TAMAN KAMPUNG KUANTAN, A STUDY OF
MALAY URBAN PARTICIPATION IN WEST MALAYSIA
by:

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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of Malay urban participation in one locality. It includes a discussion of urbanization, ethnicity, and government policy in a Malay context. The study discusses social cohesion and differentiation in a Malay locality and how they influence the urban participation of the group studied.

The discussion of the urbanization process in the Malay peninsula shows that the Malays are late-comers in urban development. This is a result of their colonial history. Immigrant Chinese and Indians developed the towns on the west coast of the Malay peninsula under British colonial administration. It was only after the Second World War that rural Malays increased their participation in urban activities by migrating to urban areas. The Malaysian government is encouraging the increased participation of Malays in urban activities, particularly in the commercial and industrial sectors.

This study shows that the Malays in the locality studied are unlike the classic rural to urban migrants. The Taman Malays are urban to urban migrants. They have brought with them other urban experiences and skills. In spite of this, however, their occupations are still similar to the type of occupations Malays have filled during the colonial period in urban areas, i.e. they are mostly teachers, clerks, policemen, and laborers. This is attributed to the limited opportunities and structural constraints faced by Malays in urban areas.
The study shows that Malays utilize ethnic institutions and government support in gaining a foothold in their urban environment. Malays are a minority in west coast towns in terms of population distribution, settlement pattern, and economic participation. The kampung is the territorial manifestation of Malay presence in towns. Handicapped by the presence of a majority of non-Malays in urban areas, the Malays do not find it easy participating in urban activities. They depend on government support for housing, jobs, business premises, and loans for their economic development.

Ethnic institutions are the primary institutional framework for the participation of Taman Malays. This is shown by the types of associations found in the locality. The associations serve to mobilize ethnic interests and unify the Taman residents. The associations serve as links between the kampung and the rest of the urban community, as well as between the kampung residents and the government. The need for expressive social interaction through associations is viewed in this study as a result of the difficulties posed by the multi-ethnic, economic, and political structure of urban areas on the west coast.

The urban participation of Taman Malays is described as incorporating both traditional and non-traditional patterns of social relationships. This is shown by the analysis of their social networks. Networks within the locality reinforce participation in the traditional social order, while those which extend beyond the locality or ethnic group facilitate change and participation in the larger urban system. The differential involve-
ment of the Taman Malays was influenced by such factors as geographic
mobility, ownership or rental of houses in the locality, and social
status. The friendship pattern and social networks of the Taman Malays
shows the declining significance of the neighborhood in the social rela-
tionships of urban Malays. The kinship patterns of the Taman Malays
show the traditional preference for the nuclear family type of house-
hold, but conditions of urban living have limited the interaction with
extended kin. Household relationships are also being influenced by
urban conditions where the husband and wife are both working, greater
sharing of decision making about the household and child care is evi-
dent among the Taman Malays.

The Taman Malays are unified by ethnic institutions and interests.
They are vertically organized to the government through community and
associational mechanisms. Stratificational differences among the Taman
residents have not disrupted the ethnic unity which has characterized
Malay urban neighborhoods.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Urbanization studies of developing countries describe urban neighborhoods as reflecting the rural social order or as the locales where migrants make their transition to urban life. Since many of these studies are among low income or working class groups the physical deterioration, poverty, and presence of deviant behavior in these settlements have earned them the reputation of being "marginal settlements" in the city (Epstein 1972, Leeds 1970). Efforts to refute the negative stereotypes about these neighborhoods have shown how organized and cohesive these groups are in the solution of their problems (Laquian 1970, Mangin 1970, Peattie 1968).

It is often assumed that a common culture is the basis for social identity and social cohesion in a neighborhood. The persistence of rural or traditional institutions is also assumed to help maintain social cohesion. The study of ethnic enclaves in particular has depicted such neighborhoods as an undifferentiated whole assuming equal impact of the urban environment on all the members (Snyder 1973:2). This view of the homogeneity in an ethnic enclave may be contrasted with the view which shows greater differentiation (Grillo 1974). According to this latter
view, a common culture of origin is not always a basic source of identity and its saliency for individuals must be empirically validated. The significance of ethnicity can vary from individual to individual. Members of an ethnic group can have other sets of identities derived from principles of ranking or stratification that operate in the community (Grillo 1974:161). Within the ethnic community an individual's rank may also be determined by reference to occupation, income, or other factors which indicate relative status. Distinctive life-styles may be found among members of an ethnic group. These can have important implications in the relationships of the members within the community as well as in their integration in the wider society.

This study of a middle-class Malay urban neighborhood in a government supported housing estate tries to discover some of these implications through an examination of how social cohesion and differentiation influence the participation of Malays in urban life. The study focuses upon the role of ethnicity in promoting social cohesion. It is postulated that the internal cohesion of the Malays stems paradoxically from both their minority status in urban areas and their majority status on the national level. Ethnic distribution of the Malaysian population in 1970 illustrates this paradoxical situation. In 1970 the Malays made up 46.7 percent of the total population while the Chinese composed 34.1 percent and the Indians 9.0 percent. At the same time only 14.9 percent of the total Malay population resided in urban areas, compared with 47.4 percent of all the Chinese and 34.7 percent of the Indians (Chander 1972:3).

Most studies of ethnic enclaves in urban areas are about minorities
who are usually deprived of material and social support. In the case of the Malays we are not dealing with a classic minority situation in which the urban minority is trying to struggle alone in the midst of a powerful majority. Rather we have an urban ethnic minority with a powerful political elite supporting its group's struggle to develop in urban areas. This situation is a result of historical circumstances which, on the one hand, kept the majority of Malays in rural areas during the colonial period, and on the other hand, gave the Malay elites power at the national level with independence. During the British colonial regime, common Malays were channelled into the rural agricultural sector while the Chinese were left to develop the urban areas. With independence from the British a "constitutional" bargain" was made between the Malays and non-Malays (Milne 1980:38). In this bargain the non-Malays were given full citizenship in the new nation, in exchange for the perpetuation of Malay traditions in government and special privileges which kept political power in Malay hands.

In this context, one of the aims of this study is to look at how the ethnic community acts as the primary institutional framework for the participation of Malays in urban areas. I examine whether the Malay locality studied may still be tightly organized vertically by a series of government and community institutions which had persisted from the colonial period. Among these are local administrative units like the village development committee, and local branches of national organizations such as political parties and religious organizations. These institutions may be the most important structural elements reinforcing Malay unity in the city. If Malays expect the government to help improve their situation
in the city, it is important to examine whether the institutional connections with the government operate to encapsulate the Malays within a protective framework which prevents their displacement by the competitive and economically dominant non-Malay groups within the city.

In a Malay community there are associations which serve as organizers of activities in the locality. I examine the activities of these associations to find out their functions in the locality studied. Studies of voluntary associations by Little (1965) suggest that these associations provide a bridge in the transition of migrants from a rural to an urban way of life. This functional view of voluntary association emphasizes the fulfillment of utilitarian or instrumental needs of migrants. However accurate this view may be in describing the relationship of migrants in their community, it nonetheless leaves further questions regarding the role of these associations outside the community. Douglas and Pedersen's (1973) macro study of voluntary associations in Malaysia deemphasizes the instrumental aspects of voluntary associations. They suggest that the main function of voluntary associations arises from expressive rather than instrumental needs. Expressive needs refer to non-tangible needs such as social interaction and status preservation. In my study I ask whether associations fulfill instrumental or expressive needs. I also examine their role in mediating between the locality and outside groups and institutions.

In addition to examining the role of ethnicity in promoting social cohesion within the Malay locality, I also ask the question of what factors may conflict with the claimed monolithic unity of Malay ethnicity. Given the peculiar situation of ethnic and social heteroge-
neity of urban areas in Malaysia, there is the question of whether class or status systems are determining the life-style of individual Malays. Here I am interested in the problem of whether the ethnic variable is just as important or not as important as other socio-economic variables in determining the adjustment of Malays to the social and economic structure of the city.

Using community study methods I examine the sources of differentiation in the locality studied and analyze the effect of geographic mobility, occupations, ownership or rental of houses, and social status in the social relationships of the residents. The social relationships examined include kinship, friendship, and social networks. The question of the varying importance of kin as opposed to non-kin in the adaptation of migrants to urban settings has preoccupied the work of anthropologists like Firth (1956), Adams (1968), Bruner (1970), and Mangin (1970). Their studies demonstrate the persistence of certain types of kinship relationships in urban areas, and oppose the often hypothesized decline of kinship with urbanization. What these studies show is that kinship organization is flexible enough to be adjusted to the needs of urban life. It remains, however, to be shown what these adjustments are, and what factors account for them.

The relative importance of kin as opposed to non-kin can be analyzed by comparing kin relationships with other kinds of social ties, such as those involving work, leisure, and friendship. I analyze the differential involvement of the residents in the locality studied according to the similarities or differences they share in terms of the above mentioned social variables. With the aid of social network analysis I examine the different
and varying social linkages of a sample of migrants. With this analysis I examine further the question of whether the Malays are encapsulated in their neighborhood. It may be that the urban kampung is but the residential focus of the migrants whose other interests and ties are ramified more extensively.

In summary, the main goal of this study is to examine how social cohesion and social differentiation influence the urban participation of Malays. Some of the questions asked are: Is the ethnic community the primary institutional framework for the urban participation of the Malays studied? What are some of the factors which conflict with the claimed monolithic unity of Malay ethnicity? Are migrant Malays encapsulated in their neighborhood or do their relationships extend outside the locality where they live?

Since ethnicity and urban participation are central concepts used in this study, it is necessary to define them initially as they are used in the study. The word "ethnic" refers to the classification of people by reference to ideas of common origin, ancestry, and cultural heritage. An ethnic group can thus be defined as a collectivity of people who share the same patterns of normative behavior, and an ethnic community refers to a collection of individuals who identify with an ethnic category (Cohen 1974: ix, Schildkrout 1974: 191). Ethnicity is used to refer to all matters pertaining to relations between those with the same or different ethnic identities living in a poly-ethnic system (Grillo 1974: 159).

This study deals mainly with the Malay ethnic group. The question
of who is a Malay is a difficult and complicated issue. As Nagata (1974a) shows, it is difficult to draw the boundaries of the Malay people. In this study, however, Malays include people of the Malay race and follow various aspects of Malay culture and social life.

When I discuss the urban participation of Malays I am referring to their access to material and non-material elements of urban life such as housing, employment, educational and commercial opportunities. As I indicate in later chapters, Malays are being given assistance by the government to obtain these necessities of urban life, as part of the programs under the New Economic Policy.

**Malay Urban Participation Background**

The problem selected for this study may be better understood in the context of substantive and theoretical studies dealing with inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relationships of Malays in Malaysia. While this particular study is primarily concerned with intra-Malay relationships, an initial discussion of inter-ethnic relationships can provide some context for the study. Most attempts to understand the urban participation of Malays take into consideration the context of a multi-ethnic society (McGee 1972, Provencher 1972, Nagata 1974a, 1974b, 1974c). Malays, Chinese and Indians are the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia. Each ethnic group is distinguished by race, custom, language, and religion. The separateness of the three ethnic groups has been described by Freedman (1960) in terms of the "plural society" concept formulated by Furnivall (1939).
The origin of the plural society in Malaysia has been traced to the colonial period when immigrants from China, India, and Indonesia increased the population of the Malay peninsula. Immigrants from China came in the early nineteenth century and immigrants from India came in the late nineteenth century. Indonesian immigrants came to the peninsula at various times before and during the colonial period. Ethnic differences brought about ethnic segmentation. British colonial policies and attitudes reinforced this segmentation which led to a division of labor based on ethnic lines, e.g. Chinese in commerce, Indians in plantations, and Malays in subsistence agriculture.

These facts are significant in as much as they give an historical account of certain trends which are still found in Malaysian society today. Aside from pointing to the ethnic segmentation in the plural society, Freedman's description is useful in noting certain institutional mechanisms that had their origins in the colonial past but still continue to influence inter-ethnic relationships at the societal level. Among these are the special rights of the Malays connected with land reservations, quotas in education and employment in government. In this study I take these institutional legacies of the colonial period into consideration when I examine the institutional framework for the social and economic adjustment of the Malays in the locality studied.

Some aspects of the differences among the three ethnic groups noted by Freedman are similar to those found in contemporary Malaysian society. Two types of differences that have received much attention in the literature are the imbalances in geographical location and economic position
of Malays, Chinese, and Indians. Studies of ethnic patterns of urbanization show the wide gap in the urbanization of Malays and non-Malays (McGee 1972, Nagata 1974b, Narayanan 1975, Pryor 1975, Hirschman 1979a). These studies note the varying rates of increase in urban areas for each ethnic group from 1947 to 1970. Rural to urban migration is often cited as one cause for the increase in the proportion of Malays or Chinese in urban areas from 1947 to 1970. Among the three ethnic groups it was the Chinese who exhibited the highest rate of increase in urban areas at this time. This is attributed to the Chinese resettlement program from rural to urban areas during the anti-communist campaign after independence.

After 1957 the Malays showed a higher rate of increase in urban areas. The initial overwhelming dominance of the Chinese in urban areas, however, kept the Malays from matching the proportion of Chinese in urban areas.

