LAND AND NEIGHBOURHOOD AS FEATURES
OF MALAY URBANISM

by

ROBERT EBERSOLE CLARKE

B.A., Goddard College, 1966

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department
of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

March, 1976
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Department of

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date 27 April 1976
ABSTRACT

The dissertation reports the results of an ethnographic investigation of urban Malay associate choice in the town of Kota Bharu, Kelantan, West Malaysia. Field data were collected using standard anthropological techniques of participant observation, interviewing, the collection of activity schedules, and genealogies. The geographical, historical, and demographic context of the town is described.

Malay urbanism is rather similar to the urbanism of Indonesian middle cities in that it is characterized by an involutional or static character in which few new social forms are produced or created. It is possible to account for the involutional character of Malay urbanism by reference to the factors of land and neighbourhood as they interact with factors arising from the occupational structure of the town. Urban life is characterized by two contrasting ideologies. The ideology of work forms the basis of the system of urban stratification; by emphasizing the motif of pride this ideology makes it difficult for urbanites to form associations across categories. In contrast, the ideology of association emphasizes the motif of humility and stresses the qualities
of reciprocity and balance between individuals. Neither ideology can be said to govern urban life. Rather, Malay urbanism is a synthesis of considerations arising from both systems mediated by the choices of individual urbanites. Through an analysis of the use of time and associate choice it is demonstrated that although constraints of occupation account for certain regularities in the data, other factors are also significant. The analysis of a number of cases indicates that the relationship between the urbanite and the urban local group is a particularly significant factor influencing his choices. This is further supported by the analysis of a number of "special time" events which most frequently take place among members of the local groups and often emphasize solidarity among the members.

The analysis of data from several areas of the town indicates the importance of land ownership as a factor defining membership in the local group. The local group is occupationally heterogeneous and considerations arising from the ideology of stratification make the possibility of dissolution potentially high. It is the joint interest in land which forms the basis for associations transcending these divisive tendencies. When, however, urbanites lose control over their land, the neighbourhood and the local group dissolve and urbanites search elsewhere for a part of the town where they can settle and
create ties with a new set of neighbours, joining a new local group. Rather than creating new social forms to meet the changed conditions of the neighbourhood, they recreate the patterns to which they are accustomed in another part of the town. As a result of this, the pattern of urbanism remains unchanged and continues to have an involutional or static character.

These findings challenge the conclusion of Provencher that Malay urbanism is a recreation and intensification of rural patterns. It is found that although the form and expression of reciprocity may be similar in town and village, in the village reciprocity is sustained by the recognition of similarities, whereas in the city it is sustained by the recognition of differences. While Malay urbanism is different from rural life, it is also distinguished from the dynamic urbanism associated with European towns in their early stages in which the creation of new forms of social organization was the rule. It is the factors of land and neighbourhood which account for the transitional, involutional character of Malay urbanism.

The dissertation epilogue describes an application of the thesis to a specific problem in national development policy planning.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................. x

PART I. INTRODUCTION ........................................... 2

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION ................................................. 2

II. THE CITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ............................... 13

PART II. THE BACKGROUND ....................................... 26

III. KOTA BHARU, THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ............................................. 26

IV. KELANTANESE SOCIAL LIFE: THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT .................................................. 42

PART III. THE ETHNOGRAPHY I--ASSOCIATION IN A MALAY TOWN

V. KOTA BHARU: CULTURAL CATEGORIES OF URBAN SPACE .................................................... 62

VI. URBANITES: OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION ........................................... 96

VII. URBAN ASSOCIATION: LOCATION AND ACTIVITY .................................................. 114

VIII. URBAN ASSOCIATES: CATEGORIES AND IDEOLOGY .................................................. 158

PART IV. THE ETHNOGRAPHY II--TIME, ACTIVITIES, AND ASSOCIATE CHOICE

IX. OCCUPATION AND THE USE OF TIME--CASE STUDIES .................................................. 181

X. ENVIRONMENTS, ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATES IN ORDINARY TIME ........................................ 287

XI. ASSOCIATION IN SPECIAL TIME ............................... 339

V
LIST OF TABLES


II. Highest Ranked Activities during Ordinary Time in Five Environments by Occupational Type, Expressed in Percentage Points .................. 289

III. Index of Activity Similarity by Environment ........................................ 293

IV. Instances of Participation in Associate Clusters by Occupational Type ........................................ 324

V. Three Highest Ranking Associate Types met in Associate Clusters by Occupational Type ........................................ 326

VI. Highest Ranking Types of Associate Contacts during Ordinary Time by Occupational Category ........................................ 328

VII. Summary of Categories of Associates Chosen by Urban Malays during Ordinary Time ........................................ 336

VIII. Invitations to an Urban Bersanding ........................................ 343

IX. Attendance at an Urban Prayer House ........................................ 355

X. The Relationships between Attenders at Haji Rashid's Prayer House ........................................ 356

XI. Number of Guests, by Type, Attending Feast to Break the Fast in Four Urban Residential Areas ........................................ 358

XII. Number of Invitations Received, by Type of Associate Inviting, for a Sample of Urban Residents in Four Urban Residential Areas ........................................ 359

XIII. Daily Distribution of Activities during Hari Raya Puasa ........................................ 362
XIV. Hari Raya Puasa Visitations by Location ... 362

XV. Percentage of Informants Having Contact with Associates by Type of Associate for a Selected Sample of Informants (n = 33) ... 363

XVI. Number and Percentage of Total Contacts Made during the Festive Season by Type of Associate and Type of Visit—in Summary ... 364

XVII. Visiting Patterns with Kinsmen during Hari Raya Puasa ... 365

XVIII. Relative Age of Family Members Met on Hari Raya Puasa ... 370

XIX. Visiting Patterns with Non Kinsmen during Hari Raya Puasa ... 374

XX. The Distribution of Korban Meat in Three Urban Residential Areas ... 382

XXI. Criteria Governing the Formation of a Local Group ... 398

XXII. Urban Land: Methods of Acquisition—Types of Use ... 406

XXIII. Summary of Local Group Features in Three Local Groups ... 435

XXIV. Occupational Type of Employed Men in Four Local Groups ... 439
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Map

1. Kota Bharu: Residential Areas ........ 64

Figure

1. Referential Kinship Terms ............. 163
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest debt of gratitude goes to the people of Kota Bharu, many hundreds of whom took time to offer hospitality, to answer questions, to teach, and to guide. Without their assistance the research would not have been possible. To record the names of all persons whom I retain in my memory would require many pages. I must, however, record my specific thanks to Mahmood bin Awang, our landlord, neighbor, and friend without whose companionship and constant assistance our stay in Kota Bharu would not have been nearly as pleasant as it was. I also wish to thank Mohammed Ali bin Ismail, Rosli bin Ismail, and Ariff bin Hassan, residents of the research areas who gave selflessly of their time and energy to assist me in numerous ways. Rahim bin Abdul Kadir provided many useful introductions, helped my family and me establish ourselves in the town, and discussed various aspects of the research on many occasions. Throughout the dissertation pseudonyms have been used.

Encik Ali bin Esa of the Ministry of National Unity solved many procedural problems and provided valuable introductions, as did Dr. Milton Barnett, then of the Agricultural Development Council, Kuala Lumpur. Numerous departments of the state and federal governments
made information available and I owe them particular gratitude. Mr. Chander and the staff of the Statistics Department always stood ready to respond to my often difficult and occasionally perplexing requests for statistical data.

Throughout the formulation of the research, the fieldwork, and the preparation of this dissertation my supervisor, Dr. Cyril S. Belshaw has been ready with encouragement, stimulation, and valuable criticism. Dr. K.O.L. Burridge, Dr. Helga Jacobson, and Dr. Eli Maranda have offered valuable comments and provided assistance in many ways. The funds which made the research possible were provided by the University of British Columbia and the Canada Council. Both institutions I acknowledge with thanks.

The contributions of my wife Helen to this research are many. Her interest in people and her faith in my work have always been an encouragement. Her ability to cope with the exigencies of maintaining a household under often trying and uncertain circumstances has facilitated the work. For her critical comments on the text of this dissertation throughout the writing and editing I am particularly grateful. The joy of my daughter in facing new experiences has been an inspiration while her ability to accept a father often preoccupied with research details has been reassuring.
PART I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem I have chosen for this dissertation is to discover more about the features of urban life in a non-western town. In addition to describing some of these features, I wish to formulate the findings of this investigation in such a manner that the results are sufficiently detailed to be of relevance in the formulation of national development policy.

I take the view that the discovery of the features of urban life is an ethnographic problem. The literature of urbanism has devoted substantial attention to debating the nature of urbanism and the analysis of non-western cities has added valuable dimensions to this debate. Some authorities contend that the city is a western phenomenon introduced into most non-western areas during the colonial or imperial period (DeBriey 1966) while others have argued for the uniqueness of the non-western city (McGee 1967; Murphy 1954). The debate about the nature of urbanism has led to a number of typological approaches that have attempted to define universalistic
urban traits, or a typology of urban places.¹ Most of these typologies have sought to define urbanism demographically and then posited a number of characteristics thought to be associated with these demographic conditions. The validity of these typologies has been debated both theoretically² and empirically.³ In the course of evaluating a number of these typological approaches Benet has suggested a more fruitful line of inquiry. He points out that

most cultures—even those which by these criteria [size and density] we would not call urbanized—can yet distinguish perfectly well between their rural and urban elements, between what Americans call the country boy and the city slicker... it is strange that sociologists have not turned to these natural appreciations. (Benet 1963: 6)

He suggests that we investigate urbanism as an ethnographic problem. Following the implications of this suggestion, I shall take the view here that the problem is not to discover if a particular political or social unit meets a universalistic set of demographic criteria of "urbanness." Rather it

¹The typologies suggested by Wirth (1938), Redfield and Singer (1959), and Sjoberg (1960) are examples.

²Benet (1963) has examined the ideological aspects of these typologies, while both Dewey (1960) and McGee (1964) have reviewed and evaluated a wide range of the literature concerning these typologies.

³Reiss (1955) and Duncan (1957) have criticized these typologies for their inability to account adequately for the data of western urbanism, while Lewis (1951; 1952), Bascom (1955; 1959), and Bruner (1961) have found these typologies to be inadequate for dealing with non-western urbanism.
is our task to discover in the context of a particular society: (1) what the residents view as the significant features constituting a town, and (2) what is the basis of their contrast between the town and the other social units which they recognize.

I shall approach this ethnographic investigation within the framework of a voluntaristic theory of action (Evers 1969: 116). This theoretical perspective directs our attention to the analysis of the activities of individual decision-makers and their choices, the idea systems that define alternatives and influence the valuations placed on these alternatives, as well as the constraints imposed on these decision-makers by other actors and the situation. As Raymond Firth has stated:

>a theoretical framework for the analysis of social change . . . to be truly dynamic . . . must allow for individual action. As a member of society, each separate individual is striving to attain his ends, interacting with other members in the process. (Firth 1963: 83)

Other investigators have proposed a variety of formulations giving substance to this framework: decision-making models (Howard 1963; Keesing 1967); models of social exchange (Homans 1958); and transactional models (Barth 1966). While each of these models has its unique features, they all share the common view that social behaviour comprises a number of self-interested exchanges, or transactions, in which the actors make decisions, calculating gains and
losses as they determine courses of action, choosing among culturally defined alternatives, constrained by rules, norms, and the power and interests of others (Davis 1973: 26). However, as Davis points out, it is not sufficient to direct all of our attention to the individual; we must go beyond the analysis of the actor in isolation:

For a more satisfactory view of behavior, we must also consider interactions among individuals and the associations they form. Unfortunately, we know little about the ways in which societies vary from one another at this level, for the emphasis in anthropology has for so long been placed upon aggregate patterns. (Davis 1973: 23)

**Association and decision**

Association constitutes the basis of human society and is among its defining characteristics. Each instance of association comprises a number of interactions between the individual actors concerned. From the perspective of a voluntaristic theory of action each of these interactions is the result of a decision on the part of one individual to initiate the interaction and on the part of the other to reciprocate. The decisions take place in a cultural context. The actor must have a knowledge of a number of potential associates. They constitute the alternatives from which a choice is to be made. The alternatives are organized into categories defined by a system of ideas shared by other members of the society. This system of ideas suggests the nature of the relations
between potential associates. The categories and their accompanying systems of ideas constitute the resources which are manipulated by individual actors in the decision process.

The choice process involves the individual placing a valuation on a number of the alternatives and selecting one based upon this valuation procedure. The valuation given to each of the alternatives involves the assessment by the actor of: (1) the situation in which the decision is made; (2) valuations regarding particular alternatives arising from the system of ideas about the associate types and shared with other member of the society; as well as (3) factors arising from the decision-maker's particular strategies.

To formulate an ethnography of urban associational decision-making, it is necessary to examine a variety of materials. After describing the specific context in which decision-making takes place, it is necessary to describe the cultural dimensions of association: the vocabularies of location, activity, and associate types involved in the choice of associates and the idea systems which surround these. Once the base resources used in decision-making have been discovered, it is revealing to examine decision outcomes as they are exhibited in association action. Through the analysis of such data it is possible to isolate the factors which account for the general patterns
of association as well as to notice some of the factors which influence individual strategies. Investigation of the regularities exhibited in these individual strategies suggests a further extrinsic factor—the relationship of the urbanite to the urban local group. With the analysis of variables arising from this factor, it is possible to arrive at conclusions regarding the unique character of urban associational decision-making in the town under consideration.

Development planning and ethnography

National development planners in third world nations and their western technical advisers are charged with devising programs that promote change and stimulate "progress." All too often progress is conceived either as the technological advance, or as a social and psychological development, towards an acceptance of unmistakable Western values, such as high individual aspiration level, stress upon individual achievement and individual social upward mobility. (Wertheim 1973: 103)

Studies that have sought to evaluate development and to assess the potential success of a program design have often used as their measurers a number of criteria derived directly from the experience of western society. A frequent procedure has been to prepare a check list of these criteria and to note their presence or absence in the society in question. A development program is then

4 See, for example Lerner (1958).
designed or modified in such a way that it will cause changes in these dimensions tending in the direction of greater "progress or modernity." However, programs that have been designed in the hopes of causing changes in these indicators have often been unsuccessful. The participants leave the schemes (Poleman 1964); refuse to use the innovations with which they are presented (Anderson 1975; Foster 1969); or they lose interest in newly established enterprises (Belshaw 1964). The program that appears to be so rational and beneficial in the eyes of the national planners and their international advisers located in the capital is not accepted by the population in the towns and villages of the country. As Cochrane points out: "there is a difference between an objective set of criteria for annual growth, and the subjective image that the people have of their circumstances" (Cochrane 1971: 84). The population is passive or apathetic toward imposed plans that ignore their subjective image of the circumstances.

The type of ethnography to be undertaken here should provide exactly the type of information about the subjective image of circumstances in a specific urban situation that is required to create a plan of change that the population will find satisfying. At the conclusion of the ethnography, I shall describe the relevance of the findings for creating such a specific plan.

The limits of this approach must be appreciated.
It is not my intent to suggest that through the analysis of a single ethnographic example it is possible to arrive at generalizations that apply to all urban areas. The findings of the ethnography are used only in the context of the specific town examined. The purpose is to demonstrate the usefulness of this ethnographic approach to generate specific data that can be used to formulate specific policy initiatives.

Fieldwork

For a period of twenty months my wife, daughter, and I resided in a Malay residential area in the town of Kota Bharu, Kelantan, Malaysia. During this period I collected data from a number of sources, using a variety of techniques. The vast majority of this material was collected by participant observation, although intensive interviewing, census taking, and the recording of special events and daily activities were also undertaken. Some of these data I collected in the town at large, although I did intensive research in three urban residential areas; one in which we lived and two others which were chosen to represent contrasting environments. Once I had identified these two other areas, I attempted to divide my time equally among them by visiting each area on an alternate day.

5Detailed descriptions of these techniques as they were used to gather specific sets of data are presented in appendix I.
Throughout the research I explained my role as that of a university student from Canada doing research for a thesis. This was a role that seemed to be familiar to many urbanites and they accepted it at face value. In all our dealings with informants, both my wife and I attempted to behave as much as possible in the manner of ordinary Malay urbanites. The house we occupied was a simple wooden structure built in close proximity to the other houses of the residential area. My wife prepared our food observing Malay food prescriptions and engaged in appropriate food exchanges with our neighbours. Both at home and in the town we dressed following a Malay pattern and slowly became proficient in observing Malay etiquette. Inasmuch as possible, in the area where we lived, we participated in all of the transactions appropriate to the role of neighbour. In the other areas I was viewed as a rather curious visitor and was usually assigned the role of good friend of those persons I visited frequently.

In the course of the fieldwork I conducted as much of the data collection as possible in the Malay language without the use of a formal interpreter. As I arrived in Malaysia with no previous training in the language and as the only formal instruction I was able to arrange was a two-week intensive course at Universiti Sains Malaysia and an occasional tutoring session in Kota Bharu, at the beginning of the research period my poor language facility
was a handicap. With the help of a few English-speaking informants, several informal tutors, and the patient assistance of numerous Malay speakers I slowly developed a working knowledge of the language spoken in the town.

At no time during the research did I employ research assistants, although at least one man in each of the research areas consistently assisted me in the collection of data. Each of these men was well acquainted in his residential area and through his introductions I gained access to nearly all resident households. In the case of households with which they were not acquainted, I obtained introductions from other local informants. These men also served to alert me to activity taking place in their area in which I might be interested.

The techniques employed in data gathering meant that it was necessary to limit the scope of this investigation. Once the general features of the town had been surveyed, the three research areas and informants were carefully selected to include a range of different types of ordinary Malay urbanites living in several typical urban residential areas. The choice of these areas and informants provided a cross section of the ordinary male Malay household heads resident in the town. While I focused on activities of the male household heads, I recorded data from others in the household as well. There are, of course, other types of residents living in the town; various elites,
high ranking royalty, and many types of non-Malays. No systematic collection of data was undertaken with persons of these categories except inasmuch as they entered into associations with ordinary Malays. However, by concentrating on this segment of the population, working in three different areas, and constantly rechecking data across these categories, I am confident that my data represent an adequate picture of urban life among ordinary male Malays in the town of Kota Bharu.
CHAPTER II

THE CITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Urban life is known to have existed in Southeast Asia from at least the first century A.D. (McGee 1967: 22) although no contemporary city can claim descent from any of these ancient cities. Today they are known only from early written chronicles and archaeological remains.

Modern urbanism has been relatively late to start and its development has been slow paced. As Evers has pointed out:

In comparison to other regions of the third world Southeast Asia is not only one of the least urbanized but also one of the slowest urbanizers. In a list of 14 world regions, Southeast Asia ranks number 11 on an index of urbanization which measures the increase of the total urban population between 1950 and 1970. (Evers 1972: 1)

Nevertheless, urbanism is of increasing importance in the region and there is no political unit in Southeast Asia which has not been losing rural population to urban centres (see Table 1).

Urban centres in contemporary Southeast Asia are extremely varied in structure and function although two general types can be distinguished: the very large city, often the country's capital, referred to in the literature as the "great city" (Ginsburg 1955) or the "million city"
TABLE I

CHANGE OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF TOWN, SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES, CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE POINTS, 1950-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Political Units</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Less than 100,000</th>
<th>100,000 to 500,000</th>
<th>50,000 to 1 million</th>
<th>Over 1 million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td>-6.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>-2.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>-4.9</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>-5.6</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>-6.9</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>West Malaysia</td>
<td>-21.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>-3.3</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Portuguese Timor</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sabah</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sarawak</td>
<td>-7.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vietnam, North</td>
<td>-16.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vietnam, South</td>
<td>-9.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Evers 1972.
(Fryer 1953), and the middle city (Osborn 1974) or the "secondary city" (Evers 1972). All the great cities of the region with the exception of Bangkok have been established by European colonial powers, and even modern Bangkok has been greatly influenced as a result of contact with western countries (McGee 1967: 24). As was the case even of most ancient cities (Wheatley 1961) international trade was the stimulus which encouraged the growth of the modern great cities. It was trade which brought the colonialists to the area and it was the changing dimensions of trade and commerce that influenced the direction and scope of their colonial activities. The longer they remained in the area the more widely they extended their control and administration—although the great colonial cities always remained the centre of their activities. In the post-colonial period the great cities continue to have an international ambience, derived from the colonial experience. During the early stages of independence the new governments struggled to make the great cities over in the image of their new countries, as a focus for nationalism. However, despite the influences of increasing local populations, the erection of national monuments, and other attempts to alter their image, most of these cities remain basically centres for an international community of businessmen and government employees. Their forms and function remain tied to
international rather than indigenous patterns. They are, in the terms of Redfield and Singer (1954), heterogenetic cities.

The middle cities of the region are so named because they stand in the middle of a relationship between the large national centres and the smaller regional or local interests and because of their size in relation to other units in the country. Many middle cities are also remnants of the colonial period. The colonial administration established district or regional offices in existing population centres which grew into middle cities. In other cases middle cities have a more orthogenetic (Redfield and Singer 1954) character, based on local cultural assumptions, having grown in response to purely local initiatives arising from regional trade or the requirements of indigenous government. Many orthogenetic middle cities resemble pre-colonial urban centres and are in line with a tradition of indigenous urbanism rather different from the international urbanism which has flourished in the great cities.

Whether orthogenetic or colonial in origin, many of these middle cities exhibit a similar structural pattern in the contemporary nationalist period. The town's central feature may be a regional government office, an enclave of traditional royalty, or a market, or a combination of these. Near this central feature is the business district devoted to various kinds of trading companies,
including branch offices or sub-agencies of national firms. The business district also has small manufacturing and service shops, restaurants, food stores, coffee shops or bars, and a few residential premises. Residential housing is of various types, often clustered in mixed neighbourhoods with the shop houses of immigrant merchants, the spacious homes of the elite, and the modest homes of the salaried workers and small businessmen: nearby one another. Throughout the town are pockets of high density traditional housing or squatter accommodation. These pockets occasionally extend beyond the fringes of the town boundaries and are occupied by the urban poor, recent rural migrants, and the unemployed.

A number of urban institutions are also found in the middle city. There are schools, mosques, temples, political party headquarters, and trade union halls, some occupying their own buildings, others incorporated into residential or commercial buildings. Together with coffee shops, bars and similar commercial establishments they comprise the locales for much of the social life of the town while also providing links between the urban centre and the countryside. As Geertz has summarized the situation for an Indonesian middle city: "If the physical setting is one of rather tired shabbiness the social picture is almost one of hyperactivity" (Geertz 1963: 9).

In the regional context it may be thought that
middle cities are relatively unimportant because of the spectacular population increases (see Table 1) and the vast social problems found in the large cities. However, when population data are examined for each political unit in the region the importance of these small towns becomes apparent. In more than one half of the political units of the region which have lost rural population at least 50 per cent of the loss has been made up by increases in the percentage of population living in smaller towns (see Table 1, ll. 2-15). It is the great cities which, in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, account for the majority of population percentage increases, but in the other countries of the region the increases have been in the smaller middle cities.

The Malaysian middle city and Malay urbanism

Of all the countries of Southeast Asia, Malaysia has experienced the largest percentage population increase in cities of less than 100,000 persons (see Table 1). Many of these Malaysian middle cities are heterogenetic, created by colonial policy or in direct response to colonial requirements. Some date from before the colonial period but most were established--or at least greatly transformed--during the colonial period. The discovery and development of mineral deposits by Chinese and British interests encouraged the development of Taiping, Ipoh, early

In colonial towns urban activities were largely in the hands of the non-Malay population. In a few cases Malay villages were included within town boundaries but the milieu of these heterogenetic towns derived from the predominantly immigrant population, Chinese in the tin mining centres and Indian in the rubber service centres.

This situation was different in the Malay towns of the peninsula, most of which were at the periphery of the colonial sphere of influence: Kota Bharu, Kuala Trengganu, Pekan, Johore Bharu, and Alor Setar. These towns were not completely cut off from colonial influence but their creation and their continued existence was not in direct response to colonial initiatives. These were—and continue to be—orthogenetic towns, steeped in local cultural traditions and responding to changing local political and economic conditions in the surrounding hinterland. Most of these towns are centres of traditional Malay royalty and administration and in several cases are also regional marketing centres. While it is notable that in most of these towns Malays occupy a wide range of urban roles, we know very little else about the
sociological features of these towns. The major monographic study of Malays in the city (Provencher 1971) was carried out in the heterogenetic city of Kuala Lumpur where Malays have only limited participation in the urbanism of the capital. Provencher’s study provides only limited understanding of the nature of urbanism in a Malay environment.

The most useful insight into the nature of Malay urbanism is found in several studies of indigenous urbanism in Indonesian middle cities (Geertz 1965; Evers 1972; Willner 1957; Wertheim 1958). Indonesia has experienced a rather different history of colonialism and independence but the general culture pattern, religion, and language are similar to that of the peninsular Malays. In the studies of Indonesian urbanism the most frequently noted characteristic is its undynamic character. The social structure of these towns remains ill-defined or, as Geertz states, "in a state of continuous transition" (1963: 17). The town is neither a recreation of the rural patterns nor a dynamic social unit moving toward a more defined and vital form of urbanism that is responsive to change in the society. Evers has found this same situation to be true for the town of Padang and has referred to the process taking place in these towns as "urban involution." As he tells us, "what we will tend to find is segmentation, i.e. more of the same type of
institutions, more people in the same type of occupations, some elaboration of existing social pattern rather than evolution of new structures. We should expect in these towns no drastic changes . . ." (Evers 1972: 5). Geertz accounts for this quality of Indonesian urbanism by reference to the impact of colonialism. Evers refers the phenomenon to the lack of occupational differentiation and the inability of the town to create a sequence of roles which are open to urbanites as they rise to a proletarian status. As Evers points out (1972: 6) the involuted type of urbanism is very different from early European urbanism where rapid social development—with an increase in urban social roles and the complexity of social relations—accompanied the rise of the mercantile bourgeoisie and proletarian factory workers during the industrial revolution.

The urbanism found among Kota Bharu Malays is also characterized by involution, an undynamic, perpetually transitional state. Malay urbanism is a relatively new phenomenon. Although cities and towns have long been present, for the most part the urban population of the Malay towns does not have a long history of urban residence. There are few, if any, families which can trace numerous generations of urban residence. However, Malay urbanism is not merely an intensification of rural social patterns as Provencher (1971) argues for Malays living in
Kuala Lumpur. Neither is Malay urbanism based upon the kind of dynamics we have come to associate with early European or North American towns. Malay urbanism must be recreated with each successive generation, giving it the static or involutional character.

It is possible to account for the involutional character of Malay urbanism found in the town of Kota Bharu by examining the interplay between the factors of social stratification, neighbourhood, and urban land holding. I shall demonstrate in the following chapters that involutional urbanism is created as Malays in their associational life balance the dialectic between urban occupations on the one hand and urban land holding and neighbourhood on the other. The urbanite is employed at an urban occupation which gives him access to resources specific to that occupation and which assigns him to a specific position in the stratification system. The ideology of stratification makes it difficult for the urbanite to establish associations with persons of other status categories in the town at large. However, in the neighbourhood relations with neighbours of different occupations are supported by an ideology of association which stipulates that existing differences in status are to be ignored. In associations with his neighbours the urbanite gains access to specific resources controlled by neighbours of other occupational types. The solidarity
of neighbours which makes associations across these status categories possible is based upon the assumption of reciprocity reinforced by interests arising from owning adjacent parcels of urban residential land. When land holding patterns are altered and neighbours no longer maintain control of the land on which they live, they lose the necessary reinforcement of reciprocity. They lose interest in the neighbourhood, and search elsewhere in the town for land from which to establish a new set of neighbour relations. Rather than creating new forms of social relations, new forms of city life, they merely recreate the old pattern once again, confirming and reinforcing the involutinal character of the city.

The presentation and documentation of the thesis is in several parts. In Part II, I shall describe the geographical and historical background of the town and outline the main elements of the rural environment, in contrast to the urban milieu. Part III provides the basic ethnographic description of the categories of association: space, occupation, location, activity, and associate types. In each case I examine the ideology which underlies the systematic relationships between these various categories. Part IV examines the patterns of time use and associate choice as these were observed under a variety of different conditions. In the analysis of this material the importance of both occupation and neighbourhood is validated.
Part V examines the relationship between land and the local group, the social solidarity of the neighbourhood and, through an analysis of the nature of local groups in three areas, demonstrates the importance of control over land for the maintenance of neighbourly association. Further, the significance of occupational heterogeneity in the local group is discussed. In the conclusion, Part VI, the significance of these findings is discussed and related to the problem of explaining the involutional nature of Malay urbanism. Part VII, the Epilogue, provides an application of the findings of this analysis to a specific problem in development policy planning.
PART II

THE BACKGROUND
CHAPTER III

KOTA BHARU, THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Geography

The town of Kota Bharu is located near the mouth of the Kelantan River on the north-east coast of West Malaysia. The river plain on which the town is situated is bounded by mountains to the north-west, west, and south. Through most of the state's history these mountains have made land communication with the rest of the land mass which is now West Malaysia difficult. To the east is the South China Sea, lacking any natural harbours on the Kelantan coastline, and to the north is the border with Thailand. As Dobby points out, "the chief cultural influences have been water borne and coastwise, from Java, and more recently, from Thailand" (Dobby 1951: 226).

The soils around the town are suited to rice cultivation and Kota Bharu has become a centre both for the marketing of farm produce and for the supply of farmers' necessities.

The river is contained within its banks in all but the height of the monsoon season and its quiet meandering
course provides little hindrance to travel by small boat and ferries. Other forms of communication with the town include a road link by the east coast highway through Kuantan, Pahang to Kuala Lumpur, a distance of about 420 miles which, at the time of the fieldwork, was covered by a twice-daily express bus service in approximately twelve hours. A second road through Thailand, crossing a newly constructed highway bridge over the Golak River, connects to the Asian highway which links Bangkok and Singapore. At the time of the research this route through Thailand was little used because of the unsettled security conditions in this border area. While it does not enter the town, the East Coast line of the Malaysian Railway System provides service on its track running on the opposite bank of the river which is easily reached by a toll bridge. This line runs south to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, and north connecting with trains to points in Thailand and through Thailand to points in north-west Malaysia. Air travel is through an airport at Pekalan Chepa, a suburban town about eight miles to the east of Kota Bharu. This facility is served by the Malaysian Airline System with numerous daily flights to Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Kuantan, and Kuala Trengganu.

A recently developed network of roads carrying buses, numerous inter-town taxis, lorries, and private traffic of cars and motorcycles links all of the towns in
the northern section of the state with the capital.

While many authors have spoken of Kelantan as remote, the Kelantanese do not view their situation as such. Although they acknowledge that transportation has improved in recent years, they note that they have usually found it possible to communicate with Singapore, and thence with Mecca and other overseas places of importance, as well as with Thailand and various parts of Indonesia. The Kelantanese have always had numerous visitors who have, by often circuitous routes, found their way to the state.

Kota Bharu, in the Context of Kelantan History

As it seems that there are no indigenous annals or other records for the early history of the state, it is necessary to approach this history through the reports of various non-indigenous travellers. Chinese records indicate that there existed a maritime state in the vicinity of Kelantan as early as the seventh century and there is substantial evidence of trading and maritime activities there during this period. Chinese sources again mention the state in the thirteenth century (Wyatt 1974). These early sources often refer to small centres which were engaging in trade of various materials (particularly gold) brought from the interior and sold along the coast. The

1I have yet to see a definitive history of the town, although an increasing number of articles have appeared dealing with the history of the state.
small settlements along the coast acted as depots for the transfer of these products. Exactly when the central government of Kelantan was established is not known. But by 1225 A.D. Kelantan was reported to be under the rule of Srivijaya in Sumatra and by 1365 the state is listed as being subject to the Majapahit kingdom in Java. Kelantan was probably converted to Islam by about the fifteenth century, and by the end of that century it was conquered by Malacca (Downs 1967: 116). From 1603 to 1730 little is known of the state, although Siam had for a long time claimed suzerainty over the state when Kelantan was linked with its Malay-speaking neighbours to the north in what is now the Patani section of Thailand. Siam took an active interest in the state from the fall of the kingdom of Ayadhya in 1767 (Wyatt 1974: 3) and by 1903 a British Adviser in the employ of the Siamese government had been appointed to look after the affairs of the state. This was followed by the Treaty of Bangkok in 1909 when "all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration, and control over [Kelantan] and the states of Trengganu, Kedah, and Perlis" (Downs 1967: 116) were given to Great Britain. While the post of Adviser to the Sultan was maintained, it was now filled directly by the British government.

During the period of British intervention in the Malay peninsula, Kelantan maintained a degree of autonomy as one of the Unfederated States, although the state
continued to have a British Adviser. In 1948 the state was included in the Federation of Malaya and on 31 August 1957 the Federation became independent under the constitution of a new government.

The town of Kota Bharu was, from an early period, an important centre of the state. Before the town was established, early small riverine settlements based primarily on trade organized into a number of chiefdoms were constantly vying for ascendancy over one another. As the agricultural potential of the Kelantan plain was recognized, more centralized political authority became the pattern. This was established on a model of the sultanate, a form probably borrowed from Indian and Arab traders. The seat of this new government was in Kota Bharu.

In this early period three groupings of society could be discerned. All of these linked together through the controls of the sultanate system. The first category consisted of the Sultan (or Raja) in whom all authority, both secular and sacred, was vested. With the help of other members of the royal family, the Sultan directed the affairs of state from his palace (istana) at Kota Bharu. A second category was the lesser nobility, essentially a grouping from which the rural district chiefs were recruited. This grouping also resided in Kota Bharu. The chiefs were assigned control of various sections of land and the people living on it. Usually this land was located
outside the town (Mohammed 1974: 44). A third category was the agrarian peasants, artisans, and merchants who comprised the majority of the population (Downs 1967: 117).

As Kota Bharu was the seat of the sultanate, it was the centre for political and ceremonial activities of the area and the regional focus to which the people directed their attention. When not involved in various contests for power within the royal house the sultanate worked to regularize relations between various factions in the society. In 1881 the Sultan introduced a system of land registration and in 1896 a formal land office was opened. Treasury accounts were regularized, although the dispersal of funds continued to be rather arbitrary, and various government offices and departments were organized (Downs 1967: 120). Many of these activities were undertaken, however, only after extensive prompting by the Siamese Adviser and later by the British Adviser.

A number of government offices came to be situated in the town: a police office was constructed in August 1904 and by 1907 the police had been transformed from a rather disorganized militia into a reliable force. A new jail was opened in 1907, a court system of three divisions was established and a public works office was organized to construct government buildings and to build roads. As a supplement to the long-established religious schools in the state, a secular school system was established (Mohammed
1974: 43). Under the guidance of the New British Adviser, the state council was reorganized and the district administration was decentralized in 1903.

Part of these new programs involved regularization of the administration of the Chinese in the state. The Chinese population was concentrated in the Galas district where Chinese had been engaged in gold mining for well over one hundred years and in Kampong China, a suburb of Kota Bharu. This regularization involved the appointment of a number of local headmen sanctioned by the Sultan and given the title Kapitan China. These men served as local-level administrators with their most important task being the regular collection of taxes among the Chinese community.

The early years of British administration had little impact on the lives of the general population. The few newly established administrative departments were poorly staffed, by what the Kelantanese felt, even then, were too large groups of non-Kelantanese. The regularization of government and administration, begun under the British Adviser, hardly constituted the social changes informed Kelantanese had expected of the new regime. The results "underscored the belief that if modernization were to come, it had best come at the hands of the Kelantanese themselves, using the cultural forms at their disposal" (Roff 1974: 123).

The Kelantanese initiative took the form of the establishment of the state Religious Council (Majlis Ugama
dan Insti'adat Melayu) which was resolved in the Kelantan state council on 7 December 1915 (Roff 1974: 101) and proclaimed by the Sultan on 24 December. This Council, with headquarters in Kota Bharu, was officially established to supervise religion (ugama) and Malay custom (isti'adat Melayu) which were defined in the inaugural speech as:

all matters pertaining to the Islamic religion which may bring benefit to the people of this Our state and increase the welfare of Kelantan . . . [and to concern itself with] . . . all style and custom which may be properly preserved according to time honored usage. (Quoted in Roff 1974: 101)

The town had long been a centre for Islamic education and scholarship and there was a large body of religiously learned men residing in the surrounding area. Many of these men had opened schools which drew students from throughout the region and perpetuated the traditions of scholarship. Unlike religious councils in other states, the new Kelantanese Council could call upon the participation of numerous of these local religious authorities, many of whom became active members in this early period. In addition to these religious authorities, the new Council was able to call upon many other concerned citizens, most of whom were from non-royal families. The composition of the Council thus established the organization as a relatively independent voice in the development of Kelantanese affairs.

Roff (1974) has pointed out that the Council contributed in many ways to the stimulation of the development
of the state. In its early years the Council concerned itself with perfecting the organization of Islam in the state and enacting and enforcing various rulings regarding the practice of Islam, fasting, and the collection of religious taxes (zakat). The Council passed enactments supressing vice in the town, encouraging public order, and arranging for such mundane matters as the proper disposal of wastes. The Council also established two institutions of great importance.

In keeping with the Council's concern with development, on 5 August 1917 they established a school, the Madrasah Muhamadi in Kota Bharu. This school had three divisions, a Malay vernacular school, an English school, and an Arabic school, and it soon expanded with a network of branch schools in various district centres throughout the state. The school and its branches were an immediate success and by 1920 it had an enrollment of five hundred students (Roff 1974: 144). The second institution created by the Council was initially an adjunct to these schools. In 1917 the Council acquired a printing press and opened a publishing venture known as Matha'ah Majlis Ugama. This press was also a success and expanded rapidly, printing religious tracts as well as books required by the school curriculum. It was this press which served as the foundation of the printing and publishing industry which in later years was to become a major feature of the Kota Bharu
business and cultural community.

The importance of the Religious Council in the development of Kelantan and the town of Kota Bharu cannot be underestimated:

By 1920, then, the Majlis has become a large and flourishing organization, employing a staff of more than fifty clerks, accountants, teachers, compositors, writers, translators, book-binders and others—not to mention the central mosque officials also on its payroll—managing several schools, a press, and a leading journal, and handling a budget of some $60,000 annually. (Roff 1974: 145)

In addition to these local initiatives, many new extrinsic factors were also influencing the state and the growing town. With the advent of a relatively stabilized political condition in the state, more Europeans became interested in the area. At no time did this interest become as great as that in other states of the peninsula but it remained a constant factor in the development of the state.

The formal expression of this interest can be dated from the arrival in Kelantan of the Englishman Robert William Duff in 1900 to obtain a land concession for commercial purposes from the Sultan of Kelantan. After some intrigue involving the governments of Siam, Kelantan, and Britain, the concession was ratified in July 1901. It gave the Duff syndicate a monopoly on all rights to mining and commerce within the concession, and an area of some three thousand square miles (Mohammed 1974: 38). The company began its activities at once, organizing the administration and prospecting for minerals. The company soon ran afoul
of disputes with the new Siamese adviser to the Sultan of Kelantan and entered into years of dispute, culminating in an appeal to the House of Lords and not settled until the 1930s. Despite this dispute the firm's commercial activities were not greatly jeopardized (see Emerson 1937) and it continued to play a significant role in the affairs of the state for many years.

With such increased European interest and involvement, a number of new features appeared in Kota Bharu. A variety of foreign mercantile and commercial firms were established to serve the growing group of planters and prospectors, both European and Chinese. A branch of the Mercantile Bank opened in 1911 and Boustead and Company, a major produce-buyer, agency house, and import-export firm, was established in the town soon afterward (Downs 1967: 122).

Informants agree that at the time of the coming of the British adviser in 1903 the central residential area of the town was located along the river in what is now the vicinity of Penambang. The town subsequently spread south and east as it developed. During this early period most public buildings were located near what is now the Central Government Hall (Istana Bali Besar). The area surrounding the present main mosque (Masjid Besar) and extending toward the river and Penambang was an important Malay residential area in which were located the homes and schools of many
religious scholars and teachers. A substantial market place was located along the river extending southward from the present site of the Sultan's wharf. Many members of the Malay trading community had their homes in the vicinity of this market. With the exception of a few market traders, the local Chinese community occupied the residential area today referred to as Kampong China.

According to oral accounts, a common form of land occupation dating from an earlier period but still to be found in the first part of this century was that of the royal enclosure. A member of the royal family, or one of the lesser nobility that served as chiefs, would enclose a portion of town land with a large fence. Within this enclosure he and his retainers would live in a number of connected houses. Such enclosed areas were found near what is today the central business district, Jalan Tunku Putera Semarak, and Kampong Che Su.

As the size of the urban market increased a number of Malay and Chinese shopkeepers took up residence in their shop stalls which were gradually increased in size to become shop-houses. A large concentration of these merchant shop-houses were located near the site of the old market in the area of what is today Padang Merdeka.

During the early decades of this century the town grew and expanded rapidly. Two events are recalled by most older informants as they had a great impact on the social
geography of the town.

One of these events is the flood of 1926. While the river rises annually during the monsoon season, the flood of that year is particularly remembered as causing extensive damage. The waters entered the town on 24 December and remained until 2 January. The unusual red colour of the flood waters gave the event the name "red flood" (bah merah). Many houses were completely inundated, and shops and their stocks were ruined. Outside the town the flood destroyed rice plots and ruined fruit and rubber trees. The damage was so extensive that it was necessary for the government to intervene with extensive relief (Sa'ad Shukrie 1971: 142-143).

This flood was shortly followed by a second disaster. On 13 January 1927 Kota Bharu experienced the worst fire of its history. Referred to as Kebakaran Bah Chik, it was named for the Chinese merchant in whose shop-house the fire began. The fire burned from 7 p.m. until 3 a.m. the following morning and the area continued to smoulder for a period of three days. Reports state that as a result of this fire 252 shops were badly damaged while three were completely destroyed and twenty-three houses were damaged and three destroyed (Sa'ad Shukri 1971: 144). In the accounts of many informants, a special significance is attached to the events of this fire. It was this event which signalled the change in proportion from predominantly
Malay shops to predominantly Chinese shops in that part of town affected by the fire. Informants state that because the Chinese whose shops were destroyed were "outsiders" they carried insurance on their property. The local Malay businessmen did not carry such insurance. After this fire the Chinese were able to rebuild rapidly, gaining a significant commercial advantage. Many of the Malay shops were not able to do so. The validity of this account is difficult to establish as there are many Malay businessmen who refer to the successful rebuilding of their businesses after the fire. But it is also confirmed that during this period many Malay businesses did fail.

The administration of the town

In 1928 the Town Council (Majlis Bandaran) was formally established. This body had jurisdiction to supervise the administration of all public functions of the growing town. In the recent history of the Council, until 1972 members were elected by popular vote. However, in 1972, by directive of the state government, this elected Council was abolished and an appointed body, termed a Town Board (Lembaga Bandaran), substituted in its place. This new board is comprised of twenty-two members, thirteen of whom are appointed at large by the state government and nine of whom represent various official government units. This

---

2The background in which this change occurred is described by Tennant (1973).
board oversees the regulation of the town through a number of sub-committees and a staff of civil servants headed by the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Council. Functionally, the board concerns itself with such things as the collection of annual rates, the valuation of land, the provision of the basic services of sanitation, street maintenance, licensing of vendors, restaurants, and hotels, market supervision and inspection, and enforcement of building standards, as well as planning for the future needs of the city.

Summary

By the third decade of the twentieth century, the basic features which were to characterize Kota Bharu in the modern period had been established. The Kelantanese sultanate, nobility, and attendants were engaged in supporting and enriching the "Malay traditions" on which their prerogatives rested. The State Religious Council was constantly looking for new and progressive measures to enrich Kelantanese social and cultural life within an Islamic pattern. In the course of seeking these new initiatives the active Council officers were prepared to act decisively to keep the Sultan's power in check. The state and town civil administration, influenced first by the Siamese and later by the British Advisers, sought to regularize and expand administrative, legal, and peace-keeping functions in the state and growing urban area. The
small expatriate community worked to exploit mineral resources and agricultural potential in the state, served by a growing number of town-centred, internationally-oriented trading companies and banks. The long-established Malay business and artisan community continued to supply the local town and hinterland and acted as trading intermediaries with the large regional trading centres of Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia, as well as Mecca and the Middle East. A small number of long-term urban Chinese residents, as well as some recently arrived Chinese and Indian immigrants, engaged in a variety of specialized trading activities.
CHAPTER IV

KELANTANESE SOCIAL LIFE: THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT

In the modern context neither the village nor the town forms an isolated social unit. The rural and the urban areas are interdependent units in an interactive system characterized by a constant flow of exchanges in all areas of life. While both town and countryside have features which serve to make them unique and contrastive social environments, they are not at all isolated from one another and to a large extent their uniqueness is created in the context of these exchanges. Firth has described the character of the interactive relationship in explaining that while rural Malay fishermen may not be completely at ease in the town:

it is an environment in which they can move freely, among people many of whose ways of life, language, and jokes they share, so relations with the town are in supplement rather than in opposition to their own social sector. (Firth 1968: 9)

There are, however, significant contrasts between the town environment and the rural environment, and in this chapter I shall outline some of the basic dimensions of rural life.¹

¹No systematic collection of data was made in rural areas in the course of this research although I had numerous
The productive activities of farming and fishing dominate nearly all aspects of rural life for Kelantanese Malays. In each case the activities connected with the mode of production are different but the population engaged in these systems follows a roughly similar way of life in areas not directly concerned with production.

Kelantanese rural agriculture involves primarily the cultivation of irrigated rice, with tobacco and a variety of fruits and vegetables also of importance. The unit of production is the household and nearly all of its members have at least some role in the cultivation procedures. Land is owned by household members or occasionally it is borrowed, shared, or rented from other Malays. There is little specialization and in each rural area all households follow a similar annual pattern of cultivation. Agriculture is a commercial undertaking and rice and most other food crops are sold, after harvest, either to the government rice agency or to a variety of rice dealers, wholesalers, or middlemen. Most producers sell at least some of their production and in many cases the household may sell all of its

opportunities to visit rural areas in the company of urbanites. Most of the descriptive data presented in this discussion are taken from published accounts of rural Kelantanese life (Raymond Firth [1968], Rosemary Firth [1966], Downs [1967], and Raybeck [1974] provide basic sources). It also includes some insights from casual observations and the accounts of urban informants. The source of these casual insights accounts for what is no doubt an urban-centric view of the rural scene.
high quality produce and buy lesser quality foodstuffs for household consumption. Tobacco is also sold after harvest to one of a number of firms operating drying sheds in the rural areas. Rubber, which in most seasons is tapped on a daily basis, is processed into dry sheets by members of the peasant household, often using equipment shared by several adjacent households. The dried sheets are sold periodically to rubber dealers in the rural market centres and town.

The nature of this agricultural productive system contributes to the typical pace of rural agricultural life. During particular periods of the year the agriculturalists are very busy harvesting, planting, or transplanting, while at other times the pace slackens. Income and affluence are also cyclical, with the period following a good harvest being a time of plenty, the period just before the harvest a time of scarcity and, frequently, hardship.

Those rural persons who are engaged in fishing follow a different pattern. Fishing is carried out in the South China Sea which forms the eastern boundary of the state. A variety of types of nets, traps, and lines are used by the fishermen to catch a wide variety of species common to these waters. The productive unit is a boat group. This is a group of men usually from a single locality that forms around a man thought to be a proficient fisherman. The composition of these groups is highly
variable and changes frequently. The fishing equipment, including the boat, is owned by the participating fishermen individually, although the exact details of ownership may vary considerably. The fishing season is during those months when monsoon storms are not expected, and during this period most of the fishing groups set out to sea on a daily basis. Depending upon conditions and the type of fish sought, the boat group may fish either during the day or at night. Upon returning from a trip and after the fishermen and numerous shore helpers have stored their small open boats on skids well out of the water on the beach, the women of the locality take over the procedure of selling the catch. This sale is usually to a number of wholesalers and middlemen who bargain for the fish on the beach and take immediate delivery of the fish there from where they transport it to town and rural markets. These middlemen often take their fish on a credit basis, paying the head of the boat crew in a single payment at the end of the week. When the head of the boat group has received payment he will, in turn, pay the other participants in the venture according to a complex system which recognizes both the labour and skills contributed and the ownership of various pieces of equipment.

In recent years a new pattern of fishing activity has become widespread in some fishing villages in the state. In these instances the men of a single village will move, often as a group, to one of several fishing centres which
are located further south on the coast. These groups of men reside in temporary accommodations in these centres and carry on their fishing activities as though they were operating from their permanent home. The men who fish in this manner return home with the proceeds of the season's catch to their wives and family at the beginning of the monsoon season. During the fishing season their homes are looked after by their wives and children who remain behind.

Within the constraints imposed by these two types of productive systems the environment of rural life is characterized by broadly similar features. The central feature of rural life, both culturally and structurally, is life in the rural village (kampong). This commonality is shared by both agriculturalists and fishermen. To reside in the rural environment is to live in a village, to be a villager. A village is comprised of a number of adjacent homesteads and adjoining fields or shoreline. Each rural village is named and its inhabitants identify with that name and use it to identify themselves in all interactions with non-villagers.

For the average rural peasant, nearly all daily social interaction takes place within the village; it is in the village where most friendships are formed and where the peasant is socialized (Raybeck 1974: 230). Although there are situations where the peasant has occasion to extend his associations beyond the bounds of this unit,
these are unusual, and for the most part:

one lives one's life primarily as a resident of a village. . . . Outside the village the opportunities for acquiring and maintaining friendships is [sic] greatly limited by infrequency of contact. (Downs 1967: 147)

As nearly all residents of the village engage in similar productive activities (either fishing or agriculture) there are few sharp distinctions between either the daily activities of individual villagers or in their income. Even the presence of wealth has little effect on the general style of living (Downs 1967: 150). There are in rural villages few specialists (Downs 1967: 168) and most peasants share a constellation of common concerns with their neighbours.

There are persons in the village who are more wealthy or powerful than their neighbours, although these differences in status are "seldom large enough to inhibit social interaction" (Raybeck 1974: 231). They are infrequently based upon wealth alone as wealthy persons are scorned as misers and there is a strong tradition of sharing one's wealth (Downs 1967: 150). Even those men classed as "big men" (orang besar) who achieve their status by possessing various valued Kelantanese personality traits, a large kindred for support, the appropriate religious training, the respect of other villagers, and education (Raybeck 1974: 231) can exercise authority only in the context of village consensus and in harmony with the
agreement of other residents of the village.

Each village has an informal headman (ketua kampong) who, although he is not elected, becomes accepted by the residents of the village over a period of time and serves to mediate disputes, resolve conflict, and restore harmony. This headman's authority is, however, extremely limited and derives entirely from the consensus support of the local village community.

This emphasis on harmony and consensus in the rural village is further promoted by village religious institutions. Nearly all villages have at least one centre of religious worship. This may be in the form of a prayer house (termed variously: madrasah, bailasah, or surau) or in the case of some of the larger or more prosperous villages, a mosque. The men of the village use this building as a locale for daily prayers and often, particularly after Friday prayers, issues of concern to residents of the village may be raised, discussed and resolved. These places of worship usually have a religious official of some type, either an imam or a religious teacher, who oversees the regular activities and frequently offers religious study classes. Men of this type are considered to be both pious and learned and are highly esteemed. Their opinion is frequently consulted on a variety of matters and their role in the village is frequently that of resolving conflict and promoting harmony. Numerous other mechanisms also serve the
ends of resolving conflict and promoting harmony among villagers of a single village. Such activities as reciprocal feasting, cooperative work efforts (Raybeck 1974: 233) and inter-household sharing (Downs 1977: 150) characterize rural life and serve these ends.

The themes of intra-village harmony and consensus are further served by the ideology of kinship which characterizes village social relations. As Downs points out in the case of a Kelantanese agricultural village:

almost all of the people of the village are related to each other in some manner or degree, through descent or marriage, and they are quite conscious of the fact. They regard themselves as a group of kin . . . this character of the community is maintained by the fact that with few exceptions one cannot become a resident of a village unless one has relatives in it or marries members of it. (Downs 1967: 146)

The importance of the ideology of kinship extends beyond merely defining the criteria for group membership. This ideology is extended to many other areas of life as well: "It is felt that economic and work relations within the village should approximate the social relations between kin" (Raybeck 1974: 233). The ideology of kinship supports two very important aspects of the relationships between villages. First, it defines the nature of the reciprocity between villagers and second, it guarantees the permanency of the relationship. Exchanges between kinsmen are characterized by a type of general reciprocity, a reciprocity in which one party is meeting an immediate need of the other
party with the knowledge that his return might be of a different form at a time when he is in particular need. In this type of exchange there is no stipulation of either the type of, or the time for, repayment. This type of exchange is made possible by the guarantees inherent in a kinship-defined relationship. The ideology of kinship assures that the participants in a particular exchange will stand in the same relationship at a later date when the repayment of the transaction may take place.

All of these features of village life—the ideology of kinship; the small population; the lack of occupational or great status differences—serve to limit and constrain the range of choices available to the rural villager in his association choices. At the same time these features also provide the basis for the peasant's confidence that most of his problems can be solved within the range of resources in the local village amongst his fellow villagers. This confidence is one of the major satisfactions of village life, and it is constantly reinforced in the exchanges of daily life. For example, should one rural villager require assistance in rebuilding an irrigation canal in his rice fields, he knows that he can borrow needed tools and labour from his co-villagers. At the same time these co-villagers know that they will receive similar types of assistance in solving their problems from this man at a later date when they are in need. It is this type of security, despite the
limits imposed on associational choice, which makes the rural village a satisfying environment for the peasant.

The rural environment, characterized by this type of self-sufficient village life, is not without links beyond the boundaries of the village however. Most of these links are with the surrounding market centres and towns but they also extend to the national capital and to the world at large. While the rural village has its unique qualities, it is not cut off from other environments of the social system.

Travel between the towns and rural areas is facilitated by an extensive transportation network linking all rural centres and many villages with the town and with each other. Taxis, buses, ferries, and lorries operating on a frequent basis make transportation a relatively easy and inexpensive matter. Many villagers have at least access to a bicycle or motorbike and some own cars, and these are frequently used to connect the villager with the transportation network. Government and commercial vehicles frequently offer rides to those villagers trying to get to towns or nearby market centres.

Links between villages and the town are of many types and they occur in the context of a number of different areas of social life: the administrative system, the political system, the educational system, the religious system, and the commercial and marketing system. Each of
these systems promotes both the flow of ideas and personnel between town and rural environments. In some cases non-villagers with significant roles in these systems live in the village and in other cases they only visit the villagers periodically or receive visits from villagers in their urban offices or homes.

The system of rural administration is operated on a district basis. There are, in the state of Kelantan, a total of eight districts, each in the charge of a District Officer whose office is usually located in the district centre where there is also a court and a police station. Beneath the District Officer in the hierarchy of local administration is a sub-district officer (penggawa), and the village chief (penghulu) who is in charge of one or more villages. All of these posts below District Officer are appointive and carry a small stipend. Most village chiefs are local residents who also participate in income-producing activities similar to their fellow villagers. The village chief attends to such routine matters as collecting various taxes, keeping local records, and announcing and describing new government programs to the local villagers. As Downs has pointed out (Downs 1967: 131), the village chief is not highly regarded by local village residents and his power is limited to those matters directly covered by statute. The village chief frequently defers to the decisions of the traditional village headman (Raybeck
1974: 232). Despite this, the village chief does serve as one link with the world beyond the rural village and through his ties with the administrative system he is able to provide the villager with access to various information about the urban and national environments. While villagers do not revere him for his role in providing this access, they do realize that he can serve a valuable function in the context of particular needs.

Also of importance as links between the rural and urban environments are the field officers of specialist administrative departments. The rubber replanting agency, the agriculture department, various health agencies, the drains and irrigation department, and many others have rural programs. While these are usually coordinated through the offices of the district administration, the field representatives of these agencies come into daily contact with villagers. These can be very significant channels for communication with the world beyond the village.

The political system also serves to provide links between the rural village and the environments of town and nation. Since the Second World War Kelantan has had a Legislative Council with some elected members. The great majority of seats on this council have been and continue to be filled by politicians affiliated with the Pan-Malayan
Islamic Party (PMIP) which has formed the government in the state since the electoral system was organized. While most elected Legislative Council members live in town or in the larger market centres they are acutely aware that the source of their electoral strength lies with the rural villagers with whom they keep in close contact through numerous visits. In the course of these visits the rural villagers bring many of their problems to the attention of the elected politician who is often called upon to witness forms, assist in processing applications, and lend his support to a variety of pleas on behalf of individual villagers. In turn, the politician can inform the villager about various new programs and plans that may affect him. In these exchanges the politician acts as a kind of clearinghouse for information between the village and the town.

The educational system also serves to link the rural village to the town and nation. Schools are administered from offices in Kota Bharu through the department of education which falls ultimately under the auspices of the national Ministry of Education. There are, throughout the state, several different types of schools teaching at different levels and in various language mediums. By far the most common in the rural areas of Kelantan is the small village primary school teaching in the Malay medium. All populated areas are served by such schools although schools
of a more advanced standard are clustered in population centres. The staff of the village school usually consists of several teachers who have had formal teacher training at one of the various training institutes. Teachers are assigned on a national basis and this frequently means that the teacher at a local school may come from an area far distant from where he is teaching. Because of their mobility few teachers attain positions of rank in the village. However, as a result of their role teachers are highly esteemed by most of the village population and are shown a degree of deference in many social activities. The village teacher is frequently consulted about matters where it is felt he or she may have expertise. The village teacher's daily contact with the students and the students' families, as well as the teacher's somewhat more cosmopolitan experience, make him a uniquely suited channel for the villager to learn more about the town and the nation.

A more pervasive link between town and country is found in the religious system in both its sacred and legal aspects. The ultimate head of the religious system in the state is the Sultan of Kelantan, although the State Religious Council (Majlis Ugama dan Isti'adat Melayu) is in charge of daily administration. The chief officer of this council is the mufti and each of the eight districts of the state is in the charge of a kathi whose major function is to preside
over the religious court which oversees marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the adjudication of various religious offences. Each of the eight districts has a number of subdivisions, each in the charge of an official imam (Downs 1967:114). Each imam usually is in charge of a single mosque serving one or more villages. The imam gives the weekly lecture following the Friday prayers, performs marriages, collects religious taxes, and occasionally adjudicates minor inheritance cases for persons living in the area served by the mosque (Downs 1967: 114).

