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Table of Contents

No	Title	Page
1.	Application of Propaganda Techniques by Barisan Nasional in Malacca's State Election 2021 Faridah Dahalan, Ahmad Rizalman Jamal, Kamarul Ariffin, Amalina Jemail & Shamsiah Abd Kadir	1
2.	Could National Museums in Malaysia Provide Varieties of Storytelling on Malay Ethnicities? Yi-Chang Chang & Noor Azmira Mohamed	14
3.	Enhancing Brand Love via Branding Architecture Among Telecommunication Service Provider Users Al Amirul Eimer Ramdzan Ali, Nurzali Ismail & Ahmad Syahmi Ahmad Fadzil	20
4.	Usage of Social Media Related to Muslim Friendly Hospitality Tourism among Users Rosninawati Hussin, Norhayati Rafida Abdul Rahim, Safiyyah Ahmad Sabri & Ahmad Ihab Uwais	32
5.	Investigating Influencing Factors of EFL Preservice Teachers' Identity Construction in Rural Areas Kunto Nurcahyoko, Wanda Giovani & Elisabet Nanda Ayu	46
6.	Hypercorrection among Native Speakers of Bidayuh Biatah when Speaking English Leonardo Ginyun	57
7.	Social Media Usage by Book Publishers in Nigeria: A Social Strategy Cone Perspective Abdulrasheed A. Afolabi & Izzal Asnira Zolkepli	68
8.	Intangible Cultural Heritage and Cultural Knowledge: A Study on the Bidayuh Folktales, Dondan Yvonne Michelle Campbell	80
9.	Tahap Pengetahuan, Sikap dan Kesiediaan Belia Terhadap Pengundian Seawal Umur 18 Tahun di Daerah Batang Padang, Perak Joekryno Joni, Khairul Azam Bahari & Siti Nor Amalina Ahmad Tajuddin	95
10.	Pemahaman Komuniti Maya Terhadap Konsep Kawalan Sosial Mohamad Nazrul Mohd Azmian, Muhammad Ridhwan Sarifin, Jusang Bolong, Nurhafizah Yusoff, Muhammad Hariz Adnan & Mohd Syariefudin Abdullah	110

11.	Kesejahteraan Komunikasi Sebagai Peramal Perpaduan Komuniti di Sarawak Syufiza Iskandar, Jamilah Maliki & Dayang Aizza Maisha Abang Ahmad	121
12.	Kata Kerja dalam Bahasa Iban: Suatu Analisis Morfologi Claudia Vica Bandan & Norazuna Norahim	136
13.	Kesan Pencerobahan Nelayan Asing Terhadap Sosioekonomi Masyarakat Nelayan Tempatan Di Pantai Barat Sabah Astri M Fadzli	145

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE: A STUDY ON THE BIDAYUH FOLKTALES, DONDAN

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Abstract

Intangible cultural heritage is an important element of a community, and it reflects the ways of life as well as the Cultural Knowledge such as the beliefs, norms, values and customs deemed important by the community. Therefore, maintaining and preserving these cultural heritages is needed to ensure that the important Cultural Knowledge is passed on to the younger generation. The aim of this paper is to explore the Cultural Knowledge embedded within these intangible cultural heritages, particularly the Bidayuh folktales or *dondan*. It also discusses the significance of *dondan* in maintaining the Bidayuh culture. The data for this study are derived from folktales documented from four elders residing in three villages in the Bau Jagoi area of Sarawak. The recorded data, which was then transcribed and translated was analysed using thematic and content analysis. The findings from this study revealed a substantial amount of cultural knowledge embedded in the *dondan* which could be a source of education for the younger generation.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage; Cultural Knowledge; folktales; Bidayuh; *dondan*

Introduction

Intangible cultural heritage is an essential part of a cultural community. According to UNESCO (2022), intangible cultural heritage is defined as “traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts” (para. 1). Intangible cultural heritage is said to reflect the way of life of the people as well as Cultural Knowledge deemed important by the people to be passed on to members of their community especially the next generation. There are five broad domains in which intangible cultural heritage can be divided into and they are (1) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (2) Performing arts; (3) Social practices, rituals and festive events; (4) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and (5) Traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO, 2003).

Oral tradition, one of the domains of intangible cultural heritage, is considered to be a rich source of cultural and indigenous knowledge (Pyer-Pererira, 2007). Several studies done on different oral traditions, particularly on oral folk narratives such as folktales, myths and legends, revealed that they contained the beliefs, values and norms as well as customs i.e. Cultural Knowledge of a community, indicating that oral traditions may be regarded as a transmitter of culture (Leimgruber, 2010).

Most cultures around the world, relied on oral tradition as one of the forms of informal education used to educate the younger generation through storytelling, such as the Igbo community in Nigeria (Ibeli, 2015), the Kasena community of North Eastern Ghana (Taluah, 2015), the Dhofar community (ElMahi & al Katheri, 2013), and Indonesian communities (Wardarita & Negoro, 2017) to name a few.

Oral folk narratives (folktales, myths and legends) play a significant role in the dissemination of the belief system of a community. For instance, the Jataka stories of the Laotians in Thailand reflects the belief in the sacred bodi tree, Srimahabodi and covers many areas of life including the relationship between man and man, man and nature, man and the supernatural, the cycle of life, heaven and hell, bad and good, nature and social hierocracy, thus reflecting the cultural values of the Laotians with regards to the Buddhism teaching and worldview (Wongthet, 1989, as cited in Platt, 2016). Various studies done on Malaysian oral folk narratives also revealed that the beliefs and values of the people embedded and reflected in the stories, including the myth of the Timugon-Murut community (Gintod, 1982), and the Malay legends of Lagenda Keramat Melayu from Kedah (Taslim, 2007; Rahman, Zainun, & Hamid, 2015).

Oral folk narratives are also said to contain the norms and customs of a cultural community. For instance, the folktales of the Bukusu of Kenya, which reflect the importance of relationship between living and non-living things in the world, social expectation as well as customs related to the community such as the belief that rain can be “made” (Florence, 2011).

Therefore, oral folk narrative plays a very essential role as a tool to impart knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation. However, due to various factors including modern advancement and urban migration, plus the fact that most of these oral folk narratives are usually passed down through oral means and lack of proper documentation has resulted in a dramatic decrease in the number of oral folk narratives, especially among minor communities. The loss of these oral folk narratives also means the loss of important Cultural Knowledge which contributes to the cultural identity of the people of the community.

