



Lifestyle Resistance of the Bajo Tribe in Facing of Stigma

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Abstract

The existence of the Bajo tribe in Bugis land is not without problems. Their name is worldwide as a tribe of sailors with the ability to survive long in the water. Even though he has lived in the area for decades, they face stigma from the surrounding community. Based on several statements by the indigenous Bajo tribe, they are looked down upon by other tribal communities, especially the Bugis. This study aims to explain the form of stigma faced by the Bajo tribe and the reaction of Bajo women in facing stigma in society. This study uses descriptive qualitative by collecting data through observation and interviews with the Bajo tribe. This study shows that the Bajo tribe experiences stigma in the form of; being disadvantaged, black, uneducated, impolite, stubborn, and so on. The Bajo tribe reacted in the form of lifestyle resistance, where most of the Bajo tribes behave consumptively by deliberately liking shopping and spending time.

Key Words : Resistance, Lifestyle, Bajo



INTRODUCTION

Protecting the wealth of the sea is one of the characteristics of the Bajo tribe. With their wisdom, they can adjust to the ocean's fierceness. The sea is the foundation of life for the Bajo people, which makes them unable to stay away from the ocean. The residences where the Bajo people live close by at sea level float on dead rocks and the foundation is made of wood. They even make their boats a home to carry out their daily activities (Afrianti et al., 2021). For the Bajo tribe, the sea is a past, present and future hope. The sea is everything, and the sea is life; the sea is ombok lao, or the king of the sea. Thus, the philosophy resulted in the classification of humans in the Bajo tribe, the group that is still included in the Bajo tribe is referred to as the Sama'. In contrast, the tribe outside the Bajo is called Bagai (Rustan et al., 2018). This classification has shown the caution of the Bajo tribe to accept new people and cultures. They don't trust newcomers easily.

However, the Bajo people are slowly experiencing changes in the context of their place of residence, which has been pulled over on the mainland, living permanently in the surrounding coastal and marine areas nowadays. Therefore, there are two main concepts stated by Sulaeman Mamar, namely: (1). the sea for the Bajo people is absolute because apart from being a place to live, it is also a place to earn a living, (2) Bajo people are a group of ocean travellers who live with their families at sea or the coast (Rustan et al., 2018). People who live on the beach depend on marine products in the form of fish, shrimp and seaweed, the activities of the Bajo people who live on the coast are almost always at sea. From an early age, children in the Bajo prominent tribe have been educated with natural conditions that require independence (Hewi, 2015).

The Bajo people are still classified as a superficial society and live according to the order of life in the marine environment, known as sea gypsies culturally. The Bajo tribe has occupied almost all Indonesia's coasts for hundreds of years. Regarding its origins, the lecturer in the History Department of the Faculty of Letters at Hasanuddin University explained the 'Bajo Tribe and Its Distribution in the Archipelago' in the Cultural Dialogue at the International Bajo Tribe Art Festival in the Mini Hall Mulo Building and the South Sulawesi Provincial Culture and Tourism Office still tends to follow the results of research showing the origin of the Bajo tribe comes from Johor, Malaysia (Poelinggomang, 2016).

Population census data for 2000, the estimated population of the Bajo tribe in Southeast Asia is around 1,077,020 people, where; 570,857 people in the Philippines,



347,193 people in Malaysia, and 158,970 people in Indonesia (Suryanegara et al., 2015). The Bajo tribe is an underdeveloped and minority ethnic group in Indonesia from an educational, economic and social perspective. Saladin S. Teo reviewed the education and lifestyle of the Bajo people and concluded that general developments in science, technology and social change did not significantly influence differences in the Bajo tribe, including aspects of education compared to other minority groups (Machmud et al., 2020).

The history of the life journey of the Bajo people shows that there have been long-standing trade contacts with the Bone people (Bugis). Initially, trade contact only occurred as a professional relationship in the investment function from the Bugis to the Bajo community. In this case, the dominant Bajo community made a living as fishermen, and this factor became the basis for the relationship between the Bugis people and as donors in the food trade channel while the Bajo community suppliers of fish using the selo (barter) system between the Bajo and the Bugis (Rustan et al., 2018). In further developments, the Bugis people who live in the Bajoe Subdistrict are very much needed by the Bajo people to fulfil all their needs, including clothing, food and fishing production equipment. The intensity of the meeting does not only occur on the mainland or concerning the distribution of their catch. The Bajo people engage in trading activities in the market to sell their catch and fulfil their various needs.

