola that the Portuguese introduced into Southeast Asia, while some say it came to the Iranun and Bajau through Spanish rule in the Philippines, and others trace it to a bowed lute from Arab traders. This paper will compare the organology, performance practice and music of the west coast Bajau *biola* and Iranun *biula* with the east coast Bajau *biola*, and will suggest possible origins for the traditional three-stringed instrument.

Keywords: *biola/ biula, East Coast Bajau, West Coast Bajau, Iranun, Sabah*

Introduction

As noted previously, bowed lutes are largely absent from the wide variety of traditional musical instruments played among peoples who speak languages from Sabah's ancient indigenous Dusunic, Murutic and Paitanic Families of Languages. The Bajau and the Iranun of the west coast of Kota Belud District, however, play a bowed lute called *biola* (Bajau) or *biula* (Iranun) that resembles a three-stringed violin, but with a solid body and somewhat long neck. During performance, the instrument is stood somewhat vertically in front of the performer, who sits cross-legged on the floor. The manner of playing and even its highly ornamented style of music resembles that of bowed lutes from the Middle East and northern Africa, indicating a possible Arab origin for this instrument (Pugh-Kitingan, 2004, 38-39, 121, 180-182; 2014; 2015).

Indeed, Arab and Persian traders were present in the region, especially during the era of the Brunei Empire that extended as far north as Luzon. The Iranun of Sabah credit the Arab Sharif Kubangsawan with introducing Islam into their culture and with marrying a high-class Baih, thus producing the Sharif class of equal standing with the Datu'. Today, there is a small community of Arabs living near the Tidung in Tawau, who are descended from 19th century traders in the region. Instruments such as *rabana* frame drums and the *gambus biawak* among the Tidung and others have been developed from similar Arab instruments. Hence, it is not inconceivable that a bowed lute of Arab or Middle Eastern origins could have given rise to the *biola/biula*.

This view of the *biola/biula* as of possible Arab origin has been criticised by some who point to scholarly works that clearly show that the western violin was introduced by the Portuguese who taught it to their slaves and retainers. This popular instrument had a role to play in the development of the musical genre *Kroncong* that it still widely performed throughout Indonesia

and Peninsular Malaysia. Wherever it is found, it is usually held against the left chest (Kartomi 1997a, 1997b, 2002, 2011; Storch 2011, 219).

Yet others, point to the possibility that the *biola* may have developed from the violin through the Spanish in the Philippines, since a version of it is popular among many Sama' Bajau peoples of the east coast and the Philippines, as well as the Sama' Dilaut that are historically sea nomads.

Thus, this paper seeks to revisit the issue of the west coastal *biola/biula*. It asks two basic questions: Why is the *biola/biula* of the West Cost Bajau and Iranun different in structure, performance technique and music from the violin of Portuguese origin? And, is the Sama' Dilaut *biola* structure, performance technique and music the same as that of the west coast *biola/biula* thus indicating a possible Philippine origin?

The Iranun *Biula* and Bajau *Biola* of Kota Belud

In the Kota Belud District of Sabah, the *biula* (Iranun) or *biola* (West Coast Bajau) is quite different in structure and performance technique from the European violin. It is a three-stringed bowed lute with a body shaped like a violin. Its squarish carved scroll, peg-box, long thick neck, back, sides and base of the body comprise one complete piece and are cut from a single log of soft wood such as jackfruit or seraya. The front with two S-shaped holes is a thin layer of wood covering the hollow body, while the fingerboard, the bridge, and the tail piece where the strings enter, are stuck over this body front.

Individual performers have their own names in their respective languages for the parts of their instrument, but they are usually anthropomorphic in nature and can refer to the instrument's head, bun, ears, neck, shoulders, waist, stomach and so on (Plates 1 and 2). The tuning of the three strings is also personal to the performer, but from the player's right side the string tunings in cypher are either $\underline{7} \ 1 \ \underline{5}$ or $\underline{7} \ 1 \ 5$.

The bow is also cut from a piece of jackfruit wood. It has a handle at one end, a carved flower-like decoration at the other, and its bowstring is made from many strands of long horse hair (traditionally the Iranun and, nowadays, the Bajau of Kota Belud are renowned horsemen).

This instrument is played by both men and women. As mentioned above, it is stood in a somewhat vertical position in front of the seated performer, with its scroll leaning backwards towards one shoulder, and is bowed with the horsehair stringed bow.

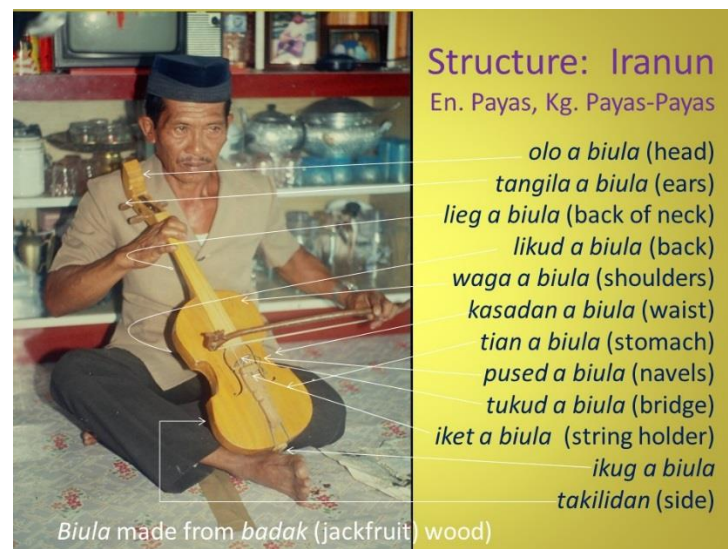


Plate 1: Structure of the Iranun *biula* of En. Payas Bin Dalah
(Source: Fieldwork, 1995)



Plate 2: Structure of the West Coast Bajau *biola* by En. Alip Bin Baa' (Source: Fieldwork, 1995)

Performance Context and Music

The *biula* or *biola* is regarded as a “classical” instrument of skilled artistic performance. It can be played solo by both men and women virtuosi at important social events such as weddings, as well as for entertainment in the home.

Pamiula (Iranun) which connotes “music with the *biula*” or *Isun-Isun* (Bajau) suggesting poetic stanzas sung “back-and-forth” between two people, is a genre of call-and-response *pantun*-like vocal music (Iranun: *sambaga sa pantun*) between a man and a woman in which one of them, often the woman, plays the bowed lute. In this call-and-response duet, the vocal stanzas are embedded in the instrument’s music.

If the genre is performed alone, the singer’s call-and-response stanzas function as a monologue or a soliloquy. Sometimes solo performances are purely instrumental, and can be a medley of different pieces. This is shown in Table 1 which compares the repertoires of the Iranun performer En. Payas bin Dalah of Kg. Payas-Payas and the Bajau performer En. Alip bin Baa’ of Kg. Kuala Abai. These were recorded on the same day in the two different villages of the musicians. They are medleys of different pieces that refer to *pantun*-type stanzas (Bajau: *kallang*). Alip did not sing on this occasion (he was still grieving for his late wife), but just played his *biola*. Payas did not sing during piece called *Kuda Aragam*, but sang with his *biula* in the three *Kallang Ampat*.

As shown previously (Pugh-Kitingan 2004, p.180-182), the instrument’s music in this genre alternates long passages played in the higher register with episodes in the lower register. Lines tend to have an overall cascading melodic direction, and phrases are highly ornamented. The melismatic vocal melodies follow the highly ornamented *biula* patterns. During long instrumental sections, the performer thinks in terms of linguistic stanzas even when he or she is not singing. Similarities in the names of some pieces reflect the close relationship between the Bajau and the Iranun of Kota Belud, whereby cultural elements can be shared and copied.

Table 1: Comparison of *Pamiula* (Iranun) and *Isun-Isun* (Bajau) repertoires

<i>Biula</i> Performance by En. Payas bin Dalah, Kg. Payas-Payas, Kota Belud (Iranun) Recorded: 25 January 1995	<i>Biola</i> Performance by En. Alip bin Baa', Kg. Kuala Abai Seberang, Kota Belud (Bajau) Recorded: 25 January 1995
--	---

1. <i>Kuda Aragam</i> 2. <i>Kallang Ampat (i)</i> 3. <i>Kallang Ampat (ii)</i> 4. <i>Kallang Ampat (iii)</i>	1. <i>Keten Langkau</i> 2. <i>Kuda Aragam</i> 3. <i>Isun-Isun</i> 4. <i>Ondok Berunsai</i> 5. <i>Kallang Ampat (3 types)</i>
---	--

(Source: Fieldwork, 1995)

The Sama' Dilaut Violin (*Biola*) of Semporna

The *biola* of the East Coast Bajau is played among many Sama' Dilaut communities and on many islands. Unlike the *biola/biula* of Kota Belud, this *biola* is the typical four-stringed European violin. It is held in the right-chest or left-chest position, depending on the performer's preference, and is bowed with a typical screw-type bow with cat-gut string. En. Indal Sapri bin Jumadil is a well-known performer who resides in Kg. Simunul, Semporna. He originally came from Sibutu Island (Plate 3).

He first made a *biola* in 1972, when he was only 22 years old and still living on Sibutu, and he taught himself to play. His father discouraged him and was very angry with him for playing, because he thought music was a waste of time. His father hit him, and threw the *biola* away. When he cried and cried, his father repented. During a trip to Tawau in 1972, his father bought him the violin (*biola*) that he now plays.



Plate 3: En. Indal Sapri bin Jumadil playing his *biola*
(Source: Fieldwork, 2019)

Although he prefers to hold the violin against his the right-chest like a fiddle, he can play it just as well in other positions. He demonstrated this by playing the instrument with it held under his chin, standing vertical on his right knee, and even on top of his right shoulder. The terms used to describe the parts of his *biola* are less anthropomorphic than those of the Kota Belud instruments. The strings, for example, are called *stering*, and the bow is *got-got biola*.

Performance Context and Music

This violin-type *biola* is also a virtuoso instrument. It is played at weddings and other important social celebrations. This *biola* can be played solo, or with other instruments such as those in a

jazz combo, with a keyboard, guitar and bass, or even with the *gabbang* xylophone. It can also accompany singing.

En. Indal Sapri thinks that this violin-type *biola* came into East Coast Bajau cultures from the Philippines, and this may well be true. The music that he plays, however, resembles the diatonic ornamented violin melodies of *Kroncong*, but he can play any popular tune with his instrument.

Conclusions

Clearly, the *biola* played by En. Indal Sapri of Semporna is the European violin. While this instrument could have come into Sama'Dilaut culture from the Philippines, its manner of performance with the *biola* against the right chest and its style of music show that this is musically of Portuguese origin. The fact that the Sama' Dilaut play an instrumental genre that developed from the Portuguese historical presence, even though many were under Spanish influence from the Philippines is not surprising. Instruments and musical styles are often traded and diffused among peoples and cultures, especially among maritime societies and coastal communities. This genre could easily have been acquired through maritime contacts with Sama'Dilaut living, for example, near Sulawesi.

The *biola/biula* of the Bajau and Iranun of Kota Belud, however, is very different from the east coast *biola*. Its structure, performance technique and music suggest a different origin. It may have come into Iranun culture through Brunei and Arab contacts, and into west coast Bajau culture from Brunei and Iranun contacts. It might be an older bowed lute that has become hybridised with the shape and 'face' of the European violin. Further research is needed to fully answer the question of its origin.

References

- Kartomi, M. J. (1997a). A Malay-Portuguese Synthesis on the West Coast of North Sumatra. In *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music*, pp. 289-350. Lisbon Portugal: Publicações Dom Quixote.
- Kartomi, M.J. (1997b). Portuguese Influence on Indonesian Music. In *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling Zum 65. Geburtstag*, pp. 657-666. Tutzing Germany: Hans Schneider.
- Kartomi, M.J. (2002). Portuguese Musical Imprint on the Malay-Indonesian World. *RC Review of Culture*, 26, 25-35. <http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/20026/1132> Accessed on 9 April 2019.
- Kartomi, M.J. (2011). Stylistic interaction between vocal and biola (violin) performance in Malay songs along Sumatra's coast. In G. Jahnichen (Ed.), *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis II*, pp. 147 - 162. Munster: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- Pugh-Kitingan, J. (2004). *Selected Papers on Music in Sabah*. Kota Kinabalu: Kadazandusun Chair, Universiti Malaysia Sabah.
- Pugh-Kitingan, J. (2014). The *Biola* and Its Music among Cultures on the West Coast of Sabah. Paper presented at *7th International Seminar on Maritime Culture and Geopolitics*, 4-5 November 2014, Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences, University of Malaya- Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Pugh-Kitingan, J. (2015). Call-and-Response Genres among the West Coast Bajau of Sabah: Forms, Functions and Possible Origins. Paper presented at *The Second International Symposium on the Malay Performing Arts of Indonesia's Riau Islands*, 14-16 January 2015, Monash University, Australia.
- Storch, C. (2011). The Influence of Portuguese Musical Culture in Southeast Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. In L. Jarnagin (Ed.), *The Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011: Volume 2. Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World (Tenacities & Placisitices)*, pp. 208-224. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

REINSTITUTIONALIZING SULAT PASA: A TRADITIONAL DIVORCE PAPER AMONG THE SAMA IN TAWI-TAWI

Alshadat B. Sabal¹ & Omarjan I. Jahuran²

Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography
Librarian/Researcher, Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi
(datsymsu@yahoo.com, Omarjan44@gmail.com)

Abstract

For centuries, Muslim Filipinos traditionally seek redress for grievances in the *agama* justice system as it is perceived to dispense justice in a swift, inexpensive and practical way. This also applies to divorce cases brought before the local religious leaders for resolution. This paper attempts to discuss the traditional divorce paper as well as the procedures for divorce among the Sama ethnic group despite its integration into the mainstream Philippine legal system. The research suggests amending and reinstitutionalising *Sulat Pasa* in the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines which regulates divorce. This research work was carried out through key informant Interviews, archival searches of available relevant literature as well descriptive-qualitative research design were used in analysing the empirical data. The paper hopes to provide baseline data for policy proposal of the new *Bangsamoro* Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao to reconsider integrating *Sulat Pasa* as a viable solution to dissolve a Sama marriage. While admittedly, the perpetuation of the traditional divorce procedures among Muslim Filipinos in the Special Rules Governing the Sharia' Courts (*Ijra-at Al Mahakim Al Shariah*) promulgated by the Supreme Court of the Philippines is meant to provide a uniformity of procedure as observed in the Shariah Circuit Court and Shariah District Court for divorce among all Muslims in the Philippines as well as recognition of their traditional practices as enshrined under the emerging *Bangsamoro* Organic Law. Such legal hybridity in the Philippine setting is not sensitive to Muslim age-old practices and beliefs as it results in the obliteration of a Sama cultural identity with respect to dissolution of marriage. More so, the current system does not dispense justice to the satisfaction of the Sama divorcees as it is completely absorbed into the Philippine judicial system.

