

Marine-Oriented Sama-Bajao People and Their Search for Human Rights

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Abstract

This research focuses on the ongoing socioeconomic transformation of the sea-oriented Sama-Bajao whose sad plight caught the attention of the government authorities due to the outbreak of violent hostilities between the armed Bangsa Moro rebels and the Armed Forces of the Philippines in the 1970s. Among hundreds of refugees who were resettled on land, the Sama-Bajao, who avoid conflicts and do not engage in battles, were displaced and driven further out to sea. Many sought refuge in neighboring islands mainly to Sabah, Borneo, where they have relatives, trading partners, and allies. Massive displacements of the civilian populations in Mindanao, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi that spilled over to outlying Malaysia and Indonesia forced the central government to take action. This research is an offshoot of my findings as a volunteer field researcher of the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and the National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) to monitor the implementation of the Indigenous People's Rights to their Ancestral Domain (IPRA Law RA 8371 of 1997).

Keywords: inter-ethnic relations, Sama-Bajao, Taosug, nomadism, demarcation of national boundaries, identity and citizenship, human rights of indigenous peoples

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Introduction

The Sama-Bajao¹ people are among the sea-oriented populations in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Sama-Bajao are mentioned together and are often indistinguishable from each other since they speak the same Samal language, live in close proximity with each other, and intermarry. Like the sea-oriented peoples of Southeast Asia, Sama-Bajao vary in their dialects, location, and practices, but share many common cultural features. They are primarily subsistence fishers and foragers along the coastal, littoral areas of the region from the Moken in the Indian Ocean near Tennasserim Bay between Myanmar and Thailand; to the Gulf of Thailand down the Malay Peninsula (called Panji) from Kota Bharu to offshore islets near Jahore and Singapore), to the Riau-Lingga Archipelago; to Borneo, Sulawesi (offshore islets of Morotai, Sangir, and Sangihe), Maluku, Halmahera; to Timor in the east. In these latter areas, they are variously called Bajo, Badjau Laut, Sama Dilaut, Orang Selat, Orang Laut, Celates, etc. (See figures 1 and 2.)



Figure 1. Map of Sabah and Malaysia

Source: SaveReef, <https://savereef.wordpress.com/tag/malaysia>

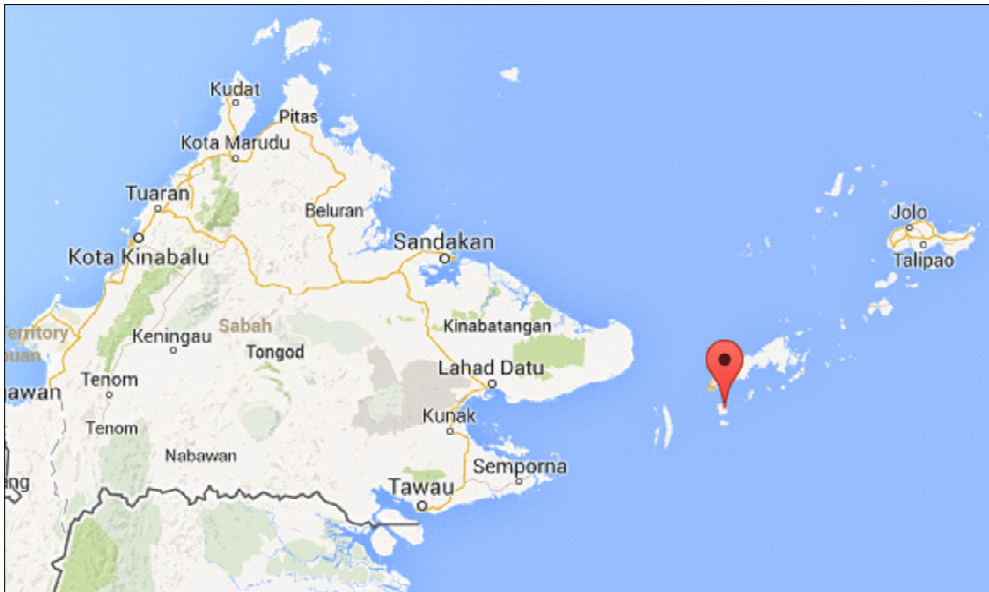


Figure 2. Map of Semporna and Lahad Datu

Source: Business Insider Indonesia

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

Small Sama-Bajao enclaves are mostly confined today in the coastal areas and offshore islets in Zamboanga, Basilan, and Lianga Bay. In Sulu and Tawi-Tawi they occupy many small scattered islands alongside Taosug and other social-cultural communities mostly Christianized Filipinos. Up to about the 1960s, they lived mostly on their houseboats (called *lepa-lepa* or *sappit*) which when fitted with sails are used as fishing boats. They construct makeshift dwellings built of wood, bamboo, nipa, and anahaw roofing on wooden stilt posts set on shallow coral reefs and shores subject to the tides. Before World War II they were spread out in larger

