BAJAU CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOCIAL CHANGE:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF A MALAYSIAN
MINORITY COMMUNITY

Carol Warren

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Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis is based on original research by the author.

Carol Warren
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The object of this study is to map out the complex processes of contemporary social change in a single community of Bajau laut on the northeast coast of Malaysian Borneo (Sabah) and in particular to explore the role of consciousness in transformation. The Bajau case is a most interesting one because of the rapid and radical nature of change and because of the extraordinary flexibility of pre-existing social structure. The most dramatic changes discussed in this thesis took place in the space of less than one generation, effectively between 1960 and 1975. From a semi-nomadic, materially simple and virtually isolated existence prior to this period, Bajau of Bangau-Bangau village have settled, oriented themselves to a money economy and adopted an achievement ethic in lieu of the egalitarian values and shared subsistence of former times.

The primary data for the thesis were obtained during 1968-69 in Bangau-Bangau village, Semporna and a short follow-up visit in November - December 1975. For the earlier period, I have had to rely on the recollections of villagers and scattered evidence in the writings of ethnographers and travellers whose research interests were quite different from my own. Among the most important have been the studies by Harry Nimmo (1966, 1968, 1971) of the related Tawi-Tawi and Sitangkai Bajau communities in the early 1960s and Clifford Sather's research (1971) on the kinship system in Bangau-Bangau village itself in 1964-65. Early travel accounts and reports of expeditions, impressively brought together by David Sopher (1965) and Carl Taylor's 1931 account help to construct a picture of the earlier patterns of Bajau life. James Warren's thesis (1975) on the socio-economic patterns of the Sulu zone provides some evidence on the economic role and social position of the Bajau laut in this region at the height of the Sulu Sultanate in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Analysis of Bajau social relations and their own accounts of their situation from these 'slices in time' revealed the inevitable contrasts and contradictions of any change situation and at each stage demanded reconsideration of the theoretical perspective within which they
could be understood. Lenski stresses the importance of alternating the processes of induction and deduction in methodological practice (1966:440). Implicit in any dialectical methodology is the conception of theory as 'emerging' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Blumer, 1969; Friedrichs, 1972):

It must be emphasized that integration of the theory is best when it emerges, like the concepts... The truly emergent, integrating framework, which encompasses the fullest possible diversity of categories and properties becomes an open-ended scheme... (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 41).

This research process has been one of constant interaction between empirical evidence and developing theoretical interpretation -- the latter at each point being projected back to encompass earlier data. I have tried to reflect this process in writing the thesis itself. An inductive-deductive approach is used throughout so that theoretical discourse and empirical description are interposed. This seemed preferable to the normal (hypothesis - research design - findings - conclusion) form of presentation which could not do justice to the dialectical nature of the research and analysis, no less the phenomenon of change itself. This approach is most evident in Chapter Two, describing the evolution of the theoretical framework employed in the thesis, and in Chapter Five which analyzes Bajau consciousness in relation to changing structures.

Part I is introduced with a description of the Bajau way of life and the overarching political context to provide perspective. It then sets out in greater detail, the theoretical framework and research procedures which are the basis for analyzing the interrelationships of change in the Bajau economic base, social relations and consciousness presented in Part II.
NOTE: Throughout the thesis, quotations from Bajau respondents will be cited as follows: (pseudonym, occupation/residence: year of interview).

CODE: Occupation
E -- entrepreneur
F -- fisherman
L -- labourer
U -- unemployed
S -- student

Residence
H -- house
B -- boat

(f) following pseudonym indicates that the respondent quoted is female.
I am indebted to David Turner for the initial encouragement to pursue my interests, and especially to my supervisors, Jim Lally and Cora Baldock, for the intellectual and moral support to see it through. The Australian National University, thanks to Professor Zubrzycki, made the study possible by providing a scholarship and travel grant. Herb Thompson and John Frow shared invaluable comments, criticisms and new perspectives. Mayerlene Frow typed, edited, advised and made the last stretch very nearly painless.

To my husband Jim who (with Kris) shared many of the labours of research on this thesis, my love and gratitude. His work on the history of the Sulu Zone provides important background to the contemporary situation of the Bajau. Above all to our neighbours in Bangau-Bangau -- Omardani, Laiti, Akbaiani, Tiban, Tiling, Rugu, Subulhati, to name a few, I owe a lifelong debt of friendship.
CHAPTER ONE

PART I  INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF CHOWIS

The Bajau Laut (see Bajau) are among the last of the once widespread maritime, boat-dwelling cultures of Southeast Asia, referred to as “Sea Gypsies” or “Sea Gypsies” in the popular and ethnographic literature (Bladon, 1972, Nepher, 1965, Seldon, 1974). Their traditional subsistence technology was basically an adaptation of hunting and gathering techniques to the world of maritime people.

Bajau submerged fishermen have for centuries inhabited the remote areas of the Celebes sea from the southwestern Philippines to eastern Indonesia. The Celebes area, formerly part of the domain of the Sultanate of Sulu, was on the periphery of the main pattern of the Bajau who inhabited the Sulu chain (see Map 1). British European colonial expansion in the late nineteenth century brought a multi-culture entity in which a multi-ethnic group established a multi-culture society controlled by British colonialists (Bagnall, 1972). The only significant ethnographic work to date has been conducted along the Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, and Tineg. Bajau, numbering about 6,000 people still illustrated by field of pigs, sheep, and goats.

Any attempt at a historical reconstruction of Bajau economic and social organization is extremely difficult since their movements are often widely scattered in the vastness of Southeast Asia. The available data available suggest that little change has taken place in the material culture, took place over several hundred years and into the first decade of the 20th century (Bladon, 1972).
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF CHANGE

The Bajau laut (sea Bajau) are among the last of the once widespread nomadic, boat-dwelling cultures of Southeast Asia. Referred to as 'Sea Nomads' or 'Sea Gypsies' in the popular and ethnographic literature (Nimmo, 1972; Sopher, 1965; Singh, 1976), their traditional subsistence technology was basically an adaptation of hunting and gathering techniques to the strand environment.¹

Bajau subsistence fishermen have for centuries inhabited the strand areas of the Celebes rim from the southern Philippines to eastern Indonesia. The Semporna area, formerly part of the domain of the Sultan of Sulu, was on the periphery of the migration pattern of the Bajau who inhabited the Sulu chain (see Map I). Until European colonial expansion in the late nineteenth century, Sulu was a multi-ethnic polity integrated by a redistributive trade and procurement system controlled by the Tausug (Warren, 1975). The only significant ethnographic work to date has been conducted among the Tawi-Tawi, Sitangkai and Semporna Bajau, numbering some 6,000 people still articulated by ties of kinship (Nimmo, 1968: 39).

Any attempt at a historical reconstruction of Bajau economic and social organization is extremely difficult since their movements left them largely outside the vantage of Western observation. Those scattered references available suggest that little change, at least in their material culture, took place over several hundred years and into the first decades of the 20th century (Sopher, 1965).

¹ See Sopher (1965) for a thorough discussion of the ecological adaptation of the Bajau and other nomadic boat dwellers of Southeast Asia.
The narrator of Magellan's voyage barely noted the existence of boat-dwellers in the region in 1521, saying only, "the people of that island make their dwelling in boats and do not live otherwise" (Pigafetta, 1906: 53). Brief notations by Combes (1667), Forrest (1779), Wilkes (1842) and others refer to the Bajau as a timid and elusive people, living primarily in boats, dependent upon fishing and collecting for their livelihood, and having few possessions. The Spanish Governor of Zamboanga described them as:

devoted to fishing with no other lodging than their vintas [outrigger boathouses] in which they all live, one family per vinta. They pass years without setting foot on the land except to collect kindling wood ... the extensive shallows and reefs provide them with an abundance of fish which is nearly their only source of food and with which by chance they can obtain some rice and the extremely scant pieces of cloth with which they cover themselves. (February 17, 1845, cited in Warren, 1975: 117-18)

Carl Taylor, travelling in Sulu in 1931, describes their way of life in similar terms: "The Bajau Sea Gypsies are born in tiny sailing canoes, known as vintas and lipas. They live their entire lives upon the water, so seldom stepping ashore that old people say walking on solid ground makes them dizzy." (1931: 477)

Aside from the cursory nature of historical references, our picture of Bajau society is obscured in the literature by confusion of the Bajau with other Samal-speakers who were more closely adapted to the land and who today are generally treated as a distinct ethnic group.  

A problem arises in trying to define the distinction that exists between Bajau and Samal. Here I will be applying the terms 'ethnic' and 'caste' rather loosely and interchangeably, since connotations generally associated with both, apply in this inter-group situation. Nevertheless, it should be understood that neither term strictly defined, is entirely appropriate. In the sense that both groups are Samalan speakers and probably derived from the same stock, they are not distinct ethnic groups - although by virtue of culture differences and imputation the 'ethnic' dichotomy may be justifiable. Similar problems arise in the use of the term 'caste' as a differentiating principle - the rigidity of group boundaries and the impact of dominant
Bajau origins and their historical relationship to the other groups in the region remain the object of considerable speculation (Sopher, 1965; Nimmo, 1968). While boundaries between ethnic groups were never entirely static and no doubt frequently crossed, the Bajau laut seem to have maintained a distinct way of life from the time of Pigafetta's observations until the Second World War.

The only consistent information other than the continuity of their material circumstance, is of their perennial pariah status in the Sulu region. In the late 18th and 19th centuries they were retained in more or less stable clientage relationships under the Tausug datus (the hereditary aristocracy and trading class of Sulu) who provided security in return for Bajau services in collecting tripang (sea cucumber) and diving for pearl shell. Bajau interaction with superordinate ethnic groups (Tausug and Samal) was limited to this procurement role and occasional barter transactions. The Governor of Zamboanga (1845) reported that they were forbidden to bear arms (a highly important prerogative in militant Sulu society) and that in some places there were proscriptions against their entrance into towns or villages.

Balandier's assertion of the political significance of myth (1970b: 190) is particularly appropriate in the Bajau context. Recorded myths invariably stress their outcaste or alien status and refer to the negative symbols of group sanctions were limited by the Bajau nomadic lifestyle. Concepts of pollution were generally ascribed, but as no overarching religio-cultural system has institutionalized and ritualized the relationships, they are more fluid than those usually associated with the Indian system. Berreman (1972) has argued that caste can be viewed as a variant of the more inclusive concept of 'ethnic stratification'. Following this both terms may reasonably be used to describe the Bajau status category. Further confusion arises from the frequent practice of identifying all Samalan speakers as Bajau or Samal. Here I follow common practice in Philippine ethnography, referring to all groups presently living in boats or known to have been boat-dwellers in the recent past as Bajau or Bajau laut and all other Samalan speakers as Samal.

Linguistic evidence, however, indicates that Samal speakers including the Bajau, in fact preceded the Tausug in the Sulu region and that their culture probably evolved as the result of an independent and continuous process of
Bajau identity - boat-dwelling and 'paganism'. Different versions put forth errors, acts of God or retribution as explanations for their despised way of life. One tale claims that the Bajau had once been Muslim. One day while praying in the Mosque a school of fish passed by. The Bajau could not resist temptation and jumped in the water to catch them, forgetting their religious duties. God punished them by casting them out forever. Ever since they were forced to wander the seas as pagans (Nimmo, 1968: 41).

According to a popular variant of the Johore princess myth the Bajau originally came from that powerful Sultanate on the Malay peninsula. They had been charged with the safe conduct of the princess of Johore to her betrothed when the envious Sultan of Brunei whisked her away. Her escorts were banished from their homeland and remained at sea to begin their wanderings (North Borneo Herald, April 1, 1925: 57). In another tale, the chief of a group of boat-dwellers, again from Johore, anchored his flotilla in the nose of a sting-ray. It carried the group far out to sea where they floated aimlessly for days until they finally reached Zamboanga. There they became subjects of the Sultan of Sulu who made a practice of distributing them as bride-price, thus dispersing them throughout his realm (Nimmo, 1968: 39-40).

A final example of these etiological myths is related by Stone (1962: 122). It too integrates the two themes which signify Bajau identity and outcast status. According to this tradition it is the Sultan of Johore himself whose incestuous wish was responsible for the plight of the Bajau. Desiring to marry the most beautiful woman in his kingdom, who happened to be his sister, the Sultan compelled the Imam to perform the marriage.

The imam hesitated but finally agreed on the condition that it would be performed in the middle of the ocean, for to marry one's sister on land was against Allah's will. The Sultan agreed, and called together all his people and told them they must build a bridge of boats far into the adaptation of coastal hunter-gatherers to the sea, rather than a mass migration at some point in time, as Sopher (1965) hypothesized (Spoehr, 1973: 22).
Just as the imam began to chant the marriage rites, a great wind arose and scattered the boats far and wide. The Sultan and his sister, and the imam were swept into the sea and drowned. The boats were carried far to the east and finally they arrived in the Sulu islands. But they had no kingdom and have no religion.

Balandier (1970b) cites several studies of African societies whose traditions over time emerged as rationalizations institutionalizing the hierarchical structure of the society. It is apparent that in Sulu, myths relating to the Bajau similarly served to integrate the ideology of subordination into the Bajau awareness and reinforce their identification with cultural forms disparaged in the wider society.  

Obviously these traditions stressing ethnic boundaries generated by some original sin or act of foolishness serve to justify the ethnic hierarchy of Sulu based on religious symbols and ecological dominance. The one mitigating factor which prevented total subordination of the Bajau was their nomadism. They could protect themselves both physically and psychologically from the extreme consequences of subjugation by taking up anchor and moving elsewhere.

The hierarchical structure of Sulu society has been maintained along ethnic lines to the present day despite the demise of the Sultanate at the turn of the century. Status distinctions between the three major groups have changed little. The Tausug, in the northern Sulu islands, where they are numerically predominant, monopolize the

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4 Many among the Bajau we interviewed did not admit knowledge of some of these myths. Those that were told by Bajau were simplified and more neutral, while the more elaborate and derogatory versions were told about them. My impression was that most of these traditions originated with the dominant culture. The Bajau themselves appeared to have a very limited oral tradition which may have been absorbed through contact with land groups rather than generated by themselves.

5 The Bajau are more properly termed semi-nomadic. Their movements tend to be restricted, to follow seasonal patterns and to emanate from a relatively stable 'home' anchorage. The typical radius of sea exploited in fishing for subsistence would be 25 miles from the mooring site (Nimmo, 1965: 425).
political and bureaucratic structures as well as sharing the significant trade with the Chinese. They consider themselves the sole purveyors of orthodox Islam and in every way to be superior to the other two groups (Keifer, 1975).

The Samal are shore-dwelling fishermen and agriculturalists who share the same language with the Bajau, but whose culture is asserted to be distinct. (The Samal themselves reject suggestions of genealogical relationship between the two groups.) They are Muslims but their religious practice is more syncretic than that of the Tausug. Their intermediate position in the social hierarchy is reflected in recent modifications in marriage practice. While each group practises preferential endogamy, there have been cases of inter-marriage between Samal and Tausug and less frequently between Samal and Bajau. There are no reported cases of marriage between Tausug and Bajau (Stone, 1962; Keifer, 1975).

The Bajau remain at the bottom of the socio-economic scale in the region. As has been mentioned, it is their boat-dwelling and non-Islamic culture which set them apart. They are considered dirty and uncivilized. The popular Tausug ascription, luwa'an, literally means 'vomit' or 'spat out'. Samal refer to them as pela'u - a denigrating term with no commonly accepted meaning, but possibly derived from perahu, the Malay word for 'boat'. On the surface they have internalized much of this image. Stone (1962) administered an attribute scale to a sample of the three groups. The Bajau gave themselves consistently negative ratings on 'cleanliness', 'pride', 'religiosity' and 'civilized' categories.

Tausug-Bajau relations are not today a significant part of the contact and change situation for the group of Bajau under consideration. Although Tausug dominate the islands in the Jolo area, their numbers and corresponding influence decline as one moves south. In Semporna, the focus of this study, the Tausug are present in insignificant numbers. There, local relations of dominance and subordination are defined in terms of Samal to
The Semporna Bajau case is in many ways a classic example of the modernization experience in a neo-colonial context. In outward appearances the superordinate/subordinate relationships of the post-colonial society bear striking resemblance to its predecessor. But the fact that the dominant society is itself in the process of transformation has added repercussions for ethnic minorities.

Because of their small number and ability to take up anchor and move elsewhere whenever conditions became unsettled, the Bajau had succeeded in remaining outside the fluctuations of history and the European colonial experience until the Second World War. Immediately following the war, North Borneo (formerly ruled by the last of the Chartered Companies and prior to that part of the realm of the Sultan of Sulu) was converted into a British Crown Colony. Only then was a belated concern for political and social modernization initiated. The rapid development of the east coast and new colonial policies attracted

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6 It should be pointed out that while these are the only locally significant indigenous groups, they are relatively unimportant in overall population terms. Together the Samal and Bajau represent less than 1% of the total population of Malaysia and 12% of the population of the State of Sabah (Sather, 1971: 28). Unlike the Philippines, neither the state nor the federal government distinguish officially between Bajau and Samal who are together listed in the census as Bajau. (The Bajau and Samal refer to themselves by toponym as Sama-laut, Sama-Ubian, Sama-Simunul, etc. according to place of origin.)

7 Even long-established boat communities have been known to disappear overnight. Several cases are mentioned in colonial records. In 1959 a sizable boat flotilla moored at Sanga-Sanga for some 10 years completely dispersed after four Bajau men died mysteriously convincing the community that evil spirits were plaguing it (Nimmo, 1968: 55). A more recent example is provided by Keifer (1975: 17).
Bajau nomads back to Semporna after the war and offered incentives to participate in the economy and settle permanently.

In 1963, Britain, anxious to rid herself of excess colonial baggage, dumped the Bornean states of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in the arms of the already independent Federation of Malaya. Together with Singapore they formed the federated state of Malaysia. The ramifications of that event are still being sharply felt in Borneo and play an important part in the situational context of Bajau transformation.

The indigenous and particularly non-Muslim peoples of Sabah and Sarawak reacted negatively to initial proposals of federation with Malaya. They feared domination by the mainland and the intrusion of her communal problems (Ongkili, 1967). In fact the immediate but unacknowledged reason for Malaya's interest in the Bornean states was the necessity of counterbalancing her large 'alien' (predominantly Chinese) population, since Malays did not constitute a majority on the peninsula. On the assumption that indigenous Borneans could be aligned with Malays as bumiputra, 'sons of the soil', their incorporation would guarantee Malay political hegemony. But the cultural landscape of Borneo in no way corresponded to that of Malaya. Ethnic Malays constituted less than 1% of the population of Sabah while less than 37% counted themselves to some degree Muslim (Cobbold Commission, 1962). Moreover, Borneans were intensely proud of their multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic society.

Sabah and Sarawak nevertheless became part of the new state of Malaysia in 1963 and became absorbed in the resolution of the multifarious problems of that post-colonial nation-state. But, despite formal guarantees of the integrity of the Bornean cultures, ensuing political manipulations insured the implementation of a Malayanization program - one aimed at cultural and political homogenization through the imposition of Malay language and fostering of the Islamic religion.

The establishment of a unified national culture is considered a prerequisite to modernization in much of the Third World (Nash, 1959; Apter, 1963; Black, 1967).
But it is not always pointed out that national unity move­ments rarely have or are intended to have an equalizing or truly integrating effect, but rather tend to insure and legitimize the dominance of established interests.

The issue of Malayanization became intimately linked to the exploitation of Sabah's considerable material wealth. The GNP of the state grew by 29% between 1972 and 1973. Timber from the east coast (including the Semporna area) accounted for more than 70% of its export revenue and in 1973 was "equal to 84% of the trade surplus of the eleven states of Peninsular Malaysia" (Burrough, 1974: 33). The granting of lucrative timber concessions to individuals favorably predisposed or acquiescing to government pressures created an elite of nouveaux riches and reinforced a political system of patronage. The elevation of Islamic indigenous groups was a natural consequence of Malayanization policies and the Samal of Semporna (at least those Samal leaders in position to take advantage of this situation) were among the favoured.

As of 1969, it was not yet clear what long-term effect Malayanization policies would have on ethnic relations between Samal and Bajau. On the one hand, power in the hands of local Samal politicians was magnified disproportionately. On the other, considerable political importance was being attached to recruitment of individuals and groups into Islam, and to encouraging the fragmented ethnic minorities of Borneo to view themselves as 'Malay' for state and national political purposes. The overriding importance of absorbing indigènes in the interests of 'Malay unity' was a potential lever for Bajau social mobility.

In 1972 a bitter civil war broke out in the southern Philippines between Muslim secessionists and the national government over long-standing economic and political grievances. The Sabah state government, with traditional cultural and political ties to Sulu and with an ambitious chief minister who saw the advantage of increasing his
Muslim constituency, took in large numbers of refugees (pelarian).

To 1975 some 51,000 refugees had been admitted, increasing the population of Sabah by nearly 10%. They are scattered along the coastal cities and towns and have had a disproportionate impact in these areas. Semporna alone took in 4,900 refugees (November, 1975 Immigration Department Circular, Sabah, Malaysia), adding 25% to its district population of approximately 20,000. Whole new communities have been established in Semporna to accommodate the influx, but many have built, bought or rented houses in pre-existing villages on the coast or nearby islands. The poorer among them are accommodated in the homes of relatives or official 'sponsors', or in their own boats.