Keywords: *Agama Justice System, legal hybridity, Sulat Pasa, Shariah Courts, Bangsamoro Organic law.*

Introduction

One of the thirteen ethno-linguistic groups that constitute the *Bangsamoro* in the Philippines is the *Sama*. The word *Sama* is derived from their cooperative success "*sama-sama*" which means "togetherness". According to the tradition (*Salsila*) of the *Sama*, the name *Tawi-Tawi* comes from "*haw-haw*" meaning "very far" and "fading out" (Kuraish II, 1979). The *Sinama* speaking people dominates the island province of Tawi-Tawi in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Despite modernity, the *Kauman Sama* (Sama community) still clings to the *Bowahan Mattoa* or *Intan Magkadahulu* (Practices of the ancestors).

Prior to the codification of the Muslim Filipino Personal Laws in 1973, justice among Filipino Muslims was dispensed with in a swift, inexpensive and practical way involving cases including divorce through an *agama* justice system where members of the same community or adjacent barangays brought their case for amicable settlement. *The Diwan among the Tausug especially during the Sulu Sultanate was promulgated as the principal personal law codex of Sulu. A much more comprehensive codex, known as Luwaran sa Magindanao, was promulgated by the Sultan of Magindanao.* These two sets of codex served to regulate the relations between Muslims, their application of which has been consistently used to justify the jurisdiction of the *agama* justice system to resolve cases in the southern Philippines particularly in Tawi-Tawi.

To the credit of the Martial Law regime, then President Ferdinand E. Marcos was partially successful in his inroads towards integrating the Muslims of Southern Philippines by creating a legal space for them to harmonize traditional practices within bureaucratic structures.

On February 4, 1977, Presidential Decree No. 1083 otherwise known as the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines came into effect. The Code is one such victory albeit much criticized for its limitations as mere Family Code and therefore covers only civil disputes. The legal integration has in time bolstered the mainstreaming of the Islamically-derived agama justice system through the creation of the Shari'a Circuit Courts and Shariah Districts Courts having its own special rules governed under the Supreme Court.

This Code is the bases of the implementation of the Shariah judicial system among Muslims in Mindanao (Holbrook, 2010). It was an important piece of legislation as it signified the recognition of the Muslim laws as part of the Philippine legal system. The code specifically fixed and defined the personal status, marriage and divorce between Muslims, paternity and filiations, parental authority, succession and inheritance, support and maintenance, rights and obligations as well as property relations between husband and wife.

Its establishment would further allow Muslim Filipinos to have their system of laws to be enforced in their respective communities consistent with the aspiration of the Bangsamoro people to self-determination. However, the integration of adat or customary law as well as Islamic laws with state institutions for example with the objective view of perpetuating the Muslim cultural identity in the larger Philippine setting and its codification if meant for compliance of the conventional legal jargon vis-a-vis in form and substance or style or format as used in crafting statute or laws in the Philippines and in providing for the uniformity of divorce procedures among Muslim Filipinos had thus resulted in the so-called legal hybridity which in part a departure of the traditional mode of settling divorce case from the perspective of the Sama of Tawi-Tawi.

More so, the legal hybridity in the context of the Code will work injustice among Muslim Filipinos or too cumbersome especially among the indigent client who cannot afford to hire the services of a Shari'a Counsel in bringing a legal action for divorce before the Shari'a court.

For the effective implementation of the said Code, the Shari'a Circuit Courts and the Shari'a District Courts of limited or special jurisdiction were created to exercise power to adjudicate cases pertaining only to those enumerated under the Code. These courts shall be governed by the Special Rules Governing the Shari'a Courts (*Ijra-at Al Mahakim Al Shariah*) which the Supreme Court of the Philippines has promulgated pursuant to Articles 148 and 158 of the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines. Basically, its rulings, judgment or resolutions are part and parcel of the Philippine judicial system. To date, the Shariah court has exclusive jurisdiction over all cases of divorce between Muslims whose marriage was solemnized in accordance with Muslim law and a proper venue for appropriate action. In 2015, the Supreme Court of the Philippines affirmed the decision of the Shariah Court in Cotabato City granting the decree of divorce among Muslims.

This development left imprint for precedent purposes in the Philippine jurisprudence and for the first time sanctioning divorce in the country, of course limited to Muslims only. The question is, for how long is the divorce case resolved to the satisfaction of the complainant to sever the marriage bond? The answer is it would be time consuming even if the Special Rules Governing the Shariah Courts provides for the practical way and speedy dispensation of justice.

Discussion

The Philippine Muslim Integration and the Peace Processes

The integration of the Philippine Muslims is considerably an age-old political project passed on for generations of Philippine administrations. Setting-up the mechanisms for implementation of national policies for the southern inhabitants have been negotiated to be at the core in basic agreements and political concessions of the five decade old struggle of the MNLF/MILF for self-governance. One of this was the codification of the Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines.

The details for implementation of policies for Muslims are deemed complete and substantive only if they are enshrined within a bigger more comprehensive ambit of a basic law. On the other hand, as citizens of the Republic of the Philippines, the Philippine Muslims as a cultural-community are with basic social and cultural rights protected under the 1987 Constitution and further emphasized and particularized special laws such as Republic Act No. 8371, otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, Republic Act No. 6734 as further amended by Republic Act No. 9054 or the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao law (ARMM) and again as further amended by R.A No. 11054 or Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) which was ratified on January 21, 2019 in the historic plebiscite conducted in the core territories of the defunct Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.

Impact of the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines

With the inception of the Muslim Code in 1977, Muslim Filipinos are assured that their rights are being protected by the government, that they are treated equally with the rest of the other ethnolinguistic groups in the country, and that they are part and parcel of the Filipino nation.

The establishment of the Code would further allow Muslim Filipinos to have their system of laws to be enforced in their respective communities. This is consistent with the aspirations of the Bangsamoro people for self-determination.

Divorce among Muslim Filipinos

Marriage and divorce has long been upheld institutions among Muslims. Previously, it was regulated by *Diwan* with respect to the Muslim Filipinos living in the island provinces of Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi. Divorce, therefore is a customary decree that dissolves the marriage.

Securing Divorce through the Legal Justice System and Shari'a

Currently, divorce among Muslim Filipinos is governed and regulated under the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines complemented by the Special Rules Governing the Shari'a Courts (Ijra-at Al Mahakim Al Shariah) promulgated by the Supreme Court of the Philippines.

Article 55, paragraph 2(b) of the CMPL states that the Shari'a Circuit Courts shall have original jurisdiction over divorce (among Muslim Filipinos) recognized under the Code. Under Article 45 of the same Code provides that divorce is granted only after the exhaustion of all possible means of reconciliation between the spouses. It may be effected by: Repudiation of the wife by the husband (*talaq*), Vow of continence by the husband (*ila*), Injurious assimilation of the wife by the husband (*zihar*), Acts of imprecation (*li'an*), Redemption by the wife (*khul'*), exercise by the wife of the delegated right to repudiate (*tafwid*) and Judicial decree (*faskh*).

Jurisdiction of the Barangay Justice System on Divorce

Under Republic Act No. 7160 otherwise known as the Local Government Code of 1991, the Punong Barangay has no authority to hear, try and decide a divorce case as it is fall squarely under the original jurisdiction of the Sharia' Circuit Court. While the local official concerned has the power to call contending parties for personal confrontation, however it does not preclude him from issuing a certification to have the case elevated to the higher authorities like the court the same cannot be resolved as his level.

The Sulat Pasa

The term literally means divorce paper. It is a simple document usually issued by an Imam (Muslim Priest) who officiated during the wedding or the Punong Barangay (Barangay captain) of the Village where the couple resides¹. *Sulat* is Sinama/Tausug/Yakan for letter while *Pasa* comes from the Arabic word "*faskh*" meaning a decree of divorce initiated by the wife based on grounds provided by the Sharia' law.

The Lumah Sara/Paghukuman

In the Sama community, there exists a traditional body called the "*Lumah Sarah or Paghukuman*" which literally means a "*House of Law*"². *Lumah* is a Sinama term for house and *Sarah* for law. It

is the venue where the *Parkala* (case) and the *Pagsuna* (accusing someone) are mediated, arbitrated and settled. They are followed by the *Pagsalassay* (to settle, fix to or to arrange something like trouble, misunderstanding, quarrel or dispute) to be facilitated, presided, arbitrated and mediated upon by the Local imam/local religious leaders or Barangay Chairman when cases like divorce is elevated to the *Lumah Sarah* for resolution.

Like an ad hoc committee, this functional local body from the vantage of the Sama practices and beliefs may exercise certain powers especially to hear petty cases³. This body ceases to exist once the case has been duly settled. Likewise, the body continues to function as cases are presented and is recognized as a proper venue for redress of grievances.

Since Islam plays an important role in the lives of Muslim Filipinos, this whole system of “*Pagsulut*” or settlement of cases before the *House of Law* in the Sama community is generally part and parcel of the whole *agama justice system* of the Muslim Filipinos.

The Lumah Sarah as Venue for Divorce in Tawi-Tawi Setting

Despite the promulgation of the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines as well as the Special Laws Governing the Shari’a Courts that provides for the uniformity of procedures for filing an action for divorce intended for Muslim Filipinos, the inhabitants of Tawi-Tawi Province still observe the traditional practice of bringing the suit for divorce before the “*Lumah Sarah*”. In the management of the disputes, the body employed the combination of *adat* (customary law) and Islamic law, usually passages from the *Holy Qur’an*, in deciding a divorce case⁴. The body is headed by a local *Imam* or local leader and is clothed with the authority to issue the traditional divorce paper which is akin to the divorce decree granted by the regular Shari’a court in its jurisdiction. This traditional mode of dissolving the marriage is in stark contrast with the procedures for divorce as contemplated under the Muslim Code.

The Procedure in Dissolving the Marriage Bond in the Context of the Sama Belief

From the vantage of the practices and beliefs of the *Sinama* speaking people of Tawi-Tawi, a divorce case differs from other petty cases because of the traditional issuance of *Sulat Pasa*.

Procedure is that which prescribes the method of enforcing rights or obtains redress for their invasion. (Bustos vs. Lucero, 81 Phil 650).

The rules of procedure are but mere tools designed to facilitate the attainment of justice. Their strict and rigid application, which would result in technicalities that tend to frustrate rather than promote substantial justice, must be avoided (Piczon vs. Court of Appeals, G.R 76378-81, September 24, 1990). The general objective of procedure is “to facilitate the application of justice to the rival claims of contending parties,” bearing always in mind that procedure is created “not to hinder and delay but to facilitate and promote the administration of justice” (I Moran, p.115, citing Udan vs. Amon, 23 SCRA 837; MacEntee vs. Manotok, 3 SCRA 272).

The above cited jurisprudence would prove that the ethno-based mode of settling disputes is still highly relevant in our midst considering the fact the method employed by the local leaders in Tawi-Tawi really conform to the objectives of the rules of procedure in providing a swift and practical way of dispensing justice.

The procedural aspects of issuing a decree of divorce among the *Sinama* speaking inhabitants of Tawi-Tawi commences when the wife or her representative initiates the complaint for divorce against the husband on grounds under the Agama laws.

“The agama laws provide that when a husband marries another woman without the consent of his wife or has an affair with another woman, the wife has the right either to divorce him or to remain as first wife, without prejudice to confiscation of conjugal property in her favor. Stated otherwise, any married man, who has committed any

of the seven grounds for divorce and if found guilty shall have a divorce from his wife. The seven grounds are: Sexual infidelity, Inability to support his family, Lack of proper orientation about marriage, having contagious disease like leprosy, Impotence and too old to perform sexual act, Disobedience of God's commandments and Absence of five months from home without giving support to his family."

The wife or her representative goes to the *Lumah Sarah* and prays that she be released from the marriage bond. Once the case is formally presented verbally/orally, the body acquires jurisdiction to hear the case.

Considering the magnitude of the controversy as members of the entire family are affected and the peace of the community is at stake, the case should be handled with utmost care and prudence. It entails leadership skills and wisdom on the part of an Imam or local leader in settling the case. The local Imam should really exert effort to win the trust of both sides and see to it that his verdict will be fair and square.

The complaint for divorce has no formal requisites to observe. The complaint is not reduced into writing and no oath is required. The formal complaint is filed before the local body orally for the appreciation of an *Imam/Punong Barangay*. No docket fee is required unlike the regular courts where *payment of the prescribed docket fee is a sine qua non for the court to acquire jurisdiction over the subject matter or nature of the action* (Sun Insurance Office, Ltd vs. Asuncion, G.R 79937-38, February 13, 1989).