numbers in wider areas of Western and Southern Mindanao all the way to Borneo, Sulawesi, and Halmahera where they have relatives and allies.³ The establishment of the separate states of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia by the departing colonial Western powers demarcated territorial boundaries on land and sea. What used to be porous land areas and wide open inland seas for travel, communication, trade, and migration became closed territories to them, separating closely related ethnolinguistic groups and curtailing the range of their activities. This created ambiguities and anomalies in the categorization of citizenship and nationalities—concepts that are abstract legal designations that often contradict the actual living conditions of affected populations.

When I presented the plight of the Sama-Bajao, the authorities were at a loss on how to deal with this marine-oriented population who have no permanent domain on land and thereby do not qualify to claim ancestral domain under the specific requirements stipulated by the law. Authorities required that claimants present evidence of continuous residence for at least thirty years on designated land. Being semi-nomadic fishermen in widely dispersed coralline islets who periodically find anchorage and mooring places on the shores of bigger islands, the Sama-Bajao could not claim any “ancestral domain” as defined by the IPRA Law. In addition they could not fulfill the requirements of the law since they are mostly illiterate and are ignorant of how exactly to submit their case to the government.

In order to better understand the current status of the Sama-Bajao as a subordinate minority group vis-à-vis the dominant majority Taosug, this paper will discuss briefly the historical background of the Sama-Bajao when they emerged in written sources as a distinct social-cultural group in the late eighteenth to twentieth centuries. It will deal with the social, economic, and cultural processes that contributed to the hierarchical power relations among the Muslim communities in Mindanao, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi and their impact on Sama-Bajao communities. It will discuss how they have been degraded, marginalized, and impoverished by the prevailing socioeconomic system. This paper also hopes to provide firmer historical and social basis for effective assistance programs by public institutions and private organizations. It will provide suggestions and examples of assistance projects being undertaken to alleviate if not eradicate the economic deprivation of Sama-Bajao. It will discuss projects organized in order to help equip them with the relevant skills to deal with the many complex challenges of modern life.

Information on the history, ethnography, and socioeconomic status of the Sama-Bajao are drawn from published historical accounts and anthropological

reports. Much of the information on the experiences of the Sama-Bajao in the 1970-1980s are based on testimonies gathered during interviews conducted in Zamboanga and Jolo under the auspices of the National Unification Commission organized in 1993 by former President Fidel V. Ramos. The Commission was headed by Atty. Haydee B. Yorac. Field researches were conducted in Zamboanga, Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi from 1984 to 1985, and 1990, 2001, and 2016; in Sabah, West Malaysia in 1995 and 2006.

A Brief Historical Account of the Sama-Bajao People

The history of Sama-Bajao people can be traced as far back as the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their way of life must have continued to our more “modern” times. Earlier, they were apparently living on coastal and riverine areas, practicing combined agriculture, fishing, boat building, and engaged in interisland trade. They must have been driven out to sea by natural disasters (like pestilence, plagues, and drought), by violent conflicts, or dispersed to other islands in the course of fishing and trading expeditions.⁴ Najeeb Saleeby recounts the legend of their proclivity to wander about the seas.⁵ They were not always in the degraded, impoverished state they are now today. They have a long, ancient history and traversed the inland seas often on their own initiative and for their own benefit. During the height of the various Malay Sultanates, they served as providers of aquatic resources, boat builders, repairers, transporters, and couriers, tasks most suitable for their skills.

The story goes that they served as followers of the Sultan of Jahore who ordered them to find a lost princess and not to return until she was found. While buffeted by rough seas, the Bajao found anchorage on what they thought was a large rock which turned out to be a huge sea turtle that brought them to Sulu.