The local imam is a pivotal figure between the great tradition of organized international Islam and the local community of worshipers. The imam is a man who has studied religious law and practice at an advanced level either in the town or at one of the religious centres in the country. Frequently he has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca and may use the title Haji. Through these experiences, as well as through reading and studying books and religious publications of the State Religious Council, the local imam keeps in touch with current trends, policies, and activities in the religious world beyond the village. On occasion various government officials may call upon him to assist in publicizing new programs or regulations, particularly as these involve religious practices or welfare. The imams in the state maintain links with one another and together they form
a body of great influence. They often use this influence in the pursuit of various political ends (see Kessler 1974).

Rural villagers respect the local imam for his piety (Downs 1960: 55) as well as his ability to read and understand the Koran and the other religious books of Islam, but they also appreciate that he has significant links with environments beyond the village. The village imam has knowledge of the town, the state, and national government and administration. With this knowledge he can assist villagers in registering their children in religious schools in the town, in assisting to arrange the details of a religious pilgrimage for a villager, or in obtaining funds for a new village mosque, prayer house, or religious school. Through the weekly lectures given by him at the Friday prayers, his teaching in religious classes, or his casual conversations with villagers, the imam serves as an interpreter of contemporary activities in the context of respected religious tenets. Through the international and universalistic medium of Islam he serves to link the rural villagers to the world of Islam that extends beyond the village.

The town and rural environments are also linked in the context of the commercial system. This involves two types of exchange: the exchange involved in the course of marketing produce and the exchange involved in obtaining the goods and materials required to maintain rural life. Produce marketing takes place through a variety of channels,
almost all of which involve middlemen of some type. These may be middlemen who may travel through the rural areas buying small quantities of produce and aggregating them for wholesale in the town, as in the case of fruit, vegetable, fish, and cattle dealers, or they may be dealers located in the rural areas to whom the producer brings his produce for sale, as in the case of rubber and rice. In both cases the middlemen serve as a channel for information about the current market conditions and prospects on which basis the producer may plan production. In some cases they also serve as a source of short-term credit for some of their most regular suppliers. Other commercial contacts are provided by those who supply the needs of the villagers. These include hawkers who travel through the rural areas selling household wares, retailers who sell and service home appliances, and commission agents who sell the occasional piece of agricultural or fishing equipment used by the rural residents. All of these commercial contacts provide the villager with information about and access to the world beyond his rural village.

The above discussion has outlined the formal systems which serve to link the rural village with the town and national environments. Of equal importance are the more informal links maintained by visits between townsmen and villagers. Most frequently these are maintained along lines of kinship connection and acquaintance. They most often
involve visiting in the course of other activities as well as more formal visiting during holiday periods. Nearly all townsmen have at least some friends or relatives living in the countryside and when these villagers come to town they visit their friends and relatives, exchanging news and gossip. When the townsman has occasion to visit in the countryside, a similar type of exchange takes place. The degree of effect that exists between the parties in this type of visiting is very strong and makes this a particularly important tie.

Kelantanese Malays see no insurmountable barrier between the town and the village. A townsman can, and many do, participate with little difficulty in the village while villagers are also capable of dealing with life in town. The many links that have been described indicate a number of the areas in which contacts most frequently take place. The rural village is not an isolated social entity. Still, the village, as a social environment, is distinct from and in contrast to the town environment.

The village is a social environment in which all of the residents of a single locale pursue similar productive activities in the context of similar resources, an environment in which there are few sharp distinctions dividing one individual peasant producer from another. It is an environment in which one man's work is much the same as his
neighbour's and thus his income, prospects, and difficulties are also similar. Villagers interact with their co-villagers within a system of generalized reciprocity, as a system "of assistance given and if possible and necessary, assistance returned" (Sahlins 1965: 147) with the knowledge that once these exchanges have begun they will continue. The central organizing principle of this rural environment is the kinship system. Kinship serves to define membership in the rural village as well as to give specific form to the nature of the transactions among villagers.

The nature of the town social environments is in sharp contrast to this and it is this contrast which will be described in the following chapters.
PART III

THE ETHNOGRAPHY I—ASSOCIATION IN A MALAY TOWN
CHAPTER V

KOTA BHARU: CULTURAL CATEGORIES OF URBAN SPACE

The description of urban association requires an understanding of a number of parameters: geographic space; urban occupations; association locales; association activities; and associate types. Each of these parameters is a cultural domain, the categories and units of which are defined by shared conventional understandings of the urban Malay population. In the following four chapters each of these cultural parameters is described for the town of Kota Bharu.

Urban Malays conceptually organize the geographic space of the town into a number of named residential areas. Nearly all of these areas are heterogeneous in terms of most parameters of population. There are no quarters in the town characterized by any single specific population group. In describing each area a local resident would find unique features of the area which would make it non-comparable to any other similar area in the town. However, for the purposes of describing these areas I have grouped areas together to form categories, retaining the listings of the culturally relevant named units. The categories
are analytic-descriptive and would not necessarily be agreed upon by local residents.

Most areas have a central identifying physical feature and from this the area radiates in various directions. Boundaries are indistinct and in many cases a person living far from the centre may choose to identify himself with an adjoining area. In some instances, however, a residential area is bounded by a road, the town boundary, a river, or other easily identifiable features. In these cases the boundaries are more precise.¹

Each of these residential areas comprises a number of house clusters which are interactive units. The named areas described here form a terminological system applied by local residents to the geography of the town. They do not refer to social units or groupings.

A typology of urban areas

Old business district

1. Padang Bank
2. Pasar Lama
3. SDEC...Lands...
4. Kampong Che Su

These residential areas are located in the original centre of the town. One identifying feature is a large field used for public gatherings, ceremonial occasions,

¹The location of these residential areas is indicated on map 1 and population statistics are found in appendix II.
<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Padang Bank</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Kampong Masjid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pasar Lama</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Kampong China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>SEDC Lands</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Kampong Wakaf Mek Zainab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kampong Che Su</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Padang Kluchor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kampong Tunku Maharani</td>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Kampong Paya Pernama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Padang Garong</td>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Kampong Sireh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Stadium</td>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Ranchangan Rumah Murah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Kampong Sungei Budor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Jalan Raja Dewa</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Kampong Balek Kota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Jalan Bayam</td>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Kampong Dalam Kubu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Kampong Wakaf Siku</td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Kampong Langgar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Kampong Dusun Muda</td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Kampong Kubor Maras</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Kampong Limau Manis</td>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Kampong Telipot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Kampong Penambang</td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Kampong Islah Lama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Kampong Kubang Pasu</td>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Kampong Che Hussein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Kampong Merbau</td>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Kampong Paya Gading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Kampong Atas Banggol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and royal festivities. There are a few of the traditional old-style fenced house compounds of the royalty in this area surrounded by numerous small houses. Along the river which forms one boundary of this area is a small wharf from which various ferries operate. Beyond this wharf are a number of raft houses permanently moored to the river bank.

Much of the remainder of this area is occupied by blocks of multi-storey shop-houses facing onto the street. These are occupied predominantly by Chinese and Indian businesses with an occasional Malay shop. Also located in this area are the cinema halls, coffee shops, bars, and nighttime street-side food stalls, features of the town's major entertainment area. There are groups of shops selling similar items on some streets but there is a good deal of mixture within any one area. Those shop-houses closest to the river are in the poorest condition as they are hardest hit by the annual flooding during the monsoon season.

In some blocks, behind the rows of shop-houses, are sections of traditional style Malay houses which are hidden from the street. They are raised off the ground to escape the worst of the floods and some have space for rental rooms underneath. Development authorities consider much of this area to be a "slum" and have marked several parts of it for demolition and redevelopment. This program
reached the first stage with the completion in 1971 of Taman Sekebung Bunga, a shopping complex accommodating a variety of Malay shops. This development was built by the state of Kelantan through the State Economic Development Corporation which intends to expand this type of development to several other portions of this area.

In the past this area was important as the town centre and commercial area and it was the location of the first cinema hall, the first banks, ferry connection to the railway across the river, the bus stand, post office, and several government offices. Changing traffic patterns and the construction of new offices and a new market in other parts of the town have diverted activity from this area and led to its deterioration.

Riverside congested residential areas in the town centre

5. Kampong Atas Kubor
6. Lorong Minyak Gas

This area is bounded on two sides by streets lined with multi-storied shop-houses, on a third by a lane leading to a bulk oil storage tank at the riverside, and on the fourth by the river. The interior of this area, which is entered by a number of small lanes from the street, is occupied by numerous densely spaced raised Malay-style houses interspersed with an occasional modern ground-level concrete house. In the area beneath many of the raised
houses fabric printers (tukang batek) or silversmiths (tukang perak) work. Most other residents work at marginal urban jobs such as occasional labouring, low income wage employment, and bicycle-taxi (trishaw) pedalling. Scattered among the houses and cottage industries are a number of small shops which supply the daily requirements of the residents. This area is subject to severe disruption during the period of annual monsoon season flooding.

Central business district

7. Pasar besar

The centre of the town's commercial activity is located in the vicinity of the central market (pasar besar). This market, serving about fifteen hundred vendors per day, is housed in a two-storey concrete building divided into a number of regions for the sale of particular products. At the end of the market are the bus and taxi stands. In the surrounding streets, as well as on the second floor of the market, are a number of coffee shops and eating stalls that serve the market sellers, other businessmen, and their customers. In the streets adjacent to the market are a variety of shops dealing in consumer goods: fabrics, auto parts, stationery, books, and clothes, as well as a number of banks, small hotels, doctors' offices, and the government utility offices.
Residential accommodation in the area is entirely in shop-houses on the second or third floor of commercial buildings facing directly into the street. Occupants are often the shop owners or their assistants and employees. This area of town is usually very busy during the daily business hours, although at night or on the Friday holiday it is largely deserted. At the periphery of this area are located several public health clinics, the library, post office, and offices of the state and federal government and the town board.

Transitional residential areas

8. Kampong Tunku Maharani
9. Padang Garong
10. Stadium
11. Hospital

To the east and south-east of the central business district is a transitional area in which shop-houses, new hotels, offices, and apartment blocks are rapidly replacing the formerly sparse settlement. Some of the land in this area previously belonged to members of the Kelantan royal family, although today only a single royal home in traditional style remains. There are a large school and the town stadium which is the site of frequent athletic contests, pageants, and entertainments. Nearby is the state hospital with its numerous branches: tuberculosis hospital, mental hospital, nurses' hostel, and workers'
quarters. Housing types in these transitional areas range from spacious one-family homes, smaller shop-houses, to the barracks-style homes for hospital workers.

Government quarters

12. Kampong Puteh
13. Padang Dato Perdana
14. Jalan Raja Dewa
15. Jalan Bayam

Four residential areas have a preponderance of government quarters, although in all cases there are private homes in these areas as well. Padang Dato Perdana is the site of the central police station and is surrounded by barracks-style accommodations, as well as a large playing field and several private clubs. Jalan Bayam is the location of a large police contingent and also in this area are a large number of medium-sized detached houses occupied by a variety of types of middle-ranking government servants. The state government is constructing a large new housing development in this area.

The characteristic feature of Kampong Puteh and Jalan Raja Dewa is the spacious homes of the very high ranking civil servants. It is in this area that the official residence of the state secretary and chief minister are found, as well as homes of other civil servants and the private residences of wealthy businessmen, professionals, and other high ranking townsmen. However,
not all housing is of this type and there are many housing clusters in the area of more modest homes occupied by a cross-section of urbanites who are employed at various jobs of the town. Along most of the main thoroughfares in the area are strip developments of two- and three-storey shop-houses containing a variety of stores and offices. At the south-east corner of the area is a large school complex of Malay and English medium schools. Also located in this area is Istana Telipot, a guest house used to accommodate important state visitors.

Strip development

16. Jalan Kuala Krai
17. Kampong Wakaf Siku
18. Kampong Dusun Muda

Along both sides of the two major roads connecting the town with the southern parts of the state are strip developments of one- and two-storey shops, shop-houses, and small factories. Most of these are Chinese enterprises with an occasional Malay firm. Many deal in goods and services for motor vehicles, although there are also coffee shops, printing companies, tailors, photographers, and tin manufacturers. Occasionally there is a private home among these shops, often set back some distance from the street. The central bus garage is also located in this area. Behind this strip development are residential settlements of a mixed type: traditional Malay-style
houses, stucco houses of one- and two-storeys, and semi-detached garden-style homes. The population of these areas is ethnically and socially very diverse.

Housing estate

19. Kampong Limau Manis

There are several housing estates located in the town, but the one which does not form an integral part of any other area is Kampong Limau Manis. This area is arranged around a central lane that enters the estate from the main street. This estate has a number of detached houses, each surrounded by landscaped gardens and chain-link fences. Most residents are either businessmen or other upwardly mobile urbanites. Near the lane entering the area is a strip development of shops and offices. In addition to the branch offices of several national firms, these blocks also contain the small sundry shops that serve this area.

Residential areas in the "Old Town"

20. Kampong Penambang
21. Kampong Kubang Pasu
22. Kampong Merbau
23. Kampong Atas Banggol
24. Kampong Masjid
25. Kampong China

Extending to the north and east of Padang Bank is
an older section of the town which contains the main mosque, many religious schools, the office of the state religious council, a small market, and a large and congested residential area. House styles in this area vary widely with the majority being of older wooden construction, although there are occasionally modern concrete detached houses with small gardens as well. Kampong Penambang, a residential area of many businessmen, is the centre of a cottage industry in weaving silk cloth (songket). There are a number of batek\(^2\) factories, as well as a factory making a well-known brand of Kelantanese condiment (vudu). One of the three mosques is located in this area. Many of the residents of Kampong Kubang Pasu, acknowledged by most townsmen to be the "original Islamic area," are characterized as anak baik (literally, good children), the more conservative and traditionally well-to-do of the town. Residents of this area are often employed as religious and secular teachers and businessmen. The area is the site of the Kelantian Chief Minister's personal home, as well as Kota Bahru's largest Chinese school and a large Chinese saw mill. Kampong Merbau, whose population is largely comprised of wage earners, is the site of an important Arabic school and several secular schools. Kampong Masjid, directly surrounding the central mosque, is the

\(^2\)Batek is fabric printing, using the wax-resist method.
home of many religious teachers and students. Kampong Atas Banggol resembles Kampong Kubang Pasu, although it was more recently settled by persons moving from Kampong Sungei Budor to escape the annual erosion of land by flooding. Kampong China, an area of traditional Chinese style houses built inside fenced compounds, is the original site of Chinese settlement and the home of many of the town's long-term Chinese residents. One of the town's Chinese temples, a centre of cultural events, is located here. Most residents are businessmen in other parts of the town, although there is a small amount of cottage industry, employing Malay workers, in this area as well. A number of Malays, some of whom are employed in these industries, have their homes in the vicinity.

Residential areas of newer mixed type

26. Kampong Wakaf Mek Zainab
27. Padang Kluchor
28. Kampong Kebun Sultan
29. Kampong Kubor Kuda
30. Jalan Zainal Abiddin
31. Kampong Paya Pernama
32. Kampong Sireh

On the north-east and south side of the central area of the town are a number of newer residential areas. In most cases the population of these areas is growing rapidly and previously agricultural land is being converted
to residential use. Two royal residences, Istana Sultan Ibrahim and Istana Raja Udang, have been replaced recently to accommodate new houses. House styles vary widely, although most are detached houses of traditional wooden or modern concrete type. In some areas, for example, the housing estate of Kampong Paya Pernama, houses are fenced and landscaped; more typically, houses are separated only by trees and shrubbery.

Many newer houses are rented to transient urbanites employed in government, business, or as teachers. Long-term local residents tend to occupy the less modern homes except for the occasional well-to-do businessmen or government servants who have built new homes in these areas.

Kampong Sireh differs in many features from this generalized picture. This older area of the town is located on both sides of a street extending from the centre of town to some distance beyond the Kelantan River bridge. Along this street is a growing strip development of batek producer outlets, silversmiths, craft supply houses, printing plants, and the usual shops selling hardware, appliances, sundry goods, coffee and snacks. Behind these rows of shops are the residential clusters of this area, connected to one another and the main street by numerous small lanes. In these clusters is found a wide range of house types occupied by persons of every urban occupation.
Traditionally this is an area of craftsmen and interspersed among these residences is the occasional craftshop. Some residents of these areas engage in market gardening on the flat flood plain along the river bank.

The most notable single feature of Kampong Sireh is the residence of the Sultan of Kelantan, Istana Kota Lama. Previously the residence of the British adviser, this building occupies a large piece of land overlooking the river. Quarters for the Sultan's staff surround this building.

Low-cost housing estate

33. Ranchangan Rumah Murah

On land that was previously the site of a royal residence the state government, in 1967, constructed a housing scheme for persons of low income. The single- and multiple-storey units of the scheme offer a range of apartment-style accommodations for low-salary urban wage workers. In the initial phase of the scheme a prayer house and police post have been provided and plans call for a mosque and market to be constructed on the site. Near this scheme is a large school complex serving local residents as well as the town at large. A private firm is developing a housing estate of semi-detached and detached houses nearby.
Poorer residential areas

34. Kampong Sungei Budor
35. Kampong Sungei Keladi
36. Kampong Atas Paloh

North of the old town are three areas characterized by older Malay-style houses, most of which are in poor condition. Many of these older houses have been divided into numerous small rental units and in some cases, new usually wooden, rental units have been built nearby. There is an occasional new house of wooden or concrete construction. These sections are subject to severe annual flooding and any ground level houses must be evacuated. Two of the town's larger industries, a saw mill and a match factory, are located in these areas. The match factory employs many women, often wives of urban migrants who occupy the rental units in these areas. While some residents of long standing work at the match factory and saw mill, the majority hold other types of low income urban jobs: market sellers, labourers, small businessmen, or trishaw pedallers. There is also the occasional home of the middle-income wage earner or well-to-do businessman. Throughout these areas are a number of small cottage industries producing gold or silver jewellery and batek in which many local residents work.

Kampong Sungei Budor is an area that is slowly being reclaimed from the river bank by the addition of
garbage land fill. As soon as a portion of land is reclaimed and stabilized, it is occupied. Kampong Sungei Keladi has a longer history and earlier in this century was the site of the general hospital, and between 1928 and 1950 the town slaughter house was in this area.

Squatter areas in the town centre

37. Kampong Balek Kota
38. Kampong Dalam Kubu

A royal residence, the central state meeting hall (Balai besar) and several unused Sultanate buildings are central features of these areas. The land in these areas belongs to the Kelantanese Sultanate which has granted occupation rights to two types of residents. A number of modest wooden homes, most in traditional style, are occupied by some of the court retainers or their descendants: the sultan's ceremonial guards, royal tailor, royal carpenter, and others. Most of these retainers today hold additional jobs in the town as well. The remaining land in these areas is occupied by lower-class marginal urbanites and recent urban migrants: trishaw pedallers, hawkers, labourers, and others. These residents have established their homes in this area and most maintain occupancy rights were given to them and guaranteed in perpetuity by some member of the royal family. Houses in this area are small, usually wooden, units, some of which are raised off the
ground. Many of these small houses have been divided by their owners into small units which are rented to more recent urban migrants. Although occupation of these rental units changes frequently, the rental payments provide the longer-term residents with a small income. Paths through these areas provide access to most houses and along these paths are located a few small shops dealing in sundry goods. In light of the fact that officials consider this area to be a "slum" and the residents to be "squatters," the state government plans to evict the residents, demolish their homes and construct modern office blocks and an hotel in an effort to revitalize what was once the centre of town. These are the only two residential areas in which there is a high concentration of squatters, although there are households of squatters on many pieces of unused land throughout the town.

Boundary settlements

39. Kampong Paya Senang
40. Kampong Langgar
41. Kampong Kubor Maras
42. Kampong Telipot
43. Kampong Islah Lama
44. Kampong Che Hussein
45. Kampong Paya Gading

Located near one of the town's boundaries, some of these areas have only recently been incorporated into the
official limits of the town. All have been, in the recent past, agricultural areas and some of the agricultural land forms can still be seen. There are also substantial stands of producing fruit trees, an occasional grove of rubber trees, and numerous small patches of garden, producing foodstuffs for local residents. These areas also have some unused land. House types are variable, ranging from small traditional Malay houses standing separately or in small groups to large, new modern one- and two-storey houses often surrounded by a fence. These modern houses are often owned by persons who have recently purchased or rented land in these areas and who constitute a definite social category of "new residents." The "older" residents of these areas tend to be less well-to-do than these newcomers and there are some striking differences to be observed in the standards of living of residents of these areas.

Each of these areas is served by a few small shops selling daily necessities, although as most residents leave the area daily for work they obtain many of their requirements from the larger shops in the town.

The new growth of the town is spreading rapidly into these areas and thus land values are rising. This inflation of land prices often makes it difficult for existing "old" residents to acquire new land and further widens the distance between the "old" and "new" residents
as well as placing additional pressure on the "old" residents to sell their land.

Kampong Langgar is the site of several cemeteries, as well as a new mosque used by most residents of nearby areas.

Three residential clusters: a portrait of daily life

Each of the named residential areas of the town is comprised of one or more residential clusters. Each of these clusters is in turn comprised of a number of occupied houses. Each of these clusters forms a relatively defined unit in terms of the surrounding social geography, although they may be further subdivided into various groups of interacting households according to various criteria. In the sketches below I shall provide an impressionistic account of daily life in three of these residential clusters.

Kampong Puteh-Jalan Telipot.

This residential cluster is a sub-division of one of the named residential areas (Kampong Puteh). It is bounded on one side by a row of houses which face onto a main thoroughfare. Most of these houses are large and substantial and have fenced compounds. They are occupied by Malays and non-Malays who are considered to be rich people (orang kaya) by the residents of this cluster. The second boundary is formed by another main road onto which
face a number of shops, most of which are concerned with auto sales or service. Few of the occupants of these shop-houses are Malays and they do not form a part of the local cluster. The third boundary of the area is formed by a small housing estate of large fenced houses. The residents are not known to members of the local cluster. The fourth side of this area has a less distinct boundary. Behind the last row of houses in this cluster is a steep earth bank which separates it from a less densely populated area at the foot of this bank, referred to as the "lower area." Many of the residents have friends and relatives living in this area but they do not consider it to be part of their cluster.

Access to this residential cluster is provided by four small lanes. From these lanes, all of which are at least partly surfaced, access to other houses is by dirt paths. Often these paths are just wide enough for a small car or motorcycle. All of the houses in this cluster are wooden and most are in traditional style. There are several small sundry shops, all built on ground level, and all attached to the owner's house.

Before 1945 nearly all of the land in this area was devoted to agricultural use. Since that time a number of the landowners who were forced to move from their nearby residential land when the government expropriated their
property have converted this agricultural land to residential purposes. These original settlers make up the nucleus of the current residents. In the course of the years since 1945 numerous lots have been sold and subdivided. Some of these have been bought by non-residents who have built rental housing on the land. Other lots have been sold to "outsiders" who have since built houses and taken up residence on the land. Some of these "outsiders" have also built rental units on their land in addition to their own houses. As a result of this pattern, the present population consists of several types of households: original landowners, their descendants and in-marrying spouses, and outsider households, both renters and landowners. Many of the persons who are renters in this cluster occupy very substantial houses. Within the boundaries of this residential cluster there are no non-Malays who rent houses from non-resident landlords.

Daily life in Kampong Puteh-Jalan Telipot begins with the morning call to prayer made by the man who has built a prayer house on land adjacent to his residence. Only a few of the men attend the morning prayer at this prayer house, although the call to prayer often serves as a signal to arise to pray at home. After prayers some of the men go out for a walk around the neighbourhood while the morning meal is prepared and children are made ready for school. After their walk the men return home to eat.
Nearly all of the men of this cluster work at jobs outside this area. A husband and wife are usually the first to leave, outsiders who are both teachers. They are followed by school children who make their way to school by bicycle or on foot by 7:30. Shortly after this a number of the labourers who work on a gravel truck garaged in this area arrive and prepare the truck for the work day.

Shortly before eight o'clock most of the other men leave for their work in other parts of the town by bicycle, car, or motorbike. Men who work at the nearby batek factories leave on foot at about this same time. This exodus leaves mostly women, children, and a few older men at home during the day. The women look after household chores, washing, cleaning, preparing food, tending children, and in some cases painting wax on unfinished batek pieces. Many of the women's activities are carried out in small groups with other immediate neighbours, either clustered together in the kitchen, near the back steps, or particularly in the case of batek painting, sitting together under the house. The relative quiet of the morning is punctuated occasionally by the calls of hawkers selling vegetables and fish from their bicycles as they travel the paths of the area. At around noon time the pace changes as some children return from school, while others leave, some men return from work and the midday meal is served. After eating and praying, men who have come home return to work and the
afternoon is spent much the same as the morning.

At about 4 p.m. the men begin to return home, government and office workers first, factory workers and businessmen later. The gravel truck returns about 5:30 and the labourers stop for coffee at a coffee shop on the edge of the residential cluster before leaving to return to their homes. When the men of the cluster return from work they usually attend to various chores around the house: weeding gardens, splitting firewood, making minor repairs, and gathering grass for livestock. Occasionally they use this time to make a trip, either alone or with the family, to the central market to buy supplies. This period of the late afternoon is also a time for playing various informal sports, usually badminton, at the local sports ground, or sitting on the porch in front of the house, visiting with neighbours.

By about 7 p.m. most people are at home preparing for prayers by bathing and changing clothes. If they are going to the prayer house they set out, stopping to visit with neighbours, and waiting to accompany those others who are also going. Those attending the prayer house gather in time to say the first evening prayer together and then they wait until it is time for the second evening prayer, reading the Koran or chatting. Some men return home to eat the evening meal in this interval. Occasionally after the second evening prayer there is a religious class at the
prayer house and many men stay to participate in this. Otherwise men return home for dinner with their family, if they have not yet eaten, followed by an evening of television-watching either at their own home or at the home of a neighbour. Some of the local residents may go out to the house of a neighbour who teaches a class in traditional singing or a class in traditional self-defense. At about 11 p.m. most adults are making preparations to go to sleep and by midnight the neighbourhood is completely quiet.

Kampong Che Su

This residential cluster is located in the centre of the old business district of the town near a large cinema hall and nighttime entertainment centre. In this case the boundary of the residential cluster and the named residential area where it is located coincide. The area consists of one city block. Around the perimeter of this block is a nearly continuous row of shop-houses of cloth, dry goods, magazine, record, photo, and housewares shops, several tailors, barbers, and a few food and coffee shops. Nearly all of these shops are operated by Chinese or Indian proprietors who reside in rooms over their stores. The non-Malays are not considered to be part of this residential cluster by local residents. The Malay residential population of this area lives immediately behind
these shops in the centre of the block. Access to this residential area is by way of several narrow paths, some covered in concrete, others earthen, that run between these shops. Houses of the Malay population are in traditional style, mostly wooden, and all are situated high off the ground as this is an area that experiences annual flooding. Many of these houses are so close together that they are adjoining.

Nearly all of the residents of this area are persons who have lived here for many years. There are few renters and even fewer newcomers who have purchased residential land. Most of the residents of this area are older than those in Kampong Puteh and there are substantially fewer young children in evidence. The pace of daily life is also different.

There is no prayer house in or near this area and the morning call to prayer from the central mosque some blocks away may be only indistinctly heard. Most of the residents say their prayers at home. After morning prayers some of the men may go out walking around the surrounding blocks of the town. On these walks they meet friends and acquaintances and stop to talk and occasionally the men purchase food packets which they take home to share with their families as their morning meal. Between 7:30 and 9 a.m. the men prepare for, or leave for, work. In contrast to Kampong Puteh, many of the men resident here are
engaged in business and they go to the market or to their shops in other parts of the town. Some of the local residents operate shops located on one of the streets bounding the area. These men use this time to take down the shop's shutters, arrange the stock, and otherwise prepare for their business day. The school-aged children attending the morning session of school will be sent on their way at this time.

The morning is a relatively quiet time. Local women often make an early morning trip to the nearby central market, after which they attend to household chores and other tasks in the vicinity of their houses; a few of these women engage in painting batek. Despite the relative quiet of the local residents during this period, there is much activity in the surrounding commercial areas. Shops are opening, the streets are crowded with shoppers, vans making wholesale deliveries, cars, bicycles, trishaws, and motorcycles. The pace of these activities builds until about 12:30 when urban workers going home for lunch, and school children add their numbers to the crowds. Most of the men of this cluster either return home for lunch or, if they are operating a shop in the area, they stop to eat their midday meal. After eating, most men pray before returning to their work. In the afternoon the women continue with their various household tasks. In several cases
the women of the household also work in the business and they attend to customers or prepare merchandise while the men are away purchasing new stock or looking after other matters. The pace of the early afternoon is slower than that of the morning and during this period many of the shopkeepers and their staff rest. Around 4 p.m. business again becomes brisk as workers on their way home stop at the shops to make purchases. The men who work outside of the cluster usually begin to arrive home about 5 to 6 p.m., whereupon they say their afternoon prayers. Some of the younger men and many of the local youth go to a sports ground in a nearby area to participate in various informal sports, returning home about 7 p.m. At about this time most residents say their evening prayers and eat dinner. For persons who operate local shops, these prayers and the evening meal are completed between customers. Thus, almost all of the residents are home from about 6 to 8 p.m., either having dinner or praying. During this period the vicinity is very quiet, and even Chinese shops have few customers. After 8 p.m. the pace of the area once again quickens. Crowds begin to fill the street and people in cars or on bicycles and motorbikes attempt to manoeuvre through the crush of people walking to the cinema or to one of the food shops in the area. Above the noise of the crowds and the traffic local record shops promote their wares through high-powered amplifiers. The pandemonium
of these activities is in strong contrast to the activities of the local residents, most of whom are usually at home with their families watching television in the relative quiet of the area behind the shops. Even the Malay shopkeepers remain relatively subdued as the crowds circulate in the street. Their children complete school assignments on a table in the back of the shop and they get up from their newspaper reading or conversations with visitors to wait on a customer. Occasionally one of the men of the neighbourhood comes out of his home to join the local teenage youth who often congregate on the edge of the sidewalk to watch the passing crowds. By 10 or 11 p.m., the crowds abate, residents are in their houses, shopkeepers have closed their shutters, and the neighbourhood is quiet.

Kampong Sungei Keladi

This residential cluster coincides with the residential area of the same name. It was first settled, according to oral history, by a single family, many of whose descendants are still living here today. It is bordered on one side by the river which gives the area its name, on another by the town boundary, on the third by an area of undeveloped land covered with fruit and rubber trees, and on the fourth side by a main street of the town. Access to the cluster is by a paved road that
follows the river into the area and ends about one-quarter mile from the main road where it becomes a gravel path. Branching off from this is one other path which has been converted to a road and which links the "other side" of the area. The Sungei Keladi residential cluster is substantially larger than either of the areas described above and many residents consider that there are two sub-regions within this cluster.

Along the main road is a large match factory which provides employment for many residents and which has attracted many of the new residents of the area to work at this factory. This factory also supplies business to several small coffee shops which have been built nearby. Adjacent to this factory is an ice factory which also employs a few local residents.

Houses in this residential cluster are nearly all of wood, most in traditional style raised off the ground to substantial heights as this is a region subjected to substantial annual flooding. Some of the housing in the area is built directly on the ground and it is these dwellings which are most often rented out. There are five sundry shops that supply daily needs, as well as serving as centres for women to meet when buying supplies, or where youths may loiter. Many of the houses in this cluster do not have piped water and they depend on wells or upon the use of the river for bathing, washing clothes, and other
household needs.

Numerous men who are residents of this area have their daily employment within the area. Butchers use unoccupied fields as a location to keep their cattle between purchase and slaughter; gold- and silversmiths work in their houses or in adjacent quarters, usually accompanied by a small group of young men doing the more routine work and serving as apprentices. The most conspicuous enterprise in the area is a number of batek factories. Because most of these use water in washing processes, they are located near the river, but there are a few others scattered through the residential area as well.

Unlike Kampong Puteh, there are few houses that have fenced compounds and there are few persons whom residents consider rich people (orang kaya), but there are many different styles of accommodation. Characteristic of this cluster are the small houses with several doors entering onto several inexpensive one- or two-room living units. These have been built by local land owners, sometimes even by persons renting land, to rent out to transient residents. These latter are often marginally employed in the match factory, or as trishaw peddlers, or batek workers, whose original homes are outside of the town.

Within this residential cluster there are two
additional types of residential style which are, to a cer-
tain extent, a result of the type of tenure in which they are held. Two parcels of land belong to the State Religious Department which rents house sites to persons they consider to be in need. In both of the lots which are so used, this has resulted in very dense occupation. The people in these areas are relative newcomers and are con-
sidered a group apart by the established residents. But members of some established families have also built their houses on this land. There are also several parcels of land which are owned by various government bodies, which grant tenants a Temporary Occupation License in order to build a house and live there until such time as the land is needed for some other purpose, when the license will be terminated. The houseowner owes a small annual fee to the government body concerned, in most cases the town board, but it is infrequently collected.

The pace of daily life in this residential cluster is also different from that described above. Many of the inhabitants begin their work quite early, often after drinking coffee at one of the local coffee shops; butchers take their animals to be slaughtered, and trishaw pedallers set off looking for business, frequently before 5 a.m. While there are several prayer houses in this area, men usually say their prayers at home or in the course of their work. By about 7:20 most people are up, children are
leaving for school, and wage workers for their jobs. A few local residents set off in their cars or on motorcycles but the majority take trishaws, bicycles, or set out on foot. Many local women leave at this time for their jobs at the match factory, thus leaving some living units, particularly the small rented apartments, vacant. Other women of the area begin to set up stands on which they paint batek in front of their houses.

The local batek factories begin operations at about 8 a.m. with the arrival of their many non-local employees. Frequently these employees eat breakfast at one of the coffee shops in the area before starting work. Craftsmen begin their work. Local shop owners frequently use the morning to travel to the central market and to wholesalers' shops to restock their supplies. They return home by noon when local women begin to prepare the midday meal. At one o'clock, when offices close, many people come home for lunch; many of the batek workers take their lunch at local coffee shops.

At 2 p.m., after lunch and prayers, people return to work and the day continues through the afternoon much as it has in the morning until approximately 4 p.m. when government office workers begin to return home. Often in the late afternoon the young men of the area will engage in sports matches, while older men work around their homes. It is not until 6 or 7 p.m. that many of the self-employed,
such as the trishaw drivers and hawkers, get home. Many of the men then go to the river to bathe where they may meet and chat with their neighbours.

Many of the adult men and women, and some of the male youth, then attend evening prayers at one of the two prayer houses. As in Kampong Puteh, people may remain after the first evening prayer to study the Koran or to chat with other attenders, or they may return home. Occasionally there are religious classes at the prayer house and many people stay for these. After prayers men and women return to their homes for dinner and an evening of television-watching. By midnight most households are asleep.

Conclusion

Urbanites conceptually organize the geographic space of the town into a number of named areas. Urbanites live in and identify with these areas, each of which has its unique history, demography, and social features. Very few urbanites, however, confine their activities and associations to the limits of these residential areas. Activities of most people are carried out in the total urban environment. Urbanites recognize that all town residents share certain features in common, regardless of their residential affiliation. One of the most important of these features is employment at an urban job. The categories of working are described in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI

URBANITES: OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES
AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

When engaged in activities in the urban environment at large, the social identity of a Kota Bharu urban Malay is closely associated with his occupation. The town is an environment of non-agricultural and non-fishing work. This factor distinguishes the urbanite from the rural dweller. Urban occupations are described by reference to a hierarchical system of categories familiar to most urbanites. This hierarchy forms the basis of the social stratification system of the town. These categories provide the basic vocabulary of working. The system of ideas regarding the terms in this vocabulary and their relationship to one another forms the basic ideology of stratification. In the urban environment the fact that men are employed at urban jobs serves to give them a common identity while the status implications of these jobs serve to isolate men of one occupation from those of other occupations. While this factor of "work" is an important structural feature of most urban societies, in Kota Bharu it is also recognized culturally. In the town environment
residents make frequent reference to a person's work. Urbanites' use of the vocabulary of work types and many choices regarding association in the urban environment are constrained by considerations arising from the ideology of the system of urban stratification. In this chapter I shall describe the categories of urban occupational roles and some of the elements of this ideology of stratification.

The vocabulary of working

Occupational categories are described by the following terminology arranged roughly in order of descending status rank.

I. makan gaji (literally, earning wages; wage earner)

People in this category receive a periodic wage. Traditionally this term has referred to persons in government employment and this has carried the connotation of regularity of income, security, and systematic promotion. More recently, with many new non-government enterprises paying regular wages, a man in this category is just as likely to be working in the private sector.

II. kerja sendiri (working oneself, self-employed)

This is a large category and is applied to any person who works on his own, that is, who does not have an employer or patron. The above term is that which is most often used although it includes a number of sub-types to
further define the domain.

A. berniaga (businessman)

An individual who operates a business rather than performing a service. It is often used in instances where a man may operate several enterprises, a large firm, or in those cases where the individual does not wish to be more specific about the nature of his business. When a person wishes to be more specific about his business occupation he will use one of the following sub-categories:

1. berjaja (hawker)—a retailer with no fixed place of business; he may set up his wares at a street stall or on the sidewalk (jual kaki lima) or he may travel around the town and outlying areas by motorbike, car, cart, or bicycle, selling his wares from house to house (jual rata-rata). In local Kelantanese dialect these latter two terms are more frequently used for this category than the more technical term berjaja.

2. tuan kedai (shop owners—not a term in common local usage)—a retailer (or wholesaler, or both) who conducts his business from a shop either in separate premises or in a part of his house. In local use persons of this category are most often just described by the term berniaga, sometimes further amplified by the explanation that "he has
a shop."

3. **perai** (middle man, although only in the non-perjorative sense; perjoratively this is stated *orang tengah*)—a man who takes products from places in which they are plentiful to places where they are scarce with the intention of selling them for a profit. Often the commodities involved are agricultural produce. He rarely deals in products he himself produces but rather collects the produce of others and sells them in other places, usually in large lots, often on a wholesale basis.

4. **broker** (broker)—a man who finds a major item for a purchaser, such things as a house, car, piece of land, or piece of expensive jewellery. He is paid a commission on the sale price and often the transaction is completed between the buyer and seller directly after an introduction by the broker. Brokers often do not have a formal place of business and they may work from coffee shops where it is easy to meet customers.

5. **kontrektor** (contractor)—a man who takes a contract to do a particular job or task. Often this will entail constructing a building, house, or public works project. Contracts are let by the government, private businesses, and occasionally
individuals. It is the task of the contractor to organize the constituent tasks, obtain materials, hire labourers and sub-contractors, and to supervise the task. Remuneration is often in the form of a fixed fee or a percentage of the total contract estimate. The nature and amount of the payment will be agreed upon in advance and will form part of the contract. Most businessmen in this category work from their own homes, small offices, and occasionally, for those of the smallest scale, from coffee shops.

6. insuran (instalment seller)—these self-employed workers are in fact a type of retail seller. They obtain items wanted by a customer which he does not have sufficient resources to pay for in one payment himself. The seller obtains the items on order from regular retail outlets and then resells them to the customer, collecting payment in small instalments at an agreed-upon rate on a periodic basis. No contracts or written agreements are made; arrangements depend upon good will on both sides and the solidarity of such sellers in assisting each other to locate delinquent customers. Customers are, however, carefully selected and their ability to repay is calculated by the seller.
7. **macham-macham** (many things)—this is a residual category and includes those persons who are engaged in a variety of small enterprises at once. It may also be used by those persons who, because of shyness (**malu**), do not wish to state their actual work. Used in the first sense, it may connote activities which border on the illegal (such as scalping cinema tickets), or it may mean simply that the man has many enterprises. This category is only applied to the smallest of businesses. In elaborating on it, an informant stated that it meant "doing anything in which there was some profit to be gained."

B. service occupations¹

There is no local term for this general category, although the two sub-categories are commonly recognized as "doing business."

1. **pembawer teksi** (taxi driver)—persons owning taxi licenses are usually categorized under the general term of **berniager**. In many cases, however, they employ people to operate their cars for them. These drivers are not paid a wage (thus they are not wage-workers) but rather they receive a

¹ Because of their rather marginal nature, these occupations may more correctly rank outside these categories in a position somewhere before village work.
percentage of the receipts after the deduction of operating costs.

2. gata teksi (trishaw pedaller)—these men usually rent their trishaws (which are licensed by the town board) for a stipulated amount per day and they ply for customers in the town, getting to keep anything in excess of the daily rental as their profit. This is an extremely marginal occupation.

III. tukang (craftsman)

People in this category possess a specific skill which is often learned through apprenticeship. Silversmithing, goldsmithing, tin making, iron working, some of the precision processes of batek printing, or mixing of dyes for the batek process are all such tasks. Persons in this category may sell their production directly to a consumer on a retail basis, to a wholesaler, or they may be paid by the owner of the enterprise on a contract or piece-work basis. Occasionally persons of this category sell their services directly to the public and are paid a fee or wage (for example, tukang kayu [carpenters] or tukang masak [cooks]).

IV. ambil upah (literally, to take a fee)

People in this category work independently (often at their homes), usually at some kind of craft in which all materials are supplied by the purchaser or patron. The
purchaser pays a stipulated fee, *upah*, to the man who does the work. The producer has no investment beyond the cost of the tools and even these are often supplied. There is some overlap with the above category in that often craftsmen are engaged under this kind of an arrangement. Occasionally this term is applied to persons in the rural setting who are paid a fee of part of the produce to help a man harvest or otherwise tend some of his crops. The term *gaji* (wage) is never applied to this sort of rural activity.

V. *kerja kampong* (literally, village work)

People in this category carry on subsistence agricultural activities combined with some limited market gardening. They occasionally work for daily pay at odd jobs or as labourers. In the urban setting there are very few persons in this category.

The vocabulary of working is used frequently by urban residents in the course of daily interaction. One of the most characteristic uses is in the identification of a new acquaintance. Names are of little use because there are many men with similar names in the town and as a result of the Malay system of naming, and the absence of named descent groups, there is no continuity implied in names (beyond two generations). To identify a man as to his place of residence is helpful, but because there is
limited contact between men of different residential areas and because each area contains a variety of types of people, this identification does not provide the specific kind of information which a man needs about a new acquaintance. The most salient identifying feature of a new acquaintance is the kind of work he does. The importance of this in relation to the system of urban stratification will be discussed in the next section.

Occupation and social stratification

To understand the significance of the vocabulary of working, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the categories of this terminology and the principles of stratification which order urban life. A full description of Malay urban social stratification is beyond the scope of this thesis, but a brief summary of some of the salient aspects of this system as a set of ideas and as this system pertains to the process of association will be presented.

In using the term social stratification I am following the work of Silvermann who, in turn, is following such sociologists as Barber (1957) in holding that:

by the term stratification I mean a structure of regularized inequality that differentiates people hierarchically on the basis of their social roles. . . . Dominant social roles represent an approximate summation of several dimensions of stratification: access to strategic resources, capacity to claim deference,
Silvermann is largely concerned with the analysis of the structural relationships that pertain among European peasant cultivators. However, her definition serves as an equally adequate guide to the analysis of the structure of ideas which is the basis of the Malay urban stratificational system. It is the structure of ideas associated with each of these occupational types that gives specific definition to each of the dimensions of stratification that Silvermann describes.

While the specific cluster of ideas associated with each occupational type is peculiar to that type, the system of ideas linking each of these types into a coherent hierarchy is characterized by a central motif. The motif is expressed in the term perasan.\(^2\) While it is difficult to translate this term with a specific English equivalent, its meaning concerns feelings which the individual has in terms of the relationships in question. These feelings could be characterized by such English terms as pride or esteem.

\(^2\)This is the term as it was agreed upon by informants, although the relationship between this term and other terms in the national language is difficult to discover. The word in the national language is perhaps berasa, to feel, or some other form of rasa, to experience. In the national language the terms kebanggaan (to esteem) and sanjungan (an esteem) are commonly found. Informants were adamant in their choice of the term perasan to denote this feeling of pride or esteem.
Two analytic examples from cultural data support this contention and illustrate more clearly the role of this motif in understanding the system of ideas surrounding this hierarchy. The most common form of introductory interchange, upon meeting a new acquaintance in the town environment, is to ask "(Name) berkerja di mana?, at where do you work?" Often this is not asked directly of the acquaintance but may be posed as a general question to all the participants in the interaction. The response to this question allows the questioner to place the new man according to his status; however, the implications of the question and its response are more subtle. The words of the question are carefully chosen and the operative element is di mana, AT WHERE do you work? The form of this question demands a reply giving a specific place, a location, not merely a general type of work. The only category of urbanites for whom a ready answer to this question is available is persons of the category of wage earners. Persons of this category can readily reply that they work at the hospital, at the immigration office, at the Town Board, or at a particular firm. No further comment or elaboration is necessary. Most important, with such a response the new acquaintance lives up to the expectation of the questioner; he can reply in the form that is expected of him. Those persons whose occupations allow can readily answer the
question and by so doing they maintain their esteem, they do not lose face. The question was asked and a response given. The fact that the new acquaintance may be employed in a menial job at this particular place does not enter into the conversation.

The issue of loss of esteem does arise when the new acquaintance cannot directly reply to the question, and because of several social conventions regarding the description of work it is not possible for persons other than wage earners to do so easily. Logically, it would be possible to provide a response of the proper form for any occupation. For example, a businessman, upon being asked, At where do you work? could reply: I work at the market (kerja di pasar). However, this is not usually done, as social convention demands that for persons other than wage earners the significant information is what kind of work they do (for example, business, crafting, or providing service). The question cannot be answered directly in keeping with the expectations of the questioner. The new acquaintance must use a circuitous explanation to reply. In such a case the reply is often a situation of some embarrassment and the answer may be flippant or abrupt, or more usually, mumbled with no further elaboration. The new acquaintance has lost esteem by not being able to reply as expected; he has been made to feel malu (shame).³

³The situation being described here is one that
The fact that the form of this question and the subsequent interchange arises from the conventional understanding surrounding the stratification system and not merely from the limitations of the language structure can be demonstrated by the fact that it would be possible to use the question: "What does he do?" (Dia buat apa?), a question which could be comfortably answered by men of any occupation. Despite this, the common usage is in the form of "Where does he work?"

It was mentioned that even a man who, in fact, did very menial tasks in his wage earning job would not have to reveal this in the context of this type of exchange. There are, of course, rankings within each of the types of occupation and these also have as their motif aspects of esteem, but other dimensions of stratification are also important. Thus, both a clerk and a government department head would be considered to be wage earners and would so reply when asked, but the department head would be ranked by most urbanites more highly as, for example, they might consider that he had a higher capacity to initiate action.

would typically take place in the town environment between men who had no other reason to associate other than in this chance meeting. In introducing persons in other contexts, such as a relative or new neighbour—where the relationship is one in which status is less significant—such a question as to a man's occupation would not be asked precisely because it would be indiscreet and might engender a feeling of shame in a relationship where this is utterly inappropriate.
It must be reiterated that this ranking is based upon the ideas held about the occupation, not concrete evaluations of the structural variables involved. For example, some clerks may, in fact, be able to initiate action in a much wider range of activities than the head of the department but the idea system would not acknowledge this.

As Silvermann's definition points out, dominant social roles are a summation of a number of different dimensions. No single dimension provides a characteristic indicator for types of persons of high status. Following from this generalization, it is not surprising to find that, despite the importance of money and pecuniary exchanges as a dominant feature of urban life, wealth, in itself, is not sufficient to gain esteem and thus to obtain a position of high social status. The difference can be seen in the system of ideas connected with occupations classed as wage earning and those occupations classed as business. Reiterating once again the central motif of esteem and pride, this is illustrated in the example below.

While government wages are high in Malaysia by Southeast Asian standards, the rewards from many kinds of business enterprise can be substantially higher. However, many businessmen cited examples in which they were desirous of establishing their children in business (as they had been established by their fathers) but the children refused, preferring to take instead middle-ranking government jobs.
with only modest wages, or a similar ranking wage earning job with a private firm. The children displayed very little interest in taking over the business. The reason that these informants cited was that their children have a feeling of perasan. They say that people feel pride at being employed at wage earning jobs. These businessmen point out that wage earners have leisure time which they can use to develop social contacts; these social contacts can help them to advance in their work to points where they control a staff, or supervise important aspects of administration such as licenses and contracts. In terms of our definition, it is these wage jobs which give the individual the capacity to initiate action, to claim deference, and to gain access to strategic resources. One of the most important resources to which the wage earning person can gain access is associations and even friendships with other high ranking persons. The businessman who looks after his business on a daily basis does not have time for this type of cultivation of network links. Informants claim that businessmen have no social circle, and it is the associations one finds amongst a social circle which make urban life satisfying.

It can be argued that there are historical reasons for this ranking of occupational categories. It is possible that one of the factors which gives a high ranking to wage earning jobs is the fact that it was these jobs which were
held by the British colonials in Kelantan and which their colonial policy encouraged for Malays. However, the British presence was not strong in Kelantan, and this feeling of pride is found among youth who were socialized after the colonial era, suggesting that the exogenous factors had less of an impact than the traditional definitions of the system of social stratification.

The brief example above provides insights into the system of ideas surrounding the stratification system found among urban Malays in Kota Bharu. In this discussion I have focused on differences exhibited between persons of the wage earner category and other categories in the system. While this is the contrast of greatest definition, there is a continuous application of these principles throughout the range of urban occupations. I have chosen to focus on this contrast because it is one in which the elements of the hierarchical distinctions are most clearly seen.

The ranking of the total range of occupations provided previously (pp. 97-103) was derived as a generalization from informants' accounts of their ideas about the hierarchy of these occupations. While most informants were in agreement in regard to the ranking of categories indicated by roman numerals, the ranking of those occupational types forming sub-divisions of these categories was less universally agreed upon. In the case of these sub-categories, the boundaries between the divisions of the
hierarchy should be understood as less rigid.

Conclusion

The system of ideas concerning urban occupation has a dualistic character. This system of ideas stresses the unity of all urbanites (orang bandar) and their distinctiveness from rural persons (orang kampong). This unity derives from the urbanites' participation in the occupational system. All urbanites are engaged in some named occupation. At the same time, this system of ideas also provides the basis for significant divisions of the urban population. Ideas regarding esteem or pride, and shame provide the motif for a ranked hierarchy of the urban occupational types. Working at a job provides the urbanite with a commonality with other urbanites while also serving as the basis of the system which divides him from other urbanites.

It must be reiterated that these findings concern only the system of ideas to which urban social action is referred. It remains to be seen if this hierarchical distinction between occupational types is also true in the realm of action. Despite the distinctions discussed here, arising from status differentiation, all urbanites carry on their daily association activities in a matrix of events, locales, and persons. Each of these domains contains a number of culturally-defined elements which are
generally agreed upon by urbanites of all occupations. These domains will be described in the following chapters.
CHAPTER VII

URBAN ASSOCIATION: LOCATION AND ACTIVITY

Urban association locales

Activities involving association among urbanites take place in a number of locales in the town. People prefer some degree of privacy while interacting and there are few occasions when they do not situate themselves out of the bustle of passersby. A number of the most common association locales include:

The mosque (masjid)

In the town of Kota Bharu there are two types of mosque. The central mosque serves the town centre, and several sectional mosques serve the peripheral areas of the town. Urban residents are supposed to attend the mosque nearest their home, although many persons prefer to attend the central mosque at least on special occasions. While relatively few attend daily prayers at a mosque, it is the locale for the Friday midday prayer (sembayang Jumaat) and the public lecture that follows these prayers, which nearly all urban males attend. Attendance at these prayers brings men (women do not usually attend) of several residential areas together and both before and after the
prayers and lecture there is time to meet and chat with friends and acquaintances. The mosque is also the locale for various religious classes, lectures, and on special occasions for special prayers and lectures.

The prayer house (madrasah)

These are small buildings usually containing a single large room with mats covering the floor. Occasionally the room is divided into two sections accommodating men in one and women in the other. Prayer houses are built by individuals or groups of individuals and are used by persons from the immediate neighbourhood as a locale in which to say their daily prayers. Devout Muslims pray five times per day according to a schedule of specified intervals and, although they can be said at home, many persons prefer to say at least some of their daily prayers together.

1 Often one man, frequently the builder of the prayer house if he is still alive, calls the worshipers to prayer and takes general charge of the affairs of the prayer house.

2 Each of the daily prayers is named and is said between a range of times. The times are established on a regional basis and any specific prayer may be said after the time established for it and before the time established for the next prayer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Daily Prayers</th>
<th>Examples of Established Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dzohor</td>
<td>12:45 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansar</td>
<td>4:15 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukharib</td>
<td>6:46 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insha</td>
<td>8:03 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suboh</td>
<td>5:30 a.m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The times listed are approximate and are periodically adjusted to conform with the lunar calendar.
with their neighbours at the prayer house. The time when the largest number of persons attend is for the evening prayer. After saying the Mukharib prayer the men often stay at the prayer house visiting, talking together, or reading and studying the Koran until it is time for the Insha prayer, after which they return home. Once or twice per week the prayer house is used as the site of a religious study class conducted by a teacher, usually from outside the local residential area. These classes, attended by the interested local residents, usually involve study of various aspects of the practice and law of Islam, interpretations and explanations of the Koran, the writings of the Prophet Mohammed, and other matters of religious importance. The prayer house is also the locale for various special events: special prayers on holidays, or occasionally feasts of religious significance. Each prayer house in the town serves as the religious focus of a cluster of houses. Although the prayer houses are never used for secular purposes, often they serve to demarcate a community of residents which shares many activities and interests.

The market (pasar).

The town has two formally declared marketplaces and several informal ones. There is a large central market (Pasar Besar, Kota Bharu) and a smaller sectional
market in an adjoining residential area (Pasar Kubang Pasu). During business hours both of these areas are busy as vendors selling from established stalls or baskets in the aisles serve their numerous customers. Nearly any type of consumer item, as well as all types of refreshments, can be purchased from sellers in these markets, but there is a preponderance of sellers dealing in perishable food stuffs—meats, fish, fruit, and vegetables. Because of the limited storage facilities in most urban homes, it is necessary for most urbanites to make frequent trips to the marketplace. The regularity with which people must shop makes the market a favourite locale in which to meet friends and acquaintances from throughout the town, although the requirements of other activities and the large crowds in the marketplace make all but brief exchange of greetings difficult.

The sundry shop (kedai runchit)

Nearly all of the residential areas of the town have at least one or more small shops selling items required by urban households on a daily basis. These shops are usually built in or onto a section of the proprietor's home and often they consist of nothing more than a few shelves for tins of milk and bottles of soy sauce, but some are more elaborate with refrigerator units and electric coconut graters. The clientele of these shops
largely consists of the residents of the houses in the immediate area. The shops are open from early morning to late evening and most families patronize them at least once per day; often this consists of sending one of the children to the shop. Depending upon the preferences of the owner, these shops may be gathering places where the men or women of the neighbourhood sit and, when not otherwise engaged, discuss topics of mutual interest.

The coffee shop (kedai kopi)

Coffee shops in the town vary from small dirt-floor temporary buildings to large concrete shops with juke boxes and electric fans. All of the shops serve a variety of hot and cold drinks, as well as various sweets and cakes. Many of these shops also serve full meals of rice, fish, poultry, meat, and vegetables. Some shops, particularly those located in or near the central market and central business district, serve as locales for business activities for those persons without more permanent accommodations (for example, market sellers, small-scale contractors, or brokers). Particular businessmen are associated with particular shops and persons desiring to meet a businessman may look for him first at the coffee shop where he is usually seen. The centrally-located coffee shops are also patronized by persons who, upon meeting friends or associates in the town, want to talk with them while
having coffee. Other coffee shops located near office blocks or government compounds serve as food and drink services for the surrounding offices. They are gathering places for the office workers when on their rest breaks, as well as the shop to which orders are sent when a department head, lawyer, or businessman who has his office in the surrounding buildings wants refreshments to serve visitors. Still other coffee shops are located in the residential areas of the town. These coffee shops serve several functions. During the early morning these shops supply food and drink to local residents as they are on their way to work. A local man may stop there to have coffee with a number of his neighbours. Later in the morning and throughout the day these shops cater to the employees of the numerous small factories and other enterprises located in the vicinity. In the evening they serve as a gathering place for local youth, renters, and various other persons who are marginal to the local area, although occasionally established local residents do stop to drink coffee and talk with the other customers. The coffee shops in residential areas serve as gathering places for their customers, particularly for men who do not have elaborate homes in which to entertain, where they can meet other similar persons, exchange information and gossip.
Sports grounds

In nearly all of the residential areas of the town there are locales which are habitually used by the men, teenage boys, and young children of the neighbourhood as places to play various sports. Most often these games are badminton, volleyball, or sepak raga (a kick style of volleyball) and are organized on an ad hoc basis with one of the participants supplying the necessary equipment. People can be found playing in these areas in the early morning and the early evening. Usually participation in these games is not connected with any form of organization and the participants merely drift into the area, make their desire to play known, and join in the next game. These activities may evolve into a structured sports club with scheduled matches, coaches, and a formal membership, but most commonly these sports grounds are merely locales in which groups of neighbours gather whenever they have the time and inclination to play whatever game happens to be in progress or to stand by watching and talking with their neighbours.

The house

The front porch. Most Malay houses have a covered porch or portico in front of the front door. This porch is often lined with low benches and provides a place where household members and casual visitors can sit, talk, watch
passersby, and carry on small household tasks. An important aspect of this locale is the fact that as long as a visitor does not enter the house it is not necessary to provide him with refreshments, although the host may choose to initiate a formal visit by so doing. Refreshments may be served on the porch or the visitor may be invited to enter the house.

**The front room and television.** Malay urban homes are designed in such a way that the front door opens into a large front room. This is usually decorated on the wall with numerous pictorial calendars, perhaps some framed religious sayings, photos of various family members, and a large glass-front cabinet containing knick-knacks, carefully arranged displays of luxury goods such as soap and cosmetics, and large quantities of plates and glasses used for feasts. Most prominently placed is a television if the family is fortunate enough to own one. Depending upon the wealth of the family, there may be various other types of furnishings, such as a few chairs, a table, and occasionally a rug or couch. It is this front room in which more formal guests are entertained, where feasts take place, and where the family sits in the evening watching television while the children do their school assignments on the table. Whenever the television is on numerous people including family members, relatives, and neighbours who
do not themselves own televisions gather in this room. When
the front door is open persons known to the household may
sit on the front steps of the house looking through the
door at the television until they are invited in the room.
While the television may be on from the late afternoon when
the national network begins its broadcasting, most people
gather to watch programs in the early evening after prayers
and dinner have been completed. Typical evening programs
include feature length movies in either Malay, Tamil, or
English (Chinese language programming is shown on a second
channel and occasionally Chinese movies with Malay language
subtitles are watched) and various western programs shown
with Malay subtitles. During the research period the
American-made programs Mannix, made-for-TV movies, and
wrestling from Chicago were particular favourites. During
the course of the evening, after they have finished their
school assignments, children bring out pillows and fall
asleep sitting on the floor watching television. Eventu­
ally these children are carried off to bed by their parents
or older siblings. Once an evening's viewing has begun, it
often continues until 11 p.m. or later, when the set is
turned off and the viewers leave. The context of tele-
vision viewing is not, however, solely related to viewing
the content of the programming as, throughout the evening,
various conversations are carried on except during
extremely absorbing Malay or Tamil movies. Television
viewing is a context of informal visiting among the viewers and it provides an opportunity to chat, exchange news, and gossip.

