# Indigenous Development

## Indigenous Development in Malaysia

January 2019 Learning Cluster Soka University of America





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Office: Maathai 310 Class: Maathai 305

**Hours:** 1000-1130, 1300-1430

In 1993, the United Nations declared the 'Year of Indigenous Peoples', followed by a subsequent decade of prioritizing indigenous communities. Indigenous peoples have long borne the brunt of colonialism, migration, development policies, capitalist exploitation, and assimilation. In recent decades, the label 'indigenous' has been reclaimed as a source of pride, with efforts to promote new forms of self-government and cultural revival.

This said, the meaning of 'indigenous' varies by national context. In Anglo settler countries, indigenous peoples were those present prior to European colonialism, their populations decimated by disease and forcibly sedentarized, remaining as largely separate communities today. In Asia, 'indigenous' tends to refer to populations historically detached from global trade and cultural influences, sometimes referred to as 'hill tribes', those on the margins of traditional lowland states. Indigenous peoples in Asia typically live in states dominated by communities that are also native, but not quite indigenous. As the politics of indigeneity has globalized, 'hill tribes' and other communities have embraced this identity. At the same time, we see new approaches to indigenous development and participation in broader political and economic spheres. If indigenous peoples are defined by tradition and isolation, what are the possibilities for development?

Our Learning Cluster seeks to better understand indigenous peoples and development in Asia. With the support of the Nieves Family Travel Grant, we are traveling to Sabah, Malaysia, where we will engage with Kadazandusun communities. Malaysia has recently democratized, with indigenous parties in Sabah allied with the new government. As an emerging economy, Malaysia has seen considerable development, although the benefits have been uneven. Indigenous communities have struggled to engage in a global economy and national politics. Malaysia is especially interesting due to its varying levels of autochthony. Kadazan, Dusun, Murut, and Bajau are considered indigenous, but the Malay Muslim majority are also natives, identified as Bumiputra (sons of the soil), in contrast to migrant Chinese and Indian communities. Malaysia thus represents a unique case to explore the meanings of 'indigenous', 'native', and 'migrant'.

Our class is interested in several questions: How does the concept of indigenous peoples apply to highland communities in Asia? How have Malaysia's indigenous peoples reacted to European colonialism and Malay supremacy? What is the role of religion, specifically Christianity, for indigenous identity in a Muslimmajority country? What is the potential for transnational indigenous solidarity? Does tourism represent a useful strategy to promote native development? How have indigenous people helped to shape, as well as reacted to, Malaysian democratization?

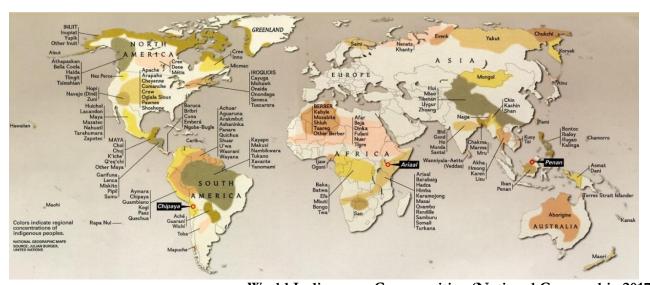
# Roster

| Name                 | Class | Nationality     |
|----------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Shane Barter         |       | Canada          |
| Mark Hon-Yao Chia    | 2020  | Singapore / USA |
| Abigail Felix        | 2020  | USA             |
| Sho Nakata           | 2020  | Japan           |
| Tracy Bartolome      | 2021  | USA             |
| Lily Feast           | 2021  | USA             |
| Shunji Fueki         | 2021  | Japan           |
| Rafael Schultz       | 2021  | USA             |
| Daisuke Takeuchi     | 2021  | Japan           |
| Kano Umezaki         | 2021  | USA             |
| Nini Vo              | 2021  | USA             |
| Thuy Le              | 2022  | Vietnam         |
| Farida Refaat Elhedk | 2022  | Egypt           |