The existence of the Bajo tribe in Bugis land is not without problems. Even though they have lived in the Bone Regency area for decades, they face stigma from the surrounding community. Based on several statements from the indigenous Bajo tribe, they are looked down upon by other ethnic groups, especially the Bugis. So what is the form of stigma faced by the Bajo tribe and the reaction of Bajo women in society?

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in Bajoe, Tanete Riattang Timur District, Bone Regency. This location was chosen because it is a residential area of the Bajo tribe, which has more or less experienced stigma from the surrounding community from other tribes, especially the Bugis. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach. This method describes the form of stigma faced by the Bajo tribe, as well as the reactions of Bajo women in dealing with stigma in society. The informants of this study consisted of Bajo tribal people, representing the profession of fishermen, women and the local community. Through this data source, an



understanding of the stigma in the social conditions of the Bajo community will be obtained. Data collection techniques were carried out by in-depth interviews, observation and documentation.

Data analysis used the Miles et al. (2014) model: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction is selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data that emerges from written records in the field. Data presentation is carried out by systematically compiling reduced data to provide the possibility of conclusions. Conclusions are used to outline research findings. The process of data analysis, according to (Creswell, 2017) a whole involves making sense of the data. The data analysis techniques referred to here are the efforts made by researchers to collect, organise, manage, synthesise, study and decide from what is conveyed by informants.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the background and focus of the research described above, the Stigma theory from Erving Goffman and the Resistance theory from James C. Scott was used as analytical tools in this study. This theoretical approach can explain the phenomena related to how the stigma received by the Bajo tribe and its resistance is formed.

Stigma itself, according to Goffman (1986), is a sign or sign made by a person's body to be shown and inform the public that the person who has the mark is an enslaved person, criminal, or a traitor as well as an expression of the unfairness and ugliness of the moral status one has. By someone. So this stigma refers to attributes that worsen one's image.

Goffman (1986) explains the relationship between self and identity that starts with himself the concept of self through the process of interaction of an individual with the surrounding environment. The self here relates to the individual self, how the individual sees or interprets himself, and is also formed by how others see themselves. Then what comes from other people is the formation of identity. According to the social setting, identity is divided into two: virtual identity and actual identity. Virtual identity is likened to the inner stage, while true identity is the outer stage. The concept of identity formation is the central concept for thinking about Stigma (Ayunani, 2015).

According to Erving Goffman, if a person has attributes that make him different from people in the same category as him (such as being worse, dangerous or weak), he will be assumed to be a tarnished person. This attribute is called stigma. Thus, stigma refers to



characteristics that considerably worsen a person's image. Stigma is any form of physical and social attribute that reduces a person's social identity, disqualifying that person from acceptance of a person. Goffman (1986). Goffman further distinguishes stigma into three forms, namely:

1. Abominations of the body (physical inequality). The stigma associated with a person's physical disability, such as: limping, deaf and mute.

2. Blemishes of Individual Character. Stigma related to the deterioration of individual characters, such as homosexuality, drunkards, rapists, and addicts.

3. Tribal Stigma. Stigma related to ethnicity, religion and nation.

Labelling theory or nickname theory can also be referred to as social reaction theory. This theory was inspired primarily by the symbolic interaction theory of George Herbert Mead (1934) in his book *Mind, Self, and Society*, only to be applied in the world of deviants. According to symbolic interaction theory, humans learn to play various roles and assume identities relevant to these roles, engage in activities that show each other who and what they are, and define the situations they enter into. Their behaviour takes place within the social context, meaning, and definition of the situation.

Labelling is the identity given by a group to individuals based on characteristics that are considered a minority by a group of people. Labelling tends to be given to people with behavioural deviations who are not following the norms in society. A labelled person will experience a change in role and tends to act like the label given to him (Sudjono, 1994). This theory does not attempt to explain why specific individuals are attracted to or involved in deviant actions but instead emphasizes the importance of social definitions associated with individual pressures to engage in more deviant acts (Aji, 2014).