Cultural Knowledge is a set of meaningful information and elements containing shared norms among members of a cultural community such as beliefs, values, norms and customs (Hart, 2010; Sharma, 2012; Toelken, 1996). Peoples and Bailey (2011) stated that

The members of a culture share enough knowledge to be capable of behaving in ways that are meaningful and acceptable to others, so that they do not constantly misunderstand one another or have to explain what they are doing; and that the knowledge leads people to behave in ways that work at least well enough to allow them to survive and reproduce themselves and transmit culture. (p. 18)

This shows that through Cultural Knowledge, members of a community as well as outsiders will be able to understand the cultural community better and create mutual respects for different ways of life. These Cultural Knowledge are therefore deemed important by the people and therefore needs to be passed on to members of the community and especially the next generation.

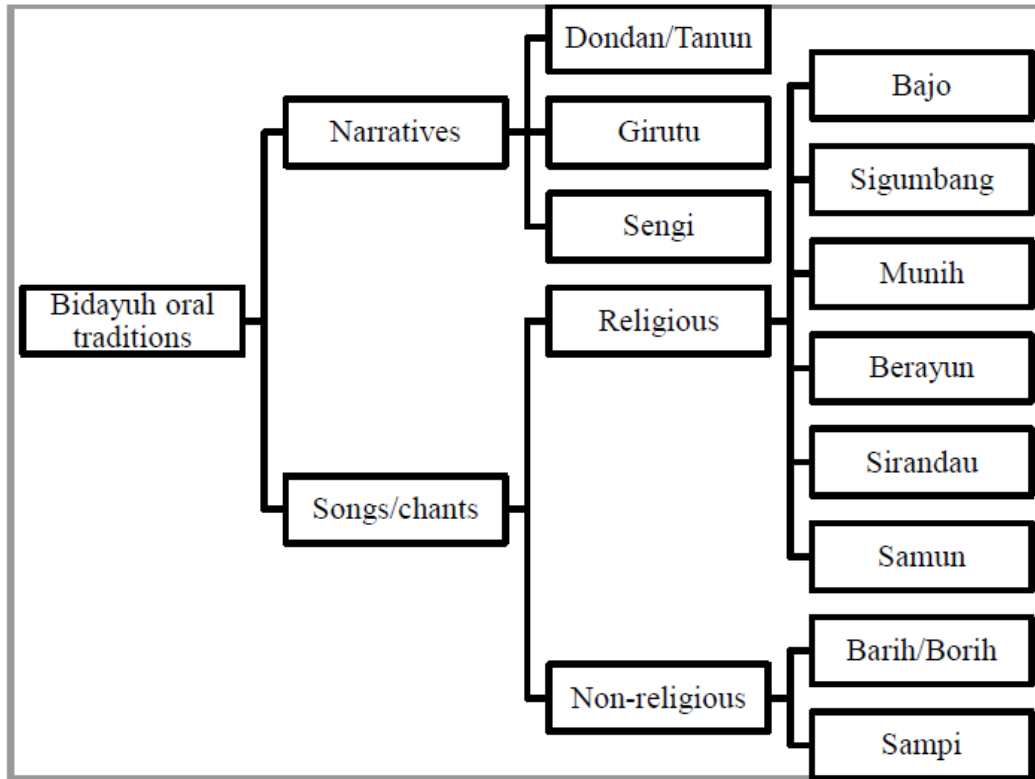
Being a small group of about 8% of the total population of 2.4 million in Sarawak (Sarawak Chief Minister’s Department, 2021), the Bidayuh group is also facing this issue of losing their oral folk narratives. Traditionally, the Bidayuh is an oral community which depended on oral traditions to pass on knowledge to the members of its community. The Bidayuh has a vast collection of oral traditions which were used during different occasions and for different purposes. Namely, there are three main types of oral tradition which are (1) narrative, (2) chants or songs and (3) sayings or proverbs. Figure 1 summarises the different types of oral tradition of the Bidayuh.

Intangible cultural heritage in the form of oral tradition was one of the ways in which the Bidayuh in the olden days passed on knowledge to members in their community, particularly the younger generations. Oral folk narratives or *dondan* were usually told in the evenings after dinner as not only a form of entertainment but indirectly a form of informal education. In fact, like in most oral community around the world, storytellers were often regarded “knowledgeable and important people of the community” (Campbell, 2020) and were regarded as highly respected people.

However, the number of oral traditions is decreasing among the Bidayuh community, especially among the younger generations (Campbell, Chuah, & Ting, 2012). Even though they have now developed their own writing system, published dictionaries (Nissom, 2013) and wordlists (Dayak Bidayuh National Association, 2013), their oral traditions have not been documented and studied well enough.

Figure 1

The different types of Bidayuh oral traditions (adapted from Majlis Adat Istiadat, 2001)



Most studies on Bidayuh oral tradition have mainly focused on collecting, documenting and retelling of these oral traditions (Gadug, 1991; 1992; Langgi, 1976; Nuek, 2002; Nyadoh, 1954, 1963; Pinye, 1997; Ridu, Jitab and Noeb, 2001; Simigiaat & Mijad, 1986; Staal, 1940). Other studies on Bidayuh traditions include Rojem (1998) who studied the narrative structure of the Siburan Bidayuh oral tradition, as well as Zaini (1991), who analysed a collection of Sarawak ethnic folktales, included Bidayuh as one of the ethnic groups studied and attempted to categorised them and Rutan (2007) also categorised the different genres of Bidayuh folktales.

This article thus, explores the Cultural Knowledge including the beliefs, customs, values and norms embedded in the *dondan* of the Bidayuh, particularly the Bau-Jagoi group. It also discusses the significance of the *dondan* in relation to the Cultural Knowledge found.

Purpose of study

This study discussed the significance of intangible cultural heritage, particularly oral folk narratives, and its role as a tool to disseminate the Cultural Knowledge within the Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi of Sarawak. The objectives of this study were to: (1) analyse the Cultural Knowledge embedded within the Bidayuh

folktales, or *dondan*; and (2) explore the role of these folktales as a tool to disseminate the Bidayuh cultural knowledge.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, 19 folktales were documented from four elders residing in three villages in the Bau Jagoi area of Sarawak, namely Kupuo Sarasot, Kupuo Stass and Kupuo Duyoh. These folktales were collected via audio recording and were later transcribed and then translated into both English and Bahasa Melayu. Each *dondan* collected is about four to five minutes long and the total duration of all *dondan* collected is 100 minutes long.

To help gain more insight into the cultural knowledge found in the *dondan*, interviews were conducted with five informants from Kupuo Sarasot, aged 60-90, and these are the last few remaining villagers who still practised the traditional Bidayuh religion, *adat oma*. These five informants were selected based on their knowledge of the culture and lifestyle of the Bidayuh Jagoi and they included a priestess, a priest, one of the storytellers, a farmer and a housewife.