In observance of due process, the local *Imam* may summon both parties for personal confrontation to give them the opportunity to explain their sides⁵. For instance, in one divorce case in Tawi-Tawi, the woman testified before an Imam saying;

"You are even too lazy to get a job to support your kids, and now you're saying that you want to marry another woman? Okay, if that's what you want, but let's have a divorce."

To save the marriage, the Imam explained to the parties that they should not rush into getting a divorce and told them to first ponder on this. He said;
"I'll give you a month to think about your divorce."

"Divorce is only granted after a thorough evaluation that the couple have irreconcilable differences or one or both spouses cannot perform satisfactorily married obligations. It is made only as a last resort, particularly if the children's welfare is factored in".

So, the parties involved were given a period to cool off and iron out their differences. In most cases, personal confrontation before the local body may not happen perhaps to avoid violent consequences⁶. As the case warrants, the local *Imam* or the local leader grants the decree of divorce through the issuance of *sulat pasa* thus resulting in the severance of the marriage bond thereby capacitating either of the parties to enter into subsequent contract of marriage. Its decision is final and executory and no appeal is entertained. There are no records of the proceedings for precedent purposes.

In all legal implications, the Sama practical ways of handling family conflict as far as divorce case is concerned could withstand independently vis-a-vis the rules governing the Shari'a court in adjudicating a particular cause of action. And ultimately will make the Shariah Court irrelevant.

Stages of Divorce in the Sama Community

In the context of the *Sama* beliefs and practices, *Sulat Pasa* has three forms⁷. The first and second forms of *Sulat Pasa* are called *Tallak Satu* and *Tallak Duwa*, respectively. This is similar to a legal separation under the Family Code of the Philippines whereby the husband and wife are separated from bed and board. The marriage bond is not yet severed. These forms of divorce are considered a cooling off period⁸.

This is a period to allow the couple to mend ways so that they could go back to each other's arms, to consider possible reconciliation and to give their best shot to make their relationship working again⁹. It could also mean the stage where both parties may explore the possibilities of earnest efforts toward compromise to patch up or iron out their differences and give themselves a second chance to live together as husband and wife.

On the other hand, the third and final form of *Sulat Pasa* is *Tallak Tiga*. This is a final decree of divorce issued by the *Lumah Sarah*. One may note that the words *satu*, *duwa* and *tiga* are Malay counting words for one, two and three, respectively. Thus, even in the degree of divorce among the *Sama* of Tawi-Tawi, it is influenced by *Bahasa Malay*. This is so because of the proximity of Sabah, Malaysia to Tawi-Tawi and the facility of language influences the cultural and political dynamics of the inhabitants of Tawi-Tawi Province.

Overall, this could be granted depending on the gravity of the grounds for divorce. There is a specific *idda'* or cooling off period to be observed¹⁰. A time line or conditions should be strictly followed as condition precedent for the issuance of the same. For *Tallak Satu*, this could be granted for about a month to allow the husband to think over and be reconciled with his wife. Three months is intended for *Tallak Duwa* and is imposed upon the erring husband as a warning for him to fix the issue with his wife and six months for *Tallak Tiga*. After the lapse of the period of six months, *Tallak Tiga* is granted through the issuance of *Sulat Pasa* by the appropriate local authorities¹¹. At this level, the marriage no longer exists as the couple is already divorced. It is expected that the contending parties affix their respective signatures on the document concerned to manifest that both consented to such divorce. Thus, the marriage is finally severed. However, in the actual practice, a couple is considered divorced even if there is no proper issuance of *Sulat Pasa* or if the husband does not sign the document to nullify the marriage. And this happens when both parties cannot be reconciled anymore.

The Significance of Sulat Pasa

Sulat pasa has far reaching effects. It does not only dispense justice to the aggrieved party but more so to the larger beneficiary- the community. It is an avenue to settle family conflicts thereby restoring peace and order in the community¹². The researcher argued that the issuance of *sulat pasa* becomes a necessary mechanism or tool for human development in the sense that one may find peace, justice and order in the community as both parties agree to settle their differences thereby allowing them to move forward and to actively participate in decision making processes without being hampered or bothered by family or personal problems. More so, it is a reflection of a model cultural value of a *Sama* ethnic group who remains "*toddoh*" as calm as the sea especially during April and May for being always mellow in their dealings with one another as manifested in their slogan that peace is the language of their hearts.

The Issuance of Sulat Pasa from the Perspective of the Sama Muslim Filipinos Downsouth

The issuance of *Sulat Pasa* upon the marriage of the Muslim couple duly issued by the *local Imam/local leader* completely severs the marriage bond which leads to divorce (*Magbutas*, *Magtiman*, *Magtallak* or *Magsaley* in *Sinama*). The decision is final and immediately executory and non-appealable, thus capacitating the aggrieved party to enter into subsequent contract of marriage after the proper observance of *idda'* (period of waiting for three monthly courses prescribed for a woman whose marriage has been dissolved by divorce the completion of which shall enable her to contract a new marriage).

Sulat Pasa, therefore, is similar to an extrajudicial settlement or out of court instrument or document that has the force and binding effect of the law between the parties concerned in the strict sense of the word from the vantage of the *Sama* cultural beliefs and practices.

The Legal Effect of Sulat Pasa under the Framework of the Philippine Judicial System

The divorce obtained through the issuance of *Sulat Pasa* before the local *Imam* or local leader without conforming to the form and substance as prescribed by the Sharia' court has no legal effect whatsoever. It is a mere scrap of paper¹³. Not only does it circumvent the law but also there must be a judicial decree or resolutions issued by the Shariah court to finally sever the marriage bond. More so, the practice of issuing *Sulat Pasa* is no longer recognized under the framework of the Philippine legal system.

The legal obstacle lies really in the issuance of a judicial decree by the Sharia' Court that has jurisdiction to hear cases of divorce. The Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippine is very explicit. It provides that for a divorce to be valid there must be a judicial decree issued by the court of competent jurisdiction hearing the case. Absence of a judicial decree would invalidate the divorce such as a divorce obtained through a *Sulat Pasa* before a local *Imam* or local officials. This is exactly what the paper is anchored on purportedly to reconcile the seemingly conflicting issues on the traditional and mainstream legal settlement of divorce.

By all legal implications, the traditional divorce paper becomes a thing of the past. It has been rendered nugatory with the promulgation of the Muslim Code. It has no binding effects whatsoever upon the Muslim *Sama* divorce. To say the least, the marriage is still subsisting between the parties even if the officiating *Imam*/Punong barangay had issued an appropriate *Sulat Pasa* to that effect¹⁴.

Post-Muslim Code in the Philippines

With the Muslim Code in place, it is expected that Muslim Filipinos are obliged to observe the law of the Philippines. A law supposedly exists to regulate the acts of the inhabitants in their relationship with the state. And for the proper performance of the exercise of authorities and political power, the state is supposed to impose the rule of law and to establish order which in a way makes it an obligation of every constituent to follow. The continuous exercise of sovereignty and legitimacy on the part of the state should not be subject to compromise or subservient to the long-time held traditions especially if the traditional practices and beliefs were already supplanted or superseded by a national law like the promulgation of the above mentioned Code.

It is lamentable that since the codification of the Muslim Code and its eventual implementation, a number of *Sama* couples particularly in Tawi-Tawi Province have severed their marriage bond through a simple issuance of *Sulat Pasa*. This could be interpreted to mean that there is an alarming case of divorce in Tawi-Tawi despite the safety net clause being provided for by the Code that for the Muslim divorce must be consistent with the legal procedures laid down under the Code as a condition precedent for divorce to be valid. In 2015, twenty five (25) cases of divorce have been filed before the Sharia' Circuit Court in Tawi-Tawi. As of September 2016, eighteen (18) more divorce cases had been docketed in the same Court not to mention other divorce cases presented before the village justice system. And this happened only when some educated men and women of Tawi-Tawi want to sever their marriage ties legally.

Positive Consequences of Reinstitutionalizing Sulat Pasa

1. Reinstitutionalizing Sulat Pasa will Speedily Dispense Justice

The traditional mode of severing the marriage bond in the context of *Sinama* speaking people in the province of Tawi-Tawi will provide a speedy dispensation of justice especially to the aggrieved party who wants to sever his/her marriage tie. Hence, reinstitutionalizing *Sulat Pasa* is still a viable solution to dissolve a *Sama* marriage.

Seemingly, the applicability of the Muslim Code is largely ignored as many *Sinama* speaking inhabitants in Tawi-Tawi opt to bring the issue on divorce to the local authorities because

the proceedings observed in resolving cases of divorce are simple, practical, time consuming and inexpensive and does not require the assistance of a sharia' counsel. A quick verdict is easily facilitated and justice will be served to the aggrieved party. The traditional mode of settling divorce case proves to be effective when compared to the tedious process of dispensing justice in the regular Sharia' Court. And no one seems to complain about the effects of the divorce among the Sama Muslims through the issuance of *Sulat Pasa*¹⁵.

2. It will Encourage Inclusivity and Reaffirm Inter-Cultural and Minority Ethnical Practices especially among Muslims

In some Muslim minority culture, temporary marriage arrangement is an acceptable way. Among minority Muslim Shia's, *Mut'ah* or temporary marriage is accepted. Meanwhile, old folks especially in the hinterlands still retain the wisdom of old and traditional spirituality. The practice of sexuality as attribute of spirituality prescribes the rule of consensual relationship of *Kawin Duwa-ruwa* or marriage without witness.

On the other hand, marriages are contracted in mere simple ceremonies of oral consensual understanding of *pagkawin* with neither paper contract or legal procedures except for the basic Muslim marriage requirements of *wali* and *mahar* and *basingan*. While these marriages are common and usually done in the hinterlands and island-village, it is nonetheless binding and accepted in Muslim religious belief. It is therefore in the same vein that the divorce through mere issuance of *Sulat Pasa* may be valued.

3. It Provides Ease and Convenience among the Muslim Filipinos in Severing the Marriage Bond

On the whole, the best way to dissolve the marriage bond among the Muslim Filipinos is to reclaim the traditional ethno-based justice system through the reinstitutionalization of *Sulat Pasa* which proves to be very effective in securing a just, swift, inexpensive, accessible and practical way in settling family disputes.

The spouses on the verge of divorce will find it cumbersome and time-consuming to file the divorce before the Shariah circuit court. They will rather use the traditional mode of marriage severance by consulting local officials or Imam.

Some Social and Legal Issues in Using the Philippine Legal Justice System

Ali (2007) points out that the enforcement of the Muslim Code is not a consideration of the religious beliefs of the Filipino Muslims but rather of their cultural traditions. But we find it even quite absurd as far as Muslim Filipinos divorce case is concerned because the legal hybridity or *legal pluralism* being adopted in different settings in Mindanao that combines features of traditional and Islamic justice system with state institutions (Husin, 2010), firstly, it is not sensitive to Muslim age-old practices and beliefs as it results in the obliteration of Muslim Filipinos cultural identity with respect to dissolution of marriage. Secondly, the current practice of instituting a divorce case before the Shariah court does not dispense justice to the satisfaction of the Muslim Sinama speaking people in Mindanao as it is completely absorbed into the Philippine judicial system. Thirdly, the process in litigating the case does not provide for a speedy, inexpensive, accessible and practical way in resolving the dispute to the dismay of a Sama complainant and lastly, its operation strictly conforms to state sanctioned procedural laws similarly situated to cases litigated in the regular courts of justice which is beyond the ambit of the "agama justice system".

Conclusion/Recommendations

The practice of issuing the *Sulat Pasa* is culturally-embedded centuries-old tradition among the Sama ethnic group that has been providing very affordable, accessible and practical method of dissolution of marriage. Under the traditional procedure, efforts are also exerted by the religious leaders and elders in the community to preserve the marriage bond. But if it is beyond redemption, the affected couple is given the chance to have a less time-consuming procedure for divorce.

The institutionalization of divorce among Muslim Filipinos only applies to those whose marriage was solemnized in accordance with Islamic rites. Their divorce must be filed in the Shariah Court. But this is only legalistic in intent as it does not entail the spirit of the law which is supposed to benefit the Muslims (Sama) who prefer the traditional mode of severing the marriage bond.

With the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law, the Bangsamoro parliament may pass measures to provide alternative avenues to make divorce procedures more practical before the traditional *Lumah Sarah* even without conforming to the form and substance as prescribed by the Sharia' court provided subject to its ratification or approval. Besides, the legal plurality is more practical to allow Muslim Filipinos to choose the system that they find convenient and affordable. To bypass the cumbersome procedures, there should be a continuing recognition of the traditional agama system especially like issuing *Sulat Pasa* even as the cultural communities have the option to utilize the national legal system, they should be allowed to resort to local or indigenous mechanisms to effect divorce.

Finally, it is proposed that a concrete resolution of this matter may be coursed through direct legislative action such as adding to P.D No. 1083 (CMPL) once it is upgraded into a Republic Act or BARMM Act. And, in the interim of its full mainstreaming, the recourse can also be through massive legal advocacy by sensitizing and dialoguing with Sharia' judges and practioners to reinstitutionalize the *Sulat Pasa* as also legal and binding as more accessible, affordable, and practicable traditional and community-based divorce procedure. The latter may be most effectively done in collaboration with women advocates and rights groups.

