

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE PUTATAN KADAZANS IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD
AND THEIR CHANGES FROM THEIR SIMPLE TO A MORE
COMPLEX SOCIETY. A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS
OF THE RESULTANT CHANGES.

Page

Preface 111

List of Tables vii

List of Maps vii

List of Diagrams vii

List of Photographs vii

GRADUATION EXERCISE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE BACHELOR OF ARTS
DEGREE IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY.

1

9

12

12

by 16

16

16

NO. MATRIK 19998 17

18

30

40

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY 47

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA 47

(EXTENSIVE FACILITIES) THAT LED TO THE 47

MOTIVATION FOR CHANGE 47

Facilities Introduced: British Government vs. 47

Malaysian Government 47

British Government - Facilities Introduced 48

NOVEMBER 1975. 54

Malaysian Government - Facilities Introduced 54

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Preface	iii
II. List of Tables	vii
III. List of Maps	vii
IV. List of Diagrams	vii
V. List of Photographs	vii
VI. INTRODUCTION - CHAPTER I	1
Informants	9
Types of Information	12
Weaknesses	12
VII. CHAPTER II - TRADITIONAL PUTATAN SOCIETY	16
The Kadazans as a Race	16
Area of Study	17
Economic Institutions	18
Social and Cultural Institutions	30
Political Institutions	40
VIII. CHAPTER III - PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION: FACILITIES (EXTERNAL FORCES) THAT LED TO THE MOTIVATION FOR CHANGE	47
Facilities Introduced: British Government vs. Malaysian Government	47
British Government - Facilities Introduced	48
Malaysian Government - Facilities Introduced	54

XIX. CHAPTER IV - THE PERIOD OF CHANGE AND ADJUSTMENT	61
Economic Institutions and Changes	62
Social and Cultural Institutions	72
Socio-Cultural Institutions: Changes	78
Juvenile Delinquency and Present Social Problems	82
Political Institutions	91

X. CHAPTER V - CONCLUSION	97
----------------------------------	-----------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	101
---------------------	------------

APPENDIX I (QUESTIONNAIRES)

P R E F A C E

"Social Change is the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of the social system."

(Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969)

It was to fulfil the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts Degree Examination, Session 1975/76 that the (completed) research case study came about. This initiation in many ways then provided the writer with an opportunity to explore and thus investigate further a problem that has always been of interest to her. Having been away for the most part of the year, and only returning home for her holidays, the writer soon discovered that profound and obvious changes were taking place in her kampung. A new and modern society was emerging rapidly out of the abandoned background of an older social tradition. For, where once before people walked to the nearby town, they now drove to that town; where once before they used oil-lamps, there was now electricity. And where once before they used the river water or the well-water from the nearby hillside, they now have replaced that with the use of pipe water. And where once before the old man and his buffalo plodded labouriously on his field, a young man (his son) and a tractor had taken their place. Yet again, where once before the people enclosed their lives to their own village, they have today become more conscious and interested regarding things happening within and especially without their village. Seeing then becomes the actual case of believing. It is the writer's conviction here that the facilities introduced into her kampung have made a fairly large contribution to the overall gradual changes

and rearrangement of attitudes of her people.

Generally, throughout her work, she proposes to look at the obvious changes from the economic, cultural, social and political aspects using the broad definition of social change given above as her working definition.

At the outset she admits the fact that her work, despite her keen interest in the subject, is purely academic and is therefore amateurish. However, she hopes that her work will give the impetus and therefore impress upon others (specifically students of her own ethnic race) the need to do further studies of their race of which so very little is known and written about. This is especially so in this time of critical changes where the writer feels the processes and the course that the changes follow plus the end result that will eventually materialise, will mould the character and roots of life in her society in the times and decades to come. This can already be seen.

Chapter I discusses the concepts and definitions used in the study. Overall, the Chapter deals mostly with the scope, general methodology employed and their weaknesses.

The writer proposes to trace the process of change by comparing what members of the sample population of two generations ago (age 45 above) were, and what they and their children (age 30 below) are now. This is done by way of looking at the types of social, cultural, economic and political institutions the former and the later participated in and are exposed to. She will therefore, first of all deal in Chapter II with the traditionalistic set up that the older generation were faced with.

Next, she will discuss the period of transformation brought about by the facilities (external forces) introduced that have led to the motivation for change, both among the 45 and above group and even more so for the 30 and below group. This would for the most part be dealt with in Chapter III.

The analysis of the impact of the facilities introduced and the resultant effects will be discussed in Chapter IV. It will mean giving an outline of the social, cultural, economic and political institutions that exist in the kampung today and comparing it with the facts dealt with in Chapter II.

The concluding Chapter (Chapter V) will generally attempt to analyse the direction and trends of the change.

In preparing this academic graduation exercise, I have benefited from stimulating criticisms from Mr. Lim Mah Hui (my supervisor and lecturer of the Sociology and Anthropology Department, University of Malaya); Dr. Terry Rambo for reading this work; Mrs. Lee Ai Yun; Cik Wazir Karim (all of whom are lecturers of the Sociology and Anthropology Department, University of Malaya) and Encik Sulaiman (tutor of the Sociology and Anthropology Department, University of Malaya).

The writer has also been fortunate in the help she has received in many ways, most notably from Datuk Herman J. Luping (Deputy Chief Minister of Sabah) for sponsoring this work; Mr. Evangelos A. Afendras (a lecturer in the University of Science, Pulau Pinang) for having been so kind to read and edit it; Mr. Hee Qui Shing and Mr. Michael Lai, both of the Department of Welfare Services, Kota Kinabalu.

My sincere thanks also go especially to the school children whom I taught for two months; the kampung people whom I interviewed and uncountable number of friends with whom I held discussions and without whose help the writing of this exercise would not have been possible.

Lastly, I thank Encik Idris bin Omar of the Faculty of Law, University of Malaya, who has helped me type this paper.

LIST OF DIAGRAM

Matric No. 19998

December 1975

I	Typical of Kintelan area	20A
II	Market-day/Tamu or Batu	20A
III	Examples of Menhirs/Stone boulders or Vatu	24A
IV	A megalith or the Masinggazanak	37A
	Two other examples of megaliths	37A
V	The introduction of an external facility like electricity.	
	Two examples in the area of study.	59A
VI	Introduction of facility like pipe-water	59B
VII	A tractor	59B
VIII	Electricity Post	59C
IX	An old house/A modern house	59C
X	A Priestess preparing for a MUGONDI session in a modern house	59C

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
I Sources of information (People interviewed)	15

LIST OF MAPS

I Geographical location of Sabah	viii
II Area of study (1)	ix
III Sabah today	x
IV Peoples of Sabah	xi
V Area of study (2)	xii
VI Area of study (3)	xiii

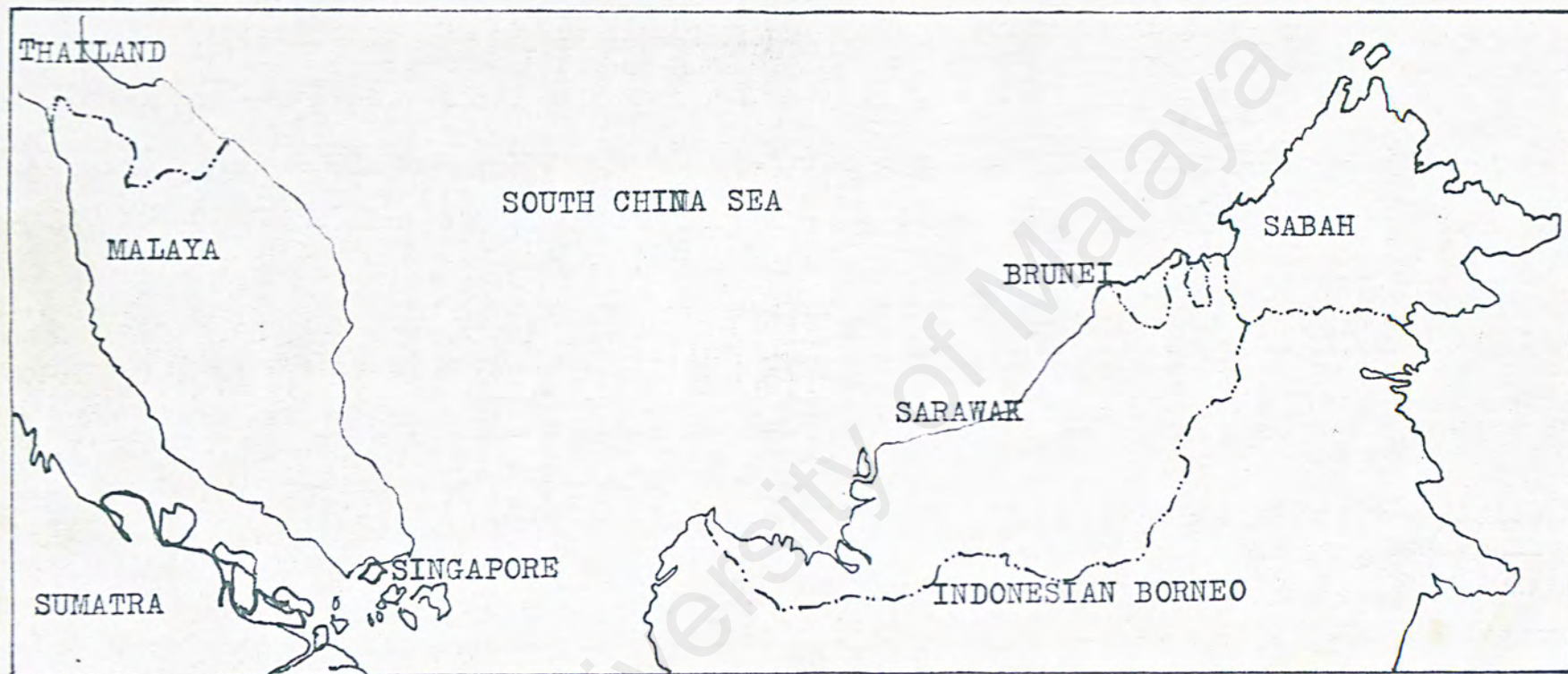
LIST OF DIAGRAM

I Familial relationship	31
-------------------------	----

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

I A priestess - typical of Putatan area	20A
II Market-day/Tamu or Badi	20A
III Examples of Menhirs/Stone boulders or Vatu	24A
IV A megalith or the Sininggazanak	37A
Two other examples of megaliths	37A
V The introduction of an external facility like electricity.	
Two examples in the area of study.	59A
VI Introduction of facility like pipe-water	59B
VII A tractor	59B
VIII Electricity Post	59C
IX An old house/A modern house	59C
X A Priestess preparing for a MOGONDI session in a modern house	59C

MAP I: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF SABAH



Wokong

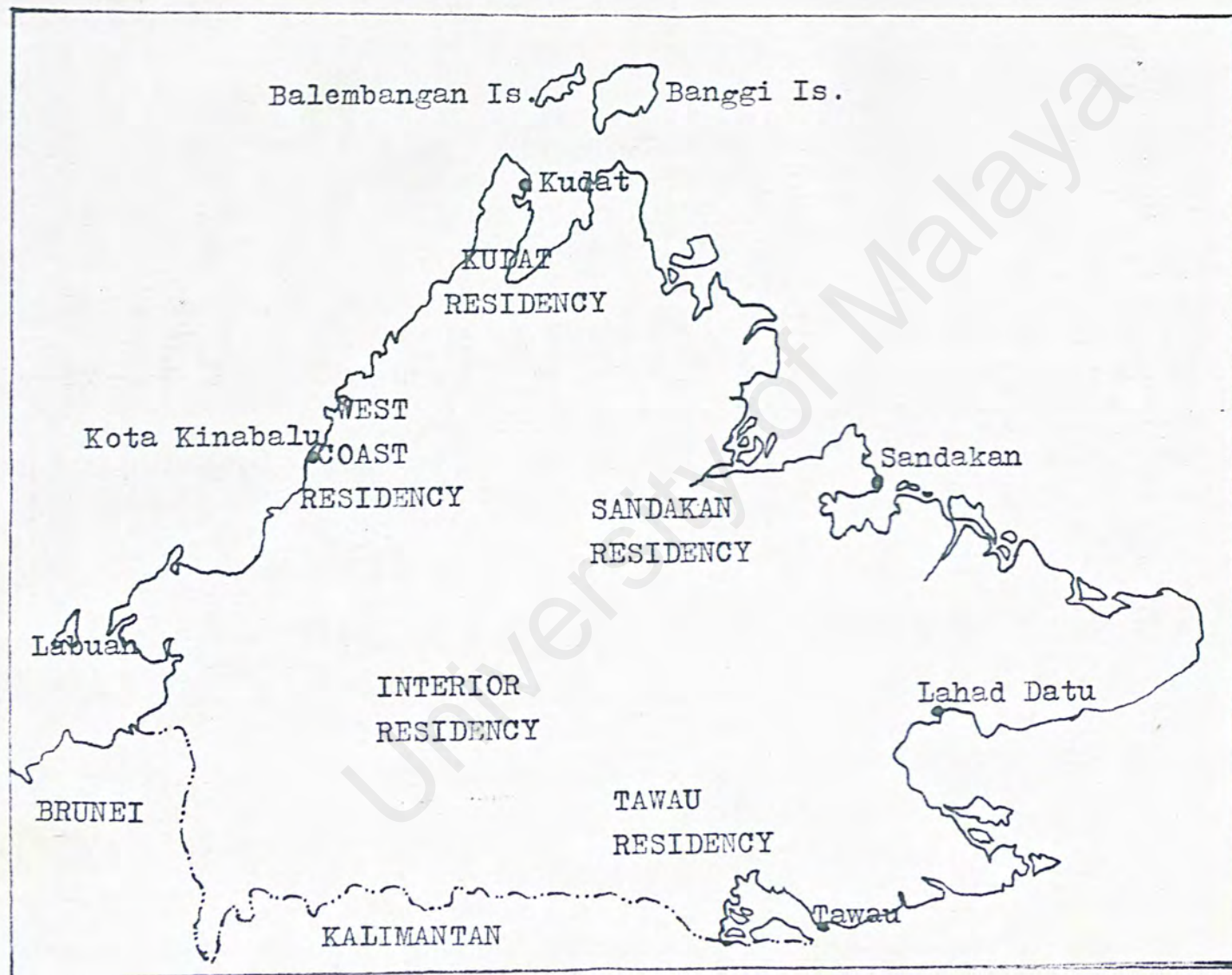
MAP II: AREA OF STUDY (1)

