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RESPONSIVE COMMUNITY PLANNING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

THE KOTA BHARU, BULUH KUBU CASE STUDY

By

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an examination of what the elements of responsive planning are, how they can be applied, and why existing planning conditions at the time of this research prevented such an approach from realizing its full potential in community planning for Kota Bharu.

The goal of the research was to determine whether community planning in Kota Bharu, Malaysia, could be made more responsive to the residential needs of low-income groups. As a participant-observer, I applied concepts from the planning literature on Third World urbanization, low-income housing and community development to the realities of the planning process I worked in.

A survey framework was applied which sought low-income residents' participation in the planning process so that government efforts in urban renewal could be more responsive to community needs. Based on this information, two planning scenarios proposing redevelopment and rehabilitation strategies for the Buluh Kubu site were presented.

For planning to be more responsive, it is my conclusion that a change in attitude, not technology, is what is demanded. Depressed neighbourhoods, such as Buluh Kubu, must be seen as organic parts of the total environment, not slums disassociated from the rest of the town. Indigenous planners must realize that substandard housing is only a symptom, not the cause, of the societal in-

equality they can work towards solving. Necessary to such an understanding is a redefinition of commitment by indigenous planners regarding their responsibility to serve low-income groups through participatory planning. A major theme of this work, therefore, is that planners should reinforce, rather than destroy, attempts by low-income groups to house themselves. By concentrating on the delivery of communal infrastructure, planners can best utilize their efforts towards community development as a partner with low-income residents who, with the proper assistance, have the potential to provide their own shelter.

In terms of Canada's global response to the problems of planning in developing nations, it is the conclusion of this study that foreign aid programs which only stress technological assistance tend to create Third World dependence, not development.

It is recommended that more self-help, participatory planning programs be adopted by those concerned so that development responsive to the basic community needs of Third World Nations can be realistically achieved.

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## CHAPTER 1

### URBANIZATION, PLANNING AND THE SQUATTER: A REVIEW

#### I. INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate the situation of the Buluh Kubu squatters in Kota Bharu, a discussion of the Third World urbanization process is necessary. Understanding how a town the size of Kota Bharu develops in relation to primate cities is essential to an appreciation of Third World governments' planning policy and use of scarce capital. An understanding of the "pull" of rural residents to urban centers for job opportunities and the resulting condition of squatters depends on the ability to analyze migrant flows between regions. A system of industrial location through a national urban hierarchy encourages planning for anticipated growth. Especially in the area of housing for workers, industrial location of the right type combined with schemes for self-help housing in small towns dispersed throughout a nation, may effectively provide accommodation for some of the urban population termed "squatters". A discussion regarding the definition and situation of those regarded as squatters, and how these people have become victims of the urbanization process and policies of Third World governments concludes this Chapter.

## II. URBANIZATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

### A. Overview of the Third World Urbanization Process

#### 1. First World Urbanization

A United Nations seminar on Third World development programs in 1973<sup>1</sup> reported that the world's total population would reach a figure of 6.5 to 7 billion by the end of the century, and about half that number would live in urban areas. During the 1970's alone it was estimated that 450 million people would seek accommodation in urban areas. The advanced process of urbanization in the developed countries of the world will continue with the urban population increasing from 80-90 per cent of the total. In the developing world however, the increase will be much more dramatic as the U.N. seminar's participants expect urban population to rise from 20-50 per cent of its present total.

According to Kingsley Davis in The Urbanization of the Human Population,<sup>2</sup> before 1850 no society could be described as predominantly urbanized, and by 1900 only Great Britain could be considered predominantly urban. Yet by 1965, virtually all the industrialized nations were classified as highly urbanized.

A survey of nine European countries during their period of fastest urban population growth (mostly in the latter half of the nineteenth century) showed an average gain of 2.1 per cent per year. The frontier industrialized countries, such as the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, which recorded the fastest urban growth in the first half of the twentieth century, showed an average annual gain of 4.2 per cent. For the U.S.S.R. and Japan, the two latecomers into the industrialized camp, the rate was even higher; 4.3 and 5.4 per cent respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Deaths from various epidemics in the overcrowded urban centers were extensive due to the lack of proper hygienic conditions. As a result of these high mortality rates, the natural increase in the city was lower than that of the countryside. Cities therefore demanded surplus rural population since jobs were available in producing goods and services. This process in turn helped modernize agricultural development in rural areas. As farm production became more capital intensive, rural migration to urban areas often caused rural population to decline in absolute as well as relative terms.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Urbanization in the Developing World

Against this background, it would seem that the average urban growth rate of 6-7 per cent per annum for developing countries is not alarming; assuming that the cities in these

countries are merely repeating the past history of cities in the new industrialized nations. However, such an assumption is suspect. The growth of cities in the developing countries today differs in fundamental ways from past history.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the Western experience, cities in the developing world where urbanization has gained momentum within the last two decades have better health services and lower mortality rates than in the rural areas. Thus, the rate of natural increase is higher in the cities than in the countryside. Furthermore, in their eagerness to modernize, developing nations tend to adopt the "hand-me-down", "century-skipping" process of industrialization by importing the most "up-to-date" technology from abroad. The result has often been the mushrooming of capital intensive industries with low job creation potential. Cities in the Third World must deal with a large labour force increase resulting from natural population growth and rural-urban migration, a phenomenon unique to the developing world, and referred to as over-urbanization. However, along with this urban trend, rural areas, although declining in relative terms, are also gaining in absolute numbers. Most of the Third World is still in an early stage of urbanization with roughly 70 per cent of the population engaged in agriculture. On the other hand, cities are growing. They are urbanized because the rate and volume of rural out migration plus natural increases exceeds the current absorptive capacities of the primate cities.<sup>6</sup>

B. Industrial Location/Primacy and Economic Development

The most basic question planners are faced with on the subject of urbanization is whether to encourage urban concentration through primacy, or plan for a dispersed urbanization approach as part of a national regional plan. Inevitably this question involves the delicate balance between efficiency and equity. Without a commitment to both of these components in urban planning the long-term results will likely be self-destructive to the nation. With equity and efficiency in mind, an overview summary of three mainstream planning approaches will be discussed in order to appreciate the potential and outcome of such strategies in planning for intermediate size urban centers in developing countries.

Industrial location is a prime initiator of urbanization and the creation of jobs which will attract and sustain the population. Industrial location by government planners can look beyond the short-term benefit to some, and conceive of the long-run national good. The concentrated and dispersed approach to industrial location in developing countries is worth examining, in order to appreciate an urbanization approach which can be equitably efficient for the whole nation.

It is generally accepted that urbanization can be divided into two kinds of city size distribution: rank size, accord-

ing to which the distribution of cities by population size within countries is truncated and lognormal; and primate, whereby a stratum of small towns and cities are dominated by one or more very large cities causing deficiencies in the number of intermediate size urban centers. Urban rank size is generally associated with economically advanced countries, while primate cities have been associated with ex-colonial, economically underdeveloped nations.<sup>7</sup>

Brian Berry in his paper, City Size Distribution and Economic Development,<sup>8</sup> qualified the gross generalizations of the above associations. According to Berry, countries with strong urban traditions and long histories of urbanization, such as India, though economically underdeveloped, also exhibit lognormality. On the other hand, there are economically developed countries such as Japan, Sweden, and Australia that exhibit primacy in their urban hierarchies.

Without contradicting Berry's clarifications, it is still valid to say that all developing countries, irrespective of primacy or rank size urban systems, are concerned about the rapid and large influx of immigrants into their largest cities. In striving for a rapid rate of economic growth through industrialization, developing countries have accentuated the primacy of their principal cities. The financial advantages to be gained by investing in the primate city are significant in

terms of the shared benefits gained through agglomeration economies of scale. Large consumer markets along with the concentration of skilled labour, and financial and technical resources in the primate city discourage the private sector from locating in hinterland areas without strong government incentives. Central government and the country's private industries' resistance to locating out of the primate city continues because the political and economic payoffs in hinterland secondary urban development tend to be long-term and not immediately tangible. Projects located outside the primate city may also not have the showcase value for dignitaries and tourists.

Finally as Alonso states, an ironic political situation exists in decentralizing the developing countries' urban economy since: "Only nations whose economy have become sufficiently large and secure will be able to afford the risk of failure."<sup>9</sup>

Those countries who should decentralize for long-term national equity are often in the process of consolidating their political power, not dispersing it. Politicians in the federal government are therefore hesitant to delegate projects and infrastructure to secondary cities located in backward regions for fear it may encourage regional governments to become more independent from the source of national power located in the primate city. It is precisely because these



countries are at a certain stage of political development that economic decentralization may pose too much of a national threat.

However, Alonso also provides some compelling national reasons for government to locate industries in secondary cities, situated in hinterland areas:

First, the project may contribute to the transformation of society in the less advanced parts of the country to new attitudes, new awareness, and new patterns of behavior better suited to economic advancement. In other words, a hinterland location may be viewed as an investment in human resources which may be of greater significance than the located project, itself. Second, the location of a project in the hinterland will usually promote knowledge about that locality and integrate it into the information web of the more advanced sectors of economic activity. The increase of information will reduce the discount arising from uncertainty which is applied to other possible projects at that location. In so doing, it lowers the threshold at which local opportunities become attractive, and several new enterprises may become feasible. Third, . . . most developing countries, especially those with a colonial background, feature their most important development in coastal cities. In some of these countries a turning inward toward the "empty" hinterland, may have significance and symbolic act of national identification, creating a new frontier in call forth the enthusiasm and energy of the people.<sup>10</sup>

In other words, industrial location in hinterland secondary cities must be appreciated in terms of the long-term national benefits. The choice between primacy or dispersed urban planning is, in the end, a political decision. However, there is a sense that the growing geographic imbalance in the distribu-

tion of population and income which now exists in most developing countries, needs a national planning strategy that can utilize resources and distribute benefits to their full potential. Coordinating regional activity through urban networks within a national plan provides equitable efficiency for the developing nation. Efficiency being the rate of national economic growth, and equity serving as the distributional dimension ensuring the even spread of that growth.

### III. PLANNING STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPING WORLD

#### A. The Conventional Planning Wisdom

Concerns in balancing efficiency and equity in urban planning for the developing world have traditionally been expressed through the "Evolutionary" or "Growth Pole" planning approaches. These strategies are worth mentioning since their impact on hinterland regional capitals such as Kota Bharu has affected these urban centers' long-term self-sufficiency, and short-term development.

##### 1. The Evolutionary Approach

While William Alonso's quote on the benefits derived from industrial location in the hinterland testifies to his understanding of dispersal, he argues, in his theory of un-

balanced growth, that planners may be over-reacting to the phenomenon of urban primacy. By analyzing the history of urbanization in the First World with various stages of economic growth he observed that primacy was rare in the very underdeveloped economies, rose during the take-off stage, and then decreased thereafter. He notes that these urban trends do not mean that the largest cities would stop growing in the mature stage of the economy, but that secondary centres would grow much faster.<sup>11</sup>

Alonso's theory was buttressed by Jeffrey Williamson's thesis that regional income differentials tend to grow faster during the early stages of economic development, then level off, only to decline again with the growing maturity and spatial integration of the economy.<sup>12</sup>

Theoretical arguments in favour of greater primacy, like Alonso's and Williamson's, are joined by Friedman's "core periphery" theory,<sup>13</sup> and Mera's "agglomeration model".<sup>14</sup> These models assume a positive relationship between the investment of capital and the efficient use of space. Based on such (tenuous) assumptions this group believes that when return to further investment begins to diminish, but not until then, capital (industry) and population (labour) will disperse to surrounding areas.

Salah El-Shakhs' 1972 study on the evolutionary pattern associated with the peak of urban primacy and transition of industrialized growth, sums up the Evolutionary Approach to urban systems in the developing world:

Eventually, with the increasing influence and importance of the periphery . . . deviation-counter-acting mechanisms induce a decentralization and spread effect in the development process. The economy drives toward a full utilization of its underdeveloped resources, and inter-regional growth patterns tend to become more balanced through the rapid growth of the less developed regions and their urban centers.<sup>15</sup>

Evolutionists, like El-Shakhs, seem to feel that, given time, the "invisible hand" will work out efficiency and equity.

However, how much time can a developing nation afford before regional inequalities lead from urban evolution to national revolution? If developing nations allow primate cities to evolve towards dispersal, by encouraging primacy the time frame required for the reduction of regional inequalities through "spontaneous" market forces may take a century or longer. By this stage of evolutionary development even if high levels of urbanization, industrialization and per capita incomes prevail, extreme inter-regional and intra-regional imbalances may cause national revolution.

The advance of primate city growth seems inseparable from the intensification of internal and external inequities

in income distribution. The growth of the primate city takes place at the expense of the impoverishment of the remainder of the country, while the dualistic nature of the primate city's economy promotes unequal, internal growth rates.

## 2. The Growth Pole Strategy

François Perroux introduced the concept of "growth poles" to the economic literature in 1950 and gave the term meaning in abstract economic space.<sup>16</sup> A firm or industry would be termed as a "growth pole" if it possessed the three distinctive features of a propulsive industry, namely, high inter-sectoral linkages with many other firms or industries, a high degree of dominance, and large size.

When John Friedmann and other scholars transferred the concept of "economic growth poles" to regional planning theories by linking sectoral to spatial development, they gave the propulsive industry (or industrial location(s)) geographic space, and "growth" became identified as the space where "growth poles" are located.<sup>17</sup>

The "growth poles" strategy focuses investment on a relatively small number of selected centres at which there exists, or can be easily created, the necessary conditions for expanding employment opportunities and public infrastructure, as well as the existence of external economies that most

activities require. Such "growth centers" are then expected to attract commuters and migrants from surrounding areas of labour surplus, and at the same time to stimulate secondary growth of employment in some of those areas. It is assumed that economic growth initiated in these centers will eventually "filter down" the urban hierarchy and spread out from each center into its immediate periphery. The concentration of public investment at "growth centers" is also justified on the grounds that they are locations where adequate public services can be provided at reasonable costs, and where prospects exist that prosperity and growth can eventually be self-sustaining with permanent subsidies.<sup>18</sup>

Critics of the growth center strategy point out that evidence of the desired "trickle down" of benefits to all sectors of the hinterland populace is often tenuous. Rural areas surrounding industrialized cities usually participate only to a limited degree in the expansion of the urban economy. "Trickling down" can occur because of purchases of raw materials made by the city, but these may be more than offset by the "trickling up" of consumer sales to the "growth center". The relationship between center and periphery then becomes one of further exploitation instead of development.

Furthermore, William Alonso points out<sup>19</sup> that this strategy is in fact "concentrated decentralization" whereby inter-regional disparities may decrease while intra-regional

disparities increase. Even if inter-regional income averages are brought within a common range, no improvement may be obtained in the intra-regional distribution of income and services.

These criticisms are valid and indicate the need for a strong national and regional political commitment to hinterland equitable distribution as opposed to an outflow of profit and resources to the primate city regions. In planning urban growth centers, not just profitable development, but more importantly, what type of industrial development should be the planner's prime concern. A strategy which sees benefits gained by all the hinterland region's inhabitants, while respecting the nation's long-term goals, is likely to offer "responsive planning" alternatives.

B. Responsive Regional Planning: The Agropolitan Approach

John Friedmann, and Kenneth Ruddle,<sup>20</sup> at the 1975 Symposium on Regional Development Planning in Asia, proposed the concept of an "agropolitan approach" to regional planning in developing countries. This approach typifies efficiency but, more importantly, it is also politically equitable for the nation.

In essence, the strategy calls for investment in small and medium sized industries in small rural towns using appropriate technology and local manpower. The industries are to satisfy local consumer needs and the needs of the agricultural sector for products such as fertilizers and farm tools. The distinctive features of this approach are the selection of labour intensive industries, proximity to agrarian population, and a sensitivity to local needs.

Planning for secondary cities within this framework stems from the concept of "dependent capitalism" expounded initially by Terry McGee,<sup>21</sup> and from the idea of "structural transformation" in rural areas as proposed by M. I. Logan.<sup>22</sup> According to these theorists, the intensive transfer of advanced technology from the First World to the Third World will only make the recipients technologically, economically and politically more dependent and thus, vulnerable. Only a self-reliant, autonomous form of development based on native ingenuity in small scale production, and carefully mixed with foreign technology on a highly selective basis may be capable of reducing primacy and producing an integrated economy.

An agropolitan planning approach which views development in terms of a self-sustaining local population who contributes to the national good seems the most responsive planning approach that developing countries can adopt. It is important not just



to disperse urban centers throughout the nation but also to concentrate on encouraging development which will sustain growth.

Planners in government must therefore be wary in attracting foreign investors to hinterland capitals where inexpensive labour and government tax incentives often arouse investment interest. "Footloose" industries of this type are fickle, in that they usually hold no long-term commitment to either the region or to the majority of the population. What results from this situation is the imposition of a "lid" on worker's wages which is needed in order to prevent foreign investors from packing up and moving to more inexpensive regions nearby. Depending on this type of foreign investment the region's development is retarded because as workers' demands rise, their opportunities decline. At the same time, hinterland infrastructural investment is built so as to maximize the outflow of goods and services from the region, thereby draining its resources.

C. Diffuse Urbanization: Dispersed Technology and the  
Commuter Migrant

In order to offset the invasion of foreign "footloose" industry to secondary cities an agropolitan, intermediate city may best be realized through R. A. Hackenberg's framework for "diffuse urbanization" which,

. . . envisions inovative forms of settlement and socio-economic organization erected upon a foundation provided by: a) transfer technology, b) penetration of rural areas by urban forms or production, services and administration, c) new occupations in the service sector, d) new opportunities for informal sector entrepreneurship, e) new patterns of social and spatial mobility . . . erected upon an infrastructure favouring dispersed economic growth such as transmissible electric power, truck transportation (etc.). . . .<sup>23</sup>

Häckenberg correctly perceives diffuse urbanization of this type as "generating new patterns of spatial and social mobility" which could affect rural-urban migrant flows and, therefore, the current process of Third World urbanization.

As rural transportation in the developing world becomes more sophisticated and versatile, a variety of transport systems will continue to develop enabling farm residents to commute on a regular basis from rural home to provincial capital or small town. Highway buses, motor boats, local truck carriers, jeeps, bicycles, tricycles, minibuses and train networks are all transportation modes potentially available which facilitate the development of what may be termed as the "migrant commuter". Investment in transportation networks from small towns to outlying hinterland regions can minimize the migrants' urban-rural adjustment while easing the problems of overcrowding in Third World cities. Furthermore, the impact that such commuter migration could have on the informal Bazaar Sector of the urban economy may be signifi-

cant. Rural-urban relations can become closer and more fluid; further encouraging informal trade while initiating greater employment exchange between rural and urban job functions. The same process which encourages migrant commuters also favours Goldstein's observations referring to "circular migration"<sup>24</sup> whereby jobs which are only seasonal or temporary attract workers to urban centers only part of the year.

#### IV. LOW INCOME HOUSING AND THE SQUATTER

##### A. Planning for Anticipated Growth: Housing and the Squatter

Sophisticated transportation networks favouring dispersed urbanization and agropolitan urban centers mean effective planning for anticipated growth. This is because planners cannot begin to be effective in dealing with the huge backlog of planning problems that face the primate city. In Kuala Lumpur for instance, where 300,000 squatters<sup>25</sup> do not have basic hygiene facilities, planning for conditions after the fact results in ad hoc patch-up jobs that do not work. The steady flow of indigenous and new immigrants to the primate city aggravates crowded living conditions by adding to the existing fire and health hazards in congested areas.

If migrants can be directed towards intermediate sized cities that have the potential to absorb them, planning in anticipation of growth can be implemented. Circular migration and commuter migration patterns lend themselves to urban planning that can approximate projections of population flows so as to accommodate migrants when they use the intermediate size urban center in its changing function. Increasingly, the Third World urban centers' role as a place of work rather than site of permanent residence will demand new planning strategies which appreciate fluid demographic trends. For instance, basic settlement infrastructure requirements could be communally offered to migrants on a reserved area of land near or in the intermediate size city. The permanence of such government provision would depend on the types of migrants. If the migrants are not circular or commuter, but are those who wish to live in the urban area, or are squatters who cannot afford to find formal accommodation in the city, then reserved areas of land that possess basic community infrastructural requirements can be utilized towards a comprehensive town plan for urban growth. As discussed in Chapter 8, town plans of this type would direct squatters and rural-urban migrants towards settlement areas where the government, in partnership with the residents, works together. The government could allot non-transferable land tenure to the residents along with taking responsibility for communal infrastructure. The residents (with the help of govern-

ment loans) can in turn be responsible for building their own shelters in accordance with realistic government standards.

Whichever planning approach is adopted by governments the fact remains that many of those living in urban centers cannot find conventional housing. These people, therefore, create their own accommodation alternatives which are deemed illegal by the governments and are classified as squatter settlements.

B. Squatter Settlements: A General Definition

The term "Squatters" or "Squatter Settlements" generally appears as the convenient designated name for the blanket classification of those who do not have legal tenure of the land they occupy, regardless of their circumstances. Whether it be the researcher or government officials, this classification with a "sweep of a term" conveniently systematizes and processes individual circumstance into an anonymous, manageable group.

An overview of the search for common terminology with which the squatter problem can be examined was presented in a recent United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs report:

For general discussions, it has been suggested in a recent United Nations report, that "slums" and "squatter settlements" be used "as a familiar shorthand", to refer to all types of low-income urban settlements; in order to avoid the terminological and typological debates which have dominated many of the discussions. Among the terms that have been used for the various types of such settlements are the following: "slums", usually referring to the old, deteriorating, core-city tenements; "squatter settlements", originally referring to the fact that the inhabitants squat on, or do not have legal tenure to, the land, but now often referring to the new slums where the inhabitants sometimes do have legal title; "shanty towns", once a commonly used term but now considered pejorative, referring to the external view that the low-income settlements are only makeshift huts; and "squattments", coined from squatter settlements to include a broader range of the new slums and not simply to imply that all the inhabitants in such settlements are squatting. Besides these familiar terms, many adjectives have been officially applied to modify "settlements", among them "marginal", "transitional", "uncontrolled", "spontaneous", "subintegrated", "non-planned", "provisional", "unconventional", and "autonomous".<sup>26</sup>

Semantic entanglement is bound to be a pitfall when groping for a phrase to describe a constantly changing problem. Static definitions are not conclusions but are only tools with which solutions can be pursued. Yet some definition is obviously necessary in order to encourage cooperation amongst all concerned in a common effort to meet the growing proportions of these settlements and their associated hazards. In order to do this effectively it is useful to investigate the deeper meaning and impact of squatters beyond the oversimplified narrow lines of definitions such as: ". . . one who settles on land or occupies a house without permission".<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, it is important that one perceives squatter settlements, or slums as they are often dubbed, without value-laden assumptions out of touch with the needs of those living in such areas. As A. A. Laquian notes:

. . . the negative idea of slum life, essentially a Western viewpoint, has been transported elsewhere, even where climate, society, and culture demand new conceptualisations. The United Nations for example defines a slum as:

. . . a building, group of buildings, or area characterised by over crowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety and morals of its inhabitants or the community.<sup>28</sup>

In the same book, the author proposes that:

Squatting, in legal terms, means the occupancy of a piece of land or building by people without the expressed consent of the owner. As such, it is closely tied up with the notion of private property. The squatter is unjust because he is denying the property's use to its "rightful owner".<sup>29</sup>

The occupation of private property without consent is the basis for the illegality of squatting. Of course such illegality is in the eyes of the beholder and Laquian's reference brings up the question of 'who has the right to property?' This question can only be answered by taking an ideological world view. It is obvious that a Marxist and a Capitalist would each perceive the issue very differently. Because of this, the word "squatter" can only be used as a relative term

in the context of the individuals' legal rights and in relation to the ideological view of his/her country's notion of property ownership.

Although vague, as a basis for analysis of the problems regarding squatters and their settlements, the following definition found in a recent United Nation's survey is useful as it includes the common characteristics of such settlements studied regarding:

. . . the fact of being residential areas for low-income groups dwelling in cities. In contrast to the residential areas occupied by wealthier people living in the same cities, the low-income urban settlements in all regions of the developing world are further characterised by a lack of most or all of the basic urban services -- infrastructural, welfare and community -- such as clean water supply, roads, health care, electricity and social welfare programmes.<sup>30</sup>

C. Squatter Settlements in the Developing World: An Overview

The inhabitants of squatter settlements account for at least one-third to two-thirds of the total urban population in developing countries.<sup>31</sup> Their numbers are increasing at a rate of between six and ten per cent a year. While the typical annual growth rate for the total population in developing countries is between two and three per cent, for the total urban population this rate of growth is six per cent or more. At a six per cent growth per annum the rate of increase is two and one-half times higher than that of urban growth in industrial countries.



Juppenlatz reports that in 1960 nearly one-third of the world's inhabitants resided in a city and that it was estimated that 30 per cent of these urbanites, or 100 million people, were squatters. His figures for 1960-65 indicate that the extreme dimensions of squatting are not a recent problem. For example, in those years it was reported that squatters accounted for the following percentages of these urban populations: Caracas, Venezuela, 40 per cent; Lima, Peru, 43 per cent; and, Ankara, Turkey, 50 per cent. Juppenlatz predicts in his 1970 book, Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter Problem of the Developing World, that if urban squatter populations continue to grow at the rates he observed their proportions in underdeveloped countries may approach their non-squatter urban counterparts by the turn of the century.<sup>32</sup>

Third World government's failure until recently to appreciate the dimensions and repercussions of rural-urban migration has almost paralyzed serious attempts to adequately address the magnitude of the problem in primate cities. When governments do face up to their responsibility they tend to utilize inappropriate foreign models which emphasize capital-intensive approaches (these countries' scarcest resources), instead of labour-intensive indigenous models realistically adjusted to the proportions of the housing problem.

D. Squatters' Impact in the Developing World

1. Causes

Rapid increase in low-income urban settlements is partly due to the natural increase of existing urban populations. The other decisive factor in this trend is the large rural-urban migration process now taking place in the developing world. This urban-rural pull phenomena has directly swelled low-income urban settlements to alarming proportions. It is a product of the rural inhabitant's poverty and perception of employment opportunities in the cities. Poor migrants are justifiably seeking better living conditions however they are unrealistic in their expectations for economic opportunity and are quickly disillusioned by the city's employment capacity. Despite the disillusionment these people stay in the hope that their dreams may be met. One result is insufficient housing opportunities in the urban system through either an acute shortage of conventional housing or excessive rents for low-income populations.

Third World governments' failure to offer its support in providing this growing sector of the population with more economic opportunities is one cause of the problem. A justifiable compromise regarding the eradication of inequalities in the distribution of the nation's incomes and resources must be sought.

## 2. Over Urbanization and the Bazaar Sector Economy

An understanding of the squatter's role in a developing nation is more than an analysis of a group of families' impoverished condition. It is an insight into the collective impact of squatters on the developing nation in which they are living. T. G. McGee emphasizes the necessity of exposing the differences between the urbanization process experienced by the West, and that experienced by Southeast Asian cities in order to correct misconceptions regarding:

Two visions (which) haunt the intellectuals who view the urbanization process in the Third World. In the first vision, the cities are seen as enclaves surrounded by an hostile peasantry. In these "enclaves" foppish elites play luxurious games with the power and wealth they have inherited or created since Independence. In the other vision, the cities are seen as "beach heads" centers from which the benefits of modernization flow outwards to revitalize the stagnating agricultural vision.<sup>33</sup>

McGee views these "visions" as being overstated ". . . because their assumptions ignore the reality of the Third World urbanization process".

The following is a summary of McGee's hypotheses which pertain to this dissertation's research of urbanization in Malaysia:

1. in comparison to Western cities, at a similar stage of their development, cities in Southeast Asia seem

to experience both lower mortality rates, and slightly higher fertility rates. This leads to the tentative conclusion that one vital variable in the demographic component of the urban process of Southeast Asia, is very different from the experience of the West. This factor is natural increase, which is a far more important contributor to the growth of a city's population than it was during the industrial urban revolution of the West;

2. the urbanization process in Asia is actually one of "over-urbanization" in comparison with the Western experience, since the West was more developed at a comparable level of urbanization. In the West, it is estimated that during this phase of urbanization, about 55 per cent of the people were in non-agricultural occupations, whereas in Southeast Asia today 30 per cent only are so employed;
3. in the West, cities historically played the role of a catalyst in generating real income, being a more efficient unit of economic activity in producing goods for mass consumption. McGee, however, views the Southeast Asian city, with its crowded conditions and poorly developed industrial sites as both cancers and catalysts, in generating real income; and,

4. in the West, cities traditionally played a positive role in inducing basic social change among people. Rural values were gradually replaced in large part by urban life-styles. In Southeast Asia however, peasants are maintaining many of their traditional customs, beliefs, and values, even in the locale of an urban center.

McGee concludes from these observations that rather than viewing the city as the

. . . key variable, a social sub-system which becomes all inclusive, . . . the city must be seen as a symptom of process operating at a societal level. Thus to diagnose accurately the characteristics and roles of these cities, one must investigate the condition of underdevelopment which characterizes these countries, of which these cities are only part.<sup>34</sup>

A prime target of McGee's Third World investigation concerns the impact of squatters on the developing nations. He stresses that their importance to the informal trade, or "Bazaar" sector of these countries' economies, should not be overlooked. As noted in his 1967 study of Southeast Asian primate cities McGee mentions squatter settlements as usually consisting of:

Illegal housing, both in the inner city and on the periphery of the cities, (and) often tend to be occupied by the people working in the Bazaar sector.<sup>35</sup>

The majority of the residents living in the Buluh Kubu area were involved in the "Bazaar" sector of the economy. This sector is labour-intensive and is dominated by small cottage industries, hawkers, and casual labourers. Utilizing their location in the heart of Kota Bharu, the Buluh Kubu residents were able to provide these inexpensive services which kept keeping the cost of living down for the city's entire population.

On a national scale, the impact of the squatter's informal and inexpensive delivery of services utilizes abundant resources while maintaining a low cost of living for the country. This process supports the poor while encouraging savings for the middle- and upper-classes; savings that can then be used as capital investment in the development of the nation.

The maintenance of an informal delivery of services (often consisting of a squatter labour force) has a significant, positive impact on the country's overall standard of living and long-term development. It is imperative, therefore, that planners and officials realize the far reaching financial repercussions of raising this group's cost of living through relocation schemes or rent payments beyond their means. Overtaxing the scarcest resources (capital) of the developing nations' most abundant resource (inexpensive labour and squatters), will raise the cost of living for the whole population and could discourage private investment in the overall development of the country.

### 3. A Reflection of National Character

Not only do squatters have a significant impact on the developing nation's growth, but it must also be remembered that their plight is a direct product, and thus, a revealing reflection of their society. Philip Hauser's observations at the 1956 UNESCO Conference on Urbanization still holds true today:

In large measure the problems -- social and personal in the great cities of Asia, derive not so much from urbanism as a way of life, but reflect rather the problems of the nation at large, problems arising from low productivity and mass poverty.<sup>36</sup>

Squatting is not a matter of people wanting something for nothing, but of people having nothing and wanting something better than life in rural areas can provide. In the Buluh Kubu case, no doubt there were affluent squatters who took advantage of circumstance by renting out land to their poorer counterpart. But for the most part, the condition of these people accurately reflected the socio-economic problems of the country at large.

Juppenlatz<sup>37</sup> correctly concludes that the national inequalities of developing countries must first undergo a "social transformation" before the energies and resources of squatters can be fully utilized and justly rewarded. Within its present context the squatter phenomena is a revealing social indicator of change. Such settlements represent growth in the apparel

of decay. Although often impoverished, squatters are seeking a better life than what they (or their parents) had the courage to leave. Even if they only left "nothing for nothing" their migration indicates a desire for societal upward mobility. It is a social indicator that Malays in Kelantan state, which maintains a feudalistic societal order, undertook "social deviancy" as seen in their "squatting" on Buluh Kubu sultanic land. This signals a demand by the poor for their fair share of the nation's wealth from the elite. The Third World's squatter phenomena is aptly described in W. Mangin's analogue. Referring to the squatter's impact and societal reflection, as expressed by their annexations of private property, he notes that:

If the hand that is feeding you is the zoo keeper's you probably have to bite it, particularly if it is not feeding you enough. In countries where large squatter developments have taken place, the governments were not feeding much of anything.<sup>38</sup>

E. Housing, Slum Clearance, and Squatter Settlement

Although slums and squatter areas, such as Buluh Kubu, in the city centre possess important positive, functional aspects as "transitional way stations" for the rural migrants' absorption into city life, they are regarded with disdain by government officials who fail to appreciate the positive aspects of such communities. These valuable societal functions



are well documented in Slums Are For People, by A. A. Laquian, who points out that communities such as Buluh Kubu are rurban human settlements, where social norms and patterns of behaviour still possess both rural and urban characteristics in that:

1. the economics of slum life, enable slum dwellers to save and thereby improve their chances for economic and social mobility;
2. community life in the slums, retains many primary group relations characteristic of rural community transition; and,
3. political life in the slums, featuring organized politics, machine activities and intensive participation, tends to instruct squatters and slum dwellers in political roles necessary for their integration into the city.<sup>39</sup>

A World Bank report states that throughout the Third World migrants who initially settle in depressed areas in order to get a start in city life, have generally been found to be more capable of gaining employment than their local counterparts. The study also shows that this group is able to save money which is used to supplement incomes in rural areas.<sup>40</sup> These findings tend to support Laquian's theory that:

It is a very momentous decision to pull up one's roots in the barrios, and move to the urban area. There is therefore, a certain element of self selection among the inhabitants of slums and squatter areas. More and more, it is becoming apparent that there is something in slum life that provides the drive, economic mobility and the will to succeed.<sup>41</sup>

There is considerable documentation from various parts of the world which show that large scale, high-rise, development projects tend to be costly and inefficient. For instance, two independent studies show that building costs per square foot rise from US\$20 to \$36 as building heights increase, while in Britain, the maintenance cost per dwelling is £8.39 for low buildings, increasing to £21.35 for towers.<sup>42</sup> Robert Jones in his article, Transport, Urban Design and Housing, reports that in Venezuela a cost comparison study indicated that "self reliant housing" costs 4,200 bolivars per unit, while four-storey construction costs 10,200 bolivars per unit increasing to 16,000 bolivars per unit for fifteen storey development.<sup>43</sup> In Tanzania, the most inexpensive dwelling the country's builders can construct costs US\$2,230, while the same shelter can be built by that country's squatters for approximately half the cost.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the magazine Business in Thailand reports that it would be impossible for the government to meet the urgent housing needs of fifteen per cent of the country's urban population through modern construction methods without enormous subsidies. This is because the lowest income group cannot afford to pay more than US\$5 per month.<sup>45</sup>

Yet, despite this evidence slum clearance and development schemes are used as an assumed starting point when considering methods for renovating such areas as Buluh Kubu. The explanation for these decisions which utilize inappropriate foreign methods are often based on middle- and upper-class values, not reason. Even when the positive functions of a depressed area are pointed out, as attempted in the Buluh Kubu project, it is still seen by officials as a "negative eyesore" that must be destroyed and replaced with what is perceived "as a clean, orderly environment" modeled after middle-class neighbourhoods of the developed countries. Such attitudes are in keeping with Malaysia's federal government and national press' long standing contempt for Kuala Lumpur's "shanty" and "slum housing areas". The press supports the government policies by its articles on the "serious threat" of these areas to Malaysia's capital and often calls for their elimination so that more development projects can proceed.<sup>46</sup> The fact that these districts are a legitimate answer to the basic problem of shelter is overshadowed by instilled values of what is a "nice place" to live in and what is not. The views of the low-income inhabitants living in the area are disregarded, and since they have little economic or political power they are removed or resettled in order to "clean up" the site. But the problem of adequately housing these people and the growing proportion of poor rural migrants flocking to the cities does not diminish, since they will instinctively evolve similar settlements elsewhere. As Charles Abrams concludes:

. . . there is nothing that slum clearance can accomplish that cannot be done more efficiently by an earthquake. . . . Such clearance may increase squatterings and thereby create slums that are more stubbornly enduring than those removed.<sup>47</sup>

In order to address such a dilemma the class perspective of those in the planning bureaucracies must be "sensitized" so that they can appreciate the benefits of such communities and seek methods to rehabilitate rather than destroy the existing social and economic linkages. It is ironic that in those developed countries where Malaysian officials were trained, approaches in planning now realize the need to utilize indigenous methods to cope with local problems. Yet these bureaucrats now in responsible positions, apparently having been trained by the "Old School" act within an outdated framework. Given the investment involved and the politics of the policy makers, even if it is realized that such "old" models fail, they may very well not revoke their own class interests to change an approach now deemed inappropriate.

The background of government officials must also be considered in this analysis. Those who have never come from humble origins most likely do not appreciate the conditions of the slums they never knew and rarely visited. On the other hand, those who come from a poor background may be genuinely firm in their conviction to destroy such areas as a reaction to their own origins. Psychologically it must be difficult

for one to be objective about the value of slum life after having struggled for a lifetime to escape it. These hypotheses are only assumptions which derive from the participant observer's approach adopted in this study. The officials contacted came from either of the backgrounds described and seemed committed to the development of a "new environment" rather than the rehabilitation of the existing Buluh Kubu site. Many of them are sincere in their efforts to improve the "living standard", as they interpret it, for the poor while "modernizing" Malaysia. However, my specific interaction and observations in Kota Bharu agree with G. Paynes' general conclusion regarding the Third World planning process, in which:

. . . the ethnocentric bias of imported models has become a "classcentric" bias. Plans and programmes reflect the values and aspirations of the middle- and upper-class elites regarding problems of environmental quality, pollution and the fear of social disorganization, which are naturally of less concern to the urban poor. The fact that many planners and architects are trained in the universities of Europe and North America, or are susceptible to their influence, has not helped to change this situation . . .<sup>48</sup>

## CHAPTER 2

### THE KELANTAN STATE PLANNING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY

#### I. THE KELANTAN STATE PLANNING PROCESS

The planning procedure presented in this Chapter is based on the Malaysian Local Government Bill of 1975. The Bill was designed in order to present guidelines concerning the planning process for all states of the country;

At present, the law on planning is to be found in the various Town Boards Enactments and rules and by-laws made thereunder, but the provisions thereof have been found to be severely inadequate to the needs of the problems arising from present day development, and have therefore, to be replaced by more farsighted provisions.<sup>49</sup>

While planning procedures are only general guidelines they do provide insights into the fundamental mechanics of the planning process observed while working on the Buluh Kubu project.

So as to prevent ad hoc planning the Bill provides a framework for national coordination which is directed by a Planning Committee for each State. This Committee consists of:

1. A Chairman: the Mentri Besar who is the Chief Minister of the State;

2. A Deputy Chairman: a member of the State Executive Council, by appointment of the State authority;
3. The State Secretary;
4. The Town and Country Planning Director of the State;
5. The State Director of Land and Mines and the Director of Public Works;
6. The State Legal Advisor; and,
7. Not more than four other members who are appointed by the State authority.

This Committee is responsible for directing general policy regarding development and use of all lands and buildings within the area of every Local Authority of the State. The State Director of Town and Country Planning is the principal advisor to the Committee on matters relating to planning and is responsible for implementing the groups' decisions. The local Planning Authority, under the Town and Country Planning Units' supervision, is instructed by the Committee to gather all relevant material for the various projects. This authority organizes the specific programmes within the policy framework provided by the Committee.

The Bill emphasizes the need to centralize planning decisions by bringing local authorities under the direction of the state and federal governments. Besides providing valuable consistency, such provision discourages the exploitation

of the planning process for private interests. It should be noted that conflict of interests regarding land acquisition is an extremely sensitive issue especially in the State of Kelantan where in 1977 exposés of local politicians' land involvements caused riots and brought down the Malay Party Islam (PAS) State government which had dominated Kelantan politics since 1959.

When developing an area, the Town and Country Planning Department first conducts a survey of the site. The survey includes a study of its present use and principal physical, economic, environmental and social characteristics. In the case of the Buluh Kubu Project, the survey was conducted in 1973 and is detailed in an official twenty-three page report, the contents of which are included in this research. The survey is objective and does not attempt to determine subjective views from the residents as to how they view their community. Failure to seek resident input means that the planners are speculating on an assumed demand which, if miscalculated, could result in a waste of resources for facilities not utilized. It is because of the lack of input at this stage of the process that there was the development of a "fine tuning" methodology in this research which could measure residents' desires and encourage responsive planning.

After the survey is completed, the planning department submits its report and a "draft structure plan" of the area



to the State Planning Committee. It is a written statement supported by diagrams, illustrations, and descriptive material presenting the policy and general proposal of the Town and Country Planning Department in respect to the development and use of the project's site.

The original Buluh Kubu Draft Structure Plan submitted by the Planning Department in 1973 was rejected by the State Planning Committee since at that time State financial resources were lacking. The Buluh Kubu district was still Sultanik land and thus could not be developed by the State government which was dominated by PAS. This factor also discouraged investment by the federal government at that time under UMNO party control.

In its formulation of the draft structure plan the local authority, which consists of the Town Council and the local planning department, is obliged to notify:

. . . persons who may be expected to desire an opportunity of making representation to the local planning authority.<sup>50</sup>

This clause is suspect in the planning process since it is vague enough to allow wide interpretation and, possible input from various interests before being submitted to the general public. The concern is that "persons who may be expected to desire an opportunity of making representation" such as con-

tractors or developers can gain access to plans and incorporate their desires into the draft structure presentation to the State Committee. Such action tends to override the concerns of low-income residents and squatters. The local authority is empowered to determine who and what is relevant to the planning process without provision of adequate guidelines. The purpose of the 1975 Bill was to reduce inconsistencies among various government bodies; yet by entrusting such jurisdiction with local officials before the State Committee is able to view proposals, discrepancies in accordance with interests at the local level often distort the presentation to the State representatives.

Taking such factors into account, the draft plan is finalized and then submitted to the State Planning Committee. The Town Council, in conjunction with the Town and Country Planning Department, is then responsible for publishing, in three issues of at least two local newspapers, a notice announcing that plans are available for the public's inspection and comments at the local planning office. The time within which objections to the draft structure plan can be made is not less than one month and not more than two months from its date of issue. While the process appears to offer ample opportunity for citizen participation within a general Third World context the ingrained middle- upper-class perspective of the system fails to adequately take into account the needs

of the poor and uneducated. Although the procedure allows plans to be made available to the "general public", the question must be asked, "Who does it really notify?" No doubt it does alert those upper-class groups with financial interests who are likely to possess the facilities and contacts to present their views directly to officials. It is doubtful, however, that those without political or economic power who do not fully understand the process and find it difficult to articulate objections effectively, have the same representation, although such decisions will directly effect their lives. A method of public notification and participation of this type may be valid for developed countries where all income groups at least supposedly claim access to similar representation. But, when transplanting such methods to the circumstances of the developing world, class disparities are heightened rather than discouraged. Discrepancy in effective access for all citizens to input in the planning process calls for an alternative method of seeking resident response at the final stage of the planning process. Therefore, the survey design formulated in the Buluh Kubu research encourages a practical approach in obtaining a measure of input by those not previously represented.

After a month when comments from "the general public" have been considered, the State Planning Committee decides whether or not the plan is acceptable. If there are no major

changes to be made resulting from the review of objections submitted, the draft structure plan is officially passed. The plan is then used as a model for a more detailed "local plan" which is formulated by the Town and Country Planning Department. The local plan consists of a map and written statement describing in detail the proposals of the local planning authority for the development and use of land in the area. At this point in the planning process, the detailed plan is presented to the "general public" for their input by the same method previously described regarding the "draft plan". Here again, it is the Town Council and Planning Department which decides whether this plan should be modified as a result of "public input". The planning process tends to bar any effective public debate on planning issues and results in "backroom decision-making" by a privileged few. Once the draft of the local plan is formulated by the planning authority, it is then submitted to the State Planning Committee for approval. If it is accepted, the plan is passed and acted upon by the local planning authority in conjunction with federal and state agencies. If the plan is not accepted, the local planning authority must reformulate the proposal in accordance with the Committee's wishes.

Although the local government Bill is the planning procedure that all of the States of Malaysia are supposed to follow, it serves only as a loose framework for each State

Figure 1 Planning Process for Buluh Kubu Development

Federal UMNO Government  
who now have close Advisory  
and Economic ties with  
the State

MENTRI BESAR

Final Directives and  
decisions are made by the  
Mentri Besar- Prime Minister  
The State : UMNO Party

State Planning Committee Function:  
Advisory to the Mentri Besar if  
requested made up of the same members  
as the "Ad Hoc Committee."

State Ad Hoc Committee For  
Development and Settlement:

Department Of Land  
And Mines  
Chairman

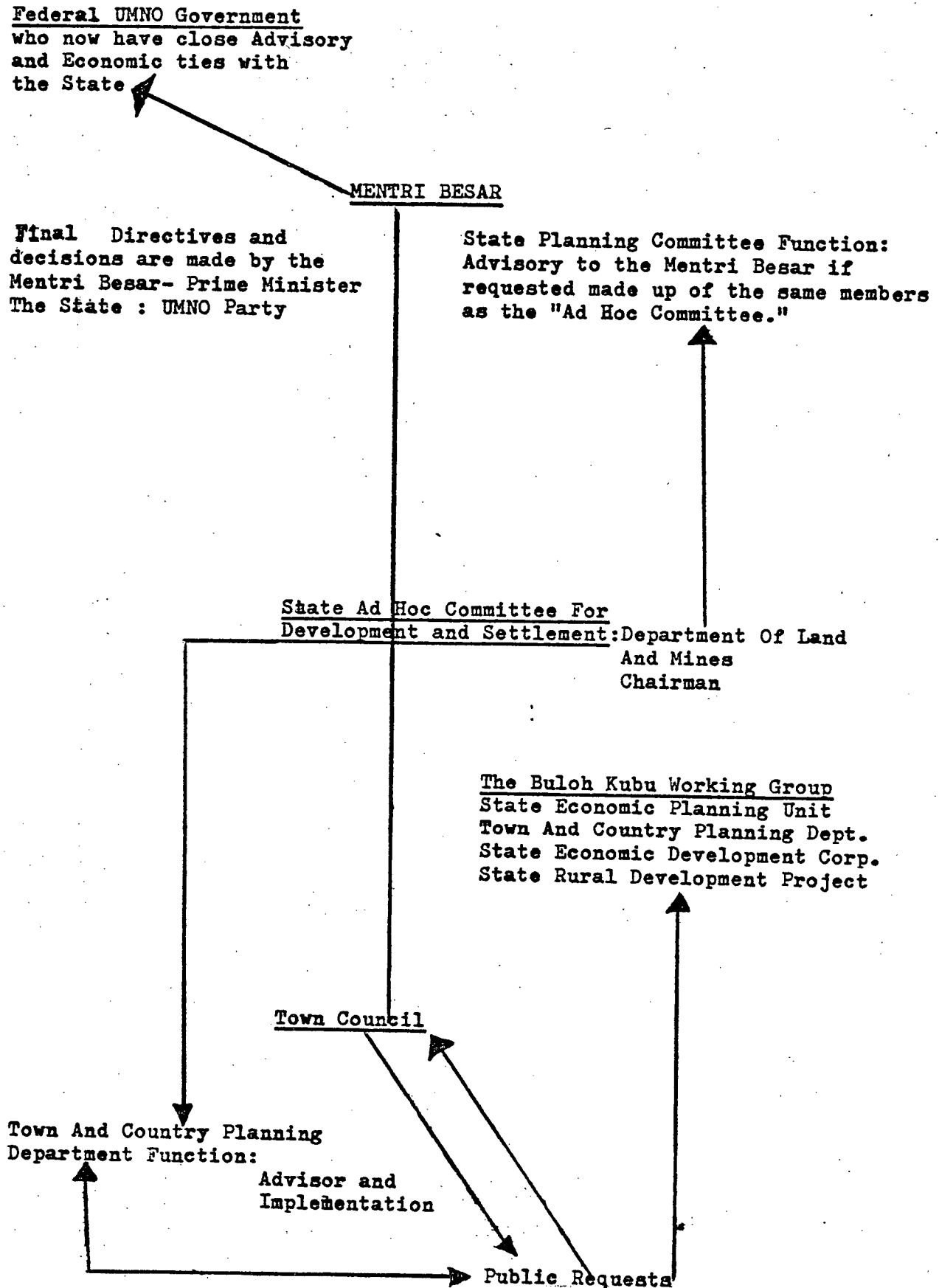
The Buloh Kubu Working Group  
State Economic Planning Unit  
Town And Country Planning Dept.  
State Economic Development Corp.  
State Rural Development Project

Town Council

Town And Country Planning  
Department Function:

Advisor and  
Implementation

Public Requests



and civic body to work within. Especially in Kelantan, which has been isolated from the rest of Malaysia for so many years, the planning process as presented in the Bill is recognized but not necessarily accepted by the government bureaucracies, particularly at the local level. Resistance is apparent in the ability of the Town Council of Kota Bharu to "use its discretion" regarding local planning matters. In fact, the Town Council can act as it wishes through formal or informal channels on any issue pertaining to its jurisdiction, which has never been clearly defined. Thus, developers or citizens who want to change planning codes to meet their desires can go directly to the Town Council, by-passing the Town and Country Planning Department and the State Planning Committee altogether.<sup>51</sup> Obviously such a loophole in the process diffuses the Planning Bill's original intent of centralizing decision-making, as it perpetuates ad hoc "not how, but who you know planning", with its accompanying discriminatory practices. Since Kota Bharu's town size was increased by ten times in 1978, this informal planning process has a significant impact on the State's regional planning strategy.

When the field work was conducted it appeared that a confrontation was developing between the State's authority, which was supported by the Federal government, and the Town Council's discretionary planning prerogative as conflicts of interest became more apparent between these government bodies.

A 1977 Federal government ruling which restricted timber felling, and the resulting ineffectiveness in enforcing local authorities to curtail their lucrative involvement in forest genocide, is just one example of the lack of control over business interests. However, while the Town Council's strength lay in its contacts and understanding of local conditions in large development projects such as Buluh Kubu, it lacked the financial resources to execute such schemes without Federal or State cooperation. While previously the State and Federal governments were in conflict, since they joined the UMNO party in 1978, an alliance formed that utilized the party's funds as "carrot" and "stick" incentives. Through various political tactics Federal and State cooperation began to erode the civic government's planning influence leading to a more equitable distribution of development projects for the whole State.

## II. BOTTLENECKS IN THE BUREAUCRACY

Despite their differences a common denominator in all the government bodies observed was the general condition of the planning and administrative bureaucracies. Coining William Allonso's description, they are "fat at the bottom and thin at the top". The effect of this condition is of such consequence to the planning process in Kota Bharu that a further explanation by Allonso of his terminology is worth presenting:

At the bottom (of the bureaucracy) they are commonly overstaffed, under-trained, and inefficient to the point of immobility. Routine matters lose their way in the labyrinth; orders from above are not carried out or are distorted from their purpose, and new or unusual needs meet with no responsiveness. . . .

The situation at the top is quite different. There is a small number of able and energetic technicians and managers typically finding themselves overextended and lacking in staff support. There are extremely limited resources in the planning process for ensuring the correct implementation of decisions, and for following up to see how previous decisions have worked out in reality. Thus there is a limited capacity for action since effectiveness will depend more on the personal attention of the leadership than on the routine carrying out of the programs by the bureaucracy.<sup>52</sup>

This state of affairs, along with an atmosphere of intimidation from senior bureaucrats which discourages original ideas from intermediate level officials, unfortunately, results in "planning action itself becoming a scarce resource".

The most obvious indicator of the bureaucratic bottleneck is a common understanding among officials that everything said in a meeting with superiors is "on the record, and that therefore suggestions which are not deemed acceptable can potentially harm one's career. Two factors must be considered when analyzing an intermediate level government official's regard for job security and promotion opportunities:

1. the short life expectancy of the average Malay male and therefore an early retirement; and,
2. the system which increasingly insists that senior bureaucrats have foreign M.A. degrees. Thus, if



by mid 30's an intermediate official has not achieved a foreign M.A., his chances of promotion are dim. He will soon retire with a good pension and since his present job is relatively high status and well paying, there is no incentive for him to attempt to come up with creative approaches or ideas that threaten the bureaucracy's status quo, and thus his job.

While innovative ideas are discussed amongst peers, in official meetings these views are not usually forwarded. A distinct "yes boss" approach is adopted by subordinates in order to ensure their overriding concern for personal job security. Having observed the situation at first hand, it is apparent that measures to improve constructive open debate on planning issues without fear of reprisal are badly needed. It is essential in order to initiate responsive planning which allows original indigenous ideas and technology to address local problems such as squatter settlement. An evaluation and reappraisal of present standards that are unrealistic in meeting existing conditions, are of prime concern to such an approach. The first list of standards to be assessed in this regard should be the State's building codes that were formulated in 1938 by the British administrators and are totally inappropriate for Kelantan State today.

### III. COLONIAL DEPENDENCY BOTTLENECK PLUGGING

The conditions of outdated colonial building codes originate from a colonial perspective which exists to this day among many "experts" from developed countries. Experts from the conventional school of thought believe that the "transplant" of Western technology and approaches applicable to their situation at home will work for developing foreign countries that have different needs. It is becoming increasingly clear that the approach is of limited validity since it emphasizes these countries' scarcest resource -- financial capital, instead of its abundant pool of inexpensive labour and local technology.

As demands increase for basic services by the ever growing population of the Third World the following fundamental question must be asked of those who stand by such outdated planning perspectives:

What are the realistic indicators of a "developed" vs. a "developing" country in the context of the specific local condition, and proportion of the demands by each nation?