The pelarian are a mixed lot. They range from relatively well-to-do Samal and Tausug businessmen, skilled carpenters and craftsmen, to fishermen (usually Bajau and Samal) and a smaller number of subsistence boat-dwellers; some came with large amounts of money and high speed motorized trading launches, others with nothing; some were actually fleeing from fighting, others attracted by economic opportunities in the much more prosperous Sabah (in 1972-73, at the height of its timber boom) were taking advantage of a suddenly relaxed immigration policy. Technically, like any other immigrants, the pelarian must be sponsored (jerminan) and can seek only private employment, but they had been informally accorded special status by the sympathetic state government.

The Bajau village of Bangau-Bangau was already expanding when the refugees came to Semporna. It was a convenient location for settlement, with easy access to town and sea. By 1975, 315 of the 1,442 household residents of the village were refugees, more than half of these being Samal. In addition to 315 refugees, 53 Bajau from the nearby island village of Labuan Haji, 30 Samal from local villages and 32 Bajau who had lived in boats in 1969 have moved into houses in Bangau-Bangau in the last 6 years. If we exclude the former boat-dwellers, who were tacit members of the community before, 36% of the present population are recent immigrants, most of these non-Bajau.

The arrival of the refugees has had important
consequences for the Bajau of Bangau-Bangau. First, refugee settlement in the formerly segregated Bajau village reduced the ability of Samal townspeople to define a separate and inferior identity for the Bajau. Second, the consequent size and ethnic adulteration of the village militates against any future community level organization based on ethnic identification. It must be noted however that the direction of change up to that point predisposed the Bajau to offer no organized resistance to immigration and the ethnic boundary destruction which ensued. 8

8 Original villagers are ambivalent in their reaction to the new situation. The distrust and discomfort of rubbing shoulders with still condescending members of the subordinating ethnic groups is countered somewhat by the recognition and cosmopolitan air they consider the village to have acquired.
CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The adoption of a competitive acquisitive ideology and the disintegration of traditional social structures is a common theme in the literature of contemporary social change. Many have argued that these are inevitable concomitants of incorporation into an international economic system which drastically transformed the ends and means against which traditional goals and economizing strategies now had to be measured.

Under the aegis of 'modernization' studies, sociologists have given far more attention to asserting abstract correlates of change by analogy with Western experience than to explaining transformative processes themselves. An emphasis on achievement as opposed to ascription - on individual initiative uninhibited by constraints of kinship or social obligation - represents the psycho-social core of the syndrome commonly attached to 'modern' development (Lerner, 1958; Hagen, 1962; McClelland, 1962; Moore, 1963; Smelser, 1964; Levy, 1967). The interaction between conscious and unconscious processes that brings about such transformations receives superficial treatment, while teleological and Western-modelled assumptions of the inevitable march of 'progress' and 'rationality' are left

Critiques by Gusfield (1967), Tipps (1973) and Shiner (1975) among others have demonstrated the ethnocentrism and lack of conceptual clarity plaguing the use of the term 'modernization'. Where it is used in this thesis, it is no more than a shorthand generalization for social transformations taking place in a particular historical context - that is, transformations under the pressures and conditions created by the international market economy, the industrial productive system and the intrusion of the historically associated cultural packages and knowledge systems of the West. No assumptions are made regarding the necessary adoption of a determinate pattern in response to these pervasive forces.

Similarly, 'traditional' is a convenient reference to the pre-capitalist patterns of the society under consideration. It does not carry the connotations of 'static' or 'backward' sometimes attached to the term in this context; nor can the associated characteristics be assumed antithetic to 'modern' social change.
to suffice for explanation of the phenomenon.\(^2\)

The failure to incorporate a diachronic dimension except in terms of stereotyped 'stages' has contributed to our very weak understanding of the dynamics of change. I cannot pretend here to do more than present one small scale case of social transformation. It is hoped, nevertheless, that this account might contribute to some future general explanation of the transition ... from primitive, tribal societies to new forms of society including a class structure, whether embryonic or well-developed and in which the old principles of reciprocity and redistribution either disappear or no longer play the same role (Godelier, 1972: 294).

I subscribe to Godelier's proposition that a fusing of synchronic and diachronic analysis (of structure and event) is essential to the task. Similarly, a major concern has been the relationship between conscious and unconscious processes (his 'rules' and 'laws') in change. While much of the thesis is devoted to describing the historical processes of structural change, particularly in the sphere of economic activity and related social organization, the concluding chapters focus on the interrelation between expressed Bajau perceptions and attitudes to change and the structural conditions in which these operate.

The initial thesis proposal was quite different in conception from the final product and it seems worth outlining the theoretical evolution which accompanied the search for a coherent and comprehensive approach to an

\(^2\) A classic example is Lerner's (1958) The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East. In it he concludes that modernization is virtually equivalent to Westernization since "the same basic model reappears in virtually all modernizing societies ... Western society still provides the most developed model of societal attributes (power, wealth, skill, rationality) which Middle East spokesmen continue to advocate as their own goal" (1958: 47).
interpretation of change among the Bajau. The main purpose of the thesis remained the same throughout - to describe the process of transformation as experienced by the Bajau laut of northeast Borneo and to place it in a theoretical context without artificially suppressing the complexity of their situation.

Balandier (1970: 193-94) has charged that sociology and anthropology can no longer distort reality by failing to take into account the full complexity and temporal depth of a social field in the misconceived interests of 'rigour'. The complexities of change phenomena in particular do not permit analysis of artificially isolated elements. The Bajau case raised all the issues ordinarily associated with studies of minorities, stratification, culture change, modernization and political economy. The obvious difficulty was to find a framework sufficiently open to allow all these questions to be considered.

From the first, the question of the most compelling personal interest was the villagers' own articulately expressed conceptions of change. It was this concern with their ideology of change and a more general interest in ethnic identity movements as active forces in social transformation that led me to look at the notion of 'consciousness' as a potential organizing theme for the thesis.

The initial context for pursuing the question of the transformation of Bajau 'consciousness' was that of inter-ethnic relations and changes in the economic and social boundaries within which these had been defined and conducted. In particular the convergence between Schermerhorn's (1970) determinants of ethnic integration and conflict and Marx's conditions for the emergence of an active class consciousness suggested a synthesis which might encompass the whole range of self-defined purveyors of emancipation movements (ethnic, caste, sex, as well as explicitly class) so significant in the 20th century:

We also need a theoretical perspective which would redefine the concept of 'class' so as to provide a general account of the processes whereby individuals and groups come to define their larger selves in terms of certain characteristics and not others in different situations (Foster-Carter, 1973: 27).
To elaborate briefly, Schermerhorn seeks to account for 'modes of integration and conflict' between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups in a society primarily through the relationship between two structural variables, 'enclosure' and 'dominant group control over scarce values'; and one historical variable, 'activation' (1970: viii, 15, 125-31). Schermerhorn defines enclosure as 'the dimension of structural pluralism' (p. 131), and '... exclusiveness of social participation regulated by institutional rules and standards of each cultural unit' (p. 125). Indices of enclosure include ecological concentration, endogamy, institutional duplication, degree of economic self-sufficiency and rigidity and clarity of group definition. Activation is 'intensified participation' (p. 130) which can be brought on either by some inherent drive within a system or by an intrusive event. In either case it tends to make old contradictions more visible and pressing as well as to create new ones.

Schermerhorn's hypotheses regarding interethnic relations are less relevant to the focus of this thesis than the analytical tools provided by these concepts. For Marx it was only under industrial capitalism when increased concentration of labourers in the factory and their loss of control of the means of production would enable class consciousness to emerge (German Ideology, 1940: 24-25). These conditions are remarkably analogous to Schermerhorn's two structural variables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marx's conditions for emergence of class consciousness</th>
<th>Schermerhorn's conditions for intensified inter-ethnic conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concentration of labourers</td>
<td>Enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physically in the workplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- psychologically by progressive elimination of old middle-class (artisans and intellectuals) and growing clarity of distinction between owners and non-owners of means of production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalist control of means of production</td>
<td>Dominant ethnic group control of scarce values: cultural and material</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both conceptualizations attempt to grapple with the dialectical interaction between vertical and horizontal relationships in stratified societies and their differential and contradictory implications for group definition and social action.

Also relevant to this synthetic effort to link structure and consciousness is W. F. Wertheim's contention that 'counterpoint' value systems are prevalent in all societies. He argues (1974: 106) that only by taking into account the subjective instability of value orientations can dynamic social processes be understood. Presumably it remains for the sociologist to search out the conditions under which countervailing systems may come to the fore. It seems plausible to argue that the degree of enclosure (whether imposed from the outside or constructed from the inside) would be correlated with the strength of the counterpoint value system subscribed to by the subordinate group and that a more generalized theory utilizing these concepts could help to explain the emergence of collectively self-conscious formations beside 'classes', strictly defined, as vehicles for social change.

In any stratified system (whether ethnic, class or sex) there exists a dialectical tension between dominant-group control of scarce values and resources (vertical relationship) and the enclosure (horizontal relationship) of the dominant and subordinate groups. In other words, there is a need to prohibit access to dominant group advantages, while maintaining the subordinate group contribution (economic, procreational, etc.) to the system - to keep the latter both out and in at the same time.

Although sheer power may provide the initial accommodation, ultimate stabilization of the relationship must

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3 This adds a psychological dimension to Schermerhorn's basically institutional concept of enclosure. The relation between the dimensions should be seen as reciprocal - propagation of counter-values increasing structural enclosure as much as vice versa. For example, feminism and black nationalism have intensified perceptions of enclosure and in the process have increased the participation of numbers of women and blacks respectively in more distinctly enclosed economic and political organizations (lobbies, cooperatives, militant tactical groups, etc.).
be mediated by ideological legitimation. This, most simply put, is the synchronic picture of stratified relations - one quite frequently posed by functionalist sociology and legitimately accused of being static. But if the 'counterpoint' and 'activation' concepts are added to the model, dynamics can be reintroduced. The legitimating ideology may dominate the system, but never totally encompass or consistently represent it by virtue of the contradiction inherent in the very relationship it must justify. Counterpoints are ideational representations of perceived contradictions and are inevitable (although suppressed in varying degrees) in any hierarchical relation (Wertheim, 1974: 99). Activation may be the long term working out of these contradictory relations or external events which make manifest or place additional stress on them.

Fig. 2:1 is a representation across time of the impact of activating variables on the traditional Bajau-Samal accommodation. The Bajau ethnic-caste group was traditionally characterized by a high degree of enclosure: ecologically their domain was the sea; the land was the exclusive province of Samal and Tausug. Bajau were completely endogamous and capable of near economic self-sufficiency. Their identity was clearly defined by their boat-living, associated secondary characteristics (material poverty, physique, dialect variation), and their animistic beliefs. The necessity or desirability of provisions such as fresh water, vegetables and cloth obtainable from the land, as well as protection in certain periods from marauding groups, were factors which prevented completely independent subsistence and perfect enclosure. Material necessities were traditionally obtained through simple exchange or the establishment of limited clientage relationships with landed Tausug or Samal. Relatively high Bajau enclosure was accompanied by passive accommodation to Samal dominance and a low level of interaction limited to essential economic transactions.
FIGURE 2:1 FACTORS AFFECTING BAJAU-SAMAL INTERGROUP RELATIONS

1945

DOMINANT GROUP (SAMAL)
CONTROL OF SCARCE
ECONOMY (BAJAU)
VALUES: POWER,
PRESTIGE, LAND

NEW TECHNOLOGY

EMPLOYMENT
OCCUPATION
(WAGE LABOUR)

LOSS OF
CONTROL OF
MEANS OF
PRODUCTION

NEW STATUS
ASYMPTOMS:
WEALTH, RELIGION
HOUSE/LAND

1960

ENCLOSURE

(bajau)
PARIAH STATUS-PASSIVE
ACCOMMODATION WITH SAMAL

1965

1970

NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIP

POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP
The two exogenous variables accounting for 'activation' of the Bajau group are:

A) The introduction of new technology which had the effect of hooking them into a monetary economy, at first in the pursuit of traditional ends and later, of new goals and identification symbols. Initially it was the outboard engine that had the most dramatic effect on their situation. It provided far more security and independence than was previously possible. It created the necessity for cash and the preconditions for competitive relations:

In the past we were one people - it is too bad. Now people go it alone. With engines - we're always running (Tiling, 1969: F/H).

B) The historical development of colonialism and nationalism had several extremely important consequences for the Bajau. National boundaries inhibited their traditional migration patterns and the introduction of citizenship regulations created the first significant differentiations within the group. Modernization policies (closely bound to the first variable) brought taxes, wage labour and seemingly limitless consumption possibilities for those who had cash. Finally, a national and state 'Malayanization' program aimed at homogenizing the language, culture and religion of indigenous ethnic sub-groups was initiated. The potential of these policies to transcend the caste distinction between Bajau and Samal was counteracted by the fact that implementation tended to be carried out through existing local power structures.

These activating variables obviously had the effect of breaking down Bajau enclosure. At the same time, the relative significance of Samal control of scarce rewards (both material and cultural) increased. When approached from this perspective of inter-ethnic relations, the most obvious contradiction to emerge was that between the new economic base of those Bajau involved in wage labour and cash accumulation, the mobility aspirations this inspired, and the traditional political and social subordination to the Samal which previous ethnic enclosure and nomadism had once mitigated. As economic change progressed and sensitivity to their low social status increased, Bajau-Samal relations became problematic and required new accommodation.
At that point my primary object was to see how the new accommodation, brought on by modification or rigidification of old caste (prestige-power) lines would affect internal Bajau communal organization and identification. It was hypothesized that the strength of the Bajau counterpoint perspective (i.e. ethnic identity and alternative value system) and the degree of stress on promoting collective development would correspond to Samal resistance against Bajau mobility pressure. At this extreme end of the continuum of possible Bajau-Samal readjustment, a reinforcement of horizontal ethnic-caste boundaries would be correlated with a mobilization of new found group resources, material and organizational, for obtaining separately defined goals.

At the other extreme, a strategy of non-resistance or cooptation by the Samal would be expected to result in structural and cultural incorporation of the Bajau, and the elimination of alternative value systems based on common ethnic identity. At the same time the growing economic differences within the community would be exaggerated, with internally stratified and exploitative relationships supplanting former egalitarian principles. (See Fig. 2:2)

Patterns already emerging in 1969 indicated a strong tendency among the Bajau in this latter direction, toward the assimilation end of the continuum. The shift in house construction patterns (See Maps II and III) toward the land was symbolic of the general community reorientation. Patterns of social organization also corresponded to those suggested by the model. Several successful families among the Bajau spoke of applying to sponsor, i.e. indenture, poorer Bajau boat-dwellers from the parent Philippine community of Sitangkai who could otherwise not legally enter Sabah. One particularly ambitious villager approached local immigration officials and politicians in an effort to establish himself as compradore in a scheme to bring a fleet of Bajau boat-dwellers into the country as the basis for a commercial fishing enterprise. It is interesting

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4 Although, class-oriented counterpoint values would be expected to emerge ultimately when these lines became more clearly drawn and apparently rigid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samal Response</th>
<th>Consequences for Bajau organization and consciousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Samal pressure to reimpose political and social enclosure based on traditional caste definitions. New economic sanctions.</td>
<td>A. Mobilization: Use of new resources for obtaining separate goals; tendency to collective development; strong group identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Retention of political and social enclosure but with limited effect on Bajau economic mobility.</td>
<td>B. Communal Reorganization: Stratified communal reorganization; community betterment projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Cooptation of upwardly mobile Bajau by Samal elite.</td>
<td>C. Compradore: Upper-strata Bajau-Samal alliance; upwardly mobile Bajau become conduit for exploitation of the group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Non-resistance to Bajau aspirations.</td>
<td>D. Assimilation: Incorporation of Bajau at differential class-status levels; cultural absorption of Bajau into Samal or larger Malayan identity and value-system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
that his rebuff was followed by a previously unparalleled interest in village betterment. In the following weeks, he actively involved himself in the school issue and initiated an ultimately successful petition requesting the extension of public fresh water facilities to the village. Such organizational efforts had no precedent in the village at that time and to my knowledge nothing in that vein was ever attempted by the village headman. These actions suggested the possibility of a reversal of the more apparent tendency toward non-collective development and assimilationism under the conditions posed by the model. Comparative examples of the enclosure/collective solidarity theme are provided by Donaghue's (1957) study of the social persistence of an outcaste Eta community in Japan and Tonkinson's (1974) study of the consolidation of an Aboriginal Australian community insulated by mutually reinforced stereotypes operating between themselves and white missionaries.

Events which occurred between 1969 and 1975 interfered with whatever 'natural' direction Bajau-Samal inter-ethnic relations might have taken. The heterogeneity of Bangau-Bangau village which resulted from the settlement of large numbers of refugees (pelarian) from the southern Philippines including Bajau, Samal and Tausug blurred the ethnic character of the village and the ease of stigmatizing Bajau laut as well. Certainly the possibility of re-imposed 'enclosure' on a caste basis (which was in their case impossible without continued segregation) had to be excluded as a possible outcome. With it the possibility of

5 Like the Bajau, the Eta of Japan have no biologically distinguishing features. Their new social and occupational characteristics no longer fit the traditional stereotype. Yet outcaste status persists so long as residential segregation and the security it provides, enables identification (Donaghue, 1957).
mobilization based on ethnic identity would, by the original theoretical formulation, have to be eliminated.

Aside from the difficulties posed by intrusive events, more serious deficiencies in the capacity of the original perspective to explain fundamental aspects of the Bajau response to change became apparent. Framed in terms of inter-ethnic relations, the original approach was inadequate to explain the dominant feature of the new Bajau 'consciousness' - an emphasis on competitive individualism not modelled on any cultural value of indigenous ethnic groups and already articulately espoused by the Bajau in 1969 before any apparent modification in their low social status took place.

It was clear that a certain aspect of the new Bajau consciousness transcended ethnic terms of reference, the traditional cultural values of their relevant reference group (Samal), and my theoretical perspective in the process. During the second field trip, I became again interested in the more direct links between economic base and ideology posed by Marx:

> It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness (Preface, Critique of Political Economy, 1970: 21).

It was not until later, on reading Maurice Godelier's Rationality and Irrationality in Economics that the pieces began to come together and the possibility of analysing both cultural identity and the ideology of individualism within a single framework became evident.

Along with that of cultural ecology, the Marxist school of anthropology has made a promising contribution to our understanding of the internal integration of the economic with other aspects of social life - cultural, political, etc. - in various historical social formations. The related problems of the transition from the domination of one mode of production to another in a society, and their empirical coexistence and interaction have been major issues for Marxist writers such as Althusser and Balibar (1970), Meillasoux (1972) and Godelier (1972, 1974). Their formulations stress the domination of different historical systems by different structures of the social formation: for example, the kinship system among classless
hunter-gatherers; the politico-religious system in hierarchical state societies; money and the market in capitalist formations. The rationality or necessity of this domination by one structure or another is sought in the type of social relations demanded by the material conditions of existence (the economic) in a given social instance.

The Marxist perspective provides a larger and more satisfactory framework for explaining Bajau transformation. It poses a new set of questions for analysis: how did changes in social relations and consciousness correspond to the transformation of the Bajau economic base and how, in turn, did these influence the direction of that change? What historical and structural factors accounted for the particular pattern of socio-economic change experienced by the Bajau laut? And what implications may be drawn from their case for a general theory of social change?

This reorientation does not dispense with the original question of ethnic consciousness or the concepts of enclosure, activation, etc. which were elaborated to explain it. It will be argued that the articulation of distinct modes of consciousness characterize social formations as do different modes of production. The political-cultural ethic based on religion and ecological divisions which integrated the traditional Sulu hierarchy continues to find expression in Bajau attitudes and values. The status considerations these generated certainly were a prime force motivating Bajau mobility aspirations. But these coexisted with a distinct ideology of economic rationality that reflects the fundamental shift in the organizing principle of society which the term 'modernization' has come to imply.

With the division of labour, the separation of production from consumption units and of labour from the means of production, as well as the correlative pervasion of general-purpose money, the economic for the first time has been isolated from other aspects of social life (Godelier, 1972: 301-2). By 1969 the organizing principle of the new Bajau way of life had become economic maximization, the optimum allocation of money resources by each individual. Economic 'rationality' came to supersede the wider social
rationality of traditional systems. Yet this development
did not preclude the attractiveness of parochial ethnic
and religious idioms which, modernization theorists would
lead us to expect, should have declined in potency.

Without rejecting the potential utility of the ori­
ginal proposal in explaining identity formation under
certain conditions, I feel that an interpretation based on
productive relations rather than inter-ethnic relations is
fundamentally more comprehensive and has greater potential
for explaining the complex and contradictory processes of
social change and consciousness formation among the Bajau.

If, following Marx, consciousness is embedded in
(arising out of and interacting with) other aspects of
social structure, it is imperative to begin our analysis
of Bajau transformation with changes in Bajau economic and
social organization. Chapter Three provides an overview
of the structural characteristics of traditional Bajau
society and attempts to present, in both synchronic and
diachronic dimensions, the changes in these patterns in
Bangau-Bangau village to 1969. Chapter Four concentrates
on the economic forms and organizational consequences
which followed on these developments. Finally, Chapter
Five and the conclusion return to the questions raised
here regarding consciousness in Bajau social transformation.
Notes on Research Method

External constraints, role definitions of the researcher as well as personal involvement in the community and philosophical perspective significantly influenced the way data was collected and interpreted for the thesis. Important differences resulted from the contexts in which the 1969 and 1975 information was collected.

In the earlier period, sociological investigation was not the primary focus of activity. My husband and I were contracted to teach for two years (1968 and 1969) in the Semporna Secondary School. Our interest in the Bajau village of Bangau-Bangau grew out of a friendship with the two Bajau students in the school. For the first year we continued to live at the school, learning the Bajau language and visiting the village. Our decision to move into the community the second year was prompted by a mixture of academic interest in their way of life, preference for a different life style and concern for the obvious educational disadvantage and social exclusion they experienced.