The kitchen and the back of the house. In many households the kitchen is used to prepare and eat household meals. As food preparation is, in most cases, a task of the women of the household the kitchen is a place where women are often entertained. Women from several neighbouring houses may gather to visit while preparing food or looking after small children. In the case of ceremonies where men are fed in the front room, the women may gather in the kitchen or in the entryway connected to it for their meal. The kitchen is not, however, a solely women's area and the entire household usually gathers there for the meals and frequently the men of the household gather there to chat and have refreshments. Sometimes male visitors, if they are very close relatives or neighbours, are invited up the back stairs into the kitchen. Occasionally these visitors are entertained there, although more usually they are invited to go into the front room.

Often nearby the kitchen and nearly always at the back of the house are the household's bathing and toilet facilities. While urban houses almost invariably have their own toilet facilities, they may share a water supply, often a well, located at the back of several adjacent houses. The occupants of these households often meet one another
while bathing and the women frequently visit with one another as they wash clothes.

Work locales

Not all occupational groups have a fixed place of work and in many cases for those who do, relatively little association takes place in these locales. Still, workmates are a category of associate seen on an almost daily basis and thus the locale in which they are met has significance for our description. Only three of the most common work locales will be described.

The office. Most offices contain a large central room in which the lower ranking employees sit at desks. If the office serves the public this area of desks is usually separated from the public area by a large counter at which persons with business at the office wait. In the course of their work the office employees may move from their desks to the counter to serve visitors and to other desks to confer with their colleagues. On occasion, when a personal visitor is received he may be invited behind the counter and a chair drawn up to the host's desk for his use. Around this central area higher ranking staff have their offices in separate rooms or walled-off enclosures. Access to these offices is frequently controlled by a clerk sitting near the office door. Most such private offices contain several chairs or benches
for visitors and it is not unusual for a busy official to deal with several visitors sitting on these benches simultaneously. While most offices are relatively informal about visiting procedures and there is a good deal of coming and going and casual visiting among friends, extended visits of a personal nature begun in the office, as well as non-work related interactions with co-workers, are often moved to a nearby coffee shop during work breaks.

The batek factory (kilang batek). Most batek producing enterprises are situated in large sheds containing a number of functionally specialized areas, for example: a cloth stamping area, a dying area, a drying area, and a folding area. Employees usually stay in the area assigned to the task they are doing. Several men may stand at adjacent tables stamping cloth and occasionally chatting. From time to time they may stop for a break, although often they do not leave the work area during these brief periods. Each factory may have one or more supervisors—often including the owner—who circulate among these areas coordinating the tasks and chatting with the workers. At noon and at the completion of the work day the workers leave the factory. If they do not live in the immediate area they may stop at a nearby coffee shop to eat and drink with other workers.

The shop (kedai). The neighbourhood shop was described earlier. Many town-centre shops are in large
storerooms often crowded with merchandise displayed in cabinets, on shelves, or on the floor. Frequently a table with a drawer, found at the back of the shop, serves the proprietor as both a desk and a till. Special business guests or high status visitors are invited to sit at the table with the shopkeeper and are served coffee. Other guests are only offered one of the several chairs that stand near the front of the shop. Shopkeepers usually respond to customers on their arrival and they interrupt whatever they are doing to wait on recognized customers. If a visitor is of particularly high status they may devote their full attention to him while delegating responsibility for other customers to shop assistants or family members in the store.

Urban association activities

In the context of the locales described in the previous section, association takes place in the course of numerous activities. In most cases in the process of deciding about the performance of any of these activities the actors refer their choices to some body of shared ideas regarding the activities. These ideologies are of three types which provide a typological framework for describing these activities. Sacred activities are those which are referred to the ideology of Islam; whereas, those activities that are classed as ceremonial are referred to the ideology
of traditional Malay custom termed *adat*; secular activities are those which are referred to idea systems which are neither sacred nor ceremonial.

There tends to be a wide variation in the performance of many activities as the individual participants choose to use them for a variety of purposes. The idea systems do not provide the actor with rigid prescriptions governing his choices; rather they serve as a resource of ideas which the actor can use in deciding how to carry out the activity so that it will best serve his purposes. The idea systems are not sharply bounded so that in deciding about the performance of any specific activity an actor may refer to more than one body of ideas. A further source of variation is introduced because participants may have an incomplete or idiosyncratic understanding of any specific idea system.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe each of these idea systems in detail. In the following section I shall describe a number of the culturally recognized activities which are important contexts for association among Kota Bharu Malays.

---

3 For Islam see Ahmad (1965); for *adat*, Hooker (1972); and for a general discussion of both systems see Hooker (1974). Particularly relevant for information on *adat* in the urban situation is Nagata (1974).
Association activities of the life cycle

Major associational activities of urban life are often involved with events of the life cycle. Some of the more important of these encountered in the life cycle of ordinary urbanites will be described here.

Childbirth

Upon the birth of a child, the mother usually observes the custom of remaining in the house for forty days after giving birth (women employed in wage jobs are typically given maternity leave for this period) and friends, neighbours, and family come to visit, bringing small useful gifts such as diapers, baby powder, or tinned milk. A married couple usually visits the new mother together, although in cases where more than one couple arrives at the house at the same time the women usually go into the bedroom with the baby while the men remain sitting in the front room. Women seem to be able to manage this successfully, but in cases where the male visitors are not known to one another this is, on occasion, an uncomfortable situation. Particularly in instances when the husband of the household is not at home the visitors must rely on making their own introductions. In these instances, at some time during the visit, the men also go to look at the newborn child. After a short period of visiting, tea and cakes are served to both men and women
and the guests leave.

The first haircutting (berchuko rambut or akakah).

It is customary to hold this ceremonial activity within the first seven days after birth (although I attended several ceremonies held much after this period). The child's father invites a number of guests to attend the ceremony at which a small amount of the child's hair is cut. The child is ritually fed small amounts of salt and glutinous rice, and a piece of gold is passed near the child's mouth. The feeding and initial hair cutting is usually done by a guest of honoured religious status (often a Haji), although numerous of the guests may be asked to cut small locks of hair, and the child is passed around from one to another so that all guests get to hold the child briefly. After the haircutting and feeding have been completed, prayers are said by all the assembled guests and a meal is served. Ceremonies of this sort often take place on Friday mornings when, as most men are not working, they are free to attend.

Circumcision (bersunat).

When young boys reach puberty it is required by Islamic law that they be circumcised. This involves two activities: the actual circumcision which is most commonly carried out at the hospital or in the office of a professional specialist (mudim), and a feast and celebration
marking the event held at the boy's home, usually before the operation and sponsored by the boy's father. Under traditional conditions both the feast and the circumcision operation were part of the same ceremony which often was both extensive and elaborate. Ceremonies in the town are usually of modest scale. The host may provide a meal and limited entertainment, often in the form of an exhibition of Malay self-defense (bersilat). Invited guests usually include relatives, neighbours and friends, and may number several hundred. However, it is not unusual for circumcision to be accompanied by nothing more than a special meal for household members only.

Marriage

The occasion of marriage involves a number of activities, many of which combine sacred and ceremonial elements. These activities are of two types: a ritual activity that solemnizes some aspect of the process of uniting the bride and groom in the marriage, and a celebration or feast that accompanies the ritual and provides an opportunity for guests to share in the festivities. It is usually the feast that provides the major part of the association activities.

The declaration of the intention to marry (per-tunangan). This involves a brief ritual in which the

---

4 This is the term in the national language (Bahasa
female relatives of the intended groom pay a visit to the female relatives of the intended bride. The groom's relatives prepare a number of gifts which they carry with them, in an elaborate manner on their heads. At the house of the intended bride they are greeted by the woman's mother and other female relatives. They present their gifts, which usually include a small piece of gold jewellery, and discuss the details of the wedding arrangements, the date for the other ceremonies, the amount of the marriage payment (mas khawin), and any other details. The woman to be married does not enter into the discussion of these details, although she is present to receive the gold jewellery. After the arrangements have been concluded, the female participants share a specially prepared meal together. Occasionally there are men present and although they have little role in the ritual they are also served the meal. They will, of course, eat this separately from the women. After the meal has been finished the guests leave the house of the bride's family.

The official registry of the marriage (nikkah). This is the only ritual activity of the marriage events which is required by both civil and religious authorities. The groom and a small party of his relatives come to the Malaysia). It was used by many informants; there is also a term for this event in the Kelantanese dialect, although my notes are not clear as to what it is.
home of the bride. Here he meets the bride's guardian and a few of her male relatives. In the presence of a religious official, usually the imam of the sectional mosque serving that part of the town, and other witnesses, the groom asks the guardian of the bride for her hand in marriage, the marriage payment is made, the consent of the bride's guardian is given, the appropriate forms are completed for both civil and religious authorities, and prayers are said by all those assembled. The bride is not usually present. Although women do not take a part in the official proceedings, they are very much in evidence. Following this ritual the assembled participants and women are usually served a feast. A small number of guests may be invited to the feast only, in which case they usually arrive after the formal proceedings have been completed.

Informants stated that this form of ritual and its accompanying feast were becoming more popular as the sole form of marriage ritual. Many informants felt that the simplicity of this ritual was "more in keeping with Islam." The fact that this ritual and the accompanying feast are relatively inexpensive was a consideration for many people.

The public declaration of marriage (bersanding). The ceremonial activities of the bersanding involve a major festive occasion in the life cycle of the urban
Malay. The groom and a selected number of his relatives, dressed in traditional Malay costume, make a ceremonial approach to the house of the bride. Even if they have come by car, they disembark some distance from the house, form a line, and walk ceremoniously to the front door. The female relatives of the groom usually carry a number of gifts for the bride. Upon entering the house the bride, who may have met the party at the door, and the groom are directed to a raised, decorated dais in the front room of the house specifically prepared for the occasion. They are carefully seated and their postures are arranged in a very precise manner by female relatives of the bride. The gifts brought by the groom's relatives are arranged on one side of the steps leading to the dais, while on the other side are the traditional gifts provided by the bride's family. The bride and groom sit on this dais for some time, where they are attended by several younger relatives with large fans. After a short period a senior female relative of the bride ritually feeds both the bride and groom small bits of coloured glutinous rice. After another period of waiting, seated on the dais (this period is often largely determined by the amount of time required by the professional photographer hired for the occasion to complete numerous pictures), the couple concludes the ritual by being led by their attendants to the bridal bed, also specially decorated for the occasion, usually with flashing
coloured lights. Once again they are carefully seated while the photographer takes more pictures. At this point the ritual is concluded.

The celebration feast that accompanies a bersanding is one of the major feasts held in the household head's lifetime. It is usually the most elaborate of feasts given by individual urbanites. Preparations for the feast which, like the ritual, takes place at the house of the bride, begin weeks in advance. The house may need to be painted (indeed, in at least one case I recorded the father of the bride desired to build a new house before the date set for the feast) and is carefully cleaned, with new decorations added whenever possible. Arrangements are made with relatives to enlist their help in cooking, serving the food, and greeting guests. Most important, several weeks before the event is scheduled, a list of guests to be invited is drawn up (if the parents of the bride are not literate the children of the family may be enlisted to write this list down). This guest list includes as many persons as the parents of the bride have any social connection with whatsoever. Guests are also invited by the groom's family to accompany them as they walk to the bride's house. The number of these guests is agreed upon with the bride's family and they know how many people to expect. Invitations are of two types: those invited to attend the ritual, and those invited to attend
the feast only, although there are no strict divisions and guests can attend either. Invitations are given either by printed invitation card or in person. Frequently many persons not on the original list are invited casually by word of mouth.

Several days before the event is scheduled, final preparations begin; women gathering together the necessary foods and china and firewood for cooking while the men arrange tables and the outside pavilion used to serve the male guests. A final cleaning and arrangement of the front room of the house is made and the dais is assembled and decorated. The structure itself, as well as flashing lights for the bridal bed, are often rented for the occasion.

On the day of the feast guests may arrive at any time convenient to them during the range of hours specified on the invitations—usually from mid-morning to early evening. Husband and wife frequently attend together, although only one representative per household is expected. The woman usually goes directly into the house. Here she is greeted by the bride's mother and other female relatives and then sits on the floor to talk with other female guests. The male guests are greeted outside by the father of the bride and are directed to the pavilion which has been erected over the tables where the men are served. Often the male guests and the host chat briefly together as the
host awaits the arrival of enough men to constitute a proper setting (hedangan). When enough male guests have arrived to constitute such a setting the guests are invited to sit down and the waiters, young male relatives of the bride, bring the food. Each guest receives his own plate of rice, and each setting has large bowls containing the main course foods of the feast. Festive foods are quite uniform between various feasts and usually consist of one meat curry, one fowl curry, a vegetable curry, and several condiments. After washing their hands the guests eat with little conversation, completing the meal with cold drinks (usually a pandanus punch) or tea, wash their hands once again and leave the table. Upon completing the meal the guests thank the host, inconspicuously present him with a small cash gift and leave. These cash gifts are expected of all persons who are invited to feasts and if a person cannot attend he sends his cash gift with another guest to be presented on his behalf. Gifts may also be given to the married couple, although these are brought in wrapped boxes often before the day of the event. These may consist of matched sets of cups and saucers and other similar items.

Persons who wish to, or who have been invited to,  

\[5\] A hedangan is five people or a multiple of five, all of the same sex, seated on mats on the floor. When it appears that no other guests of the same sex will arrive soon, a hedangan of men and women may be composed, or the guests may eat in a smaller group.
witness the ritual do so by attending the feast in the early evening, the time when the groom's party usually arrives. While it is most frequently the women inside the house who get to see the ritual most clearly, the men often attempt to look in at the door over the heads of the numerous persons clustering near the entrance after the groom has arrived.

A bersanding is always a major event. Informants state that there is no such thing as a small bersanding. It is an occasion of great expense for the family of the bride, although these expenses may be offset by the gifts received from guests, which in some cases may even exceed the costs by a small amount.

The return of the married couple to the house of the groom (menyambut menantu). At the conclusion of the bersanding festivities the couple customarily resides at the house of the bride's parents for several days, after which they go to live at the house of the groom's parents. The return of the couple to the house of the groom's parents is marked by a ritual meal in which the relatives of the bride who accompany the couple eat with the family of the groom. As with the bersanding, the bed which the couple uses while at the groom's house is elaborately decorated and after admiring this the bride's party leaves and returns home. Often the parents of the groom invite
numerous guests who visit the house during the day and evening to greet the couple. These guests are given a feast prepared by the groom's family. After eating this feast the guests depart.

The events of marriage provide the participants and their families with a wide variety of possible rituals and accompanying association activities. Depending upon the personal wishes and the resources of the hosts, all or any of the rituals and the accompanying feasts can be omitted, with the exception of the nikkah, or expanded in elaborateness.

Funerals

Islamic law requires prompt burial of the body upon death. There is usually not time to organize elaborate ceremonies. The body is prepared for burial at the home of the next of kin, and friends, relatives, and neighbours visit there briefly. The body is washed and placed in the coffin with the appropriate prayers and the coffin transported to the cemetery in a hearse supplied by the state religious office. Members of the immediate family of the deceased accompany the body in the hearse while other mourners go to the cemetery using their own transportation. At the cemetery a number of special prayers are said as the coffin is placed in the grave and the grave covered. Persons of high religious status are often called upon to offer
these prayers and they are presented with small cash gifts by members of the deceased's immediate family as thanks for performing this service. At the conclusion of the prayers the mourners leave the cemetery. If a large number of mourners have come a substantial distance to attend the funeral, a meal may be served for them at the home of the deceased. This meal is usually prepared by one of the immediate neighbours of this household.

A series of periodic prayers is required after a death. These are said according to a regular schedule in the months following the death. Often the men who normally pray at the local prayer house are invited to the home of the deceased to say these prayers with the members of the household and other relatives. Following some of these prayers the assembled guests may be given a feast prepared by the members of the household of the deceased.

The major association activities that are connected with specific events in the life cycle of the urban Malay have been described above. Other association activities take place at specific times during the annual cycle. These will be described below.

**Association activities of the annual cycle**

The annual cycle of Kota Bharu Malays is based on the Islamic calendar of twelve lunar months. Most activities of the annual cycle combine both religious and
ceremonial elements.

Month One (Bulan Maharam)

The first day of this month constitutes the beginning of the new year and there are usually prayers at mosques and prayer houses. There are, however, no special personal celebrations. During this month, usually after the tenth day, the beginning of the new year may be celebrated by a ceremonial activity called making suroh (bikang suroh). Suroh is a porridge made of rice, sugar, meat, chicken, coconut milk, and spices. It is made as a cooperative effort on the part of the host, his family, and invited participants. This is a quasi-ceremonial event. A date is set and each group of guests is asked to bring a particular ingredient, although the host supplies most of these. In preparation the host's family gathers the pans for cooking, digs the fire holes, and arranges the firewood. On the appointed day the invited participants bring the host their assigned ingredients. The guests usually stay, the women helping in the kitchen area of the house, grinding spices or preparing other ingredients, while the men help arrange the firewood and stir the huge boiling pots. The cooking of this porridge is a long process often requiring twelve hours or more. The men stir the pots during this period (although occasionally the women take

---

6 Informants agree that it is "customary" to make this porridge but they do not describe any specific adat for the event.
over) and they frequently exchange the task with other males in attendance. There is, throughout, a mood of celebration and a good deal of joking among the participants. After the cooking has been completed the participants sit down to eat some of the porridge and then divide the porridge into various containers in order to take it home and to send portions to non-participant friends and neighbours.

Month Two (Bulan Safar)

During this second month of the year there is no particular event in Keiantan, although informants note that this is the month of a water ritual (mandi safar) which is carried out among Malays in Malacca.

Month Three (Bulan Rabial Awhal)

On the eleventh day of this month the anniversary of the birth of the prophet Mohammed is celebrated. On this day, which is a public holiday, there are special lectures at mosques and prayer houses throughout the town dealing with aspects of the prophet’s life.

Near the eleventh day of this month it is customary to hold feasts in commemoration of the prophet’s birth. These sacred feasts (Khenduri Malut) are of two types: those held by individuals and those held at prayer houses by groups of regular attenders. For feasts held at a prayer house each of the regular attenders contributes
ingredients or money with which to buy ingredients and several women take on the job of food preparation. Often people who are not frequent attenders are reminded—or in some cases formally invited—to attend the occasion. On the night of the occasion participants gather at the prayer house for prayers, after which the food is brought in and tablecloths laid. After finishing the food the participants leave.

It is also common for an individual to give such a feast at his own home. The host sets a date and time in the appropriate period and invites guests. The most common times will be after evening prayers or after prayers on a Friday. Hosts are careful that their celebrations do not coincide with celebrations at the local prayer house. The host invites a wide range of guests who come, eat, and leave. There is no particular ritual observed.

Month Four (Bulan Rabi Ul-Akhir)

There are no special celebrations occurring annually during this month.

Month Five (Bulan Jami'd Ul-Akhir)

No celebrations.

Month Six (Bulan Jami'd Ul-Awhal)

No celebrations.
Month Seven (Bulan Rajat)

No celebrations.

Month Eight (Bulan Saban)

On the last day of this month a few people celebrate the day before the beginning of the fasting month with a special meal held at home and shared among immediate family members.

Month Nine (Bulan Ramadan)

This is one of the major sacred festive periods of the year and a time period of great significance to all Malays of the town (indeed, to all Muslims throughout the world). The ninth month is the month of ritual fasting. During this month devout Muslims do not partake of food or water—or even, in some cases, swallow their own saliva—during the period between the Suboh prayer in the morning and sundown just before the Mukharib prayer of the evening. The fast is usually broken with a special meal followed by the usual evening prayers as well as a special prayer for the fasting month (traweg). Many people attend special programs of prayers and lectures at the central mosque held after these prayers. The meal taken to break the fast is often an occasion celebrated at the local prayer house or at the home of various people in the residential areas. The event is termed a feast to break the fast (makan buka puasa) and during this period of the year
represents an important context for inviting and interacting with associates.

As in the khenduri malut described above, when these feasts are held at the prayer house a number of people contribute food or money, several of the women do the cooking, and the food is brought into the prayer house and arranged. Guests are reminded to attend on the night of the feast and when they arrive they sit around the prepared food which has been arranged in proper settings on the floor. At the precise time to break the fast, the participants begin to eat and when they have finished, the dishes are cleared and the evening prayers begin. Some participants leave after the meal in order to go to the main mosque for prayers but most participants remain. This type of feast is also held at individual homes and in this case invitations are on a personal basis. The host invites guests either by cards or, usually, in person. Guests gather at his house a short time before the time to break the fast and seat themselves at the arranged food. It is common to have a radio or television turned on which gives an exact time signal indicating the time for breaking the fast, and the guests and the host eat. Afterwards they promptly leave to go to the prayer house, mosque, or their homes for the evening prayer. These feasts are held with frequency during the month and a man may receive numerous invitations. Because of the nature of the event, it is
often necessary for him to choose among invitations as it is impossible to attend more than one on a single evening.

Month Ten (Bulan Shawal)

The first day of this month is Hari Raya Puasa. This celebrates the end of the fasting month and constitutes a major sacred and ceremonial celebration of the year. Town residents have been saving money to buy special foods, new clothes, and special gifts for this event for the children. Cards are exchanged. The holiday is officially celebrated over a three-day period. The first day is begun by the men of the neighbourhood attending morning prayers at the local prayer house, although some men attend the mosque on this special occasion. These men usually wear new or recently cleaned clothes, particularly in the case of those attending the main mosque. This often entails a complete outfit of formal Malay dress and all people wear the best clothes they have available. When prayers have been completed the men who have prayed together, upon coming outside the prayer house or mosque, exchange greetings with one another. Following this the men return home to begin a round of visiting and of receiving guests, first to immediate neighbours and later to friends and family. Each household has been busy for days before the festive season preparing special foods for the celebration; cakes, special curries, ketumpat (rice
cakes), and confections of various kinds are offered to guests. Occasionally men receive specific invitations to visit and these are fulfilled early in the day, often immediately following prayers.

Holiday visiting follows a routine pattern. The male guest arrives outside the house, is greeted by the host, and invited in. Then the host and guest sit and chat for a while, after which special foods are brought out and served. The guest is invited to eat and he proceeds to eat some of the various foods. After finishing the foods he visits with the host for a while. It is not unusual for a man to go visiting with his wife and children, and indeed groups of co-residents often visit together. During such a visit the woman usually goes to the kitchen area where she visits with the women of the host's household. Adult visiting continues for a three day period.

Also of significance during the first day of this holiday is the visiting of children. Neighbourhood children go visiting to adjacent houses. Dressed in their new clothes and carrying new purses and wallets, they greet the women of each house, using the most adult forms of behaviour of which they are capable, which in turn are

7This greeting often entails a formal greeting in Arabic and a request on the part of the guest that he be forgiven for any way in which he has wronged the host during the past year.
reciprocated in formal seriousness. They are given sweets and small sums of coins, after which they leave.

Month Eleven (Bulan Zulkedah)

There are no special celebrations occurring annually during this period.

Month Twelve (Bulan Zulhaja)

On the tenth day of this month is celebrated Hari Raya Haji. This is the day on which the pilgrims who have gone to Mecca carry out one of the central acts of the pilgrimage by walking around the Ka'ba. Those persons who have not gone on the pilgrimage observe this occasion with a number of sacred activities: special prayers at the prayer house or mosque and visits to a variety of associates. On the morning of the first day, after attending prayers, some of the men may perform the ritual of potong korban. This is the ritual slaughter of a meat animal—cow, goat, or chicken, usually a 1-2 year old cow. For weeks before the event men (or women) who desire to participate search for an animal of the correct age, and they organize their friends to participate with them. Each cow is divided into seven shares, although one person may own more than one share. It is necessary to find enough persons so that all seven shares are bought. On the morning of the slaughter the share owners gather and pay the animal's owner a set amount divided among them in seven
parts. Often the owner of the animal owns one or more of the seven parts himself. After the animal has been paid for, the male owners, acting together, tie the animal and hold it down while one of their number, usually a man who is thought to be skilful at this, cuts the animal's throat with a special knife prepared for the occasion. After this cut has been made the animal is released and allowed to die by bleeding to death. When the animal is dead the men work together to butcher the carcass and cut the meat off the bones into pieces. It is arranged in seven piles. Often the man who did the cutting of the throat is given a special share before this division begins in recognition of his role as the craftsman (tukang). Each participant then brings home his portion of the meat and the entrails and remaining parts of the animal are carefully buried where they will not be dug up (and thus desecrated by dogs or other animals). At home it is further divided and small parcels are sent as gifts to various friends and neighbours. The portion left after this distribution is cooked into some special food, such as a curry, and subsequently served to visiting guests who may have been specifically invited to share this meat. Because many men participate in this slaughter, visits begin late the first day. By so doing they do not interfere with the activities of the slaughter and also they are more likely to be offered some of the cooked meat dish.
Visiting by children and adults is similar to that on Hari Raya Puasa, but on a much reduced scale. This holiday is also scheduled for a three-day period but by the end of the second day most festivities have been concluded and many people have gone back to their daily routine. Businessmen engaged in retailing often open their shops on the second day of the holiday and the town is usually back to ordinary business by the third day. The small neighbourhood shops may have been open throughout the entire holiday. There are some urban residents who maintain that this holiday is only for the "Hajis" and they make no preparation, nor do they participate in any special activities.

In addition to the activities described above, there are a number of other association activities which can be held at any time during the annual cycle or life cycle. These will be discussed below.

**Ceremonial association activities**

**Feast in memory of the dead (kenduri arwah)**

This is a formal occasion on which a man invites guests to join him in remembering the dead, either a particular dead relative or the dead in general. Invitations are made either in person or by invitation cards and the guests gather at the specified time and sit together saying
prayers and making statements in praise of the dead. After these prayers the host serves some type of refreshment to the assembled guests.

Feast to give thanks (khenduri nazar) (khenduri kesyukuran)

Both of these events provide a context in which the host thanks God for assistance. It appears that the only difference between these two types of feast is that for a khenduri nazar an animal is ritually slaughtered and served to the guests, while there is no such ritual slaughter for a khenduri kesyukuran. Guests for a feast to give thanks are invited by the host to arrive during a stipulated period, usually a range of some hours or "after mosque." When sufficient guests have arrived to make up a place setting they are seated and eat. After completing the meal the guests chat with the host and each other, after which they leave.

Sacred association activities

Prayer for a stipulated intention (sembayang hajat)

For this occasion a man invites a number of close friends or relatives to his home several days or even just a few hours before the event. Frequently a man waits to invite those people who happen to be at the local prayer house on the evening of his sembayang hajat. After all
participants have arrived, a prayer rug is placed on the floor and the participants arrange themselves behind the prayer leader, usually the guest of highest religious status, and the prayer begins. There is a stipulated pattern to this prayer, although it is made out of components of the daily prayers. After the prayer a small meal or refreshment is served to the participants and to female guests in the kitchen. Upon finishing this meal, the guests leave.

This prayer is usually in thanks for some good fortune, or as a request for God's assistance on some future occasion. The specific request is usually not stated but is understood by those present. Occasionally a practitioner of Malay medicine (bomoh) instructs a patient or his family to give such a sembanyang hajat to aid in the cure, or it is given to thank God for a patient's recovery. This is a very popular form of association situation in the town and it is frequently attached to some other more ceremonial occasion. A number of typical occasions for this form of activity include: upon recovery from illness; upon embarking upon or returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca; upon commencing a new rice harvest. The situation is included here as a sacred situation despite the fact that it was frequently connected with ceremonial occasions, because informants were emphatic in agreeing that this type of event solely
concerned Islam rather than adat.

Ceremony upon the first complete reading of the Koran by a new student (khatam Koran)

For this occasion the student's parents or, in one observed case, husband invite the student's teacher and several persons who are known as particularly fine Koran readers. Each of these persons reads sections of the Koran to the assembled guests (the women listening from the kitchen or back of the room), after which they are joined by the other male guests in prayers. Informants state that in the past the custom was to call on each of the assembled male guests to chant some short portion of the Koran; however, this is no longer done today. After this the Koran teacher and special guests are fed special food of coloured glutinous rice and the host gives them small gifts of money before they leave. Then the ordinary guests eat, visit briefly, and leave.

Secular association activities

Joint work projects

Projects of this type take place whenever there is work to be done which exceeds the responsibilities or resources of a single individual and his immediate household. They are usually organized by a single individual, although they may have several organizers. In a gotong
In a pinjaman the object is to call upon the assistance of neighbours in a project, the benefits of which accrue directly to the organizer. Usually this is a personal task for which the individual does not have sufficient labour within his own family. As with the gotong royong, participants supply their own tools, although the
organizer supplies materials and furnishes the refreshments. In the case of both types of joint work project, it is important that the meal be served before the job has been completed so that upon finishing the meal the men can return to work and thus demonstrate that they did not come merely to get a free meal. Also, in some cases one or more of the participants who has a skill which is called upon in the project, such as mixing cement to the correct consistency, or carpentry, may receive a small sum of money in recognition of the contribution of his skill.

An informal feast (makan laksa)

This association activity involves a feast which can be called for almost any occasion. In many cases the event is held solely for the enjoyment of inviting a number of people together. The name of the feast derives from the type of food served, laksa, rice noodles served with a fish sauce. While this type of feast is usually a very informal event, invitations are issued and guests gather at the appointed time. They sit down to bowls of the prepared food, eat, chat with the host and other guests, and then leave.

Visiting in the case of illness

Visiting can occur for any number of reasons, but one of the most common is illness. Friends of the sick
person come to the house and visit the patient, bringing small gifts. They may converse or just sit near the sick person who may be lying on a mat in the front room, and then confer with the healthy relatives about the symptoms of the disease, various bomohs or doctors which might be called in, and foods, medicines, or other treatments thought to be efficacious for the symptoms. Among family and friends this visiting has a compulsory aspect.

For urban residents it is not uncommon to be treated in the hospital. Once again visiting is expected and the government hospital provides visiting hours to allow for this. Hospital visits are much the same as those at home. The very close relatives of the patient stay at the hospital for an extended period and there they greet more casual visitors. All but the most wealthy patients enter large open wards and thus it is frequent for a person to go to the hospital to visit a friend or relative and to meet others who are ill. It is also quite frequent that a person, upon going to hospital to visit, meets acquaintances who are there to visit friends not known to him. This person is usually drawn into a short visit with the patient who is the friend of a friend. This entire visiting situation makes hospital wards rather convivial places, at least during the visiting period.
Other visiting

Visits to the homes of friends, relatives, or neighbours are common events in the urban context. Even the most casual visitor is served refreshments, usually tea and cakes, and he is often invited to share the family meal.

Association activities

of work

In the course of carrying out their daily occupational duties, urbanites associate with a wide variety of persons of many different types. These activities may be of the nature of contacts with customers, clients, persons coming to a public office, or other instrumental contacts. Also there are the association activities involved in meeting with one's workmates. These often occur during coffee breaks, before or after the workday, and in periods when work activities are not numerous. Because of the variety of these activities it is difficult to describe them in greater detail.

Conclusion

Association in the town is not haphazard; it takes place within a number of specific dimensions. Association takes place in the course of a number of activities, some of which are highly structured while others are more informal. A number of the more important association
activities recognized by most urbanites have been described here. Association activities can take place at any time, in any place, although there are a number of urban locales in which association is typically located. A number of the most important of these locales have been described here.

This chapter has provided the basic vocabulary of location and the vocabulary of time, inasmuch as this is structured into activities. The following chapter will describe in greater detail the vocabulary of association and provide a description of the types of associates encountered by urban Malays.
CHAPTER VIII

URBAN ASSOCIATES: CATEGORIES AND IDEOLOGY

The preceding chapters of this part have described a number of schemes of categorization which urban Kota Bharu Malays use for geographical space, occupations, association locales, and association activities. In this concluding chapter I shall describe the categories used by urbanites to name those types of persons who are potential associates.

The totality of associate types described by urban Malays is organized into two major conceptual divisions, each of which contains a number of sub-types: (1) a conceptual division termed keluarga or wharis containing all of those associate types considered to be kinsmen or relatives of any degree; and (2) a conceptual division termed pergawlan containing all those associate types considered to be non-kinsmen within one's social circle. Beyond these two divisions is a third category termed orang lain (other people). Members of this category are all other persons in the social universe who are not associates. All of these conceptual divisions, and their constituent sub-types, are ego-centric categories, so that
the actual persons who are so categorized form a different set in the case of each individual.

The first conceptual division includes the total range of kinship associates recognized by urban Malays. The terms keluarga and wharis are used to describe this division, although the exact domain of each of these terms is a matter of dispute. To all urban informants these two terms form a contrastive or minimal pair and between them subsume all of those associate types with whom some degree of kinship is felt. However, there is little agreement among informants as to the exact boundaries of the domain of each of these terms. A total of four types of description was provided by various informants.

Type One Description: Some informants indicated that the term keluarga should be applied to all persons who are related to ego by blood ties (i.e., consanguineal relatives), whereas the term wharis should be applied to ego's affinal relatives or, as this was most often stated, those categories of relatives comprising ego's spouse's keluarga.

Type Two Description: Other informants indicated that person X was of the category wharis with respect to the speaker because at some time in the preceding generations an ancestor of X had been related to an ancestor of the speaker in a specific named relationship, although the intervening links are not known.
Keluarga was then used for all other associate types with whom kinship relations were known.¹

Type Three Description: Other informants indicated that the term keluarga applied to all those associates considered to be close (dekat) relatives while the term wharis applied to those considered to be distant (jauh). In practice this usually meant that close relatives are those for whom informants could give a simple classificatory statement of relationship, while for those classed as distant a more complex statement was necessary.

Type Four Description: Still other informants indicated that the term keluarga referred to a unit comprised of Hu, Wi, and their children, and occasionally these children's spouses and their children, particularly if they were co-resident in the same household. The term wharis was used to refer to all other kinsmen. Persons who used this means of classification often stated relationships in a kind of "classificatory" manner using these two terms (i.e., X is keluarga of my wife, meaning that X is a WiMo, WiFa,

¹The exact description of this by an informant usually followed this pattern. Ego states that he is wharis of X. He says he knows this because as a small child his parents or grandparents pointed out a person and told him that that person stood in a particular degree of relationship to themselves or one of their relatives. Today ego classes X as a member of his wharis although he does not know exactly what relationship.
or Wi siblings, and their spouses; or X is keluarga of my WiFa, meaning that X is WiFaMo, WiFaFa, or WiFa siblings).  

Whatever their interpretation of the domain of these terms, informants were always able, in the context of eliciting genealogies, to name a wide range of persons of a variety of types whom they considered to be keluarga and/or wharis. Except for members of the immediate household or the immediate family of either spouse (i.e., ego's siblings, parents, or children), relatives of other categories (wharis or keluarga) are not remembered if they are spatially separated from ego. It must also be observed that the depth of most persons' genealogical memory is very limited with three generations (one generation above and below ego) being average (cf. Djamour 1965: 23).

The conceptual division termed keluarga or wharis which I shall refer to as "relatives" or "kinsmen" is further sub-divided. Each of these sub-types is named with terms that together constitute the referential kin-terms in common usage. The relationships that are indicated by each of these terms are indicated diagrammatically in the

2 Contrast this fourth usage to that discussed by Djamour (1965).

3 I have adopted the convention of referring to the husband, wife (or wives) and their children as the "family."
chart of referential kinship terms (Figure 1).

A male refers to his wife's relatives by the same terms that she uses for these relatives. Thus, if the question is posed to Jaffar in regard to Ali, what relationship is Ali to you (jadi guana Ali)? and the answer is, he is a cousin (dia sepupu), Ali may be either a cousin of Jaffar or a cousin of Jaffar's wife. The same situation pertains for either male or female speakers.

There are some exceptions to this indicated in parentheses in the chart. Terms of reference for a spouse's siblings are frequently of the form: term of reference used by spouse for that sibling plus the suffix ifar (i.e., for a wife's younger sister the husband would use the term adik ifar). This is roughly equivalent to the use of the suffix "-in-law" in English. Also, on occasion, a spouse's parent (of either sex) will be referred to as mertua. However, it is equally possible that this terminology would not be employed and that the spouse's kin terms used instead.

The organization of these terminological categories suggests a significant feature of the ideology of association with kinsmen or, in fact, with any other sort of associate. The unit of greatest significance in the sphere of kinship relations is the household, a unit whose responsible members are usually a married husband and wife.
Fig. 1. Referential Kinship Terms.

NOTE: These terms were collected in the course of fieldwork from a variety of informants. I have adapted the schematic form of presentation suggested by Firth (1974).
As a result of the marriage and the establishment of the household the associate categories comprising the kinsmen sets of each spouse are united into a series of conceptual categories in which the specific relationship between either spouse and "his" kinsman becomes transformed into a relationship between the household and the kinsman. Thus the category of persons considered to be cousins of the husband is incorporated with the category of persons considered to be cousins of the wife to become a single category of cousins—with respect to the household.

This transformation is further supported by the symbolism of the marriage ritual which has been described in Chapter VII. In this context, after the bersanding (public declaration of marriage) ritual has been completed the newly married couple will spend some time at home of the bride. Informants agreed that during this period both bride and groom are like "children" of the bride's parents. Through this "becoming like children" of the bride's parents, the groom takes on a relationship with his wife's relatives similar to that of his wife. It is often during this period that the groom begins to refer to his wife's relatives by the kinship terms which she uses for these persons. Alternatively, at the conclusion of the menyambut menantu (return of the married couple to the house of the groom's parents) ritual the
bride resides at the home of the groom's parents and takes on similar relationships. Ideally, at the conclusion of these two periods of residence the couple set up their own household and the equation has become complete. The newly established household has assimilated both the wife's categories of relations and the husband's categories of relations into a single cognitive system of identity; the new categories become the set of relatives of the household.

It is a curious anomaly that there is no term in common usage among Kota Bharu Malays for this household unit. This is despite its importance in the logic of the terminology described and its central role as the economic, living, ceremonial, and associational unit of urban life. In the context of kin relations no other unit beyond the household provides the basis for an organizing ideology for action or social groups (such as is the case in some societies where lineages or moieties are present). Yet, I never heard the term serumah, common in the national language, applied to this conceptual unit and only in the case of those persons using a type four description (see this chapter, p. above) was the term keluarga applied to this unit. Most commonly the household goes unnamed.

The second conceptual division of urban associates is the pergawalan or social circle. In the case of this division informants were in nearly uniform agreement that
this division contains all of those categories of associates exclusive of kinsmen with whom some type of association is established. It comprises the total social field of all non-kinsmen associates: friends, neighbours, and acquaintances, and, like the category of kinsmen, is also ego-centric. Each of the sub-types of this division will be discussed below.

Neighbours (*jiran*).

Associates of this category are defined as those persons who reside in houses considered to be spatially "near" the house of ego. This is usually defined as a roughly circular area with ego's house as the centre, and it rarely extends beyond the limits of a named residential area, although the exact limits of the spatial dimensions applied to this category are rarely specifically defined. While these spatial factors comprise part of the definition of this category, they are not, in themselves, sufficient to indicate particular members. Of equal importance in the definition is the nature of the interactional behaviour exhibited by particular persons. The ideology of this category stresses that to be classed as a neighbour a person who lives in the appropriate spatial position with respect to ego must also "act like a neighbour." The ideas about the appropriate behaviour for associates of this category can be summarized as a number of behavioural
imperatives. While it is not necessary for a man to undertake all of these behaviours, he at least must not actively contravene any of them. A neighbour is one who makes himself available to other neighbours when he is at home. One of the most significant features of this is that a neighbour's house should be both visible and accessible to other neighbours who may wish to call. Informants frequently relate that persons they consider to be rich people (orang kaya) build houses which are surrounded by fences with bolted gates and lots of shrubbery. Unless persons of this type always leave the gates open and make a great effort at displaying other types of appropriate "neighbour" behaviour, they will not be included as neighbours. Persons classed as rich people are not neighbours.

A neighbour is one who acknowledges nearby residents as they pass his house. While just a nod is adequate, the most common form of making this acknowledgement is to address the passing person with the conventional question, where are you going (gi mana)? While the response to this is usually an equally conventional "out" or "to the market" or a nod in the general direction of movement, by this interchange both parties have acknowledged one another and confirmed their right to this type of knowledge.

A neighbour is one who stands ready to help without
being called upon. In order to help a man must "be available." But, also involved in this is the willingness on the part of the neighbour to make himself aware of the nature of the problem and to contribute his efforts to its solution. The neighbour might join in some work project which a man and his family are incapable of handling on their own; or he might casually mention to a nearby resident without a car that he is attending a ceremony to which he knows this person has been invited, and that he has additional room in his car.

Neighbours are persons who pray together. It was mentioned in the description of association locales that the prayer house is a locale in which neighbours frequently gather. This activity of praying together at the local prayer house has a significance beyond its mere interactional qualities of exchanging gossip and regularly meeting the same set of men. By joint participation with neighbours in prayers, they acknowledge and reaffirm many of the basic symbolic elements of Islam. One of the most important of these is the quality of being spiritual equals bound together into a community by their shared beliefs.

Within this category of neighbours there is a further sub-division with an even more spatially specific definition. Persons of this category are termed jiran depan mata, near neighbours (literally, neighbours before the eyes). Members of this category are the residents of
those houses that are clearly visible from ego's house. This category contains those persons who are in a direct spatial position to see the activities taking place in and around ego's house. In the instance of this sub-category, two additional ideas regarding the nature of interactional behaviour are significant. With persons who are near neighbours one shares cooked food. When a special dish has been prepared, or a windfall amount of some produce obtained it is with persons of this type that it should be shared. It is required that this transaction be discreet. The food is cooked or otherwise prepared, placed in a closed container or covered dish, and sent unceremoniously, often by one of the children of the household, to the rear door of the recipient's house where it is also received unceremoniously.

A further aspect of the idea system connected with the sub-category is that households who are in this category must be invited to feasts or other such special events regardless of how small the activity may be. This is one of the few absolute prescriptions in these idea systems and informants suggested that one of the most efficient ways to signify that a household was being dropped from one's near neighbour set of associates (and thus from one's social circle) was to not invite them to a feast.

An additional aspect must be added that pertains to both the neighbour and the near neighbour categories.
In both cases non-Malays are excluded from the category. Even in cases where the proximity factor was met and several of the appropriate behavioural attributes specified by the idea system were present, informants agreed that non-Malays could not be considered members of the category neighbour. In the case of non-Malays the behavioural attributes were always used in an excluding sense. For Malays it was not necessary to exhibit all of the appropriate behaviours described by the idea system at once, whereas in the case of non-Malays a single contradiction was sufficient to exclude them. The most commonly cited contradiction was that non-Malays did not pray with Malays as they were often not Muslims.

The following categories concern associates for whom the defining characteristic is the existence of the quality of, as it is termed in the national language, persuadaraan⁴ (friendship). With this as the common feature, the idea system of each of the categories is slightly different. The first of these categories consists of those persons who are termed intimate friend (sahabat).

This category describes those associates with whom men have the most intimate type of friendship. In specific

⁴Friendship is in fact a rather inadequate translation of this term as the sense is concerned with such concepts as "brotherhood" and "fraternity."
recognition of this element of intimacy some informants
use the term *sahabat karib* (intimate; intimate friend).
The term *karib* essentially repeats the sentiment already
present in the term *sahabat* in order to emphasize this
quality of the relationship. The idea system of this
category emphasizes that the relationship is one of
complete sharing, in which there is an always present
willingness to help and come to aid under any circum­
stances, a relationship in which it is possible to share
all one's secrets and the details of one's most personal
affairs. The demands of the reciprocal element of this
relationship are such that in many cases the obligations
even transcend those of the family. It is often stated
that the relationship between persons of this category
is closer than that of brothers. Associates of this
type are acquired in early childhood. Persons who are
constant companions during this period frequently enter
into this category in later life. It is a relationship
which is reinforced during adolescence and continued
into adulthood. Persons normally have only one
individual of this category in their social circle.
Unlike the situation in regard to neighbours, it is
not necessary, once an association of this type has
been established, to maintain it by frequent interaction.
In many cases associates of this category go for years
without seeing one another. A number of characteristic behaviours are described by the idea system for this category. One of the most characteristic is the act of hand-holding in the course of an interaction in public between persons of this category. Upon meeting and exchanging the normal hand-shake, persons who share association of this type will continue holding hands beyond the usual period; they may casually hold hands in the course of other activities, such as walking down the street or waiting in line. A second characteristic behaviour that is described in the idea system of this category is that of asking for a loan of money. Informants were universal in their agreement that it was from persons of this category that such a solicitation could be made without feeling embarrassment.

Friends (kawan)

This category also describes associates who are considered to be friends, associates who share an affectionate relationship, although this relationship does not

5 In making written lists of interactional data, I never encountered a situation in which an informant acknowledged interacting with an associate of this category. While this indicates the lack of a need for intensive interaction to support membership in this category, it also indicates something about the quality of intimacy involved. Interaction with associates of this category is not something that one makes public knowledge, it is not something one necessarily shares—at least not with a relatively unknown visitor such as the anthropologist.
include the intimacy of the category of sahabat. Associates of this category are met in a variety of contexts and situations and although the nature of the sharing is more limited than that of the intimate friend relationship, there is a definite element of the ideology that requires a willingness to help and come to aid, although this help and aid have rather limited dimensions. An associate of this category should be willing to help to the extent that his own interests are not damaged. To ask a friend to do more than this is to contradict the fundamental ideas that support the relationship. One of the most common types of transaction between friends is that of helping in various official situations such as with government offices or large firms. The amount of "help" which it is possible to offer a person of this category is usually limited by circumstances and a person must understand these circumstances and accept the limitations of his friend. Unlike the situation with regard to associates of the category intimate friend, the idea system involved in this category prescribes that a degree of frequent interactional involvement is required not only to establish the relationship but also to maintain it. In regard to associations of this type, the idea system suggests at least one specific behavioural imperative. Friends are persons who upon meeting always have time to stop and chat, even if this is only for a very brief
period. This may develop into an invitation to come into one's home or to go together to a coffee shop for a drink, but taking the time to stop and acknowledge the associate is always required.

A sub-category comprises those persons who are considered to be friends and are met in the context of working. These are associates who would not otherwise be included in the social circle except for the fact that they meet daily as co-workers. No special term is consistently used to describe this category, although the term *kawan kerja* (work friends) is occasionally heard. The idea system defining this category is much the same as that of the ordinary friend category, the difference being that in the case of associates of this sub-type obligations rarely extend beyond the work setting. Persons stand ready with help and assistance but this is rendered only in the context of the work setting. Central to the behaviour required in this category, is a very strong interactional element; to be a work friend an associate must interact on a very frequent basis at work; persons who have ceased to work together are quickly dismissed from this category. Informants also agreed that associates of this type are not easily transferred to other categories of the social circle and when this does happen they do so inasmuch as they meet the appropriate criteria for that category.
Acquaintance (kenalan)

This category describes associates who are not included in any of the above categories. They are persons whom ego can identify, although in fact their name or other details about them may not be known. This category forms a kind of social reservoir of persons who are ideationally located at the periphery of the social space surrounding an individual's social circle. The idea system of this category specifies very little in the way of behavioural imperatives, although some informants stated that the relationship must be acknowledged by at least a nod of the head when passing on the street. New acquaintances are usually placed in this category until they display the appropriate behaviours necessary for inclusion in one of the other categories.

A third category of the urbanite's social universe comprises those individuals who are classed as orang lain. This is a category of non-associates. These are persons with whom ego has no present association. Central to the idea system surrounding this category is that relations with persons of this category are indifferent, if not actually hostile. In terms of interactive behaviour, the idea system suggests that one must be wary of persons of this category; interaction should be fleeting and only concerned with impersonal matters. Informants state that they try to minimize participation in
situations in which they find themselves in the presence of large numbers of non-associates and in such situations the usual and optimum solution is to seek out an associate.

Unlike the motif of the occupational system, it is difficult to express the motif of the idea systems of associate categories with a single Malay native term. The significant principle of this terminology for informants is relation. As such, it has both an inclusionary aspect and an exclusionary aspect.

The exclusionary aspect will be described first in the context of several specific examples. When walking through a cluster of houses near his own, an informant points out the names of the various occupants whom he considers to be neighbours (jiran), but he ignores one house. Upon being asked if the head of that household is not also a neighbour as he stands in the same general spatial relation as the other houses, the informant replies no. He is not a neighbour, dia jaga taraff (he is concerned about or guards his social rank or social status). When remarking about his school days an informant recalls that he was once in the same class with the man, who is now a high ranking government officer. At the former time both men were friends (kawan). However, today when they pass on the street the high ranking government officer does not acknowledge the informant. The informant states that they are no longer friends. In
explanation of this, the informant says about the government officer, dia jaga taraff.

From this type of example, as well as from the statements of informants describing ideas about associates, it becomes clear that the urbanite who is concerned about his social standing or his social status in relation to ego is not an associate. The associate is a person who is not concerned about his social status, at least in relation to another associate.

In contrast to this exclusionary aspect and indicative of the inclusionary aspect is the frequently heard remark about a particular friend, neighbour, or other associate, dia macham adik-bradik, he is like a sibling, or alternatively, dia macham keluarga, he is like family.\(^6\) This reference to the relations of "the family" in this context is very understandable to most informants. The family is a social unit in which all persons have participated and the ideas surrounding the constituent relations are well known. However, it must be pointed out that the comparison here is recognized as a special type of analogy,

---

\(^6\) Of course in the case of those associate types who are, in fact, adik-bradik, or keluarga, this is redundant and there is not an analogy but rather an identity. However, the exclusionary principle is also operative in this domain in that even a person who meets the definitional criteria of a kinsman may be excluded from that category if dia jaga taraff. In those few instances where this occurred, informants found this contradiction of the principles of kin relations to principles of status particularly abhorrent.
which is acknowledged by the use of the term *macham* (like). The similarity is in relation to the behavioural dimensions implied in the ideas about the category, family, not in the definition of specific kin types implied in particular terms of the referential system.

The contrast between the inclusionary and exclusionary criteria suggests the importance of the quality of the transaction between the parties of an association. All associations are built upon such a transaction. Both the system of ideas concerned with definitions and that concerned with behavioural imperatives indicate that this transaction must be of a reciprocal nature.

In the context of this reciprocity is emphasized both the equality of the actors involved and their balance with one another. The ideas surrounding this transaction make this emphasis, while specifically condemning the principles of hierarchy and ranked social position as not appropriate to transactions of this type.

In this contrast is found the central motif of the idea system concerned with associate types. This motif can be described by the term "humility" understood in the limited sense of a lack of the assertion of self over others, a concern for the unity of the relationship rather than the disparate uniqueness of the individual participants.
Thus, through the analysis of the idea systems connected with the terminology of work and with the terminology of association, the basic ideological contrast present in the town of Kota Bharu has been discovered. The motif of pride is expressed by the ideas of the system of working and the motif of humility is expressed by the ideas of association. Ideas derived from the motif of pride tend to isolate urbanites from their fellows as a result of hierarchy and separateness expressed in the stratification system based upon work types, whereas ideas from the motif of humility serve to support relationships which transcend this hierarchy and bring urbanites together in the unity of balance.
PART IV

THE ETHNOGRAPHY II--TIME, ACTIVITIES, AND ASSOCIATE CHOICE
CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATION AND THE USE OF TIME--CASE STUDIES

Urbanites are constantly confronted with the task of making choices. In the realm of association the social life of the town provides the urbanite with a variety of alternative locales and activities in which to associate and numerous persons of a variety of associate types with whom to associate.

In this part I shall describe the process of choosing associates as this is exhibited in observed social action. The social action of association takes place in a time framework and it is necessary to examine the use of time\(^1\) by urbanites to understand fully their processes of choice and the valuations they place on alternatives. The outcome of a choice is expressed in several ways: (1) the use of time involving the presence of an actor in a specific location indicating that he is prepared to participate in associations which are typically undertaken in that location; (2) the use of time to initiate and/or to participate in an interaction with an

---

\(^1\) The use of time as a unit of analysis has been suggested by Belshaw (1959) as an effective means of investigating the process of valuation.
individual of a particular type; (3) the use of time by an individual to initiate a specific event in which the individual can symbolize the importance of individuals of particular associate types by inviting their participation. The first two types of these expressions concern what I shall term ordinary time and the third concerns special time.

In analyzing the behavioural outcome of these choices there are several ways to proceed, each of which gives insight into different factors of the choice process. The first of these is the examination of specific cases. This type of analysis elucidates the factors which influence individual strategies as well as suggesting some of the general dimensions of urban association choice shared by all urbanites. Through a second type of analysis involving an examination of aggregated time devoted to particular activities by a sample of urbanites, we discover more about the importance of specific environments for developing associations of various types. Through a third type of analysis, examining the associates chosen by a sample of urbanites in both ordinary and special time, we discover those types of associates which are valued under a variety of circumstances.

In this chapter I shall examine a number of case studies involving the analysis of daily activity schedules as well as special time activities. In allocating time to a variety of activities and associations all urbanites share...
some constant factors: eating, sleeping and, in most cases, praying. However, there is also a great deal of variation as would be expected from the ideological significance of urban work. This analysis of action indicates that the nature of an urbanite's occupation and work locale places constraints on his valuations and decision-making. However, not all variation in valuation and choice is explained by these factors. Factors arising from other aspects of the urbanite's life also affect personal strategies and help to explain some of the variation found among those of a single occupational category. One of the most important of these factors is the nature of the urbanite's relationship to his local residential cluster.

The analysis of these case studies demonstrates the significance of both of these factors. The cases are arranged by occupational types in which the constraints peculiar to a particular occupation can be seen. For each occupational type I have included two cases which depict the differences in influences arising from the urbanite's position in the local urban residential community as well as other factors influencing personal strategies.

The examination of individual cases in detail places what A. L. Epstein has termed a "heavy burden" (1969) on the reader. But with Epstein I ask the reader to follow me through this exercise. These cases contain the basic data on urban decision-making. They are not
merely apt illustrations. In following chapters I discuss several summary presentations of this data but they are only meaningful when the rich variation and diverse details of the total scope of Malay urban life are understood and to understand these it is necessary to examine the action of individual urbanites.

Two wage earners

The fixed working hours and locale of most wage earners greatly influence their pattern of daily association. The demands of the work place and associations established there are highly valued. In many occupations of this type, as a result of schooling, post-school training, or job association, there is a strong sense of occupational unity. For example, persons who are employed as "chief clerks," despite the fact that they are employed in separate offices or departments, may know one another and associate frequently, often following each other's careers with great interest. Most wage earners consider it important to maintain their residence in the town near their work and, if possible, in an area where some persons of similar occupation may be found. The demands of the work place and the associations made there must constantly be balanced against those of neighbours, relatives, and other friends.

This situation is complicated in cases in which a
man is a newcomer to the urban residential area. In this situation he has several strategies open to him. He can ignore the local residential community and carry on life with reference to other environments. I had contact with a man who did this but as he refused to give information about his activities it is not possible to present this strategy in detail. In a second strategy the newcomer may attempt to balance his involvement in the local residential community with other demands on his time. The two cases described here illustrate different adaptations to this situation. In the first case Abdullah "makes time" for local association despite heavy demands for work associated situations and his rural contacts, and in the second Khalid relys on symbolic "special time" situations to indicate his interest in residential area association while devoting much of his ordinary time to other associate types.

Case One

Abdullah

Hospital Worker

Abdullah is, at the same time, a migrant to the town from a suburban village, and a very "urban" man. Despite his birth outside the town, he has lived in the city from an early age and has been involved in many urban activities. He has served in the army in Singapore where he and his family lived for some time. He is presently married to an urban woman and has several children. He represents a very common type of urban resident, the non-local in-marrying
spouse with numerous non-urban ties. He has lived for approximately fifteen years in an urban residential cluster where his wife owns land and has a number of relatives. He constructed his family's house upon coming to this area. Abdullah's work at the main state hospital located several miles from his house is on a rotating shift basis and regularly his period of work changes from morning to afternoon to night. Abdullah has been active in the hospital workers' union and has served as president of the local branch. At the time of this schedule he was serving as treasurer. The schedule below is somewhat unusual as it was taken at a time when Abdullah was working the night shift from 10 p.m. to 7 a.m. He enjoys this shift as it gives him time to use during the day for other activities. Also this schedule is unusual as it was taken near the end of the month when Abdullah was engaged in a great many more union business activities than usual as he had to collect dues from members and prepare the books for an audit. However, it does indicate his involvement with these activities as well as the manner in which he gives time to local associations connected with improving his acceptance and participation in the cluster of neighbours and relatives surrounding his home.

Day 1

6:30 a.m., Abdullah arose, prayed, and went back
to sleep. 7 a.m., got up again, fed chickens, drank tea, visited with wife, played with children, washed motorcycle. 10:30, he went to the hospital on union business: collecting dues from members, talking with people who want to join. 12:30 p.m., he went to government workers' credit union to get membership forms for one of his union members. 1 p.m., returned home, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, ate lunch with his WiFa who was visiting at his house when he arrived. 2:30, went to the dental clinic (also part of the medical department in which he works) to meet a friend and a friend of his friend; talked about union business, went to hospital and met the man whom he pays to collect union dues when he is not available. Abdullah talked to members, answering their questions. 4:00, he went to post office to post letters on union business. At 4:15 he returned home and fell asleep until 5:45; when he woke up he found that his WiMoSi who lives in his household had finished making a special dish and he ate this with his WiFa who was still there and another of his Wi's relatives who had recently come to live in a nearby house. 6 p.m., Abdullah took his Da's bicycle for repair to a Chinese shop near his house and then went to his Mo house in a nearby residential area in order to pay her some money he had borrowed and to buy some staple foods from his Si shop. He also took some of the special dish his WiMoSi had made to his Mo. 7:30, Abdullah went directly to the hospital
to pick up his wife, returned home, bathed, and went to the local prayer house for prayers after which he returned home, ate dinner, and waited at home until 9:30, when he left to go to work at the hospital. There were no cases in the operating theatre where Abdullah works so he was able to rest during most of the shift.