The Taosug referred to them in a derogatory way as luwaan (spit or vomit), diminishing their social status in Sulu society. Sama-Bajao generally suffer harassment from the more aggressive and better organized ethnic groups including their fellow Muslims, the Taosug. Thomas Kiefer provides another version of why the Sama-Bajao came to be viewed as a subordinate ethnic group. The story goes that a Bajao fisherman once asked for sexual favors from Fatima, a revered descendant of the prophet Muhammad, in payment for fish. He committed more sacrilege by serving Fatima and her husband Ali with tainted food (dog's meat). Regardless of the veracity of these stories, these accounts convey the attitude of the Taosug toward the Sama-Bajao up to this day.

It has already been stated that their semi-nomadic way of life restricted their access to land and other opportunities for social advancement. Lacking permanent bases on land, they could not avail of government public services. Up to the late 1970s, they had no access to schooling, health care, training programs, and other forms of institutional assistance. The creation of the province of Tawi-Tawi separate from Sulu on September 11, 1973 provided more socioeconomic opportunities for the Sama-Bajao. Comprising the large proportion of the inhabitants of the province, local officials have to consider their interests. Nonetheless, there are still social and psychological reasons that tend to downgrade their social status vis-à-vis the Taosug. This is important since the Taosug comprise the majority leaders of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), created by virtue of RA 6737 on August 1, 1989. Besides serving as the most reliable warriors of the Sultanates during the struggles against Western colonial powers, the Taosugs rose higher in status by their fervent espousal of Islam that provided the overarching sociopolitical ideology of the Sultanate. Sama-Bajao fishing and foraging activities hampered their regular attendance at mandatory congregational worship every Friday; they could also not regularly attend the madrasah schools. They are thereby considered not fully Muslim who have not yet ridden themselves of animistic and folk healing practices.

The Sama-Bajao, for the most part, are gentle, self-effacing, diffident peoples who avoid any form of tension or conflict. They endure insults, humiliation, destruction of property, and even bodily harm. Instead of defending themselves, they just flee to the sea on their boats. For these reasons, the Taosugs consider them lazy, unreliable, and cowardly. In contrast, no Taosug will countenance harsh treatment without retaliation in kind. Taosug also scorn Sama-Bajao for their passivity in the face of conflicts. While the Taosug sacrificed their lives in defense of the Sultanate and Islam, Sama-Bajao refrained from fighting although they share in the benefits of the “Bangsa Moro struggles for self-rule and self-determination.”

Nevertheless, many Sama-Bajao have proven themselves capable of advancing their economic and social status and taking advantage of more employment opportunities. The cessation of armed conflicts upon the establishment of the ARMM brought about relative peace. In addition, with the creation of the province of Tawi-Tawi independent from Sulu, local government officials have realized that majority of the population of the province are actually Sama-Bajao, thus they need to address the concerns of their constituents. Under the new political regime, Sama-Bajao continue fishing and transporting people and goods primarily on their own, no longer under strict control of any dominant ethnic group. They continue building boats from simple dugout canoes, fishing boats, and large cargo kumpit or basing that are motorized (this will be discussed later). Some work as laborers in the piers serving interisland ships. Others learn how to drive tricycles

and even jeepneys hired by the owners of the motorized vehicles. The formation of organized action in defense of the rights of Indigenous cultural communities in Mindanao who called themselves “Lumad” inspired similar action in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. There is more cooperation among ethnic groups and classes compared to before the 1990s.

The expansion and improvement of Mindanao State University (MSU) in Bongao, capital of Tawi-Tawi Province, as well as the establishment of the Tawi-Tawi Institute of Technology and Oceanography (TITO) provided more educational opportunities for all residents. The TITO even set up a special program specifically focused on helping the Sama-Bajao by organizing the Center for Bajao Studies. As a result of all these changes, some Sama-Bajao are able to send their children to schools even up to the tertiary level. Graduates find employment as school teachers and serve as employees of the local government bureaus and agencies, as well as outside the province. Many of them continue trading and travelling to Sabah; some join their relatives and allies who are longstanding residents in north Borneo. Sama-Bajao, however, complain that they often are harassed by the Philippine and Malaysian coast guards. They are even charged with smuggling and quite often their goods are confiscated. They claim that they have been trading freely in the inland seas centuries before the establishment of the present governments. Clearly, this requires more flexible and just government policies that can prevent abuse of police authority in the inland seas.