The early research evolved out of our attempts to establish a role for ourselves in the village and to make some sense of the myriad contradictions around us. As teachers and 'Europeans' we could find no readily accepted explanation for choosing to live in the village. It was fortunate that we had been preceded in 1964 by an anthropologist whose activities established ready-made role expectations. Note-taking began in earnest when one woman chided us for failing to demonstrate our seriousness about learning their language and ways by carrying a notebook 'like Sather did'.

Still, information collection remained subsidiary from our point of view to the experience of living there. We taught reading to children on weekends, accompanied people to the hospital and joined in gossip and political discussions. We did not assume the role of 'neutral observers' and were directly (if naively) involved in attempts to organize political action aimed at getting a school for the village. We were, I believe, primarily neighbours and friends to those who knew us well, as they certainly were to us.

Our information gathering grew and became more
systematic as the sources of the problems of the community became more clear. As time went on, villagers more freely expressed themselves about exploitation by those on the land, their desires for a more respectable identity and better material life.

The complexity of their situation was intellectually and emotionally compelling. Throughout the year we kept a diary of events, comments and impressions. Later we started a notebook on topics such as the jerminan (indenture) system, village organization, wage-labour, etc. In the last few months we began doing open-ended interviews with house and boat-dwelling people.

Interviews in 1969 were unstructured, although discussion inevitably centered around change. No standard sampling technique was used. Beyond the 15 or so families known to us well, interviewees were selected at random. In fact, the interview process became an important means of getting to know villagers with whom we might otherwise have had only passing contact. On both parts it was an enjoyable, even entertaining, experience. Note-taking was open and expected. Complemented by information supplied by outsiders (hospital doctor, assistant head of P.W.D., local politicians), I am confident that the early data on which much of this thesis is based was comprehensive and reliable.

In many respects, because of the period of time spent in the village and the spontaneity of information offered, the 1969 data has important advantages over the later material. The day-to-day involvement in the community sensitized us to the 'personal meanings' within which social action occurred. As Bruyn remarks, "society must be understood in terms of inwardly felt social bonds, the sense of community and the personal demands of reciprocity which exist among people living together" (Bruyn, 1966: 90, my emphasis), or, in the Bajau case, their subjective perception of the loss of these. Also indispensable to understanding the Bajau situation as a minority group was the perspective gained from the outside looking in, as teachers in the predominantly Samal secondary school in Semporna.

Despite more severe restraints in the subsequent restudy, attempts were made to obtain data as comparable
as possible to this early material. Limitations of time and the sensitivity of the project posed serious problems in 1975. It was possible to extend our stay in Sabah for only six weeks, of which the first two were largely absorbed in regaining language facility. Focus remained on the broad pattern of developments rather than a single aspect as it was neither possible nor desirable to reduce change to any significant single dimension which could be conveniently studied in detail. Nevertheless imbalances inevitably resulted from these constraints. More comprehensive information on kinship, for example, to determine the limits of its influence on developing economic forms might have proved valuable.

The Sabah government has not been sympathetic to outside research for some time. Questions of cultural imperialism, economic exploitation and minority status are inevitably sensitive issues, but impossible to avoid in this study. Having already established local ties with students and neighbours from our previous stay helped in gaining confidence, but the discretion with which these subjects had to be approached put statistical substantiation of certain data out of the question.

The level of in and out-migration since 1969 (see Chapter One) was such that a decision had to be made as to what group(s) were to be included in the restudy. A household survey was conducted including all residents of the village, regardless of ethnic background or length of residence, to obtain general population information and place interview data in perspective; but for the sake of comparability intensive research was concentrated on those villagers who had resided in Bangau-Bangau in 1969.

The theoretical framework of the thesis focuses on the interrelation between changes in economic base, social organization and ideology. Data collection in 1975 was aimed at gauging the extent of internal stratification, the type of relationships (corporate, dependency, individualist) associated with it; and individual perceptions of the choices and values to which the community apparently subscribed. Throughout, the impact of external impingements were taken into consideration, although these could only be assessed through observation and informal conversation
with local Samal bureaucrats and politicians and Chinese shopkeepers.

Webb and Campbell (1966: 3) and later Denzin (1970: 26) stress that any one sociological method is grounded by its own peculiar bias and inevitably excludes potentially relevant dimensions. Only by triangulation, the combination of multiple methods in research design, can inherent methodological weaknesses be systematically counterbalanced. With lack of time placing limits on the use of participant observation techniques and the lack of 'openness' on the subject of inquiry affecting the content of individual responses, a variety of techniques were all the more necessary in order to obtain a wide range of information and to verify data. Observation, survey, semi-structured interview and the use of informants were employed.

a) Participant observation unfortunately played a much less important role in the 1975 research than previously. Nevertheless it was invaluable in checking expressed values and attitudes against behaviour and in verifying some of the information obtained in interviews. For example, when a fish dealer gave his income as $100 a month, but regularly had a number of sacks of dried fish (each worth more than that amount) in front of his house awaiting shipment, a second interview or resort to other informants was necessary. Such inconsistencies could not have been picked up without day-to-day personal involvement in the community.

b) A survey was conducted and a map made of the village during the first two weeks with the assistance of a Bajau research assistant. This was aimed as much at gaining some orientation to the village (now radically changed), as at obtaining gross statistical data. The following information was obtained for each household: name of owner; number of residents (adult males, adult females, and children); name, sex, occupation and income (where possible) of every working person in the household; connection to electricity and water facilities; name of owner and type of any productive resource (boat, shop, car, etc.); number of refugees living in the household. Information on kin relationship of household members was not solicited as this was thought to be too time-consuming.
Too, it was questionable whether such data would have contributed to any meaningful interpretation. Given the tremendous latitude in traditional marriage and residence practice, statistical significance would have been difficult to establish for whatever shifts might have taken place in such a short period of time.

c) Thirty semi-structured interviews were attempted which varied considerably in depth and degree of formality.\(^6\) No effort to obtain a random sample was made. Firth (1966: 360) notes the difficulties of using a true random sample in studying fishing economies. It is all the more problematic when the type of fishing requires long periods away and has become mixed with other economic forms as among the Bajau. According to Firth the researcher

must decide what facts out of the bewildering flow that is passing before his eyes, are most likely to give the key to the economic processes and concentrate upon those ... It is preferable [to random sampling] to attempt to cover selected groups or units intensively, over long periods, and set the results against their known circumstances and general background.

Since much of the interview was concerned with attitudes and values, the ability to establish rapport and weight the validity of responses was an important criterion. The assumption was made that discussion would be more open and less guarded with those who had lived in Bangau-Bangau in 1969 when we first stayed there. Familiarity with the researcher had the added advantage of providing a time dimension against which respondents could frame their responses ('since you were here last ...'). As the primary objective in sampling was to obtain data for comparative and supplementary purposes, as many as possible of the original informants were sought out. Many of them had earlier expressed very strong ideas about change and it was considered important to find out how time and differential individual goal-accomplishment had affected these.

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\(^6\) The English translation of questions raised in the interviews can be found in Appendix II. The precise order was not always followed, nor were all questions covered in every interview.
Another important criterion in the selection of respondents was social mobility itself. Individuals in those strata assumed to be the most and least affected by change, both in life-style and ideas (that is, the entrepreneurs at the one end of the spectrum and boat-dwelling fishermen at the other) were intentionally over-represented in the sample.

With these major criteria satisfied, an effort was made in the remaining interviews to include representatives of other significant groupings for comparison. Figure 2:3 is a breakdown of the thirty primary respondents’ social characteristics.7

All interviews were carried out in the Bajau dialect by my husband and myself. It was certain that the use of a Bajau assistant would negatively influence free expression on sensitive subjects and that the necessary degree of flexibility in interviewing would not be possible. Regular sessions with an English speaking assistant helped iron out difficulties in interpreting statements and questions of meaning that occasionally arose. Recording of interviews on tape would have been preferable for the sake of precision, but was not adopted since it might have caused discomfort to those less assured of our motives. Note-taking was less problematic because it was customarily associated with the European role-set. Still, this acceptance was not unconditional. We were frequently questioned in detail: "Are you writing a book," "What is the purpose of this question," etc. Probing for information on income, power relations and status could hardly seem to them as innocuous as obtaining kinship information.

Studies under the aegis of 'ethnomethodology' (Garfinkel, 1967; Turner, 1974) have among other things sensitized social scientists to the holes in their evidence. Vague reactions, the unwillingness or inability of individuals to provide information must be analyzed as data in

7 This information describes the characteristics of the primary respondent in any single interview (most often the head of household). Other members of the household were invariably present during the interview and contributed substantially to the discussion. No two of the thirty primary respondents are from the same household unit.
Figure 2:3 Distribution of Characteristics of the Thirty Respondents Interviewed in 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40 years</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60 years</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avowed Muslim</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslim</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajau</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence Period</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident of Bangau-Bangau in 1969</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-Migrant since 1969</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Respondents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewed in 1969</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not previously interviewed</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
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Itself. M.C. Ward's study of language learning among rural black Americans concentrated on the structural significance of what their children didn't say. As Ward's study makes clear: "What a given person refuses to say, when and why, is as much a part of the data as is a fairly predictable standard answer" (1971: 14-15).

The quality of these thirty interviews varied considerably, reflecting in some cases social distance from
the researcher or sensitivity of the subject matter. On a number of occasions topics had to be dropped when discussion was causing discomfort or responses were evasive. It was sometimes possible to fill in missing data through observation or from comments volunteered by others. As the purpose of the interviews was rather qualitative than quantitative, incomplete interviews were not discarded.

In other cases, unresponsiveness was apparently the consequence of the meaninglessness of certain concepts and issues. This was typical of some of the interviews with boat-dwellers in 1975. 'Si-ta'a' (who knows) was a common response to questions on change and the future, revealing in itself of the increasingly more limited participation of the fishing/boatdwelling Bajau in the processes affecting the rest of the community.

Finally, the terseness of Bajau linguistic and cultural style has its effects on the richness of subjective data. It was not uncommon to get two-word or single-phrase responses to the most open-ended of questions. Pressing for elaboration was not always successful and there was the danger of pre-structuring answers. Brevity was often compensated by the power and succinctness of statements and the patterns that emerge when responses are analyzed together.

d) Informants played important roles in verifying data and in supplementing observation, survey and interview material. The most valuable informants were: the family of the Chinese shopkeeper in Semporna who had dealt with the Bajau for decades and now supplies some of the retail goods for the new Bajau-owned shops in the village; the local immigration officer who provided information on the refugee situation and changing Bajau citizenship position; and, within the village, our former student and language instructor (now working in a clerical capacity for the Public Works Department), whose background knowledge was indispensable in reconciling occasional contradictions in the data, in supplying information about sub rosa business and political happenings that would never have come out in the interviews and in checking and correcting any questionable translations.
The necessity of triangulation of methods in enabling cross-confirmation cannot be stressed too much. The complementarity of the material collected in the two periods in addition permits confidence that despite the deficiencies pointed out, particularly those resulting from the sensitivity of the economic and ideological questions raised, its interpretation is premised on reliable data. More important, is the subjective experience of community involvement.

Out of concern for a practical and committed social science, Gerrit Huizer emphasizes the importance of 'experiential knowledge' and 'evaluation from within'. He suggests that informal, personal and empathetic involvement is prerequisite for genuine understanding of a people and their situation:

This play-it-by-ear technique was the appropriate method -- the only one in which I was not academically trained -- which worked, when I went for the first time to work in a small village in El Salvador ... (1976: 6)

Being accepted as an insider 'on the right side' was sometimes a conditio sine qua non for getting even the most basic information correctly ... (p. 10)

Huizer, along with a growing number of social scientists, rejects the 'neutral-observer' role in research since it negates the possibility of real understanding. Active involvement in village social and political affairs has influenced my interpretive framework and the character and quality of the data in no small way.
The economic base of Neolithic society had no necessary
ite-independence character—neither was a commercial rela-
ship or factor. The Neolithic economy was based on the
extension of the agricultural techniques of local wild
hunters. The staple food of Neolithic hunters was, for
example, the primary quest of animals. They were dif-
ter similarly to the wild species of the hunter at least now
sail. Taylor (1975: 277) lists four ways of obtaining
edible items in use in India at that time. The Neolithic
were known for their ability to stuff
themselves and to create a kind of synthetic, non-
natural fish point and, ultimately, a fish poacher. The
people also used the fact that during periods when movements of large mammals that
could be exploited, and
in some cases, even by the
beaver, these could be caught by a fish or a bear's
mold. The catch was divided equally among the people of the society

The Neolithic age was an undetermined age of societies with
villages in shallow valleys. It was an age of capturing and
enabling land from the sea, the preservation of the world. The Neolithic age started with
hunting-gathering and, as a result, a dependence on others for the
gathering means of food.

The Neolithic, however, were probably not out themselves
for long periods and had always enjoyed an association with
land and sea (land and sea). For example, the Neolithic
occurred and occasionally vegetable food included.

In the sixth and fifth millennium, where agricultural
villages (gathering of plants) began to appear and
were for the first time, the exchange of the Neolithic
China trade. From the boat the Neolithic trade began, a firm stand of the
people from, Asian systems to tropical and Western Asia.
Above this amount an exploitative exchange system was

PART II
Economic Base

The economic base of Bajau society had been marked by its subsistence character -- although not by extreme hardship or famine. Traditional technology was largely an extension of the extractive techniques of land-based hunter-gatherers. The spear (made of sharpened bamboo), for example, the primary means of catching fish until recently, is similar to the chief weapon of the hunter of land animals. Taylor (1931: 477) lists only two other fishing techniques in use in Sulu at that time: stupefaction, using crushed leaves which excrete a kind of poison; and the communal fish drive, magambit. The magambit took place during periods when movements of large schools of fish could be exploited, and involved as many as one hundred boats. These surrounded a school of fish which were caught in nets made of bark or speared as the boats closed in. The catch was divided equally among the participating boats.

The Bajau made use of underwater snares to catch crustaceans living in shallow water burrows -- a common method of capturing small burrowing land animals in many parts of the world. The Bajau also shared with land-dwelling hunter-gatherers a dependence on drying as the primary means of preservation of food.

The Bajau, however, were probably not self-sufficient for long periods and have always engaged in barter with land-dwellers (Samal and Tausug) for provision of water, cassava and occasionally vegetables to supplement their diet. It was to this sphere of relations that Bajau interaction with other groups has been strictly limited.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, their procurement activities (gathering of tripang, giant clam, turtle egg and diving for pearls) provided one of the mainstays of Sulu's China trade. From the little documentary evidence available it appears that Tausug datu received a fixed amount of sea produce from Bajau clients as tributary tax (Warren, 1975). Above this amount an exploitative exchange system was
operative by which pieces of cloth or tobacco, of markedly lesser value than the produce provided, were given to the Bajau headman for distribution. This system degenerated with the weakening of the Sultanate in the late 19th century, but certain aspects of the dependency relationship have re-emerged and persist into the present.

With the decline of the Sultanate and the imposition of European colonial power over its domain, Chinese merchant-traders began to play an increasingly significant role in the local trade. They soon attracted the surplus productivity of the Bajau fishermen that had formerly been absorbed by the datus. It was the Chinese who initiated innovations in Bajau fishing technology that ultimately drew them into the money economy.

Early trading relations were conducted by barter and frequently provisions were advanced by the Chinese merchant, for which he received the surplus in dried fish. Usually a permanent cycle was established of debt and repayment. But as dependence on trade goods and more and more sophisticated equipment grew, money became an essential commodity. In 1969 a mixed system of cash and credit/advance transactions operated between shopkeepers and their Bajau clients (Interviews with Chong Kee Pan and Koh Pak Seng, 1969).

Metal harpoon-points, commercial fish hooks, kerosene lanterns for night fishing, cotton (later nylon) cord for netting and salt for preserving, made fishing activities more productive. But it was the introduction of the small 2½ h.p. outboard engine in the early 1960s which brought the most radical changes in Bajau fishing technology. The engine eliminated dependence on wind and sail, made longer-distance fishing for market practicable, reduced fear of open sea and 'piracy', and generally increased the independence of the Bajau fisherman.

Line fishing eventually superseded other methods. Several respondents in the Bajau village attributed the decline in practice of magambit, the collective fish drives, to the widespread adoption of the engine. There is certainly a chronological correlation between the two. In 1960 only one Bajau family was said by respondents to have owned an engine; by 1969 every fishing boat was equipped with one. The last reported magambit was organized in 1964.
The abandonment of large-scale cooperative fishing reflects not only the tremendous influence of the engine on Bajau organization but also the concomitant rise of wage earning, ultimately to displace the subsistence base of the traditional Bajau economy.

Obviously each new technological improvement had the effect of increasing investment in equipment and drawing the Bajau further and further outside a subsistence economy and beyond self-reliance. A petromax lantern then cost $25M; 1 sufficient nylon cord for a large net could run as high as $200M; and a 2½ h.p. engine cost from $500-700M. All were luxuries a decade ago, necessities now.

The engine can be seen paradoxically as the symbol of the transition from subsistence/barter to wage/money economy. Not uncommonly in pre-capitalist societies, the initial attraction of a new technological element is as an additional or alternative means to some traditional end. Secondary ramifications are rarely foreseen, though frequently revolutionary in their ultimate social consequences.

... in the majority of situations involving contemporary technological change, the effect on the local population includes an increase in felt needs for cash incomes, usually accompanied by a corresponding erosion of the subsistence economy (Pelto and Russell, 1972: 322).

A Bajau fisherman could most readily obtain the large cash outlay the engine required by hiring himself out for day labour, the 'event' launching the transformative process.

A structure has the property of tolerating and 'digesting' certain types of event up to a certain point and time when it is the event that digests the structure (Godelier, 1972: 310).

The previous articulation of the Bajau subsistence economy to a commercial one through Tausug patrons or Chinese merchants did not subvert their internal social structure while productive relations remained firmly embedded in the Bajau social context. Even where money was acquired it does not seem to have taken on a 'general purpose', or universal exchange character.

1 Figures throughout the thesis are given in Malaysian dollars and have roughly a $5M to $1A exchange value.
Taylor (1931: 535) alleges that there was "such a thing as wealth among them -- the more affluent headmen being able to display as much as three thousand pesos in gold and silver upon the occasion of weddings or other important festivities." Yet he describes no social or material differentiation among the boat-dwellers and makes repeated (if slightly derogatory) reference to their emphasis on reciprocity and sharing. In one instance he describes their refusal to accept money payment for allotting a share of the ton or so of fish caught in the magambit to the observers:

Two strong boys came across the bridge of boats, staggering under the weight of a huge basket of fish which they dumped at our feet. We offered to pay for the fish, but the old man replied that 'to pay would not be like being brothers'.

Our own evidence suggests that money played a very minor role in Bajau exchange prior to the 1960s. During the lifetime of the middle-aged Bajau in Bangau-Bangau bottles had been the main medium of payment of bride-price (Desal, L/H: 1969). Only the reorientation following on the adoption of wage labour and the capitalization of fishing activity in the late 1960s seems to have accomplished the transformation of exchange from a means-to-an-end, dominated (internally at least) by the demands of social relations, into an end-in-itself, to which social relations became subordinated.

The Bajau became the main source of cheap unskilled labour in the town of Semporna. By 1969, 80 Bajau men (some employed on casual, others on full-time basis) constituted the backbone of the Public Works Department's (PWD) workforce and virtually the entire road construction crew. They carried and manually crushed rock and coral for the road-bed, dug ditches, poured and levelled hot tar under the direction of an overseer (mandul).

The physical and psychological disadvantages of tedious, heavy labour and subordination to Samal manduls by whom they were despised were compensated in the view of a considerable

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2 Data on Public Works Department employment is based on interviews with the Head and Assistant Head of the PWD Semporna, 1969.
A labourer for the PWD could earn $150 per month ($50A) and more with overtime as compared with the variable income obtainable by fishing. One pikul (133 pounds) of dried fish drew an average of $40 in sale to merchants for export. Monthly catches ranged, depending on season and good fortune, from one to an exceptional five pikuls, bringing in $40 to $200. From this must be deducted the cost of belanjar (equipment, gasoline and supplies) which most fishermen estimated at a minimum of $40 per month; counterbalancing expenses, however, was the roughly equivalent subsistence advantage afforded by fishing. A full-time wage-earner might put out $40 over a month for the fish which he was no longer able to provide directly for his family.

Other sources of employment included work for private construction companies, loading cargo locally or, for the young and independent, work in the timber camps of Kalimantan or stevedoring in Sandakan, 100 miles up the coast. Women and children were hired on an occasional basis for clearing plantation land or harvesting. They received a flat $1.50 per day each.

This radical change in economic base affected both Bajau social relations and their ideology. In the space of a few short years the acquisition of money and symbols of wealth had become the dominating feature of village activity. A classic statement of the new orientation by one member of a mobility-conscious family came in response to a question regarding what the informant considered the most important changes in recent years:

Before we didn't have ideas. Our ideas were wrong then. We knew how to get fish, but not how to get money (Dalua, FL/H: 1969).

Similar rationale came from every sector of the community and were applied to most areas of social and cultural life. One old fisherman commented that in the past they did not calculate the value of things the way they did now.

Referring to traditional burial practice, he said:

We used to send everything before, because we didn't have a head, now we divide their things

In the past a person's boat would be broken up at death and most of his possessions buried with him.\(^3\) This is no longer common practice. Equipment and valuables are now retained by his survivors for what they now consider to be more practical use. Repeated reference to the new 'idea' (pikilan) of economic optimization had become a universally verbalized explanation for the competitive acquisition and use of productive resources which was supplanting traditional cooperative relations.