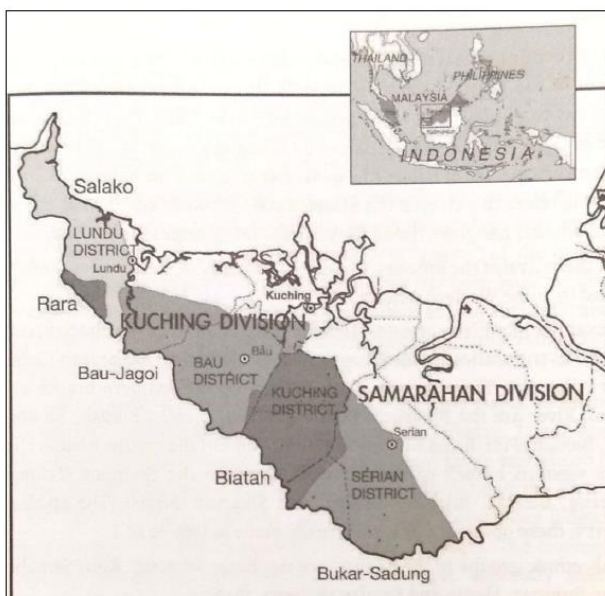
Using content and thematic analysis, the *dondan* were then analysed to discover the beliefs, values, norms and customs embedded within them.

Bidayuh Oral folk narratives, *dondan*

The Bidayuh, according to Chang (2002, 2004) are said to have had their early settlements in the coastal areas in Western Kalimantan, Indonesia, namely, the three ancestral homes; the Sungkung Mountain, Bugau and Gajing Mountain and later spread to the interiors of Sarawak due to various factors including expansion, the need for more farmland, political differences as well as diseases and piracy attacks.

Figure 2

Locations of Bidayuh villages in the four districts in Sarawak (Rensch et al., 2012)



Today, Bidayuh villages are found in the Kuching and Serian Divisions in Sarawak. Figure 2 shows that geographically, the Bidayuh are divided based on their four areas. Linguistically, there are six main

groups of Bidayuh which are the Biatah, Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong, Tringgus/Sembaan, Salako and Rara (Bonggara, Kayad, & Campbell, 2017), whereby differences among these dialects are in the pronunciation, inventory of sounds used, especially in the lexical items (Rensch et al., 2012).

In the olden days, the Bidayuh did not have a proper writing system (Minos, 2000) and therefore depended on oral means to pass down cultural matters including their oral traditions and oral folk narratives, ranging from songs, chants, poetry and narratives. These oral traditions were an important source of education for the Bidayuh community whereby values, norms, beliefs and customs which were deemed important by the Bidayuh elders, were passed on to other members in the community especially the younger generations (Robert Jacob Ridu, Ritikos Jitab & Jonas Noeb, 2001). One such oral folk narratives is the *dondan* which encompasses folktales, myths and legends.

Findings

The *dondan* were categorised according to the themes of each *dondan*. Table 1. shows the division of themes of the *dondan*.

Table 1

List of Bidayuh dondan collected based on themes

Themes	Dondan
Origin of rice, <i>padi</i>	Dondan Tiburit
Origin of Gawai and adat related to it.	Dondan Gawai Dondan Gomang Dondan Borih Dondan Sikau Bunga'
Omen birds	Dondan Ayang
Headhunting	Dondan Siak Bigimang Dondan Sibunyuah Dondan Siak Bigumang
Taboos related to nature	Dondan Ronai Dondan Manduk Ruwoi
Origin of the Bidayuh and heroes	Dondan Do'ot Dondan Kisak duwoh Kusiak Dondan Komang
Moral	Dondan Oyung duwoh Diya' Dondan Pironduk Jaji Raja Dondan Pironduk Odi Nuboh Dondan Lomow Dondan Miskin Silu'

Basically, the *dondan* can be divided into seven main themes – the origin of rice, the origin of Gawai, stories about omen birds, headhunting, taboos related to nature, origin of the Bidayuh and their heroes and lastly are stories with moral values.

Explicitly, these themes reflect the Cultural Knowledge – beliefs, values, norms and customs of the Bidayuh. However, further analysis of the *dondan* would reveal more of their Cultural Knowledge, especially those which are implicitly stated.

Customs

Customs “is a widely accepted, traditional way of behaving or doing something that is unique to a specific society, location, or time” (Rangel, 2022, p. 1). In this study, the *dondan* revealed three main customs which are *Gawai*, *Ngoyu* or hunting and *Biumuh* or farming. These *dondan* tell the origins of the customs, why it is conducted, how to conduct it and taboos related to these customs. Each custom is related to the other Cultural Knowledge - the beliefs, norms and values, which are related directly or indirectly to these customs.

Gawai.

Dondan Gawai, *Dondan Gomang*, *Dondan Borih* and *Dondan Sikau Bunga'* are related to the *Gawai* and its ritual. These stories tell the origin of *Gawai* and how to conduct it (*Dondan Gawai*), the origin of the Priestess and their chants (*Dondan Borih*), taboos related to *Gawai* (*Dondan Gomang*, *Dondan Borih* and *Dondan Gawai*) and elements related to *Gawai* (*Dondan Sikau Bunga'*).

Basically, *Gawai* is a festivity often associated with the end of the harvest season. The word *Gawai* means “celebration” in Bidayuh. A *Gawai* is a complex and thorough process which is performed by special and chosen people in the Bidayuh community, namely, the priest or *Kitua Gawai*, the priestess or *Dayung Borih* and the *Penyigar* or chanters. The *Gawai* needs to be performed correctly and carefully especially the number of offerings presented to the spirits of the ancestors, *Iyeng Sumuk Babai* and spirit of the rice, *Iyeng Podi*. Basically, the purpose of a *Gawai* is to give thanks to these spirits for the bountiful harvest of the year and to ask for blessing for the coming year. However, there are also other types of *Gawai* which is performed to ask for permission and blessing before a certain rice related activity is carried out. This is to ensure that the rice planting process would go smoothly, without any misfortune or unfavourable events from happening.

In *Dondan Gawai* and *Dondan Borih* it is revealed that the custom of *Gawai* or *adat Gawai* was taught by the spiritual beings. This indicates that the Bidayuh believed that their customs are passed down by the spirits themselves indicating the influence that these spiritual beings have on the traditional Bidayuh's belief system.

Ngoyu.

Gawai, however, is not only limited to rice and rice planting but it is also connected to *Ngoyu*, which is the headhunting activity. This *Gawai* is known as *Gawai Mukah* or *Gawai Katang*, where the skull obtained from the headhunting expedition is cleansed and later dried to be kept in the Bidayuh community house, *Baruk*.