Struggles toward Upward Socioeconomic Mobility

Sama-Bajao are skilled boat builders of many different types suitable to the various geographical features of the archipelago. They build small dugouts that can be maneuvered by children, houseboats (lepa-lepa or sappit) to transport goods, and cargo boats from 20 to 30 meters long that can traverse the inland seas between the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Singapore. They build wooden boats following age-old traditional methods although they now employ machine tools (electric saws, drills, and sanders, and use epoxy caulking material instead of manila copal, a caulking material that has become almost extinct due to deforestation). The whole enterprise is often capitalized (from PHP 500,000 to 2 million) by joint Taosug-Chinese partnership. The subsistence economy that characterizes Sama-Bajao form of livelihood precludes amassing sizeable savings. Besides, Sama-Bajao have no access to credit which prevents them from setting up their own boat-building and trading businesses. Furthermore, since they are contractual workers, they have no social benefits, such as health and pension plans. In fact, this is one of the reasons why the Sama-

Bajao, like majority of self-employed Filipinos, are destitute when they grow old and can no longer work. The shipwrights are often a mixed group of Sama-Bajao and other shipwrights recruited from Sultan Kudarat, Zamboanga, Bohol, and other islands as those I observed in Redondo, about 10 kilometers southeast of Zamboanga City, in Sanggali, Caragasan, in 1984. I also observed boat building in Sanga-Sanga and Datu Amil Hamjah Jaafar, in Sibutu 1993. In September 2016, I observed a 25 meter-long cargo boat being built in Tungkalang, Bongao. Again, capitalized by joint Tausug-Chinese businessmen traders. Shipwrights are paid from PHP 300 to 500 a day with room and board as well as bonus when ships are completed in time and to the satisfaction of the capitalists. In my estimation, shipwrights are paid subsistence wages that would not enable them to save enough capital to organize their own boat building trading business. However, they are often the ones hired to crew the boat and engage in interisland trade. In this way, Sama-Bajao are able to gain better income. But as was mentioned earlier, they have to contend with various methods of harassment from the coast guards, the marines, and sometimes even pirates. Such dangers and harassments could result in loss of property and lives. Thus, they plead for security and protection from predatory groups. These problems cannot be effectively solved by the Philippine government alone; it needs cooperation and coordination with the Malaysian and Indonesian governments.

Seaweed Farming as a Means to Rise Up the Ladder of Economic Prosperity

In the late 1960s to 1970s, the Department of Agriculture Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (DA BFAR) introduced seaweed farming in order to provide alternative livelihood to fisherfolk due to diminishing aquatic resources. Dr. Maxwell Doty of the University of Hawaii in cooperation with Dr. Gavino Trono of the University of the Philippines Marine Science Institute demonstrated through their research the commercial feasibility of farming this valuable plant. Used as all-around emulsifier in mayonnaise, ice cream, processed fish and meat, in medicines as capsules, toothpaste, and cosmetics, there is great worldwide demand for seaweed. Species of *Eucheuma striatum*, *E. cotoni*, and *kapapaychus alvarezzi* thalus cystocarp were found suitable to the Philippines, especially in offshore areas of western Mindanao, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and others of mild climates and not subject to typhoons.

I observed the cultivation of seaweeds in Jolo, Zamboanga, and northeast coast of Surigao. I will discuss only the seaweed farms in Taluk Sangay, about 5 kilometers south of Zamboanga City where Sama-Bajao cultivate the seaweed. The barangay is

headed by Hadji Abraham B. Nuno. A small digression into history is needed in order to understand how Hadji Nuno came to control Taluk Sangay and the Sama-Bajao inhabitants.⁶ He is the grandson of one of the most prominent Balanggingi warriors, Panglima Juano Taupan, who contested Spanish monopoly of interisland and overseas trade in the last decades of the nineteenth century. A notorious pirate to Europeans, he was captured along with his family and followers, exiled to Cagayan, and conscripted to cultivate tobacco. Panglima Taupan died in prison in Cavite but his family including the young Hadji Nuno were allowed to return to Mindanao and assigned to live in Taluk Sangay. And so, the Sama-Bajao inhabitants of Taluk Sangay found themselves under the supervision—if not, outright control—of Hadji Nuno. He is the one who takes care of fulfilling bureaucratic requirements such as filing applications, filling up forms, paying required fees and provision of initial capital to buy seedlings, materials for trellises, ropes, tools, plastic containers, etc. About twenty to thirty families cultivate seaweeds as clients of Hadji Nuno. They work long hours from preparing seaweed trellises to planting, caring, and protecting plants from predators, to repairing trellises, to harvesting, drying, and transporting the raw material to agents of processing plants in Zamboanga or Cebu. At the time of my field research (1984-1985), they were paid PHP 3 to 5 pesos per kilo of wet seaweed, and PHP 15 to 20 per kilo for dry seaweed. They work for twelve to sixteen hours a day under the hot sun, often waist and chest deep in seawater. A family of four to six members works for four to five months receiving PHP 15,000 to 20,000 a month, out of which they have to pay Hadji Nuno for the cost of BFAR and DENR permits. They are also expected to provide personal services to Hadji Nuno as household help, rowing his boats, and do odd jobs like repairing his house. Unfair labor conditions so far described have many parallels with those prevailing among primary producers of essential goods and services in many provinces in the Philippines.