Not the least distorting development was the petty capitalism engaged in by those few members of the community who had succeeded in accumulating surplus cash, or (in the rare case) acquiring a government concession.\(^4\) In 1969, three automobiles and four large (30 to 45 foot) inboard launches were owned by different families in the village. All had been acquired within the last three years. All were used for transport, sometimes lucrative and often of questionable legality. Automobiles were used as 'pirate' (unlicensed) taxis for the 80 mile trip to Tawau; boats could carry passengers or smuggled goods between the Philippines and Sabah, round up logs 'found drifting', or be hired out for hauling. At that time, with the exception of one of the launches, little use was made of these investments for transporting commercial quantities of fish to the larger population centres.

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\(^3\) Taylor witnessed a Bajau burial during his travels in Sulu:

When a death occurs, the family boat is cut up and made into a coffin ... The Bajaus bury nearly all the personal effects of the deceased with the body, together with his lingi, or fish net, his sapang, or fish spear and the oars of his boat (1931: 480-82).

\(^4\) Two large motorized boats were acquired with government grants by the village headman and one of his brothers-in-law. These grants were received under a federal scheme which was (theoretically) intended to promote modernized cooperative fishing.
Many of these ventures have been rather status-oriented than practicable in the long run. The numbers able to engage in such activities profitably and without repercussion appear rather limited.

The character of this 'development' may be a widespread phenomenon, but its recognized social counterproductivity was surprisingly unchallenged in this period of transition. Similar capital investments could have been more productively utilized while providing the basis for a sound community enterprise. With a small modernized fishing fleet and transport to the major export centre, fishing cooperatives might conceivably have afforded the opportunity of mobility for the whole village rather than for a small segment. Only such a development would have enabled those Bajau who wished to retain their ties with the sea to fish on a commercial scale and to compete with the large numbers of Japanese trawlers now exploiting the richer fishing grounds. Given the growing individualism, the lack of communal spirit and organization and the failure of the government to encourage and support their cooperative development, such a solution was not likely to be entertained.

Despite dramatic change in material circumstance, change in one important respect has been involuting -- for well-being in many cases continues to be predicated on new types of patron-client relationships. These operate on

\[5\] One family, for example, was saving money to buy a launch with an exceptionally large and expensive inboard engine. The additional speed and power it would provide was of less importance than the prestige of having a larger and more expensive engine than others who had made a similar investment earlier. Their son, who was still studying in the secondary school, was particularly sensitive to questions of competitive status:

All the people are racing now in Bangau-Bangau to buy engines. These people just bought a 20 h.p. Pilasa wants to change his engine. Many people have made deposits already ... My father will have to wait until next year to buy a motor ... My father really doesn't want a boat. He would rather have the money, but we have to get a motor because my parents' enemies [mother's brother's family] don't think we can afford one (1969).

There is a disparaging word in Bajau which describes well the material competition no longer uncommon in the village. Angalapat is a rough equivalent of 'keeping up with the Jones'.
many different levels. For the privilege of keeping his job at the PWD, for example, each Bajau pays the *mandul* (overseer) $10-20 per month.

Those who are not Malaysian citizens\(^6\) are doubly vulnerable to exploitation since they may not only lose their source of income but face deportation as well. The system of work sponsorship as applied in local practice to Bajau without citizenship functions as a 20th century version of the patron-client system under the Sulu Sultanate. Any Bajau without Malaysian citizenship wishing to reside in Semporna must be *jerminan* (sponsored) by an important local personage. In practice only nominal responsibilities fall to the sponsor. He is not expected to provide employment for his client, nor is he held accountable for the client's well-being in any way. Most in Bangau-Bangau of *jerminan* status were sponsored by local Samal politicians and a few by Chinese shopkeepers. The most infamous of the sponsors, a wealthy Samal, was reputed to have 50 Bajau families indentured to him. Patronage may be earned in a variety of ways. Most *jerminan* made monthly cash payments to their sponsors of $10 to $30 depending upon the sponsor's demands and whether their incomes were made by fishing or wage-earning. Two boat-dwellers interviewed claimed not to make payments as such but were obliged to work in the sponsor's field or provide other services whenever needed and without pay.

The sponsor can terminate the relationship at will, thereby forcing his client to return to the Philippines where economic opportunities are far more limited. Most

\(^6\) Citizenship is another anomaly exemplifying the extent to which the development of 'state' society has infringed on a minority peoples' way of life. That Sitangkai in the Philippines was as much 'home' as Semporna in Malaysia to a nomadic boat-dweller was, of course, irrelevant to colonial powers dividing their territory. Overnight seasonal migrations became illegal entry, and regional trade, smuggling.

For those in Bangau-Bangau citizenship was largely a matter of chance, rather than birthright. Those Bajau who happened to be in Semporna on the day identity cards were issued and who understood the importance of obtaining one became citizens. Many who did not, remain non-citizens, including some who were born and spent most of their lives in the area.
sponsors, beyond receipt of monthly payment, exercise a benign indifference to the activities of their clients. One, however, forbade those indentured to him to build houses and required that they moor their boats near his residence in town. After a specified period aliens can qualify to apply for citizenship, but the support of sponsors is invariably required. It is self-evident why numbers of Bajau were still not naturalized years after their formal period of residence had been fulfilled.

It was difficult to ascertain what proportion of the Bangau-Bangau Bajau were subjected to the jerminan system. Jerminan status has naturally acquired a stigma in the village and is not readily discussed. Almost all boat-dwellers were non-citizens. Of the 15 heads of boat families interviewed, only one claimed not to be jerminan. Another at first asserted that he was a citizen, but later admitted that he was not. Among the sedentary population, a significant number of residents are citizens. It is impossible to estimate the proportion because social pressures make them even more reluctant to openly disclose their citizenship status.

Status differentials have further accentuated the already evident rift between boat and house-dwellers among the Bajau. Villagers often referred to boat-dwellers as 'A'a Pilipino' (those Philippine people) even though siblings were often included among their ranks. No sense of solidarity has developed in the face of the generally exploitative character of Bajau-Samal relations. In fact, there were signs in 1969 that similar relationships might be reproduced internally as stratification within the community increased. One of the more opportunistic individuals in the village attempted (without success at the time) to obtain acceptance by immigration authorities as a sponsor. The scheme would have involved taking in 30 or so new jerminan Bajau from the Philippines ("Philippine people will work for very little to be able to come here" we were told), organizing them for fishing, and then retailing the fish themselves in the city of Tawau.
Social Structure and Organization

The shift toward a sedentary life was a natural concomitant to increased dependence on wage-earning and the intrusion of new values and status considerations of the larger society. In 1960 Bangau-Bangau consisted of a flotilla of some 80 boats and five poorly-constructed pile structures, used primarily for storage. Nine years later there were 55 houses and a diminished nomadic population of some 30 boats. Symbolically, the oldest and shabbiest homes were the furthest distance from the shore -- some 2,000 yards out in the bay; the most recent, large and often architecturally impressive houses are nearest the land. Maps II and III illustrate this shift in orientation to the land which is both physical and psychological.

I shall briefly discuss the political and kinship structures as described in the ethnographic literature and as they appeared in the face of sedentarization and economic reorientation in 1969. It was not possible to study these in detail in the subsequent short research period. However the loose and informal organizational structure of Bajau society, which has persisted in the period of radical change, has had a profound if inadvertent significance in that it failed to generate mechanisms for channelling new opportunities toward wider social ends.

The Bajau kinship system is cognatic; that is, relationship is traced bilaterally and is ego-focused rather than ancestor-focused. The cognatic type is not unusual in Southeast Asia and has several important characteristics distinguishing it from the lineal descent systems more familiar to anthropologists. There are rarely any defined rights and obligations attached to specific kin relations. Social and economic interaction operate on criteria of personal preference and friendship rather than prescribed kin status (although cognatic societies are commonly endogamous and most local members are assumed to be kin in some degree). As a consequence, organizational structures within a cognatic society tend to be ad hoc, short term and voluntaristic (Fox, 1966: 153-66). Bajau social structure and organization typifies this pattern (Sather, 1971).
Bajau society is characterized by a remarkable flexibility due also to their mobility and lack of necessity for a strong corporate structure. Marriage practices reflect this fluidity and are notably lacking a strong jural sense. Needless to say the divergence between the ideal model and common practice is great. While uxorilocality is reported as the 'ideal' residence pattern, economic factors and personal preference often supersede it. In the most traditional area, Tawi-Tawi, only about 60% of the boat-dwellers attached to the community were living uxorilocally (Nimmo, 1965: 427).

While technically arranged by relatives, the determination of marriage partner normally rests with the marriageable parties. Institutionalized elopements are commonly resorted to when one or both parents object to a match. Affection and trust have traditionally been considered the most important factors in choosing a partner. Women have always had high status in Bajau society. They often handle the family money, participate equally in discussion and decision-making and may as easily dissolve a union as a male.\(^7\)

In Bajau society the nuclear family had been the basic productive unit. This was a practical consequence of both the restricted space of the boat house and the relative self-reliance possible in their ecological situation. Among the Tawi-Tawi Bajau, Nimmo lists 103 boats out of 132 as being composed of single-family units -- father, mother and children. The remaining extended or partial families resulted from fragmentation caused by death or divorce and were often temporary arrangements (Nimmo, 1969: 66-67).

\(^7\) See Sather (1971: 115) for an incident illustrating female independence. As Islamization takes hold and economic considerations intrude, some of these features may be expected to change. The position of women tends to be subservient among the Muslim Samals. Marriages are more often arranged and polygamy, traditionally unknown among Bajau, is occasionally practised by wealthy Samal. Since 1969, two men in the village had taken second wives. Further, the greater importance of inheritance and status differentials as the society becomes more and more stratified will invite manipulation of marriage for economic advantage, no doubt with negative consequences for female status.
The prominence of family is reflected in Bajau kinship terminology. Differentiation of members (father, mother, older sister, older brother, younger sister, younger brother) contrasts with a lack of terminological distinction between father's and mother's relatives or relatives of second and subsequent ascending generations (referred to simply as 'ancestors').

Generally the boat-dwelling fisherman was accompanied by his family alone on fishing trips. He would occasionally be joined by another boat of kinsmen when net fishing was practised. Husband and wife were a self-sustaining productive unit for much of the time. The male provided for his dependents' subsistence requirements by line or spear fishing. His wife assisted in preparing and drying fish for future consumption or exchange. She and the older children gathered crustaceans and sea vegetables at low tide. On an ordinary trip a fishing family might be away from their 'home' village and kin for the better part of a month.

The major exception to the solitary search for subsistence was the magambit, collective fishing no longer practised in Bangau-Bangau. Charles Wilkes, Captain of the U.S. exploratory expedition of 1842 observed one of these traditional fish drives: "They resort to their fishing grounds in fleets of between one and two hundred sail, having their wives and children with them ..." (1842: 186). Participants consisted of any boat-dwellers present in the flotilla community at a particular time and kin relationship was not requisite for joining a magambit. The catch was divided equally among those participating (Taylor, 1931: 535; Sather, 1971: 100; Nimmo, 1972: 43).

More or less regularized organizations for performing economic and social functions did exist beyond family-level. The most important of these were referred to by Nimmo, for want of a better term, as 'sibling alliance units' (1965: 430). Typically of Bajau organization these associations were shifting in membership and followed no single structural pattern. The alliance units were small mutual assistance groups most often composed of a man and some of his adult sons and sons-in-law. Affiliation was by preference and composition shifted constantly due to migration, disagreement or other personal and economic considerations.
The interpersonal relationship between ego and affines who participated regularly in the same alliance unit or action group, was likely to be much closer than between him and those siblings who did not.

Activities of alliance groups were reciprocal in nature. They might include joint fishing ventures, assistance in boat or house building and participation in the performance of certain ceremonies. Participation in social activities, however, rarely involved the alliance unit strictly defined. Work groups usually consisted only of those members with related skills. Ceremonial activities while initiated and organized within the alliance, extended beyond it and invited participation of the whole community. Contribution toward bride-price which is one example of loosely institutionalized reciprocity among Bajau, would initiate within the alliance group but was not limited to it.

As the shift from boat to house living took place, the alliance units became a much more visible phenomenon. Arong (1962: 146) and Nimmo (1969: 120) contrast the nuclear family arrangement of boat households with the preponderance of 'extended' families among sedentary Bajau households they observed. A similar pattern is evidenced by the census map for Bangau-Bangau (Map II). Whereas the number of members of a boat household averages five and only exceptionally includes more than two adults, the sedentary household in 1969 had an average of 14 members.

The extended households were made up of some or all of the members of the sibling alliance units. They were

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8 In this instance, proportionate contributions are made according to economic situation and degree of closeness to the family. The latter is not a matter of formal kinship since close relations who have fallen out of intimacy may take no part. On other occasions these same contributors can expect to receive a similar proportion of any bride-price which comes into the family. As an institution, it does operate to encourage continuity of ties. On the other hand, since participation is not fully formalized, it does not bridge the fissures that develop frequently in the community or afford the solidarity that formally prescribed reciprocal institutions in other societies might (Nimmo, 1972: 30-31, 73-74; Sather, 1971: 171).
natural partners to investments requiring more time and money than one man would be likely to have. At that time it was tempting to postulate the possibility of a structural reorganization with new economic patterns replacing basically family-centred traditional ones. But trends in 1969 already warranted hesitation. Within the extended household the family unit had retained much of its autonomous character. Earnings, utensils, equipment and other personal property were kept separately by each family within the household. Although the purchase and preparation of food is an obligation shared by income-earners in some households, evidence on this practice was mixed and it appeared to be declining in those households which had entirely shifted to wage-earning. Apparently no corporate structure was emerging out of the now sedentary sibling alliance structure.

Nimmo notes a progressive trend toward segmentation in Sitangkai, where single families are beginning to break away from the extended household and are building smaller separate homes neighbouring the parent household. There were already cases of segmentation in Bangau-Bangau as well, indicating that extended households may be a transitory adaptation to economic exigencies and that the former single-family pattern may ultimately prevail (although for different reasons -- now to facilitate individualized economic activity and accumulation of private property as opposed to previous requisites of subsistence activity and boat living). In Sisangat, a village in northern Sulu where Bajau have been sedentary for several generations, 60% of the 240 households are composed of single families (Ducommon, 1962: 91).

Community and kinship organization must inevitably have a critical effect on the distribution of 'life chances'  

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9 There is conflicting evidence on this important question of distribution within the household. Sather (1971: 77) makes the following statement based on research in Bangau-Bangau in 1964: "Each lumaq [household] is a single commensual unit. Food is prepared and cooked for the household as a whole, using a common hearth and is generally consumed by the entire domestic group, including the women and children in a joint meal." He makes it clear later in the thesis that "the lumaq household is not a corporate unit" (p. 237). The household itself is not jointly owned and surplus cash belongs exclusively to those who earn it.
within the village as economic transformation proceeds. The dependence on a money economy and the existence for the first time of significant and transferable property has made traditional values of sharing impossible to implement without a high degree of reorganization. Bajau organizational structure failed to come to terms definitively with the polar tension between the individual and communal orientations which had been both accommodated by the traditional way of life.

Political Organization

Among the Bajau traditionally there was only one figure having political responsibility -- the panglima (headman). His position was established through unofficial recognition which might be transferred to a more promising individual at any time, though it was generally held for life and often passed to a son. The panglima's function was limited to representing the community, occasional ceremonial activities and conciliation of disputes. No power beyond the strength of his personality and community sanction could compel compliance. Authority was virtually impossible when any party to a disagreement could simply take up anchor and move elsewhere.

The loose and transitory nature of political organization in the previously nomadic society has been carried over into the new situation, but without the ad hoc cooperative activity which had traditionally grown out of recognized common interest. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate the continuity of weak organizational structure in the sedentary situation and the loss of collective consciousness that plagues the Bajau of Bangau-Bangau.

In 1969 the only source of fresh water in the village was a pipe operated by one of the two non-Bajau resident families, a Bugis from Indonesia. He paid for the construction of the pipe and the quarterly rate for water use. Villagers were charged 10¢ per five-gallon container. His
profit, assuming that each household purchased one container of water per day by my estimate would exceed $900M annually. The headman (now invested with legal responsibilities and privileges vis-a-vis the nation-state) monopolized one of the three 1,000 gallon tanks granted by the government for village use (while the others adjacent to his house were allowed to rot). During our stay there, no effort was made to demand community rights to use of the tanks. Only late in the piece and under interesting circumstances did one villager initiate a petition to the government for extension of a public facility to the village (see p.23).

Bangau-Bangau is also the only large village in the Semporna area without a primary school. A few villagers have begun sending their children to the English-medium government school in the town of Semporna. But because of cultural disadvantage and severe discrimination, few continue. Only two Bajau children had successfully completed primary school. The concept of communal action to exert pressure for specific goals was naturally remote from an outcaste and loosely organized people, yet not beyond possibility given the energy with which they pursued economic advantage. The size of the community, the political climate and the fact that 1969 was to have been an election year, suggested a reasonable possibility of success. Several years previously, a much smaller Samal community had built its own school, embarrassing the state government and forcing it to send a teacher.

Balandier's compelling treatment of the effect of exposure to multiple and rapid processes of change on traditional social organization is applicable to the Bajau case. A 'lag' between changes in base structure and social and political reorganization was obvious in 1969. As he suggests (1970: 477), the margin of tolerance of maladjustment has been wide precisely because the dramatic nature of these changes and the accompanied relative prosperity and perception of potential mobility have obscured the gravity of their losses.
The destruction of the formerly egalitarian subsistence society is taking place at an incredible rate and there has been no lag in adopting the ideological concomitants of the competitive market economy into which the Bajau have been incorporated. As one Bajau expressed the new ethic:

Before, when we were poor together, we shared, now it is every man for himself (Tiling, F/H: 1969).

To appreciate the radical departure of this new orientation, the egalitarian values and sharing of former times must be emphasized.

The internal structure of Bajau society was probably as close to a perfect example of a non-stratified system as a sociologist could hope to find. Even the universal principles of differential status and privilege (age, sex and personal characteristics), noted by Sahlin as representing 'stratification minimum' (1969: 240), were inconsiderable. Authority was not the basis of relations between parent and child, husband and wife, or one Bajau and another. Uncooperative children were more commonly ignored than disciplined. Both men and women enjoyed considerable freedom in choice of marriage partner and divorce. Women retained their separate property in marriage and often controlled family finances.

Prestige was attached to skillful fishermen or jin (male or female spirit mediums) but was unaccompanied by political or economic advantage. Neither did the headman of a village or flotilla community have any power at his disposal beyond the willingness of individuals to accept his leadership or comply with his judgement. Social pressure was the only sanction, and even it had limited effectiveness given Bajau mobility and informal kinship obligations.

The subordination of economic activity to social ends is an axiom of subsistence strategies. Collective economic production (though irregular and voluntaristically organized) and shared principles of distribution were notable characteristics of the traditional Bajau system. Carl Taylor observed:

In their daily life they practise a form of communism that makes beggary impossible. For instance, the building of a large boat requires the labor of six men for a month, and even a small boat cannot be constructed
in less than a week... If a family must have more food, those lucky with their nets provide it; if children are orphaned, they are taken aboard other boats, where room can be made for them; if a man is caught smuggling contraband from Borneo and fined a hundred pesos, his neighbors provide the money to pay the fine (1931: 535).

Stone (1962: 124) emphasizes the generosity and communal trust around which the positive element of Bajau identity is built:

Among his own he is generous and friendly; he can ill afford not to be together for it is his way of life...
If he has no food, he will go to a neighbouring boat, and he will expect to be fed; in turn, it is his duty to do the same for his neighbour. He is not proud, but humble, and any show of violence is a shocking thing to him. If he has a dispute with a neighbour, he will not fight, but instead, if the trouble is deep enough, he will move away.

Even in 1964, when sedentarization was well under way, generalized reciprocity was an observable expression of communal ties. Clifford Sather who studied the kinship organization of the Bajau of Bangau-Bangau in 1964-65 describes the distributive responsibilities of fishermen in the village:

... gifts, described by the villagers as pamillah daing or 'cooking fish' are presented by the fisherman's wife to the women of neighbouring households, and, if the catch is large enough, to the couple's close kinswomen who live elsewhere in the community. As a result of these gifts, each conjugal family is involved in a personal network of exchanges which, while limited in each individual case, when taken together with those of other families, have the combined effect of binding the whole village together in a complex, overlapping series of economic ties (1971: 103-4).

The previously discussed institutions of bride-price and magambit are further examples of the diffuse but predominant social responsibility which determined distributive relations in the traditional Bajau system.

These mechanisms and the broader 'social' rationality upon which they were predicated were consciously rejected in the subsequent period in the interests of an explicitly verbalized economic rationality of competitive optimization with which the Bajau associated 'progress'. To my knowledge (with the possible exception of bride-price on which
I have no evidence), none of these reciprocal responsibilities were operative beyond the immediate family by 1969. Even then they tended to take on the character of strictly economic transactions with productive goods such as boats, engines, etc. being bought and sold between brothers rather than corporately owned or shared. When interviewing one boat-dwelling family (themselves committed to these changes and desirous of moving to a house) we witnessed a remarkable verbal exchange which sharply constrained earlier descriptions of generosity and open-handedness of former times.

(Woman boat-dweller to passing fisherman's wife):

Jalbaini (F/B): 'Can you give me fish today,'

Lania (F/H): 'No you must buy your own.'