Dondan Sibunyuah provides a clear description of *odi ngoyu* whereby the main character, Sibunyuah, went on a headhunting expedition with his uncle to avenge the death of his father who was killed by the seven-headed monster, Katangkatuong. After the killing of Katangkatuong, a kind spirit by the name of Babukuai instructed Sibunyuah to hold a *Gawai Katang* so that the spirit of Katangkatuong would protect the village. In the *dondan*, the steps or procedures for *Ngoyu* such as the preparation before going on the expedition, the appropriate age for *Ngoyu*, the perfect time to go *Ngoyu*, what one should do during the expedition, who should go, for what purpose as well as what to do after the headhunting expedition are described in detail.

Biumuh.

Biumuh refers to the rice planting process which the Bidayuh relies on as their source of food and income. In a number of the *dondan*, the *biumuh* activity is indirectly described. The excerpt below indicates the planting process:

sama' eh mu'uok nau, tiak man, 'kajon sama' mu' obuo' nobong,' in eh. ba sama' eh mokuo' nobong, mitie' man geh, sindo' eh jaman eh man. kajon sama' eh obuo' nobong. mokuo' nobong mitie' odop eh nya' man, sindie' reh ota' eh bisowa'-sowa' neh, nog ngokas, nog nuruk, nog nyobu, nog ngutuom. keh nya' man. di' sindo' eh oda' man.

[“Do not eat yet, your father just started clearing the field,’ the mother said. The father has not finished clearing...After the father finished clearing, he asked for food. “Wait until your father finished cutting the trees,’ she said...waited until the father finished cutting the trees. After cutting the trees, he asked for food. That is how it is for years, after planting, after weeding, after clearing, after harvesting.]

(Dondan Sikau Bunga')

Beliefs

Analysis of the *dondan* also revealed a number of beliefs among the Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi, particularly the traditional Bidayuh. In the *dondan*, the traditional Bidayuh believed in the existence of spirits around them which they believed influenced nearly all aspects of their lives. First of all, they believed in the existence of a Higher being, known as *Topa*, as can be seen in *Dondan Kisiak duwoh Kusak* and *Dondan Lomow*.

Topa moh jadi mogan ijan, yoh mogan binatang, sinadas ragi' manduk. Binatang-binatang suo eh, jok piayuh binatang eh ngan rusa duwoh do'ot ngan piayuh eh lrh.

[He calls upon the animals, insects and the birds. All the animals from the smallest to the largest]

(Dondan Kisiak duwoh Kusiak)

Topa masi' kirin eh. oda' Konang muun ngubat eh.

(Later that day, God feel pity. Let konang heal him.)

(Dondan Lomow)

Here, *Topa* is described as being able to control the Earth and also help the people.

Besides that, there were also mentions of other types of spiritual beings and in different forms with different purposes. For instance, *iyeng* (spirit/soul) in *Dondan Manduk Ruwoi* and specifically *Iyeng Podi* in *Dondan Tiburit munuo* (ghost/demon) is mentioned in *Dondan Ayang* and *Dondan Gomang, gamut tibo* (farm ghost) in *Dondan Gomang* and *gamut tana* (ghost of the land) in *Dondan Borih, muot* (demon) in *Dondan Sibunyuah* and *Dondan Ayang* as well as *Konang* (Bird Spirit) in *Dondan Lomow* and spirits of great Bidayuh warrior, *Komang* and priestess, *Triu* in *Dondan Sibunyuah*.

Another interesting element reflected in the *dondan* is that the Bidayuh believed that they have a unique relationship with the spiritual world. For one, it is reflected that they can have children with spiritual beings, as told in *Dondan Ronai* and *Dondan Ayang* where both main characters have offsprings with the spirits. They are also able to communicate with these spirits, in which they could visit the spirits in the sky, *Rongit* using a special plant know as *Bunga'* and a tool made out of rattan call *Taya* as told in

Dondan Sikau Bunga'. These two items are also used during the *Gawai* ceremony for the *Dayung Borih* to travel and meet the spirits of the ancestors in the other world.

The Bidayuh beliefs in the existence of spiritual beings is indirectly reflected in their customs. For instance, they believe that it is essential that permission and blessing is obtained from the Rice Spirit or *Iyeng Podi* and Spirits of the Ancestors, *Iyeng Sumuk Babai* before any activity related to planting rice is done and this is done in the form of a *Gawai*. Failure to do so would result in misfortune or unfavourable events such as attacks from insects and wild animals on the rice crops, members of the village getting sick or die or even an accident while carrying out the planting process.

In the *dondan*, it was also mentioned that these spirits taught the Bidayuh matters related to their *adat*, such as how to conduct the *Gawai*:

Sikora mo' ngajar eh pakai gawia. Nang ragu gawia in neh. Ngan ku ngajar mu' da' mu' bigawia in neh. Sak mu bitanda' bigawia podi in neh. Bigawia pinimur pingajih in eh. Yoh mo' nai eh. Nai gawia.oni wat nye' nai eh in neh. Sibungas eh, dio' in eh nyari' sukuoi, nyari' pogang, nak suka' eh in eh nak de' tun tonju' in neh. mo'uo noh nye' mo' nyari' baris oda' pat sariiek in neh. nye' mo' mitia poi pat nye' mo' nai sikapul in neh, pabila sadis pat, pat bidiap pat ngisariiek.bai basa de' juk, juk geh, sariiek bai eh juk geh. Ba moi, moi geh in neh. Yoh wat noh wat eh ngajar Ayang neh. Jadin yoh mo' mo'uo ngajar eh, yoh mo' nang mota' nai tonju'. Inoh de' nang Sikora neh. Kan ya' ngutuom in eh nang soni' noh Ayang. Ayang mota' ke tonju' nai de' paguh. Yoh mo' mota' ke sarah tonju' mun tih neh.

[The star taught him about *Gawai* and how to sing the songs of *Gawai*. I will teach you so that you would (do) the *Gawai*. So that you could dance the *Gawai* of *pod*, to conduct (do) *Gawai*, the offerings of *Gawai* include dancing ritual for the Rice spirit as it is known as *Pinumul pingajih*. Preparations like the *sukoi*, *pogang* (glutinous rice in bamboo), vinegar of sort. Offerings are then placed at the verandah of the longhouse, all aligned into four lines with eight sets of offerings requested by the star.]

(*Dondan Ayang*)

Podi, rice grain.

The Bidayuh regard rice as a sacred entity that needs to be respected. They believe that the rice grain originates from the sky and is the food of Spiritual Beings as reflected in *Dondan Tiburit*. In the *dondan*, *tiburit* or house lizard stole the rice grains from *Sikora*, the brightest star in the sky.