Budget

| Buager   | Б         | I A . 4                         | . ,          |
|--|-----------|---------------------------------|--------------|
|  | Estimates | Actual                          | +/-          |
| Airfare  | \$16,500  | \$16,300                        | <u>-200</u>  |
| About \$1250 / person                          |           |                                 |              |
| Accommodation                                  | \$2500    | \$2300                          | <u>-200</u>  |
| Ten nights, Kota Kinabalu: \$1800              |           | MYR 7208, \$1700                |              |
| One night, Misompuru Homestay: \$700           |           | MYR 2450 (188 x 13), \$600      |              |
| One night, Singapore: \$13                     |           | \$15                            |              |
| Other Transport                                | \$3000    | \$2300                          | -700         |
| KK Out Van / Driver: 9-11 days: \$2500         |           | \$11850                         |              |
| Shuttle to / from LAX: \$400                   |           | \$250 roundtrip, \$100 Lyft x 2 |              |
| Other Taxis, Transit: \$100                    |           |                                 |              |
| Food   | \$4500    | \$2900                          | <u>-1600</u> |
| \$27 / day (100 MYR) x 13 = \$350 / day x 12   | days      | Groceries: \$150                |              |
|  | ,         | Meals: \$2500                   |              |
|  |           | Goodbye Dinner: \$250           |              |
| Other  | \$500     | \$800                           | +300         |
| Park entry, SIM cards, visa, medicine, LC Fair |           | Four SIMs (\$55), Courier (\$5) | ,            |
| , , , , , ,                                    |           | Medicine (\$30), KDCA (\$300)   |              |
|  |           | souvenirs (\$150), stamps, Visa | *            |
|  |           | Singapore (\$200)               | (" ))        |
|  |           | \$24,600                        | -\$2400      |
| Total  | \$27,00   |                                 |              |
| Course Budget                                  | \$2,000   |                                 |              |
| NFF Grant                                      | \$25,000  |                                 |              |



World Indigenous Communities (National Geographic 2017)

# **Assignments**

#### 30% Participation

#### **Ongoing**

Participation is understood broadly to include student contributions to the class from the early planning stages through to the LC Fair. It means being a good team member in the field, communicating effectively with the instructor and classmates, helping to plan meetings and document our experiences, sharing thoughts on readings, and supporting each other.

#### 20% Book Review

#### Present 07-12 January, due Friday 12 January

Students will read a book related to the course topic and prepare a brief (2-3 pages) analysis of the book's key themes and contributions. This is to be submitted and presented during the first week of class. Books must be selected before the end of the Fall semester, in consultation with the instructor, to be read over the holiday break. It is recommended that the book be related to indigenous peoples in Asia; indigenous economics; indigenous ecology; or indigenous politics. Reviews will be assessed in terms of their ability to critically evaluate the book's core topic, as well as sources, audiences, and shortcomings. The reviews will be presented in class, 5-8 mins in length, with the core goal being to teach your classmates about your book.

#### 10% Presentations: World Indigeneity Tuesday PM, 08 January

Students will prepare a brief (5-8 mins) presentation about an indigenous community of their choice. Students should communicate their selection with the instructor at least one week before the first day of class. The presentation should paint a brief portrait of who this community is, how they define their indigeneity, and what are their contemporary challenges. Presentations will be evaluated in terms of their clarity, creativity, engagement with the course topic, ability to engage with the class, and timing.

#### 40% Research Paper

### Due Thursday, 31 January

Students will prepare a 5-8 page research paper on some aspect of indigenous development, preferably grounded in the cases we explored. Students are expected to think about their paper during our prospective time abroad, and may consider collecting some resources as we travel. Papers must present a clear research question and argument. Citation style is up to the student, so long as they do it properly (mimic the style you find in an article that you like). Topics are to be decided in consultation with the instructor. Because the topic and style of the paper is flexible, there is no single rubric according to which course papers will be evaluated. For all papers, assessment will include consideration of clarity of argument, organization, quality of sources, engagement with sources, and writing style.

# Calendar

| 07 January | Introduction   |  |  |
|------------|--|--|--|
| Monday     | What is the course about? What is 'indigeneity'? Why does it matter? Can a community be both   |  |  |
| 10-1130am  | 'developed' and indigenous?  |  |  |
| Session 01 | The state of the s |  |  |
|            | Jeremy Hance, "Indigenous People Fight for their Rights. Governments and Businesses Call Them  |  |  |
|            | Terrorists," Huffington Post (07 September 2018)   |  |  |
|            | AND  |  |  |
|            | Minority Rights Group, "Malaysia: Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities in Sabah"   |  |  |
|            | ***BREAK (1130-1)***   |  |  |
| 1-230pm    | Ideas of Indigeneity   |  |  |
| Session 02 | What does it mean to be 'indigenous'?  |  |  |
|            | Settler colonialism; First Nations; Native Americans; Fourth World; indigenous activism  |  |  |
|            | Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary   |  |  |
|            | Colonialism," Government and Opposition 40:4 (2005); pp. 597-614   |  |  |
|            | AND  |  |  |
|            | Celine Germond-Duret, "Tradition and Modernity: An Obsolete Dichotomy? Binary Thinking,  |  |  |
|            | Indigenous Peoples and Normalisation," Third World Quarterly 37.9 (2016); pp. 1537-1558  |  |  |
|            | AND  |  |  |
|            | Alberto Gomes, "Anthropology and the Politics of Indigeneity," Anthropological Forum 23:1  |  |  |
|            | (2013); pp. 5-15   |  |  |
|            | ***Present Book Reviews: Shunji, Sho, Rafael***  |  |  |