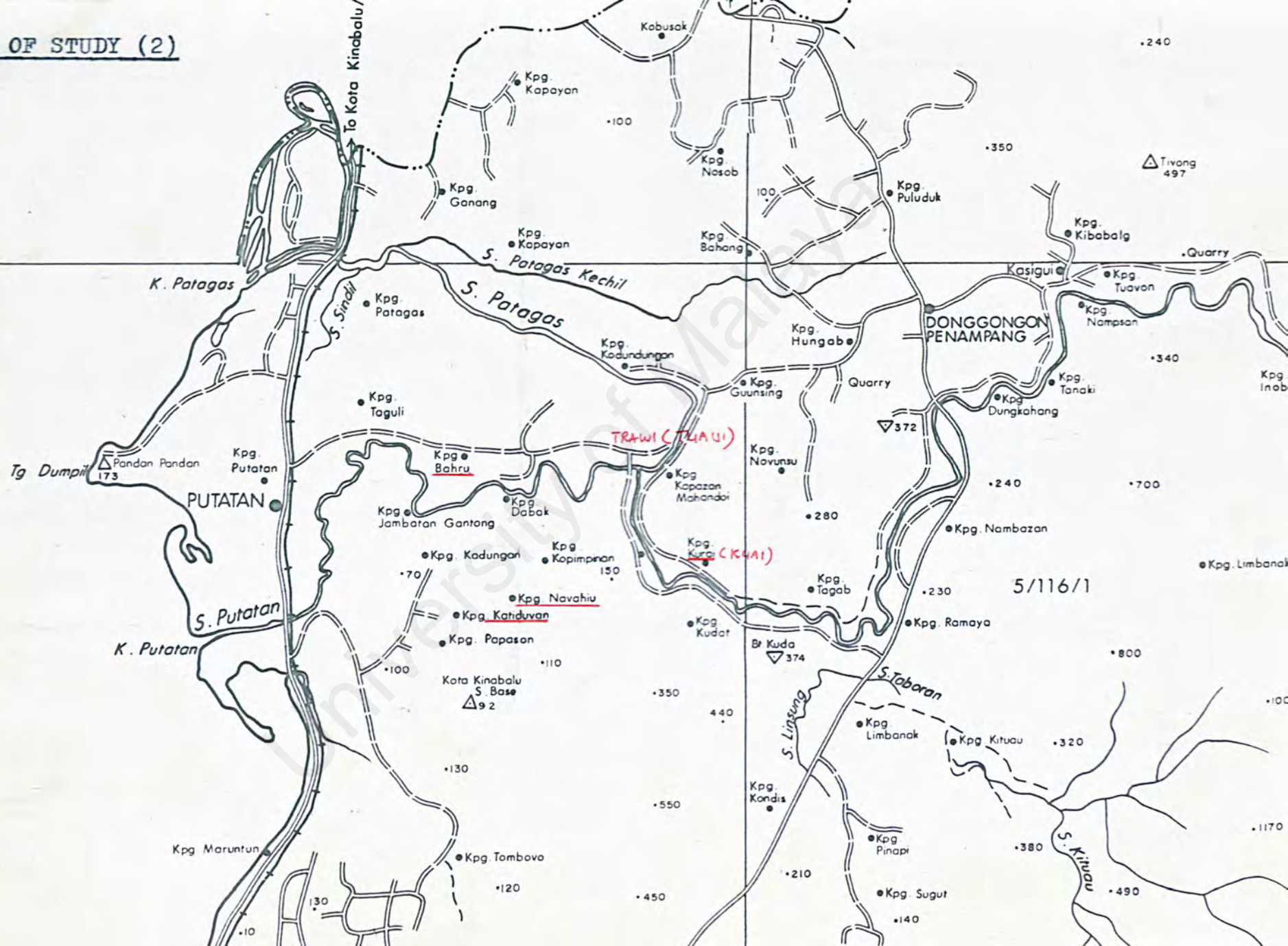
KOTA
KINABALU

Reclamation Area

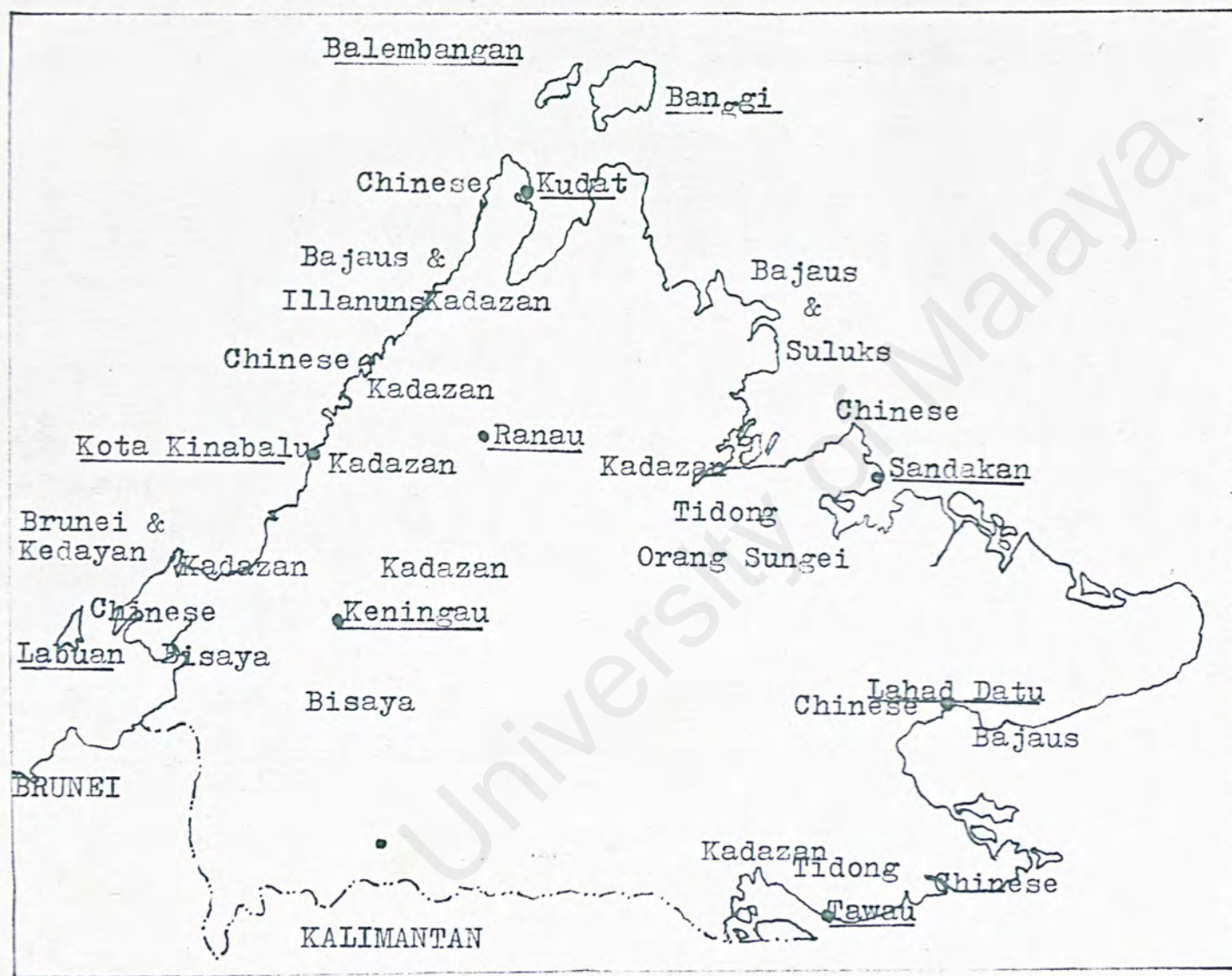


MAP III: SABAH TODAY

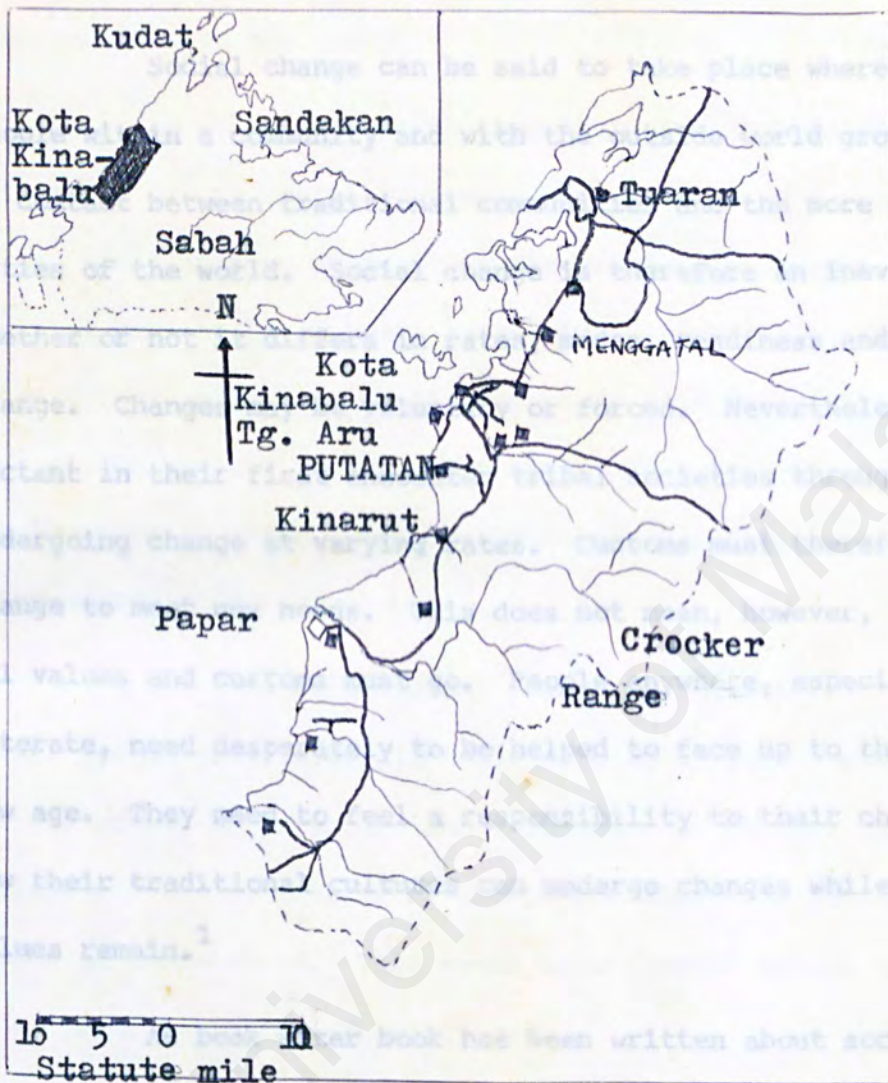




MAP IV: PEOPLES OF SABAH



MAP VI: AREA OF STUDY (3)



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social change can be said to take place wherever relations of people within a community and with the outside world grow, whenever there is contact between traditional communities and the more progressive communities of the world. Social change is therefore an inevitable reality whether or not it differs in rates, modes, readiness and proneness to change. Changes may be voluntary or forced. Nevertheless, however reluctant in their first encounter tribal societies throughout the world are undergoing change at varying rates. Customs must therefore inevitably change to meet new needs. This does not mean, however, that all traditional values and customs must go. People anywhere, especially the less literate, need desperately to be helped to face up to the demands of the new age. They need to feel a responsibility to their children and to see how their traditional cultures can undergo changes while their positive values remain.¹

As book after book has been written about social change, the concept itself and theories related to it, it is not the writer's intention here to go into an elaborate discussion regarding the matter. She proposes to first give an outline as far as the concepts and theories have relevance to her study. In addition to this, as she has stated in her preface, the attempt to analyse the change that has taken place in Putatan and its possible trend and direction, she will leave to the concluding Chapter. Enough it is

¹Impact: Volume IV, No. 8; August - September 1974.

here, she therefore feels to introduce her working definition of the concept and to state to what extent she would use the above definition in association with her study.

In using this definition "social change is the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system", the writer would like to stress that the conceptual schemes encompassed in it are just mere tools or means rather than an end in themselves. There are three things to be considered when using this definition. One, that there is a source for the impetus to change. Two, that it is necessary to consider the ways in which change manifests itself and, lastly, that there are consequences of social change.^{2*}

The impetus of social change may have its origins inside the social system or outside; it could come as a planned series of change efforts or may be as an unplanned sequence of events. Planned change implies deliberate efforts by the change agents to inculcate a change into groups of individuals. This means that planned social change has its basis on declared intention of objectives.

Unplanned change on the other hand could be attributed to the result of natural forces causing changes in society - making the change unengineered. They just happen, e.g. cultural change or cultural borrowings. This passing of ideas and techniques between cultures just occurs spontaneously and is not directed, unlike planned social change where an item from one culture or social system is deliberately introduced into another culture or social system.

²Zaltman Gietall Holt, Creating Social Change, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (1972).

*Elaboration regarding the above are mostly taken and borrowed from Zaltman.

The manifestation of social change reveals itself in the various aspects of society namely economic, social, cultural and political. Time here is relative for the changes in the various types of society. This means that the change can be either short term or long term which can be measured in terms of days, weeks, months or years depending upon the context of the change. To a certain extent too, change should be considered in terms of micro, intermediate or macro. Using these considerations, six types of social change are identified.

1. Changes in one's attitude and behaviour.
2. Inter-generational upward mobility.
3. Changes in group norms, values and membership.
4. Organisational change.
5. Grand and relatively rapid changes - a result of an invention or revolution.
6. The long term ramifications of Type 5 change.

The changes in one's attitude and behaviour, for example can be seen in the change being exemplified by the persuasion of an individual to adopt a birth control practice. The effects of this change in the long run or over a long period could lead to the second type of change. This might be reflected in the inter-generational upward mobility. This means that with the introduction of birth-control into the community, parents are educated to have less children. In this way they experience having more money to spend for their own pleasure or for the education of their children. This could result in improved mobility for their off-spring.

The third type which could lead in the long run to type four as illustrated by changes in group norms, values and membership. For

example, there is a possibility and a probability that the organisation and group can change in structure as well as in function. A political party can amend its constitution from time to time, if the executive members so think it fit. The constitution thus evolves over the years as a result of different leadership and values which ultimately lead to a different functioning of the whole system. However, the system is still basically the same.

Grand and relatively rapid changes as a result of an invention or revolution characterise type five social change. To take again the example of the discovery of the birth-control pill. The widespread use of the pill will tend to cause many changes in the life style and practices of the adopters. This case differs from type one in that type one affects the individual alone, in the sense that he is himself the only one who has been introduced to the change. He might find it difficult adopting to the change. Type five, however, implies that the overall population are exposed to the change and so the widespread use of the birth-control pill will affect the society's general population control problem. It will soon be publicly realised by the individuals of that society that others are trying out the new invention. In a way people will be less inhibited to try out and experience for themselves. This implies then that there is no requirement or necessity for the individual to change his values or attitudes in adopting the new invention. The ramifications of such an invention would lead to type six change which is broad. They could be seen as a minor change, for example a change in female occupational behaviour (discarding work on the fields to become the paid labourers with the Public Works Department). The change could be major to the extent as facilitating

the modernisation process of an underdeveloped country.

The consequences then become the final dimension of social change. Any changes in the system can be viewed as either structural or functional or both. A revolution could change the structure of the federal, state and in some cases local government. This could ultimately lead to a change in the function of the structure. For example, dissatisfaction among the people concerning their present government could result in riots. In time to come these riots could cause the creation of many new agencies to handle problems. Or as another example, the introduction of a formal form of government into a situation where no formal form of government had existed before. This was the case of Sabah when the British arrived with their colonial system. This brought about a significant change which involved introducing the people to new ideas and values, a more differentiated social structure and institutions; new political institutions; government policies and reforms; and also new political leadership.³

Throughout her study, the writer will be looking at the specific changes in the area of study from the economic, cultural, social and to a lesser extent political aspects. Her choice of a broad definition has been designed for the very purpose of being able to see change in a specified yet limited horizon.

By economic aspect, she means the type of economic institutions that once existed and that now exist in the community. This means the kind

³Zaltman, Ibid.

of economic life the people lead, their types of jobs and occupation and their attitudes towards their work, wealth and property and the inheritance system that they practise.

Regarding the cultural aspect of the said change, the writer has taken into account the types of traditional customs, norms, religious and magical practices and the then attitudes that evolve out of these practices.

The social aspect of the change discussed here would surround such facts as social structures, meaning the type of family structure as well as the kinship system that is present in the community. Also, the concomittant class structure that exists besides considering their social institutions, like marriages, feasts and the kinds of entertainment that they as kampung folks have. In addition too, the writer will also describe the types of attitudes her kampung people have towards their social institutions. Strictly speaking, the only, really formal form of government that Sabah has experienced before the formation of Malaysia was that experienced under a colonial rule. Under the political aspect of this study of change in the Putatan area, the writer will discuss the ways and means and the rules and regulations implemented as an exercise of law and order. Included too, would be the people's attitudes towards these political institutions.

An essential quality required by one who ventures to study one's own society is the quality of detachment. That is, the ability to detach oneself from the familiar social situations one is recording and thus be able to perceive things more objectively. Since the more familiar the

situation, the more one is involved as a member of the society, the more difficult the detachment becomes. Because as members of that very society we do not find the social occurrences puzzling and thus there is a tendency for us to take for granted that things work this way or that. Thus, it tends to be very difficult to see things with fresh eyes and then be able to describe parts and interconnections with precision, then contributing to the increase of our understanding.

All this could well describe the position of the writer.

However, it should also be taken into consideration that the writer's acquaintance with the Kadazan society was a help in noting data and relations which would perhaps not be noticed so easily by one not immediately acquainted with the life of the group. Furthermore, the writer would also like to stress the fact that, having been away from home, and studying a course that has a relation to her interests, has actually reinforced those interests besides making her see things in a different light. While it might be true to say that because of our interest we want to study, see and analyse things, in the set patterns that we want them to be, which to a certain extent constitute a limitation in our work, we have to study society in one way or another. Not because of anything else but because we are living in a society and we must ultimately try to understand it, in the limited methods that we have and have therefore used. Not only does this help us to see things in perspectives, but also to analyse, correct, reformulate and therefore create a basis for proper reconstructions. To a certain extent too, our aims and purposes are academic (even more so this study) and one way of accumulating data, for empirical purposes and further

knowledge. It is the hope of the writer that this piece of work that she has done, by no means flawless, would be of some help to future students of social change. She would also not hesitate to add that she hopes too that they would see flaws and limitations which they would view with critical analysis in order to further correct them.

The nature of her study has compelled the writer to be highly dependent on the participation-observation method, observing and taking note of important date in view of their relevance to her study. The fact that she had been a resident of that particular area for fifteen years of her life has made her more sensitive to what could have been neglected facts.

A great deal of information was also obtained through intensive interviews and through the questionnaires that the writer had previously formulated for the purpose of the interviews. The informants were mainly interviewed in their houses and these interviews were for the most part in the forms of private conversations which frequently lasted an entire afternoon or evening. Her interviews could be called structured interviews in the sense that the writer had the open-ended questionnaires to act as guidelines into asking specific questions. They were of course directed for the most part by the writer along channels to provide informations on selected topics. The writer's way of doing this was to ask the relevant questions of what type of life they have had before. Then as her checks she asked questions on how the parents of the age-group 45 above used to treat them when they were young. She also made them talk of the types of games they used to play, stories they used to hear, festivals they used to

attend, and the types of punishment they used to get. Most of the old folks have seldom moved out of the village, in the sense of travelling long distances. So what they have seen, in their limited travel experiences have just been passing impressions which never, actually had any strong impact upon them. The fact that they are the more rigid generation, already acts as a check to whatever information they have given. Their rigidity towards old-customs and tradition also makes them less susceptible to change. Throughout the writer made it a point that the interviews be conducted informally, allowing for the free presentation of other topics and not making the informants self-conscious. While conducting the interviews, the writer also took time to note the type of houses the informants had, were they still the traditional ones or had they been changed (she also paid particular attention to the behaviours and mannerisms).

Apart from personal data on the informants the body of the questionnaires consisted of four parts, namely dealing with economic, cultural, social and political values and attitudes of the informants.

Informants

The information obtained dealt with the prime objective of providing a comparison between what was the set up two generations ago and what it is now and to a great^{er} extent to find out whether there were changes at all especially among the 45 age group. The respondents consisted of two groups, mostly the generation ranging from 45 years and above and those from 30 years and below (up to 15 years only). Most of the information that she obtained and collected from the age-group 45 and above was conducted by interviewing them with the aid of the questionnaires in

person to person conversations. She especially had intensive interviews with the oldest folks found in the area of study. They were the ones who had excess to knowledge and know-how being the least flexible group, regarding the traditional set up found in the kampung.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the various kampungs within the Putatan locality. To get an exact and accurate figure for the population in Putatan was a difficult task for the writer. However, through her talks with the village elders and the headmen she came to a rough estimated figure of 300 to 400 villagers. To this lot she had to work down to a judgemental sample of the more accessible 45 and above group.

One important point and factors that the writer would like to stress is the fact that there were very few old people who could give the writer the proper and correct information regarding the old traditions and customs. The writer thus felt that it was impractical and therefore a waste of time to have to go to every person of 45 and above to seek the information she required. Following the headmen's advice, she thus made it a point to see specifically the oldest villagers found in the kampung. This has thus made her sampled respondents of this age group limited in number. Limited though they may be, however, the information had lesser tendency towards distortion. As mentioned before, being the more conservative and rigid lot they were more representative of the traditional order. Out of the stated population above, the writer only got hold of five very old men above the age of 65. The rest were judgemental samples that included the Native Chiefs and priestesses to be found in the area. The total number of respondents of the group 45 and above came to 25.