Surely, strict economic measures alone are not sufficient, especially when these indicators are formulated by, and compared to those nations whose achievements evolved over a longer period and under different circumstances. As G. Payne notes:

. . . despite the evident disparity in the regional contexts of urban areas in the "developed" or "under-developed" countries at any historical stage, the former has been used to formulate a model of what the latter should become. Yet as Sovani has indicated "the only reason for regarding the situation in a few developed countries as the norm for the rest of the world seems to be nothing better than the fact that today they are developed economies."<sup>53</sup>

The next question to be asked is:

To what extent do the financial interests of "developed" countries derive from the export sales of technology, come into play in perpetuating policies of transplanting Western "know how" to "developing" countries?

It is well known that most international development programs include the condition that machinery and other technology be bought exclusively from that country offering the aid.<sup>54</sup> These types of stipulations fuel the belief that by such "good will" development projects the industrialized nations are able to negotiate for the import of raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods. The Third World then becomes the global "hinterland" for developed nations as the result of a balance of trade detrimental to its overall development.<sup>55</sup>

A. G. Frank's<sup>56</sup> observations on South America hold true for Malaysia where it is in the interest of the indigenous elite (the Malay Royal families) who have a wide range of financial and political interests to support their country's

dependency on developed nations. Dependency maintains the status quo, including the elite's lucrative position within the society, and reinforces Frank's analysis that underdeveloped and dependency patterns operate between the developed and underdeveloped country's privileged classes on a global scale.

A more meaningful strategy would be the encouragement of available local resources to meet urgent issues within the context of local conditions. Then, if required, the construction of facilities that can produce sophisticated technology by the country in need could take place with initial guidance by industrialized nations. This process in the short-term may not show rapid returns. In the long-run however, it can "develop" the nation towards self-sufficiency and independence to choose. Surely this criteria over technological dependence is a more meaningful role for development policy.

On a similar but more personalized note is the last question:

What are the ingrained private motives of those who wish to retain the privilege and "mystique" of the expert from abroad, who can 'solve' all problems of the friendly natives?

The lure of ego nourishment, low taxed salaries, and an open government mandate to initiate programs without such "slow-downs" as consulting the public, are surely incentives to

those who wish to retain the self serving colonialist expert role. Too often in this process, it is not to the advantage of any of the parties to complete a program on schedule, since when a contract expires and there is no work left to be done the job is terminated. This results in a slowdown of output as well as "make work" programs which serve to perpetuate the desired demand for services of the individual and/or his company. Resources and information can be manipulated so as to correspond to the self-fulfilling prophecies of these groups rather than address the issue at hand by the most realistic inexpensive method.

#### IV. TOWARDS BREAKING THE BOTTLE'S NECK

A practical step in unplugging a management bottleneck in large organizations is to restructure the workers' basis for promotion within the local cultural framework. This reconstruction should emphasize promotion for those with innovative practical ideas rather than for the privileged with the right contacts or those few with access to university degrees. The disastrous consequences of nepotism, and the aristocracy in government positions without proper credentials are self evident in countries like Malaysia which espouse democracy. What is the impact of those officials in top positions, the majority of whom hold degrees from foreign universi-

ties? They are taught methodologies and, planning models, that are not applicable to the specific problems of developing nations. Yet it is this training that enables the official to reach his position, and thus he must constantly fall back on these credentials and acquired skills from the foreign institution in order to legitimize policy decisions. Under such circumstances, the concern for decision justification can outweigh the realization that planning methods taught abroad may be inappropriate when transferred out of context. The local official, therefore, joins his counterpart, the "foreign expert" trained at a similar university, in working (or fighting) together towards "development" as defined and protected by the interests of their profession, rather than the scope and complexity of the issues at hand.

### CHAPTER 3

#### RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

##### I. THE PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER APPROACH

Living in Kota Bharu for eight months, I had the opportunity to informally discuss a wide range of topics, including housing and the Buluh Kubu site, with a broad cross section of the population. These frank conversations were enlightening as they provided different perspectives which aided in the understanding and appreciation of the complex, inter issues affecting the Malasian planning process.

The observations presented here evaluate the planning system within which I was working, and propose a rehabilitation model (in Chapter 8). Why this model was rejected in favour of a development scheme is discussed as an observer, and then as a participant, who attempted to modify the existing development plans towards greater neighbourhood responsiveness. The participant-observer approach follows William Alonso's advice for planners in developing countries:

The important thing is the understanding of the process of the urban system, and within this context the planner must put together and use his incomplete information, as a detective puts together his fragmentary clues; using to the utmost his judgement,

and ingenuity to join formal data with any other information to produce indicators of the condition and performance of the system. When information is poor, one cannot have confidence in the prediction of specific events, including the action of the government itself, or its consequences. Rather one must rely on general strategies of the ongoing processes, while retaining the flexibility to respond to the unfolding of events and the new information.<sup>57</sup>

"Understanding the ongoing processes", and "flexibility to respond", are the inherent benefits of participant observation in planning research. These benefits derive from the complementary function of the roles of participant and observer, which monitor each other in such a way that active participation can test observations through planning action, while simultaneous observations evaluate the participatory action of the planner. By this method, academic planning models are released from their "ivory towers" to be applied, and realistically adapted, to the specific procedures and pressures of planning reality. It was such a transition, from textbook to implementation in the field, which was the most enlightening lesson of this research. Within the context of a foreign country, being a participant-observer put my planning idealism in touch with the process in which it must work in order to have significant effect. In the planning process, it is the political system which governs the implementation of proposals. Fortunately for my research, Kelantan politicians completed a transition that provided a clear mandate for the renovation of the Buluh Kulu



site. Partly as a result of this new political climate, my input was well received by overtaxed officials who were under pressure from the newly elected government to develop and implement proposals for the area.

It was my first hand experience as a participant, reinforced by research as an observer, which resulted in an understanding of the various concerns ingrained in the local planning process. Based on these observations, I attempted to gauge the system's flexibility to receive and utilize input from the Buluh Kubu's inhabitants in the planning of their own neighbourhood. Such a step is vital to social planning that is responsive to the desires of the residents. In order to provide responsive input, the following methodology which was new to the State of Kelantan was employed:

## II. A RESPONSIVE SURVEY DESIGN FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS

As a participant observer, it soon became apparent that there was a need to utilize a methodology that would provide a measure of input into the planning process from the area's residents. In order to do this, it was important to fully appreciate two factors:

1. the lack of financial alternatives of most of the residents in the area; and,

2. the receptiveness of the political system to planning input from the residents of Buluh Kubu.

So that planning proposals could be responsive to the needs of the residents, a methodology which is responsive to the circumstance of the residents in relation to the planning process is needed. The implementation of plans depends on the sensitivity of the planner to the political system he is working within. Similarly, the utilization of planning efforts to their fullest depends on the proposal's sensitivity to the desires and aspirations of those who are to be served. These necessary components in planning must work together in providing a practical measure of input from poor residents in the Third World planning process. Towards this end, a methodology that is relevant to the sophistication and objectives of local planning procedure is essential in providing data that will be properly utilized. As Alonso astutely points out:

Planners in developing countries often bewail the lack of some data and the low quality of what data is available. It is often thought that if only the data were available, the elaborate mathematical planning models developed in the economically advanced countries might be applied. Foreign experts in these techniques are often consulted, and young national planners aspire to master what they regard as scientific sophistication. This is a fundamental error, because the poverty of the data is an intrinsic condition of underdevelopment, not a happenstance. Rich and frequent data is the by-product of the organization of an advanced economy. When weak data is put through the mathematical machinery of a complex model it deteriorates through the compounding of error, and the output becomes worse than the input. It is as if one tried to build skyscrapers out of wood and reeds: the structure would collapse.<sup>58</sup>

In order to avoid such a "collapse", a methodology was proposed which was designed to provide residential planning input in keeping with the government's outlook and the social/economic condition of the inhabitants of Buluh Kubu. The methodology was constructed so as to provide "tentative answers" for local residents (an identification of community problems) and the utilization of the identified concerns towards responsively tuning "tentative answers" into a final development plan.

A. Presentation of a Community Plan Option

A community plan was the product of the Buluh Kubu Working Groups' redevelopment proposals, which included the recommendations in Chapter 7 of this thesis. A scale model of the plan was presented to the 56 families living in the district. This was done in the belief that a graphic display would substantially aid planners in the "identification" of the residents' community needs.

B. Identification of Community Needs

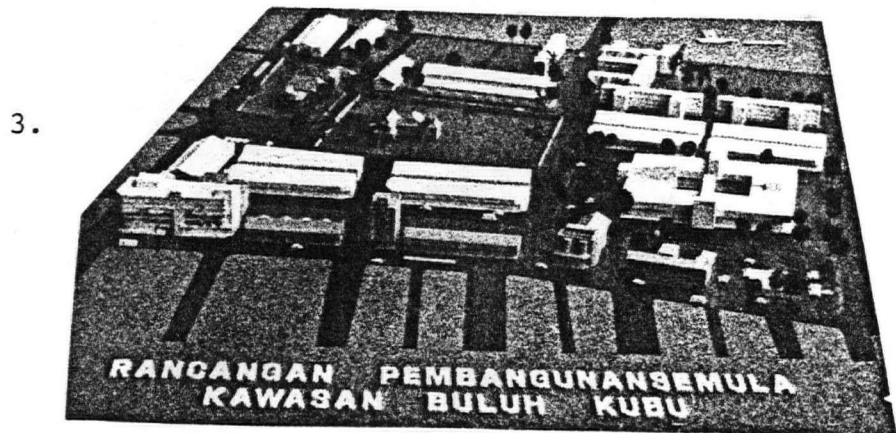
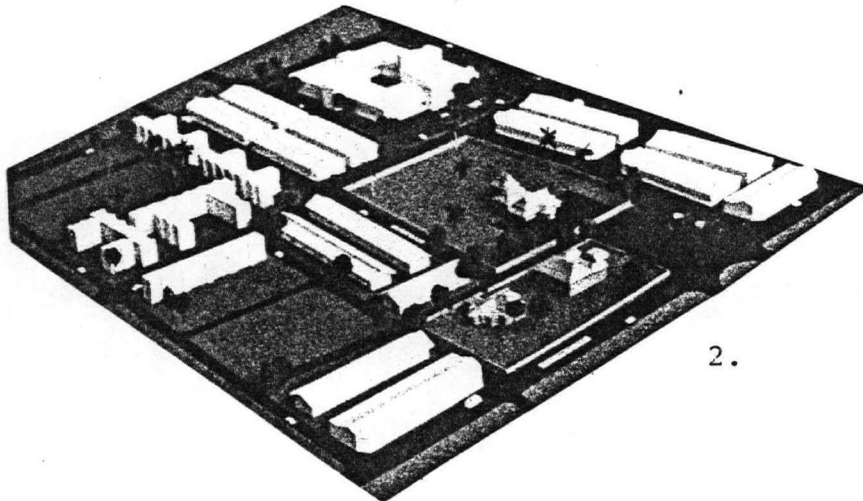
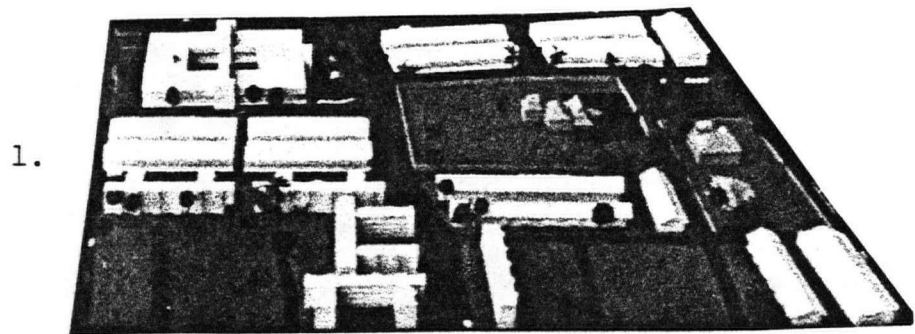
The problems in this case were the identified needs of the district's residents. Based on first hand observations, and the Town and Country Planning Department's 1973 survey of the area, an overview profile of the district's inhabitants was provided as labourers and hawkers. Given the limited experience of residents in the planning process, instead of presen-

ing them only with open ended questions designed to ascertain how they perceived their present condition and aspirations, it became obvious that it would be useful to also present a scale model of the State's redevelopment proposals to a sample 56 household heads for their comments and evaluation. Reverse answer in search of problem logic of this sort assumed that it was conceptually easier for these respondents to comprehend and evaluate a graphic display of planning proposals, rather than answer vague questions which might not be fully understood.

Shlomo Angel and Stan Benjamin from the Asian Institute of Technology report:

. . . when a squatter is asked if he would like to live in a high-rise flat, he may say "yes" if he feels that is desired; or he may say "yes" if he feels that by saying "yes" he may actually get a flat.<sup>59</sup>

Such a situation is bound to occur regardless of the form of survey used. However, by presenting a model of the proposed development, accompanied by photographs of each type of shelter offered, the respondent is afforded the opportunity to gain an overview of the settlement pattern of his/her future environment, as well as a visual display of the type of housing that would be available. This methodology delivers relevant feedback of the residents long-term desires so that neighbourhood planners can adapt to future community needs.



Photographs 1-3: Model Presentation of Proposed Development

C. Responsive Tuning

Once the resident's needs have been identified by their evaluation of the display of planning options, the information can then be used to responsively tune the final renovation plan. Besides offering respondent sensitivity in providing a conceptual base from which the resident can identify problems and provide input, the methodology is a useful planning tool as it is generally compatible with the Third World planning process.

Specifically, in the Buluh Kubu case the approach was politically sensitive as it took into account the country's planning framework and realized the residents' lack of financial alternatives. Due to these factors, it was more relevant to local conditions to include resident input in the final stages of the planning process than the format of resident input proposed by the North American and Western European "public participation/advocacy" models.

These planning methods utilize the residents' demands in order to initiate or modify government proposals. It can only be successful in a truly democratic country where the freedom to publicly voice discontent without fear of reprisal is ensured. In most developed countries, those who have demands (supposedly) have financial alternatives and possess the ability to organize a campaign that can confront the government. Private lobbying efforts or an aggressive vocal campaign using demonstrations

and the press, can be very effective in pressuring authorities to address the public's demands.

However, such an approach could not be used in Malaysia given the country's political climate and its emphasis on the "professional expert" who is expected to know what the people need and how to deliver it. Furthermore, the area's inhabitants are in a politically weak position since they do not have legal tenure of the land they now occupy, and generally do not have financial alternatives or adequate access to input into the planning process. Therefore, to present residential demands in the initial stages of planning would be ineffective given the pressures to commercially develop the Buluh Kubu site, and the official classification of these residents as illegal squatters.

Once the redevelopment plan has been formulated to meet its overriding political and financial obligations, residential input can be added. As long as this input does not conflict with these concerns, additions or alterations to the plan may be made. It is a matter of priorities, and as exemplified by the Buluh Kubu case study, residential input under these circumstances seems to be only an afterthought. When considering the official outlook, in order to have any effect on planning proposals, resident input from those without political or financial power seems most appropriate in the final stages of the process.

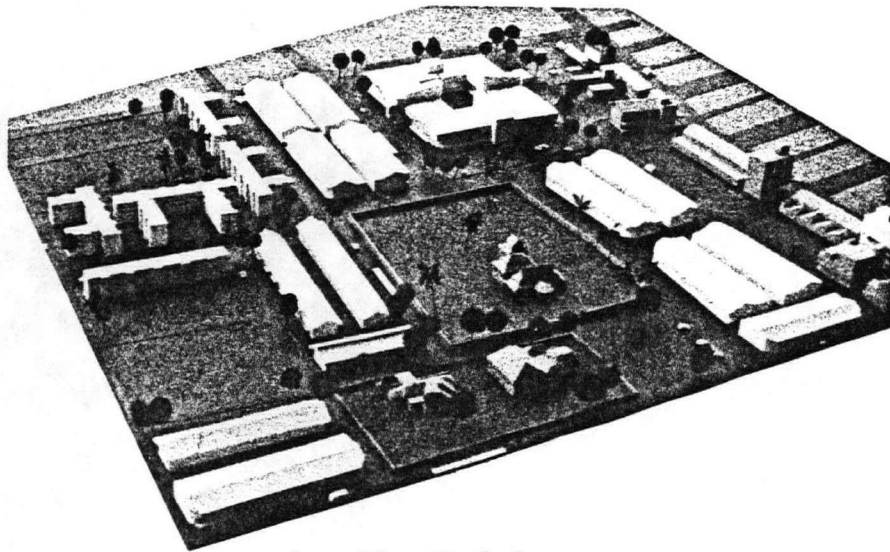
Despite the personal outlook and best intentions of foreign-

ers from developed countries, in order to implement policies and suggestions sensitive to the needs of the residents it is essential that these recommendations also be sensitive to the political system. In this regard, as the Director of Human Settlement Planning at the Asian Institute of Technology in Thailand points out, it is vital for the foreign planner to "Know Your Limits". Outside of open revolution, "Knowing Your Limits", in terms of the political system within which one is working, is the key to any measure of success by a foreign planner in a developing country. Without such an appreciation, even the best plans will go unnoticed or be met with an official smile and shelved indefinitely. Especially in the case of squatters and housing, Dr. Angel's experience in knowing limits indicates that:

Decisions on the proper use of land are largely political, and traditionally favour land owning interests which predominate in local and national policies. As squatters have neither legitimacy nor power, they are the most politically expedient and economical target for eviction. Moreover, as they often occupy lands owned by powerful people, they fall prey to market and political pressures to build more profitable structures on the land they occupy.<sup>60</sup>

Taking such factors into account, the methodology used in this research is a relevant and useful planning tool since in the short-term, it does not threaten the existing process it must work within in order to be effective. At the same time it offers a new source of residential input that can reinforce existing mechanisms which seek community response. As a result, the evolution of the developing country's planning process towards increasingly greater amounts of resident, and particularly

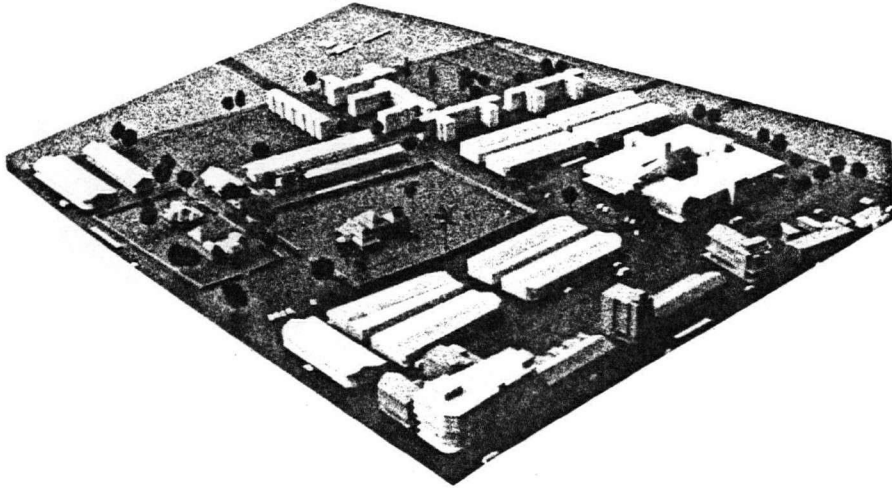




4. The Model



5. Accommodation Alternatives



6. The Model



7. The Model

squatter, input.

It is important that the governments of developing countries appreciate these long-term benefits of responsive planning which utilize relevant methodologies and local resources in encouraging all residents to be partners with the government in the planning process. Planning that emphasizes participation can discourage political revolution as it aids officials in "keeping in touch" with the demands of all sectors of the nation's population.

### III. THE MECHANICS OF THE SURVEY: AN INSIGHT INTO THE PLANNING PROCESS

The presentation of a method design which could provide a conceptual base for the Buluh Kubu residents' evaluation and planning response required several bureaucratic procedures. The most difficult task in implementing the methodology was acquiring the government's permission to publicly present classified development plans that had not been finally approved by the Mentri Besar, the Chief Minister of the State. Presentation of tentative planning proposals to an area's inhabitants, regardless of their income or status, was a new concept in planning for Kota Bharu.

Partly as a result of being a new approach which affected the planning status quo, the research framework was met with a certain amount of skepticism from government quarters. As

mentioned previously, the Town and Country Planning Department had in the past been responsible for presenting surveys and questionnaires for cases such as the Buluh Kubu site. However, on the Buluh Kubu project the State Economic Planning Unit as well as the State Economic Development Corporation were actively involved in survey work. It seemed that this traditional function of the Town and Country Planning Department was perceived to be threatened. Possibly for this reason, the Department opposed the presentation of a planning model presentation arguing that its creators as well as the residents who view it would have unlawful access to "privileged" material. The town planners maintained that proposals for commercial development could be acquired by private interests who would have an advantage in speculating on the area's proposed commercial development. However, in the department's original development plans, their extensive commercial proposals were well known throughout the town. From my own conversations with local entrepreneurs, many were willing to outline in detail supposedly confidential proposed commercial plans for the Buluh Kubu area. Therefore my request for the presentation of a tentative model of planning proposals to low-income residents who were going to be directly affected by development did not appear to threaten the "secrecy" of such plans since they were already known amongst business interests throughout the city.

In the request to various agencies, it was explained why the model presentation would be beneficial for the long-term planning process. It was earnestly proposed that the approach would be useful in initiating resident response so that planning for Buluh Kubu, as well as other sites, could be sensitive to the desires of the inhabitants involved. It was also pointed out to officials that this procedure would aid in ensuring that scarce resources and government efforts would be utilized to their fullest extent. Especially for the Town and Country Planning Department, it was noted that the model of a social planning strategy was relevant since it was simultaneously involved in three other similar development projects.

The ability to have on hand a model of development is a useful frame of reference for future projects as it can offer a graphic overview of planning patterns. A conceptual overview can then be evaluated by the outcome of the development that takes place. Particularly for the younger planners who have only a minimal amount of training, this model can be used as a useful learning device since it provides the opportunity to study planning patterns and to learn from past efforts. The model not only encourages response from the public on planning proposals but also serves as a worthwhile teaching medium that can raise resident consciousness concerning the different factors involved in planning.

#### IV. RED TAPE

Originally I intended to use high school students to build the survey community scale model because it would have been a worthwhile educational experience while keeping the costs of the construction down. However, the Town and Country Planning Department vetoed the idea claiming that the students might "leak" classified material to private financial concerns. The department only agreed to the construction of the model if it was built by a local architect (of which there were only three) who would be willing to sign an official, binding agreement that would charge this person with "preserving the confidentiality" of "restricted material". The prospects of finding someone to sign such an agreement seemed dim.

Ingrained in the planning process and the society as a whole is a distinct unwillingness to commit oneself for being responsible in an undertaking until it is completed and proven to be a success. At that time usually everyone will claim responsibility for the venture. However, if it is judged to be a failure then the "not me, boss" process protects anyone from being identified as having failed, and the buck is passed into oblivion until a convenient scapegoat is found or the whole matter forgotten. This notion is rooted in the people of Kelantan State's extreme societal concern in "saving face" before the eyes of others.

August 27, 1978

I Mohamad Bin Abdul Ghani (identity card number  
) understand that the model I agree to build for the  
proposed Buloh Kubu redevelopment project, is based on plans  
which is restricted material that cannot be released to the  
general public without Government consent.

I therefore take responsibility for myself and staff  
in preserving the confidentiality of this material.

Furthermore I understand that this agreement does not  
commit my firm to future involvement in the Buloh Kubu Project.

Signed

MOHAMAD BIN ABDUL GHANI

Figure 2: Letter of Agreement by local Architect to build  
a model of Buluh Kubu's proposed development

Despite the red tape, I was extremely fortunate in finding a local architect who appreciated the benefits of the proposed design. He thus agreed to build the model, and sign a "document agreeing to undertake the project". Willingness to commit oneself to such an agreement in this society was a sign of courage which I perceived as surprising the Town Planning Department. The Department did not expect me to find anyone to undertake such responsibility, however once their stipulations had been met they were obliged to support the method design. After official approval had been granted, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Webster, I was able to obtain funding for the model's construction and survey implementation.

V. THE POLITICAL MEANS JUSTIFIES SOCIAL ENDS

The factor which ultimately influenced the State Economic Planning Unit's sponsorship of the survey was the emphasis placed on the fact that the model would be an impressive testimony of the agency's capabilities to the Mentri Besar. It should be understood that each government agency participating in Buluh Kubu's renovation was extremely concerned by what the Mentri Besar regarded as their particular input in the project in relation to the other agencies involved. It was a revealing insight into the competitiveness and priorities of government agencies supposedly working together on a



planning project. Such instances do occur in developed nations but perhaps to a more subtle degree than was observed in this case. Instead of presenting the design in order to educate and initiate residential response in the planning process, it was soon (painfully) apparent to me that the prime motive behind the agency's agreement to my request was to increase its own prestige in the eyes of the Prime Minister of the State. However, as stated previously the validity of this research design lay not only in its ability to initiate and articulate residential input into the planning process, but also in its compatibility with the political mechanics and motives of the government's planning procedure, without which such resident input could not be realized. Thus, in order to acquire my social planning objectives as a research planner, I had to 'sell' the design not only as a planning method, but also as a political vehicle for departmental recognition.

Despite the various motives in this case, the design was used as a political 'means' so that a social view of planning could be met in the long run. The goal of such an approach is increased residential input into the planning process so as to encourage responsive proposals in touch with all the residents' needs in the context of their condition.

## VI. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SURVEY

The survey was conducted over a four day period in November of 1978, with the help of seven clerks from the Town and Country Planning Department's staff. I was responsible for the formulation of the three-part questionnaire which included a physical questionnaire section and subjective questions designed to determine straight forward factual information on the inhabitants' residency and behaviour. It was this information that was requested by the planning department and was in line with their previous survey framework. While these questions were readily agreed upon by the department the last section of the questionnaire which concerned the residents' attitudes and planning input met with resistance. It was finally agreed that the attitudinal questions and model could be presented to a random 56 household heads from the total population of 400 families.

## VII. SURVEY DESIGN

The four square acre Buluh Kubu area was cut into roughly four equal survey areas using the Johar Palace as a marker for division. The first five questions (A-E) dealing with the physical appraisal of the area, and Section 2, the objective factual questions (1-15), were delivered to every household head in Buluh Kubu over a four day period. The questionnaire I constructed, after numerous drafts, was translated into Malay

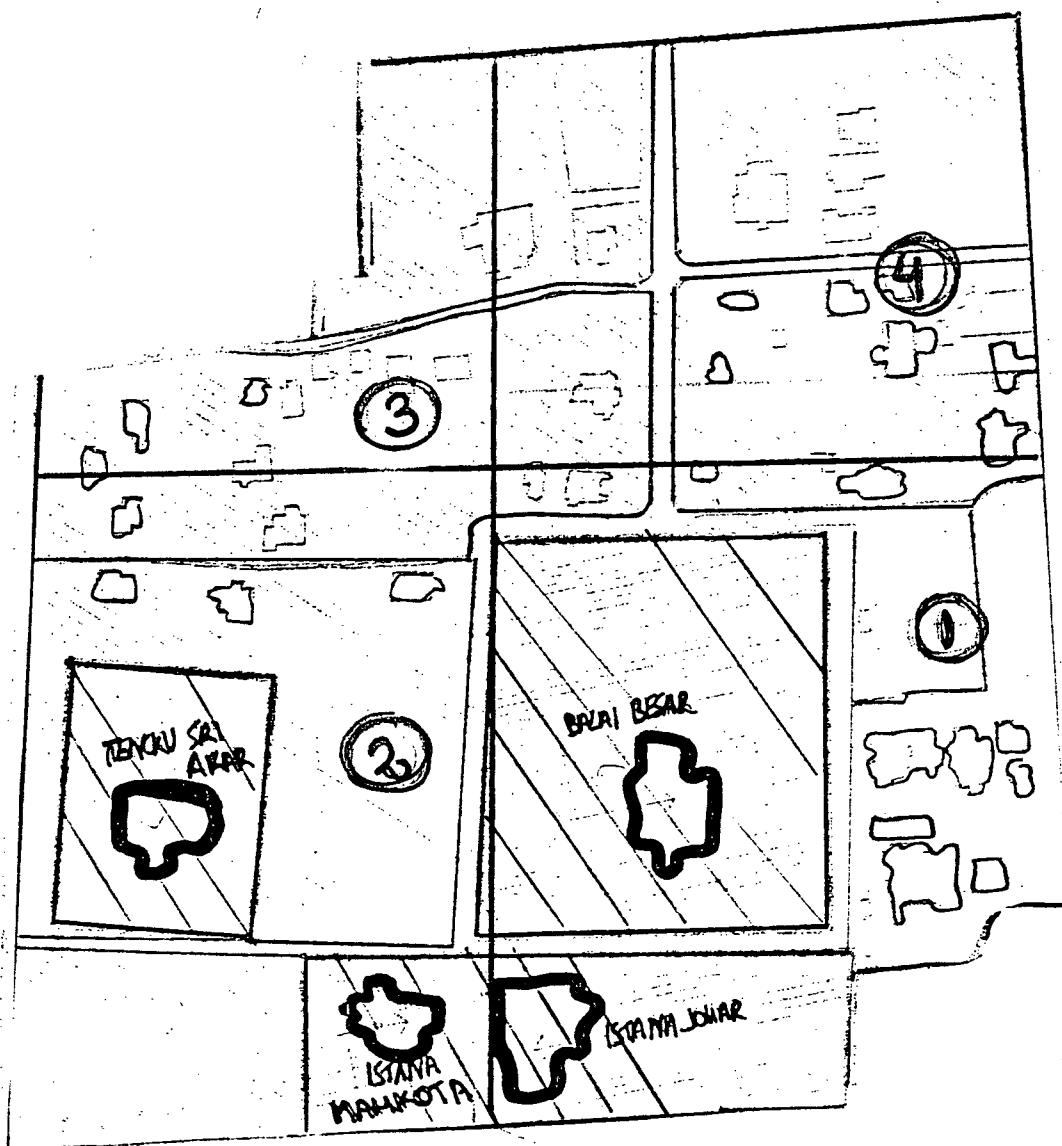


Figure 3: Survey Areas

and delivered personally by myself and seven Planning Department staff members. The classification of household head rather than family head was used in order to avoid confusion in family ties and kinship networks. Household head was considered to be the ranking responsible member available at home at the time of the interview. Since the interviews were conducted after working hours, and prayer meetings, in most cases the ranking male was available.

The benefits of having the staff members explain the questionnaire and write in the answers were important to the survey. I was able to discuss with each interviewer what the questions meant and to indicate which type of question could stimulate response. Thus a consistent interpretation was achieved by my contact with the interviewers and their understanding of the questions' intent. Towards this end it was arranged that I be situated at the model display location in case there were any problems in completing the questionnaire. The staff members were extremely cooperative in conducting the survey, and asked many questions which made the procedure a valuable learning experience for all parties involved.

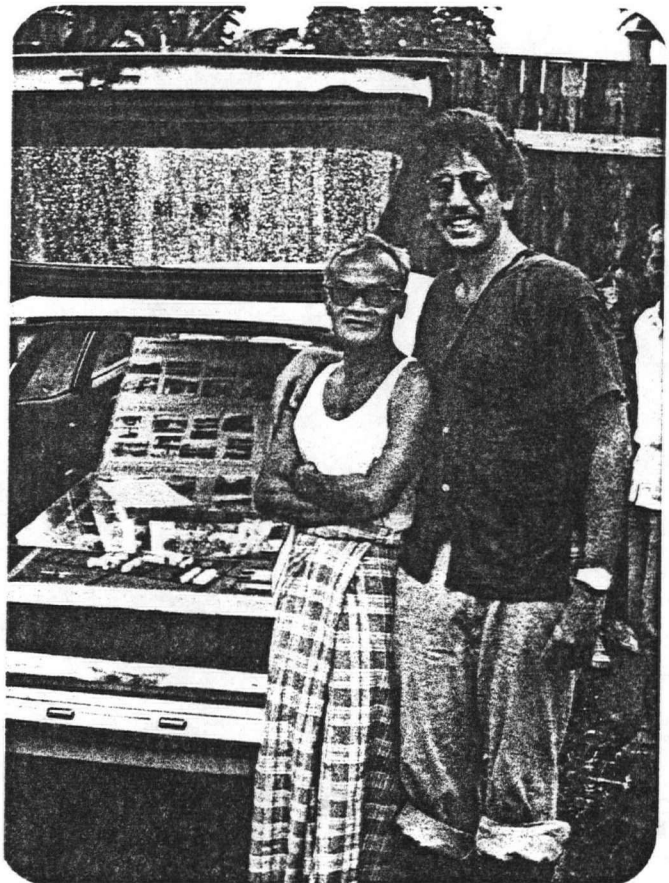
Fourteen families were randomly chosen from each of the four survey areas to answer the last section of the questionnaire dealing with the residents' attitudes, input into the planning design, and evaluation of the methodology. Although



8. The Presentation of Survey



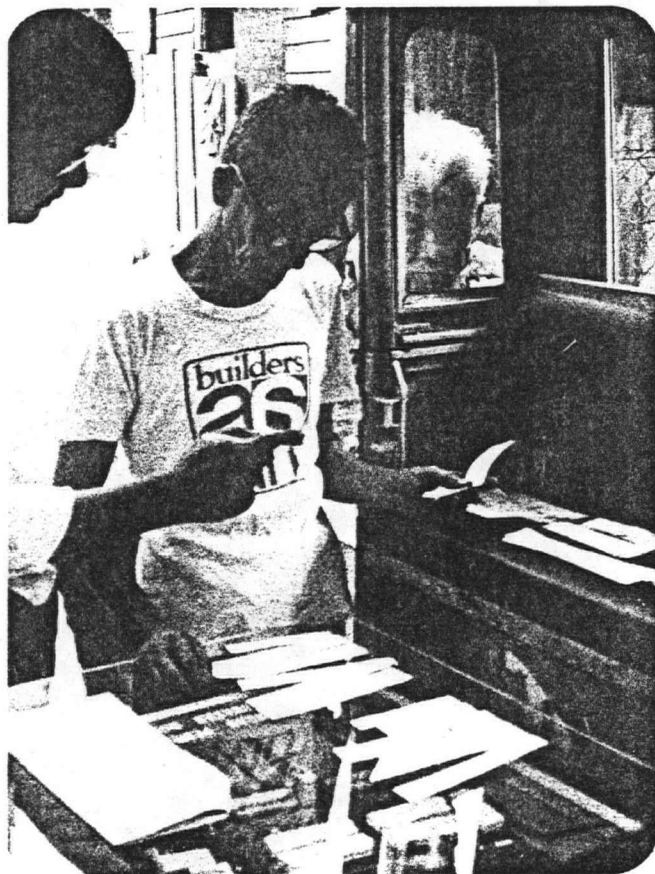
9. Interviewers



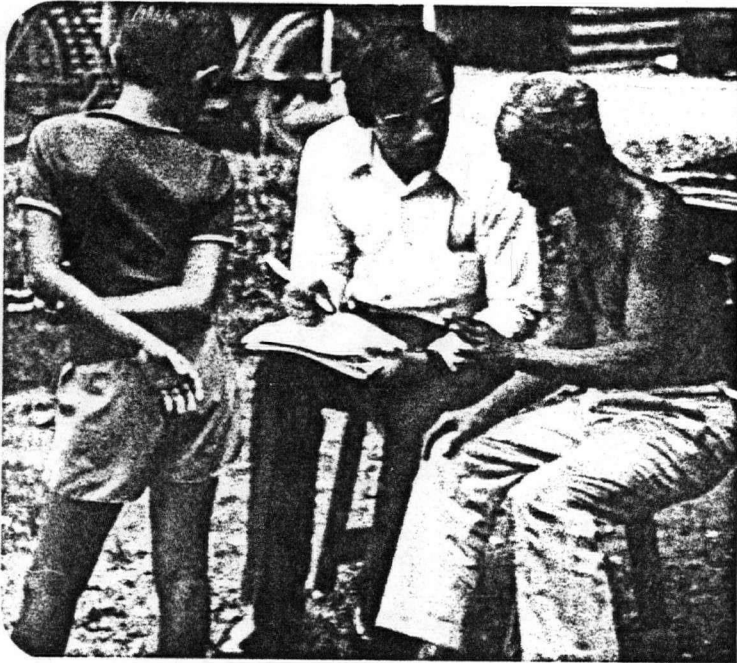
10. Interviewers



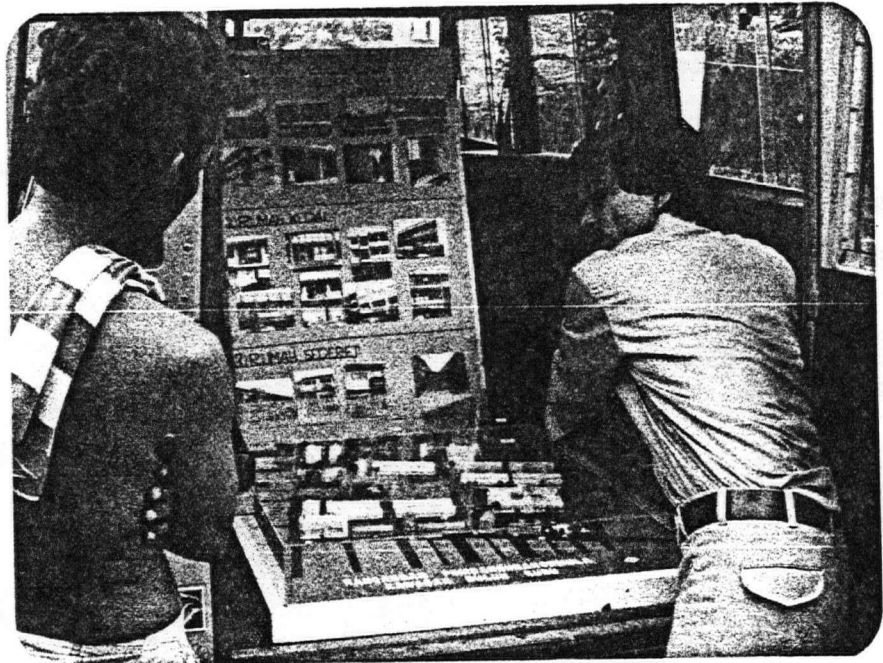
11. The Survey



12. The Survey



13. The Survey



14. The Survey



it was originally intended to distribute the last section of the questionnaire to the entire Buluh Kubu population, due to the resistance by the Director of Planning, a random sample of 56 family heads was chosen instead. Out of every seven families one household head answered the third questionnaire section. Tables 1 to 10 indicate that with respect to age, sex, distribution, education and employment, these 56 random household heads were fairly representative of Buluh Kubu's total population. Since this last section of the questionnaire was delivered only by myself and one staff member, a careful presentation of the model was undertaken in order to ensure respondent understanding of what was being asked.

#### VIII. COMPUTER CODING

After the survey was conducted, the questionnaire was coded by sections and survey areas. It was necessary to code each answer with a code number for computer use (see Appendix). Eight, meaning 'not applicable', was distinguished from nine, meaning 'no answer', while one was reserved for 'yes', and two was left to indicate 'no'. Four of the seven staff members were placed under my charge in order to help code the questionnaires. This part of my research was particularly rewarding since it provided the opportunity to teach questionnaire formulation and computer coding, having learned it myself from Dr. Webster

the day before. The Malay staff were very eager to learn these methods, which they saw as enhancing their careers. They provided this research with valuable insights into the workings of the planning process and Malay society.

#### IX. COMPUTATION: THE STATISTICAL PACKAGE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Since there were no computer facilities available in Kota Bharu only the coding could be done in the field work site. Therefore, in September of 1979 upon returning to the University of British Columbia the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer tests for this research was begun by the punching out of questionnaire answers onto computer cards. After several attempts the appropriate SPSS command cards for descriptive tables and cross-tabulations were worked out. The data was divided between the total sample of 400 household heads -- Sample 1, and Sample 2 the random 56 household heads who answered the attitudinal questions.

#### X. TARGETS FOR ANALYSIS

The targets for research analysis concentrated on Buluh Kubu's general similarities with the rest of Kota Bharu, as well as the community's unique characteristics. The findings are detailed in Chapter 6. Table 6 analyzes a comparison of

the residents' length of stay in Buluh Kubu, as compared to their previous home, so as to understand the permanence of the residents. Table 5 examines both samples' place of birth in order to appreciate what function Buluh Kubu has as a transient reception area in relation to the rest of the city. A cross tabulation between sex and age was conducted on Samples 1 and 2 in order to construct a sex/age pyramid for a demographic overview of the population.

Data comparing Buluh Kubu's household density with the rest of Malaysia is examined in Tables 7 and 11 so as to view the situation within a national perspective. An overview of the other social indicators examined in Chapter 6 includes: income, ability to pay rent, household amenities, rooms per living quarter, education, employment, and a breakdown of employment characteristics, all within a comparative framework involving the two Buluh Kubu samples and the rest of Kota Bharu. The rest of the data collected concerning the third section of the questionnaire is discussed in Chapter 6, and is presented in the sample questionnaire included in the Appendix.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SETTING: KOTA BHARU

#### I. GEOGRAPHY

Kota Bharu, which is located on the north-east coast of Malaysia, has until recently been isolated from the rest of the Nation. Situated near the mouth of the Kelantan River the town is hemmed in by mountains to the south and west. The China Sea to the east lacks natural harbours. Historically, the north-eastern coastline of Malaysia has deterred accessibility by foreign interests into the region. Directly north is Thailand which traditionally has had closer ties to Kota Bharu due to the town's geographic distance from the rest of the country.

Since it is the regional capital, Kota Bharu has developed as a center for marketing and trade. The major crop grown near the town is rice. Rice is the major staple in the Malay diet and is chosen by most local farmers who are reluctant to grow other types of more profitable cash crops.

Figure 4: The States of Malaysia showing the Districts of the State of Kelantan



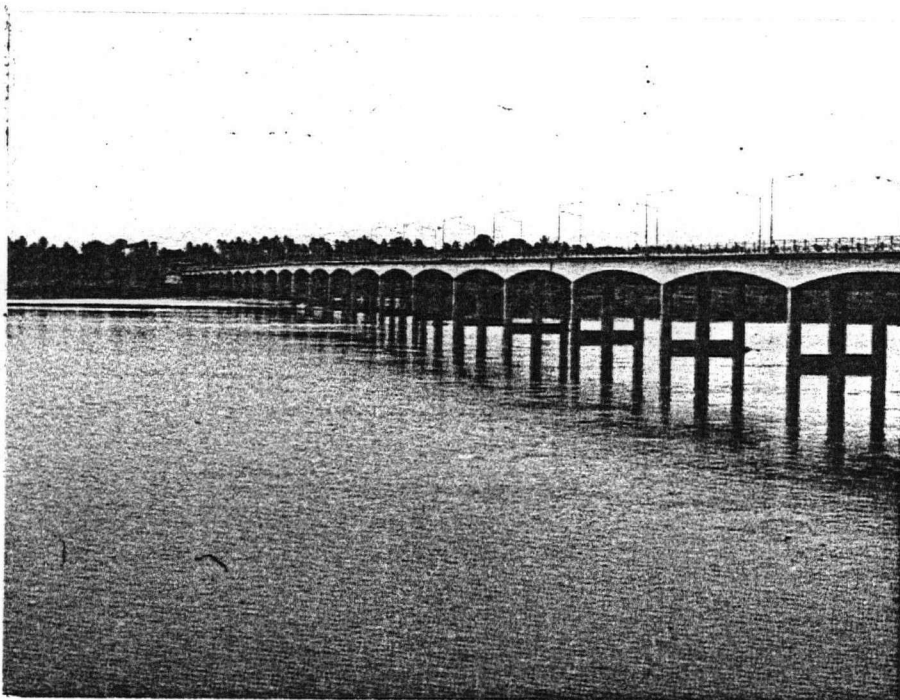
## II. ACCESS AND COMMUNICATION

Except during the height of monsoon season the Kelantan River provides easy boat access to Kota Bharu. Traditionally the river has been used as the major route to the town since the mountainous terrain and numerous waterways around the area have meant that the town was hard to reach overland. Besides the river, a twelve hour bus ride through the State of Kuantan, covering 420 miles between Kota Bharu to Kuala Lumpur is available twice daily. Another, but more dangerous route follows a road through Thailand that crosses into the town of Songa Golok. At this small (but illustrious) town the road connects with the east-west highway that joins a road south leading into northwest Malaysia. Although train tracks have not run directly through Kota Bharu since the Second World War, train service by the Malaysian Railway System is available just north of the town. The line runs south to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, and north connecting with trains to points in Thailand and northwest Malaysia.

Eight miles to the east of Kota Bharu is the small town of Pekalan Chipa where the airport is located. Since the mid-1960's the Malaysian Airline System has offered regular domestic flights to Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Kuantan, and Kuala Trengganu. These flights have effectively opened up Kelantan state to the rest of the country which, as recently as 1963, was connected to the capital of Kuala Lumpur by thirteen ferry crossings.



15. Kota Bharu: New Business District



16. The Sultan Yehih Putra Bridge leading North to Thailand

At the time of research an important east-west coast highway was near completion. The road would link up Kota Bharu to Penang and for the first time allow direct access from the hinterland of the east to the developed manufacturing centers of the west coast. It was in anticipation of this growth that the World Bank team wanted to establish Kota Bharu as an equal trading partner with western Malaysia. A prime concern of the Team's mission was to develop industry in Kota Bharu that would discourage a one-way flow of raw resources to Penang and Ipoh on the west coast.

### III. HISTORY

#### A. Early History

In his 1967 article, A Kelantan Village in Malaya<sup>61</sup> Down indicated that by 1225 A.D., Kelantan State was under the rule of Srivijaya from Sumatra. A hundred years later the state was taken over by the Majapahit kingdom of Java which was conquered by the end of the fifteenth century by the Malay Princes from Malacca who converted the state of Kelantan to Islam. From 1600, in the Patani region of southern Thailand, the Kingdom of Siam gained prominence and claimed suzerainty over Kelantan which was directly to the south.<sup>62</sup> To this day, ties are very close between the regions and include a strong Islamic-Malay-speaking, Patani-Thai separatist faction which



regularly blows up the Hadyai train station in order to orchestrate their commitment to forming closer official affiliation with Kelantan state.

The British diplomat Sir Frank Swettenham offered this first-hand account of Kelantan and Kota Bharu during an 1875 visit with the Governor of Singapore:

They told us Kelantan was under Siam, immediately under Ligor, but the Siamese do not interfere in the government of the country. There used to be a large quantity of gold obtained in Kelantan, but it has been worked for 60 years and it is said there is a large Bazaar where the buyers and sellers are principally women, thronged to a degree. The population is very dense indeed, houses and gardens everywhere and an endless stream of people going up and down the river bank. The Captain China declared there were 100,000 Malays, males in and about town: of Chinese in the country of Kelantan 2,000. There is an opium and spirit farm in the hands of the Captain China at \$2,000 per annum. There is also a duty on salt, gambier, paddy, cotton and silk for sarong making and tobacco. Immense numbers of sarongs are made in Kelantan by both Malays and Chinese especially the former. . . .<sup>63</sup>

#### B. British Intervention

Due to the Siamese desire to maintain their interests in Kelantan state in the face of colonial expansionism, the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1902 was signed. As part of this agreement, in 1903 the Siamese government appointed W. R. Graham as British Advisor to look after its affairs in the state. The British at the time wanted to get involved in Kelantan trade without

over-extending itself and claiming the region a direct colony of the British Empire.

In his six years as Advisor to the Sultan, Graham oversaw:

- 1) the development of the police force and the building of a central police station in Kota Bharu in 1904;
- 2) reformation of the jail system; including the utilization of convict labour in civic projects and construction of a new jail in 1907 situated in Kota Bharu;
- 3) creation of a public works department;
- 4) the creation of a secular school system; and,
- 5) the recognition of the State Council, and decentralization of the districts administration in 1903.<sup>64</sup>

In 1909, the Treaty of Bangkok was signed which gave Great Britain "all rights of Suzerainty, protection, administration and control over Kelantan and the States of Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis".<sup>65</sup> Having gained familiarity with the state since 1902 as advisors in the service of the Siamese, the British began their formal involvement in Kelantan. Although the State continued to have a British Advisor during the period of colonial intervention in the Malay Peninsula, Kelantan

maintained its independence as an unfederated state. The Japanese attacked Kota Bharu at the start of the Second World War catching British and Malay troops by surprise. A ruthless occupation followed, which is bitterly remembered to this day by local residents. In 1948 Kelantan joined the Federation of Malays, and on August 31, 1957, under a new constitution, became part of the new independent country of Malaysia.

C. Overseas Market: The Duff Trading Company

Due to its relative isolation, foreign trading interests in Kelantan state were not as intense as the involvement of trade in the western and southern states of the peninsula. However, as the major trading center for Kelantan state, foreign investment did remain a significant factor in the development of Kota Bharu. An Englishman, Robert William Duff, obtained the land concession for commercial purposes from the Sultan of Kelantan in 1900. Ratified in July 1901, the concession gave the Duff Syndicate virtual control of all rights to mining and commerce activities within an area of three thousand square miles. The Duff Company built up the infrastructure for both administration and prospecting minerals in Kelantan state. By 1905 the Company had major disagreements with the British Advisor to the Sultan on policy matters. These disputes were not officially settled until an appeal was presented in England, to the House of Lords in the 1930's.<sup>66</sup>

D. Kota Bharu's Roaring 20's: Flood and Fire

Kota Bharu expanded rapidly between 1900 and 1930. The most important event affecting the town's urban formation during this crucial period was a major flood and fire which moved the central business district of Kota Bharu away from the river bank towards its present location inland.

Although the Kelantan River annually overflows its banks, in 1926 flooding was so extensive that most of the town's major commercial district situated along the river banks was destroyed. The government intervened with relief aid to help out these interests as well as the farmers and rubber plantation owners whose crops were ruined by the flood.<sup>67</sup>

One year after the flood 300 shops located along the river bank were destroyed by fire.<sup>68</sup> The blaze apparently started in a Chinese shop house and is still the source of some racial animosity among Malay businessmen. Informants point out that it was not the Malay custom to insure property, a practice followed by the Chinese. Thus after the fire, the Chinese were able to build rapidly, gaining a significant commercial advantage. The Chinese invested their insurance money away from the river (and heavy flooding) to where the new commercial district is today. In recent attempts to re-establish a commercial area along the banks of the Kelantan River, the Malays are adamant that they alone have the right

to locate their businesses in new government sponsored projects. They refer to the fire of January 1927 as the reason Malays cannot have a business district with the Chinese, who they believe started the fire in order to collect property insurance.

#### IV. KOTA BHARU'S URBAN FORMATION

As Map 2 illustrates, at the turn of the century, Kota Bharu's population was concentrated north of the present town centre along the Kelantan River which, as a means of transport and trade, was central to the town's development. It is natural, therefore, that the original Town Centre was situated on the river bank (Town Section 5). To the south of this area lies Independence Park which is still a favourite recreational spot in the town. Just west of the Park is the old Malay living quarter including the Buluh Kubu area (Town Section 7) which surrounds the Sultan's traditional palace, the Balai Besar.

The other old area of town (whose background information is included in the Appendix of this research) is the Lido District, a predominantly Chinese neighbourhood located directly south of the Park along the river (Town Section 6).