This theory first appeared in Sociology, Becker (1966), is considered the founder of the nickname theory with the statement "Moral Entrepreneur" to describe people who claim to violate the rule of law by making themselves, criminals. This unlawful behaviour is not what labelling theory focuses on, but rather when the labels involve innocent people, accused and treated as if they were guilty. Such people are called "Deviance". When someone is considered a deviant, they tend to behave defiantly. Deviant labels given by others will affect the self-concept or self-concept and the person's behaviour following what has been labelled by others.



In the view of sociology, the nickname relates to a person who is then given a specific label of a mental illness diagnosis that results in behavioural deviations. Thus, this person receives medical treatment as a "mentally sick" person. There are two types of people who make nicknames for others:

1. Hard Labeling. People who believe that mental illness doesn't exist. It is simply the deviation of behaviour from societal norms that causes people to believe in mental illness. Mental illness is a disease that results from social constructions and psychotic disorders that do not exist.

2. Soft Labeling. These are people who believe that mental illness does exist, and it does exist. Unlike advocates of hard labeling, soft labeling advocates believe that mental illness is not the result of social construction.

While the characteristics of Labeling are divided into three, namely:

1. Identifying how other people will treat the person according to the label given to him. The labelling theory then focuses on the status of the person who is the object of study.

2. Knowing the type of action (reaction) carried out by the person who committed the primary deviation after receiving particular treatment from other people around him, especially identifying how he adopted the treatment. This treatment is manifested in the form of social reactions and subsequently reinforces not only deviant behaviour, but also creates other deviations called secondary deviance, which are expressed as an effort to fight or control the social reaction.

3. Discussing the problem of stability in the interaction pattern between those who are labeled deviant and those who are labeled deviant. Then discuss the implications of the findings on the actions used to solve the problem of deviations and the labeling process is often difficult to change.

For social researchers, resistance is considered cultural because it arises through people's daily expressions and actions. Analysis of resistance itself to a phenomenon sees many things that exist in people's everyday lives in the form of stories, themes of conversation, swearing, as well as praise and other behaviours, so resistance becomes a tit-for-tat in social science. For social researchers, resistance is considered cultural because it arises through people's daily expressions and actions. Analysis of resistance itself to a phenomenon sees many things that exist in people's everyday lives in the form of stories,



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Scott (2000) reveals that resistance focuses on forms of resistance that exist and occur around everyday life that are clearly described. According to him, there are two forms of resistance:

1. Open resistance (social protest or demonstration), is an organized, systematic, and principled form of resistance. Manifestations used in resistance are violent means such as rebellion.

2. Closed resistance (symbolic or ideological) is a rejection of the categories imposed on society—gossip, slander, or withdrawal of respect for the authorities.

Open resistance (public transcript) is a form of resistance that can be observed, concrete and there is direct communication between two disputing parties. Zuraida (2013) explains that open resistance is a form of resistance marked by the emergence of actions that originate from direct contact between the upper class (the ruling class) and the lower class (the weak). Scott (2000) revealed that four characteristics show open resistance, including the following. (1) Tangible resistance according to the prevailing system, organized between one party and another and working together. (2) There is an impact of change (revolutionary consequences) in the movement that can affect survival. (3) It is rational to focus on the interests of many people. (4) Aims to abolish acts of domination and oppression from the rulers.

Closed resistance (hidden transcript) is a form of resistance carried out by someone through a less systematic procedure. Closed resistance tends to refer to the movement of resistance slowly by taking into account the form of resistance, the achievements obtained and the determination of individual attitudes in organizing the desire and ability to fight. Scott (2000) explains four characteristics of closed resistance, including the following. (1) Occurs irregularly. (2) Disorganized. (3) Individual nature (aimed at seeking profit by focusing on individual interests). (4) Does not contain the impact of changes.

Both types of resistance show that society uses resistance to help the oppressed maintain the existing culture and system. Open resistance shows the existence of resistance struggles that are recognized by the community because the form of their actions can be observed. In contrast, closed resistance tends to have no actual manifestation in the



emergence of activities because they are individual and are considered to affect the existing order within a person.