Jalbaini: 'My brother is fishing.' (implied repayment)

Lania: (in contemptuous tone) 'Sorry, they're under the floor of the boat.'
CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND STRATIFICATION

Introduction

A look at the series of maps in Appendix I will give some indication of the magnitude of physical change in Bangau-Bangau village in the last decade. A geographical shift towards the land dramatizes the economic and cultural reorientation of the Bajau people. Seventy-five percent of the houses in the village now crowd the near half of the bridge from the land to the channel (14% were located at the landward side in 1965, 54% in 1969).

The settled village is now several times its 1965 size, having grown from 440 permanent residents in 36 houses (Sather, 1971: 71) to 1,442 in 168 houses. Electricity and piped water have been installed and television antennas protrude from a few roofs. A community centre and mosque were built from government grants. Villagers were given permission to cultivate adjoining public lands and for the first time many families grow their own cassava. Most Bajau say this is progress.

A second look prompts qualification. The bridge is in a dangerous state of disrepair; refuse proliferates; complaints of theft are widespread; the community centre is not used for its intended purpose; and Bangau-Bangau remains the only village in the district without a primary school. Corresponding to the lack of communal integration is the development of stratified and exploitative relations within the village. Growing differences in wealth and access to the means of production have been accompanied by

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1 The symbols of affluence (tin cans, bottles, etc.) that now litter the strand over which the village is built as well as the greater proximity to land of the majority of village dwellings may account for the rising incidence of malarial infection suggested by Semporna hospital records. These show that Malaria accounted for the following percentages of patient admissions from Bangau-Bangau in the years 1969-75 inclusive: 7%, 23%, 36%, 27%, 17%, 59%, 54%. (Total admissions of Bangau-Bangau residents for all illnesses rose steadily throughout the period.)
the establishment of dependency relations between members of different sectors of the community. Even the newly acquired public facilities are not directly accessible to the majority. Only one in four houses has its own water pipe. Electricity serves one in six households. Undoubtedly accelerated by the influx of refugees, these developments nevertheless represent the continuous progression of economic, social and ideological trends already in evidence by the end of 1969.

Economic Change

The effects of progressive incorporation in a developing capitalist economy are evident in Figure 4:1 which gives the work-sector distribution of Bangau-Bangau residents in 1964-65, 1969 and 1975.

For several reasons the economic data in this chapter must be interpreted as only rough approximations of trends in the distribution and differentiation of labour. Occupational categories in any transitional society are extremely fluid. The fishing and unskilled labour categories for 1964-65 and 1969 are not clearly dichotomous since most wage-earners in the earlier period did not view themselves as permanent employees. Most continued to own traditional fishing boats (lepa-lepa) and to fish intermittently. Some PWD (Public Works Department, now Jabatan Kerja Raya) labourers would work on the road for two or three months and then take a month off for fishing. Others worked on a casual day-labour basis out of choice, or because their Malaysian residence status prohibited full-time employment by any government agency. Therefore the figure of 75\(^2\) listed for 1969 as unskilled labourers inflates somewhat the degree of involvement in wage earning

\(^2\) An additional five Bajau labourers were boat-dwellers attached to the village but excluded from these figures for comparative consistency.
Figure 4:1 Work-Sector Distribution of Bangau-Bangau Residents (Excluding Boat-Dwellers) in 1964-65, 1969 and 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1964-65*</th>
<th></th>
<th>1969</th>
<th></th>
<th>1975**</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled wage-labour</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled and semi-skilled wage-labour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Clerical</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1964-65 figures are calculated on the basis of information provided by the Assistant Head of the Public Works Department, Semporna (1969) and Sather's 1964-65 village census (1971: 72). Those listed as wage-labourers were more or less regularly engaged in this work; nevertheless an indeterminate number of individuals in the fishing sector took an occasional day-labour at that time.

** 1975 figures include all newcomers to Bangau-Bangau since 1969. Refugees account for a large proportion of the increase in those listed as unemployed and fishing in particular.

at that time. By 1975, dependence on wages had increased and participation in the work force was stable and regular. In that year a similar problem arises in relation to fishing and unemployment. These figures must also be treated cautiously.

Many individuals who listed themselves as unemployed, do fish occasionally. (The reverse is equally true in that
many listed as fishermen could be considered at least under-
employed.) There is nevertheless legitimacy in making the
distinction, even if it remains a somewhat arbitrary one.
The fact that people identified themselves or were described
by others as 'unemployed' ('mbal ahinang') or 'not having
[work]' (halam ania) is of psychological importance -- evi-
dence of the increased significance of wage-earning in the
community as well as the growing marginality of fishing.
Also a considerable number of individuals in both cate-
gories no longer possess boats and have varying degrees of
access to fishing equipment owned by others.

The placement of marginal individuals is always a prob-
lem in analysing economic stratification, as is the estab-
lishment of occupational categories themselves. The diffi-
culties are compounded in transitional societies where cri-
teria must include not only ownership of the means of pro-
duction, but which mode of production individual economic
action is oriented toward. Nor does classification by these
criteria necessarily reflect the divergent life chances of
the individuals comprising them.

The complexity of classification and analysis is evi-
dent in looking at the 'entrepreneur' group (see Figure
4:6 for breakdown by estimated income) where the scale of
activity as well as orientation toward or away from exploi-
tation of the traditional subsistence sector varies con-
siderably. By definition entrepreneurial activity is non-
traditional, commercially oriented and not directly pro-
ductive. In the Bajau case, those engaging in 'business'
are primarily involved in buying and selling.

The disparities of scale and opportunity among the
'entrepreneurs' is most obvious among fishdealers. Pindan,
a 55-year-old Bajau, could only be described as a penny
capitalist. He buys fish in small quantities from boat-
people, mostly relatives and refugees, and sells them by
the string in the town. Pillasa, by contrast has arrange-
ments with more than a dozen fishermen to buy their entire
catch and sends as much as 10 pikuls (1 pikul = 133 lbs)
of dried fish a month to larger trading centres by boat or
truck. He owns a large motor and rents another. One has
a sizeable income, commercial contacts and productive assets
that the other does not, but neither is involved in direct
production and both appropriate a surplus created by others' labour. Both perceive themselves as being upwardly mobile, since increased status in the community automatically accompanies movement into 'business'. At the same time, they still rely on a traditional form of dependency relationship to obtain fish for resale. To this extent their entrepreneurial activities are less 'modern' (since all parties are not operating on purely economic criteria as independent buyers and sellers) than those of the new shopkeepers in the community.

I should like to discuss the characteristics of each of the economic strata in Bangau-Bangau and the relationships that are developing among them in greater detail.

Entrepreneurs

The most striking development of the last six years has been the growth of an entrepreneurial class. There has been a six-fold increase in the number of Bajau involved in business activity, a realization for many of the desire to escape the low status and hard physical labour of fishing and wage-earning. Figure 4:2 is a breakdown of the major types of business engaged in by the new 'entrepreneurs' of Bangau-Bangau in 1969 and 1975.

As has already been mentioned there is a considerable range in the scale of buying and selling activity by fish-dealers. This is largely dependent on the amount of capital at their disposal, the external commercial contacts they have been able to establish (in some cases with Chinese merchants in the larger cities of Tawau or Sandakan), and the number of fishermen with whom some form of

3 The marked development in the size of this group is especially interesting because it is relatively less influenced by in-migration in this period. Three of the 14 villagers now involved in fish-dealing are refugees, and two of the shop owners are not Bajau -- one a Samal immigrant and the other the Bugis who owned the only shop there was in 1969.
dependency relationship has been established. The bases of these relations — known as jermanan and mag tendok — are discussed elsewhere (see pp. 68-69). By reputation, six of the 14 fish-dealers could be described as large-scale operators, selling six or more pikul a month. On one day we observed Pillasa send seven sacks of dried fish valued at more than $800M for sale in Tawau. He claimed to send as many as five truck loads in an exceptional month.

Many fish-dealers avoided the question of overall personal income, claiming to spend a large but indeterminate amount on supplies for those who fished for them. The gross profit margin on the purchase and sale of dried fish can be as much as 100%. The following figures given by Pillasa were typical of buying and selling rates among Bajau fish-dealers. Average incomes varied from as little

---

**Figure 4:2** Distribution of Bajau-Bangau Entrepreneurs Engaged in Various Types of Commercial Activity in 1969 and 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish-dealing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeeping</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawking</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

dependency relationship has been established. The bases of these relations — known as jermanan and mag tendok — are discussed elsewhere (see pp. 68-69). By reputation, six of the 14 fish-dealers could be described as large-scale operators, selling six or more pikul a month. On one day we observed Pillasa send seven sacks of dried fish valued at more than $800M for sale in Tawau. He claimed to send as many as five truck loads in an exceptional month.

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---

**Figure 4:3** Bajau Fish-Dealers' Buying and Selling Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Buy</th>
<th>Sell</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dried white fish</td>
<td>$.70 kati</td>
<td>$1.50 kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried beranak fish</td>
<td>.80 kati</td>
<td>1.60 kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giant clam (dried)</td>
<td>.80 each</td>
<td>1.00 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1 kati = 1.33 pounds; 100 kati = 1 pikul
as $50M a month for a local peddler to as much as $1000M for a large-scale dealer, although tendok responsibilities to provision client fishermen would reduce net incomes of large-scale dealers somewhat.

If one includes full-time hawkers, a total of 13 are involved in merchandizing within the village. Seven well-stocked shops line the bridge offering a variety of refreshments, toys, household articles and tinned foods, at prices generally higher than in town. The following sample gives some indication of price differentials.

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**Figure 4:4** Average * Prices of Selected Items in Village and Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Bangau-Bangau</th>
<th>Semporna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>$ 1.00 kati</td>
<td>.90 kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1.00 kati</td>
<td>.85 kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola</td>
<td>.60 each</td>
<td>.50 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy Sauce</td>
<td>.70 bottle</td>
<td>.50 bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish line</td>
<td>.30 (10 lb strength)</td>
<td>.20 (10 lb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches</td>
<td>.10 box</td>
<td>.10 box</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (based on random sample of 3 shops in each place)

Villagers pay for convenience, familiarity and the ability to purchase in very small quantities when they shop in Bangau-Bangau instead of making the half-mile trip to town. Some shop-owners purchase their goods from Chinese retailers in Semporna, in which case this mark-up represents a rather small profit. Three of the new merchants have made arrangements with wholesalers in Tawau who deliver goods by truck twice a month. Bulk-bought merchandise as well as staples 'smuggled' (by Bajau visitors or refugees) from the southern Philippines where goods tend to be much
cheaper, enable higher profit margins. The merchants interviewed calculated their profit and average daily business as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shop Owner</th>
<th>Type of shop</th>
<th>Estimated % profit</th>
<th>Estimated daily income</th>
<th>Average monthly profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haji Biana</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silai</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahudin</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albai</td>
<td>coffee shop</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulong</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulisan</td>
<td>tuck shop</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sito</td>
<td>dry goods</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative success of a venture depends on the owner's business sense, commercial contacts outside the village and the extent of his personal social network within. The lower incomes of Haji Biana and Sito are probably due to the fact that they are not Bajau. Shops belonging to Albai and Tulisan deal in refreshments and snacks, which bring in

4 Philippine staples such as rice, sugar and coca-cola may be purchased at nearly half the cost of equivalent Malaysian goods, e.g. Philippine rice could be bought for 50¢ per kati.

5 While a broad network of friends and relations is important in establishing a regular clientele it can be counterproductive if uncontrolled. One respondent whose business had failed after six months claimed it was due to advantage taken by demanding in-laws who expected free supplies of the goods stocked. This seems inconsistent with the prevailing ethic and may well have been exaggerated. From observation, all but the most unusual transactions (with the exception of immediate family) are scrupulously conducted in cash.
less income than trading in staples. But for both of them, the shops are run by their wives as a subsidiary enterprise, the primary family incomes ($300-800M per month) being from owner-operated taxis.

Since strict inventories are not kept, the total value in stock is difficult to assess, but for some it must represent an investment of several thousand dollars. Although stocks have been built up over a period of time, the initial capital necessary to construct the shop and buy basic supplies would have to be substantial. An even more considerable outlay was made by those in transport. A taxi or large motorized launch for passenger or freight service might cost from $2000-$8000M. There were four taxis and three launches, all Bajau owned, in regular use for commercial transport in 1975.

I was most interested to learn how the large amount of capital necessary for investment in merchandizing, transport and large-scale fish-dealing could have been accumulated by so many who were subsistence fishermen only 12 years ago. The loose social organization and changing ideological orientation discussed earlier were reflected in the process. The mag kenia-kenia (every man for himself) philosophy has been accompanied in practice by an individualism mediated only by social ties of the immediate family.

Among eight entrepreneurs who owned a major capital asset (car, launch, shop) and were willing to discuss its financing during the interview, seven purchased their assets in cash with savings accumulated through wage-earning. One of these was a joint purchase by two brothers; in four cases supplementary assistance was received in the form of small loans (in two cases from the father, one from the father-in-law, one from a brother). While operation and income were in some instances shared (two cases out of eight), ownership is generally vested in a single individual, and cooperative ventures tend to break down over time, as the participants branch out into separate enterprises. For example, Pillasa, now a major fish-dealer, seven years ago jointly purchased with his brother one of the first

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6 One of these obtained his launch through a government grant previously mentioned (see p. 42).
motorized launches in the village for fishing and transport. Since then the original boat changed hands, each purchased a launch of his own and Pillasa rents the second boat from his brother when business requires it. (He has now sold his own launch to another brother, and does most transshipping to Tawau by truck, owned by the Chinese trader with whom he deals.) It appears that while some collaboration takes place, this tends to occur only at the early stages of entering business and only for so long as partnership is an economic imperative.

Formal business does not exhaust 'entrepreneurial' activity in Bangau-Bangau. Some of the considerable illicit trade between the southern Philippines and Semporna is conducted by people from the village. This small-scale traffic is part of a traditional local trade pattern and local officials are not uncommonly bribed to take no notice of it.

Two villagers are reputed to engage in more serious illegal activities: one in stolen pearls from the Japanese pearl beds at nearby Bohey Dulong and the other in logs taken with his launch from local river pens. Both are alleged to have been arrested and freed after bribing officials.

Less intriguing but nonetheless important is the mag-dagang trade, or peddling of snacks and refreshments that is a regular part of village life for housewives and children. Any one day, five or six women can be found selling small fried cakes or spiced noodles in front of their homes. They can make a profit of two or three dollars in a day. Children given change by their parents will often run to town to buy mangoes, flavoured ice or sweets and peddle them on the bridge. Small-scale vending is as much for the sake of diversion as anything. Still its socializing effects cannot be ignored, nor its importance as supplementary income minimized. One fisherman stated that it was only through his wife's selling cakes and drinks everyday, that they were able to save enough money to build their modest house (Sapaludin, F/H: 1975). By and large the mag-dagang trade is irregular and with the exception of three hawkers who make significant incomes from it, these penny capitalists have not been included in employment data.
Clerical/Professional

The entrance of Bajau into clerical positions is as yet both statistically and strategically insignificant. The two Bajau represented in this occupational grouping (the third is a Samal in-migrant), were the only young men to attend secondary school from Bangau-Bangau. Their present positions are relatively minor (District Council stores manager and Public Works Department road construction supervisor), but do represent a break from the previous caste-like association of Bajau with menial labour. Aside from the status factor, their positions have to date had no direct impact within the village.

Labourers

The potential for absorption of Bajau into the local labour force has reached its limit unless the Semporna area is developed industrially. The absolute number of unskilled labourers has remained static, and although this is supplemented by a significant increase in semi-skilled and skilled workers, the proportion of the total working-age population receiving wages has actually declined. The pressure of limited opportunities is forcing more and more wage-seekers to leave the village and obtain work in larger centres. This was already being done in 1969 by young men who left periodically on their own for better-paying jobs hauling cargo in the city or working in timber camps. Now, for the first time, their wives and children often accompany them, and returns to the village are less frequent. The overall number who have left the village in search of work (including new arrivals) would approach 60. One household had nine members who had moved to a nearby town to work in a plywood factory. However, the disadvantages of rent and higher costs of living are not always compensated by the higher wages obtainable in the cities. If sufficient local opportunities were available most would undoubtedly choose to remain in Semporna. One of the new shopkeepers whose income is now little more than $300M (half the wages he had previously earned in Sandakan working cargo), considers himself better off now. Living away from home he
had only been able to send back $300 out of $700 in harder-

Very low wages are still received by the three women who work as domestics in the town and by four men who are shop assistants. But Sabah's economic boom in 1972 and 1973 has had some trickle-down effects. Basic PWD wages have risen to $6 per day. An unskilled labourer working seven days a week and over-time can make $200-300 in a month. In a plywood factory, again with overtime, $300-350 a month can be earned. Any private employment connected with the timber industry is lucrative. Log loaders are paid $500-1000 a month. A tractor driver can earn several thousand. Incomes in the timber industry fluctuate depending on the international economy and volume of exports. In 1975, it had virtually collapsed due to slackening purchases by Japan. Still, timber jobs supported 18 Bangau-Bangau men in that year.

One noteworthy change has been the diversification in labour activity and the development of skills by part of the Bajau workforce. Nearly one-third of the wage-earners have some specialization which increases their earning capacity in varying degrees. Semi-skilled plumbers and hockmen for the PWD make $300 per month; a lorry driver can earn up to $500; heavy machine operators, from $500-750.

Fishermen

Fishing is closely linked to one segment of the developing entrepreneurial sector within the village. With a few notable exceptions, those who have remained in fishing (whether house or boat-dwellers), have not participated in the economic and social mobility experienced by other groups. The average income for fishermen remains at about $100 per month (although the subsistence value of their fishing activity would add another $40-50 to this figure).

7 Women still work as seasonal day labourers clearing plantation lands; but, as with occasional hawkers, they are excluded from statistical data because of the irregularity of this type of labour and its small cash supplement to family income.
One major impediment to the transformation of the fishing industry beyond the point to which it had developed in 1969 has been the type of relationship which characterizes producer and dealer. In most cases the entrepreneur acts solely as a middleman and patron and has contributed nothing to the productive capacity of those who continue to fish. Independent line fishing is still the most important fishing technique, and is used even when several fishermen 'anumpang' (follow along) on a fishing trip.

Full time fishermen commonly have an arrangement known as mag tendok with a dealer to sell their fish for them. This is a form of dependency relationship not easily explained, since on the surface it is a superfluous institution and one which could be more profitably supplanted in the fisherman's interest by individual self-management or corporate development.

Recent migrants are jermanan (sponsored) and are technically not free to sell their own produce. In these cases the tendok relationship is a necessary and logical extension of traditional dependency relations predicated on legal status, but for the first time operating within the village. But many long-standing residents and boat-dwellers have recently become citizens, continue to own their own boats and equipment, yet bind themselves to another villager who purchases their whole catch at 25% to 30% of the ultimate retail price in city shops. Two respondents, not involved in fishing themselves, described this tendok relationship as "bad," "close to cheating"; yet it is widespread, if not always acknowledged by all fishermen

8 Solicitations by enterprising Bajau villagers in 1969 for permission to act as sponsors later bore fruit when refugees had to be admitted in larger numbers than long-time Samal patrons cared to accommodate.

9 The attainment of citizenship was one side-effect of the refugee situation for many Bajau. The large number of refugees requiring sponsorship meant the labour and financial benefits to patrons resulting from Bajau dependency were no longer in scarce supply. Other factors accounted for the naturalization of numbers of Bajau in 1973. Certainly their economic value to anyone important enough to be enriched by the timber boom had become inconsequential. These Bajau also had valuable political potential. According to those interviewed, nominal conversion to Islam was prerequisite to ending their indenture.
involved. A number of fishermen maintained that they never relied on tendok arrangements for the disposal of their surplus produce. These said they sold their fish locally in the open fish market or took it themselves to larger towns where they could get better prices. The higher incomes quoted (around $200 a month), tended to verify their claims, but made the dependence of others more difficult to explain.

The vagaries of fishing itself help to account for the replication of patron-client relations among the Bajau. Historically such ties enabled the Bajau to obtain necessities (cloth, water, vegetables) irrespective of the fishing cycle. The satisfaction of contemporary necessities requires money, and during periods when fishing is poor, ready cash is hard to come by. The fisherman can borrow money or obtain supplies from a dealer to whom he is then bound to sell his future catch at a set price. When the relationship is voluntary (i.e. does not involve legal sponsorship), it can be severed at any time once repayment is made. But to the traditionally oriented fisherman it has the added advantage of saving time and reducing contact with other ethnic groups. Many of those who still fish do so because of cultural ties to the sea. They remain more isolated by their way of life and have not acquired the experience or language facility in Malay that enable confidence in dealing on equal terms with townspeople.

The traditional fisherman is in much the same position as the peasant whose 'contractual inferiority' inhibits the conversion of surplus production into capital for his own use (Pearse, 1971: 73). It is the middle-man providing exchange services who absorbs the lion's share of the peasant surplus. For the first time, this role is being taken over by Bajau. The practice presents the first clearly exploitative relation to emerge within the group.

The Unemployed

'Unemployed' is a residual category including all working-age males who have not got regular formal employment or other self-supporting income. It has already been mentioned that ambiguities exist in trying to define this
group and the ascription 'no work' by self or others was the criterion for placement in the unemployed category. Some individuals in this category obtained casual employment or had occasional opportunities to fish but were not engaged in regular productive activities and remained primarily dependent on another family member for support at that time. Of course this group was composed primarily of the old, the young and refugees.