Day 2

7 a.m., Abdullah stopped work, returned home and took his Wi to her work at the hospital. He then returned home again, fed chickens, worked on union accounts, bathed, ate, and went to town to pay the household electric bill. After this he went to see the two friends at the dental clinic that he saw yesterday. They were both busy and while he waited for them he had a dental examination. When the men were free he talked to them about union business. At 11:30 Abdullah went to the hospital, where he transacted union business. 1 p.m., he went to a hospital ward to visit a second cousin whom he knows as she lives near land he owns in his natal village. At 1:30 Abdullah picked up his wife at work, came home, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, and went to sleep. At 4:00 he got up and with his wife went to visit a relative of hers who lives in a nearby village. This man fixes radios and Abdullah wanted to get his radio fixed. From this man's house he continued with his wife to his rural village which is about eight miles from town. Here he dropped off his
wife to allow her to pay a visit to one of his kinsmen who had recently returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca and he went to the house of his third cousin Hu, for a feast (I don't know what this celebration was for). After eating here Abdullah returned to the house where his wife was and stayed a while. He then went to the adjacent house where his second cousin lives and paid this woman for helping him harvest his rice crop. After this he and his wife returned to town. At 6:45 he stopped at his mother's house (which is on the road to his rural village) to convey a message from the woman they had visited. Abdullah bought some tea from his Si and then came home, arriving at 7:15. He bathed, prayed, drank tea, read the newspapers. At 8:00 he went to the local prayer house for the second evening prayer—he had missed the first one—and he stayed for the religious lecture. When this was over at 9:30 he returned home, ate dinner, watched television, and went to work at 10:00. Once again there were no cases at work and he could rest.

Day 3

7 a.m., Abdullah returned from work, fed chickens, read the newspapers, bathed, ate, and prepared materials regarding union matters to take to the hospital. At 9:30 he went to the transport department office to renew a driver license for a friend, a union member who works at the hospital. This man was unable to do it himself because
of his work schedule. Abdullah could not complete the transaction because the application required more documents than this man had given him. At 9:40 he went to the hospital to attend to various matters of union business. 11:30, he went to meet his friend in the operating theatre and told him he needed more documents to get the license, then went to the business office on personal matters where he met the man whom he pays to collect the union dues for him. Abdullah obtained the receipt book from this man and took over collecting dues. 12:30, he went to a shop near the central market and placed his order for provisions and did some shopping. He collected his provisions, returned home, prayed, and then took his wife to her work (as he was late he took his lunch with him from home, wrapped in banana leaves, and ate in the kitchen of the hospital hostel where his wife works). There Abdullah met a union member and discussed some union business with her. 2 p.m., he went to the dental clinic and saw the dentist who gave him the address of a shop where he could get the medicine that had been prescribed previously, and then he went to the barber shop. 3:00, he went to the transport office to finish getting the license for his friend. 4:00, went to the house of a friend. This man looked after Abdullah when he was small. Abdullah had heard that he had recently returned from Mecca. When he arrived he found his friend was not at home. Abdullah stopped at a Homeopathic Medical
Clinic to get additional treatment for an eye ailment that he has had for some time. 4:20, he returned home, read newspapers, went to sleep. 6 p.m., a friend came to visit. Abdullah knows this man as they both come from the same rural village; he is a friend of Abdullah's father, and Abdullah has known him since childhood. This man's wife works at the hospital and is a member of Abdullah's union. This friend asked Abdullah's help in filing some forms in order that his wife might get a loan from a government agency. 6:30, this man left, Abdullah bathed, prayed, fed the chickens, prayed again, went to get his wife at her work and once home again worked on union accounts. 8:00, he went to the local prayer house. He returned home after this to eat and there he found his Mo and second cousin. While he ate he talked to them and watched television. At 9:45 Abdullah went to work. There was a case in progress and he took over from the man on the preceding shift. When this case was over he relaxed. About 11 p.m. a friend who works at the hospital came by the operating theatre to visit him and to pay back a small sum of money Abdullah had loaned him. The rest of the night he slept.

Day 4

6:45 a.m., Abdullah returned home from work, took his wife to work, and returned home again, drank tea, bathed and prayed. 9:30, he borrowed a car (from the anthropologist) and went to the houses of two people in
his rural village who work his land. In each case he picked up his share of the rice harvest. On his way home he stopped to buy some poultry feed for his chickens. 12:10, arrived at home, brought his rice into the house to prepare it for storage, drank tea, fed his chickens. 1:30 p.m., he went to get his wife at work, returned home, prayed, ate lunch, went to sleep. 3:00, he got up and began to work on accounts for the union. A friend who works at the hospital came to visit. This man had left his motorcycle at Abdullah's house some time earlier in the afternoon when he had come to visit another man who lives some distance from the road. When he returned to collect his motorcycle Abdullah heard him and invited him in and they chatted briefly before this man left. 4:00, Abdullah prayed and went to the house of the friend who had cared for him as a child, mentioned above, but once again the man was not there. 7:00, he returned home, prayed, worked on union accounts, watched television. At 8:00 he prayed at home, ate dinner and continued watching television until 10:00, when he went to work. There were, once again, no cases and he could rest.

Day 5

7 a.m., Abdullah returned from work, fed his chickens, and took his wife to work. He went to the hospital to work on union business, met the union president, checked on a personal travel voucher he had submitted to
the hospital administration some time before, met several new union members and talked with them about union activities. Also he saw his friend in the operating theatre to give him his drivers license. 10:45, he returned home and worked on union accounts. 11:30, he went to the land office to investigate the title of a piece of land which he has noticed has been unused in his village for some time. The clerk at the land office told him that it belonged to the government but many other people had been enquiring about it. He went to a drug supply house to find medicine the dentist had prescribed but they did not have any.

1 p.m., he returned home, fed chickens, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, read the newspapers. 2:30, went to fetch wife from work, came home and went to sleep. 4:30, got up, prayed, worked on union accounts. 7:00, prayed at the prayer house (he expected that there would be a religious class tonight but it was raining and the teacher did not come). 7:20, went to Mo house and told her that he was anxious to harvest the rice in one of the fields at his village because his day shift was coming in several days and he would no longer have time. She told him that she had gone to see it and it was not ripe yet. 8:30, returned home, prayed, ate dinner, watched television. 10:00, went to work, but as there were no cases he could sleep.

Day 6

6:45 a.m., Abdullah arrived home and immediately
took his wife to work and then returned home once again, fed chickens, ate breakfast, and then waited to put his rice out to dry. The day was cloudy and while he waited he prepared union matters for the secretary to examine. At 11:00, he decided that the sun would not come out and noticing that his neighbour was at home and he had not seen him for some time he went to talk and visit with him. They chatted about what each had been doing recently. At 11:30 he came home and worked at cleaning old rice bags in preparation for the new rice harvest. At 1 p.m. he changed clothes and went to get his wife at work, returned home, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, read the newspapers, and while reading fell asleep. At 4:00 a friend, the secretary of his union, came to visit in order to sign the various materials which he had prepared. At 6:00 he and his secretary said prayers together and then they went to a nearby town to the house of a friend. The purpose of this visit was to discuss plans for a fund-raising event for the union. Abdullah and the secretary hoped to hold this in a nearby town and they were calling on the friend because he had lived in this town for a long time and he was well acquainted with the District Officer whose permission would be required to hold the event. Abdullah, the secretary, and the friend talked extensively about this project until 7:00 when they stopped and prayed together and then returned to their discussion. At 8:30
they stopped once again and ate together and then continued to talk. At 9:30 Abdullah suddenly noticed that it was late and he rushed to leave, and went quickly to his house. The secretary came with him and Abdullah did not have a chance to take the secretary home. There was no work at 10:00 when he reached the hospital and he and the secretary went outside to get a trishaw to take the secretary to the house in which he stays when he comes to Kota Bharu. They could not get one and Abdullah and the secretary sat at a stall outside the hospital drinking coffee. There was an emergency case and Abdullah was called inside to work; the secretary waited outside for him until he was through and then they continued talking. At 1 a.m. both he and the secretary went to sleep in the empty operating theatre.

Day 7

7 a.m., both Abdullah and the secretary woke up. After coffee he took the secretary to his house and then he went home, fed his chickens, and while waiting for the sun to come out he drank coffee and worked on the union accounts. 11:00, he put the rice out to dry and at 12 noon he stopped to drink tea, bathed, and then went to Friday prayers at the nearby mosque. At prayers he met a new friend with whom he chatted briefly. This man is a lab assistant at the hospital and Abdullah was just recently introduced to him by the secretary of his union. He also
met a good friend whom he knows because this man used to rent a shop near the place where his Si used to keep her shop. They talked about his Si. 1:30, Abdullah returned home, took wife to work, came back home, read the newspaper and went to sleep. 4:00, he brought the rice back inside the house from where it had been drying. 6:00, bathed, prayed, worked on accounts, fed chickens. 7:00, prayed, watched television. 8:30, prayed once again, ate, watched film on television until 10:00, when he went to work. There were no cases and he was able to sleep.

Day 8

6:45 a.m., Abdullah returned home and took his wife to work. 7:00, returned home, drank tea, fed chickens, worked on union accounts. 8:30, ate breakfast and continued to work on accounts. 10:00, took several sacks of rice to a mill across town; when he was coming home he stopped and paid bills at various town offices. 12 noon, arrived home and brought in rice. Abdullah's BrWiFa came to tell him that his Br would like to have his Da stay with him during the school term (this Da had done so in the past). Abdullah chatted with this man. 1:30, he went to get wife at work and returned home, had lunch with Wi and BrWiFa after which this man left. Abdullah fed his chickens, bathed, and went to sleep. 5:30, his Br came by the house and dropped off his Da (he did not stay because he had to attend a meeting in the town). Abdullah bathed and prayed.
5:45, he went to house of the friend from childhood mentioned above. This time the man was home and they talked about this man's most recent trip to Mecca. Abdullah returned some jewellery he had taken on consignment to sell some time ago and he paid him money due on this consignment. 7:00, prayed with this man at his house. 8:00, went to his Mo house to get some tinned milk from his sister's shop. 8:30, came home where he met his union president who had been waiting for him and they discussed union matters. 9:00, this man left, Abdullah ate dinner, prayed, watched television, and went to sleep.

Comment

The above schedule is rather unique in that it was taken at a time when Abdullah was working at night. He does this only about once every six weeks. Also, this schedule was collected at the end of a month when he was much involved with union activities, collecting dues and processing reports. Still the schedule does demonstrate the value that he gives to various kinds of associations. Indeed, the fact that he chooses to carry on interactions of various types rather than sleep indicates the value he gives to the associations developed by these interactions. Abdullah is clearly not a rural person. Although he was born in a rural village where he still owns land, his Fa, a carpenter, came to the town when he was quite young. However, Abdullah continues to
work and manage the land in his village. His social circle includes many of these rural people, although he acts as something of a broker for them with the town services. His job at the hospital places him in a good position to do this easily. He maintains close ties with his own family, particularly his Mo and Si; as his mother is old and his Si is divorced he feels himself rather responsible for their welfare. At the same time he also values ties with his wife's family, he lives on her land, surrounded by her relatives, he participates in local activities, and prays at the local prayer house, even when he is short of time. This concern with local associates is even more evident on special occasions.

Special time

Abdullah had occasion to give two prayers for a stipulated intention (sembayang hajat) during the research period. One of these was when his sister had recovered from an illness and another on the occasion of bringing the new rice crop into the house. In the first case he invited guests in two shifts. He personally invited all of his near neighbours except one renter, and his WiMoSi invited several renters on his behalf (these people attended the first sitting). The second sitting was held after the religious class at the local prayer house and included everyone attending this as well as three of his relatives from a nearby village.
The second ceremony was held after a religious class and with the exceptions of a husband of one of the cooks, and myself, included only those persons who were attending the class on that evening. This meant that several near neighbours were excluded and no effort was made to include them. It also meant that several persons not in the immediate neighbour cluster were included in the activity. The point in both cases was that it was the prayer house unit which was invited and this symbolizes the local neighbourhood cluster even if the actual composition of the attendees on any one night does not in fact include everyone.

This type of pattern recurs in Abdullah's visiting decisions during the calendric holidays. He did not give a feast to break the fast during the fasting month although he did bring special food to the prayer house to share with the men praying there on one night. He attended four feasts to break the fast, all at houses of persons connected with the local residential cluster (and all being his neighbours). During the Hari Raya Puasa holiday he visited the houses of six neighbours and had another group of six neighbours visit him, to whom he served special foods. He visited and was visited by a number of his own kinsmen and those of his wife. Co-workers did not figure greatly in the invitations. This supports the finding that while many associations take place as a part of the world of work
these associations do not carry over into other contexts. Work is a separate social sphere from that of kinsmen and neighbours. Friends do not figure among either those visiting or those visited. This same pattern was repeated during Hari Raya Haji when Abdullah interacted with fourteen persons either as visitor or visited, of which six were neighbours and seven were kinsmen, and one was a union member who was visited because he had just retired.

**Case Two**  
**Khalid**  
**School Teacher**

Khalid is also a man with strong rural ties. While he grew up in a non-urban village, his occupation as a teacher has long involved him in living in various urban centres of the state. At the time of this schedule he was living in the town while he and his wife, also a teacher, worked in nearby suburban village schools. Khalid and his family live on land which he has recently bought in the same residential area as Abdullah. They live in a recently constructed house with their children and one servant. Neither Khalid nor his wife have any relatives in the immediate area with the exception of a cousin of his wife who, with her wage-earner husband, rents a house nearby; they are also outsiders to the local community. Khalid is engaged in a dispute with his most immediate neighbours and this has some impact on his allocation of time to various associations. However, the fact that he maintains ties with
family and relatives in the rural village of his birth
and that he actively develops ties with persons of similar
occupation throughout the town also has a significant
influence on his allocation of time.

Day 1

6 a.m., Khalid arose, bathed, prayed, and ate. He took his wife to her school and then went to his, arriving about 7:20. 7:30, he began teaching. He usually has one free period per day and this morning he spent this period chatting with the head teacher, and several other teachers about school matters. 1 p.m., Kalid finished teaching and drove to pick up his wife and then came home at 1:30. At home he bathed, prayed, ate lunch, and rested until about 4:30 when he went with his wife to her rural village about twelve miles from the town. He and his wife visited at his WiMo house and talked with her. He prayed and ate at her house and then he and his wife came home, arriving at about 7:30, after which he watched television until he went to bed at about 10:00.

Day 2

6 a.m., Khalid arose and followed the same schedule as Day 1 until 4:15 p.m., with the exception that during his free period he chatted with several different teachers. 4:15, he and his wife went to the central market to shop. 5:30, they returned home to find that Khalid's WiMo had come. She stayed at his house until the next morning when
she returned to her home by taxi. The rest of the day was passed as in Day 1 above except that he did not leave his house. Khalid said prayers at home, after which he ate dinner and then prayed again. After this he watched television until going to sleep at 10 p.m.

**Day 3**

Khalid followed the same form as Day 1, although he was late in getting up and he had no break in his teaching day. 4:30, he went with his wife to the market to buy supplies for the coming month. At the market he met a friend whom he knows as she teaches at his school. They talked about where she was going. 6:00, he returned home. The rest of the day followed the same pattern as the day before.

**Day 4**

Khalid followed the same pattern as Day 1 until 2:30 p.m. when he went to get his hair cut at the shop of an old friend whom he knows because he has gone to that shop for a long time. He chatted with the other men there although he does not know any of them. He returned home at 3:00 when he said prayers and at 4:30 he left to go to the central market to buy fish and vegetables. After this he went to the house of a friend. Khalid has known this man since he was small as they both come from the same rural village. They talked about getting the friend's car fixed and then Khalid went with him while he left his car for
service and Khalid brought him home. He arrived home at about 6:00. The rest of the day followed the same pattern as the day before.

Day 5

Khalid followed the pattern of Day 1. During his free period he chatted with other teachers about matters concerning school. 11 a.m., he stopped teaching (it was the beginning of a school holiday) and went to pick up his wife, arriving home at 12 noon. At home he ate, bathed and prayed. 2:00, he and his Wi went in his car to town. Here he stopped at a government office where he met a friend whom he knows from school and paid her money for something he had bought. He then went to the house of his Mo in his rural village where he looked over the harvested rice crop and put his share into the car. Then he went to the house of his WiMo and picked up his wife's share of the rice that had been harvested and put this in his car. He talked with various neighbours of his WiMo and he had dinner there as well as saying both evening prayers at her house. 8:30, he returned home and watched television until he went to bed at 10 p.m.

Day 6

7 a.m., Khalid got up, bathed, prayed, and ate breakfast. 10:00, he went to town in his car; he was just riding around and had no specific destination. He stopped near a large Malay bookstore where, while he was looking
at the books, he met three friends he has known since childhood. These men are all teachers and he chatted with them about what they are now doing. 12:30 p.m., he came home and rested for a while. 3:00, he had lunch, bathed, prayed, and fed his poultry. While he was doing this his FaMo came to visit and helped his Wi with some cooking. He relaxed around the house until 6:15 when he dressed, in formal Malay clothes, and drove to the central mosque for prayers and to listen to the evening lecture. At the mosque he met a friend and they chatted about their recent activities as he had not seen this man for some time. After the lecture he went to the house of his FaBrSo in order to use his telephone to call his Br in the State of Pahang and inform him that he would not be coming to visit him during this school vacation as they had planned. After making this call he returned home about 9:00, ate dinner, watched television, and went to sleep about 10 p.m.

Day 7

6:30 a.m., Khalid got up, bathed, prayed, and ate breakfast. 7:30, he went to the home of a prominent religious teacher, the state Mufti, for a public lecture about religious matters. He did not stop to talk with anyone at this lecture. 9:00, he returned home and relaxed around the house until 12 noon when he went to the main mosque for Friday prayers. There he saw many people he knew but there was not time for visiting.
1:15, Khalid arrived home, ate lunch, and rested until 2:00 when he and his wife drove to a drama exhibition at his Wi school. There they met and talked with other teachers, students, and parents. 6:00, Khalid arrived home, when he prayed, drank tea, and went outside the house to cut up brush, after which he bathed, prayed, ate dinner, prayed, and relaxed around the house. 9 p.m., he went to listen to a religious lecture being held in a field near his house. Here he met two friends, both of whom are teachers. 10:30, he returned home and went to sleep.

Day 8

6 a.m., Khalid got up, bathed, prayed, and fed his poultry and rested around the house. 11 a.m., he went to the market to buy fish. There he met a number of friends, including a former student, a man he used to teach with, a teacher at his present school, and a man who is a driver at his school. 12 noon, he returned home. On the way home he saw a friend, standing on the road near the Land Office. Khalid took him in his car to his home village outside of town, about five miles from ego's house. 1 p.m., arrived home, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, and rested. 2:00, he took his servant girl to her home in a village near his home village as she had stopped working for him in order to get married. He went to his mother's house and asked her if she could find another girl to work for him. He ate a meal at her house. 5:00, he went back to Kota Bharu, directly
to the market where he bought fish. 6:00, he returned home, prayed, and then chatted over the fence with a woman who is the owner of a new rental house which has just been constructed in a lot adjacent to his.

The access road dispute

To understand fully Khalid's daily decision-making activities it is necessary to set his daily activities in the context of an on-going dispute with some persons in the local neighbourhood. This situation not only illustrates some of his problems as he values various friends and neighbours but also the problems that his choices cause for other persons in the local neighbourhood.

Khalid bought the land on which he lives from an acquaintance about six years ago. This acquaintance had purchased a block of land in the area from one of the locally related residents of the cluster. This purchaser stated to the original owners his intention of subdividing the land into housing lots and reselling them. Because the lots were some distance from the main road an agreement was reached that the original owner and some of his immediate neighbour relatives would allow an access road to be built over their land to link these lots with the main road. In exchange for this courtesy the original owner received one of the building lots for use by his family. All of these arrangements were made in the traditional manner by word of mouth attested by witnesses;
nothing about this transaction was entered into the govern-
ment land records.

Khalid bought the land with the understanding that
the road would be made, built his house and waited. He was
anxious to get the road built so that he could bring his
car onto his property, but no road was forthcoming. There
were a number of intervening incidents: Khalid lost some
poultry, blamed his immediate neighbours for theft, and did
not seek reconciliation with them. Rather he built a fence
around his house, either to keep the chickens in or the
neighbours out or both. Shortly after this incident these
neighbours refused to allow him even to walk across their
land from where he parked his car near the street. After
this he took these neighbours to court where the case is
still pending.

Meanwhile Khalid has attempted to establish
neighbourly relations with another cluster of people (his
house is located between two clusters of houses). These
people are in a position to offer him access to his property
through their lands. During the period of this dispute he
has used a parking space connected to the house of a non-
Malay adjacent to this second cluster. This garage space
is near the house occupied by Abdullah (see case one). As
Khalid goes daily to and from his car he passes near
Abdullah's house and he is always careful to greet members
of this household and other nearby neighbours. He frequently
stops and visits with Abdullah and his neighbours. Although Khalid does not pray at the prayer house frequented by this cluster of neighbours they consider it praiseworthy that he attends the main mosque and tend to ignore his local non-attendance. Khalid uses many other means of conveying to Abdullah's neighbours his interest in being considered a member of their cluster, most important of which are his special time activities to be described below.

This entire situation causes a dilemma for Abdullah as he is an in-marrying spouse in the local community and some of the persons aligned against Khalid are relatives of his wife, although persons in his immediate neighbour cluster are also his wife's relatives. Note that Khalid chooses to make his approach to this local cluster through a man (Abdullah) who is himself structurally an outsider. Abdullah is constantly torn between being a friend or a neighbour with Khalid and still maintaining good and proper relations with all of his wife's relatives including those who are aligned against Khalid. This is complicated by the transitive quality of friendship: in order to be a good friend to Khalid, Abdullah must also recognize as enemies Khalid's enemies. Abdullah solves this problem by compartmentalizing his association decisions as much as possible and using a number of social conventions and subterfuges. For example, when Abdullah wants to visit a
relative of his wife who is also a near neighbour of Khalid, he goes to the relative's house by a circuitous route so as not to pass Khalid's house, or he tells people he passes that he is going elsewhere.

As a postscript to this situation and a further elaboration of the nature of neighbourly ties, we can examine an episode which took place substantially after the special time occasions to be described below. After Khalid had established a few ties with Abdullah's neighbours he attempted to buy a small piece of land on which to build a road to his property. One of Abdullah's neighbours (a very close relative of his wife) agreed to sell this land, with the approval of the rest of the neighbours. The sellers viewed this as helping a "neighbour" in need. However, as the transaction was being completed Khalid demanded a written receipt for the purchase payment. Local people took this as improper behaviour among neighbours and the sale was not completed. Relations with Khalid were reduced by these people to the level of acquaintanceship and Abdullah likewise began to treat him more as an acquaintance.

Special time

It is significant to examine how Khalid was able to establish a neighbourly relationship with Abdullah's neighbours in order to be able to ask to purchase the land
in the first place. Much of the establishment of the relationship involved the use of special time. During the major holiday seasons of the year Khalid attended to developing neighbourly relationships with the cluster of Abdullah's neighbours. Unlike most other persons in the sample, Khalid held two feasts to break the fast with a total of twenty-nine guests, of whom twenty-two were neighbours (most of whom were from Abdullah's cluster). His near neighbours were conspicuously absent from these events. By the extravagance of holding two feasts, Khalid demonstrated that he highly valued neighbourly relations with these guests. Khalid also attended two feasts to break the fast given by members of this neighbour cluster. As these invitations were from two very important members of this cluster, they demonstrated that he had, to a certain extent, been accepted as a **bona fide** neighbour of these persons. He also attended a feast at the home of his WiFa.

During the Hari Raya Puasa holiday he confined his visiting to immediate members of his family; his father and several undefined kinsmen. He was visited by his brother's children, his mother, and two of his brothers, as well as a few of his neighbours. His high occupational status relative to his neighbours and his new role as a neighbour may have been a contributing factor in the lack of visits from this category of associate. On the second day of the holiday no one came to visit him, but he and his family went
to a feast at his mother's house. On the third day he neither visited nor received visitors.

During Hari Raya Haji, Khalid had a share in a ritual slaughter (korban) in his natal rural village. The meat from this was given to ten persons, of whom six were relatives and friends in his natal village, demonstrating his interest in continued participation in this area, one relative in his urban neighbourhood, and three lower status neighbours in Abdullah's cluster.

Comment

Taken together, the above data make clear that this man is careful to use his time to make a variety of associations with a variety of purposes. Daily life tends to focus on friends whom Khalid knows from his teaching and who are connected with his work, as well as his parents and his wife's parents who live in the rural village where he has land holdings. He does, however, value his local level associations (if for no other reason than to get his road built) and he chooses to demonstrate that he values these persons' friendship through his actions during the holiday periods. That he has been relatively unsuccessful in developing these links, however, is revealed by the fact that these persons do not figure greatly in his everyday schedule.
Summary

Wage earners have many demands on their time arising from their wage work occupations. Abdullah must deal with his varied hours of shift work and Khalid with his various school related activities. Outside of working hours some of these men's associations are also with work related persons, Abdullah in his union activities and Khalid meeting teachers and school associates in bookstores and the market. But work is not the sole factor influencing their allocation of time to association and both men must also devote time to activities and associations in their urban residential area. While both are "outsiders" to this area, they are each confronted with unique problems and their strategies are adapted to these situations. Abdullah validates ties with his wife's relative-neighbours and Khalid tries to establish association with a neighbour set. To complicate these problems both men must also solve conflicts arising because they each have ties with rural areas which, in both cases, must be balanced with those of the town.

Two craftsmen

The practice of a specialized craft is a frequent urban occupation. While it does not have the status of wage earner, it is a respected form of employment. The place of work can be variable. Many craftsmen work at home, usually in an area specially designed for their craft;
others work at a factory, either one they own or that is owned by another individual. The craftsman working at home is often responsible for many of the steps in the production and market process, whereas the person employed at a factory may specialize in one or more processes of the production. The demands of the work are often such that work place association during the working processes is difficult or limited. Outside the working situation or under special conditions there appears to be frequent association with other persons who are also craftsmen. The individual craftsman's associations appear to be directed toward other similar craftsmen in other enterprises rather than with co-workers within a single enterprise. Often, however, the demanding and time-consuming aspects of the craft process place limitations on wide association. Men in these occupations still have the demands of family, relatives, and neighbours to consider, as these cases demonstrate.

**Case Three**

Abdul Rahman Silversmith

Abdul Rahman, a middle-aged silversmith, has always lived in the same local residential cluster. He lives on land which is registered in the name of his mother and in nearby houses he has many relatives. His wife is an outsider from a nearby rural village. Both his occupation and location seem to limit the range of his choice for
association. He appears to value association with established nearby neighbours and relatives, and his associations do not extend particularly beyond the local area except to other craftsmen and business-related contacts.

Day 1

7 a.m., Abdul Rahman got up, bathed in the river directly behind his house, prayed at home, and with his family ate a rice dish that had been bought from a hawker. 8:00, he began work; he makes several styles of silver jewellery of his own design. He works at making a number of small components out of formed silver wire which are then assembled into the finished piece. He supervises a number of younger men who work for him making the various components on a piece-rate basis. This work takes place in the front room of his house at a number of small work benches built for this purpose. Abdul Rahman's wife also works on these jobs when there is a large order to be filled. At about 10:00 he had a visitor from the Trengganu branch of the government Malay development trust (MARA). This agency has a handcraft marketing agency and this visitor took several pieces of his work to consider for wholesale purchase. 12 noon, he stopped work, bathed, ate, and prayed; his employees returned to their homes for lunch. 1 p.m., he returned to work on the silver until 5 p.m. when he stopped, chatted with his workers for about one hour and
then went outside to examine and begin to repair damage
to his house which had occurred during a recent flood.
6:50, he bathed, prayed, had dinner, prayed again, and
about 8:00 a number of neighbourhood boys came to visit
him. These visitors included one of his employees who is
a distant relative (wharis), his BrSo and a neighbour's
son. These visitors stayed for about one hour, played
cards, and chatted with him and his wife. At 9:30 these
visitors went home and he went to sleep.

Day 2

Abdul Rahman followed the same working pattern as
Day 1 except that he had no visitors. 5 p.m., he went to
the house of a neighbour, Haji Omar, in order to watch
the weekly football game on television. After this, he
returned home and followed the same pattern as Day 1 except
that he had no visitors and spent his time reading news­
papers and talking with his wife.

Day 3

Same pattern as Day 1, except no morning visitors
and his evening visitors included his brother who lives
next door.

Day 4

Once again Abdul Rahman followed basically the same
pattern as that of Day 1 with a few exceptions. At 11 a.m.
while he was working on his silver two men, Kota Bharu
silver jewellery merchants, came to visit him. A relative
of one of these men was planning to exhibit jewellery at a trade fare in Japan in a few weeks. These men wanted to get a number of pieces of his work to send there. He explained that while he had nothing ready today he would bring some to them when he did. They left; he continued working until 12 noon, when he prayed, had lunch, and then resumed work at 1 p.m. 2:00, he left his wife and workers at home while he went to the shop of the merchant who had visited him in the morning and took him a few finished pieces. He then went to visit a friend, Yusof, who is also a silversmith and who lives in a village across the river. Abdul Rahman used to work in a shop together with this friend. He and Yusof chatted about the merchant and discussed the idea of sending pieces of their work with him to Japan. After this, he came home, arriving at 6:45. His employees had left at the usual time. He prayed at home, had dinner, and then conversed with several of the neighbourhood boys who are mentioned above. 9:15, he went to Haji Omar's house to watch television. 10 p.m., he came home and went to bed.

Day 5

Abdul Rahman followed the same routine as Day 1 until 11 a.m., when he went to visit his friend, Yusof. They talked about sending jewellery to Japan. After this he went to see the silver merchant and discussed the exact arrangements to complete the remainder of his order.
2 p.m., he arrived home, bathed, prayed, and ate, and then returned to work as usual. 5.00, he stopped work, bathed, prayed, and went to the home of his neighbour, Haji Omar, to watch a man who was working on the neighbour's house. 6:00, he returned home and sat on the front porch of his house where he visited with his Br, Si, and a neighbour. 6:50, he bathed, prayed, ate dinner, waited a few minutes and prayed again, and at 8:30 p.m. he went once again to the house of Haji Omar to watch a Hindustani film on television. 11 p.m., he returned home and went to sleep.

Day 6

With the exception of no morning visitors, this day was the same as Day 1 until 3 p.m. when he went once again to see the silver merchant to explain that the full twelve dozen pieces of jewellery that this man wanted were not yet finished and that they would be delivered in three days time. On his way home he stopped at a Chinese shop to buy more silver. 7:00, arrived home, bathed, prayed, and ate dinner, and then went to the house of his half-brother where they discussed some matters regarding the division of their mother's land in the residential cluster. This half-brother left for a meeting and Abdul Rahman returned home at about 10:00. Once again, several of the neighbourhood youth came to play cards for about one hour and when they left he went to sleep.
Day 7

5:30 a.m., Abdul Rahman arose, bathed, prayed, and relaxed around the house. 7:00, he had a morning meal which he bought from a hawker and then went outside to work on repairing his house. After this he relaxed until it was time to leave for Friday prayers at the prayer house in a nearby area. He did not talk with anyone there. After prayer he went to the house of a neighbour who is also a distant relative, for a feast for a stipulated intention. At about 2 p.m. he returned home and rested until 3:00, when several of the neighbourhood youth came to visit and play cards. About 4:00 another friend came to visit. Abdul Rahman knows this man because he used to rent a house near Abdul Rahman's but he now lives in another area. This man used to make cupboards, but now he has a wage-earning job with the government. Abdul Rahman chatted about many topics, asking this friend if he could make a cupboard for him. By 5:00 all of these visitors had left and he relaxed for a while, bathed, prayed, and ate dinner. About 8:00 he set off to watch television at the house of Haji Omar. At 10:00 he returned home and went to sleep.

Day 8

Followed the same pattern as Day 2 above.
Comment

Abdul Rahman's interactions most frequently occur in or near his home with an occasional tie to wholesale buyers and a few friends. He chooses to associate with his workers and a few of his younger relatives, and he has sufficient time to entertain them. Informants suggested that an explanation for this was that he has only one child of his own and thus the presence of these younger relatives provided the pleasures of the company of young people in his house. He spends much of his time with Haji Omar; they are both craftsmen and are related to one another in a distant manner.

Special time

Abdul Rahman's daily routine is not very flexible, limited as it is by the necessities of his type of employment. However, his associational decisions on special occasions give greater understanding of his choice patterns. During the fasting month he attended only one feast to break the fast. This was at the prayer house serving his cluster. On the first day of Hari Raya Puasa Abdul Rahman prayed at this same prayer house, after which

2 Several (at least six) feasts to break the fast were given by individuals in this area, which he did not attend. However, the common venue for this feast in the cluster was the prayer house and thus many individuals did not give or attend other feasts.
he came home and received a total of fourteen visitors during the day. Most of these were neighbour's children, but some of his employees, either present or past, some of his younger relatives, and several neighbours also called on him. He did not go visiting. On the second day of the holiday he and his wife went by taxi to Jerteh, Trengganu where they visited his WiSi. On the third day of the holiday he remained at home but had no visitors.

_Hari Raya Haji_ provides further elaboration of this pattern. Abdul Rahman began the day with prayers at a local prayer house (not the prayer house nearest to his house but one which Haji Omar helped to build and often attends). After prayers he went with Haji Omar and several other men to participate in the ritual slaughter (korban) at another residential area some distance away—in fact, it may have been because he was planning to accompany Haji Omar here that he also accompanied him to the prayer house. Included in the group who were slaughtering this animal were: Abdul Rahman, a friend of Haji Omar who owned and had looked after the cow, Haji Omar, one of Abdul Rahman's workers, a neighbour of Abdul Rahman, as well as several friends of the owner of the cow who were not known to Abdul Rahman. After this slaughter he brought the meat home and a meal was cooked to feed eleven men whom he called together. Of these eleven, all but two were from the local cluster and all were his relatives.
All the guests were, to varying degrees, his clients in the sense that they were in various ways dependent upon him or were less well-to-do. There are other relatives who also live nearby but who are not his dependents, and they were not invited. There was also a portion of the meat which was not cooked and which was divided into small portions for distribution to others in the residential cluster.

After this feast Abdul Rahman set off to visit a few relatives and older neighbours of the cluster. After that he returned home and received visits of various relatives of his wife, as well as a few friends, all persons living in the local area. On the second day of the holiday he visited the cementary and one relative who lived nearby. The only people who came to visit him were a few local youth. On the third day he stayed at home but no one came to visit.

Comment

During special time Abdul Rahman continues to restrict his association to persons who are neighbours or who are his or his wife's relatives. His social circle is expanded only slightly when a few business contacts and friends who are also craftsmen are included. During non-working hours he chooses to use activities in ordinary time to develop and maintain ties with relatives,
neighbours, and the youth that work, or have worked, for
him. He does not expand his social field to potential
associates in other parts of the town or in rural areas.
His resources of kinship, land, and occupation are in the
cluster—he has no land or particular interests elsewhere--
and it is here that he chooses to develop his social circle.

Case Four  Haji Ali  Batek Craftsman

Since an early age Haji Ali has been involved in
the batek industry in Kota Bharu. Through his long exper­
ience he has become knowledgeable and skilful in many of
the technical processes of the industry. In recent years
he has specialized and gained a substantial reputation as
a skilled dye mixer. At the time this schedule was taken
he was working at a batek factory located near his home in
the capacity of "chief of works" in which he coordinated
the technical processes of the factory.

Haji Ali is a middle-aged man, born in the same
local urban area in which he now lives. Both he and his
wife, also a local woman, have kinsmen living in the local
cluster. His oldest daughter and her husband live nearby
(on land owned by Haji Ali's wife) and he often visits at
her house. His second daughter is also married and living
with her husband in his house. He lives on land which he
purchased from a relative and which he has since trans­
ferred to his wife's name as a gift. Near his house he
has constructed a small wooden prayer house. Here he supervises the daily activities, giving the call to prayer, leading the men of the local cluster in prayer, and looking after the building.

**Day 1**

5:30 a.m., Haji Ali arose, bathed, went to the prayer house and gave the call to prayer, said morning prayers with a kinsman neighbour, Zainal, the only other attender, read the Koran with this man, returned home, cleaned around the house. 7:30, ate breakfast. 8:00, went to work at the batek factory located on the edge of his neighbourhood, supervising the workers, and doing some of the more specialized jobs himself. At 11:00 he went to a coffee shop nearby with the son of the factory owner. 11:15, returned to work. 1 p.m., went home for lunch, rested, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, and returned to work. He continued to work through the afternoon as usual. At 5:00 he came home, bathed, prayed at home, and read the Koran. 7:00, he went to the prayer house where he prayed with the other men who attended, all of whom were kinsmen and neighbours. When the first prayer was over he remained at the prayer house while the other men went home. 8:00, he prayed again, returned home. 8:30, ate dinner, watched television. 10:00, went to sleep.

**Day 2**

Same as Day 1 until 5 p.m., when Haji Ali returned
from work, bathed, prayed, and then he received a visitor. This man was an acquaintance known through his WiFa. This man wanted to study the mixing of fabric dye colours. Haji Ali agreed to teach him and began by telling him some of the basic points. 7:00, his visitor left and he went to the prayer house. There he met his WiFa who is also a neighbour, several other relatives, some neighbours, and a next-door neighbour whose house is rented from Haji Ali. 7:30, he came home to eat dinner. 7:50, returned to the prayer house to pray once again with the same group as before, with the addition of his SiHu and a neighbour who lives on the far edge of the residential grouping. Together these men studied with their teacher. 9:30, he returned home, watched television with his family until 10:00 when he went to sleep.

Day 3

Same as Day 1 until 9:45 a.m., when he went for his morning coffee with the factory owner's son, returned home and picked up some cloth that his Wi and Da had been waxing. 10:00, returned to work as usual, and followed the same pattern as Day 1 until 2:15 when he left work with the owner's son and went to the house of an old friend. This man is also a craftsman whom he first met when they worked together at another fabric printing factory some time before 1950. Today Haji Ali asked this man if he could make stencils for his employer. This man said that he could not as
his eyes were now failing him. Haji Ali and the owner's son left and returned to work. He then followed the same pattern as Day 1 until 9:30 p.m., when he went to sleep.

**Day 4**

Same as Day 1 until 11 a.m., when Haji Ali left work and came home to get his electricity and water bills. He took these back to the factory and gave them to a kinsman and a friend who often comes by Haji Ali's factory to help him pay his bills by taking them to town. Then Haji Ali continued work until 1 p.m. when he came home for lunch, following the same schedule as Day 1. At 2:00, he went back to the factory and with the owner's son he set off for the house of Daud. This is another craftsman who is a friend. They asked Daud to make a new fabric stamp for the factory. At 3:30 Haji Ali and the owner's son stopped at their regular coffee shop and drank coffee together. 4:00, he returned to work and at 5:00 he returned home, bathed, prayed at home, fed his chickens, and slept. At 7:00 he went to the prayer house to pray with the same people as Day 2, after which he read the Koran and fell asleep, awaking at 8:00 to pray, after which he returned home. He ate dinner, watched the news on television, went to a nearby shop to buy candy for his children, returned home, and continued to watch television until 10:00 when he went to sleep.
Day 5

6:45 a.m., Haji Ali got up, bathed, and prayed at the prayer house; he was late as he was not feeling well. Then he came home and rested. 8:00, he went to work, without taking breakfast, and at 9:00 the wife of the factory owner invited him to have coffee with her, together with another man, a contract worker at the factory who is both a neighbour and a friend. After this he went back to work until 11:30 when he went home because he was not feeling well. At home he ate rice and then went back to work until 1 p.m. when he came home, bathed, prayed, and ate lunch. At 2:00 he returned to work until 5:00 when he stopped, returned home, bathed, prayed, had a snack of fruit, bathed, prayed, and sat around at home for a while. At 6 p.m. he went walking to the house of his daughter about one-half mile away and visited with her and others at her house for a while. He then walked to the house of a friend who lives nearby. This man was not home but he had coffee and visited with his wife and then came home. At 7:00 he went to the prayer house and prayed, after which he returned home, waited until 8 p.m., went back to pray again, after which he came home, ate dinner, and watched television. Once again he went to the store to buy candy for the children and returned to watch television until 11 p.m. when he went to sleep.
Day 6

5:30 a.m., Haji Ali arose, bathed, and went to the prayer house, after which he returned home, rested, worked around the house, and ate breakfast. At 8:00 he went to work until 11:30 when he stopped and returned to his house to get the cloth the women had been waxing and took it back to the factory. After this he paid the factory workers and at 1:30 p.m. he returned home, ate lunch, bathed, and prayed. At 2:30 he went back to work and at 3:00 he went to the house of the acquaintance who had visited him on Day 2. This man does some work on a fee basis for Haji Ali's employer. Haji Ali took him some supplies and as he was not home he left them with Aziz's wife. At 4:00 he arrived back at the factory. At 4:30 he left the factory to take additional cloth to the women of his household for their work. While at home he bathed and prayed. Then went to the house of a man who makes designs for batek. Haji Ali wanted to talk to him about making a new design for a friend. However, the man was not at home; Haji Ali gave the man's wife a progress payment on the work he was doing and left. At 5:00 he returned home and went to the house of his Br who lives in a rented house nearby (he has sold his inherited land). He talked to this older Br about the fact that a younger brother wants to marry the older Br child. They discussed this for a while although no decision was reached and he left. He stopped at a small
shop between his Br house and his own and bought some cakes. 6:45, he arrived back at home, rested, played with the children, and at 7:00 he bathed and went to the prayer house to pray and read the Koran, then returned home, played with the children, watched television. At 8:00 he returned to the prayer house to pray once again, after which he came home, ate dinner, watched television with the children and at 9:00 went to sleep.

Day 7

5:30 a.m., Haji Ali arose, bathed, went to prayer house to pray, after which he went to the house of Zainal to buy some special bread which this man's son makes occasionally. 7:00, he ate with his children and worked around the house. 10:30, a friend came to visit. This man is originally from a village just outside the town although he now lives in town. Haji Ali met this man in the course of his work as he works for a Chinese batek producer who did some work for Haji Ali's employer. Today they talked about the idea that they might go into the batek business together and open a factory of their own. The friend was the person to suggest this first and they have been discussing the idea for some time. 11:00, they drank coffee together and the friend went home. Haji Ali rested for a few minutes and at 12 noon he got up, bathed, and went to pray at Langgar mosque. There he met a friend who lives near the mosque and serves as the mosque caretaker. Haji
Ali knows this man because they used to work together at a batek factory in the town around 1945. Today they just chatted about this man's current job after which they went in to prayers. After finishing prayers and the lecture at 1:30 Haji Ali went to a public declaration of marriage at the house of a friend in a cluster adjacent to his. He ate at the feast, then he went in to look at the wedding dais and he returned home at about 2:30. He walked over to the house of Zainal. They talked for a while amongst themselves and with Zainal's sons who live in the same household, all of whom were sitting around on the front porch. 3:30, he returned home and went to sleep. At 4:30 he got up, bathed, went to the prayer house to pray, came home and played with his children and cleaned around the house. 7:00, he bathed and went to the prayer house to pray, read the Koran, returned home, rested until 8:00 when he returned again to the prayer house for prayers, came home, ate dinner, watched television, and at 9:00 he went to a religious lecture at a nearby school field. He went by himself and came back by himself, although he noticed that Zainal was also there. At 11:00 he returned, stopped at Zainal's home where he talked about the religious speeches with Zainal and two of his sons. 12 midnight, he came home and went to sleep.

Day 8

5:30 a.m., Haji Ali got up, bathed, and prayed at
the prayer house by himself. 6:00, he returned home, worked on gardening around his house, and ate breakfast. At 8:15 he went to work, working as usual until 10:00 when he stopped to drink coffee with the factory owner's son at their usual coffee shop, after which he went back to work, stopping again at 11:30 to take more cloth back to his house for the women. 12 noon, he returned to work, spent time supervising the workers. At 12:45 p.m. he came home, bathed, prayed, went to sleep, and ate dinner. At 2:30 he went back to work and went with the owner's son to see Daud about making some batek stamps, returned to the factory at 3:00, and then came home, painted cloth with the women, worked at repairing his house, and at 5:00 he bathed, prayed at home, and went to the house of Zainal where he talked with Zainal and others.

Comment

In the work context most of Haji Ali's association has a rather horizontal quality. While he does interact with his employer's family and occasionally with other workers at the factory, most of his work associations are devoted to time with men of similar occupational categories who work in other enterprises or on their own. The associations which Haji Ali has established with these craftsmen friends form a kind of marketable resource for persons such as Haji Ali. Batek factory owners often hire such men as much for their acquaintance with other craftsmen who can be
called upon to contribute to the constituent process of the enterprise as for their skill at their own speciality. Outside of work Haji Ali has relatively little interaction with these fellow artisans and, like many urbanites, he spends much of his time at home with his wife, family, and immediate neighbours. Many of these neighbours are also relatives, although he emphatically states that he primarily considers them to be neighbours. His activities at the prayer house bring him into daily contact with this cluster of neighbour-relatives and he supplements this with numerous visits to their homes. Both he and his wife are natives of the local residential area and thus he can devote his full time to local activities without conflicting demands. Haji Ali's special time activities also indicate the high value he places on associates of the local residential area.

**Special time**

During the research period Haji Ali gave one ceremony, a first hair cutting for his newborn son. The invitation list for this event reflects Haji Ali's high valuation of associations with neighbours. The 48 invited guests included 22 neighbour-relatives; 5 non-relative neighbours; 9 non-neighbour relatives; 2 friends; 4 workmates; 2 employer's family; and 1 unidentified. He also gave a feast to break the fast. Once again the majority of invited guests were neighbours, many of whom were also
relatives. The 49 invited guests included: 24 neighbour-relatives; 9 non-relative neighbours; 11 non-neighbour kinsmen; 2 friends; and 3 employer's family. To this event he invited no workmates. During Hari Raya Puasa he made or received 18 visits, in which 3 involved neighbour-relatives; 9 non-relative neighbours; 5 non-neighbour kinsmen, and 1 workmate. On Hari Raya Haji he engaged in visits with 12 persons, 7 of whom were neighbour-relatives; 2 non-relative neighbours; and 3 non-neighbour kinsmen. Haji Ali does not use his special time to supplement his ordinary time associations with associates of diverse types. He chooses associates of roughly the same types that he meets in his ordinary time activities, with the exception of the other craftsmen he meets in the course of his work. In many instances his ordinary and special time associates are in fact the same individuals.

Summary

Regardless of whether a man works in his own home or in a factory, the craftsman has relatively little association with work-related individuals outside of the work context, although he may occasionally meet with other similar craftsmen in the course of his work. In the cases of the two men described here, most of their non-working hours are spent in their households and with their immediate neighbours. Both men live on their own land
and are surrounded by many neighbour-relatives. They can devote their full time to local activities. Even Abdul Rahman, who is married to a non-local woman, makes only an occasional visit outside the local area. Local participation is through a variety of activities; visiting, television viewing, and participation in the activities of the local prayer house.

Two businessmen

Many urban businessmen have neither fixed working hours nor a single place of business in which all of their work activities are conducted. In many instances they are required to be available whenever the opportunity to do business presents itself. While persons who conduct their business from a shop separated from the residence can localize many of their activities in this shop, they often must bring work home and frequently they are called upon to work outside the shop as well. The business activities of the large scale market seller also take place in many different locations: buying goods for sale; preparing them for sale; and meeting suppliers and clients.

Despite the time consuming nature of their work, businessmen must still balance the demands of neighbours, friends, and relatives in organizing their activities. In one of the two cases described here, the situation is different from any we have encountered before. Zakariah
lives in an area where there is no solidarity among neighbours. Few of the neighbours associate with one another and this businessman does not devote time to cultivating associations with these people; thus neighbours do not have demands on his time. In contrast to this, the second businessman, Omar, is related to many of his neighbours who consider him a member of the neighbourhood and recognize that the demands of his business do not allow him to devote more time to participation in local activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Five</th>
<th>Zakariah</th>
<th>Retail Shop Manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Zakariah is a young manager of a retail shop in a chain of shops selling sewing machines. He and his wife and two children live in a house that belongs to him and his siblings collectively. This was inherited from his father, and as all of his siblings live in other areas, he is serving as caretaker for the property. Zakariah has several relatives living in the immediate vicinity and one half-brother living in an adjacent lot. His relationship with this half-brother is not particularly cordial. There is no prayer house nor other community meeting place in this residential area in the old urban core and many residents of the area argue that there is no sense of community here. Zakariah's wife is from a rural village in a distant state and has no local relatives. Her husband frequently comments on his desire to take time off
for a visit with his wife's relatives but the demands of business never seem to allow this.

Day 1

6:30, Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, ate breakfast, and at 8:00 went to his store, checked stock and then left for a regional sales meeting at the regional headquarters of his company in the town. Here he met only national company representatives and other district managers such as himself from the same region. This meeting continued through the day with occasional breaks for coffee during which he chatted informally with the other managers about their business activities. At 5:30 p.m. Zakariah returned to his shop, checked some sales figures, and came home. There he met his younger Bro who talked with him about some problems his children were having at school. At 7:30, after dressing, Zakariah went to the company sales staff dinner meeting at a local hotel and at 9:00 he returned home, worked on accounts, and at 1 a.m. went to bed.

Day 2

6:45 a.m., Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, went to a stall nearby his house and bought cooked food for breakfast. 7:30, he ate breakfast with his wife at home, then drove to work where he organized the sales staff and various routine office work. 1:30 p.m., Zakariah returned home, ate lunch with his wife.
2:15, he returned to work. 3:15, Zakariah went to pick up his SiDa at her work at the public works office and took her to the bus stand to catch a bus to her home in an adjacent suburban village. 3:30, he visited customers' houses in various parts of the town in order to collect accounts. 4:00, he returned to office, worked on sales reports. 5:30, returned home, went with his wife and children to visit at the house of his FaBr who was not at home; then they went shopping. 7:00, they arrived home, he prayed, watched television. 8:00, ate dinner, continued to watch television, and at 11:00 went to sleep.

Day 3

6:45 a.m., Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed. 8:00, he ate breakfast and left to open his shop. 9:00, went out canvassing for customers in several outlying villages. Zakariah ate lunch while he was out; he did not pray. He met no one he knew in the course of this canvassing, except customers. 4:30, he returned to his shop to wait on customers. 5:10, he closed shop and went shopping, arriving home at 5:30. He watched television, prayed. At 8:00 he ate dinner, continued watching television. 11:00, went to sleep.

Day 4

7 a.m., Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed, ate breakfast that he bought at a stall. 8:00, he went to the post office, then opened his shop. 9:30, he
had a meeting with his salesmen until 12 noon. 12:30 p.m., went to the local television station regarding the servicing of a television set and on the way home he stopped at a local hotel and bought food packets. 1:00, he arrived at home with food. A Da of one of his first cousins was waiting for him. She asked him to fix her sewing machine. He did and she left. 1:30, he and his wife ate lunch. 2:30, he took one of his children to the doctor for an innoculation. 3:15, he went to pick up his SiDa at the public works department. 3:30, he took his wife and children home. 3:40, he returned to his store and worked until 5:00 when he went to the central market to buy fish and vegetables. 6:00, he returned home, drank tea, played with his children, watched television. 8:30, ate dinner after which he watched television until 11:00 and went to sleep.

Day 6

6 a.m., Zakariah arose, cleaned around the house, fed his chickens, bathed, and prayed. 7:30, he ate breakfast, played with his children. 8:00, went to the shop and worked until 10:00 when he went to a local school to visit a sewing class and to check and repair the machines; then he canvassed for customers in the town. 12:50 p.m., he returned to the shop, then left to buy packets of rice for lunch. 1:10, he returned home, ate with his wife and children, bathed, prayed, and at 2:30 he returned to his
shop to work on plans, books, and stock. 3:00, he went to several areas of the town to collect bills and canvass for customers. 5:15, he returned to shop to close it, and stopped at a customer's house to collect on an account. 5:45, he stopped at a street stall to buy a special kind of Indian bread. 6:00, he returned home with this bread which he and his family ate immediately while they watched television. 8:30, he ate dinner, prayed, watched television and played with his children. At 11:00 he went to sleep.

Day 7

6:30 a.m., Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, cleaned around the house, bathed. 7:30, he went to buy food at a stall. He stopped at the house of his elder brother who lives nearby this food stall. This man is also in the sewing machine business and they talked about the current state of business. 9:00, he returned home bringing the food and ate with his family. 10:00, he went to get a hair cut in a shop near his home; the owner asked him to repair one of his machines, which he did. 11:30, he returned home, played with his children. 12:30 p.m., he attended Friday prayers at the central mosque; he did not meet anyone in particular to talk to. 1:00, he returned home, ate dinner, played with his children. 3:00, went in his car to visit his older Si, in whose name the land is registered, who lives in a suburban village just outside the
town. There he met two of his cousins who were also visiting (these cousins also live in Kota Bharu). Zakariah has not seen these cousins for some time. 5:30, he went to visit at the house of his MoSi; he had not seen her for a long time and they talked about many topics. 7:15, he returned home, watched television, played with his children. 8:30, he ate dinner, continued watching television, and played with his children. At 11:30 he went to bed.

Day 8

6 a.m., Zakariah arose, fed his chickens, bathed, prayed. 7:30, he ate with his family. 8:00, he went to his shop to work. 10:00, he went out to deliver machines and canvass for customers. 12:30 p.m., he returned to shop and worked until 1:30, when he came home, bathed, prayed, ate lunch, and rested briefly. At 2:30 he returned to his shop, worked at preparing machines for delivery. 6:00, came home. 6:40, a salesman came to visit. This man had left the keys to his motorbike locked in the shop and he asked Zakariah to help him get them. They went to the shop and got the salesman's keys.

Special time

No special occasions were given by Zakariah during the research period and he pointed out that if he were to want to give such an occasion for some reason, he would give it at the house of his older sister who lives outside the town. This is where he always holds any sort of
celebration. His schedule during the calendric festivals is interesting as it confirms the pattern exhibited in his daily activities. He gave no feast to break the fast although he attended two; both invitations were from persons whom he considers to be neighbours but who are also distant kinsmen. In both cases the function took place at a house of the host's relative outside of the local residential area. On Hari Raya Puasa he prayed at the main mosque and visited the cemetery of his mother's grave. He then went to the house of his older sister, to his MoSi, and also visited two of his older Br who live in the town. He then came home where he was visited by two of his salesmen and another of his Br and Br children who had come from an outlying town. On the second day, he received visits from five of his siblings' children—and in some cases their families and friends, two salesmen, and four of his siblings. On the third day he went back to selling in his shop.

Comment

As a businessman, Zakariah devotes much of his time to his business activities: canvassing for customers in various parts of the town and outlying areas; unpacking and preparing merchandise for sale; meeting with his subordinate salesmen; and writing reports. He does not establish many lasting associations with other men as a result of
these activities. Unlike the wage earner who does establish ties of friendship with fellow wage workers, Zakariah does not find friends among the workers in his shop. He is the only man of his position within the local firm and he is responsible for the proper coordination of the sales force. His decisions at work must be governed by consideration of the hierarchy in the firm. Note that on special occasions he does not visit his salesmen; they come to visit him. Unlike the craftsman, his occupation does not tie him to numerous other men in the town of the same occupational grouping. Other businessmen trade in other products and see little connection between different businesses. Zakariah is tied to a larger solidarity beyond the town in the form of his regional sales organization where he does occasionally meet with other men of his same status, managers of shops in other districts. But although he does interact with these men in occasional regional meetings he does not form lasting associations with them. When asked if he had "friends" among these other managers, he replied, "No, this is just business." His business activities do, however, shape many of his other associations. He finds a suitable place to talk business when he visits his elder brother who, although selling a different line, is also in the sewing machine business. And the fact that other townsmen know his business means that even when he is not "working" Zakariah is frequently called
upon to act in his capacity as businessman. Relatives and even casual acquaintances feel free to call on his specialized services.

Despite the demands of his business activities, Zakariah finds much time to be at home with his wife and children and to take them to various places in the town in the family car. There is no prayer house in his local residential area and little interaction among his neighbours so he spends little time among nearby residents. The fact that the government has plans to acquire the land of this local area and that he does not have sole title to the land on which he resides means that he must give consideration to where he and his family will move when the land is acquired. He devotes some of his ordinary time and much of his special time to maintaining ties and associations with several non-neighbour relatives and their neighbours. These associations provide him with an alternative "neighbourhood" in which to reside if he can find land to purchase near these relatives' houses.

While Zakariah is strongly tied to the urban milieu as a result of the location of his occupation, his associations are beginning to draw him into a situation in which he may take up residence in a suburban area where he can be near relatives and have control over some residential land.
Case Six

Omar Proprietor of Market-based Butchery Business

Omar is a middle-aged proprietor of a butchering business. He, his wife, children, and son's spouse live in a house on land given to him by his father. Both Omar and his wife have numerous relatives in their local residential area and several of his relatives work for Omar in his business while several others operate competing enterprises. Omar employs several of his neighbours in various aspects of his business. There are a number of active local groups in the residential area where he lives and Omar belongs to one of these by virtue of his kinship connections although he does not actively participate in the prayer house or other local activities.

Day 1

3 a.m., Omar arose and went immediately to the slaughtering area in a nearby village. Here he met several of the men who work for him on a contract basis and together they slaughtered three head of cattle. After completing the slaughtering Omar returned to his house, went to bathe in the river that flows nearby, and at 5:20 he said his morning prayers after which he set off on his bicycle for the central market. The slaughtered meat had been sent ahead in a bicycle-propelled wagon by one of his contract employees and was awaiting him when he arrived.
at 6:30. After checking on his meat, he went to a coffee shop in a nearby stall and ate his morning meal. At about 7:00 Omar began selling his meat. There is often a rush of customers early in the day and he was busy cutting, weighing, and selling until about 10 a.m. when he stopped for tea at the nearby stall of a friend. At 10:15 he returned to selling and continued until 1 p.m. when he went to an eating shop nearby the market for his noon-day meal. At 1:30 he returned to selling and continued, although with much less business, until 6:00 when he cleaned his stall and left the market on his bicycle for home. He arrived at home at 6:30 and went directly to the river to bathe—he often passes other neighbours on his way and talks with them. Then he came home, prayed, ate dinner, prayed again, and then watched television until he went to sleep at 10 p.m.