| 08 January | Global Indigenous, Indigenous in Asia   |  |  |
|------------|---|--|--|
| Tuesday    | How has the concept of indigeneity spread globally? How is indigeneity understood in Asia?          |  |  |
| 10-1130am  | ILO; UN Year of Indigenous Peoples; State of the World's Indigenous Peoples (SOWIP); Ainu           |  |  |
| Session 03 | (Japan); Gaoshan (Taiwan); 'uncooked'; hill tribes; Dayak; missionaries                             |  |  |
|            | Jan Lüdert, "Latin American States and the International Labour Organization: Circumscribing        |  |  |
|            | Indigenous Peoples as Internal Outsiders," Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies 8:3          |  |  |
|            | (2013); pp. 336-351   |  |  |
|            | AND   |  |  |
|            | Roland Platz, "Buddhism and Christianity in Competition? Religious and Ethnic Identity in Karen     |  |  |
|            | Communities of Northern Thailand," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 34:3 (2003); pp. 473-490      |  |  |
|            | AND   |  |  |
|            | Tomonori Sugimoto, "Settler Colonial Incorporation and Inheritance: Historical Sciences,            |  |  |
|            | Indigeneity, and Settler Narratives in Post-WWII Taiwan," Settler Colonial Studies 8:3; pp. 283-297 |  |  |
|            | ***Present Book Reviews: Mark, Lily, Nini***  |  |  |
|            | ***BREAK (1130-1)***  |  |  |
| 1-230pm    | Student Presentations: World Indigeneity  |  |  |
| Session 04 | 3 ,   |  |  |

| 09 January | Indigenous in Sabah, Malaysia   |
|------------|---|
| Wednesday  | Who are the Kadazan-Dusun? What challenges do they face?                                  |
| 10-1130am  | About Malaysia; Truly Asia; democratization   |
| Session 05 | About Sabah; Kadazan; Dusun; Murut; Bajau; Christianity & Islam; Migration                |
|            | Johan Saravanamuttu & Ooi Kee Beng, "Malaysia," in Southeast Asia in a New Era, edited by |
|            | Rodolfo C. Severino, Elspeth Thomson, & Mark Hong (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010); pp. 113-130   |
|            | AND   |

|            | Fausto Barlocco, "An Inconvenient Birth: The Formation of a Modern Kadazan Culture and Its             |  |  |
|------------|--|--|--|
|            | Marginalization within the Making of the Malaysian Nation (1953-2007)," <i>Indonesia and the Malay</i> |  |  |
|            | World 41:119 (2013); pp. 116-141   |  |  |
|            | AND  |  |  |
|            | Amity A. Doolittle, "Powerful Persuasions: The Language of Property and Politics in Sabah,             |  |  |
|            | Malaysia (North Borneo), 1881-1996," Modern Asian Studies 38:4; pp. 821-850                            |  |  |
|            | ***BREAK (1130-1)***   |  |  |
| 1-230pm    | Indigenous in Sabah (ctd)  |  |  |
| Session 06 |  |  |  |
|            | ***Present Book Reviews: Daisuke, Abigail***   |  |  |