The progressive decapitalization and loss of control of the means of production are a predictable consequence of the kind of 'development' cycle (wage-labour → consumerism → cash dependence → wage-labour) depicted in Figure 2:1. Nearly all households in 1969 had at least one lepa-lepa, whether or not its members were primarily engaged in fishing. Now barely half of the household possess their own means of fishing. In 1975 there were 75 lepa-lepa and kumpit¹⁰ and seven large motorized launches which could be used for fishing among 77 (out of 168) households. This means that at least one-third of those 122 who counted themselves full-time fishermen, do not own their own boats, and must depend on the property of a relative to earn their livelihood. For the 73 who are unemployed, even this opportunity is rare. Old fishing boats are scrapped and not replaced by villagers whose primary income source lies elsewhere. The lepa-lepa used to be both home and means of livelihood. Since the move to houses, it has lost half its utility. Now capital cost for boat and engine (at least $2000) as well as the costs of operation are so high that accounting does not justify maintenance in most cases. For the young village resident, who is half-hearted about the rewards of fishing to begin with, the gamble on wage-employment is preferable.

It is interesting in connection with the growth of an unemployed sector of the community, to note that the

¹⁰ Ten of these were unmotorized and therefore had restricted productive utility. The lepa-lepa is the traditional round-bottomed houseboat and fishing craft, very well adapted to the shallow coral reefs of Semporna area. The kumpit is a narrow, long boat recently adopted by many Bajau because it is capable of high speeds when motorized. They are, however, useless for long fishing trips, since they are not built to provide shelter.
development of entrepreneurial activity has generated virtually no new secondary employment. Outside of the immediate family and excluding tendok and jermanan arrangements, no villager is permanently employed by another. This is partially due to the nature of Bajau enterprise. Bajau entrepreneurs are predominantly involved in buying and selling rather than investing in productivity-increasing capital.\(^{11}\) They correspond to Marx's 'merchant estate' who take advantage of the shift from barter to a commodity market by exploiting the divorce of exchange into distinct processes of purchase and sale (Grundrisse, 1973: 200). The failure to develop any long-term, supra-familial corporate or collective enterprise is also important in this respect and will be returned to later.

**Conclusion**

Much of what writers on the political economy of development (Frank, 1969; Worsley, 1972; Amin, 1976) have noted regarding the emergence of a lumpenproletariat is borne out in this study. Labour in the Third World economies is relatively privileged by comparison with the growing marginality\(^{12}\) of a significant proportion of the population when 'development' occurs.

Slightly more than half of the working-age population make less than $150 per month. Roughly calculated, 52% of the working-age population receive 20% of total cash income

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\(^{11}\) A notable exception is the Bajau who has outfitted his very large boat for trawling and moved with his brothers and their families six months prior to our arrival to fishing grounds on the east coast. They were said to make as much as $2000 per month selling their catches direct for the much higher prices of the urban market (Garadan, F/H: 1975).

\(^{12}\) Although statistics have been inflated by the refugees, their arrival can only be seen as exacerbating the natural trends in the local economy.
among villagers. Ninety-three percent of these are fishermen or have no regular formal employment.

The inevitable stratification following on non-collective development approaches something of an 'ideal type' in the Bajau case. Figure 4:6 reveals an almost perfect distribution of income according to the Western capitalist model. The growing articulation of the Bajau economy with a national and international capitalist one is the obvious explanation for this 'neat' picture of the emerging Bajau stratification pattern.

The significance of wage-labour in Bajau economic transformation cannot be underestimated. Wage-earning was undoubtedly the single most important precipitant of the growing stratification within the Bajau community. As one villager commented recently: "For those who fish -- nothing; those who work wages -- have" (Pindan, E/H: 1975). The table on income distribution in 1975 (Figure 4:6) reveals that wage-workers still earn some of the highest incomes in the village. Wage-labour was unquestionably the pivot in the economic, social and ideological transformation of the Bajau. It provided some Bajau with new financial and social resources enabling them to move out of direct productive labour activities and to exploit their less advantaged kinsmen. What was a minor occupational difference in the mid-1960s, has since become a major qualitative distinction, accounting for the dominance of some and the subordination of others within the community.

Given the loose structure of their traditional society, wage-labour seems to have had an extraordinary, unmediated impact on the ideology of the Bangau-Bangau Bajau. The laissez-faire individualism that emerged conforms to Marx's description in the Grundrisse of the abstracted exchange relation and social being introduced in the capitalist formation with money wages.

As material representative of general wealth, as individualized exchange value, money must be the direct object, aim and product of general labour, the labour of all individuals. Labour must directly produce exchange value, i.e. money. It must therefore be wage labour (1973: 224).

... the power which each individual exercises over the activity of others or over social
Figure 4:6  Frequency Distribution of Cash Incomes* by Occupational Sector (1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cash income per month in Malaysian dollars**</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Unskilled Labour</th>
<th>Skilled and Semi-skilled Labour</th>
<th>Professional Clerical</th>
<th>Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 50</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 150</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151 - 250</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251 - 350</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351 - 500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 +</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Again the necessity for treating this data cautiously must be stressed. Most fishing and entrepreneurial incomes vary considerably from month to month. The figures given by these respondents must be viewed as rough averages. Some of these were carefully and reliably calculated (some shopkeepers, for example). On the other hand, estimations by fish-dealers are far more complex and less likely to be credible. Where income information was not provided by respondents, it was often possible to estimate an income based on known rates of remuneration for his particular occupation. Only when a reasonably reliable assessment was impossible was the 'not known' category resorted to.

**These calculations do not include valuation of the subsistence contribution of fish or cassava which are consumed without passing through the market. The subsistence value contributed by a full-time fisherman might be as high as $50 per month. Sedentary villagers who were using public land adjacent to the bridge for planting probably added a non-cash contribution to family income equivalent to $20 a month.
Wealth exists in him as the owner of exchange values, of money (1973: 157).

The dissolution of all products and activities into exchange values presupposes the dissolution of all fixed personal (historic) relations of dependence in production, as well as the all-sided dependence of the producers on one another (1973: 156).

Much of contemporary Bajau ideology is a conscious representation of these new social relations. Wages provided the material means for its realization in the competitive, acquisitive activities of individual Bajau:

I must look for money -- I will work for the government a long time -- when I have a motor launch and can do business I will stop (Tigan, L/H: 1969).

'Business', the epitome of objectification and detachment of exchange from personal relations, became the most valued activity among the Bajau, and its maximizing ethic, the justification for indifferent relations among villagers. Their consciousness reflects a clear recognition that they are now "... individuals ruled by abstractions, whereas earlier they depended on one another" (Grundrisse, 1973: 164).
The Conscious and Unconscious in Social Change

Theoretical concern with social change commonly focuses on the relative causal significance of conscious human motivation and the structural relationships within which human action takes place. Weber explicitly posited a causal reciprocity between the two spheres emphasizing the dynamic role of subjective consciousness in economic activity.

Economic action involves a conscious primary orientation to economic considerations. It must be conscious, for what matters is not the objective necessity of making economic provision, but the belief that it is necessary (1947: 158-59, emphasis added).

Weber's iteration of the subjective has been taken up by a substantial number of contemporary analysts of the development process. By some, this has been carried to the extreme of conferring primacy on personality characteristics and value change -- for example, motivation to achieve (McClelland's 'n-ach', 1962), or outward-looking orientation (Lerner's 'empathy', 1958).

For others, elements of consciousness are prerequisites to analysis of social action. Berger argues that the focus of analysis must at least begin with transformation of plausibility structures, "the kinds of consciousness plausible under particular social circumstances" (1973: 16). He rejects the notions of those among Marxists who "... interpret elements of consciousness as dependent variables" (p. 18). 'Consciousness' to Berger is capable of independent transmission, of export or imposition. Manning Nash also adopts subjective experience as the fundamental basis of explanation.

The cognitive awareness of the people in the society must be gotten before the scientific or anthropological meaning can be attributed or adduced (1965: 315-16).

In focusing on the subjective, everyday attitudes, values and rationalizations, the 'ideology' proffered by Bajau villagers, I am not attaching primary causation in
social change to motivation or ideas. We shall ultimately return to the arguments posed by Godelier that the more decisive conditions determining the historical necessity (this 'rationality') of a particular system "arise out of unintentional properties inherent in social relations" (1972: viii), and his efforts to transcend an indeterminate interactional stalemate without sacrificing reciprocal causation.

To move from description of the rules to establishment of the laws, by way of knowledge of the facts, means passing from the intentional to the unintentional and analysing the relation between them; it means theoretically conceiving social reality as it manifests itself and as everyone experiences it, as a reality that is both willed and not-willed, performed and suffered, as a 'mixed' reality ... (1972: 260).

The principal concepts relevant to this consideration of consciousness are identity (how the individual perceives himself, what collectivity (ies) and symbol systems he associates himself with; how he defines such groupings vis-a-vis relevant others (in terms of power, status or economic advantage); and ideology (notions, beliefs, values and those rationalizations which justify expressed identity, and are expressed in personal behaviour and social practices). These concepts of identity and ideology are inextricably so, as the individual must accommodate his self (or group) definition with his value hierarchy to some degree, although consistency is illusory and unlikely to appear beneath the most overt and superficial levels of consciousness.

Identity is implicitly a relative concept. It is a notion impossible to employ without reference to external

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1 This definition takes into account Althusser's stress on the materiality of ideology as it is both inserted into and determined by practice (1971: 158-59). I do not, as will be evident, accept what is taken to be Althusser's supposition of individual consciousness as a unitary subject of ideology (Hirst, 1976). Hirst's conception of individual consciousness as reflecting a "decentered complex of practices and statuses which have distinct conditions of existence" (p. 400) seems to me the more sustainable position even in terms of Althusser's own structuralist framework. Although Hirst does not make the point, it will be argued here that these conditions arise out of the complex articulation of several modes of production in social formations and the particular location of individuals/groups in that formation.
relationships and their subjective perception. Psychological theory and social and anthropological evidence support the conclusion that the way people perceive themselves and their social sets is largely determined by contention and interaction with constructed categories of relevant 'others'. This process of identity formation through interaction seems to apply at both the individual and group levels: the individual's definition of self is constructed in response to reactions of others (Mead, 1962); ethnic identity is based on perceived or real differences rationalizing relationships of confrontation, competition or complementarity with other groups (Barth, 1969; Leach, 1954); the strength and content of class identities is determined by similar processes (Bott, 1957). These boundaries are rarely clear-cut, consistent and intractable. They generally mutate across time and space. The important point to be stressed in this context is the reciprocal nature of the identity formation process -- the creation of notions of insideness and sameness as opposed to outside-ness and difference with reference to certain perceptual categories which the interaction process specifies.

As has been mentioned, Bajau identity in the traditional context was very much a function of their ethnic 'enclosure' and the nature of their limited relationships with land-dwelling groups. By their neighbours, Bajau were identified with two negatively-valued characteristics: their boat-dwelling, nomadic way of life and their animistic beliefs and practices. Poverty, uncleanness, moral pollution and naiveté or lack of intelligence are associated traits typically attached to subsistence people on the wrong side of a Great Tradition. These elements were incorporated into the myths and origin tales that surround the Bajau people and reinforce their subordinate status.

2 The emphasis on religion as an identity-defining principle is interesting in the Bajau-Sama! case because it underlines the subjective relativity of perception in boundary maintenance. Differentiation here rests on oppositions more ideal than real. Bajau ritual has long had an identifiable 'Islamic veneer' (Taylor, 1931: 535). Sama! religious belief and practice still accommodates 'spells' and spirit-mediums of the pre-Islamic folk tradition. Despite complementary syncretism in both cases, defining characteristics were treated categorically by both groups.
Stone demonstrates that much of the negative stereotype imposed from the 'outside' had been internalized by his Bajau informants. But it is important to recognize that identification 'inside' the ecological, economic and status boundary defining the Bajau laut is not identical to the prescriptions of dominant social groups. While Bajau self-ratings as unreligious, uncivilized and dirty correspond to ratings given them by Samal and Tausug, they expressed an independent, positive self-image on characteristics of honesty, friendliness, unselfishness and generosity (1962: 132).

Here we must consider the complexity of the concept of consciousness. For the Bajau, consciousness has at one and the same time to mediate their subordinate situation in the larger social structure and provide meaning and significance in everyday life. Such contradictions are one source of the counterpoint value systems which enable social change. The counterpoint concept is conceived by Wertheim as

... a basic complement to any hierarchical social order ... a source of social dynamics that give rise to the process of evolutionary and in more extreme cases, revolutionary emancipation (1974: 89).

Counterpoint values operate at the level of social institutions (for example, religious themes of egalitarianism alongside a divinely ordained authoritarian system) as well as within the consciousness of the individual (acquiescence to the social prestige hierarchy while mocking pretentious superiority). Jokes, fairy tales, myths and graffiti commonly include representations of alternative values.

Bott's (1957) study of the divergent models of class structure constructed by London informants in different structural positions and having different social reference groups demonstrates the validity of the counterpoint concept. Her work too underlines the ambivalent and dialectical nature of value systems:

People must make use of their personal experience to reach a working definition of the class structure, and their personal needs and wishes enter into it too. Concepts of class are used for general orientations in the society at large ... but the definitions are flexible. They are often internally inconsistent, but since they are used differently in
different contexts and for different purposes, individuals need not be made aware that their concepts are not completely logical and consistent (Bott, 1957: 191).

Another way of posing the counterpoint concept would be in terms of 'modes of consciousness'. This would be complementary to current emphasis in the French Marxist school (Althusser and Balibar, 1970; Meillasoux, 1972; Terray, 1972; Godelier, 1974) on the mixed nature of historical social systems. For Marx modes of production with perfectly corresponding political, economic and ideological structures are analytical tools to be treated as ideal types. Historical 'social formations' are comprised of several modes of production, with one dominating and integrating elements of the others. Within these complex formations various types of productive forces and relations of production are integrated. The nature of the correspondence between these and ideological 'superstructures' has not yet been clearly theorized (Taylor, 1976; Friedman, 1974). However, it follows logically (and from the evidence presented by the Bajau case) that a number of distinct structures of identification and ideological representation interact in complex social formations as well. This was the case in the traditional social formation and with quite different contents in the contemporary Bajau situation.

Bajau Consciousness in the Pre-Capitalist Formation

In the redistributive system of the traditional Sulu social formation, elements of subsistence and slave modes were incorporated into a 'feudal'\(^3\) tributary system in

\(^{3}\)There has been considerable debate regarding the distinctiveness of the 'feudal' and 'asiatic' modes of production (Hindess and Hirst, 1975; Taylor, 1976). Wallerstein, (1976: 281) following Samir Amin, notes that both are variants of a generalized 'tributary' or 'redistributive' mode in which surplus is extracted by a superordinate bureaucracy in the form of 'tribute' in return for the 'protection' of
which patron-client ties cemented peripheral subsistence groups to the segmentary Tausug state (Warren, 1975). Bajau production was articulated to the Tausug redistributive system in such a way as to enable the extraction of surplus by the dominant Tausug in return for rights to water, small-scale exchange and protection. At the same time an integrated and enclosed subsistence-based mode was maintained among the Bajau themselves. This contradiction between their relative autonomy in the one mode and dependence in the other was the source of the contradicting modes of consciousness -- one expressing a positive, the other a negative identity -- evident among Bajau in the traditional situation.

Exploitative relations of production in the larger system were rationalized through an ideology of ethnicity and religious purity. The denigrating mythology surrounding the Bajau, discussed in Chapter One, is one expression of the mode of consciousness corresponding to these external exploitative relations. But the high degree of enclosure (based on ecological concentration, institutional duplication, rigidity of group definition, endogamy and economic pluralism -- Schermerhorn, 1970) imposed on the Bajau, enabled them, despite consciousness of the dominant rationale of subordination, to retain a separate and positive identity corresponding to the egalitarian relations of subsistence production.

Taylor's persistent inquiries into Bajau religious beliefs, brought dissociation from the Islamic religious system barely hinting at a subordinated or 'false' consciousness:

The Moros are forever telling us about their Allah: so I suppose that gods do exist. But as for us, we know nothing about them ...

No one has ever told us about such things (gods). We are a sea people, and we have been too busy getting a living from the sea -- which is a very hard job -- to think about them (1931: 535).

producers. Although certain economic benefits (e.g. cloth, pottery) also accrued to clients of the Sulu Sultanate these occurred in the context of dependent political relationships and constituted a 'negative' type of reciprocity.
Bajau were obviously sensitized to the labels applied by other groups. But the ambiguity inherent in all such symbols was reflected in their manipulation of response to the implied identity. *Pela'u* was the most common term of denigration used by Samal in the Semporna area to refer to the Bajau laut. In 1969 we were told by a Bangau-Bangau villager that when people in town used the term, it meant "very dirty, shabby, a lot of garbage" (Garadan, L/H: 1969). But the definition given Stone by a Sanga-Sanga boat-dweller in a much more traditional and enclosed situation was narrow, literal and irrelevant to his expressed identity:

People call us pela'u, but that is crazy. Pela'u is the name of the house of the lipa [Bajau boat type] ... when people call us that they are calling us house. We call ourselves Sama. [According to Stone 'Sama' means 'together'; The Malay term sama means 'like' or 'the same'] (1962: 117).

Again it should be reiterated that Stone's Bajau respondents who expressed strong negative self-concepts on qualities related to religious purity and culture, nevertheless ranked themselves high on honesty, generosity, friendliness and low on selfishness and pride as own-group characteristics (1962: 132), while ascribing negative ratings on these attributes to Samal and Tausug groups. As an 'enclosed' people whose interaction with super-ordinate groups was strictly prescribed in the earlier period an inward-looking focus and separate ecological base enabled the Bajau to insulate themselves against the full force of an imposed negative identity by ignoring, rationalizing or minimizing the dominant 'mode of consciousness' while emphasizing counter-values among themselves. These were their shared relationships, reciprocal bonds (see pp. 53-54), equality and unique ties to the sea (Stone, 1962; Taylor, 1931).

A similar proposition could be drawn from data on quite disparate social formations. Descriptions of post-conquest Indian society in America (Godelier, 1974), of slave culture in the plantation system of the Caribbean (Genovese, 1975) and of Hindu caste ideologies (Berreman, 1972; Mason, 1971) are congruent with this notion positing the coexistence, and even the historical complementarity of apparently contradictory modes of consciousness.
There is not enough detailed evidence available on the content of traditional Bajau relations with land groups and the effect of these on internal Bajau organization and identification to enable us to work out how the two modes of consciousness were integrated by them. It seems reasonable to suppose that both modes remained more or less dichotomous in the Bajau consciousness, their relevance being largely situational.

The significance of a dominant or hegemonic ideology would presumably increase whenever enclosure of the subordinate group breaks down and concomitant shifts in identification take place. Religion and ecological boundaries were the criteria which defined status in the traditional Tausug-Samal-Bajau social formation of Sulu. It is to be expected that the breakdown of Bajau structural enclosure which had previously countered internalization of the superordinate ideology, would increase its relevance and that new Bajau conceptions of change would be posited in this idiom. Certainly the progressive Islamization of the Bajau and the new house-landward orientation in the late 1960s were motivated by status considerations related to the dominant value-system of the traditional social formation. But on closer examination this essentially functionalist and assimilationist explanation failed to account for the more fundamental transformation that was taking place in the Bajau economic base, social relations and consciousness in 1969. At that time Bajau ideological representations of change were more essentially constructed around an indigenous equivalent of the Weberian concept of formal economic rationality and Marx's money relation, completely transcending the cultural ecological idiom of the traditional Sulu social formation. Any attempt to analyze the transformation of Bajau consciousness within the changing social formation must take into account these two ideological streams: the one which originated in the religio-political legitimations of the traditional social formation (and
which was itself in the process of reformulation and integration at the national level; and the other arising directly out of the new wage-earning economic base discussed in Chapter Four.

Modes of Consciousness in the New Social Formation: The Bajau Ideology of Economic Rationality

Weber (1947) used the concept of formal rationality to define the form of optimum economic maximization which transcends constraints of social institutions. To Weber, formal rationality is most closely approximated in the processes of the monetized market economy. Money in its general purpose sense -- as standard of measurement, medium of exchange and instrument of accumulation of wealth and productive power -- is the lynchpin in the evolution of the 'modern' economic and social system for both Marx and Weber. For Weber it frees the exchange process from the bounds of convention and allows competing production and consumption units to operate autonomously on the basis of calculated self-interest through the market. Money enables precision in accounting and therefore the possibility of 'rational', efficient comparison of means:

Want satisfaction through a market economy normally and in proportion to the degree of rationality presupposes money calculation (1947: 213).

Weber's interest is primarily the ideological context and historical conditions in which rational action can most closely approximate the ideal type. Here money plays an instrumental role to the expression of self-interested individual action in the market.

In Marx's analysis of capitalist social relations greater emphasis is placed on the dialectical properties of money. In the capitalist formation money is not only an expression and facilitator of optimum exchange possibilities, but in its capacity as capital inverts this relationship:
We see, then, how it is an inherent property of money to fulfill its purposes by simultaneously negating them, to achieve independence from commodities, to be a means which becomes an end (Grundrisse, 1973: 151).

The process of inversion/transcendence by which money becomes not merely means to an end (exchange) but an end in itself (that is, a commodity) had clearly taken place in Bajau society:

Before we didn’t have ideas. Our ideas were wrong then -- we knew how to get fish, but not how to get money (Garadan, 1969: L/H).

In its new form as capital money separates the producer from his product, from those whose cooperation he requires to produce it, and from the producer of the goods he consumes. It creates the private individual, whose relations with society are obscured by the generalized social power of money. "The individual carries his social power as well as his bond with society in his pocket" (Grundrisse, 1973: 157).