Day 2

7 a.m., Omar arose, bathed at the river, returned home and said his prayers. Shortly after this he had his morning meal which he bought from a hawker who came by his house. At 9:00 Omar went to the central market where he waited for a friend, Rashid. This man also lives in the town and Omar has known him since they were both small boys. Rashid works in the market selling fruit as a wholesaler and also works with Omar in his meat business by helping to find cattle to purchase for slaughter. Rashid
is very important to Omar's business because he owns a motorcycle with which they travel outside the town looking for cows for sale. On this day Rashid had finished his fruit selling by about 11:00, when he and Omar set off to a rural village where they examined two buffalo and purchased them from their owner; the owner agreed to send the animals to the slaughtering area on the appropriate day. After this Omar and Rashid returned to the central market at 12 noon and they went to a friend's coffee shop where they drank coffee and talked until about 12:30 when Omar left on his bicycle for home. He arrived home at 1:00, bathed, ate, prayed, and at 2:00 went to sleep. He got up at 4:00, bathed, prayed, and set off for the central market, arriving about 4:45. Here he met Rashid and they talked about the animals they had bought in the morning after which at 6:20 Omar returned home. He arrived at about 6:45, bathed in the river, and at 7:00 prayed, ate dinner, said prayers again, and watched television until he went to sleep at about 10 p.m.

Day 3

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed at the river, prayed, and ate his morning meal which he bought from a hawker. At 7:00 he went to the central market where he met Rashid at a coffee shop. They drank coffee and talked about business matters, discussing where they should go today to look for animals. At 9:00 they set off together for
another rural village where they met a friend of Omar's. This friend is also in the meat business and they talked about the availability of animals for sale in his area. Omar and Rashid went with the friend to the homes of several persons with cattle for sale and they bought three head of cattle. By 12 noon they had returned to the town and the central market where they drank coffee at a friend's coffee shop. At 1 p.m. Omar returned home, bathed, prayed, and went to sleep; he did not eat as he was not feeling well. At 4:00 he got up, bathed, prayed, and relaxed around the house until 7:00 when he once again bathed, prayed, and ate dinner. At 8:00 he prayed again, after which he watched television until going to sleep at 11:00.

Day 4

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed, prayed, and ate his morning meal bought from a hawker. At 7:30 Omar left home and went to the central market where he met Rashid. At 9:30 they went together to the same rural village as the previous day and talked with the friend about other animals which he had found. Rashid and Omar went riding around that rural area with the friend but they did not buy any cows. They left and arrived back at the central market at 12 noon. They sat drinking coffee and discussing business at the coffee shop until 1 p.m. when Omar went home, bathed, prayed, and went to sleep. At 4:00
Omar arose, bathed, prayed, and went to the central market to meet Rashid. However, Rashid was not there as he had gone out of town to find more animals for slaughter. When he discovered this, Omar returned home, arriving at 6:00. He went to the river to bathe, returned home to pray, and then lay down to rest as he was not feeling well. At 8:00 Omar began to watch television and at 10:00 he went to sleep for the night.

Day 5

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed in the river and returned home to pray. At 7:00 he went directly to the central market where he met Rashid and they talked about the two head of cattle which Rashid had purchased the day before. At 9:30 Omar went to the office of a Chinese doctor located near the market. He obtained treatment for the illness he had had for the past several days. At 10:00 he returned to a coffee shop in the market where he met a friend whom Omar first met about one year ago in the market. Today they talked about how hard it was to find cattle for slaughter because owners were asking such high prices. At 11:00 Omar returned to his home where he went to sleep once again as he was ill; he did not eat. At 4 p.m. he got up, ate, bathed, prayed, and lay down once again to rest; he did not say the evening prayers as he was sick. At 5:30 he began to watch television. At 8:00 a Malay traditional medical practitioner came to Omar's house to treat him. This man
came from a nearby rural village and the curing ritual continued until about 12 midnight at which time Omar went to sleep. The medical practitioner stayed and slept the night at Omar's house.

Day 6

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed in the river, prayed, and talked with the medical practitioner. At 9:00, after this man had gone home, Omar went to the small market at Kubang Pasa, a section of the town some distance from his home, where he worked at selling meat. On this day the slaughter and transport of the animals had been handled by various of Omar's contract workers. At 10:00 Omar stopped to drink coffee at a Chinese coffee shop across the street from this market. At 10:15 he returned to selling and continued until 12 noon. He left this small market and went on his bicycle to the central market where he met Rashid at the stall from which he sells fruits in the market. They went together to a coffee shop to talk about business matters. At 1 p.m. Omar returned home and went to sleep. At 4:00 he arose, bathed in the river, prayed, and at 4:30 he went to the central market once again to find Rashid. He could not find him there and he came back to the vicinity of his house where he stopped at a sundry shop and talked with four men, all of whom he considers to be his rather distant neighbours. Shortly before 7:00 he came home, bathed, prayed, ate dinner, and watched
television until he went to sleep at 10:30.

Day 7

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed, and prayed. At 6:30 he went to the small market at Kubang Pasu to sell meat. At 11:30 he went to the central market where he met Rashid and they went to a coffee shop to discuss Rashid's success at having found several animals the day before. At 12 noon Omar returned home where he met Mat, a son of Omar's wife by a previous marriage. This man had come to see his mother whom he had not seen for some time, and Omar talked with him after which they had lunch together. At 2:30 Omar prayed at home. He did not go to the mosque although it was Friday, and he continued to chat with Mat. At 3:30 Omar went to the central market to meet Rashid. He waited for him at the coffee shop and when he arrived they discussed various business matters. At 6 p.m. Omar returned home, bathed, prayed, ate dinner, watched television, prayed, and at 11:00 he went to sleep.

Day 8

6 a.m., Omar arose, bathed in the river, prayed, and set off for the central market arriving there about 6:30. His workers had already slaughtered, transported, and readied the meat for sale and he began immediately in the task of selling. He continued until 8:00 when he stopped to drink tea at a nearby coffee shop stall in the market. He drank alone and at 8:15 he returned to selling.
At 1 p.m. he stopped and had lunch at a food stall, also nearby the market, and at 1:30 returned once again to selling. At 3:00 he stopped to drink tea and at 3:15 he returned to selling. At 6 p.m. he closed his stall and returned straight home, arriving at 6:30. He went immediately to the river to bathe, returned home to say his prayers and eat dinner.

**Special time**

During the research period Omar had no occasion to give any feasts or other ceremonies. There is no data on his visiting schedule for calendric religious holidays; however, it is known that at least on several days of these holidays he was working as usual. Because of the great demand for meat at the holiday season, these times are among the most busy in his business.

**Comment**

In contrast to the businessman with a fixed shop in a separate building, the marketeer carries on business in a variety of locales. Retail selling takes place in one of several market stalls. Omar often meets his business associates in a coffee shop in the central market when he wants to discuss business. He sometimes participates in activities in the slaughter area and he must spend much of his time travelling in rural areas looking for animals. Unlike the work of Zakariah which, with its fixed
rather resembles office work, Omar is personally responsible for all of the factors in his business. He must arrange to find animals of adequate quality and at the right price. He must see that they arrive at the slaughter area at the right time and in the correct quantity to meet his daily retail demand for meat. He works out his business activities among a lose confederation of employees and suppliers, any of whom may turn elsewhere for work if Omar's business is not adequate. Omar's relationship with these men is closer to equality than in the case of Zakariah's salesmen. Although several of these men are relatives or neighbours a basically instrumental relationship exists between them. The associations established with these men are part of doing business, but they are counted among Omar's friends.

The regularity with which Omar appears in various locales means that prospective suppliers as well as his other business associates know where to find him. The coffee shop which he frequents most often acts as a type of clearing house for him and for the business of other butchers.

Omar maintains a sharp distinction between the locale of his work and his non-work activities. Home and business are not mixed. When he wants to discuss business he goes to the market, either to the stall of his associates or to a coffee shop. When he is at home he is
associating with his family, visitors to his house, meeting neighbours at nearby shops, or greeting them on the way to the river to bathe, watching television, an activity that attracts several residents of neighbouring houses, or sleeping. While for most of the eight days surveyed Omar was ill and thus spent much of his time resting, even at times when he was well he did not spend much of his time in activities with members of his local residential area. As a land owner and member of the local kinship cluster, it was not necessary for him to forge new local associations nor to validate his existing associations. He did not give extensive feasts nor did he attend the local prayer house. When asked why this was so, he explained that his business did not allow time for such things. Other residents of his neighbourhood excused his non-participation with the explanation that after all he was a businessman and this took up most of his time.

Summary

In the allocation of time both shopkeeper and market-seller follow similar patterns. Both types of businessmen devote a large percentage of their time to activities directly related to the conduct of business. In the course of these activities they develop relatively few associations that are maintained outside the business context. Other businessmen are viewed with suspicion as competitors or instrumentally as suppliers while a few
associations are established with other persons working in the business, most of whom are subordinates.

Despite this extensive commitment to business activities, these men must also balance demands on their time arising from associations with friends, neighbours, and kinsmen. In these two cases we have seen a contrast in the nature of demands from neighbours. Because Omar, a native of the local residential area, is a kinsman with his neighbours he is not required to validate his role in the local residential cluster by extensive participation. His wife is also a local woman and participation with her relatives does not require Omar to devote time beyond the boundaries of the immediate area. In contrast to this, Zakariah found no local solidarity of neighbours with whom to participate. He spent some of his non-working time reinforcing and building ties with his kinsmen in other areas. As his wife is from a distant state, participation with her family does not figure significantly into his associations.

A migrant and the marginal occupations

In the above cases the men have been urbanites with strong ties to the town and all could lay claim to their urban status by virtue of birth in the town, land ownership and residence in the town, or marriage to an urbanite. But there are residents of the town who are only beginning
to build urban attachments. These persons have recently migrated from the rural areas and are now attempting to establish themselves in the town. As there is no sharp boundary between the town and the country, most rural migrants can maintain ties with both rural and urban locales, but if they desire to remain in the town on a permanent basis they must increase the number and intensity of their urban associations.

While migrants find employment in a wide range of jobs, most participate in a marginal occupation. These jobs require little skill and no long term commitment to the enterprise. They range from small scale hawking to the job to be described here, pedalling a trishaw.

Trishaws can carry several passengers and their parcels. Pedallers have no fixed routes and ply for fares throughout the town and surrounding countryside. Usually the vehicles are owned by an established urban businessman and rented on a daily basis, although some men own their own vehicles.

This occupation is of very low status in the town and many are reluctant to admit that they earn their living in this manner. Persons of high status, particularly those owning cars, refer to the number of trishaws as a menace. The town board attempts to regulate the operation of these vehicles through a licensing program but enforcement is difficult and numerous unlicensed vehicles operate
in the town. In a town without an intra-urban bus system, the service provided by men in this occupation is widely used and forms the basis of local transportation for the average urban resident.

This occupation holds many benefits for the recently arrived migrant. It allows the newcomer to get to know the town and to establish and maintain a wide range of casual associations in many different areas. In the course of his work around the town the trishaw pedaller can meet new urban associates, talk with other migrants also working as pedallers about their common problems, and occasionally meet rural associates who visit the town.

The occupation of trishaw pedalling has a segmental quality as the pedaller can work any number of days he chooses, starting and stopping depending upon other demands placed on his time. Even once the pedaller has begun a day's work, he can start and stop at will.

In the case of all of the urbanites so far discussed, there has been a conflict between the demands of occupation and the demands of family, household, and the local residential group. While the migrant has the same demands of family and household, these are not articulated into the urban milieu as his wife and family are as much outsiders as he himself is. As the migrant has not attached himself to a single local group he does not have the need to validate his membership through intensive
participation. In fact the migrant is in a position of seeking a local group in which to establish himself and his household. He wants to find a place where he can, through purchase of land or the establishment of strong ties of association, become a member of an urban local group. The occupation of trishaw pedaller is ideally suited to this search.

Case Seven  Kamal  Migrant--Trishaw Pedaller

Kamal and his family are migrants to the town who have lived there for about seven years. Neither he nor his wife own any rural or urban land. They own a house which Kamal built on land rented from the state religious department in one of the older residential areas in the town. Kamal's house is adjacent to the house of his older brother who came with his family to the town a few years before Kamal. Surrounding his house are the houses of a number of other persons, most of whom are also migrants and all of whom rent their land from the same state department. Kamal rents his trishaw from a Chinese businessman whom he pays one dollar and fifty cents per day.

Day 1

6 a.m., Kamal arose, bathed, prayed, and then set off in his trishaw to find fares. On school days he has a number of contracts to take children to and from school; the monthly fees for this constitute the basis of his
livelihood. This day, however, schools were closed. Kamal found a fare from Kampong Sungei Keladi to the downtown area. Then he cruised to a number of common places to find fares, without getting any passengers, after which he came back to Kampong Sungei Keladi. He stopped at the coffee shop near the junction of the main road and the road leading into the cluster, a good place to see prospective fares and to eat. He visited with the habitués of this coffee shop while eating until he got another fare going to the central market. From here he cruised around looking for fares, finally returning to the small market at Kubang Pasu, took a fare back to the central market, and then went without a fare to another shopping area where he got a fare to Kampong China. By this time it was nearly noon and he went home. As he had no school fares he planned to go to visit in his rural village. He took a seat in an inter-urban taxi and arrived in his rural village at 2 p.m. Kamal is active as both a teacher and performer of Malay self-defense arts and he went first to the house of a new friend he had met through these activities. They discussed various matters regarding the sport. At 4:00 he left this man's house and went to the rural market centre near his village where he met several friends with whom he talked. At 5:30 he took a taxi back to Kota Bharu and a trishaw home. He stopped at the coffee shop where he met a neighbour and two acquaintances who work at the nearby match
factory. He told them where he had been, drank coffee with them, and went home. 7:10, he bathed in the river, prayed, ate dinner, and prayed again. Then he set off to visit his WiBr who lives in an adjacent residential cluster. He stayed about one hour, came home and at 10:00 went to sleep.

Day 2

This day was more typical of Kamal’s activities as school was in session. 5:30 a.m., he arose, bathed, prayed at home, took his children to school in his trishaw, and set off for a contract fare after which he went empty to the bus station where he found a fare. After this he had a number of fares which took him many places within the town. At 10:15 he stopped for coffee at a shop near Taman Sekebung Bunga. Here he met and talked with a few men whom he did not know. After several more fares he had one which brought him back to his residence. He relaxed a few minutes at home and then set off for his school rounds. These lasted one hour and the last of these were his own children whom he brought home, arriving at 1 p.m. At home he bathed, prayed, had a meal, and went to sleep. 3:30, he got up, bathed, prayed, and set off to look for fares. He hoped to find a few more fares before his school rounds but did not, so he went to the school and waited for his contract fares. He brought them home, bathed, prayed at home, prayed again, ate dinner, and at about 8:15 he went
to teach self-defense to some of the local youth in a specially constructed area next to his house. He stopped this at about 1 a.m. and went to sleep.

Day 3

This day followed much the same pattern as Day 2. He had the usual fares, came back to Kampong Sungei Keladi at about 7:30 for coffee at the coffee shop, chatted with three friends there. Then he got another fare which took him to the central market, and after several fares he brought a fare to the Kampong Laut boat landing. Here he met a number of friends. These men are all trishaw pedal- lers who live in various parts of the town. Kamal first met them about three or four years ago as they all come regularly to this place to look for fares. After about twenty minutes of talking with these men he got a fare to the central market. After this, he cruised through the town looking for fares until he met a friend, Hamzah. This man comes from a village northwest of the town and Kamal has known him for about four years as he met him in the course of performing self-defense. They conversed for a few minutes. Kamal drove home without a fare, relaxed for a few minutes and then set off for his contract fares at 12 noon. 1 p.m., he returned home, bathed, prayed, ate a meal, and then rested. He got up at 3:30, bathed, prayed, and waited at home for the rain to stop and then set off for his school rounds at 5:30. At 6:30 he returned home and
bathed. 7:00, he prayed, ate dinner, prayed, and a friend came to visit. This man comes from Kampong China and Kamal knows him through performing self-defense. At 8:45 they both began teaching. Kamal stopped at 11:30, bathed, and went to sleep.

Day 4

The fourth day Kamal worked in the same pattern as Day 3. At 7:30 he had morning coffee at the coffee shop with the owner's son and a neighbour of Kamal's. Later in the morning he stopped again for coffee near the Kampong Laut motorboat landing and met three friends, all different from those of the previous day, all of whom are trishaw pedallers and whom he sees there often. At 10:30 he again met his friend, Hamzah, at the Pelekbang motorboat landing and they talked until he got a fare. The rest of the workday proceeded on the same pattern as above. At 7:15 p.m. Kamal set off to go to Kampong Laut to perform self-defense. He went first to the house of a friend from his rural village whom he has known since he was small. There he prayed, drank tea, and talked about Malay self-defense. At 8:30 Kamal went to Hamzah's house with this friend and there he ate. After this the three men went together to perform self-defense at a place near Hamzah's house. At 2:30 a.m. Kamal stopped playing and slept at the house of a friend where they had been playing.
Day 5

The following day Kamal arose at 4:30 a.m., went back to where his bicycle was and came home, arriving at home about 6:00. He bathed, prayed, and began his contract fare rounds. At 7:30 he stopped at the coffee shop for a meal and conversed with two friends whom he often meets there as they work at the match factory, and three neighbours. From here he set off again with a fare. He stopped again about 10:30 near the Pelekbang motorboat dock at a coffee shop where he did not meet anyone he knew, after which he had another fare. He continued much the same as Day 2. No one came at night to learn self-defense and he went to sleep at 10:30.

Day 6

Much the same as Day 5. At 7:30 a.m. Kamal met a friend with whom he went to a coffee shop near the Kubang Pasu market. Kamal has known this man, who comes from a section of town near Kampong Sungei Keladi, for about three years. They talked about their current activities. At 8:00 he left his friend and went without a fare to the bus station. He continued looking for fares, without success, until 9:30 when he stopped at the coffee shop near the Pelekbang motorboat landing where he met four friends, including Hamzah, with whom he performs self-defense. Then he left without a fare to go to the market at Kubang Pasu. He did not have any fares for the rest of the
morning and he returned home at 10:30, bathed, and rested. He set off for his school contract fares at 12 noon and the rest of the day continued as in Day 5.

Day 7

After arising at 5:30 a.m., bathing, and praying, Kamal took his trishaw to carry wood from the match factory to a man in Kampong China, as he does every Friday morning. He came back to Kampong Sungei Keladi and stopped at the coffee shop where he met three neighbours whom he often meets there. He talked with these men for a short time and then returned home where he bathed and then went with one of his Wi's Br, on this man's motorcycle, to Pasir Mas, a town about twenty miles away. Together they visited Kamal's self-defense teacher, went to see an old friend near there, and then went to see a friend whom he has known since his youth. At this man's house they performed self-defense. It is unclear where they ate during this period and they did not pray. About 5:00 Kamal and his WiBr returned to Kota Bharu, to the house of the WiBr. From here Kamal went alone to the central market and had coffee at the stall of another of his WiBr with whom he visited on the night of Day 1. He then came back to Kampong Sungei Keladi by trishaw. He stopped at the coffee shop and had dinner there, meeting one neighbour and another man he did not know who came from far away. Kamal came home at 8:30, bathed, prayed, and went to sleep.
Day 8

On this day the schools were in session so Kamal's activities resembled Day 3. At 7:30 a.m. he returned to the coffee shop, chatted with three neighbours and the owner's son. At 8:30 he had a fare whom he took to Kampong China, from where he went looking for other fares. At 11:00 he stopped at a coffee shop where he met Hamzah and a man from Kampong Laut whom he has known for about three years. They talked about Malay self-defense. He continued following the pattern of Day 2 until evening. About 6:30 he had a visit from a friend from his rural village whom Kamal has known since he was small, and a friend of this friend. They talked about plans for Kamal to appear in an exhibition self-defense match to take place in a few weeks time.

Comment

Unlike most persons in the cases described, Kamal uses the coffee shop as a locale for much of his association. The presence of friends who share his interest in Malay self-defense (bersilat) at these shops explains his choice of this locale. His choice of a coffee shop in his home residential cluster gives him a chance to visit with neighbours while being available for possible fares. He lives in a housing cluster with other urban migrants but he rarely returns home until just before prayers. He only interacts with those neighbours who frequent the nearby coffee shop. He chooses to use spare time to maintain and
develop association with people in his rural village and with those persons who have a direct connection with his interest in self-defense. Beyond these activities he chooses to spend what little extra time he has at home with his wife, children, and occasionally with relatives of his wife.

**Special time**

Kamal did not give any ceremonies during the research period. His limited income did not permit expenditure on optional feasts in a time of inflation. He did, however, contribute to neighbourhood activities by teaching self-defense to a few neighbourhood youths. He also showed his solidarity with the local community by attending prayers on Hari Raya Haji and Hari Raya Puasa at the prayer house frequented by other migrants living nearby.

The major holidays gave him an opportunity to exercise choice of associating with a wider range of persons. On the first day of Hari Raya Puasa he visited his Mo in his rural village, as well as a number of friends who live nearby. Late in the day, after he had returned home, Kamal's younger Si who also lives in town came to visit. On the second and third day of the holiday he went back to work, although the wives of three near neighbours came to visit with his wife. On Hari Raya Haji, Kamal attended prayers at the prayer house with his neighbour
and after that he went to visit at the house of a friend and neighbour for a feast. He stopped at the house of his brother and then returned home, where he received visits from various relatives of his wife. The second day he and his wife went to visit his wife's family in her rural village. On the third day he went back to work. The basic pattern described in the comment above was continued and reinforced in the holiday associations.

Comment

The occupation of trishaw pedaller is ideally suited to an urban migrant such as Kamal. He is in the process of building a wide network of associates, most of whom are in the category of friends. He can use these new associates to help him further establish himself in the town. As a trishaw pedaller he also meets persons of his rural acquaintance as they come to town. He can maintain knowledge about rural associates and rural opportunities, and also act as a guide to rural acquaintances who come to town.

Many of the associates whom Kamal considers friends share his interest in the sport of self-defense and active participation in this activity gives him a context for meeting new associates and for finding satisfaction and esteem as a proficient contestant. The extent of interest among Kamal's new urban associates in this activity is evidenced by a situation occurring well after the schedules
were taken in which a large group of Kamal's urban associates chartered a bus, at substantial expense, in order to travel to a rural area to see him perform in a self-defense match.

Kamal has not yet established a firm commitment to any single urban locale. His associations with near neighbours are not extensive, he participates in the local prayer house only on special occasions and the time he does spend with neighbours is devoted largely to visiting or at the coffee shop with men who are, like himself, migrants living on rented land. The wider network which Kamal is building in the course of his work may, in the long run, aid him in finding a more permanent occupation and perhaps a parcel of urban land from which he can build more permanent relations with persons of the neighbour category.

While Kamal is establishing himself in the town he does not allow long-standing rural associations to lapse. Visits to parents on holidays as well as casual visits to old friends in the countryside serve to maintain these links and to assure that, should Kamal be forced to leave his urban situation, he would still have a place to which to return in the rural area.

The unemployed.

In a town where occupation forms the basis of the
town-wide status and stratification system and where a man's work largely determines his place in this system, it is difficult to identify exactly who the unemployed are as few urbanites will admit to being without employment. The identification of the unemployed is made all the more difficult by the existence of numerous marginal occupations, participation in which can be transitory. Participation in these occupations often represents significant under-employment and masks the true employment picture. For example, many persons who referred to their occupations (when asked) as village work often had skills which qualified them in other occupations but as there was no demand for the occupation at the moment they were not employed in that way.

There are some persons in the town, however, who view themselves as being unemployed. Often these persons have a strong commitment to their role in a particular occupational category and they are unwilling to accept employment in a job they consider below their previous situation. These men look for work in their occupation or they devise plans to strike out on their own in some form of independent business in which they can use their skills. In some cases this situation leads to a special type of chronic unemployment in which a man may not be able to find employment at his old occupation (or one of a higher status) but he also cannot arrange the resources necessary to
establish a business of his own. As a result, he follows a pattern of waiting for the "big deal" to materialize while attempting to meet the basic necessities for existence through a variety of channels.

The impact of being unemployed can vary depending upon a number of factors: the savings of the household; sources of income from other members of the household; the cost of maintaining the household. For the migrant family with no savings, only one member of the household in the work force, and a weekly or monthly rental to pay, the impact of unemployment can be immediate and catastrophic. Where alternative employment cannot be found rapidly the household may be driven back to their place of origin outside the town. However, if a man is an established urbanite, living on land owned by some member of his household, with other members of the household working and contributing their income to the household, the impact of unemployment is substantially reduced.

The case to be described here involves a man in the latter situation and illustrates how he makes decisions to use time to maintain a variety of associations through which he hopes to hear of work opportunities or, alternatively, to establish his own business. The fact that this household has other people working and only has a small maintenance expense means that the man does not feel the desperation of some others who are unemployed.
Case Eight  

Salleh  
Unemployed Batek Printer

Salleh is a man of middle-age who was born in the town and has lived there throughout his life. He now lives with his wife and family in his own house on land of which his wife is part owner. His wife received her share of this land as a gift from her mother who owns an adjacent lot where she lives with several of her children. The other share in the lot is owned by Salleh's wife's sister who lives with her family on the land. Salleh has worked for a number of years as a batek printer at a factory located near his house. He stated that he quit his job (the exact circumstances of his leaving are unclear) so that his oldest son could take over his work. This son is now working at this same factory. Since Salleh quit his job he has worked only occasionally and considers that he is looking for a job. Salleh's wife has a small income from work that she does at home waxing cloth for a nearby batek factory when she is not busy with household chores or taking care of the children. 

An in-marrying spouse in the local residential cluster, Salleh makes only a minimal show of participation. On festive occasions he attends prayers at the local prayer house, but otherwise he prays at home. His status as chronically unemployed does not make him popular with his wife's relatives who constitute most of his near neighbours.
Day 1

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, and prayed, after which he relaxed around the house until 7:30 when he left to go to the central market to buy fish and vegetables for his family. After completing his purchases he stopped at the coffee shop in the market run by a friend. This man also lives in the town and Salleh has known him since they were both small boys. Salleh talked with this friend for a while and at 9:15 he returned home, delivering his purchases to the house. He immediately set off to visit Hussein and another man at their place of business in a nearby suburban area. Both of these men are friends he has known for about four years. Salleh discussed with these friends several business "deals" he was planning. At 12 noon he returned home and sat for a while reading a book. At 1 p.m. he bathed, prayed, and ate, and about 3:00 he went to sleep, arising again at 4:00 when he walked around and cleaned the area surrounding his house. At 4:30 he bathed, prayed, and read magazines until shortly before 7:00 when he bathed once again, said prayers, rested until 8:00 when he prayed, after which he ate dinner, read books, and at 9:30 went to sleep.

Day 2

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, and drank coffee. At 7:30 he went to the central market and bought fish and vegetables, after which he visited his friend's
coffee shop for a few minutes. At 8:00 he went to the fire station which is located near the central market and there he met three friends, all of whom he has known for about four years. He conversed with these men, discussing many topics but particularly about finding work. At 10:30 Salleh returned home with his purchases and set off again to visit his friend Hussein. Salleh met him at his shop and they talked about many topics. At 12 noon Salleh returned home, bathed, and at 1 p.m. prayed, ate lunch, and rested for a while. At 2:00 he went to the house of a friend who had invited him to come to eat. This was an ordinary meal, no special occasion, and after eating he and his host talked together until about 5:00 when he returned home, prayed, read books, prayed again. After the 7 p.m. prayer Ismail, a friend, came to visit. Salleh knows him as he and his mother rent land on which they have built a house in a nearby section of the local residential area. Ismail is employed as a batek printer in a nearby factory. These two men went together to a food shop in Taman Sekebun Bunga, in the central business district. While eating together they discussed the possibility of starting a batek business together, an idea that was first proposed by Ismail and about which Salleh was enthusiastic. At 8:30 each of the men returned to their respective homes and Salleh bathed, prayed, and rested around the house—as he does not have electricity he does
not have a television—until he went to sleep at 10:30.

Day 3

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, and sat for a while at home drinking coffee. At 7:30 he set off to the market, as usual, to buy supplies and after getting these he sat at his friend's coffee shop, drinking coffee and talking with him. He left the market and arrived home about 11:00. At home he worked around the house, cleaning the area, and checking on his chicken flock. At 1 p.m. he said prayers, ate lunch, rested, and read books. Shortly after 3:00 his friend who has a coffee shop and another man came to visit at his house. The latter is a friend whom Salleh first met through an acquaintance of his best friend. This man used to live in a rural centre in another part of the state but he recently moved to a suburban area outside the town. These two men had come to ask Salleh's advice about what price they should pay for a number of articles they wanted to buy. At 5:00 they left, and Salleh rested and bathed, and at 7:00 he prayed. At 7:15 a friend came to visit, whom Salleh met through his best friend. Salleh talked with him about the latter's idea of making a batek business together with Salleh. At 8 p.m. these men prayed together, after which they went together to a food shop in Taman Sekebung Bunga. At 10:00 Salleh returned home alone, read books, and at 11:00 went to bed.
5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, drank coffee, and at 7:30 he set off for the central market. There he met his friend who works at the fire brigade. He first met this friend through his friend who has a coffee shop, and this day they sat at his stall in the market and ate rice together. After this Salleh bought vegetables and fish and at 10:00 he came home. At home he cleaned around his house and looked after his chickens. At 12 noon two friends came to visit. One lives in a nearby urban residential area and sells tickets at a downtown motion picture house. Salleh considers this man to be an "ordinary friend" and he does not recall how or when they met. This man brought with him a friend, whom Salleh had not met before, and who wanted to buy a ceremonial dagger which hangs on Salleh's wall. Salleh, however, did not want to sell this and at 12:30 the visitors left his house. After this Salleh bathed, prayed, ate lunch, read books for a while and went to sleep. He got up at 5:00 and waited around the house until 7:00 when he bathed, prayed, and waited until 8:00 to pray again. Then he ate dinner and rested. At 9:00 he went to the house of his wife's mother in the adjacent lot to watch wrestling on television. A number of his wife's relatives who live in adjacent houses were also watching. At 10:00 he came home and went to sleep.
Day 5

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, drank tea, and at 7:30 he set off for the central market where he went to his friend's coffee shop. In addition to coffee and tea, this man also sells noodles and this morning Salleh sat at his stand eating and chatting with him. After this he bought vegetables and left the market. At 8:00 he stopped at the fire station where he met his friends and discussed the possibilities of finding work. At 10:30 he returned home, left the vegetables, and at 10:45 went to the shop-house of his friend Hussein in a nearby suburban area. Hussein works as a tailor and today Salleh talked with him about making trousers for his children. At 12 noon he returned home, rested, ate his midday meal, prayed, and spent the afternoon reading several books. At 4:00 Salleh said his prayers and at 4:15 he went to a coffee shop in the town centre and drank coffee for a while by himself. He knows the owner of this shop but he did not go specifically to see him and he did not meet anyone there that he knew. After drinking for a short time he left the shop and rode his bicycle to a football field near there where he watched the games in progress and at 6:45 he returned home. At 7:00 he bathed, prayed, rested, prayed again, ate dinner, and relaxed around the house until 9:30 when he went to sleep.
5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, and drank tea. At 7:30 he went to the central market where this morning, after buying vegetables, he went to the stall of a friend whom Salleh has known for about three years. He first met him when he came to Salleh's house to visit his son. This morning they chatted about the prospects for finding a job. At 9:30 Salleh went to meet a friend at the garage where he works near the central business district. Salleh first met this friend through his best friend when the latter brought him to Salleh's house. They talked briefly at the garage and then went to the coffee shop where he had gone the previous day. Salleh returned home at 10:30 to deliver his vegetables and at 11:00 he left for the suburban shop-house of Hussein. They talked about business matters and at 11:45 they went together to a nearby coffee shop to drink coffee and continue their discussion. At 12 noon Salleh left the coffee shop, returned home and rested for a while until 1 p.m. at which time he bathed, prayed, ate lunch and rested. At 3:00 he read books for a while before bathing and praying. At 5:00 he set off on his bicycle to ride around the centre of town. When he came to a large sports field he stopped to watch the teams playing ball there. He neither saw nor met anyone he knew and at 7:00 he arrived back at home, bathed, and at 7:15 prayed. At 7:30 his friend Ismail came
to his house. Ismail waited while Salleh prayed once again and they set off together to a food shop at Taman Sekebung Bunga where they ate rice together and conversed about the prospects of starting their business together. At 9:00 the two men went together to a nearby field and sat to listen to a special religious lecture. At 12 midnight both men returned to their respective houses to sleep.

Day 7

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, and drank tea. At 7:30 he went to the central market, bought vegetables, and sat at his friend's coffee shop, eating, drinking, and talking with his friend. At 10:30 he returned home, cleaned around his house, and at 11:00 he bathed and began to prepare to go to mosque. At 12 noon he went to the sectional mosque in a nearby area of the town for Friday prayers. After prayers Salleh met Hussein who told him about a ceremonial feast to be held at the house of another friend. Salleh first met this friend some months before when Hussein brought him to Salleh's house. This feast was a feast to give thanks (khenduri nazar) and Salleh and Hussein went together. Salleh ate at the feast and while he saw many people he knew, he only greeted them, he did not stop to talk. At 3 p.m. he returned home and rested around the house until shortly before 7:00 when he bathed and said prayers. At 8:00 he prayed and after this
ate dinner. At 8:30 he went to the adjacent house of his wife's mother to watch a Malay movie on television. At his wife's mother's house he met a number of his wife's relatives, all of whom live in nearby houses, and some of their friends whom he did not know. He did not particularly talk with these people and at 10:00 he returned home, drank tea, and went to bed.

Day 8

5:30 a.m., Salleh arose, bathed, prayed, and drank coffee. At 7:30 he went to the central market, bought fish and vegetables, and then stopped at the coffee shop belonging to his friend where he ate and talked with this friend. At 10:00 he came home to leave his purchases and then set off to the shop-house of his friend Hussein. Salleh talked to Hussein about having a cupboard made for his house and Hussein took Salleh to introduce him to a man who makes cabinets and has an adjacent shop. After talking to this cabinet maker for a while they returned to Hussein's shop where they visited together until 12:15 p.m. when Salleh came home. At home Salleh rested and at 1:00 bathed, prayed, ate, and at 2:00 began reading. While reading he fell asleep and was awakened at 3:00 by two friends whom he has known for about three years. At 5:30 the visitors left and Salleh spent the remaining time before evening prayers sitting in his house reading.
Special time

No data are available on Salleh's special time activities.

Comments

When compared with the migrant, Kamal, discussed in case seven, the instance of the unemployed urbanite, Salleh, is instructive. The migrant to the town is in the process of establishing a network of urban associates. Most of these associates are of the category friends and serve to help the migrant to find a local residential area in which to settle and work to establish himself on a permanent basis in the town. The unemployed urbanite is fully committed to the urban situation: he owns a house on land which belongs to his wife and by virtue of his marriage to this woman he is aligned with kinsmen in the residential area. The urbanite who finds himself out of work has little choice other than to find an alternative form of urban work. He does this by calling upon his established town-wide network of friends. In the case of Salleh his first interest is to hear about other possible jobs or, alternately, to assemble the resources necessary to establish his own business. Some persons in Salleh's network of friends are well placed to help him in his job-seeking. These are men who occupy significant positions (either social or spatial) in the town-wide system of activity. These friends have
locations in the market, at the firehouse, at a suburban shop area, or at a centrally located car workshop. The location of these friends' work activities is important because Salleh chooses, in most cases, to visit these men at their places of business. He frequently spends time at their shops, market stall, or firehouse. Sitting with friends in these places, Salleh can see for himself what is happening in the town as well as be seen by others in the urban setting. Salleh is available for casual approach by passersby and can chat informally with others who are visiting the firehouse, coffee shop, or tailor shop. Thus, in addition to receiving information about the job situation from his friends, these visits place Salleh in a locale where other urbanites can meet him easily. The fact that he makes many of these visits on a regular basis means that other persons who might be wanting to meet him can have some expectation of finding him at a specific place at a specific time.

This preference for association in the town is indicated even when individuals come to visit at Salleh's house. In many cases he does not entertain these people at home, but rather takes them to an entertainment centre in the centre of town. His religious activities are similarly related to the town-wide context. He does not participate in activities at the local prayer house (except on special occasions) but rather chooses to pray at home.
during the week and on Fridays at the mosque serving his section of town where he often meets friends. His attendance at the religious lecture given at the town centre is another instance of the same interest in town-wide participation.

Salleh's home is near those of many of his wife's kinsmen. He does not participate intensively in this context, although he does spend much of his time at home. He prays at home, rests around the house, tends his poultry, and spends much of his time in solitary reading (an activity rarely mentioned by other informants). He does not use this time at home to develop extensive associations with his neighbours and wife's relatives. He does occasionally visit at the nearby house of his wife's mother where he sees many of these neighbours but he does not interact with these people while watching television. Salleh's situation as chronically unemployed makes him unpopular with these local relatives who frequently contrast his situation to that of other members of the local group who, upon becoming unemployed, have quickly sought other employment.

Salleh, as an established urbanite, does not have the migrant's option of leaving the town when he cannot find urban employment. Neither he nor his wife own land or have other ties in rural areas. His poor integration into the local residential cluster and his chronic unemployment indicate that he has few resources upon which to rely.
Conclusion

In the activities of all urbanites described in these cases there are certain commonalities. All men eat and sleep, and most pray and spend time at home with their families. Many care for poultry or garden plots. There is, however, a good deal of variation exhibited in the several cases described. For all urbanites the demands of occupation serve as a constant constraint on their use of time, although the exact nature of these demands varies with the nature of the occupation. The regularities arising from the factor of occupation will be described in following chapters. However, in the analysis of these cases it is also possible to see another factor influencing individual strategies in the use of time. This factor accounts for some of the variation exhibited by persons of the same occupational category and arises from the nature of the urbanite's relationship to others in his local residential cluster. Occasionally this is expressed as a conflict between devoting time to the local urban cluster or to some other activities.

The newcomer urban household which has recently purchased urban residential land is faced with the problem of establishing ties with at least some of their urban neighbours while maintaining ties with relatives at their place of origin. The need to have ties with urban neighbours is particularly acute in a case such as that of
Khalid where the newcomer needs their support to solve a problem arising in the vicinity of his new home. While the demands of occupation and rural relatives do not leave him much time, he recognizes the importance of developing these urban local ties through frequent informal visiting and through symbolizing the significance of these ties in special time activities.

A second type of situation is that of the in-marrying spouse who has taken up residence on his wife's land in the vicinity of his wife's relatives. Abdullah has a firm commitment to urban residence arising from his urban occupation but he must balance demands arising from non-urban land management and attention to his parents with the necessity to establish a role in the area of his urban residence among his wife's relatives. Abdullah does this by maintaining a very busy schedule which includes participation with neighbour-relatives, rural associates, and his parents and relatives, as well as a demanding job. In contrast to this, although he is an in-marrying spouse, Salleh does not have demands arising from land ownership or looking after parents. We do not know if Salleh ever had established a respected role in his local cluster, although his chronic unemployment has, at the present time, greatly undermined his position with his neighbour-relatives. Although they are not particularly cordial to him, they recognize his position as
their relative's husband and occasionally Salleh participates with them on special occasions or evenings of televiewing. Salleh has exhausted whatever help members of the local group could provide in his unemployment problems and he now devotes his time to contacts scattered through the town with the hope that they may assist him in finding work.

Some urbanites do not feel the conflicts described above but the nature of their relationship to their local residential cluster is still significant for understanding their use of time.

In the case of Zakariah there is no local solidarity of neighbours in the vicinity of his urban residence to make demands on his time. Persons living nearby him neither expect nor require his participation. This unique situation arose because the residents know they will have to leave this area soon and they no longer control their land. Instead of participation with these nearby persons, Zakariah devotes much of his time to activities with his wife and children, and to building ties with relatives living in other parts of the town. He hopes to establish residence in an area where the ties that he is reinforcing now will provide the basis for participation in a solidarity with his new neighbours. As his wife comes from a distant state the household has relatively few obligations arising from maintaining
associations with his wife's kinsmen.

The migrant, Kamal, is in a similar situation. The social demands made by persons in his residential cluster are limited. Most of these persons are, like himself, rural migrants concerned with finding a permanent place in the town. This involves initiating participation in an established residential cluster and finding a non-marginal occupation. His neighbours form only a limited solidarity, they do not own land and he participates with them only to the extent of exchanging information and mutual assistance about their common problems. Most of Kamal's time is devoted to developing a network of associations, in a variety of urban contexts, with more established trishaw pedallers, shop owners, and relatives, all persons who may be able to help him find a more permanent place in the town. But in the course of exploiting all of the avenues to this end, he also uses a variety of contexts to maintain a position for himself in the rural milieu. Should his plans to become a fully integrated urbanite fail he can still return to the countryside.

Several of the cases have described the situation of life-long urbanites living in areas where they were born and where they are considered to have important roles in viable residential clusters. Haji Ali, Omar, and Abdul Rahman do not have the conflicts of establishing themselves or of balancing non-local demands. Omar is, to a limited
degree, an exception to this as his working hours limit the time he has for local participation to an occasional visit with neighbours at the sundry shop or on the way to bathe in the river. However, he is still accepted by other residents of the cluster as he is a land owner, and both he and his wife are locally related. His neighbours excuse his limited participation with the acknowledgement that his work is demanding. On the other hand, neither Haji Ali nor Abdul Rahman have demands arising from their work that prevent them from local participation. Abdul Rahman works in his home and Haji Ali devotes much time to local activities, particularly connected with his prayer house. These men have numerous local relations, use land which belongs to them or to these relatives, and participate extensively in local feasts and much visiting. Even though Abdul Rahman has a non-local wife, his wife's relatives, who live far from the town, do not place extensive demands on his time. Although these men have other obligations arising from their work roles, they do not allow these to interfere with their involvement in activities in the local residential area.

In the analysis of the cases presented in this chapter the constraints of occupation are evident, but we can also see the importance of constraints arising from the urbanite's relationship to his local residential cluster as well. The analysis of these individual strategies suggests
the importance of understanding the nature of the local residential cluster and particularly factors arising from land ownership in the cluster as well as land ownership in other areas. These factors will be described in detail in Part Five, after the regularities exhibited in the use of time and the choice of associates have been examined further in the following chapters.
CHAPTER X

ENVIRONMENTS, ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATES
IN ORDINARY TIME

In the preceding chapter I have examined through the analysis of eight cases both the regularities and specificities in the allocation of time by urban Malays. In this chapter, using a summary statistical approach, I shall analyse the allocation of time for a sample of twenty-five selected individuals for whom seven day schedules are complete. This summary analysis will be carried out in two ways. First I shall examine the patterns of time use for each type of environment in which urbanites participate. This analysis indicates the environments and activities to which urbanites commonly devote time. As certain types of associates are commonly met in particular activities in specific environments, the allocation of time to one of these activities indicates that the urbanite is prepared to undertake association of a specific type. For example, interaction with neighbours commonly takes place in activities either in the home environment or in the local cluster environment. If a man devotes time to activities in these environments he is available for possible association
with his neighbours. However, presence in a particular environment or activity does not mean that an interaction with an associate of a particular type will take place. In the second part of the chapter I examine the actual interactions with associates that took place in the course of the seven days for which data were recorded for this sample of informants.

The data analysed in regard to the use of ordinary time indicate that all activities carried on by urbanites take place in one of five environments: (1) at home; (2) in the local residential cluster; (3) at work; (4) in the town at large, or (5) in a rural area. No urbanite confines all of his activity to any one of these environments and nearly all urbanites spend some part of their weekly round in each of them (see Table II). All persons spend about 60 percent of their time at home. With the exception of men working as craftsmen or contractors, all men spend about 1-3 percent of their time in activities located in the local residential cluster outside of their home. The craftsman devotes about twice this much time to the local residential cluster, often a place where he has his workshop. Urbanites devote about 30 percent of their time to work activities although there are some significant exceptions. Persons in marginal occupations (migrant trishaw drivers and contractors) devote slightly less time to working as demand in these occupations is often variable.
# Table II

**Highest ranked activities during ordinary time in five environments by occupational type, expressed in percentage points**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Wage Earners</th>
<th>Craftsmen</th>
<th>Market Sallers</th>
<th>Shop Owners</th>
<th>Contractors</th>
<th>Trishaw Peddlers</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1. At home 51.65</td>
<td>1. Sleep 55.18</td>
<td>1. Sleep 56.9</td>
<td>1. At home 49.8</td>
<td>1. At home 41.27</td>
<td>1. At home 56.47</td>
<td>1. Sleeping 39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed youth 1.2</td>
<td>58.35*</td>
<td>57.5*</td>
<td>56.94*</td>
<td>50.4*</td>
<td>78.27*</td>
<td>58.75*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50.71**</td>
<td>99.18**</td>
<td>99.33**</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>78.77**</td>
<td>75.47**</td>
<td>100**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Sports ground 14.89</td>
<td>4..</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4*</td>
<td>57.67*</td>
<td>94.39**</td>
<td>99.39**</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Rest area of shop 1.5</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.82*</td>
<td>27.59**</td>
<td>36.67*</td>
<td>44.84*</td>
<td>21.13*</td>
<td>24.70*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64.85**</td>
<td>96.67**</td>
<td>86.25**</td>
<td>84.73**</td>
<td>88.01**</td>
<td>97.59**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.27*</td>
<td>8.19*</td>
<td>9.49*</td>
<td>2.73*</td>
<td>0.6*</td>
<td>4.37*</td>
<td>25.15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.02**</td>
<td>42.54**</td>
<td>64.23**</td>
<td>67.23**</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>69.67**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Prayer house 4.89</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.83*</td>
<td>95.93**</td>
<td>80.84*</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>10.42*</td>
<td>94.42**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Percentage of total time devoted to activities in this environment.

**Total percentage of time devoted to the top ranked activities in this environment.
and restricted. Shopkeepers put in substantially higher percentages of their time at work as they must often keep long hours in order to accommodate customers' requirements. All urbanites spend some part of their time in the town at large, although in this category there is wide variation. The unemployed devote nearly 25 percent of their time to this environment. As described in Case Eight above, this can be attributed to the importance of the town as an environment in which to find employment and to keep abreast of the latest news about available jobs. Market sellers, wage earners, and craftsmen all spend about 8 percent of their time in this environment. The similarity between these three occupations and their difference from other occupations appears to be a result of the fact that the work environment of these three occupational types provides a situation of greater mobility and interest in "town-wide" affairs. Shop-owners spend less of their time—2.73 percent—in the town at large, because the long hours spent in the work environment at their shops already represent a significant form of participation in the town environment. The migrant devotes a higher percentage of his time to the town at large than does the shopkeeper, but still it is not a very large amount—4.32 percent. What time he does spend there is an indication of the value he places on establishing urban contacts. Of all of the
occupations considered, the contractor spends the least amount of time—0.6 percent—in the town at large environment. Like the shop owner, this may be because his work activities bring him into contact with the town environment so that he has less interest in this area outside working hours.

Only men of three occupation types devote any time at all to the rural environment. The wage earner devotes nearly 2 percent of his time to this environment (more than he does to his local urban residential cluster). This is indicative of this high status group's mobility and their role as mediators between the rural and urban environments. The migrant trishaw driver spends over 10 percent of his time in the rural environment indicating, as was illustrated in Case Seven, his interest in maintaining ties with the rural sector to provide an alternative residence should he not be able to establish himself in the town. On the other hand, shop owners devote less than 1 percent of their time to the rural environment.

In each of the environments urbanites participate in a number of characteristic activities. Some of these activities are performed by all urbanites while others are peculiar to a specific occupational group. Although all urbanites, regardless of occupation, engage in roughly the same activities in the home and local residential area
environments, in the work, town, and rural environments there are striking differences following occupation lines. This difference can be seen from a very crude index in Table III. Where the ratio for an environment is high (i.e., 4.1:1) it indicates that the same activities are being chosen by persons of different occupations; where the index is low (i.e., 1.3:1) it indicates that there is little repetition between occupations; and persons of each occupational type are choosing activities specific to their occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Possible activities in the top ranking choices</th>
<th>Actual reports of different activities</th>
<th>Index Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local cluster</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.8:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1This table is based on Table II. Column A indicates the sum of the total number of activities mentioned in each cell of Table II for a particular environment. Where the number is less than 21 it indicates that in at least the case of one occupational type less than three activities account for 100% of the total time devoted to
The activities carried out in the home environment are the least easy to specify. The techniques of data collection were not adequate to delineate the minutiae of everyday home life in its full variety. As indicated in Table II, urbanites of all occupations engage in rather similar activities. The vast majority of time spent at home is involved in the activity of "sleep" or in activities which I have termed "at home" (this follows many informants' usage). The activity "at home" involves a variety of component activities carried out within the household and the area immediately adjacent to the house. Such component activities as bathing, eating, feeding fowl, playing with children, reading newspapers, watching television, visiting with wife, and praying are typical. This class of activities also includes the very casual visits of short duration that are carried on with immediate neighbours, the casual exchange of greetings with passing neighbours, visits to borrow tools, and interaction between households sharing a single well. Generally, it can be said that the activity "at home" indicates that the informant is present in the vicinity of his house and not asleep. The large percentage of time devoted to this activity by that environment by persons of a particular occupation (for example trishaw drivers devote 100% of their time in the local cluster to activities at the coffee shop. Column B records the number of different activities recorded in each of these cells for one environment. Column C indicates the ratio of A to B.
all urbanites is indicative of the great satisfaction people receive from life around the house. When urbanites are at home they are usually available to receive guests and, in the case of most urbanites, the receiving of formal visits from relatives, friends, or neighbours is the activity given third ranking in this environment. This receiving of visitors represents only a very small percentage of total time and thus only serves to highlight the other activities.

Activities undertaken in the environment of the local residential cluster have a high index of similarity among occupational types. Most men visit neighbours and neighbouring relatives' houses, most men engage in some type of religious activity (prayer at either a prayer house or sectional mosque) with other members of the local residential group. Men of several occupational types devote some of their time in this environment to visits to the local coffee shop where they can informally chat with neighbours. In this environment there are several significant contrasts. Wage earners devote the largest percentage of their time (albeit a small percentage of their total time) in the local residential area to visiting neighbours. Note that they do not spend any significant amount of time receiving neighbour guests or friends. This may relate to a difference in status between men in this occupational group and their often lower status neighbours.
Also, wage earners do not participate with their neighbours in religious activities. This results from their desire to pray with other townsmen at the central mosque on Fridays and their tendency to say daily prayers at home unless there is some specific need to symbolize their participation in the local residential group (see Case Two for an example of such a situation). The wage earners are also the only category of urbanites to devote substantial time to "sport" activities such as fishing and football.

As mentioned above, whereas persons of all occupational classifications use their time at home and in the local residential area in roughly similar ways, when they participate in the work and the town at large environments men of different occupations engage in significantly different activities. Activities in the work environment have a low index of similarity among occupations. Different urban occupations require different types of participation. This can be seen through the analysis of the work environment.

Wage earners spend most of their time in office activities either in their own office or in other offices in the town. Participation in these activities brings these men into contact with other urbanites who also work in offices. While many wage workers have little chance of social interaction with co-workers on the job, they do have limited opportunity to visit during coffee breaks, or when
work is slow. The activity of third ranking significance is travel, either that involved in getting to work, that between various offices, or that involved in various office-related tasks. The importance given this activity is indicative of the great degree of mobility which is possible in these occupations. This travel brings them into contact with a variety of different places both in the town and beyond, and while there is usually little interaction involved in this travel (it is usually very purposive, involved in getting to a specific locale in a limited amount of time), it does place the wage earner in a wide variety of places and gives him a wider knowledge of activities in these various different locations than is possible for men in other occupations.

In sharp contrast to the activities of the wage earner are those of the craftsman. Where the wage earner participates in activities which bring him to a variety of locales, the work activities of the craftsman have the effect of limiting his participation. The craftsman devotes most of his working time (86 percent) to producing his crafted items in factory or workshop. Most craft workshops are located in or near the workers' homes and thus both in travel to and from work and in the time spent there, their contact with other environments or activities is extremely limited. When the craftsman is not at his workshop he may be working at his store. Occasionally this store is also
connected to his house although more typically it is in a nearby location. This activity does serve to bring the craftsman into wider association but the fact that many such men do not have shops at all and that in any event only a very small percentage of their time is spent in this activity further demonstrate the isolation of this occupational group from others. The third ranking activity, visiting with other craftsmen, does not account for a large percentage of work time, but does represent a very significant activity. It is through such visits that these men who are otherwise isolated in their work keep in touch with others beyond their workshop. Once again it is important to note that within the work environment these men choose association with persons of similar occupation (see Case Three). The importance of even this limited contact with craftsmen in other parts of the town is emphasized when it is noticed that craftsmen devote much of their non-working time to the home and local residential cluster environment and in some cases these visits to other craftsmen are one of the few opportunities they have to observe what is going on beyond their residential locality.

The work activities of marketeers also are highly specific to this occupational group and serve to bring them into contact with others of the same occupation.
Marketeers, as other businessmen, and in contrast to men of other occupations, tend to devote a lesser percentage of their time to any single activity within the work category. Their work environment contains several activities between which their time is more evenly divided. Marketeers devote nearly half of their time to the activity of selling (or selling-connected tasks) at their market stall or selling location either in town or rural markets. There is a degree of variation within this activity. Some men sell only at one or more of the urban markets while others, often dealing in more esoteric or specialized goods, sell in both urban and rural markets, or only in rural markets. Many marketeers experience very busy periods in the course of their work. During these periods they have only sufficient time to meet customers and engage in trade. However, at non-peak periods marketeers do spend much of their time talking with nearby vendors, arranging with suppliers for the delivery of goods, discussing work to be done with employees, and occasionally sleeping, eating, or otherwise relaxing.

The activity of third ranking importance is meeting with friends, suppliers, business associates, and employees in coffee shops within the market. This activity accounts

---

2It must be pointed out that in most of the markets of Kelantan the majority of the marketeers of shell fish, vegetables, and fruit are women. Women are also active in cloth trading. These marketeers are excluded from this investigation as, in most cases, they are not also urban household heads.
for only about 5 percent of the marketeer's working time but still represents an important activity in which he can arrange for supplies, discuss prices and marketing strategies with others involved in similar activities. In many ways this activity represents an extension of his market stall activities. For marketeers who do not have use of a stall on a daily basis, time spent at these coffee shops—usually a marketeer frequents a single coffee shop—constitutes a type of "office" for their enterprises. Other persons wishing to contact the marketeer know that he can be found at a particular coffee shop on a regular basis and if he is not there a message can be passed to the marketeer through the coffee shop proprietor.

When the time spent by marketeers in the market coffee shop is combined with that time spent in marketing activities the marketeer spends over 50 percent of his working time in these activities. His participation in these activities brings him into contact with other men who are of similar occupation. While urbanites of all occupations shop in the market, their interaction with marketeers is usually confined to matters concerned with their purchases. Interaction with customers is highly instrumental and confined to buying and selling. Marketeers in their work time are involved with other marketeers and even this is usually confined to matters concerned with business.
Businessmen operating shops exhibit a rather similar pattern to that of marketeers, but the activities involved are different. The shopkeeper spends about 45 percent of his time devoted to the work environment present in his shop, arranging stock, waiting on customers, or bookkeeping. All shopkeepers spend much of their working time "waiting for customers." For some men this waiting period is filled with routine tasks while some others rest, watch television, or sleep. Particularly for persons doing business in shop-houses connected to their living quarters, the tasks involved in this activity of "tending shop" are often varied and often involve some activities not directly bearing on buying or selling. One of the most important of these is visiting with customers and passers-by. Many of these customers are also friends, relatives, or neighbours. Frequently the small sundry shop, for example, is established and maintained by men who want to convert ties of friendship, neighbourhood, or kinship into economic bonds and use these bonds to sustain their business. Thus multiple ties often connect buyer and seller and the seller feels that he must devote work time to maintaining some of the non-business elements of these associations. Unlike the busy market stalls, these shops are often gathering places for men and women of the local residential cluster.

The exception to this pattern is found among
shopkeepers who operate larger shops, selling specialized merchandise, who do not live on the shop premises. Their time at work is well defined and distinct from other sorts of activity, although occasionally work tasks intrude on other activities in other environments (see Case Five). To a limited extent they depend on establishing a variety of ties with their customers but these do not have the strong personal quality seen in the case of keepers of small shops. Because of the specialization of these larger shops, they are not centres for informal gathering. Men of this occupation spend their working time by demonstrating equipment, coordinating sales staff, and overseeing delivery and repair of goods.

As with marketeers, the second ranked activity of shop operators is the preparation of goods for sale. This can involve any number of tasks: shelling coconuts, raising fowl, making icecream or confections, and many others. These are not important activities for shopkeepers in larger stores selling specialized merchandise, but they do form a significant part of the sundry shopkeeper's activities. Many of the items which they sell require processing prior to sale and in some cases shopkeepers have turned to small-scale production of essential items in an effort to maintain prices in the face of inflation. These activities are most often carried out by the shopkeeper while other members of the household or shop assistants tend the store.
The third ranking activity in the work environment for shopkeepers is business carried on outside the shop. These activities may entail, for some shopkeepers, obtaining goods for sale from wholesale dealers or in bulk from marketeers, while for others this may involve visiting clients, prospective customers, giving instruction in the use of products (or overseeing classes in their use), engaging in promotional activities, or generally in building "good will." These activities keep the shopkeeper in touch with the commercial community and the town at large. He receives information on the availability of goods, prices, new lines or items, and customer needs. For those businessmen who are otherwise tied to their home or shops, these activities are extremely important, despite the limitations on association resulting from the racial barrier between these shopkeepers and some of their suppliers which tends to make the interaction instrumental, cautious, and related only to the transaction of business. It is outside the shop, during visits to wholesale dealers or the market vendors, that the shopkeeper meets other Malay shopkeepers and has a chance to establish associations with them. Therefore, this activity has an importance to the shopkeeper beyond what its relatively small percentage of total work time (13.72 percent) would indicate.

Businessmen, both marketeers and shopkeepers, are at the centre of town life when working. From the time
they open their shop or market stall they are approachable by anyone who cares to come. They do not have the office doors and counter that protects the office worker nor the relatively private workshop or small factory of the craftsman. However, during this working time the persons who are free to come will most often be regarded as customers. Businessmen are much more at the call of their customers than are other urbanites in their various occupations. The fact that these businessmen devote such a large proportion of their time to the work environment is indicative of both their commitment to the town at large and the degree to which this commitment limits their time for other activities.

Working as a small-scale contractor is among several marginal occupations in the urban setting. These men, who often do not have offices, devote the greatest amount of their working time to conversing with other contractors in one of several coffee shops frequented by men of this occupation. These coffee shops are located near government offices which habitually place work out on a contract basis. At these shops the contractors chat with one another about jobs and wait until a representative from one of these offices, or a private firm or individual, comes to visit with them. On these visits the client comes to the shop, drinks coffee with the contractors, and discusses the work to be done. For those contractors
interested in the job an appointment is arranged to examine the work site. Often the interested contractors meet at a coffee shop from which they are taken, in transportation supplied by the government office concerned, to the site of the work.