Both these districts have declined in importance as a result of the flood and fires of the 1920's. The old landing pier for river boats and ferries located opposite the Park,

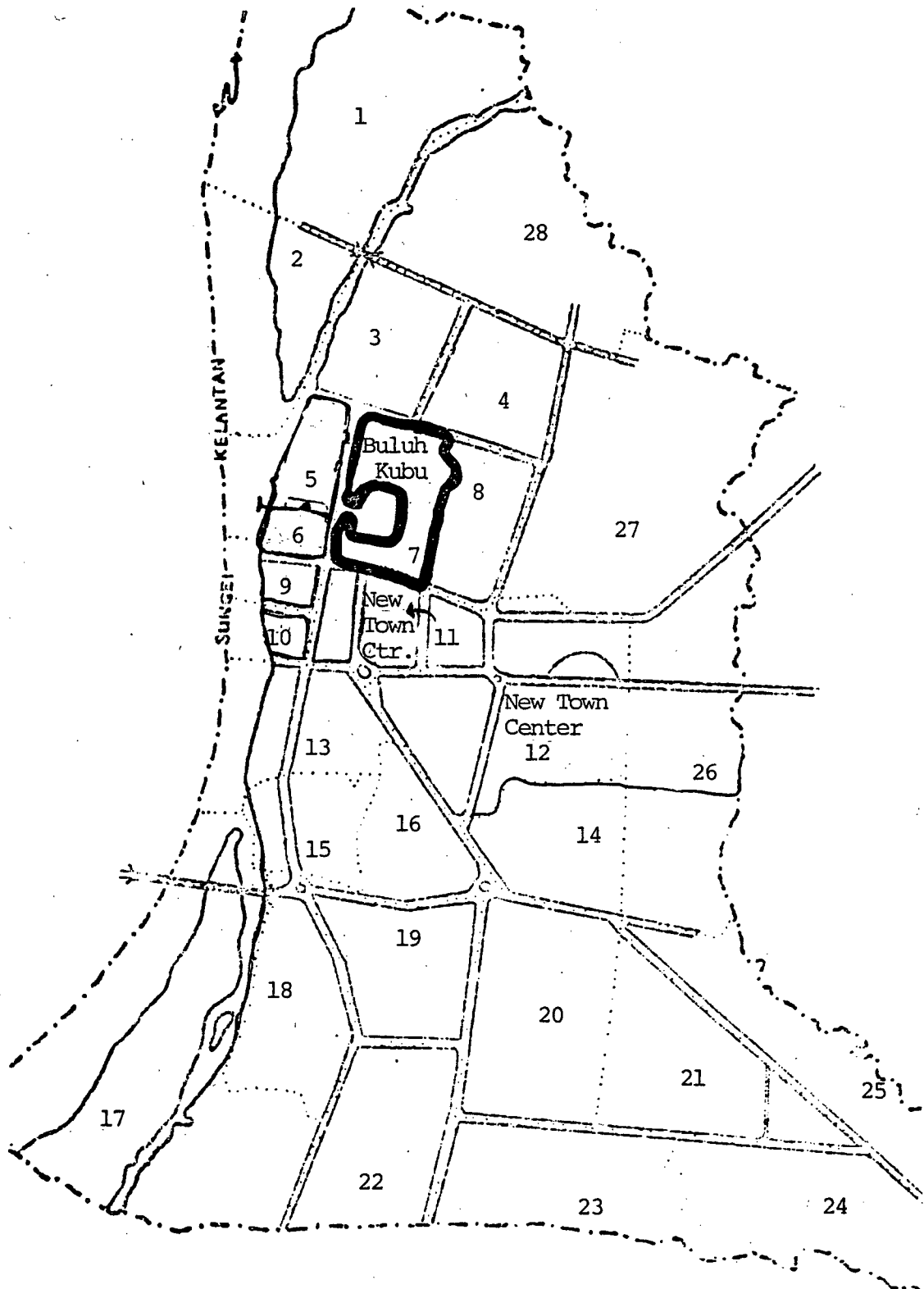
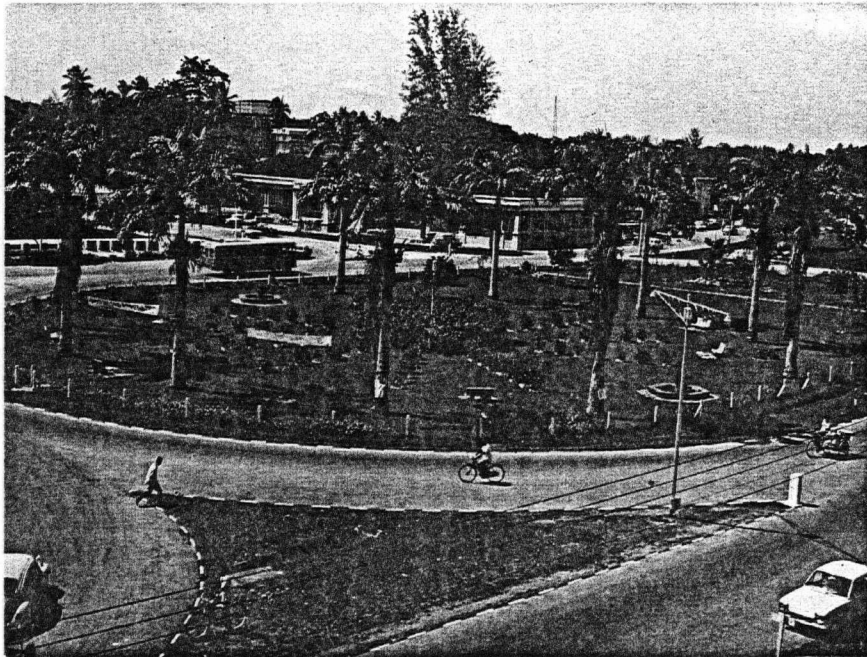


Figure 5: Kota Bharu's Town Sections

lost its former use with the building of the new bridge downstream in 1964. This bridge was built to accommodate the new town centre located to the south and inland from the former town area. The new district included the Central Market Building, a two-storey building, packed with an estimated 2,300 traders (Town Section 11), and the Government Buildings (Town Section 12) constructed by the British.

The southward expansion of the town away from the river banks is a result of the annual flooding which is most severe in the northern part of the town and by the riverside. To the south of the city (Town Section 13 and 15) and along Jalan Telipot (Town Section 23) where flooding is minimal, the expensive houses are found.

The district in the worst condition was the most densely populated section of the town located in the older section of the city. A further study of a neighbourhood in this area called Buluh Kubu, or "Bamboo Fence", is offered in the belief that it will provide useful insights into the urban dynamics of Kota Bharu's past, its present experience, and possibilities for future growth.



17. Kota Bharu: Town Square



18. Kota Bharu: Main Market



V. ECONOMIC CONDITION

Despite Kota Bharu's size and prestige as the state capital of a contained region, the city's economy is depressed because it has a more limited range of industrial activities and manufacturing employment than other centres in her size range.<sup>69</sup> Light industry in the area includes: ice, matches, biscuits, and building materials. There are also the well known handicrafts including batik, silverwear, songket weaving, and kites. A 1977 urban development study<sup>70</sup> indicates that out of a sample work force of 1,527 working members taken from 1,000 randomly chosen families, 51.7 per cent were employed in secondary economic activities. These activities include: construction, banking and finance, wholesale trade, retail trade, and the manufacturing of rubber, oil palm, tobacco, coconut oil processing, textiles and wood products. Tertiary industries include: rubber utilities, public service, transport, and communication. A sample of the study showed that 45.6 per cent were employed while only two per cent of the total work sample was involved in primary resource employment. Such a breakdown in sectorial employment reveals Kota Bharu's commercial and processing function in the context of its urban, hinterland relationship with the rest of Kelantan State. Hinterland activities which should directly affect the city in the near future are: the Kemubu rice double-cropping scheme; expanding Malayan Tobacco Cor-

poration operations; and the new highway which will directly link up Kota Bharu with the commercial west coast for the first time. However, whether such a road will provide the desired two-way flow of goods and services which will aid in Kota Bharu's development, or retard the city by a one-way out-flow effect, remains to be seen.

#### VI. UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS: "BUMI PUTRA" URBAN PROTOTYPE

The evolution of Kota Bharu, a town of 100,000 with a compound annual growth rate of approximately five per cent is notably different from its larger west coast counterparts such as Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Taping, and George Town. Unlike these colonial cities Kota Bharu is an indigenous Malay town formed by the merger of small Kampongs. Redfield and Singer defined the urban formation as an "orthogenetic city",<sup>71</sup> since it is a product of local cultural assumptions in response to indigenous initiatives, not colonial influence.

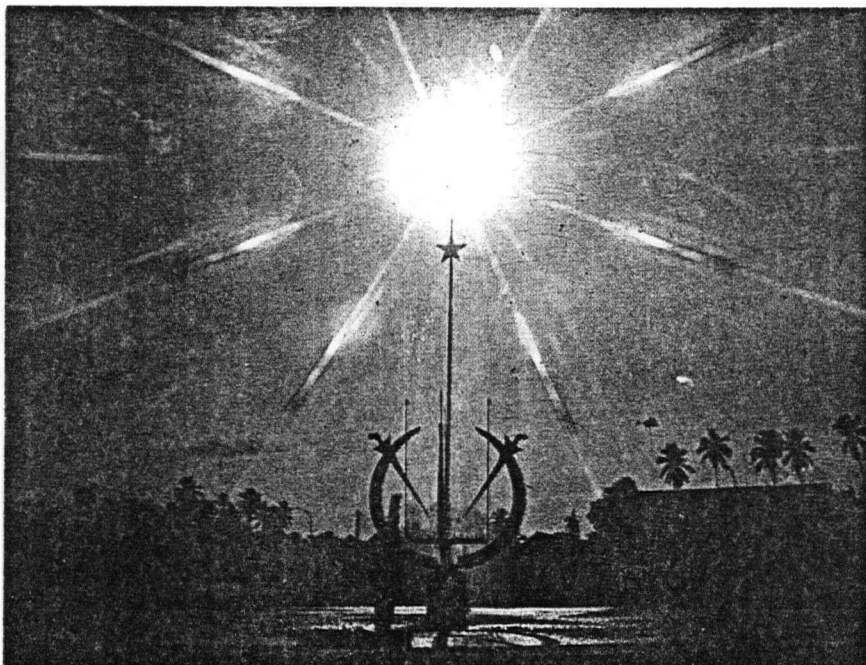
The history of relative isolation from colonial urbanism has resulted in Kota Bharu's special characteristics as a Malay town where the administrators, population and landowners are "Bumi Putra" or people of the soil.<sup>72</sup> As spelled out in the 1978 national plan, a prime concern of the government is to offer urban opportunities to Malays. Thus according to local political observers, a town with an indigenous base such

as Kota Bharu is rapidly becoming a showpiece of national Malay urbanism.<sup>73</sup> Due to the town's indigenous evolution it is receiving increasing attention by the Federal government. Political factors as opposed to rational planning decisions will cause Kota Bharu to grow considerably over the next ten years. Political speculation is, at best, risky in the Developing World, however, if the Federal UMNO government stays in power and proceeds with its commitment regarding Bumi Putra policies, a special political interest will attempt to rapidly develop Kota Bharu into a major indigenous Malay city. To appreciate a political perspective of this kind it is necessary to understand that national Bumi Putra policy and "plural" racial solidarity in Malaysian society are crucial factors in attempting to apply social planning.

The government's Bumi Putra policy is a far-reaching and extremely sensitive commitment to promote the "Bumi Putra", the Malays who account for approximately 50 per cent of the country's total population, in all aspects of modern life. Especially in the urbanization of the traditionally rural Malays, the government utilizes its strict control in ensuring that the Bumi Putra can, as they view it, "catch up" to their more urbanized Chinese counterparts who make up approximately 40 per cent of the country's population.



19. Cinema and Commercial Stalls: Downtown Kota Bharu



20. Town Fountain in the shape of Kelantan State's Crest

The former British administration policy of non-interference in the various racial groups' societal evolution and function resulted in the financially expert Chinese becoming the country's urbanites. The majority of Malays, on the other hand, were content to stay in the country "kampong" where village life, the Moslem religion, and subservience to the Malay Royal families ensured an insulated rural community.

After Independence in 1948 the Malays acquired the political reigns of the country while the Chinese controlled the economy. This division of power along racial lines is still causing tension today. Despite the government's "Bumi Putra" efforts the Chinese are still the driving force behind the country's economy, and are concentrated in the major cities of Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, and Penang.

In this respect I agree with Friedman<sup>74</sup> and Nagata<sup>75</sup> who in their independent studies define Malaysia as being a "plural society". In this type of society, racial solidarity more than any other factor including class or position, is the determinant of an individual's societal group identification. As the 1969 riots indicated, identification according to racial conflict groups is an explosive situation that to this day has not been diffused and constantly threatens Malaysian unity.

It seems likely that the Federal government will realize the validity of a national policy that seeks to reinforce

existing Malay cities' growth, while continuing its attempt to reorganize the racially stratified major cities of Kuala Lumpur and Penang. Along with this commitment from the national government, now that Kelantan State has ended its fifteen year rule under the PAS (Party Islam) and is governed by the Federal UMNO party, it will be in line for receiving further federal funds, particularly for its capital, Kota Bharu. The town's development may also be ensured by the prestige of the country's Finance Minister, Tengku Razaleigh, who is from Kelantan. In Malaysian politics personalities and their place of origin play an important role on the political emphasis of policy direction. Razaleigh is a popular, young, capable politician who has promising career prospects. As Finance Minister he is in a prime position to encourage and stimulate Kota Bharu's growth in order to follow the government's commitment, and to build up his own prestige.

Kota Bharu's unique indigenous features may be the major factor that will develop the city. The Bumi Putra policy means that the town's history is becoming the catalyst for ensuring its future development. As Kota Bharu is identified as the Malay "Bumi Putra" urban show case the Federal government, despite the costs or planning obstacles, will develop the town as proof that their national political vision can work.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE BULUH KUBU AREA OF KOTA BHARU

#### I. BACKGROUND AND FORMATION

The oldest district of Kota Bharu the Buluh Kubu area, surrounds the Sultan's traditional palace the Istana Balai Besar. The Istana Balai Besar was built in 1844 by Sultan Mohammad II, and was originally protected by sharp fences and moats in defence against invaders from Trengganu. As a result of this defence the Sultan named the city Kota Bharu, which means New Fort of New Town. The name Istana Balai Besar meaning Palace with Large Audience, aptly describes the wooden castle's impressive design. The Palace is still used for State Assembly meetings.

The 27 acres which make up the Buluh Kubu district were divided into 23 lots in 1928, and officially recognized as Sultan's Land by the Kelantan government in 1934 under the reign of Sultan Ismail.<sup>76</sup> In accordance with this agreement the land was in the name of the Royal Family, which meant the government could not legally buy it from the Sultan. Therefore, in order to acquire the property for redevelopment in 1976, it was arranged to trade the area for another piece of property in town.

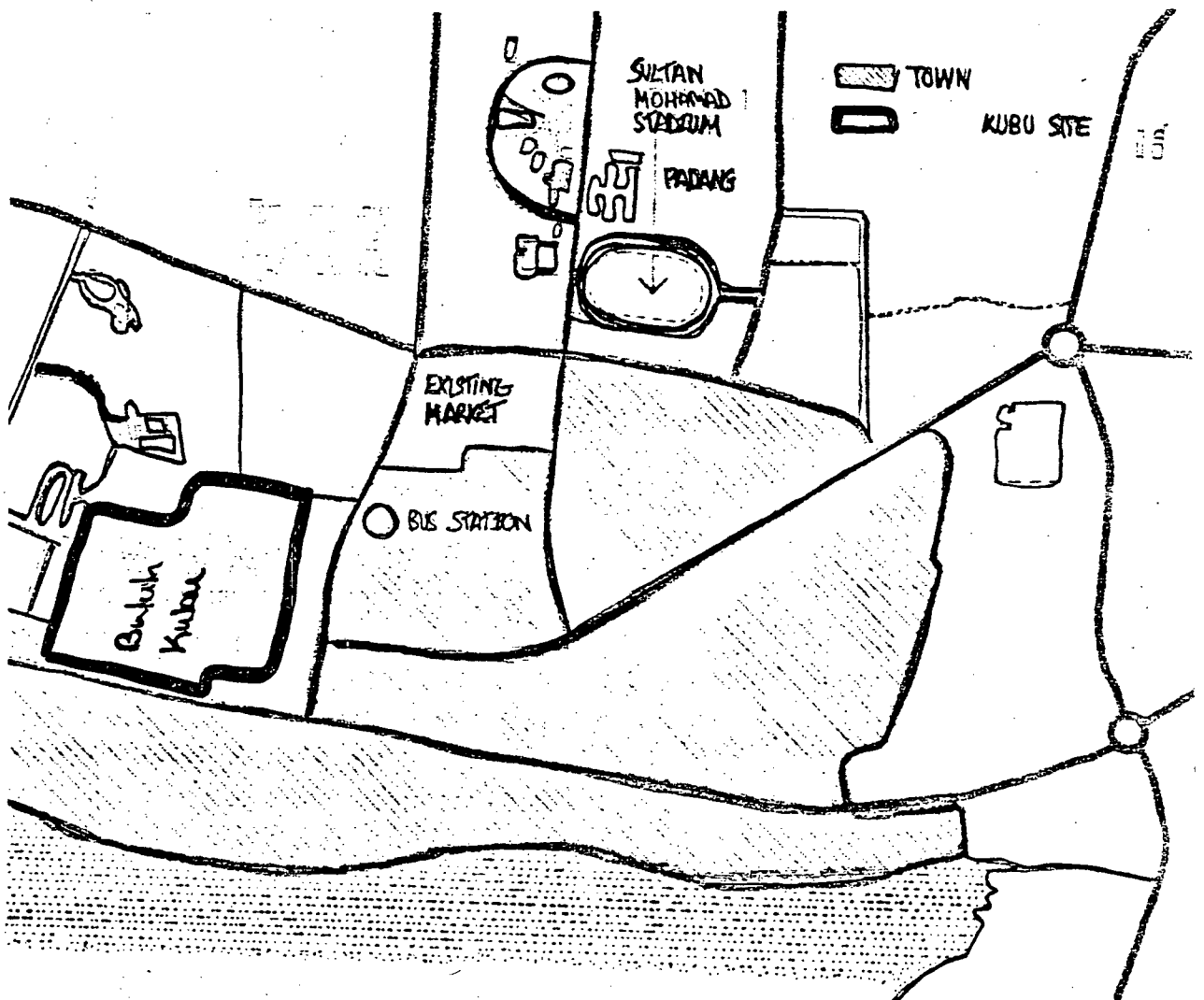
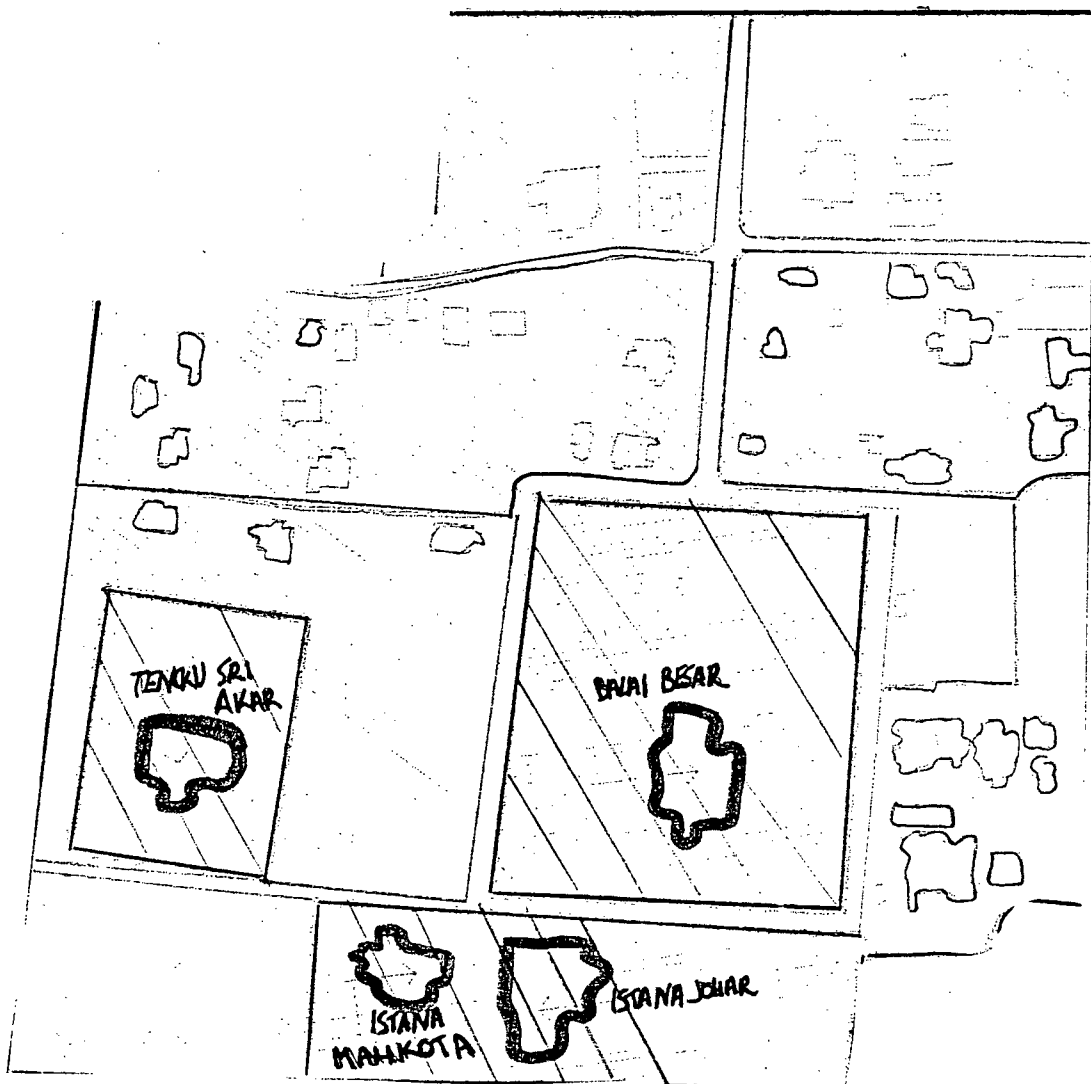


Figure 6: Map of Kotu Bharu









-  Permanent buildings
-  Area to be reserved
-  Site boundary
-  Area to be renovated

Figure 7: Site Plan: Buluh Kubu

Since the area has been Sultanic land for hundreds of years, it has traditionally been inhabited by servants and warriors of the Sultan. In exchange for their services in the feudal order, these people were protected by the royal family and granted the right to live on the royal land surrounding the palace, which served as a focal point for the community.

It appears that this traditional feudal relationship was dismantled as a result of the Japanese invasion and occupation in the 1940's, the return of British command, and the subsequent "State of Emergency" to combat communism. Due to the social upheaval caused by these events not only did the feudal order break down but other neighbourhoods within Kota Bharu were disrupted, causing their residents to seek new accommodation. This movement was accompanied by an inflow of Malays from the rural areas seeking shelter. As a result a vacuum had been created in the area due to the breakdown in traditional social linkages which was quickly filled by other Malays searching for resettlement. When considering the easy access to the main market, job opportunities, the major mosque, social services, and the traditional palaces of the Sultan, migration to Buluh Kubu could be appreciated.

There was no doubt of the Buluh Kubu's inhabitants' loyalty to the Sultan which is a cornerstone of Malay society. What was unclear, however, was the residents' title to the land



Jalan Hilir Kota,  
KOTA BHARU.

Tuan,

Ada-lah dengan hormat-nya saya merojekan kepada permohonan tuan dan mema'alomkan bahawa Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan, dengan limpah ehsan dan kemurahan Baginda, telah mengamponi memperkenan mengur'akan satu kawasan tapak rumah di-atas tanah Buloh Kubu. Tanah Kesultanan" untuk tuan menumpang mendirikan sebuah rumah bagi tempat kediaman tuan dengan terkena kepada syarat2 yang biasa, ia-itu sebagaimana yang di-nyatakan di-bawah ini :-

- (i) Hendak-lah ta'at kepada segala titah perintah Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan;
- (ii) Hendak-lah membuat permohonan kerana menyambong kebenaran mendudokki di-atas tanah ini dari setahun ka-setahun;
- (iii) Apabila Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia berkehendakan balek tanah ini dan tuan di-titah supaya merombak rumah yang akan di-dirikan oleh tuan itu, maka hendak-lah tuan ta'at dan segala perbelanjaan kerana merombak dan sebagai-nya tertanggung-lah di-atas tuan sendiri;
- (iv) Sebelum tuan mendirikan rumah di-atas tanah ini, hendak-lah terlebih dahulu mendapat kebenaran daripada pehak Majlis Bandaran Kota Bharu, ia-itu mengikut sebagaimana yang di-kehendakki di-segi Undang2;
- (v) Rumah yang di-dirikan di-atas tanah ini tidak di-benarkan di-jual, di-gadai atau di-beri sewa kepada sesiapa pon, di-kechualikan dengan amponi Kebenaran Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan atau kebenaran yang bertulis daripada Penguasa Tanah Buloh Kubu.

2. Kawasan tanah yang telah di-amponi kurnia kepada tuan untuk menumpang membuat rumah itu ia-lah di-atas lot No.161, Sekshen 7, Bandar Kota Bharu, ia-itu pada kawasan yang di-tanda merah di-atas plan yang berkembar.

Sekian-lah ada-nya.

Saya dengan hormat-nya,

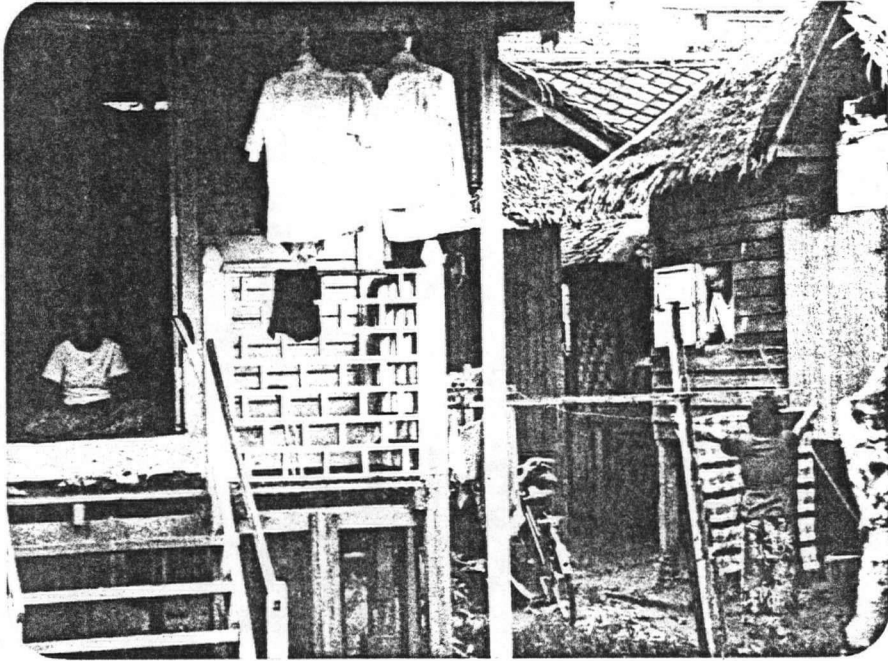
Figure 8:  
Official Sultanic Land  
Claim.

(Nik Hussein bin Hj.Wan Ahmed)  
PENGUASA  
TANAH BULOH KUBU

they occupied. If these people could not trace their roots to Sultanic service and subsequent land agreements with the Royal family for the privilege of ownership for the land, then they were squatters without legal rights. On the other hand, those who did claim the right of special Sultanic privilege were unsure what their status was since the government took possession of the land. The situation was complicated by the fact that very few cases of actual documentation recording such agreements existed, since most of them were verbal. Furthermore, it appeared that a high rate of absentee landlordism existed, whereby those claiming to have such past agreements with the Sultan, lived outside the area and rented out dwellings. Such sensitive questions obviously have serious implications when investigating the resettlement and rehabilitation of the Buluh Kubu area.

## II. COMMUNITY PROFILE

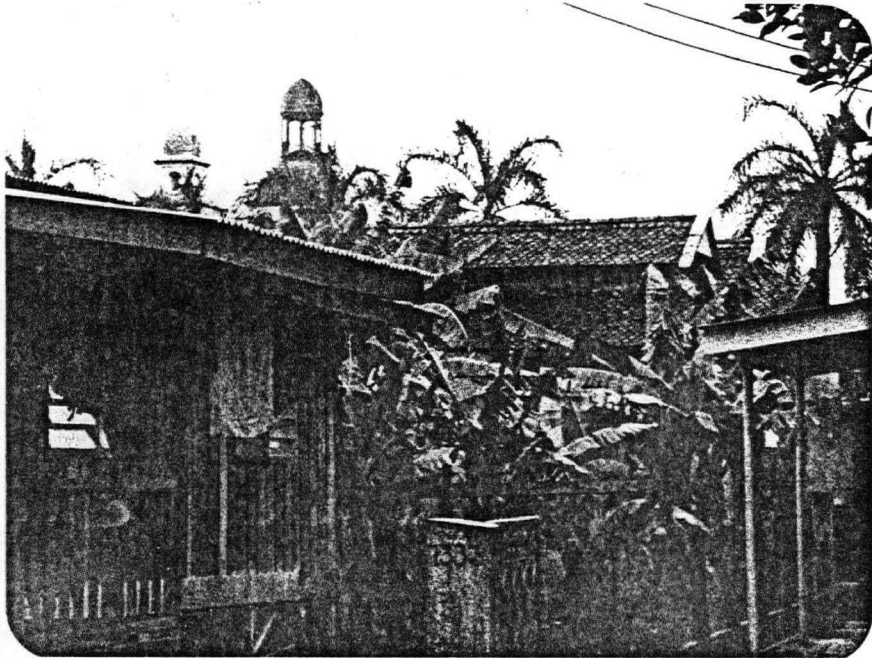
What was glaringly evident was that Buluh Kubu lacked basic amenities that needed immediate attention. According to this study and recent government surveys,<sup>77</sup> the Buluh Kubu area annually flooded five to six feet and housed 387 families. These families represented 1,972 people living in 290 residential buildings of which 95 per cent were dwellings of an average age of 35 years. Although the houses ranged in condition, the vast majority were one level wooden Kampong structure or



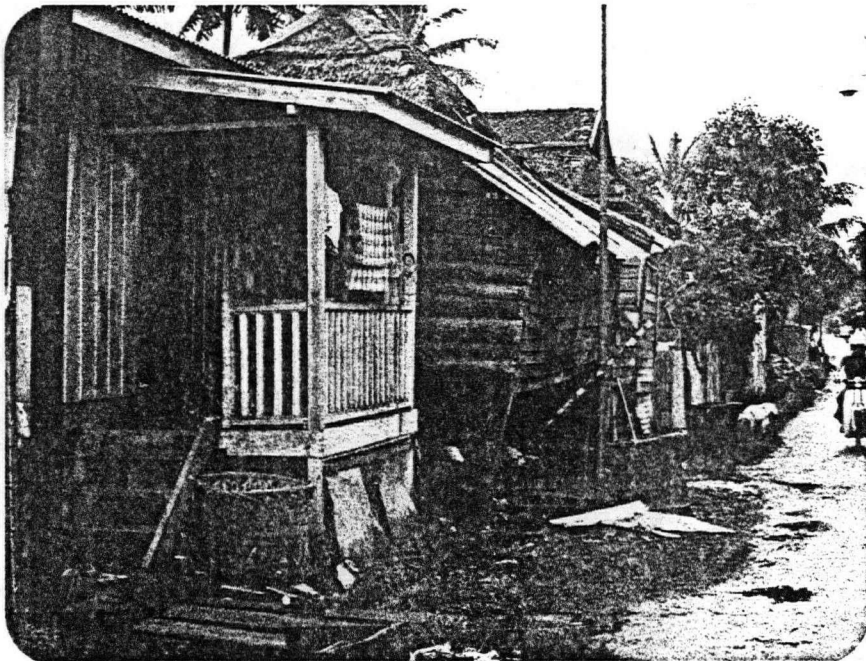
22. Neighbourhood Heterogeneity



23. Neighbourhood Heterogeneity



25. Neighbourhood Heterogeneity



26. Neighbourhood Heterogeneity

detached dwellings in various stages of deterioration lacking proper drainage, sanitation facilities or piped water. It appeared that most of the houses did have "pirate electricity" which was hooked up to main extensions.

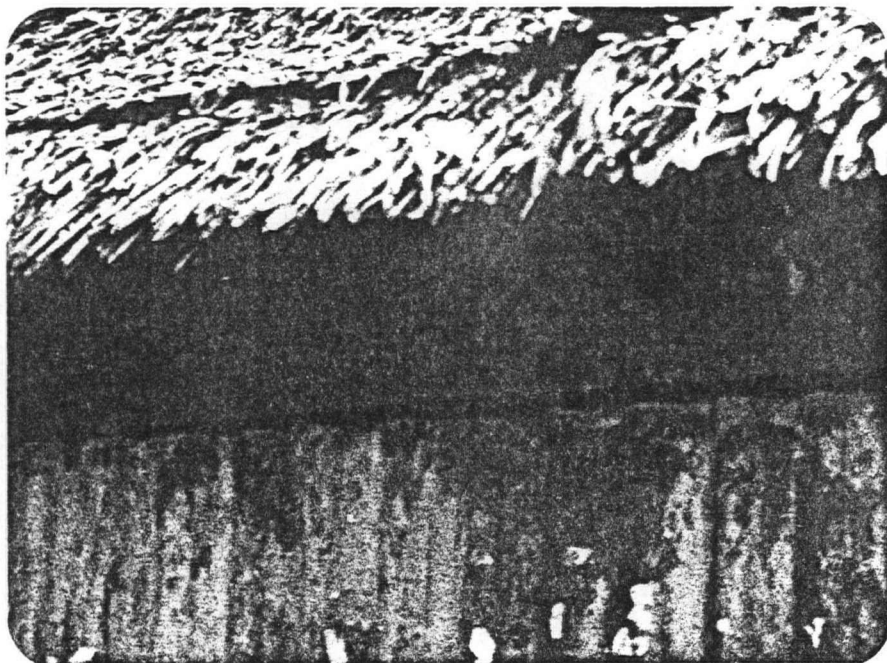
A royal residence, the central state meeting hall, the Balai Besar, and several unused Sultanate buildings are central features of Buluh Kubu. The land in the area belonged to the Kelantanese Sultanate which had granted occupation rights to two types of residents. The first group included the court retainers or their descendants consisting of the Sultan's ceremonial guards, royal tailor, royal carpenter and others who at the time of this research held additional jobs in the town. The remaining land was occupied by lower-class marginal urbanites and recent urban migrants including trishaw pedlars, hawkers, labourers, etc. Some of these residents claimed occupancy rights were given to them and guaranteed in perpetuity by some member of the Royal family. Many of these small houses had been divided by their owners into small units that were rented to more recent migrants. Although the occupation of these rental units changed frequently, the rental payments provided longer term residents with more income.

The Buluh Kubu district borders Jalan Tok Hakim to the south and Jalan Sultanah Zainab to the west, both principal streets of Kota Bharu. Access into the area was extremely





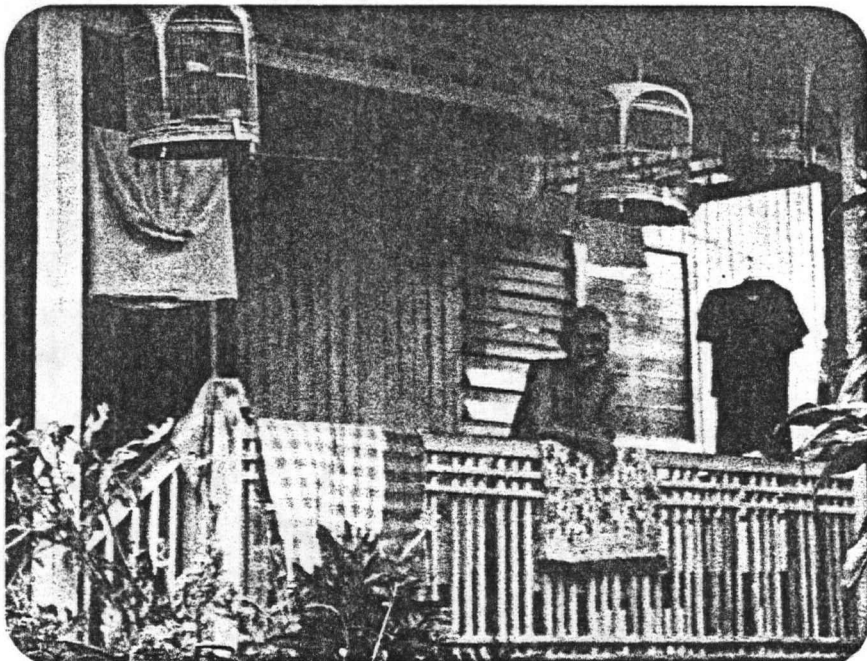
26. Buluh Kubu Images



27. Buluh Kubu Images



28. Buluh Kubu Images



29. Buluh Kubu Images

difficult since adequate roads surrounded the neighbourhood but did not extend into the heart of the district where conditions were the worst. Such a situation discouraged proper garbage disposal and blocked effective fire and hospital services.

According to a 1973 government survey, the average family tenure of the land was approximately nineteen years, 40 per cent of which moved to the area in the last five years. These findings tend to substantiate the breakdown in the traditional Sultan-servant relationship, and stress the desirability of the location. Such factors resulted in a density ranging from 70-80 persons per acre. For planning to be effective it was imperative that quick action to rehabilitate the area be taken, while resettlement of the inhabitants in the district was still a realistic proposal. As early as 1961, the State government committed itself to a stage-by-stage rehabilitation program for the area which was never implemented. These delays allowed more squatters to move into Buluh Kubu thus not only causing further deterioration of existing conditions but also encouraging the spread of such settlements into the downtown core, thereby reducing effective planning options.



30. Buluh Kubu Images



31. Buluh Kubu Images



32. Buluh Kubu Images

### III. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

As a direct result of 1978 political events in the State of Kelantan, the Town and Country Planning Department was instructed by the Mentri Besar (the Chief Minister of State), in April 1978 to reactivate the Buluh Kubu project which had been shelved in 1973. It is therefore useful to provide a brief background of the State's recent political events in order to place the inherent political pressures propelling the project's implementation into proper perspective. The Financial Times in its May 16, 1978 review of Malaysia, aptly describes Kelantan State's political climate at the time of this field work:

Datuk Mohamed Nasir (the anti-corruption Chief Minister of Kelantan), was a member of the strident Malay Party Islam (PAS) which had dominated Kelantan politics since 1959 and which Tun Razak (former Prime Minister of the country) had brought into the National Front in 1972. He had been appointed Chief Minister by Razak against the wishes of the PAS national leader, Datuk Mohamed Asri Muda, and was a close associate of UMNO's (United Malay National Front) Kelantan Chief, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, the Federal Finance Minister, a connection which discomfited PAS.

When Datuk Nasir moved to recover land leases, as part of a campaign against the corruption that he believed had retarded the State's development, fearful PAS members of the Kelantan Assembly voted to dismiss him. This provoked demonstrations and riots (in Kelantan, and particularly Kota Bharu), in support of Nasir of such vehemence that a drastic decision to impose emergency rule was taken in Kuala Lumpur in November (1978). Against UMNO orders, PAS Federal MP's voted against the move and the party left the National Front. The spectre of Malay disunity was raised.

Three months later and largely at the behest of Tengku Razaleigh, Datuk Hussein suddenly lifted the emergency and called a surprise election for March 11. After a carefully planned campaign that mixed just the right proportions of carrots (development projects for the backward state) and sticks (directed exclusively at PAS), UMNO, and Datuk Nasir's newly formed Party Berjasa, completely routed PAS, taking 34 of the 36 State Assembly seats between them.<sup>78</sup>

Given the tense atmosphere of the State election and the search for "carrots" which could entice the public's vote, Buluh Kubu development was an obvious choice. The depressed impression that the neighbourhood conveys invited calls for slum clearance as a political campaign pledge aimed at quick returns. By creating a "new" environment, a tangible testimony of government action was easily perceived by the electorate. The site was chosen as a campaign target for UMNO, as it was a highly visible project which would signify that a new government "meant business".

Shortly after March 11, 1978 when UMNO was elected, the Mentri Besar ordered the Town and Country Planning Department to re-activate work on its dormant proposals. The Mentri Besar then directed the Ministry of Land and Mines to create an Ad hoc Committee which included representatives from: the State Economic Development Corporation (SEDC); the State Economic Planning Unit (SEPU); the Town and Country Planning Department; and, the Secretary for local government. One of the tasks of the Committee was to address Kota Bharu's develop-

ment schemes. Two sites targeted for the Committee's immediate attention were the Buluh Kubu and Liko projects.<sup>79</sup>

The formation of this Ad hoc Committee was in response to moves in recent years by the federal government to encourage and coordinate programs dealing with squatter and housing problems. At the recent "Hundred and Twelfth Rulers Conference", the New Strait Times reported that the Prime Minister of the country urged each State's Mentri Besar to:

set up a special unit to liaise, coordinate and co-operate with the Central Government on low cost housing [in order to address] . . . the problem of squatters, which every town is facing. Datuk Hussein (the UMNO Prime Minister of Malaysia) asked the State governments to plan their strategy to tackle them [the problems].<sup>80</sup>

The Ad hoc Committee, whose responsibility it was to develop a comprehensive development strategy, seemed to serve the same function as the "State Planning Committee", described in the "Federal 1975 Bill" discussed earlier. From this Committee was born the "Buluh Kubu Working Group" which consisted of: Mustapha Mohamed Wan Yahya, Assistant Director of the State Economic Planning Unit, Industrialist Expert; Zainuddin Mohamed, Director of the Town and Country Planning Unit; Hussein Yusoff, State Economic Development Corporation; Nik Jofe, Assistant Secretary for Local government; and, Dr. Douglas Webster, Director of State Rural Development Project, World Bank Team Leader.



By July 31, 1978, the "Buluh Kubu Working Group" was able to submit to the State Committee "a summary of projects planned for the project area". These policies were formulated after various suggestions from the agencies involved had been discussed, and in some cases incorporated, into the updated 1973 Town and Country Plan submission. A closer analysis of the Buluh Kubu Working Group's activities is provided in Chapter 7.

#### IV. THE SQUATTERS' "CATCH 22" SYNDROME

When the Buluh Kubu district was acquired by the State, its classification from Sultanik to government land had serious consequences for its inhabitants. Only those with official deeds from the Royal family had clear title to the land they occupied. Very few of these documents existed and, generally, those that did survive were in the possession of the wealthy, whose ancestors were employed in the higher services of past Royal families.

Apparently, there were many more verbal agreements between the Royal families and their servants of lower order. However, those who proposed such claims had no documentation and thus their appeals were met with scepticism by government officials. To a certain extent, this can be understood when considering that acceptance of all verbal agreements

would have allowed anyone now living in the district, ownership of their land on the basis of possibly fabricated ancestral rights. It would also be extremely difficult to verify such verbal agreements, and it would require a good portion of government time and energy.

The fewer Sultanik land claims, the easier it was for development to progress. For the most part, the area was occupied by "squatters". Under the government's definition of the term squatter, these people did not have legal rights to the State land they occupied since they neither owned, nor paid rent for their dwellings to the government. Therefore, the State regarded its only responsibility to these residents to be the provision of reparation costs, totalling only the removal of the dwelling and the estimated costs of its material. As a result there was little incentive for official investigation of those residents who claimed verbal Sultanik agreement for the land they occupied.

This situation had serious consequences for the majority of these people, many of whom paid rent to absentee landlords. It was these landlords of the middle- and upper-classes, living elsewhere in Kota Bharu, who were exploiting the plight of the poor. Those with the lowest income and fewest economic alternatives were the victims in the transfer process of Buluh Kubu's status from Sultanik to State ownership. Some of these landlords claimed to possess agreements of land ownership made with the

Royal family. However, according to the Director of Town and Country Planning, the Sultanic-servant agreement stipulated that these individuals must live on the land, and were not allowed to rent it out. In his mind, any such agreement was void, and thus the residents, although they paid rent, were officially classified as squatters.

The State viewed the paying of rent as verification that residents who did not have Sultanic claim to the Buluh Kubu land they occupied, were squatters. The government erroneously reasoned that residents would not be paying rent at all. Otherwise, if residents did not have written proof of Sultanic claim to land, they were also considered squatters. Either way, Buluh Kubu residents could not escape a "Catch 22" squatter classification.

It was ironic that residents of the area, many of whom paid rent within a framework of home tenure, fell victim to being classified as squatters on the basis of their attempts to legitimize their tenure of land and dwelling habitation. It was difficult to officially determine how many of these people paid rent<sup>81</sup> since such information was not forthcoming in surveys. Residents realized such information would weaken their Sultanic land claims. Their silence was also due to fears of reprisals by landlords, many of whom wanted anonymity because of the "sensitive nature" of their legitimate work. Those landlords, who did take advantage of the situation by renting out land they did

not own (and in some cases building "overnight" shacks<sup>82</sup> for rent), did not likely suffer any repercussions due to development.

It should be noted however that while this system may be exploitive and corrupt, it did succeed in providing the lowest income group in the area with shelter and a form of affordable accommodation. This will not be the outcome of the government's redevelopment plans, which may achieve low-income housing, but will not provide housing for those with the lowest income.

#### V. BULUH KUBU'S SETTLEMENT AND TURNER'S SQUATTER TYPOLOGY

In an effort to determine the various types of inhabitants living in Buluh Kubu who were officially regarded by the government as squatters, it is worthwhile to examine their "fit" within a "noted expert's" classifications. The purpose of this analysis is to provide an insight into the various types of squatters and the difficulties involved in identifying their specific settlement patterns.

It is essential that more attention be paid to how squatters deliver affordable housing for themselves, as it holds the key to providing a practical government housing policy. Despite the poor condition of these settlements the squatters nevertheless provide what, in fact, is not being delivered by private enterprise or government: affordable shelter. An understanding in

this regard is the first crucial step to addressing the squatter situation since it offers clues to the best utilization of local resources inexpensively. Instinctive efforts of desperate people to provide their own shelter is a useful model to observe and copy to appropriate standards.

J. F. C. Turner has investigated different types of squatter settlements throughout the world. His studies have concentrated on the characteristics of these communities and their resulting settlement patterns. Turner is in agreement with Dr. S. Angel of the Bangkok Institute of Research who insists that building standards must be flexibly adjusted to the circumstances:

. . . the standards are just a reflection of what is needed at this time in the particular community, and what is available in terms of resources. If this is below what we consider to be a basic minimum standard that means that we must change our own view as to what the appropriate standards are.<sup>83</sup>

It makes sense that by finding out who the squatters are, and how they find and use materials in building, the government can reinforce these people's resources in a partnership towards adequate, affordable housing. Turner, on behalf of the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, attempted to classify various types and stages of "autonomous urban settlement", which he defines as an

. . . urban settlement, whatever its duration or expectations may be, that takes place independently of the authorities charged with the external or institutional control of the local building and planning.<sup>84</sup>

J. F. C. Turner: A Typology of Settlements:  
Development Level and Security of Tenure<sup>85</sup>

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

			complete semi- squatter	complete legal	<u>COMPLETE A</u> structure and utilities to modern standards
		incomplete squatter	INCOMPLETE SEMI- SQUATTER	incompl. legal	<u>INCOMPLETE B</u> structure or utilities but built to modern standards
	incipient tentative squatter	INCIPIENT SQUATTER	INCIPIENT SEMI- SQUATTER		<u>INCIPIENT C</u> construction of potentially modern standard
	PROVISIONAL TENTATIVE SQUATTER	PROVI- SIONAL SQUATTER	PROVISION- AL SEMI- SQUATTER		<u>PROVISIONAL D</u> construction of low standard or impermanent material
nomad	TRANSIENT TENTATIVE SQUATTER	transient squatter			<u>TRANSIENT E</u> temporary and easily removed shelter
E Internant Squatter:  Transient : No in- tent on permanent tenure	D Tentative Squatter:  Without legal sta- tus or guar- anteed land tenure	C Established Squatter:  De facto & secure but without legal status	B Semi- Squatter:  Semi-legal without full recog- nition but with some rights	A Legal Occupancy  Institu- tionally recogniz- ed forms of tenure/ Lease and rental	: SECURITY OF : TENURE

TABLE 1

Definition explanation:

1. Tentative Settlements: Provisional or incipient settlements of intended permanent squatters.
2. Incipient Squatter Settlements: Insecure tenure but with a significant degree of fixed capital investment.
3. Incipient And Advanced Semi-Squatter Settlements: Settlements with secure but semi-legal tenure and with significant or advanced degrees of material investment.
4. Provisional Squatter Settlements: Illegal but de facto possession with little or no investment in permanent construction of installation.
5. Mixed Settlements: Centrally located and crop sites provide suitable locations for both immigrant and wage earner permitting social mobility and geographic stability.

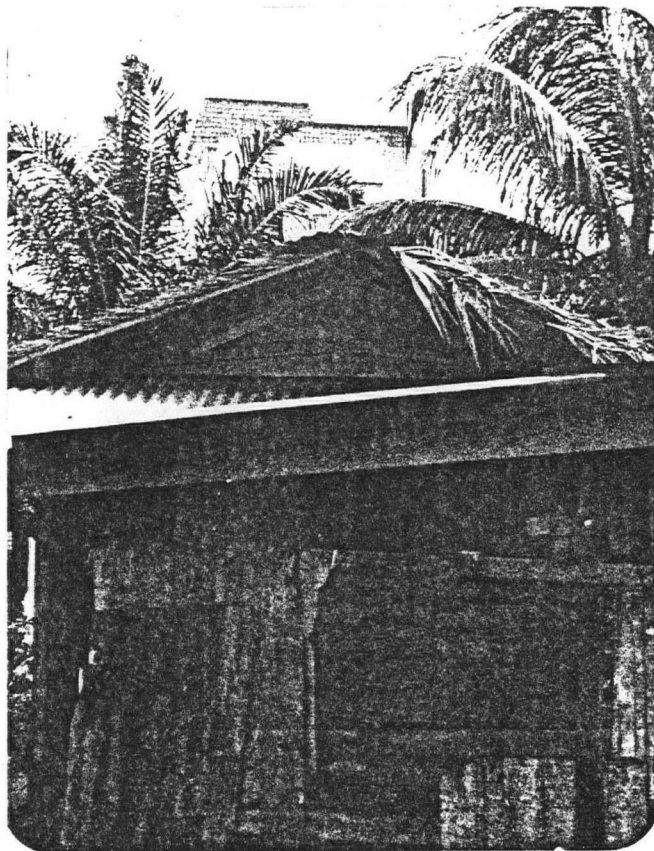
The residents of the Buluh Kubu district did not fall neatly into Turner's squatter settlements. However, they possessed various characteristics from each of his "Levels of Physical Development". The location of the site to jobs and other civic benefits attracted recent rural migrants who lived amongst families that resided in the area for generations. The general identification of these two groups was apparent in the standard of their housing. Recently arrived rural migrants lived in the least permanent structures, made out of the lowest grade materials. These dwellings shown in pictures 34, 35 and 36 were the most lacking in basic amenities and would be classified in Turner's framework as "provisional" or "transient" stages of physical development.

Dwellings of this type were in contrast to the various degrees of more prosperous permanent houses shown in pictures 37, 38 and 39. Using Turner's terminology, picture 37 can be classified as "Incipient" development since, although the houses were made of inexpensive material they had a permanent design which conveyed non-transient tenure. Of course the distinction between the "Incipient" level of physical development and "Provisional" accommodation was difficult to distinguish. Design and materials used in the building of the shelter's roof and flood protection facilities, were viewed as valid indicators of permanence, given the area's vulnerability to annual flooding



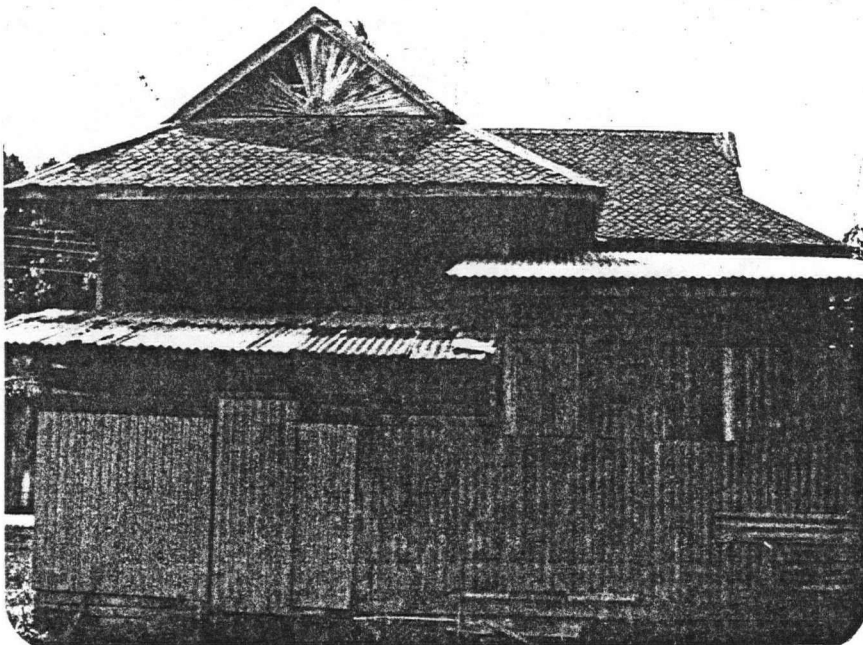
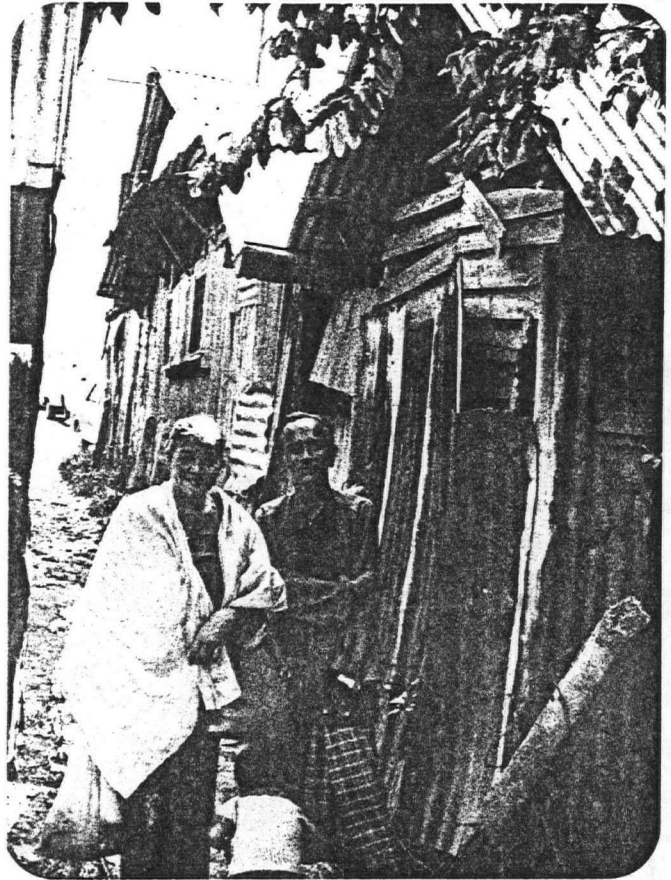


33. Transient Development

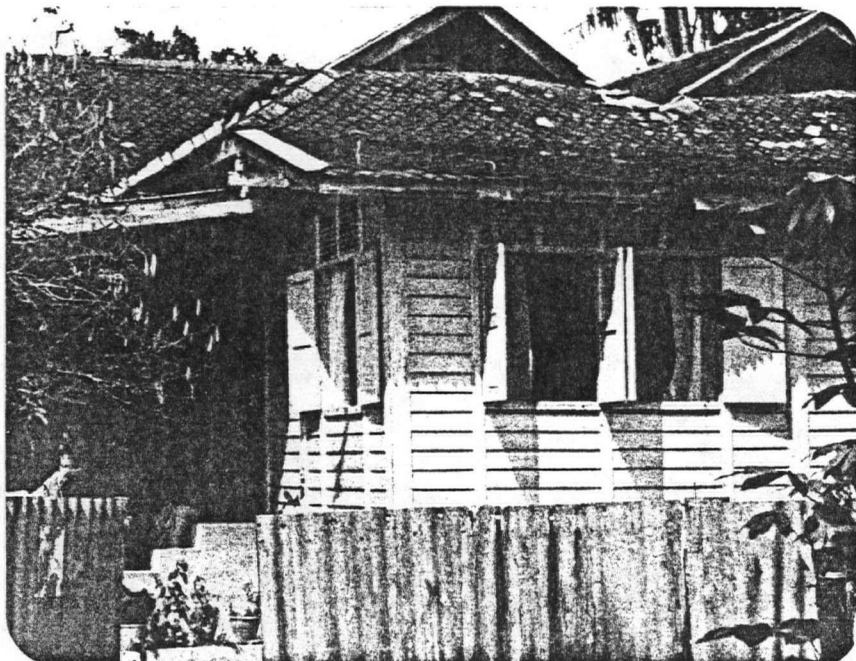


34. Buluh Kubu's Levels of  
Transient Physical  
Development

35. Buluh Kubu's Levels of  
Transient Physical  
Development



36. Incipient Development



37. Buluh Kubu's Levels of Incomplete Physical Development



38. Incomplete Level of Physical Development

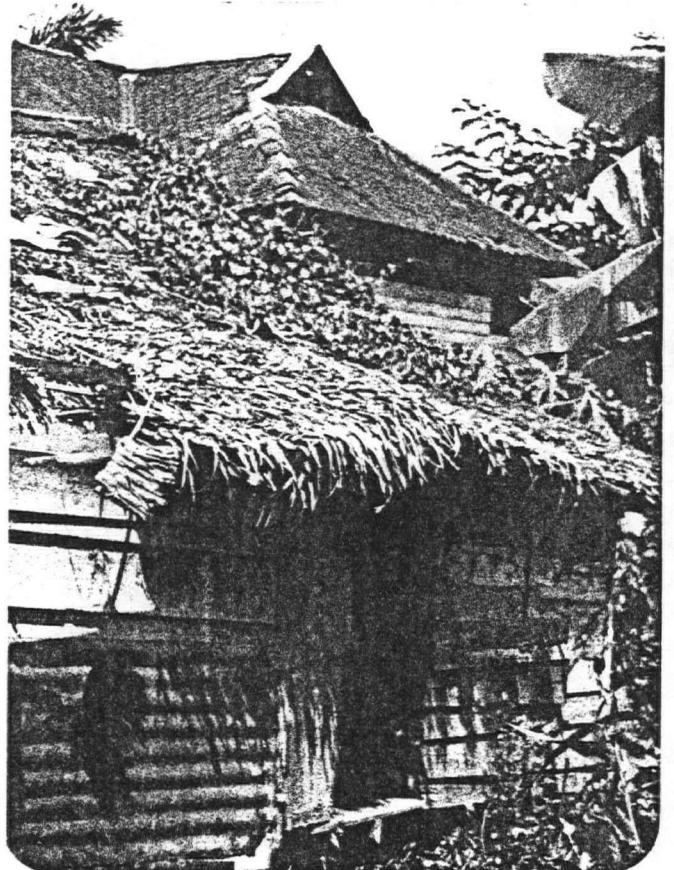
and monsoons. Pictures 38 and 39 represent the "Incomplete" level of physical development since, although built to modern standards they lacked proper infrastructural utilities. These dwellings were classified as "Complete" because of the low standard of drainage, sewage, road access and garbage disposal that all of the Buluh Kubu's residences lacked to varying degrees. Despite the ability of the residents to build permanent shelter, it was beyond their jurisdiction and resources to provide adequate settlement infrastructure required to establish a "complete" level of development. The government had the expertise, resources and responsibility to work with the Buluh Kubu inhabitants by providing adequate settlement infrastructure. An essential resident/government partnership should have encouraged the State to reinforce and coordinate the efforts of the area's inhabitants towards establishing a cohesive, permanent neighbourhood.