Yoh mo kowok eh, yoh mo muun kaang tana' ma'an duwoh tiburit. Tiburit tukiak tana', yoh ma'an tana'. Ma'ad ke rongit kanih, yoh ma'an tubi. Yoh suak ma'an tubi. tiburit mo' muun kaang tana'... Jadin tiburit moh ma'ad tia' ke rongit tia', yoh mo mitie' odop eh mit eh. Mitie' kroja koyuh noh neh in neh. Tih de nang ku pinimul pingajih neh in neh. Jadin yeh mog ye mit eh in neh. Tia' nya'a kirin eh idoh in neh. Mit na' de ting oping turuoi ku in eh. Yoh mo' mit taruh kruang nak' eh de' oping turuoi eh, yoh mo' muun.

[It (house lizard) was tired and went to eat. All it could find was dirt. It went up to the sky and saw that everybody was eating rice. House lizard ate the rice as well. House lizard stole three grains of rice by hiding them in its private parts and went back down to Earth]

(Dondan Tiburit)

In *Dondan Tiburit*, house lizard stole three grains of rice from the sky and brought them down to Earth, planting it and sharing it with humans.

Rice is not only their staple food and the main source of energy for the people, but it is also perceived as a symbol of health, wealth and wisdom as reflected in *Dondan Tiburit* which tells the origin of rice.

Yoh ngan paksa pingoma oto' nang ba' ya' mogan iyeng podi eh nang mu' pingajis sikadod sikonyang in eh neh. ...Nikan noh ta' to' tonok to' mo' ma'an, otin to' madod, turang to' mo' poras oda' eh in neh. Noh neh sikadod sikonyang in neh.

[That is what we call it pinimul pingajih, he said. That is the one called sikadod sikonyang, he said. The one we cook and eat, making our heart numb, our bones become hot because of it, he said. That is what we call sikadod sikonyang, he said. That is why house lizard said it is pinimul pingaji sikadod sikonyang he said]

(Dondan Tiburit, L12-13 & L10-11)

Omen birds

The Bidayuh also believed in the existence of omen birds, which are considered to be messengers of omen, usually bad ones. This is also one of the beliefs and practices of the traditional Bidayuh. Similar to what was told in *Dondan Ayang*, if the sound of certain birds such as the Griya' (Red-headed Tailorbird), Kutieng (Tailorbird) and Bubut (Crow) is heard, it is best that certain plans and activities be put to hold or even postponed to another time. If these warnings are ignored, it is believed that bad luck may befall the person or even the village, as told in *Dondan Ayang*.

Values

Values is defined as the "beliefs that are held about what is right and wrong and what is important in life" (Idang, 2015, p. 98). Values influence how members of a community act and behave and are often based on what the people believe as being acceptable for themselves and their community. The findings from the *dondan* analysed reflect values deemed important by the Bidayuh including respect, loyalty and hospitality.

Respect.

Respect is one of the most prominent value one can find in the 19 *dondan* and it is not limited to respect among human beings, but also respect towards spirits and nature.

Respect to nature is often associated with respect towards the spirits. Since the Bidayuhs believe that nature itself consists of spirits, respect to nature is vital and this is reflected in the *dondan*. As reflected in *Dondan Ayang*, the calling of the omen birds should be heeded. This can also be associated with observing certain taboos and signs which they believe comes from the spirits before they start any activity connected to nature such as farming or hunting. They would stop whatever they are doing if they encounter these signs and this is a form of respect, not only to nature but indirectly also to the spirits. This is clearly stated in *Dondan Gomang*:

Mo' to' ngawah yoh, mo' to' dapod pironduk potod bak eh reh, dapod bokah buku keh, dapod turuoh manduk keh, dapod onak manduk keh, yoh gamut iyoh in neh.

[“After we find the place, if we find a dead mousedeer, a type of knotted liana plant that is believed to bring bad luck, birds’ eggs, or chick, those are actually ghost.’ He said.]

(Dondan Gomang)

This excerpt reflects how the Bidayuh are careful about selecting their place for rice planting by observing certain omens or signs that may be bad luck. They believe that these signs are left by ghosts or gamut to indicate that the land belongs to the ghost. These bad lucks usually come in the forms of pests’ attack on the rice grains, accidents or even poor harvest. To appease these evil spirits, the Bidayuhs believe these spirits be given offerings in the form of food:

Yoh ndai oto' rata nyopak turun tana' neh. ogi' muot nang "tiku" in neh. Misti ya' ngin maan, muot noh keh, yoh idoh odi kaso oto'.

[That is why we must clear the forest because the ghost claim it is theirs. That is why we must give them food so that they will not disturb us.]

(Dondan Gomang)

Another way in which respect to spirit is portrayed in the *dondan* is in *Dondan Sibunyuah*, whereby the main character conducts a *Gawai Mukah* for the spirits of the skull:

Yoh mo obuak tiyak noh nog ondu ngumi ponyap bak eh noh. Ningak bak eh noh tiyak noh, yoh mo birondeeng. "otok itih tiek pagi, waki-waki otok nyak Mukah bak itih?" in eh. "otok odi tod nok torun, jak eh moduak, buuh, daang bori," in eh. "odi kadi kalik Mukah diyok, pinuak otok doik," in eh. "Jok eh odi matek togung, matek kuwan, matek sangoh, matek eh sawak, matek eh oni-oni pakai otto Mukah," in eh. "Ogi' de' sojuak, de' telaga in sukup bigatung, gaguam bukuo, ngan eh sanguah man in oni-oni," in eh. "mo ngikumuak ngan Manduk duk kaNohk," in eh.

(They later then finished until evening time, pack the head. Saw the head and they discussed. “How are we going to do the Mukah tomorrow morning?” they said. “We go and send it to the jungle so that it will rot, smell in the house,” he said. “We go look (prepare) for Mukah first, our things we do not have,” he said. “let us go and hunt for bushy crested hornbill/warrior, hunt crop of bird, hunt for anything that we need for our Mukah,” he said. There are some upstream, at the tall waterhole, hold the bush knife’. He said.)

(Dondan Sibunyuah)

Respect to human beings, on the other hand, is reflected in the act of hospitality of the people especially to guests. One such example could be found in *Dondan Sikau Bunga'*, whereby all members of a family must be present before eating:

ndo', oku ya' man, ' in eh. mba' diyo' man, sama' mu' gituong eh nau, ' in sindo' eh.

[Mother, I want to eat, he said. Don't eat yet, your father has not finished working, said the mother.]

(Dondan Sikau Bunga')

Another example is from *Dondan Lomow*, whereby Lomow wanted to wait for his mother before he ate the mystical bird, Konang:

“kajon sindo’ ku nun siru’, keh oku man mu’u,” in eh.

[“Wait until my mother comes home from looking for firewood, then I will eat you,” he said.]

(Dondan Lomow)

These two excerpts show how vital eating with family members is and waiting for all members to be present before eating can be regarded as a sign of respect.

Loyalty.