Notes

Agama justice system- this is similar to barangay justice system wherein petty cases may be brought for amicable settlement

Basingan- amount of money or gold aside from the bride price

Bowahan Mattoa/Intan Kamattohaan- Practices and beliefs of the ancestors

Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines or P.D No. 1083- a law regulating the relationship between Muslim Filipinos

Diwan- personal law codex of Sulu

Faskh/ fashakh- a type of Muslim divorce at the instance of the wife

Idda'- a period of waiting prescribed for a Muslim woman to contract subsequent marriage

Ijra-at Al Mahakim Al Shariah- Special Rules Governing the Sharia' Courts

Imam (pl. A-imma)- is a Muslim religious leader or one who leads the Muslim prayer

Kauman Sama- a Sama Community

Kawin Duwa-ruwa- a marriage ceremony without witnesses, also "secret marriage"

Lumah sarah- a traditional body or local authority as venue to settle family conflicts

Luwaran- personal law codex of Magindanao

Magbutas/Magtiman/Magtallak/Magsaley- a Sama term for divorce

Mahar- Money or gold in addition to bride price

Mut'ah- temporary marriage arrangement

Pagsalassay- to fix, arrange

Pagsulut- settlement of cases

Pagsuna- an act of accusing one

Parkala- cases

Punong Barangay- local chief executive of the village

Salsila- oral or written tradition/genealogy

Sama- is one of the thirteen ethnic-groups classified as Bangsamoro, a native of Tawi-Tawi.

Shariah Law- Islamic Law

Sulat pasa- a traditional/customary divorce paper or decree of divorce among the Sama ethnic group

Tallak Satu- a first decree of divorce

Tallak Duwa- a second decree of divorce

Tallak Tiga- a third and final decree of divorce

Toddoh- mellow/calm

Wali- permission to marry granted by the bride's parents

Interviews

- ¹ Hadja Jamila S. Idris, Brenda Annao, Hadji Imam Abdulla Sahibuddin, Hadja Bungsu L., Inah Hadji L., Hadja H. Sabal, Ibba A., Hadji Kibbak, Atta Gregana, R. Kinang, H. Sabal, Kimpong L.
- ² Jun Juaini, E. M, N. Idris, Hadji G.S., Hadji K. Ibrahim, Dr. Muktar Moh. Tahil
- ³ Ibid
- ⁴ Hadji Imam A. Sahibuddin, H. K. Ibrahim, Muktr Moh. Tahil
- ⁵ Brenda Annao, Hadji Imam A. Sahibuddin
- ⁶ Ibid
- ⁷ Hadja Jamila S. Idris, H. Abdulganih, K. Mohammad, S. Usman
- ⁸ Ibid
- ⁹ Ibid
- ¹⁰ Hadja J. Idris, B. Annao
- ¹¹ Imam Hadji A. S
- ¹² Jun Juaini
- ¹³ Abdulfautouh Assiong
- ¹⁴ A. Sabal, K. Mohammad, A. A.,
- ¹⁵ B. Tuahan

References

- A Primer on the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines (2004)
- Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines (1994)
- Shari'a Bar Reviewer, 2nd Edition, Mangontawar M. Gubat (2012)
- Special Rules Governing the Sharia' Courts (Ijra-at Al Mahakim Al Shariah)
- The 1987 Philippine Constitution
- Ali, Anshari P. 2007. "The Legal Impediments to the Application of Islamic Family Law in the Philippines". Retrieved: January 15, 2017 from <http://www.informaworld.com>
- Bairulla, Fatima Sheila A., Pagsulut: Settlement of Cases in Barangay Pag-asa, Undergraduate Thesis, MSU-TCTO, Sanga-Sanga, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi
- Blando, Rhean S., "Pagsulut: Settlement of Cases in Barangay Tubig-Boh", Undergraduate Thesis, MSU-TCTO, Sanga-Sanga, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi
- Husin, Alber Ahmad. 2010. "Healing Communities, Reclaiming Traditions: Legal Pluralism, Islamic Revivalism and Emerging Ethno-based Peace and Development Strategies in Mindanao". Retrieved: January 20, 2017 from <http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas.20657-1522-1-30.pdf?11D1280055940>
- Holbrook, Justin. 2010. "Legal Hybridity in the Philippines: Lessons in Legal Pluralism from Mindanao and Sulu". Retrieved: February 10, 2017 from <http://heinonline.org/HOL/page?>
- Inju, Rodia A. 2017. "Sapeh: Divorce among the Jama Mapun", Undergraduate Thesis, MSU-TCTO, Sanga-Sanga, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi
- Kurais II, Muhammad. The History of Tawi-Tawi and its People. MSU-SCTO: 1979
- Mangona, Policarpio T., "The Settlement of Cases in Barangay Balimbing", Undergraduate Thesis, MSU-TCTO, Sanga-Sanga, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi
- Sabal, Alshadat B., 2016 "Sulat Pasa: The Traditional Divorce Paper among the Sama Ethnic Group in Tawi-Tawi and its Legal Implications", Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, Read paper during the Philippine Sociological Society National Conference 2016, Ateneo de Davao University, October 7-8, 2016
- Tausug-English Dictionary: Kabtangan Iban Maana, SIL, Manila, Philippines, 1995

EMPOWERMENT OF THE SAMA-BAJAU IN GOVERNANCE THROUGH MANDATORY REPRESENTATION IN DECISION-MAKING BODIES AND OTHER LOCAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS: A CONTINUING ADVOCACY

Filemon G. Romero
Protect Wildlife STawi TwiSite Coordinator
Bongao, Tawi-Tawi
(filemon.romero@yahoo.com)

Abstract

The Sama-Bajau found in many islands of the Sulu Archipelago are considered to be one of the indigenous people groups in the Philippines. The Sama-Bajau or Sama Dilaut are the indigenous peoples of these southern islands. They are usually termed as "sea gypsies" and do not lay claim to ancestral lands because they are nomadic sea dwellers and live on houseboats or the *lepa*. Their mooring areas are the lagoons, channels and tidal flats around the islands of Tawi-Tawi. Compared to the Tausug, Sama Daleya and Jama Mapun, Sama Dilaut are treated as the lowest rung in society. They are highly marginalized in terms of access to basic education and other social services. When the IPRA Law (RA 8371) otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 was enacted, this allowed the recognition and promotion of their rights as guaranteed by the Philippine Constitution. This Republic Act aims to protect the rights to their ancestral domains to ensure their economic, social and cultural well-being. Likewise, Section 16 of the Act provides that their right to participate in decision making shall be respected by giving them mandatory representation in policy-making bodies and other local boards. However, this still needs to be realized for the Sama-Bajau while many indigenous peoples in the Philippines like the Higaonon of Iligan City were given mandatory representation in the Sangguniang Panglunsod by Section 16 of this Republic Act and pursuant to Section 6, Paragraph 1, Rule IV of the Implementing Rules and Regulations, NCIP Administrative Order No. 001, series of 2009. A mandatory representative has been named through an ordinance after being recommended by the General Assembly of the Higaonon Tribal Council. In Tawi-Tawi, while the Sama-Bajau has tribal leaders who are usually a head of every clan, there is a lack of organized tribal councils that will select their representatives. There is a need to organize and strengthen the tribal councils at the provincial level and in every municipality so that they will be empowered and be represented in decision making bodies. This advocacy has to be a continuing process until the provincial government, and every municipality will have a Sama-Bajau in the Legislative Council and other local boards.

Keywords: Sama-Bajau, empowerment, legislative council, decision making

INTRODUCTION

The *Sama-Bajau* are traditionally found in the many islands of the Sulu Archipelago, with concentrations in the 11 island municipalities of the province of Tawi-Tawi in southern Philippines. They are considered the indigenous peoples of these southern islands and are usually termed as "sea gypsies" or "sea nomads" and do not lay claim to ancestral lands because of their nomadic nature and live in house boats or *lepa*. Their mooring areas are the lagoons, channels and tidal flats around the islands of Tawi-Tawi like Panglima Sugala, particularly in Tong Bangkaw, Tondon and Belatan, Bongao, Tabawan, Sibutu and Sitangkai. The four major ethnic groups of people in the province are the *Sama*, *Tausug*, *Jama Mapun*, and *Badjau* or *Sama delaut*. Compared to

these other ethnic groups, the Bajau are the most disadvantaged ethnic tribe. The rate of illiteracy, unemployment, incidence of poverty, morbidity, infant mortality and malnutrition is higher than the rest of the other ethnic groups.

Section 10, Article II of the 1987 Philippine Constitution provides that the State shall promote social justice in all phases of national development. Pursuant to Section 17, Article XIV of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, the State shall recognize, respect, and protect the rights of indigenous cultural communities to preserve and develop their cultures, traditions, and institutions. In compliance with the constitutional provision, RA 8371 otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA LAW) was passed in 1997. Sec. 16 of the IPRA Law specifically provides that IPs shall have the right to participate fully, if they so choose, at all levels of decision-making in matters which may affect their rights, lives and destinies through procedures determined by them as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous political structures. This paper examines how this particular provision of the IPRA law has been implemented in Tawi-Tawi and the driving and hindering factors related to its full implementation

OBJECTIVES OF THE PAPER

The general objective of this paper is to evaluate whether the Indigenous People's Mandatory Representation to the Local Legislative Council pursuant to the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) otherwise known as RA 8371 is being implemented by the local government units in Tawi-Tawi.

Specifically, the paper attempts to:

1. Assess the implementation of the IPMR pursuant to Section 16 of RA 8371;
2. Describe the social, economic, cultural and political status of the Bajaus;
3. Identify the challenges and hindering factors why the Bajaus are not enjoying the IPMR as provided by the IPRA LAW;
4. Determine courses of action to be taken to empower the Bajaus to participate in decision making process.
5. Recommend how the Bajau would enjoy IPMR thereby empowering them in local governance.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Study Sites

The study was conducted in the Bajau communities in the 11 municipalities of Tawi-Tawi as shown in **Figure 1**.

The legal basis of the IPMR is Republic Act No. 8371 which is based on the assumption that the mandatory representation of IPs in the Local Legislative Council is to give recognition, protection and promotion of the rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/IPs and their participation in decision making process in local legislative body. In view of this, The Department of Interior and Local Government maintains the position that the adoption of the local Sangguniang Bayan Resolution accepting the IPMR as an ex-officio member and prior acceptance of the Local Chief Executive since it is within the power of the ICC/Is to elect their own representation according to their duly adopted local guidelines and traditions.

This is guided by the Research Conceptual Framework shown in **Figure 2**. This starts off by gathering information on the Demographic Profile which is taken from govern data of the National Statistics Authority. For the educational profile, data for the educational attainment of the Bajau is not disaggregated in the Department of Education data. This information is only based on observations.

This framework also covers description of the present status of the Bajau in terms of the mandatory representation in legislative councils. It explores the social structure of the Bajau community, their maritime mode of life, the absence of alliance among the *Sambuungan* or moorages of the Bajau communities. They are known to have a maritime mode of life. This also includes their economic status and main sources of livelihood and economic activities. A description of their marginalization not only in education but also in the political structure of the community which contributes more to their marginalization.

This then identified the hindering factors or the forces that tend to restrain the automatic representation of the Bajau in local councils. The enabling forces or the factors that encourage their representation were also identified. A conclusion was drawn out and series of recommendations are pushed forward.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Profile

Population Distribution, Land Area and Population Density of the of Municipalities of Tawi-Tawi as of 2015 are shown in **Table 1**. This indicates that the municipality of Bongao which is the capital of the Province has the highest percentage of the population at 25.7%. This is the center of commerce and trade and the center of governance. Bongao also has the highest rate of in-migration especially because of the economic opportunities like fishing because of the demand for fish of an ever growing population. Since the major skill of Bajau is fishing, many Bajau from other islands of the Sulu Archipelago migrated to Tawi-Tawi. The two other municipalities with higher Bajau population are Panglima Sugala and Sitangkai. Aside from the original Bajau population, these two municipalities attracted more Bajau from other islands because of seaweed farming which has become their traditional livelihood activity.

Table 1. Population Distribution, Land Area and Population Density of Municipalities of Tawi-Tawi, 2015

Municipality	Population			±% p.a.	Area ^[13]		Density (2015)		Brgy.
	(2015) ^[3]	(2010) ^[14] 1			km ²	sq mi	/km ²	/sq mi	
Bongao	25.7%	100,527	79,362	+4.60%	365.95	141.29	270	700	35
Languyan	8.6%	33,494	42,690	-4.51%	581.20	224.40	58	150	20
Mapun	6.8%	26,597	24,168	+1.84%	181.29	70.00	150	390	15
Panglima Sugala ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾	11.3%	44,184	38,704	+2.55%	416.66	160.87	110	280	17
Sapa-Sapa	7.9%	30,917	28,781	+1.37%	235.61	90.97	130	340	23
Sibutu	7.8%	30,387	28,532	+1.21%	—	—	—	—	16
Simunul	8.0%	31,223	34,538	-1.90%	167.25	64.58	190	490	15
Sitangkai	8.5%	33,334	30,514	+1.70%	792.00	305.79	42	110	9
South Ubian	6.6%	25,935	27,741	-1.27%	272.04	105.04	95	250	31
Tandubas	7.5%	29,390	27,748	+1.10%	552.05	213.15	53	140	20
Turtle Islands	1.2%	4,727	3,772	+4.39%	62.50	24.13	76	200	2
TOTAL		390,715	366,550	+1.22%	— ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾	— ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾	— ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾	— ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾	203

Table 2. Household Population by Ethnicity and Sex: Tawi-Tawi, 2010	Ethnicity	Both Sexes	Male	Female
	Tawi-Tawi	322,066	160,116	161,950
	Sama Deleya	115,369	57,969	57,400
	Tausug	114,745	56,879	57,866
	Sama (Samal)/Abaknon	48,988	23,819	25,169
	Jama Mapun	18,821	9,274	9,547
	Badjao, Sama Dilaut	8,113	4,020	4,093
	Others	14,280	7,299	6,981
	Not Reported	1,750	856	894

Source: NSO, 2000 Census of Population and Housing

From **Table 2** the Bajau or Sama Dilaut Population as of 2000 is 8,113 representing only 2.52% of the entire population of Tawi-Tawi. In the 2010. There is also a data on not reported of 1,750 and most likely this also constitutes the Bajau population since they could not be reached out by the census enumerators because of the remoteness of their areas and also because of their nomadic nature and they have no permanent houses.