Studies of urbanization in Malaysia emphasize the role of rural to migration is a significant pattern which accounts for the presence of Malays in most urban areas; it is also possible that step-migration from rural to a small urban area to a large town may be characteristic of migrant Malays. I examine this possibility for my analysis of the origins of the Malays in the locality I studied.

Next to ethnic differences in geographical location the most controversial aspect of Malaysia's multi-ethnic society is the economic inequality among the ethnic groups. Hirschman (1975, 1979a) and Snodgrass (1980) give two of the most comprehensive discussions of this issue. According to these authors the basic inequalities are those concerning income, employment, and ownership and control of wealth. Snodgrass
(1980:82) shows that the income of the average non-Malay household or of the average Chinese household has been consistently more than twice that of the average Malay household in the 1957-1970 period. Since household sizes vary and the number of income earners per household also vary, Snodgrass calculated that the same ratio holds in the comparison of incomes among household heads on a per capita basis.

The employment imbalance since independence shows that Malays have been under-represented in the more modern forms of production in agriculture, the service sector, and industry. Thus in 1957, Malays comprised 40% of the professional and technical jobs, although most of these were teachers, but only 16 percent of the administrative, executive and managerial positions (Snodgrass 1980:90). Between 1957 and 1967 Malay participation in white collar work was skimpy, except in the government sector, as well as in the industrial blue collar work Snodgrass 1980:91). After 1967 there was an increase in the Malay share of employment in most sectors. This is attributed to the government's attempts to accelerate employment, particularly for Malays. The facts concerning ownership and control of wealth in Malaysia are not as clearly defined but the general view is that wealth is unevenly distributed. One significant aspect of this imbalance is that as much as 61 percent of modern agriculture, industry and commerce was foreign owned in 1970 (Snodgrass 1980:100). Among Malaysian owned businesses, the majority were owned and controlled by the Chinese. These trends in the economic inequalities between Malays and non-Malays are examined in this study for the town, where the neighborhood studied is located.
Since Malays suffer some handicap in relation to other ethnic groups in Malaysia, various theories have been suggested to explain the inequalities which exist among the ethnic groups (Parkinson 1967, Firth 1966, Silcock 1965, Aziz 1964, Fisk 1962). Hirschman (1979b) and Snodgrass (1980) have compared and analyzed these theories. Snodgrass classifies these theories into two basic types: the cultural hypothesis and the structural or discrimination hypothesis. The cultural hypothesis claims that inequality is a result of differential value orientation toward achievement that is part of the culture of each ethnic group. Thus the lower economic success of Malays is attributed to their less materialistic aspirations while the better economic success of the Chinese is attributed to their thrift and business sense. In contrast to this emphasis on cultural values, the structural hypothesis suggest that differences in opportunities for each ethnic group are the root cause of inequality. Among those who subscribe to the structural hypothesis, Aziz (1964) and Fisk (1962) explain the low participation of Malays in commerce and industry to the low and stagnant income level in rural areas. This situation leads to low savings and inability to pay the cost of education or of migration, the two basic means of social mobility.

Although the cultural hypothesis may be more popular among some scholars like Parkinson (1967), some contemporary studies have shown evidence that there is little empirical support for the thesis that the Malay peasantry are uninterested in socio-economic change and that Malay students have higher educational and occupational expectations than the Chinese (Hirschman 1979b:25-26). In my study I opt for the structural hypothesis.
as a possible explanation for the material I found regarding Malay urban participation. The structural hypothesis is examined when I discuss the problem of institutional connections with the government as frameworks for the adjustment of urban Malays.

Each of the two hypotheses explaining ethnic inequality in Malaysia have policy implications. Those who subscribe to the cultural hypothesis would rather try to change individual tastes and abilities or work indirectly through increasing opportunities for all ethnic groups, than try to manipulate certain opportunities which benefit Malays alone.

The adherents of the structural hypothesis advocate policies which will widen Malay opportunities, such as preferential educational and employment quotas or credit and marketing facilities for Malays, since the Malays are perceived to be the underprivileged group. Hirschman (1975:81) suggests that it is possible to combine the desired outcome of each opinion into a policy which would reduce ethnicity related income inequality by altering the distribution of wealth, abilities, and opportunities. This type of compromise is difficult to achieve. The New Economic Policy is an example of the difficulties encountered in attempting to implement such a compromise.

The New Economic Policy was introduced after the political disturbance of May 1969 which was triggered by ethnic rivalries (Milne 1976). This policy tries to eliminate poverty and also correct the economic disparities among the ethnic groups. The solution offered is a "re-structuring" of Malaysian society, which is for the most part geared at income redistribution so that Malays have greater ownership of wealth. Part of this
re-structuring goal is to redistribute the population so that more Malays live in urban areas, and participate in the commercial and industrial activities of the cities.

The success or failure of the policy hinges on the re-structuring goals of the policy. Critics of the policy contend that the re-structuring goals may not be fulfilled on the grounds that they will not be able to solve the broad problems of poverty or that it is accelerating the polarization of Malay society. Peacock (1979:388) doubts that the poverty amelioration program will succeed since it does not make any real attempt to relate the effects of the overall anti-poverty strategy to the specific focus of the policy. Peacock asserts that efforts to increase the wealth and income of Malays as a group will not affect poor Malays, since the attempts to redistribute income among Malays has so far only increased income inequality within the Malay community without having had any marked effect on poverty (1979:391). Stenson (1976:49) thinks that the policy's goal of re-structuring Malaysian society will fail because it does not strike at the roots of current intra-Malay conflicts, e.g. the challenge by youthful working class leaders against the traditional-aristocratic-administrative elites.

These criticisms of the New Economic Policy point to another variable which is just as significant as ethnicity in solving problems of inequality. That variable is stratification. Most authors concentrate on inter-ethnic differences but have not paid enough attention to intra-ethnic divisions. One exception to this is the work of Evers (1972, 1978a) on Southeast Asian urbanization. Evers argues that a basic structural and ecological
re-arrangement is taking place in the cities of Southeast Asia, the slow
dissolution of ethnic segregation and an increase of segregation by social
class. In his view the progress of economic development opened up
positions not traditionally defined and are now usually open to all ethnic
groups. The growth of urban areas has spawned the creation of executive and
working class residential areas. In time he envisions a differentiation of
residential areas into upper class, civil service, professional quarters,
lower middle-income housing estates, and squatter settlements. The outcome
of these changes is seen by Evers in terms of an intensification of urban
conflict, not based on ethnic lines as in the past, but based on class lines.
This prognosis may or may not come true depending on whether the intra-Malay
polarization noted by Stenson (1976) intensifies, or if competition in
urban areas continue along racial lines.

Analytical Framework

Much attention has been given to Malaysia's multi-ethnic society,
ethnic divisions, their causes and consequences. The focus on ethnic
contrasts, as Hirschman (1979:16) points out, often blinds the inves-
tigator to within-ethnic-group heterogeneity which is considerable. One
correction to this oversight is the study of intra-ethnic relationships
among Malays. This is the main concern in this present study. I have
chosen to focus on intra-Malay relationships in my study of Malay urban
participation because there were few inter-ethnic contacts in the locality
I studied. These are, however, noted when they were observed.

Some studies of Malays in urban areas focus on Malay ethnic patterns,
as well as, account for variations in behavior among this group. Proven-
cher (1972) has used rural-urban comparisons to account for the persistence of traditional behavior patterns. He shows how Malays have often retained substantial cultural identity even after their rural to urban migration bringing with them most of their traditional cultural patterns. In his comparison of rural and urban Malays he found the urban Malays to be more traditional in certain aspects of behavior. He explains the more traditional character of interpersonal behavior of urban Malays in terms of certain demographic imperatives in urban areas - economic differentiation, social and geographic mobility, age and sex distribution. In my study I examine how the Malays in the neighborhood studied compare in terms of their maintenance of traditional patterns of behavior.

Another study of urban Malays by Nagata (1974) investigates the difference in the manifestation of Malay ethnicity in two towns. She explains the difference in terms of the effects of immigration, colonial and current government policies, and ethnic demographic structure. My study also takes into account these same variables which Nagata investigated, in analyzing the urban participation, inside and outside the locality, of the Malays studied.

Clarke's (1976) study of Malay urbanism on the east coast of Malaysia focuses on the role of land ownership in the associational ties of Malays. He found that ownership of land is the basis for lasting relationships which would otherwise not persist as a result of stratificational differences. When Malays establish themselves in another urban area they recreate customary patterns, thus presenting an involutorial characteristic to Malay urbanism. Clarke disagrees with Provencher's
assertion that Malay urban interactional patterns are only an intensification of rural patterns. He argues that solidarity found in rural patterns is based on similarities of individuals, while the solidarity found in urban patterns is based on differences among individuals. My study is aimed at finding out the degree to which the Malays in the locality studied conform or do not conform to the patterns already described by these previous studies.

The problem chosen for this study is the understanding of ethnic patterns and their variations by focusing on social cohesion and differentiation within a Malay urban neighborhood. To investigate this problem, I follow the approach of urban anthropologists in the study of urban neighborhoods. This involves ethnographic description with a holistic perspective. The objective in this holistic perspective is to see how large scale institutions, reference groups, political goals, and other factors affect local social structure (Weaver and White 1972:118). With this strategy, it is possible to relate the neighborhood studied to its larger urban context and avoid the error of studying the locality in isolation (Leeds 1968).

One specific tool for investigating the integration of individuals and groups to the larger urban setting is the concept of the social network (Gutkind 1965). The network concept has been used to indicate the ways by which relationships cross-cut social ties based on territory, ethnicity, kinship, or friendship (Mitchell 1969). Underlying the network concept is the assumption that individuals in complex urban social systems are faced with a large range of potential social relationships. The individual selects from this potential range of relationships those with
whom he or she will establish social ties. There are various social contexts which are basic sources of network members. Among these are kinsmen, neighbors, fellow workers, former school mates and people from the same ethnic group.

There are two basic orientations to the use of social network analysis. Bott (1957), Barnes (1969), Epstein (1961), Gutkind (1965), and Mitchell (1969) found it useful in describing structural links between individuals. These anthropologists have followed a strictly structuralist perspective (Mitchell 1974:284) by emphasizing the morphological aspects in their analysis, e.g. size, density, and composition of networks. On the other hand, Aronson (1979), Van Velsen (1967), Whitten (1970) have used social network analysis to understand the optative elements in social processes. These anthropologists have followed a transactional perspective by examining choice-making processes in social relationships.

One can choose either the structuralist perspective or transactional perspective, depending on one's theoretical problem. From the structuralist perspective, social networks are viewed as an independent variable that can influence behavior. For example, Bott (1977) hypothesized that the kind of network an individual is involved in affects the degree of segregation in the role relationships between husbands and wives. In the transactional perspective, social networks are treated as dependent variables that are the results of social or cultural factors. For example, Parkin (1969:145) notes how differences in network form are the results of general cultural differences between "Migrant" and "Host" people in South Africa. His study shows that the "Migrants" have an
ideology of brotherhood which promotes an effective brotherhood network in both rural and urban areas. In contrast, the "Host" people have extensive but ineffective networks because they do not have an ideology of brotherhood.

Given my interests, I have chosen to apply the structuralist perspective in my use of social network analysis. I want to describe the categories of relationships with which the migrants are involved in the urban system and the extent of their involvement in each category of relationship. It is possible through the use of morphological characteristics like size, composition, and density of networks to describe the social networks of the migrants and determine the relative importance of various social ties in the relationships of Malays in town. It is also possible to find out if the migrants are encapsulated in forms of relationships based on locality and kinship, or whether their social networks are extended to other types of relationships found in the urban system. I find the structuralist perspective more useful for these types of concerns because its methods are geared towards describing the links that bind individuals to each other.

Before describing the structural characteristics of the social networks it is necessary to describe the various sources of network members. To do this I follow Chrisman's method of examining the institutional framework of network formation (Chrisman 1970). This involves an examination of the institutions and groups in which an individual is likely to be involved. These institutions include kinship, residence, neighborhood, occupation, and voluntary associations. All of
an individual's potential network relations come from these institutional settings. After analyzing the recruitment of network members from these institutions, Chrisman suggests analyzing the types of relationships among the network members by describing the situations in which interaction takes place and the nature of the interaction.

Chrisman's method of examining the institutional framework of network formation is an important tool for the "determination of the completeness of a person's commitment to his own community" (1970:249). The structural properties of the network give some indication of the individual migrant's participation in the wider society. It is my contention that these social networks have significance for understanding Malay urban participation in a pluralistic environment where ethnic stratification is a major condition.

The Site Selection and Field Study

The account in this study is based on fieldwork in Malaysia from October 1976 until the end of September 1977. The first four months were spent gathering material about the towns in Selangor state and the selection of the locality for the study. Eight months were used gathering ethnographic material in Taman Kampung Kuantan, the site selected for the study.

During the initial period of research, I gathered some migration statistics and historical material, as well as reports about development programs in the state of Selangor. These were obtained from the Statistics Department of the government and the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur. The State Development Corporation of Selangor (PKNS) provided me with material about current development programs in the state, particularly
those found in the Kelang Valley. Historical, administrative, and statistical data about the town of Kelang were obtained, to the extent that they were available, from the Kelang Town Council. Consultation with officials and administrators of the Town Council facilitated gathering this material. They made available current documents about population and property distribution statistics and minutes of past Town Council meetings.