While pockets of Turner's group did exist in the Buluh Kubu district a mix of both housing types is apparent as shown in pictures 40 and 41. Buluh Kubu's settlement patterns reflected the influx of rural urban migrants who wanted to live anywhere they could between the more permanent houses of established dwellers. Referring to Turner's typology, in the case of Buluh Kubu, it must be remembered that it was the Sultan who chose which residents could live in the area. Since in recent years the Royal family was vague and seemingly lax in this regard, as

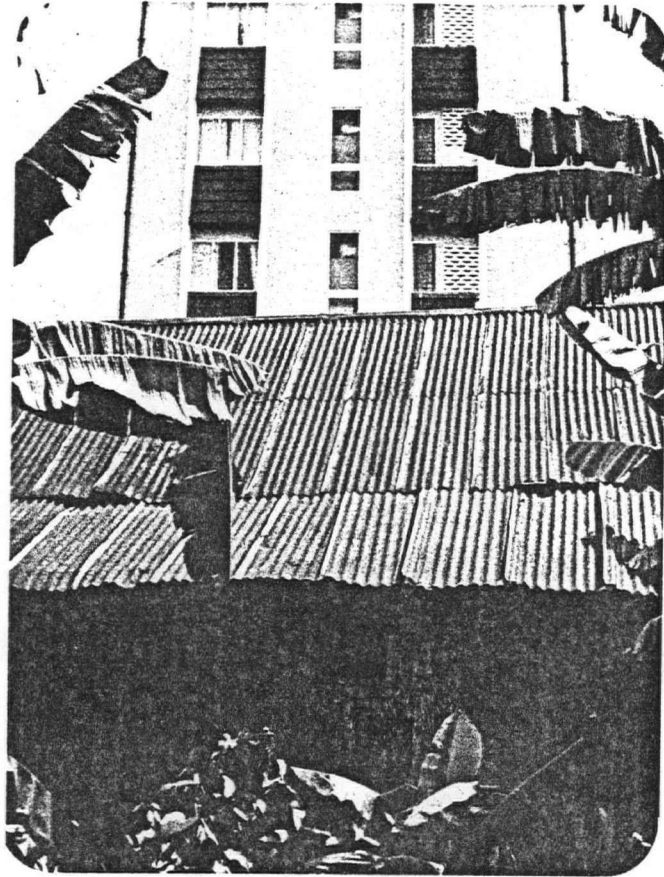


39. Buluh Kubu's Levels of Physical Development (this picture depicts a Provisional structure forefront next to an Incomplete structure.)

40. Buluh Kubu's Levels of Physical Development -- (this picture shows a Transient/Provisional dwelling (forefront) next to an Incomplete structure. Regardless of the individual dwelling's degree of development, all the houses share the district's low level of infrastructure notably: sewage, drainage & garbage disposal facilities. This prevents any of the houses in the area from reaching Turner's Complete Level of Physical Development.)







41. Buluh Kubu's Levels of Physical Development (this picture depicts the glaring disparities in Kota Bharu which indicate the proximity of the Buluh Kubu site to the new downtown area. As a result of this prime locale, pressure to commercially develop the site so as to merge with development is inevitable.)

far as the State was concerned the site's inhabitants were allowed to live in the area as they wished, but only if they kept within the law and the Sultan decided not to throw them off. Eviction of squatters is not only difficult, but it is also unpleasant for those in the 'public eye' since it was potentially an explosive issue with serious political repercussions.

As soon as the State took possession, most of Buluh Kubu's residents, except for the few who held official documentation, were classified as squatters regardless of their duration of residency or permanence of dwelling. In this respect, although Turner's typology would classify an "Incomplete" level of physical development "with the established squatter's degree of tenure security", given Buluh Kubu's circumstances there, relationships do not exist. In fact, while the typology's "Level of Physical Development" may provide a useful framework for the general definition of a shelter's permanence, in the Buluh Kubu case, there was little correlation with a shelter's level of physical development and its degree of tenure security, as Turner assumes. His various settlement definitions, while each containing characteristics of Buluh Kubu's features (especially definition 5 -- Mixed Settlements) fail to adequately classify an area that was in a period of transition from settlement evolution to instant squatter classification and eviction.

## VI. PREVIOUS PLANNING RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to appreciate the final Buluh Kubu project proposals, it is useful to present an overview of previous plans recommended for the area.

As discussed in the State's political background, Kelantan, due to its control by a political party at odds with the federal government for the last fifteen years, has received little federal aid. Coupled with the distinct religious and anti-development preoccupation of the previous party's Islam State government, Kelantan has been politically isolated. These factors aided in Kelantan's economic retardation, leaving it one of the poorest states in Malaysia.

It is within this context that previous planning recommendation for the Buluh Kubu site must be considered. Before elections in March of 1978, the State had apparently exhausted its funds in purchasing the land transferred to the Sultan in exchange for the Buluh Kubu area. Since at that time federal subsidies were not forthcoming as they are today, funds needed for the development of the site had to be borrowed by the State from the Federal government at an annual rate of seven per cent, payable within fifteen years. Such economic constraints posed serious consequences for planning recommendations since in order to pay back the loan, town planning officials insisted that development schemes had to be commercially



viable. Inevitably, these constraints meant trade-offs between residential resettlement and commercial interests. This factor was evident in three previous planning proposals, which sought a compromise regarding residential and commercial considerations.

The 1973 Town and Country Planning Proposal 2 is divided into three stages which would take five years to complete at an estimated cost of M\$22,741,000, excluding compensation costs listed at approximately M\$1,138,000. The contents of the proposal are as follows:

STAGE I: Proposed time: 18 months.

Site of development: South of the Balai Besar

- 1) 180 room hotel;
- 2) Bank and office complex: containing 17 offices;
- 3) 14 unit 4-storey shop houses adjacent to hotel; and
- 4) a new market located at the south-west corner of the district to relieve the overcrowded conditions of the present site.

STAGE II: Proposed time: 24 months.

- 1) 46 shop house units: 4-storey;
- 2) 280 flat units: 4-storey; and
- 3) 17 shop house units: 2-storey.

STAGE III: Proposed time: 18 months.

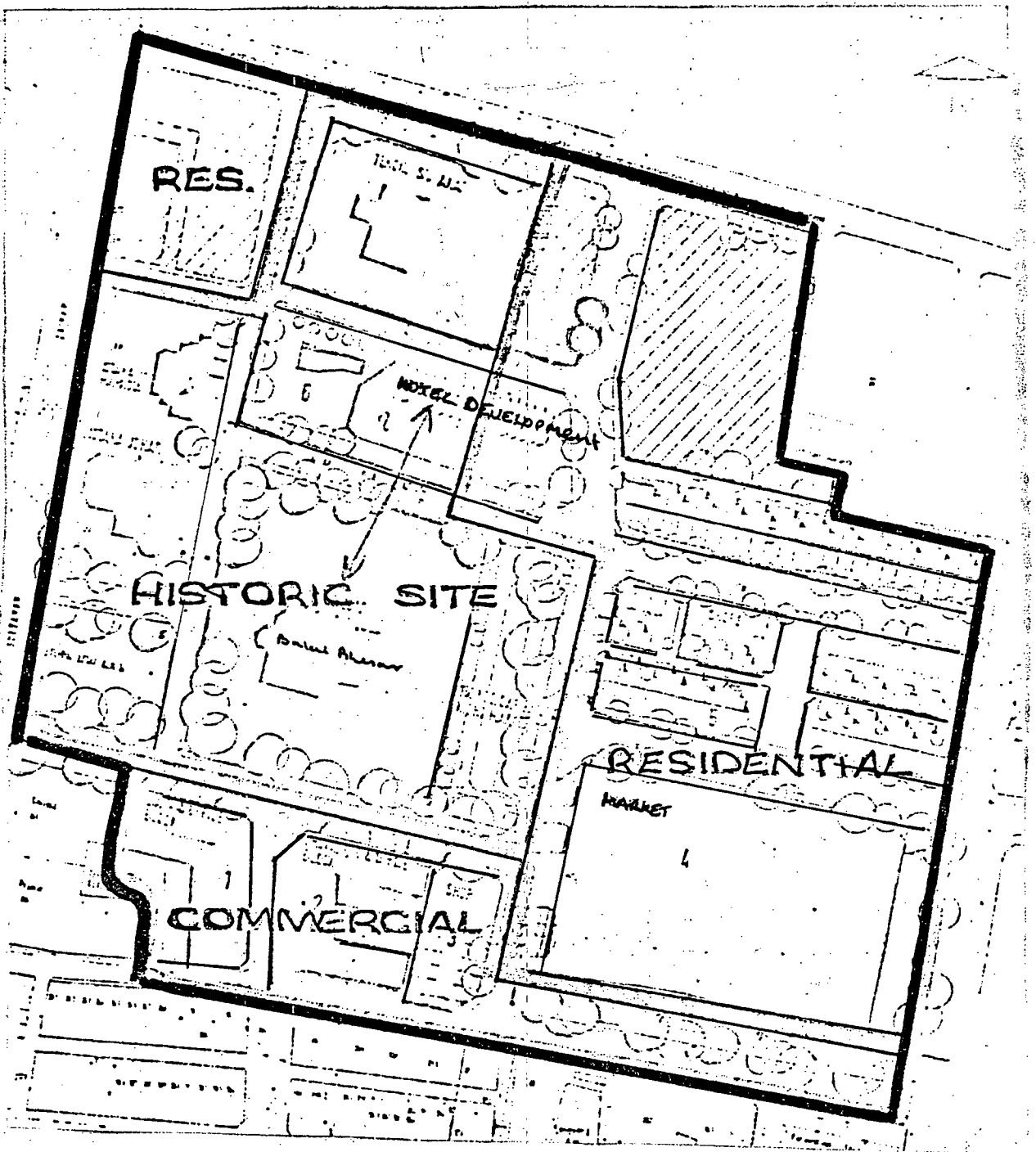


Figure 8: Proposal 2 (presented by: Planners and Development Consultants of Malaysia, September 1977, Unpublished)

- 1) 45 terrace units: 2-storey;
- 2) 12 semi-detached units; and
- 3) 13 shop house units: 2-storey.<sup>86</sup>

The planning department's three stage plan was organized so that in Phase I, the commercial area could be realized in order to begin paying back the development loan. The report estimated that 145 families now living in the southern end of the area would be displaced by Phase I of the scheme, and originally suggested their relocation to the Jalan Bayam Development which has since been fully occupied. The report concludes that those families living in the northern section of Buluh Kubu could be absorbed back into the area, and that, by conducting the project in three stages, the problems involved in resettlement would be minimized. Due to the lack of State resources and the fact that the area was still Sultanik land in 1973, these proposals were not utilized.

In 1977 a preliminary plan for the area was proposed by A. K. B. Planners and Development Consultants of Malaysia in their September report on "Urban Development Project Identification". This proposal suggests that the 27 acre site should be zoned into:

- 1) 10.7 acres for a Historic Site: Buildings on the site to be restored and open space provided for recreational area;

- 2) 4.1 acres for commercial use: To be cleared, provided with services, and subdivided for sale or lease to commercial enterprises, possibly including a hotel; and,
- 3) 12.2 acres for residential use: To be cleared in stages and redeveloped to accommodate 240 low rise, high density terrace house and flat units. The average family size being 5-15 persons; the gross residential density of this site would equal 100 persons per acre and would require 137 families to be resettled outside the area, assuming nobody moved in.<sup>87</sup>

These proposals were modifications of the Town Planning Department's previous 1973 plans sought to reduce the resettlement of families from 145 to 137 families, but overall, offered few new ideas. The report only reached a preliminary draft before the Consultants were dismissed by the State for "not meeting their obligations".

A later set of proposals for the area was submitted in June 1978 in a bid by W. E. Won Construction Sdn. Bhd., a private Malay company of which the Sultan's brother, Tengku Besar Indra Raja was Chairman. The detailed report proposed that the project be undertaken as a joint venture with the government. It was divided into two three month stages that included:



- STAGE I:
- 1) 37 (22'x80') 4-storey shops;
  - 2) 31 (22'x100') 4-storey shops; and,
  - 3) a 3-storey market built on six acres.

- STAGE II:
- 1) 4-storey commercial podium and 8-storey office tower block;
  - 2) 1,200 seat cinema; and,
  - 3) 200 room hotel.<sup>88</sup>

There was little doubt that the latter proposals would be commercially viable as the report concluded:

- 1) Total estimated gross return before taxes would equal M\$19,390,000; and
- 2) 21% return on total estimated project cost including land costs and interest charges.<sup>89</sup>

Yet these recommendations were the most lacking of the three plans submitted. While proposals for financial returns were offered there was a distinct lack of sensitivity towards addressing the question of human resettlement, as revealed by the conclusion that:

. . . the site is presently occupied by squatters, who have no right of tenancy, and can be evicted at short notice without incurring much cost.<sup>90</sup>

In late July of 1977, representatives of the W. E. Won firm came to Kota Bharu and officially presented their recommendations to

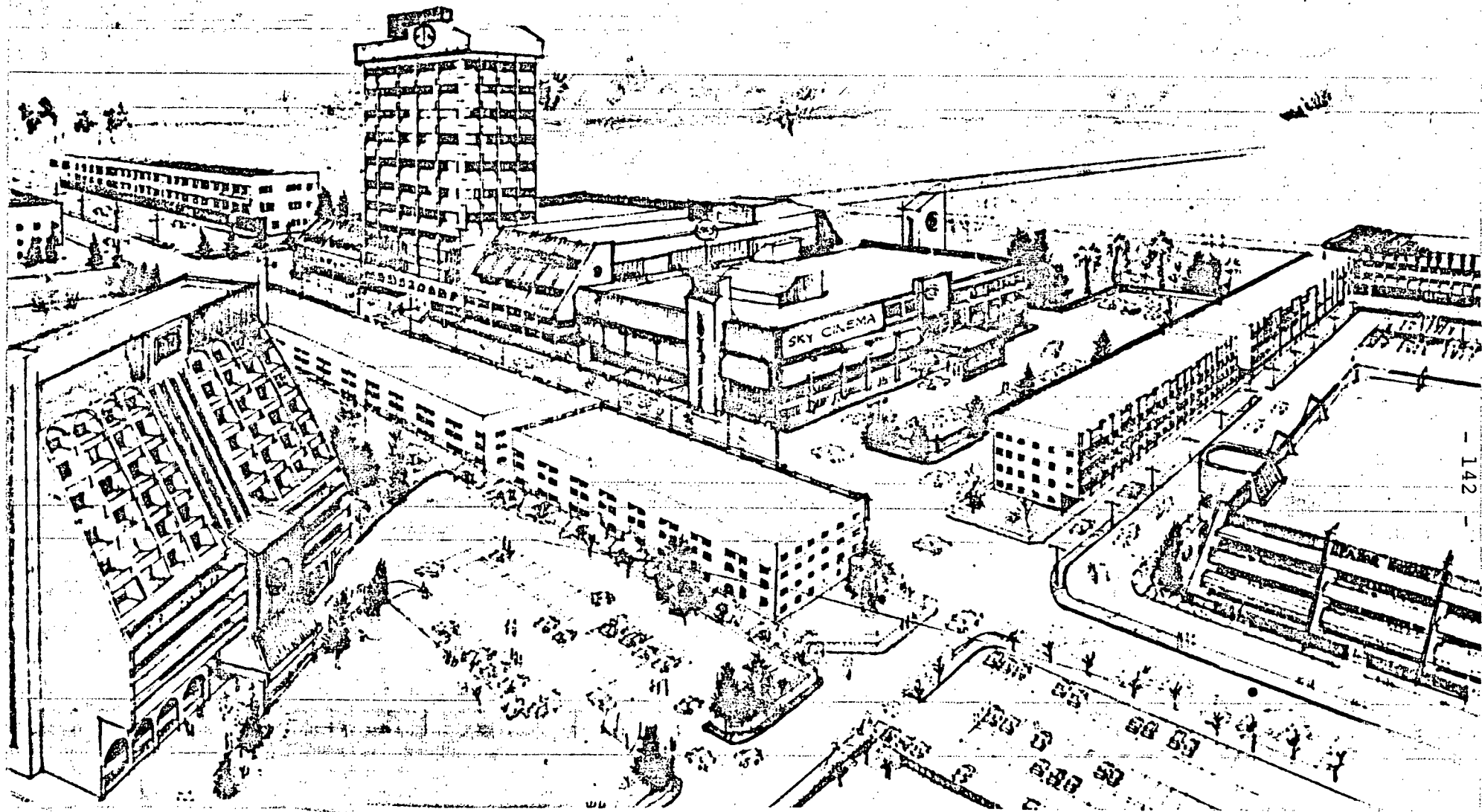


Figure 10: Proposed Buluh Kubu Development.

the Mentri Besar. Fortunately, the plan was rejected on the grounds that it did not meet the needs of the area's present inhabitants. It is to the credit of the State government that it did not bow to such a powerful pressure group in remaining firm to its electoral duty.

However, in following the State Economic Development Corporation's involvement in the Buluh Kubu development project, an overriding commitment to financial return at the loss of residents' rights was the policy direction. By being enchanted with "place prosperity" over "people prosperity" development, a lack of sensitivity to the existing residents' impact on the whole town beyond their dwellings' appearance was overlooked by SEDC at the time of research. It was the poor condition of buildings which SEDC 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 dengan bangunan-bangunan kayu lagi usang akan di robokhan dan akan digantikan--degen bangunan--bangunan yang akan menambahkan seri bandar Kota Bharu.

English Translation: 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.<sup>91</sup>

Such a statement indicated both the Corporation's focus on buildings and their motivating goal in this project: the "beautification of the city center. 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 their adoption of the project. The suitability of the area for the project was determined by a survey of the buildings which were judged by inspectors to be in a "dilapidated" state. After this decision was made the project was set in motion and the State acquired the land, suggesting that those who had residence there should move immediately. A few of the shops were allowed to continue in business, renting their premises on a month-to-month basis until actual construction began.

At a cost of nearly one hundred thousand Malaysian Ringgit, the building program proposal consisted of three-phases. Phase I involved the construction of 42 units of 4-storey shop houses and a major hotel. Phases II and III consisted 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 would be owned by SEDC and leased at a variety of rates to prospective occupants. While the rental rates had not been established for certain at the time of this research, it was expected that they would be approximately the following rates: 4-storey shop houses at M\$800 per month; the hotel leased at M\$7,000 per month; and the banks at a monthly rate of M\$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 were given the opportunity to obtain leases on the new buildings, if they wanted to continue their businesses in the new project. Residents of the area were given first opportunity to obtain rental accommodation in a new multi-storey housing complex which the SEDC was building one mile from the city centre. Most Malays living on the interior lots of the redevelopment area owned 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, in most cases, 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 areas,<sup>92</sup> exactly what the National Five-Year Plan discouraged.

Judging from the success of a similar nearly project undertaken by the SEDC, this new project no doubt fulfilled the false expectations and goals of the local planners. In the eyes of many, it beautified the area and met its economic goals. However, whether or not the project served to further the goals set forth in the Second Malaysia Plan, goals to which the State Development Corporation was also firmly committed, remained an important question.

The answer to this question must be both yes and no. The project may serve to "increase the participation of Malay . . . in urban type activities in existing towns and new

growth centers", but the Malays who participate may in fact not be able to afford to own or rent accommodation in the city. The Buluh Kubu project will reduce "the influence of an urban environment"<sup>93</sup> on the Malay population by reducing the ownership of urban land by lower income families. Contrary to the goals of the National Plan, the fact that some residents have been offered alternate housing within the town boundaries does not solve this problem since the lowest income groups are not served. Those houses available for purchase are beyond the means of city core dwellers and the only other alternative multi-storey flats, involve a style of life that will not likely meet the traditional life style or expectations of Malay urbanites.

#### VII. MALAY BUREAUCRATIC PROTOCOL

It was a condition to the government's acceptance of my research visa that I be officially sponsored by the Kelantan State Economic Planning Unit, and my energies be directed towards projects they saw fit. Before arriving in Malaysia, this agency informed me that I was expected to work on a "Social Planning Project" for Kota Bharu. Upon my arrival in Kota Bharu, in April of 1978, Mustapha Mohamed, Director of Kelantan's State Economic Planning Unit, along with Dr. D. Webster, suggested that I deal with the town's squatter slum areas. Buluh Kubu was mentioned as a priority project, and it was agreed that my studies should concentrate

on formulating general policies for the site's renovation which would be forwarded to the "Buluh Kubu Working Group".

Due to the concern with the status of my official position by Malaysian bureaucrats, and certain tensions which existed between the Malays and their expatriate World Bank counterparts, it was decided that, given my vulnerable position as a research student, a low profile should be maintained. While utilizing the joint facilities of the State Economic Planning Unit, the State Economic Development Corporation, and the World Bank State Rural Development Project, my policy suggestions were conveyed to the Buluh Kubu Working Group Committee by the Directors of these agencies,<sup>94</sup> to whom I periodically reported and submitted proposals. Given the importance placed on formality and rank, despite the indirect method of my involvement, proposals made to these high ranking officials carried more weight and acceptance than if they had been formally presented to the "Working Group".

## CHAPTER 6

### THE SURVEY'S FINDINGS: A COMMUNITY PROFILE OF BULUH KUBU

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 presents the results of the survey conducted for this research and the Town and Country Planning Department of Kota Bharu in December of 1978. In order to use the survey model methodology discussed in Chapter 3 for the fieldwork, it was necessary to undertake a physical survey of the entire Buluh Kubu district for the Planning Department. While such data was relevant to this research it was the inhabitants' attitudes towards the area they lived in, and their interest in participating in the planning process, which was of particular interest. Previous surveys of the town were not concerned with resident attitudes or participatory planning techniques. An arrangement was made through the State Economic Development Agency and the World Bank Team that I would formulate and oversee a physical and factual survey for the Planning Department, and they in turn would help me carry out the attitudinal model survey designed to find out the inhabitants' views on Buluh Kubu renovation.

Due to the strong resistance shown by the Town and Country Planning Department, the attitudinal survey was not conducted on the entire 390 household heads as initially planned. Use of the

seven staff members and other government facilities for this research was available only on the condition that a random sample of 56 household heads representing approximately one out of every seven Buluh Kubu families could be questioned. Given my vulnerable position as a guest student in Kelantan State, there was little room for resistance. When compared with the total Buluh Kubu data in terms of education, employment, and residency, the norms of the entire community were reflected by the random 56 household heads chosen. The reaction to attitudinal questions was fairly representative of the 390 families living in Buluh Kubu at the time of research.

Section I of Chapter 6 deals with those questions formulated for the Town and Country Planning Department and this study. Questions one to six of the questionnaire (refer to Appendix) concern the physical description by the survey staff, describing shelter and infrastructure. Included in Section I's analysis are questions seven to fifteen, which provide objective factual response from the total sample of 390 household heads. Section II examines the findings of the attitudinal portion of the questionnaire including questions one to sixteen delivered to 56 randomly chosen household heads. Section II determines the residents' perception of themselves, their community, and the planning recommendations. Section III concludes with an examination of the household heads' evaluation of the survey design and the concept of participatory planning.

## II. A SURVEY OF BULUH KUBU HOUSEHOLDS

The basis for an agreement in collecting data for this study was an understanding with the Town and Country Planning Department of Kota Bharu that I would formulate and conduct a physical survey for the Buluh Kubu area, on the condition that seven Malaysian staff members help in collecting subjective attitudinal data from a sample of 56 household heads. These household heads who represented approximately one-seventh of the 390 families residing in the district, were randomly chosen by location of residence in the four survey sections examined. While initially the Planning Department was only interested in the physical data results, when keen interest was shown by local residents in the social survey and model presentation, the Department, along with SEDC and SEPU came to realize the importance of finding out resident response to their planning actions.

In developing this section of the questionnaire, it was necessary to be sensitive to an important constraint in conducting subjective/attitudinal questionnaires in developing countries. The survey was officially sanctioned by the government, and therefore, given Malaysia's clamp down on government criticism, the respondents may have thought that a negative response to planning proposals was dangerous to their well-being. However, without government support, attempts at asking squatters questions regarding choice in government planning action would have been impossible

Talipon

Pejabat ... KB. 21155, 21416 & 21831  
Pegawai Yunit Perancang  
Ekonomi Negeri KB. 25185



(Ka. Am 79)

يونيّة فرنجي ايكونومي نكري  
نجاية ستياوسا كراجان، كلنتن

YUNIT PERANCANG EKONOMI NEGERI  
PEJABAT SETIAUSAHA KERAJAAN  
KELANTAN.

Bil. Surat Kami YPEN. KN. ....

Bil. Surat Tuan ..... 152/(65)

13..... هاريبولن..... كوتبهارو.....

KOTA BHARU, .....14hb...November.... 78

Kepada

Semua Yang Berkenaan

Tuan/Puan,

Soalselidik Kawasan Buloh Kubu  
-----

Adalah dimaklumkan bahawa En. Hussin bin Haji Ahmad

Kad Pengenalan No: 1623338 adalah seorang kakitangan dari  
pejabat ini.

2. Pada masa ini satu kajian sedang dijalankan di kawasan  
ini dengan tujuan memperbaiki dan meninggikan lagi taraf kedu-  
dikan penduduk-penduduk di kawasan Buloh Kubu ini.

3. Oleh yang demikian, sukacitalah saya memohon jasa baik  
tuan/puan dengan memberi sepenuh kerjasama dan kemudahan kepada  
pegawai ini.

Sekian, terima kaseh.

Figure 12: Official Permission  
To Ask Buloh Kubu Residents  
Survey Questions.

Yang menurut perintah,

( WAN YAHYA BIN WAN SALLEH )  
b/p: SETIAUSAHA KERAJAAN NEGERI,  
KELANTAN.



within this research framework. The questions attempted to find out, in general terms, the residents' own self view, while inquiring into the interest of planning input through the model-picture presentation.

The last set of questions was designed to illicit a direct response to resident participation in the local planning process. Due to the blunt wording of these questions, the response may have been self conscious, however their purpose was to determine how liberal the government would allow questions to be. By allowing questions twelve to seventeen of the last questionnaire section, the government displayed a willingness to have constructive dialogue with low-income Malay residents. It is interesting to note that similar questioning proposed for a Chinese community was met with immediate reaction, demanding a letter of apology (see Appendix). Occurrences of this kind were common in Kota Bharu and signified a Bumi Putra "Malay first" attitude which may ultimately tear the country apart from within. By discriminating against at least 40 per cent of the country's population, Malaysia loses an energetic resource and its claim to true democracy.

### III. A SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDS: SAMPLE 1

#### A. Demography

Table 2 provides a sex-age overview of Buluh Kubu residents. When compared to Table 3, which depicts the same information for the total town, an understanding of Buluh Kubu's relationship to the rest of the urban environment can be better understood.

As compared with most Malaysian communities Buluh Kubu was predominantly one racial group. In this case 98 per cent of the residents were Malays which makes for a homogeneous community in keeping with Kota Bharu's unique characteristic as a predominantly Malay city. In viewing the almost even split in males (870) and females (890) living in Buluh Kubu, the district's sex ratio of 102 females per 100 males was fairly close to the town's 1977 figures of 102 males to 100 females. These figures show that Buluh Kubu's sex ratio was fairly representative of the whole town, and indicates that the area was not a transient district of male labourers but rather a community of families. Such an even sex distribution lends itself to a more permanent community, which supplies and demands a wide variety of goods and services over the long-term.

In comparing the age distribution between the Buluh Kubu total sample, Table 2, and the town's sex-age pyramid constructed in 1977, the district can be seen as fairly similar to the

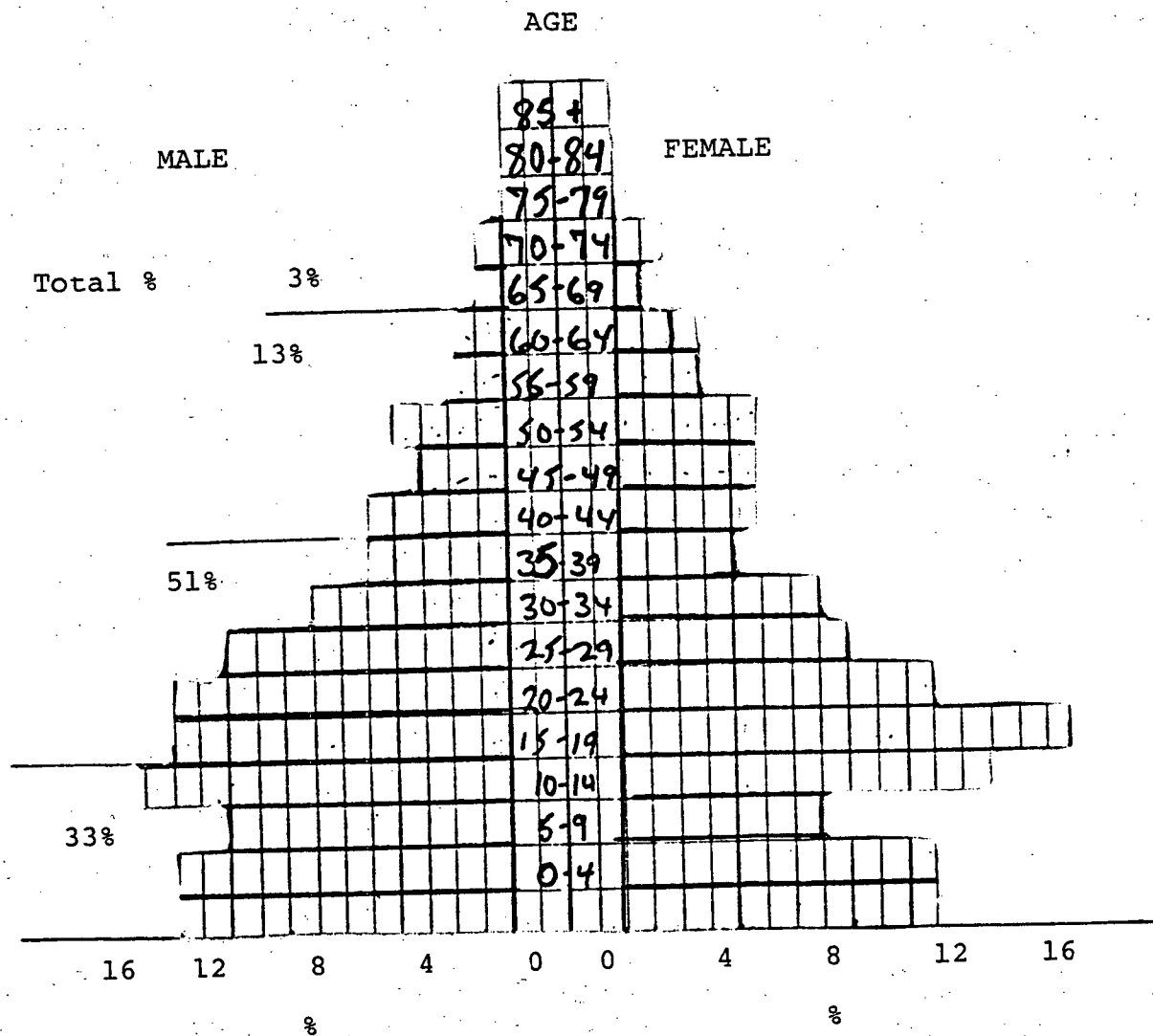


Table 2: Sex-Age Pyramid, Buluh Kubu Sample 1.

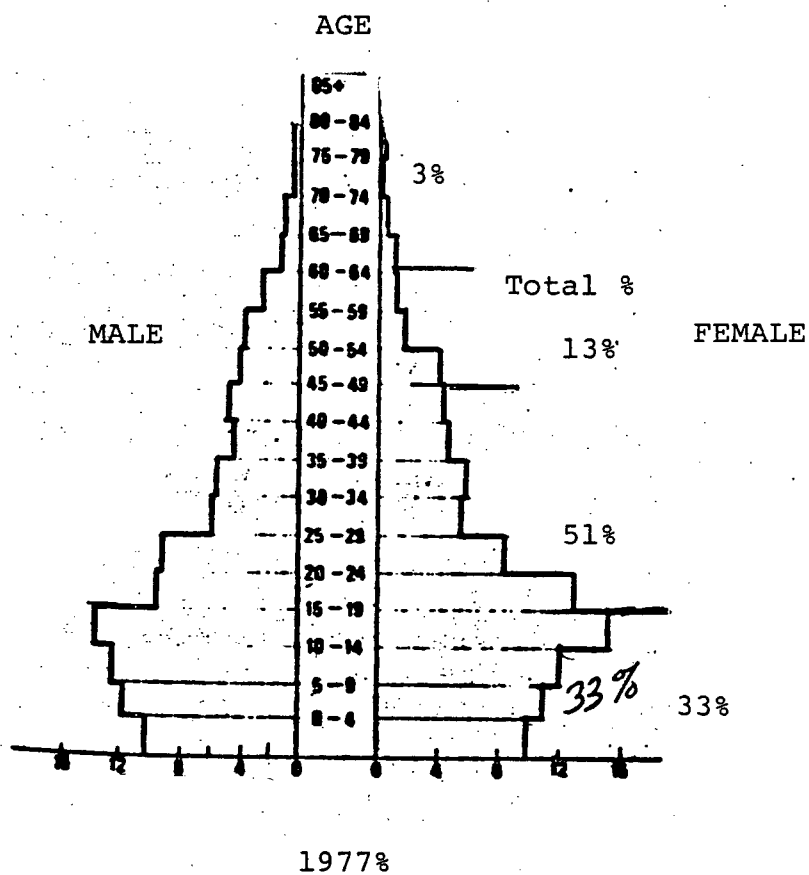


Table 3: Sex-Age Pyramid, Kota Bharu, 1977.

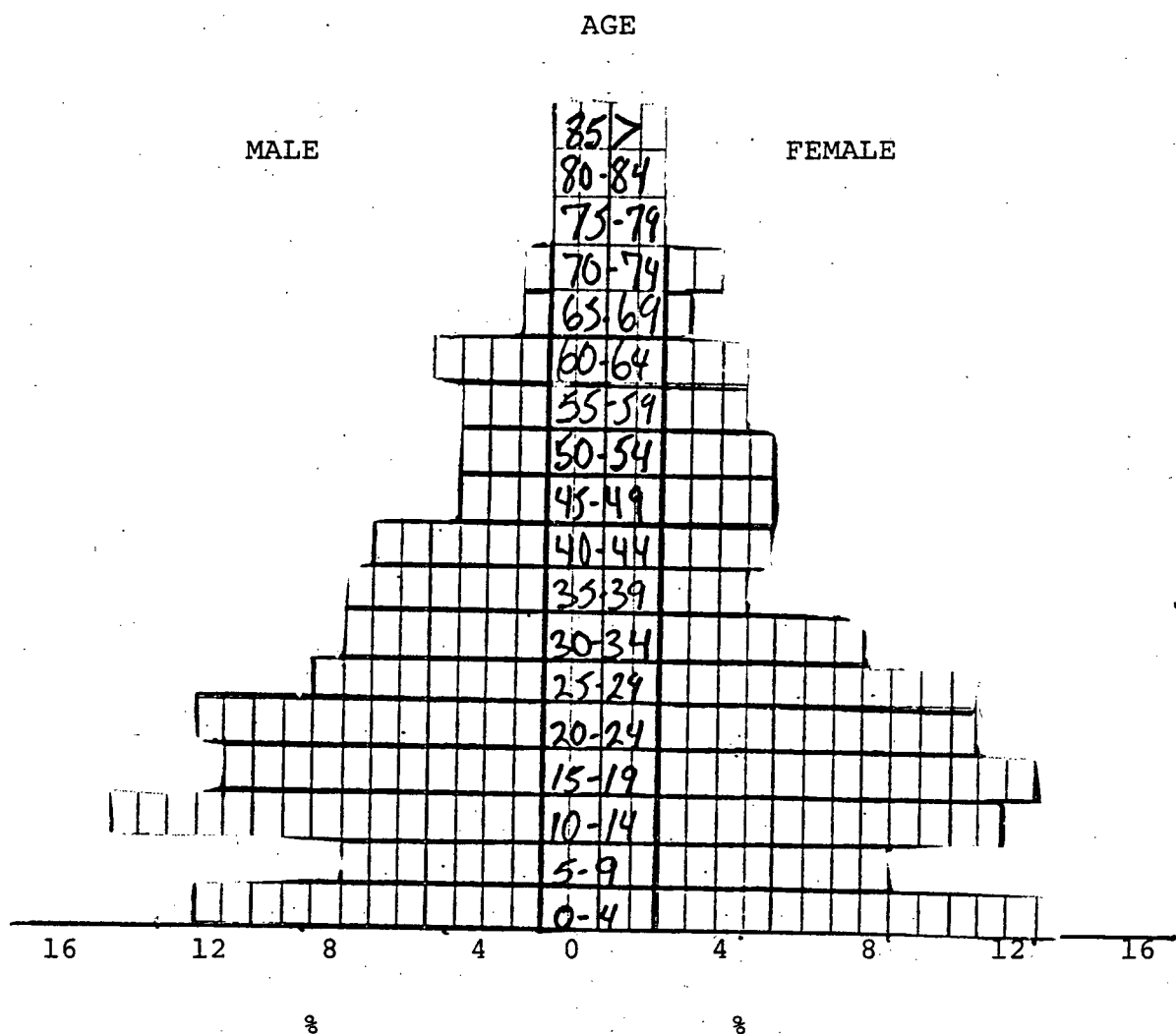


Table 4: Sex-Age Pyramid, Buluh Kubu, Sample 2.

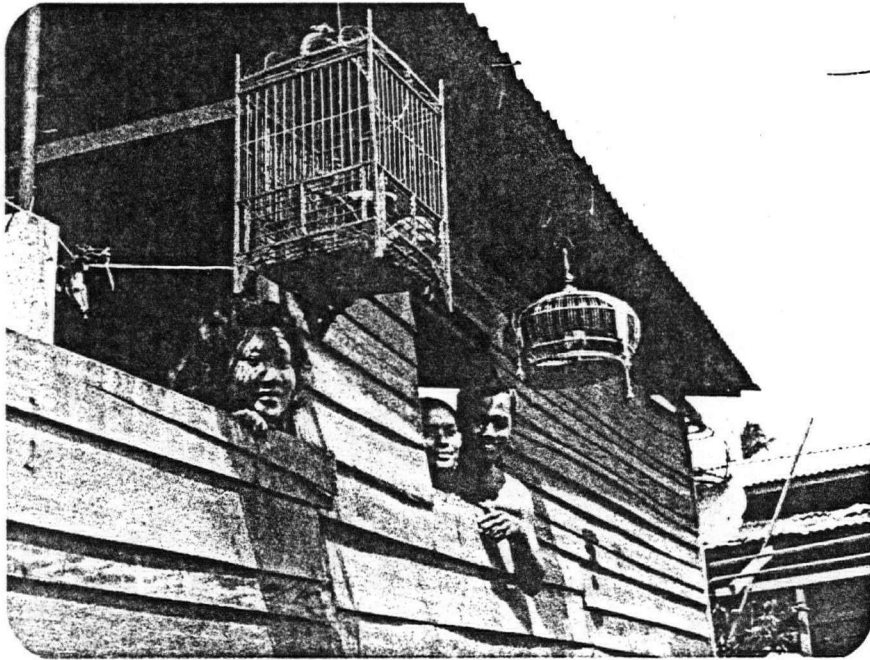
rest of the population. In dividing the age groups into four sections, the data indicates an identical breakdown between Buluh Kubu and Kota Bharu, with 33% of the populace falling in the 14 and under group, 51% in the 15-44 year old category, 13% of the residents in the 45-64 year old group, and 3% of the population recorded as 65 and over.

These figures showed that Buluh Kubu, from a sex-age perspective, was as stable as the town as a whole. Attempts by government planners to single the district out as a transient male slum that had to be redeveloped should have been reconsidered in the light of its age and sex make-up. With 84% of the population below 44 years, and evenly divided in sex, it was young families who inhabited the district. Due to inexpensive housing, and central locale near jobs, Buluh Kubu offered an advantageous place to settle and "get a start" for those building a future. It was, therefore, not responsible for the government to assume that these people did not have the same aspirations, and rights, as other town members.

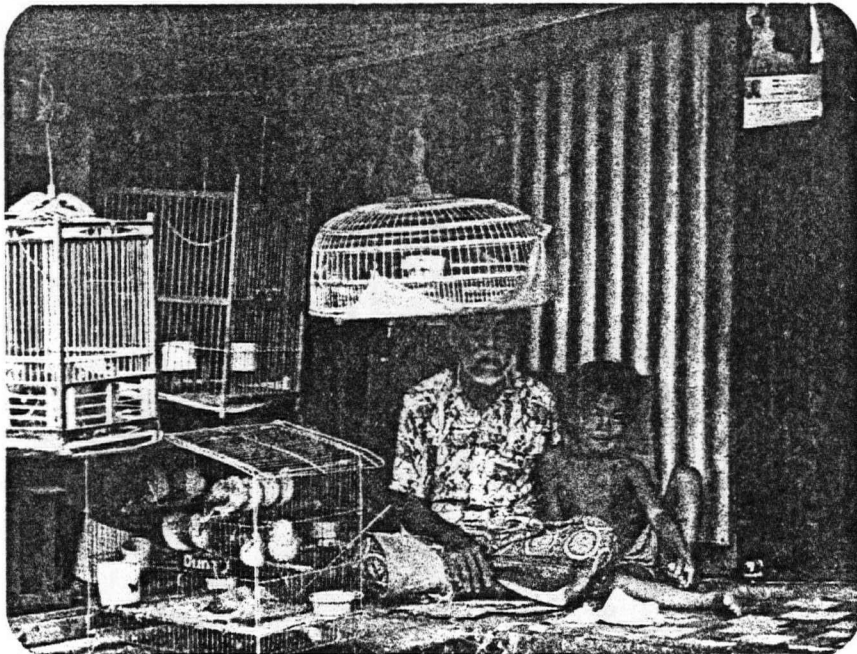
B. Place of Origin / Length of Stay

Table 5 compares the length of residence in Buluh Kubu with the residents' previous place of residence before moving to the area.

191 of the 391 respondents who listed "not applicable" were assumed either to have lived in the district all their



42. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution: Representatives of the whole town; Buluh Kubu consisted of a stable mix of females and males of all ages.



43. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution



44. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution



45. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution

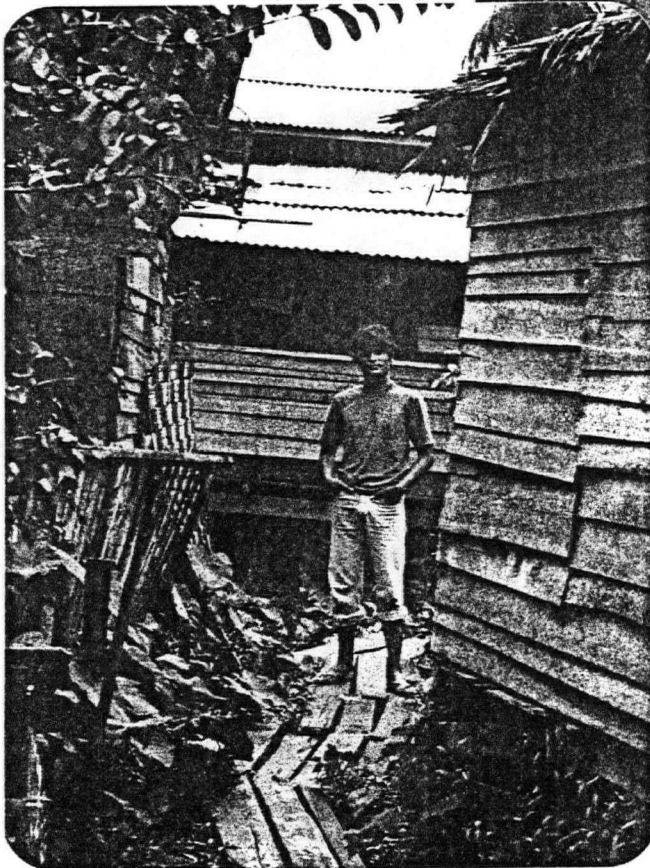
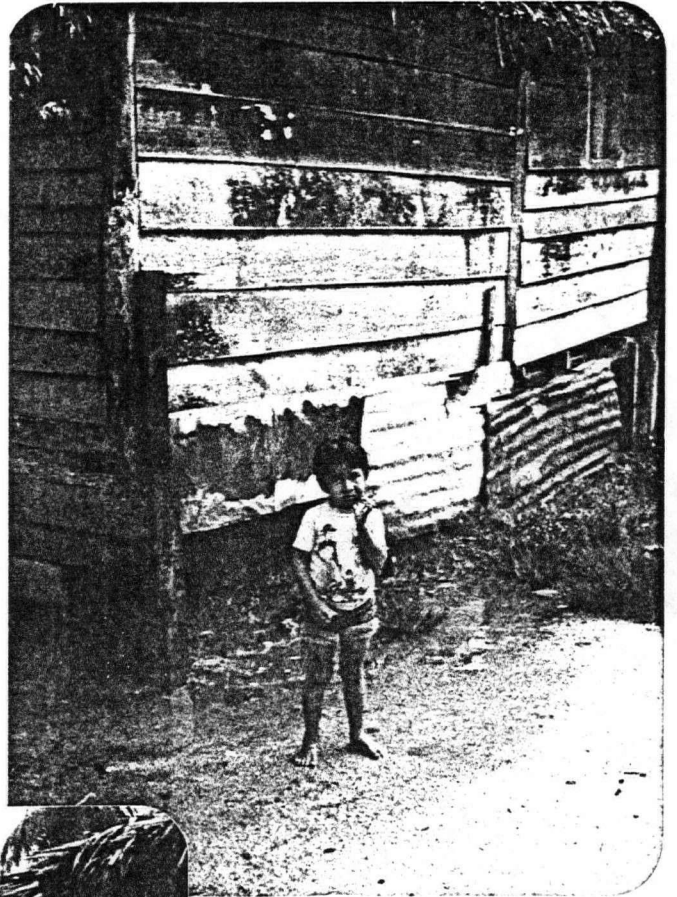


lives, or did not want the government to assume they were from outside the area because of the importance of Sultanic right to land. Of the 200 who answered these questions, 39% had moved to Buluh Kubu within the last five years. 67% of this group had moved from other parts of Kota Bharu, while 23% had moved to Buluh Kubu from various parts of the State of Kelantan. Only 7% of recently arrived residents migrated to the area from outside of the state.

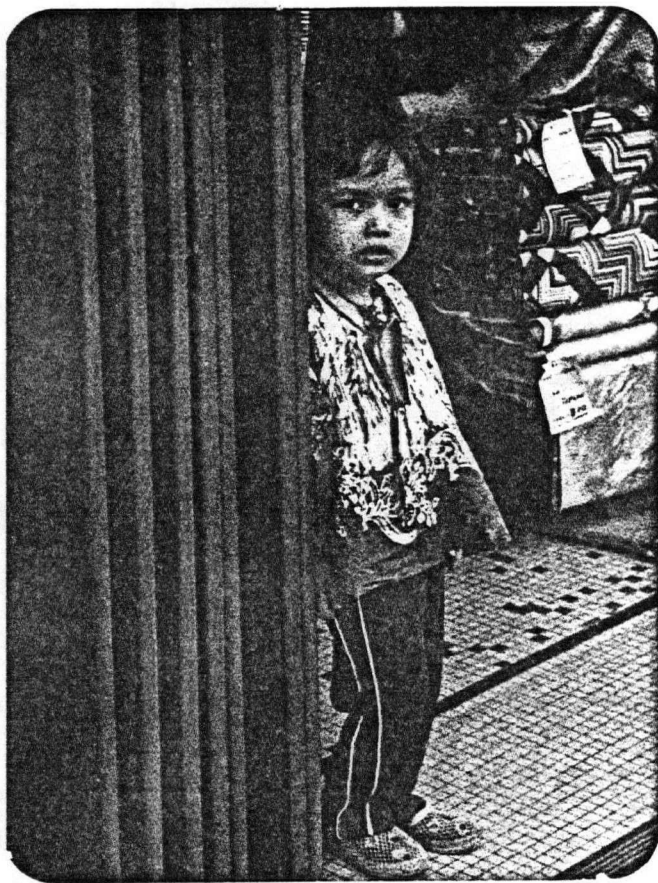
The fact that 69% of the recent migrants to Buluh Kubu came from other parts of the city rather than the rest of the State, identified the area as a district of the town which was in demand by Kota Bharu's existing population. Buluh Kubu offered inexpensive housing and an advantageous location for employment opportunity relative to the whole town.

Reaction of Sample 2's randomly chosen 56 residents corresponds with this analysis. When asked why they settled in Buluh Kubu, 26% listed employment opportunities while 30% reported inexpensive housing. Besides strict economic factors, the prestige of the district as Sultanic land may have induced some city migrants to settle in the area in the expectation that benefits would derive from a relationship with the Sultan. From field work conducted, it was clear that they understood that Sultanic ownership was considered a special case in the town's development. If development did not take place the residents knew they would have a better chance of receiving government reparations than if they occupied non/Sultanic land.