The value of loyalty is also reflected both explicitly and implicitly in the *dondan*. In the story of Sibunyuah, the main character, Sibunyuah, is said to avenge the death of his father which directly reflects loyalty of a son to the father.

Loyalty is also reflected in the friendship whereby friends regarded themselves as blood brothers and help each other in times of trouble as depicted in *Dondan Tiburit* and *Dondan Siak Bigimang*:

De mo wat noh paguh to bisikie’ bisudi’, biayuo bimadih neh, oto’ in neh.

[It is good that we become like brothers and sisters and being related to one another]

(Dondan Tiburit)

paguh manah sa’ girungun odop duwoh madih tiya’ ijok mun yoh mo’ ayuh.

[It is good that they would play together until they grow up.]

(Dondan Siak Bigimang)

Hospitality.

Another value one can find in the *dondan* is the value of hospitality. This is evident in *Dondan Si Ronai* and *Dondan Sikau Bunga’* whereby the characters in these *dondan* welcome and invited their guests into their homes and served them food and ensure they are comfortable by preparing them a place to rest as reflected in the following excerpts.

yoh mo’ ma’ad dek bori tiya’, ndog bori tie’ tiya’ neh, sama’ eh ndai pinguman dek sisi’ sa’an eh tiya’ neh, man, mokuo’ man boos.

[he went into the house, when he reached the house, his father prepared delicious food for him, after eating, he slept]

(Dondan Ronai)

In the excerpt, the child and his mother went up to visit his father, who is the Moon King and resides in the sky. The father shows hospitality and welcomes them by preparing food and a place to sleep, as most Bidayuh would do for their guests.

In *Dondan Sikau Bunga'*, the grandparents welcomed their grandson by inviting him into their homes and preparing food for him.

Besides these three values, five other *dondan*, namely *Dondan Oyung duwoh Diya'*, *Dondan Pironduk Jaji Raja*, *Dondan Pironduk Odi Nuboh*, *Dondan Lomow* and *Dondan Miskin Silu'* also tells other values. For instance, in *Dondan Lomow* and *Dondan Miskin Silu'*, the moral of the story is that not to judge one based on appearance and status since both *dondan* tells the story of how the fates of the main characters changed from negative to positive. In *Dondan Oyung duwoh Diya'*, *Dondan Pironduk Jaji Raja*, and *Dondan Pironduk Odi Nuboh*, again, the moral is not to judge others based on appearance since *Diya'* (tortoise) and *Pironduk* (mousedeer) are small, they are often belittled and bullied by the bigger animals, however eventually, due to their intelligence, they managed to trick the other animals and thrive.

Norms

Norms are basically rule that a group of people agree upon and share among members of the community. It relates how one should behave in various situations and to various people. The *dondan* revealed mainly the norms for surviving which are important for the Bidayuh Bau Jagoi community and this includes adapting to nature and having survival skills.

Being a community which lived in the jungle in the olden days, the need to survive was crucial for the Bidayuh. Survival in this sense refers to living in the jungle, which was reflected in the *dondan*.

In *Dondan Sibunyuah* and *Dondan Siak Bigimang*, the characters are portrayed as avenging the death of their father (*Dondan Sibunyuah*) or defending their village (*Dondan Siak Bigimang*). This is where the custom of *Ngoyu* comes in, whereby the Bidayuh regarded the practice of headhunting as a form of self-defence. It was done to either to avenge attacks on their villages or to warn enemies of their strength and bravery.

In relation to handling difficult situations and survival, another form of survival is through trickery. Trickery, as indicated in the *dondan* such as *Dondan Pironuk Odi Nuboh*, *Pironduk Jaji Raja*, *Dondan Oyung duwoh Diyak* and *Dondan Miskin Siluk*. The characters managed to escape difficult situation and hardship by using trickery. Here, it reflects the ability to use the mind to get out of difficult situations and is related to wisdom.

Conclusion

Intangible cultural heritage contains a vast amount of Cultural Knowledge which are deemed important by the people of a cultural community to be shared and passed on to members of its community and the next generation. The Bidayuh oral traditions, in particular, the *dondan* played a crucial role in every aspect of the peoples' lives especially so that they are used as a source of informal education.

The findings revealed that the *dondan* contained a vast amount of Cultural Knowledge embedded in the folktales which could be a source of education for the younger generation. Based on studies done on oral folk narratives, it is clear that these narratives do reflect the beliefs, values, norms and customs deemed important by the people of the community to be passed down to the next generation.

However, due to modernisation as well as the coming of new religions such as Christianity and Islam, these oral traditions are forgotten, especially the ones with religious beliefs. Even storytelling sessions were stories of the past. Because of these factors, it has resulted in the loss of these oral traditions as well as the loss of the beliefs, values, norms and customs of the community. It could also lead to the loss of cultural identity, knowledge and heritage of these people. Being a minority group in Malaysia, the Bidayuh is facing danger of losing their oral traditions as well as their Cultural Knowledge forever due to modernisation and urbanisation. Therefore, maintaining and preserving the cultural

heritage is needed to ensure that the important cultural knowledge is passed on to the younger generation.

It is hoped that more studies on the oral traditions of indigenous communities would be conducted in the future, not only to preserve the oral traditions themselves but also to preserve the Cultural Knowledge embedded within and to understand the cultural group members themselves. By studying these artistic expressions, as one of the components of culture, one would get a better understanding of how people of the community perceive the world and at the same time, gain an understanding on their Cultural Knowledge. This then creates an awareness and understanding about the cultural heritage of a particular cultural community, especially among the youngsters. It instills in them, their forefather's cultural identity, thus establishing their own cultural identity. This in turn, establishes social and cultural unity among members of the community as well as a sense of belonging among its members.

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Mekanisma kawalan sosial

Proses kawalan sosial dapat dilihat dalam banyak cara supaya masyarakat tidak melakukan penyimpangan terhadap peraturan, nilai dan norma sosial. Berdasarkan kajian “Kawalan Sosial dan Pembentukan Inovasi Keselamatan dalam Kalangan Komuniti Perumahan Kos Rendah di Putatan, Sabah” oleh Mohd Atif dan Novel (2017) bertujuan untuk memahami pandangan komuniti lokal tentang jenis kawalan sosial yang sesuai diwujudkan dan melihat jenis inovasi keselamatan yang telah dibentuk oleh komuniti perumahan kos rendah di Sabah. Kajian ini berbentuk kualitatif dan menggunakan Teori Kawalan Sosial oleh Hirschi (1969). Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa makna selamat boleh dibahagikan kepada dua tema iaitu selamat terhadap nyawa dan harta benda dan hubungan antara komuniti. Makna selamat berdasarkan nyawa merujuk kepada selamat terhadap diri sendiri, keluarga, jiran, haiwan peliharaan, harta benda, gangguan orang asing, kesihatan dan kebersihan, dan bencana alam.