The schooling age groups, mostly 15 up to 18 years of age she taught voluntarily for two months over, during her long vacation. It was in this way that she could get close enough to her students, to speak and exchange views with them, both on a 'student-teacher' level as well as just ordinary friends. She had long informal talks with them about their aspirations and hopes; about their families; made them write essays on topics like, "My Race", "The Importance of Education", "Health", "The Advantages and Disadvantages of Television", "What I feel about Town and Kampung Life" and "Generation Gap" specifically. She also arranged geographical excursions and camping trips and on such trips too she was able to discover a lot more about them than she would probably have done if she had only interviewed them whether formally or informally. Thus it was in this way that she acquired a much clearer and truthful picture of what the younger set in the kampung were.

All in all, her respondents from this group were her 62 students. Apart from that the writer also had long talks with seven other students who could not attend her classes, but who participated actively in her geographical excursions and camping trips.

She also held discussions with the parents of her students, about their children and the difficulties they faced about educating them. Most of those parents were also among the informants age-group 45 and above.

Regarding the rest of her informants of the age set 30 and below (excluding the school children mentioned above) she talked and interviewed them informally too. Most of them were her own kampung and school friends who were all working in the capital, Kota Kinabalu, 7 miles

away. Throughout her research she did not encounter any difficulty because her informants were very helpful in providing her with the information she needed.

Types of Information

The types of information that the writer received from the age-group set 45 and above were mostly on traditional kinship and family systems. Also, the types of economic, social, cultural and political institutions that were to be found in the village two generations ago. This would include then, facts on the general life patterns that prevailed in that community and also their attitude and feelings towards the young. She especially received relevant information from the oldest people in the village regarding their old customs and traditions.

Information from the second group (30 below) was generally on feelings and attitudes towards the first group (the older generation). The writer asked for information regarding the type of socialization and orientation processes that their parents had exposed them to, the "dos and don'ts" that their parents expected of them. In many ways, the resultant information from their parents would be facts about how and what (first group's parents and society) had demanded of them. She also received information on their present state of affairs. They thus, to a certain extent, acted as checks to information obtained from the first group.

Weaknesses

Such an amateurish piece of work as this case study, would naturally display weaknesses and limitations.

The first obvious weakness could be attributed to the fact that the writer was ill-prepared and inexperienced. In this way it became very difficult to discover, formulate and ask the appropriate and relevant questions rather than discovering the correct answers. She then, more or less had to practically grope in the dark where the above was concerned and just had to learn through trial and error.

Another obvious weakness was her choice of the age-groups. She realises that it is very difficult to fix the age-groups where she could base her comparisons. Her justification for choosing the first group was that most of the parents and those who have experienced life during the British reign were those of ages 45 and above. They were also the group less susceptible to changes. If so changes would come about, they would be only of a lesser degree. Reliability of the information provided by this group was questioned - just how reliable was their memory? The only available check for the writer then, as she had mentioned before, was by asking the second group (30 below) their attitudes and feelings towards this group. She overcame this also by checking their information with those of other respondents of the same age group.

The second group was easily the most susceptible to the changes. They were the ones caught in a dilemma between the old and the new. The conflicts that they face are obvious. They are also the group that has the greatest amount of opportunities exposed to them. This comes in the forms of job-opportunities education, better health facilities and obviously are the more mobile group. They find more and more values in modernism and what it has to offer them. Rejection of the past is prominent in this group. It was ^{for} the above reasons that they were chosen.

Finally, another weakness which the writer encountered was in the writing of her work in a language not her own. She had conducted her interviews and questionings in her own vernacular language (Kadazan), for the smooth flow of conversation between the informants and herself. Thus, because her vocabulary of the English language was limited, she finds difficulty in expressing herself. This could have been overcome had she used her native-tongue.

Weaknesses and limitations, however, should not be just discarded to imply what they are, plain weaknesses and limitations. The writer feels that they should be viewed in a more practical way. That, without weaknesses, limitations and flaws, there is no scope for change and therefore improvement. Despite the above then, it is hoped that this work will somehow do service in introducing to the reader, the Putatan Kadazans, what they were and what they are now. In having done so, she hopes that she has opened certain paths towards a more exhaustive and well-prepared research not only on the Putatan Kadazans, but also the overall Kadazan population of Sabah in general.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION (PEOPLE INTERVIEWED)TABLE ONE

AGES	REASONS FOR CHOOSING	TYPE OF INFORMATION	WEAKNESSES
45 and above	1) The older people of the kampung. 2) The more traditionalistic group who have access to the old traditions and customs. 3) Less susceptible to change because they are the more rigid group. 4) Less mobile. 5) Experiences limited to the area of study.	1) Old traditions and customs, social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (entertainments, health, education, feasts and festivals, general life patterns). Importance of wealth - money - inheritance, property etc. 2) Attitudes towards the young and themselves.	1. Reliability of memory. 2. Validity of their information.
30 and below	1) The younger set. 2) More mobile. 3) Experiences not limited to the area of study. 4) Exposed to a wider range of opportunities - education, health facilities, travel etc. 5) Easily the more susceptible to changes and assimilation. 6) Conflicts between old and new.	1) Attitudes and general feelings towards the older generation. 2) Feelings towards their present state of affairs.	1. Validity of their information.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL PUTATAN KADAZAN SOCIETY:-

- a) The Kadazans as a race.
 - b) The Area of Study.
 - c) Economic institutions; Socio-cultural institutions; Political Institutions.
-

This Chapter will deal with first, an introduction of the Kadazans as a race. Then, the writer will proceed with a short description of the area of study. This will be followed with descriptions of the economic, socio-cultural and political institutions prevalent in the area two generations ago.

The Kadazans as a race:

No one knows exactly when the Kadazans came to Sabah. However, it has been conjectured that they were a part of a general drift of people out of South China to South-East Asia dating back to perhaps 3000 B.C. Whether the Kadazans arrived in Sabah via the Philippines or via the Malay Peninsular is unknown. Who the people were who lived in Borneo before they arrived, apart from the Muruts who were also immigrants it seems, may become clearer only when further researches and information from excavations are collected. The term 'Kadazan' is a collective term to denote the indigenous race that makes up the majority of the native population.

The one practical way to actually describe the Kadazans in various areas as according to Chatfield would be to use geographical classification. We thus have a mixture of terms applied. The chief group are

known specifically as the Kadazans (found between Papar and Menggatal), the Tuaran Dusuns or the Suang Lotud, the Rungus (who inhabit the Kudat Peninsular and Marudu Bay), the Tampasuk Dusuns or the Tindal (of Kota Belud) and the Dusuns of Ranau and Tambunan. To the southern fringes of the Kadazan area, the Klias Peninsular are the Tatana (influenced over a long period by Chinese traders). Another group of Kadazan stock is to be found in the Bingkor area. They are a mixture of Kadazan and Murut and are known as the Kwijaus. Along the eastern rivers are to be found the Kadazans too and here they term themselves Orang Sungei (Idahan) especially if they are Muslims. The Banggi Dusuns found in the extreme north are not true Kadazans but are probably more closely related to the negrito peoples of the Philippines.⁴

All the Kadazan peoples have the same language, however, they do have dialect differences. They all share a similar way of life, that of farming either on the hills and or on the plains.

Area of Study:

Putatan, the area of study, is situated roughly seven miles away from the capital town of Sabah, Kota Kinabalu. It is a part of the area known as Penampang District. The coastal areas of Putatan are mostly inhabited by the Bajaus, being the fishermen and the sea-farers of Sabah. One to two miles inland from Putatan town itself (refer to map) and between half and one and a half miles away from the Bajaus are concentrated the Kadazans of Putatan. They are the stock that is found between Papar and

⁴Chatfield, A geography of Sabah.

Menggatal, (the first classification) Putatan being an area lying between Papar and Menggatal (refer to Map). The Putatan area is actually quite an extensive area which comprises of a number of small kampungs, both Kadazan and Bajau. Some of the Kadazan kampungs where the majority of the Kadazans are located are Kampung Baru, Terawi (Tuau), Kuai, Navahiu and Kotiduvan (Duvanson). The different localities were given different names, however close they were to one another. All the same, however, the population generally termed themselves 'the Putatan Kadazan'. Culture-wise and language-wise there were no differences between the people, being concentrated in a limited territorial area within which they satisfied many of their daily needs through a system of interdependent relationships. In a way then, it was thus a self-conscious social unit and the focus of self identification.

Economic Institutions:

- a) Types of jobs/occupation
- b) Attitudes towards work/wealth/property (land)
- c) Inheritance System.

Sabah as a whole is an overwhelmingly agrarian state. Those who lived in their villages were nearly all in some ways connected with the land and its working. Being situated on the western coastal lowland with alluvial soils brought down to the coasts by rivers, has made the Putatan area ideal for the cultivation of rice, especially wet padi. The whole economic activity of the Kadazan people here therefore revolves around the cultivation of rice. However, the common occupation of the Kadazans, then as of now, that of farming is still on the subsistence-

level-growing food crops mainly to support themselves and their family. The farmer in the area does not or did not produce crops primarily to sell for cash. More often than not he disposed of some of his produce by barter or sale in order to obtain necessities he could not make himself.

Prior to the introduction of money into the native economy, most of the natives traded through a kind of 'market-day' which was known as 'Tamu' or the Kadazan term 'Badi'. This was the time when the natives (Kadazans and Bajaus and other natives) brought to a well-recognised spot the goods each had to barter. From far and wide, the hills, the coasts, the interior, the people came to barter and trade.

Apart from depending directly on farming rice on the padi-fields for his livelihood, the farmer also grew vegetables, tapioca, sweet potatoes as subsidiary crops. To add to this, the fact that only one crop of rice was grown each year had often encouraged the tending of small garden as an addition to the farmer's activities and this provided him with a little ready cash in between planting and harvesting seasons. Rubber trees were tapped whenever the farmers had the time or possibly when the price of rubber was high. However, this tending to rubber gardens was actually only restricted to the natives who did own rubber gardens and if they did not, they would more often than not become tenants of those lucky ones who did own rubber gardens. Rubber planting was introduced into Sabah by the British colonialists in the early period of their reign when they discovered that rubber could thrive well in Sabah and that it could in the long run prove to be a lucrative and remunerative source of income for them. So they introduced the growing of rubber and the natives picked up this trade from them.

Quite regularly, fishing was done either by setting fish-traps in the nearby rivers or fishing in the sea. Women in the meantime, apart from weeding the fields, planting and transplanting the young padi from the nurseries to the padi fields, also reared pigs and poultry. They also weaved baskets, their own clothings, mats or 'sew' atap for thatching roofs. If they were not doing any of these chores, they would be found skirting the hillsides and the sea-coasts for firewood and the like. The younger set in the kampung, if they did not go to school (as most of them did not then) had to help their parents in the fields. And during the slack season, the boys had to look after the buffaloes whereas the girls had to help look for firewood and find food for the pigs. Aside from that, the young girls of ages between 10 and 15 years had also to help their mothers to 'sew' atap. In the evening, after the meals, a group of them used to troop to houses of particular priestesses to 'moki-iaa' or go for training to become the future priestesses of the kampungs. In which case, they would have to act as the witch-doctors, healers and the mediators between the living and the dead and the 'other world' (especially when conducting funeral rites and rituals). These priestesses even today are some of the most respected persons found in the kampung. In the evening then, one would witness these young girls sitting patiently night after night trying to memorise line after line of prayers to their deities. The writer discovered that most of the older priestesses who could be found had a strange (to more civilised ears) uncanny way of remembering facts and events and in themselves they actually became part-time historians.



I. A priestess - typical of the Putatan area



II. Market-day/ Tamu or Badi

Having priestesses were more popular than having priests among the Kadazans generally. The males in the villages before the Kadazans resorted to a sedentary life style used to spend their time hunting in the jungles. Their womenfolk at home, knowing the dangers their menfolk faced, used to pray for their safety. (The Rungus Kadazan in the northern part of Sabah still to a certain extent practise this today). This beginning in later period developed into the Moki-iaa institutions where the girls were trained and taught to say specific prayers for specific actions and occasions. The men themselves did not have time for these sessions for they were busy elsewhere, hunting, fishing, working on the fields or building and mending houses. Furthermore, it was considered more manly to show one's strength and worth in doing manual labour than in chanting prayers well into the night.

Cooperation is an aspect of the life of the subsistence farmer. Within the village, the communal spirit prevailed so that the individual profited from the labour of many. In this way, the individual was not dependent entirely on his own exertion. The individual could not do without the goodwill and assistance of his neighbours especially at planting and harvesting time. They have then created a system in which a hand is gladly lent because sooner or later help will come in return. Often this habit of extending a helping ^{hand} ended in being a complex system of customs that regulate the giving and receiving of help in harvesting padi. The Kadazans of Putatan term this 'giving and receiving of help' as Mitaa-tabang. The spirit of cooperation is known as Ounung. It is then obvious from the above that the Putatan Kadazans making up a community by themselves - were self-supporting since they produced commodities sufficient to meet their simple needs.

Most of the farmers in the area cultivated their own land while a smaller portion became tenants to those who owned lands. No large land-owners have arisen because in Sabah, the sale of land is prohibited especially to non-natives.⁵ Furthermore under customary law in East Malaysia:

"... Semua tanah pada hakikatnya adalah kepunyaan bersama dari tiap-tiap Masyarakat Hukum Adat yang bersangkutan... di mana kepentingan bersama lebih diutamakan dari kepentingan perseorangan... Tanah di dalam lingkungan Masyarakat Hukum Adat dipunyai bersama-sama oleh anggota-anggotanya dan bukan seperti kepunyaan... badan berkanun dalam pengertian Undang-Undang Barat..."

(Translation: "... All lands are collectively owned by the members of the Adat Law Community in which collective interests override personal interests. The area of land in which the Adat Law Community is situated is collectively owned by the members and not by the Adat Law Community as a Statutory body..."⁶)

However, the individual has the right to use or cultivate the land. Under Customary Law this is known as 'hak pakai'. The stage of 'hak milik' will come if he so chooses to continue to cultivate or dwell on that piece of land. This stage will entitle him to have ownership of

⁵ Section 15 & 17 of Sabah Land Ordinance:

Section 15:

Native Customary rights shall be held to be inter alia:-

- a) Land possessed by customary tenure;
- b) Land that has been cultivated or built on within three years.

Section 17:

- a) All dealings in land between non-natives on the one hand, and natives on the other hand, are hereby expressly forbidden, and no such dealings shall be valid or shall be recognised in any court of law unless they shall have been entered into and concluded before the 16th day of January, 1883, or in the terms of the next following clause.

⁶ Abdullah Siddek: Pengantar Undang-Undang, Adat di-Malaysia. (1970)

the land. The above is in accordance with acquiring land through customary tenure meaning the lawful possession of land by natives either by continuous occupation for three or more consecutive years, as understood under the Sabah Land Ordinance.

In the area of study, of the 25 respondents, 16 owned their own lands while the rest worked as tenants. It is interesting to trace historically how the unclaimed lands inhabited by wild animals then, were claimed and turned into padi-fields. According to the elders in the area, lawlessness prevailed prior to the British Occupation. Head-hunting was rife and pirates roamed the seas. Although it has been known historically that others apart from the British, specifically the Chinese, Bruneis and the Suluks from the Sulu Islands at one stage ruled the people of Sabah, written historical evidence is somewhat lacking unlike written documents kept since the British. Of this we have access to today. Natives then settled their own disputes by tribal custom, such as head-hunting. Head-hunting was one way by which people could safe-guard their villages, land and properties and thus isolate themselves from the marauders (other headhunters). As in the case of the Putatan Kadazans - the one way by which they prevented the Bajaus from infiltrating into their communities was through the practice of headhunting. The Bajaus, (highly dependent on nothing else but fishing for their livelihood) often plagued the adjoining villages (to which they trade their fish for goods like rice and bananas etc.) by stealing buffaloes and rice from the villages. As a remedy for this the Kadazans turned aggressive and had to resort to headhunting. This prevented both Kadazan and Bajau societies from assimilating. In fact the Kadazan would much rather prefer to associate

themselves with the Chinese than the Bajaus. Animosity and suspicions thus prevented both parties from mingling freely with one another. To this very day, despite the fact that two of the Bajau kampungs adjoin the Kadazan kampungs, there has been no assimilation. Inter-marriage was also negligible.

Head-hunting is also associated with the claiming of the free-land as was the erection of megaliths and menhirs (stone and/or wooden monuments) which was once a traditional culture especially among the Kadazans in the West Coast regions mainly from the Kinarut and Tuaran centred in the Penampang district (Putatan is within the Penampang district and not far from Kinarut). This trait of the Kadazan culture was practised in times when there was a need to collect stone-boulders for the erecting of the boulder as a monument for the person who owned land but did not have any heir to pass his property to. In such a case the person who received the land had to erect the monument whether stone or wooden, in memory of the dead persons. It was not an easy task to get hold of a big slab of stone in the olden days. The native had to go across hills and valleys and often encountered thick jungles, headhunters and pirates and had to resort to headhunting himself. The difficulty of acquiring the stones in those days also gave the possessor attributes like 'bravery': 'high status'; and 'strength'. It was by collecting stone-boulders from the coasts, having to fight both headhunters and pirates and having to resort to head-hunting themselves that the people managed to claim freeland. In those days, one big boulder of stone was equivalent to the worth of one piece of land (what the actual size of the worth of the piece of land was, the writer was unable to discover). So



III. Examples of Menhirs/Stone-boulders or Vatu

what the braver Kadazans did was to go out in groups, tried to collect as many boulders as possible, bring them home, plant these boulders where they fancied and take the surrounding land to be theirs.

The writer has discovered through further research that this could be the crude equivalent of the natives' attempt to acquire land legally. The elaboration below could perhaps explain this.

To win land with a final legal title among the Kadazan was a recent development, which the natives imported from the British in mid-1800.

Sabah had no form of government before the British came. Thus there was no formal body to decide as to who should own land legally. When the British arrived they set up a government. This government formulated laws including land laws for the regulation and administration of the people.

Under English Property Law, all lands that are not owned by individuals are state lands, so there was no free land as in the Adat Law Community. With the introduction of a formal system of government, it was no longer proper and legal on the part of the natives to freely use and cultivate a piece of land. For, if the land was not registered, one dwelling on or cultivating it could be evicted. This drove the natives to apply for land to which they became registered owners. Thus, in their zest to take legal possession of land, the natives first collected the boulders. They then planted these to serve as signs that they wanted to make a claim for the particular plot of land. Having done that, they most probably sent applications to the government for legal ownership of the marked lands, (which usually was guaranteed considering the small population and a vast

area of unclaimed land).