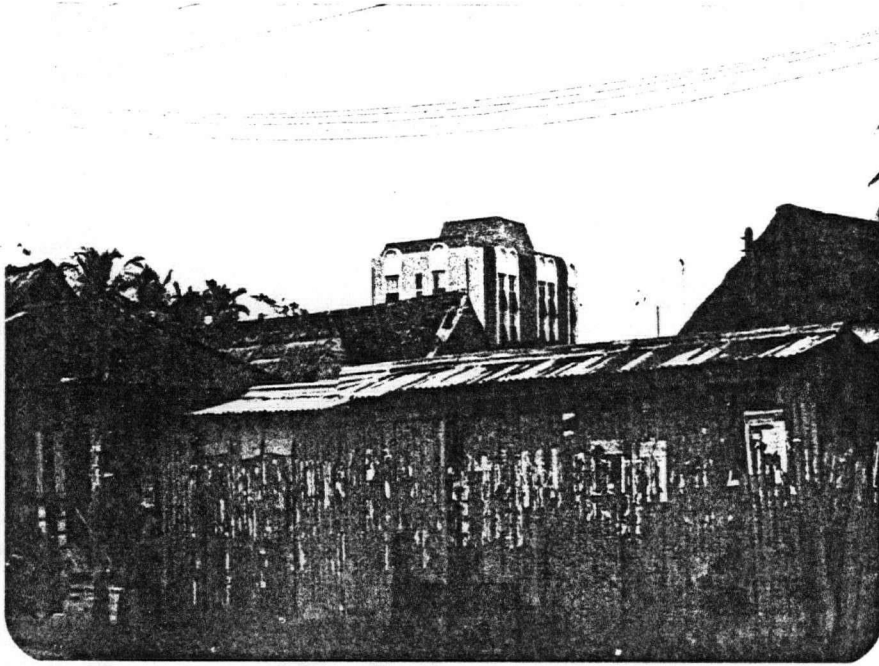
46. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution: Despite local planners' assumptions, Buluh Kubu's Sex-Age Distribution was representative of the whole town.



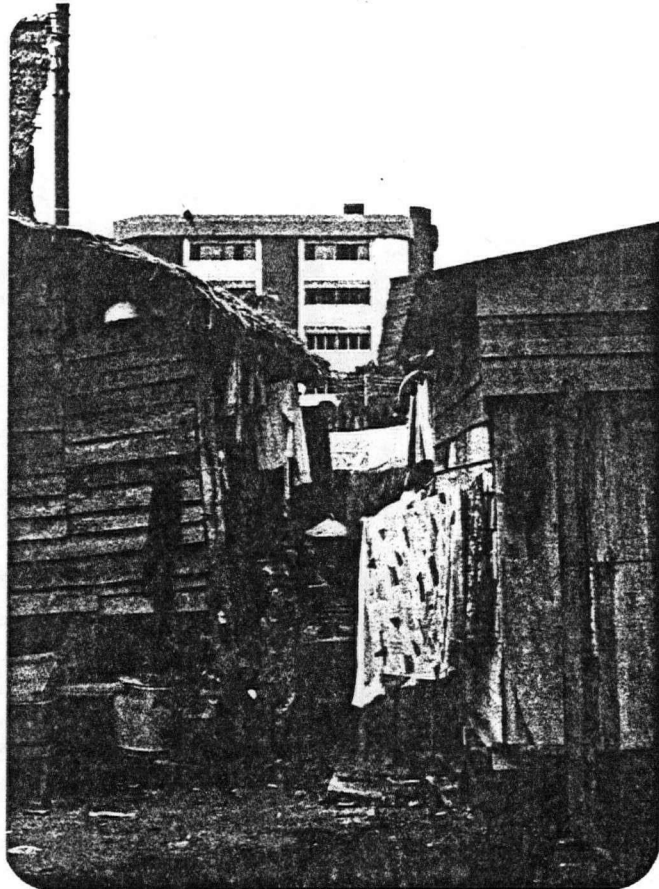
47. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution



48. Buluh Kubu's Age-Sex Distribution

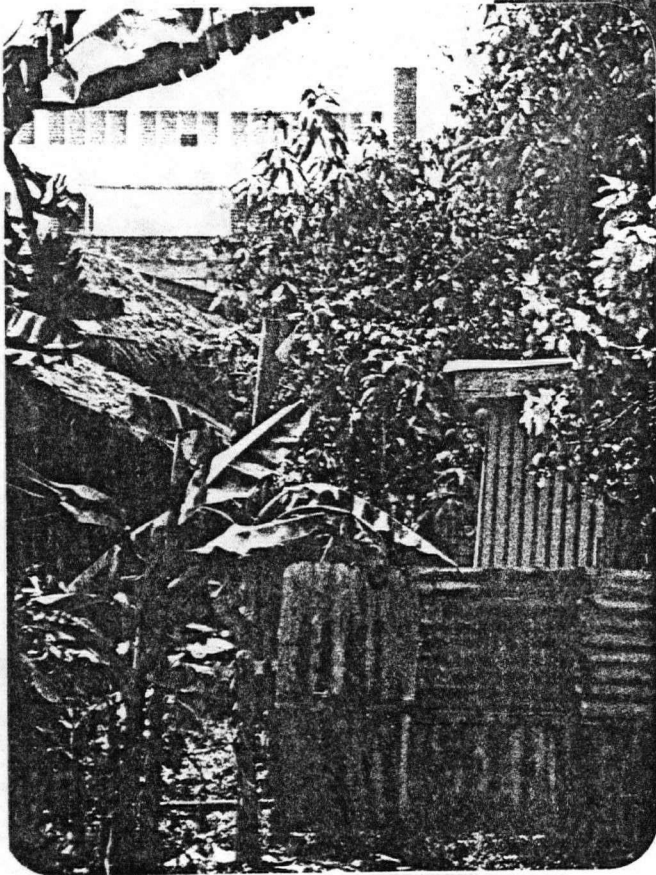
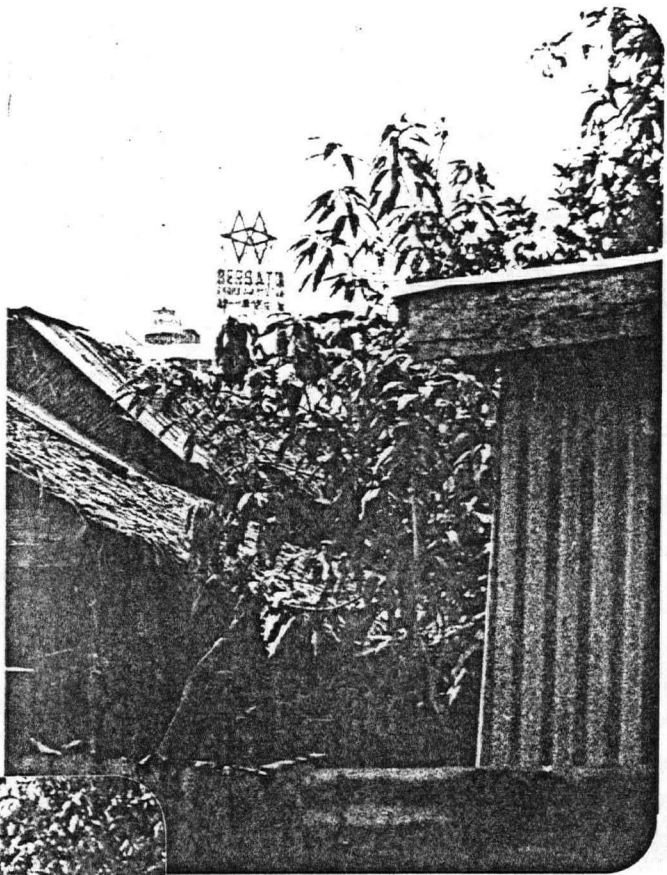


49. Buluh Kubu: The site's city centre locale has long been of interest to developers.



50. Buluh Kubu

51. Buluh Kubu



52. Buluh Kubu

TABLE 5:

PLACE OF ORIGIN: LENGTH OF STAY

Sample 1 \*

Length of Residency	Kota Bharu	Outside K.B. Inside State	Outside Kelantan	Outside Malaysia	Row Total
	FQ %	FQ %	FQ %	FQ %	FQ %
< 5	54 69	18 23	5 6	1 1	78 39
0-14	28 61	16 36	2 2	0	46 23
16-25	29 71	11 27	1 2	0	41 20
26-34	6 67	2 22	0	0	9 5
35-50	13 57	6 26	4 19		23 11
50 >	1 25	2 50	1 25		4 2
					201-100

Sample 2 \*\*

Length of Residency	Kota Bharu	Outside K.B. Inside State	Outside Kelantan	Row Total
	FQ %	FQ %	FQ %	FQ %
< 5	8 67	3 25	1 83	12 36
10-14	7 64	4 36	0	12 34
15-25	2 40	2 40	1 20	5 15
35-50	1 20	1 20	3 60	5 15
				33-100

\* : 191 residents born in the area

\*\* : 30 residents born in the area

The district's desirability was further increased by the State's major mosque and religious training center located across the street. It was important to note that Kelantan State was one of the most religious regions of Malaysia. Ties to the mosque and religious activities played a major part in the lives of Kota Bharu's inhabitants. The desire to maintain religious identity combined with an interrelated loyalty to the Sultan, who was a royal and religious leader, provided strong social reasons for Buluh Kubu settlement. These factors could not be underestimated as they were crucial to the Malays "Bumi Putra" roots and political rule.

23% of those questioned had moved in from other parts of Kelantan State to Buluh Kubu in the previous five years, showing that the district served, to some extent, as a reception area for rural migrants. This figure was lower than expected because of the substantial flow of local rural migrants to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur searching for employment. If employment opportunities were created in Kota Bharu, migrant flows could have been redirected to the town and, in particular, Buluh Kubu which, due to its inexpensive costs and employment opportunity, was an attractive place for initial town settlement.

In the other major categories, 23% reported 16 to 23 years' residency in Buluh Kubu. Of this group, 61% lived in Kota Bharu before moving to the district, while 36% reported moving from outside the city but within the State. Those who had residency of

15 to 25 years in Buluh Kubu made up 20% of the respondents. Of this group, 71% reported moving from Kota Bharu, while 27% indicated having moved from Kelantan, but not the town itself. These two categories again showed that Kota Bharu's inhabitants provided the bulk of Buluh Kubu's migrants. Given their length of stay in Buluh Kubu, these inhabitants apparently were staying.

Most residents appeared not to be urban nomads constructing squatter districts anywhere in the city for short periods. Before development took place, those interviewed seemed committed to staying in Buluh Kubu as long as the current conditions prevailed. They had made a decision to move to the district due to its religious, cultural, and financial benefits, as compared to the rest of the city.

Table 6 discloses data concerning the residents' length of stay in the district. What is striking about these figures are the fairly even distribution in tenure. Clearly Buluh Kubu is not a typical transient squatter district. One explanation is the Sultanik relationship which 28% of the population claim to have. Such traditional linkages reflect consistency in tenure not found in other areas of the town. 37% of the sample claim residency of at least 35 years, illustrating the permanence of this proportion of the inhabitants. On the other end of the scale, 23% report less than five years tenure. These figures are due to Buluh Kubu's function as a rural-urban reception area where migrants find it convenient to settle into urban life. Those who become accustomed to living in the district,



TABLE 6 : LENGTH OF STAY IN BULUH KUBU

Length of Stay in Buluh Kubu in Years	Total Cases: 391 Sample 1		Total Cases: 63 Sample 2		* Total Cases: 387 Buluh Kubu 73	
	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%
< 5	88	23	12	19	134	35
6-14	49	13	12	19	47	12
15-34	104	27	18	28	76	20
35-50	95	24	15	24	54	14
50 >	52	13	6	10	26	7
Total	388		63		337	
No Answer	3	0.7			50	12

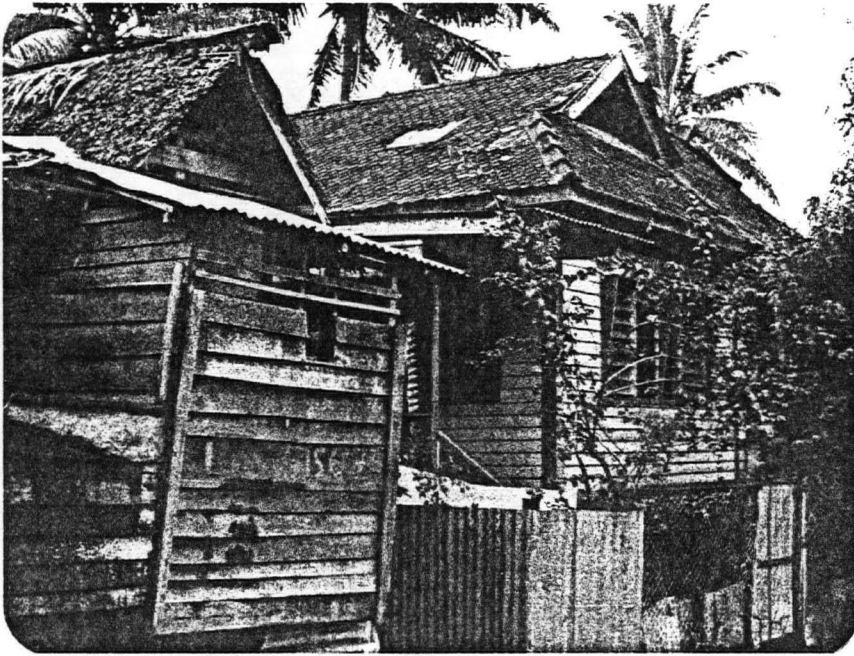
\*Kota Bharu Town and Country Planning Department  
unpublished report.

because of social and economic ties, stay on, as indicated by 50% of the residents' falling within the 6 to 34 year tenure category.

What was conclusive from Table 6, and illustrated by the difference in housing type, was that the area was heterogenous. It did not fit the common perception of a transient squatter district as the State Government would have liked to have believed in order to justify demolition. Buluh Kubu was a mix of communities which had different rights and which provided varied functions for the city as a whole. Different income groups lived side-by-side, forming a cohesive, mixed-income neighbourhood -- the type that planners in the West still strove to accomplish. Planning strategies for Buluh Kubu should have distinguished the different groups living in the area in order to identify, and then reinforce, communal linkages which nourished the community. Self serving blanket labels, such as "squatter settlement" rationalized development but destroyed an important sector of Kota Bharu that delivered informal city-wide services.

### C. Density

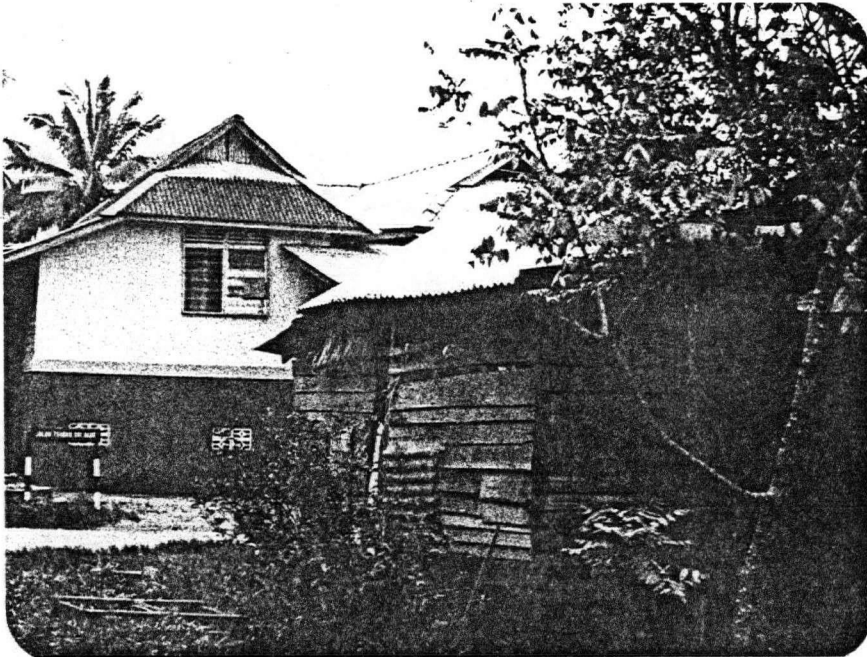
The 1,760 residents of Buluh Kubu lived in 252 dwellings. An average of 1.5 families occupied one dwelling, with each family having an average of 4.5 members. An average of 6.7 people lived in each dwelling which, as indicated in Table 6, was higher than Kota Bharu's 1970 figure of 5.6, and other cities which were much larger, such as Kuala Lumpur: 5.3,



53. Housing Mix and Income Integration (Buluh Kubu was a community of different income groups living side by side.)



54. Housing Mix and Income Integration



55. Housing Mix and Income Integration

TABLE 7: AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE

TOWNS 1970	AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE
Kuala Lumpur*	5.35
Georgetown	5.9
Ipoh	5.65
Johore Bharu	5.69
Petaling Jaya	5.68
Malacca	6.15
Sevemban	5.96
Alor Star	5.87
Kuala Trengganu	5.54
Kuantan	5.67
Kota Bharu	5.61
Bulu Kubu 1978**	6.7

Total Buluh Kubu population:  $1760 \div 391$  families = 4.5 average family size

$391$  families  $\div 252$  dwellings = 1.5 families per living unit.

$1.5 \times 4.5 = 6.75$  : Average Household Size = 7

\* Source: Demography and Social Base Study Kota Bharu Town and Country Planning Department, Kota Bharu Government publication, 1977, p. 23

\*\* Buluh Kubu field work 78

Ipoh: 5.6, Malacca: 6, Kuala Trengganu: 5.5, and Kuantan: 5.6. Since the average Buluh Kubu family size of 4.5 was considered the norm, the extra 2.3 household members might have been tenants renting from the family. Room rentals for low-income rentals provided valuable cash supplements.

D. Income

Table 8 compares 1979 Buluh Kubu household income with 1973 figures compiled by the Town and Country Planning Department of Kota Bharu. This survey's total sample of 390 families has an overall lower income than Sample 2 -- the 56 randomly chosen families who answered the attitudinal section of the questionnaire. While 17% of the total sample earn between 50 to 100 Malayan dollars, in Sample 2, only 8% fall into that category. In the M\$101-500 category, Sample 1 and 2 are roughly equal at 76% and 79%, but in the M\$501 or more grouping, Sample 1 shows only 5% of the population earning income in this high range and Sample 2 indicates 13%. Although Sample 2 is randomly chosen from the total Sample 1 data, at the bottom and high scale of monthly income a difference exists. Because Sample 2's data earn more than Sample 1's, these respondents likely have more economic alternatives than the total Buluh Kubu population. Such an important factor likely affects their attitudinal response.

In comparing Buluh Kubu's total sample with the 1973 survey, although prices did not stay constant, the data indicated

TABLE 8 : HOUSEHOLD INCOMES

House Income:  Malay \$	Buluh Kubu 1979 Sample 1 T.S.: 383 V.C.: 301 M.C.: 81		Buluh Kubu 1979 Sample 2 T.S.: 56 V.C.: 52 M.C.: 4		Kota Bharu* 1973 Town Planning T.S.: 387 V.C.: 387 M.C.: 0	
	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%
0					24	6
< 50	5	2			42	11
50-100	50	17	4	8	106	27
101-250	140	47	22	42	126	33
251-500	89	29	19	37	60	16
501-850	17	5	6	11	17	4
850 >			1	2	12	3
Total	301	100	52	100	387	100
Missing Cases	82		4			

\* Kota Bharu Town and Country Planning Department (Source)  
unpublished

T.S.: Total Sample

V.C.: Valid Cases

M.C.: Missing Cases

that a rise in the district's income over six years took place with 49-76% of the population moving out of the M\$50-100 range into the M\$101-250 and M\$251-500 income bracket groups. In 1979, while only 2% were included in the less than M\$50 group -- the lowest level of income -- in 1973, 17% of the population were in that category. In the higher income brackets, 1973 figures reported 7% in the M\$501 or more range, while 1979 figures indicated only 5%. This change in income over six years revealed that the district was catching up to the rest of the town's Malay middle income groups, which as shown in Table 8, had 63% in the M\$101-500 group in 1977, as compared to Buluh Kubu's 76% data. However, total town Malay income figures showed only 3% in the M\$0-100 group as compared to 11% in the Buluh Kubu sample. 34% of the town's Malays earned over M\$501 as compared to only 5% in Buluh Kubu. Buluh Kubu residents, although having made substantial income gains over the six years in question at the low and higher income level, were still behind the rest of the town's Malays. The rise in income over the six years was due to the general rise in income for the whole town, and the inhabitants' greater involvement in higher paying jobs.

The over M\$501 income group decreased over six years, which suggested that once this level of income had been achieved, families moved out of Buluh Kubu to other parts of the town. In terms of developing a stable community, infrastructure should have been upgraded in order to encourage higher income families to stay and invest.



E. Ability to Spend on Monthly Accommodation

Despite the income gains of the community, relative to the rest of Kota Bharu, 54% of the district's residents could only afford less than M\$100 per month for accommodation (as compared to 44% of the town's total) as shown in Table 9. Since Buluh Kubu's population was earning less than M\$250, the fact that only 23% of the district's residents were able to pay M\$100-200 monthly rent, as compared to the town's 36% average, was understandable. Similarly, it was not surprising that while 20% of the town's population spent M\$200-600 on accommodation per month, only 12% of Buluh Kubu's residents had the ability to pay in this range. The trend was due to lower incomes, and may, in some cases, have been because of priority in spending. Buluh Kubu's inexpensive living environment may have meant that residents were supporting newcomers to the town until they could find work.

Table 9 clearly shows that Buluh Kubu offers inexpensive housing which is attractive to those who want to save money or cannot afford to live elsewhere.

F. Household Amenities

Table 10 compares the household amenities of Buluh Kubu 1979 with Kota Bharu 1977 data. It is interesting to note that although Buluh Kubu was considered by the Town Planning Department to be the "slum" of the city, 79% of the families in the

TABLE 9: ABILITY TO SPEND ON MONTHLY ACCOMMODATION

MALAY \$ 1978/M\$= Canadian \$0.50	BULUH KUBU		*KOTA BHARU	
	FQ	%	FQ	%
< 100	247	65	295	44
100-200	87	23	243	36
200-400	34	9	112	17
400-600	8	3	15	2
600 >			8	1
Total	337	100	673	100
No Answers	15			

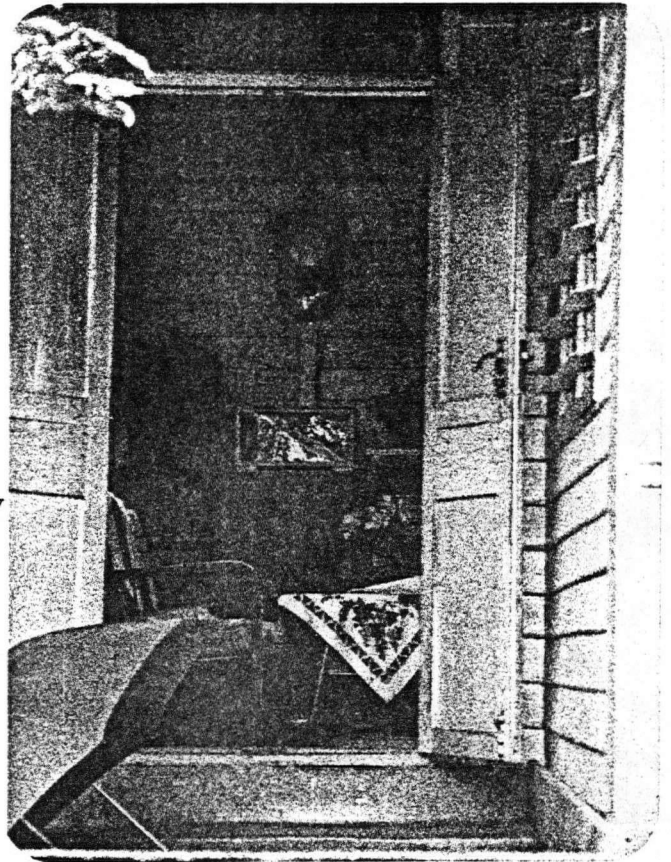
\*Kota Bharu Demography Base Study, 1977  
Refer to Table 6

TABLE 10: HOUSEHOLD AMENITIES

AMENITIES	KOTA BHARU*		BULUH KUBU	
	1977		1979	
	FQ	%	FQ	%
Piped Water	740	74	199	79
Flush Toilet	143	14	5	2
Siamese Toilet	737	74	202	85
Electricity	908	91	201	80
Garbage Collection	200	20		
Permanent Drains	156	16	30	12
Bucket Toilet	24	3		
Total	1000	100	252	
			<hr/> 148 families living with others	

\*Kota Bharu Demography Base Study, 1977  
Refer to Table 6

56. The Fortunate Few:  
Individual Buluh Kubu  
families could provide  
sophisticated shelter  
but not proper community  
infrastructure without  
government aid.

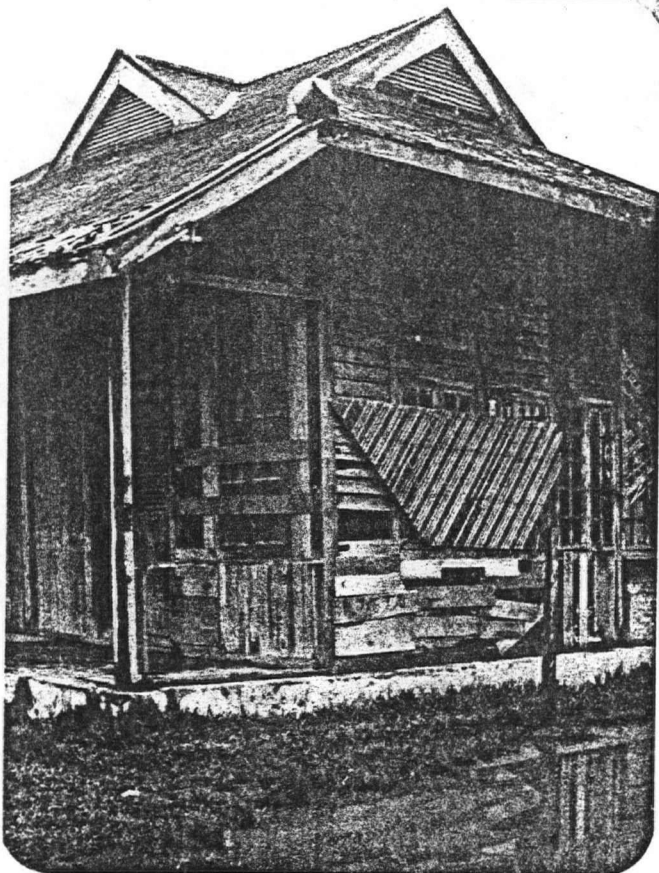


57. The Fortunate Few

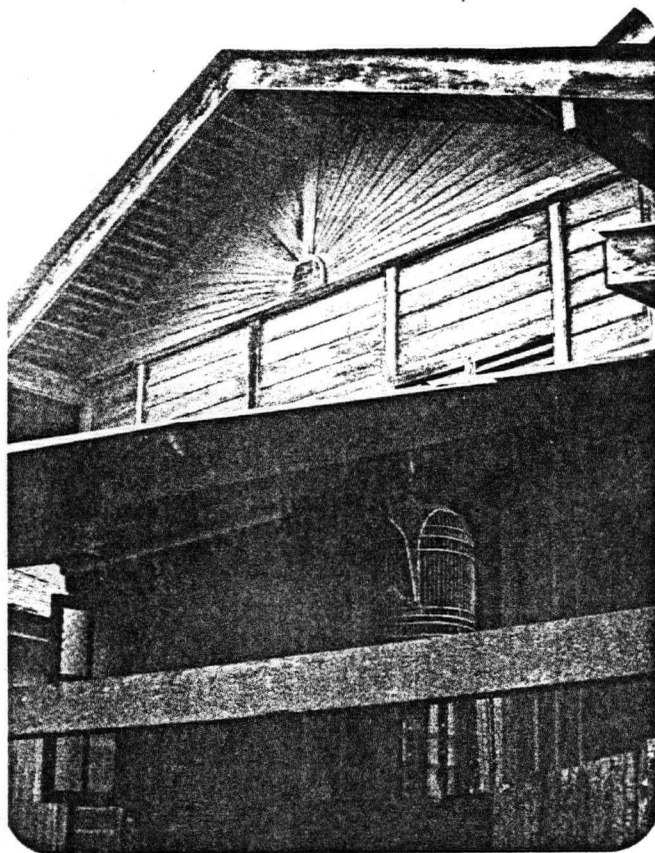


58. The Fortunate Few

59. Buluh Kubu  
Shelter Design



60. Buluh Kubu  
Shelter Design



61. Buluh Kubu Shelter Design

area had piped running water, as compared to 74% of the town's total households. This was due to the location of the district in the heart of the town where formal infrastructure for the city's center could be tapped. Especially in the case of electricity, the geographic locations of Buluh Kubu lent itself to "pirate electricity" which consisted of illegal hookups to main power lines. As a result, 80% of the district's residents had some form of electricity as compared to the town's total of 91%.

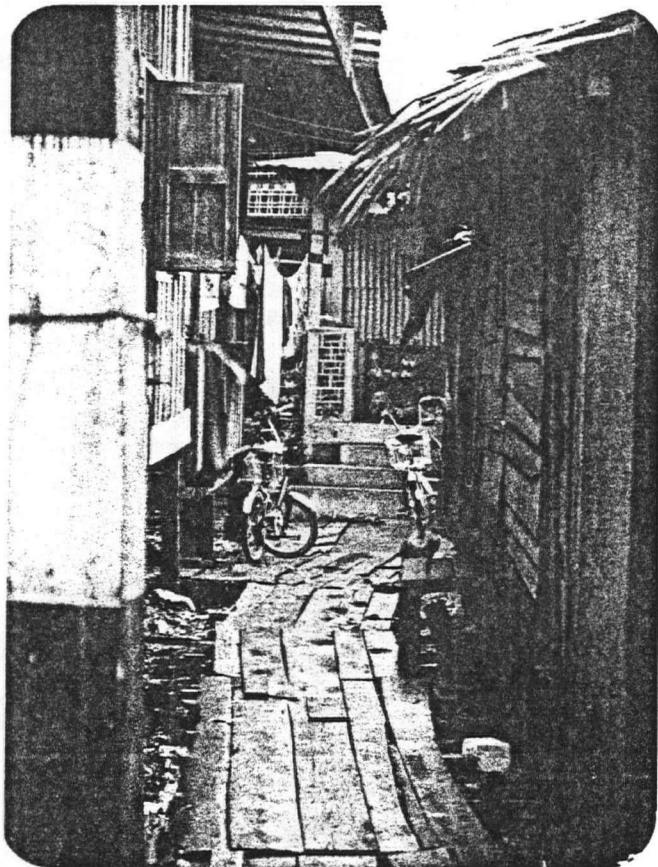
In terms of proper garbage collection, Buluh Kubu was far behind the rest of the city. Poor road access made it impossible for trucks to enter the district's centre. The result was a serious health threat which, as the questionnaire response indicated, was a major concern amongst residents. Similarly, due to poor road access, ambulances and fire trucks were of little use in an emergency situation. Other types of smaller vehicles, such as push carts, would have been more appropriate, however, under emergency conditions, such a network was often too little, too late.

Flooding is a city-wide problem for Kota Bharu due to the annual monsoons. This problem was compounded because of Buluh Kubu's location next to the Kelantan River. Most houses in Buluh Kubu were of the traditional Malay Kampong design on stilts, and were rarely damaged. However, the disease potential caused by flooding in a densely populated area without proper drains and sewage facilities presented a major health hazard.



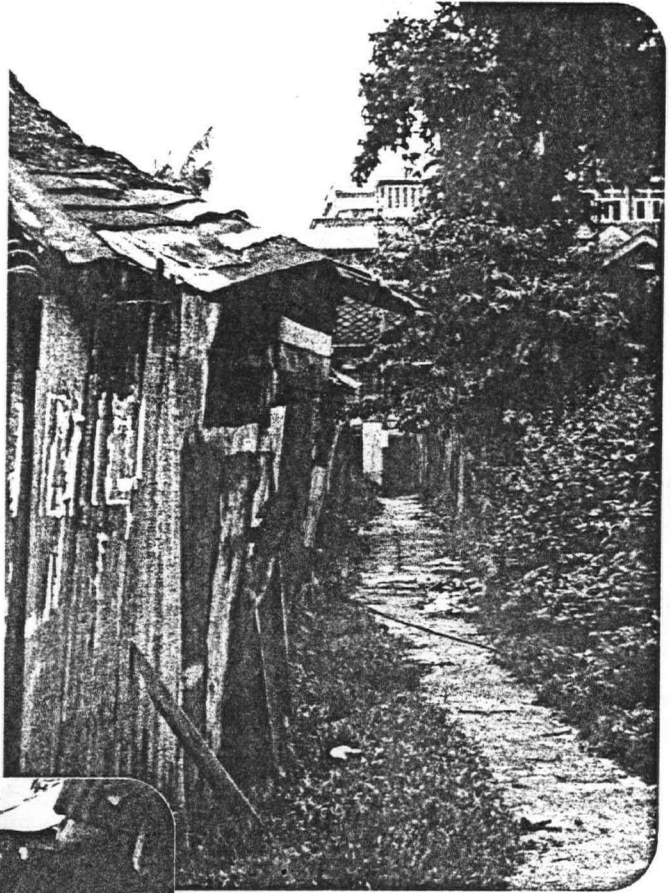


62. Road Access: Poor road networks prevented proper access to Buluh Kubu in case of an emergency



63. Road Access

64. Road Access



65. Road Access

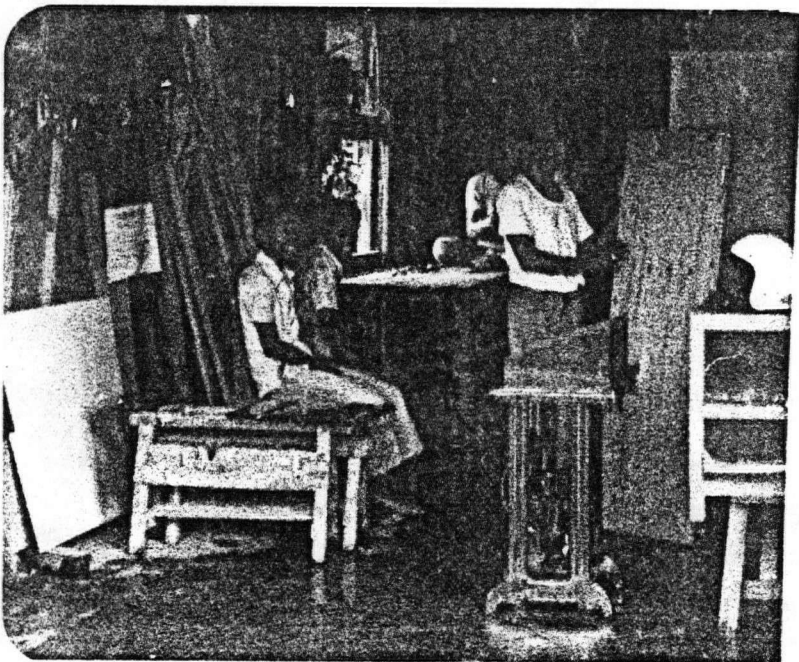
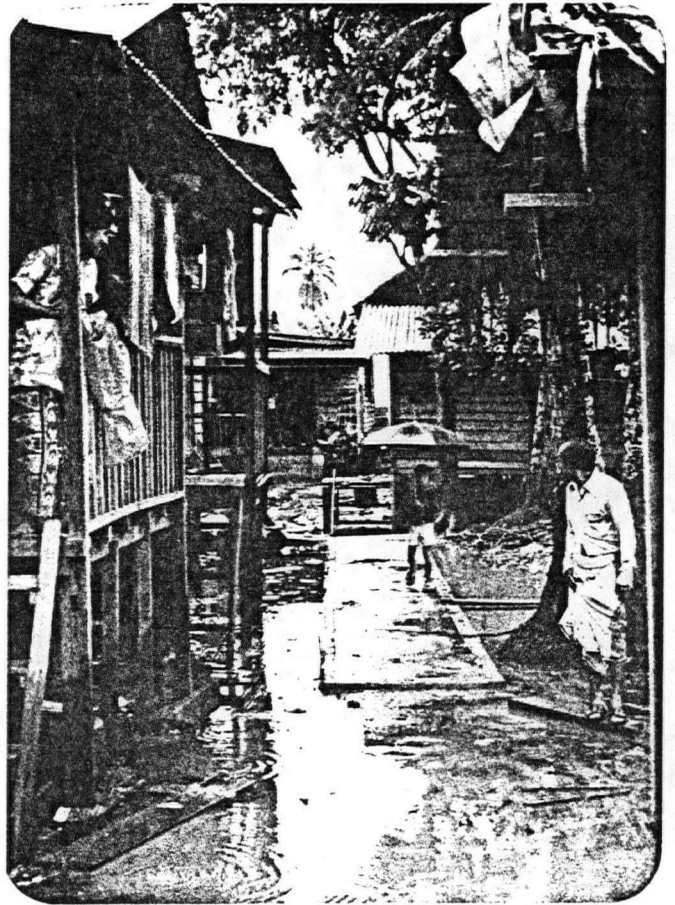
Table 10 indicates that 12% of the households had permanent drains, which was not far behind the city average of 16%. Proper flood control systems for the town was a major goal of the World Bank Team at the time of fieldwork, but because of local political resistance by those who would be flooded, the team did not meet its objective. It was also worth noting that the people seemed to enjoy the annual floods as observed by watching the young and old throughout the city wade and frolic happily in acceptance of their mucky wet fate. A good example of cross cultural bias was evident for what was considered a planning problem by "objective" outsiders, was a matter of different cultural tastes and priorities. When I asked residents about the floods, most replied with the favoured Kelantan expression: "Tida ada musa Alla", slang for "no sweat, man".

The Siamese toilet was the type most commonly found in Kota Bharu households. While the town's average was 74%, 85% of Buluh Kubu households reported Siamese toilet facilities. Despite the type of toilets used, however, lack of proper sewage facilities and traditional use of the nearby Kelantan River as a latrine posed a serious health threat.

#### G. Rooms per Household

Table 11 compares rooms per living quarter, however, caution should be exercised in determining what constitutes a room. The Kota Bharu and Buluh Kubu study definition includes any divider

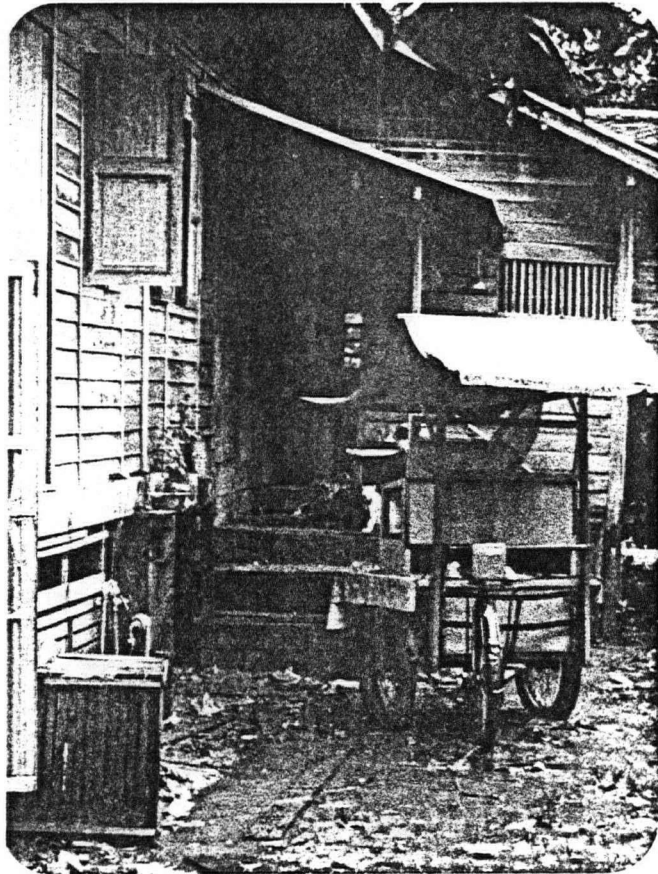
66. Flooding: Floods are an annual event in Kota Bharu, which residents calmly expect. Buluh Kubu's particular vulnerability to flooding contributed to unsanitary conditions and disease.



67. Flooding

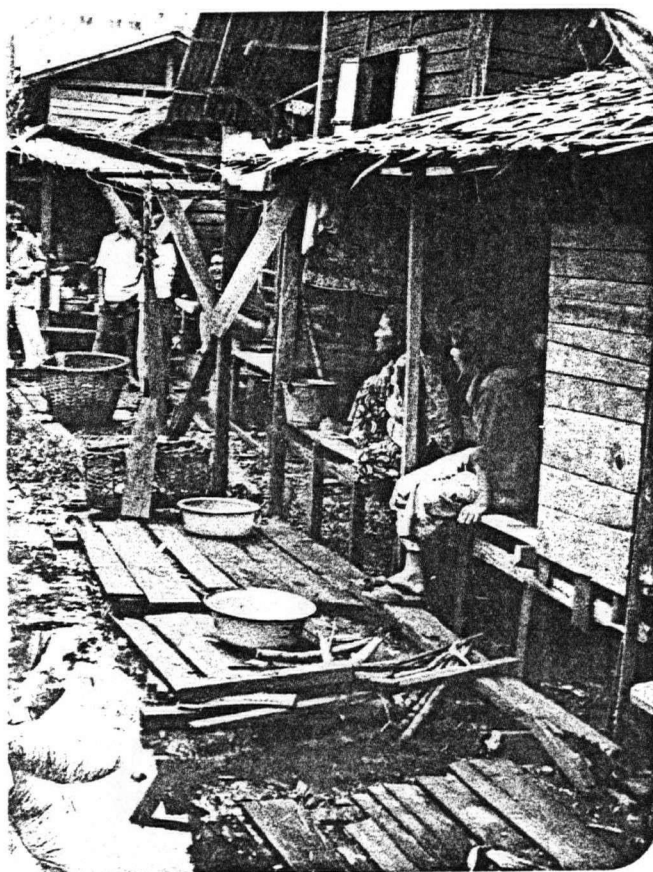


68. Flooding



69. Flooding





70. Flooding

TABLE 11: ROOMS PER HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF ROOMS	KOTA BHARU*		BULUH KUBU	
	1977		1979	
	FQ	%	FQ	%
1	295	29.5		
2	339	33.9	83	35
3	238	23.8	58	24
4	39	8.9	41	17
5	25	2.5	25	10
5 >	14	1.4	32	14
Total		100 %	239	100%

Missing cases 152: Those living in the same house.

\*Refer to Table 6.

which splits the function of one living space. Since Malays traditionally live in a communal atmosphere, the division of communal space, especially in lower income groups, by straw mat or cloth, provides enough privacy and utility to be considered as a separate room featuring minimal cost and maximum flexibility.

While only 1.4% of the town had more than 5 rooms, 14% of the Buluh Kubu households recorded the same. Except for a few noticeable exceptions, most dwellings in Buluh Kubu were smaller than the town's average. Room number per Buluh Kubu household was largely attributed to crowding, not the size of the house. 27% of its housing stock had 4-5 rooms, as compared to 11.4% for the total town. Reasons for more rooms in Buluh Kubu than the town's average might have been larger family size, the desire to rent space for extra income, and the need to create space for newly arrived rural-urban migrants looking for jobs. Kota Bharu's figures included outlying rural houses which had fewer rooms than their urban counterparts due to less density. Certain rooms in a Buluh Kubu household were used as storefronts and workspace for commercial ventures. In the town's outlying areas, such space utilization did not occur to the same degree because farming remained the major economic activity. Similarly, in wealthier areas, employment activities were undertaken outside the house, thus eliminating the need for extra rooms. The 1977 demographic social base study reported that the estimated average rooms per dwelling in Kota Bharu was about the same as that for West Malaysia in 1970. Buluh Kubu's room-household



TABLE 12: EDUCATION LEVEL OF SCHOOL AGE MEMBERS

EDUCATION LEVEL	BULUH KUBU SAMPLE 1		BULUH KUBU SAMPLE 2		KOTA BHARU 1977 TOTAL		KOTA BHARU MALAYS ONLY 1977	
	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%
No Schooling (No answers assumed to be no schooling)	542	31	76	25	669	14	489	15
Primary	563	32	117	38	1783	38	1267	39
Lower Secondary	369	21	55	18	1241	27	843	25
Upper Secondary College	257	15	55	18	931	20	649	20
University	19	0	5	1	44	1	29	1
Religious Training	10	1						
Total	1760	100	308	100	4668	100	3277	100

\*Table 6 referral

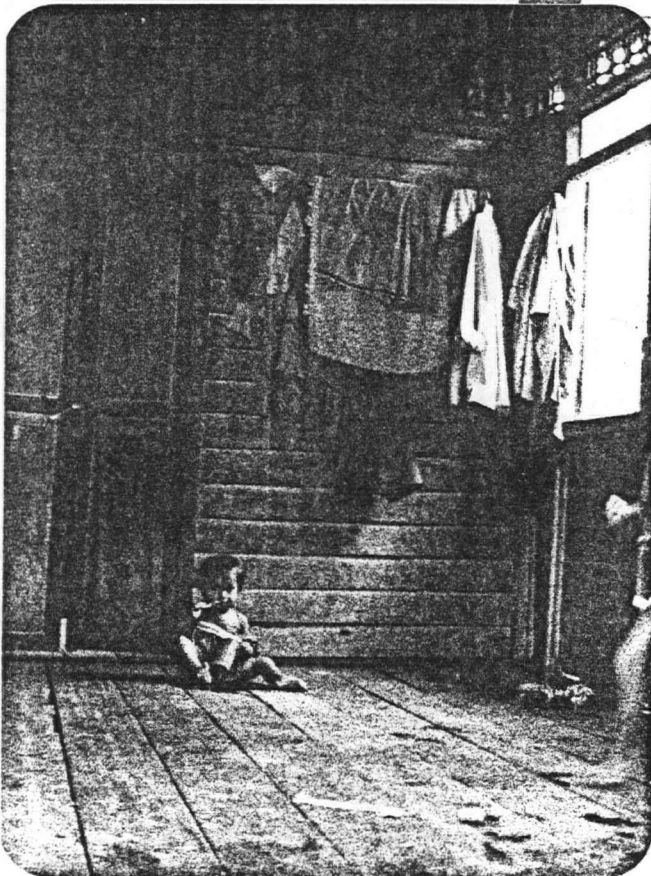
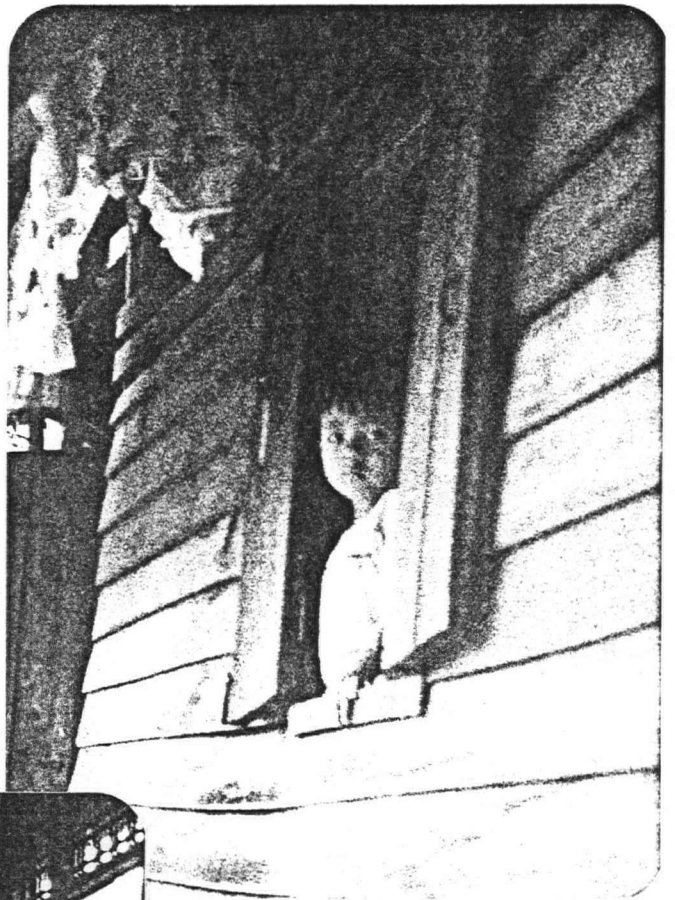
ratio was above the national average.

#### H. Education

Referring to education, Table 12 points out that both Samples 1 and 2 in the Buluh Kubu survey, were similar at all levels of educational attainment. Sample 2's response to the attitudinal section of the questionnaire was representative of all residents regarding the impact of education on understanding survey questions and methodology. In comparing the total Buluh Kubu sample with Kota Bharu's educational standards, it was found that while only 14% of the town's school age members had no formal secular education, 31% of Buluh Kubu's residents were in the same category. With education accepted as an important variable in upward mobility, lack of academic opportunity had serious consequences for the residents' future. The differences in educational attainment were partly due to traditional attitudes in assessing the importance of full education for children. Short-term financial necessity also overruled long-term mobility for children who could not afford the luxury of academic or technical training. In terms of family cohesiveness, this traditional work structure reinforced kinship linkages in the communal support for those too old and too young to support themselves. Shirking such responsibility for individual educational attainment would be seen as disrespectful, and would not be tolerated in traditional Malay families.

Buluh Kubu's primary and lower secondary educational attain-

71. The Children's Future:  
The children of Buluh  
Kubu fell far behind  
the town's educational  
standard.



72. Lack of Opportunity  
for Formal Education



73. Lack of Opportunity for  
Formal Education

ment was 15%, compared to the town's total of 20%. Kota Bharu generally had a low educational level compared to the rest of the country as revealed by only 1% having gone to university while only 20% were involved in secondary and college education. Such a trend was likely due to the town's size and relative isolation in relation to the rest of the country. In contrast to the developed West Coast, the influence of the British formal educational system had considerably less impact on the traditional rural Malays of Kota Bharu. Due to the Islamic character of the State, informal religious training was the most common type of normative education, and remained the priority over nonsecular training for many.

#### I. Employment Characteristics

In analyzing occupational differential between 1973 and 1979, Table 12 suggests that in six years, commercial and hawking ventures changed by only 4%, and was still the largest employment sector in the district, involving 38% of the population's labour force. Due to the district's location near the main market, close relation to rural areas and absorptive family employment bias, informal commercial ventures that needed little capital investment were ideally suited for Buluh Kubu's inhabitants.

A substantial decrease in manual employment took place over the six year period. Only 15% of the residents were involved in this activity in 1979, as compared to 36% in 1973. Such findings

TABLE 13: EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE 1		SAMPLE 2		* BULUH KUBU DATA - 1973	
	1979		1979			
	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%
Commercial & Hawking	137	38	30	55	133	34
Labour Work Trishaw	56	15	4	7	129	36
Clerical	21	6	8	14	27	8
Teaching	12	3	2	4	17	5
Police/Fire Military	19	5	3	5	4	1
Pensioner	7	2	1	2	9	3
Unemployed	10	3	1	2	25	7
Housewife	42	12	2	4		
Self-employed	56	15	4	7		
Student	4	1				
Other					6	
Valid Cases	364	100	55	100	387	
Not Applicable	26					
No Answer	5		1		39	

\*Town and Country Planning Department Report, 1973 unpublished report



74. Informal Commercial Ventures in Buluh Kubu



75. Informal  
Commercial  
Ventures in  
Buluh Kubu



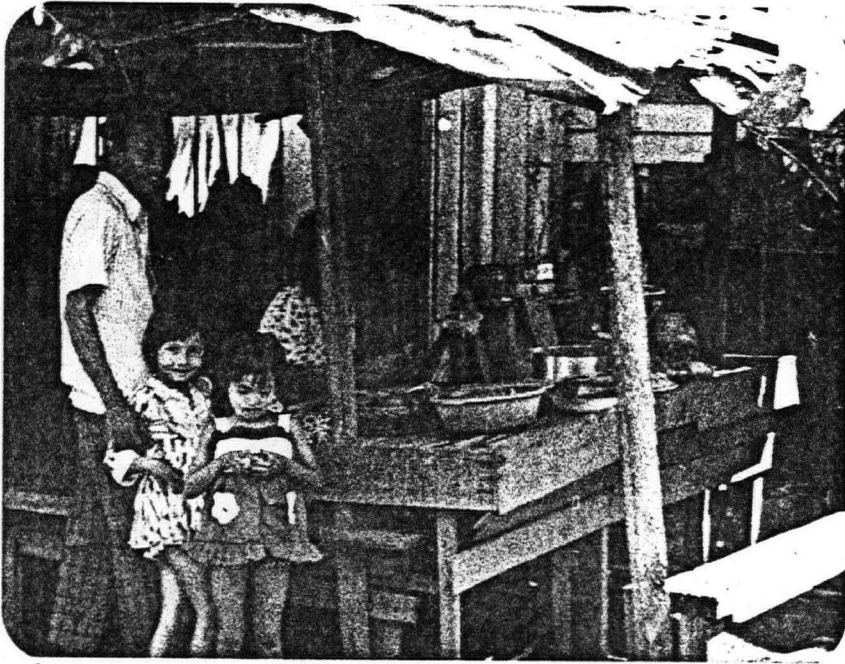
76. Informal Commercial Ventures in  
Buluh Kubu



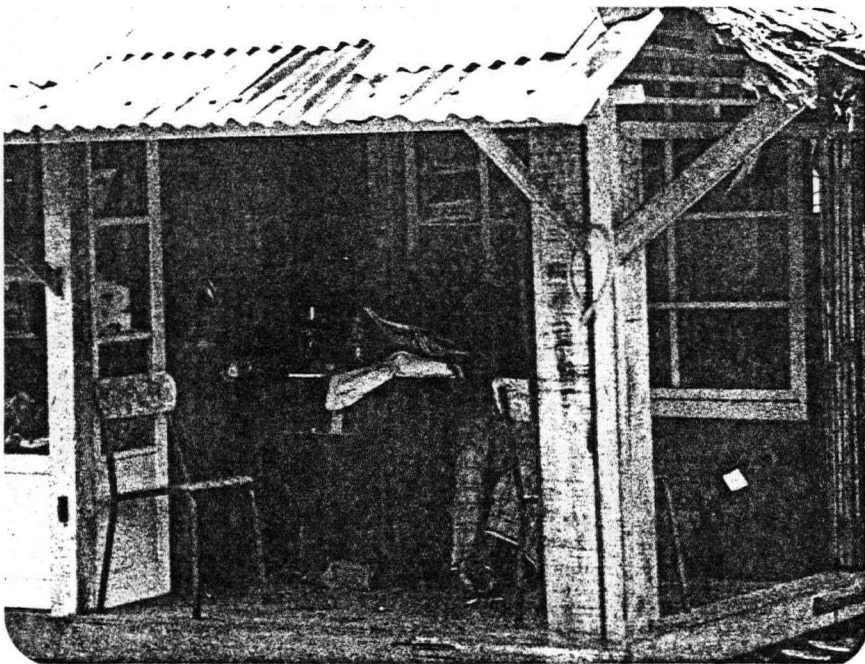
were surprising since the number of trishaw drivers included in the category had steadily risen in that period. At the time of research Kota Bharu was undergoing a building boom which should have provided labour opportunities. The labour classification itself, however, caused discrepancy in the data since some of these residents were listed as 15% of the self-employed category. Residents who listed themselves as unemployed might have worked casually in the labour field. There was no doubt that opportunities did exist for labourers in Kota Bharu, however, contractors had a tight network of regular workers which excluded many Buluh Kubu residents.