I chose the locality of Taman Kampung Kuantan because I was initially interested in a locality with migrant residents. Taman Kampung Kuantan is a low cost government built housing project inside Kampung Kuantan, a Malay residential area in the town of Kelang, in the state of Selangor. The Taman is populated mainly by migrant Malays.

Selangor is the state on the west coast of the Malay peninsula with the highest rate of in-migration. Among the towns in Selangor, Kelang has the largest concentration of Malays, with the exception of Kuala Lumpur. Being close to Kuala Lumpur, it has become one of the recipients of migrants coming to the state. In 1970 Kelang had a 21 percent Malay population. I elaborate on these and other population aspects of the town in Chapter III.

The choice of the locality studied was made after a general survey, which focused on the various sections and land use patterns of the town of Kelang. Five areas of the town were found to have a majority of Malay residents: Bukit Kuda, Kampung Kuantan, Kampung Sungai Pinang, Kampung Jawa, and Kampung Raja Uda. After observing and comparing conditions in the five areas, I chose Kampung Kuantan. It is similar to the other four kampungs in many respects. It is located on the periphery of the town.
center, was formerly agricultural land, and has a combination of traditional and modern housing. The residents of the kampung were mostly Malays. In 1970, 82.1 percent of the kampung population were Malays, 8.6 percent were Chinese, and 9.3 percent were Indians.

In the other four kampungs there appeared to be more non-Malays. Statistics, however, were not available to confirm this. These non-Malays lived on the periphery of the kampung land. The Malays in the kampungs are almost surrounded by non-Malay residents of the town. Kampung Kuantan is different from the other four kampungs by the presence of a fairly large government built housing development, Taman Kampung Kuantan.

This study focuses on the Malays of Taman Kampung Kuantan. In order to study the relationships of the Taman and its residents to the rest of the town, I examined the role of the ethnic community in the adjustment of urban Malays to the urban setting. To do this, two kinds of data were collected: statistical and socio-cultural. Statistical data provided material on the position of the Malay community in relation to other ethnic groups in the town. For example, data on ethnic distribution of economic activity in Kelang provided one type of information on how the Malays were situated in terms of this characteristic. Ethnographic material was collected from day to day observation of events in the Taman and the kampung. Inside the kampung I was only able to observe Malay interaction with fellow Malays. There was minimal contact between Malays and non-Malays in the kampung. Most of the interactions between Malays and non-Malays took place in settings outside the kampung such as in the marketplace and formal public gatherings. Thus the content of this
study deals largely with intra-Malay relationships.

During the intensive part of the research, my wife and I lived in Taman Kampung Kuantan for eight months. We gained introduction into the kampung through the village head man or ketua kampung. He in turn recommended that we talk to the other local leaders, such as the local United Malay National Organization or UMNO head, and school teachers. One of these was the president of the local Women's Institute who helped us find housing in Taman Kampung Kuantan.

Once we had settled in the Taman, observational data were obtained during our day to day interaction with neighbors. Aside from the usual daily activities, e.g. walking around the neighborhood and getting introduced to neighbors, meeting people in stores and visiting, we also attended public gatherings, e.g. weddings and ritual feasts, committee meetings of kampung organizations, and religious meetings at the mosque and prayer houses. Being a Filipino by origin, I was well accepted by the Malays in the Taman and was often mistaken for a Malay if the person did not know me personally. The language we used most of the time was Malay, which we learned before going to Malaysia. This was appreciated by most of the residents of the Taman. Some school teachers and university educated residents preferred to use English when talking to us.

Our eight months residence in the Taman gave us an opportunity not only to observe life in the locality but also to obtain some basic data about the Taman residents. I conducted a survey designed to gather material about household composition, birthplace, education, occupation, previous residence, kinship relations, friendship, and association
membership and participation. A copy of the questionnaire used is shown in Appendix I.

There were about 600 households in the whole kampung and about one half of these were in the Taman. The survey attempted to cover both the kampung proper and the Taman. This, however, was not accomplished due to limitations of time, personnel, and primary emphasis of the study. Since my primary interest was in the migrants of the kampung I concentrated my efforts in obtaining material about the Taman residents. Furthermore, we lived in the Taman, as did most of the migrants in the kampung, and we came to know the residents of the Taman more intimately. A total of 157 households from the Taman were surveyed. This was accomplished by interviewing every other house in the Taman's 294 units. I initially interviewed 140 households among the 147 intended households. Seven of the intended houses for the survey were either vacant at the time of the initial survey or the occupants refused to participate. In the process of obtaining substitutes for the refusals/vacancies, 7 other households were interviewed and 10 more households volunteered to be included in the survey. Two sub-samples were used from the initial 157 households for further data gathering. After each survey of a household the informants were asked if they would agree to cooperate further in the study; 72 agreed to participate again. Informal interviews were conducted with these households through visits and discussion about life in the locality, their perception of their neighborhood, household management, aspirations for children, and government policy towards Malays. From these 72 households a second sub-sample of 24 men was drawn for a study of social networks.
The social network material is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.

The data gathered for this study focused on the Taman residents, supplemented by general data about the kampung. From these men and women came the ethnographic material for this study. It is analyzed and discussed in the context of material gathered about Malays in Kelang, migration, urban growth, and government policy in order to make general statements about the participation of a group of Malays in an urban area.
CHAPTER II
MALAYS AND URBANIZATION

Only since the Second World War have Malays begun to fully participate in the urban development on the Malay peninsula. Whereas, Malays lagged behind the non-Malay groups in urban participation during the colonial period, the decades following independence from the British gave Malays a chance to reassert their role in their country. This process gained some momentum in recent years when the government formulated its New Economic Policy (NEP), which promotes Malay urbanization. The urbanization of the Malay population with government support is one important characteristic of recent urban development on the Malay peninsula. In this chapter, I discuss the urbanization process on the Malay peninsula to provide the context for the discussion of Malay participation in the urban sector, particularly as it concerns the residents of the locality I studied.

Five things are germane to a discussion related to the current urbanization process in the Malay peninsula: (1) the demographic aspects of urbanization, (2) the colonial background, (3) the growth of Malay nationalism, (4) post-independence political dilemmas, and (5) government policy influencing urbanization. These will provide the background for understanding the general framework of Malay urbanization and its relevance to the locality studied.
Urbanization of Malays

Before World War II, the Indian and Chinese immigrant groups dominated the urban scene. In 1931, for example, Malays constituted only 21 percent of the urban population, while 57 percent were Chinese (Hamzah 1962:21). In the decade following the war, more Malays moved to the urban areas. Their urban proportion increased by 119.6 percent, compared to the 109.8 percent increase of the Chinese (Hamzah 1965:89). Although the increase did not have much impact on the previous ratio of Malay to non-Malay groups in urban areas, the trend was there; and it is usually attributed to the migration of Malays from rural to urban areas, rather than to the natural increase of Malays in urban areas. It is estimated that Malays made up one quarter of the rural to urban migration stream in the decade after World War II (Caldwell 1963).

Ethnic patterns of urbanization in Malaysia since 1947 have been studied by many scholars (Sandhu 1964, Caldwell 1963, Hamzah 1962, Narayanan 1975, Pryor 1975, Hirschman 1979). Most authors agree that there was a significant rise in urbanization between 1947 and 1957. During this period there was a marked population increase in large towns, but more dramatic was the virtual doubling of population in small and medium sized towns. This is usually attributed to the resettlement program of the colonial government which transferred rural Chinese to "new villages" during the anti-communist campaign. These "new villages" became part of small and medium sized towns.
The resettlement program was primarily directed at the Chinese community, thus the pace of urbanization from 1947 to 1957 significantly widened the urban-rural gap between the Chinese and the rest of the population, particularly the Malays. Hirschman (1979:7) notes that in 1947 27 percent of the Chinese lived in large cities (above 25,000 population) compared to 22 percent Indians, and only 6 percent Malays. By 1957 about 37 percent of the Chinese lived in large towns, compared to 27 percent of Indians and only 9 percent of Malays (Hirschman 1979:8).

Although Malays in urban areas were still outnumbered by non-Malays (see Table I), their growth in this sector is apparent. According to Narayanan (1975:155), the increase in the proportion of Malays in urban areas is notable between 1957 and 1970. By 1970, it was the Malay component of the population that expanded most rapidly in towns of various sizes. For every ten Malay migrants in 1957, there were seven Chinese and three Indians; in 1970, there were ten migrant Malays for every six Chinese and two Indian migrants (Narayanan 1975:69). The pace of urbanization was slower in the 1957 to 1970 period. The general pattern of ethnic distribution showed a widening gap between the Chinese and non-Chinese. Thus, for cities above 25,000 in 1947 the Chinese-Malay gap of 27 percent to 6 percent increased to 41 percent and 12 percent in 1970 (Hirschman 1979:9).

Selangor state was the main destination of urban in-migration, which was concentrated within the metropolitan towns of Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, and Kelang. About 41 percent of the urban migrants in 1970 came from within Selangor, and the rest were from other states.
Comparing ethnic groups, Narayanan (1975) found that about 60 percent of Malays, 47 percent of Chinese, and 40 percent of Indians in Selangor were inter-state migrants. More than two thirds of these came from predominantly urban districts, although movement from rural to urban districts was more common among Malays than other ethnic groups. One interesting aspect of this migration trend is that the migrants "were drawn largely from among those who either resided in towns or were at least open to urban influence and educational opportunities" (Narayanan 1975:119). This suggests that, for the recent period, the phenomenon of "filling-in migration," migration from the country-side to small towns and from the small towns to the metropolitan areas is characteristic of Malaysia.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1947 (%)</th>
<th>1957 (%)</th>
<th>1970 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chua 1974:5

One attraction of urban in-migration was that it offered an opportunity to participate in occupations other than those connected with agriculture. Two avenues were open to Malays in the towns: government employment and
commercial or industrial employment. The industrial sector expanded only slightly in the decade following World War II. Many rural migrants, including Malays, could not be absorbed by the manufacturing sector. Most of them were unskilled and lacked the necessary qualifications for industrial employment. More Malays entered government service than commerce. Their participation in the latter was slow because the Chinese and Indians were already well entrenched in urban areas and provided stiff competition in the commercial sector. With the acquisition of political and administrative control after independence, however, more opportunities in government service were opened to Malays in urban areas. It is estimated that between 1947 and 1957 there was an increase from 20,000 to 116,000 Malays in government departments (McGee 1972:116). Large numbers of Malays were also recruited into the military as a result of the government's fight against the communists during the period known as the "Emergency."

One effect of urban in-migration is that the migrants compete with residents for the jobs that are available. A study by Narayanan (1977) found that in Selangor there were more migrants in the labor force than established residents. Unemployment rates were higher for migrants in the labor force than established residents. Among the unemployed, Malays constituted the largest ethnic group. For every ten unemployed migrant Malays there were seven Chinese and four Indian migrants unemployed. In terms of the types of occupations obtained, migrants did not succeed in entering the manufacturing sector in large numbers. Rather they were mostly absorbed into the service sector: 26.8 percent of the migrants were reported as production related workers, and 48.7 percent were reported
in the service sector. A great proportion of Malay migrants were in
service occupations than the other two ethnic groups: 30 percent of
Malays, 20 percent of Indians, and 18 percent of Chinese. Thus, a large
proportion of migrants, notably Malays, were found in low productivity
and low income occupations.

The Colonial Background

One way to understand the problem of Malay urbanization is to look
at the colonial background of this process. The movement of Malays toward
the urban areas in the post World War II period was part of a growing
trend of Malay participation in the country's development. This change
can be attributed to two factors: the rise of Malay nationalism and the
Malays' desire to share in their country's economic development. The
minority position of Malays in the economic development process can be
traced back to the colonial period which has determined the position of most
Malays in relation to other ethnic groups.

The polyethnic composition of Malaysia's population is the result of
large-scale immigration in the nineteenth century and early twentieth
centuries. This was primarily in response to British colonial enterprise
in the Malay archipelago and, later, on the peninsula. During the early
nineteenth century, the British established themselves in Penang, Malacca,
and Singapore (the Straits Settlements) to maintain control of commercial
activity in the region. Among these settlements, Singapore became the
main trading port, replacing Malacca, which had been dominant before the
British took over. The settlements became the entrepôt for trading silk,
cotton, rice, pepper, gold dust, and most importantly tin.
Before the British intervened in the affairs of the Malay states, traditional Malay social structure was basically divided into a ruling class and a subject class. Each Malay state was ruled by a member of a royal family and divided into districts ruled by chiefs. Together with the Sultan, or head of state, the chiefs and their families formed a ruling class. Below the ruler and his officials were the free peasants, debt-bondsmen, and slaves. Relationships between ruler and subjects were based on land ownership and usufruct rights. In order to get cultivation rights, the subject had to pledge loyalty and give service and tributes of rice. In the village, the subjects were ruled by a headman and the imam or Muslim religious leader. The Malays followed a simple subsistence economy based on rice cultivation, supplemented by fishing. Trading was limited to a few aristocrats, merchants, and religious leaders. All the Malay states followed this general pattern of social organization, with the exception of Negri Sembilan, which had a matrilineal social structure (Gullick 1958).

The influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants into the Malay peninsula came with the establishment of the Straits Settlements. Before the British established a base in Penang in 1786, there were no Chinese or Indians there. Only a few Chinese cultivators were in Singapore when the British founded a trading station there in 1819; but it did not take long for the Chinese and Indians to follow the British into these islands. Only Malacca had a sizable Chinese and Indian population before the British took it over from the Dutch in 1825. The Chinese and Indians have had contact with Malacca since the fifteenth century, when the Sultanate of Malacca was at its peak. The Indians, however, were never as
numerous as the Chinese or Malays in Malacca. For example, out of a total population of 25,000 in Malacca in 1826, there were 2,300 Indians and 4,100 Chinese (Ooi 1963: 197).

The Chinese engaged in a variety of occupations, primarily as traders and shopkeepers, some became laborers. Others undertook traditional occupations: farming cash crops like vegetables, cloves, nutmeg, gambier, and pepper. The failure of spice cultivation in Singapore sent some Chinese to Johore, where they cultivated pepper and gambier. Increased immigration of the Chinese groups to the peninsula, however, was connected with the development of tin mining. Tin had been mined on the Malay peninsula for centuries and was exported by Malays from Malacca. When large deposits of tin were discovered in Perak, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan in the nineteenth century, great numbers of Chinese flocked to the Malay states from Malacca, as well as from China.

With the help of Chinese and European capital, mainly from Malacca, tin mining grew in Larut, Lukut, Sungai Ujong, and Ampang in the middle of the nineteenth century (Khoo 1972a). The Malay chiefs leased land to Chinese miners or employed Chinese miners to work the mines. In the early phase of the mining ventures, the Malay aristocracy controlled the tin trade. All producers had to sell their tin to the chiefs, who in turn sold it to the Straits Settlement merchants. Later, Straits merchants from Penang and Malacca dealt directly with the miners, and chiefs just collected a tax on the tin exported from their territories. Singapore merchants bought tin from Penang and Malacca and exported it to China, Great Britain, and India.
The tin mining industry not only brought revenue into the Malay states, it also brought trouble. As more Chinese came to the peninsula they brought the tradition of forming rival secret societies with them (Blythe 1969). Factions of Chinese quarrelled and fought each other for control of mining land. At about the same time, there were succession disputes over the thrones of the central and southern Malay states. Eventually, the conflict of one ethnic group became merged with that of the other. As Khoo (1972a:110) describes it,

"all parties involved were fighting for control of economic resources. For the Malay chiefs, political control was the prerequisite to the acquisition of substantial revenue. For the Chinese miners, who were dependent on Malay chiefs for the legal right to work tin producing lands, it was important that the victorious Malay faction should be the one favorable to their interest. The same may be said of the Straits merchants."

The turbulent conditions that ensued in the Malay states caused a slump in the tin trade, which threatened the investments of the European and Chinese merchants in the Straits Settlements. Pressure was brought upon the British to intervene in order to protect their commercial and political interests.

British intervention in the Malay states began in 1974 with the dictation of a settlement between the rival Chinese factions in Perak and the settling of a succession dispute among the Perak Malay chiefs. A British Resident was assigned to "advise" the Sultan and his chiefs on the economic and administrative affairs of the state of Perak. Similar steps were taken in other states, culminating in the Treaty of Federation among the four states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the other four northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu, and the southern
state of Johore also accepted British advisors, while retaining their independent status as the Unfederated Malay states under British protection.

Under the British, the peninsula went through a political-social-economic transformation. First, colonial rule modified the traditional system of government by bureaucratizing the rulers and the chiefs (Freedman 1960:161). The Sultans became constitutional monarchs and the chiefs were pensioned off or made into administrative officers. Contrary to early British assurances, the role of the Malays in the new administration decreased. Only matters relating to custom and religion were left to them. State Councils were set up in each state, where Malay royalty, along with the Chinese, met to listen to British directives on policies and legislation.

The development of the Malay states under the British had two consequences: the growth of a colonial economy and an increase of the immigrant population. Tin exports increased during the first two decades of British rule. The pacification of the West coast Malay states led to further increase in the Chinese population, who worked the tin mines. The development of commercial agriculture was a significant aspect of the plan formulated by the British for their agricultural development program.

They followed a dual policy of agricultural development in the Malay states: the development of large-scale commercial agriculture and the development of peasant agriculture. In the former, the goal was to convert the vast forests of the Malay states into plantations for tropical agricultural products, e.g. sugar, coffee, tobacco, coconuts, and rubber. The latter policy was institutionalized in the hope of inducing peasant agriculturists to grow food to feed workers on the plantations.
An important requirement of the British agricultural development program was sufficient labor. The Malay states, however, were sparsely populated compared to the Straits Settlements or Java or Ceylon at that time. To supply their labor needs, British authorities encouraged further immigration into the peninsula. The Chinese could not be prevailed upon to do plantation work since they preferred to work the tin mines or preferred to work for their own people. The Malays were satisfied with subsistence cultivation and had no great desire to work on plantations. Consequently, both indentured and free labor immigrants were brought into the Malay states from India by the British authorities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to work with the plantations.

The rise of the Indian population in the Malay states is usually associated with the development of the rubber industry in the early twentieth century. Like the Chinese who worked the tin mines, the early Indian labor migrants were recruited. The first wave of Indian laborers were indentured, i.e. bound by contract to work for a specific period in the service of the employer who paid their passage to the Malay peninsula. In 1914, indentured labor migration was abolished and replaced by "free" recruitment, whereby the migrant was free to choose and change his employment.

Not all Indian immigrants to the Malay states during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were laborers. There was a large number of non-labor migration from India, 35 percent of the total Indian labor migration stream (Sandhu 1969:117). With the establishment of British rule in the Malay states, English became the language spoken in
government service and commercial circles. English speaking, skilled, professional, and clerical Indians immigrated to the Malay states, where they found work in the military, road and railway construction, clerical work, and teaching. In addition to these skilled and educated Indian immigrants, there were commercial immigrants: traders, shopkeepers, medicine men, and vendors.

Two things may be said about the British agricultural policy. First, it channelled the different ethnic groups into different sectors of agricultural activity; Second, it was biased towards commercial agriculture. Unlike the Europeans and Chinese, who were encouraged to develop large-scale commercial agriculture, the British discouraged Malays from producing cash crops. There were only certain crops that the British colonial government approved for Malay cultivation, mainly the production of coconuts and rice.

Even though the British encouraged food production among the Malays, they were not too supportive of peasant agriculture. For example, the Department of Agriculture that was set up had more links with plantations than with peasants (Lim 1977:88). With the exception of the Krian irrigation scheme for padi cultivation, no other agricultural projects were supported. When the peasants tried to venture into raising coffee or rubber for cash, policies were adopted to prevent this from spreading. For example, peasants could not apply for permission to cultivate rubber but plantation owners could; land use was specified for land titles; and credit was not made available to peasants, as it was to plantation owners, for increasing food production.
As a result of these policies, peasant agriculture did not improve. It remained on a subsistence basis; and it did not rise beyond this level during the British period, because there was no incentive. Rice production is a case in point. Although the demand for rice increased, the price of local rice failed to rise to a level that would encourage peasants to increase its production. This was due to the competition from cheap imported rice. Thus the price of rice was not high enough to make its extensive cultivation remunerative (Lim 1977:22). The unequal and biased treatment of the British colonial government thus ensured the stagnant conditions of rural Malays. This condition is also reflected in the development of the towns, as I will show below.

The rapid growth of urban settlements in the Malay peninsula began during the colonial period. Before this, there were mostly river and coastal settlements, which had been occupied by Malays prior to the fifteenth century. With the development of Malacca from a fishing village into a center of trade in the early fifteenth century, towns began to emerge on the peninsula (Hamzah 1965). There is a claim, however, that no traditional urban system existed on the peninsula before the colonial period. Lim (1975) claims that it was the "colonial-immigrant complex" that produced the present day system of towns. The arrival of non-Malay immigrant groups of traders and miners, as well as nineteenth century colonial powers, spurred the development of inland settlements into urban centers. Thus, towns like Taiping, Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur and Seremban came into being. They grew with tin mining. Other towns came into being in the early twentieth century with the development of the rubber industry on the west coast.
These towns serviced the rubber industry but later assumed purchasing and distributing roles as the railway and road network developed. These developments were typical of the west coast. On the east coast towns may have developed earlier as a result of trade contacts with other Asian kingdoms. This, however, still remains to be documented.

Except on the east coast where the Malays were in the majority, towns on the peninsula were dominated by the non-Malay immigrant groups. Lim (1975) claims that the appearance of these immigrant groups "stiffled" the possibility of traditional, indigenous settlements transforming into urban centers. He suggests that the commercial functions on the peninsula were taken over by the immigrant Chinese, and the indigenous Malay settlements did not develop into trading centers after the colonial period had started.

A similar idea is offered by Goodman (1976) in his "fragment hypothesis" of urban life in Southeast Asia. According to his thesis, urbanization in Southeast Asia is a result of the presence of two fragments: a Chinese fragment and a folk fragment. The Chinese fragment grew during the colonial period and monopolized the middle-class sector of society, based largely in towns. Faced with the presence of a large number of Chinese in the urban environment, the traditional native society was not able to transform into a modern one since the Chinese posed a challenge to the native society. This resulted in the continuation of village traditions and patterns of behavior in urban areas according to Goodman, producing what he calls the "folk fragment" in urban areas of Southeast Asia. This hypothesis may be valid to the extent that the so-called folk
fragment remains isolated and segregated in the urban environment. In
the case of the Malays this is not entirely true, as the following section
will show.

Malay Nationalism

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Malay society had felt
the effects of British colonial presence and of the non-Malay immigrant
groups. British administration had reduced the powers of the Malay rulers
and chiefs, as well as the participation of Malays in the administration
of the western states. The availability of Chinese and Indian labor had
allowed the British to exploit the mineral and agricultural resources
of the Malay states, leaving the Malays to their subsistence cultivation.
It is in this context that the roots of Malay nationalism are found.

The origin of Malay nationalism has been traced by Roff (1967) to
the development of three new elite groups in Malay society: the religious
reformers, the civil servants, and the intelligentsia made up of teachers
and journalists. Soenarno (1960) has divided the process of Malay awakening
into three stages: religious, socio-economic, and political. The work of
these two scholars give some ideas on the processes by which Malays became
aware of their position in the colonial order and how a new group of leaders
rose among them.

Since a British system of civil and criminal law was introduced to
regulate all aspects of life except those concerning Malay religion and
custom, a more formal system of Islamic law and administration was estab­
lished by the Malay authorities. As a result, the elite, orthodox reli­
gious hierarchy became firmly established. Its members were heavily-
influenced by religion and de-emphasized material gain. The latter emphasis has often been cited as the source of Malay backwardness (Mahathir 1970).

The first stirrings of Malay nationalism came as a challenge by young religious reformers to the old, orthodox religious elite. Students and hajis who had returned from Cairo were greatly influenced by the Islamic reform movement and the nationalist ideologies of Egypt and Turkey. The Islamic reform movement stressed an evangelical return to the Koran and a desire to bring Islam in line with modern scientific, economic, and political conditions. The reformers pointed to ignorance of the true tenets of Islam as the cause of Malay backwardness. One result of their endeavors was the increase of clubs, religious schools, and Islamic literature. The religious zeal of the reformers, however, was opposed by the traditional hierarchy. Since the reformers were a small minority of the Malay population at the time, their ideals did not arouse much support from the majority of Malays.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the British took steps to increase the participation of Malays in the administration of the western states. They opened two types of schools for their education: the Malay College, aimed at preparing young Malay aristocrats for administrative posts in government service, and the government English schools for commoners to produce clerks for government offices. Before this, the Malays were mainly educated through the Arabic and religious schools or the Malay schools. The Malay teachers obtained further training at the Sultan Idris Teacher Training College, which was established by the British. As a result of these educational avenues opened to Malays, more Malay teachers,
civil servants, religious teachers, and writers became aware of their social and political situation.

By the second quarter of the twentieth century, a new phase in the development of Malay nationalism came into being. This was marked by the foundation of the first Malay political association, the Singapore Malay Union, whose objectives were to encourage Malay participation in government, and political, social, economic, and educational fields. This association, led by a member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council, was significant in its avowed goal of communicating Malay wishes to the government. Through it, Malays expressed their increasing awareness of their own economic and political backwardness compared to that of non-Malays. It was in Singapore that the Malays felt they were most oppressed by the alien races. This may account for the initial stirrings of political activity among Malays there, rather than in the peninsula.

At about the same time as the foundation of the Singapore Malay Union, the Chinese began to demand equal rights and privileges. The Strait born Chinese were particularly anxious for recognition as citizens of Malaya. This was influenced by the split between the Chinese Communist Party and the Koumintang in China in 1926. The Strait born Chinese claimed that Malaya was their country. At the time, the British writer A.J. Toynbee gave support to this claim. The Malays protested and denounced these claims in the State Councils, as well as in the press. Chinese claims for rights and privileges equal with those of the Malays determined the course of Malay political attitudes in subsequent decades.

In their own analyses of the causes of their problems, the Malays were divided in their opinions. A pan-Indonesian radical group vented its
grievances against the Malay Rulers, the British, and the non-Malay groups. The Cairo-educated Malays also saw the Malay rulers as the cause of their troubles, accusing them of inactivity and neglect of their subjects' welfare. Most of the Malays, however, supported their Rulers and exhorted the British through newspapers and magazines to protect them from the greed of the non-Malay immigrants.