What we know of the historical effect of the introduction of general purpose money in the colonial context (Steiner, 1954; Nash, 1966; Bohannan, 1967) on previously non-monetized societies illustrates the pervasive power of the 'idea' it infuses -- that in theory all goods or services are potential commodities, subject to numerical

4 The Bajau themselves describe social change as the adoption of a new 'idea' (pikiilan) in which the advantages of a whole range of social activities, including ritual, consumption and distribution practices as well as the more strictly economic provision of livelihood, must now be compared and rationalized in purely economic terms.

Many societies have attempted to resist the full force of monetization by restricting the spheres in which money conversion is legitimate (Steiner, 1954). Others have manipulated it to support traditional cultural values -- through feasting, for example, among Pacific groups (Connell, 1977). It has been argued that even 'deviant' use of money for gambling and alcohol sprees is a form of resistance (Lurie, 1971) to the private accumulation associated with the development of money capitalism in the West.

While disruption in varying degrees appears to occur in all these cases, they do not demonstrate the radical break or conscious rejection of traditional values which characterized the Bajau response.
valuation according to a single scale, to conversion and accumulation and thereby to becoming subordinated to explicitly 'economic' calculation.

It is this concept of calculating 'rationality' which so closely approximates the subjective re-orientation of the Bajau ideology. Its Weberian connotation as the central principle of 'modern' economic and social organization closely parallels the Bajau's own model of the conditions of contemporary social change. This mode of consciousness grew out of their structural incorporation through wage-labour into the commodity market system. And as Marx suggests, the abstractness of the new relations of production mystifies the true relations of dependence of individuals within the new social system and allows competitive individual economic action to appear rational across the strata emerging in the village:

In the money relation, in the developed system of exchange ... the ties of personal dependence ... are in fact exploded ... (at least all personal ties all appear as personal relations); and individuals seem independent (this is an independence which is at bottom merely an illusion, and it is more correctly called indifference), free to collide with one another and to engage in exchange within this freedom ... (Since the single individual cannot strip away his personal definition [in the pre-capitalist society], but may very well overcome and master external relations, his freedom seems to be greater [in the money relation]..." (Grundrisse, 1973: 163-64).

The money relation established through dependence on new technology and wage labour affected everyone in the village (though certainly in varying degrees) so that even fishermen and boat-dwellers expressed, on one level at least, the ideology that arose out of the new 'social being' of the Bangau-Bangau Bajau.

The Bajau perception of change in 1969 almost entirely revolved round the 'idea' of purely economic maximization and progress through individual action. The advantage of competitive individualism; the obsession with material accumulation as progress; conceptions of saving, investment and utility were intimately linked with questions of social mobility and ethnic status, but represented a distinct and dominant cluster in the ideology of change expressed by villagers in 1969:
In the old days when we were poor together we were all equal and shared [mag tabang], now it is every man for himself [mag kenia-kenia] (Tiling, FE/H: 1969).

Now whoever can get the money keeps it. Whoever gets tired first gets only a little ... Now that each person is on his own [mag kenia-kenia] you don't lose like before ... (Abdul, L/H: 1969).

Now we fish one by one or two at the most ... people don't want to share equally as before ... If I have five dollars worth of fish, and another person has two dollars worth, we don't divide evenly [mag bahagi] (Sibogo, F/B: 1969).

Now we aren't friends who share any more. It is better to go on our own [mag kenia-kenia]. If we fish together we fight; if one person is clever he wants to keep all the fish. Things are different now (Gujang, F/B: 1969).

In Bangau-Bangau some are a little bit well off [dayahan] because they use their heads ... If we each take care of ourselves [mag kenia-kenia] -- that's best (Akbai, LF/H: 1969).

Our custom before was different -- like fools. We fished before, we were like children ... Now we are grown up (Landok, L/H: 1969).

Our old way was fishing, now we make money -- you must work with the idea [akal] of taking care of yourself [mag kenia-kenia]; in the old days we didn't have that idea, we fished together [magambit] (Siharati, L/H: 1969).

Before we didn't have ideas. Our ideas were wrong then. We knew how to get fish, but not how to get money ... Now what's mine is mine [mag kenia-kenia]. Each practises his own economy. If his money is finished, that's it, finished (Garadan, L/H: 1969).

The idea of instrumental, 'indifferent' individual action in both Marx and Weber is expressed in the Bajau phrase [mag kenia-kenia] (which can be translated loosely as -- to each his own; every man for himself; what's mine is mine, what's yours is yours), connoting rejection of social interdependence as a basis of economic provision and security.

To demonstrate that this mode of consciousness evolved directly out of the new Bajau relations of production and could not be attributed to some kind of cultural assimilation,
I must stress that this conception of individualism was unparalleled in expressed Samal ideology. When Haji Abdul Majid, an elderly and highly respected island Samal trader commented on changes among the Bajau, his perceptions were still largely posed in terms of the traditional ethos:

Before the war they used to come here and dance on the beach ... Our idea is different than theirs -- they fish, we have gardens [market gardens or small copra crops] ... They now divide their idea, some still have the old idea, some have religion ... They didn't pray. They didn't have a book [Koran] -- only fished and played with their wives until they were tired. They didn't believe in God -- said they couldn't see him. They used to make promises to rocks and trees. They thought that these had gods. Tabawanan, Banaran, Ubian, Kabingan are all Samal. Pela'u are the only ones different because they don't believe in God ... Before they had no religion, now they are divided ... [in their custom] (Danawan Island: 1969).

The exhortations of the Samal elite were similarly posed in the context of a 'traditionalist' religio-political ideology, uncorrelated with the new economic idea of the Bajau. A rare and rather dramatic visit of the local Samal M.P. to Bangau-Bangau following suspension of parliamentary elections is illustrative:

Sept. 28 M.P. Lakaran visited the Kampong with the local imam and one from W. Malaysia and an entourage of Samal assistants and hajis. Lakaran spoke ... "There are two roads a person can follow in life -- one the good road to heaven and the other the bad road to hell ... It was difficult for you in the past without imams and religious schools but now it is possible to study how to pray and enter the mosque ..."

The imam from W. Malaysia (speaking in Malay -- translated and elaborated by Lakaran):
"If you choose progress the religion of West Malaysia should be the religion of the people here -- regardless of position or station in life all people share a sense of belonging and equality in being Muslim." He mentioned gotong royong [Malay for communal self-help ethic] and explicitly identified the state with religion (Diary, Sept. 28, 1969).

Official comments at the opening of the community centre by the Sabah Minister for Culture and Sport on November 5, 1975 was remarkably similar. Again progress and bumiputra (indigenous) solidarity through a common Malayo-Muslim culture was the theme.
The preponderant majority of Semporna Samal in 1969 continued to live off small-hold agriculture and local-market fishing. Their world-view and economy were typical of a peasant situation (Wolf, 1966), partly subsistence and partly attached to the complex economic system of the larger society. By contrast with the Bajau an insignificant proportion had entered into full-time wage labour as of 1969.

The marked exception to the general Samal situation was the ascendancy to nouveau riche status of a small but very visible Samal elite who, through chance, kinship ties and the political favour of a state government cultivating its Muslim constituency, had been given privileged access to the natural wealth of Sabah's timber resources. This was the reference group (mistakenly generalized to apply to all Samal) against which Bajau now measured their notions of ethnic equality and their own 'progress' [dayahaf].

The idea of Bangau-Bangau is different from the land people. They garden, we go to sea. Sea people haven't got this [pointed to his head]. Land people have it. They are making progress. They have timber grants. Our $50 every month is in their pocket.5 They buy taxis; they're given engines [i.e. by government grant] (Akbai, LF/H: 1969).

It could hardly be said that even this Samal elite espoused anything resembling a spirit of individualistic enterprise. The wealth derived from timber concessions was in the form of royalties. The actual development of roads, logging and replanting required by the grant were generally contracted to Chinese entrepreneurs or foreign companies (Lee, 1976). Conspicuous consumption and patronage in the style of the traditional datus was the most immediate and obvious consequence of sudden wealth for these Samal.

With government encouragement, investment (largely in

5 This refers to the $50 per capita dividend which every citizen of Sabah was supposed to receive annually from the government out of public shares in timber cooperatives. To my knowledge no Bajau from Bangau-Bangau ever received this payment. In 1975, many Samal were complaining that they had received the dividend only once or twice a few years before and never heard about it again.
transport — passenger boats and taxis) was being undertaken on only a very small scale by the Samal elite in 1969. The really interesting business activity which evolved in subsequent years (again supported or encouraged by government contracting policies favouring bumi.putra) was being conducted by middle-level Samal who were equally frustrated by the monopolization of timber wealth by Samal with political connections. These included a secondary school graduate, an ex-primary school teacher who had separately gone into contracting, and an island trader of Samal-Tausug descent who started a very successful prawn fishing company. Such business activity was not widespread and more or less paralleled independent Bajau entrepreneurial development during the same period.

The ideology of economic rationality was a mode of consciousness, then, which emerged directly out of the Bajau relationship to money capitalism through wage-labour which by 1969 had surpassed fishing as the primary source of livelihood for the majority of villagers. Its thorough-going adoption is undoubtedly extraordinary and may be explained by the looseness of their kin structure and lack of land ties which might otherwise have placed conservative strains on unchallenged substitution of the money relation. In any case the character of Bajau social change must be understood as a much more complex transformation. At the same time as economic forces were operating on Bajau social relations and ideological constructs, they were equally important in increasing the relevance of the larger political-economy in which change was taking place. Paradoxically, transformation also increased the necessity of integrating the other mode of consciousness paralleling the religio-political, ethnic-status legitimations of the pre-capitalist mode.
Reformulated idioms of ethnic identification or religious legitimation are commonly utilized in the strategies of 'modernizing' nations to promote unity, legitimate authority and bind so-called 'primordial loyalties' (Apter, 1964) to new political and economic structures. But they may, as in the Malaysian case, have equal functional utility in disguising the real class differences which cross-cut ethnic groups.

The religio-cultural ethic is enshrined in the Malaysian constitution which specifies the 'special place' of the Malay ethnic group, Malay language and the Muslim religion. National propaganda aimed at the non-Malay, indigenous peoples of Sabah (including the Bajau) seeks to create primordial loyalties by encouraging transfer of identification to the Malay group. There 'Malayness' and participation in the community of Islam has been charged with connotations of modernity, change and progress (Roff, 1974: 154-158). Roff notes that Tun Mustapha, then Chief Minister of Sabah and of Tausug descent, frequently stressed that to 'masok Melayu' (literally to enter Malayness) is to become more modern (p. 170).

Pressures to convert and formalize Bajau laut adherence to Islam mounted as the 1969 elections approached and intensified following communal riots in Malaya in the same year. The talk given by the visiting Samal M.P. (p. 87) is a transparent example of efforts to equate concepts of political equality and economic progress with Islam in the consciousness of non-Malay indigenous peoples. At the time, most villagers' attitudes to Islam were understandably

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7 The behavioural reactions of Bajau villagers to the talk and the condescending religious instruction which concluded the occasion warrants mention. Throughout, most listened quietly and without visible response. While the M.P. delivered his political sermon, the wife of the village panglima mumbled repeatedly under her breath "Thank him for the engine ..." (that is the engine granted under a government cooperative scheme to promote cooperative fishing but which in fact had become the private property of the headman as a political favour). At the point when the men were lined up and pointed in the direction of Mecca for a prayer demonstration, many of the boat-dwelling fishermen left in disgust or embarrassment.
ambi~alent, ranging from cynicism and rejection:

That's why I don't believe in Hajis, they cheat and steal (Saidi, student/H: 1969).

Our praying is different from the Muslim race. We don't read, we only talk with God. The imam wants all the people of Bangau-Bangau to pray at the mosque -- not me! (Sarani, F/B: 1969)

to passive accommodation and tentative approval:

A long time ago people here could not enter the mosque in town ... I have never been to the mosque because I am not clever but some of the people in Bangau-Bangau are now ... (Udani, FL/H: 1969).

God is stronger than saitons (evil spirits) ... if we save our old customs we cannot become successful (dayah an). We don't want jins (shaman) -- if we don't have jins we won't have busung [ghost sickness]; we don't want living in boats (Garadan, LE/H: 1969).

Although a few villagers including the headman occasionally attended Mosque in town, at that time religion rarely entered conversation about change, and then more as a symbol of relatively greater respectability in the outside world than as a valued good-in-itself.

By 1975 two villagers had been trained as imam and a government sponsored Mosque was finally built in Bangau-Bangau (which still has no primary school). With the fear and discomfort of attending the Mosque in town removed, some 50 men now attend regularly. Eighteen of the 30 1975 respondents (almost entirely from among those classed as 'labourers' and 'entrepreneurs') claimed to be at least nominal Muslims. Of the eight stating that they were not Muslim (four gave no clear response), seven were fishermen, five of these still boat-dwellers:

We never pray, we're kaffir (Jirul, F/B: 1975).

Political, social and economic pressures unquestionably account for much of the initial attraction of Islam. It had

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Underlining the dissociation of house-dwellers from boat and fishing people which this ideological divergence implies was the tendency of many villagers to distinguish 'boat-people' from 'villagers':

All people in Bangau-Bangau are Muslim.
Some boat-people are Muslim, some not (Albai, E/H: 1975).
always been the most important rationale for status distinctions among ethnic groups in Sulu. Very practical disadvantages associated with non-adherence had always affected Bajau laut. Villagers frequently complained of having to bribe PWD overseers in order to keep their work, while "those of the same religion [Islam] don't give money" (Tigan, L/H: 1969). To obtain permanent residence or citizenship, conversion to Islam was obligatory. Several Semporna Chinese informants also attested to this unofficial requirement in their own cases.

Comments in 1975 indicated that Islam had taken on unprecedented substantive significance in the consciousness of many Bajau and was accorded an adherence more than simply formal or pragmatic. Notable is the fact that several respondents referred to religion spontaneously when asked the most general questions on change in the village, sometimes to the exclusion of the strictly economic measures universally elicited in 1969.

Question 2:2 What do you think about Bangau-Bangau before compared to Bangau-Bangau now? How have things here changed?

It's much better now. The religion [Islam] is strong (Sibani, E/H: 1975).

We have progress. The religion is strong now (Salatu, L/H: 1975).

We have God's law. Now we pray ...

Question 2:5 Are Bangau-Bangau people equal with the land people?

Yes, we have progress [maju]9 -- water pipes, electricity, Islam ... (Saloma [f], L/H: 1975).

The magkenia-kenia philosophy is still a strong and largely independent ideological force:

Question 2:14 Is it easier to have success if everyone works collectively or if each person looks out for himself?

If each one looks after himself [magkenia-kenia], then whoever is cleverest succeeds [dayahan] (Lahudin, E/H: 1975).

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9The Malay term maju (progress) was commonly used in 1975 instead of Bajau words with similar connotations.
Kenia-kenia is best. Some think rich, some think poor (Tulong, E/H: 1975).

Mag kenia-kenia is our custom now. That way there is no disagreement (Samurani, F/B: 1975).

In those days we would fish together [magambit]. If we tried to do that now, we would fight (Johari, FE/H: 1975).

But it appears to be less consistently expressed and universally held than before:

Question 2:14

Working together is better than on your own [mag kenia-kenia]. That way you become strong (Siharati, L/H: 1975).

It's good to be one -- together we make progress [dayahan]; but you have to use your head, it isn't just luck (Akbi, E/H: 1975).

And some responses suggest the possibility that it may ultimately be subordinated to the mode of consciousness propagated by the state society.

Question 2:18 Would you like anything to be changed in Bangau-Bangau now?

We don't need change, we have the Koran (Silati, L/H: 1975).

Question 2:14


The problem of explaining the transformation of Bajau consciousness is complex. We have at one level to understand what function the elaborated pre-capitalist idioms and forms just described play in the relations between 'modernizing' nations and larger international structures; and on a

10 This respondent was one of the two unofficial imam who did in fact give up his Friday afternoon wage to pray in Mosque. He was the only one in the village said to do this consistently.
micro-level we have to explain how and why these forms and idioms have become part of the conscious activity of Bajau people despite ideal-typical incongruity with the capitalist structures of social relations and consciousness which had taken coherent form by 1969. The possibility that the latter may be subsumed by a coopted pre-capitalist mode of consciousness warrants explanation as it challenges any linear assumptions about the transformation process.

It is possible to analyze these contradictory structures of consciousness along the same lines applied earlier in the chapter to the structures of the traditional social formation. The concept of the domination of one among several modes in a social formation and the subjection to dependency of aspects of the other modes in the short term interests of the dominant one can be utilized at both the macro and micro levels, and applied to both economic structures and structures of consciousness. As an example at the international level, Kahn has argued (on Indonesia) that world-wide capitalism dominates the petty commodity and subsistence production of peripheral economies in the interests of maximizing profit, "a by-product of which is the stagnation of local forms of commodity production" (1975: 12). Hence, in dependent economies "the growth of new economic forms [and here we include corresponding ideologies] seems to lead almost directly to their dissolution" (p. 31).

The Bajau ideology of economic rationality (mag_kenia-kenia) was their own 'theoretical' expression of the new material relations introduced by wage-labour. If a perfect correspondence between base and superstructure could be assumed and if Bajau wage-labour had been embedded in a 'pure' capitalist economy we would have had to predict that the mag_kenia-kenia ideology would supplant entirely those pre-capitalist constructs in which shared communal identity, religion or ethnicity were the primary rationalizations of relations of production or exploitation:

Free individuality, based on the universal development of individuals and on their sub-ordination of their communal, social productivity as their social wealth is the third stage ... Patriarchal as well as ancient conditions (feudal also) thus disintegrate with the development of commerce, of luxury,
of money, of exchange value, while modern society arises and grows in the same measure (Marx, Grundrisse, 1973: 158).

But 'vulgar' assertions of one-sided structural determination of superstructure have been widely criticized within Marxist circles as simplistic, mechanistic and incompatible with Marx's undefined but clearly dialectical concept of consciousness as both embedded in (evolving and interacting with) and a mystified representation of real material relations (Gottlieb, 1975; Lichtman, 1976; Frow, 1977). Consciousness could not play the active role it does in Marx's schema of change if his conception of the relation of structure to superstructure were in fact so rigidly dichotomous. Nor, as has been pointed out, are concrete historical formations to be confused with the conceptual object of investigation (Marx's 'pure' or 'ideal' average' -- Althusser, 1970: 195-97) -- the mode of production.

Even in Western societies exhibiting characteristics which most closely approximate the ideal average of the capitalist mode, pre-capitalist relations persist. To choose an obvious example, the family is an institution in which production and distribution relations do not operate along lines of individual rational economic accounting consistent with principles of the capitalist mode (Weber, 1947: 98; Meillasoux, 1972: 98). The necessity of explaining such 'anomalies', as well as explaining the possibility of moving beyond the capitalist mode has made the elaboration of a theory of transition a "first priority of Marxist investigation" (Althusser, 1970: 197). Hence the focus in Marxist anthropology on the analysis of concrete historical systems where the interaction between unevenly developed elements in the empirical social formation can be analyzed and used to inform our theoretical understanding.

This notion of change as an uneven and non-lineal phenomenon is critical to understanding the source of contradictions in social formations. Quite clearly from empirical evidence an emerging dominating mode of production extends, maintains or reformulates some elements of pre-existing modes in the process of its development, while partially destroying them in other respects. The family as a vestige of pre-capitalist kinship relations is arguably
in the process of deteriorating, but it is clear that
despite its internal incongruity with the dominant capitalist mode this structure has functioned to support the latter nevertheless as a cheap means of reproducing the work force and providing social security (with responsibility for raising the young, caring for the old, etc.). The decline of such props is interpreted not only as a simple step in the continuing evolution of the pure mode (in this case capitalism), but at the same time, as a source of its destruction. As part of the complex pattern by which these internal contradictions of a social formation work themselves out, they create in the process new configurations of forces, relations and ideas, and a new dynamic of change.

... There is inherent in the capitalist system a tendency toward self-destruction which, in its earlier stages, may well assert itself in the form of a tendency toward retardation of progress. The capitalist process not only destroys its own institutional framework but it also creates the conditions for another [socialism] ... In the end there is not so much difference as one may think between saying that the decay of capitalism is due to its success and saying that it is due to its failure (J. Schumpeter, cited in Wallerstein, 1976: 280-81).

In the process of incorporation of the Bajau into the national economy and through it to the world market, we can see the same complex interaction of old or remolded pre-capitalist structures with new capitalist ones. On the one hand the destruction of cooperative economic activity, shared relations of distribution and consciousness of equality and identity of interest amongst themselves corresponds to the clear dominance of the new wage-earning economic base. The substitution of an ideology of economic rationality and the developing petty entrepreneurial orientation are logically consistent with the characteristic structures of the capitalist mode. But alongside and interacting with this conceptually 'pure' process of transformation, we find integrated but internally incongruous structures deriving from both modes of the pre-capitalist formation: the replication of dependency relations among Bajau in the fishing sector, and attempts to acquire productive resources through political patronage are the most obvious examples.

Overall the new mode of production uses
existing relations of production, social organization and ideology in order to overthrow them and we have here the means of extending these relations above and beyond their sphere of origin and their original function (Godelier, 1974: 71).

This process of appropriation logically applies to pre-existing modes of consciousness as well. Symbols of ethnicity and religion imply an identity which has no real material basis. Again, as Godelier says, "... earlier ideological forms now used for new ends, correspond to relations of production which were more egalitarian" (1974: 71).

The emphasis on communality of Malay identity belies the essentially hierarchical and exploitative nature of contemporary economic relations in Malaysia in which persisting patron-client forms are combined and articulated with the dominating capitalist mode. In this way, the re-formulated pre-capitalist mode of consciousness serves the interests of the Malaysian ruling class 11 and the international capitalist market structure which it in turn (not entirely consciously) serves.