Higher skilled jobs in clerical and teaching professions also dropped by 2% over the six years between 1973 and 1979. Higher income professionals were moving out of the district as their opportunities in these fields expanded. With regard to the district's development, such a trend proved negative to long-term neighbourhood evolution since these families were not investing their capital and leadership back into the community. Instead, they were abandoning the area in search of upward mobility. Interurban migration of this kind was negative to the evolution of the district since the area was used only as a stepping stone to something better, rather than becoming a permanent neighbourhood where people's prosperity would be reinvested in long-term neighbourhood commitments.

Only in public services such as police, the military, fire and medical aid, had Buluh Kubu employment risen in the six years.



77. Buluh Kubu's Commercial Ventures



78 Buluh Kubu's Commercial Ventures

On the surface, these figures appeared encouraging since they reflected the settlement of permanent residents who might stabilize the district. However, given the area's lax terms of tenure and law enforcement, I was informally alerted that the increase seen in police and military settlement unfortunately had to do with their involvement in Buluh Kubu's drug, prostitution and extortion trade.

Table 13 indicates that the unemployment rate had dropped from 7% to 3% between 1973 and 1979. In this regard, Kota Bharu's overall growth and new political commitment to development at the time of fieldwork increased general employment opportunities for Buluh Kubu's residents.

#### J. Employment Data: Comparative Analysis

Table 14 compares 1979 employment data for Buluh Kubu with figures compiled in a 1977 report on Kota Bharu by the State government. Employment classification has been divided into three broad economic functions: primary industry, public utilities, and private enterprise, consisting of both tertiary and secondary industrial activities. No one in Buluh Kubu was involved in primary industry on a full-time basis because of the district's location in the heart of the town. Kota Bharu's change in basic employment activities from 36% involvement in 1970, down to 2% in 1977 revealed a shift in employment emphasis as the town developed its administrative function as a State capital. It was in the area of public utilities where the town's employment absorbed many of those formerly in agriculture and fishing. In

this regard, the substantial rise in public utility from 11% employment in 1970 to 46% in 1977, illustrated Kota Bharu's changing urban role.

In contrast to a city-wide employment increase in public utilities in Buluh Kubu, only 8% of the residents were involved in such work. This 38% employment lag was likely due to the lack of educational qualifications in the field and the absence of inside contacts. Job contacts were crucial to entrance into a training programme that could lead to prestigious jobs in public utilities. Most Buluh Kubu residents did not have the right urban connections needed to land government jobs. The accepted system of acquiring government employment involved the new worker paying a proportion of his/her monthly pay to the "sponsor" who arranged the employment. Such a closed network made it difficult for Buluh Kubu residents to compete for jobs which they often never heard about until the positions were filled.

Those involved in the broad classification of private enterprise employed approximately one half of the town's working adults. These findings reflected Kota Bharu's role as a focal point for manufacturing and processing activity. Due to existing infrastructure and linkages to national and foreign markets, the town's development in this field would continue to expand.

TABLE 14 : OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Economic Function	Economic Sector	Sample 1		Sample 2		* BK 73		** KB 70		** KB 77	
		FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%	FQ	%
Primary	Agriculture Fishing Mining	31	8	5	9	21	5	168	11	702	46
Public Utilities	Public Utilities & Services Transport & Communication Medical Teaching Police Fire	214	55	42	76	287	74	809	53	794	52
Other		140	36	8	15	79	26				
Total Cases		391		56		387		1527		1527	
Valid Cases		385		55		387		1527		1526	

\*Kota Bharu Town Planning Department, 1973, unpublished

\*\*Kota Bharu 1970 unpublished

\*\*Kota Bharu 1977, Table 6

#### IV. RANDOM ATTITUDINAL RESPONSE

##### A. Resident Self Perception

In response to the first four questions dealing with the residents' perception of where they lived, 37% of those sampled listed employment opportunities as being the major reason for living in Buluh Kubu. 36% recorded inexpensive housing as the motivating factor for their settlement in the area. The fact that friends and relatives lived in the district was of prime importance in settlement for only 27% of those surveyed. Financial factors for settlement were apparently viewed as more important than social ties.

Just over half of those surveyed chose the term "urban Kampong" as an adequate description of their neighbourhood, as opposed to the 22% who listed "slum" as their Buluh Kubu description. "Urban Kampong" denoted community identification linking traditional Kampong societal attributes to an urban setting. A Kampong community structure featured strong communal ties within a society of clearly defined roles and status. These networks were the essence of community self help which had to be understood and employed in order to plan responsively toward developmental objectives in an urban context.

Reaction to question 3: "Do you consider yourself to be a squatter, that is a resident without legal right to the land you now occupy?", recorded a split response. Twenty-six of the

56 interviewed said they were squatters, while 30 maintained they were not. Some of those interviewed might not have interpreted the term "squatter" in the same light, thus affecting data results. Division in squatter self view underscored the heterogeneity of the residents and their attachment to the Buluh Kubu.

Despite different self views, 80% of those surveyed did vote in the 1979 election. The majority of residents had an interest in participating in making political decisions, and, for that matter, planning. Enthusiasm of this type demonstrated a political base for those wanting more involvement in the planning process.

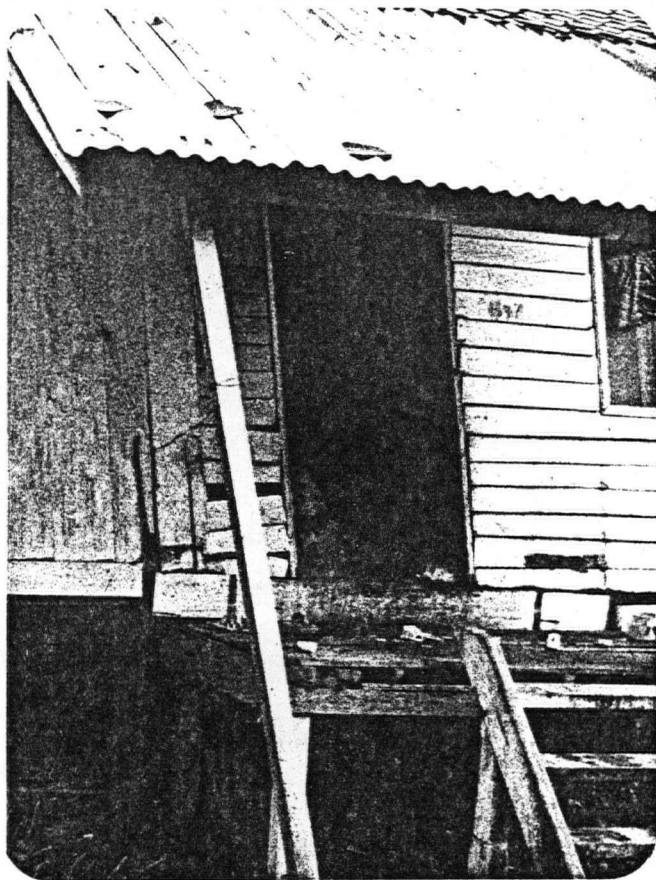
In terms of the three major problems that residents were most concerned about in their community, drainage and flooding ranked first, followed by the threat of fire and lack of rubbish disposal. These physical problems surfaced while social issues such as theft were not brought up. Social cohesion and trust in the community were not seen as problems by residents. It was these three basic civic services which were not delivered to the heart of the town due to poor planning, which they perceived as the most serious danger.

#### B. The Residents' Planning Recommendations

Questions 5-11 concerned the residents' perception of the picture models display showing the type of housing and community development that they could expect after renovation of the site.



79. Lack of Basic Services - Most Common Residential Concern



80. Lack of Basic Services

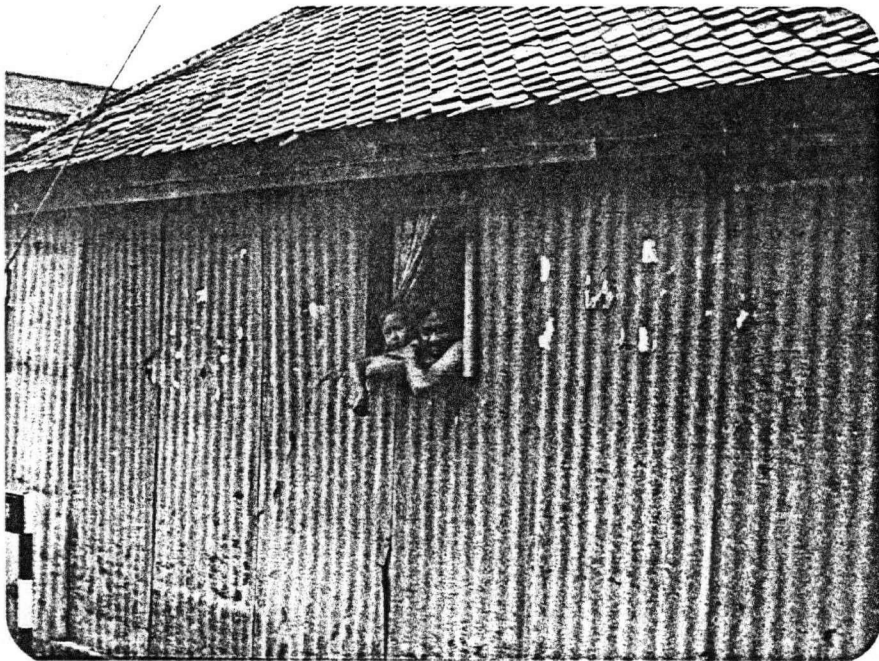




81. Lack of Basic Services



82. Lack of Basic Services



83. Lack of Basic Services

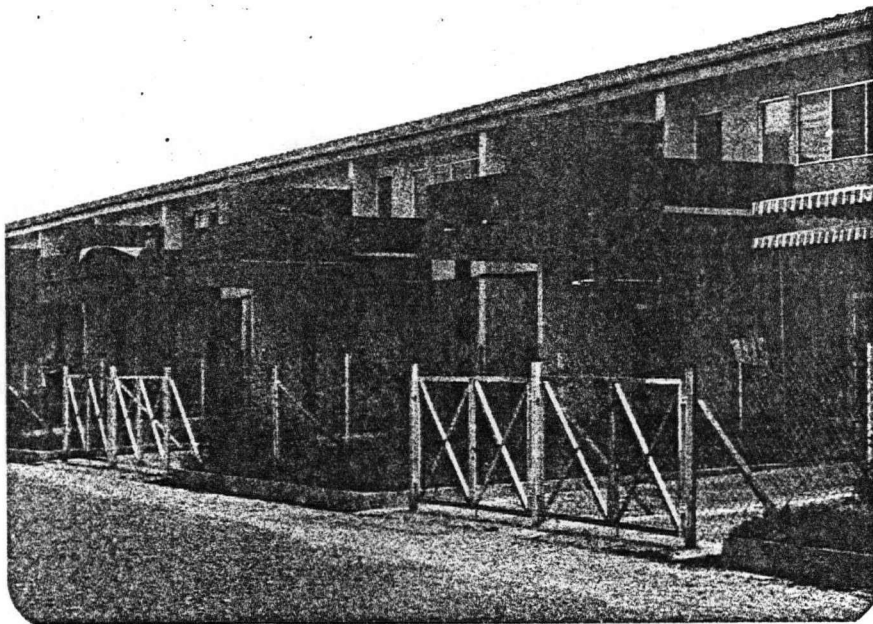
Almost all the residents wanted to move because of the dilapidated condition of their housing, and the wish to "change" their environment. Generally, the attitude which prevailed was that "new" meant "better" living conditions. In this case, such logic might have been misleading, however, given the persistent problems of drainage, fire hazards and health conditions, any "new" alternative in shelter condition appeared to be better.

It was significant that only sixteen of the 56 respondents would answer question 6, which asked them to choose aspects of the development model to be removed. Lack of comment showed an unwillingness by the residents to criticize the government's plan -- a Third World "head set" that traditionally obeyed the "expert". However, when it came to enlarging certain aspects of the model plan, 37 of the 56 ventured recommendations concerning preference in expanding terrace housing. It was perceived that these units would "upgrade living conditions" and "bring stability to the area". Terrace housing in the survey was the clear choice of nearly all the residents. Then, most residents seemed to assume that they would live in terrace shelter, when, in fact, only a fortunate few would have the privilege. It was extremely difficult to make low-income residents understand this point and the fact that, as a result of development, they would be forced out of the area or into cell-like development projects.

Question 8, which asked respondents to add sections to the model, was answered by all 56 of the household heads. In terms



84. Terrace Housing: The most desired type of housing.



85. Terrace Housing

86. Terrace Housing



87. Terrace Housing



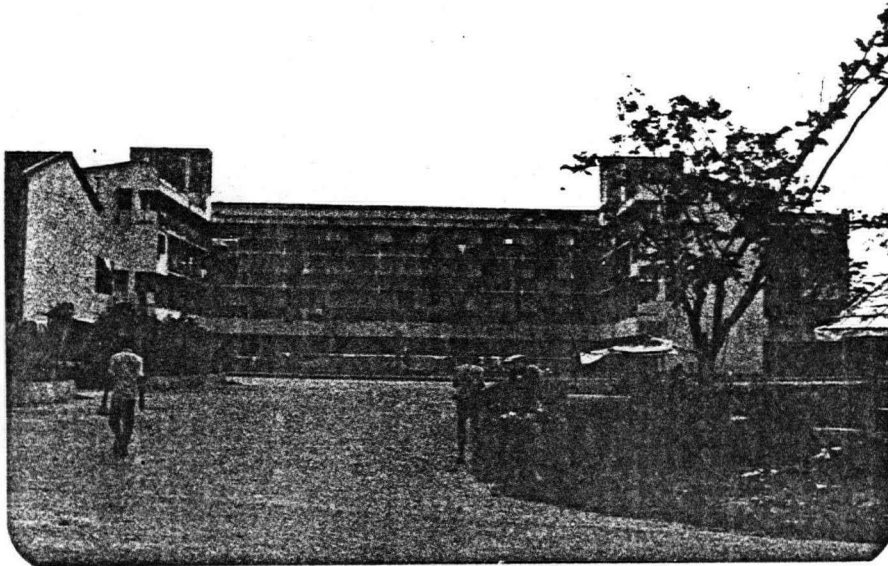
of planning input, most refused to take away sections of proposed development while more were willing to comment on enlarging areas of development. However, recommendations concerning "adding on" to the development proposals in question 8, were unanimous, revealing resident willingness to comment on further development, but a mistrust concerning comments to do with "taking away" from proposed plans. All 56 of those questioned wanted a mosque added on to the Buluh Kubu plan despite the town's major mosque located adjacent to the existing site. Preference for more religious institutions reflected the Malays' deep Islamic identification which could not be overlooked by planners without serious repercussions. The residents also wanted a community centre, health clinic, and park. As discussed in Chapter 7, these recommendations were made to the Buluh Kubu Working Group in my report referring to the dynamic utilization of the site's historic palaces.

Question 11 suggested that almost all of the respondents wanted to live in the model's proposed development because they felt their present condition was unsanitary. After a concern for health, they favoured the model's development due to its spatial organization and perceived beneficial impact on their children's welfare.

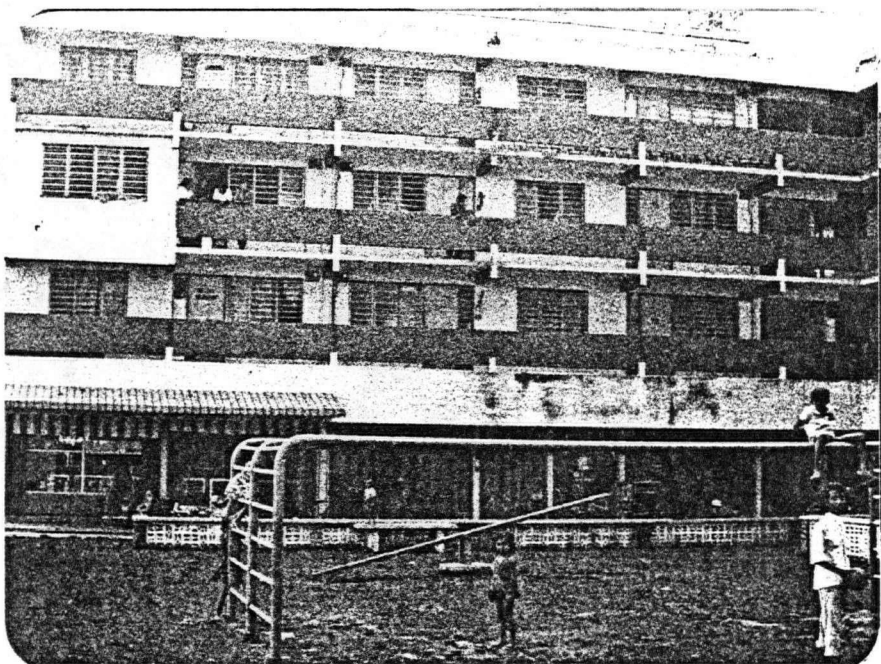
#### C. Evaluation of Survey Method and Model Presentation

Questions 12-15 attempted to find out what the residents thought of the survey's model-picture design. Forty-eight of

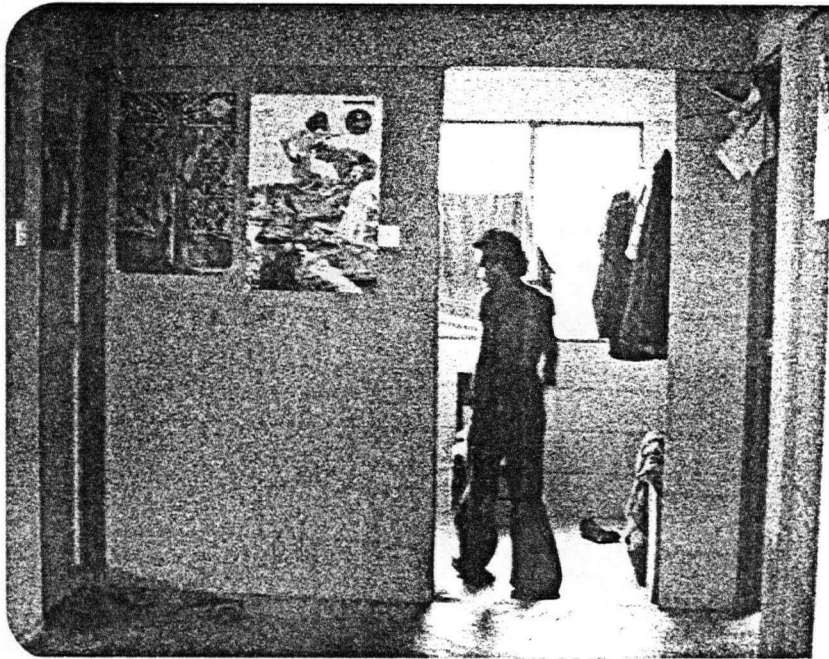




88. Low Income Housing: Impersonal. Proposed for Buluh Kubu, based on foreign standards. Too expensive for Malays with the lowest income.



89. Low Income Housing



90. Low Income Housing



the fifty-six interviewed said they did not find this survey technique confusing, and understood the method of ranking reasons for answers they gave. Fifty of the fifty-six interviewed indicated that the model and picture display had helped them understand the planning process better than if only questions alone were asked. Forty-four of the fifty-six questioned said they would like more surveys of the same type.

From these findings, it appeared that the survey model methodology used in the research was well received by the respondents. Their initial attention was attracted by a model display format, while under further investigation an avenue was opened towards understanding plans for the Buluh Kubu site. The methodology provided meaningful input into the planning system for these people, many of whom were previously without representation in planning decisions directly affecting their lives.

#### D. Views on Participatory Planning

In response to question sixteen, which asked the residents if they thought the government would act on the survey recommendations, forty-four of the fifty-two who answered, said yes. It was possible that some of these residents did not want to give a negative answer since it could have been perceived as anti-government sentiment. However, at face value, this response was encouraging, since it indicated the Buluh Kubu's inhabitants' faith in a system of resident participation in the planning process. The belief that officials would act on the survey's recom-

mendations provided an insight into the Malays' tradition of trust in indigenous leadership. Within the official Bumi Putra policy, Malays were targeted for preferential treatment in urban settlements. The Malays' cultural faith in leadership, from village kampong elders to the Sultan was displayed in the society's keen awareness of social ranking. Race, faith, age, education and employment were the first questions facing an individual in Malaysian society when determining social rank. The recognized "expert" in Malaysian society was generally respected as long as religious and traditional values were not offended. Faith in the planner as one who knew what was best for society showed up in question seventeen's ("Would you like to have more of a say in the planning process?") response. The split response to a sensitive issue of this type illustrated community heterogeneity and traditional respect for experts. Half of those questioned wanted more input into the planning process, showing a distinct will for self-determination.

The survey design used in this fieldwork allowed a format for resident planning input within the existing political system. A strategy of supportive input rather than confrontation provided a framework whereby the government was not threatened by opposing views to its plans.

Saving face in the South East Asian planning process cannot be underestimated. It is disastrous to back either the government, or groups seeking planning input, into a corner where compromise is

lost. The results of such action are usually either martial law or revolution. It is, therefore, necessary, in responsive planning, to be sensitive to both the residents' and the government's limitations. Since planning participation by residents is a crucial step towards political participation by citizens in government, planning strategies have to be appreciated within their larger political framework. It is a meaningful way by which governments can keep in touch with the citizens' national aspirations. Failure to start such endeavours in Moslem countries leads to developmental policies which may seem modern but, in fact, ignore the social fiber of the nation. In this regard, the Shah of Iran's miscalculated planning efforts served as an example of what can happen without a planning dialogue with all residents, for Kelantan State.

## CHAPTER 7

### RESPONSIVE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

#### I. INTRODUCTION

This Chapter deals with the reality of planning commitments in Kota Bharu. Infatuation with high profile technology for Buluh Kubu effectively meant that development, rather than rehabilitation, was insisted upon as the planning strategy to be utilized. A decision of this kind could not be abandoned in favour of coherent financial and social reasons for alternative rehabilitative action since it was a political commitment. As a participant-observer in the planning system it soon became apparent that there was no pretense in distinguishing politics from planning. A "campaign carrot" had been offered to Kota Bharu by a political party trying to gain a foothold in a neglected region. A high profile development project in the traditional Malay center of the State was a tangible campaign promise, designed to impress rather than to serve the residents.

Despite my own views on how a rehabilitation design for Buluh Kubu could better meet the needs of the local residents and ultimately the whole town, the project's planning parameters were set clearly within a developmental course. Responsive planning for Buluh Kubu necessitated a different national and

regional approach since it was difficult to deal with a community problem when it was only a symptom of a larger misguided planning perspective. My job, therefore, was to attempt to make the development plans for the Buluh Kubu project, as presented by the Town and Country Planning Development in 1978, more responsive to the needs of the residents who were living in the area. My recommendations emphasized:

1. an examination of the level and type of appropriate commercial mix for the area. An appropriate commercial mix should encourage viability, without diminishing the area's traditional aspects or the inhabitants' well-being;
2. the rehabilitation and dynamic utilization of the area's historical site in the context of cultural and neighbourhood development goals; and
3. "Responsive Tuning" of development plans: A proposed methodology, as presented in Chapter 3, which would enable input by the area's inhabitants into the planning process.

## II. CONCEPTS APPLICABLE TO RENOVATION

The following are policy recommendations presented to Dr.

D. Webster of the World Bank team and Mustapha Mohamed of the

State Economic Planning Unit for their comments and subsequent submission to the "Buluh Kubu Working Group".

It was recommended that rehabilitation proposals should be sensitive to the historical importance of the area. Commercial high profile development of this older section of Kota Bharu would rob the town and the State of Kelantan of an important piece of its heritage. Such development would seriously displace the area's four hundred families, three-quarters of whom were low income, and depress the city's present centre of trade through displacement effects.

It was emphasized that planning must be responsive in reinforcing existing neighbourhood resources which compliment, rather than compete, in renovation. Guidelines for such an approach included:

1. an analysis of Buluh Kubu's present neighbourhood function;
2. recommendations for effective rehabilitation; and,
3. recommendations for the most responsive development policy.

A. Resettlement of Present Inhabitants Back Into Area

Resettlement of the inhabitants back into the area must encourage the active input of the residents in the planning process, so that their needs could be identified and later expressed in the final plan.

B. Present Neighbourhood Function

As presented in earlier chapters, the Buluh Kubu district was occupied by approximately 2,000 squatters, the majority of whom lived in dilapidated wooden and sheet metal huts. Despite their appearance, these dwellings possessed positive functional aspects in that they provided basic shelter for the very poor, and could be easily repaired by low-cost labour-intensive methods. However, the decayed condition of these dwellings, and lack of basic amenities, posed a serious health and fire threat which demanded attention.

In planning for Buluh Kubu's renovation the socio-economic function at the time of research had to be appreciated. In the planning process, if the original urban function was disrupted, it would have repercussions throughout the city. The needs that created Buluh Kubu's depressed condition were not going to disappear. The government sooner or later would have to formulate renovation plans responsive to low income residents. Neighbourhood rehabilitation had to accomodate squatters or it would have to plan for the same group again. In the urban transition this group would instinctively evolve more settlements to meet its needs. Due to its labour-intensive low costs and adaptability, this process was likely to occur at a faster rate than appropriate government reaction resulting in the spread of squatter settlements to proportions much more difficult to manage.

As Willian Alonso<sup>95</sup> pointed out, districts such as Buluh Kubu were "Slums of Hope Not Despair" since poor migrants from the countryside seeking better living conditions often settled in squatter areas in the centre of the city, due to its low cost and job accessibility. In this respect, Buluh Kubu served an important function in the acculturation process from rural to urban life and provided an affordable base for those seeking upward mobility. Such an important urban function would be disrupted by local planners' commitment to tearing down squatter huts. Their proposed low cost housing would be too expensive for most migrants to afford. The Kelantan State government would have to expect an increasing flow of rural migrants who would either seek out, or form, similar squatter areas close to Kota Bharu.

Most of Buluh Kubu's residents were involved in casual or informal labour activities including hawking, construction, and pedalling trishaws. They provided a ready pool of inexpensive labour and an alternative delivery system able to distribute resources inexpensively. An informal labour source had developed that kept the cost of living down for the whole town. If the government resettled squatters outside Buluh Kubu, their employment function and standard of living would change as they encountered new financial pressures. An increase in job-site transportation costs, and reduced employment opportunities for each working member of the family were examples of relocation costs.



Based on these factors, the function of the Buluh Kubu neighbourhood, and the role of its inhabitants at the time of fieldwork were important to the whole town and should have been reinforced, rather than disrupted, by the planning process.

C. Outline For Effective Rehabilitation

It was strongly recommended to the State Economic Planning Unit that the most effective and financially feasible method of addressing the needs of local inhabitants, while maintaining the site's positive neighbourhood functions, included a policy of reinforcing the squatters' settlement by upgrading existing facilities. The government's provision of adequate infrastructure, consisting of:

- clean water supply delivery,
- roads,
- garbage disposal system,
- sewage facilities.

would have been the first step of a realistic programme designed to reduce the district's health problems. Once an adequate level of infrastructure was introduced, then government-sponsored low interest home improvement loans could encourage residents to improve their dwellings.

Unfortunately the government's view of squatter settlements as negative "eyesores", along with its desire for Buluh Kubu to become "commercially viable" in the context of Kota Bharu's

overall development, led to the rejection of such a realistic approach. Local planners' commitment to tearing down Buluh Kubu meant that it was to be "redeveloped" from the ground up, rather than "rehabilitated" through reinforcing existing attributes of the site and its inhabitants.

As Kota Bharu grows and rural urban migration accelerates, it is only a matter of time until squatter settlements reach such proportions that rehabilitation, instead of development, will be viewed as the most viable method of planning.

### III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR "RESPONSIVE TUNING" OF DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Working within a development framework, it was even more important to be responsive to the existing communities' social, economic and religious linkages. The redeveloped physical environment had to be sensitive to resettlement needs in order to encourage neighbourhood cohesiveness, with its accompanying benefits. Lasting development for Buluh Kubu could only come by planning for the prosperity of the people, as a means to achieving prosperity for the site. If the government reversed these priorities, as the site's prosperity increased, demand for property would rise, thereby forcing poor residents to relocate.

A. Resettlement of Residents

It was recommended that resettlement of the area's four hundred families back into the area be viewed as one of the project's top priorities. Limited space was a serious constraint which, along with the project's economic and resettlement goals, was carefully weighed against the squatters' poverty and lack of viable alternatives. In view of these trade-offs, it was suggested that a shop-house/office-house scheme would offer low density development, while providing a level of commercial mix that enabled the government to provide low cost residential loans for resettlement of present residents back into the area.

Kota Bharu's Town Planning Department had proposed four-storey apartments to accommodate the area's residents. It was recommended that, where possible, this proposal be reformulated so as to encourage two and three-storey shop-house development that met residential needs. Such development would aid in financially subsidizing residential requirements, while encouraging human scale, low density neighbourhood atmosphere. This type of commercial residential mix promoted the maximum use of space at all times, while involving a healthy class mix, utilizing the ground floor of a unit as a work site, with lower income residents living above in flats. As a result the district's commercial areas were not abandoned and left

unsafe at night, as was the case in many North American cities. Low density accommodation helped relieve psychological pressures imposed on residents who were forced into high density accommodation that conflicted with their traditional perspectives.

It was emphasized to government planners that multi-level shopping complexes and hotels were inappropriate commercial ventures for Buluh Kubu, even though such schemes were financially sound. Attempts to impose modern, high density commercial planning on such neighbourhoods would fail because they were not responsive to the district's rehabilitation requirements. These requirements had to reflect the societal needs of its inhabitants. In this regard, a shop-house scheme for development met financial goals while reinforcing the traditional commercial-residential neighbourhood format of the Southeast Asian city.

B. Appropriate Commercial Development

At the time of research the standard policy of the government was to sell or rent an entire shop-house unit to private interests. Usually the person who owned the unit lived in one section of the building and rented the other floors out. It was, therefore, recommended that the government adopt the landlord function and rent the bottom floors of the buildings to commercial interests. It could then use the capital to sub-

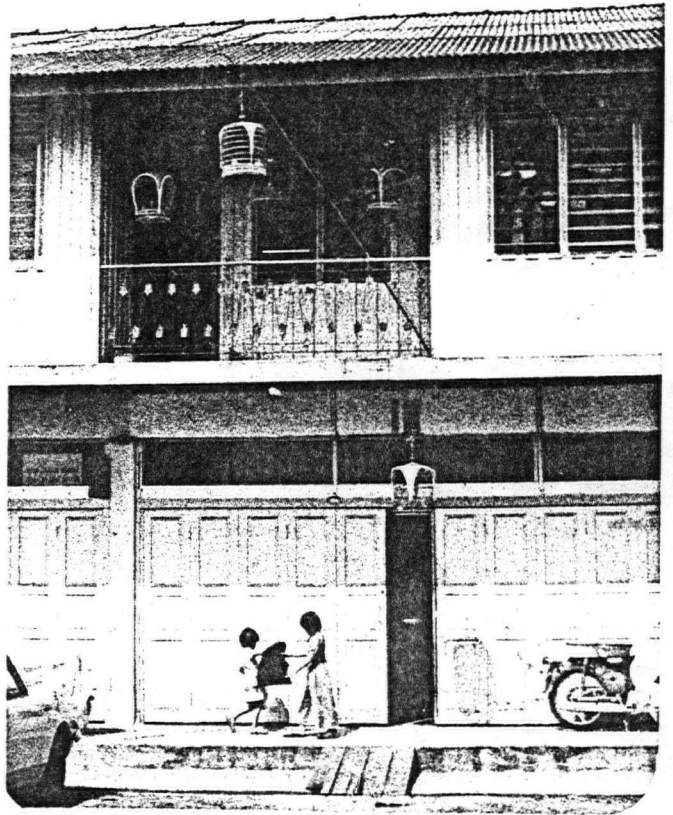
91. Styles for  
Proposed  
Shop-houses



92. Styles for  
Proposed  
Shop-houses

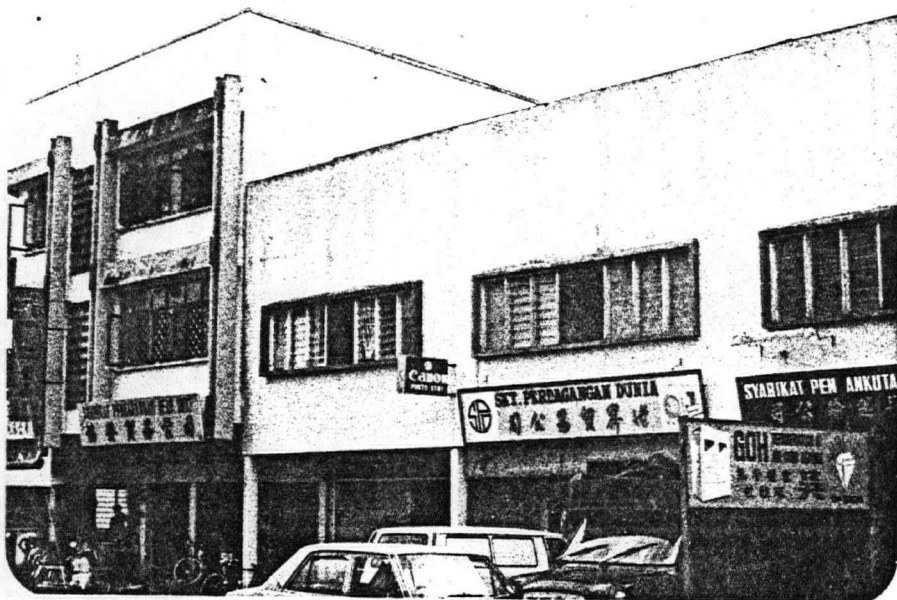


93. Styles for Proposed Shop-houses



94. Proposed Shop-house designs

95. Proposed  
Shop-house  
designs



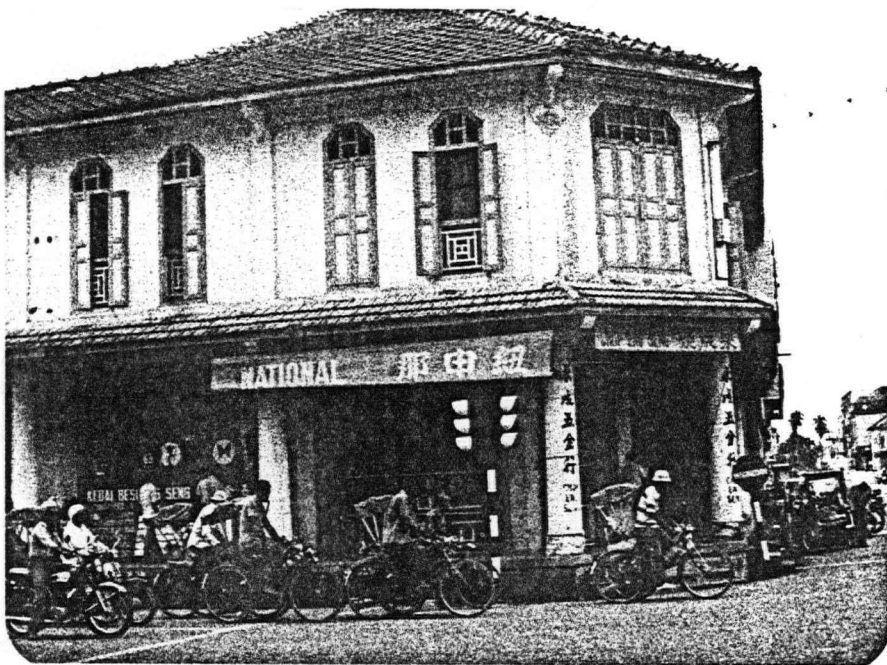
96. Proposed  
Shop-house  
designs

97. Proposed  
Shop-house  
Designs



98. Proposed Shop-house designs: Shop-house development was a low density commercial residential neighbourhood model appropriate for Buluh Kubu.





99. Proposed Shop-house designs

sidize families living on the other floors of the shop-house reserved for low income residential use.

Due to their prime location, Buluh Kubu shop-houses would become the focus of the town's commercial activity. Consequently many financial interests wanted to rent shops in the area. It was, therefore, possible for the government to demand substantial rents which these shops would, in turn, realize in business profits. The government's rent for ground floor commercial ventures was formulated on the basis of the ability of low-income residents living on the above floors to pay rent, and the financial position of businesses that rented commercial space. What was needed was a split in the traditional shop-house function so that with government intervention as landlord, shop interests of higher income groups could subsidize the housing requirements of the poor. A planning approach of this kind initiated a new role for the government. Buluh Kubu was used as a test case so that a similar framework for broader policy in this direction could be employed.

The reinforcement and active utilization of a shop-house residential commercial mix was a low density model for development that would not alienate the residents. Rejection of the Town Planning Department's proposed hotel, bank and cinema development, which were services adequately provided near the site, was recommended to the Working Group. By discarding these

proposals, more land could be "freed" which would encourage lower density residential resettlement with its accompanying benefits. Similarly those areas that were zoned solely for commercial or office space were recommended to include a residential mix.

The Town Planning Department's proposed new market would relieve the major market's crowded conditions. It provided for:

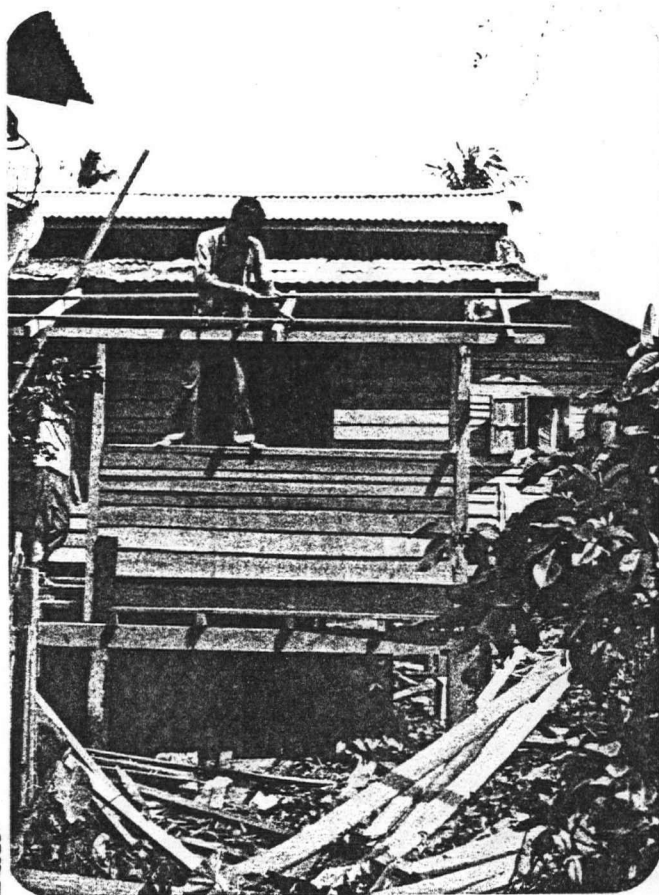
- a needed commercial function;
- employment opportunities for the area's inhabitants;  
and the
- re-establishment of the area's traditional role as a town trading center.

and was, therefore, recommended. It was emphasized that in designing the facility, Kelantan's famous trading initiative and traditional open stall atmosphere should be preserved.

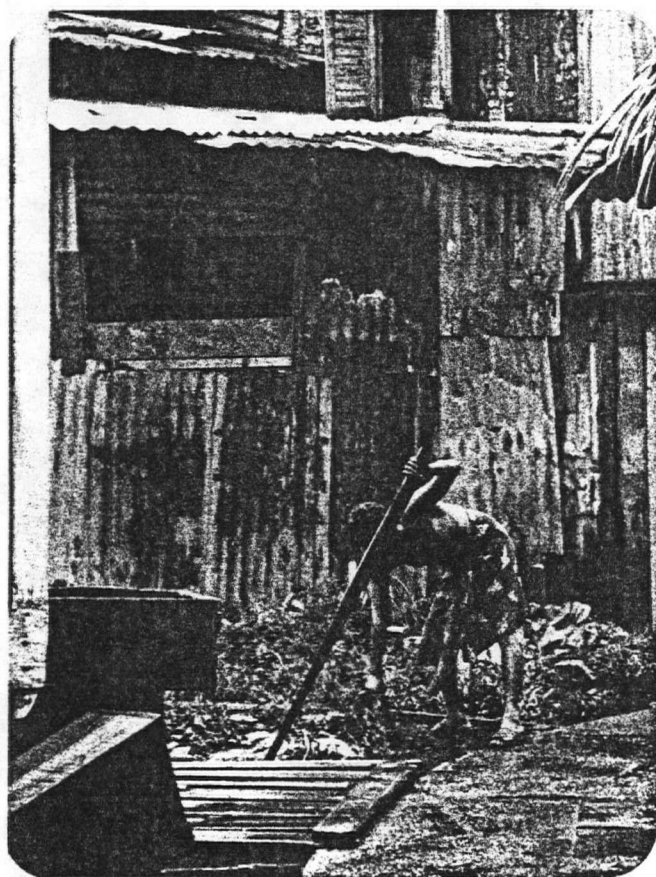
C. Utilizing Residents for Labour

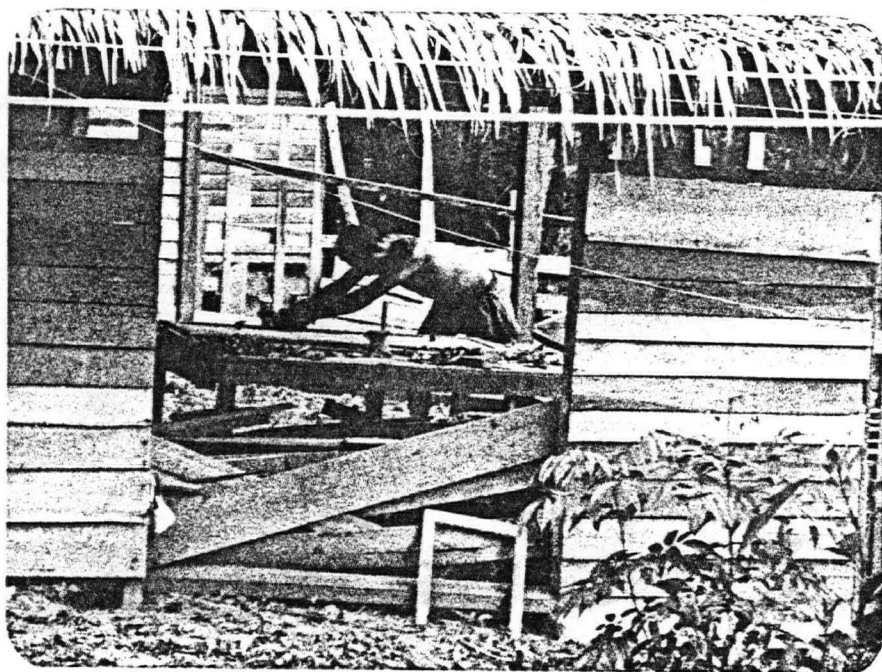
Since the Buluh Kubu district offered an inexpensive unemployed labour pool, it was recommended that contractors chosen by the government be encouraged to hire these people. Besides offering needed employment opportunities and job training, resident involvement encouraged neighbourhood identification.

100. Utilization of residents for labour in rehabilitation



101. Utilization of residents for labour in rehabilitation





102. Utilization of residents for labour  
in rehabilitation

To recapitulate, the three major policy recommendations for a responsive development strategy were based on an understanding that:

1. commercial residential redevelopment of Buluh Kubu be low profile, utilizing local residents as the labour force, and the State's natural resources as building materials;
2. in order to maximize the utilization of space, a residential-commercial mix was desirable; and
3. the type of commercial mix implemented must respect the existing residents' needs and the historical importance of the area. Buluh Kubu should not be developed on a scale that inhibited the district's unique cultural character.

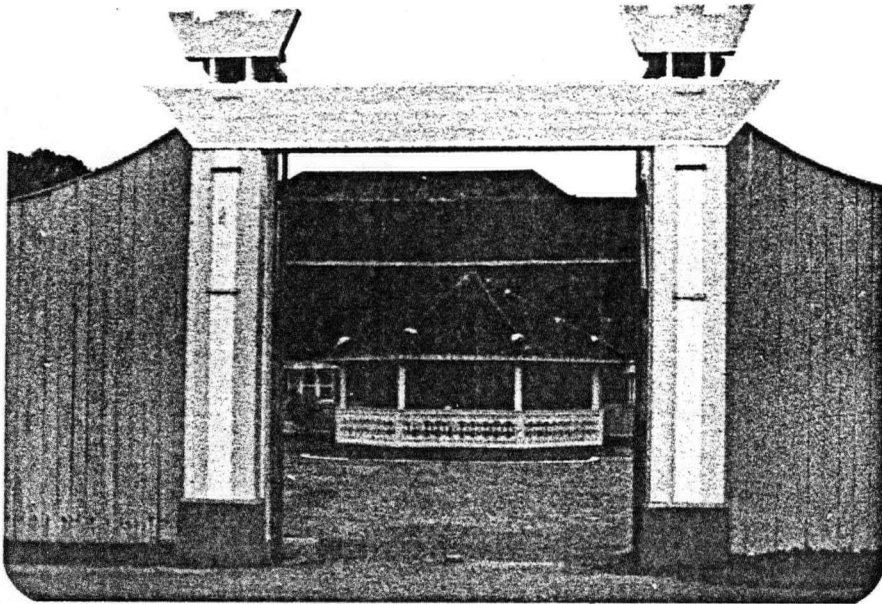
#### IV. NEIGHBOURHOOD FUNCTION OF HISTORICAL SITES

Low profile development was recommended so that the importance of the historical sites would not be diminished. High scale development ventures dwarfed historical sites that could provide focus for an area's rehabilitation. With proper renovation and utilization, historical sites such as the Balai Basar, Istana Johar, and the Istana Mahkota, could provide Kota Bharu with a display of cultural identity highlighting the capital of Kelantan State. It was vital that these structures not simply

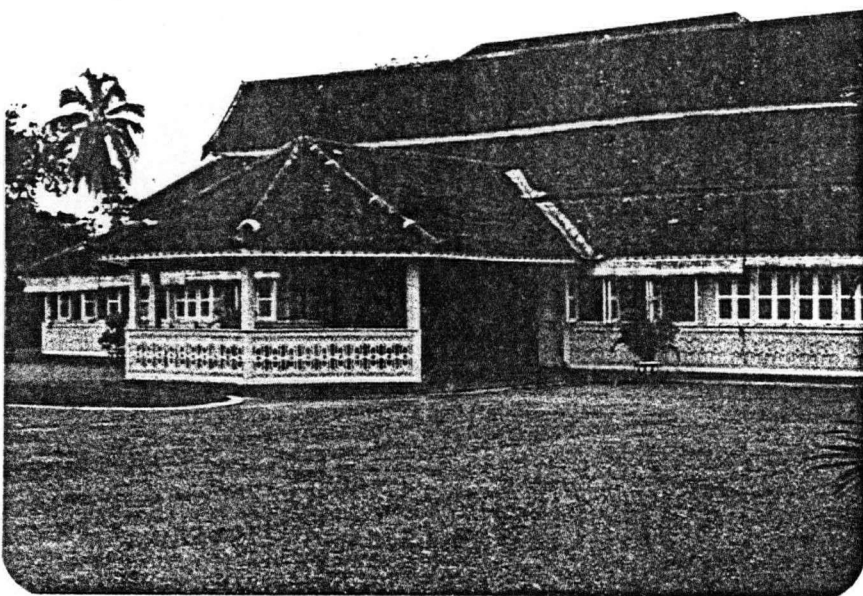
be converted into idle monuments of the past, but be transformed into centers of activity for Kota Bharu, and Buluh Kubu in particular. These buildings' community utilization could provide focus and stability to a rehabilitation strategy. Identification of the residents' existing social, religious, and economic ties held the key to understanding how these buildings could best be used towards creating a sense of communal identity.

It was recommended that the Balai Besar Castle become the dynamic focal point for the district. The large wooden palace built in 1844 by Sultan Mohamed II was used occasionally for official functions and was not being utilized to its full potential. Rehabilitating the historical site meant tearing down high fences surrounding the structure in order to "free" it and offer accessibility. The palace's spacious grounds were ideally suited for a park that could include a playground, and a garden displaying Kelantan's local flora, fauna, statues, and museum pieces. The lawns would cater to pedestrians and family leisure activity, while nearby Independence Park would continue to offer an open field for sporting events.

The large wooden palace was a beautiful example of fine local workmanship using surrounding resources. Given its large size and good condition, with proper programming the Balai Besar could re-establish its role as the dynamic multifunctional centre for Kota Bharu. It was recommended to the Buluh Kubu Group that the Balai Besar include the following uses:



103. Historic Sites: Balai Besar Palace -  
Proposed Museum, Artist Gallery, Civic Center



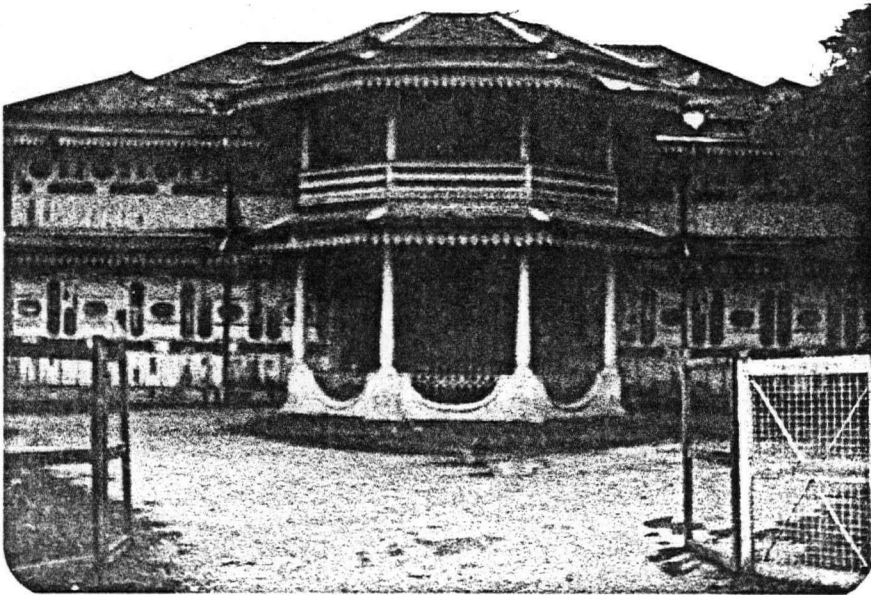
104. Balai Besar Palace



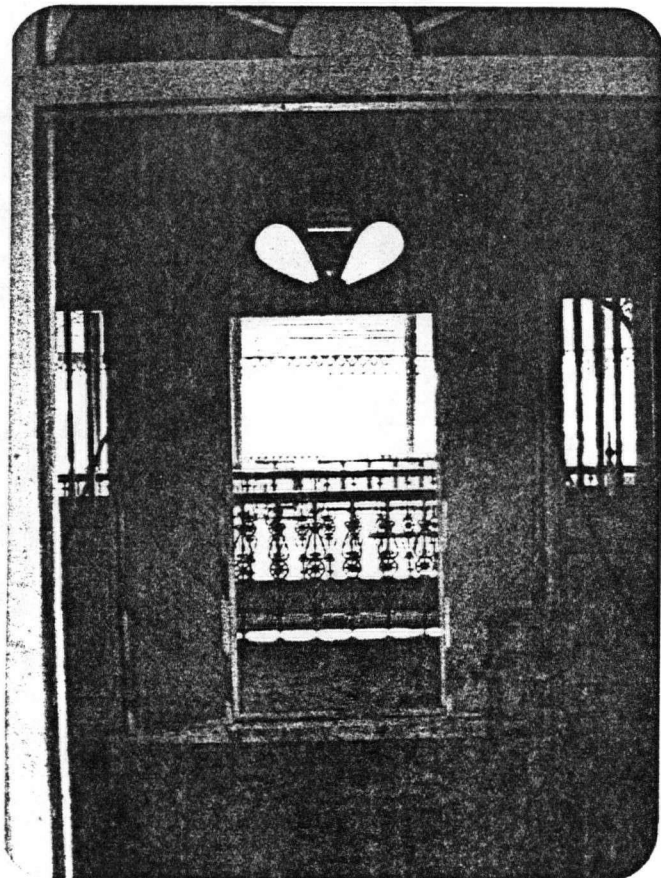
1. State Museum: where the State's unique artifacts and historical documents would be displayed in traditional surroundings. Maps, as well as cultural exhibits of traditional dress, instruments, kites, weapons, silverwear, batik and other crafts could be included;
2. Artist's Gallery: where exhibits displaying the State's prized art could be exhibited. Part of the gallery would be open to local talent, so that Kelantan's artists could display works;
3. Stage: where cultural/religious productions such as Shadow Plays could be regularly viewed, would be constructed in the palace;
4. Civic Center: where Kota Bharu's town events, and meetings could take place.