Of course in later times, as in the period two generations ago, land did change in ownership through sales. Generally, however, selling land to kins or outsiders was never counted as one of the good practices of a Kadazan. It would be considered as a loss of face on the part of the individual to sell his land. This acted as a discouragement for the Kadazans to part easily with their land. The possession of land was so important that they used to save money so as to be able to buy plots of land from the wealthier lot among them.

This was possible two generations ago because employment away from the land was offered to the lucky ones by the British government, especially when they happened to have some formal education through the missions or otherwise. Such employment came in the form of posts in government services as clerks in the Administration, policemen in the Police Force, Native Chiefs (indirectly the government tax-collectors) which were the more common and popular jobs. Obviously the motive behind seeking jobs outside of the land was to collect as much money (cash) as possible and having made enough to return home to the kampungs to work once more on the lands, (having bought the land first). It should be taken into consideration that the Kadazan native sought employment outside of the land not for economic gains and progress as such or in the wider scope that modern man conceives of money, namely, speculating on the accumulation of wealth (money) for long term (personal) economic planning that is business ventures and investments. If at all the native Kadazan sought employment this way, it was basically for immediate economic purposes only,

that is, to buy essentials or foodstuffs and a little bit of clothing for the wife and the children.

Inheritance:

As regards inheritance, the passing on of wealth and assets to heirs, the Putatan Kadazans in the period two generations ago, as prior to that, had an inheritance system akin to that practised in Papar.⁷

"... The eldest son takes the major portion of both movable and immovable property; then came the younger sons and after them the daughters, but each must have some share in the estate..."

It is not actually known why the natives in the Putatan area had this type of practice. However, it can possibly be attributed to the fact that generally the Kadazans believe that sooner or later the daughter leaves the family and joins another where she will be provided for by her husband and his family. Thus it was unnecessary for her to inherit a large portion of any property.

The life of the Kadazan native in Putatan is by no means devoid of problems. However, his problems then as of old and to a certain extent even now in some areas, were problems with both his friend and his enemy... nature! From long and bitter experiences the Kadazan learnt to make use of what nature has given him. ... fertile land, rain and the sun to help him in cultivation. In this way he had to learn as did his father before him, the tricks of the trade. This was to keep a close watch on the weather and thus to decide which period it was most appropriate to start

⁷ Rutter Owen, The Pagans of North Borneo, 1929, pp. 168.

cultivating his crops. The farmer is subjected to the whims of the weather - heavy rains, dry periods, strong winds apart from the susceptibility of the crops to diseases. The above might well spoil the crops on the farmer's land, making his life more difficult.

Attitude Towards Work:

Due to the nature of his situation and the type of occupation he had to pursue, the Kadazan farmer formed certain attitudes towards his occupation. Basically he has become complacent. He is capable of hard work and is in fact hardworking because of the very nature of his work. All the same, there is no achievement-motivation on his part to seek wealth and money for their own sake. Thus he does not try to be competitive because he does not want to, for to him there is no necessity to be so. Consequently, to more ambitious eyes and minds, the Kadazan farmer has been slanderously graded and termed 'lazy' and 'slothful'. This they do when they see this lack of improvement materially of the farmer. One simply criticises him, overlooking the fact that for him, the old days were simple, free, leisurely and even if primitive to more sophisticated eyes, they were however, happy ones. Naturally, it is quite unlike the present mundane, punctual, bureaucratic, competitive, exploitative, oppressive and restricted way of living. It is true that the 45 above group of the writer's respondents still have not ^{is} discarded the type of attitude above. They could not. Their parents have had that attitude and they were thus brought up with it. Furthermore they have their prejudices and customs which they are slow to discard, and they only ask that these may be respected, if not observed by those with whom they come in contact with.

Money:

With the introduction of money, the whole gamut of barter-trade was changed. The traditional method of production also had to change for more universal ones. Directly or indirectly, therefore, all other aspects of native life, beginning naturally with one's means and methods of acquiring food and clothing (necessities of life) for the family, were affected and thus have had to change. In this way then, and as stated previously, money as money (and as a store of wealth) one had little use for. Money as a means of investment was bound to be utilised only on one of the recognised forms of native wealth, important assets and property being on the purchase of land, buffaloes, gongs, brass utensils and as in the olden days, on jars. (The primitive Kadazans in those olden days practised a custom which entailed burying the dead in fairly large size jars. In fact, in certain villages in Sabah namely, Kampung Kelawat in Kota Belud, this practice still prevails today. However, this practice is restricted to more wealthy members of the village community and specifically among the Pagans).

Nevertheless, because of the introduction of a facility like money by the British Chartered Company and the zest for business that the Chinese traders had, manifested in the opening of shops at strategic points, the natives changed their ways, slowly and painfully but surely. For, these shops brought goods like cloth, knives, cheap jewellery, salt and possible substitutes for their ceremonial requirements. They have also offered an easier way of getting goods, that is, provided the natives have the money.

Social and Cultural Institutions:

- 1) Family Structures; Kinship System; Class Structures.
- 2) Traditional practices; religions and magical practices; social and ceremonial practices.

In this section of this Chapter, we shall deal with the profile of the traditional socio-cultural aspects of the Kadazan community in Putatan practised two generations ago.

To begin with, in that period two generations ago, there were more pagans (animists) among the Kadazans than there are now. The pagans believed most ardently in the spirits and spiritual world. They thus had many rites and rituals conducted to show and give honour to the things that nature have endowed them with, namely food (here food is specifically rice the staple food) and shelter. The native reacted thus, for, being the simple person that he was, he believed that veneration and thanksgiving to the gods was through offering and conducting rites and rituals. In order to conduct the above they held various feasts and ceremonies. And these feasts and ceremonies in turn became the social entertainment for the community. Such social entertainment was further institutionalised to become the village's social institutions.

It is for both practical purposes and the above reasons that the writer has decided to combine the social and cultural institutions together in one section.

Before going into the intricacies of the socio-cultural institutions, the writer will deal first with the family structure, kinship system and the class or social structure that prevailed in the village.

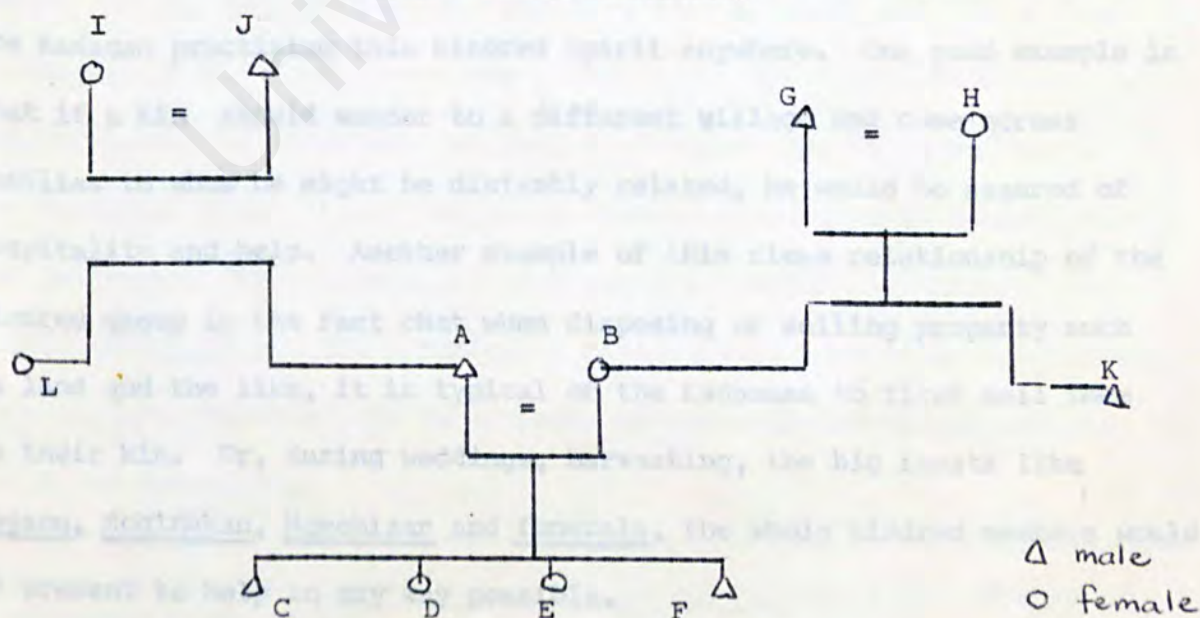
Family Structure

In the Kadazan society, the father is normally the head of the house. This means that he controls and takes charge of the finance and all decision-making falls on him. However, unlike the traditional Chinese women who suffered an inferior position, this is not the case of the Kadazan women. She has her share in decision making, socialising or disciplining the children or in anything to do with family matters. In fact in some of the families which the writer interviewed, it was the lady of the house who took charge of keeping the money for the family.

Kinship System

Strong kinship ties and solidarity were inherent among the kindred group in Putatan. For despite the fact that the individual families no longer live in longhouses but in individual residences, relatives still influence each other. The diagram below might explain this more.

FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIP



Say for example A. and B are from two different families and they get married. They beget four children C, D, E and F. Their grandparents are I, J, G and H.

Now for example in a decision-making matter, both A and B find it difficult to solve the problems themselves. They would normally not only consult their parents on both sides (I, J, G & H) but also their brothers and sisters... namely L and K. As regards the exercise of discipline upon C, D, E and F; I, J, G and H did have a lot of influence and say in the matter. So did L and K. This was done without any resentment on the part of A and B. In fact C, D, E and F had to regard L and K as not only their elders but as their parents and guardians if and when for example in the case when both parents have passed away. They were obliged to obey them as though they were their own parents. For example too, because of kinship ties, a kin will always help another in times of distress and trouble especially if the other party is poorer than the other. To reciprocate, the poorer kin will repay the debt may be not in kind but in whatever way he could. One was therefore always guaranteed of a help from a kinsman anytime and any place. It is not uncommon to find the Kadazan practising this kindred spirit anywhere. One good example is that if a kin should wander to a different village and come across families to whom he might be distantly related, he would be assured of hospitality and help. Another example of this close relationship of the kindred group is the fact that when disposing or selling property such as land and the like, it is typical of the Kadazans to first sell them to their kin. Or, during weddings, harvesting, the big feasts like Magang, Moginakan, Momohizan and funerals, the whole kindred members would be present to help in any way possible.

Class Structure in Traditional Putatan Society:

Traditional Putatan Kadazan society before the implementation of the legal title of land by the British was, (to use Marshall D. Sahlins' term) an 'egalitarian society'.⁸ What he meant by this was that:

"... All members of the group have customary rights of use; however, the head has the prerogatives of administering utilizations, which he does in the best interest of the group as a whole..."⁹

It was through her discussions and interviews with her respondents and others in the village that the writer discovered that the above held true for traditional Putatan Kadazan society.

When the legal title of land was implemented, this egalitarian set-up was upset. We discussed earlier on the ways by which land was claimed and acquired in traditional Putatan Kadazan society. It was in this way that the egalitarian trait in the society's social and class structure was changed.

However, despite the fact that some of the villagers had larger acreage of land than the others, a feudal set-up did not evolve in Putatan then. True, there was a feeling of envy among those who had less acreages for those who had larger acreages; but it ended there. The wealthier group themselves never made it a practice to exploit their own fellowmen. Furthermore, at that period, kinship, solidarity, the spirit of Ounung and the practice of Mitaa-tabang were still very strong. This in turn prevented the development of personal-individual selfish gains and interests.

⁸ Sahlins Marshall D, Social Stratification in Polynesia, University of Washington Press (1958).

⁹ Sahlins, Ibid.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, that state of affairs have proved in the long run to be short-lived, what with the infiltration of the external influences that we have stressed in this work. Thus the path towards social stratification has been opened and paved by the very implementation of the 'legal title of land' yet another external influence.

Reverence for rice not only among the Putatan Kadazans but elsewhere among the general Kadazan race in Sabah too, is carried to such an extent as having ceremonies before planting, after planting, during the growth of the rice, before harvesting and after harvesting. Below are the various ceremonial practices associated with rice as practised by the Kadazans.

Monotok (Mongotok):

This was conducted at the time when the rice grains are to be planted in the nursery or nurseries before being transplanted to the wet padi-fields. Apparently, it is the act of chasing away the evil spirits from the nurseries and also from the fields. It is believed that ill-fate would befall the owners of the fields if this ritual was not observed. This would come in the form of ploughs getting broken, buffaloes meeting with accidents (buffaloes are real assets as a beast of burden) or members of the family getting sick so that work on the fields would be discontinued.

Manavit:

This is another ritual where offerings are given to the spirits of the fields. It is conducted about a month or so after the transplanting of the seedlings from the nurseries to the fields. At such an occasion

chickens and rice wine are offered to the spirits. The rites and rituals were of course conducted by the priestesses.

Magavau and Mohohizan:

This was done after the harvesting and most especially if the harvest for that year was plentiful. This ritual is conducted to entreat the spirits of the rice to come home and stay in the rice-barns. The Kadazans also had this ceremony called "Papasaakoi do Bambaazon" or "Papasaakai do Sunduvan do Paai". The government of Sabah has today made the dates of 11th, 12th and 13th May official public holidays to especially allow the Kadazans to celebrate the end of the harvesting, and therefore to "Papasaakoi do Bambaazon". This is possibly similar to the "Ngawai Batu" a harvest festival of the Ibans in Sarawak. However, for the Kadazans themselves harvest festivals in the forms of Momohizan or Magavau start as early as February and end by early May.

Magavau normally last for a day and a night and people feast and make merry throughout the night and day. Momohizan takes place a few days after the Magavau, and is conducted on a much more elaborate scale than the Magavau. This part of the ritual was to entreat the spirits or rice to which the Kadazans give the terms Miontong or Bambaazon, to look after the rice plants in the next planting season. The above then, were the common practices associated with rice.

Modsopi or Mogondi:

The Kadazans do not have a formal type of religion like Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism. Possibly like Chinese Confucianism or Taoism which are mostly ways of living lives, so also with

the Kadazans. Paganism or the equivalent of Animism being the belief of spirits existing in objects is their way of life and not their religion. But in Paganism which also believe in God and spirits, they have their rites and rituals which resemble something of the rites and rituals in Church where there are prayers and hymns and communions. The priestesses who conduct the ceremony also pray and have her own hymns in the form of her chantings. At that time period to which we are dealing with, the people might have heard and seen of doctors (to them working miracles) healing an almost dying person. Regardless of this however, influences to seek for medical treatment from the immaculately clean figure dressed in white were still negligible. This meant that medical services mostly benefitted the town people. And, if the natives did seek medical advice and treatment, they either feared the injections or the operations, if and when they were needed. Thus, in times of sicknesses and the like, to them the most reliable person to turn to for help was always the priestess. For who knows, the child or the sick person could and would be struck by evil spirits who have the habit of roaming about! This was what normally crossed their minds as the writer discovered through their speech and conversations. Modsopi or Mogondi both terms are synonymous, apart from being conducted for healing purposes were also associated with the 'chasing after the spirit', or Koduuduvo (soul) of the individual especially if he had a bad dream. It was also conducted when interpreting dreams.

Magang and Moginakan:

Magang

The Magang is conducted to ask favours from the spirits:

- 1) For good health
- 2) For prosperity in terms of an increase in their domestic stock and most important, their rice stock.

It is also held when for example families who have in their possessions skulls (the remains of the head-hunting scenes) want to remove this string of skulls from their old abode to a new one. It is a grand feast and one which normally lasts for a week. It was for this reason and because of the heavy expenses involved that the villages resorted to having this ceremony only when necessary, as when moving into a new house.

Moginakan

This was yet another great feasting occasion for the Kadazans. The celebration of this feast was associated with any of the following:-

- 1) To ask favours from the spirits.
- 2) To erect the megaliths or menhirs. Megaliths are known as Sinninggazanak (to denote a doll, puppet or statue) and menhirs as Vatu (stone). This is associated with their custom of honouring one who died heirless.
- 3) To erect the stone boulder prior to making a claim over a piece of land (explained earlier on in the Chapter).

It was an occasion for all kinsmen to gather and be with one another.

Marriage:

The writer discovered there were three ways by which marriage could take place. In all three cases and whether arranged or not arranged, the writer discovered that the boys had more say regarding the matter, than did the girls.



IV. A Megalith or the Sininggazanak.

(Back-ground - Buit-hill Clinic, Putatan)



Two other examples of megaliths.

Arranged Marriage:

For example, in the arranged marriage both the boy and his future wife were forced into marriage. Everything was arranged by their parents; from the settlement of the bride price or Dowry to the wedding expenses. It was a popular practice especially among the wealthy people in the area. However, this should not be taken to mean that all the wealthy people in Putatan practised this. It was only so, for the particular lot who wanted to keep their wealth intact. The writer feels that this is probably more of a recent development and influence rather than an institutionalised custom. If the reader would refer back to the methods that the natives acquired land and wealth earlier on in the Chapter, then this would become clearer. The natives before they acquired lands and wealth were an egalitarian lot, sharing what they had with one another. With the introduction of wealth in the forms of having more land, buffaloes, domesticated animals and the like, they were divided into different societal strata. And, the wealthy began to associate themselves more with the wealthy, and the poorer reacted in the same fashion.

Non-Arranged Marriage:

There were two ways by which non-arranged marriage was conducted.

- 1) The male relates to his parents the girl of his choice. The dealings will be left to his parents. However, the marriage will depend upon the consent of the girl's parents.
- 2) The boy discovers his marriage partner but perhaps as according to his judgment, the response from the girl is not forthcoming. He finds it difficult to forget her.

Given the opportunity, for example, any feast day or any encounter, in full public view, he grabs hold of her, especially at the breasts. Such manifestations are of course outrageous to the adults in the village. The only normal way to deal with such a scandalous deed and also to 'save face' for both parties (families) is to have both the young man and woman rushed into marriage. In this case too, the girls had sometimes no choice but to agree to the marriage and let their parents deal with the matter.

Before the actual wedding can take place, however, there are certain conditions to be fulfilled on the part of the male. For a whole year before he can get married to the girl of his choice, he has to 'Sumupu' or live in the house of the girl to show and prove his worth, by working hard for her family. At the end of the stipulated time, if his personality and conduct are favourable as judged by his prospective in-laws, the marriage will ultimately take place. If not, then he will leave in disgrace and face the scorn of not only his kins and the girl's parents but the whole village. While this was so, there were actually not many such cases that happened in the kampung. Marriages did take place, and the girls had to go and live with their in-laws.