Makna selamat yang melibatkan hubungan antara komuniti berasaskan hubungan sosial, nilai moral, kesepaduan sosial, dan hubungan bersama agensi kerajaan, swasta dan badan bukan kerajaan (NGO). Demikian selari dengan teori kawalan sosial di mana tumpuan komuniti untuk meningkatkan strategi mengawal tingkah laku manusia yang membawa kepada kepatuhan kepada peraturan masyarakat. Demikian, pendekatan komuniti Taman Teluk Villa, ini selari dalam mendidik, membimbing dan berfungsi secara universal untuk mengawal tingkahlaku masyarakat sekeliling disamping bekerjasama dengan pihak PDRM untuk memperkukuhkan pematuhan dari segi undang-undang. Hal ini menunjukkan bahawa kedua-dua tema ini mendorong kepada proses kawalan sosial agar komuniti perumahan kos rendah berasa selamat dikawasan mereka. Dalam aspek komuniti maya, indikator seperti mendidik dan membimbing merupakan salah satu aspek kawalan sosial yang boleh dipraktikkan dalam mengawal tingkah laku manusia menggunakan media sosial. Melalui didikan dan bimbingan, masyarakat dapat berfikir dengan rasional sebelum melakukan sesuatu tingkah laku yang boleh menyebabkan kesalahan dalam menggunakan media sosial.

Seterusnya, proses kawalan sosial dapat dilihat berdasarkan kajian Nur Hafizah Yusoff (2018), mengenai “Kepentingan Kawalan Sosial dalam Menangani Salah laku Membabitkan Penyokong Bola sepak di Malaysia”, beliau menjelaskan tentang kawalan sosial secara internal dan external yang mampu mengekang salah laku dalam kalangan penyokong bola sepak di Malaysia. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif. Hasil dapatan kajian mendapati bahawa majoriti responden bersetuju bahawa proses kawalan sosial secara internal sangat penting dalam aspek kawalan terhadap emosi bersikap profesional, perlu lebih berdisiplin dan perlu mempunyai semangat kesukanan yang tinggi. Kajian ini juga tidak menolak bahawa proses kawalan sosial secara external juga perlu seperti denda dan hukuman oleh pihak FAM, tangkapan dan dijatuhkan hukuman oleh mahkamah turut perlu dikuatkuasakan dengan lebih mendalam bagi menangani salah laku membabitkan penyokong bola sepak di Malaysia. Jika dilihat dalam aspek komuniti maya, kawalan sosial internal seperti bersikap profesional, dan berdisiplin adalah perlu dalam menggunakan media sosial. Sekiranya pengguna mempunyai sikap ini, ianya sudah pasti dapat mengawal dan juga menjaga tingkah laku mereka dalam menggunakan media sosial.

Selain itu, komuniti memainkan peranan yang penting sebagai agen kawalan sosial dalam masyarakat. Berdasarkan kajian oleh Muhammad Izzuddin dan Nur Hafizah (2020) iaitu, “Komuniti Sebagai Agen Kawalan Sosial Tidak Formal Dalam Menangani Masalah Sosial” menunjukkan bahawa komuniti bertanggungjawab sebagai salah satu agen kawalan sosial dalam memastikan komuniti yang didiami bersih daripada masalah sosial. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan pelaksanaan aktiviti gotong-royong oleh komuniti menjadi penyumbang kepada kawalan sosial tidak formal dalam komuniti. Selain itu, program kolaborasi antara unit komuniti dan agensi lain mampu memupuk kerjasama dan memberi manfaat kepada kedua-dua belah pihak. Aktiviti kolaborasi ini juga mampu menarik minat penduduk untuk melibatkan diri sebagai peserta dalam program tersebut seterusnya mewujudkan nilai sosial dalam komuniti. Antara program atau aktiviti yang lain ialah aktiviti keagamaan, Skim Ronda Sukarela (SRS),

aktiviti kesukanan, aktiviti kebudayaan, aktiviti mengikut blok kediaman dan amalan cakna persekitaran sosial mendorong kepada kawalan sosial secara tidak formal oleh komuniti. Aktiviti seperti gotong royong dan juga terlibat dengan program-program kemasyarakatan mampu membentuk jati diri yang baik dalam kalangan masyarakat. Hal ini secara tidak langsung dapat memupuk nilai-nilai yang baik dalam diri masyarakat. Dalam aspek penggunaan media sosial, apabila jati diri sudah dibentuk dengan baik, masyarakat akan melakukan kebaikan termasuklah dalam menggunakan media sosial.

Seterusnya, kajian daripada Khairi Nabil dan Azlina (2021) iaitu “Peranan Keluarga Dalam Kawalan Sosial Tingkah Laku Devian Mahasiswa” ke atas 60 orang responden yang terdiri daripada mahasiswa pengajian tinggi awam di Perlis. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti bentuk-bentuk kawalan sosial yang dilaksanakan oleh keluarga mahasiswa, jenis-jenis tingkah laku devian dan juga faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi tingkah laku tersebut. Empat aspek kawalan sosial yang dijadikan sebagai indikator kajian ialah kawalan sosial tidak langsung, kawalan sosial langsung, kawalan sosial positif, dan kawalan sosial negatif merangkumi norma, nilai, ganjaran dan hukuman. Hasilnya menunjukkan responden mengetahui, menyedari dan mematuhi hampir setiap bentuk kawalan sosial yang dilaksanakan oleh keluarga mereka. Selain itu, majoriti responden bersetuju bahawa kaedah kawalan sosial tidak langsung berbentuk nilai dan kawalan negatif berbentuk hukuman adalah lebih berkesan dan berpengaruh dalam mengawal tingkah laku mereka. Bentuk-bentuk kawalan sosial keluarga didapati merupakan pengaruh utama dalam penentuan tingkah laku mahasiswa sama ada menjadi devian ataupun tidak.

Kajian yang dilakukan oleh Mohd Suffien, Maizatul, dan Mohd Helmi (2018) iaitu “Skala Psikometrik: Perspektif Kawalan Sosial Tidak Formal dan Pengukuhan Nilai Integriti Golongan Muda”. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa kawalan sosial tidak formal dapat membentuk peribadi golongan muda yang berintegriti disamping dapat menjimatkan kos keselamatan sosial. Kajian ini juga menggunakan Teori Kawalan Sosial oleh Hirschi (1969) dan mendapati gabungan antara komponen keterikatan, kepercayaan, keterlibatan, dan komitmen mampu memupuk nilai integriti dalam generasi muda. Tambahan juga, kawalan sendiri juga penting dalam proses kawalan sosial di mana mempunyai disiplin yang tinggi dapat mengawal diri daripada berlakunya penyimpangan.