Stigma faced by the Bajo Tribe

Bajo people are generally black because of the work they did morning, afternoon and night for generations at sea and the coast. The habit of being exposed to the sun and bathing in salt water makes their skin burn and can quickly turn black. In addition to changing skin colour, the habit of being exposed to the sun and exposed to salt water for too long can also make hair turn blonde. As a result, most of the Bajo tribe have naturally reddish hair.

“Kalo mau liat Bajo seperti turis? dibelakang. Lorong sebelah, merah semua rambutnya, tapi kulitnya hitam. Biar dibilang hitam baru pirang, mereka juga lakukan perawatan pada tubuhnya” (Wawancara dengan B)

“Nda muliat ini merah rambutnya? Nelayan ini, merah mi rambutnya gara-gara air asin” (Wawancara dengan I) seraya menunjuk temannya yang sedang membantu di Bengkel.

The Bajo are generally ignorant of education. On average, fishermen from the Bajo tribe in Bone have inadequate education. In general, many Bajo people have not graduated from elementary school (for men) and, at most have graduated from high school (for women). According to Ali (2017), there is an attitude of local wisdom or local wisdom which they use as the basis that education is not just a formality. This then requires them to be in existence without having to take higher education. They still hold on to local values by maintaining traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. It is on this basis that they are branded as uneducated people.

“Iya, kalo misalnya ada orang bajo keluar to pasti di ledek begitu karena rata-rata orang disini kurang berpendidikan” (Wawancara dengan UG)

Another reason that reduces the Bajo tribe's interest in education is that the substance of formal education is considered only to find a job to make ends meet. They see the school's spirit as nothing but to make money later. Even though they have no formal education, they can also easily earn money as fishermen. That way, traditional teaching is even considered to hinder them from making a living.



“Ya tergantung dari sukunya juga, daerah sini kan daerah basah, enak ki dapat uang, gampang, disitu mi malas sekolah Pada dasarnya memang disini daerah basah gampang dapat uang” (Wawancara dengan UG)

The lack of formal education makes the development of the Bajo tribe not as good as outsiders. Education is an essential aspect in a country that is needed to improve and advance a country. Quality human resources can be obtained from the educational process so that indirectly education can also determine the welfare of the community. Education is an important part that should be a concern in society, not least in coastal communities. This makes some Bajo tribes not have educated behaviour internalized in schools, so their association with the community becomes hampered.

“Kita mau kasih bersatu ceritanya to tapi ada kadang provokasi orang Bugis begini dan begitu. Kadang mi ada masalah, kadang itu merasa ki di dzolimi sama orangg Bugis. Main bola saja minum dulu baru main, jadi susah” (Wawancara dengan I)

Weak access to public education is a form of marginalization that is very much felt due to the lack of government attention, also from the community itself (Ali, 2017). The same thing was conveyed by Elisa (2013) that the gap to this day is that there are still groups of people who have misconceptions about school education. Even the majority of them are of the view that people can still be better without formal education. The reason reinforces this assumption that people in school only want to get a degree, which can make it easier for them to get a job with a decent income. This skewed perception is thought to be the mastermind behind their low desire or participation in formal education.

On the other hand, the Bajo people are also known to be stubborn and sometimes reluctant to accept input. They identify themselves, and their groups are different from those outsiders. This causes a closed attitude and a narrowing of association, so they are often found doing activities only among the Bajo tribe. According to Arisnawawi & Ismail (2021), an exclusive attitude like this can trigger social turmoil. Such a complete attitude occurs because they often violate regulations from the government when making a living. It also makes them always feel afraid and wary of outsiders

“Kalaupun mau terbuka, susah. Misalnya ini di tau pihak berwajib, bisa di proses. Tapi ada tong polisi tutupiki, kah kalau dibuka akan terjadi konflik lagi nanti karena kerjaannya memang kan halangan (illegal)” (Wawancara dengan I)



From this description, some of the stigma attached to the Bajo tribe from outside communities, especially from the Bugis tribe, are;

- a. Black skinned
- b. Blonde
- c. No education
- d. Less Polite
- e. Stubborn
- f. Closed association so ostracized

The stigma obtained by the Bajo tribe is in the form of Tribal Stigma, where the stigma is related to ethnicity. Their tribe is treated as a second social class. Although they began to settle in Bajoe, Tanete Riattang Timur Subdistrict and socialise with the Bugis natives, it was not easy. Apart from that, they still tend to identify their group as different from the others; other groups, especially the Bugis, also still consider the Bajo tribe as the other who is left behind and ostracized in the association.