Two important events occurred as these arguments were taking place. Malay administrators in the Councils openly criticized the British for giving favored treatment to European officials over their Malay counterparts and Malay civil servants pressured British officials for further education and further advancement. The second event that caught the attention of Malays and Chinese was the plan for a pan-Malayan federation which would have redistributed the power of the federal secretariat in Kuala Lumpur to the State Councils. The Malays had mixed feelings about the plan, while the Chinese were opposed to the scheme, fearing some injury to their commercial interest. It did not take long for the Malays to react to the Chinese response by accusing them of having allegiance only to their self-interests and not for the country as a whole.

These two events were important indicators of Malay feelings toward their position in the colonial order, as well as their attitudes toward the non-Malay immigrants, particularly the Chinese. In spite of significant growth of awareness among the Malays concerning their position, there was still an absence of significant Malay leadership to bring coherence to their sentiments.

There was only one political association among the Malays in 1937, the
Singapore Malay Union, and it functioned for the Malays in Singapore. Between 1937 and 1939, however, there was a surge of organizational activity among the Malays, because of the influence of such external events as the nationalist movements in India and Indonesia, which inspired Malay national sentiments, and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War which engendered fear of another war in Europe. Branches of the Singapore Malay Union were formed in other states. The radical Union of Malay Youth (KMM) was formed in 1937. Literary bodies and associations also sprang up. Perhaps the most notable were the political groups that cleared the way for a pan-Malayan organization. Their objectives were similar: the pursuit and representation of Malay interest in government, education, as well as national unity. The culmination of all this organizational activity came with the first Pan-Malayan Conference in 1939, a meeting of all existing Malay associations. This and a second similar conference in 1940 were the first moves toward Malay national unity. The outbreak of World War II, however, disrupted the initial impetus for Malay political organization.

Japanese occupation of Malaya was significant in at least one sense: it encouraged local nationalism; although, like the British, the Japanese followed racial policies to mobilize certain segments of the population in their favor. Malay civil servants were, however, given higher posts than they had enjoyed under the British, and the radical political association, KMM, was allowed to operate. In its activities the KMM collaborated with Indonesian nationalist leaders for the joint Malayan and Indonesian independence at the end of World War II. This plan did not, in fact materialize when the Japanese were defeated and the British returned to the peninsula.
Malay nationalism found its full expression after World War II. When the British returned, they proposed to establish a new type of government whereby the nine Malay states and the Straits Settlements, except Singapore, were to be merged into a Malayan Union. Under this scheme, government was to be carried out in the name of the British crown, and the Malay rulers were to lose their sovereignty. Furthermore, the same citizenship provisions were to apply to Chinese, Indians, and Malays. Reactions from on and off the peninsula followed the implementation of the plan. Former British administrators denounced the plan. The Malays as Milne (1967:30) put it, "were shaken out of their political apathy and their state particularism."

Malay reaction was quick. Within weeks of the implementation of the new government, another Malay organization, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), was formed among a number of local political associations to oppose the new government. UMNO members demonstrated in protest, and the Malay Rulers also protested. UMNO disagreed with the new constitution imposed by the British since it downgraded the sovereignty of the Malay Rulers and the privileged position of the Malays. As a result of Malay opposition, the Malayan Union was replaced two years later by the Federation of Malaya, which was similar to the pre-war government but included the Straits Settlements within the federation.

Multi-ethnic Politics and Communal Issues

In 1957 Malaya received her long-delayed independence from the British. Even this was a slow process and had to be worked out with the British and among the component ethnic groups on the peninsula. Malay desire for independence, however, was strong.
A communist uprising in 1948 stalled the momentum gained by the Malay nationalist movement of 1946. During the Second World War, the Malayan Communist Party had been active in fighting the Japanese, though it disbanded after the war. In 1948, the Chinese communists resorted to armed violence in their struggle in Malaya. British efforts were directed at combating the communists during the period known as the "emergency." The Malays used the emergency as an argument in favor of independence, claiming that if independence was granted, the communist charge that they were fighting imperialism would lose its force. Even after the emergency was practically over in 1955, the British were reluctant to grant independence without a strong political party to hand over power. They were afraid that left to themselves, the various ethnic groups would not get along, and the new independent national government would soon collapse because of differences between these groups.

The solution was found in an alliance between the major communal political parties on the peninsula. Each ethnic group was represented - UMNO for the Malays, MCA or Malayan Chinese Association for the Chinese, and MIC or Malayan Indian Congress for the Indians. This Alliance won the national elections of 1955, showing that a viable multi-racial government was feasible in the federation. Representatives of the Alliance, headed by Malays, ironed out independence negotiations with the British. Independence was granted in 1957.

One of the results of the negotiations with the British for independence was a political bargain, which became part of the constitution, between Malays and the non-Malays on the peninsula (Milne 1980:36). In
exchange for citizenship for non-Malays, Malays were given certain social and economic privileges which included the recognition of the Malay Rulers use of Malay as the national language, selection of Islam as the national religion, and retention of Malay special privileges such as the establishment of Malay reservation land and granting scholarships to Malays to universities and other training institutions.

This so-called bargain was rooted in attempts to obtain a balance in the relationship between Malays and non-Malays in the new independent nation. Before independence, political power was vested in the Malays, while economic power rested with the non-Malays. With independence, political power was still in the hands of the Malays, although citizenship and partnership in government were given to non-Malays. Malay privileges were supposed to help balance the economic inequalities between Malays and non-Malays.

For more than a decade the Alliance was able to maintain its hold on government. Opposition to Alliance rule, however, has been present since its establishment. This comes mainly from the opposition political parties that were not part of the Alliance. Some of the opposition parties are multi-racial, but most of them represent communal or racial interests. Among the latter is the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) for the Malays, and the Democratic Action Party (DAP) for the Chinese. Since these opposition parties were communal in their interests, the Alliance claimed that it alone could reserve racial unity in the nation through its non-communal stand on official policies.

The opposition parties played on the Alliance's shortcomings to
support their causes. The PMIP, for example, claims that the Alliance sold out Malay interests to the Chinese and has allowed the gradual erosion of Malay political power. The DAP claims that, within the Alliance, the MCA has also sold out Chinese rights to UMNO, that because of the Malay special rights, the Chinese were being treated as second class citizens.

The tensions arising from the multi-ethnic political situation broke out in violence on May 13, 1969. On that day, bloody racial riots between Malays and Chinese occurred. The immediate cause of the riots has been attributed to an emotional response to the results of the election held a few days before. In the May 1969 elections, it seemed that the Alliance had lost some of its popular support to the DAP. As McGee (1969:568) suggests, the election results of May 1969 were a set-back for the Alliance compared to its 1964 performance.

The government reacted quickly to the disturbance. A state of emergency was declared by the king, Yang di Pertuan Agung, on the advise of the Alliance government. Parliament was suspended, and a National Operations Council (NOC) was created to restore order and take the helm of the government during the emergency. The NOC was composed of the Alliance directorate under the Deputy Prime Minister. A broadly based National Consultative Council was later called up, composed of local leaders, professors, and journalists, which advised the NOC.

For more than a year and a half, until the restoration of parliament in early 1971, the NOC governed Malaysia. During this period it took steps to restore the political system established in 1957, which had been disturbed by the May 13 violence. In the process, the NOC revised its approach to
democratic politics. As Von Vorys (1975) observes, in its new role, the NOC made certain ideological, constitutional, social and economic reformulations for Malaysian society, reiterating the political bargain reached between Malays and non-Malays before independence as the basis for the restoration of democratic politics.

The first task of the NOC was restoring national unity. A national ideology, Rukunegara, was formulated to serve as the guideline for all Malaysians. It embodied certain principles to foster unity among the citizens - belief in God, loyalty to king and country, upholding the constitution, rule by law, and good behavior and morality. These principles reinforced the constitutional provisions containing the political bargain. For example, loyalty to king and country was a reflection of the constitutional articles that recognized the Yang di Pertuan Agong as head of state. To prevent any questioning of these provisions, the NOC suggested amendments to the Constitution that would prohibit public or parliamentary questioning of the articles of the constitution containing these provisions. These amendments were later passed when parliament convened. The NOC took these steps to prevent occasions that would invite communal tensions and violence.

Under the NOC the "new educational policy" and the "new economic policy" were first formulated. Later they were put into effect by the government. The new educational policy suggested that Malay be the language of instruction at the primary and secondary levels of education by 1978. Before 1969, the government made slow and halting progress in using Malay as the national language, even though passage of the National
Language Bill in 1967 made Malay the official language. There was much opposition to using Malay in the educational system. Under the NOC, however, positive steps were taken to make Malay the language of instruction in schools, de-emphasizing English and other languages previously used.

The "New Economic Policy" was formulated in response to the need to reduce the income gap between Malays and non-Malays. The NOC felt that one barrier standing in the way of national unity was the wide gap between Malays and non-Malays in terms of income and employment, the Malays having less than non-Malays. The solution forged was a government effort to provide access for Malays to the modern sectors of the economy. Plans for the implementation of this policy were later enunciated in the Second and Third Malaysia Plans, the blueprints for Malaysia's development efforts in the 1970's. Although the new economic policy seemed more pro-Malay, the NOC saw the policy as an implementation, in economic terms, of the constitutional bargain between Malays and non-Malays. By reducing economic imbalances, the NOC sought to achieve national unity.

**Malay Participation and the New Economic Policy**

Malay nationalism took a significant turn from the political to what may be called economic nationalism after achieving independence from the British. This was influenced by the desire among Malay leaders to solve the problem of Malay poverty and to increase their participation in the economic development of the country during the first two decades after independence. The fulfillment of Malay aspirations were guided by the new political and bureaucratic elite whose ideals and strategies gained support in the government (Tham 1977).

Malay opposition to the Malayan Union gave birth to UMNO, the first
Malay national political organization. Through this organization, a new breed of Malay political and bureaucratic elite came into being. They formulated the new economic policy (Chandra 1977). The lack of significant Malay leadership during the colonial period allowed the British and non-Malay immigrant groups to by-pass the Malays in the economic development of the peninsula. Through the efforts of the new leadership, Malay entrepreneurial activity was stimulated. As discussed below, their attempts at influencing the modernization of Malays have been concentrated on using politics and legislation to remove hindrances to Malay participation, as well as to preserve Malay rights in certain economic sectors.

Two phases may be abstracted from the government's efforts to uplift the conditions of the Malays: first, the development of the agricultural sector, and second, participation in the modern industrial sector. After the establishment of the federation in 1948, Malay leaders began to voice their demands for development in the agricultural sector. The British had previously concentrated efforts on the plantation, mining and commercial sectors which were mainly in the hands of the Europeans and Chinese. Since Malays were found mostly in the rural, small-holding, agricultural sector, Malay leaders clamored for the development of this sector.

British officials and Malay leaders differed in their perception of the causes of Malay poverty. The former saw it as a result of deficiencies in organization and a dysfunctional value system, i.e., Malay custom and lack of achievement orientation. Malay leaders countered that the deficiencies were due to the exploitation of rural Malays by Chinese and Indian moneylenders, while the dysfunctional value system was a
result of the breakdown of village life brought about by the paternalism of colonial rule (Aziz 1964, Mahathir 1970).

As a result of Malay insistence, the British government's economic development program in the 1950's concentrated on rural areas. This was marked by the establishment of two government organizations to deal with rural development, the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA) and the Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA). The former was organized to provide physical, technical, and financial support to rural areas, while the latter was formed to open new agricultural areas for resettling the landless (Ness 1967). At the same time, community development programs were instituted so Malays could organize and improve themselves. The establishment of village development committees was one result of this program.

The second phase of the Malay leaders' efforts to uplift the conditions of the Malays was aimed at Malay participation in the modern industrial sector. Two economic congresses for Malays were held in 1965 and 1968 wherein government leaders identified areas of economic participation vital to Malays. Resolutions were formulated for their goals. In the first congress, the term bumiputra, or sons of the soil, was first suggested to refer to Malays and other indigenous peoples in the federation. This was a step in symbolizing the interests of the Malays as separate and apart from those of the non-Malays.

Six areas of economic activity were identified to help the bumiputras. These were the provision of capital, participation in trade and commerce, participation in the service sector, entrepreneurial training, provision of marketing facilities, and land reform. Institutional support was pro-
vided to fulfill these goals by the establishment of a government bank, Bank Bumiputra, which was to provide capital for Malays, and by the reconstruction of RIDA into the Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA) or Council of the People's Trust, which was to help in entrepreneurial development. The second congress adopted more resolutions to urge the government to provide more capital resources and facilities to Malay entrepreneurs, as well as to have the government patronize bumiputra business enterprise.

The new Malay economic nationalism did not go unnoticed by the other ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese. Some Chinese groups resented the increase in favorable treatment of the Malays. Malays, the Chinese said, were not the only poverty stricken group on the peninsula. The May 13, 1969 racial conflict was one result of this resentment.

As mentioned above, the strong political position of the Malays and the increased economic favoritism of the government towards the Malays was a result of the constitutional bargain between Malays and non-Malays. In exchange for full participation and citizenship, the Chinese gave in to constitutional provisions for the "special position of the Malays," particularly in the civil service, scholarships for education, and certain permits or licenses to operate businesses. An unstated part of the bargain was that the dominant role of the Chinese in business will continue, free from persecution and hindrances; Malay economic nationalism, however, was seen as an infringement on Chinese dominance in commerce and business. Malay political strength prevailed, however, and an even stronger pro-Malay policy in economic life was formulated in the government's new economic policy after 1969.
The New Economic Policy (NEP) was first announced publicly in the Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975. It had two main objectives: First, the eradication of poverty for all Malaysians, irrespective of race; second, the re-structuring of Malaysian society to correct imbalances to eliminate the identification of race with economic function. It is the NEP's second objective that has guided the pro-Malay policy of the government.