Table 3 shows the estimated Bajau population in the 11 municipalities of Tawi-Tawi. The same table also shows that only the municipality of Simunul in the Sangguniang Bayan and a barangay in Sibutu have Bajau representative in their local barangay council. This is due to the observation that the Bajau communities are not aware of their rights as provided for by the IPRA Law. If they are aware, they are a minority in the population and they do not have strong and educated leaders who can fight for their rights. They are also mostly illiterate and could not speaker for themselves. Moreover, even if there some sectoral representative representing IPS they are not Bajau but Sama or Tausug.

Table 3. Estimated Bajau Population and IPMR in the Municipalities of Tawi-Tawi

Municipality	Representative	Estimated Bajau Population
Provincial SP	0	8,113
Bongao	0	1,097
Languyan	0	556
Mapun	0	336
Panglima Sugala	0	1,067
Sapa-Sapa	0	567
Sibutu	0	773
Simunul	1	784
Sitangkai	0	1,296
South Ubian	0	768
Tandubas	0	757
Turtle Islands	0	185

Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Status of the Bajaus

Some Bajau still live the way their ancestors lived as a nuclear family, meaning husband and wife with children. Their abode is the houseboat which is the traditional *lepa* a sample of which is shown in **Figure 3**. The group of houseboats, which is usually composed of immediate relatives, is found in a common mooring area is called *sambuangan*. They have an informal family alliance and they cooperate with one another under the leadership of the head of the clan or the headman. The *sambuangan* are usually near the sources of water or island cemeteries where they bury their dead. They are generally peaceful and avoid conflicts with the other tribes. However, many of them are illiterate, uneducated, and impoverished because of their nomadic way.



Languyan

They are known to have a maritime mode of life. When they go out during fishing trips, they usually move together and they cross borders from the Tawi-Tawi and the neighboring Sabah, Malaysia and even in Indonesia for fishing trading and visiting relatives especially for traditional rituals and ceremonies.

Fishing and seaweed farming are their primary source of livelihood and economic activity. Many of them are deep sea free divers and some of them still dive for pearls. Many women glean for sea urchins, sea cucumber, abalone and other shells and marine organisms. They also weave artistic and colorful mats from pandan leaves as shown in **Figure 4**.



Figure 4. Bajau Women Mat Weavers

The Bajau or Sama Diluat originally lived exclusively on elaborately crafted houseboats called *lepa*, but almost all have taken to living on stilt houses along the coastal areas particularly in Sitangkai, Bongao, Tabawan, reef islands of Panglima Sugala along the edges of Tawi-Tawi Bay particularly in Tong Bangkaw, Tondon, and Bilatan. They are beneficiaries to permanent settlements provided to them by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) in cooperation with the Local Government Units, but many of them do not like to live in these settlements because the design is not consistent with their way of life.

Politically they have not been united and have always been under the control of land based politicians. They could not participate in the political exercise since many of them are not registered voters and if ever, they can vote, since they are illiterate, political supporters write the name of elected officials for them. Very few of them even become members of the barangay council at the lowest level of the government structure.

Hindering factors.

One of the hindering factors is the requirements to qualify as ICC/IP representative in the local council. The provision of Section 9, of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Administrative Order No. 1 Series of 2009 provides the minimum requirements:

- 1) The IP representative must be a natural born Filipino citizen;
- 2) He/She must be a registered voter in the barangay, municipality, city, province, or Barangay where he/she intends to assume office;
- 3) He/She must be a bona fide IP by blood or consanguinity, an acknowledged leader of the ICCs/IPs of which he/she is a member, and has continuously engaged in ICCs/IPs undertakings setting up a track record of services for ICCs/IPs in a given LGU as certified by the NCIP;
- 4) He/She must be able to read and write; and,
- 5) He/She must be knowledgeable of and practices the customary ways of ICCs/IPs of which he/she is a member.

While they are considered natural born Filipino citizens, many of the elders did not have access to basic education and therefore do not know how to read or write. Many of them did not have certificate of live birth and therefore could not be registered as voters. There are also negative and discriminatory stereotypes treating them as lowest class in society. Because of this discriminatory stereotypes, they do not enjoy the basic social services like health services and

even in the 4P's program of the government. While they have the head of the clan. Sec. 11, 12, 13 and 16 of the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of RA 8371 also provides that IPMR shall be selected in accordance with the guidelines adopted and promulgated by themselves and on the basis only of Certificate of Affirmation issued by the NCIP, IPMRs then should immediately assume office without the need of resolution from Sangguniang Bayan accepting and concurring their appointment. However, in every municipality except in Simunul there is no organized Council of Elders who can decide who among them can be recommended to be the IP representative in the local council. Like in Sitangkai and Simunul, here are several Bajau communities with their own recognized chieftains. However, there has been lack of effort to organize the Council of Elders of the Bajau community in each municipality so since this is a requirement, they have not succeeded in submitting their nominees to the local Council

Another hindering factor is that while every *tumpukan* or *sambuangan* has a chieftain or leader of the clan, they lack the capacity to organize themselves in to a strong council who can be relied upon by the Bajaus as leaders in the pursuit of community concerns. Another is the lack of awareness of the provision of this IPMR in the IPRA law or there is lack interest of the local councils or the local chief executive to empower them so that they would qualify as IPMR. The other is that there are no NGOs or POs who advocate the empowerment of the Bajau.

Enabling Factors

Enabling factors are some of the empowering forces that encourage their representation in local councils. Some of these are:

1. While they have very low educational attainment, they are rich in indigenous knowledge, culture, and traditional livelihood
2. Tough some are already Islamized there are still many who retain their ancient tradition of animism. They are united in the belief of the supreme deity called Omboh Tuhan or Omboh Dilaut. They still revere their ancestor which they aptly call the M'Boh, or spirits of their ancestors. This is their unifying factor as an ethnic tribe. They have a common burial ground as shown in **Figure 5**.
3. Another unifying factor which can encourage their unification is their traditional shaman which is considered as the *waii jinn* which preside over community events.
4. They considered as a nuclear family and this can be an important facet of possible of advocacy interventions within the tribe to be led by Bajau who have graduated in the formal education.
5. The OSCC is still a functioning office which works for the welfare of the Bajau and it helps build the capacity of the Bajau in working for the common concerns and this include IPMR.



Figure 5. Typical Traditional Burial Ground

Actions to Empower the Bajaus for IPMR

1. The OSCC come up with programs to reduce the political isolation, economic marginalization and socio-cultural orientation hindering effective performance.
2. The Department of Education encourage the establishments of schools lie that of the Jade Learning Center exclusively for Bajau children as shown in **Figure 6**.



Figure 6. Jade Learning Center and Bajau Children attending classes

3. Local government officials come us with capacity building programs to empower the Bajau for social development, economic empowerment, local governance and protection of protection of indigenous peoples' knowledge systems and practices (IKSPs) and intangible cultural heritage.
4. NGOs increase and sustain support for Schools of Living Traditions in cooperation of the NCCA and the Bureau of Cultural Heritage of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the IPMR for the Bajaus of Tawi-Tawi is still far from being realized. This contributes to the further marginalization of this Indigenous Cultural Community. But this is not a hopeless case. The enabling forces are more robust and the hindering forces can be reduced if not totally eliminated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local government should legislate the institutionalization of the IPMR and allocate budget Annual Investment Program;
- The Department of Education, in coordination with the NCIP, should come up with appropriate curriculum and education system which fits the requirement for basic education of the Bajau to improve their literacy rate and so that they would not be discriminated against or bullied in the regular school;
- Bajaus who have the potentials to become representative of their indigenous communities should be given training in local participation to boost their confidence;
- Explore appropriate livelihood assistance for the Bajau communities to improve their economic status.
- Continued research should be done to look into the challenges and issues of the LGUs having difficulty in implementing IPMR in tier local Sangguniang Bayan

References

- David E. Sopher (1965). "The Sea Nomads: A Study Based on the Literature of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia". *Memoirs of the National Museum*. **5**: 389–403. doi:[10.2307/2051635](https://doi.org/10.2307/2051635).
- Congress of the Philippines (1997) Republic Act No. 8371 Indigenous Peoples Rights Act. Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1997/ra_8371_1997.html
- Indigenous Peoples Mandatory Representation in the Local Legislative Councils: Status, Challenges and Trajectories Paquito M. Villanueva, Vilma B. Ramos, Larcy V. Villaroman, Aileen A. Villanueva
- National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) (1998) Administrative Order No. 1, Series of 1998, or the Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) of RA 8371. National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
- National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (2013) Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines. <http://ncipro67.com.ph/indigenous-peoples-of-the-philippines>
- Nimmo, H. (1965). "Social Organization of the Tawi-Tawi Badjaw". *Ethnology*, 4 (4), 421-439. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3772791>.
- Nimmo, H. (1990B). Religious Rituals of the Tawi-Tawi Bajau. *Philippine Studies*, 38 (2), 166-198. Retrieved from <http://www.philippinestudies.net>
- Teo, S. S., (1989) *Lifestyles of the Badjaos*. Manila: Centro Escolar University Research and Development Center.
- Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, Sama-Bajau

ABSTRACTS OF ICONBAJAU 2019

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SAMA-BAJAU ORIGIN AND CULTURE IN SABAH

Stephen Chia
Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang
(stephen@usm.my)

This paper discusses the various historical accounts and archaeological evidence of the Sama-Bajau origin and culture in Sabah. Early oral tradition and history, for instance, had claimed that the Sama-Bajau people were originally land dwellers of a former king before becoming nomadic fugitives at seas or that the Sama-Bajau people were the descendants of the royal guards of the Johore or Gowa Sultanate. Legend or myth had it that the Sama-Bajau people were accidentally brought into Zamboanga by a giant stingray. There are also anthropologists who believed that the Sama-Bajau descended from the Australo-Melanesian who intermarried with the later Austronesians and adapted to the maritime way of life; that the Sama-Bajau are indigenous to the Sulu Archipelago, Sulawesi, and/or Borneo, and do not share a common origin with the Orang Laut; that the Sama-Bajau originated from a proto-Sama-Bajau people inhabiting the Zamboanga Peninsula and practised both fishing and shifting agriculture at around 800 AD. Archaeological evidence, however, suggested that the Sama-Bajau were probably the direct descendants of the Austronesian language speakers who originated from South China/Taiwan at around 4500 BP and dispersed into Island Southeast Asia. Recent genetic studies, on the other hand, revealed a complex Sama-Bajau genomic profile, reflecting their history of migrations, maritime trade or exchange and local admixture with other populations in Island Southeast Asia and beyond.

Keywords: Origin, history, archaeology, culture, Sama-Bajau

POON TAUN OF MENAMPILIK ISLAND-SUSTAINING BAJAU GENEALOGIES AND IDENTITY

Hanafi Hussin¹ & Judeth John Baptist²

¹Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

¹Social Advancement & Happiness Research Cluster

University of Malaya

²Independent Researcher

(hanafih@um.edu.my)

Genealogy and family history are often intertwined to describe how one generation is connected to the next. Family history also elaborates upon the biography of members of the family in the genealogy, including descriptions of the community and locations where they lived. This elaboration of family genealogies tends to be shaped by several motives, including the desire to carve out a place for one's family in the larger historical picture, a sense of responsibility to preserve the past for future generations, and to achieve a sense of self-satisfaction, which also includes performing annual family or community rituals. For many societies, including the Bajau, performing rituals involves the enactment of agreements between the human and spiritual worlds. The performance of these rituals has become an essential activity to appease the spirits in the

unseen realms on behalf of the families or community who inherit property and heirlooms from their ancestors. By performing rituals embedded with these heirlooms as ritual objects, agreements ratified between the human and spiritual realms will ensure that the relationship between the ancestors and the next generations will continue and their genealogies will be maintained. The *Poon Taun* ceremony or series of New Year Rituals that the Bajau of Menampilik Island, Semporna perform annually is believed to strengthen and sustain their genealogies called *katurunan* that are centred on ancestral heirlooms or *pitubatangan*. The required series of rituals are conducted over four days and three nights, and are called *Pitubatangan*, *Bajin* and *Pitulak*. These rituals require the use of all heirlooms, including costumes, musical instruments and other objects, as ritual paraphernalia, as well as inherited music and dance repertoires that must be performed according to the correct patterns and procedures. These ritual processes, music and dancing have been handed down over many generations from the ancestors in families, and are distinctive markers of Bajau Menampilik tradition and identity. Based on fieldwork at Menampilik, Semporna, this paper will discuss the importance of the *Poon Taun* ceremony as a tool for sustaining Bajau Menampilik genealogies and identity through preserving and strengthening their tangible cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage.