Bajau incorporation into the Malaysian state, a process collateral with incorporation into the international market, has entailed the imposition and absorption of two modes of consciousness -- one based on competitive individualism and the other on ethnic and religious identity. It is predictable that the mode of consciousness predicated on a new Bajau identification (Malay and Muslim) will subordinate the mode emphasizing economic rationality as the illusory nature of the latter's image of universal and limitless material advantage becomes raw and apparent and requires further mystification. In the peripheral economies of the

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11 For evidence that ideologies of nationalism and ethnicity in Malaysia are in fact illusory productions of a ruling alliance (which is not itself ethnically based), one has only to look at the long-standing working agreement between the non-Malay business community and the indigenous political elite which has been a cornerstone of Malaysian communal politics (Milne, 1970). This point was also made in papers recently presented at the 1977 Conference of the Australian Anthropological Society by Shamsul Baharuddin and Wan Zawawi and is graphically documented for Sabah in E. Lee's (1976) Timber Towkays of Sabah.
Third World, the limits of dependency make it too soon apparent that
it is impossible for the individuals of a class, etc. to overcome ... [exploitative conditions] en masse without destroying them. A particular individual may by chance get on top of these relations, but the mass of those under their rule cannot ... (Marx, Grundrisse, 1973: 164).

If continued growth manages to shore up the mythology of the 'rationality' of competitive and possessive individualism in dominating capitalist societies (Amin, 1976; Connell, 1977), the consequent structural stultification of the peripheral Third World economies provides no such basis for disguising exploitative relations. The functional utility of manipulating pre-capitalist identities in hiding developing class cleavages is obvious.12

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12 This of course does not explain why the Bajau should find such identities attractive and returns us to the very complicated question of the role of ideology in the process of individual identification. I can only reiterate here the basically phenomenological explanation of the pre-theoretical thinking of the individual in class society which is a strong theme in the Marxist discussion of this question.

There is a very profound and deceptively simple insight running through Marx's analysis -- that of the necessary connection between powerlessness and permanence. When we are alienated we experience our subordination as a 'natural condition' (Lichtman, 1976: 68).

A similar understanding is implicit in Althusser's use of the term 'interpellation' (hailing) to define the relationship between the individual as subject and the ideological presentation of his condition of being (1971: 62).
CONCLUSION

I am aware that the implications of this analysis of the correspondence of Bajau modes of consciousness to the structural conditions of the social formation could be easily misconstrued. If the Bajau case were to be treated in isolation and outside the context of a comprehensive theoretical framework, its analysis might legitimately be criticized as ultimately depending on mechanistic reduction. I would like to address this issue, if in somewhat sketchy form at the present time, by arguing 1) that the direction of Bajau change was (and is) not 'determined' in any simplistic, mechanistic sense and 2) that their peculiar response to these historical forces can not be generalized to imply any inevitable pattern of accommodation of non-Western societies to these forces. Let us begin by reconsidering Godelier's problematic of specifying the relation between the intentional and unintentional in social change.

This analysis of the subjective Bajau interpretation of change and the situational interplay of modes of consciousness reveals consciousness as more than a mere mechanical representation of changed relations of production. The Bajau discussion of the old and new 'idea' clearly implies a recognition of will, of choice, of active participation in the process of transformation. Nevertheless, their response occurred in the context of structural forms and interventions which were incompatible with existing social relations and forms. This consequence moreover could not have been apparent when the ultimately 'critical' choices (to acquire the engine, to work for wages, to seek status beyond the boundaries of the Bajau identity) were originally made. In the Bajau case, structural laws interacted with conscious rules and choices to produce change. The means and ends of Bajau social organization have undergone transformation that is indeed 'a mixed reality' both willed and unwilled (Godelier, 1972: 260).

Godelier poses the hypothesis that systems have variable capacities to absorb change without transformation of basic relationships. Beyond a certain point the system must evolve toward a new structure of relations:
A structure has the property of tolerating and digesting certain types of event up to a certain point and time when it is the event that digests the structure (Godelier, 1972: 310).

The introduction of capitalist exchange possibilities clearly is the 'event' which digested the 'structure' of Bajau society. The Marxist model of the transformation process in which use-value is destroyed in the evolution of exchange value and communal social relations are dissolved with the evolution of the money relation is clearly demonstrated in this historical example. But any theory of social change which rejects mechanistic determinism must also seek to encompass corporate resistance to individualist-oriented development and cultural alternatives to the Western capitalist pattern, neither of which the Bajau of Bangau-Bangau exemplify to date. Certain provisos must then be emphasized to set this study in proper perspective.

First of all, it is possible to argue that the Bajau experience presents an exceptionally unmediated impression of the impact of the money relation in the development of capitalist exchange relations and of the hegemonic political-ideological system on consciousness. These operated almost simultaneously in the destruction of the former enclosed, communal and subsistence-based structure. Bajau 'enclosure' was as much imposed from the outside on the basis of cultural and ecological exclusion by landed groups (Samal and Tausug), as it was founded on their internal subsistence relations and corresponding identification. Shared and egalitarian relations were premised on a loosely-defined bilateral kin structure which is generally regarded as a weak basis for long-term corporate activity.

1 Specifically, this occurred through the introduction of commodities which initially served traditional Bajau cultural goals, and through the subsequent introduction of wage-labour.

2 I should qualify this by noting that some members of the fishing and boat-dwelling sectors of the village appear to have persisted in following this way of life by choice and that their divorce from the village may represent a passive resistance to the changes taking place there.
What is interesting above all in this situation [Kelantan Malay] is that these economic processes, which had widened the gap between capitalist entrepreneurs and propertyless fishermen, were not cushioned to any apparent degree by the elaborate network of kinship ties in the local social system. ... What it may imply is that such a bilateral kin structure, unlike a unilineal descent group structure, tends not to promote corporate group action in the face of economic inequality (Firth, 1966: 348; see also Wolf, 1966: 93-94 and Nash, 1966: 5).

The lack of a land base as a focal point for social relationships and cultural tradition may have compounded the susceptibility of Bajau social structure to dissolution. Also, the nuclear family as a basic economic unit was a part of the pre-capitalist structure encouraged by boat-living. So that, as Marx suggests (Capital, I, 1972: 792), the capitalist mode of production 'set free' elements already in the Bajau social structure which were recombined in the new formation.

Set free, or 'activated' also by new structural possibilities was the consciousness of subordination and inferiority only suppressed in the precapitalist mode under conditions of effective enclosure by their own counterpoint mode of consciousness. This consciousness of subordination can be said to have played a reciprocal role with external historical factors in transforming their society. It naturally predisposed the Bajau to changes which circumvented the ecological and cultural basis of their low status. Ironically it also made attractive the mode of consciousness propagated by the State society which offered redefinition of their status in a more inclusive version of the old religio-ethnic idiom and which synthesized these elements with notions of 'progress' that the Bajau had already committed themselves to.

This recognizes consciousness as a pivotal factor in social change. It is also consistent with theoretical interpretations establishing consciousness as part of, or internal to, social structure (Althusser, 1971; Gottlieb, 1975; Lichtman, 1975; Frow, 1977).

Human beings are not active in their productive life and consequently conscious in the remainder of their existence. They
are conscious in their productive activity and active in the production of their consciousness (Lichtman, 1975: 51).

The possibility that the precapitalist mode of consciousness may dominate the mode characterized by mag kena-kenia relations is at this point in time, a hypothesis suggested by the 1975 data, but also logically consistent with the relations of dependency of the Malaysian state and its internal ethnic minorities in the international capitalist system, and with the correlative stagnation in the local economy which is already apparent.

There is no reason to assume that the dialectic should stop there or that these transformations of Bajau consciousness preclude future reassertion of egalitarian values or cooperative activity in a broader context. One of the essential characteristics of ideological systems is their ambiguity and 'relative autonomy' (Althusser, 1971) so that the same idea system can under certain conditions 'serve the forces of liberation' as it had the forces of domination as Sharp suggests (1976: 68; see also Hirst, 1976: 396-97). The key problem of social science in the Marxist tradition is establishing those conditions.

The contradictions between modes of consciousness and the changing economic and political relations with which they interact in a social formation clearly affects the relative emphasis on different ideological contents to serve counterpoint functions. Kessler's (1972) analysis of the role of the Islamic idiom in Kelantan politics presents it, not as fetish hiding exploitative relations, but as a foundation for collectivist solidarity legitimating peasant resistance to economic domination by the national Malay elite.3 Parochial limitations nevertheless do characterize Kessler's example as other cultural movements. This tendency is a major stumbling-block to theoretical extension of the class concept to ethnic, sex, etc. based liberation movements. Yet these constructs remain the source of the most powerful alternative (counterpoint)

3The interests of this group as we have seen were represented by the Malay component of the ruling national alliance, which predicated many of its policies on formalistic identification with the same belief system.
values within and on the periphery of the capitalist centres. This is partly because social placement by race, religion, sex, ethnicity and even nation remains an efficient means of distributing people into subordinate classes and automatically reproducing exploitative relations despite the bourgeois ideal of free and equal individual competition in the market. Perhaps also this is because their continued existence as truncated elements of the precapitalist modes from which they were recruited inevitably guarantees the endurance of some of the values that correspond to these modes.

The resurgence of these values in the context of imposed, then reflexive or consciously constructed group identities suggests the importance of clarification and systematic application of the concept of 'enclosure' (see pp. 16-17). The enclosure of social groups in the interests of efficient exploitation automatically provides a condition for recognition of identity of interest and alternative modes of consciousness among themselves. Calls for autonomous development, the resurgence of regional and ethnic identities, etc., reflect attempts to construct enclosure as bases for such alternative types of transformation. With an understanding of these processes, the next task would lie in formulating a theoretical and practical basis for transcending these boundaries so that reconstituted cultural-ideological idioms and practices become the basis for universal recognition of the common material basis of these identities (Amin, 1976a; Sharp, 1976).

For the Bajau as for ourselves the persistence of precapitalist structures provide counterpoints around which reorganization and restructuring are always possibilities. Mag tabang remains both the historical precedent and logical opposition to mag kenia-kenia.
GLOSSARY

belanjar -- supplies, equipment
dayahan -- success, progress, wealth
derminan -- sponsorship required for non-citizens to remain in Malaysia
jin -- male or female spirit mediums; cure illness and intercede with spirits
kati -- measure equivalent to 1.33 pounds
kumpit -- long, narrow boat for fishing and transport, capable of high speeds when motorized
laut -- sea
lepa-lepa -- traditional round-bottomed houseboat and fishing craft, especially common in the Semporna area
luwa'an -- derogatory term used by Tausug to refer to Bajau laut, meaning 'spat out', 'vomit'
magambit -- communal fish drives practiced traditionally by Bajau in certain seasons
magkenia-kenia -- term referring to relationships based on individualist ethic: 'every man for himself'; 'what's mine is mine, what's yours is yours'
magtabang -- term referring to cooperative relations, sharing, etc.
magtendok -- voluntary dependency relationship in which a fisherman accepts loans or supplies in return for a prior commitment to sell his future catches to a particular dealer
mandul -- overseer on PWD road construction crews
panglima -- village headman
pelarian -- refugees from the civil war in the southern Philippines
pela'u -- derogatory term used by Samal to refer to Bajau laut. No single accepted meaning, but probably has origin in the Malay word prahu for boat
pikilan -- idea, way of thinking
pikul -- measure equivalent to 133 pounds
vinta -- outrigger boathouses
THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF BORNEO
AND THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO
### Census for Map II - 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House number</th>
<th>Name of household</th>
<th>m - number of adult males</th>
<th>f - number of adult females</th>
<th>c - number of children</th>
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<td>2. Sampanbulan</td>
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<td>7. Jiratun</td>
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<td>13. Abualam</td>
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<td>30. Udani</td>
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<td>31. Desal</td>
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<td>33. Tulong</td>
<td>4m, 4f, 8c</td>
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<td>34. (See # 33)</td>
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<td>35. Tiling</td>
<td>4m, 4f, 17c</td>
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<td>37. Awang</td>
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<td>38. Gilong</td>
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<td>42. Salibulan</td>
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<td>43. Tanjung Baru</td>
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<td>44. Labu</td>
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<td>45. Bilihati</td>
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<td>46. Malihani</td>
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<td>50. Samarani</td>
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<td>52. Belung</td>
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<td>53. Abdul Kadi</td>
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<td>54. Abdul</td>
<td>5m, 4f, 14c</td>
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<tr>
<td>55. Talasia</td>
<td>4m, 3f, 6c</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CENSUS FOR MAP III -- 1975

House number. Name of household head; m-number of adult males
f-number of adult females
c-number of children
(r-number of refugees)

1. (Community Centre)
   Johari; 4m, 5f, 3c (12r)
2. Silai; 1m, 1f
3. Badduya; 1m, 1f, 3c
4. Haji Omar; 3m, 3f, 6c (12r)
5. Ibno Ali; 2m, 1f (1r)
6. Dalua; 1m, 1f, 1c
7. Hussin; 4m, 4f, 8c (16r)
8. (see #7)
9. Dakmat; 2m, 4f, 7c
10. Salai; 3m, 3f, 2c (5r)
11. Hajari; 2m, 3f, 4c (9r)
12. Mandor; 2m, 2f, 6c (1r)
13. Juma'ati; 1m, 1f, 2c (1r)
14. Makling; 3m, 3f, 5c (1r)
15. Juhuri; 5m, 4f, 2c
16. Kiri; 1m, 1f, 1c (3r)
17. Salatu; 4m, 5f, 10c (12r)
18. Leksiun; 5m, 5f, 11c
19. Hratun; 1m, 1f, 3c
20. Lankasani; 3m, 2f, 2c
21. (see #20)
22. Salbati; 1m, 1f
23. Kitting; 2m, 3f, 7c
24. Manlik; 2m, 3f, 2c
25. Dandan; 2m, 1f, 5c
26. Eking; 16m, 8f, 14c (21r)
27. Lukdati; 3m, 2f, 4c
28. Bangsahali; 2m, 2f, 4c (8r)
29. Jambatan; 2m, 2f, 1c (4r)
30. Luin; 1m, 1f, 3c

31. Mangasing. 3m, 2f, 2c
32. Albai; 1m, 1f, 1c
33. Juak; 1m
34. Abdul Lazid; 5m, 3f, 4c
35. Ejal Hati; 2m, 1f, 1c
36. Zano; 1m, 1f, 4c
37. Sapaludin; 2m, 2f, 7c
38. Lahudin; 1m, 1f, 7c
39. (see #2)
40. Ali; 2m, 1f, 3c
41. Alaljah; 3m, 3f, 3c
42. Silati; 1m, 1f, 2c
43. Garadan; 2m, 2f, 5c
44. Borneo; 1m, 2f, 8c
45. Arinjun; 2m, 3f, 6c
46. Wani; 2m, 2f, 5c
47. Wilson; 2m, 2f, 5c
48. Jainari; 2m, 2f, 2c
49. Timbangan; 1m, 1f, 1c
50. Buddaya; 2m, 2f, 5c
51. Keping; 3m, 3f, 4c (10r)
52. Mandosani; 2m, 2f, 3c
53. Bunga; 1m, 2f, 3c
54. (see #52)
55. Lakujan; 1m, 1f, 3c
56. Kuah; 1m, 1f, 4c
57. (see #56)
58. Piah; 3m, 2f, 3c (8r)
59. Marri; 1m, 2f, 1c (4r)
60. Majalis; 2m, 2f, 3c (7r)
61. Polo; 1m, 1f (2r)
62. Isalhani; 4m, 3f, 7c
63. Johari; 3m, 4f, 3c
64. Yussof; 2m, 2f, 7c
65. Jalmarani; 3m, 2f, 8c
66. Basalhati; 1m, 1f, 1c
67. (see # 66)
68. Mahanud; 1m, 2f, 5c
69. Albitu; 1m, 1f, 2c
70. Siharati; 3m, 3f, 12c
71. Tahirudin; 3m, 3f, 11c (9r)
72. Hji Akbar; 1m, 1f, 2c (4r)
73. Ninor; 3m, 2f, 5c (10r)
74. Megel; 5m, 3f, 9c (6r)
75. Egawa; 2m, 1f, 5c
76. Abdul Hapi; 3m, 4f, 2c (1r)
77. Abualam; 4m, 4f, 6c
78. Indahali; 4m, 3f, 7c (2r)
79. Pelissani; 2m, 3f, 4c
80. Lagayani; 2m, 2f, 3c
81. Hasali; 3m, 3f, 4c
82. Abdul Majid; 1m, 1f, 3c
83. Salbayani; 5m, 7f, 16c (20r)
84. Haibalani; 3m, 2f, 3c
85. Undalu; 2m, 2f, 5c (1r)
86. Habi; 3m, 4f, 2c (1r)
87. Ammi; 2m, 2f, 1c (5r)
88. Musilhali; 3m, 4f, 4c
89. (see # 89)
90. Luguk; 2m, 2f, 4c
91. Pillasa; 3m, 3f, 4c
92. Pindan; 3m, 4f, 7c (1r)
93. Majali; 6m, 7f, 18c (7r)
94. Mejalhati; 2m, 2f, 7c
95. Gindan; 2m, 2f, 12c (4r)
96. Omar; 3m, 3f, 4c (10r)
97. Sitti Hora; 1m, 1f, 4c (6r)
98. Kottong; 3m, 3f, 6c (7r)
99. Nassahati; 1m, 1f, 7c (9r)
100. Amat; 3m, 1f, 5c
101. (see # 102)
102. Haji Biana; 1m, 1f, 2c
103. (see # 102)
104. Alirioh; 3m, 2f, 6c
105. Atik; 2m, 2f, 5c (2r)
106. Ra'am; 2m, 2f, 5c
107. Ismail; house under construction
108. Kahar; 2m, 1f
109. Sali; 2m, 2f
110. Butuh; 2m, 2f
111. Alipari; 1m, 3f, 4c
112. Muhammed; 1m, 1f, 1c
113. Abdul; 1m, 1f, 3c
114. Ekih; 2m, 2f, 2c
115. (see # 114)
116. Kulai; 3m, 2f, 6c (4r)
117. Jainaya; 2m, 2f, 8c
118. Miri Haya; 2m, 2f, 11c (5r)
119. Ratumbang; 2m, 2f, 11c (6r)
120. Uboani; 2m, 1f, 4c (7r)
121. Arola; 1m, 1f
122. Gunong; 2m, 2f, 4c
123. Jinyul; 2m, 2f, 6c
124. (see # 123)
125. Udani; 7m, 6f, 11c (8r)
126. Shop (Tulong)
127. Tulong; 3m, 2f, 4c (2r)
128. Saria'abah; 1m, 1f, 1c (3r)
129. Binsalis; 4m, 4f, 7c
130. Pegupt; 2m, 3f, 8c (13r)
131. Saidi, 1m, 1f
132. Alkejain; 3m, 4f, 3c (1r)
133. Desal; 3m, 3f, 8c
134. (see # 130)
135. Kinialan; 4m, 4f, 7c
136. Gumanjiil; 1m, 1f, 2c
137. Awang; 2m, 4f, 4c
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<td>138</td>
<td>Gilang</td>
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<td>139</td>
<td>Bohe</td>
<td>1m, 1f</td>
<td>5c</td>
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<td>140</td>
<td>Wa-ejal</td>
<td>2m, 2f</td>
<td>6c</td>
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<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Tiling</td>
<td>4m, 4f</td>
<td>9c</td>
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<td>142</td>
<td>Salipati</td>
<td>2m, 2f</td>
<td>8c</td>
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<td>Rugu</td>
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<td>8c</td>
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<td>Belle</td>
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<td>Kinda</td>
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<td>Landok</td>
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APPENDIX II

Revised and Abbreviated Interview Questions -- 1975.

Household Residents:

1:1 Name of household head.

1:3 a) Name b) Sex c) Age d) Occupation of household members.

1:4 a) Are there any members of this household working and living away from home? b) Why did they leave? c) How often do they return to Bangau-Bangau?

1:5 a) Possession of following by members of household:

- house
- electricity
- boat
- television
- engine
- furniture
- automobile
- shop

b) Did you purchase the ______ yourself or did you share the cost with someone? Who?

1:6 a) Has anyone in this household studied at school? b) Where? c) How many years? d) Does anyone in the household speak Malay?

1:7 a) Has anyone in this household gone to the hospital this year? Ever before? b) Do you save money in the bank or keep it in Bangau-Bangau? Why? c) Are you Muslim? Do you go to Mosque in town or in Bangau-Bangau? How often? When did you join Islam?

2:2 What do you think about Bangau-Bangau before compared to Bangau-Bangau now? How have things changed?

2:3 Are Bangau-Bangau people now equal with land people?

2:13 Do you think it is a good idea for people in Bangau-Bangau to live and marry with land people?

2:14 Is it easier to have success if everyone works collectively [mag tabang] or if each person looks out for himself [mag kenia-kenia]?

2:15 Has everyone in Bangau-Bangau become Muslim?

2:18 Would you like anything to be changed now in Bangau-Bangau?

2:19 What would you like for your children in the future?
Questions for Boat-dwellers:

3:1 Name, occupation, approximate age and number of people living in boat.
3:2 Do you have any relatives living in houses?
3:3 How long have you lived in Semporna?
3:4 Have you ever worked for wages?
3:5 Is it better to fish or to work for wages?
3:6 When you fish how much cash do you make in a month?
3:7 Does someone else sell the fish for you?
   a) Are you 'tendok' to him?
   b) What do you receive from him in cash? in kind? in a month?
3:8 Do you have a Malaysian identity card? Is it blue or red?
   a) Who is your sponsor?
   b) Have you applied for citizenship?

Questions 1:7 through 2:19.
Bibliography


The British North Borneo Herald and Official Gazette. 1883-1941.