| 10 January                        | Indigenous Development in Sabah  |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Thursday                          | Economics: NEP, Land Rights, Palm Oil, Logging   |  |
| 10-1130am                         |  |  |
| Session 07                        |  |  |
|                                   | Konrad Yakabuski, "Woods War II," <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (28 April 2008)                      |  |
|                                   | AND  |  |
|                                   | Zawawi Ibhrahim, "The New Economic Policy and the Identity Question of the Indigenous            |  |
|                                   | Peoples of Sabah and Sarawak," in <i>The New Economic Policy in Malaysia</i> , edited by Edmund  |  |
|                                   | Terence Gomez and Johan Saravanamuttu (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012); pp. 293-313                  |  |
|                                   | AND  |  |
|                                   | S. Robert Aiken and Colin H. Leigh, "In the Way of Development: Indigenous Land-Rights Issues    |  |
|                                   | in Malaysia," Geographical Review 101:4; 471-496   |  |
|                                   | ***Present Book Reviews: Farida, Thuy***   |  |
| 1-230pm                           | Indigenous Development in Sabah  |  |
| Session 08                        | Ecology, Ecotourism, Palm Oil, Education   |  |
|                                   | World Wildlife Fund, "Palm Oil Buyers Scorecard: Malaysia and Singapore 2017."                   |  |
|                                   | AND  |  |
|                                   | Rajanathan Rajaratnam et al, "Ecotourism and Indigenous Communities: The Lower Kinabatangan      |  |
|                                   | Experience," in Tourism at the Grassroots: Villagers and Visitors in the Asia-Pacific, edited by |  |
|                                   | John Connell and Barbara Rugendyke (Routledge: 2008); pp. 236-255                                |  |
| ***Present Book Reviews: Tracy*** |  |  |

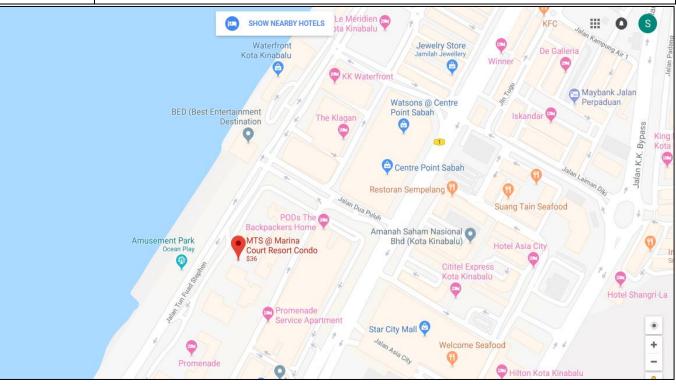
| 11 January                       | Indigenous Development in Sabah   |  |  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Friday                           | Politics: UMNO, Warisan, Pakatan Harapan, Moro Migration  |  |  |
| 1-230pm                          |   |  |  |
| Session 09                       |   |  |  |
| r n                              | James Chin, "Exporting the BN/UMNO Model: Politics in Sabah and Sarawak," in Routledge          |  |  |
|                                  | Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia, edited by Meredith Weiss (Routledge: 2008); pp. 83-92.       |  |  |
|                                  | AND   |  |  |
|                                  | Farish A. Noor, "A New Player in Sabah Politics," RSIS Commentary 262 (2016); 1-3               |  |  |
|                                  | AND   |  |  |
|                                  | Arnold Puyok and Tony Bagang, "Ethnicity, Culture, & Indigenous Leadership in Modern Politics:  |  |  |
|                                  | The Case of the Kadazandusun in Sabah, East Malaysia," Kajian Malaysia 29:1 (2011); pp. 177-197 |  |  |
|                                  | AND   |  |  |
|                                  | Bridget Welsh, "Is Sabah Ready for Political Change?" Malaysiakini (April 2018)                 |  |  |
| ***Present Book Reviews: Kano*** |   |  |  |
|                                  | ***Book Reviews Due***  |  |  |

Travel to / Arrival in Malaysia

| <b>12 January</b><br>Saturday | Depa | rt California |   |
|-------------------------------|------|---------------|---|
| *                             | 1200 | Leave SUA     | Super Shuttle, 1 hour                   |
|                               | 1515 | Depart LAX    | Singapore Airlines Flight SQ11 (11hr45) |

| <b>13 January</b><br>Sunday | In the       | e Air                                  |  |
|-----------------------------|--------------|--|--|
| *                           | 2000<br>2055 | Arrive NRT, Japan<br>Depart NRT, Japan | Singapore Airlines SQ11 (same plane) (7hr40) |

| 14 January<br>Monday | Arrive Kota Kinabalu   |  |                               |
|----------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| メ                    | 0335<br>0845<br>1055   | Arrive SIN Depart SIN Arrive Kota Kinabalu | Silk Air Flight MI392 (2hr10) |
| · 🐬                  | 1200   To Apartment   KK Leisure Shuttle: Michael     Ten nights, MTS @ Marina Court Resort Condo     B-01-04 1st Floor Block B, Jalan Tun Fuad Stephens |  |                               |