Keywords: *Poon Taun, genealogy, family history, identity, Menampilik, Semporna*

TABAWAN, THE ISLAND OF DANCE, RITUALS AND TRADITIONS

Bremarld Perong
Notre Dame of Tabawan High School
South Ubian, Tawi-Tawi
Philippines

Tabawan is an Island, in the municipality of South Ubian, northeastern part of the Tawi-Tawi province, Southeastern Philippines. It is known in the province as the island of dance, rituals and traditions. Some of the known practices coming from Tabawan are the traditional dance and music of *Igal Tabawan* and *Tagunggu'an Tabawan*. Every year the inhabitants and those working overseas mostly in Sabah, Malaysia come home to the island in short pilgrimage to observe and celebrate the *Pagkambo'an*, the day of honouring the dead ancestors and loved ones. Now and then, the *Pagduwata*, a spiritual appeasement and healing ritual through dance and music are observed. Another ritual is the 3 days and nights of dance, music and food festival called *Pagjamu*. These fusion of traditional practices of dance and rituals are inter-connected and considered *pusaka'-alta' kambo'mbo'an* (Ancestral inheritance and wealth) that are treasured and valued by the island community. These traditions and rituals structures the lives and worldviews of *A'a Tabawan* or *Sama Tabawan* (People of Tabawan) providing social cohesion, unity and strengthen their sense of identity. An observatory participatory approach was employed in documenting this research and through key informant personal interviews of the practitioners and inhabitants of *Tabawan* Island. This documentation hope to raise awareness that such practices still exists in *Tabawan* Island and such intangible cultural heritage should be protected and preserved.

Keywords: *Igal Tabawan, rituals, Pagkambo'an, Pagduwata, Pagjamu*

BAJAU SPIRITUALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI (FILM DOCUMENTARY)

Kelli Swazey
Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies
Gadjah Mada University
(kelliswazey@ugm.ac.id)

A seafaring community in Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi whose livelihood and culture are bound their environment, contemplate who they will be now that the sea can no longer sustain them. Our Land is the Sea is a 25-minute documentary about three generations of a Bajau family in Wakatobi National Park, Indonesia, who are navigating drastic cultural and environmental change. In preparation for a ceremony that marks their son's entrance to adulthood, this Bajau family grapples with how coral reef extinction, economic change, ethnic discrimination, and changing practices of Islam will mean a different life for their children and their people in the future. Their story is one example of how biodiversity and cultural diversity are inexorably linked, and the importance of protecting them both.

Keywords: Environment, spiritual, seafaring, economic change, livelihood, Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi

FUNGSI STRUKTUR RUANG RUMAH-PERAHU/ LEPA DALAM KEHIDUPAN KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA (THE FUNCTIONS OF STRUCTURAL SPACE OF THE HOUSEBOAT/LEPA IN THE LIFE OF THE SEA BAJAU OF SEMPORNA)

Rozaliah binti Mokhtar, Gusni Bin Saat & Aisyah binti Hossin
¹Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah
²Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS)
University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF)
(Azliah.zai@gmail.com, sgusni@gmail.com, aisahhossin87@gmail.com)

Masyarakat Bajau Laut dikenali sebagai Pala'u yang di tinggal di dalam perahu atau *lepa*. Hakikatnya masyarakat Bajau Laut, meskipun terpinggir jauh daripada sebarang kemajuan, kehidupan Bajau Laut yang menjadikan persisiran pantai dan perahu sebagai tempat tinggal mereka sejak berabad lalu, ini ternyata mereka memiliki keunikan serta kepakaran yang tersendiri. Kajian ini bertujuan adalah untuk mengenalpasti serta membincangkan bagaimana rumah perahu berfungsi sebagai tempat ruangan sosial dalam melangsungkan kehidupan seharian di atas *lepa*. Dalam kajian ini ruang fizikal yang dimaksudkan adalah ruangan sosial merujuk kepada ruangan tempat tidur, tempat rehat, tempat makan mencuci kain, dapur ruang tamu, bilik, sebagai tempat produksi ekonomi). Apa yang menarik tentang kajian ruang fizikal Bajau Laut ini adalah komuniti ini berbeza dari etnik-etnik yang berada di Daerah Semporna. Hal ini kerana, *lepa* menjadi tempat tinggal mereka sejak dari dahulu lagi. Secara langsung, ruang fizikal mereka adalah di dalam *lepa* atau dikenali sebagai bot atau perahu bagi orang Bajau. Oleh kerana komuniti ini tinggal di dalam *lepa* maka kehidupan mereka adalah bersifat nomad atau tidak tetap di sesuatu tempat. Komuniti ini lebih suka tinggal di *lepa* berbanding di kawasan daratan. Kehidupan di dalam *lepa* adalah sama seperti kehidupan di kawasan daratan kerana segala aktiviti harian adalah berjalan seperti biasa seperti memasak, makan, minum, mandi,

membasuh, menjemur pakaian, berehat, tidur, beranak pinak, menangkap, memproses dan menjemur ikan dan sebagainya semuanya dilakukan di atas lepa tersebut. Maka timbullah persoalan kajian ini bagaimana masyarakat Bajau Laut di Kampung Labuhan Haji menggunakan struktur ruangan Lepa dalam kehidupan harian.

The Bajau Laut were also known by the perjorative term Pala'u by other communities, because they lived in boats or *lepa*. This made them even further marginalised from progress. They have made the coast and boats as their home for centuries, which means they have unique and distinctive expertise. This study aims to identify and discuss how the houseboat or *lepa* serves as a social space in everyday life. In this study, the physical space is the social space that is used for activities such as sleeping, resting, dining, washing clothes, as a kitchen, living room and also where certain economic activities take place. What is interesting about the study of physical space of Bajau Laut, is that it is different from the other ethnic communities that are found in Semporna. This is because the houseboat has been their home since a long time ago. Their physical space is directly on the *lepa* which is called their houseboat. Since this community resides on *lepa*, their life is not fixed in place but is nomadic. These communities prefer to stay on houseboats, rather than on land. Life on a *lepa* is also similar to life on land, because all daily activities are carried on as usual. For example, cooking, eating and drinking, bathing, washing and drying clothes, resting, sleeping, childbirth, fishing, processing and drying fish take place on the *lepa*. The research question then arises as to how the Bajau Laut at Kampung Labuan Haji use the *lepa* as structural space in their daily lives.

Keyword: Bajau Laut, Lepa Boat Physical Space

ANOM TEPO: THE SAMA-BAJAU ART AND TRADITION OF MAT WEAVING

Omarjan I. Jahuran¹ & Rozaliah Binti Mokhtar²
Librarian/Researcher

¹Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi, Philippines

²Faculty of Humanities Art and Heritage
University of Malaysia Sabah, Malaysia

(Omarjan44@gmail.com, Azliah.zai@gmail.com)

Anom Tepo/Mat weaving is a traditional practice of Sama-Bajau women. It is one of the oldest art forms known to the Sama-Bajau people down south of the Philippines towards East Malaysia. The *Tepo* is a colourful tapestry of intricately woven strips of sun-dried and dyed leaves of the *pandanus* plants that grow in the islands and coastal villages. The mats are produced uniquely using the traditional knowledge, artistry and ingenuity of the cultural artisan. The geometric patterns and designs are symbolic representations and mathematical logic of the cultural master weaver. The functional use of mats in the people's everyday lives as sleeping implements extends even into the ritual practices of the community, serving an important element in their spirituality. The art of mat making creates a living culture and unbroken link that binds the people to their ancestor's beliefs and traditions passed on from mothers to daughters, from generation to generation. The general aim of the paper is to document the aesthetic value and explore the socio-economic importance of this indigenous craft in the Sama-Bajau communities. This documentation discusses as well the problems and possibilities for preservation and transmission of this cultural expression. This research documentation was carried out among the Sama-Bajau communities in the municipal islands and province of Tawi-Tawi, Philippines as well as in Omdal Islands in Semporna, Sabah Malaysia. This present work was thru key informant field survey by

direct questionnaire to cultural mat weavers artisans to arrive on empirical data. Participatory observation method is likewise employed by the authors, being Sama-Bajau people with direct knowledge of the traditions since childhood. Additional relevant information was drawn from available related literature. Mat weaving is an important traditional handicraft art and an intangible cultural heritage that must be preserved, revitalized and transmitted to the younger generation.

Keywords: Tepo, mat weaving, arts and traditions, traditional knowledge, cultural expressions

PARTICIPATION OF THE BAJAU COMMUNITY IN MEDICINAL PLANTS MARKETS IN THE TAMU OF WEST COAST SABAH

Jurry Foo

Senior Lecturer, Geography Program, Faculty of Humanities, Art and Heritage, and
Research Fellow, Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies
Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.
(jurryfm@ums.edu.my)

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the role of the West Coast Bajau community in medicinal plants markets in the *tamu* of West Coast Sabah. The Bajau as a whole comprise the second largest composite group of local population in Sabah. This group undertakes farming and fish hunting for survival, as well as supplying marine resources into the local markets, the so-called *tamu*. Their involvement in the medicinal plant market is a transformation of their traditional survival role, which is interesting study. Surveys and interviews were done in selected *tamu* on West Coast, Sabah, while the collected data was analysed descriptively. A total of 15 species of medicinal plants from 14 families was recorded as traded by the Bajau in five *tamu*. Most of the informants inherited knowledge of the species' medication values from their ancestors, apart from external sources such as books, online information, friends and another media.

Keywords: Bajau, medicinal plants, tamu, West Coast of Sabah, participation

MENGARANG SEBAGAI PENGETAHUAN EKOLOGI TRADISIONAL KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA, SABAH

(MENGARANG AS THE TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SEA BAJAU IN SEMPORNA, SABAH)

Aisah Hossin¹ & Rozaliah Mokhtar²

¹Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS)

University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF)

Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah

(aisahhossin.ucsfmalaysia@gmail.com, azliah.zai@gmail.com)

Komuniti Bajau laut telah mendiami perairan Semporna sejak bergenerasi dan mula membangunkan penempatan mereka bermula dari peringkat *lepa* sehinggalah kepada perumahan tetap iaitu di atas darat. Kehidupan mereka yang banyak bergantung terhadap sumber laut dan menjalani kehidupan mereka di atas *lepa* telah menjadikan mereka sebagai wira

laut. Kelangsungan hidup mereka di laut dengan pelbagai cabaran seperti angin kuat, keadaan laut yang berombak dan terdedah dengan bahaya seperti pembunuhan dan rompakan menjadi satu kekuatan kepada komuniti ini untuk ditinjau dari aspek kecekalan mereka meneruskan kehidupan walaupun dari kaca mata komuniti lain khususnya komuniti tempatan kehidupan mereka ini serba kekurangan. Justeru, kajian ini cuba menyingkap salah satu daripada aktiviti yang dilakukan oleh komuniti Bajau laut untuk meneruskan kelangsungan hidup mereka dengan menggunakan pengetahuan ekologi tradisional mereka. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah temu bual secara mendalam bersama sepuluh orang *key informan* dan pemerhatian di lapangan. Dapatan kajian dianalisis menggunakan analisis tematik dan mendapati bahawa *mengarang* bukan sahaja aktiviti yang dapat memberikan kelangsungan hidup kepada komuniti Bajau laut dari aspek untuk kegunaan sendiri tetapi juga untuk tujuan penjanaan pendapatan. Selain itu, dapatan kajian juga mendapati bahawa aktiviti *mengarang* ini dilakukan secara mapan dengan menggunakan pengetahuan ekologi tradisional yang mereka miliki.

Kata Kunci: *Mengarang, Bajau Laut, mapan, pengetahuan ekologi tradisional*

The Sea Bajau have been living along the sea off Semporna since its inception and began developing their settlements from houseboats to pile houses, and then onto land. Their dependance on sea products and their way of life in using *lepa* for settlements has made them like heroes in the sea. Their survival on the sea with various challenges, such as strong winds and currents, and widespread dangers including vulnerability to being victims of murder and robbery, has contributed to their continuing survival even though in the eyes of other local communities they live in poor conditions. This paper will discuss one example of the traditional ecological knowledge of Sea Bajau to sustain their life, known as *mengarang*. This study uses in-depth interview methods with ten key informants and field observations. The findings were analysed using thematic analysis and show that *mengarang* not only includes activities that can contribute to the survival of the Sea Bajau in terms of their use, but is also useful for income generating purposes. In addition, the findings also showed that the *mengarang* activity was conducted in a sustainable manner using the traditional ecological knowledge that they have.

Keywords: *Mengarang, Sea Bajau, sustainability, traditional ecological knowledge*

THE ECONOMY OF BOAT DWELLING SAMA DILAUT

Erik Abrahamsson,
Lund University
(www.theaquaticape.org)

In Semporna, there are few thousand Sama Dilaut, of which at least 500 reside in houseboats. In recent years there have been many assumptions that the nomadic lifestyle will cease to exist, which of course it can do if fish populations continue to decline. But there are reasons to think that the boat living Sama Dilaut are the big economic players among their kin. Many modern Sama Dilaut houseboats are much bigger than the traditional houseboats, and big diesel engines run them. A fully equipped houseboat can cost 50 000 ringgit to construct - and they are still being built. House dwelling Sama Dilaut are often restricted to a certain island and rely on middlemen both for selling their catch and purchasing necessities. However, if a boat living family keep enough water, cassava, rice, oil and petrol they can stay for weeks on the ocean before returning to Semporna for another round of selling fish and buying necessities, which they do for much better prices than in the islands. In the long term, their economic equation simply makes sense.

Keywords: *Sama Dilaut, boat dwellers, houseboat, economy, Semporna*

MAGSINAMA KITA! EMPOWERING THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Omarjan Ibrahim Jahuran
Librarian/Researcher
Public Information Research Center
Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi
(Omarjan44@gmail.com)

Language is a vehicle for transmission of traditions, knowledge, values, ideas and emotions of the people. It connects us to our culture, heritage and identities. It is a crucial factor in the construction of collective identities and cultural expressions of a people group. In the Philippines, the Sama/Bajau people's perceptions and attitude towards their language in cultural identity construction are more often overlooked and overshadowed by the prominence and preference for the dominant language and culture. This is partly brought about by constant interaction and amalgamation of the language used in daily communications, blurring the distinction and value of patronising the mother tongue or as linguist Kemp Pallesen suggests, it resulted from 'linguistic and cultural convergence'. This is enforced even more by standardisation to the national language and the bilingual education policy. These mandates potentially affect the attitudes and mindset of the Sama-Bajau native tongue speakers, creating a culture of shame in speaking the mother tongue even to the point of abandoning their language, traditions, acquiring new identities and get assimilated to the dominant culture especially when exposed to the modern urban lifestyle. This raises the question on how to preserve, promote and revitalize the Sama/Bajau language in relation to the cultural identity construction. This paper studies the correlation between the language and identity from the perspective of a Sama/Bajau in the Philippines as well as language documentation and literature initiatives to further enhance and maintain the language vitality. This research work was carried out through a Key Informant Interviews and descriptive-qualitative approach discourse analysis to arrive on empirical data.