Funerals:

Since there were rites and rituals for any ceremony that the Kadazans conducted, there were also proper rites and rituals conducted for funerals.

The Putatan Kadazans term for funeral is Humisau. On the funeral day itself, they used to Momodunsai. That is, the women wailed to the accompaniment of the beating of gongs. After the burial, they had to

Momisok Sumbu or literally 'the blowing of the light'. Apparently this was the time when the soul came home to pay the living a visit and to confirm the fact that he was really dead. He could only do this in the dark. The next day, the house occupants had to Mogukas, being just another ritual associated with funerals. Moginhodzop (speaking to the dead) another ritual is conducted about ten days after the funeral.

The Kadazans in Putatan used to bury their dead in big jars which they called Kakanan. This customary practice was probably of Chinese influence. They no longer practise it now.

Associated with the funeral rituals was the Mobpuod, being the mourning observances practised either by the widow or the widower. Normally, the widow or the widower had to be kept in isolation from the rest of the society because unless and until they had fulfilled the strict requirements of purification, they would have been considered contaminated and unclean to mix freely in the community. The isolation period ranged from three months to six months or so. This depended on how meticulous the widow or widower were in following the mourning rites and rituals (that is, according to the priestess as well as the public's opinions). If the rites and rituals were carried out favourably, then the mourning period would be lessened by the priestess.

Political Institutions:

- (1) Social sanctions - ways and means rules/regulations as an exercise of law and order.

The apparent lawlessness of Sabah prior to the British occupation gave the British colonialists an impetus to introduce their system

of law and order into Sabah. By simultaneously incorporating the native common laws and customs into their legal system, the British were better able to directly administer the natives.¹⁰ Naturally, this was highly advantageous to the British.

In considering the types of political institutions or native administration that prevailed in Putatan two generations ago, we have to take a look at the way the British administered the natives during their reign. Before the coming of the British to Sabah, the natives then (implying the Kadazans here) already had present amongst them a body of customs and common law by which the headmen administered justice in the villages.¹¹ As mentioned above, the British rulers incorporated the native laws into their own legal system, of which the basic spirit and instructions had changed little since two generations ago. In fact the government of Malaysia to this very day has adopted that very system of government administration. The Malaysian system of government is exercised through the hands of the Federal Parliament which is an importation of the British Parliamentary system. The only difference here is that whereas Parliament is supreme in Britain, it is the Federal Constitution that is supreme in Malaysia. And whereas the British system is unitary, Malaysia is a Federation.

¹⁰ Refer to North Borneo Application of Laws Ordinance, 1951, at page 75, of Ahmad Ibrahim's Towards a History of Law in Malaysia and Singapore. The 1951 Ordinance provides that the common law of England and the doctrines of equity, together with statutes of general application, as administered or in force in England at the time of the commencement of the Ordinance, shall be the law in force in North Borneo with the proviso that the said common law, doctrines of equity and statutes of general application shall be in force so far only as the circumstances of North Borneo and its inhabitants permit and subject to such qualifications as local circumstances and native customs render necessary.

¹¹ Rutter, op. cit., pp. 135.

Thus the Government of the natives two generations ago was administered by the Governor appointed by a Court of Directors. Beneath the Governor were the Residents, of whom there were four. They were Resident of the West Coast, Resident of the East Coast, the Resident of Kudat and the Resident of the Interior. Under the Residents were the District Officers and the Cadets. Within each district and sub-district of the respective Residencies, the headmen of the various villages carried on minor administration under the Native Chiefs,¹² who were in turn responsible to the District Officers. These Native Chiefs presided over Native Courts which dealt with offences against native customs and with breaches of Mohamadan Law.

The administrative officers in their magisterial capacity held courts which were concerned with normal civil actions, breaches of the laws of the colony and offences against the Penal Code. District Officers and their assistants while having their own duties to perform also had to act as the Assistant Collectors of Land Revenue and Assistant Protector of Labour. In the former case the Native Chiefs had to aid them in their work of collecting taxes.

The Government then wanted to conduct and govern village administration through the Native Chiefs and Headmen. In encouraging this, they used to pay the Native Chiefs and the Headmen.

¹² The terms Native Chiefs and Headmen are synonymous. The natives themselves used the term headmen or Orang Tua (Malay term) more popularly for their headmen. Native Chiefs were the terms used by the British for these headmen. When a headman was given the term Native Chief by the British, it was considered that he had a more important and prestigious role than the ordinary headman in the kampung. Thus he could delegate administrative works for the other headman in the locality.

The British found this satisfactory considering they had to rule a vast area and there were not many European staff then. It was also cheap because they did not have to pay the natives chiefs and the headmen much. Apparently some of the Native Chiefs were paid only between \$5 to \$10 per month.

Actually the British were only legalising an already existing practice among the natives in the form of the work of the native chiefs or the headmen.

"In the past, leadership in the kindred group was by the brave and the strong. The basis of power was derived from age, sex, property and personal knowledge and of adherence to customary law and reputation for fairness and tolerance... Such individuals were usually older men with wealth, skilled in many activities such as war and hunting. The ascendancy to political leadership was through a long process of public acceptance. The potential leader must show willingness to help others in work, and give advice. The leadership is... not hereditary..."¹³

With the appearance of the British, the headmen's work was extended to notifying the nearest magistrates or police officer of crimes, offences, unnatural deaths or outbreak of diseases, besides first investigating them. In this way he supervised village life and had power and responsibility of a minor magistrate, which made him preside over native courts, and to try all cases that involved natives only. Thus, save for some really serious crimes like murder, kidnapping and major robbery or theft, the native chiefs and/or the headmen had to try all cases that involved the natives. In many ways their decisions had to be and were in accordance with local customs (religious, sexual or general). (The writer had a grandfather who was a headman, after which he was appointed a

¹³ Subal Frederick Y., Graduation Exercise 1973, University Malaya.

Native Chief to be later promoted to become a District Chief of his own district. It was through him that she came to know a little about the nature of his type of work.) The Pagan (native) laws fell into

"... three main headings: Offences against property, offences against the person and offences against the community. In the first group (offences against the person) correct relationship is demanded and breach of observances are punished, often severely..."¹⁴

These laws were still held amongst the Kadazans in Putatan two generations ago.

Attitudes of the Natives towards the Political Institutions:

It would be wrong to generalise that politics has never appealed to the Kadazans. In considering natives' attitudes towards Politics, certain possible causes have to be taken into consideration.

Possibly the following were the reasons for the lack of active Political participation leading to a certain degree of apparent disinterest and indifference, and the consequent complacency of the Kadazans. One cause could be that the Kadazan being a peasant is so caught up and involved in his method of making a living, did not have the time to speculate, think or even bother about the political affairs. He had a full life to lead, up early in the morning to tend to his garden and fields and going to bed early because he was tired. If he chanced to have talks and discussions with his friends, it would probably be about his crops and domestic animals and work. This could be taken as true for the area of study because, in the course of her conversations with the age group 45 and

¹⁴ Rutter, op. cit., pp. 135.

above, three out of 35 of her respondents showed signs of inclinations towards having discussions on politics. The rest limited themselves to every-day kampung affairs like 'what so and so did, fishing, bad crops etc.,'

As we have discussed previously, the native chiefs and headmen played important roles in village administration and village life. He became the respected person that he showed himself to be. By his role alone, consciously or unconsciously, the villagers became very much dependent on him as their leader and representative to the government. The native chiefs and headmen were about the only active members politically because they were in close contact with the government. The British rule happened to be an indirect rule. In this way dissociation and a gradual drifting away from active participation in anything concerning the formal government among the natives arose. While this might be so, one cannot reject the fact that the villagers did take an active part in the selection of their headmen and native chiefs.¹⁵

Immigrant labour force in the form of the Chinese from Hong Kong and the island of Hainan meant something for the British. They were getting a probably more skilled, industrious labour force than the less skilled, apparently care-free, easy-going, simple and so very unbusiness-minded Kadazans (unlike the business-minded Chinese). This meant easy and immediate profit, which they actually were after all in search of. While it meant one thing to the British and one thing to the Chinese immigrants, it also meant another to the Kadazans. They were prevented

¹⁵ Subal, op. cit., pp. 40, 41.

from actually coming into direct contact with forces that might have accelerated them towards more profound development and modernism. It also prevented them from acquiring certain skills and expertise needed for the type of jobs the government had for the Chinese. If the British required skilled labour, they could have trained the natives. However, the odds were against the natives because for one thing, the^{ir} population was too small (in the eyes of the British) and less remunerative than the Chinese to bring any form of economic gains. Furthermore, it would have been an expensive affair for the British to train the illiterate natives to do work that needed skill and training. The British then were just not prepared to anticipate an economic loss. The very nature of the British native administration, thus, helped to reinforce the limited scope and life of the natives to his village. They made him stay the person he is, simple and unaffected. If so, one perceives the lack of active participation in politics as a drawback, one wonders what the natives could actually have done given their situation then as now!

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION: FACILITIES (EXTERNAL FORCES)

THAT LED TO THE MOTIVATION FOR CHANGE.

The transformation of a simple society, once isolated from the world-wide market system, operating without money and relatively self-contained to one of a more complex society in various aspects, is, the interest of this study. Here, in this third chapter, the writer will discuss the types of facilities (external or modernization forces) introduced into the state of Sabah to have created changes, if there be any, with interest focused on the area of study.

Facilities Introduced:

British Government vs. Malaysian Government

This chapter will be divided into two parts. Part one will deal with the types of facilities introduced by the British Government and part two, those of the present Malaysian Government. Most of this chapter will consist of descriptive material. The analysis regarding the effects of the facilities (as mentioned in the preface) will be dealt with in chapter Four.

It is self-explanatory in itself why the writer has chosen to describe and attempt to make a comparison between the two Governments, as regards the amount both have contributed towards so-called development and progress (implying change) in Sabah.

The British took definite possession of Sabah through the administration of the Chartered Company in 1882. Their rule ended when

the Government of Malaysia took possession of the State, on the 31st August, 1963.

Group one of the writer's respondents had therefore experienced the facilities offered by both the Governments of Britain and Malaysia. Malaysia is only in its twelfth year this year. This means that the writer's second group (age 30 and below) of respondents have to a certain extent witnessed and remembered slightly the British rule. By bringing into light the types of facilities the groups were exposed to, one could grasp to a certain extent their attitudes towards the two Governments.

British Government - Facilities Introduced

In trying to tap and thus to exploit the resources of the country, the British colonialists were actually after economic gains. They installed a system of administration which included a legal system of enforcing law and order in a country where lawlessness apparently prevailed. A system of administration as a facility triggered off by the economic motive made it possible for other facts to come about.

In order that their administration could be operational, they had to create their seats of government. Capitals (first of all Kudat in the north, later Sandakan on the East coast and then Jesselton now knownⁿ as Kota Kinabalu) and other smaller towns sprung up. The three capital towns were ports and in this way goods such as tobacco, timber and minerals (gold) from the hinterland could be exported. These towns also became headquarters where the Government could concentrate the

medical, educational, agricultural and public works services.

With the growth of major towns and apparent expansion of the urban and the sub-urban areas, it was necessary to have formal modern administrative organisations like offices and permanent government departments such as the Constabulary and Prisons, Education, Audit, Agriculture, Medical, Public Works and Telecommunication Departments the Post Office and the Railways and the Town Boards, Immigration and Labour Departments.

The facilities in the town areas like electricity and water supply; better road and transport conditions, sanitation, medical, education were provided for the benefit of town dwellers and especially the government servants (European staff then).

Time and the attraction towards the 'city lights' soon made these facilities available to the other races in the community including the natives.

Economic stimulation in the state also led to the development of various forms of communication and transport. Throughout the state, wider paths were being made into roads, and the Chartered Company constructed a Railway on the West Coast.

The Government administrators in the course of fulfilling their duties as government servants were penetrating into the interior and spreading throughout the country. In their wake came the Chinese traders who set up trading posts at road-junctions and near river-sides. Here, they tried to trade with the natives their goods like clothings, beads, jewellery, and other manufactured goods. The natives soon

discovered that it was better to buy the manufactured goods than to make them themselves. Naturally the trading entailed the use of money as a medium of exchange, another facility that was introduced by the British. This drew the natives especially the Kadazans more and more into the world system of monetary trade; an involvement which had their effects.

Through the advantages of transport and communication, the natives soon came into more contact with the outside world, plus the various forces of modernization. These forces brought the natives to an appreciation of new forms and values which they in later period conditioned to their use socially as well as ideologically.

Technically the British did not contribute much to the country for they did not assist the Kadazans to make use of their local resources particularly labour resources. Agriculture and/or industrialisation training was lacking. Instead they employed Chinese immigrants from overseas to work in their commercial plantations. To them the Chinese were good and better agriculturalists, mechanics and labourers than the natives. Similar to the Malay situation in Malaya, there was a strong bias to discourage the natives from having their own plantations. Definitely this would jeopardise their monopolistic position, should enough small-holders take to planting rubber as a commercial crop. In this way, the incentive and interest to do business was never fully developed among the natives.

Religion

When the first missionaries came in the 1800s, their motive was to 'save souls and to baptise the heathens'. In order to do this,

they discovered a way of getting the messages of Christ across to the people. This was through the initiation of education, especially on the part of the young. They thus founded an effective way of making the natives read, understand and appreciate the words of God in the Bible. It was in this manner that formal education developed in Sabah.

Education

A large share of educating the children of Sabah was thus borne by the Missions. The Roman Catholic first introduced education in Papar in 1881 and in Sandakan in 1887. From this, the government took the cue and continued from where the Missions started. Schools slowly increased in numbers.

Language: English as a Lingua Franca

Many of the villagers who came into contact with the Europeans and the Chinese traders and who conducted transactions with them had to find a way of communicating with them. It is not known how Malay language came to be used as a means of communication. However, it took force and slowly became widespread among the natives. Because it was considered to be prestigious to be able to speak other languages, the native parents as far as they could, made it a point to attempt to speak the language in question. They also did their best to encourage their offsprings to do likewise. It must not be mistaken that the general Kadazan population in Sabah uphold this. The writer only states this through her observation of the area of study. One can safely say that this was different from Sarawak where Malay did not really take hold.

Nevertheless, while this was so for daily discourse with the man on the street and in the shops and in the markets, it was not so for the Office. In the Government offices, the English language was a necessity. Without it government administration could not function properly and effectively. Schools generally was also run in English as a medium of instruction. In time to come it was not only customary but imperative to be able to speak as well as to write in English. On reflection, English as the second language has contributed a great deal towards the development of education in the country. This to a certain extent triggered development and progress in Sabah. In a way it also helped to foster the healthy spirit of nationality among the general Kadazan population who spoke differing Kadazan dialects. This brought them together into a collective Union of friendship and goodwill as too among the other ethnic groups.

With the coming of the Japanese invasion, schools as other facilities like hospitals and the like soon stopped temporarily. Japanese bombed towns and villages from Papar to Kota Belud and in many aspects (materially) Sabah was the most heavily damaged among all the British colonies. When proper education was resumed, and when it became a fact that there was no provision for higher education in Sabah, students were encouraged to continue their studies overseas. This was made possible by scholarships from various sources, such as from the Government, the Colombo Plan, and the Colonial Development and Welfare schemes.

The British left a legacy which paved the way for others to play their part in later period. On the social level, the natives were

made to conform to accepted western standard of behaviour in matters of public order.

Ideologically, they were also made to accept new sets of political and religious concepts and beliefs. However while the missionaries did good in introducing Christianity for it indirectly brought something more important-education, they however, also introduced a 'conflict' in religious values among the natives. They were made to face a situation whereby they had to discard their pagan and so-called heathen values.

Generally the introduction of cash-cropping in the form of rubber, coffee and tobacco proved lucrative for the economy of the country. It was in this way that the natives became influenced in later period to take up cash-cropping seriously. They thus planted (the common ones) rubber, vegetables, tapioca, yams, sweet-potatoes and bananas to sell as cash-crops. They never considered increasing their output of rice to sell as cash-crop,¹⁶ and they have retained 'subsistence-farming' for rice. [The type of set up that the British left behind has therefore paved the way for social stratification and its reinforcement. In a more or less egalitarian, communalistic society as we have in the Kadazan villages, money played its important role in helping to stratify the society. Money created a social set-up where the rich became even more powerful.]

¹⁶ Selling rice was as bad as selling land for the Kadazans. They venerate rice just as the Hindus venerate the cow.

Malaysian Government: (Facilities) Introduced

It was as much in the Malaysian government attempts to improve as well as provide a more effective and concerted implementation of what the British had tried to do that acted as the powerful force which led to a substantial progress in Sabah and Sarawak under the First Malaysia Plan.

Before Malaysia, the British had already introduced the infrastructure that was actually the basis of development and modernization in Sabah. However, the British did not put real effort towards actual development programmes. They adhered too much to the policy of self-sufficiency and deficit spending. The British tax-payers in England could not have been expected to finance the colonial programmes in their colonies overseas, although it was clear that only surplus spending could expand and modernise the economies of Sabah. For example, Sabah's colonial development plan before the formation of Malaysia of 1960-65 called for the expenditure of \$150 million whereas the envisaged expenditure for Sabah of the First Malaysia Plan of 1966-70 was \$436 million, of which \$373.6 was to have been financed by the Federal Government.¹⁷ Prior to the introduction of the First Malaysia Plan to Sabah, it had already its own smaller development plan. This was supposed to have incurred the expense of the first Development Plan for Sabah. This plan had the hope of developing the infrastructure of the state to enable the economy to expand with the availability of better and modern

¹⁷ Ongkili J, Modernization in East Malaysia 1960-70.

facilities. It had four main objectives:

"... the promotion of economic growth as fast as Sabah's human resources would permit; development of the state's human resources as fast as circumstances permitted with emphasis on education and training for modern life and for those occupations needed in the state; providing for the people of Sabah a wider range of economic and social services with the resources available; and the reduction of economic and social inequalities, especially through improvements in the living standards and welfare of the poorest and most backward elements of the population".¹⁸

Another of the objectives of the State Development Plan was to open up new lands to resettle some 12,000 families who were either landless or had inadequate farmland. Yet another objective was to provide education, both primary and secondary, to any child of appropriate age and adequate preparation (for secondary education). It also had aims towards expanding technical training courses and intensifying road, sea and air-communication and telecommunication. Attempts were also made to overcome labour shortages, both in the public and private sectors. One way was by encouraging West Malaysians to come and work in Sabah. This acted as a stimulus to encourage a certain competitive spirit that was soon apparent among the Sabahans. It was also constructive in the long run, for now, Sabahans are no longer complacent about their positions. They have been stimulated to strive better in many aspects regarding their jobs. It would seem rather strange, that while imported labourers in the form of the Chinese did not create any competitive spirit among the natives, while those of West Malaysians did. On reflection however, one possible reason for this was that the Chinese so

¹⁸ Ongkili, Ibid. p.92.

easily assimilated themselves into the native life-style. Another fact which both natives and Chinese had in common was 'pork'. They both could take it as food. Most of the West Malaysians who came to work were Malays and Mohamedans by faith. And, as in the case of the Bajaus, the natives did not want to have anything to do with people of the "Muslim Faith". Furthermore, by then, the natives had become more conscious of their rights and were now willing to fight for it.