There are five goals in the Plan containing measures that indicate a pro-Malay policy: (1) to increase the Malay share in the country's capital wealth to 30 percent by 1990; (2) to produce Malay managers and other professionals; (3) to increase Malay employment on all levels to reflect the racial composition of the country; (4) to increase the proportion of Malays pursuing higher education in fields like science and technology, economics, and business administration; and, (5) to increase Malay urbanization by encouraging Malays to move to towns and help them get into business.

Various means have been used to implement the goals selected for re-structuring Malaysian society. In addition to already existing government institutions, such as Bank Bumiputra and MARA which served to train and assist Malay businessmen, several other organizations were created to help bumiputras increase their economic participation. Among these were the Urban Development Authority (UDA), which facilitated the provision of offices and commercial premises for Malays in urban areas; the National Corporation or Perbadanan Nasional (PERNAS), which engaged in a wide variety of business operations like insurance and construction; and State and Economic Development Corporations (SEDC), which planned and controlled state level economic developments (Milne 1976).
These organizations are regarded as stand-ins for Malay interests. Their function is to start business with the eventual aim of handing them over to individual Malay entrepreneurs. The rational for using these new large government organizations is the belief that since there are still few qualified Malays who can operate large businesses without institutional backing, this ethnic group remains at a competitive disadvantage with non-Malays (Milne 1976).

This method of increasing Malay ownership by government institutions as proxys is considered by Peacock (1979:392) as an odd exercise in development. In his view the effect of government buying into private companies is to divert funds for anti-poverty programs into equity-participation programs in the private companies. Purchase of existing equity will merely change ownership, not expand a company's capital nor increase productive opportunities or provide new jobs. Although the method may be presently harmless, it may do some harm to Malaysia's future prospects of attracting foreign capital: If the purchase of equity through government institutions such as PERNAS is interpreted as government interference or as an initial stage to nationalization, the foreign investors may direct their funds elsewhere.

Response to the NEP from the three main ethnic groups has been mixed although most of them have come to accept it. Non-Malays have previously resented pro-Malay policies, but because the NEP came after the 1969 incident, when their influence in the government was diminished, they have acquiesced. For example, the Chinese response has mainly been vigilance toward the implementation of the NEP, rather than outright opposition to
the policy. Their complaints have usually touched on administrative controls, such as the issuance of licenses to manufacturing firms that followed the NEP guidelines. At the same time, Chinese businessmen have resigned themselves to re-organizing their operations in the face of government machinery helping the bumiputras and competition from large multi-national corporations. The Indian response has also been one of acceptance. They have only called attention to the proportionate share of Indians in various sectors such land settlement and university admission.

Malay reaction to the NEP and its implementation has produced more interesting comments and criticisms. In spite of the fact that the NEP was formulated to benefit Malays, there is still the fear that the short-run benefits of such government programs would go to non-Malays. For example, in building commercial premises for Malays, it is the Chinese contractors who usually get the business. Malay intellectuals have criticized the government's attempt at creating a Malay entrepreneurial community in towns (Chandra 1977). According to their view, the implementation of the NEP and creation of Malay businesses and industries has only benefited a few Malays. They doubt that the transfer of Malay businesses from the hands of the government to individual Malays will be realized; they fear that they will only stay under the control of the new political and bureaucratic elites. Furthermore, they emphasize that the creation of a group of Malay entrepreneurs will not be conducive to national unity, since it does not solve the problem of poverty among all the ethnic groups; rather, the result may be more ethnic conflicts like those of May 1969.

Government leaders have denied that they desire to create an elite group of Malay entrepreneurs, arguing that they intended to create a middle-
class Malay group. This is to be accomplished by implementing the goals of the NEP, eradicating poverty, and re-structuring Malaysian society. Implementation of the NEP under the Second Malaysia Plan emphasized improving conditions for Malays by giving more attention to the restructuring goals. Government leaders have become aware of the shortcomings of this approach to Malay programs and national unity.

In the Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980, more attention is given to the problem of eradicating poverty as set forth in the NEP, utilizing a more balanced approach that includes all three ethnic groups in the specific targets. Poverty stricken groups were targetted in the development efforts, e.g. fishermen, estate workers, and urban workers. The Chinese were also allotted more participation in agriculture, utilities, and services; and Indians were given a bigger role in manufacturing, commerce and services. Thus, on a policy level, criticisms of the pro-Malay bias of the government is being rectified through the Third Malaysia Plan.

Efforts of the political and bureaucratic elites in the development of Malay business and entrepreneurial interests have been substantial. Their involvement in the economic life of Malays has provided leadership in the newly established government sponsored institutions for Malays, like MARA, UDA, and PERNAS. Through these institutions, they have provided basic facilities for participation in the economy, as well as improvements in rural income and standard of living (Tham 1977:254). Specific accomplishments for Malay participation are: availability of capital through loans, participation in the commerce and service sectors through education and the provision of marketing facilities. Through these activities, Malays
have obtained some measure of participation in the development of their society, particularly in the urban sector. These general trends will be examined in the light of the material gathered for the residents of Taman Kampung Kuantan.

**Conclusion**

The urbanization of Malays began slowly, but has accelerated in the past two decades. As a result of colonial and other historical factors, non-Malays outnumber Malays in urban areas of Malaysia. During the colonial period, the British policy of channelling ethnic groups into certain sectors of economic activity helped contain Malays mainly in the rural areas. Malays were limited to subsistence agriculture, while the Chinese and Indians were left to develop commerce or were employed in tin mines or on rubber estates. It was also the immigrant Chinese and Indians who developed the towns with their commerce and accompanying service industries.

This pattern is reflected in the development of the town of Kelang, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Traditionally known as a Malay settlement, Kelang has grown into a virtually Chinese town. The majority of its population is now Chinese, and the economic and commercial life of the town is also primarily in the hands of the Chinese.

Since World War II, Malays have moved to urban areas in increasing numbers as part of the reassertion of Malay participation in the development of their country. Malay nationalism, inspired by religious and political leaders, provided the initial impetus for the Malay awakening following the colonial regime. Educated abroad or in English schools on
the Malay peninsula, religious leaders and civil servants became aware of the backwardness of Malays compared to other ethnic groups. With independence, a new political leadership developed among Malays which tried to direct the development of Malays within the context of a multi-ethnic society. Malay fear of economic dominance by non-Malays influenced the promotion of pro-Malay policies in Malaysia. For example, the expulsion of Singapore, with its large Chinese population, from the Federation of Malaysia in 1965 took a substantial segment of non-Malays out of the federation.

The political strength of the Malays confronted the economic domination of non-Malays, resulting in the New Economic Policy, which sought to obtain some balance in the relationship among the three main ethnic groups in the country. With its pro-Malay bias, however, the NEP is asserting Malay leadership in the development of Malaysia.

In urban areas Malays tend to concentrate in the service sector and unskilled, low income occupations. Upon their arrival in urban areas, they find themselves unable to participate fully in the industrial and commercial life of the town due to lack of skills, education, or social connections. Many obtain occupations like clerks, policemen, teachers, or unskilled laborers. The NEP is trying to rectify this situation by providing more opportunities for Malay participation in urban areas. It is providing incentives for industrial development, institutional support, physical infrastructure, and financial aid to Malays. The results of this policy and its effects on Malays still remain to be seen. In the next chapters I describe a locality and the effects of urbanization on its Malay residents.
CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND ETHNIC PATTERNS IN KELANG

In this chapter a brief historical review of the town of Kelang and its development is given in order to provide some perspective for the discussion of the locality studied. The development of Kelang reflects the general pattern of the development of towns on the west coast described in the preceding chapter. Some aspects of the patterns of ethnic distribution in the town will also be discussed to show the position of Malays vis-a-vis the other ethnic groups in the town.

Kelang Town

A brief description of the town's physical lay out provides some perspective on the physical context of the locality studied. The town of Kelang may be reached from Kuala Lumpur by travelling about 20 miles southwest on the Federal Highway. It is on the southern tip of a 30 mile development in the Kelang Valley that stretches from Kuala Lumpur to the Port of Kelang on the shore of the Straits of Malacca. Along the way, one passes the new towns of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam, which are separated from Kelang and each other by green belts of forest, palm oil, or rubber estates. Unlike Kelang, these two towns are alive with industrial activity. Factories are lined up side by side. New housing developments are also apparent in Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam.
Approaching Kelang from the northeast, the housing developments are the first buildings to catch one's eye. On both sides of the highway are two-story concrete row houses, sometimes looking monotonously alike. The new Hokkien Association building towers near the highway, perhaps a symbol of the numerical supremacy of the town's Chinese population. Cars, buses, and trucks cruise into town along the main roads, which are marked at the intersections by roundabouts. Stores with signs indicating that they are Chinese-owned face the streets in the town center's commercial district.

Just as one enters the main commercial section of the town, the Kelang River looms ahead. Across the west bridge, is the southern part of town. The Town Council building and District Office buildings sit atop hills close to the river. Past these buildings, a small commercial area also thrives. Then a five mile stretch of road leads to the port. Along both sides of this road are housing developments. There are also a Hindu temple, some vacant land, and a new, light industrial area, which is still being developed. In front of the factories is a small squatter settlement side by side with blocks of concrete two-story row houses. Along the busy street leading to the port are commercial establishments, again mostly Chinese.

At the entrance to the port, railroad tracks run parallel to the old port which is not very busy since most of the activity has been transferred to the new port on the North Kelang Straits area, about five miles northwest of the old site. Around the old port are government quarters for workers, and a thriving commercial section. There are also new housing developments in the area, including high rises for low income groups and row houses and
bungalows for the more affluent.

According to geographical and land use criteria, Kelang may be divided into three sections: Kelang North, Kelang South, and the Port. The Kelang River separates Kelang North and Kelang South. The port is separated from Kelang South by a five mile stretch of road. Residents of the town see Kelang North as the commercial and entertainment section of the town, while Kelang South is its administrative hub. The port is the export/import gate of the town, as well as of Selangor (See Map 2).

Kelang North has outpaced Kelang South in recent development. The main market, commercial buildings, bus and taxi terminal are only some of the main improvements in this area. People from all over the district go to Kelang North to shop if they do not wish to go to Kuala Lumpur. They flock to the moviehouses, restaurants, and evening markets, or pasar malam, on Saturday night for amusement. Light industrial firms engaged in making machine parts and leather and rubber goods have also been established in Kelang North.

Kelang South is linked to Kelang North by two bridges. The west bridge leads directly to the buildings that house the Town Council and the District Office. The new east bridge links Kelang North to the old commercial center and the hospital. East of the District Office are other national government units, such as the Police, the Railroad, and Religious Departments.

Kelang's reputation as a royal town comes from the presence of the Sultan's old palace in Kelang South. The palace was first constructed at the turn of the twentieth century and was rebuilt after the Second World War. Members of the royal family of Selangor also have their residences in
Map 1. Kelang Town Council Area

- Town boundary
- Kelang River
- Main roads.
- Malay Reservation area

Scale: 1 inch = 5000 feet
this part of town. Kelang's reputation as a royal town may not last long, since the Sultan has built a new palace and established his official residence in Shah Alam. Near the Sultan's palace in Kelang is the state mosque built by Sultan Suleiman in the 1930's. As the head of the Muslim faith in the state of Selangor, the Sultans have been active in supporting religious institutions like College Islam, which is also located near the state mosque.

The Port of Kelang is the outlet for exporting tin, rubber, and palm oil which are produced in Selangor. It is also one of the main entry points for foreign goods to Malaysia. Since independence, the government's development efforts have primarily focused on the port of Kelang. The rest of the town has grown more from private investments, mainly Chinese. The port is the only part of Kelang that has maintained its strategic significance for the town. Industrial growth in the state has concentrated in Kuala Lumpur and the new towns, while the rest of Kelang has become an administrative, commercial and residential complement of the port.

Social and Administrative History

The socio-economic and ethnic characteristics of Kelang are very much a product of its social and administrative history. The history of Kelang has been traced back some 2,000 years to the Dong Son culture of Indo-China. Parts of bronze bells and drums similar to the Dong Son artifacts excavated in Kelang suggest human habitation in the area at that time. Iron age implements, locally called *tulang mawas* or bone of the orang-utan, have also been discovered. Who brought these implements is not yet certain, however, it has been suggested that Malays from Indo-China carried these items with them to the Malay peninsula (Wheatley 1964).
The first historical reference to Kelang dates back to the time of the Majapahit kingdom of Java. According to Majapahit accounts, a place called Kelang was under their control in the fourteenth century. The next historical mention of Kelang is in connection with the Sultanate of Malacca which controlled Kelang in the fifteenth century. When Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1521, the control of Kelang was transferred to Johore, where the Malacca Sultanate was re-established (Haji Buyong 1971). The Kelang area mentioned in early accounts probably referred to settlements on the banks of the Kelang River in Selangor which was sparsely populated until the nineteenth century. Apart from the aboriginal inhabitants, the earliest settlers were Malays from Malacca and Sumatra. The Malays settled on the banks of the rivers or sungai, like Sungai Bernam, Sungai Selangor, Sungai Kelang, Sungai Langat, and Sungai Lukut. Malay settlement of these areas probably drove the aboriginal population further into the interior of the peninsula. One reason Malays preferred living near the rivers was that these were main lines of communication. Thick jungles and forests separated the river valleys. The rivers led to the Straits of Malacca, the main water way to other regions.