Keywords: Language attitudes and perceptions; cultural identity; language documentation; oral traditions; literature

RADIO FOR PEACE: THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACEBUILDING, PRESERVATION AND PROMOTION OF THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAWI-TAWI

Babylyn Kano Omar
Station Manager
DXGD AM Radio for Peace
(babylynomar@yahoo.com)

In this age of globalisation and technological advancement, the flow of information and communication are faster and wide reaching. The world has become a truly global village with the advent and invention of modern tools and equipment in accessing knowledge and information. The mass media as a tool for communication and dissemination of developmental information, opinions and ideas can influence our way of thinking and alter our way of life. The modern global communication tools set by the highly industrialized nations and societies like the internet and television are dominating the airwaves and space, overshadowing those in the developing nations.

With this massive uneven flow of information, the tendency is to adapt to industrial modernity, subliminally imposing and affecting the indigenous social values, local political development, economic activities, religious and cultural integrity of the people in the margins. This is a growing necessity to be addressed upon, and in response to the increasingly multicultural and technologically-connected global environment, our traditional radio communications provide an alternative way and a conscientious voice to help promote cultural diversity, preserve cultural expressions and elevate cultural identities. This paper focuses on the role of radio broadcasting journalism as a mass medium in Tawi-Tawi to examining its role and effectiveness in promoting awareness, deeper understanding, inter-cultural dialogue, peacebuilding, safeguarding and preservation of cultural heritage.

Keywords: Media, inter-cultural dialogue, Peace Journalism, cultural preservation, Intangible Cultural Heritage.

THE ARREST, DETENTION AND DEPORTATION FROM SABAH, MALAYSIA OF SOME SEA GYPSIES

Sanen Marshall, Saidatul Nornis Hj Mahali & Junaidah Januin
Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning, UMS
(sanenmarshall@gmail.com)

Tens of thousands of persons of southern Filipino descent have been deported from Sabah, Malaysia over the last four or five years. Among those deported were persons belonging to an ethnic group called *Pala'u*. They are more popularly known to the outside world as Sea Gypsies. The presentation provides evidence of their historically nomadic movements. Based on post-deportation interviews, the paper describes the experiences of some of these Sea Gypsies. The situations under which they were arrested, the manner of their arrest, the duration and conditions of their detentions, and the manner of their deportation are all discussed. The authors present details of the human drama of the arrest, detention and deportation of the Sea Gypsies and situate these details within the context of some general principles pertaining to the rights of stateless persons. What are the indelible effects of such experiences on these Sea Gypsies? What hope does the future hold for such persons? Whose responsibility is it to see that issues of *de jure* statelessness get resolved?

Keywords: arrest, detention, deportation, statelessness, Pala'u.

PROGRAM (SUMMARY)

Time	23-27 April 2019		
	23 April 2019 Arrival of delegates, check-in, Opening Reception & International Igal Festival/Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA2019)		
	24th April 2019 (Wednesday)	25 April 2019 (Thursday)	
8.00 – 9.00	Registration (Tun Sakaran Museum, Ground Floor)		
9.00 – 10.00	Keynote	08.30-10.00	Plenary
10.00–10.30	Coffee break	10.00-10.30	Coffee Break
10.30–12.00	Session 1	10.30-12.30	Session 4
12.00–13.00	Lunch	12.30–13.15	Lunch
13.00–15.00	Session 2	13.15–14.45	Session 5
15.00–15.30	Coffee break	14.45–15.00	Coffee break
15.30-17.00	Session 3	15.00-17.00	Session 6
17.00-18.30	Sharing with the community – music, dance, craft		
18.30-19.00	Dinner		
19.00-22.00	International Igal Festival/Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA2019)		
08.00-14.00 18.00-19.30 19.30-22.00	26 April 2019 Fieldtrip Dinner International Igal Festival.Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA2019) Maglami-lami Regatta Lepa		
08.00-19.00 19.30.22.00	27 April 2019 Free at leisure An evening with Regatta Lepa		
08.00-12.00	28 April 2019 Check-out & return home		

Detailed Program

DAY & DATE	TIME	PROGRAM	VENUE
DAY 1 23 April 2019 TUESDAY	12.00-17.00	Arrival of participants in Semporna; hotel check-in; pre-conference registration	Tun Sakaran Museum and Hotel
	18.00-19.00	Welcome Dinner	Tun Sakaran Museum
	19.00-22.00	Opening Ceremony of ICONBAJAU 2019 and International Igal Festival/Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA2019)	Semporna Community Hall
DAY 2 24 April 2019 WEDNESDAY	08.00-09.00	Registration & Breakfast	Tun Sakaran Museum
	09.00-10.00	Keynote CUSTOMARY LAW AND THE NATIVE COURT IN SABAH— EXPERIENCE IN THE FIELD Emeritus Professor Dr. Masaru Miyamoto (Chuo University, Japan) Moderator: Hanafi Hussin (University of Malaya)	
	10.00–10.30	Coffee break	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 1	Tun Sakaran Museum
	10.30–12.00	BAJAU HISTORY, TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE Moderator: MCM Santamaria (University of the Philippines, Diliman) ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SAMA- BAJAU ORIGIN AND CULTURE IN SABAH Stephen Chia Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia POON TAUN OF MENAMPILIK ISLAND-SUSTAINING BAJAU GENEALOGIES AND IDENTITY Hanafi Hussin ¹ & Judeth John Baptist ² Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Institute of Ocean and Earth Sciences (IOES), Social Advancement and Happiness Research Cluster, University of Malaya TABAWAN, THE ISLAND OF DANCE, RITUALS AND TRADITIONS Bremarld Perong Notre Dame of Tabawan High School	

		South Ubian, Tawi-Tawi, Philippines PERCUSSIVE DANCE: RELATING SOUND AND MOVEMENT IN THE SAMA-BAJAU IGAL TARIRAI MCM Santamaria Asian and Philippine Studies Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman	
	12.00–13.00	Lunch	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 2	Tun Sakaran Museum
	13.00–15.00	ETHNOGRAPHY, BELIEF, CUSTOMS, CHANGE AND ADAPTATION Moderator: Stephen Chia (Universiti Sains Malaysia) UNSUR SINKRETISME DALAM ADAT TRADISI BAJAU-SAMA: KAJIAN DI DAERAH SEMPORNA SABAH (ELEMENTS OF SYNCRETISM IN THE TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE BAJAU-SAMA: A CASE STUDY IN SEMPORNA DISTRICT) Syamsul Azizul Marinsah* & Mohd Jasmie Jasim** Pusat Penataran Ilmu dan Bahasa, Universiti Malaysia Sabah **Faculty of Psychology and Education, Universiti Malaysia Sabah ULA-ULA SAMA - PANJI KEBESARAN MASYARAKAT BAJAU INDONESIA (ULA-ULA SAMA - THE FLAG OF GREATNESS OF THE INDONESIAN BAJAU/SAMA) Zulkifli Azir Independent Scholar PROSES ADAPTASI DAN SEDENTARISASI MASYARAKAT BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA: KAJIAN KES KAMPUNG BANGAU-BANGAU SEMPORNA (PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION AND SEDENTARISATION OF THE SEA BAJAU IN SEMPORNA: A CASE STUDY IN KG. BANGAU-BANGAU) Rozaliah binti Mokhtar¹, Gusni Bin Saat¹ & Aisah Hossin² ¹FaCULTY OF Humnainties, Arts and heRITAGE=, Universiti Malaysia Sabah ²Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS) University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF) ETNOGRAFI KOMUNITI “KOTA” SAMA DILAUT : PENYISIHAN DAN KELANGSUNGAN HIDUP (ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE “URBAN” SAMA DILAUT : DISPLACEMENT AND SURVIVAL) Jamal Gabir, Junaenah Sulehan, Friscilla Saimun & Gusniar Nurdin Institute Borneo Studies, University College Sabah Foundation	
	15.00–15.30	Coffee break	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 3	Tun Sakaran Museum

	15.30-17.00	THE SEA, LIVELIHOOD, TRADITION AND ARTS Moderator: Hanafi Hussin (University of Malaya) DIFFERENCES AMONG BAJAU HOUSES IN THE DIASPORA ZONE Muhammad Abdul Karim¹, Alfagana Rachmadani² ¹Universitas Indonesia, ²Universitas Diponegoro FUNGSI STRUKTUR RUANG RUMAH-PERAHU/LEPA DALAM KEHIDUPAN KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA (THE FUNCTIONS OF STRUCTURAL SPACE OF THE HOUSEBOAT/LEPA IN THE LIFE OF THE SEA BAJAU OF SEMPORNA) ¹Rozaliah binti Mokhtar, Gusni Bin Saat¹ & Aisyah binti Hossin² ¹Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah ²Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS) University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF) ANOM TEPO: THE SAMA-BAJAU ART AND TRADITION OF MAT WEAVING Omarjan I. Jahuran¹ & Rozaliah Binti Mokhtar² ¹Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi, Philippines ²Faculty Humanities Art and Heritage, University of Malaysia Sabah	
	17.00-18.30	Sharing with the community – music, dance, craft Co-ordinators: Judeth John Baptist, Robin Fedilis Lojiwin & Stenley Peter Pitol	Tun Sakaran Museum
	18.30-19.00	Dinner	Tun Sakaran Museum
	19.00-22.00	Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA)	Semporna Community Hall
DAY 3 25 April 2019 THURSDAY	08.00-09.00	Registration & Breakfast	Tun Sakaran Museum

	08.30-10.00	Plenary BAJAU, TRADITIONS, ENVIRONMENT AND CHANGES Moderator: Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Malaysia Sabah) BAJAU, TRADITIONS AND LEADERSHIP Ybhg. Datuk Sa'adilah Bin Haji Abdillah Council of Sabah Native Affairs BAJAU SPIRITUALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE IN SOUTHEAST SULAWESI (FILM DOCUMENTARY) Kelli Swazey Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies Gadjah Mada University	
	10.00–10.30	Coffee break	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 4	Tun Sakaran Museum

	10.30–12.30	BAJAU AND NATURAL RESOURCES, TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE, ECONOMIC STABILITY, LIVELIHOOD AND SUSTAINABILITY Moderator: MCM Santamaria (University of the Philippines) ETHNOHERBAL MEDICINES OF THE BAJAU IN THE NORTH OF SABAH, MALAYSIA, BORNEO Julius Kulip^{1*2*3}, Jauris Seligin @ Doris¹ & Andy R. Mojiol⁴ ¹Institute for Tropical Biology and Conservation, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. ²Research Fellow, Borneo Research Institute for Indigenous Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. ³Research Fellow, Borneo Research Center for Medical and Health, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. ⁴Faculty of Science and Natural Resources, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. PARTICIPATION OF THE BAJAU COMMUNITY IN MEDICINAL PLANTS MARKETS IN THE TAMU OF WEST COAST SABAH Jurry Foo Senior Lecturer, Geography Program, Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, and Research Fellow, Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies Universiti Malaysia Sabah MENGARANG SEBAGAI PENGETAHUAN EKOLOGI TRADISIONAL KOMUNITI BAJAU LAUT DI SEMPORNA, SABAH (MENGARANG AS TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SEA BAJAU COMMUNITY OF SEMPORNA, SABAH) Aisah Hossin¹ & Rozaliah Mokhtar² ¹Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (FDMS) University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF) ²Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah THE ECONOMY OF BOAT DWELLING SAMA DILAUT Erik Abrahamsson, Lund University	
	12.30–13.15	Lunch	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 5	Tun Sakaran Museum
	13.15–14.45	LOCAL KNOWLEDGE, LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY Moderator: Wayland Quintero (Independent Scholar) MAGSINAMA KITA! EMPOWERING THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE Omarjan Ibrahim Jahuran Public Information Research Center Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi	

		KEARIFAN TEMPATAN BAJAU DALAM YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS KARYA ZUBIR OSMAN (2017) (LOCAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE BAJAU IN 'YANG TERHEMPAS DAN YANG PUTUS' WRITTEN BY ZUBIR OSMAN (2017)) Rabiatul Adawiah binti Ab. Samad & Azwan bin Arik Kolej Poly-Tech Mara Semporna REVISITING THE BIOLA (BIULA) AMONG THE BAJAU AND IRANUN OF SABAH: THE INSTRUMENT, ITS PERFORMANCE, AND POSSIBLE ORIGINS Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan Professor of Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, and Research Fellow, Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies, Universiti Malaysia Sabah	
	14.45–15.00	Coffee break	Tun Sakaran Museum
		Session 6	Tun Sakaran Museum
	15.00-17.00	BAJAU VOICES OF THE SULU AND CELEBES SEAS Moderator: Hanafi Hussin (University of Malaya) THE ARREST, DETENTION AND DEPORTATION FROM SABAH, MALAYSIA OF SOME SEA GYPSIES Sanen Marshall, Saidatul Nornis Hj Mahali & Junaidah Januin Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning, UMS REINSTITUTIONALISING SULAT PASA: A TRADITIONAL DIVORCE PAPER AMONG THE SAMA IN TAWI-TAWI Alshadat B. Sabal¹ & Omarjan I. Jahuran² ¹Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography ²Provincial Government of Tawi-Tawi RADIO FOR PEACE: THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACEBUILDING, PRESERVATION AND PROMOTION OF THE SAMA/BAJAU CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAWI-TAWI Babylyn Kano Omar Station Manager, DXGD AM Radio for Peace EMPOWERMENT OF THE SAMA-BAJAU IN GOVERNANCE THROUGH MANDATORY REPRESENTATION IN DECISION-MAKING BODIES AND OTHER LOCAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS: A CONTINUING ADVOCACY Filemon G. Romero Protect Wildlife STawi TwiSite Coordinator Bongao, Tawi-Tawi	
	17.00-18.30	Sharing with the community – music, dance, craft	Tun Sakaran Museum