It is in the coffee shop, in the company of other contractors, that gossip about prospective work, employers, and suppliers is exchanged, pricing determined, and assistance obtained. Occasionally contractors who have no work at the moment—for all but the largest and most organized outfits this is the case most of the time—who are waiting at one of these coffee shops may engage in some small-scale trading, buying such things as gold jewellery, or perhaps attempting to deal in real estate. The second ranking work activity of contractors is "looking at jobs." As mentioned above, this usually involves travelling together with other contractors to a potential work site in order to estimate the price of a bid. When finished, they return to discuss among themselves various aspects of the work. As with the time spent at the coffee shop, this activity continues to involve the contractor with a limited number of persons of similar occupation.

The third ranking activity in the contractor's work environment is visiting a client's house (5 percent). In this activity the contractor visits the house of a non-government client to discuss the work. In this activity
much time is spent by the contractor attempting to make contact with this client. In the absence of an extensive telephone system, numerous visits are often required before even an initial contact can be effected. During these visits, while normal levels of hospitality are maintained, the interaction is of the nature of client-patron and concerned solely with business. The wide disparity of status between the contractor and his client often makes any less formal sort of interaction difficult.

Like the contractor, the trishaw pedaller spends rather less of his time than men in other occupations in the work environment. But the trishaw pedaller spends nearly all of his working time (88.55 percent) in the single activity of fare-seeking and transporting. This activity involves either waiting in his trishaw or nearby at one of the various transportation centres in the town, the central market, bus station, ferry terminal, or school, or cruising the town streets looking for fares. Once a fare has been accepted, after the destination has been determined and a fare bargained, he proceeds to the destination and after discharging his passenger again begins to look for fares. Frequently these men refuse a fare. The most frequent reason is that the fare offered—there are no standard rates—is not sufficient, that the distance is too far away, or that it takes the pedaller far away from a central transportation area at a peak time. As we
saw in Case Seven above, a pedaller may have a number of contractual obligations to carry fares at a set time over set routes. These commitments often interfere with accepting random fares. In the course of transporting his fares the trishaw pedaller comes into contact with a wide range of people. His mobility in the town allows him to keep abreast of activities in a number of urban areas. While it is possible that he may make acquaintances among his fares, this appears to be the exception rather than the rule. Still, his work activities of dealing with a variety of urban people provide an introduction to the diversity of urbanites.

One of the most important tasks comprising the fare-seeking activity is that of waiting for fares at various transportation points. It is in this task that the trishaw pedaller has an opportunity to make many acquaintances. This task brings him into contact with other trishaw pedallers who, like himself, are waiting for fares, as well as with the operators of ferry boats, buses, taxis, and coffee shops in these areas. During this task he can discuss mutual problems with other pedallers and learn about established practices.

The second rated work activity for trishaw pedallers is waiting in town coffee shops (4.82 percent). While this represents a small percentage of the total work time, it is closely related to activities of fare-seeking.
However, in this activity informants state specifically that they are "resting" or "waiting" between fares. The shops at which they stop are much the same as those described in the first rated activity and the persons they meet much the same as those above.

The third rated activity for men of this occupation is visits at a coffee shop located in their residential area. Once again this activity is much the same as the first two. The pedaller rests and drinks coffee while chatting with others at the shop. He still maintains his presence at a location where he is prepared to take fares should they present themselves. Most of these local coffee shops serve as gathering places for persons similar to the pedaller himself: migrants to the local area and local renters who are often involved in similar marginal occupations, outsiders who may work at marginal jobs in the local residential area, or local youth. Much of the time at these shops is spent discussing these men's similar concerns and interests, for example, finding different jobs and alternate accommodation. The few established local men who occasionally visit these shops serve to link these marginal outsiders to the local setting and are often in a position to offer solutions to their problems or give advice. While working, the pedaller must be prepared to take a fare and leave should the opportunity present itself. But trishaw pedallers also spend 100 percent of
their non-working time in the local residential area in
the same activity.

The activities of the trishaw pedaller in his work
environment serve several ends which are significant to
this type of marginal worker. He gets to see activities
in a wide area of the town and to visit with other men of
similar occupation both in the town at large and in his
local residential area. Once again these activities are
peculiar to the occupation and tend to align him with
others of similar occupation while cutting him off from
casual interaction with persons of other occupations. The
fact that he does carry, as fares, persons from a wide
spectrum of the urban population means that he has the
opportunity to learn about their concerns and lifestyles,
but the status differences present make it difficult for
him to establish any associations with these persons.

While in most cases (with the exception of some
craftsmen) the work environment brings the urbanite into
a situation of contact with the town at large, the nature
of the activities which are required in each occupation
structure this participation in such a way that working
brings those of a single occupation into association while
at the same time cutting them off from others in other
occupations. This structuring of activities around occu-
pation which is so important in the work environment also
structures the urbanite's participation in the town at
large environment: The degree of variation in such activities, undertaken by persons of different occupations, is not as great as in the work environment but the nature of a man's work still has a great significance on the activities in which he participates in the town at large environment.

It has already been noted that, on the whole, urbanites devote a relatively small amount of their total time to the environment of the town at large. While the unemployed devotes about one-quarter of his time to this environment (for special reasons described above), the average for other occupations is about 5 percent. Also, in this environment men of higher status participate in a larger number of activities in the town at large than do men of lesser status.

The three top ranking activities of all occupational types in the work environment account for between 80 and 90 percent of the total time devoted to this environment. The three top rated activities in the town at large environment account for less than 50 percent of the total time devoted to this environment by persons of high status, increasing to 60 percent for those of lesser status occupations, and reaching 100 percent only for some in the marginal occupations and the unemployed. This finding suggests that urbanites of the higher status occupations desire to spread their participation in the town
at large environment. Urbanites of high status choose to participate in a wide variety of activities, and by doing so their status is not only validated but perpetuated and increased in the eyes of the community. This participation also gives them access to a much wider variety of personal resources within the town on which to build.

In the town at large environment there is less commonality in activities than in the work environment, although an urbanite's occupational type still greatly influences participation. Men of most urban occupations participate in visiting relatives as an activity rated either first or second in importance. Most urbanites have at least some relatives living in the town and these visits allow relaxed, friendly, intimate interaction. Even the migrant spends 28 percent of his time in the town at large in this activity. Visiting relatives is a town at large environment activity in which the sharp stratificational distinctions present in the work environment (and in some other town at large activities) can be transcended. The ties of kinship are usually sufficient to bind together men whose occupations are even widely diverse. Thus, status differences usually would make casual interaction in the work or town at large environments between a man in the marginal occupations and a wage worker difficult, but if the men are relatives such a warm relationship is possible. This same situation holds true
for persons who stand in the relationship of friends (participation in visits to men of these categories are ranked highly by wage workers, marketeers, and the unemployed). Friends are made in a variety of situations and occasionally they represent associations with persons who are in different occupational types. The visits between friends are often reciprocal—note the ranking given in the home environment by men of most occupational types to receiving visits from friends—and as these friends often reside in various parts of the town this activity frequently keeps urbanites in touch with activities in a number of local areas. The ties established with "friends" are often used by urbanites to solve a variety of problems. The diversity and widespread nature of these ties are very important in this respect.

A third activity which appears near the top of the rankings in this environment for several occupations is "travelling around." This entails moving around in the town either on foot or by bicycle. Often the reason given for engaging in this activity is "exercise" or "to see what is happening." In most cases it is an activity which accounts for a small amount of time but is of importance because it keeps the urbanite in touch with a variety of urban locales and situations. It is an activity in which casual meetings are possible but anonymous; not required with a variety of people. At
the same time it is an activity in which a person's occupation can be hidden or ignored. For persons of marginal occupations this activity accounts for 50 percent or more of their time, which is extremely small in any event, in this environment. This activity is an extension of the substantial amount of time spent at their work activities in a similar type of general town environment.

Beyond the significant similarities discussed above, urbanites engage in the town at large environment in a number of activities specific to their occupation. Wage workers visit a variety of offices in the town. These visits are not for the purpose of visiting others of the same occupation—although through this activity they do so—but to attend to various personal matters in these offices. These include such things as transferring or registering land, obtaining permits, paying bills, or registering for various benefits. Many of these activities are carried out on behalf of friends, relatives, or neighbours who recognize these wage workers' facility in such activities and ask them for their help. Many wage workers derive great satisfaction from being able to operate comfortably, with facility, in this activity and they are often happy to have the opportunity to assist those with less facility. The esteem they receive for being adept at these activities contributes significantly to the maintenance of their high status in the community.
In contrast, craftsmen spend time in the town at large environment in the activity of visiting supply shops. They do not consider this activity to be part of their "work" activities and often describe it as part of their general shopping. Once again it is an activity which is specific to their occupation. The significance of this activity lies in the occasional meetings with other craftsmen in an informal context where casual exchange of information is possible. Occasionally lasting associations are developed from these meetings. While craftsmen establish business relations with their suppliers, many of these are non-Malays and this often limits the extensiveness of the interaction.

Shopkeepers spend time in the town at large environment visiting other shops and occasionally offices. As a rule these visits are confined to transacting business for themselves and their families. Usually this involves purchases of such things as household supplies, groceries, and clothes, or attending to utility bills, licenses, doctors visits, or other similar activities. Interaction with other buyers or sellers in these contacts is very limited and most relationships are involved solely in the supply of materials and services.

Both marketeers and contractors spend some of their time in this environment in the activity of visiting coffee or food shops. This is, as in the cases above, largely an
extension of work activities although informants are quick to specify that they are not "working" during these periods. Still, by selecting these activities they place themselves in a context which is familiar to them and located in an area where others of their occupation may be "working" at the time and where they are recognized and identified by others as a participant in their particular occupation.

The unemployed uses a large percentage of his time in the town at large in several specific activities. At the central market he visits with friends, or visits friends at their work place, or alternately visits various urban coffee shops. As can be seen from the discussion in regard to Case Eight, the unemployed uses all of these activities in ways that are useful to him in finding urban employment or in establishing potential business contacts.

The activities discussed above are, to some degree, specific and contrastive along occupational lines and increase the occupational distinctions established in the work environment, but there are a number of activities in which most urbanites participate regardless of occupation. In some occupations these activities, such as "travelling around" and "visits to relatives and friends" rank in the top three ranks; in other cases they do not. Still these activities have some importance to all urbanites. The first of these common activities is "buying at the market." Because of the lack of cold storage in the home and the
desire to have fresh produce and fish, nearly all urban households must purchase some supplies at the market at frequent intervals. Many men do this shopping on a daily basis. Shopping at the market, in much the same way as "travelling around," brings these men into touch with the town at large. They must leave their home residential cluster—or stop on the way home from work—and enter into the area of the market and its surrounding shops. In this context the distinctions based on occupation which characterize many other activities in the work or town environment become irrelevant. Marketing is characterized by anonymity. The shopper is, however, free to enter into interaction at his own discretion. This interaction can often be initiated without regard to the usual barriers imposed by occupation and continued if the other person involved cares to sustain the interaction. An example of this anonymity and its use can be seen in the case of a low status urbanite who, in his work, frequently comes into contact with a high status individual. In the work setting there are constraints on association between these men. However, when they pass in the market it is possible for one to initiate a greeting and for the greeted to determine whether he desires to continue the interaction. He can ignore the greeting and, in the anonymity and bustle of the market the incident can be ignored by both parties. Should the interaction be carried on, it can be performed
without the knowledge of numerous others known to both parties.

This same type of situation pertains to visits to the town stadium. The stadium is another anonymous environment which is frequented by urbanites of many occupational types. A common interest in the sport being watched ties all spectators together and provides an opportunity to see and be seen by a variety of urbanites.

A further activity in which most urbanites participate occasionally, although it only figures in the top ranking three activities of craftsmen or shopkeepers, is attendance at town religious meetings and lectures. This is closely related to visits for prayers at the central mosque, another activity shared, at least on special occasions, by most urbanites. These are activities in which participation does not follow occupational lines. Urbanites of all occupations pray together, attend religious lectures together, and share an interest in their common religion. Once again these are activities which are anonymous, like shopping and attending events at the stadium. Men come together in a large group in a single hall or field, all participants wear clothes of roughly similar style and type, all participate in the rituals to the same extent and in the same manner. None of the divisions of the work environment are present or relevant. However, the importance of participation in these activities goes beyond the
question of the concrete events involved in the activity. By sharing together in Muslim rituals and concerns, urbanites of all occupations create a sacred community that ties all urbanites together in a single body. Within this body the status distinctions of work no longer have relevance as men act together as religious individuals. The symbolism of these events transcends the divisions and reasserts each man's equal membership in a community of townsmen.

The activities of urbanites in the town at large environment illustrate a variety of contrasts. First there is the extension of occupational specificity and the barriers which this establishes to association in the town. At the same time urbanites engage in activities with kin and friends which emphasize "personal" bonds that transcend these barriers; they participate in anonymous activities in which it is possible to hide or ignore these barriers; and they participate in religious activities in which the central symbolic feature is the creation of a unified community in which these distinctions and the barriers based upon them do not exist.

Participation in the rural environment does not figure into the daily activities of most urbanites. For two of the three occupational types who report any rural activities at all, the percentage of participation is so small as to be almost insignificant. But even these small figures illustrate some pertinent aspects of the situation.
Wage workers spend about 2 percent of their time in the rural area devoting by far the largest amount of this time to visits with relatives. Nearly all urbanites have relatives in rural areas and in the case of the wage worker, he has both the time and the access to transportation to engage in these visits. The other rural activities of wage workers are carried out in rather more generalized situations. They devote time to visiting coffee shops, rural markets, and rural prayer houses. These are all activities in which the wage worker urbanite can have casual interaction with a wide variety of rural people. The importance attached to praying in the local rural prayer house by some urbanite wage workers is indicative of their interest in feeling a part of the rural local group and maintaining ties with a group of rural people, usually through close relatives who participate in the prayer group.

Shopkeepers devote their time in the rural area to visiting relatives, although they may do so as part of their work. The total amount of time devoted to this activity is so small as to make it almost insignificant.

It is not unexpected that the rural migrant devotes a larger part of his time to continued participation in the rural environment. Through the activities of visiting relatives, engaging in rural sports, and visiting friends' houses, the migrant maintains ties with
a wide range of rural persons. As described in the analysis of Case Seven, these ties provide an assurance to the migrant that should his urban situation become untenable he could return to the rural environment.

Summary

All urbanites have an equal amount of time at their disposal to allocate, through their daily decisions, to a number of activities. In order to form associations with others in the town and beyond, decisions must be made to allocate time to activities in which the formation and maintenance of these associations can take place. To understand the patterns of association found in the town, it is necessary to understand the significance of valuations exhibited through the allocation of time.

Urbanites allocate their time to a variety of activities, each of which takes place in one of five environments. All urbanites devote at least some of their time to each of four of these environments and the percentage of time devoted to each environment by different types of urbanites is roughly similar. The significant differences between types of urbanites appear when the specific activities undertaken by the urbanites in each of these environments are examined. It is the work environment in which the greatest variation is observed. Each occupational type of urbanite pursues a nearly unique set of activities
in this environment. These activities tend to involve persons of a similar occupation in similar activities specific to that occupation and distinct from the activities of persons in other occupations. For example, wage workers engage in work activities with other wage workers, and craftsmen visit other craftsmen as part of their work. This sharing of similar activities also tends to cut members of one occupational category off from members of others. They have neither the time nor the interest for activities pursued by members of other occupational groups. Persons who frequently associate together in similar activities tend to share similar concerns and interests which are not shared by urbanites of other occupations.

This same type of specificity of activity by occupation influences urbanites' activities in the town at large environment as well. While occupation is still important, there is a greater degree of participation in activities of similar types by persons of diverse occupation. This duplication is, however, found only in activities which either serve to hide occupational differences or which are participated in by persons who are linked together by ties which transcend these differences. Thus, wage workers spend time visiting offices on their own business, or visiting other wage workers, while craftsmen visit supply shops, and marketeers visit coffee shops, or other marketeers, all activities specific to their
occupation. Men of nearly all occupations visit relatives, shop at the market, attend religious lectures and prayers, or travel around the town. Religious activities bring urbanites together into a special type of unified religious community. The other activities occur in situations of anonymity in which social association is not required, or they are situations in which strong affective ties (i.e., kinship) serve to transcend the differences of occupation.

The forces of occupation and stratification tend to cast men into activities specific to their work. These forces are counteracted by the forces of activities in the home and local residential cluster environments. In these environments urbanites participate in largely the same activities without regard to occupational differences. In many cases they participate in these activities together. As people of a variety of occupational classifications live in all urban residential clusters, the similarity of activities in these environments brings urbanites together regardless of their occupation.

Participation in a particular activity as determined by the allocation of time to that activity is a necessary but not a sufficient requirement for forming a particular association. In the following section I shall examine the actual associations that are established and maintained by urbanites in activities during ordinary time.
Association in ordinary time

During ordinary time interaction with associates of either kinsman or social circle types can be of one of two styles. Either an associate is met individually on a one-to-one basis or he is met as a member of an associate cluster, a number of associates of similar type met at the same time as they participate in a single common activity or environment. In the case of individual meetings a certain degree of formality structures the encounter. In most such cases names, occupations, and statuses are known. Interaction between associates in these cases is usually undertaken for a specific purpose concerned directly with the particular associates involved; e.g., a workmate is met at his home, the initiator of the interaction having gone there for that purpose. On the other hand, interaction in the context of associate clusters is usually less formal. A man may meet a number of his friends in a coffee shop or a number of his neighbours at the prayer house. The association will occur as the result of co-participation in a particular activity. Association of the cluster style is no less important, however, as it is in such situations that a number of associates can be met informally and new associations initiated. Established urbanites, rather than those in marginal employment or the unemployed, have more occasions in which they participate in interaction in associate

3 See Chapter VIII for a description of these categories.
clusters. The high incidence of this type of participation by established urbanites suggests the degree to which these men are accepted as members of various types of associate (see Table IV). For example, although a migrant establishes many single associations, he may not participate in the associate cluster of neighbours who attend the prayer house together until he has established himself in a residential cluster.

**TABLE IV**

**INSTANCES OF PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATE CLUSTERS BY OCCUPATIONAL TYPE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Average Instances in a Period of One Week of Meeting Associates in Associate Clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage earners</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketeers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginals</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some types of urbanites have more occasions in which they interact in associate clusters than do other types. Once again the variation follows occupational lines. Craftsmen and shopkeepers have the highest frequency of such association and most commonly the associates involved are
neighbours. The importance of developing association with neighbours is great for men in both of these occupations: the craftsman who usually works at home and often draws labour from among close neighbours, and the shopkeeper who often depends upon neighbours as customers. Through extensive participation in associate clusters of this type, men of these occupations can demonstrate that they value association with local people beyond the merely instrumental relations of their occupation.

For men of all occupational types, except marginals and the unemployed, neighbours form an important type of associate met in associate clusters (see Table V). Only among the category of wage earners does association in associate clusters with neighbours rank less than second in importance. This is explained by the importance of the wage earner's job situation which is rarely located proximately and which most commonly brings him into contact with associate clusters of workmates in such activities as coffee breaks.

A second type of associate which is commonly met in associate clusters by urbanites is of the category "friends." Meetings of this type appear to be confined to persons who are well-established urbanites. Whereas newcomers have associations with friends on a one-to-one basis, usually meeting at home or in casual travel around the town, the established urbanite has built up associations
of long standing with persons of this category who often meet together, in a coffee shop, in the market, or at the mosque. The only type of established urbanite not reporting associations with clusters of this type is the marketer who most often meets customers under these circumstances and, in fact, has very few meetings with friends in any event.

TABLE V

THREE HIGHEST RANKING ASSOCIATE TYPES MET IN ASSOCIATE CLUSTERS BY OCCUPATIONAL TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wage earner</th>
<th>Craftsman</th>
<th>Shopkeeper</th>
<th>Marketeers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. workmate</td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td>customers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.38</td>
<td>63.16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. friend</td>
<td>acquaintance</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>neighbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.23</td>
<td>31.58</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. neighbour</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>workmate</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Associates met on an individual basis show a rather similar pattern. Once again there is little difference according to occupation. Only shopkeepers mention associations with suppliers and as described in the case studies these associations are very limited in content, usually concerned directly with the commercial transaction. The fact that many of these suppliers are non-Malays also limits the intensity of these associations.
Otherwise most types of urbanites display a roughly similar pattern of associates with whom they interact during ordinary time (see Table VI). Nearly 50 percent of the wage earner's associates are drawn from the category of friends. The relative mobility of these high status urbanites, as well as sufficient free time, make it possible to establish and maintain these associations. There is a reciprocal quality to this type of association for the wage earner. On the one hand, in order to obtain a high status job it is helpful to have many friends located throughout the town and working in many occupations. Once the position has been established it can be enhanced by maintaining and expanding one's wide and diverse circle of friends. On the other hand, a man who is working in a high status wage job will have many associations of "friendship" pressed upon him by persons who hope to receive some benefit from these relationships. Of second ranking importance for the wage earners are associates of the category "relatives" who are not also neighbours. Nearly all types of urbanites associate to some degree with relatives and the high status wage earner is no exception. That these kinsmen associates are not also neighbours is indicative, on the one hand, of the great degree of mobility exhibited by wage earners in their choice of residence locale, and on the other hand of their greater mobility in the town at large, making visits to
### TABLE VI

**HIGHEST RANKING TYPES OF ASSOCIATE CONTACTS DURING ORDINARY TIME BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Percent of Total Associate Contacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage earners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. friend</td>
<td>49.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. non-neighbour relative</td>
<td>29.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. workmates</td>
<td>13.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. neighbour-relatives</td>
<td>51.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. workmates</td>
<td>21.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. friends</td>
<td>12.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. neighbour-relatives</td>
<td>26.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. non-neighbour relative neighbour</td>
<td>23.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. suppliers</td>
<td>16.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketeers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. friends</td>
<td>39.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. workmates</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. non-neighbour relative</td>
<td>14.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. friend</td>
<td>46.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. neighbour</td>
<td>25.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. workmate</td>
<td>20.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. friend</td>
<td>91.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. neighbour-relatives</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
widely separate relatives a matter of little difficulty. For wage earners the associate type of third ranking importance is workmates, reiterating once again the importance of the occupational setting as a context in which a significant number of associations are established.

The wage earner is the only occupational type not ranking "neighbours" among the top three associate types met during ordinary time. This is explained by several factors. When listing associates informants often ignored many of those with whom they had only brief or informal contacts during any particular period. Observational evidence suggests that many contacts between wage earners and their neighbours, particularly in instances where these neighbours are of lower social status, are often of a very casual and fleeting variety. A second factor accounting for the absence of neighbour associations among wage earners is related to the limits on their available time. Because a wage earner's associates are numerous and often spatially diverse, he must devote time to many activities in order to keep in touch with them. Wage earners often concentrate their validation of neighbour relations in special time events in which they can symbolize their interest in these relations without

4 As a result of this data limitation, negative evidence must be accepted with caution.
detracting from other associations. This will be discussed further in the analysis of special time.

In the pattern of associate contacts for craftsmen, neighbour-relatives account for over one-half of the total. The co-occurrence of kinship and spatial relationship in these associations indicates that most craftsmen are established life-long residents of residential clusters surrounded by their kinsmen. The second ranking type of associate contact is that with workmates. As with wage earners this suggests once again a degree of homogeneity in the pattern of association along occupational lines. Ranking third and accounting for 12 percent of the craftsman's associate contacts are friends. Contacts with associates of this type tend to tie the craftsman to urbanites in other parts of the town, although these friends do not work together with the craftsman many of these friends are also craftsmen.

Shopkeepers have the largest percentage of their associate contacts with neighbour-relatives (27 percent), although this percentage is much smaller than the percentage of the first ranking category for craftsmen. Ranking second are contacts with two types of associates: relatives and non-neighbour relatives. Each of these types accounts for about 23 percent of the total. Examining this finding together with that of the first ranking type, it is difficult to determine whether it is the factor of
proximity or kinship relation which is of greater importance. The ambiguity of the findings suggests that in the case of shopkeepers they are of roughly equal importance. Suppliers account for about 16 percent of the total associate contacts. The significance of this has been discussed above.

The marketeer's pattern of associate contacts is similar in many ways to that of the wage earner. About 40 percent of their associate contacts are with persons categorized as friends and nearly all of these associates are engaged in similar marketing occupations. These associates of similar occupation may, however, live in diverse areas throughout the town and countryside. Persons categorized as workmates account for about 30 percent of the marketeers' associate contacts. These workmates are usually other marketeers who work in the business or an independent contractor basis (see Case Six). While these men share a similar occupation they reside in diverse residential areas and are not necessarily related by kinship. For marketeers, association beyond the confines of the occupational category is provided by association with non-neighbour relatives (about 15 percent of the total). While this represents a fairly small percentage of the total associate contacts encountered in ordinary time, it is a very important type of association for these marketeers as this brings them into contact with
persons of other occupations and persons who live in other parts of the town. The bonds of kinship make relaxed and cordial association possible. For marketeers, the lack of numerous associates of the neighbour category, less than 8 percent of the total, is more difficult to explain. Like the wage earner, many contacts with neighbours are, for marketeers, only fleeting and often not recorded. Furthermore, many of the neighbours who visit the marketeer's house do so to enquire about the availability of various goods and prices. These persons are categorized as customers. The hours of work of many marketeers often make it difficult to contact associations of the neighbour category. While men of this occupation spend roughly the same percentage of time at home and in the local areas as do other urbanites, this time is often spent on an irregular basis. There are characteristic times of day when neighbours of other occupational types interact. For example, much interaction takes place just before evening prayers, in the early morning after morning prayers, on Friday before leaving for the mosque, or immediately upon returning. The marketeer is often either at the market, working elsewhere, or sleeping during these periods.

Associate contact patterns of men in marginal employment are roughly similar to other urbanites, although marginals have relatively few contacts with relatives. About one-half of their associates during ordinary time
are of the category "friends." As we have seen in the previous chapter, some of these friends are located in the rural areas where they serve as a link between the marginal's urban environment and his rural environment. In cases in which these friends are urbanites, they often participate in an occupation similar to that of the marginal. Unlike men of other occupations, persons in marginal employment do not meet friends in associate clusters. Meetings with these friends are usually on a one-to-one basis and occur at home, on the streets, or occasionally at a coffee shop. Associations that are developed with friends represent a means of building a wide network of associates in various parts of the town and are a significant means of becoming socially acquainted with the urban scene. The category of associates which ranks second is neighbours. For marginal men, neighbours are often met at the local coffee shop in the residential area. The locale of these meetings means that most of the neighbours which the marginal meets are men who, like himself, are newcomers to the local residential area. Many of these men share similar occupational status. Occasionally more established members of the local residential area do stop at these shops and when they do they associate with whoever happens to be there. These meetings provide the marginal with an opportunity to meet these established urbanites in an informal setting and often he
can exchange information, seek assistance, and commence building an association with these persons. The more common meetings at the coffee shop with men of similar occupation serve as another means for building casual associations with these persons. The third ranking type of associate contacts for persons of marginal employment is "workmate." As is true with other occupational types, these workmates share similar interests, problems, and experiences and when they meet they can exchange information about these common problems. The fact that the newcomer finds many persons who have solved similar problems as those he faces means that associations with persons of similar occupation are very valuable to the marginally employed.

Associate contacts for urbanites who are unemployed are largely with persons of the category of "friends." These associates who are geographically spread throughout the town and engaged in a variety of occupations can provide the unemployed with information about possible jobs and business deals. By visiting these friends at their homes and particularly at their place of work, the unemployed comes into contact with many urbanites of diverse occupations. It also keeps him in touch with the current conditions in the town at large. The unemployed does not associate with a wide variety of type of associates; the only other category of associates
of significance is neighbours—and this accounts for only 8 percent of his total association.

Summary

Neighbours, relatives, and friends are the categories of associates which appear most frequently in the rankings of associate contacts (see Table VII). While friends form a well defined category, neighbours and relatives are not mutually exclusive and are less sharply defined. Many urban Malays live in residential clusters surrounded by numerous relatives of various types. In such situations many of their associates are both neighbours and relatives. In some situations they participate as members of one category while in other situations they do so as members of the other category. The importance of these associations based on kinship and space is even more accentuated when it is recalled that urbanites of all occupations spend a great deal of their time at home and in the local residential cluster. In this time, in addition to the formally recognized associations reported by informants, there are also numerous other less formal interactions with persons of the category neighbour that are not mentioned.

That workmates appear in the top three rankings of the six occupational types emphasizes the importance of the work context to the Malay urbanite. However, most
of the associations with workmates are carried out in the work context and only rarely does it extend beyond these boundaries.

TABLE VII

SUMMARY OF CATEGORIES OF ASSOCIATES CHOSEN BY URBAN MALAYS DURING ORDINARY TIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Associate*</th>
<th>Number of Occupational Types for which this Category of Associate Appears in the Top Three Rankings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour-relatives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-neighbour relatives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppliers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours (total)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relative neighbours</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmates</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Totals indicated for each category of associate are not mutually exclusive as in several cases line totals represent the same classes of associate grouped in different ways.

These findings indicate that Malay urbanites associate during ordinary time with a relatively small number of associate types. Men of various occupations exhibit slight differences but there are also some major similarities. The choice of a particular associate is influenced by a number of variables, some of which are specific to the
individual and others which are influenced by the constraints of the situation in which the association takes place. However, each type of association described above serves a specific function when viewed at the macrosociological level. In an analytic framework these functions indicate the importance of particular types of association. Association with friends serves to tie together urbanites who are non-kinship related presently living in diverse areas of the town and countryside. Often these ties of friendship have been made as a result of some common experience in an earlier period such as school attendance, or common service in the army, but in many cases the reason for initially establishing the association has lapsed. Friends are frequently of the same occupation, although in situations where they are currently employed together the term "workmate" is most often applied to the association. Association with workmates is a rather limited matter and it is often confined solely to interaction during the working period. Still, association as workmates does bring together urbanites who are neither kinsmen nor friends and who may come from diverse parts of the town. The common experience of working together does generate a common bond.

Association with relatives, which appears in the rankings of all types of urbanites, serves several important functions. Association with relatives brings
together persons of diverse occupation and of diverse residential areas. The definition of the association as one between relatives means that a warm and confident interaction is possible between persons of diverse status. An urbanite does not establish associations with all persons whom he considers to be kinsmen but with those relatives with whom he does establish a relationship it can be very significant. The function of association with persons who are considered to be neighbours is much the same as that with relatives, the category which is most often linked with neighbour. An association between neighbours serves to bring persons who are of diverse occupation and status (and who are often not related) into a warm, intimate, and cordial relationship. Despite their diverse occupations and dissimilar status in the town environment, persons who associate as neighbours do so as a result of their participation in solving similar local problems and their daily co-participation in the daily round of activities.
CHAPTER XI

ASSOCIATION IN SPECIAL TIME

The preceding two chapters have described the patterns of urbanite choice of associates in ordinary time. In this chapter I shall investigate association in the course of several special time events. In special time—as in some ordinary time activities—the nature of the event places constraints on the choice of participants. These constraints arise from the shared understandings about the event and they provide the definition of the event's activities. In the analysis of the case studies in Chapter IX we have seen that individual actors, recognizing the symbolic value of these events, may use them to express their valuations of specific associate types. Special time activities can be used by the actor in a variety of ways depending upon his circumstances. In this chapter the focus is on the events themselves and on what they tell us about the importance of specific associate types and the nature of urban association in general.

An urban bersanding

The bersanding ceremony (public declaration of
marriage) provides the urban Malay host with an opportunity to symbolize and acknowledge the complete body of persons whom he considers to be associates, both recognized kinsmen and those of his social circle.

The host of the ceremony to be described here, Mat, was born in Kampong Biru, the urban residential area where he now lives. He is married to his first cousin who is also a native of the same area. Mat is considered to be an established family man with nine children (two Da and seven So) and he holds a wage earning job as general office assistant at a Chinese bank. It was his oldest daughter who was to be married.

Mat lives in his own house on land that is registered in the name of his deceased father. He considers that he owns one of a total of four parts of the lot in combination with his sister and his father's two brothers. His sister also lives on the land, one of his father's brothers in a nearby lot, and the other in an adjacent residential cluster.

Mat was educated at a Malay school in an adjacent cluster, a school that many local children of his generation attended, and later served as a civilian employee of the British Army in Singapore. He is active in many local cluster affairs, but does not attend the prayer house on a regular basis. He has served as area representative to the local level organization of the national Malay
political party (UMNO) and he has been instrumental in organizing a football club for local youth, supervising their training and arranging matches with teams from other parts of the town. Because of his interest in this, he has become one of several advisers to the local youth club, an outgrowth of this football team. At the time of this bersanding Mat devoted most of his "free" time to the football club.

Mat's daughter was marrying a man who is a relative of another local man whom Mat considers a distant relation. Mat thinks of the groom as being of the category wharis. The groom lives in an adjacent residential cluster. Previously he was employed as a teacher but he has since gone into business.

Preparations for this event went on for some time in advance of the appointed date. A few weeks before the event Mat and his wife, with the assistance of their children, drew up a list of those people to be invited by card. This list contained a total of 194 names. The names were listed under the following categories: persons working at the hospital; persons working at the bank; persons living at Kampong Padang Bunga; persons living at Kampong Langgar; persons living at Kampong Penambang; persons living at Kampong Biru; and persons on the ball team. Cards were sent to each person on this list, inviting them to come and participate in the feast which accompanied the
bersanding. It is not possible to know if all of those invited attended but they did all acknowledge the invitation in some way, usually by a small gift of money.

From an analysis of this list we discover a great deal about the range of Mat's associates (see Table VIII). Kinsmen do not figure greatly in the listing. This is not so much an indicator of the unimportance of this category as it is evidence that persons of this category are not given printed invitations to such a ceremony. In this instance six women kinsmen of Mat and his wife worked at preparing the feast and these women and their families, as well as several other families of relatives living nearby Mat's house and participating in other preparations, did not require printed invitations. Together these persons represented a large percentage of Mat's and his wife's kinsmen (as they are first cousins they share many kinsmen in common). Most of those kinsmen who did receive invitations are residents of distant residential areas who might not have heard of the ceremony through other channels. The four persons living in the same area and classed as keluarga who received printed invitations did so as a result of their high status in respect to Mat. Invitations were sent to them as a courtesy in acknowledgement of this high status.
TABLE VIII

INVITATIONS TO AN URBAN BERSANDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Keluarga*  | of wife  
by present area of residence | 6 |
|               | of Mat    
by present area of residence-not Kampong Biru 
also specified as first cousin 
also termed neighbour (he used to live in Kampong Biru) | 17 |
|               | by present place of residence- 
Kampong Biru 
also specified as first cousin | 2 |
|               | by present place of work | 1 |
| 2. Wharis*    | by present area of residence | 1 |
|               | Total Kinsmen | 31 |
| 3. Acquaintances | present resident of Kampong Biru | 1 |
|               | works for town board, used to visit Kampong Biru | 1 |
|               | politician representing Kampong Biru 
also termed friend, lives in Kampong Biru | 1 |
|               | New Acquaintances  
a new co-worker from the bank | 1 |
|               | Total Acquaintances | 5 |
### TABLE VIII—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met during army work--identified by present place of urban work</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identified by present place of residence</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met at school as children--identified by current place of residence</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met at school--Mat's teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met when a child--identified by present work place</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met in Kampong Biru when a child--now living there</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met elsewhere when a child--identified by current place of residence</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met in Kampong Biru when a child--identified by current place of residence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met in Kampong Biru,</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--since they married there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--since he came there recently</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--when Mat was a child but he is younger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--friend of a friend staying in Kampong Biru</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>football friends--identified by work place</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total friends</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Workmates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from the bank</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met at work, now working elsewhere</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total work mates</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VIII—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Neighbour</td>
<td>met in Kampong Biru</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met in Kampont Biru, now living elsewhere</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Neighbours</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Football Team from Kampong Biru</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of guest</th>
<th>No. of Invitations</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinsmen</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintances</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>87 (53 also local)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmates</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football team</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mat used these terms in describing the guests and thus they have been retained here. He took the view that persons classed as keluarga were near kinsmen while those classed as wharis were distant, a type three description (see Chapter VIII).*
As might be expected, acquaintances do not figure significantly in the invitations. Many such people are not known by name and if they were at all significant to Mat he would probably attempt to assimilate them to the friend category. Those people whom Mat classes in this category are persons with whom he has a type of instrumental relationship: one a member of the town board who used to come to the area frequently on business, and another, the elected politician who represents the area in the state legislature. Mat knows this man through his political activities and as this man is not a Malay he does not figure in more intimate categories. A guest who is just beginning to join Mat's social circle, a new acquaintance, is a man with whom he works at the bank but because this man has just recently taken this post Mat has not yet been able to assimilate him to any more intimate category.

Statistically it is the friends category which is of greatest significance in Mat's association pattern. For Mat the most important context in which friends are met and made is the local residential area and the time of his life cycle when he made most of these associations was during childhood. Some of these friends have now moved away from Mat's area and as they are now living in other areas of the town they are identified by their current residential area, although in fact they are located nearby.
Another context in which associations with persons classed as friends were established was school. From this experience he added a teacher and a number of friends who are identified by their current place of residence, indicating that he has kept sufficient track of these persons to know where they are presently living. Thirteen of Mat's friends were first met when they served together in the British Army in Singapore. This is a common context for making friends as many men served in this capacity and when they were away from Kota Bharu they sought out the company of other men from the town. Friendships made there were maintained once they returned home. The majority of these friends are identified by their place of work. There may be several explanations for this. One, Mat first met these men in the context of work and outside of the context of their homes; thus he maintains this classification. Also important, as described in Chapter VI, is the common practice of identifying all urbanites by their place of work.

A further category illustrates another aspect of the relationship between friendship and work. Sixteen persons are identified as current workmates (some are non-Malays); however, only one person is in the category of ex-workmates, although the old army friends could be so classed. This suggests, as has been observed in previous data, that although workmates are considered members
of the social circle they do not easily transfer to other categories. Work is not a context in which, for example, "new friends" are made, unlike school. It also suggests that the persons, whom Mat classifies as friends whom he met in the army, fall into a different class of persons from workmates and that it is this quality that makes them friends.

Very few friends were added to Mat's social circle in the early years of his life from outside of his residential area. Mat has only four such friends and these came from areas adjacent to his and from areas in which he also has kinsmen.

The factor of spatial proximity appears significant in Mat's social circle. More than one-third of his friends are persons he has known in his local residential area since childhood. There is also a substantial number that Mat mentions as friends whom he has known since they married women of the local residential area, and settled there. In only one instance did Mat classify as a friend a man who came to the area with his household and established his household. Very few of Mat's friends are renters.

Persons of the category friends tend to be near Mat's age, and for this reason Mat feels that he can interact with them freely. Of the thirty-nine local friends for whom data is available, thirty-three are of
Mat's age set or younger, persons to whom he would not have to show the deference due to those persons significantly older than himself. It is also possible that some of those persons described as neighbours would, in fact, be classed as friends if they were not substantially older than Mat.

The category of local friend is further elucidated by an examination of the neighbour category, the major contrastive grouping. Mat ranks thirty of his guests as belonging to this category. Most of these live in houses closely clustered around Mat's house but this does not appear to be the sole operative factor. There are several persons classed as neighbours who live at substantial distances from his house. The apparent factor is that these people are strongly tied to the local community, they are all members of land-holding families and they do not fit Mat's idea of what a friend should be: this may be because of their relative age, sex, or perhaps solely because Mat does not want to interact with them in the manner one should with friends. However, because of their spatial proximity, defined very loosely as membership in the local residential area, they must be included in his social circle.

An example illustrates the complexity of this situation. Some distance from Mat's house there is a household in which the head and land owner is an older woman with whom reside her two married daughters, their
husbands, and various children and grandchildren. Mat considers this woman to be a neighbour while he considers the husband of one of the daughters, a man from another area, to be a friend. He does not own local land but he is of Mat's age category.

These data suggest that the category of neighbour is defined by landownership and proximity, as well as being a residual category for persons with whom there is some social interaction and some claim to proximity. The friend category, used on the local basis, is reserved for those persons with whom appropriate interaction takes place to justify and sustain the relationship and who do not live near enough to be classed as neighbours.

This analysis of Mat's invitational pattern gives greater insight into his choice patterns and suggests the manner in which a number of types of associate are acquired. The analysis of this material further collaborates a number of the patterns discovered in the analysis of ordinary time activities. Associates classed as friends account for the highest percentage of total invited guests. Friendship is an association developed over an extended period of interaction, such as at school or in the army, and it is reserved for those persons who are seen frequently and who are connected with persons with whom other relations exist, such as husbands of local women. The work context provides a place for associating with friends but the bonds
established in the course of work activities appear not to have much endurance outside the work situation and those who are workmates are not easily assimilated to other categories of association. Neighbours are classified largely on spatial criteria with landownership of adjacent parcels of land in the local area a very significant factor, although such factors as relative age and the degree and nature of interaction are also taken into account.

Weddings are probably not a good context in which to investigate the valuations placed on various types of kinsmen because the general definition of the event requires that all relatives who are able to attend do so. Other special time events give greater insight into the valuation of relatives.

One final caution must be mentioned. Mat is a local-born resident, as is his wife. The pattern of associates revealed by a migrant might be substantially different than that described here. I have no examples of a bersanding given by a migrant, although one was being planned as I was leaving the research area. It is my impression that in cases where the husband is a migrant and has maintained his ties to the rural area, he would choose to have the ceremony located in the rural setting at the home of a close relative, although I have no concrete examples to support this.

It was mentioned previously that these bersanding
ceremonies are occurring less frequently; also, a man without daughters or without a daughter of the appropriate age does not have an opportunity to symbolize his social circle in this manner. There are, however, many other types of ceremony which can be used for this purpose and informants state that it is becoming more frequent to see large feasts of other types to which the total range of associates is invited.

In the following section I shall discuss a number of occasions connected with the Muslim festive season and describe how individuals use these special time situations to symbolize various valued associations.

Association during the Islamic calendric festivals of Hari Raya Puasa and Hari Raya Haji: family, neighbourhood, and status

The activities of individual urbanites during the festive season was mentioned in the course of analysing the case studies in Chapter IX. However, such case studies only provide data for a very few individuals and they tend to obscure the regularities exhibited in these events. In the following discussion I shall examine a statistical summary of the associate choices of a selected sample of urbanites from the three research areas. This sample was selected to include persons of a variety of occupational types.
The holiday period of *bulan Ramadan*, Hari Raya Puasa and Hari Raya Haji provide numerous situations in which urbanites select various courses of action and association with various associate types. The system of ideas to which urban Malays refer their action during the festive season has been described in Chapter VII. Before turning to the analysis of the data, I only want to mention a number of the situational constraints imposed on the choice of associates during this holiday season.

During the month of *Ramadan* the only common form of celebration is the feast to break the fast (*makan buka puasa*). This event can occur only once per day in any one household and even then only during a very limited time period. Attendance frequently represents a choice between conflicting alternatives. Furthermore, it is only possible for a host to invite a limited number of guests as all guests must be served at the same time and the space in the house is limited. Both of these conditions are peculiar to this kind of feast; at most other feasts invitations are given for a range of several hours during which guests arrive at will. Should there be a large number of people arriving at once, it is a simple matter to ask people to wait to eat until space is available. If, however, a host wants to entertain many guests for a feast to break the fast, he must do so on several days at great additional expense and trouble. It is, in fact, extremely unusual to
do this.

On the occasion of the festive holidays the number of visits a man can make in a single day is limited by time considerations as well as the culturally prescribed manner in which a visit is carried through. Once a visit is begun it must continue through various stages. They usually run the following course: sitting away from the food talking with the hosts, taking food and eating, smoking cigarettes or chewing betel nut and talking, and leave-taking. Each of these activities takes a certain minimum amount of time and, of course, can be extended indefinitely. There are a number of other constraints on visiting. These include the distance involved to go to visit friends and relatives, the means of transportation available, and the conditions of weather, particularly for older persons who do not like to go out travelling if it is raining. The requirements of an individual's work schedule constitute a consideration that may be particularly characteristic of the town.

The prayer house—a centre for festive activity

During the fasting month and the holiday season of Hari Raya Puasa and Hari Raya Haji, the prayer house takes on an added importance as a locale for neighbourly interaction. Attendance increases dramatically on these occasions (see Table IX). While regular participants are neighbours, on these special occasions the range of
neighbours is increased to the point that on Hari Raya Puasa and Hari Raya Haji nearly everyone in the neighbourhood cluster focused on the prayer house attends (see Table X). Sometimes, particularly at evening prayers during the fasting month, men bring quantities of special festive foods to the prayer house to share with any of those persons who happen to be attending. Informants explained that this was often done by men who for some reason could not hold a "feast to break the fast." Those informants who brought such food explained that it was a good way to demonstrate their concern about and interest in association with neighbours.

TABLE IX
ATTENDANCE AT AN URBAN PRAYER HOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average nightly attendance during</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-festive months</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average nightly attendance at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious classes during</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-festive months</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular nightly attendance during</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulan Ramadan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance at morning prayers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Hari Raya Puasa</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance at morning prayers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Hari Raya Haji</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE X

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ATTENDERS
AT HAJI RASHID'S PRAYER HOUSE

Regular attenders:

Haji Rashid
Residents of the house next to Haji Rashid (WiFa, WiSiHu)
Residents of the house across from Haji Rashid (WiFaSiHu
and 2 WiFaSiHuSo)

Bulan Ramadan regular attenders:

All of the regular attenders listed above plus:
Other residents of the houses mentioned above (WiFaSiHuSo)
2 of Haji Rashid's brothers living at the edge of the
neighbour cluster
1 neighbour at the edge of the cluster, also a co-worker
with Haji Rashid
2 Haji Rashid's DaHu, also neighbours
6 neighbours
1 kinsman of Haji Rashid (spatial relationship unspecified)

Hari Raya Puasa attenders:

All of the above plus:
Numerous unmarried sons of the listed men
Additional neighbours extending nearly to the limits of
the local cluster
A high status newcomer to the area who is usually
included in the category of neighbour

Hari Raya Haji attenders:

Approximately the same types of persons attended as had
attended on Hari Raya Puasa except that different men
brought their sons

*While the regular attenders are both neighbours and
kinsmen they were all emphatic in describing their co-
participants as neighbours. Other evidence supports the
interpretation that it is the association of neighbours that
is important here. The owner of the prayer house has other
kinsmen who are more closely related to him than those who
regularly attend. While these close relatives live nearby
they live outside of the neighbour cluster and thus they do
not attend. Furthermore, there is corroborative evidence
from partial data of other prayer houses where neighbours
are not so closely related that it is in fact neighbours
who attend.
The feast to break the fast
(makan buka puasa)—a
feast of neighbours

Unlike events at the prayer house which anyone can attend at his own volition, in a feast to break the fast attendance is not possible without a written or verbal invitation. This type of event provides an opportunity for the host to make a public statement indicating those persons whom he considers to be his neighbours. Those persons who attend together can readily see who their co-neighbours are as defined by the host. We saw in Case Two, Chapter XI where Khalid used this type of feast to symbolize his interest in and concern with developing and maintaining ties of neighbourhood with his guests. The analyses of the guest lists (Table XI) and the number of invitations received (Table XII) by a sample of urbanites bear out the significance of neighbour association in this type of event. In Table XI we see that the vast majority of guests at the ten recorded feasts were associates of the neighbour category, either kinsmen or non-kinsmen. Furthermore, Table XII indicates that the vast majority of invitations received by urbanites in the sample came from persons of the neighbour or neighbour-kinsman category. While we are presented with the same problem of determining whether it is the factor of neighbour or kinsman that is operative again we have informants' statements to the effect that the guests are invited as neighbours. Clearly
### TABLE XI

**NUMBER OF GUESTS, BY TYPE, ATTENDING FEAST TO BREAK
THE FAST IN FOUR URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kampong Che Su</th>
<th>Kampong Sungei Keladi</th>
<th>Kampong Puteh</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of feasts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of hosts giving feasts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Types of persons attending**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Kampong Che Su</th>
<th>Kampong Sungei Keladi</th>
<th>Kampong Puteh</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour-kinsman</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-neighbour kinsman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20**</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This feast was given at the prayer house. There was no host and numerous persons cooperated in the preparations.

**This total is higher than usual as it includes a number of guests (6) of this type whom a host invited to witness his daughter's marriage (Nikkah). These guests remained and participated with the host's neighbours in the feast to break the fast. The informant stated that he would not have invited them otherwise.
TABLE XII
NUMBER OF INVITATIONS RECEIVED, BY TYPE OF ASSOCIATE INVITING, FOR A SAMPLE OF URBAN RESIDENTS IN FOUR URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons in Sample Receiving Invitations from that Type Associate by Area</th>
<th>N = 34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Che Su</td>
<td>Kampong Sungei Keladi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of persons in sample attending feasts</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Types of persons inviting</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour-kinsman</td>
<td>3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-neighbour kinsman</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer house local</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer house other</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmate</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other**</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This category includes invitations from non-associates. Some of these non-associate invitations are of a ceremonially nature such as those from the state Chief Minister or the Sultan.

**Each of these feasts was held by the host at the home of a kinsman outside of the host’s residential area. Still a few persons who were neighbour-kinsmen of the host were invited. This explains how it is possible to have invitations from neighbours in Kampong Che Su while no feasts were held in this area (see Table XI).*
workmates, friends, and other associate types are not important in these events.

In both tables several differences between the four residential areas surveyed can be seen. In Kampong Puteh there are many newcomers who wish to indicate their interest in local association and in this area a large number of individuals in the sample gave feasts. Also in Kampong Puteh more persons in the selected sample received invitations from neighbours than did persons in other areas. Conversely, in Kampong Che Su where residents state that there is no solidarity of neighbours, no feasts of this type were given. Where invitations were received by Kampong Che Su residents from associates of the kinsmen-neighbour category, they were asked to attend feasts which were held at the homes of the hosts' relatives outside of the local residential area.

The attention given to asserting ties of neighbourhood in the feast to break the fast is complemented in the pattern of visiting during the celebration of Hari Raya Puasa.

Hari Raya Puasa visiting--a celebration of kinsmen

During Hari Raya Puasa, the three days of celebration following the fasting month, Malay urbanites renew and reinforce associations by making visits to the homes of a variety of valued associates and by receiving such
visits at their own homes.

Hari Raya Puasa visiting is an important event for Malay urbanites and one which is carefully managed and controlled. This is a complicated undertaking for most household heads, due to the conflicting needs of being at home to receive guests and of leaving home to make visits. Often men and their wives make brief visits to associates' homes while leaving children, or other adults of the household, at home to receive guests and to summon the householder home if guests arrive while they are away. Visiting usually begins immediately after the special morning prayer said on the first day of the holiday at prayer houses and mosques. Often, upon returning from this prayer, groups of men stop together at the house of one of their number for a visit before proceeding home. This is often a period for visiting with many persons of the neighbour category. Soon after this relatives and friends begin to arrive and the round of visiting continues.

The activities of visiting are not evenly distributed over the three days of the holiday, however. The first day is used by nearly all urbanites for visiting; on the second day some people begin to engage in non-visiting activities, while on the third day the majority are engaged in non-visiting activities (see Table XIII).
TABLE XIII
DAILY DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES DURING HARI RAYA PUASA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Day 1</th>
<th>Day 2</th>
<th>Day 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the sample of informants questioned the average number of contacts with associates during the course of the holiday was thirteen. Urbanites received roughly twice as many visits from associates as they made to associates (see Table XIV).

TABLE XIV
HARI RAYA PUASA VISITATIONS BY LOCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons Visited by Location</th>
<th>Persons Visiting by Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total informants reporting: 33
Average persons visited per informant: 4.42
Average persons visiting per informant: 8.64

*It was not possible to determine the location of all associates in the visiting category.
These visits involved interaction with many different types of associates. Nearly all informants had at least one contact with a kinsman, 61 percent reported interaction with friends, 58 percent reported interaction with neighbours, and only 28 percent reported interaction with work related associates (see Table XV).

TABLE XV

PERCENTAGE OF INFORMANTS HAVING CONTACT WITH ASSOCIATES BY TYPE OF ASSOCIATE FOR A SELECTED SAMPLE OF INFORMANTS (n=33)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>No. of Informants Reporting</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kinsmen</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Work related associates</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When measured in terms of the total amount of interaction by informants during the holiday period, a similar pattern emerges. The distribution of interaction between different associate types is indicated in Table XVI. The importance of interaction with kinsmen is further indicated in this table where it can be seen that although high percentages of informants have some contacts with friends and neighbours, the vast majority of total contacts during the holiday are with kinsmen while the percentages of interaction
with associates of other types is comparatively small.

TABLE XVI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CONTACTS MADE DURING THE FESTIVE SEASON BY TYPE OF ASSOCIATE AND TYPE OF VISIT—IN SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associates Visiting Ego</th>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>Associates Visited</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Kinsmen</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Workplace Associates</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to understand the importance of this holiday as an occasion for symbolizing and reinforcing associations with kinsmen, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the exact types of kinsmen which were mentioned by informants. Data related to these interactions with kinsmen are summarized in Table XVII. The kin type which accounted for the greatest percentage of total interaction—21 percent—was siblings (L),¹ and slightly more than 70 percent of

¹These letters refer to columns in the table being discussed.
### TABLE XVII

**VISITING PATTERNS WITH KINSMEN DURING HARI RAYA PUASA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of contacts</th>
<th>% of total contacts</th>
<th>% of contacts reporting</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>% of total persons</th>
<th>Total contacts</th>
<th>% of total contacts reporting</th>
<th>% of total persons reporting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>15.44</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>51.51</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>24.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.23</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48.42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.98</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>62.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>19.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.07</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.07</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.77</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>19.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Associate Type</th>
<th>No. of contacts</th>
<th>% of total contacts</th>
<th>% of contacts reporting</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>% of total persons</th>
<th>Total contacts</th>
<th>% of total contacts reporting</th>
<th>% of total persons reporting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39.39</td>
<td>24.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cousin/child of cousin</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sibling's child</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parent's sibling</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>62.54</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Co/Da-in-law</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Parent's sibling</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Co-parent-in-law</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Grandparent's sibling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Keluarga*</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.07</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wharis*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>19.35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS**

- **Total visiting contacts all associate types**: 285
- **Total visited contacts all associate types**: 146
- **Total contacts all associate types**: 431
- **Total informants**: 33

*The use of these terms is described in the text.*
informants mentioned at least one interaction with kinsmen of this type (N). In 75 percent of the reported cases these interactions involved visits by siblings to the informant (C) and on the average informants reported 2.5 such interactions during the course of the holiday (O). This figure is very near the respective figure for all of the high ranking associate types. The affective tie between siblings in the Malay community is a very strong one. In most cases siblings have grown up together in the same household and from this experience a warm, confident relationship develops. In later years the relationship between siblings is often reinforced by their cooperation as joint owners of land parcels inherited from parents. In some cases the relationship is further developed when siblings establish their households on the same or nearby parcels of land. The importance of this relationship is reflected in holiday visiting patterns.

There is a wide disparity between the 75 percent (C) of siblings visiting informants and the 24 percent (H) of siblings visited which may be attributable to the wide variation in the number of siblings for each informant. Roughly the same percentage of persons mentioned visits from siblings (51 percent) (E) as mentioned visits to siblings (40 percent) (J) suggesting that this is a relationship of roughly equal balance and reflecting some of the reciprocity inherent in this relationship.
The second ranking type of associate involved in informants' interaction patterns during the Hari Raya holiday period is that of kinsmen classed as cousins and children of cousins. This category accounts for nearly 18 percent of the total interactions with relatives. There were 58 percent of all informants who reported at least one interaction with an associate of this type. The relationship between cousins, while not as intense as that between siblings and not based on co-residence, has many of the same characteristics. Cousins are usually of the same age category which contributes to a warm and relaxed relationship. As a result of inheritance patterns, cousins often share joint interests in single or adjacent land parcels which they have received from their related parents. This joint interest in contiguous land brings their interests together. In some cases this inheritance situation provides the basis for the development of a housing cluster comprised of persons who are related as cousins. Their relationship is further intensified as they participate together in daily activities. Note that in Table X some of the regular prayer house participants who constitute a single housing cluster are also related to one another as cousins. The relationship of cousins is also important in many long established Malay businesses in the town. As with land, because of the traditional inheritance pattern the ownership of a business which has been transferred through two
generations is now owned and often operated by persons who are related as cousins. All of these situations align the interests of cousins and make this an important relationship for urbanites. A further reason for the importance of maintaining close relations with members of this category is that in traditional Malay ideology the category of cousin was particularly favoured for marriage partners and it remains an element of some significance.

Roughly twice as many cousins visited informants as were visited by informants. This is contrary to the expectation that, in a relationship based on equal status and balanced affective relations, the number of visits would equal the number of visits received. The disparity in these figures may be explained, however, by the inclusion of cousins in the last category. Children of cousins who make visits with their parents would be included in the reports of the visitors received by a host. However, a visitor would likely not report a visit to the children of the host should they happen to be around the house at the time of his visit. Because children of cousins as a rule visit with their parents they have been included in this category, despite the confusion that this makes in the figures.

The third ranking associate type mentioned by informants as figuring in their Hari Raya interaction is persons who are of the category of sibling's child. This
type accounts for slightly more than 10 percent (L) of the interaction reported by informants during the holiday season. Approximately 30 percent of informants reported at least one such interaction during the three day period (N). As an extension of the sibling tie the relationship between a man and his siblings' children is a strong one even when these siblings' children have reached adulthood; most of the instances reported by informants involved visits from siblings' children of adult age, although some were children visiting with their parents. The relationship existing between these relatives is, however, tempered by the significant difference in age. Siblings' children are one generation younger than the informants and there is a certain amount of deference and respect paid by the younger to the elder. The relationship is warm, relaxed, while at the same time slightly guarded. The importance of relative age is indicated in that 100 percent of the contacts reported with associates of this type involved siblings' children visiting the informant.

This finding indicates an important central feature of the ideology supporting the choice of associates during this holiday season. Most informants acknowledge that Hari Raya Puasa is a time to pay calls on one's elders, particularly those older relatives who have not been seen for some time and who may be housebound. In the course of recording this data I met several informants who provided a kind of
idealized account of the "types" of persons visited, although they refused to give specific data on their visiting patterns. In these cultural accounts of custom, parents, grandparents, and parents' siblings figured prominently and were mentioned as those persons to whom visits were made invariably and early in the holiday.