The early Malay inhabitants of Selangor were mostly padi cultivators, gatherers of forest products, and fishermen. In the seventeenth century, Bugis settlers from Sulawesi came to Selangor and settled mainly in Kelang and Kuala Selangor. Unlike the Malacca and Sumatra Malays, the Bugis preferred the sea coast to the river banks. They were good sailors and traders, as well as famous warriors. It did not take long before the west coast of Selangor became a Bugis stronghold. In 1756,
Selangor was founded by the Bugis rajas or royal persons (Haji Buyong 1971).

From the foundation of the Selangor Sultanate until the nineteenth century, the development of Selangor revolved around the consolidation of the state or negeri and the growth of the tin trade. External influences on the affairs of the Sultanate came from the rivalry between the Dutch and the British for control of the Straits of Malacca. Selangor had close economic ties with Malacca in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. After the Dutch were driven out of Malacca by the British, Selangor channelled its then small production of tin through the port of Malacca. It was not until the nineteenth century, when the Chinese began providing capital and labor to the Malay chiefs, that large quantities of tin came from Selangor.

Each of the Selangor river settlements was controlled by a territorial chief who was usually related to the Sultan. The chiefs held considerable power, exacting tribute for the Sultan, and collecting taxes on the trade that passed along the rivers of their territories.

Among the river settlements of Selangor, Kelang was the most populated and productive until the nineteenth century. Mohammad (1972), Haji Buyong (1971) and Khoo (1972b) provide some descriptive accounts of nineteenth century Selangor. In 1820, Kelang had an estimated population of 1,500 while the other settlements had from 200 to 700 people (Mohammad 1972:4). Most of the population was involved in agriculture, but some Malays were involved in mining which was managed by the territorial chief. As tin production increased, labor was increasingly provided by the Chinese who flocked to the mines as they were opened. Together with Kuala Selangor, Langat, and Lukut, the total output in the 1830's was 3,600 piculs of tin per year (Mohammad 1972:5).
Selangor's tin trade greatly expanded in the mid-nineteenth century, as a result of the efforts of a territorial chief of Kelang, Raja Abdullah, who opened up mines up the Kelang River in Ampang in 1857. He was supported in this venture by labor and capital provided by Chinese financiers in Malacca. The tin mining in Ampang attracted Chinese miners from the neighboring areas of Lukut, Langat, and Sungai Ujong where the tin mines were not as productive. By 1859, tin from Ampang was exported through the Kelang River. In 1866, for example, 21,000 piculs of tin came from the Kelang district. It was a result of the tin mining in Ampang that the town of Kuala Lumpur was born.

Khoo (1972) describes the effect of the tin trade on the different ethnic groups in Selangor. The boom in tin mining increased the Kelang district's Chinese population. One consequence of this was the competition among the Chinese. Chinese factions, grouped into "secret societies" competed with each other for control of commercial and other goods. Frequent conflict among these factions hindered normal commercial activities and a Chinese headman had to be appointed to bring order among them. Another effect of the tin trade was the change among Malays. It is said that some Malays neglected padi planting. They preferred instead to engage in the buying and selling of goods. The chiefs were also affected by the expansion of tin mining. Traditionally, the chief bought all the tin produced in his area and exported it himself. With the increase in the number of miners and buyers of tin, miners were allowed to engage in their own exporting, while the chiefs collected a twenty percent duty on the tin.

The boom in the tin mining industry was disrupted in the middle of the nineteenth century by the Kelang War and later by civil war on the
west coast which led to the British intervention in the affairs of the Malay states. Khoo (1972a) describes the Kelang War as a conflict based on inter-ethnic rivalry between the Mandalings, originally from Sumatra, and the Bugis. While the Mandalings came to Kelang in the fourteenth century, the Bugis arrived during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hostility between the two groups originated in the seventeenth century, when the Sumatrans tried unsuccessfully to wrest control of the Kelang river valley from the Bugis. The rivalry culminated in the Kelang War which was precipitated by the conflict between two rajas, Raja Mahdi who supported the Mandalings, and Raja Abdullah who was with the Bugis, for the control of Kelang.

After the establishment of British colonial rule in 1874, the British began a policy of agricultural development in the four Malay states of Perak, Pahang, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan, collectively known as the Federated Malay States. Jackson (1965) describes the changes in the economic programs of the British colonial administration at that time as a turning point in the development of Selangor and other Malay states. He says that the first two decades of colonial rule were marked by reliance upon tin export and not commercial agriculture because of the absence of a major, viable, commercial agricultural product.

In Selangor, tapioca, gambier, and pepper were the first crops to be cultivated on a commercial basis. Chinese planters were among the first to venture into commercial agriculture. Chinese planters were already cultivating tapioca in Selangor before the British intervention. In the
1880's this crop was superseded by pepper and gambier cultivation. European estates were opened in Kelang to plant pepper. Coffee was also produced on the European plantations in the late 1880's, and the Kelang district was found to be the most suitable location for this. By 1895, Kelang was the most important coffee planting district in the state of Selangor.

The successful cultivation of coffee as a commercial product encouraged the European planters to open up more land, employing Malays and Chinese to clear forests. Lim (1977) gives an account of peasant participation in commercial agriculture. In Kelang, local Malays, mostly Javanese, began planting coffee, which provided them with a remunerative crop. This gave the kampung residents experience in commercial export production. Their products were sold to the Chinese or European exporters, giving them cash in return. In 1893, for example, the Annual Report of the State of Selangor estimated that Malays had only about 150 acres planted with padi, while there were 1,985 acres of Malay land under cultivation for coffee.

The coffee planting period lasted from 1881 to 1906. By 1894, however, world coffee prices fell, starting the end of the coffee boom. On the peninsula, the coffee production peaked when coffee prices were at their lowest. Pest problems in the 1890's further aggravated the situation. Finally, many Malay coffee cultivators abandoned their holdings and migrated elsewhere.

Jackson (1965) suggests that the introduction of the rubber tree by the British contributed to the demise of coffee production in the Malay states. In the early planting period (1897-1901), rubber was interplanted
with coffee. Further expansion of rubber planting occurred at the turn of
the century, as coffee prices continued to fall. Land devoted to coffee
declined annually, and more rubber trees were planted instead.

Rubber planting was considered primarily a European activity by the
British colonial government. They disapproved local participation in
commercial agriculture, as noted in the previous chapter. The Malay
peasants sought work on short term contracts, during the inactive period
of the rice agricultural cycle, to fell trees and remove timber. This
was approved by the British colonial government, which saw it in terms of
future possibilities for peasant labor on rubber plantations; however,
this did not occur because Malay peasants placed a higher priority on their
agricultural life.

The growth in commercial agriculture was paralleled by an increase in
Selangor's Chinese and Indian population, as noted in the previous chapter.
Increase of the Chinese population was a result of migration from South
China, which was plagued by poverty and other problems. They came to the
Malay peninsula in the hope of making their fortune and then returning
to their homeland. The Indians came primarily as indentured laborers for
the plantations. From 1901 to 1911 the Chinese of Selangor increased from
9,089 to 21,820, while the Indians increased from 5,720 to 57,329. While
most of the Chinese became employed in the tin mining industry, the Indians
were mostly employed to work on the coffee and rubber plantations.

The growth of the Chinese and Indian population at this time was the
beginning of an ethnic stratification pattern which prevailed until the
Malaysian government decided to take steps to change it: the Malays in the
rural peasant sector, the Chinese in tin mining and commercial sectors, and
the Indians in the plantations.

The growth of the Kelang district, therefore, began with the development of tin mining and commercial agriculture in Selangor. By the 1890's, Kelang was Selangor's major export outlet. The growth in exports was followed by an expansion of communication networks. Roads to Kuala Lumpur were opened, and the railroad was extended from Kuala Lumpur to the coast.

Before the turn of the century, the port of Kelang was located about twelve miles up river from the coast. By 1901, that port was closed and a coastal port with a railroad terminus was opened. Initially called Port Swettenham after the first British adviser to the Sultan of Selangor, it was later renamed Port Kelang. A new settlement grew around the port. This settlement became an integral part of the town when it was placed under the same administrative body.

Kelang's official history began in 1895 when its boundaries were delineated. In 1904, Kelang and the port were administered by separate Sanitary Boards under the District Office. The land in the Kelang District was swampy, and diseases such as malaria were rampant. Sanitation and disease control were of prime concern at that time, thus the existence of Sanitary Boards. In 1926, Kelang and the port were placed under the same Sanitary Board. Before World War II, Kelang was known as one of the dirtiest towns on the peninsula because of its poor sanitation, large numbers of squatters, and poor housing conditions.

At the beginning of World War II, the Malay peninsula came under Japanese rule. Little change was made in the administration of the peninsula except that the Japanese rather than the British were in control.
The Japanese allowed the Malays more participation in local government, establishing local councils in each district. All the council members were Malays, with half the members appointed by the Japanese and the other half nominated by the village headmen. The Japanese who had a history of hostility towards the Chinese persecuted them on the Malay peninsula. Enmity between the Malays and the Chinese was aroused because of the differential treatment accorded each by the Japanese. As a result, the Malays cooperated with the Japanese, while the Chinese resisted and formed guerilla units against the Japanese. Chinese armed resistance against the Japanese was led by the Chinese communist party on the peninsula, which later carried out insurgent activities against the government during the period known as the "emergency" following World War II.

The Kelang Town Board came into existence in 1945 after the British Military Administration assumed control over the Malay peninsula. The Board consisted of a chairman and members who were appointed by the state government. With the establishment of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, a trend toward elective office began. In 1950, elected council members and financial autonomy for local authorities were first introduced in the Federation. The Kelang Town Council came into existence in 1954 as a result of these two innovations. A partially elected and partially appointed Council, representing Malays, Chinese, and Indians, and with the District Officer presiding as chairman, administered the affairs of the town.

As a result of the initial introduction of democratic processes in local government, attempts were made by the Kelang Town Council to have a fully elected, instead of a partially elected, Council. This plan, however,
did not materialize. In 1966 local authorities throughout the peninsula were suspended and replaced by fully appointed councils.

Attempts were also made to have Kelang elevated to the status of a municipality. This was achieved in 1977 when Kelang became a full-fledged municipality, with its own Chairman and appointed councillors. As an autonomous administrative unit, Kelang municipality administers the affairs of the areas within the town, providing services such as street lights, roads, garbage collection, and drainage. There are some roads in town, however, which are still under the management of the District Office. This is because some services or facilities installed by the District Office, in parts of the town's incorporated area, are under the District Office's control. This is particularly true of facilities found in kampung areas on the periphery of the town.

The District Office, which has its main office in Kelang Town, was originally responsible for land matters in the district, including those in the town area. Now that Kelang has become a municipality, the District Office's responsibility is only for areas outside the town. It has, however, some authority in kampung areas within the town boundaries.

**Ethnic and Population Patterns**

Kelang is typical of west coast Malaysian towns in its multi-ethnic character. The population of Kelang district was estimated by the District Office at about 78,000 in 1931 -- about 46 percent Indian, 29 percent Chinese, and 23 percent Malay. At that time, Kelang town was practically half Chinese, and had approximately equal numbers of Malays and Indians. Kelang is a fast growing town. In 1947 it had a population of 44,806
(Malaya 1947 Census). This increased to 75,649 in 1957 and by 1970 was 113,528 according to the 1957 and 1970 Censuses. This represents an increase of about 250 percent in the population of the town between 1947 and 1970. As a result of this growth, the population of Kelang is second only to Kuala Lumpur in size within the state of Selangor.

Since the nineteenth century, migration has been a major factor in the population growth of Kelang. Tin mining and plantation agriculture encouraged Chinese and Indian immigration to Selangor. Kelang also grew as a result of export trade and the expansion of the supply and marketing needs of the rural population in the mining and plantation areas. After the Second World War, rural to urban migration increased the pace of urban growth. This was initiated by large scale resettlement of rural families into "new villages" and towns between 1947 and 1957 during the "emergency" fight against the communists. The area known as Pandamaran near the port was originally a resettlement area for Chinese and rural families who were moved there as a result of "emergency" measures.

Government expansion and to some extent the development of manufacturing and processing industries, also influenced the movement of people from rural to urban areas at this time. In Kelang the development of port facilities, which have expanded from 1947 onwards, was an important factor in population growth. The port is now the largest single employer in the district.