| <b>15 January</b> Tuesday | Meetings: About the Kadazan / Dusun |  |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
|                           | 1030                                | Kadazandusun Cultural Association (KDCA) and Koisaan Cultural Village  |
|                           |                                     | Attendees include Suman Yasambun (Secretary General); emceed by Keddy  |
| -                         | 1500                                | Kadazandusun Language Foundation: Philip and Rita Lasimbang (Founders) |
|                           | 1900                                | Dinner: Parti Cinta Sabah members                                      |

| <b>16 January</b><br>Wednesday | Meetings: Education and Tourism |   |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| <b>*</b>                       | 0900<br>1400                    | Universiti Teknologi MARA: Tony Bagang (Professor); Trixie Tangit; students Pacos Trust: Anne Lasimbang (Executive Director); Sabah Tourism Association: Pauline Chin; Camp Borneo: Melanie Chu; Chanteek Borneo Indigenous Museum: Anne Antah; Lavinia Art Gallery: Christianne Goonting |

| <b>17 January</b><br>Thursday | Meetings: Eco-Development |  |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
|                               | 1000                      | Lightup Borneo: Ong Boon Keung; Borneo Komrad; Pongo Society; Anna<br>Bundarakata (artist) |
| 7                             | 1400                      | Borneo Ecotours: Albert Teo (Director)   |

| <b>18 January</b><br>Friday | Meetings |   |
|-----------------------------|----------|---|
|                             | 0900     | Jaringan Orang Asal SeMalaysia: Suzan, Hedley, Ovia, Paulos |
|                             | 1200     | Kadazandusun Native Market                                  |
| -                           | 1400     | Floating Mosque   |

| <b>19 January</b><br>Saturday | Drive   | to Kudat, Misompuru Village                             |
|-------------------------------|---------|---|
|                               | 0930    | Depart Kota Kinabalu                                    |
|                               | 1400    | Arrive Minyak Village: Misompuru Homestay               |
| . 🏝                           |         | - Welcome; Meet Host Family                             |
|                               |         | - Visit Oil Well / Mangroves; Swimming at Beach         |
|                               |         | - Dinner with Host Family; Bead & Cloth Making; Karaoke |
|                               | 1 Nigh  | t, Misompuru Homestay                                   |
|                               | http:// | misompuruhomestay.yolasite.com/                         |
| · <b>\</b>                    |         |   |

| <b>20 January</b><br>Sunday | Misompuru Village, Drive to Kota Kinabalu |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
|                             |   | <ul><li>Breakfast with Host Family</li><li>Crab Mangrove Walk; Honey Bee Farm; Rungus Longhouse</li><li>Lunch with Host Family; tree Planting; Coconuts; Goodbye</li></ul> |
|                             | 1400<br>1800                              | Depart Minyak Village<br>Arrive Kota Kinabalu  |

| 21 January | Meetings |  |
|------------|----------|--|
| Monday     |          |  |
|            | 1100     | Artist Meeting: Tressie Yap & Monika (Arkitek) |
|            | 1230     | Lunch; Political Parties; JOAS                 |
| •          | 1500     | Artist Meeting: Pangrok Sulap (Rizo)           |

| <b>22 January</b><br>Tuesday | Meetings |  |
|------------------------------|----------|--|
| *                            |          | St. Michael's Catholic Church Sabah United Party: Yee Moh Chia & Merilus Roman Indonesian Padang Lunch Warisan: Jenifer Lasimbang at Pacos Trust |

| 23 January | Free Day  |   |
|------------|---|---|
| Wednesday  | Recommended that students dedicate some time to considering research papers |   |
| -d'>       | 0930  | Students to Islands and Museum, Shane coffee work                   |
|            | 1830  | Goodbye Dinner at D'Place: Tony (UiTM); Pangrok Sulap; Ong (Lightup |
|            |   | Borneo); UiTM students; Kiyoko Nakano (SUA Alumna)                  |

## **Travel Home**

| <b>24 January</b><br>Thursday | Depart Malaysia |                              |                               |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                               | 0900            | Leave Apartment              | KK Leisure Shuttle            |
| <b>7</b>                      | 1145            | Depart BKI                   | Silk Air Flight MI391 (2hr15) |
|                               | 1400            | Arrive SIN                   |                               |
|                               | 1600            | Hosted by Mark's Dad!        | Driving Tour, Home of Seafood |
|                               | 1 Nigh          | it, Hotel Royal @ Queens (12 | Queen Street, Bugis Stn)      |

| <b>25 January</b><br>Friday | Return to California |                     |   |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| _                           | 0920                 | Depart SIN          | Singapore Airlines Flight SQ12 (6hr45)  |
|                             | 1705                 | Arrive NRT (Japan)  |   |
|                             | 1830                 | Depart NRT          | Singapore Airlines Flight SQ12 (10hr00) |
|                             | 1130                 | Arrive LAX          |   |
|                             | 1230                 | SuperShuttle to SUA |   |