The above plan was later incorporated in the First Malaysia Plan which had set out 10 objectives.

With the help of Federal allocations certain forms of developments ~~and~~ resulting facilities began to show up in Sabah after the formation of Malaysia. Of particular interest were the activities in the field of communication, seeing as there was an urgent need for roads and other means of access to the underdeveloped interior. This objective has today materialised into the Kudat-Kota Kinabalu road, a distance of more than a hundred miles; Kota Kinabalu-Sandakan of approximately 200 miles. Another project begun in 1964 and completed in early 1970 was the road which now links Kota Kinabalu with the interior towns of Tambunan, Keningau and Tenom, a distance of nearly 100 miles. Apart from internal communication, one also saw rapid development in air-communication after Malaysia was formed. Modern air-transport soon became a part of everyday life and it then became possible for most Sabahans to be more mobile. This in a way was an attempt to break the gap between East and West Malaysia.¹⁹

¹⁹ Ongkili, op. cit.

In the field of education, students have been encouraged to work better with improved modern facilities and better trained teachers. Through the introduction of more scholarship boards, namely Federal Scholarship; Sabah State Scholarship Board; MARA Scholarship/Loan Board, Bank Negara and most important of all the Sabah Foundation, which gives both loan and scholarships; education, increased in importance. Not only were students who wanted to pursue their tertiary education overseas, especially in the various universities and institutions in Peninsular Malaysia encouraged to do so by the aid of the above Boards; lower secondary students are now fortunate to have exchange programmes arranged for them to attend schools in Peninsular Malaysia. This initiative was introduced by the Sabah Foundation. And it was during this period that the number of schools and hostels increased throughout Sabah.

English became important especially during the reign of the British. Article 152 of the Federal Constitution declares the Malay language to be the National language of the Federation. Thus, it became imperative that the people should learn to speak and write in that language after Sabah joined Malaysia. As a means of promoting this, Bahasa Malaysia became the medium of instruction especially in the primary schools. And, passing Bahasa Malaysia became one of the prerequisites for passing examinations. Officers and executives were also instructed to use Bahasa Malaysia officially. The mass media contributed their share by the intensive as well as the extensive use of Bahasa Malaysia in conveying information to the public. The Sabah Legislative Assembly passed an enactment in 1973 declaring the Malay language to be

the official language of the State in that year.

Islam is the national religion of Malaysia. With the formation of Malaysia, Sabahans have to a certain extent had to suffer the evangelising zest of particular Muslim proselytists (similar to the treatment they received from the Christian missionaries). This has provoked antagonism from those who profess the Christian faith. The situation has also been blindly interpreted as constituting a 'religious persecution'. And, today we have in Sabah something amounting to a revival of that age-old conflict between two of the strongest religions in the world, namely Christianity and Islam. How this conflict will be resolved in the future remains to be seen. However, one thing is very certain. It has become a problem which needs immediate attention and the writer does not refrain from saying that there is more to it than meets the eye.

In agriculture, the government opened up land for oil-palm and cocoa schemes, two of the major schemes which the Malaysian Government implemented. Workers soon flocked to the East Coast where most of the schemes are situated. Besides, modern techniques in the production of both rice and rubber were also introduced. In certain areas in Sabah especially the Tuaran and Papar areas, double cropping of rice and the use of better quality seeds, proper irrigation works plus the use of modern farming techniques came into practice.

Rural development in Sabah was also given a lot of emphasis.

J. Ongkili writes:

"In the period 1964-65 rural development system was introduced into Sarawak and Sabah. It principally required the governments to construct a framework of development by building and improving roads, schools, health facilities, drainage and irrigation system; opening up more land; increasing veterinary and agricultural services, providing better water supplies, communication and electric power; establishing rural industries and generally providing a better way of life in each rural village ..."

So coupled with the Sabah community Development Centre whose main aims or objectives are to change the attitudes of the kampung dwellers from their rigid traditional ways to accepting more flexibly modern living, rural development in Sabah is today no longer just a long cry in the wilderness.

The Government of Sabah and indirectly the Malaysian Government have been able to fulfill the above objectives in many ways. These objectives have also penetrated and benefited the people in the area of study. Whereas the kampung folks did not understand the meaning of pipe-water, electricity; a wider and better road plus established Clinics with an ever ready trained Rural Health Nurse to attend to one's health, before, they are now able to appreciate those facilities. The relatively old school on top of the hill which most of the Putatan primary school children attend, is no longer the shackled building it used to be. Today, it has been renovated and extended.

If the Sabah and Malaysian Governments did not achieve all their objectives in the span of time between the formation of Malaysia and now, it cannot be said that the framework of development was not firmly initiated. They cannot be blamed for not trying. Enough it



V. The introduction of an external facility like electricity.

Two examples in the area of study.



VI. Introduction of a facility like
pipe-water.



VII. A tractor. In the background, a typical
Kadazan peasant house. Beside it is the padi
nursery; converted into a vegetable garden
during the slack season.

The Old and the New



VIII. Electricity post.

Background - Atap-roofed peasant house.



IX. Forefront - a pipe-water line and an old house.

Background - A modern type house.



X. A priestess preparing for a MOGONDI session in a modern house.

is to say here, that the above were the facilities introduced by the Malaysian Government. Then the question arises, would the society that now exists both in the area of study and Sabah in general be what they are now had not these facilities been exploited and much more fully employed than during the reign of the British?

institutions

(2) The Resultant Effects - Analysis and Comparison

The life of the Kadazan once enclosed in his small world of the village, has definitely taken on a new turn. This is by no means a new phenomenon. One thing is clear. Whereas in the past the changes were relatively slow and thus were not so noticeable, today, the changes are in many aspects more profound and pronounced.

Part of the task of the writer in this study was to trace the different course of certain developments in recent times. In order to do this, it was necessary to examine the earlier history of Sabah's contact with the outside world, and the situation of the Kampung as it related then. Having done that in chapter two and three of this work, it is now our intention to compare that old order with the present set-up, naturally bearing in mind the influence and the activators for change dealt with in chapter three.

To begin with, institutions that once prevailed and dominated the matrix of an uncomplicated simple life in the village are no longer what they used to be. The germs and seeds of new thoughts and experiences have made the natives discard certain old traditionalistic ways of life and adopt new ones.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF CHANGE AND ADJUSTMENT

(1) Outline of the present situation

The Economic, cultural, social and political institutions

(2) The Resultant Effects - Analysis and Comparison

The life of the Kadazan once enclosed in his small world of the village, has definitely taken on a new turn. This is by no means a new phenomenon. One thing is clear. Whereas in the past the changes were relatively slow and thus were not so noticeable, today, the changes are in many aspects more profound and pronounced.

Part of the task of the writer in this study was to trace the different course of certain developments in recent times. In order to do this, it was necessary to examine the earlier history of Sabah's contact with the outside world, and the situation of the Kampung as it existed then. Having done that in chapter two and three of this work, it is now our intention to compare that old order with the present set-up, naturally bearing in mind the influence and the motivators for change dealt with in chapter three.

To begin with, institutions that once prevailed and dominated the matrix of an uncomplicated simple life in the village are no longer what they used to be. The germs and seeds of new thoughts and experiences have made the natives discard certain old traditionalistic ways of life for modern ones.

Economic Institutions and Changes:

In any society, all the various institutions whether they be economic, social, cultural or political are interrelated and interconnected with one another. One particular aspect of the social system affects the other aspects of the system. However the degrees of influence that the various parts have upon each other differs. Some have minor influence, while the influence of the others is greater and more forceful.

In the case of the Kadazan society in Putatan, economic institutions have perhaps played the most important role and extended a major contribution towards important changes in the society. Therefore in order to understand the nature of the social system in Putatan today, it is necessary to first understand the nature of its economic system or institutions. For, the economy of the people in Putatan pose as the link to the type of social system and patterns of existence that they have.

From the very data that the writer collected; the physical appearance of the kampung and the conversations she had with the dwellers, it was clear that certain aspects of the traditional way of living was still in vogue. The people are still agriculturalists and they are still dependent (i.e. the majority still are) on the 'Old Faithful Beast of Burden', the buffalo, to help them in their work on the fields. Also, nature still has some of them under its control. Meaning it can still devastate their crops in times of droughts, floods or attacks of birds or pests. There are new facilities like the tractors and irrigation works, fertilisers and insecticides. However, these are only for the

benefit of those who can afford them and this group constitute the minority in the kampung. In the area of study, with roughly a population of 300 to 400 as mentioned before, only about 5 families possess tractors. The rest still have to depend on the buffalo. Due to this very fact, the Kadazan kampung dwellers in Putatan have not increased their yields in any way. Year in, year out, the yields are practically the same, unless nature favours them with good weather and rain. If it does not, then they suffer.

There is also a lack in specialisation of labour. The work on the fields is mostly "family affairs" and work is still conducted for subsistence and none at all for cash-crops. While this may hold true for the older generation, it is not so for the younger set. Most of the farmers are of the older stock. There are only a handful of the young working as farmers.

Attraction to the new, alluring seemingly to them has come in the form of new jobs and employment away from their kampungs. This fact has been accelerated by their formal education. More and more members of the community are being educated, to the extent of being able to attain tertiary education at colleges and the universities. However, these again constitute a small minority. The rest of the majority only attain primary and lower secondary (up to Form three) and upper secondary (up to Form Five and Six) education. They are not able to continue their studies at the higher Institutions either because, they no longer have the incentive to continue or are unable to, because of lack of funds or because of not being properly qualified. The educated young seeking employment outside of their kampung are also able to experience a type of

life altogether different from that of their parents and grandparents.

Thus, since the arrival of the British, there has been a definite enlargement of the economic horizon of the natives, and especially the young.

By the time Malaysia was formed and thereafter, this was really evident in the greater scale of their wants especially in consumer goods; in the much greater range of experiences of employment on the part of both the males and the females; in the improvement in their material and capital possessions and their greater familiarity with the use of money. These all add up to an upsurge and increase in both geographical and social mobility. The Kadazan native has today become more equipped to broaden his scope, outlook and general experiences and better able too, to improve himself not only materially but also physically.

The outstanding feature in the exchange system of the Kadazans today as compared to that of two generations ago was the development of the use of money. Whereas two generations ago, one could still barter and conduct transactions without the use of money (consider the case of the Tamus or Badis), today that issue is out of the question. Tamus are today still being held but then transactions have to be done through money as a medium. Before too, one could ask one's neighbour for some of his vegetable or fruits and consent would have come as: "Oh yes, take as much as you need" Now, the manner of asking has taken on a new tune. Today, it would be more in the manner to ask "Could I have a dollar's worth of your vegetables?..." and the like.

It can be said at the outset that the Kadazans seem to have incorporated this innovation into their economic operations without much

difficulty. And, today, as unlike two generations ago, when money relieved was at once spent on food stuff and on necessities, it is now much more than just an immediate medium of exchange. Today, it also acts as a store of value.

The natives unlike two generations before, have today taken the initiative to set up their own businesses. (Before the Chinese alone were the business and middlemen). Why they did not do so before, may have been because, they lacked monetary knowledge and the exercise of monetary skill. In the area of study, the writer discovered that there are now eight retail shops selling sundry goods. One of them is a co-operative. A fact like this shows the real difference between what was and what is. The people are now able to run their own business. This is probably due to influence of others around them, particularly the Chinese. These new shop-keepers are of the 45 and above age group.

There is another change prevalent among the Kadazan in Putatan today. Whereas before, the paraphernalia of their domestic existence in the house did not amount to much, seeing as people were only interested in acquiring the necessary furniture; today, through increased contact with the outer world they have developed interest in a range of other imported goods which could be purchased only through moeny. With the installation of electricity and the introduction of television, one just has to take a short walk into the kampung to realise that, out of, say, every ten houses, to be sure three houses would have a television set. Even the old houses have been replaced with newer ones with the modern touch, namely, having settees, cupboards, curtains, tables and chairs, which was not there before. There is also certainly a lack in the con-

Today they are like any other modern girls that we can expect to find in the world, getting educated, finding jobs, working for their living, supporting their families and then settling down to have families of their own. In this way they have come a long way from the times of their grandmothers and mothers. In many ways, they can expect more and will get more for they have now been orientated to expect more out of life. The writer is not trying to imply here that watching television is better than attending the Moki-iaa sessions. She is merely bringing the attention of the readers to the changes that have taken place in Putatan.

Observation and reflection have made the writer discover that in Putatan 'chauvinism' among the men could be a recent phenomenon. For one thing, admiration for the hardworking women did not only come from the male population; but also from the whole society. Often one could hear the public comment regarding a particular individual, that "so and so is lucky to have a hardworking, diligent and intelligent wife". The society only scorns the woman who is slothful and lazy. For another, as the writer has mentioned previously, priestesses are among the most respected persons in the society. It was possibly for this reason too that young girls in the village were encouraged to train and they did want to be trained, as priestesses. However, contacts with the Chinese society and their attitudes toward women as being inferiors plus also the fact that they were useless if they did not beget sons^{as} children introduced something rather undesirable into the village. That, women were only fit to do hard, laborious work and to beget children. This attitude soon developed into an institution to

which the women themselves succumbed. It is fortunate that the young girls in Putatan village today need no longer fear this prejudice.

For, better health facilities, better educational and employment opportunities have produced profound social revolution in the status, attitudes and interests of the females in the village (especially the young).

Education has also helped the male population to change their attitudes toward women. They have now learnt to accept the fact that women can show their worth not only on the fields but elsewhere too. And, the most prominent area is in the educational field.

On the other hand, while youngsters have been taught and given a beautifully painted picture of education and what it can bring, they have not been taught the use and application of such an accomplishment. The individual begins to look upon his so-called literacy as the 'be-all and end-all' of his existence. This is the problem that we now have in the society. An individual sees another individual having a white-collar job drawing a good pay, living well and is well paid (according to him). Then his one idea, if he has been to school is to find a white-collar job anywhere in order to be able to live well. However, he does not always get a white-collar job, for competition is keener now. What happens to our individual? He gets too proud to dirty his hands by doing manual labour as his father and grandfathers did. He then thinks it below his dignity, as an educated person to work as his father did. Furthermore, encouragement also comes from his father to find a much easier way of living (employment) in the town areas. This then defeats the very essence and purpose of education and

what it should entail. Obviously education does not mean to teach anyone to disdain manual labour and to reject the dignity of it.

Present Attitudes Towards Work:

The above is perhaps the major reason as to why the younger generation in the kampung no longer want to work on the fields. The normal complaint that the writer encountered was that the job was too tiring and the sun too hot. Consequently, they are inclined to think and act and have the attitudes of town people. This they do both in their mannerisms and attitudes. They have after all seen and to a certain extent experienced the hard life of their fathers in the kampung. This attitudes of the young most certainly do differ from that of their elders who really valued hard work.

About 75 per cent of the 45 above sampled group still cultivate their own fields instead of hiring a hand or two to help them. It is not that they cannot afford to. Rather, it is more the issue of not trusting the labourers to do a job which they know they can do better. This action is quite contrary to those of their children, who clamour more for the easy life; to be rid of the hardship their parents and ancestors have had to face before. Among the younger generation, when asked what they felt towards kampung life and their present situation, more than 50 percent of them stated that they felt that kampung life was much, much harder than town life; that they only help their parents on the fields because they are forced to. They also added that given jobs to do they tend to do the work well, only when their fathers were around to supervise them. The older generation on the other hand need

no supervision to be able to do their jobs well.

Another thing to be found among the youth quite unknown possibly two generations ago and to a certain extent still prevalent among the first group of the respondents was the fact that 'it does not make sense to work when you are not paid well'. This kind of an attitude is very much different from the traditional Kadazan custom of helping each other and working together for subsistence. They view their jobs as status symbols and personal benefit becomes the primary goal for their work; whereas in the past the communal plus mutual interest had a much stronger influence.

Wealth and Inheritance:

Money being no longer just an immediate medium of exchange but also a unit store of value implies that, there are now many ways by which, the people can utilise it. One can then become rich and be able to own more assets like land, better houses, cars and properties etc.,. One can also be held more in esteem as regards status and class.

For, the more highly educated one is, the more he is held in esteem in the society and the more he is able to occupy the higher rungs of the social ladder. He is also able to get a better job, a better pay, able to mix more with the wealthier lot of the high class society; have more access to acquiring property than the ordinary man in the village. And, consequently he establishes a standard for himself. It is in this way that he alienates himself from the rest of his society. He apparently has advanced so much while his fellow brethren are still ploughing on the fields, as he watches them from his car; or as he

supervises them taking an occasional pull at his pipe or the cigarette (instead of the local tobacco) that he is smoking. In time to come the kampung dwellers no longer want to associate themselves with him and his family. Not for anything else except the fact that they feel inferior because they are made to look and feel inferior by a member of their very own kinsmen, community and race.

Gone was the once communalistic feeling of 'Ounung' a feeling which for generations before had existed so strongly. Even on the fields the people no longer practice 'Mitaa-tabang'. If at all they do, it is only very occasional, rare and possibly only among their own kin. And too, if one should work on the fields, it would be for cash or as a tenant. Or, to work as a tractor driver. As regards possessions and properties, these too have somewhat changed. Whereas before one would be interested to own such assets as gongs, buffaloes, brass utensils or jars, today, one would be more interested to have more clothes to wear; a more prestigious looking car; a bigger Television set; be more educated than the rest; better travelled and experienced in the ways of the West and of course having more acreage of land. (Owning large acreage of land as assets is perhaps a trend which seldom changes despite time).