Berdasarkan kajian-kajian lepas ini, terdapat beberapa kelompangan yang penyelidik dapati hasil daripada pembacaan kajian-kajian lepas. Antaranya ialah kebanyakan kajian-kajian lepas membincangkan tentang proses kawalan sosial yang dilakukan secara fizikal. Kajian ini memfokuskan kepada proses kawalan sosial yang dilakukan secara dalam talian dengan beberapa indikator yang penyelidik peroleh hasil daripada kajian lepas ini. Walaupun kajian-kajian lepas ada menekankan dimensi-dimensi seperti kawalan sosial formal dan tidak formal, internal dan eksternal, kawalan sosial positif dan negatif, namun, ia tidak khusus terhadap komuniti maya itu sendiri. Namun begitu, indikator dalam setiap artikel yang dianalisis boleh dikaitkan dengan mekanisma kawalan sosial dalam kepenggunaan media sosial.

Implikasi kawalan sosial

Kesan atau implikasi kawalan sosial dapat dilihat dalam banyak aspek. Dalam kajian Mohd Azul dan Nurul Madiha (2007) bertajuk “Pengalaman dan Kesedaran Pengguna Dewasa terhadap Isu Pengawasan di Media Sosial” membincangkan tentang pengalaman, kesedaran dan pengetahuan pengguna terhadap isu pengawasan ketika mengguna media sosial. Hasil dapatan menunjukkan bahawa pengguna mempunyai pengalaman, kesedaran serta faham terhadap isu-isu pengawasan privasi dalam media sosial. Berdasarkan pengalaman informan, aktiviti pengawasan dapat memantau aktiviti anak-anak menggunakan media sosial. Hal ini bermaksud perlu adanya pantauan terhadap aktiviti kanak-kanak dalam menggunakan media sosial.

Selain itu, pengguna juga lebih berhati-hati dalam memuat naik dan berkongsi maklumat peribadi di media sosial. Mereka juga dapat menjaga kerahsiaan, keselamatan maklumat peribadi dan juga

ketetapan maklumat yang dikongsi. Implikasi yang terakhir dalam kajian ini ialah dapat mengelakkan diri daripada menjadi mangsa jenayah siber. Seterusnya, kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif di mana analisis kandungan terhadap topik perbincangan dalam kumpulan besar melalui platform e-pembelajaran. Informan telah menyatakan pengalaman dan persepsi mereka terhadap isu privasi dan keselamatan dalam media sosial.

Selain itu, implikasi kawalan sosial dalam media dapat dilihat menerusi kajian yang dilakukan oleh Ummu Hanis et al. (2021) berkaitan fenomena berita palsu ketika Perintah Kawalan Pergerakan (PKP) semasa pandemik COVID-19. Kajian mendapati bahawa masyarakat di daerah Alor Gajah banyak menerima jenis berita palsu berkaitan dengan isu semasa sepanjang musim perintah kawalan pergerakan. Hasil kajian juga menunjukkan masyarakat di daerah Alor Gajah juga meragui berita palsu dan ia mampu memberi kesan kepada rakyat Malaysia. Selain itu, ia turut memberi kesan kepada pemikiran dan cara berfikir berkenaan dengan isu-isu semasa. Kajian ini juga menerangkan juga berkenaan keselamatan dan ketenteraman negara juga akan terjejas sekiranya berlaku penyebaran berita palsu. Oleh itu, kepentingan kawalan sosial dalam media adalah perlu bagi mengelakkan perkara-perkara seperti penyebaran berita palsu terjadi.

Berdasarkan kajian-kajian lepas, penyelidik mendapati agak kurang kajian yang dilakukan berkenaan kawalan sosial ke atas komuniti maya iaitu komuniti dalam kumpulan. Selain itu, kajian-kajian lepas juga kurang menerangkan berkaitan proses kawalan sosial dilakukan dalam media sosial dengan lebih terperinci. Kebanyakan yang ditemui memfokuskan kepada kawalan sosial yang lebih bersifat kepada kehidupan realiti dan secara fizikal. Namun begitu, kajian-kajian lepas ini juga turut membantu penyelidik dari segi idea, merangka kajian, dimensi kawalan sosial dan juga dari segi metodologi serta isu kajian. Oleh itu, analisis kajian lepas sangat membantu penyelidik untuk mengisi kelompangan dan seterusnya dapat mencari kekurangan dan kelebihan kajian lepas dengan kajian yang akan dilakukan untuk membawa isu yang baharu

Kesimpulan

Peralihan latar belakang perubahan teknologi komunikasi dari bersifat konvensional menjadi moden dan serba digital, masyarakat mula beralih kepada media sosial hasil daripada perkembangan teknologi. Kemajuan teknologi ini menyebabkan wujudnya masyarakat yang berasaskan media iaitu komuniti maya. Kewujudan komuniti maya ini menjadi semakin kompleks seiring dengan perkembangan kemajuan teknologi serta membawa banyak kelebihan dan juga kekurangan dalam menggunakan media sosial. Peralihan tersebut turut membawa kepada isu-isu jenayah siber seperti gangguan seksual, scammers, berita palsu, penipuan dan sebagainya. Oleh itu, masyarakat perlu mempunyai pemahaman tentang konsep kawalan sosial supaya dapat mengawal daripada perlakuan ketika menggunakan media. Hasil kajian juga mendapati penggunaan media sosial adalah dengan tujuan komunikasi, melakukan hubungan sosial, pendokumentasian harian, mencari maklumat, hiburan dan sebagainya. Hal ini menunjukkan mereka memahami fungsi sesuatu media sosial tersebut dengan memenuhi keperluan dan tujuan media sosial itu. Apabila menggunakan media sosial, pengaplikasian mekanisma kawalan sosial adalah perlu termasuklah kawalan sosial secara formal mahupun tidak formal. Mekanisma kawalan sosial termasuklah sikap integriti, nilai dan hukuman, mendidik dan membimbing, bersikap profesional dan berdisiplin serta mempunyai hubungan yang baik dengan komuniti. Penguatkuasaan undang-undang yang merupakan mekanisma kawalan sosial formal juga turut membantu dalam menangani tingkah laku yang menyimpang terutamanya dalam penggunaan media sosial. Kesan daripada kawalan sosial ini secara tidak langsung akan mewujudkan keadaan komuniti maya yang sejahtera dan selamat seperti terhindar daripada jenayah siber, lebih berhati-hati menggunakan media sosial, menjaga maklumat peribadi dan kerahsiaan, peka dengan berita palsu dan sebagainya. Oleh itu, diharapkan supaya kajian seperti ini dapat dikembangkan lagi dengan beberapa perkara yang boleh dikembangkan lagi.

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