Further analysis of the visiting patterns reported by informants suggests that relative age is definitely of great importance in the choice of associates during this holiday. The vast majority of cases for which the data were sufficiently specific to make a determination indicated that informants visited older relatives and were visited by younger relatives. No cases were reported in which informants visited at the home of younger relatives (see Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII
RELATIVE AGE OF FAMILY MEMBERS
MET ON HARI RAYA PUASA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative ages among family members visited:</th>
<th>Cases*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ego visiting older relatives</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ego visited by older relatives</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ego visiting younger relatives</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ego visited by younger relatives</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data for this table have been drawn only from those responses in which the age differential is clear. I have eliminated those instances where there is ambiguity, such as responses of the category adik-bradik (siblings where relative age is not specified).
A number of the twelve cases in which an informant was visited by an older relative involved a special situation, in which the informant was visited by parents whose habitual place of residence was outside the town and who came to the town home of their children in order to participate in the activities of the holiday.

While associations with parents are not frequently mentioned by informants, it is important to discuss such visits. In the ideology of the holiday most informants speak about the importance of interacting with parents but in the data from these same informants such visits account for only about 4.9 percent of the total interaction and only about one-quarter of the informants actually mention such interactions. As informants were chosen from established household heads, many of whom were of middle age, it was frequently the case that the informant's parents were no longer living. Visits to parents may be more important in the ideology of the holiday than they are in the actual activities of the period.

In the above I have discussed those types of associates within the general class of kinsmen which were specified by informants as ranking high in their interaction for this holiday. Two additional associate types also figure prominently in the choices mentioned by informants, although they do not have the specificity of the above listed types. These are the categories of keluarga
Informants use these terms to classify those persons whom they consider to be "relatives" but whose exact relationship is not known or whose relationship they do not care to be more specific about. In general usage, associates classed as keluarga are considered to be "closer" kinsmen than those of the class wharis (see Chapter VIII for a more extensive discussion of the content of these categories). Persons considered to be in the category keluarga account for 17 percent (L) of the total interactions of informants during the holiday period. Associates of this category are mentioned at least once by 48 percent of informants. Persons considered to be of the wharis category accounted for 12 percent of the total contacts and are mentioned at least once by 33 percent of the informants. Because of the general character of these categories, it is difficult to describe the relationship involved in these interactions although these findings further confirm the importance of relatives during this holiday period. It appears in some of the instances reported for this category, in other contexts where the interaction involved ordinary time and did not concern the holiday season, that at least some of the persons in this category would be recognized as belonging to other categories of associates. Hari Raya Puasa is a celebration of kinsmen and even associates with somewhat tenuous ties may be accommodated in these residual categories.
While Hari Raya Puasa is clearly a celebration of kinship relations, associates of other categories are involved to a limited degree in some of the visiting activities. Kinsmen account for more than 62 percent of the total interaction with associates during this holiday period but interactions with friends, neighbours, and workplace associates account for nearly 40 percent of the total. Of particular significance, 89 percent (twenty-nine persons) of informants reported at least one interaction with an associate of one of these types (see Table XIX).

Neighbours were the first ranking associate type among non-kinsmen and accounted for 52 percent (L) of the total reported interactions for non-kinsmen. Many of these interactions take place in the period immediately following the special Hari Raya Puasa prayers. Often they involve a group of neighbours who, returning from the prayer house or mosque together, are invited to stop at the home of one of their number for a visit. While these men are visitors to the host's house, the emphasis in the interaction is on a group of neighbours who, in their role as neighbours and in acknowledgement of their situation as social equals in this relationship, symbolize their unity as equals by taking refreshment, often a small meal, together. It is important that this is usually the first visit of the day, so that neighbour relations are acknowledged at the outset of the holiday. The contrast between host and guest is not as
### TABLE XIX
VISITING PATTERNS WITH NON KINSMEN
DURING HARI RAYA PUASA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visiting Ego</th>
<th>Visited by Ego</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Contacts</td>
<td>% of total contacts for non-kinsmen</td>
<td>% of contacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total informants reporting interaction with non-kinsmen associates 29 - 89% of total informants.
clearly demarcated in this type of interaction as it is in others and neighbours who have eaten together at the home of one of their number consider that it is not necessary to pay additional visits to the houses of the persons with whom they made this group visit (such individual visits are occasionally made). Neighbours participating in such an activity consider that their obligations to all participants in this joint visit have been discharged.  

The presence of this group visiting pattern helps to explain some of the imbalance in the percentage of associations of this type involving visiting (36 percent) compared to those that involved entertaining visitors (63 percent). When such a group visit is reported by an informant he usually recorded each participant as a single visitor while participation in such a group was reported only as a single visit to the home of the host.

The second ranking type of non-kinsmen associates is that of persons considered to be "friends." Visits with such associates account for 30 percent of the total interactions with non-kinsmen during the holiday season and such visits are reported by 61 percent of the total informants. That friends are recognized, appreciated, and

---

2One of the key features of this special type of visiting is that it must be undertaken as a group; in situations where a number of like associates arrive at the house of another person individually but at about the same time, the situation is both handled and reported differently.
highly valued is reflected in the large percentage of informants who report interactions with associates of this type. These contacts during the holiday period provide the context in which the importance of these associates can be symbolized. As has been described in other chapters, the residences of friends are geographically spread throughout the town and the surrounding countryside. These relationships are often established during coparticipation in schooling or on a non-resident job. Because friends are so widely separated in the town, the holiday period provides one of the few contexts to visit with associates of this type for many urbanites. In some cases visits to friends' homes are coincidental with visits to relatives who live in nearby areas. The relationship between friends is characterized by balanced interaction, with little deference expressed on either side of the relationship. This balanced quality of the relationship is reflected in the visiting pattern for the holiday which indicates a roughly equal proportion of visits to visiting.

The final and least frequently mentioned associate type with which urbanites associate during the holiday season is that of work-related associates. Contacts with persons of this associate type account for only 17 percent of the total contacts with non-kinsmen and it is reported by only 27 percent of the total informants. The low ranking
of associates of this type supports the conclusions reached regarding work associates in other contexts. For most urbanites work is an activity which takes place in an isolated context. Association of the workplace does not transfer easily to other areas of life. Workmates do figure in the urbanite's social circle but they are usually only met in the context of work-related activities. The great majority (80 percent) of the visits reported for this type involve informants receiving visits from persons who are work-related associates. In many cases these are visits from employees, salesmen, or other subordinates—very short ritual acknowledgements of deference paid to associates of higher status. A few visits of this type involve interaction by non-Malay work superiors who, in the interests of promoting unity and good will, pay brief visits on a few of their most important Muslim subordinates.  

Although Hari Raya Puasa is decidedly a Muslim holiday and participation is supposedly confined to Malay, Indian, and the few Chinese Muslims, there is in Malaysia the popular idea that Hari Raya is a time when non-Muslims visit their Muslim friends regardless of the religious barrier. It is further claimed that this feeling of muhibbah (goodwill) is particularly strong in the towns. Judging from newspaper accounts, this inter-religious visiting may indeed take place among the elite of the country. However, in a town such as Kota Bharu among ordinary citizens this type of inter-ethnic visiting does not seem to take place. As the focus of this holiday is on interaction with kinsmen and inter-religious marriage is extremely rare, it follows that there is little inter-ethnic visiting during this period. I recorded only three instances of visitors being received during Hari Raya Puasa who were not Muslims, excluding visits which I made to informants during this period. All of these cases were unusual. The first
As has been stated in other chapters, the work environment is highly structured according to occupation. The stratificational system of the town is built on considerations which derive from the work environment. Work and its concomitant stratifications are divisive factors in the urban population, serving to keep men from easy and relaxed association with their fellow urbanites. During the holiday season the emphasis is on comfortable association with other Muslims. On the holiday, wrongs between men are forgiven, slights of deference occurring at other times during the year and contravening the proper behaviour between men of different categories are forgotten. This is not the time of year to be reminded of the divisions arising from the workplace and workplace associates do not figure significantly in the pattern of visitation.

The Korban—a ceremony of status differences

The second major holiday season of the Malay year is termed Hari Raya Haji. This period is characterized by instance involved two Chinese town politicians who visited their Malay ward officer. This visit is an annual event and symbolizes to the local Malays in the vicinity of the officer's house that these politicians have concern for their constituents. The second instance involved a visit by a non-Malay government official to the house of one of his office subordinates who was about to receive a promotion. This was done as an act of "good-will" and also in order to announce the promotion. The third instance involved the visit of a Chinese youth to the home of his father's friend; the father was asleep and did not greet the visitor, although later he did report the visit.
a visiting pattern similar to that described above for Hari Raya Puasa but on a much reduced scale. Many informants held the view that this holiday is "only for the persons going to Mecca, or those who have already gone" although, in fact, nearly everyone is involved in at least some aspects of the holiday celebration. One of the most important activities of this holiday is the ritual slaughter of a food animal, usually a cow, the korban. The celebration involved in this ritual slaughter re-enacts a passage from the Koran and provides the participant with an opportunity to symbolize various associations as he distributes his share of the meat to others (see Chapter VII for a full description of this ceremony).

From the data relating to this event there appears to be no particular pattern to the relationships linking the persons who together own the seven shares of the animal to be slaughtered. Once a man has decided to participate in the slaughter, he tries to find a number of others to join him. He may look for a group which has a single share to sell or he may attempt to find a number of men to participate with him in the purchase of an animal. Often men who have animals of the appropriate age and type for sale

---

4 The term "man" has been used in the above because, according to custom, only males can participate in the actual slaughter. This does not prevent women from owning shares and taking charge of the distribution of the meat. In these cases a male relative will usually represent the woman at the actual slaughter.
attempt to organize a group to buy shares in their animal. On occasion a man may be "drafted" to participate with the argument that the other members of the group would not be able to perform the ritual unless he participates by purchasing the final necessary share. Judging from informants' lists and statements, there appears to be no pattern in the relationships existing between the shareholders in a single animal. They may be kinsmen, neighbours, business associates, friends, or other types of persons. Frequently they are merely persons (both urban and rural) who come together because they have all purchased shares in a single animal.

The relationships which are symbolized through the distribution of the meat are of great significance. When urbanites choose to participate they carefully weigh the alternatives among associates who could potentially receive meat, although there is a limited amount of casual giving to persons who happen to be in the vicinity of the slaughter. In most cases it is the task of the owner of the share (either man or woman) to decide who is to receive gifts of the meat. In each individual transaction the desire of the giver to symbolize a particular relationship as well as his estimate of the specific person are involved. Thus the transfer of ritually slaughtered meat means different things, to different people, in different situations.
Two generalizations are apparent from a statistical analysis of the transactions. The relationships which most informants choose to symbolize through the gift of meat were much the same as those involved in holiday visiting. The vast majority of transactions involved associates who were either kinsmen or neighbours. However, in transactions involving neighbours there is a distinct status bias. Urbanites give meat to neighbours of the same or lower status and they receive meat from neighbours of the same or higher status, with the exception of a few reciprocal exchanges involving return gifts from persons of lower status (see Table XX).

During periods of ordinary time and in the other special time events described above, the status distinctions that exist between neighbours are purposely minimized. Neighbours of high and low status participate together in joint activities, praying at the local prayer house, visiting together, assisting each other in projects. In these events neighbours interact as equals, on a cordial, relaxed, and reciprocal basis in which the equality of the participants is constantly asserted. The distribution of meat at the ritual slaughter provides a situation in which the

5 These statistics are based on the response of thirty-six individuals for whom the data are complete. In the data there are examples of twelve persons who gave meat and twenty-seven persons who received meat (a single individual can, of course, be counted on both measures). There were a total of 131 transactions involving giving meat and sixty-nine transactions involving receiving.
TABLE XX

THE DISTRIBUTION OF KORBAN MEAT IN THREE URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meats given to</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>family members</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neighbours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of same status</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of lesser status</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of higher status</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others (friends, etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meat received from

| family members                                      | 36              |
| neighbours                                          |                 |
| of same status                                      | 13              |
| of higher status                                    | 13              |
| of lower status                                     | 5*              |
| others (friends, etc.) of same status               | 2               |

*At least two of these cases were instances of reciprocal exchange which may have been prompted by the gift of meat from the higher status person which occurred first.
distinctions between neighbours are observed and even accentuated. Urbanites, in describing these distributions, emphasize that, in addition to relatives, meat is given to "the poor" and the "unfortunate." It is the responsibility of those who are "well-to-do" to give to the poor so that they will be able to enjoy the holiday as well. In these transactions between neighbours recognition is made of these distinctions and the significance of the neighbour tie is made all the more important. Constantly present in the relationship between neighbours is the potential for divisive conflict caused by differences in status. It is always possible that the man of higher status might demand the deference from a neighbour to which his status entitles him (he would of course thereby dissolve the neighbour relationship). In the distribution of the ritually slaughtered meat; in the context of special time, urbanites acknowledge that differences between neighbours do exist. Neighbours are not kinsmen, they are persons of different status and this status difference is significant. However, at the same time these transactions emphasize that the participants do have a significant link existing between them. The link is that the parties to the transaction are neighbours.

The above analysis is derived from the statistical analysis of the events as well as from informants' statements about these activities. This information provides
the general pattern of the occasion. Within this pattern there is a wide range of variation.

The ritual slaughter is not a fixed and rigid ceremonial activity that requires participants to adhere to a particular pattern of activities; rather it is an event which provides urbanites with a resource which can be used, with other activities, to fulfil their personal objectives. To understand how the symbolization of relationships involved in this ceremony is used by various urbanites, it is necessary to analyse a number of specific cases. The first case illustrates the typical situation.

Haji Idris, high status outsider: gifts to all neighbours

Haji Idris purchased land in the local residential area some years ago and built a rather elaborate house in which he, his wife, and family live. He has no relatives living in the immediate area. Haji Idris is a high ranking federal wage worker, prominent in both state and local affairs. His home displays the signs of high status: it has two storeys, it is built of concrete, surrounded by a fence, and there is a car parked under the porch. He is of significantly higher status than most of his neighbours. However, Haji Idris is actively concerned about maintaining his membership in the local group of neighbours. He carries on many activities which serve to validate and reinforce his status as a "good neighbour." He visits at and in the houses
of his neighbours whenever possible, frequently on a daily basis, he chats with them as they walk around the neighbourhood, he invites them to ceremonies at his home and attends all of their ceremonies when invited. Members of the local group consider Haji Idris to be a good neighbour.

Haji Idris participated in the ritual slaughter by purchasing two shares. One of the shares he purchased in his own name, the other share was in the name of his daughter. This was a very conspicuous purchase in a year when the price of cows was particularly high. The other shareholders in this cow were several men who are his immediate neighbours and several other men from other parts of the town who were not known to most of the local participants. Haji Idris' purchase of two shares completed the required number of seven to make the slaughter possible. Before Haji Idris agreed to purchase the two shares, there was doubt as to whether the other local shareholders would be able to make the sacrifice as it was very difficult to find other persons who would be able to purchase shares. Haji Idris distributed forty-one parcels of meat from the two shares. One parcel was to his mother, a second to his younger brother, and a third to the father of his daughter's husband, a fourth went to a friend of his son's, and three others to policemen he happened to meet in a rural police station. All of these gifts were to persons whom he happened to meet in the course of holiday visiting. All
of the other portions went to persons Haji Idris considers to be neighbours. He distributed meat to every household in the local area with the exception of two. The first exception was his tenant, a high status outsider who rents a nearby house who was not at home during most of the holiday; the second exception was an immediate neighbour, another high status outsider with whom Haji Idris is involved in a dispute. By distributing meat so widely Haji Idris validated his role as a neighbour and indicated his higher status in relation to the recipients of these meat gifts. Recipients received the meat gifts with the knowledge that although Haji Idris is a man of higher status he can be counted upon as a good neighbour.

The following cases illustrate the use of this special time activity in situations that deviate from the rule.

Kadir, a newcomer: low status to high status transfers, becoming a neighbour

Kadir, a young unmarried man, is a recent migrant to the urban residential cluster where he lives with his mother, sister, and sister's husband. As a *batek* printer working on piece rate at a nearby factory, he is of equal status with some of his neighbours and lower than many. He has no kinship links with his neighbours. While he rents the land where his house is built, he owns the house. Kadir is very actively interested in being accepted as a
Kadir carried out a ritual slaughter with friends and relatives in his village of origin. However, he made no distribution of meat there. Instead he gave a portion of the meat to the local urban owner of the land on which his house is built. This man lives in the adjacent house and is a prominent member of the local group. He also gave portions to each of his immediate neighbours. During the other activities of the holiday this man spent most of his time visiting friends of his age category in various other areas; he also made a brief one day trip to a Thai border town nearby. He did not otherwise interact with his immediate neighbours with the exception of attending the special holiday prayer with them at the local prayer house. Kadir's gift of meat to persons of his immediate neighbour set as well as to the landowner were statements of deference to these persons. By reversing the pattern of status distinction usually involved in the transactions he strongly emphasized his desire to be accepted as an equal among neighbours. The fact that he went out of his way to make this statement was appreciated by many of the recipients. As Kadir is young and unmarried, it was not considered a breach of etiquette that he spent his holiday travelling about. As an unmarried man of his age category who chose to distribute meat, he indicated his desire to be accepted into the category of adult men and to be member of the local group.
afforded the status of neighbour with his immediate co-residents.

Abdul, the politician: high status to low status transfers, relatives and the immediate neighbours

Immediate neighbours are viewed as a very intimate class of associates who are always aware of your activities. Ritually slaughtered meat exchanges with these persons can be viewed as part of the usual, on-going exchange of food between such associates. They may be considered as a continuation of the existing relationship in which status is not a consideration although, in fact, the exchange of uncooked food between neighbours is peculiar to this exchange of meat. Most people feel that if special food is available it is entirely normal to share it with near neighbours. This convention was put to good use by Abdul in the following situation.

Abdul is a high status wage worker in the state government who lives with his wife, family, and mother in an urban settlement in which he is an important member of the local group. He and his mother are owners of large amounts of local land and they are descendents of the original settlers of the area. Many of Abdul's relatives live on nearby land parcels in the same area. Abdul has chosen a leadership role in his residential area, exhibited by taking an active role in politics, participating in the
organization and management of the local youth club, and generally using his position to assist local people in various ways. He and his mother also pursue a program of actively acquiring other local land. It was this role as a local leader that provided Abdul with a dilemma.

Abdul was asked by a neighbour to take a share in a cow which this neighbour had found for the ritual slaughter. He was reluctant to do this because he would have to purchase a large amount of meat, perhaps as many as two shares, in order to assure that he had sufficient to distribute to all the persons who should receive a share, largely neighbours who supported him locally. However, Abdul was not prepared to do this. The problem was solved by suggesting that his wife would buy the share of the cow. As women are not permitted to take part in the slaughter, Abdul would have to represent her but she would take charge of the actual distribution of the meat. His wife, an outsider to the local residential area and a relative newcomer, did not face the problem that he would have. She gave portions of the meat to her siblings living in another area, to her husband's siblings in the local area, and to parents on both sides of the family. Nine other portions went to persons that she considered to be immediate neighbours. These were all persons with whom she regularly exchanged food and these gifts did not appear at all unusual. Meat was not distributed to other
neighbours who, if they knew about the distribution to the
near neighbours, did not feel that this was unusual. By
manipulating the situation in this manner Abdul was suc-
cessful in helping his neighbours by buying a share while
not offending those who did not receive meat.

Jaffar, the high status out-
sider: gifts to relatives
only

In some cases persons of high status ignore their
neighbours in nearly all activities including the ritual
meat distribution. In the eyes of most persons living in
the vicinity, this merely confirms their expectations
about these persons.

Jaffar is a high status man married to a woman
born in the local residential area, but from a family who
were outsiders in this area. In the previous generation
relatives of this woman purchased a single lot of land in
the area where today are clustered the houses of a number
of her relatives. Beyond these immediately adjacent kins-
men she has no other relatives living in the local area.
Jaffar owns a batek factory, located on the same lot of
land as his residence. In ordinary time he has relatively
little to do with persons of the local community, although
he does occasionally employ local youth in his business.
That Jaffar does not value local associates was confirmed
by the pattern of his meat distribution. He chose to
participate in the ritual slaughter with a number of his wife's relatives who live in other parts of the town. The slaughter took place at the house of one of these men some distance from Jaffar's home. Although Jaffar received a substantial amount of meat in his portion, he chose to distribute meat to only six persons. Three of these were his mother and two older sisters who live in another part of the town, and the other three were the heads of the other three households of his wife's relatives living in the local area with him. As he has various business dealings with these relatives and as his factory is located on their jointly owned land, relations with these kinsmen of his wife are particularly important. He made no presentations to other persons in the local area.

Given Jaffar's ordinary time association pattern, it is not surprising that other local persons living in adjacent houses do not include him as a neighbour. While several of these households participated in ritual slaughters and distributed the meat widely to neighbours, they chose not to include Jaffar in these distributions. Even households who by spatial criteria would be included as immediate neighbours neither gave nor received meat. Jaffar considers that as a businessman of some stature and as a man who has lived and worked in several major urban centres in the country, his interests in association lie outside of the local area. This appears to be confirmed
in the nature of his participation in this ceremony.

All of these cases illustrate the importance of the ritual slaughter as a ceremony of status differential. Each urbanite works out the alternative courses of action in terms of his own situation: Kadir uses his meat distribution to help him build a place in the local community as a neighbour; Abdul transfers the responsibility for the distribution to his wife in order not to appear to be slighting potential local supporters; Jaffar ignores all but immediate relatives in his distribution as part of his general pattern of non-participation in the local cluster of neighbours; and Haji Idris validates his high status while supporting his desire to be considered a good neighbour. The analytic problem posed by the diversity of these cases illustrates the problem of making large-scale generalizations regarding ultimate values. Each urbanite described here pursues a slightly different goal and he evaluates strategies, associates, and activities in light of this particular goal. All men economize by selecting the least costly means of achieving the goal they value most highly but all of the variables involved in this equation are highly specific.

Conclusion

The analysis of the several events described in this chapter provides further insight into the process of urban association and confirms some of the generalizations
noticed in the analysis of ordinary time activities. Special time activities take place in the home and in the local residential area adjacent to the home. In most cases they are events which assert and reaffirm the associations of kinship, neighbourhood, and to a lesser extent, friendship. They serve to extend the range of association beyond that possible during ordinary time although associates of the work and town environments do not figure greatly in the participation patterns of these special time events. While each specific time event has its own unique pattern of association, they share a common theme. Special time activities provide the urbanite with an opportunity to assert the equality and reciprocity of association in contrast to the sharp status distinctions of daily activities in the office, shop, or market. Even in the exchange of meat in the Korban where status distinctions are recognized and emphasized, implicit in the definition of the event, is the assertion that the ties of association along which exchanges take place transcend the barriers of the status categories.

The analysis of data in the chapters of this part indicates a number of the regularities that have an influence on valuations involved in associational decision-making. The most pervasive of these are constraints and influences arising from the urbanite's participation in the urban occupational system. Persons of particular occupations
use their time differently and choose associates using different valuations than do persons of other occupations. Also exhibited in these regularities are considerations arising from the influence of the type of environment and the type of activity in which the valuation is made. In the choice of associates there are, however, other factors which must be considered as the urbanite arrives at his valuations of different alternatives.

The urban decision-maker is not influenced solely by the factors arising from the regularities evident in the aggregated data. He is also influenced by factors that arise from his unique position in the social and cultural milieu of the town. These unique and particular strategies are largely obscured by the aggregation of the behavioural data and in order to understand these factors it is necessary to return to the individual cases presented in Chapter IX.

In the analysis of the individual cases it was demonstrated that one of the most important factors influencing individual decision strategies is the relationship between the urbanite and the local group in which he resides. The importance of the individual's role in the local group is borne out in the analysis of the aggregated data of the last two chapters. Urbanites devote a great deal of their time to activities at home and in the local residential area. In the course of these activities they interact with
many persons whom they consider to be neighbours. Association with neighbours is an important element in the pattern of choice exhibited by all types of urbanites. The importance of these neighbour associates is further confirmed in the analysis of special time activities. Nearly all special time activities take place either at home or in the vicinity of the home and the participation of neighbours is significant in all of these events.

In the next part I shall examine the factors which serve to constitute the social solidarity which is most often found in the vicinity of the home, the local group. One of the most important factors in the constitution of this group is the urbanite's interests in land, both urban and non-urban. The relationship between urban residents and their land is very complex. It is, however, this relationship which accounts in many ways for the unique character of urbanism in Kota Bharu. An analysis of this relationship and the social relations of the local group will form the substance of the following part.
PART V

THE ETHNOGRAPHY III—LAND AND ASSOCIATION
CHAPTER XII

LAND AND THE LOCAL GROUP

For most Kota Bharu urbanites one of the most important social solidarities in which they participate is the local group\(^1\) comprised of neighbours surrounding their home. For many urbanites this is the only solidarity beyond the household in which they participate. The local group provides the context for much daily association and nearly all special time ceremonial interaction.

The local group has some temporal continuity; it has criteria for admission to it, as well as control over the resources involved in creating satisfying local-level association. The local group has a monopoly on the creation of neighbourly association. That the Kota Bharu Malays highly value this type of association and find it satisfying means that the establishment and participation in the local group is of great importance to urban residents.

This local group is composed of households, but the underlying feature which binds them together is the ownership

\(^1\)In previous chapters I have referred to a unit termed the residential cluster. This is a geographical unit comprised of a number of nearby houses. The social solidarity which may or may not be present in this unit is the local group whose features will be described in this part.
of and interest in using and developing a number of contiguous lots of local urban land. Two other features are also involved: the existence of kinship relations and the maintenance of appropriate interactional behaviour between these contiguous households. Not all of these features must be present in any one case to constitute membership in the local group, although they are exhibited in several typical combinations (see Table XXI).

**TABLE XXI**

**CRITERIA GOVERNING THE FORMATION OF A LOCAL GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If a household has:</th>
<th>Residence on owned contiguous land</th>
<th>Kinship Connection</th>
<th>Appropriate Interaction</th>
<th>It will be included in the local group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO*</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO*</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There are exceptions to these generalizations in the situations involving households on rented land.

2 The study of urban land by anthropologists has been relatively ignored despite their interest in this variable in the rural community (see, for example, Leach [1968]). This rural work and the urban research of Evers (1974) in Sumatra stimulated me to investigate this variable.
Land ownership is, in most cases, necessary for membership in the local group, but occasionally householders who are renting land or who are borrowing land are considered members of the local group if they meet other criteria; if they are locally linked to land owners by kinship connections or if they are particularly active in the appropriate types of local level association. Renter households which are not locally related find it more difficult to gain acceptance as members and tend to be excluded as "outsiders" from the local group even if they actively participate in local association. In some cases where there are a number of these "renter households" living in close proximity they may establish associations among themselves based on their common situation. These often resemble associational enclaves in the local group, but these appear to be rather transitory as renters move in and out. Such enclaves do not have the continuity of the local groups formed by land-owning families.

To members of a local group the continuity of relations established with other members of the group is particularly important. The ownership of adjacent land provides a context that will endure over time, a context in which various relationships can be cultivated and developed with the knowledge that their maintenance will be possible over a long period of time. The ownership of land acts as an assurance that exchanges, once established
between households in the local cluster, will continue.

In some cases uncertainty about future use of the land makes it impossible to cultivate these long term relations, and to know that reciprocity will be maintained. When land parcels become so small that they will no longer be usable by coming generations for the maintenance of ties, or when ownership and control of the land is held by so many households that the land ceases to be a resource which any one household can assure will be usable by them, or when the future of the tenure over the land is otherwise disrupted, the household loses interest in developing associations centring around the local land and the local group begins to lose its form. Often the households turn their attention to the establishment of association in other areas where it will be possible eventually to become members of another local group. Thus, the prospect that a household's control of the land will endure is a significant element of the constitution of the local group.

Three factors relating to the land-household relationship appear to be of significance to the constitution of the local group. These are: the manner in which present households occupying the land acquired their interests, the degree to which occupant households have ownership-control of the residential lots, and the extent and nature of interests in other land parcels held by household members.

Despite the importance of land as a variable in the
constitution of the local group, contiguous land ownership is not, in itself, sufficient to assure the establishment of a local group. The establishment of local associations is also required. Even persons who own contiguous parcels of urban land will not be admitted to membership of the local group if they do not interact and form associations on a regular basis. A variety of types of association is important. One that is particularly important is participation in various life-cycle events. Once again the prospect of continuity is important; households want to know that participation will be forthcoming in various future ceremonies and situations. As has been shown in earlier chapters, locales such as the prayer house are particularly important for the establishment and maintenance of association. Householders who do not have kinship linkage with the local group but who do own local land can use participation in local association at the prayer house, in local homes on sacred and ceremonial occasions, or in casual visiting to establish their membership in the local group.

Kin connection is also a criterion for admission to the local group. The nature of Malay inheritance rules and the fact that land often forms a significant part of an estate means that many members of the urban local group are related to one another, often by rather shallow genealogical connections. Households whose members are related and which are located nearby are included in the membership of the
local group, even if they do not meet the participation criterion which might be expected of a non-kinsman. Spatial contiguity must be present, however, because those kinsmen who are resident in areas away from the local group are often not included in associational activities and, of course, they are not counted as members of the local group.

To understand how the local group is formed and how it changes, it is necessary to understand the role of land in this process. It is the ownership of urban residential land and its position with respect to other urban land which brings various households and their members into the relationship of neighbour, which we have seen has a great significance in daily association. Further, the ownership of land has an impact on kinship relations by giving some kinsmen more importance than others. Seen analytically, it is land as it functions as a constituting factor of the

3 Participation of such kinsmen in various life cycle ceremonies and sacred situations can be counted on without the constant validation necessary in the case of non-kinsmen and the status distinctions existing between kinsmen do not have the operative aspect that they do among non-kinsmen.

4 Individuals within the household have ties with relatives of both spouses (see Chapter VI for a discussion of the idea systems underlying this) which, in theory, are felt with equal intensity. However, the binary nature of post marital residence means that the individual's associations are carried out in a specific residential cluster and relatives of the household who are spatially close to that cluster are included in interaction and remembered while relatives who are resident in other locations are not included and occasionally are forgotten altogether, although in some cases these spatially distant relatives may be less genealogically distant than relatives who are seen frequently.
local group which links kinship relations, the household, and neighbours into a systematic paradigm.

From these preliminary comments it should not be concluded that for urban Malays the issue of land is a matter of only analytic significance or that it is an issue which exists only in the mind of the ethnographer. On the contrary, land is an issue of great—indeed, consuming—interest to most urban residents. Transactions involving their own land, the land of others, both in the town and outside, the possibility of acquiring more land, or the question of who owns or will own various plots of land are all topics of great interest and constant comment among urban Malays in the course of their daily interaction.

The land area of the town of Kota Bharu (4.4 square miles) has been surveyed, mapped, and divided into twenty-nine sections, each with lot numbers specifically recorded and specific areas measured. Ninety percent of the town's land area is classified as Malay reserve which means that in this area only Kelantanese Malays may own land. In other areas Kelantanese residents of other ethnic categories may own land. Each land owner has a deed to his land listing the particulars of the lot and specifying the names of owner or owners and their fractional shares in the case of

5 There are some exceptions to these rules in which non-Malays own land in Malay reserve areas. These lots were in the hands of non-Malays before the reserve provision came into effect or special approval has been granted for non-Malays to own them.
divided multi-owner lots. Each deed is accompanied by a certified plan of the lot giving dimensions, reference to markers, and boundaries. In the state land office a "true" copy of each of these deeds is filed and copies and searches can be made for nominal fees. The town board also has a listing of each lot, its registered owner or owners, as well as a record of any building which has been legally erected on the land. These registered land records are not altogether reliable, however, because many land transactions take place on the basis of "gentlemen's agreements" between the parties to the transaction and are not registered. These agreements, although having the support of tradition, are of questionable legal status and many owners are coming to recognize the benefits of government registration.

Private land is characteristically registered in one of several ways. All of these are directly linked to the basic unit of land, the surveyed lot. The surveyed lot is the unit on which markers have been placed and which is referred to in the title and other land records. There are registered lots owned by single living individuals. There are lots which are owned by a number of individuals, each of whom has his share recorded as a fraction of the whole. There are lots registered in the name of a deceased person.

There are other types of urban land, including land held for religious purposes (tanah wakaf), land owned by various government offices, and land registered in the name of the Kelantanese sultanate.
which are understood to be presently owned by the living descendants of this owner in some combination. And there is land which is held in trust for minors or in the name of an estate or estate administrator.

A registered owner may receive his land in several ways. Each has different implications for the social relations an owner establishes with other owners of the same lot of land, with owners of adjacent lots, and with other members of the urban community. An owner may purchase a lot or part of a lot of land through a commercial transaction, he may receive a parcel of land or a fractional part of a lot as a gift from a relative or a close friend, he may receive it as part of an inheritance. In the case of all of these methods of acquisition a single individual may be joined by others, usually relatives, in the ownership of a single lot.

These various means of acquiring urban land combine with a variety of types of urban land use. Urban land may be used by the owner for individual purposes such as a residence or for rental to others, or the owner may rent the land to another person for the construction of a house, shop or other building. In cases in which there are several owners of a single lot, each may have a house on the property, for their own use or for rental, or the owners may live in a single structure with a number of "doors," each for a single owner's household, or less frequently, in a
single house with a single household (see Table XXII).

**TABLE XXII**

**URBAN LAND: METHODS OF ACQUISITION - TYPES OF USE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods of Acquisition of Lot or Fractional Part of Lot</th>
<th>Type of Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase</td>
<td>- owner's household residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- owner's household residence and rental units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>- rental unit ONLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- rental of land to others—either residential or commercial use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inheritance</td>
<td>- commercial structure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once an owner has acquired a parcel of urban residential land he may choose to use the land in a variety of ways. Viewed from the perspective of a single lot the pattern of ownership and use may be classed in one of the following types.

Ownership Types Involving Residence
Type One A:— A single numbered, registered lot has a single owner who, with his household, occupies a single house on the lot. There may or may not also be rental units owned by this household on the same lot.
Type One B:— The same as Type One A except that the single house has been divided into more than one unit for the occupancy of the households related to the owners (usually children and their spouses).

Type Two:-- A single, numbered, registered lot has a single owner who lives with his household on the land. Other houses also constructed on the same land (owned by either the land owner or others) are occupied by related household heads. There may or may not be rental units owned by any of these households.

Type Three:— A single, numbered, registered lot has multiple owners registered as fractional share owners or implied by registration in the name of a deceased relative (of whom the fractional owners are heirs) or in the name of an estate of a deceased. A majority of the owners have their households resident on the land. There may or may not be rental units.

Ownership Types Involving Non-Residence

Type Four:— A single, numbered, registered lot has multiple owners registered in any manner as in Type Three. While some of the owners have houses on the land a majority of these owners do not have household residences on the land. There may or may not be rental units.

Type Five:-- A single, numbered, registered lot has multiple owners registered in any manner as in Type Three, none of
whom are resident on the land. The land may be rented to other parties, there may be owner-constructed buildings rented to other parties, or the land may be vacant.

Type Six:-- A single, numbered, registered lot has a single non-resident owner. The land may be used in any manner as described in Type Five.

Any one area of the town exhibits a variety of types of land acquisition, land ownership, and land use. However, any one area may also have a characteristic type, which is more prevalent in that area. As will be seen in the cases described below, this is related to the history of the area and has an influence on the nature of the local group to be found there.

Land ownership and land use is tied closely to the developmental cycle of the household and the cycle of inheritance. Any single land lot, viewed diachronically, is in a constant state of flux with regard to the types described above. It is possible to describe an hypothetical scenario for the situation. This indicates a way in which the relationships between land, the owner household, and the resident households can change over time. I shall refer to this change as a "land cycle."

The hypothetical cycle could begin with a single individual who acquires a large parcel of land on which he builds a single house and establishes his household by
gathering in this house his wife and children. As the num-
ber of these children increases he may enlarge the size of
his house. When his children marry, if they choose to
settle near his household after a period of living together
in his house, this man may offer them a section of his land
parcel on which to build. There will now be a single lot
with several houses, the household heads of which are
siblings or siblings' spouses, children of the land-owning
household head. During this period the parent may decide
to build an additional house for rental on this lot. This
will admit one or more households of outsider renters to
the developing cluster. When these renters establish their
households on the land they may or may not choose to attempt
to establish themselves in the local cluster. They can do
this through establishing a variety of types of association
with local land owners. These renters may attempt to
establish formal links with the local kinship cluster through
marriage or adoption, and thus gain access to local land, or
they may purchase a piece of nearby land when this becomes
possible.

When the original land owner dies each household
of children is faced with several alternatives in dealing
with their joint rights in the local land. They may break
the land parcel into several smaller lots each with single
owners, or they may have the registered grant altered to
show their fractional shares. This is done particularly in
cases where all of those persons entitled to inheritance rights in the land are not locally resident on the land. Or they may retain the land in the name of the deceased and continue to share the land through common understanding as though the original owner were still alive.

Each of these new households continues to grow and develop. As the children marry, some will choose to settle with their spouses away from the local land, and others will opt for local residence. In most cases the new households formed by the marriages of these children are situated according to a number of considerations such as the husband's occupation and his work site. If, for example, he chooses to take up an agricultural pursuit there is the possibility that one of the spouses' rural land would be better situated for these activities. If he is working in the town he might opt to make use of the urban land.

The above described processes might continue for generations. There comes a time, however—the range of variation is great—when the original lot of urban land can no longer accommodate additional occupant households and children must find other places to live upon marriage, either by living with the other spouse's parents or on their land, or on rented or purchased land. Some members of the new generation must begin to take up residence away from the local group, although they may retain their ownership interests in the local land parcel, or they may sell their
interests to other relatives who can make better use of them.

At this stage the ownership of the land parcel may take on a different meaning for its individual owners. In the early stages of development the land was a centre from which associations linked by kinship could be developed and where clusters of kinsmen could be encouraged to settle together. Land ownership conveyed the opportunity for the owner-resident to participate in a local group and to gain satisfactions from developing associations of locality. But now that it is owned by a large number of persons many of whom are non-residents it ceases to have this significance. No single resident household controls the disposition of the land. The residents no longer have the assurances of continuity which stem from control over the land on which they live. Particularly if land values are high and the land is in demand, ownership of partial shares takes on monetary value and it is this value which becomes most significant to the owners. The land ceases to symbolize pleasant association and becomes instead a piece of land valuable in a commercial transaction.

This type of situation (Type Four) is usually associated with the most extreme form of urban congestion found in the town of Kota Bharu: a single lot of small size is completely occupied by buildings and houses and where there is a majority of non-resident owners. Further sub-division
or use by additional households is impossible.

The above discussion has treated this land cycle as though it were a lineal system moving systematically through the various stages described. But, actually, the cycle is frequently disrupted and redirected by several possible situations. Land may be sold, frequently to a renter or a household head's child or child's spouse who purchases a part or all of the lot. Other land may be purchased during a household head's lifetime and this makes it unnecessary to subdivide specific parcels of land. And in many cases—this is said to be a recent trend—a land owner may give a plot of land to one of his children, or an adopted child, as a gift before his death, thus assuring that it will remain in a single unit.

Also adding variation to the cycle described above is the rule of bilateral inheritance. In the above discussion the household has been treated as the basic unit as it is the household which, supervised by the male household head and his wife, has control over the land resources. However, bilateral inheritance contributes variation as each newly formed household represents a joining of the land cycle of both husband and wife. The household represents the result of this pair's decisions to use their land resources in a strategic manner as well as the combination of various configurations of land ownership resulting from their union. For example, if the land to which the husband
is entitled is at a later stage of development, and if the wife has access to equally well-situated land, the households may establish themselves on the wife's holdings. This new household may also buy land in the local residential grouping, particularly if the kinship relations of one of the spouses give the household access to the purchase of land in another plot in the local area.

The importance of the household as the unit in this system of land cannot be overestimated. It is the household which occupies and uses land and it is within the household that ties giving access to land are established and maintained. It is the household which constitutes the basis upon which the "local group" is built. For example, if a newly married husband lives for a period with his wife's household it is often through the contacts and associations developed there that he may develop channels for access to land when he and his wife wish to establish a separate household. These channels are, of course, in addition to those to which he has access as a result of his residence in his parents', or foster parents', household. We have seen in the analysis of daily time use (described in Chapter IX) that men spend much of their time at home interacting with household members. This is an indication of the value which these men give to developing these contacts within the local group.

There is, of course, the less easily documented,
more impressionistic, and possibly more important reason why men spend time at home and among the local group. This is the satisfaction they derive from the ambience of being among wife, relatives, and children. These are persons with whom a relaxed and informal type of interaction is possible. The ambience of this household life, based as it is on a kind of balanced reciprocity in relations between members, is something which the household members like to extend to immediate neighbours if at all possible. This extension becomes an important aspect in the qualities of the neighbour relationship. If neighbours cannot be household members, or kinsmen, at least they can act like them. Interaction with the local group, as an extension of the household, is a situation in which social status considerations, so significant in the town at large, can be relaxed; persons who are admitted as members of the local group can be treated as neighbours, a category in which town-based distinctions of status are less pronounced. Even this more speculative reason involves the variables of spatial proximity, kinship, and interaction, and it is these on which we shall focus in the following analysis.
CHAPTER XIII

LAND, ASSOCIATION, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE LOCAL GROUP

Urban Malays in Kota Bharu evaluate a number of variables in the course of choosing associates. One of the most important variables influencing individual strategies is that which arises from the urbanite's interests in land and his role in the local group. The discussion of the constitution of the local group in the preceding chapter has indicated that the relationship between the factors of land, association, and the local group is complex and involves a number of variables. In this chapter I shall examine the formation of the local group in three urban residential areas. In the first area I shall examine a strong and viable local group, in the second area we see two less vigorous groups, and in the third the complete absence of any such solidarity. Through an analysis of the differences exhibited in these three situations the variables relevant for understanding the constitution of the local group are discovered.

415
Land and the local group in Kampong Satu

Kampong Satu is a residential area located adjacent to the town boundary, near a large school complex, and in a part of town not subject to annual flooding. The area, all of which is Malay Reserve Land, is considered to be one of the town's more desirable residential areas and surrounding areas are growing rapidly. The twenty-seven households which comprise this local group live on twenty-one registered lots which local residents consider to be divided into twenty-three land parcels.

Before about 1940 the land of this area was used for gardens by urbanites who had their homes in an adjacent residential cluster closer to the town. In about the year 1940, in order to build an office complex, the state government acquired the land where these urbanites had been living. The residents were forced to move. Many of them chose to establish their new homes on the land of what is now Kampong Satu which they had been using for their gardens.

The twenty households which share kin ties with one another and which form the nucleus of the present local group in Kampong Satu trace kinship connections with four households of these original settlers. It is thought that these four original households were related as kinsmen but the exact nature of the links is not remembered by present
residents. Descendants of each of these four households form four spatially distinct clusters in the current settlement pattern. Occupants of these four clusters are linked together by traceable marriage ties in more recent generations and it is to these ties that most residents refer when they point out that they are related to one another. In some cases locally related women land owners have married men from other areas and have chosen to establish their household on the woman's land. Of course, there are also local men who have married non-local women.

When the original residential settlers established their homes on this land, the land of Kampong Satu was in large parcels. Many of these original inhabitants owned several lots. Most present residents obtained their land by purchase from relatives who did not desire to live on the land. The primary value of land in this area was for establishing a residence. Sale of lots by owners not interested in local residence and purchase of lots by relatives that were interested assured that local residents had control over the land on which they lived. This transfer of lots through sale and purchase has also prevented most lots from becoming fragmented into small parcels with multiple non-resident owners, a situation common when lots are passed through several inheritance transactions. A majority of the owners live on the land and the majority of the parcels are in the hands of single owners.
Some lots have been made available for sale either by local residents who wished to dispose of unused land or by locally-related non-residents who received land in the area through inheritance but did not want to maintain these land interests. Because this is a desirable residential area, a small number of non-related outsiders have acquired land in this area. Some of these newcomer households, as well as several locally related households, have constructed houses on their property which are rented to transient outsider households. There are a total of seven households of outsiders living in this area.

Many members of this local group also have non-local land holdings. Some who are descendants of the original settlers own agricultural land in rural areas. This land was purchased originally with the funds which the government paid for the purchase of their original home sites. Much of this land was acquired at the same time and urban neighbours tend to have land in similar rural areas. Other households also own non-local land: in some cases, in-marrying spouses have land in their places of origin, and occasionally newcomer households, both renters and owners, have land holdings in rural areas. A large portion of this non-rural land owned by people of this local group is presently vacant and unused. Another substantial portion is used by non-relatives who make a variety of rental arrangements with the owners.
Association in Kampong Satu

The nucleus of the local group in Kampong Satu consists of those households which are related to the original settlers. Descendants of these settlers tend to be spatially grouped in four clusters in the areas where the four original households had land. Many daily activities are carried out within the bounds of these clusters, each of which forms a single near neighbour (jiran depan mata) set. However, numerous activities also tie the four clusters together into a single solidarity. There is a single prayer house which was built by one of the men who has kin ties to the original settlers. Men of all four clusters attend this prayer house. The local group is both viable and active. There are numerous work projects which call for the participation of the local group members, and many local residents give feasts which also involve others of the local group. Several local shops, and the local sports ground are places where local people can informally cluster and meet one another. Nearly all of the local group participate actively in at least some of these activities although there are some persons who rely on their kinship ties to maintain their place in the group without participation.

Current residents who were not born in the local group exhibit a wide variety of adaptations to the local situation. There are some households which have purchased land or who rent houses adjacent to that of local group
members who are completely aloof from group activities. These households neither initiate interaction nor do they reciprocate interaction with local group members by more than a nod. In most cases these non-participants have their homes arranged so that they are cut off from the local group. Usually this is done by having a closed gate and fence surrounding their property. On some rare occasions these outsiders invite local group members to a feast and occasionally some of the local group reciprocate the invitation, but interaction is always kept on a very formal basis. Despite their ownership of land, households of this type are not considered part of the local group.

In contrast to this, there are several households of newcomers—several renters and several land owners—who go to great lengths to display their interest in and concern about acceptance in the local group. They give feasts at every opportunity, they participate in local work projects, visit widely among members of the local group, and spend time at the local shops and sports ground visiting with neighbours. In every way they attempt to engage in the appropriate reciprocity of neighbours. These households are considered part of the local group.

The several adaptations made by newcomer households are similar in some ways to those made by in-marrying spouses. Some spend very little time at home, although this is the exception. More typically, the in-marrying
spouse devotes much time to association with other members of the local group. He is often an active participant at the local prayer house and frequently gives feasts or participates in work projects with others of the local group. The situation of the in-marrying spouse is particularly complicated when he has obligations arising from his ownership or supervision of land in his natal village. These obligations must be balanced with those arising from his desire to be considered a member of the urban local group. Households which are related by kin ties to the local group may also own non-local land to which they must devote some attention. But as these non-local land holdings are located near land of others of the group, they frequently discuss the conditions of their non-local land. Such matters as the time to harvest, the proper seed to plant, and the condition of the water supply are matters in which they all share a common interest. The owners have few associations with the persons living on the land who merely pay a percentage of the harvest to the owners as a rental.

Land and the local group in Kampong Dua

Kampong Dua is located near the northern border of the town. While this area has only recently been included within the official boundaries of the town, it is an area with a long history of involvement in urban activities. As this Malay reserve area of relatively poor housing is
subject to annual river flooding it is not favoured by other urbanites as a residential area. Kampong Dua is located near several large factories which employ substantial labour forces. Some of these factory workers, many of whom are rural migrants, have taken up residence in this area.

There are several local groups in this area and I shall describe two of these.

Local Group A

The residents of the first group to be described here live on nine registered lots which they consider to be divided into ten separate parcels. Local history holds that this residential area was originally settled many generations ago by a group of seven brothers. The fifteen locally related households that, together with two non-locally related households, comprise this local group contend that they are all descendants of the original settlers although none of them can any longer trace the links. Most of the present resident households of the group can trace their genealogical links to a group of five siblings, their wives, and mother who were, several generations ago, the land owners of the lots this local group presently occupies.

The land holdings of these persons were in fairly large parcels so that subsequent transmission by inheritance has not yet caused extensive land fragmentation. However, in some lots the land has just about reached its residential
capacity and many of them have multiple owner-occupants. Division in the next generation may cause some problems. One local household has been acquiring additional parcels of local land as they have become available, limiting the process of division and the sale of local land to non-residents. Other households appear to be considering such acquisitions, particularly as they begin to realize the potential for using this land for rental units.

Kampong Dua is not considered a desirable place to live and this is reflected in the relatively few outsider households that have taken up residence in the area. The two outsider households which have established themselves in this local group live on rented land owned by non-residents and although both are considered to be unfortunates and somewhat peripheral to the local group, they are included in most of its activities. Several other households which came to the area from other places were immediately accepted as members of the local group as kinship connections were found with members of the local group, validating their local role. In one case this involved recognizing a very distant kin connection with one of the central households of the local group. In another, it involved recognizing a tie established by marriage to include the parents and siblings of the in-marrying spouse who decided to establish their residence on rented land in the local area.
Less than one-half of the members of the local group own land in other areas. The vast majority of those owning non-local land are in-marrying spouses, in most cases wives. Most of this land has been received by inheritance or as a gift and is located near the homes of rural parents or kinsmen, some of whom live on this land or work it in sharing arrangements with the urban owners. These rural kinsmen are located in a variety of different places in numerous rural areas and in no case do urban neighbours own adjacent plots of rural land.

Association in Kampong Dua
Local Group A

This local group is very well established. As nearly all of the households in this group are related by kin ties and there are relatively few outsiders in the group, there is little need for many of the members to validate their role through elaborate feast giving or extensive displays of interaction, although the local group does occasionally gather. Frequently local group members help one another in a variety of work projects.

In this area there are relatively few locales where members of this local group meet, neither shops nor sports grounds serving this function here. The prayer house used by members of this local group is spatially on the edge of the land holdings of this group and serves several other local groups as well. Most activities of this local group
take place on the more casual basis of daily interaction on the paths and streets of the neighbourhood or through visiting, particularly at those homes of local group members who have television sets. Several households of the local group depend entirely upon their established kin ties to maintain their role in the group. These households do not participate at all extensively.

Three of the households in this group have built small single-storey connected houses on their property which they rent to transients. These households devote some of their time to working on the houses and interaction with their tenants. The tenants are not, however, considered to be part of the local group and they are not included in any of its activities.

The ownership of non-local land does not affect the association pattern of this local group. Association with rural relatives is much the same whether or not the land on which the relatives live is owned by members of the local group. Land does not draw the attention of its urban owners away from urban participation.

Local Group B

The residents of the second local group to be described in Kampong Dua live in five households on three registered lots. They consider each of these lots to be a separate parcel. This local group forms an enclave within
Kampong Dua and is surrounded on several sides by more viable local groups. Viewed historically, this second local group illustrates the situation of a newcomer household which, several generations ago, established the basis for this local group by the purchase of a substantial amount of contiguous land. However, neither the members of this family nor their descendants have been successful in establishing ties with adjacent local groups (as did, for example, the four kin clusters described in Kampong Satu). As a result the local group has remained relatively isolated on the original parcels of land. Through several inheritance transactions the largest of these three lots has come to have numerous part owners, the majority of whom are non-residents. As the three households which live on this land do not control a majority of the interests in the land they are unsure of who their future neighbours may be. The other two lots are of a type 1 configuration and it is their households which form the basis of the local group in this area. Both of these two lots were received under special circumstances. One was a gift from father to daughter. The gift was made because the father did not want the property to be divided as it would have been if it had been transferred by inheritance. The second lot was purchased by an in-marrying husband from a group of three non-resident kinsmen who had inherited partial shares in the lot. Both of these lots are relatively small and are used to capacity by
the present occupying households. Transfer to multiple heirs of the present owners would pose the same problem as that now found in the first larger lot.

Only one household in this local group has non-local land. This is held by an in-marrying husband and was inherited by him from his father. This lot, located near the centre of the town, contains a single shop-house. The owner receives a cash rent from the tenants with whom he has no interaction. He considers this lot solely as a financial investment.

Association in Kampong Dua
Local Group B

The local group in this area is moribund. The heads of two households are businessmen and they are often away from home tending to their business affairs in another state. Frequently their wives and families accompany them on these trips, leaving their homes deserted. One in-marrying husband has relatives who have recently taken rental accommodations in a nearby area, and he spends much of his time visiting them. The men of this group do not pray together even on special occasions. Some attend the central mosque while others attend one or the other of the two prayer houses which serve other local groups in the area. There are very few feasts or other ceremonial events. Virtually the only activity in which local group members participate is occasional joint television viewing and visiting at the home of one
member of the group. Otherwise the local group has lost its importance for these households.

Land and the local group in Kampong Tiga

The single city block that comprises the residential area of Kampong Tiga is located in the old commercial centre of the town, an area which is now a busy entertainment zone. The land in this area is not Malay reserve and residents are of a variety of ethnic categories. The settlement pattern is such that most non-Malay residents occupy shop-houses facing onto the street and most Malay residents occupy a cluster of traditional-style Malay houses in the centre of the block behind the shop-houses. Kampong Tiga is a congested area of older buildings and it is subject to severe annual flooding. It is not an area which is favoured for establishing new residences. I was able to find only one Malay household which had purchased land--two lots--in the area in the recent past.

Kampong Tiga has a long history and many of the local Malay residents refer fondly to a time when the entire area was owned and used by Malays for homes and shops.

The eighteen Malay households that live on the thirteen registered lots of Malay ownership do not form a local group. There is no solidarity beyond the household for Malay residents in this area. There are several factors which make the situation in Kampong Tiga different
from that described above. The particular nature of the kinship relations and the land ownership pattern in Kampong Tiga may be among the factors which account for the absence of the local group here.

Members of the eighteen Malay households living in this area claim that they are all kinsmen although the ties they recognize are of an inferred character. Residents cannot identify the specific individuals that link them. With the exception of siblings living on the same lot, it is not possible for the residents of Kampong Tiga to trace kinship links with any other households.

Nearly all of the resident households have acquired their land holdings through inheritance and the vast majority of lots are presently held by multiple owners. For many of the lots the majority of these multiple owners reside in other urban areas. Most resident owners explain that this situation has come about because persons who have received partial shares through inheritance do not desire to reside on the land—in many cases the land is so crowded that additional households could not be accommodated—nor have they been willing to sell their shares for sums that locally resident households could afford. Two lots have

---

1 For example, a resident was told when he was young that his mother stood in a particular relationship to the father of Hashim, the present occupant of a nearby lot. From this he has inferred his own relationship to Hashim although he does not know the names of the individuals who link his mother and Hashim nor is he able to trace the specific links.
been bought by one household of Malay outsiders who presently reside in one lot and rent the other lot to a non-Malay household. A number of other lots have been bought by non-Malays. For those residents who live on land of which they only own a small share, the conditions of occupancy are very insecure. They do not have sufficient control over the future of their land to guarantee the stability of social relations necessary to establish a viable local group.

Many residents of Kampong Tiga own land in other areas. Most of this land is owned by persons who were born in Kampong Tiga and it does not represent resources brought into the household by an in-marrying spouse. Little of this land is located near the residence of rural relatives while none of it is near land owned by other Kampong Tiga residents. This land serves as an investment for the owning household and they most frequently receive a rent in cash from non-relatives who work the land.

Residents of Kampong Tiga have recently been told by the state government that their land will, in the next few years, be acquired for an urban redevelopment project. While this news does not particularly affect the pattern found at the time of research, it has numerous implications for the future of this area, the most important of which is the requirement that local residents find alternate housing before the beginning of this project.
Association in Kampong Tiga

There is no solidarity among the residents of this area which could be considered a local group. Members of the households of this area have very little interaction with one another. There is no prayer house or other similar association locale so there is no place where residents might casually interact. There is not very much informal home visiting, and interaction on the paths of the area is seldom more than an exchange of greetings. In the several Malay sundry shops of the area co-residents meet only occasionally to chat briefly. Residents of this area rarely give feasts at their homes. In the only case of a major feast given by a resident of this area at his home during the research period, only one other household from this area was invited. Even on holidays there is very little visitation among adjacent residents.

Whether there has always been the absence of a local group in this area is difficult to determine. Local residents describe an earlier period when residents interacted with their neighbours and when there was a functioning prayer house at which local residents prayed together. While these reminiscences may be wishful thinking, they do suggest that there may have been a local group which has since lost importance.

Very little association is involved with persons living on the non-local land holdings of Kampong Tiga.
residents. In most cases the residents of this land are non-relatives who work the urbanites' land and pay the owners a cash rental. The only transaction between these persons involves the collection of rent.

Even before they learned that they would have to move, households of Kampong Tiga had been devoting time to establishing ties with households in other urban local groups. Typically this was with households of kinsmen. Kampong Tiga residents devote substantial time to interaction with these relatives in the vicinity of the relatives' home. Frequently Kampong Tiga residents pray at the relatives' prayer house or engage in other activities with the relatives' local group. When they have occasion to give a feast or other special event, Kampong Tiga residents frequently do so at the home of these relatives and they include the relatives' local group in the invitation.

This type of participation assures that if they can obtain land near the house of one of these relatives and establish their household in this new location they will have a place in the local group in that new area. Informants state that if they are able to buy a land parcel in this new area then they will have the security of that land from which to become active members of this local group. As they do not have this kind of security of tenure in Kampong Tiga, most residents consider that it is better to ignore participation there and concentrate on building
ties elsewhere.

The announcement that the government plans to acquire their land added impetus to the necessity of finding new residential land. It has also meant that none of those shares owned by non-residents would be easily acquired by local residents because most owners believe that the government will pay substantial sums for even small shares when the land is formally acquired.

Discussion

In the analysis of these three cases we have seen that the context of land ownership gives rise to a variety of types of interest in this land and these interests influence the urbanite's association decisions. This analysis has indicated that the relationship between land ownership and these interests is complex and involves a number of variables concerning urban residential land as well as holdings in other areas. Some of these variables include: the manner in which the land was acquired, the nature of the present ownership-use pattern, and the nature of kinship ties or other associations with the holders of adjacent land parcels.

Through the analysis of these cases we have discovered that in areas where the majority of residential land is owned by—and is under the sole, or at least majority, control of--its occupants they may choose to
associate locally forming a local group. This is the case in Kampong Satu and Kampong Dua A (see Table XXIII). Conversely, where single residential lots are held by large groups of owners, many of whom are non-residents, the local group is less viable or not present at all—the case in Kampong Dua B and Kampong Tiga. In areas where resident ownership is characteristic, a majority of lots were transferred to their present owners by purchase while in those areas where non-resident ownership is predominant the majority of lots were received by inheritance. Furthermore, where kin links between the core members of the local group are traceable there is a vigorous local group despite the presence of a large number of outsider households. Conversely, where local residents can only infer kinship links the local group is absent.