Today, the section 15 and 17 of the Sabah Land Ordinance, which is a discouragement to sell native land to non-natives that once existed during the time of the British is still in vogue. It might not be too much to say that, this in fact is an encouragement for the wealthier natives. They buy land from their fellow natives who are not so well off (who mortgage them) and become in the long run potential

land-owners/land-lords with streaks of capitalistic traits - something which was not there two generations ago.

Today as before, the pattern of inheriting property and assets is still that of the eldest son getting the largest share followed by the younger sons and then the daughters. This old custom at least has not changed despite time.

Social and Cultural Institutions

As in Chapter Two, in this chapter, social and cultural institutions will be dealt with simultaneously.

To a certain extent, the society in Putatan still maintain a series of conventional behaviour accepted by all adult members. There is still a strong focus on kinship ties as a primary basis for social relationships. Kinship ties too, provide the firm structure of obligations as it used to before. However, the degree of rapport and intimate relationship have lessened today.

Family Structure, Kinship System, and Social Structure

Recent social change, particularly in educational and employment opportunities and in the range of marriage has undermined familial solidarity.

The type of family and kinship structure that we now find is still the bilateral or cognatic kinship system in the agrarian setting. This system, is accompanied by respect for seniority based on hierarchy of age and generation; which today is still strictly adhered to. The

junior members of the family are still expected to be obedient and respectful to their seniors and especially to those members belonging to the older generation.

Today, the father is still the head of the family. He still takes care of the finances and of the household matters and arranges for the marriages and funerals of members of his family. All decision-making is still his responsibility. He is also the protector of household property and no division of properties between the children is feasible until after his death. And today, the family is still the most important socialising arena for a youngster. For, it is from both the parents and the other members of the family (probably the grandparents, aunts, uncles etc.,) that initiation into social and ceremonial matters are conducted. It is also through the family that most of the norms and values and attitudes of the previous generations are inculcated into the young. For example, the parents themselves realise the importance of education and acquiring a new way of life, yet they also instill into them the fact that they still have to adhere to the old traditions prevalent in the kampung. Obviously this is where the conflicts between the generations arise.

Infant mortality in the past resulted in subsequent smaller families. In this way, it was still possible to live adequately with the little that one could get from the land. Today, however, with the introduction of medical facilities, families tend to increase in size and it now tends to be much more expensive to raise a family. This leads people to be more preoccupied; trying to work harder not only to make both ends meet but to save a little extra for the 'rainy days'.

And, in many ways, it is this preoccupation that tends to disrupt the close-knittedness of the family and the kindred group.

Magang and Moginakan are counted as the most expensive feast as compared to the others. It is for this reason possibly and the termination of headhunting that they are rarely held nowadays. Again this has contributed to the disruption and lessening of kinship ties.

Today the natives have added to their list new feast days and times for merry-making. Such occasions are Christmas, Hari Raya, and the Chinese New Year. These changes and adjustments are obviously the responses to the needs and challenges of a rapidly changing environment. However, the presence of the kinsmen and relatives are not guaranteed and this has again made kindred solidarity to loosen.

Respect for authority was important in the Kadazan social system. In political terms, the Kadazan accustomed themselves to handing-over responsibility in the last resort to the Native Chief or the Headman.

The simple pattern of the headmen on the one hand and the common mass of the people on the other has been modified to a complex one where there is greater social differences among the people. In previous periods the society was a 'closed one' in the sense that the children of the villagers were expected and forced to remain in the social position of their parents. One was expected to be either a farmer, a hunter or a fisherman, a farmer's wife etc., throughout one's life. Life was then 'bare-existence-oriented' rather than 'improvement oriented'. Literacy (education) and new experiences have widened the

horizons and widened the aspirations of the natives. Coupled with this, there are important roles played by economic and political institutions. They have helped to change the above by introducing different opportunities for social mobility both within and without the society. Time has thus made it possible for changes in attitudes for economic, political and socio-cultural performances amongst the natives.

Barter-trading as mentioned in Chapter II was the one way by which the natives could conduct their transactions. In many ways, this could have been a method of practice which could accumulate wealth or assets for them. It was not because they did not have the means and intelligence to accumulate wealth but rather that they were simple and unaware of their capabilities to be business-minded that led them to be less calculative in the business field.

It was through external contacts, for example, exposure to the money economy; the Chinese traders and education that made these natives come to a personal realisation of their capabilities. Those who first came to this realisation sought to establish through the proper use of money their lands and properties. In time to come and in between the planting and harvesting of padi they either became house-constructors recruiting labour from their own kampungs or ended up as labour recruits themselves.

They soon made money for themselves in this way, acquired wealth and soon the society became more and more stratified. This was accentuated further by the increase in social mobility because of differing job-opportunities as a result of urban development where the highly educated became qualified for better jobs. Naturally they were paid

better wages than the less educated. So, what we find in the kampung is a hierarchical set-up with the richest on the top rung; then the middle class and relatively poor lot. The richest are in many ways those who have had properties for two generations. The middle class consists mainly of those who have a little education and who are working as civil servants, teachers, and the like. They constitute a group of the ages between 25 to 40 which is unlike the first group being the 45 above group. Both these groups do not make a large portion of the total population in the kampung, probably $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total population. The rest of the population would then fall into the poorer group. These people either are tenants of the richer group or they have very small pieces of land for themselves in which they cultivate rice. If they find that it is more advantageous for them to work outside of the land they normally work as labourers or Public Works Department workers. Naturally this group gets the least opportunity to better themselves. Even if their children get educated they would not go higher than possibly standard VI Malay medium or Form III (English medium).

Such is therefore the class structure in existence in the kampung today.

Marriage:

Considering the changes that have taken place in the Kadazan society generally between now and during the time of the British, one might have expected some changes in the patterns of marriage. Some alterations in marriage with the advance of westernization, the extension

of Christianity and Islam leading to the consequent weakening of ritual obligations, did in fact occur. For example, most people, especially if they are Christians have their marriages in Church nowadays. However, on going back to their kampungs for the reception they still retain some of the patterns of the olden style of marriage. Say for example the 'mivaza' which denotes the 'to and fro' reciprocal visits from the groom's and bride's household. These visits are with the intention of feasting and celebrating in both houses. While they have abolished the carrying of articles such as the Badi, Poliaman, Tuhunan and the buffaloes, they have retained the very act of 'mivaza'.

The above cannot hold true for the Pagans in the area. For one thing they have not changed much despite time and influences. Today, as before, the priestess who conducts the wedding rites and rituals will insist that the young couple and their parents follow the rites and rituals meticulously. If she says that both must say particular words after her, so they must.

These are the two extremes between those children and parents who are already baptised Christians and those who are still pagans.

However, there is the case of the 'in-between' when the parents are pagans and their children baptised Christians. It is quite amusing to witness a situation where the parents having agreed to a 'White wedding' and yet themselves still follow the rites and rituals of a pagan marriage. The young couple have their marriage blessed by a priest and when they return to the kampung for the ceremony proper (the Kadazan kampung way) the pagan priestess would be waiting to conduct their wedding in the pagan style. This compromise has at least solved the 'con-

clift of values' between the old 'die-hards' and the young. The Muslim converts from the kampung did not have their marriages conducted there. More often than not, it took place in their marriage partner's house. Through experiences and observations, the writer discovered that the Putatan Kadazans have a strong dislike for the Muslims who do not take pork and who stigmatize them as 'dirty' because they take port. Thus the Muslims wedding outside of the Kadazan kampung.

Arranged marriage is now a thing of the past and the selection of marriage partners is now left to the choice of the individual.

Socio-Cultural Institutions: Changes

As a less developed nation or country like Sabah attempts in one or two generations to bring about transformations that have culminated from several decades and centuries of development for most of the industrialised nations, severe social repercussions become evident for the former. This the Kadazans of Sabah have experienced and are continuing to experience to the present day.

In many ways the socio-cultural institutions have been threatened by the external forces of change. When we talk of socio-cultural institutions in the Putatan Kadazans' context, the role of a formal religion like Roman Catholicism must not be neglected. For it has played and still plays an important role in affecting and modifying the Peoples' attitudes and the overall social institutions. One example was the above regarding Christian and Pagan marriages. We will not consider the role of Islam here because there is a negligible number of Kadazan Muslims in the area of Study.

The religious changes that have taken place have not only affected family and kinship system in the kampung, it has also affected as well as modified the present socio-cultural institutions. Innumerable religious rites and customs plus feasts and ceremonies once attached to the cultivation of padi in the ancestral tradition have slowly but surely disappeared and forgotten especially by the young. With the change of religious attachments and beliefs and the abandonment of the ritual celebration of the various traditional feasts associated with the planting and tending of the rice plants particular socio-cultural activities have been and are further likely to be abolished. They have been and will continue to be replaced by new ones.

Language

Quite unlike the generation before, the young in the village are now able to speak fluently other languages apart from their own native one. In fact some of them because of education (the medium of instruction in the various schools are English, Malay and Chinese) speak other languages more often than their own. Their own parents even encourage them to do so. Consequently, there is a tendency to neglect and thus drift away from the native tongue. It is not uncommon to come across many a Kadazan youngster in the 30-below group of her respondents, who cannot speak their native tongue fluently. If they have done so and possibly will continue to do so, they cannot be blamed. It was obvious that a particular status was attached to the ability to speak a foreign language like English and a non-native one like Malay. With the status came the expectancy of leading a particular mode of life that is derived

from having such a status. For example, a highly educated couple or family is expected not to want to live in the kampung any longer. Rather, every villager expects them to live in the urban area and observe urban ways, mannerism and styles of living. Or if they should decide to stay in the kampung, it is expected that they live in better looking houses than the rest of the villagers. In time to come, these people consciously or unconsciously live in the particular life style that they have been expected to by the village community.

Diverse interests and motivations have constituted to the creation of an altogether different breed of villagers in the kampung. The words of an elderly man might well describe this.

Banyo: "The children are all over the place now, and they seem to be more restless than we used to be. They do not show much respect for elders as we used to.... Life was difficult before and I don't look back because I don't want to go back to that sort of life... However, I do think we have lost a lot too... People are no longer very particular about their culture (Kadazans i.e.) ... no longer adhering to the rites and rituals which we used to do before.... It was always customary to stick together and fight... and help each other if and when one could. One could count on one's relatives. No one needed to ask for help. You knew everybody and everybody knew you... and spoke your language. Somehow it's not quite like that now..."

Clearly it was much, more than a community of residents.

Although small in scale, limited and may be narrow in its social horizons, it was however a homogenous society - one that shared a communal sense of work, play, common residence. They also shared a uniformity in their material possession, and most of all moral values.

For one thing, the new Christian as well as Muslim ideologies have dogmas that prohibit or sanction particular actions and rituals

which have been the traditional customs of the Kadazans for centuries past. This threat have thus in many ways contributed to the complete neglect and disposal of former ceremonies like Manavit, Moginakan, many funeral rites and rituals, Magang, Momohizan, Magavau and to a lesser extent the Modsopi or Mogondi. It is more proper now to attend masses; pray at the mosques on Fridays, have baptisms and imperative to have that Christmas party or Hari Raya and other party or 'Kenduri' for that matter. All this is because one has changed one's allegiance. And, surely, it would be very unbecoming if one still held on to traditional practices (considered heathen's ways by the first missionaries that came to Sabah) while being a Christian or a Muslim at the same time. One cannot possibly worship God and the Devil simultaneously. It is just not proper.

Present Religions Attitudes:

The present generation have been exposed to a different situation and socialisation process, from that of their ancestors. Due to this their sense of strict obedience or observances toward rites and regulations especially as regards religion are less strong than the adults'.

Present Attitudes Towards Health:

We have mentioned the fact that particular practices in the village have changed. This is also true with the villagers' attitudes towards health. Where once before, the villagers especially the less flexible ones would always turn to the priestesses to help them cure

themselves of any ailments believed to have been the works of evil spirits, that trend has more or less changed today. The villagers still do turn to the priestesses for help but they are not so dependent on them now as before. For one thing, many priestesses have passed away and there have not been many who took over their roles. Furthermore and perhaps more important is the fact that they have come to depend more and more on the health facilities offered to them both by the General Hospitals, Clinics or Private Doctors. They have learnt to realise that injections, medicines, X-rays and especially operations do not have the intentions to kill them but rather to help them prolong their lives.

Juvenile Delinquency and Present Social Problems

While the introduction of external facilities have brought about worthwhile changes; they have also been the causes for the appearance of a possible increase in delinquency among the young.

At the outset, it is rather difficult to support the assertion that deviance and delinquency among the young is on the increase in Putatan. For one thing, information is lacking, because no one has bothered to look or study the matter more deeply. For another, many petty thefts are not reported to the police. The possible reason for this maybe because the victim is unaware of his loss. Even if he is, he is not aware of his legal remedies. Another reason is that he might prefer to sustain his loss rather than go to the trouble of reporting knowing that there is little hope of recovery. A more possible and important reason is that he has little faith in the police (even to this

very day especially among the elder generation). Their faith lie elsewhere, that is in the priestesses and their magical powers and charms. A Kadazan native, especially if he is conservative and deep-seated in his pagan beliefs would do his utmost to look for a priestess or a person of authority (to them) and to whom they give the term Mogigintong (translation: 'One who looks'). And it is in this way that they tried to find solutions. Whether or not they do get their property back is a matter for the individual. But what is more important for them is the fact that they attempt to trace the culprit through the aid of a more trustworthy agent (through the two above acting as mediums) being the supernatural power. It was in this way that they were psychologically satisfied.

The one way by which the writer discovered she could support her statements above is by quoting the nature of the crimes committed in Putatan.

These range from:

- (1) Thefts of rice and fowls all with the intention of selling them for cash.
- (2) House-breaking.
- (3) Thefts of cash and personal belongings like bicycle and electrical goods.

It is very possible that these minor crimes could well have been committed by the adults and not the young in the society. However, it is a fact that the Kadazan is still (the writer is talking here about the 45 and above group of her respondents) what he was.... peace-loving,

honest and law-abiding. According to Trengonning in his book 'Under the Chartered Company' he stated that theft was unknown among the Kadazans.²⁰

It can safely be said that the Kadazan native seldom takes what is not his. The reason for this goes way back into the past to the spirit of Ounung. Furthermore, there is a custom seldom practised among the Kadazans nowadays which is known as Dungkom (for the Putatan Kadazan) and translated as 'charm'. The charm was especially installed near chicken-coops and fruit trees in the orchards. What normally happened was that if a thief tried to steal some fruits from a 'charmed tree' for example, he would remain under the spell under that tree until such a time when the owner came to remove it from him. (How this was ever possible is beyond the comprehension of the writer and may be modern readers. However, this did take place whether one chooses to believe of it or not. The only explanation that the writer herself gives to this practice is that may be because the simple native so filled with thoughts of the works of evil spirits and the like, gets affected psychologically if and when he hears about a 'Dungkom' tree. All the same, it was a unique and effective method of preventing thieves from taking what was not theirs). Of course one cannot ignore the fact that there are the Kadazan adults who deviate from what is termed 'normal practice'. However, their cases are negligible.

²⁰ Trengonning, Under the Chartered Company. p. 167

Thus, because the spirit of being Ounung has today been disrupted and because Dungkom is now seldom practised, (may be because of a change in values and also because those persons who used to create effective spells have mostly passed away) a certain amount of moral degeneration have set in. It is now common for the non-achievers (dropouts) to turn towards crime, a possible act of rebellion against the society (or more appropriate against the generation) that has so restricted them. They have become preys to 'fun and kicks' may be because they are not so much deprived financially as psychologically.

Her observations and tuning in to the village gossips from the villagers who came to buy goods from the village store has brought the writer to specific realisations. That, deviance and delinquency among the young in the village was beginning to prove a malaise for the villagers. Smoking among young boys of between 9 to 11 years of age was a common sight. This was unheard and unseen of two generations ago according to the writer's 45 and above age group respondents.

The most common complaints that the villagers had about deviance among the young was that they were thieves and house-breakers; vandals and great fighters who perpetually try to pick up fights with one another. (This happened to be true because the writer witnessed on many occasions young boys of ages between 9 and 15 trying to show off to one another their 'Bruce Lee's kicks and punches or Mohamed Ali's knock-out punches. They eventually end up fighting one another).

During her stay in the kampung the writer did witness cases of thefts and housebreaking plus acts of vandalism. One good example of

this act of vandalism was the case of the 'Balai Raya' or community-house where the writer had her evening classes conducted. Most of the window-louvres, tables and chairs had been dismantled and some broken. When the writer pursued the matter with the headman, she was informed that it had been the works of some vandals in the kampung.

Such are but some examples of deviance among the young in Putatan. If one was to compare the above with what existed two generations ago and before that; one would surely notice the marked difference.

It is a fact^{that} young offenders hardly existed among the primitive natives. For, from a very early age, the young shared the work and hardships that their parents faced. Being occupied with work both indoors and outdoors, the young had little opportunity to stray. Furthermore, it is a normal practice among the small community of villagers to have close and strong interpersonal relationships. This in itself already acted as a sanction for individual deviation where one had to face and contend with the wrath and disapproval of not only a single individual but the public as a whole. Sanction meant "social-isolation" for the offender. No one would want to bother themselves with him for fear that they would themselves be sanctioned too.

Deviance has thus become a social problem for the Putatan Kadazans. And if left unchecked, there is every possibility for it to spread and increase.

The above problem of deviance can perhaps be attributed to the restrictive and limited environment of the kampung in contrast with the wider horizon that the town has to offer.

The televisions, radios, cinemas and other forms of mass media plus what they see of the fast-moving and apparently exciting town-life have so fascinated and captivated their interest that they are slowly lured into it. If they are unable to get suitable employment and accommodation their daily lives becomes one of apathy and despair.