BFAR officials believe that seaweed farming would just be a sideline occupation to supplement the main source of income of farmers. Research showed that seaweed farming is more demanding and taxing labor. It is also hazardous to health. Cultivators suffer from long exposure to ultraviolet rays, muscle cramps, headache, and fatigue. They are prone to suffer cold and cough. They often get wounded by sharp rocks and flotsam, if not by predators who eat seaweeds. More distressing is that as contractual laborers, they have no social benefits like health care and pension plans, thus they have no income when they grow old and can no longer work. Seaweed farmers ought to be provided eye shades and goggles to protect them from ultraviolet rays, rubber gloves and boots, and most of all access to credit that would free them from becoming indentured laborers.

What Is Being Done to Assist the Sama-Bajao?

The Department of Social Work and Community Development (DSWCD) extends short-term relief like food and clothing to those found begging in Metro Manila during Christmas season. DSWCD employees cannot undertake any sustained assistance to the Sama-Bajao, for the staff are forced to serve primarily victims of fire and natural disasters, and people caught in the crossfire between government troops and rebels. Local branches of the DSWCD have so far not given funds to address problems pertaining to the Sama-Bajao in their areas.

Former Zamboanga Mayor Maria Clara Lobregat (1994-1995), upon learning about the sad plight of the semi-nomadic Sama-Bajao, allocated about a kilometer shore line in Zamboanga City near Fort Pilar where she had some thirty houses built. She thought that they would at last settle down. Officials of the Department of Tourism Zamboanga branch thought that the Bajao village would be a tourist attraction where the inhabitants would demonstrate their dances and handicrafts to tourists. Sewing machines were provided in order to encourage women to learn sewing and tailoring skills. Sama-Bajao could not make full use of the facilities for they had to go out and earn their daily sustenance mainly by fishing and begging. There were few buyers of the mats and baskets that took weeks to weave, neither was there any sustained training in sewing and tailoring. Moreover, there were no materials and sewing tools. Mayor Lobregat did not realize the complexity of extending assistance. Sustained instruction, training, and guidance are required—not just provision of a place to stay. Instead of keeping them in a separate enclave as a tourist attraction, the Sama-Bajao should be integrated into the mainstream labor force. They should be given training in order to equip them and develop required skills for specific jobs such as dishwashers and waiters in restaurants, market vendors, cooks, laundering, cleaning, packaging, and the like. These basic skills are necessary to enable them to work in food processing and fish canning factories or as part of the crew of larger fishing corporations. Unfortunately, Sama-Bajao are often discriminated against by employers of most business establishments.

Assistance programs that are both comprehensive and long-term that involve Sama-Bajao communities in coordination with local government units, schools, mosques, churches, NGOs and businesses would be more effective.

Filipino, Malaysian, and Indonesian researchers have mobilized research efforts to alert ASEAN member governments of the urgent need to help the disadvantaged groups specially the marine-oriented people like the Sama-Bajao. Several conferences were held in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, to thresh out how to extend assistance to marginalized and neglected groups.

In September 2016, the Mindanao State University (MSU) Tawi-Tawi branch in Bongao organized a Capability Building Workshop for the Sama Dilaut. To demonstrate their long-term commitment to improve the lives of the Sama communities, the Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography (TCTO) established the Sama Studies Center headed by Prof. Abduljin J. Hassan. Out of the total of eleven municipalities, five were represented: Bongao, Simunul, Sibutu, Sugala, and Sitangkai. Barangay Sanga-sanga in Bongao, Barangay Tubig Indangan in Simunul, and Barangay Tandu Banak in Sibutu were represented as well. The community representatives were provided information of the relevant laws affecting them notably IPRA Law 8371 of 1997, their rights under the Philippine 1987 Constitution, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention of the Rights of Indigenous People, and the UN Convention of the Rights of Women and the Child. There were lectures on Sama-Bajao Indigenous Knowledge Systems that demonstrated the relevance and the need to further develop many indigenous practices. Marine Ecosystem Conservation and Management was a lesson on people's responsibility in preserving the environment. The lecture on Seaweed Farming as Alternative Source of Livelihood stressed the necessity to learn scientific production methods, application of advanced technology, including proper accounting procedures. There were lectures on how to undertake research in marine studies, and how to strengthen community organization and community empowerment. The lectures and discussions sought to inspire a sense of self-worth and self-confidence.