If utilized for these functions the Balai Besar would take on an important role in the community and thus re-establish its traditional importance as a major center for cultural activity. When these activities were organized a revitalized Tourist Development Board should have prepared tours of the palace and provided space for a gift shop and tourist information. The process could contribute to the palace's maintenance.

The Istana Johar located across from the Balai Besar, at the time of fieldwork was occupied illegally by private business interest. It was originally a Victorian tea house. Although

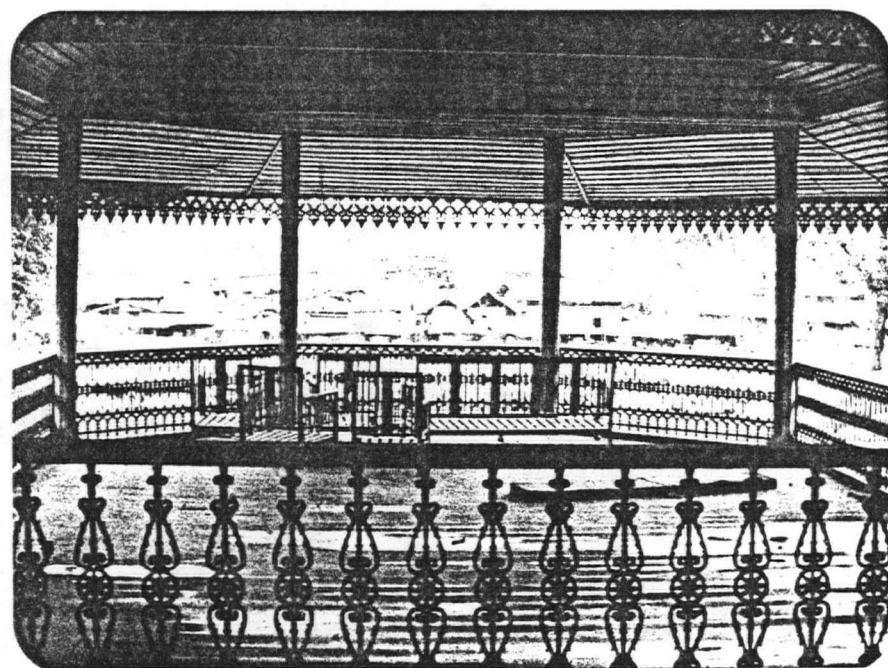
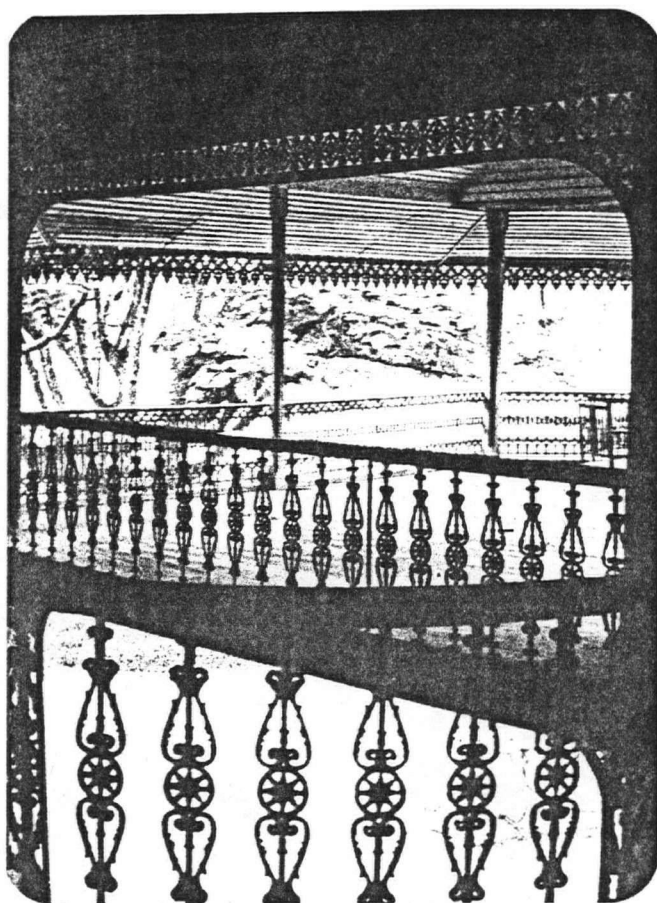


105. Buluh Kubu's Historic Sites: The Istanas -  
The Sultan's Palaces - Istana Johar: Proposed  
Community Center



106. Istana Johar

107. Istana Johar



108. Istana Johar

in need of some repair, the traditional wooden structure was worth renovation. It was proposed that the renovated building had the potential to be used as a community center. Walls surrounding the structure should be dismantled so that grounds and community function could blend into the proposed Balai Besar project. Once this was done, a park, designed to join these two buildings would add desirable continuity to the area.

The Istana Johar's conversion into a community center would provide vital services and activities. Towards developing neighbourhood cohesiveness, it was recommended that the proposed center include the following classes:

1. Night Classes:

- self-help instruction, language lessons, martial arts, etc.

2. Youth Programmes:

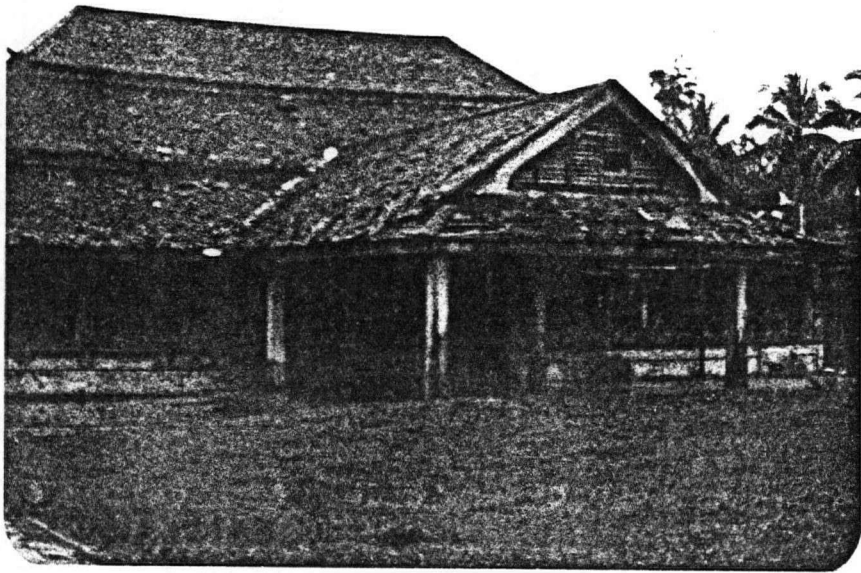
- sports activities
- teaching of traditional Kelantanese crafts

3. Programmes for the Aged:

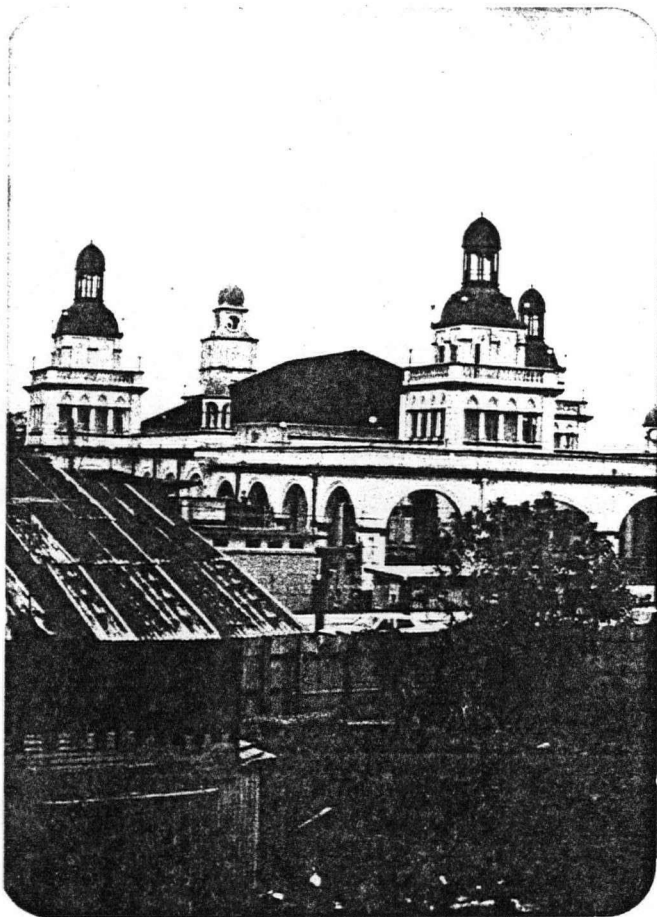
- hobbies
- meeting groups (older members of the community could teach youth traditional crafts and skills in order to continue the State heritage)

4. Community and Counselling Services:

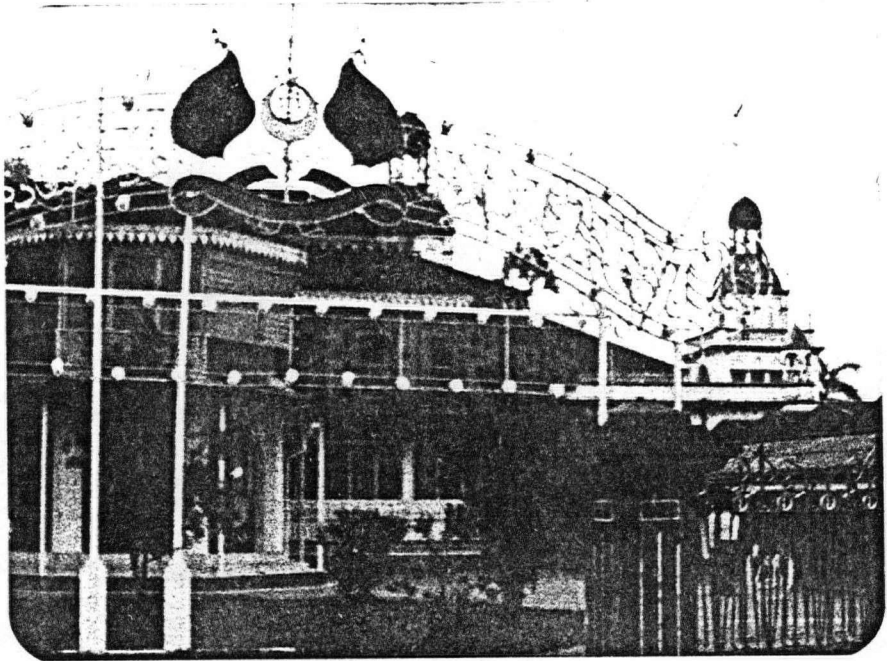
- legal



109. Istana Mahkota - Proposed Library



110. Kota Bharu's  
Mosque: situated  
next to Buluh  
Kubu



11. Kota Bharu's Mosque

- medical
- family planning
- career guidance

5. Child Care Services:

- volunteer supervision of young children belonging to working mothers.

Istana Mahkota was the smallest historical site in the area. At the time of research it was privately owned. If acquired, it was suggested that this one-storey building be converted into a library. An expansion of library facilities would encourage an active drive by government and the private sector, to purchase needed books. The library designed to provide comfortable surroundings for its users to read, meet and discuss ideas would be located near the Istana Johar. Library and community center programming should be flexible enough so that their functions could be multipurpose.

A resident of Kota Bharu, Rashidah Abdullah, who had a degree in Social Service Management, and experience working in Australian Community centers, was extremely keen to organize and operate such a community center library project in the Buluh Kubu area. A resource person of her experience and vitality was the key to getting these types of programmes started.

V. "RESPONSIVE TUNING"

In order to ensure the maximum utility of the planners' efforts and government expenditures it was essential to obtain a measure of feedback from the residents who were to be resettled in the area. Since in this case, the majority of the residents were seen not to have legal rights to the land they occupied and, had few resettlement alternatives,<sup>96</sup> their input into the planning process would not have been appropriate in the early stages. However, their input was certainly beneficial in "fine tuning" redevelopment plans in the final analysis towards resident sensitivity.

The Buluh Kubu Working Group agreed that a scale model of the proposed project be built. This model was then presented to a random cross-section of inhabitants for their evaluation and suggestions. It was recommended that adoption of the methodology used in this research would make it easier for the residents to participate in their community's development. Accompanying the interview, a basic explanation of reasons for the area's planning was presented in order to teach the residents about the process. In a presentation to the head of the Social Economic Planning Unit, it was emphasized that the feedback recorded by such a survey could then be analyzed in "fine tuning" the final plan towards the desires of the community it would service. Data collected was not only useful for the



particular project, but also provided planners with resident guidelines for similar redevelopment schemes.

The World Bank Team realized that a scale model of the Buluh Kubu project was a useful planning tool for the government. It provided an effective presentation that aided in the communication between various government agencies involved in the planning process and was useful for later reference.

#### VI. AGENCIES INVOLVED IN FUNDING

As a participant-observer, the number of agencies involved in the Buluh Kubu Working Group caused me concern. Various agencies could be useful in utilizing their expertise and interests by proposing different perspectives on issues in the initial planning stages of a project. However, when implementing plans, unless an extremely good working relationship existed between agencies, lack of coordination severely hampered this crucial stage of the planning process.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the various pitfalls in such arrangements were numerous. Jealousy between agencies could cause a total breakdown as rival departments worked on the same problem counter-productively. Rival agencies tended to view similar project targets as being within their jurisdiction, and therefore, wasted energy on the same planning tasks. Interagency rivalry

observed included project sabotage designed to discredit a counterpart through "passing the buck" from one government body to another until the task became lost in the shuffle. Self-serving "wrenches" thrown into the mechanics of project implementation occurred even when departmental intentions were honourable. Common occurrences of this type appeared rooted in the lack of effective communication and coordination between departments.

The state government did not clearly define the role of each department, in relation to particular projects. Until such jurisdiction was defined, instead of understanding and cooperation, competition with its detrimental costs motivated planning interests in Buluh Kubu development. It was pointed out, by Hussein Yusoff of the State Economic Development Corporation, that the reason involvement of so many agencies was necessary was so that each department could apply separately for funds from the various revenue channels. He explained, that federal funds were more forthcoming if parcelled out to various state and local projects, than if a lump sum was requested by only one government body. By this method, rivalry and resentment between agencies were supposed to be minimized, in that UMNO could claim it was not playing political favourites. But, by maintaining this system, while new schemes may be funded, the overall coordination of the project suffered.

Despite the government's commitment to high scale development of Buluh Kubu, the Working Group's willingness to consider the benefits of the residents over commercial returns was very encouraging. Within a developmental context, there was some understanding of the need to adjust "place" priorities to the long term welfare of the residents.

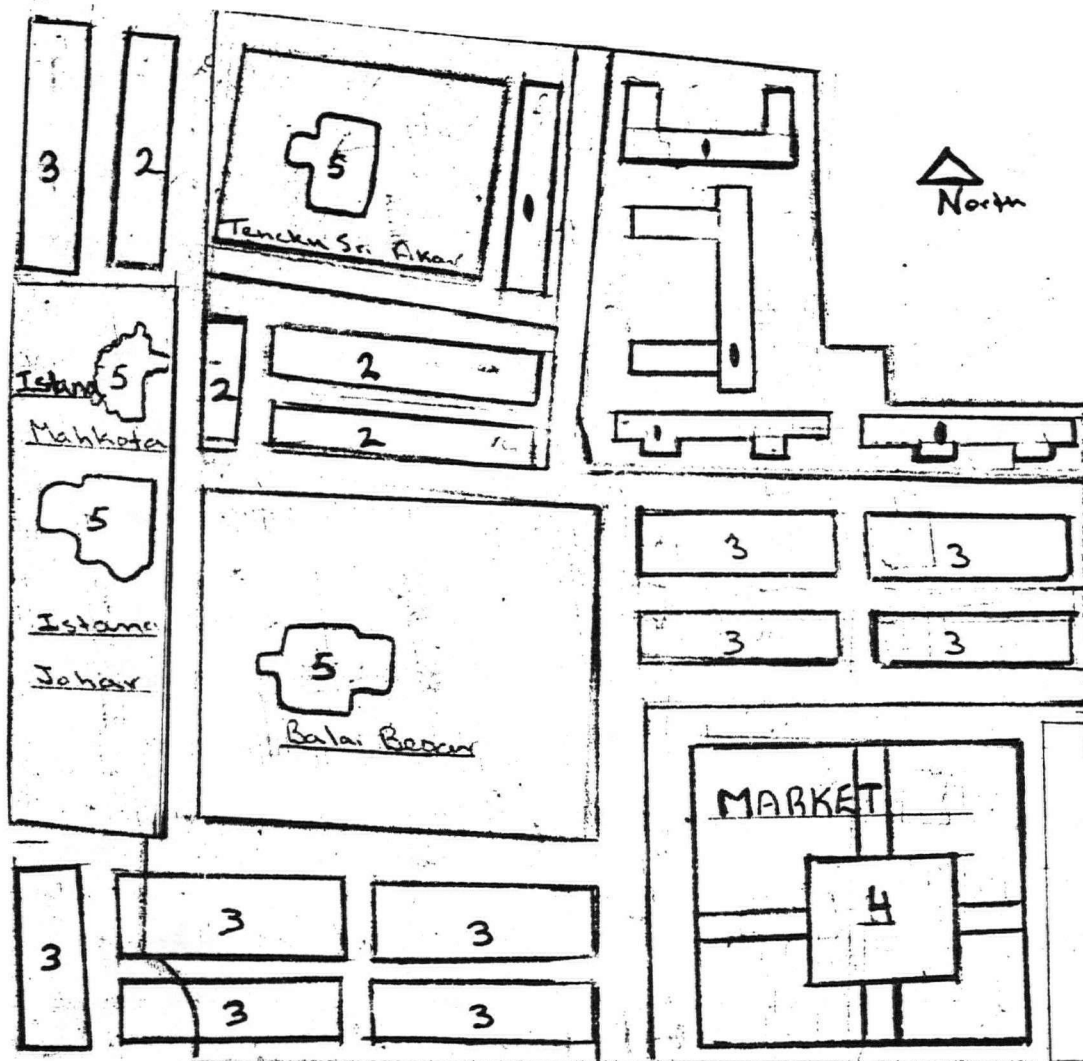
## VII. FUNDING FOR THE WORKING GROUP'S PROPOSAL

Figure 13 illustrates the planning strategy worked out by the Buluh Kubu Working Group. The explanation of the Figure's key is numbered by projects corresponding to the Group's proposal of July 30, 1978. A description of funding sources used for each undertaking, at the time of the field-work is also given.

### A. Low-Income Housing

Three hundred four-storey flats were financed through the Federal government by the assistant secretary for local government on behalf of the State government. The subsidy from the Federal government would allow low-income residents to rent or purchase apartments at a fifty per cent reduction. Rents per month for low-income accommodation would be approximately C\$25 instead of C\$50, still higher than Buluh Kubu residents' ability to pay according to this research. Low-income housing, rather than housing for the lowest income, would be the final result.

FIGURE 13: THE BULUH KUBU WORKING GROUP'S  
PROPOSED SITE PLAN

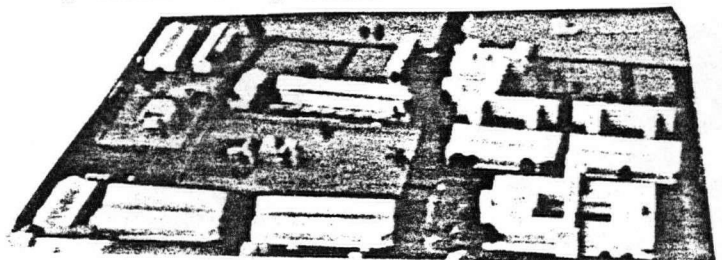


KEY

- 1 = Low-Income Housing
- 2 = Terrace Housing
- 3 = Shop-Houses
- 4 = The Market
- 5 = The Balai Besar  
Historical Area

Δ N SCALE

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B. Terrace Housing

Fifty units of terrace housing designed to accomodate those with middle to high incomes, approximately C\$125 a month, were planned. This development would be sponsored by the State through its Economic Development Corporation, and not be subsidized, since a profit was expected given the high income of those who could afford these choice units. As depressed neighbourhoods were redeveloped for wealthy residents already living in the town, existing low-income inhabitants would be forced out of the only districts they could afford. This process would push low-income Malays back to rural areas thus completely disobeying the government's Bumi Putra policy, which was supposed to be a prime motivator in Buluh Kubu's development direction.

C. Shop-houses

Funds for the development of shop-houses were taken care of by the State, with assistance from the federal government. Due to Buluh Kubu's prime location in the heart of the town, and the future business expected by the district's proposed market, the State Economic Development Corporation expected to make a profit. The proposal concerning the subsidization of low-income residents by shop businesses was under consideration as a funding strategy at the time of this research.

D. The Market

Funding for the market, realized as beneficial to the town's development by all the concerned agencies, was applied directly to the federal government by the Kota Bharu Town Council. This request had already been granted at the time of my research.

E. The Balai Besar Historical Area

At the time of fieldwork, no funding had been arranged for the development of the historical area since the scheme had been accepted in principle only, and negotiations with the Royal family were continuing. Although the city had traded land for the site, all the historic buildings were still in the control of the Sultan. Despite these complications, it was suggested that funding could come from the Federal government's Museum Negara which financed the refurbishment of buildings with historical importance to the nation's heritage. Profits expected by the Kelantan Economic Development Corporation's Terrace and Shop-house projects could provide funding for the operation of historic sites.

#### VIII. THE IMPACT OF RESPONSIVE TUNING ON FINAL PLANNING PROPOSALS

After the proceeding recommendations were proposed in a report to the Buluh Kubu Working Group, entitled "Concepts Applicable to the Renovation of the Buluh Kubu Site", a final planning proposal for the site was submitted to the Prime Minister of Kelantan State. The major impact that my input had on the Group's report concerned modification of the Town and Country Planning Department's recommendation for commercial/residential mix as outlined in Section 3 of the proposal dealing with shophouses:

Areas marked for shophouses on the original Town and Country Planning plan will be developed with shophouses. However the shophouses will be three storeys in height, not four as marked in the original plan. The shopping arcade (Kedai Arcade) designated on the original plan for the area will not be built. Rather that area will be preserved as part of the Balai Besar historical community center complex. To compensate for this loss, the areas marked hotel/bank/pejabat office on the original plan will be developed with three shophouses. The bank, hotel and offices will not be developed.<sup>97</sup>

The other proposal supported by the Group, concerned the utilization of the sites Historical Sites as stated:

The Working Group supports the concepts outlined for the Balai Besar Historical Area on pages 6-9 of the SEPU working paper entitled "Some Concepts Applicable to Renovation of the Buluh Kubu district".<sup>98</sup>

While it was noted that arrangements with the Royal family would be necessary to effectively revitalize the Balai Besar Historical Sites, the principle of accepting traditional buildings as catalysts for community development was enthusiastically accepted. The Groups' acceptance of these proposals indicated a willingness by concerned agencies to leave certain areas of community plans open for consideration. Tuning of a final plan did not threaten the existing planning process because it was responsive to the system's clearly defined limits. Social planning input in this case was given a leading role in determining development.

From this exercise of planning within a developmental perspective, revealing insights into the limitations of Kelantan State planning, were realized. Desire to shift the town's commercial area back to its origins, and away from Chinese interests, was the underlying reason for Buluh Kubu's development. The confines of such an approach excluded innovative self-help rehabilitation designs, which as proposed in the next Chapter, were a more appropriate socio-economic strategy. Proposals made to the Working Group were designed to "open" the government's commitment to development so as to consider the social aspects of planning. An emphasis on the utilization of traditional sites within a scaled-down shophouse strategy was therefore proposed, and accepted. A model design survey methodology was also introduced so that community response to planning proposals could be determined.



## CHAPTER 8

### RESPONSIVE PLANNING PROPOSALS FOR REHABILITATION

#### I. INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL PLANNING IN REHABILITATION

By the time the following recommendations were proposed in July of 1978 the government was committed to tearing down Buluh Kubu and redeveloping the site for commercial use. This was due to the location of the site in the downtown core relative to the legitimate need for the city's commercial expansion. The number of vendors in the existing market area at the time of fieldwork had swelled to three times its intended capacity. Officials were dismayed that most of the lucrative shophouse trade surrounding the market was operated by the Chinese, despite their small proportion in the city. It was made clear that Buluh Kubu's development would be open to Malays only, in keeping with official policy. The extent of financial and political pressures to develop the site commercially meant that rehabilitation through a scheme of settlement partnership was not accepted in principle by the government as viable for this particular project.

Despite unwillingness to adopt the planning proposals presented in this Chapter, the time had come for governments to seriously consider responsive settlement approaches. Rapid urbanization of intermediate sized regional centers such as Kota Bharu would increasingly demand planning action sensitive to changing conditions and in touch with increasing demands.

A. A Practical Policy Direction While There Is Still Time

As Kota Bharu grows in importance as a regional trade centre, more Malays from rural areas will be encouraged to migrate to the city in search of employment opportunities. While at the time of research many of these migrants were going to Singapore for jobs, as employment opportunities increase it is likely that they will soon come to Kota Bharu because of its comparatively familiar surroundings. The Kelantan government does not support family planning in order to promote the Malay population. Therefore, besides an influx in rural migrants, the existing population will grow. It is, therefore, reasonable to disagree with a 1977 official government report stating that Kota Bharu would grow only at a rate of 2.5 per cent between 1970 and 1995. These figures assume migration patterns to be based on 1957-1970 trends which are much lower than expected given east-west highway development in the last ten years.

As Kota Bharu expands, housing has to be provided for the lowest income groups who will be attracted to the city. If housing is not offered then these people will "squat" on any available land as near to the city as possible. For Kuala Lumpur it is difficult to adequately address the housing problems of its 300,000 squatters. Planners in the capital city do not prepare for the situation beforehand, and continue to utilize foreign planning methods inappropriate to the resources available and the proportions of the problem. In this respect, Kota Bharu is fortunate for it could anticipate growth and the associated needs for housing

B. Planning Priorities: Government Settlement Planning and Resident Self-help Home Improvements

Planners have to achieve their housing goals by the most practical, and, if required, elementary means available which provide for the proportion and urgency of the situation. Unrealistic building codes that condemn efforts by the poor to provide shelter for themselves, place government efforts at odds with the population they are trying to help. Planners in developing countries have to seek to reinforce, rather than destroy, instincts of people to provide shelter for themselves.

As examined in Chapter 1, the lowest income groups can provide their own shelter, which, although basic, is in keeping with their economic condition. Their right to better conditions is unquestionable. However, what has to be sought is the most effective and realistic approach for the improvement of such facilities. In terms of priority projects, given the alarming growth rate of urban - rural pull", it is not necessarily the provision of shelter, but the preparation of facilities for settlements which have to receive immediate attention.

The emphasis in Third World housing has to be the delivery of shelter requirements by the city's poorest groups for their own needs. Perpetuating the infatuation of bureaucrats with tearing down slums in order to upgrade sites to what they com-

pute to be "adequate building standards" is unrealistic. Planners' efforts will be better utilized if they seriously investigate the variety of ways by which low-income groups find solutions to their own shelter needs. Despite the appearance of a squatter's dwelling, there is much that can be learned from its construction as it is an attempt by a resident to solve a need for shelter. It is a physical reflection of the squatter's understanding of the urban system.

In this regard, building codes should not be used by society to judge the condition of inhabitants. Rather, such standards can be used by planners in developing nations as a responsive indicator of the condition of residents. Using building standards as planning tools, the government can address housing issues comprehensively within the capability of their available resources. Planning agencies in the developing worlds which, out of pride, dictate inappropriate building codes based on foreign standards, condemn themselves by viewing low-income self-made dwellings as illegal. They seek to show the world that their nation is "developing", yet such efforts only serve to cause an "official housing shortage" when, in fact, shelter is provided. This planning perspective alienates the efforts of a growing low-income group who are demanding their rights to shelter through squatting.

Perceiving slum areas as "meccas" of crime and social degeneration was often motivated by a particular class perspective. Yet there could be little doubt that depressed areas such as Buluh

Kubu were fire and health hazards. These hazards were the result of overcrowding and lack of communal resources and coordination in providing adequate infrastructure. Such facilities included roads, garbage disposal facilities, clean water supply, proper drainage and latrine facilities. While a poor family could provide shelter for itself as an individual unit, when crowded together, it was more difficult for it to construct the basic hygienic and safety requirements of a community. Low-income population's preoccupation with day-to-day poverty, required most of its energy simply to survive as a family unit. It was only after basic shelter concerns had been met that squatters could afford the luxury of working towards the welfare of their community. By that stage of development, however, upwardly mobile families might leave the area in search of a more prosperous community. In such cases the squatter settlement was used only as a temporary location where inhabitants sought upward mobility in order to escape, rather than improve the condition of the site.

If planners provided incentives for squatters to settle permanently, as the prosperity of the site improved the inhabitants could be encouraged to invest capital back into the area's future. A planning approach of this type accompanied a cohesive and permanent community which could then effectively address the needs of its neighbourhood settlement.

Third World governments have to reinterpret their priorities in order to set their own flexible housing standards. Rather than

following the standards of over ambitious politicians or previous colonial administrations, the time has come for planners to analyze how squatters satisfy their own housing needs. Utilizing a realistic planning platform upon which government expertise can build, not destroy, is the fundamental belief behind responsive planning.

## II. GUIDELINES FOR REHABILITATION

### A. Proposed Framework for Settlement Rehabilitation

Beneficial neighbourhood evolution could be initiated at great savings to the government, if it ceased wasting scarce financial resources on capital intensive, large scale development schemes and concentrated on rehabilitative settlement projects. A proposed framework for these settlement rehabilitation projects should have included:

1. provision of land tenure;
2. resident desirability: resettlement of existing residents back into the area;
3. provision of adequate infrastructure; and
4. government low interest home improvement loans.

## 1. Provision of Land Tenure

Within the government's goals, 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. In receiving their grants, they would agree to abide by a number of stipulations that would reflect the project's goal. Certain business premises could then be retained by the agency for direct rental to various tenants, as proposed in Chapter 7. However, it was important that residential land be made available on an ownership basis. These provisions could be either given by the government, or leased at low interest rates over an extended period of time, in keeping with the residents' income. A land lease programme should have allowed the individual to eventually own property. It was important that the government monitor such a programme carefully so as to ensure that families did not take advantage of the scheme and sell their land rights to developers. By starting the project with provisions for land tenure, the squatter became a permanent resident with an interest in his dwelling, and the community's long-term future. This commitment was essential in encouraging the residents' sense of neighbourhood identity and responsibility, a vital first step in the process of responsive planning.

2. Resident Desirability: Resettlement of Existing Residents  
Back Into the Area

The initial residents of any rehabilitation scheme should have been the existing inhabitants of Buluh Kubu, who were people with urban living experience and employment. As new urbanites moved into the area through rental or marriage into local families, they would be faced with a stable and experienced urban community in which to settle.

Care should have been taken that the settlement pattern suggested did not become a walled city of Malay houses surrounded by three-storey shop-houses occupied by non-Malays. As many of the shops and shop-houses should have been occupied by Malay businessmen, they could help encourage more local interaction with persons in the perimeter buildings. The purpose of this programme was to build a viable local group such as was found in various other parts of the town, with the ultimate purpose of improving the "satisfaction" which individual Malay urban residents found in their living environment. By so doing, the central city, including the nearby Chinese Lido district, would stabilize and provide for future growth. Urban participation by persons of all ethnic categories could contribute to the effective restructuring of Malaysian society.



### 3. Provision of Adequate Infrastructure

The health hazard of Buluh Kubu resulted from lack of proper facilities. The government had the resources and expertise to approximate infrastructure needs for the projected number of residents the area would absorb. Top priority in this step of settlement provision was clean water supply, as well as adequate sanitation and garbage collection. In the initial stages of rehabilitation these services could have been communal in order to keep costs down and effectively distribute services while encouraging an atmosphere of cooperation. Once these facilities were established, proper drainage and flood control facilities could be constructed so as to combat the annual ravages of flooding. At the same time, roads had to be constructed that could ensure proper access for the provision of essential services including sanitation pick up and fire rescue.

While infrastructure requirements were the responsibility of the government, these projects should have included the employment of those who would live in the area, as the labour force. This was a worthwhile endeavour as it could provide these people, many of whom were part-time casual workers or were unemployed, with jobs and valuable training. Employment of residents on projects could result in the identification of the worker as a resident in his own neighbourhood's rehabilitation.

#### 4. Government Low Interest Home Improvement Loans

After land had been distributed and the proper infrastructure provided, the government could then turn its attention to assisting the residents in improving their dwellings. Initially the residents should have been left to construct their own shelters. However, given the potential fire hazard these dwellings presented due to the most inexpensive materials being used in their construction (e.g., rotting wood and sheet metal), government help was desirable. Government assistance rather than interference was vital in pursuing the prime objective of the programme: the reinforcement of the residents in providing their own shelter requirements. Official insistence in tearing down squatter shelters and replacing them with what was considered to be "presentable housing" was not only costly but insensitive to the desires of those for whom it sought to provide. Such interference discouraged the initiative of the resident resulting in the dependency of the poor on government subsidies which further strained the nation's financial resources. Thus assistance by official sources was first realized by granting tenure of land in order to provide incentive for the dwellers to invest their own capital.

In conjunction with establishing the land tenure patterns, attention had to be given to providing community association within the local setting. Prayer houses could have been established by reserving space in a land apportionment scheme. Important neighbourhood association could have been created by encouraging the

initial local landowner-residents to assist one another in constructing their own houses. Houses should have been made of wood, which would have facilitated construction by local residents and cost should have been within their means. Shelter should have been designed to allow for the reorientation of entrances, porches and other features as needs for expansion arose.

B. Realistic Low-Income Shelter Design For Those With the Lowest Income

John Turner noted in his study for the United Nations:

People will build only in accordance with the models that they know, and they frequently lack suitable models for self-help, single family urban houses.<sup>99</sup>

Towards solving this fundamental problem, it would have been useful if the government took on the role of sponsor and advisor by building a number of dwellings which it considered suitable. Suitability had to be evaluated in terms of resources available, and the urgency of the situation. In turn, the condition of these factors would be instrumental in formulating building and health standards in tune with the local conditions. So that creative local talent could emerge, the federal government sponsorship of a competition in search of indigenous designs for these model dwellings would have been useful. Open to all Malaysians regardless of formal training, the designs would have been evaluated in terms of the ease in which the dwellings could be built at minimal costs, using local resources that were readily available to the poorest sector of society.

Once the best designs were chosen, they could be conveniently displayed to the residents so that families could build their own shelters along similar lines to suit individual needs. This relationship was beneficial in settlement projects as it utilized the government's expertise as a partner in advising the residents in a spirit of cooperation. Cooperation would build trust between these groups rather than the suspicion resulting from officials' dictating unrealistic standards on those they were supposed to serve. It was essential that the residents be given the freedom to construct a shelter as their own resources and desires dictated. Regardless of the standard of such dwellings they addressed the most urgent problem of providing not only low income housing, but also housing for the lowest income group.

C. A Proposed Framework for Low Interest, Self-help Home Improvement Loans

After some measure of housing had been provided for the lowest income groups, the government had to offer low interest home improvement loans so that these shelters could be better protected from disease and fire. Such a loan scheme included:

1. loose guidelines concerning health and fire safety regulations;
2. a cost appraisal of the basic materials required, that would serve as a basis for the overall amount of the loan; and

3. restrictions of loans between government officials and home owners.

For example a home owner would request to build a new roof for which the government would provide funds based on the market cost of materials for such an undertaking. The loan could be financed at a minimal interest rate payable over a period in keeping with the resident's income and ability to pay. Residents would be expected to provide the labour for building, thus enabling them to build alone, utilize friends' help through the traditional "gotongroyong" cooperative arrangement, or, if they could afford the costs, hire a contractor. They would also be responsible for purchasing materials as determined by the government and, be obliged to produce a bill of purchase from recognized local merchants. After the project was completed in the set time limit, local residents would notify designated government officials who could then ensure that the materials requested were used within the regulations as stipulated by the agreement. If the resident did not notify the government within the time requested an investigation would be launched. In cases where the check found any significant discrepancies of the signed agreement, the resident could be fined and all loans ceased. However, if it was found that all aspects of the loan requirements had been met, the resident would be granted another home improvement loan under the same favourable conditions.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMMES

#### A. The State Agency for Settlement and Rehabilitation

Essential to the operation of a meaningful loan programme was the formation of a well trained, centralized government body directly responsible to the State's Chief Minister. The responsibility of such an agency should have concerned:

1. Eligibility: Establishment of eligibility for loans based on determined needs;
2. Documentation: Approval of the projects submitted, and submission of a signed official document stating the conditions and acknowledgement of comprehension by all parties;
3. Cost Appraisal: Estimation of the "going" retail costs for the building materials required. A list of reputable suppliers provided would help to ensure fair prices. Leaving consumer choice up to residents would aid the distribution of sales. More small businesses were likely to benefit from the arrangement than from large scale development schemes built, and supplied, by the usual handful of influential companies;
4. Monitoring: Periodic checks on the rate of progress on all projects;
5. Appraisal of Loans: Appraisal of project completion as it related to the government's stipulations and the future approval of loans; and

6. Evaluation: Submission of a report three times a year to the Prime Minister of the State, presenting all data concerning the programmes, so that an objective evaluation could determine the weaknesses and strengths of the programme.

Effective monitoring and evaluation was the key to the successful implementation of such a proposed programme. Although authoritative, the type of agency proposed had to act in a spirit of co-operation with the residents as a partner in rehabilitating the district. The government had to keep in touch with the feelings and needs of the poor. A responsive agency equipped to express to policy-makers the concerns of the people they were trying to help was an invaluable political tool.

B. Community Development Unit

After the State Agency for Settlement and Rehabilitation had made progress in meeting the six functions outlined, it should have expanded its role so as to encompass a community development unit. The unit would have utilized staff and access to low-income communities already established by the Settlement and Rehabilitation Agency. Its concentration would have been on the delivery of social services vital to Buluh Kubu development. Located in the existing historic sites, the units' activities should have included nutritional advice, manpower training, career guidance, and the organization of recreational and community facilities. By organizing a

responsive network of mutual dialogue, residents could express their concerns to the government, thereby keeping planning functional. Evolving out of the State Agency for Settlement and Rehabilitation, a social planning department concerned with community development could introduce a perspective imperative for governments in developing countries.

A responsive planning framework offering a constructive strategy by which Third World governments can begin to keep in touch with the actual condition of low-income settlements is desperately needed as the gap between low and high income groups continues to broaden.

Although this outline was not entirely adopted in Kota Bharu, it did familiarize Malaysian Planners and officials with low cost, humane planning alternatives they realized would soon be essential.



## CHAPTER 9

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### I. SUMMARY

In the preceding chapters the planning process in Kota Bharu as it related to the renovation of the Buluh Kubu site has been analyzed. Literature on Third World urbanization, housing and planning was reviewed as a foundation for formulating planning concepts that were applied. As an individual working in a Third World planning process, I faced the "real life" problems which existed and were only treated abstractly in the planning literature. Not until one went to these countries and participated in the delivery of basic services could the culturally specific necessities and planning inconsistencies be fully appreciated. Using the participant-observer approach, insights and data gained by working on the Buluh Kubu project were compared with the literature in order to construct and apply planning strategies responsive to the residents' desires in the context of local political conditions. A key to such an approach emphasized the involvement of low-income groups in planning for their own community.

The thesis format was designed so as to begin with a general background of the problems planners faced in developing countries.

By reviewing the literature concerning Third World urbanization, low-income housing, and planning strategies in Chapter 1, the issues which were vital to Third World city core development were presented.

Chapter 2's description of the planning process in Kelantan State conveyed the work setting in which I participated. A description of the Malaysian national plan, as it related to the mechanics of the Kelantan State planning process, revealed the difference between national goals and regional priorities. The limits of the planning process, described in Chapter 2, served to temper the idealistic aspirations of Chapter 1's literature review.

The research framework proposed in Chapter 3 was a method by which low-income residents could participate in planning for their environment in a developing country. The chapter described the first attempt at participatory planning in Kelantan State, and explained a questionnaire survey method which proposed tentative neighbourhood plans in order to identify the residents' perception of themselves, their environment, and local planning issues. Also discussed were the various pitfalls involved in cross-cultural surveying, and insights into the politicking necessary to convince government planners of the benefits of participatory planning.

The town of Kota Bharu was explored in Chapter 4 in order to understand the Buluh Kubu project in its urban context. The impact of Kota Bharu's unique past on its future urban development revealed unique community ties that were analyzed.

Chapter 5 presented past development proposals for Buluh Kubu renovation. The status of the residents who were living in the area and their special relationship to the Sultan were considered. Particular pressures facing planners on this project were discussed within a cultural context.

Chapter 6 presented data collected by the survey introduced in Chapter 3. Buluh Kubu data was compared with previous Town and Country Planning surveys, as well as statistics for the rest of Malaysia, in order to present a physical over-view of the area. The survey revealed the residents' condition and aspirations, including their evaluation of the model presentation and survey method utilized.

Chapter 7 dealt with my involvement in the Buluh Kubu project. Recommendations to the Buluh Kubu Working Group concerning responsive planning in relation to their commitment to develop the district were discussed. An assessment of the proposal's impact on the final development plans emphasized the clear commitment to develop the existing site commercially, and the importance of resident resettlement. Various proposals were presented so that the planning process could be fully appreciated. Plans were designed to provide low scale residential/commercial units around the existing historic sites. The approach was recommended in the belief that it would reaffirm the traditional identity of the community while providing a new neighbourhood focus.

The final Chapter proposed a responsive rehabilitation plan for the Buluh Kubu site of a more general nature that could apply to other low-income communities. The plan was presented on the assumption that the political system would be receptive to its implementation. However, since these proposals were not subject to the constraints of a commitment to develop the site commercially (as were the planning suggestions presented in Chapter 7), they were outside of the Buluh Kubu Working Group's terms of reference. The chapter was, therefore, presented as a possible planning scenario for Buluh Kubu and as a general model for the rehabilitation of low-income communities in developing countries.

## II. CONCLUSION

This work examines the relationship between the literature concerning participatory planning responsive to low-income residents' community needs, and the actual planning process in which I was involved. Just as the transplant of western urban planning models are unrealistic for areas such as Buluh Kubu, so too are expectations that at Kota Bharu's stage of urban development, planners, business interests and government officials will place the interests of low-income families' well-being at the top of their planning priorities. This is partly because the town is the urban focus of potentially rapid economic development. Under such conditions in resource towns a "frontier perspective" which emphasizes commercial development tends to prevail.

A second limitation affecting the viability of applying responsive planning for low-income groups in Kota Bharu stems from the importance of status in Malay society, where who you are tends to determine what you are. As a result private industry, planners and politicians have a traditional symbiotic relationship. What may be labeled as a conflict of interest by the western observer is often (to a certain degree) accepted protocol in a setting such as Kota Bharu. The ability of planners to operate outside commercial interests in small Third World towns is difficult due to the far reaching influence of the rich on local politics. Not until more indigenous planners are willing to locate in hinterland regions will diverse innovative attitudes be adopted and the role of the "expert" represent low-income groups.

Local culture is likely to have the most impact on a society's treatment of low-income communities. The fact that Kota Bharu is a strict Moslem center, where Sultanatic tradition and family ties govern one's movement in a class conscious society, discourages the "melting pot" or "vertical mosaic" experience of British Columbia's immigrants. Kelantan's responsibility in planning for its poor must evolve its own course, in keeping with the local social, cultural, religious and economic conditions relative to rapid development.

As civic responsibility develops hopefully there will emerge a greater commitment by indigenous planners to helping the poor instead of their own class. From my observations, it is evident

that participatory planning by the poor is seen as a threat by planners since it takes away from their status as "professionals". Not until Third World planners feel secure in their own position will they have the opportunity to redirect concern from personal advancement towards a commitment to professional ethics.

Proposals for participatory planning in Kota Bharu were made difficult, not because resources or the understanding were not available; resistance to new planning techniques stemmed from a lack of genuine commitment by professionals in government to the idea of low-income groups participating in planning.

Foreigners can teach the techniques but it is only a commitment by local planners and politicians to serve all income groups that can consistently apply responsive planning. Such a commitment, however, must originate from within the ranks of the local professionals, not from lectures by well-intentioned expatriates. Until there is a considerable change in attitude and perceptions by the controlling classes, the poor will not be represented in the planning process.

Self-reliant technology was not adopted by the planners in Kota Bharu because it did not conform with the elite values and was not perceived as "modern" by professionals. "Would you build your own house out of mud bricks in Canada?" was the question asked in Kota Bharu by planners who interpreted highrise building as an indicator that the city was developing. Plans for such developments were proud testimonies to modernity, not realistic

utility. Especially in low-income housing the consequences of these attitudes proved costly and insensitive to the needs of the residents. Although totally inconsistent with local conditions, the planners' pursuit of creating a "nice", "clean", environment, as defined by the elite, was the low-income housing strategy adopted for Kota Bharu. The plans called for renewal of depressed neighbourhoods such as Buluh Kubu which were perceived as slums apart from the rest of the town.

In order to be responsive to the dynamics of town planning, it is crucial that these views change so that low-income neighbourhoods are understood as an organic part of the whole urban environment. To act responsively, planners must be made to realize that substandard housing is only the symptom and not the cause of the societal inequality which they will inevitably have to tackle. The first step towards appreciating such a crucial distinction is the realization that the specific conditions creating housing problems in a community should not be destroyed but rather studied. It is an understanding of these factors, not class conscious standards, that hold the key to innovative approaches responsive to basic needs and realistic conditions.

This thesis, however, is not submitted as a self-righteous sermon to the planners of Kota Bharu, many of whom are committed within the planning system in which they are involved. I have presented an examination by a participant-observer of what the

elements of responsive planning are, how they can be applied, and why existing planning conditions prevent such approaches from realizing their full potential in community planning for Kota Bharu. My conclusion is that for planning to be more responsive, a change of attitude, not technology, is what is needed, and will eventually be demanded in developing countries. The planning strategies adopted must reflect local conditions, not the self-interest of career advancement. In this regard, Shakespeare's Hamlet provides eloquent and timely advice to Third World planners:

Be not too tame, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance that you . . . hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature; to show virtue his own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.<sup>100</sup>

The problems concerning equitable planning and resource allocation in the Third World are responsibilities Canada can no longer afford to ignore. Pictures of dilapidated cardboard houses among open sewers haunt us but do not address the cause of Third World government failure to provide housing for its poorest group. Developed countries must begin to emphasize self-help, not technological dependence, as features of their foreign aid programmes if they want to be effective. Towards this goal Canada's encouragement of a responsive planning approach as presented in this thesis can be the modest first step in delivering aid from a country struggling with its own constitution, but certainly in command of its conscience.



FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

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<sup>2</sup>Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanization of the Human Population", Scientific American, Volume 213, No. 3 (September 1965), pp. 41-54.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Brian Berry, The Human Consequence of Urbanization (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1973), pp. 46-47.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Brian Berry, City Size Distribution and Economic Development, in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 9, No. 4, Part 1, July 1961, pp. 543-589.

<sup>9</sup>William Alonso and John Friedman, Eds., Location Theory, in Regional Policy Reading in Theory and Application (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1975), pp. 35-64.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>11</sup>William Alonso, Urban and Regional Imbalances in Economic Development (Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, reprint 42, 1976, Calif.).

<sup>12</sup>John Friedman and Robert Wulff, The Urban Transition, Comparative Studies of Newly Industrialized Societies (London: Edward Arnold Publishing Ltd., 1975), p. 18.

<sup>13</sup>John Friedman, Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1966).

<sup>14</sup>Mera, "On Urban Agglomeration and Economic Efficiency", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 21 (1973), pp. 209-324.

<sup>15</sup>Robert Hackenberg, "A Second Look at Urbanization, Industrialization and Demographic Transition", E.W.P.I. Conference Report (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, September 1979), p. 32.

<sup>16</sup>D. F. Darwent, "Growth Poles and Growth Centers in Regional Planning: A Review", in Environment and Planning, Vol. 1, No. 36, 1969), pp. 5-32.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>E. M. Hover, An Introduction to Regional Economics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1975), pp. 276-290.

<sup>19</sup>Alonso, op cit.

<sup>20</sup>Kenneth Ruddell, "The Agropolitan Approach to Regional Planning: A View from the Hinterland", prepared for Symposium on Regional Development Planning in Asia, sponsored by the United Nations Center for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan, 1975.

<sup>21</sup>Friedman and Wulff, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup>M.I. Logan, "The Spatial System and Planning Strategies in Developing Countries", The Geographical Review, Vol. 62 (1972), pp. 229-244.

<sup>23</sup>Hackenberg, op cit., p. 33.

<sup>24</sup>Hackenberg, op cit.

<sup>25</sup>New Strait Times, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Editorial, September 1979, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>United Nations Habitat Conference on Human Settlements, Low Income Populations in Urban Settlements of Developing Countries, Paper (1975) U.N. Printing Office 76.

<sup>27</sup>J. B. Foreman, Collins English Gem Dictionary, 1974, p. 501.

<sup>28</sup>A. A. Laquian, Slums are for People: The Barrio Magsaysay Pilot Project in Urban Community Development (Manila, Philippines: Manila University, Bustante Press, 1968), pp. 16-17.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>United Nations, Habitat, op cit., p. 12.

<sup>31</sup>Laquian, op cit., p. 9.

<sup>32</sup>Morris Juppenlatz, Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter, Problems of the Developing World (St. Lucia, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1970), pp. 33-36.

<sup>33</sup>T. G. McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World: Explorations in Search of a Theory (London: Bell, 1971), p. 13.

<sup>34</sup>T.G. McGee, The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of South East Asia (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 15.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Philip Hauser, Urbanization in Asia and the Far East in Proceedings of the Joint United Nations UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization (Bangkok. August 8-18, 1956, Calcutta UNESCO, 1957, SS 57, V. 7/A), p. 88.

<sup>37</sup>Juppenlatz, op cit.

<sup>38</sup>William Magin, Ed., "Introduction" in Peasants in Cities (Boston: 1970), p. xxvi.

<sup>39</sup>Laquian, op cit., p. 85.

<sup>40</sup>K. Davis, World Urbanization, 1950-1970, Vol. 1, University of California, 1969, Reproduced in World Bank Sector Paper).

<sup>41</sup>Laquian, op cit., p. 37.

<sup>42</sup>C. Alexander, S. Angel, The Oregon Experiment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, Table 3.2 Cost Per Square Feet of Net Usable Space), and

Pearl Jepheott with Harry Robinson, Homes in High Flats: Some of the Human Problems Involved in Multi-Storey Housing (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p. 128.

<sup>43</sup>Robert Jones, "Transport, Urban Design and Housing", in Edwin T. Maefele (ed.), Transport and National Goals (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1969, Table 2.2), p. 60.

<sup>44</sup>John Leaning, Low Cost Housing in Tanzania (Dar-es-Salaam: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1971).

<sup>45</sup>"National Housing Action: An Uphill Task to Fulfill Ambitious Plans", Business in Thailand Magazine (Bangkok Press, February 1974), p. 54.

<sup>46</sup>Newspapers: The Malay Mail, Kuala Lumpur, December 14, 1973.  
Sunday Times, Kuala Lumpur, July 15, 1975.  
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<sup>47</sup>C. Abrams, Housing in the Modern World: Man's Struggle For Shelter in an Urbanizing World (Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 126.

<sup>48</sup>G. K. Payne, Urban Housing in the Third World (London/Boston: Leonard Hill, 1977), p. 71.

## CHAPTER 2

<sup>49</sup>Federal Government of Malaysia, Local Government Bill, 1975 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1975), p. 1252.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 1213, Clause 9B.

<sup>51</sup>Interview with Mustafa bin Mustafa, Director of the Kelantan State Economic Planning Unit. Other interviews with other government officials (names in confidence).

<sup>52</sup>Willian Alonso, "Planning and the Spatial Organization of the Metropolis in the Developing Countries", Rehovot Conference on Urbanization and Development in Developing Countries (Tel Aviv, Israel: August 1971), pp. 2-3.

<sup>53</sup>Geoffrey K. Payne, Urban Housing in the Third World (London: London Hill, 1977), p. 35.

<sup>54</sup>New Straits Times, Kuala Lumpur, August 8, 1978.

<sup>55</sup>Due to inflation, the costs of manufactured goods is steadily rising at a rate faster than raw materials. Thus the trade ratio between Industrialized Nations trade for Developing Countries raw resources (excluding oil), generally favours the former, e.g., 1968: 25 bushels of wheat equals 1 tractor;  
1978: 40 bushels of wheat equals 1 tractor.

<sup>56</sup>A. G. Frank, "Dependence Class and Politics", in Latin America Monthly Review Press (1972), p. 19.