This is especially so for young girls who only have minimal academic qualification. (The boys tend to be tougher and better able to combat whatever ill-fates come their way). These girls go to the towns to look for jobs. They end up as a last resort either as maids (looking after babies and keeping house for families.... and that is if they are fortunate enough) or as waitresses in the various restaurants, night-clubs, and bars. As ill-fate would have it they are eventually dragged and forced into situations which generations before the Kadazans as a proud race would never ever have dreamt of doing and least of all dreamt of being seen doing; that is, the profession of prostitution. (Prostitution was never in the vocabulary of the Kadazans before). Because they become so ashamed of what they have done, (some of them get disowned by their families), they never want to return to their kampungs for fear of sanction. This is the story of the kampung-dwellers against the kampung-destroyers (or may be it would be more appropriate to put it the other way round).

It would be wrong to assume that the parents of these young offenders are negligent of the welfare and actions of their children. They do try their best to discipline and prevent them from committing such acts. Unfortunately, the type of disciplinary control that they provide conflicts and is possibly inappropriate for the present generation. For, this present group who have been born and educated in a period where traditional approaches to life are under heavy pressures, do not need that traditional form of control which their parents had been forcing on them. Furthermore, there are present in the society stronger forces that interact against them. This has come as the new modern way of living which has introduced new values into the young. Apart from this, there are the advertisements, televisions, film shows, magazines and books, all imported from the town.

Thus, the youth faced with confusion and tension reacts in confusion. He wants security and the acceptance and attention which is not forthcoming from his parents, who do not understand the changes in their child. Family cohesiveness has thus been weakened today. This has resulted in two diverse approaches toward life. One from the youth and the other from the adult. And, in many ways it gives rise to tensions that might surface in open-disagreement. Otherwise it may remain as undercurrents indirectly influencing the youth's behaviour, which given enough provocation will erupt at any given time. They are therefore affected both mentally and psychologically by the ways their parents and teachers discipline and supervise them. In a way this shows just how much their standards of achievement go down with

their living conditions. And, also just now much it is sometimes the parents as well as the teachers that need the reformation more than the young.

The Situation of the Youth:

From what has been written about the youths in Putatan, it becomes very apparent that their status differences evoke varying responses as regards attitudes towards delinquency, cultural, social, economic and political institutions.

To a certain extent, the type of educational system that we have in Sabah is the type that selects a 'privileged' or a highly favourable minority. This is to say that only those who perform academically well will get selected for further tertiary education. Ultimately they become those who will tend to hold better and good posts both in the government as well as the public sectors in the future. This does not take into consideration whether or not their academic qualifications are suited to the executive posts that they will hold. There is then a tendency for the youths to feel that unless he becomes an academician he is hopeless and a good for nothing. Other avenues and possible talents and skills that he has are not fully exploited. This is not to suggest that elementary education is not needed. Rather, that may be more vocational training schools should be built and more youths be trained for professional or jobs that require skills. This is badly needed especially in developing countries like Sabah. Obviously, many Institutions for such training are now being set up by the government, however, this is still lacking

in Sabah. There are in Sabah today only two such vocational schools; one in Kota Kinabalu and one in Sandakan.

If at all the youths conform to the prevailing values of the adult world, it is more apathetic conformity than anything else. Scoldings and limited scope for voicing out their opinions make them somewhat passive. This has led to a certain amount of psychological disability on their part. It has also retarded mature decision-making and adjustment among many of them. Also, the over protectiveness of the parents for their children (trying to shield them from the evils of this world) has prevented their children from mixing around with the other children in the vicinity. In a way this is limiting their social experiences.

The youths in the area have now come to a stage when they will sooner or later widely reject the standard guidance and authority of their seniors (if they have not already done so). They perceive the adults as threats to their individual as well as economic and social independence.

The writer has discovered many times during her informal conversations with her students that many a time when talking about their parents and specifically the adults, she received such comments as:

"... They are so old-fashioned.... they are never understanding. I always get scolded for going out even if it is only to the library or the school on Saturdays. So, I have to bluff and say that I have extra classes on that day. The schools have activities like sports and drama and I want to take part because the Principal will scold us if we don't. However my parents scold me for coming home late especially after practices. They will simply accuse me of

roaming about because they claim that I am lazy and want to shy the housework or the fieldwork.... I want to enjoy myself like the rest of my friends, but my parents won't allow me...."

These are but some of the comments by the youths about their seniors which might perhaps throw a light on the generation-gap situation in Putatan today. But more important is the question, who is to be blamed? The children or the adults? An interesting answer awaits the individual who cares to find out.

The Situation of the Adults:

The adults' situation is somewhat different from that of the youth. For one thing they do not need and do not face the confusion, tension and conflicts that the youths face. Their orientation towards the life they lead have been those of their parents and they have already established a certain amount of attachment and deep values for these. Furthermore, they consider themselves too old to change. In many ways then, they have had time to discover and integrate a source of strength and some personal value before being faced with many new facilities, concepts and ideas. If they consider that they have to change (this is true especially among those 45 years and above male respondents); they change for practical reasons and not because they sincerely want to change. This attitude holds true for all the four types of institutions that we have dealt with in this work.

Political Institutions:

The main responsibility of the headmen and native chiefs was generally to maintain the welfare and order of the community. By so

doing, they fulfilled a role, serving as a representative to the central government for the people.

They were the ones who had not only to act as a representative for the people to the government, but they had also to exercise decision-making as regards matters that affected the well-being of the villagers. In effect then, it is they who have acted as government (and not so much the Central government) of the political system in the village as well as the general political system in the country. To this end, it is worth pondering over the question of whether the system of having headmen and native chiefs have not been to a certain extent a framework to which these few were given the opportunity to exercise resources for private reasons and ends. And, to what extent can we say that the same situation holds today as two generations ago. To the first question, one can safely say that generally, the headmen and native chiefs are an honest and trustworthy lot. They are the most prominent and apart from the priestesses the most respected men in the neighbourhood. Their selection as we have mentioned before in Chapter Two is based on age, sex, property, personal knowledge, experience plus adherence to customary laws. It was not a hereditary process. Not to be neglected too, is their reputation for fairness, tolerance and understanding. This made their ascendancy to political leadership a long process of public acceptance. This meant that it was not every or anyone who could fit into the role of a headman, least of all to become one. Obviously then, to be a headman was a prestige and a role to be envied. Naturally, the headmen themselves would not want their positions jeopardized by their very actions. Made to take and accept their work

seriously, they were prevented from committing deviance. To add to this, especially that period two generations ago, they had a more conservative, cooperative and meticulous population with their spirit of Ounung to contend with. They certainly did not want to misuse a power and trust vested upon them by the rest in the community. Too much was at stake knowing the people for what they were. They trusted him and he did not want to misuse that trust, otherwise they would revolt against him and choose a new headmen.

While this was so in most cases in Putatan then, obviously there were some who did deviate. No one is perfect, least of all people who have power and authority in their hands. Definitely, there were among the headmen's population those who abused their authority and power.

To the second question, the political operations has varied little from the days of the British. The Malaysian government has continued with what the British left behind. The role of the headmen is still the mediator and representative of the people to the government and vice versa. The people still depend on him for advice, help, settling of disputes (especially) and for the over-all welfare and smooth functioning of their welfare.

Political Participation: Natives denied Powers

It was not that the kampung folks did not question the actions of the headmen or native chiefs before. The thing was that, they were inhibited and dared not open their mouths to voice out their opinions. It was considered bad manners to do so at public meetings. But today,

they^{have} changed. They have become more bold, outspoken and critical.

Even women are now present at meetings on community development. Thus, the headman or native chief has even less opportunity to deviate today, unlike previously.

From the time of the British till today, the Kadazan natives which constitute the major portion of the population never had a strong voice in the political field as an organised political group.

While the British allowed the native customary laws to be incorporated into their Legal System (the British, that is) they did not allow them in anyway to take active participation in politics by the formation of a Native Political Party. As we have seen, government was an indirect one and only through the hands of a minority being the headmen or native chiefs.

The formation of the only Kadazan Political Party in 1964, the UPKO which was the combination of UNKO (United National Kadazan Organisation) and UNPMO (United Pasok Momogun Organisation; 'Pasok Momogun' is a Kadazan term for natives or settlers of the soil) never proved to be a strong voice in the political arena.

The 1967 State election saw USNO (United Sabah National Organisation and which UPKO considered its opponent and vice versa) formed in 1961 under the leadership of Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun with a support that came mostly from the Muslim population winning with 14 seats; UPKO with 12 seats; the Sabah Alliance with 3; the Sabah Chinese Association with 2 and Independence with One.

After its dissolution in 1968, UPKO joined USNO. The Kadazans never forgave the leaders of their only political party which held vast hope for them (politically) for quitting and joining the enemy. To them USNO was their enemy and a usurper of a power that was rightly theirs.

Present Political Attitudes

According to the kampung folks in Putatan and especially among the writer's male respondents, they felt cheated because their party had been sold to the enemy. And this had been done by one who spoke of himself as being a Kadazan.

Due to this, they now have a defeatist attitude and have become very passive politically. This is further aggravated by the fears and rumours that if they are caught talking against the ruling party (USNO) they would be imprisoned. However, this feeling is to be found mostly among the 45 and above group only. The realisation of being cheated and deprived of a major political say in the governing of their country have instilled in the 30 below group a different trait of feeling. Kadazan nationalism among them has become very potent today. They now have a keen and active sense of political participation. This has been reinforced by the increasing number of young Kadazans who have come back home equipped with their tertiary education. These people have further helped to increase the self-consciousness in the others of their ethnic group.

This appears to be a good and positive sign because it is in the young that hope for the future lies. They could be the ones who

would prove to be more effective in realising and asserting their demands. And in the long run, they might yet correct the situation that their elders have placed themselves in.

University of Malaya

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION:

Apparently in many parts of the world where the natives have contacts with other more advanced civilisations than their own (and this is usually the western civilisations) there appears to be a degeneration of native life. We can quote here examples of the Red Indians of North America; the natives of Africa and the Aborigines of Australia. There are possibly many other native groups who are undergoing the very same experiences. It appears too that, this creates a drifting away and an alienation from the past. Whether it is for the better or otherwise is up to the individual to consider. Suffice it to say that this very thing is happening to the Putatan Kadazans and also, by and large, the general Kadazan population in Sabah.

Present institutions (economic, socio-cultural, and political) in developing Sabah have definitely been borrowed from other societies. The introduction of these institution in a specific area as in this case study has been the cause of a fundamental change. And, this fundamental change would (if it has not already done so) lead to a manifestation of further changes in the society in time to come.

Finding the proper solutions to specific problems is no easy task. Thus, while it is often very difficult on the part of the people to accept changes, it is equally difficult to initiate change programmes on the part of the authorities concerned. Despite this fact however, the programmes to be initiated should bear certain considera-

tions for the people on the part of the authorities.

Often, and especially so in developing countries, the zest of the authorities (government) for the promotion of so-called development and progress overrides everything else. In their ambitious stride to achieve this (in order to equal other developed nations) they too often forget the people: who they were and who they are. And, most important of all, who and what they will be when exposed to this so-called development and progress.

The statements above are based on observations and findings in the area of study and other similar areas in Sabah generally. That, so-called government projects and programmes have just apparently been borrowed (wholesale) from the developed countries and injected into or thrust down the throats of the people. It appears that the authorities seek only the apparent positive effects from their scheming and planning. They have perhaps disregarded the fact that in trying to have one problem solved (that of underdevelopment) others could be (and have been) created.

Dr. Mohd. Nor Abdullah (Director General of the Malaysian Centre for Development Studies) has put the matter in a nutshell in his statement, that:

"... What has been taken for granted by most planners and development administrators is the need to question whether the beautiful blueprint as manifested in the development plans really reflects the aspirations of the population ... (and that) ... each country has its own problems and constraints. In fact no single development strategy or policy could be optimal for all situations ..."²¹

²¹ MIS - Development Forum, Vol. IV Number 2. June, 1974.

Having both studied, assessed and compared past and present situations in the area of study, the writer now takes the above into consideration. That, the situation in Putatan mirrors the fact that real change and acceptance comes not from simply giving and demanding (on the part of the authorities) but more possibly from understanding and guidance. The simple native needs to be given the confidence that he is able to adjust, and accommodate to changes in his own ability without having to pay a very high price economically, socio-culturally and politically.

The Kadazan society in Putatan is at a crossroads, as the writer has tried to show in this work. However, the process of change can be said to be still young and in its initial stage. There will definitely be many ramifications. What they will be remains to be seen. While it maybe true to say that recent developments have been significant in contributing to a comparatively better welfare for the Kadazans and the rest of the population in Sabah, this tells only one part of the story. There is the untold story of a possible increase in crime, deviance and juvenile delinquency plus other pressing social problems (if they have not surfaced by now, will sooner or later do so especially among the natives). For, not all the members of the Kadazan population in the Kampung will adapt and adjust positively to the change. This is especially so for the old folks. While they may themselves resist the change, they may also influence others in their community to do the same. They thus make the problem of change more difficult.

It is hoped that this study apart from introducing the

Putatan Kadazans to the reader, has also done them justice and a service. That, it has brought to light the problems and conflicts that they as a native people face and just how much help and attention they really need. The writer also hopes that this study has served as an example of the difficulties involved regarding the initiation of change especially among native people. And too, just how important and vital a government's role is, in the implementation of change.

4. Sahlins, Marshall D., Social Stratification in Melanesia,
Univ. Washington Press, 1968.
5. Tumin, Melvin M., Social Stratification: Its Forms
and Functions of Mobility,
Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967.
6. Anderson, C.H., Towards New Sociology,
Harwood, Inc., Dorsey Press, (1971).
7. Hodge, John H., Origins of Scientific Sociology
(New York) Free Press of Glencoe,
(1962).
8. _____ Tools of Social Science (London)
Longmans, (1963).
9. Lipset, Seymour Martin, Social Mobility in Industrial
Society
Univ. California Press, (1959).
10. Bell, Norman A Modern Introduction to the Family,
edited by Norman W. Bell and Ezra
F. Vogel, London, Routledge &
K. Paul (1951).
11. Poster, George H. Traditional Cultures And The Impact
of Technological Change,
Harper and Row, Publishers,
(1962).
12. Appelbaum, Richard. Theories of Social Change.
13. Clinard, Marshall., Crises in Developing Countries,
John Wiley and Sons, New York,
1973.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

1. Firth, Raymond. Social Change in Tikopia.
George Allen and Unwin, 1959.
2. Zaltman, G., Kotler, P., Creating Social Change, Holt,
Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
3. Service, Elman R., Primitive Social Organisation,
Random House, 1971.
4. Sahlins, Marshall D., Social Stratification in Polynesia,
Uni. Washington Press, 1958.
5. Tumin, Melvin M., Social Stratification, The Forms
and Functions of Inequality,
Prentice - Hall Inc., 1967.
6. Anderson, C.H., Towards A New Sociology,
Homewood, IU., Dorsey Press, (1971).
7. Madge, John H., Origins of Scientific Sociology
(New York) Free Press of Glencoe,
(1962).
8. _____ Tools of Social Science (London)
Longmans, (1965).
9. Lipset, Seymour Martin, Social Mobility in Industrial
Bendix, Reinhard. Society
Uni. California Press, (1959).
10. Bell, Norman W A Modern Introduction to the Family,
edited by Norman W. Bell and Egra
F. Vogel, London, Routledge &
K. Paul (1961).
11. Foster, George M. Traditional Cultures And The Impact
of Technological Changes,
Harper and Row, Publishers,
(1962).
12. Applebaum, Richard. Theories of Social Change.
13. Clinard, Marshall., Crimes in Developing Countries,
John Wiley and Sons, New York,
1973.

14. Kingsley, D. and Golden, Hilda. H., Urbanization and development in Pre-industrial Areas, Economic Development and Culture Change, Columbia University, 1954.
15. Salisbury, R.F., From Stone to Steel.
16. Pon Siden, The Analysis of Social Change Reconsidered, Mouton, 1969
17. Malinowski, B., The Trebriand Islanders.
18. Musgrove, F., Youth and the Social Order.
19. Harrison, T. and B. Harrison, The Prehistory of Sabah, Sabah Society Journal Monograph, Vo. IV, 1969-70.
20. Hose, C and W. McDougall The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, London: Macmillan, 1912.
21. Alliston, C. Threatened Paradise, London, Robert Hale, 1966.
22. Chatefield, Godfrey A. Sabah, A General Geography, London, Uni. London Press, 1965.
23. Baker, Michael H. North Borneo, The First Ten Years. Malaysia Publication House, Singapore, (1946).
24. Bruce, Charles. Twenty Years in Borneo. 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952.
25. Evans, Ivor H.N., Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo, London, Seeley, Services and Co. (1922).
26. Report of the Director on Social Work and the Community, North Borneo 1971. The Religion of the Tempasuk Dusun of North Borneo, London, Cambridge Uni. Press. (1953). 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974.
27. Rutter, Owen. The Pagans of North Borneo, Hutchinson (1929).
28. Whelan, F.G., The Story of Sabah, (1970).

29. Enriquez, C.M. Kinabalu (The Haunted Mountain of Borneo)
London: H.F. and G. Witherby,
(1927).
30. Treggoning, Under the Chartered Company.
31. Abdullah Siddik. Pengantar Undang-Undang Adat Di Malaysia. Towards a History of Law in Malaysia and Singapore
(1970).
33. Zaini Mohd. Isa., Kebudayaan dan Adat Resam Kadazan dan Murut,
Kota Baru, Kelantan: Pustaka Aman Press (1969).
34. Williams, T.R. The Dusun (A North Borneo Society),
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
(1966).

Journals

Magazines

35. The Asia Magazines,
(i) November, 17, 1974
(ii) January 26, 1975.
(iii) August 24, 1975.
(iv) September 7, 1975.
36. Impact. Volume IX No. 8 August - September, 1974.

Reports

37. North Borneo Annual Reports: 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962.
38. Report of the Seminar on Social Work and the Community, Kota Kinabalu 1971.
39. Annual Reports of the Department of Social Welfare Services, Kota Kinabalu: 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974.
40. A Handbook of North Borneo 1886.

41. Sabah's 10th Year Anniversary
of Independence, Within
Malaysia, 1972.

Articles

42. Juvenile Delinquency,
1. Department of Welfare Services,
Kota Kinabalu.

Ordinances

43. Federal Constitution, 1963.
44. Sabah Land Ordinance.
45. Civil Law Act, 1956.

Journals

46. MIS - Development Forum. Volume IV Number 2 June,
1974.