The Bajo tribe experienced social isolation so they did not fully get treatment like society in general. Bauman asserts that second-class people in their social position are understood as threats (Lawler, 2021). Therefore, they are considered limited to a mass or crowd rather than defined as a society. Not only that, they are also deliberately opposed to 'us' and are still considered as others.

Resistance of the Bajo Tribe in Facing Stigma

Stigmatization usually occurs in the school environment, with expressions making fun of the Bajo tribe as black people and bars. Fights and riots in schools are often associated with the actions of the Bajo tribe. Bajo is identified with a negative image. In fact, out of anger at the ostracism of his relatives or family, one of the Bajo Tribes even intervened and put up resistance in the hope that they would no longer be mistreated from the outside. Echoes of equality and rejection of tribal hierarchies wriggled in the minds of the Bajo tribe. Conflict is seen as starting from the loss of tolerance for differences.



“Anak Bajo derajatnya dikasih rendah. Kalau bertengkar di sekolah, Bajo terus na ejek-ejek. Saya pernah marah disitu sekolah adekku, sampai ada polisi. Bilangka ‘heh kebanyakan itu perang begitu karena baku jelek-jelekkan’ (Wawancara dengan R)

Physical resistance was once carried out by one of the Bajo tribes when he was still in school. The incident occurred due to the loss of self-control over bullying which was felt to have exceeded the limit by one of his classmates. Similar actions are often carried out by members of other Bajo tribes and trigger conflicts between Bajo tribes and outside tribes. The Bajo tribe's response to insults from outsiders is nothing but to treat them humanely and the same as other people.

“Saya dulu, ketua kelas ku, ku cakar itu, bilang terus anak Bajo anak Bajo dengan mengejek” (Wawancara dengan B)

Now the resistance of the Bajo Tribe is included in the lifestyle dimension. Most of the Bajo tribe behave consumptively by deliberately fond of shopping and splurging as a place to show off so that they are considered not to be left behind. They rarely even cook anymore and follow the lifestyle of modern society by always ordering food and drinks as they please. Most of their income is spent shopping for a glamorous life, while their long-term savings are only sober.

“Ambillah contoh kita punya keluarga ada suami ta baru dapat ki taro lah 5 juta ya itu 5 juta dia pakai beli makanan, tidak masak dirumah, beli beli beli terus” (Wawancara dengan I).

“Paling komen ki suami ta, simpangkan ki kodong sedikit-sedikit” (Wawancara dengan J)

Their shopping flow is broader and smoother because they have used online media such as Shopee, Lazada and the like. From this application, they usually buy clothing items to beauty items. Those who are generally black and blonde because they are often exposed to the sun and saltwater are now also intensely doing body treatments to look beautiful, as is the custom of outsiders.

“Biasa beli barang di shopee, lazada, tiktok. Beli pakaian, jilbab, semuanya, jelasnya apa apa di beli... meski dibilang hitam baru pirang, tetap lakukan perawatan juga haha” (Wawancara dengan B)

The resistance of the Bajo tribe in facing stigma is carried out in various ways. The most prominent resistance amidst the ongoing changes is a lifestyle. They deliberately create



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an image as a consumptive society to resemble outsiders so that they are no longer considered a backward and backward society like their ancestors. This lifestyle resistance has made them move out of the exclusivity craze and instead become an inclusive society.

CONCLUSIONS

The resistance of the Bajo tribe in facing stigma is carried out in various ways. The most prominent resistance amidst the ongoing changes is a lifestyle. They deliberately create an image as a consumptive society to resemble outsiders so that they are no longer considered a backward and backward society like their ancestors. This lifestyle resistance has made them move out of the exclusivity craze and instead become an inclusive society.



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