# On Campus: What We Learned

| 28 January | Looking Ahead: Global   |  |  |
|------------|---|--|--|
| Monday     | Towards Indigenous Development  |  |  |
| 10-1130am  | Towards Malgeriods Development  |  |  |
| Session 11 |   |  |  |
| r N        | Kevin Hindle and Michele Lansdowne, "Brave Spirits on New Paths: Toward a Globally Relevant |  |  |
|            | Program of Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research," Journal of Small Business and             |  |  |
|            | Entrepreneurship 18:2 (2005); pp. 131-142   |  |  |
|            | AND   |  |  |
|            | Stephen May and Sheila Aikman, "Indigenous Education: Addressing Current Issues and         |  |  |
|            | Developments," Comparative Education 39:2 (2003); pp. 139-145                               |  |  |
|            | AND   |  |  |
|            | Sheryl Lightfoot, "Settler Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and       |  |  |
|            | Comparative Assessment," Native American and Indigenous Studies 2:1 (2015); pp. 15-39       |  |  |
|            | ***BREAK (1130-1)***  |  |  |

| 1-230pm    | Looking Ahead: Sabah  |
|------------|---|
| Session 12 | The Future of Indigenous Development in Sabah   |
| re The     | Fadzilah Majid Cooke, "Constructing Rights: Indigenous Peoples at the Public Hearings of the      |
|            | National Inquiry into Customary Rights to Land in Sabah, Malaysia," Sojourn 28:3 (2013); pp. 512- |
|            | 537   |
|            | AND   |
|            | Durie Rainer Fong, "Drop 'Native', Use Indigenous Instead, Suggests CJ," Free Malaysia Today (17  |
|            | January 2019)   |
|            | AND   |
|            | Tracy Patrick, "Ex-Sabah UMNO Leaders on a Quest for Revenge Through PPBM, Says Warisan           |
|            | Man," Free Malaysia Today (30 December 2018)  |

| 29 January | Conclusions / Course Evaluations |  |  |  |
|------------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Tuesday    | Work Day: LC Fair and Essays     |  |  |  |
| _          |                                  |  |  |  |
| 30 January | LC Fair                          |  |  |  |
| Wednesday  |                                  |  |  |  |
|            |                                  |  |  |  |
| 31 January | Papers Due                       |  |  |  |
| Thursday   |                                  |  |  |  |

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#### Tourist Map of Sabah, from Malaysian Tourism Association, 2018



Approximate Ethnic Populations in Sabah (based on 2010 Census)

| Group             | Population | % Sabah | Notes  |
|-------------------|------------|---------|--|
|                   |            |         | N. 1 - 1 - 1   |
| Kadazan-Dusun     | 684,000    | 18%     | -Hill communities  |
|                   |            |         | -Indigenous, Bumiputra                                   |
|                   |            |         | -Largely Christian, also Animist                         |
|                   |            |         | -Two major groups, 40 sub-groups. Kadazan more urban,    |
|                   |            |         | developed; Dusun are more rural, poorer                  |
| Murut             | 114,000    | 3%      | -Hill communities, many sub-groups                       |
|                   |            |         | -Indigenous, Bumiputra                                   |
| Bajau             | 530,000    | 14%     | -Coastal communities, seafaring                          |
|                   |            |         | -Mostly Muslim, connected to Sulu (Philippines)          |
|                   |            |         | -Eastern & Western Bajau, Western known for horse-riding |
| Orang Ulu / Other | 760,000    | 20%     | -27 small, ethnically diverse indigenous communities     |
|                   |            |         | -Christian and Animist                                   |
| Chinese           | 340,000    | 9%      | -Largely urban, migrants, Buddhist                       |
| Malay             | 228,000    | 6%      | -Coastal   |
|                   |            |         | -Bumiputra, not indigenous                               |
| Non-Citizens      | 1,000,000  | 28%     | -Largely migrants / descendants from Filipino Moros      |
| Sabah Total       | 3,800,000  |         | -Sabah is majority Muslim (65%)                          |