		Co-ordinators: Judeth John Baptist, Robin Fedilis Lojiwin & Stenley Peter Pitol	
	18.30-19.00	Dinner	Tun Sakaran Museum
	19.00-22.00	Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA)	Semporna Community Hall
DAY 4 26 April 2019 FRIDAY	08.00-09.00	Registration & Breakfast	Tun Sakaran Museum
	09.00-16.00	Fieldtrip Presenters: Community Participants: Bukit Tengkorak • Lunch for presenters at the site • Lunch for participants at Museum Tun Sakaran	Bukit Tengkorak and community
	18.00-19.30	Dinner	Tun Sakaran Museum
	20-22.30	International Igal Festival/Festival Igal Antarabangsa (FIA2019) Maglami-lami Regatta Lepa	Semporna Town Padang
DAY 5 27 April 2019 SATURDAY	08.00-19.00	Free and Leisure An Evening with Regatta Lepa	
Day 6 28 April 2019 SUNDAY	08.00-12.00	Check-out and departure	

Short-bio

Aisah Hossin is a Sociologist and Anthropologist and also a teaching member of the Faculty of Development and Multicultural Studies (UCSF). She is actively involved in research concerning development in Sabah. Her area of research includes Capacity Building, Community development, Gender, Women and Development, Rural and Urban Development, Poverty, Social Change, Community Based Conservation Management, Social Impact Studies, Fishing Community and Seaweed Cultivation, Sea Gipsy Community, Border Communities in Borneo and Community Based and Small Scale Entrepreneurs.

Alshadat B. Sabal is an Associate Professor V and Coordinator of the Peace Research of the Institute of Peace and Development in Mindanao of the Mindanao State University, Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography. A Juris Doctor, he holds a Master's degree in public Administration. In 2017, he was part of the analysis team of the MSU-TCTO on the Sama Bajau Protection Project of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Community Family Service International (CFSI) in collaboration with the MSU-TCTO.

Bremarld T. Perong is from Tabawan, South Ubian, Tawi-Tawi, Philippines and a Prefect of Discipline Faculty staff of Notre Dame of Tabawan Junior High School. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science at Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi. Inspired by his paper "The Pag-mboh and Traditional Leadership: A Case Study of Tabawan", he made further research on the cultural practices of Tabawan aiming to understand their unique traditions and rituals. The research documentation is a testament of the salient moral features which have clothed the identity of the Sama Tabawan and the Sama people of Southeast Asia in general.

Erik Abrahamsson is a Social anthropologist at Lund University, Sweden. He has been studying and living with the Sama Dilaut in Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia since 2010. During these nine years, he has spent a total of two years in multiple Sama Dilaut communities. His work has focused both on diving physiology and the economic aspects of Sama Dilaut's everyday life. He speaks the basics of both Central Sinama and Indonesian Bajo.

Filemon G. Romero is Professor Emeritus of Oceanography and Environmental Science is MSU Tawi-Tawi Philippines; He finished AB English from Notre Dame of Jolo College, MAT Physics from Mindanao State University, Marawi City, Master of Science in Oceanography and his PhD in Environmental Science from UP Diliman. He is very active in the cultural heritage preservation of the Bangsa Sama. Now he is Tawi-Tawi Site Coordinator of the Protect Wildlife of Development Alternatives funded by the USAID, member of the Board of Trustees of the Tawi-Tawi Regional Agricultural College and consultant of Governor Rashidin Matba. He is married to Dr Jumelita B. Romero, and they have five sons.

Hanafi Hussin is an Associate Professor of Cultural Studies at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya. He received B.A and M.A in Southeast Asian Studies with a thesis topic 'Philippine Political Theatre during Marcos Regime' and a PhD in Ritual and Performing Arts Studies focusing on ritual and identity of the Kadazan of Sabah, Borneo. He is also researching ritual and performing arts of the maritime communities of Southeast Asia mainly Sama-Bajau and Sama Dilaut of the east coast of Borneo and Southern Philippines. Currently, his research and documentation are on the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the indigenous people of Malaysia. Most of his research work published in academic journals relate to regional studies and cultural studies of Southeast Asia. He served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya from 2016-

2018. Currently, he serves as Deputy Dean, Social Advancement and Happiness Research Cluster, University of Malaya.

Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan is a Research Fellow of the Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies, and Professor of Ethnomusicology in the Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage at Universiti Malaysia Sabah, where she formerly held the Kadazandusun Chair. Her research interests include cultures and music of Sabah and Papua New Guinea. Winner of two PEREKA 2011 gold medals, she has authored many publications. She is a Fellow of the Borneo Research Council, member of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia, Malaysian Social Sciences Association, Jabatan Warisan Negara's *Jawatankuasa Pakar Adat* and *Jawatankuasa Pakar Seni Persembahan*, and was Adjunct Research Fellow of Anthropology at Monash University's School of Political and Social Enquiry (2009-2010).

Jamal Gabir obtained his Bachelor Degree in Social Science and major in International Relations from University Malaysia Sabah (UMS). He is currently attached to the Institute Borneo Studies (IBS), University College Sabah Foundation (UCSF), as a Research Officer. Among the research that he has been involved are Ethnography of Indigenous Communities in Sabah, community-based Conservation management and Maritime people of Sabah. He had also been involved in organizing and participating in several Seminars & Workshops related to research at UCSF.

Junaidah Januin is a senior lecturer at the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge Language Learning (CPKLL) at Universiti Malaysia Sabah. Junaidah has written and published a number of articles and made presentations on the subject of the English Language Teaching and Ethnic Languages of Sabah, Malaysia.

Jurry Foo @Jurr Bt. F Michael is a senior lecturer in Geography and research fellow in the Borneo Institute for Indigenous Studies (*BORIIS*), in Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. She obtained the Bachelor of Social Sciences With Honour (Geography) from Universiti Malaysia Sabah, before graduated MPhil. (Geography) and PhD. (Environment and Development) from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Her research interest are the utilization of natural resources among the community (especially medicinal plants) and community base biosphere management (especially the Tagal system).

Kelli Swazey is a socially engaged scholar. She brings anthropology to public engagement that aims to unite people in the production of collaborative knowledge. As a cultural anthropologist, Dr Swazey explores how religion, spirituality and politics define society in Indonesia, where she has lived since 2010. She currently manages the Voicing Diversities Project, a collaboration between the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at University of Hawai'i Manoa and CRCS UGM. The project supports the production of digital resources on diversity in Southeast Asia for educational use in the US and Indonesia.

MCM (Matthew Constancio Maglana) Santamaria, Doctor of Law (Kyoto University), b. 1966, was accorded the title of Doctor of Law in Political Science by the Kyoto University Graduate School of Law in 1999. In the year 2000, he received an Asian Fellows Program under the Ford Foundation to research the nation and dance in the Kingdom of Cambodia. In 2002, he was given a follow-up grant by the Ford Foundation to do dance research methodology at the University of Hawaii while taking on the position of visiting researcher/artist-in-residence at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii'. In 2003, he joined the Asian Center, UP Diliman as a full-time faculty member where he continues to serve as Professor of Asian and Philippine Studies. MCM Santamaria has published more than 75 journal articles, book chapters, and monographs on Sama-Bajau ethnography, dance and performance studies, and political culture. He writes reviews for the Philippine

Business Mirror, and he continues his advocacy in dance through his dance company, the Bunga Arts Link. MCM Santamaria is the lone awardee of the title of UP Artist in the field of Dance.

Muhammad Abdul Karim born in Jakarta, 27 November 1997. He takes undergraduate history in Universitas Indonesia since 2015. Most of his research about the history of maritime, contemporary, and Video Game in Indonesia for final script, *Development of Video Games Toward Social-Culture Jakarta's Society in 1981—1998*. Besides researching, he is also developing a video game about the history of Nusantara under his developer, Sengkala Dev, and has released 'Perang Laut-Maritime Warfare' since 2017 and on hold project, 'Pedaluhusa Fall of Ball' 2015 until 2017 based his research. He has participated in several international conference and forum such PAHMI11, 1-2 August 2018 in Kuala Lumpur, WIFT 31 October-4 November 2017 in Tokyo, and Srivijaya and Maritime Axis of World in Palembang 6-9 August 2018.

Alfagana Rachmadani born in Surabaya, 23 February 1999. He takes undergraduate architecture in Universitas Diponegoro since 2017 and study in general architecture. He has participated in WIFT 31 October-4 November 2017 in Tokyo.

Mohd Jasmie Jasim earned his Bachelor's Degree in Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris (UPSI) in 2011. After his graduation, on Mei 2012 he started his first career as a Regular Teacher at SMK BUM BUM Semporna till September 2016. After presenting his thesis about empowerment at school administration, he earned his Master's Degree in Education Management from Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) in 2016. On September 2016 he was transferred from regular teacher to Head Unit of Information Management & ICT unit at Pejabat Pendidikan Daerah Semporna till now. Currently, at 2018 till now he continues his study at PhD Level held by Universiti Malaysia Sabah in the field of Education Management.

Rozaliah binti Mokhtar is a Sociologist and Anthropologist and also a Masters student in the Faculty of Humanities, Arts and Heritage, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. She is actively involved in research concerning development in Sabah. Her area of research includes culture, heritage, norms and the Sea Bajau community.

Sanen Marshall Is a Fulbright (2017) and Chevening (1997) scholar. He is a Senior Lecturer at the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning, Universiti Malaysia Sabah. He has presented a number of papers both locally and internationally on the subject of the Sea Gypsies or *Pala'u*. He has also authored many articles on the indigenous Kadazandusun of Sabah. Sanen is also the convener of the *Forum on Heritage Language Education for Early Childhood* (Kota Kinabalu: 7th – 8th April 2015) and the *Workshop on Dumpas Language and Culture* (Kg. Perancangan, Telupid: 30th November 2016).

Saidatul Nornis Hj Mahali is the Deputy Dean of Academic Affairs at the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge Language Learning (CPKLL) at Universiti Malaysia Sabah. Saidatul has written and published a number of books and articles and made presentations on the subject of the anthropology, linguistics and culture of the peoples of Sabah, Malaysia.

Stephen Chia is Professor at the Centre for Global Archaeological Research, University of Science Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia where he worked as a lecturer, researcher and consultant since 1997. His main research interests include the study of prehistoric populations and cultures of Sabah, Borneo, Malaysia and Southeast Asia as well as archaeological, historical and heritage preservation and conservation. He has received numerous international, national, state and university grants and recognition for his research. His works had been published in books, monographs, more than 200 articles in local or international journals, book chapters, magazines, documentaries and mass media.

Syamsul Azizul Marinsah currently serves as a senior lecturer at the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language, University of Malaysia Sabah. He earned his bachelor's degree in Syariah (Fiqh & Usul) (2008-2011), master's degree (2011-2013) and doctorate (2014-2017) in University of Malaya. His research is situated in the field of Sociology of Islamic law, with a special focus on syncretism phenomena that exist in the custom and common practices of the Bajau community in Sabah. Syamsul Azizul's areas of expertise are Religion and Society (Sociology of Islamic law and Islamic Jurisprudence). He is always enthusiastic to serve as a versatile scholar that masters numerous fields and learns to explore new research area in Islamic studies framework.

Zulkifli Azir born in Gowa, South Sulawesi, 26 May 1963. Childhood in Bogor, West Java, adolescence until finishing high school in Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi. In 1983 joined the Postal Academy in Bandung and was appointed as a civil servant in 1985 and placed at the Headquarters of PT Pos Indonesia (Persero) in Bandung until now. Study assignments at Asian-Pacific Postal College, Bangkok, Thailand: 2008, completed the International Mail Accounting program, and 2011, contributed to the Improvement of Addressing in the Asia-Pacific Region. Active in various Bajau community social organisations since 1982. On 15 May 2017 was confirmed as the elder of the Bajau Community of Indonesia.

Organising Team

PATRON

YAB Datuk Seri Panglima Haji Mohd. Shafie bin Haji apdal
Chief Minister of Sabah

CHAIRMAN

YBhg. Datuk Sa'adilah Bin Haji Abdillah
Director, Council for Sabah Native Affairs

CO-CHAIRMAN

Tuan Arif Abd Hamid
Director, Department of Sabah Museum

CO-CHAIRS (CURATORS)

Professor Dr. Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Malaysia Sabah)
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanafi Hussin (University of Malaya)

INTERNATIONAL LIASON CHAIR

YBhg. Datuk Haji Said Hinayat

SECRETARY

Mr Robin Fedilis Lojiwin
Mr Stanley Peter Pitol

SECRETARIAT

Miss Judeth John Baptist

LOGISTICS CO-ORDINATOR (CHAIR)

ADO Tuan Haji Abdul Iman Basinun

COMMITTEE

Sabah State Archives
Semporna District Office
Majlis Daerah Semporna
Semporna Police Station
Hospital Semporna
SESB Semporna
Water Department, Semporna
ESSCOM
Information Department, Semporna
District Chiefs
Native Chiefs
Native Chief Representatives
Village Headmen