### CHAPTER 3

<sup>57</sup>William Alonso, Planning and Spatial Organization of the Metropolis in the Developing Countries. Working paper 153, prepared for the Rehovot Conference on Urbanization and Development in Developing Countries, (Israel, August, 1971), pp. 1-2.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., Note 1, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup>Shlomo Angel, and Stan E. Benjamin, "Seventeen Reasons Why the Squatter Problem Can't Be Solved", Ekistics, Vol. 22 (January 1976), p. 22.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., (6), p. 25.

### CHAPTER 4

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<sup>62</sup>David K. Wyatt, "Nineteenth Century Kelantan: A Thai View", W. R. Roff (ed.), in Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State (London/Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974). p. 3.

<sup>63</sup>Kelantan Planters Association 1977/78 Year Book.

<sup>64</sup>Downs, op cit., p. 116.

<sup>65</sup>Mohamed bin Nik Mohammed, Salleh, "Kelantan In Transition: 1891 - 1910", W. R. Roff (ed.), in Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics In a Malay State", (London/Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 44.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>67</sup>Sa'ad Shukri bin Maji Mada, The History of Kota Bharu, unpublished manuscript, Kota Bharu Library, Malaysia.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>69</sup>J. Osborn, Area Development Policy and the Middle City in Malaysia (Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, 1974), pp. 180-186.

<sup>70</sup>Demography and Social Base Study, Khota Bharu Urban Development Study: A. K. B. Planners and Development Consultants, Working Paper 3 (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oct. 1977), pp. 49-53.

<sup>71</sup>Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, The Cultural Role of Cities: Economic Development and Cultural Change (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1954), pp. 57-73.

<sup>72</sup>Interview with Data Bangs, Resident of Kota Bharu for 30 years, Manourial Knight of the Sultan, June 20, 1978.

<sup>73</sup>Interview with Zaiuuden bin Zaiuuden, Head Town Planner of Kota Bharu and Director of Town and Country Planning, June 9, 1978.

<sup>74</sup>Maurice Friedman, The Growth of the Plural Society in Malaysia, in Pacific Affairs, 33, (1960), pp. 158-168.

<sup>75</sup>Judith Nagata, Perceptions of Social Inequality in Malaysia, Contributions to Asian Studies, 7, (1975), pp. 113-136.

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<sup>76</sup>Interview with the Director of Town and Country Planning, Zainuddin bin Mohammad, June 10, 1978.

<sup>77</sup>See Chapter 6 for results of Survey, 1978, and the Development of the Buluh Kubu Area, Kelantan Town and Country Planning Department, 1973.

<sup>78</sup>Financial Times, May 16, 1978.

<sup>79</sup>A preliminary study of the Lido area is provided in the Appendix of this research paper.

<sup>80</sup>New Straits Times, September 1978.

<sup>81</sup>Interviews and informal discussions with officials and residents who asked not to be identified, Fieldwork, April to October 1978.



<sup>82</sup>Many illegal absentee landlords built the dwellings they rent. These shelters are made of the cheapest materials, and are built literally overnight, so as to avoid detection by officials.

<sup>83</sup>Angel/Shlomo, Seventeen Reasons Why the Squatter Problem Cannot be Solved, Asian Institute of Technology, p. 96.

<sup>84</sup>J. F. C. Turner, Uncontrolled Urban Settlement Problems and Policies, in The Developing City, G. Breeze, ed., Prentice Hall (1969), p. 508.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 514.

<sup>86</sup>Buluh Kubu Development Plan, The Kota Bharu Town Planning Department, 1973.

<sup>87</sup>A. K. B. Planners and Development Consultants of Malaysia, Urban Development Project Identification, September 1977, pp. 18-21.

<sup>88</sup>W. E. W. O. N. Construction, Sdn. Bhd., Proposal for Buluh Kubu Development (Unpublished, June 1978).

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>State Economic Development Corporation, Summary of Activities (Kelantan State Printers 73, Sept. 1973), p. 17.

<sup>92</sup>Interview, Town Planner, Zainuddin bin Muhammad, June 10, 1978. Also interview with Raja Aman Shah, Resident of Buluh Kubu, June 5, 1978.

<sup>93</sup>Government of Malaysia, Second Malaysian Plan, 1974 (Government of Malaysia Printers 75).

<sup>94</sup>While my suggestions were formally presented to Mustapha Mohamed, it was Dr. D. Webster who, in fact, sponsored my research. As my thesis advisor, it was with him that I discussed my ideas, and I am grateful for his encouragement and guidance.

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<sup>95</sup>W. Alonso, Planning and the Spatial Organization of the Metropolis in the Developing Country, Berkeley, Calif.: 1971.

<sup>96</sup>A. K. B. Developmental Study on Kota Bharu: Only 12.5% of the inhabitants indicated they own property outside of Kota Bharu.

<sup>97</sup>The Buluh Kubu Working Group: Report to the Mentri Besar of Kelantan State, July 30, 1978, p. 2. Unpublished.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

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<sup>99</sup>John Turner, Uncontrolled Urban Settlement Problems and Policies in the Developing City, G. Breeze, ed. (Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 508.

CHAPTER 9

<sup>100</sup>William Shakespeare, Hamlet, Prince of Denmark (London, England, Ed. 1925), Scene II, Act 3, p. 1147.

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APPENDIX 1  
LETTERS OF AGREEMENT

GOVERNMENT OF MALAYSIA—UNDP/IBRD—STATE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

MAL/76/014 (KEL) 8.1/15

Kota Bharu, February 12, 1978

Andy Raphael, MA Student  
School of Community and Regional Planning  
University of British Columbia  
Vancouver  
B.C. V6T 1W5  
CANADA

Dear Andy,

We welcome your participation in the activities of the State Economic Planning Unit here under the following conditions:

- (1) You write a practically oriented (rather than academic) report on social needs in Kota Bharu for us which would identify projects. This report would double as your MA thesis. We will send you a proposed outline of what is required - we are interested in one squatter area in particular but also urban social programming in general.
- (2) You agree to work with us and any staff we hire for the above task rather than in isolation.
- (3) You provide us with a draft final report before you leave.
- (4) You arrange visa details yourself with the Malaysian embassy in Ottawa or the Malaysian consulate in Vancouver.

We must warn you that we have no money to pay you - immigration laws here (as in Canada) prevent us from hiring a foreigner over a local citizen. However, we will advise and guide you in every way possible plus provide office support, e.g., typing.

If you come on a limited scholarship from Canada you will, of course, have to live modestly in modest housing, etc. You should be prepared for such conditions.

We would like you to arrive as early in April as possible. Your letter suggests a four-month involvement. Although it is possible to do the work in that period of time, we feel a six to eight month involvement would be less stressful on you.

If you do come, you can be assured that your work will be appreciated and that you will be contributing to societal development here. The data base for social planning is relatively good. We hired a local company to do a

..../2

HQ Office	Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Jalan Datuk Onn, Kuala Lumpur. Cable: "ECONOMICS"	Tel. 03-83144
Kedah	c/o State Economic Planning Unit, Wisma Negeri, Alor Star	Tel. 097-22314
Kelantan	c/o State Economic Planning Unit, State Secretariat, Kota Bharu	Tel. 097-21155
Ministry of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur		Tel. 03-203377/28151
RISDA	Bangunan Getah Asli, Jalan Ampang, Kuala Lumpur	Tel. 03-26141
FELCRA	Bangunan ENE, Jalan P... Lumpur	Tel. 03-81901

APPENDIX 2

POLICY DIRECTION:

BULUH KUBU WORKING GROUP

JULY 30, 1978

## APPENDIX

### BULOH KUBU REDEVELOPMENT

A Brief Overview of the Strategy Developed by the Buloh Kubu Working Group at their meeting of July 30, 1978. The Group consists of:

En. Mustapha Mohd. Zain	(S.E.P.U.)
En. Wan Yahya	(S.E.P.U.)
En. Zainuddin Mohd.	(Town and Country Planning)
En. Hussien Yussof	(S.E.D.C.)
En. Nik Jafe	(Asst. Sec. for Local Govt.)
Dr. Webster	(S.R.D.P.)

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#### Introduction

Detailed costing and physical specifications will be produced for the Buloh Kubu area redevelopment plan which has been developed by the above group working from an earlier plan produced by the Department of Town and Country Planning, Kelantan. However, to facilitate interim actions, the following summary of projects planned for the project area has been prepared.

#### 1. Flats: Low Cost Housing

It was decided that 300 units of low cost housing should be built in the form of 4 (or possibly 5) storey flats. Because the ground floor will be used for a children's play area and for a building community centre, five blocks of such flats are needed, each block will contain an average of 60 units. (Note: it is unwise to build housing units on the ground floor because of the flood risk in the area).

The living units will contain two bedrooms each. They will be rented or sold on the basis of a monthly levy of between fifty and seventy ringgit.

Given the addition of another block of flats, these will be constructed on the land across the street from the area where the originally planned four blocks of flats will be built. Thus terrace housing designated in the original Town and Country Planning Department plan will not be built there. (See the revised plan for the area when prepared by Town and Country Planning).

## 2. Terrace Housing

*Existing* Fifty units of terrace housing will be built. These will probably be purchased by those existing residents of the area over 250 ringgit per month. (At present, 90 of the area's 400 families earn over 250 ringgit per month).

Terrace houses will be built in all areas marked for terrace housing on the original Town and Country Planning plan for the area with the exception of the area to be used for the additional block of flats.

To compensate for the latter loss, the areas designated for semi-detached housing in the original plan will now be used for terrace housing.

The terrace houses will not be subsidized; a profit should be realised when they are sold or rented.

## 3. Shophouses

Areas marked for shophouses on the original Town and Country Planning plan will be developed with shophouses. However, the shophouses will be three stories in height, not four as marked in the original plan.

The shopping arcade (Kedai Arcade) designated on the original plan for the area behind the Balai Besar, will not be built. Rather, that area will be preserved as part of the Balai Besar historical-community centre complex. To compensate for this loss, the areas marked hotel-bank pejabat (office) on the original plan will be developed with three shophouses. The bank, hotel and pejabat will not be developed. However, the area numbered 145 and 146 on the original plan (labelled cinema, pejabat and kedai) will be developed as a bank by Bank Negara.

The row of two-storey shophouses on Jalan Sultanah Zainab will remain as two-storey units as designated on the original plan.

The terrace houses will not be subsidized, a profit should be realised when they are sold or rented.

The shophouses will house the remaining fifty currently resident households plus some additional households currently living outside the area.

4. The Market

The market should be constructed as conceptualised in the original plan, with an interior courtyard market. The perimeter structure will be two storeys in height.

Because markets are a local government responsibility, the responsibility for building the market is that of the Kota Bharu government. However, the Buloh Kubu Working Group will assist the local government by including the market in the project paper to be prepared by that group. The market must be constructed early in the development cycle -- at the same time as the first block of flats is being constructed -- if the overall redevelopment of the Buloh Kubu area is to be successful.

The market should "break even" through stall rentals. However, it is unlikely to show a profit which could be used to subsidize other parts of the development.

5. The Balai Besar Historical Area

The Working Group supports the concepts outlined for the Balai Besar Historical Area on pages 6-9 of the S.E.F.U. working paper entitled "Some Concepts Applicable to Renovation of the Buloh Kubu District". However, more detail, especially vis-à-vis cost is needed.

The Working Group decided that discussions should commence with Museum Negara and other relevant federal agencies concerning possible funding for development of this area. It is also necessary that appropriate officials (probably the M.B.) commence discussions with the Royal Family concerning the proposed development. The Royal Family would not lose title to the historical area but would have to agree to the uses proposed.

Phasing:

Detailed phasing has yet to be worked out. However, one block of flats and market should be developed first.

DW/tbh  
July 31, 1978.

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE

(in Malay and English)



SOALSELIDIK  
KAWASAN BULOH KUBU, KOTA BHARU

Questionnaire

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Kawasan Contoh:

Soalselidik No.

Nama Penemuduga:

PERHATIAN UMUM

Alamat:	
A. Jenis Kediaman (a) Separoh Kekal (b) Kekal (c) Sementara	(Tanda ✓) (a) (b) (c)
B. Bahan-Bahan Pembinaan rumah: (a) Lantai (b) Atap (c) Cara Pengawalan Banjir (d) Dinding	(a) (b) (c) (d)
C. Kemudahan-Kemudahan dirumah kediaman (a) Bekalan Air Paip (b) Bekalan Api Letrik (c) Longkang besar/tetap (d) Tandas Tarik/Fam (e) Jenis kemudahan buang sampah (f) Lain-lain kemudahan	(Sila nyatakan)
D. Anggaran/Nilaian harga bangunan	
E. Lama masa bangunan telah didirikan	

SOALSELIDIK

KAWASAN BULOH KUBU, KOTA BHARU

- 309 -

KAWASAN CONTOH :

NAMA TUAN RUMAH:

NAMA PENEMUDUGA:

SOALSELIDIK NO:

SOALAN-SOALAN SUBJEKTIF

PERHATIAN:

Bagi soalan-soalan yang perlu disusun/dipilih mengikut keutamaan, isyarat-isyarat/petunjuk-petunjuk berikut hendaklah dihurai oleh Penemuduga kepada yang berkenaan.

Isyarat/Petunjuk

1. SANGAT MUSTAHAK
2. MUSTAHAK
3. ADA SEDIKIT MASAALAH/ADA KEMUSYKILAN
4. TIDAK MENJADI MASAALAH

SOALAN	JAWAPAN
<p>1. (A) Apakah sebab-sebabnya anda tinggal dikawasan Buloh Kubu ini.</p> <p>(a) Kawan-kawan dan saudara-mara tinggal dikawasan ini.</p> <p>(b) Peluang pekerjaan</p> <p>(c) Perumahan yang murah</p> <p>(B) Sebab-sebab lain: (sila nyatakan)</p>	<p>(Susun mengikut keutamaan)</p> <p>(a)</p> <p>(b)</p> <p>(c)</p>
<p>2. Pada pendapat anda, kawasan yang diduduki sekarang ini ialah:-</p> <p>(a) Kawasan Kampung</p> <p>(b) Kawasan Bandar</p> <p>(c) Kawasan Sesak</p> <p>(d) Pinggir Bandar Kota Bharu</p> <p>(e) Selain dari diatas: (sila nyatakan)</p>	<p>(Tanda ✓)</p> <p>(a)</p> <p>(b)</p> <p>(c)</p> <p>(d)</p> <p>(e)</p>

SOALAN	JAWAPAN
3. (a) Adakah anda anggap anda ini sebagai setingan (iaitu seorang penduduk yang tidak ada hak undang-undang keatas tanah yang diduduki).	<u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u>
(b) Adakah anda mengundi dalam pilihanraya yang lepas.	
4. Pada pendapat anda, apakah masalah besar penduduk dikawasan ini?	
5. (a) Adakah anda lebih suka jenis rumah seperti yang dipilih disoalan 14, daripada keadaan rumah sekarang.	<u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u>
(b) Apakah faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan anda membuat keputusan yang terakhir itu:-	(Susun mengikut keutamaan)
(i) Kepadatan penduduk	(i)
(ii) Sunyi/Berasingan (privacy)	(ii)
(iii) Harga rumah sebulan	(iii)
(iv) Kemudahan kepada kanak-kanak	(iv)
(v) Tinggi daripada tanah	(v)
(vi) Persahabatan dengan jiran-jiran	(vi)
(vii) Keadaan rumah yang diduduki sekarang	(vii)
(viii) Cerah	(viii)
(ix) Ingin kepada perubahan suasana	(ix)
6. (a) Jika terpaksa dikeluarkan satu bahagian daripada contoh (model) ini, bahagian manakah anda akan keluarkan:-	(Tanda ✓)
(i) Rumah Pangsa (Flat)	(i)
(ii) Rumah Kedai	(ii)
(iii) Rumah Teres	(iii)
(iv) Market	(iv)
(v) Balai Besar	(v)
(vi) Kawasan Setapak	(vi)

(b) Susun faktor-faktor berikut mengikut keutamaan, mengapa anda buat pilihan diatas.

- (i) Akan merusakkan pandangan/suasana keadaan sekarang.
- (ii) Akan mendatangkan akibat yang tidak baik kepada kanak-kanak.
- (iii) Taraf hidup disini akan jadi lebih tinggi.
- (iv) Telah sedia ada kemudahan-kemudahan itu, dikawasan Buloh Kubu ini.

(c) Lain-Lain Sebab  
(sila nyatakan)

(Susun mengikut keutamaan)

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)
- (iv)
- (c)

7. (a) Jika dapat diperbasarkan satu bahagian daripada contoh (model) ini, kawasan manakah yang boleh dibuat demikian.

- (i) Rumah Pangsa
- (ii) Rumah Kedai
- (iii) Rumah Teres
- (iv) Market
- (v) Balai Besar
- (vi) Kawasan Sejarah

(b) Susun faktor-faktor berikut mengikut keutamaan pilihan anda.

- (i) Akan menguntungkan kanak-kanak.
- (ii) Akan meninggikan taraf hidup saya.
- (iii) Akan meneguhkan lagi kedudukan kawasan ini.

(c) Sebab-sebab lain  
(sila nyatakan)

(Tanda ✓)

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)
- (iv)
- (v)
- (vi)

(Susun mengikut keutamaan)

- (i)
- (ii)
- (iii)

SOALAN - 312 -	JAWAPAN
<p>8. (a) Jika dapat ditambah satu bahagian lagi kepada contoh (model) ini, apa yang patut ditambah.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Dewan Orang Ramai</li> <li>(ii) Muzium</li> <li>(iii) Pusat Membeli Belah</li> <li>(iv) Pusat Kesihatan</li> <li>(v) Pawagam (Panggung Wayang)</li> <li>(vi) Surau</li> <li>(vii) Taman</li> </ul> <p>(b) Apakah kemudahan-kemudahan lain lagi yang diperlukan, yang belum dinyatakan.</p>	<p>(Susun mengikut keutamaan)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i)</li> <li>(ii)</li> <li>(iii)</li> <li>(iv)</li> <li>(v)</li> <li>(vi)</li> <li>(vii)</li> </ul>
<p>9. Bolehkah anda mendirikan rumah sendiri, jika ada bahan-bahan binaan.</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>
<p>10. Sekiranya belanja membuat rumah sendiri itu lebih murah; mana yang anda pilih?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Hendak membuat rumah sendiri <u>atau</u></li> <li>(b) Mahukan Kerajaan mendirikan rumah itu untuk anda.</li> <li>(c) Baiki rumah sendiri</li> </ul>	<p>( Tanda ✓ )</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a)</li> <li>(b)</li> <li>(c)</li> </ul>
<p>11. (a) Didalam keadaan mana yang anda lebih suka tinggal - sebagaimana keadaan sekarang atau sebagaimana contoh (model) yang dicadangkan itu.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Sebagaimana keadaan kawasan sekarang.</li> <li>(ii) Sebagaimana contoh (model).</li> </ul>	<p>( Tanda ✓ )</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i)</li> <li>(ii)</li> </ul>

SOALAN - 313 -	JAWAPAN
<p>(b) Susun mengikut keutamaan faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan anda pilih jawapan diatas.</p> <p>(i) Saya setuju dengan cadangan/organisasi dan susunan bagaimana contoh (model).</p> <p>(ii) Peluang mendapat kawan-kawan dari jiran.</p> <p>(iii) Sunyi/Bersendirian (privacy).</p> <p>(iv) Kepadatan penduduk</p> <p>(v) Keadaan Kesihatan</p> <p>(vi) Kebajikan kanak-kanak</p> <p>(vii) Taraf hidup</p> <p>(c) Sebab-sebab lain (sila nyatakan)</p>	<p>(Susun mengikut keutamaan)</p> <p>(i)</p> <p>(ii)</p> <p>(iii)</p> <p>(iv)</p> <p>(v)</p> <p>(vi)</p> <p>(vii)</p>
<p>12. Adakah didapati contoh (model) dan gambar-gambar yang dipamirkan itu mengelirukan?</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>
<p>13. Adakah didapati menjawab soalan cara menyusun mengikut keutamaan dan kemustahakan itu mengelirukan?</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>
<p>14. Adakah dengan cara contoh (model) dan gambar-gambar yang dipamirkan itu, dapat menolong anda memahami perancangan ini lebih jelas, daripada mengemukakan soalan-soalan sahaja.</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>
<p>15. Setujukah anda jika diadakan lagi kajian-kajian yang seumpama ini?</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>

SOALAN - 314	JAWAPAN
<p>16. Adakah anda fikir Kerajaan akan melaksanakan syor-syor yang telah anda cadangkan dalam kajian ini?</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>
<p>17. Adakah anda mahukan peranan yang lebih dalam proses perancangan ini?</p>	<p><u>Ya</u> <u>Tidak</u></p>

Questionnaire Objective  
(To Family Head Of Each House)

Questions

- 315 -

Answer

Questions	Families	FAEQU	% Valid	Total Cases	% of Total Cases
1. How many Families Live In this House?  (Note: This will be an indication of the number of interviews needed for this dwelling)	1 174 2 42 3 19 4 7 5 4 6 3		70 17 8 1	246 (143/85 2/92)	- Sample % of Total Cases
2. Name And I.C. Number of Family Head  Full Name:  I. C. Number:					
3. The household head in this case:  H.H.      Oldest Child and Wife Husband Wife Oldest Child		<u>Tick Off</u>  225 137 17		379 (9/85) (3/95)	
4. This persons  Age → years: 16-26 50 27-36 90 37-46 78 47-56 83 Sex: Male Female 57-66 46 67-95 21 Race → 362 Malay 13 Chinese 1 Indian 1 Chinese				379 (8/85) (9/95) 379 (9/85) (4/95) 379 (M.C. 12)	
5. Type Of Approval Given by The Town Council For This Dwelling? NOT Approved	Official 44 NOT Approved 166			126 95/95 84/85	
6. How many rooms does your house have?	2 83 3 58 4 41 5 25 6 14			239 (146/85) (9/65)	



Computer  
Page

Valid Cases  
questions 2A1

Answers  
Frequ % Valid Cases

7. How long has your family lived here for?

In Years:

5

6 - 14

15 - 25

26 - 34

35 - 50

Over 50 specify

Tick Off

A) 79

B) 49

C) 59

D) 45

E) 95

F) 52

319

(9/85)  
(3/95)

8. A. Where was the last place you lived before moving here?

K.B

54 → 69%  
other parts of Kelantan → 23%

B. How long did you live at this location for?

In Years:

5

6 - 20

20 - 40

40

Tick Off

A) 41

21%

B) 93

47%

C) 58

27%

D) 8

8%

Valid Cases  
200  
191  
Missing Cases

Members of Family  
Family Head 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9.A. Age

B. Sex

C. Level Of Education

D. A Dependent?

E. Occupation

F. Monthly Salary

G. How Far to Place of work from home(miles)

391: Total Cases

Pg 4

Complete  
Page

Questions

Answers  
Freq

Valid  
Case

<p>10. In the average month approximately how much would you spend on accommodation?</p> <p>Nothing 50 50 - 99 100 - 149 150 - 199 200 - 249 250 - 324 325 - 399 400 - 475 476 - 600 601 - 700 701 - 800 801 - 900 900 - 1000 1000 - 2000 Please specify 2000 above</p>	<p><u>Tick Off</u></p> <p>A) 1 B) 200 C) 47 D) 87 E) 34 F) 8 G) 8 H) 8 I) 8 J) 8</p>	<p>317 (8/8s 7/9s)</p>
<p>11. Do You Own Or Rent Any Other Property Or Dwelling Outside of The Buloh Kubu Area?</p> <p><u>If yes</u> Please specify location and e/cost</p>	<p><u>Yes</u> 32</p> <p>9 inside K.B.</p>	<p><u>No</u> 342</p> <p>377 (8/8s 6/9s)</p>
<p>12. A. Do you have Sultanate agreement for this land and dwelling?</p>	<p>Valid Cases: 309 N. A. 1: 54 / MOANS: 28 <u>Yes</u> 87 <u>No</u> 220</p>	<p>309</p>
<p>IF NO GO ON TO QUESTION 13: IF YES/ ANSWER THE FOLLOWING</p> <p>B. Is this verbal, or do you have official documentation?</p> <p>Verbal Agreement Official Documentation Other - Please Specify</p>	<p><u>Tick Off</u></p> <p>A) 39 B) 51 C) 5</p>	<p>95 (293/8s 3/9s)</p>

RAPH A  
Pg 6

RAPH A  
Pg 6

Total cases 391

5

Questions	Answers Frequency	ADs of 10	Valid Cases
<p>12. C)</p> <p>From when It Was Obtained And The signature Of The Sultan</p> <p>Date of Issue</p> <p>To Whom Was It Issued</p> <p>The relationship of that person to the respondent</p> <p><u>The Nature Of The Agreement</u></p> <p>Infinite binding agreement for all the families generations</p> <p>Addressed to one person specifically</p> <p>Temporary Occupation at the pleasure of the Sultan</p> <p>Other Please Specify</p>	<p>A)</p> <p>B)</p> <p>C)</p> <p>D) - respondent / 19</p> <p>- father / 5</p> <p>- grand father / 5</p> <p>E)</p> <p>1) 26</p> <p>2) 9</p> <p>3) 25</p> <p>4) 3</p>	<p>10</p> <p>19</p> <p>5</p> <p>Tick off</p>	<p>49</p> <p>(85/326)</p> <p>65</p> <p>(85/326)</p>
<p>D. <u>Note to interviewer</u></p> <p>If you cannot understand any part of the document concerning these points as it is presented in writing, arrange for an appointment between respondent and officials at his residence</p> <p>Further inspection was needed</p> <p><u>if yes</u></p> <p>Time</p> <p>Date</p> <p>Place</p>	<p><u>Yes</u></p> <p><u>No</u></p>		
<p>E. <u>Note to Interviewer</u></p> <p>Applicable only if The respondent has Official Written Documentation</p> <p><u>assuming</u> Redevelopment Takes place, and you were eligible for Government Compensation, which would you prefer?</p> <p>The "Transplant" of your present Dwelling to a location nearby?</p> <p>Your choice of available Accommodation back in the Redeveloped Buloh Kudu Area?</p> <p>Compensation Money</p>	<p>1 3</p> <p>2 48</p> <p>3</p>	<p>Tick Off</p>	<p>51</p> <p>(337/85)</p> <p>(319s)</p>

6

Computer

Question

Answer

FREQ.

%

Valid Cases

37

APH-A

13. If the Government removed your house, would you

Move Out Of This Area

or

Want a New Residence In this area.

Tick Off

A) 354

B) 15

3711

85/6

95/16

38

APH-A

14. Given your financial alternatives which type of housing would you prefer?

5 Low Income Development Flats

6 Shephouses

7 Terrace Houses

Place In Order Val

162 82 52 NO MISSING CASES  
41% 24% 13%

A) 2 1 3 other

B) 3 3 1

C) 1 2 2

95

391

15. How much could you afford to pay for this accomodation per month?

In \$ .,  
30

30 - 74

75 - 150

151 - 200

201 - 250

251 - 350

351 - 450

451 - 500

501 - 600

601 - 700

701 - 800

801 - 900

901 - 1000

1001 - 1500

1501 - 2000

2000 above

Tick Off

a) 35

b) 166

c) 109

d) 36

e) 13

f) 4

g) 4

h) 1

i)

j)

k)

l)

m)

7.

368

(17/85)  
(6/95)

Question	Frequency Answer Total Cases: 56	%	Valid Cases
(5) B) Rank the importance of each of these factors in your last decision	Rank in Order <i>(those who are concerned)</i>		56
RAPH-4 1 Density	A 5		
2 Privacy	B 12		
RAPH-4 3 The Cost of Accommodation per month	C 12		
4 Facilities offered to children	D 9		
5 Height from the ground	E 8		
6 Friendship with your present neighbours	F 10		
7 The condition of your present house	G 21		
8 Light exposure	H 5		
9 You would like a change of environment	I 31		
CAN AFFORD THE MORE	J 5		
(6) A) If you had to take away one section of this model which section would it be	Tick Off One		Valid Cases 16 40/95
Low Income Development Flats	1 7		
Shophouses	2 3		
Terrace House	3 4		
Market	4 1		
The Balai Besar Historical Areas	5 1		
B) Rank the import of these factors in your last decision	Rank in Order <i>those who were concerned</i>		Valid Cases 56
It would ruin the existing community atmosphere	A 6		
It would be bad for the children	B 8		
It would make it more expensive here	C 7		
The Buloh Kubu Area already has facilities which serve this function	D 2		
C) Other reasons please specify			
- Social Ties	5 2		
- Located near the town	5 2		

RAPHC / 321 -  
 (1) What were your reasons for settling in the Buloh Kubu Area?  
 A) Friends and Relatives living in the area  
 - Employment Opportunities  
 - Inexpensive housing  
 B) Other Reasons Please Specify

Frequ Rank each in order out of 4  
 Those who were concerned  
 29  
 38  
 36

Valid Cases 56

(2) How would you describe the area you now live in?  
 Rural Kampong  
 Urban Kampong  
 A Slum  
 A neighbourhood in K.B.  
 Other Please Specify

Frequ %  
 A 8 14  
 B 28 51  
 C 12 22  
 D 7 13  
 E -

55

(3) Do you consider yourself to be a squatter; that is a resident without legal right to the land you now occupy?  
 A) ~~Did~~ you vote in the last election?

Frequ Yes % Frequ No %  
 26 46 30 54  
 45 80 11

56

(4) In your opinion what are the main problems of the people in this community?  
 ① Drainage / Flooding  
 ② Fire  
 ③ Rubbish Disposal

56

(5) A) Would you prefer your ~~stated~~ choice of accommodation to your present housing?  
 B) ~~stated~~ choice of accommodation to your present housing?

Yes No  
 53 31

36

998

- 322 -

Question	Frequency Answer	%	Valid Cases
(5) B) Rank the importance of each of these factors in your last decision	Total Cases: 56		
	Rank in Order		
	Those who Are Concerned		
RAPH-1 Density	A 5		56
2 Privacy	B 12		
RAPH-4 3 The Cost of Accommodation per month	C 12		
4 Facilities offered to children	D 9		
5 Height from the ground	E 8		
6 Friendship with your present neighbours	F 10		
7 The condition of your present house	G 21		
8 Light exposure	H 5		
9 You would like a change of environment	I 31		
CAN AFFORD THE HOUSE	J 5		
(6) A) If you had to take away one section of this model which section would it be	Tick Off One		Valid Cases
Low Income Development Flats	1 7		16
Shophouses	2 3		40/95
Terrace House	3 4		
Market	4 1		
The Balai Besar Historical Areas	5 1		
B) Rank the import of these factors in your last decision	Rank in Order		Valid Cases
	Those who were Concerned		56
It would ruin the existing community atmosphere	A 6		
It would be bad for the children	B 8		
It would make it more expensive here	C 7		
The Buloh Kubu Area already has facilities which serve this function	D 2		
C) Other reasons please specify			
- Social Ties	5 2		
- Located near the town	5 2		

(7) A) If you could enlarge one section of this model, which area would it be?

Low Income Flats

1 8

Shophouses

2 7

Terrace houses

3 22

The Market

4

The Balai Besar Historical Area

5

37

93/22

B) Rank the import of these factors in your last decision

Rank in Order

Those who are concerned

56

It would benefit the children

A 9

It would upgrade my living conditions

B 17

It would bring stability to this area

C 18

C) Other reasons please specify

Space for Social Functions

7

(8) A) If you could add sections to this model what would they be?

Rank each Option

Those who wanted the following

56

Community Center

A 35

Museum

B 5

Shopping Center

C 9

Health Clinic

D 28

Movie House

E 0

Mosque

F 56

Park

(G) 26

B) What other facility would you like that has not been mentioned?

-



Question Sample 2 : 56

Answer

VALID  
Case

(9) Could you build your own house if you had the materials?

Yes  
9

No  
47

56

- 324 -

(10) Assuming it would be less expensive for you to build your own house would you prefer to:

(A) Build your own house

or

(B) Have the govt. build the house for you

(C) or

(C) Improve your existing house yourself

Frequ %  
Tick Off One

A 6

B 50

C —

56

(11) In which would you rather live:

the way your area is now or the model's presentation for proposed development

(A) The Area now

The Model

(B) Rank the import of each of these factors in your last decision

The Organization of the Settlement proposed by the model

The chance to be friends with my neighbours

Privacy

Density/crowdedness

Health considerations

The children's Welfare

The cost of living

(C) Other reasons please specify

Frequ %  
Tick off

A 3

B 53

Rank in Order

Those who were concerned

Frequ. %

A 24

B 9

C 6

D 19

E 49

F 20

G 19

56

56

I Earn A Living

2

Questions On The Survey Method

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answer</u>	
	Yes	No
(12) Did you find the Model and the Picture Presentation confusing?  Y	8	48
(13) Did you find ranking reasons for your answers in order of import confusing?	7	49
(14) Did you find that the model and picture display helped you understand the planning process, <u>better</u> than if only questions alone were asked you?	50	6
(15) Would you like more survey of this type?	44	12
(16) Do you think the Government will act on the recommendations you have given in this survey?	44	8
(17) Would you like to have more of a say in the planning process?	27	28

Question Number	Code sheet	Number space	Question symbol	Code Sheet Symbol	yes or no?
<p>8: not applicable 9: No Answer</p>					
<b>PHYSICAL</b>					
A	1	6	a) = 3 b) = 4 c) = 5	- 326 -	
B	2	7	a) 3) bamboo 4) wood 5) concrete 6) 4,5 7) land earth		
MM	1	8	a) 30		
	2	9	b) 3) sheet metal 4) Tiles 5) straw 6) 3,4,5. 7) 3,5.		
	3	10	b) 3) Asbestos 4) Tiles 5) sheet metal and Tiles		
	4	11	c) 4) wood 5) concrete 6) Don't have 7) 4,5		
	5	12	d) 3) sheet metal 4) wood 5) 3,4 6) cement 7) 6,4		
	6	13	e) 3) bamboo		
C	3	15	a) 1) yes or 2) no		
ENC	4	16	b) 1) or 2)		
	5	17	c) 1) or 2)		
	6	18	d) 1) or 2) 3) Siamese 4) flush 5) out house 6) 3,4		
	7	19	d)		
	8	20	e) 3) have MPKH 4) Don't have MPKH		
	9	21	e)		
	10	22	f) 3) telephone		
D	4	23	a)	Actual Amount	
		24			
		25			
		26			
		27			
E	5	28		Actual age of building	Note:
		29			
		30			
<b>OBJECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE</b>					
1	6	31		Actual number of family	
		32			
2	7	33		Actual I/O no.	
		34			
		35			
		36			
		37			
		38			

Consult  
6205 228-

Questional Number	Code sheet number	number of Space	Questional symbol	Code Sheet Symbol  - 327 -
3	8	40		3) husband 4) wife 5) oldest child
4	9	41	a	Actual age
	42		a	
	43		b	3) male 4) female
	44		c	4) Malay 5) Chinese 6) Indian 7) Siamese
	45		d	
5	10	46		3) Approved officially 4) Not approved 5) unaffiliated
	47			3) Has MOKS Number
6	11	48		Actual number of rooms
	49			
7	12	50		1) 5 years 2) 6-14 years 3) 15-25 years 4) 26-34 yrs 5) 35-50 yrs. 6) 50 yrs. above
8	13	51	a	1) Other parts of M.B. 2) Pasir Mas 3) Outside Malaya 4) outside Malaysia
	52		a	1) Tumpat 2) Seohok 3) T. Merah 4) Machang 5) P. Puteh 6) Kuala Arai 7) Gua Musang
	53		b1) b11) b113) b1v)	1) 2) 3) 4)



Code Sheet Symbol

- 329 -

Unless other wise noted

Code 1 = yes : Code 2 = no

Actual figures remember to leave proper spacing

Value of building has 5 spaces thus 5:00005

9.	143	6			
		7			
		8			
		10			
		11			
		12			
		13			
		14			
		15			
	143	16			
		↓			
	144	26			
		↓			
	145	35			
		↓			
	146				
		↓			
	147				
		↓			
	148	75			

Repeat 14KA  
 Procedure for  
 each family member  
 leaving 10 spaces for  
 each individual

end of Code Page 2

Questions Number	Code num sheet	number of space	questions symbol	Code Sheet symbol
9	14 15 16	6 ↓ 15 16       25	a b c c c c c c c c	<p style="text-align: center;">- 330 -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Below</p>
10	15 ACCU	26 27	a a	<p>1) 10 2) above 150 3) 51 - 99 4) 100 - 199 5) 200-400 6) 401-600 3) 601-800 4) 801-1000 5) 1000-1500.</p>
11	16 Actual Actual	28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35	a b b c c c c c	<p>1) or 2) 10 20 30 40 1) Inside Ko. 2) Pasir Mas 3) Outside Melantan 4) Outside Malaysia 1) Tumpat 2) Pashek 3) Tanah Merah 4) Machang 5) Pasir Puteh 6) Kuala Krai 7) Gua Musang</p> <p>Actual Cost</p>
12	17 b b c	36 37 38 39 40 41 42	i       ab ab ab ab	<p>1) or 2) i) 3 ii) 4 iii) 5</p> <p>ab ACTUAL ab DATE ab ab</p>

5977

CODE	NUM	NAME	CODE	Q111	CODE
17	d	43	cd	1) respondent 2) father 3) grand father 4) great grand father 5) great great grand father 6) great great great grand father 7) great great great great grand father.	
		44	cd	- 331 -	
		45			
			i	(3)	
			ii	(4)	
			iii	(5)	
	c	46			
		47		1 or 2	
		48	i	date } Actual	
		49	i		
		50	ii		Month
		51	iii		
		52	iii	1) Respondent's house 5) Country Planning Office	
		53	i	3	
			ii	4	
			iii	5	
13	18	54	b	1	
			a	2	
14	19	55		5) Flat 6) shophouse 7) Terrace	
		56			
		57			
15	20	58		<sup>10</sup> ① < \$30 <sup>20</sup> ② 30-74 <sup>30</sup> ③ 75-150 <sup>40</sup> ④ 151-200 <sup>50</sup> ⑤ 201-250 ⑥ 251-350    ⑦ 351-450    ⑧ 451-600    ⑨ 601-800 ⑩ 801-1000    ⑪ 1001-1500    ⑫ > 1500	
MXR	ENT	259			
SUBJECTIVE				QUESTIONNAIRE	
21A	60	a	1, 2, 3, 4		
	61	b	1, 2, 3, 4		
	62	c	1, 2, 3, 4		
21B	63	d	(5) Generation 6) Social Attraction to city life		



			b	(4)	
			c	(5)	
			d	(6)	- 332 -
		67	a		
		68	a		
3	23	69		1 n 2	
		70		1 n 2	
(4)		71		Fire - (3)	
		72		Flooding - (4)	
		73		no electricity - (5)	Added actual number
		74		no water supply - (6)	/
		75		Rubbish disposal - (7)	/
		76		Drainage (3)	Bk Prob
		77		Road access (4)	2 choice
		78		Theft (5)	of problem
		79		Fear of Eviction (6)	
		80		-	

→ End

of Card  
PAGE 3



CODE SHEET SYMBOL

QUESTION NUMBER	CODE SA NUMBER	NUMBER CODE SA	QUESTION CODE SY	
7	27B	25	b i	1, 2, 3, 4
	a	26	ii	1, 2, 3, 4 - 334 -
	b	27	iii	1, 2, 3, 4
	c	28		3) want more residential space 4) save land 5) social function
	27C			6) Social Ties.
	c	29		7) correspond to income
		30		
8	28A	31	i	1, 2, 3, 4
	a	32	ii	1, 2, 3, 4
	b	33	iii	1, 2, 3, 4
	c	34	iv	1, 2, 3, 4
	d	35	v	1, 2, 3, 4
	e	36	vi	1, 2, 3, 4
	f	37	vii	1, 2, 3, 4
	g	38	b	3) Police Post 4) Post Office
	28B			
	b	39		
	b	40		
	b	41		
	b	42		
9	29	43		1 or 2
10	30	44	a	5
			b	6
			c	7
11	31A	45	i	5
			ii	6
	B a	46	b i	1, 2, 3, 4
	b	47	ii	1, 2, 3, 4
	c	48	iii	1, 2, 3, 4



APPENDIX 4

THE LIDO DISTRICT OF KOTA BHARU

## THE LIDO DISTRICT OF KOTA BHARU

### History

The Lido district of Kota Bharu, which is situated on the Kelantan River bank, was the former center of trade for Kota Bharu and the State of Kelantan. Until the 1800's, this riverside area consisted of orchards, but as the river became a major trade route under Siamese, and later British influence, the Lido district developed a commercial focal point. Warehouses, boat facilities, trading centres and a major pier were built in the district, in order to accomodate the steady flow of goods.

It was the Chinese who moved into the area in the 1800's in order to capitalize on this river trade. Some of these people came directly from Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and China. However, it appears that most of the Chinese who settled in the Lido were already in Malaysia, migrating either from the Ipoh area, where they were formerly tin miners, or from nearby Kampung China to the north. Those who came from this Kampung, the oldest Chinese settlement in Kelantan, were encouraged to migrate due to heavy flooding and lack of jobs resulting from the decline in the area's gold mines. For the most part, these migrants originally were involved in direct river trade services such as: storage, distribution and loading. However, as the area's trade developed and became sophisticated, the district's inhabitants' trading function expanded so as to include financing, banking, insurance as well as shops and hotels to service those trading and travelling the river.

In 1975, the British diplomat, Sir Frank Swettenham, viewed the Lido area with Captain China, the appointed head of the Chinese Community responsible to the local authorities. He gave this account:

"I went over the town with the Captain China.

There is a larga Bazaar where the buyers and sellers are principally women, thronged to a degree. The population is very dense indeed, houses and gardens everywhere and an endless stream of people going up and down the river bank. The Captain China declared there were 100,000 Malays, males, in and about Kelantan Town; of Chinese in the country of Kelantan 2,000.

There is an opium and spirit farm in the hands of the Captain China at \$2,000 per annum. There is also a duty on salt, gambier, paddy, cotton and silk for sarong making and tobacco. Immense numbers of sarongs are made in Kelantan by both Malays and Chinese, especially the former. I went to the Captain China's house a mile down the river, a very good house indeed. He tells me there is a great deal of debt slavery in Kelantan. He himself has 40 debt slaves, and he asked me if I wanted to buy any. The Raja objects to cock-fighting and gambling. There is opium smoking amongst the Chinese but hardly any amongst Malays."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Kelantan Planters' Association Year Book, 1977/1978.

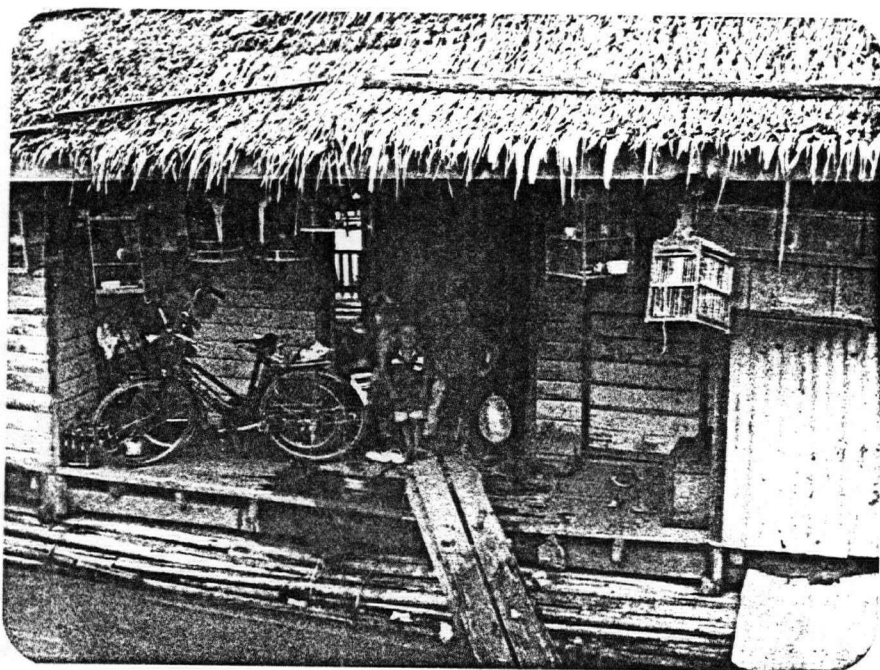
Under British Colonial rule, the Lido area continued to prosper until the year 1926 when, due to heavy monsoons and severe river floods, the district was devastated. Most of the area's buildings and goods were completely submerged inflicting grave losses to the local merchants. Later that year, a major fire swept through the Lido destroying most of the flooded remains. There is wide speculation that the fire was intentionally ignited by the local residents in order to claim insurance to cover their losses. Whether intentional or not, the result was disastrous to the area and important to Kota Bharu's development.

Due to these events, the Lido district never regained its former trading importance, since most of the merchants were ruined and the insurance that was collected, along with other business capital, was not invested back into the area for renovation. Instead, capital was invested to establish a new trading center for the town (map 3) located to the south west of the Lido, where flooding is less severe and thus commercial enterprises are better protected.

#### Present Profile of the Lido District and its Residents

As a result of the commercial center's migration, although the Chinese make up only 20% of the total population of Kota Bharu, they occupy most of the stores in the prime commercial district surrounding the new market today. According to a recent survey,<sup>2</sup> 47.1% of the sample's Malays were engaged in sales





and services as compared to 61% of the Chinese, reflecting the general dominance of this group in commerce relative to their size. As a result of this economic involvement, of the 6.4% of the total households living in Kota Bharu below the World Bank poverty line of M\$25 per capita monthly, 80% were Malay households while only 2.4% were Chinese.

Despite their prosperity, the Chinese Community of Kota Bharu are poorer than their counterparts in other Malaysian cities. Due to this condition and as a result of the unusually small proportion of Chinese in Kota Bharu, a predominantly Malay city has resulted, which has historically been isolated from the rest of the country: A harmonious Kelantan identity apparently transcends racial lines. This is evident in the two communities' amicable racial relations and the area's lack of tension during the country's 1969 race riots.

Although depressed, the eight block district is densely populated by approximately three hundred families living in two storey makeshift dwellings. Some of the inhabitants do own the property they occupy, for although P.A.S. (Party Islam) passed a law in 1959 stating that no Chinese could buy land in the district, prior to 1939, there were no Malay reserves in Kota Bharu and

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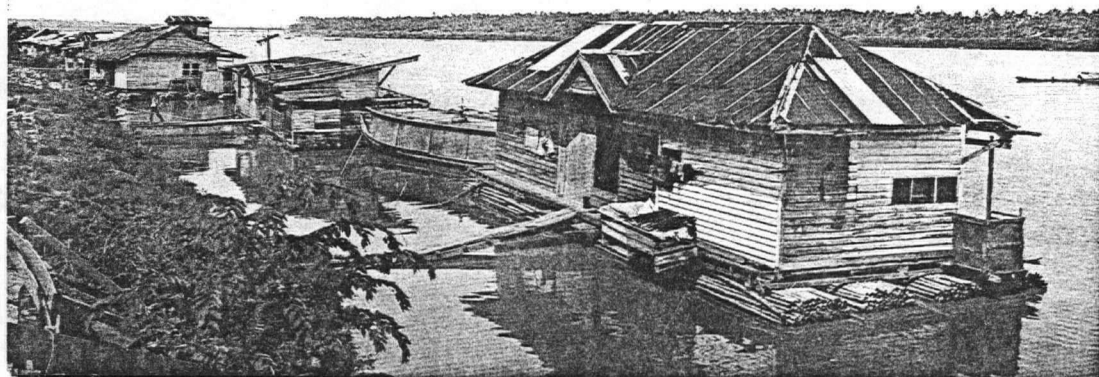
<sup>2</sup>Demography And Social Base Study, October 1977.

Kota Bharu Urban Development Study AKB Planners and Development Consultant Malaysia. Page 71 (Random Sample of 1371 Chinese and 3,845 Malays in Kota Bharu).

thus the Chinese were able to purchase property. Some of the land was also sold to the Lido's residents between 1939 and 1959 when the State Legislature, EXCO, had the authority to grant Chinese acquisition of land. Thus although unusual, some Chinese ownership in the Lido district does exist symbolizing the inhabitant's roots in the area, and the resulting strong attachment to the depressed area today.

The northern two block section of the Lido which directly faces the Padang Merdeka (map 4, section 1) consists of fine examples of the area's original architecture. These four storey buildings, although in need of renovation are still impressive, with their oriental design and historical character. The bottom floors are used as hotels, restaurants, shops and offices, while the top floors accommodate a residential function. Given rehabilitation, a variety of attractive uses for the renovated buildings exist.

To the west of these buildings, a dejected residential area exists consisting of densely packed long narrow shacks built of scrap metal and rotting wood. While it appears that some of the dwellings do have electricity, most units do not have proper drains, sewage, piped water, toilets and garbage disposal or emergency service. Given the lack of road access and the decayed condition of the houses, fire is a constant hazard to the area which is uninsurable. Also the district's location on the river



bank leaves it a constant victim to annual floods, the cause of the Lido's original degeneration.

#### Why the Area is Depressed

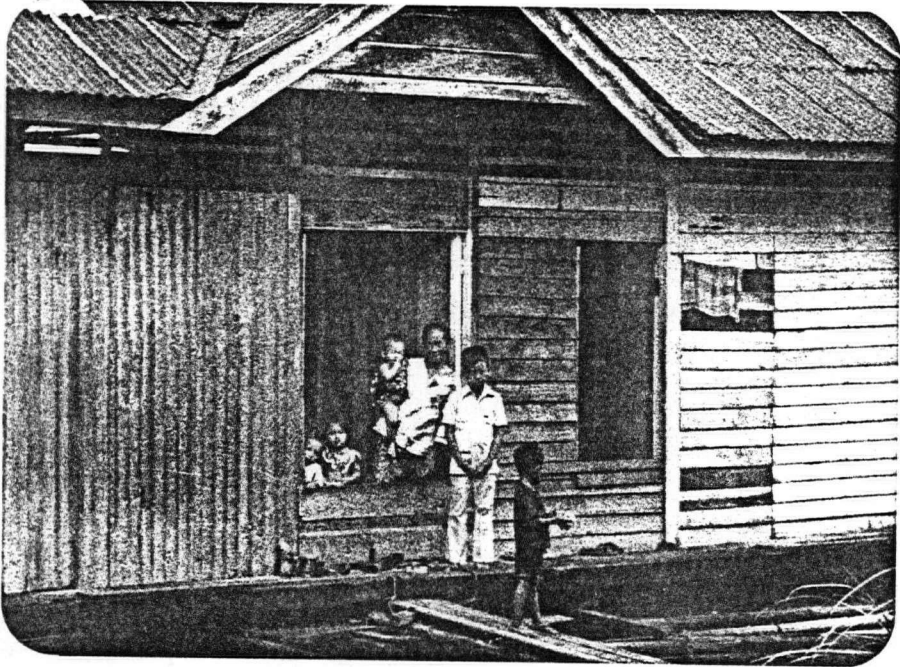
Besides these natural disaster risks, I suspect that the area's depressed state is not necessarily a direct result of its inhabitants' economic condition. Although it is extremely difficult to determine the residents' income due to their informal employment and fierce sense of privacy, as the AKB report notes,<sup>3</sup> the Chinese are only a fraction of those living under the World Bank "poverty line". Yet the condition of most of the Lido's dwellings seems to suggest extreme poverty.

A partial explanation for this situation is the 1959 State Law which prohibits Chinese from purchasing property or renting land for more than one year at a time in this district. Without any long term security, there is little incentive for the area's inhabitants of rented land (the majority of Lido's residents), to invest their own money in commercial or residential renovation. This, of course, is a political decision which directly affects the rehabilitation of the area, and thus cannot be resolved at a planning policy level.

The other factor which may partially explain the area's appearance is the Chinese inhabitants' values concerning money. It is difficult, if not dangerous, to generalize, but it may

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



be the case that the residents of the area do have more capital than their living condition suggests, but choose to save it or spend it on other investments such as commercial ventures or education. In Third World neighbourhood rehabilitation, the appearance of the area should not necessarily be used as an economic indicator to be evaluated using Western values. Thus, culturally sensitive rehabilitation models are vital to avoiding the reckless transplant of foreign planning assumptions which may be misleading, if not disastrous to the planning process.

#### Neighbourhood Identification

Due to the residents' general desire to retain ethnic and traditional ties, the Lido has developed a contained neighbourhood atmosphere. Generations of families occupying the same district has provided important consistency in communal relations and neighbourhood development. Most of the approximately 300 families living in the area are of the Hokkien Chinese group, while the Cantonese and Hainanese, who make up roughly 20% of the Chinese population of Kota Bharu, are scattered throughout the district. According to the researcher's interviews, there is no tension between groups who easily mix. Yet each group does sponsor its own community club which serves as a meeting place where social and sport activities regularly take place. The Persekutuan Kwang Tung Association is the Cantonese Club located in the Lido area, while the Teochew Association, the Hainanese Club, is situated by the Odean theatre which is near the Hokkien Association located on Jalan Ismail. These clubs, along with

the community's Buddhist Association, serve a vital community function, for as well as providing a neighbourhood focal point for activity, these organizations often bind together in order to help those members of the Chinese community in personal difficulties. This "self help" process was recently displayed when victims of a fire in the Lido district were provided for by funds raised by these organizations. Such "grass roots" community associations are the key to sensitive neighbourhood rehabilitation which utilizes the community's existing societal linkages in the planning process.

#### Rehabilitation Policy Direction

This communal identity and traditional attachment of the district's inhabitants to the Lido, necessitates their complete resettlement back into the area as a top priority in any rehabilitation scheme.

Along with this resettlement goal which must take into account the community's particular needs, the area's general economic function to the city should be planned so that rehabilitation costs can be generated within the area to the extent possible. Such commercial ventures must not destroy the area's unique setting and historical import to the State. With the proper utilization and renovation of the historical buildings, commercial viability can be consistent with traditional designs and functions.



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