The analysis of these cases has also indicated some of the complexities arising as urbanites attempt to articulate interests arising from land holdings at places other than their urban residence with those of the local group (see Table XXIII). The case of Kampong Satu provides a rather unusual situation in which interests in non-local land held by these urbanites had been acquired by purchase and urban neighbours tended to buy adjoining pieces of non-urban land. Some of the households of Kampong Satu face
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Land</th>
<th>Kampong Satu</th>
<th>Kampong Dua A</th>
<th>Kampong Dua B</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Occupied Lots</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Households</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Parcels</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode of Acquisition of Parcels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inheritance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data/Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership-Use Pattern of Lots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1A</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident-Ownership--Total Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Resident-Ownership--Total Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households - Links with Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Traceable Links</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Inferred Links</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local No Traceable Links</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XXIII
SUMMARY OF LOCAL GROUP FEATURES IN THREE LOCAL GROUPS
TABLE XXIII - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Nature of the Local Group</th>
<th>Kampong Satu Vigorous</th>
<th>Kampong Dua A Present</th>
<th>Kampong Dua B Moribund</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Local Land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Households Owning (% of total households)</td>
<td>13 (43)</td>
<td>8 (47)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18 (72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Parcels</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mode of Acquisition of Parcels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Kampong Satu</th>
<th>Kampong Dua A</th>
<th>Kampong Dua B</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inheritance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data/Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Use of Land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Use</th>
<th>Kampong Satu</th>
<th>Kampong Dua A</th>
<th>Kampong Dua B</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House for Relations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receive produce</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>share produce</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cash wage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relations work for themselves</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>share produce</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rent in kind</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relations work land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rent in cash</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners work themselves</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturing Crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location of Land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Land</th>
<th>Kampong Satu</th>
<th>Kampong Dua A</th>
<th>Kampong Dua B</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near Rural Relations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Urban Neighbours</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the more typical problem of articulating interests arising from owning inherited land in places near other relatives, although this is more clearly the case in Kampong Dua A. These households display a variety of adaptations to this situation, in most cases attempting to maintain a balance between association involving both the urban group and other rural ties. In the third case non-local holdings do not present this problem as in most cases they are not located near the holdings of relatives and serve only as a form of financial investment and security.

It is difficult from the analysis of these cases to isolate a single factor which accounts for the complexities described here. However, this analysis does indicate the importance of several variables, particularly land ownership and the nature of control of land by resident households. These warrant further investigation.

The analysis of these cases has further demonstrated the importance of the local group to Kota Bharu urban Malays. In most cases in which it is necessary to make a choice, urbanites choose the maintenance of urban local group ties over others. In fact, we saw in Kampong Tiga that in a situation in which there is no functioning local urban group many households begin to establish and reinforce ties with local groups in other areas. Clearly the local group has a central importance to the Malay urbanite. We have seen that many Malay urbanites devote
a large percentage of their non-working time to activities in the local group (See Table II, Chapter X). Further, we have seen that a significant number of an urbanite's associates are co-members of this group. The local group also serves as the social environment for many sacred and ceremonial events. In order to understand the significance of these groupings it is necessary to examine one further factor--its composition.

The significance of the local group

The transfer of urban land takes place, by and large, without reference to the town-wide system of occupation. Whether the land is transferred by gift, inheritance, or purchase, the occupation of either party is not of consequence in the transaction. As a result, nearly all local groups are occupationally heterogeneous. The ideology of association requires that members of the local group interact as neighbours without reference to the usual rigid boundaries imposed by the expectations of the town-wide occupational system.

The degree of occupational heterogeneity for each local group described in the three cases is summarized in Table XXIV. From this table it can be seen that in each instance the local group contains persons of a variety of occupational types.²

²In the situation of Kampong Tiga it is noted that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Type</th>
<th>Kampong Satu</th>
<th>Kampong Dua</th>
<th>Kampong Tiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Wage Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; (H)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; (M)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Retired (H)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; (L)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Wage Workers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; (M)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; (L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; Retired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trishaw Pedallers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the context of activities of the local group it is possible for each of these group members to establish ties with one another, ties across boundaries of occupational stratification which divide association in the town. This is a key to the relevance of land ownership for these local groups. Exchanges involved in associations between persons of similar status (i.e., similar occupations) are grounded in the confidence that it will be possible to maintain such an association at the discretion of either participant. However, in the environment of the town at large, when exchanges involve persons of different status no such guarantee is possible. The higher status person could terminate the exchanges at any time, producing a situation which would leave the person of lesser status feeling great embarrassment and shame. The risk of this is too high for such exchanges to be initiated. Thus, as was described in Chapter VI, the mechanisms of shame and embarrassment maintain the divisions which arise from occupational stratification.

However, persons of widely varying occupational status can meet within the context of the local group. Exchanges can be initiated by either party—although it there is much less heterogeneity than is the case in the other local groups. The percentage of businessmen approaches 50 per cent. The limited time depth of this data does not allow any conclusions to be drawn from this but the fact that there is no operative local group in this area suggests that where occupational heterogeneity has been lost the residents lose interest in local interaction.
appears most frequently by the person of higher status—and both members of the transaction have some guarantee that the exchanges will continue. Both members have an investment in adjoining land and for most urbanites this is an investment which is important to maintain. Regardless of his status, an urbanite needs neighbours, to assist in various tasks, with whom to pray, with whom to celebrate sacred and ceremonial occasions, and to share in the small satisfactions of daily life. It is also helpful if these neighbours are of various occupations as they thus have access to a variety of special resources in the town at large, a variety of resources that the urbanite can have access to only by association with persons of diverse occupation.

Thus, in a very real sense, it is the local group which makes life in the town possible. It is the associations of the local group which produce the major satisfactions of urban living and this is done by bringing urbanites who are otherwise isolated from one another by their occupational specialties into associations which result from, and are guaranteed by, the co-ownership of land. Where urbanites no longer control significant parts of their residential land, where they know that a series of exchanges begun with persons living nearby may be terminated—either because of the demolition of the area as in Kampong Tiga or because the future disposition of
the land may be in doubt as in the second group in Kampong Dua—the local grouping loses importance. Residents begin to look elsewhere to provide for cross-occupational associations and the other satisfactions of local group relations.
PART VI

CONCLUSION
CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters I have described the significance of land and neighbourhood as features of Malay urbanism. Using data derived from the observation of social action under a variety of circumstances and the statements of informants about aspects of urban life, I have described and analysed the manner in which urban Malays in the town of Kota Bharu use their time and choose their associates.

After describing the background of the town in Part II, in Part III I described and analysed the terminologies and idea systems applied by urbanites in defining various aspects of the urban milieu. In Part IV the basic data describing the use of time and the choice of associates in both ordinary and special times was presented, and Part V examined data concerning the relationship between land, the local group, and the neighbourhood. In the conclusion I shall review the argument of the thesis and summarize the major findings of the investigation.
I have attempted to provide an empirical description of the relationship between ideology and action as it is mediated by individual choice. Provencher, concluding an ethnographic comparison of a rural and an urban Malay community in Selangor, quotes the well known Malay proverb:

\[
\text{Hidup di-dunia biar beradat} \\
\text{Bahasa tidak berjual beli}
\]

Let us live in the world according to customs, for manners are not bought and sold. (Provencher 1971: 207)

My research confirms that indeed customs and customary idea systems are an important aspect of the social life of urban Kota Bharu Malays. I found that nearly all residents of the town had a very good knowledge of customary idea systems (adat) and many informants could relate customary practices in great detail for any event or occasion. However, I also found that the observed social behaviour of participants in a specific event appeared to have no definitive relation to the custom which supposedly "governed" the event. The social activities of the event were frequently at odds with the described customs. Furthermore, when informants were questioned about this they saw no discontinuity. Urban Malays in Kota Bharu do not see their lives governed by custom. Urbanites have choices and the body of customs and customary ideas is only one of the resources which
are manipulated in making choices. Unlike the situation described in the above proverb, in Kota Bharu custom is, indeed, bought and sold. It is manipulated by individual urbanites with a view to the costs and benefits of a particular course of action. Specificities of situation account for much of the variation in these manipulations and the analysis of such situations leads to an understanding of the fundamental factors that account for the character of Malay urbanism.

Malay urbanites create their associational life as they synthesize in their decisions the conflicting demands arising from, on the one hand, working at urban occupations and, on the other, owning urban land. It is in the urban neighbourhood where the synthesis is most frequently created. That urbanites must strike a balance between two aspects of town life is inherent in their being urbanites; that they do strike such a balance means that they recreate and perpetuate a static and involutional type of urbanism.

To be an urbanite, a man must have an urban occupation. This is an economic and a social necessity. It is virtually impossible for a household to survive in the town without some form of involvement in an urban occupation. Each occupation is specialized in terms of the knowledge, skills, and training required. Each occupation places those who are engaged in it in a particular
position with regard to specific financial, technical, and social resources. An urbanite's control over these resources is limited by considerations which arise from his type of employment. The craftsman controls one set of resources, has one set of friends and acquaintances, and knows one body of technical information, while the businessman controls another and the man who works in an office still another.

As we saw in Chapter VI, some resources are valued more highly than others and urbanites who have access to the more highly valued resources receive more esteem and deference from their fellow urbanites. The recognition of these differences in esteem is responsible for the categories of the urban stratificational system. The ideology of stratification by emphasizing the motif of pride keeps persons of different categories socially separated in the general town environment. To participate in social interaction across the boundaries of these categories with one who is not otherwise an established associate is very difficult as the potential for embarrassment to one party or the other is extremely high. For this reason friends and acquaintances tend to be persons of one's own status category, persons who have access to and control over roughly the same resources.

Urban life is not governed, however, solely by the ideology of work, and friends and acquaintances are
not the only kind of associates with whom urbanites have contact. Urbanites are also urban land owners and the ownership of urban residential land brings them into a spatial relationship with other urbanites who are their neighbours. As we saw in Chapter X, urbanites devote much of their time to activities at home and in the immediate neighbourhood. Nearly all special time activities have the neighbourhood as their focus.

Implicit in the association of neighbour, as in any type of social association, is the motif of humility that stresses the qualities of reciprocity and balance between individuals who are parties to the association. In the case of neighbours, ownership of adjacent land provides a common interest and at least a limited guarantee that reciprocity between the parties, once begun, will continue. It is particularly important in the case of association between neighbours to have such a guarantee which reduces the potential for the dissolution of the relationship. Land transfers in the town take place without reference to occupational status categories and therefore neighbours, members of the local group, are often of different status groups, as we saw in Chapter XII. Should the deference characteristic of such inter-status interactions be asserted by one party, the balanced reciprocity of the association would not be possible. However, the ideology of humility and the joint ownership
of, and interest in, adjacent land seems to militate against such a dissolution.

Paradoxically it is because neighbours are of different status categories, because the local group is occupationally heterogeneous, that the association is so important for the urban Malay. It is in associations and exchanges with neighbours that urbanites gain access to the wide and varied range of urban resources, which are otherwise denied them because of the specificities of occupation. It is for this reason that the urbanite finds neighbourhood association and activities so satisfying. It is in the neighbourhood and among members of the local group that urban Malays establish a community with their fellow urbanites. Here the urbanite finds solutions to the social dilemmas posed by urban life. The community depends upon the reciprocity of exchanges guaranteed by the ideology of neighbourly association and the ownership of urban land. The divisive character of the occupational and stratificational system is balanced by the unifying character of association in the urban residential neighbourhood.

As long as Malay urbanites have control over their residential land they can create the satisfying ties of neighbourly association which provide links to other types of urbanites and which are the basis of the urbanism in which they participate. However, when urbanites
lose control over the urban land, as we saw happening in one case in Chapter XIII, they lose that feature which is the basis of solidarity with neighbours, the feature which assures the continuation of reciprocity with persons of other status categories. When this happens the urbanites search for another part of the town where they can establish themselves and where they can create ties with a new set of neighbours. Rather than meeting the altered conditions in the old neighbourhood by creating new forms of social relations based on new principles which take into account the changed man-land relationship, they desert the old area and recreate the customary pattern in a new area. As a result, the pattern of urbanism remains unchanged; the urbanite does not create new social relations to accommodate the changed circumstances. It is for this reason that the urbanism of Kota Bharu has an involutional character. Urbanites come and go but the organization of the urban social system based on a carefully balanced relationship between stratification and neighbourhood remains in a permanently transitional configuration.

Provencher (1971) has argued that the interactional patterns of Malays in the heterogenetic city of Kuala Lumpur are merely an intensification of the rural pattern. This is in accord with what has become an anthropological commonplace of equating the urban
neighbourhood with the rural village. When viewed in
the context of the rural Kelantanese situation, such an
equation does not seem to be true. Although many Kota
Bharu Malays have only a short history of urban partici-
pation as they—or their parents or grandparents—are
raised in a rural environment and many urbanites maintain
at least some ties with rural activities, the urbanism of
the town is not a reduplication of rural life.

As we saw in Chapter IV, rural villagers are joint
participants in common economic and social activities.
There are relatively few distinctions among villagers in
their patterns of daily life, in personal wealth, or in
access to resources. Numerous social conventions serve
to minimize the few distinctions that do exist. Rural
villagers work at roughly similar tasks, using similar
skills, most of which are shared with their fellow vil-
lagers. There is little specialization. Exchanges
between residents of the rural village are characterized
by "balanced reciprocity" expressed in the idiom of kin-
ship relations. Villagers are kinsmen and relationships
and associations are expressed in terms of recognized
links of kinship.

Both the townsman and the villager are involved
in reciprocities with their fellows and while the nature
and expression of the reciprocity may be similar in the
town and in the village, the basis is different. In the
rural village reciprocity is based on the recognition by villagers of their similarities— their similar access to resources, their similar requirements, and similar occupations. In the town reciprocity is based on the recognition of differences— differences in access to resources, differences in occupation, and differences in requirements. In both cases a solidarity is formed around the recognition of these factors but the solidarity is formed on different grounds.

Other types of urbanism have solved the problems inherent in recognizing and dealing with differences between urban roles in other ways, with for example the rise of a proletarian class or the formation of voluntary associations. But in Malay urbanism we see a solution to the problem based upon the maintenance of reciprocity between individuals of different roles and statuses. It is the associations of the Malay urban neighbourhood where reciprocity is created and maintained and it is the ownership of contiguous land which makes the creation and maintenance of reciprocity possible. Inasmuch as land ownership patterns are unstable and have a tendency to break down over time, the structure of this type of urbanism has a static and involutional character.

There is still much work to be done in furthering the task begun here. Such variables as shifting personal
alliances, the basic problem of describing values, and the dynamics of individual choice strategies still remain to be explored. Despite its involutional character, the Malay urban system still has a potential for change. Further investigations of such things as changing occupational patterns, the growth of industrial employment, and a careful examination of changes in the patterns of association with friends as urban land becomes increasingly scarce should produce fruitful results. In the following Epilogue I shall explore the relevance of the findings of this investigation for a specific problem in national development policy formation.
PART VII

EPILOGUE
CHAPTER XV

DEVELOPMENT POLICY, ASSOCIATION,
AND LAND--A CASE STUDY

One of the objectives of the ethnographic analysis undertaken in the preceding chapters was to gain insight into what Cochrane has called "the subjective image people have of their circumstances" (1971: 84). It is by delineating the details of such an image that the anthropologist can make a concrete contribution to the process of formulating national development policy. In this Epilogue I shall demonstrate how specific insights discovered in the ethnographic analysis could be employed in a specific planning project. This Epilogue should not be construed as a negative critique of existing policy, agencies, or programs as, of course, these programs have been planned and implemented without knowledge of the findings of this research.

Development policy in Malaysia

By almost any measure applied, Malaysia ranks high among its immediate south-east Asian neighbours in measures of development. Its relatively stable government,
modernizing agriculture, international trade wealth from tin, rubber, and other exports, and its sound, if limited, economic infrastructure have contributed to making it easier for the country to achieve some success in "development." While the country has been caught up in the initial flush of this success, the government has been quick to realize the limitations, present and future, of the growth and development that has been achieved as well as some of the inequalities and social anomalies that have arisen as a result of these changes.

Malaysia, in the words of Milton J. Esman (1972), is an "administrative state" by which he means:

> the state is the dominant institution in society, guiding and controlling more than it responds to societal pressures, and administrative (bureaucratic) institutions, personnel, values, and styles are more important than political and participative organs in determining behavior of the state and thus the course of public affairs. (Esman 1972: 62)

Both the government and much of the population hold the view that it is the "experts," those at the top of the system, who know best. The major input to government from the general populace is in the form of votes in national elections. Party alliances are often drawn in such a way as to effectively make the articulation of local level concerns, which tend to appear communal, irrelevant at the national level where the dominant theme is one of unity. While nearly all citizens are concerned about "development
and progress"—and these are frequent topics of casual conversation—the projects and programs that pertain to these concerns usually enter the system from the top of the pyramid by way of the bureaucracy and administration.

These development programs and projects are integrated through several levels of government. Administration in Malaysia is organized on both a functional and a territorial basis. One set of inputs is through functionally defined cabinet-level ministers, their ministries, and the Prime Minister's office. The Prime Minister's office has a special unit specifically devoted to the planning and coordination of development activities at the national level working through the various ministries. The second set of inputs, territorially defined, is through the executive head of the state governments (in Kelantan this is the Chief Minister). Each of these state governments usually has an economic planning unit or a development officer coordinating the activities of various development agencies as well as those state agencies which are involved in various development projects. Nationally, implementation takes place through a variety of functional units, such as the Department of Public Works, Department of Labour, and the Urban Development Authority. At the state level implementation is through the district administration as well as a number
of functionally specific units. One of the most important of these is often of the form of a statutory corporation and frequently is called the State Economic Development Corporation. In 1974 there was such a corporation in operation in every state in the country. Many of these state organizations are in turn coordinated through informal councils at the national level (see Osborne 1974: 103).

This entire administrative system is, however, guided by the basic policy adopted on a national basis and described in the "five-year plan." This document sets the priorities which in turn guide the formation of policy. To date the country has had two such plans. The first, through an analysis of the four main socio-economic problems faced by the country, sets up a series of goals to be achieved:

(1) to promote integration of the people and states of Malaysia, (2) to provide steady increases in levels of income and consumption per capita, (3) to increase the well being of rural and low income groups, (4) to generate increasing employment opportunities, (5) to stimulate new economic activities which would lessen the dependence on rubber and tin exports, (6) to educate and train the population for increased development, (7) to institute an effective family planning program, (8) to open more land for agriculture development, (9) to provide more infrastructure, (10) to progress with health and social welfare development. (Government of Malaysia, First Malaysia Plan, p. 2, quoted in Osborn 1974: 79)

The period between the First and Second Malaysia Plan saw progress on all fronts as well as the recognition
of the political, economic, and social needs to effect a "restructuring of society." Specifically the administration was concerned with the growing disparities in various indicators of growth and development as these measured differences between the several ethnic categories which make up Malaysian society. While agriculture and rural life were on the whole improving, they continued to be dominated by a single ethnic category—the Malays; while commerce and manufacturing were also improving they were largely in urban areas and were dominated by the Chinese. The development and growth gap between these two sectors continued to widen. Administration saw this as a threat to the stability of the country and through the promulgation of the "new economic policy" as a major part of the Second Malaysia Plan they hoped to be able to have an effect on this situation. This second plan refers to the restructuring of society and a new economic policy. The stated goals of this second plan are:

(1) to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race and (2) [to accelerate] the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. This process involves the modernization of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community in all categories. (Government of Malaysia, Second Malaysia Plan, quoted in Osborn 1974: 79)

The second plan recognizes the importance of the
problems found in cities and draws attention to the policy imperative of dealing with life in these urban situations:

The urban centers are an important focus of [social and community services] programs. While these centers are in the forefront of modernizing Malaysian society, their very growth creates economic and social problems. The growth of industries and services in these areas has attracted large numbers of young people from the rural areas and smaller towns. This in turn has led to problems of congestion and unemployment. . . . Housing, utilities and community services have not been able to keep pace with urban growth. The rapid growth of urban centers has also accentuated the general imbalance in the racial participation in modern sector activities.

In the Second Malaysia Plan period, greater attention will be paid to resolving these problems. Programmes of urban development, including slum and squatter clearance, the construction of housing schemes, improvement of water supply and sewerage systems and the provision of other public amenities are important aspects of the plan. (Government of Malaysia, Budget Summary, 1969, p. 44, quoted in Osborn 1974: 98)

In this second plan urbanization is characterized as a beneficial phenomenon and one whose benefits must be brought to the rural population as well as to those persons physically present in the towns:

Policies will be designed and measures undertaken to foster the development of modern commercial and industrial activities in rural areas generally and in selected new growth centers in present rural areas in particular. This will speed up the exposure of rural inhabitants, particularly Malays and other indigenous people, to the influences of an urban environment. Industrialization in existing areas will be further developed so that migrants particularly Malays and other indigenous people, as well as persons already living in the areas, will play an increasing role in this development both in terms of ownership and control and in terms of employment levels. The Plan includes a number of projects concerned
directly with increasing the participation of Malays and other indigenous people in urban-type activities in existing towns and new growth centers. Included are projects that will provide business premises, finance, technical and marketing advice, training and business contacts to aid such persons in starting their own commercial ventures. . . . (Government of Malaysia, Budget Summary, 1969, quoted in Osborn 1974: 99)

The plan does not mention any specific urban centres in which this program is to be implemented and specifically makes no mention of Malay cities or Malay "urbanism." In fact the plan perpetuates, through a number of rather concealed assumptions and circuitous statements, the prevalent myth that "Malays" as a category are not at present equipped for urban living. I shall ignore this incorrect view of the Malay community and proceed instead to the question of the implementation of this policy in a limited area. With the exception of the recently established Urban Development Authority, there is no particular federal administrative unit whose responsibility it is to implement the urban policy of the Second Malaysia Plan on the local level. Beyond the federal government unit that becomes involved in policy formation and program implementation is the state government, in this case, the government of the State of Kelantan.

**Development planning at the state level**

In the hierarchy of Malaysian government and
administration the state is a unit which frequently finds itself acted upon rather than in the position of initiating action. Due to fiscal and administrative limitations, it is often difficult for the state government to supervise and administer existing programs, let alone to discover new ones requiring additional research and investment. However, the state economic planning unit does concern itself with the coordination and implementation of both the national development plan and various local initiatives. The agency serves as the coordinating point for various projects undertaken by the numerous departments and agencies of the state government. Coordination is attained through the use of the operations room technique introduced by the British during the Emergency period to serve military objectives. Each agency or department of the government sends a high ranking member of their staff to periodic meetings at which general progress is reported and problems and solutions worked out through discussion. The room where these men meet on a regular basis is called the "operations room" and contains maps, charts, and graphs illustrating the present state and expected goals of each of the projects underway in the state. One of the major tasks of the state development office is to keep these visual materials up-to-date and to coordinate progress in the various sectors. This form of project
control continues to be successful in development administration although coordination and reporting only work when there is something to coordinate and report and the use of this technique alone does not generate program activity.

The selection and coordination of development projects at the state level is deeply involved with political considerations, some of which I shall describe here.

Political considerations in state level development planning

For many years the state of Kelantan has been controlled by a regional political party, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP). The PMIP had been in the minority in the national government and had maintained a stance of sharp criticism of the national ruling parties. Many Kelantanese felt that the impasse between the PMIP and the majority Alliance national government meant that Kelantan did not share in full participation in national development programs. This situation changed dramatically in 1972 when the PMIP and the Alliance parties formed a coalition at the national level. This coalition won the election of 1974 and many Kelantanese felt that this new era of cooperation meant that Kelantanese would now receive their share of federal development funds and projects.
In addition to this long standing impasse with the federal government, the state has also had internal difficulties. Many of these difficulties arise as the state government attempts to articulate the demands from conflicting interest groups that make up Kelantanese society. These conflicts are particularly acute in matters concerning change and economic development.

A small but influential interest group is the traditional Kelantanese royalty who are major land holders in the state. While they are enthusiastically supported by the populace as the symbolic head of the state, it is not infrequent that their personal interests arising from land holdings and business ventures are in conflict with the interests of their subjects.

A second interest group is that comprised of members of the state civil service. These often very capable civil servants are greatly concerned with matters of career patterns, internal ranking, precedent, and procedure. They are often slow to venture onto new and potentially dangerous ground where firmly established policy or precedent do not show the way. Interests of this group often exert a conservative or equilibrating force in matters concerned with change or development. Still a further interest group is comprised of Malay businessmen and professionals, some of whom have close personal ties with royalty or the civil
service. Many of the businessmen and professionals have achieved success and wealth largely through their own initiative and ingenuity. In making their interests known in the political arena, they are anxious to see that new rules or procedures do not affect their personal positions and they hope whenever possible to turn these new programs and policies to their own benefit.

The Chinese of the state comprise yet another interest group, although they are perhaps best seen as comprised of two sub-categories. One is a category of persons whose ancestors have lived in the state for generations and who, like the Malay businessmen, have built a place for themselves through the strategic manipulation of local resources. A second category of this group is the Chinese who are relative newcomers to the state and who continue to maintain and develop their pan-Malaysian network of contacts through participation in national trading firms, logging companies, and other such enterprises centred on the wider national community.

The least vocal interest group is comprised of the bulk of the urban and rural population of the state. The interests of this group are often made known through occasional contacts with PMIP politicians who depend upon their support. While these elected politicians often fit into one of the above listed interest groups, they recognize the importance of articulating and supporting the
interests of their constituents.

In most activities the state government is required to articulate and police the interests arising from each of these groups. As Malaysia is an administrative state, this articulation most commonly occurs in the functionally specific administrative units. The consideration of these conflicting interests in particularly important in units of the state government concerned with development matters. It is in the context of these units and programs that each of the interest groups wishes to be assured that it receives its fair share of any benefits accruing in the course of developmental activities. For purposes of this case analysis, I shall describe one such unit.

Perbandanan Kemajuan Iktisad Negeri Kelantan (The Kalantan State Economic Development Corporation)

This statutory corporation was formed in 1966 by an act of the Kelantan state assembly and began operations in the year 1970. The corporation was charged with the responsibility of assisting the people of the state in their efforts toward social and economic development by undertaking and encouraging programs of a commercial, industrial, or other nature which would serve this end. The agency has a board of directors including representatives from most of the political interest groups mentioned
above. Daily affairs are under the supervision of a full
time staff headed by a director. Coordination of projects
with other agencies is promoted by the presence of the
corporation's director at meetings of a number of other
state bodies. In this way he is connected to channels of
information and policy formation with almost all govern­
ment programs in the state.

The Development Corporation takes a project
approach to its task. This allows the agency freedom to
move with flexibility and speed as the capital, joint-
proprietors, management know-how, and various other com­
ponents which make up each project become available. As
with most such agencies in other states, and following
their charge from the legislature, their projects tend to
be infrastructural and frequently are concerned with
initiating building projects. These projects are dis­
tributed throughout the state; although a large number of
them have been undertaken or planned for the Kota Bharu
district. Many of these are located within the town limits.

At the time of a report issued in 1973, the cor­
poration was engaged in a total of forty projects of which
fourteen were located in Kota Bharu district, nearly all
of these in the town. Of the fourteen projects, twelve
involved buildings, of which seven have been completed,
four were under construction, and one is in the planning
stage. Other projects include one industrial area still in the planning stage, located a short distance from the town, and a trading company which at the time of the research was fully operational. The construction projects are of many types, including gas stations, hotels, housing estates, and an urban renewal project. It is this urban renewal project which I shall describe below.

In the minds of many non-Kelantanese analysts a town of the size and type of Kota Bharu has very little potential for growth in terms of national development priorities and policy. As Osborn states the case:

> These cities [several, including Kota Bharu] do not operate at a scale to provide expectation fulfillment at the level desired by the Central government. . . . In short, the natural growth potential of these cities is not great; their environments, generated and containing, are too limited. Indeed, they may simply be too small. (Osborn 1974: 187)

This view is shared by many in national government and may in fact account for the limited number of programs begun in the town by national agencies. However, Kota Bharu is the state capital and the focus of most state activities and most Kelantanese not only believe it has potential growth but feel that it is most important to stimulate growth in the town. Many argue that it is the town which will serve as a stimulus to the dynamism of the state. It is state policy makers and politicians who are most strongly influenced by this view of the state's potential
growth and it is these men who have directed their attention to the town. Because of the importance of the town in this context, I have chosen to examine a project which has been initiated by a state agency in the renewal of the town.

Projek memperbaharui bandar Kota Bharu (Project to renew Kota Bharu)

This project, undertaken by the Kelantan State Economic Development Corporation (S.E.D.C.), is linked to several others which together form an attempt to cause a major transformation in the town. It involves four acres of land located in the centre of the town's old business district. The project has three parts, the first of which is the only part which is in the concrete planning stage. The second and third parts of the project will follow essentially the same pattern as the first part and involve pieces of adjacent land. They will be begun upon the completion of the first part.

The urban land in the first part of the project is a single city block with a settlement and use pattern similar to that of Kampong Tiga described in Chapter XIII. Chinese, Indian, and Malay shop-houses form the perimeter of the block. Often the proprietors, their families, and their shop assistants occupy the second and third floors of these houses. Behind the shop-houses, in the centre of
the block, are a number of large wooden houses of traditional Malay style. The majority of the Malay residents of the area live in these houses. As a result of problems arising from fractional and non-resident landownership, several of these houses were unoccupied and had been allowed to deteriorate, leaving several empty areas filled with rubbish and weeds. Despite the vacant lots, this was still an area of high population density and many of the occupied buildings were of poor condition.

It was the poor condition of buildings which the S.E.D.C. noticed when they surveyed the area and described it in an advertising brochure about the redevelopment project. The area to be redeveloped was:

Satu kawasan seluas libeh kurang 4 ekar yang sekarang ini dipenuhi dengen bangunan-bangunan kayu lagi usang akan di robokhan dan akan digantikan—degen bangunan-bangunan yang akan menambahkan seri bandar Kota Bharu. (S.E.D.C. 1973: 17)

[An area of about four acres that is now crowded with wooden buildings now obsolete shall be demolished and replaced with buildings that shall enhance the beauty of Kota Bharu.]

This statement indicates both the corporation's focus on buildings and their motivating goal in this project, the beautification of the city centre. As the director of the Corporation stated to me, it was this goal of beautification along with the secondary goal of providing business premises that motivated the adoption of the project. The suitability of the area for the project was determined by
a survey of the buildings and a visual determination that they were in fact in a "dilapidated" state. After this determination was made the machinery of the project was set in motion. Plans were drawn up, although they have been frequently changed and at the time of the research remained in a state of flux, and a land acquisition program established. The state acquired the land, suggesting that those who had residence there should move immediately. A few of the shops have been allowed to continue in business, renting their premises on a month-to-month basis until actual construction begins.

The statistics for the project and the architect's model for the new area are impressive. At a cost of nearly one hundred thousand Malaysian ringgit, by now no doubt substantially inflated, the building program will be carried out in three phases. Phase one involves the construction of forty-two units of four storey shop-houses and a major hotel. Phases two and three consist of adding, in the same area, three units of banks and a post office, as well as a number of hawkers' stalls in an adjacent unoccupied area. All of these buildings will be owned by the S.E.D.C. and leased at a variety of rates to prospective occupants. While the rental rates had not been established at the time of the research, it was thought that rates would be at about the following levels: four
storey shop-houses at $800 per month, the hotel leased at $7,000 per month, and the banks at a monthly rate of about $300. The high rate for the shop-houses would mean that any one house might have a number of sub-tenants using the upper floors in addition to the major tenants operating their stores on the ground floor.

Individuals and firms previously owning shops in the area will be given the opportunity to obtain leases on the new buildings if they wish to continue their businesses in the new project. Residents of the area will be given first opportunity to obtain rental accommodation in a new multi-storey housing complex which the S.E.C.D. is building about one mile from the city centre. In fact, most Malay households originally resident in this redevelopment area left the area shortly before or at the time of the land acquisition and sought accommodation in other urban or rural residential areas. As was described in the case of Kampong Tiga (see Chapter XIII), most Malay residents living on the interior lots of the redevelopment area own only small shares in their residential land, the majority of any one lot being held by non-residents. When the Development Corporation acquired land for its project, the residents' share of the payment after division with non-residents was often not sufficient for a household to purchase a similar parcel of urban land elsewhere. As a result, many of the residents of the area
purchased land in rural or suburban areas.

Judging from the success of a similar nearby project undertaken by the S.E.D.C., this new project will also be successful. It will no doubt fulfil the expectations and goals of the planners. In the eyes of many it will beautify the area and if enough Malay entrepreneurs can be found to fill the shops it will meet its economic goals as well. However, will the project serve to further the goals set forth in the Second Malaysia Plan, goals to which the State Development Corporation are also firmly committed? The answer to this question must be both yes and no. The project may serve to "increase the participation of Malays . . . in urban type activities in existing towns and new growth centers" but the Malays who participate may in fact be suburban residents. Thus the particular project described here may have the effect of reducing "the influence of an urban environment" on the Malay population by necessitating their removal to a less urbanized area and by reducing their daily participation in urban activities and their strongest ties to the urban environment, the ownership of urban land. If it were to do this it would be working contrary to the goals of the national plan. The fact that residents have been offered alternate housing within the town boundaries does not solve this problem. Those houses available for purchase
are beyond the means of city core dwellers and the only other alternative, rental accommodation in multi-storey flats, involves a style of life that does not meet the satisfaction expectations of these long-term urbanites.

The ethnographic materials described in the previous chapters provide insights which could be used to design a more effective plan which would meet both the goals of the Second Malaysia Plan and the political realities of the State Economic Development Corporation. In order to meet my goals in this exercise of showing how these research findings can be useful in a specific situation, it is necessary to focus on a concrete program. In the next part I shall describe how such a plan could be devised. I must reiterate that this exercise should not be seen as critical of the redevelopment program as it was established by the S.E.D.C. The policy which they designed was begun long before my research was conducted. In terms of their middle range goals, their planning was adequate in every way and the project will no doubt meet their goals.

Proposal for urban core development plan

It is difficult to devise an urban project incorporating the principles of the Second Malaysia Plan because the Plan does not deal with the problem at a sufficiently
specific level. It leaves a great deal of room for interpretation by those charged with implementation and no doubt the interpretation of the plan varies from one administrative department to another. In order to move from the abstract principles of the plan to concrete program activities it is necessary to make a number of assumptions about how the plan is to be interpreted by implementing agencies. I shall describe a number of these assumptions below. While I have no data to indicate that any of these specific assumptions are in fact made by any agency or department, they are not in contradiction to any of the basic principles of Malaysian government or politics as I know it.

The first assumption to be made here is that the administration desires to encourage and improve Malay urbanism, constituted as a large number of persons of Malay ethnicity physically resident in the core of the city, not merely operating businesses there or working in urban offices or factories. A second assumption is that these Malays will be living in close proximity to members of other ethnic groups with whom they will have frequent interaction. A correlate of this assumption is that the administration desires to improve the urban infrastructure in which these Malays will live. A third assumption is that the administration is both willing and able to manipulate the social variables as well as physical ones in
the pursuit of their stated goals. And a fourth assumption is that the administration holds the belief that the most satisfactory manner in which to reach the objectives and to serve the goal of the program is through building on existing patterns of behaviour and values displayed by the population rather than to change these patterns radically in directions which the administration sees as constituting the proper form of urbanism either through education or through forcible reorientation and relocation.

Based upon these assumptions, it follows that if the government wishes to encourage the continued viability of a Malay urban community it must concern itself with maintaining and increasing the satisfaction of urban Malays and potential Malay urbanites. If the urban social environment is to produce satisfaction for its participants, it must provide a context in which the valued social relationships that the population find satisfying can be developed and expressed.

We know from the ethnographic analysis that one of the important contexts in which such valued relationships are created and maintained is the local group. In Chapter XIII we discovered the concomitants associated with the creation and maintenance of such a group. Among these were: the ownership of urban land by its occupant households, the existence among some residents of ties of
kinship, and the formation and reinforcement of neighbourhood ties among adjacent households. Also important was the occupational heterogeneity of the neighbourhood. When all of these factors were present the local group was viable and active and local residents devoted time to activities in the residential area and derived satisfaction from such participation.

On the basis of this information and following from the above described case situation, it is possible to set out a number of aspects of a policy of urban redevelopment.

If a policy of urban redevelopment in a central-urban core location desires to achieve a settled community of Malay urbanites and provide locations for the operation of business enterprises, it follows that beyond merely physical premises for the business enterprises the program should: (1) provide land which can be considered valuable by resident owners in terms of the satisfactions deriving from daily association among clusters of closely related kinsmen and secondly of clusters of neighbours through which links of kinship run or can be developed; (2) provide the necessary space and facilities so that appropriate association locales and situations can develop; (3) provide for the spatial orientation of these land parcels, and dwellings, in such a way that interaction between living units can follow associational lines. This must
be done in such a way that orientation can be easily changed as new associations emerge; and (4), and perhaps most important, it provide for the protection of the land-man relationship over time so that it does not break down, while still maintaining both the spirit and the letter of the religious and civil laws on which inheritance is based. These four policy imperatives must, of course, be achieved in the context of the multi-ethnic population which makes up the town, and which is characteristic of this central area of the town.

That it is in fact possible to design a program which will meet these provisions should be evident as none of them are contradictory of others nor do they require the expenditure of prohibitive sums of money. I will, in the concluding pages of this chapter, outline one concrete program which could follow from these provisions involving the land area of the S.E.D.C. urban redevelopment project. I realize that this is merely an illustrative exercise and that many other solutions are also possible.

The problems of restructuring land relationships in this area have, to a certain extent, been solved as the S.E.D.C. has already succeeded in alienating this land in at least part of this area through purchase from the previous owners. Additional land could be acquired by the same means. After zoning the land to conform with the
dimensions and objectives of the project and with reference to providing for the desired mix of commercial premises and residential space, the land could be sold, or otherwise granted, to residents and businesses which, in receiving their grants, would agree to abide by a number of stipulations which would reflect the project's goals. These stipulations could be incorporated in the zoning mentioned above. Certain of the business premises could be retained by the agency for rental directly to various tenants but it is important that residential land be made available on an ownership basis. One spatial possibility for realizing such a program would be to follow the existing pattern and surround the perimeter of the block, or to combine adjacent blocks into larger parcels and to surround the perimeter of this area with shop-houses. This perimeter of shop-houses would be intersected by numerous lanes and paths giving access to the interior section. The interior area would be zoned for Malay single and multiple household dwellings, to be constructed by the owners for their own use. Perhaps this would require the assistance of government grants. This would provide for an ethnic mix, as some of the shop-houses would no doubt be rented by non-Malays and daily contact would occur while also providing the satisfactions of Malay co-residence. Land grants should be of a substantial size to allow several dwellings to be
constructed by siblings or other relatives on a single parcel, without crowding. The construction of additional rental units could be permitted as long as the household of the grantee is also resident on the property. The size of the lots must be specified and subdivision prohibited. Along with this must go a requirement that the lot continue under single ownership and under no circumstances be subdivided through inheritance or sale. On the owner's death the lot must pass as a single unit, or alternately it must be sold to another single owner—perhaps at a regulated price to prohibit speculation—who will reside on the land. Proceeds from such a sale could then be distributed according to traditional inheritance principles.

The problem of to whom to sell or grant the land at the outset could be solved by allowing first priority to present residents. These are people who have had substantial urban experience and who could form a nucleus of the community as it absorbs others. Lot prices must be kept at a reasonable level, probably requiring government subsidy, to allow or encourage persons of modest means to take up residence in this scheme. By making such subsidies it would be possible to assure some degree of occupational heterogeneity. This end could also be served by encouraging persons of various occupations to settle on the land. The need to quickly establish residential
clusters of closely related kinsmen, as seems so important to urban life, is an important one and this is an area in which conscious manipulation should be applied. A few such clusters could be encouraged to take up residence on adjacent land parcels and again a preference scheme for such groupings could be adopted.

In conjunction with establishing the land tenure patterns, attention would have to be given to providing association locales and situations within the local setting. Prayer houses could be established by reserving space in the land apportionment scheme. An important association situation could be created by encouraging the initial local landowner-residents to assist one another in constructing their own houses. These houses should be of the usual materials, for example: wood, which would facilitate construction by local residents as well as being relatively inexpensive. They should be so designed as to allow for the reorientation of entrances, porches, and other features as association patterns change or as needs for expansion arise.

As mentioned above, the initial residents of this scheme should be urbanites, persons with urban living experience and preferably with urban employment. This would mean that as new urbanites moved into this area through rental\(^1\) or through marriage into local families,

\(^1\)A number of rather more elaborate rental units
they would be faced with a stable and experienced urban community in which to settle.

Care should be taken that the settlement pattern suggested here does not become a walled city—Malay houses surrounded by three-storey shop-houses occupied by non-Malays. This would be prevented by the plan to have many of the shops and shop-houses occupied by Malay businessmen who could help to encourage more local interaction with persons in the perimeter buildings.

The purpose of this program would be to build a viable local group such as is found in various other parts of the town, with the ultimate purpose of improving the "satisfaction" which individual Malay urban residents find in their living environment. By so doing this central city would be stabilized and provide for future growth. This would ensure participation by persons of all ethnic categories and contribute to the effective "restructuring of Malaysian society."

The above scheme would be feasible in terms of meeting the policy goals set forth in the Second Malaysia Plan, but inasmuch as the project would be carried out by the Kelantan State Economic Development Corporation political viability in the Kelantanese context is also important. While it is difficult to measure and impossible to could be allowed resembling those perhaps in Kampong Dua A, keeping in mind that land owners must be resident on the land along with their rental units.
predict viability, one indicator would be the degree to which the various interest groups that articulate with one another in state politics would be served by such a program. This can be briefly evaluated. Facilities in the outer perimeter area would serve the business and commercial interests of Kelantanese royalty, Malay businessmen, and both groups of the Chinese community, all of whom would be able to establish businesses and offices in the modern shop buildings provided. These enterprises would also be served in that many of their employees would be able to find housing accommodation in the shop-houses and in the interior houses as well. Employees would be within easy reach of their place of employment. The interests of the state Civil Service would also be served as they would be faced with less complex administrative problems in the new area, once the initial innovations had been regularized, as daily life would follow established patterns with which they are familiar. Social control would be fostered by established patterns of community organization and would require less administrative intervention. The administration would not, for example, be faced with the problems of disorganization inherent in trying to maintain and service such unfamiliar living habitats as high-rise apartment blocks. Furthermore, the interests of the bulk of the population would be served by the amenities provided by the area as well as the advantages of having a
multi-purpose area in the urban core.

Conclusion

The above described proposal is, of course, both tentative and speculative. To devise such a program would require the cooperation of many specialists: public health officers, utility services planners, and building, road and pathway designers. The purpose of venturing such a plan here even in an incomplete form is to indicate that operating with general policy guidelines and the assumptions arising from these guidelines and with the empirical research findings of the ethnography, it would be possible to design such a project. It would also be possible to do so in many other ways, as long as the research findings are taken into consideration. That the city centre of Kota Bharu will change is a truism, that it will reach the renaissance that is envisioned, within the Malay idiom, is possible if consideration of the satisfaction of the urban population is given equal weight along with the more physical necessities of planning decisions. The definition of conditions influencing satisfaction is the task of a policy-relevant anthropology. This dissertation is offered as a tentative contribution in this direction.
LITERATURE CITED

Ahmad Ibrahim


Anderson, Robert

1975 Personal Communication.

Barber, Bernard


Barth, Frederick


Bascom, W.


Belshaw, C. S.


Benet, Francisco


Bruner, Edward

Cochrane, Glynn


Coedes, G.


Davis, William G.


De Briey, Pierre


Dewey, Richard


Djamour, Judith


Dobby, R. E.


Downs, R. E.


Duncan, O. D.

Emerson, R.


Epstein, A. L.


Eisman, Milton J.


Evers, Hans-Dieter


Firth, Raymond


Firth, Rosemary

Foster, George M.

Fryer, D. W.

Geertz, Clifford

Ginsburg, N. S.

Hamzah Sendut

Homans, George C.

Hooker, M. B.

Howard, Alan

Keesing, Roger

Kessler, Clive S.
Leach, Edmund

Lerner, Daniel

Lewis, Oscar

McGee, T. G.

Mohammed bin Nik Mohammed Salleh

Murphy, Rhoads

Nagata, Judith

Osborn, James
1974 Area, Development Policy, and the Middle City in Malaysia. Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Research Paper 153.
Poleman, Thomas T.


Provencher, Ronald


Plotnicov, Leonard, and Arthur Tuden (eds.)


Raybeck, Douglas A.


Redfield, Robert, and Milton Singer


Reiss, Albert J.


Roff, William R.


Sa'ad Shukri bin Haji Muda

Sahlins, Marshall


S.E.D.C.


Silverman, Sydel


Sjoberg, Gideon


Tennant, Paul


Wertheim, W. F.


Wheatley, Paul


Willner, Ann Ruth

Wirth, Lewis


Wyatt, David K.

APPENDIX I
NOTES ON FIELDWORK

General

The field research was carried out from November 1972 to August 1974. For the period January 1973 to August 1974 my wife, daughter, and I were residents in the town of Kota Bharu, Kelantan, West Malaysia. Of the several types of data that were collected in the course of this research perhaps the most important was a journal account of my own daily activities, meetings, conversations, and impressions. Data recorded in this journal formed the basis of many of the insights which I have reported here.

I began the research with the plan of enumerating personal social networks of townsmen. It was my intention to do this without concentrating on geographically demarcated units. However, I soon found that such an approach was not compatible with the structure of the urban social life I was observing. Networks were situationally specific and persons occupying significant positions in a network in one activity did not do so in others. As a result of this discovery I directed my attention to recording participation in a variety of events and
activities. It quickly became clear that it was no longer practical or necessary to collect such data on a town-wide basis. As I had noted that many activities had the residential neighbourhood as their locale I chose to limit my intensive data collection to the activities of residents of three urban residential neighbourhoods. I continued to observe as many activities throughout the town as possible and I followed residents of the research areas as they participated in a variety of urban environments and activities in other parts of the town. The first area chosen for intensive research was that area directly surrounding my own house. In consultation with a number of Malay townsmen, two other areas were chosen. These three areas were selected as they provided examples of three of the most common types of urban residential areas found in the town.

Household Data

The first research activity was to enumerate households in the three research areas. I began with the households of my initial contacts in each area and upon completing the enumeration of their households I asked the informants to introduce me to other household heads in the immediate vicinity. As I did this I also mapped each area, recording houses, shops, prayer houses, and other locales. This map provided a check to insure that no local residents
were left out of the enumeration. Enumerating household data for a total of 302 households was a slow process which continued throughout the entire period of fieldwork. As I was working on the basis of personal introductions, it was frequently necessary to wait until a known informant had time to make the necessary introductions for me. There was also the problem of finding people at home and the difficulties presented by newcomers arriving in an area and others leaving. In some cases it was necessary for me to visit a household without an introduction although most of these visits were made only after I had become well known in the neighbourhood. After the formal introductions had been completed either at the first visit or on a subsequent one I collected from the head of each household (either man or woman) a genealogy of all the "relatives" they could remember as well as the names of the spouse's relatives. I also collected a list of all of the persons living in the household and their relationship to the household head, if this was not evident from the genealogy. For each person entered on the genealogy I recorded the place of birth, the place of habitual residence, and occupation, if employed. Later in the research period I returned to collect information about land ownership and land use. In the course of collecting this enumerative data I also elicited the informants' views on the definitions of kin categories, differences between various
occupations, and general views about town life. This information was recorded in my daily journal.

I used this enumeration procedure to establish my identity in each of these areas and to explain to the population what I was doing and for what purpose. I also explained to informants that I was interested in learning more about their daily and special activities. This enumeration provided the introduction necessary to collect the second class of data.

**Event Data**

**Special Events.**

I began my collection of event data by inquiring at each enumerated household about special events in which they might be participating. I expressed an interest in observing the event and in most cases was invited. In addition to attending the event I interviewed the host whenever possible and collected from him a description of the event and a list of persons attending or invited to attend. Using this list and often working in conjunction with the collected genealogy, I asked the host to characterize each of the guests and discussed with him their various attributes. This data was filed and referenced as to events and hosts.

As I became better acquainted in the three research areas and my interests became known, residents often
included me in their guest lists without being asked. The fact that I would take photographs of the event if asked added impetus to many of these invitations. Informants came to understand that I was interested in even the most informal sort of activity and they would often record information on events which I could not or did not attend. These volunteered lists were collected and later checked against the recollections of other participants. In the two areas where I was not living several young men of the neighbourhood acted as informal local assistants. If I happened to miss an event they would tell me about it and we would go together to the home of the host to collect the required information. Thus with the exception of the most private and most informal events I collected quite a complete record of events taking place in these three areas during the research period. Formal events for which records are complete total forty-two.

Where events took place that had no host, such as prayer house meetings or sports activities, I contacted one of the participants and collected his account of the event. This account was then often validated by other participants. In the case of regular prayers at the prayer house, at four times during the research period I collected systematic lists of attenders over a one week period. These lists were supplied by attenders who often had the help of other participants. The same procedure
was used to collect information about persons who frequented local coffee shops or sundry stores.

Holiday Occasions

During the fasting month data on attendance at feasts to break the fast were collected in the same manner as other special events. In the case of holiday visiting a different approach was used. In each of the three research areas a stratified sample of household heads was selected to include persons of many occupational types, both newcomers to the local group and life-long residents. In the days immediately following Hari Raya Puasa persons in this sample were interviewed and a description of the activities in which they had engaged during the holiday season collected. The names of the guests visiting the informants and the names of persons the informants visited were recorded. For each entry the host's or guest's place of residence and relationship to the informant was noted. In the course of recording this information a great number of general informant comments were also recorded. At this same time I also recorded information about any feast to break the fast which the informant had given or attended. This served as a limited check on the above material.

Data on the informants' activities during Hari Raya Haji were collected from the same sample of informants, using the same procedures with the exception that informants
were also asked about their participation in *korban* exchanges. For each person who had participated I collected a full description of the particulars of the event. In addition to this source of data on the *korban* I also canvassed each research area immediately after the holiday period and collected data on all of those slaughters in which local people had participated that had not been recorded through the above procedures.

**Daily "Ordinary Time" Schedules**

The daily activity schedules were recorded near the end of the field research period at a time of year when few "special" events were taking place. Informants were selected in each research area to provide a variety of occupational types as well as to include both locally born and newcomer household heads. The most convenient time to carry on interviews was in the early evening between the time that men got home from work and the first evening prayer. I found that time considerations allowed about eight persons to be covered in a single evening. Thus in each of the three research areas eight informants were selected and these eight informants interviewed for eight consecutive nights. In these interviews I collected an account of the informant's activities in the preceding twenty-four hour period. I tried to make these interviews as unstructured as possible, allowing the informants to
stipulate the units of time and to describe their activities in detail. At the beginning of the week it was frequently necessary to prompt the informant until he understood the nature of the inquiry, but after this it was usually only necessary to record the schedule as the informant recounted it. In some cases where I thought the informant was neglecting activities of importance I prompted him. After the completion of data collection in one area I waited to begin the data collection in the next area until the following week. As a result of this timing the research day number fell on the same day of the week and thus schedules from the different areas were easily compared.

In the course of collecting these schedules I also collected information on the nature of the various activities recorded. I attempted to get informants to identify all the persons whom they met and to describe where they originally had met them and what the nature of their association with them was. In the course of collecting these schedules I also recorded vast amounts of general data on the informants' daily lives.

Land Data

Data on land holding and acquisition was collected from several sources. Near the end of the research period when my identity and purpose had become firmly established
in the eyes of most residents, I began a survey of households in each of the three areas to record the land parcels held by members of the household. At each house I interviewed either the head of the household or the spouse and I recorded information about their land holdings both in the town and in other areas. In each household I interviewed only one person and accepted his knowledge of the holdings of other household members as definitive although in some cases other household members corrected these accounts. For each land parcel its mode of acquisition and present use was noted. Where parcels had multiple owners the other owners were identified and whenever possible located genealogically. For each parcel of urban land a history of ownership and transmission was collected as far back in time as present residents could remember these details. Disparities in the accounts of different informants were worked out by cautious cross-checking.

Data on urban land in the three research areas were also collected from government sources. It was possible to collect data on some lots from the state land office and information on nearly all lots was collected from the town board office. These data from the public record provided a valuable check on the verbal accounts of informants. In some cases it was not possible to make data from these two sources agree and in those cases the reports of informants have been relied upon as the more accurate.
A Holistic Perspective

When an anthropologist works in an urban setting there is often the temptation to become so isolated in the study of a single neighbourhood that he loses sight of the general qualities of town life. Throughout this research I tried to keep in mind the town as a unit of study. As a single fieldworker working without assistance, it was necessary to concentrate the collection of household and event data in several neighbourhoods. However, at all times I recorded such data as were available from my general observations. Specific findings from one research area were frequently checked against those of another. The need to travel between the three areas on a regular basis meant that I came into contact with many different aspects of the town life. I established a wide range of acquaintances throughout the town and I often discussed aspects of the research findings with them. These conversations served as a valuable form of check on the more limited specific findings.
### APPENDIX II

**POPULATION STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Area</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Business District</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padang Bank</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Lama</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEDC Lands</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Che Su</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Riverside Congested Residential Areas in the Town Centre</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Atas Kubor</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorong Minyak Gas</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Business District</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasar Besar</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>2373</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3036</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitional Residential Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Tunku Maharani</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2224</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padang Garong</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## POPULATION STATISTICS - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Area</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government Quarters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Puteh</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padang Dato Perdana</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalan Raja Dewa</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalan Bayam</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strip Development</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalan Kuala Krai</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Wakaf Siku</td>
<td>1183</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1489</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Dusun Muda</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2212</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing Estate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Limau Manis</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1309</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residential Areas in the Old Town</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Penambang</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1346</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Kubang Pasu</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Merbau</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2340</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Atas Banggol</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Area</td>
<td>Ethnic Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Masjid</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong China</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Areas of Newer Mixed Type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Wakaf Mek Zainab</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padang Cluchor</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Kebun Sultan</td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2036</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Kubor Kuda</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalan Zainal Abiddin</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Paya Pernama</td>
<td>(Included in figures for Padang Kluchor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Sireh</td>
<td>4997</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5959</td>
<td>1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Cost Housing Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchangan Rumah Murah</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorer Residential Areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Sungei Budor</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Sungei Keladi</td>
<td>1114</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Atas Paloh</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### POPULATION STATISTICS - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Area</th>
<th>Ethnic Categories</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Squatter Areas in the Town Centre</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Balek Kota</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Dalam Kubu</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boundary Settlements</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Paya Senang</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Langgar</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Kubor Maras</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Telipot</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Islah Lama</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Che Hussein</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Paya Gading</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>37,052</td>
<td>16,251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Jabatan Perangkaan (Statistics Department)  
Kuala Lumpur
GLOSSARY OF MALAY TERMS

adat, custom
adik, younger sibling, also adek
adik-bradik, siblings
akaka, ceremony celebrating child's first hair cutting
ambil upah, to be paid a fixed sum (usually as a craftsman)
anak, child
anak angkat, adopted child
anak baik, well-born person
anak saudara, collateral relative of the descending generation
anak sepupu, child of a cousin
bah merah, an historical flood of the Kelantan river
balai, hall, a public building
bharu, new
batek, fabric printing by means of wax resist
berchuko rambut, see akaka
berjaja, hawker
berniaga, businessman
bersanding, public declaration of marriage
bersilat, stylized ritual combat, Malay self-defense
bersunat, circumcision
besar, large
bikang suruh, semi-ceremonial occasion on which a rice porridge is made
bomoh, practitioner of Malay medicine
broker, a type of businessman, broker
budok, child, an age category
budok kampong, village lad
dekat, close, close relatives
duapupu, second cousin
gata teksi, trishaw pedaller
gotong royong, community work project
Hari Raya Haji, a religious festival commemorating the visit of pilgrims to Mecca
Hari Raya Puasa, festival at the end of the fasting month
hedangan, a seating group for a feast
ifar, affinal relative
imam, official supervisor of the mosque
insuran, a type of selling, by instalments
istana, palace, royal residence
isti'adat Melayu, Malay custom
jalan, road
jauh, far, distant relatives
jiran, neighbour
jiran depan mata, close neighbours
jual kaki lima, hawking goods on the sidewalk
jual rata-rata, hawking goods by travelling around to various places
kampong, rural village
kathi, chief religious officer of one of the state districts
kawan, friend
kawan kerja, work friend
kedai, shop
kedai kopi, coffee shop
kedai runchit, sundry shop
kenalan, acquaintance
keluarga, kinsmen
kerja kampong, village work
kerja sendiri, self-employed
ketua kampong, headman
ketumpat, rice cakes:

khadi m Koran, ceremony upon first completing reading of the Koran by a new student

khenduri arwah, feast in honour of deceased relatives or friends

khenduri kesurkraan, see khenduri nazar

khenduri malut, feast held during the month in which the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed occurs

khenduri nazar, feast given at the fulfilment of a vow, in thanks

kilang batek, batek factory
kontrektor, contractor
kota, town, literally fort or walled area

Lembaga Bandaran, town board
lorong, lane

macham-macham, as a kind of work: to do many things

madrasah, prayer house, or a religious school; also bailasah, surau

Maglis Ugama Islam, state Religious Council

makan buka puasa, feast to break the fast
makan gaji, to earn a wage; wage earner
makan laksa, informal feast to eat laksa noodles with sauce
mak sepupu, pak sepupu, collateral relatives of the ascending generation
malu, shyness, shame
masjid, mosque
masjid besar, main mosque
mas khawin, wealth, often gold, transferred at the time of marriage
menyambut menantu, feast given at the return of the newly married couple to the home of the groom
mertua, spouse's parent
muhibbah, good will
mudim, professional circumciser
mufti, chief officer of the state Religious Council
nikkah, registry of marriage
orang bandar, urbanite
orang besar, important person, "big man"
orang kampong, rural person
orang kaya, rich man
orang lain, others, non-associates
orang tengah, middle man, in a perjorative sense
padang, field, or square
padi, rice fields
pasar, market
pembawa teksi, taxi driver
penghulu, a local level administrative officer
penggawa, officer in charge of subdistrict
perai, middle man
perasan, pride or esteem
pergawlan, non-kinsmen within one's social circle
persaudaraan, friendship
pertunangan, declaration of intent to marry
pinjaman, work project to benefit organizer
potong korban, ritual slaughter
raja, sultan
sahabat, intimate friend, also sahabat karib
sain, friend
satay, skewered, spiced meat
sembayang hajat, prayer for a stipulated intention
sepak raga, kick-style volleyball
sepupu, first cousin
tanah wakaf, land endowed for religious purposes
tok sepupu, cousin related through ascending generations
traweg, special prayer said during the fasting month
trishaw, three-wheeled bicycle taxi, also teksi
tuan kedai, store proprietor
tukang, craftsman
tukang batek, fabric printer
tukang kayu, carpenter
tukang masak, cook
tukang perak, silversmith
ugama, religion

vudu, condiment made of fish

wharis, kinsmen

zakat, religious tax