Delegates of the municipalities presented problems in making a living due to the lack of capital, tools, and equipment. Women said that they have no proper kitchen tools to process food, no kitchen, and worst of all no potable water. The delegates promised that when they did go back to their communities, they will organize committees so that they can participate more meaningfully in the formulation of policies affecting their municipality. The workshop stressed the need to raise their level of literacy, numeracy, how to gather data and information, how to record and file relevant information about their area. The workshop tried to raise their consciousness that they have to be responsible for their own welfare and protection, and be more active politically. They have to learn how to seek help and from whom, and to form community action groups focused on solving problems in their own community. Delegates were urged to coordinate and cooperate with each other and form beneficial alliances with other ethnic-religious-social groups.

Policy Recommendations to Uplift the Lives of Sama-Bajao

Sama-Bajao—or Sama Dilaut as they referred to themselves during the Capability Building Workshop in September 2016—demand government guarantee of their access to land as authorities and dominant majority groups have prevented them from founding settlements on land. They said that they are content with the land they now occupy in Tawi-Tawi. What they ask is guarantee of their current settlements by obtaining the required documents like Certificate of Land Title under the IPRA Law. However, they do not speak for other Sama-Bajao groups in Mindanao and other areas of the country.

They demand access to potable water. They would then have improved hygienic and sanitary facilities which could prevent endemic diseases, and thus remove the stigma attached to them as inherently “dirty.” Discrimination and prejudice against ethnic, religious, social and racial groups are irrational attitudes and values so deeply ingrained in certain people that are very difficult to eradicate. The provisional solutions are to provide the means to raise the capability of victims to defend themselves. Provision of land, potable water, and other essential public services will surely help raise the social status of the Sama-Bajao and other disadvantaged groups.

They demand that they be allowed to travel, trade, and work in their age-old inland areas from Mindanao, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Borneo, and Indonesia; and that they be extended protection from predatory Coast Guard and revenue-collecting officials and pirates. They insist that the rigid delimitation of citizenship by the modern monolithic state constricts their sociocultural ties that encompass the Malay island world—the Nusantara. In fact, the activities of the maritime people who have traded, traveled, and formed sociocultural networks in the inland seas could serve as the core for the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East Asia Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) envisioned during the administration of Fidel V. Ramos. Unfortunately, governments, instead of nurturing existing socioeconomic-cultural networks, favor large multinational corporations that are usually foreign-owned.

They demand relevant schooling and training suitable to their physical and social environment so that they can actively participate in government. Aid and other assistance programs must be disseminated to all intended recipients, not monopolized by the more politically and economically powerful groups.

Peace remains their most treasured hope. Violent confrontations between government troops and the rebels cause terrible human suffering for all. The Sama-Bajao want to contribute to peace by being productive, conscientious, hard-working, and peaceful citizens of the Republic of the Philippines.

These recommendations are all consistent with the avowed aspirations expressed in the Philippine Constitution of 1987, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of Indigenous People, the UN Convention of the Rights of Women, the Child, and the UN Millennium Development Goals. It is hoped that demands of Sama-Bajao and other indigenous peoples of the Philippines as well as all marginalized and neglected sectors of Philippine society will be heeded by all government policy makers and those charged to implement the laws.

Notes

- 1 The Sama-Bajao are referred to in various ways in the literature. For convenience, the essay will use Sama-Bajao except when quoting other sources, in which case the author's spelling will be used. Sama-Bajao self-ascription vary and shift depending on various circumstances—such as their settlements in the different islands and mooring places which they frequent—but language is the most consistent point of reference. Generally, they choose the most advantageous.
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- 5 Bruno Bottignolo, *Celebrations with the Sun: An Overview of Religious Phenomena among the Badjaos* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1995).
- 6 Margarita R. Cojuangco, *The Kris of Valor: the Samal Balanginggi Defiance and Diaspora* (Manila: Manisan Research Publication, 1993).

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