The growth of the three main ethnic groups' population since 1947 may be gauged from Table II. Among the three ethnic groups, it is the Malays who have exhibited a steady increase in population, while the proportion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>7,226 (16.1%)</td>
<td>12,377 (16.4%)</td>
<td>23,680 (20.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>24,654 (55.0%)</td>
<td>45,969 (60.8%)</td>
<td>65,990 (58.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>10,608 (23.7%)</td>
<td>14,958 (19.7%)</td>
<td>23,299 (20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,318 ( 5.2%)</td>
<td>2,345 ( 3.1%)</td>
<td>638 ( 0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44,806 (100%)</td>
<td>75,649 (100%)</td>
<td>113,607 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1. Age-sex pyramid of Kelang's three main ethnic groups, 1970

Source: Constructed from 1970 Census data.
of Chinese and Indians has fluctuated between 1947 and 1970. As in the rest of the country, the Malay population of Kelang also exhibited the largest increase since 1947. This growth is attributed to urban in-migration. In 1970, out of the total Malay population in Kelang, about 48 percent were not born in the town, compared to 31 percent of the Chinese and 45 percent of the Indians. In spite of this, Kelang still remains a predominantly Chinese town with about 58 percent Chinese, 21 percent Malay, and 21 percent Indian in 1970.

Another demographic characteristic of the three main ethnic groups that may be compared is age structure. In Figure 1. the 1970 age pyramids for the three main ethnic groups show surprisingly slight differences. They all have a narrow base among the very young which expands suddenly at age five, then begins to narrow gradually by the working age of 15 and above. A slight difference is found among the Indians, where the 45 and over age group is much smaller than that of the Malays or Chinese. This may be explained by the fact that the Indians were the latest addition to the peninsula's population, and thus, have not yet increased their population of older people as much as the other two ethnic groups.

Ethnic and Economic Patterns

Of Kelang's total working population in 1970, about 45% were engaged in production related work, such as metal processing, wood preparation, mining, brick laying, equipment operation, and dock work. By ethnic category, the Chinese (46% of their total) were ahead of the Indians (44%) and Malays (39%) in production work involvement. Most jobs were located in the port and neighboring towns of Shah Alam, Petaling Jaya, and Kuala Lumpur.
Next to production work the other common occupations among Kelang residents in 1970 were in sales, service jobs, and clerical work. By ethnic category, the Chinese were more numerous in sales than the Indians or Malays, clerical work was more common than service jobs. This was true for the Indians as well. Few Kelang residents were engaged in the professional or managerial positions. Comparing the three ethnic groups, Malays and Indians have slightly higher proportions of professionals than the Chinese; Indians have a higher proportion of managers than Malays or Chinese. The occupation distribution by ethnic group is summarized in Table III.

This distribution of occupations among the three ethnic groups in Kelang town may be compared with the 1970 national distribution shown in Table IV. Among the various categories of occupations the Chinese have a greater share over Malays in most of the categories, particularly in production, sales, and service occupations. Malays have a majority only in agricultural occupations. The Chinese and Indians have approximately similar proportions in the service occupations.

The ethnic distribution of Kelang's economy can be seen further in the distribution of employment at the port of Kelang, licensing of public market stalls and commercial establishments, and property valuations in Kelang. As indicated previously, the port is the largest single employer in Kelang, with over 7,500 employees in 1977. Since 1947, it has expanded considerably; from the old south port, facilities have grown to include a new North port in 1964. As a result of this physical expansion, a commensurate increase in staff has been necessary. In 1964, there were
TABLE III. -- Occupation distribution in Kelang by ethnic group, 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Malay (%)</th>
<th>Chinese (%)</th>
<th>Indian (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative/managerial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE IV. -- Occupation distribution in peninsular Malaysia by ethnic group, 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Malay (%)</th>
<th>Chinese (%)</th>
<th>Indian (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative/managerial</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Table 9-7, Malaysia 1976:182.
1,336 employees; this increased by 1,097 in 1973. The dramatic increase in 1973 was a result of the take-over by the Port Authority of stevedoring services from private companies in Kelang. Out of the port's total number of employees in 1977, about 59 percent were Malays, 21 percent were Chinese, and 19 percent Indian. In all levels, from administration, engineering, traffic, security, down to cargo handling and stevedoring, the Malays were in the majority.

Kelang has six public markets to service the daily needs of town residents. These are located in the six main residential sections of town. Most of the stalls in these markets sell general provisions like rice, onions, sugar, salt and pepper, while others sell food items like meat, vegetables, fish, poultry, and fruits. In 1976, there were 937 market stalls in Kelang. According to the list of licenses issued by the Town Council, a total of 914 stalls were rented out in 1976, with the following ethnic distribution: 9.9 percent Malay, 78.8 percent Chinese, and 11.1 percent Indian. As can be seen from the above figures, the Chinese had most of the market stalls. Malays had stalls mainly for general provisions or kedai runcit, e.g. beef, chicken, fruit and vegetable stalls. The Chinese had stalls for these same food items and monopolized the sale of pork. Indians had stalls mainly for vegetables, general provisions, lamb or goat meat, and spices.

The light industrial and commercial establishments in Kelang provide the major source of employment for many residents. Among the light industrial companies are those that manufacture ice, soap, peanut and coconut oil, fish nets, fish paste, boxes, plastic and rubber goods, plywood, ice cream, and catsup. The commercial establishments include restaurants, hotels,
movie houses, small clinics, laundry, hardware stores, warehouses, coffee shops, radio and television repair, tailors, and general provision stores. Based on 1977 licensing data from the Town Council, there were a total of 2,878 firms and shops in Kelang. Of these, 80.5 percent of the establishments were owned by Chinese, 10.9 percent by Indians, and 3.9 percent by Malays. In addition, 4.7 percent of the firms were partnerships between two or more persons from different ethnic groups.

As in the proprietorship of market stalls, more types of businesses were owned by the Chinese than by Malays or Indians. The Malays owned such establishments as restaurants and coffee shops, radio and television repair shops, general provision shops, and barber shops. Indians had similar businesses as well as owning more textile, goldsmith, and tailor shops, and bookstores. Partnerships between persons of different ethnic groups included such businesses as warehouses, shoe stores, school and office canteens, and fuel oil and diesel storage facilities. There are other establishments in the town that are not yet covered by licenses from the Town Council, such as doctors and dentists, land brokers, lawyers, and banks and insurance firms. These are mostly operated by Chinese and Indians.

It is apparent from the above distribution that the Chinese predominate not only in the population but also in most of the categories of ownership. The property distribution in Kelang is another indication of Chinese control of the town's economy. According to a survey made by the Urban Development Authority in 1973, out of all the developed properties, i.e. land with buildings and other improvements, 66.8 percent belonged to the
Chinese, 15.2 percent was owned by Indians, and 14.2 percent by Malays. Undeveloped properties, or empty land, however, was not as evenly distributed, but was still held in the majority by Chinese (34.2%), while Malays (26.4%) and Indians (24.2%) had about the same holdings.

**Malay Reservations**

In spite of Chinese predominance in the economy of Kelang, there is one aspect of Malaysian society that has sought to balance and in some ways protect Malay interests. Since the colonial period, policies have been promulgated and reserves set aside by the government to protect the interests of Malays. The Malay Reservation Enactment of 1913, for example, was passed to keep Malay land under Malay ownership. Land was at a premium during the coffee boom and the rise of the rubber industry in the early twentieth century. Malay peasants sold their land holdings to the Chinese and to foreign planters. In Selangor, for example, it was estimated that about 1,584 Malay holdings totalling 7,564 acres were transferred to non-Malays by Malays by 1910 (Lim 1977:114). This alarmed the British authorities who feared that a dispossed peasantry would spoil their plans for developing peasant agriculture to support their plantation workers.

The Malay Reservation Enactment declared that the British Resident could designate any land within the state as Malay reservation land, and that Malay reservation land was not to be sold or otherwise disposed of to non-Malays. This process of reservation was slow. In Selangor, it was made particularly difficult by the presence of a large non-Malay population. In Kelang, for example, there were only four reservations totalling 7,642 acres out of the district's total 140,800 acres in 1917 (Lim 1977:132). Further-
more, there were instances when the provisions of the law were evaded. Non-Malays continued to occupy Malay land claiming that they leased the land from the Malay owner.

The Malay Reservation law is still enforced today. According to the Kelang Land Officer, whenever a Malay Reservation is set aside, an equal area of land is opened for occupation by all ethnic groups. There are currently fourteen Malay reservation areas in Kelang district totalling 21,505 acres. Within the town boundaries of Kelang there are five Malay reservation areas, which are mainly residential.

In Kelang's commercial facilities certain areas are reserved for Malays, including some market stalls. The policy of reserving a certain number of shop stalls for Malays dates back to the British colonial administration. When the British saw that more Chinese were involved in commerce, and that the Malays were not as successful as the Chinese in retaining their stalls in the market, a certain number of shop stalls were set aside for Malays to help them stay in business. Although these market stalls were not intended to be rented to non-Malays, it often happened that they fell into non-Malay hands by fiat. The policy being if Malays did not hold on to them long enough, they had to be rented out to others.

Aside from market stalls there are two other buildings in the market area of North Kelang strictly for Malay commerce: the MARA building and the Pasar Jawa or Javanese market building. The MARA building consists of stalls for stores, tailors, barbers, other service establishments, and office space. Alongside is a row of coffee shops and restaurants which are also for Malays only. The Pasar Jawa is a single story building
housing 50 stalls. It is mainly a vegetable, fruit, and meat market. The shop owners are said to be mainly from the Meru area of Kelang district, which is populated by descendants of Javanese immigrants.

**Housing Patterns**

In addition to its commercial and administrative functions, Kelang is a growing town because of its residential facilities. Unlike Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya, where the cost of buying or renting a house is high, Kelang is considered to have lower housing costs. People who work in Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya have moved to Kelang because of the cheaper housing cost in Kelang.

Various types of housing are to be found in town. Private developers as well as government agencies have built residential estates and low cost housing projects to meet the rising demand for houses in Kelang. There are also enterprising individuals who have cashed in on the housing demand by building additional residences on their lots or by building extensions to their houses to rent out as flats.

In 1970, there were about 18,300 dwelling places in Kelang according to the Census. The types of dwelling places ranged from houses, to flats in shophouses, labor lines, or makeshift structures. About 70 percent of these were houses: -- bungalows, semi-detached houses, and row houses. Among these, the most numerous are row houses, which are usually three bedroom houses linked together in a single block. One reason for the popularity of these houses is their low construction costs compared to single or semi-detached houses. Flats are usually found in multi-story structures or as extensions to single houses, for example, government low
cost housing near the port. There are also the Chinese shophouses in commercial sections of Kelang.

All the mass housing projects, except the high rises, are referred to as gardens or taman. As one enters the town, one sees the look-alike houses of Berkeley Garden and Eng An Garden. Within these "gardens" are bungalows, duplexes, and single story row houses. Garden houses are usually of a mixed variety and never of a single type of house. Government policy has encouraged mixing various classes of houses in every development to avoid the formation of class enclaves. In each development, therefore, various income groups can find housing they can afford to buy or rent.

Next to the government and private developer built mass housing projects, the most numerous dwellings are government quarters. Since colonial times, the practice of providing housing for civil servants has been followed in Malaysia. This has been extended to lower level employees such as dock workers. In Kelang, government quarters are found in South Kelang and near the port. These quarters are either multiple story row houses for port workers, or bungalows for higher officials like District Officers or managers at the port.

The settlement pattern of Kelang is a mixture of economic, ethnic, and other special characteristics. For example, Berkeley Garden in North Kelang has big bungalows as well as single story row houses. While it is reputed to be mainly a Chinese residential area, it does have Indian and Malay residents. Taman Datuk Abdul Hamid in South Kelang is a government quarter for Port Authority officials; it is side by side with Palmgrove Garden, a middle-class housing area comprised of all ethnic groups. Kampung Raja Uda
is an all-Malay residential area near the port, while Pandamaran Jaya is an ethnically mixed government built low cost housing area near the port.

Among the various characteristics of the residential areas of Kelang, the ethnic factor stands out as the most significant in describing the town's settlement pattern. There is some measure of ethnic segregation in the residential pattern of Kelang which is expressed in terms of all-Malay and mixed residential areas. People in the town recognize which are all-Malay areas and which are mixed. They can pin-point these to anyone who asks. Malay kampungs tend to be exclusively Malay in composition and can be found in five areas of Kelang: Kampung Sungai Pinang, Bukit Kuda, Kampung Kuantan, Kampung Jawa, and Kampung Raja Uda. Among the Chinese only the lower class settlements tend to be homogeneous, and these are usually squatter areas. Middle class and upper class Chinese live in ethnically mixed residential areas. The same holds true for Indians.

Malay kampungs in Kelang are situated on the periphery of the town center. The five kampungs mentioned above are located on former agricultural land near the river. In physical appearance they resemble each other, except for Kampung Raja Uda and Kampung Kuantan. Remnants of coconut, rubber, and fruit trees which previously dotted the kampung land are still found in parts of the kampung. Traditional kampung houses are numerous, although modern, plank-wood houses have also been built.

Kampung Raja Uda and Kampung Kuantan are different from the other three kampungs by the presence of government built houses. Kampung Raja Uda is a government housing project for Malay port workers, the first public housing project built in Kelang for a particular ethnic group.
Kampung Kuantan is different by the presence of a government built housing project for Malays, Taman Kampung Kuantan. This latter government built housing project may be the last to be constructed for Malays in Kelang. I discuss the Taman in more detail in the next chapter.

Modern housing in Kelang is usually associated with Chinese owners. Houses ranged in cost from M$20,000 for a single story row house, M$35,000 for a double story row house, M$40,000 for a double story semi-detached house, to M$60,000 for a bungalow in 1976. Few Malays can afford to buy more than a double story row house, those who can are usually businessmen and professionals. The government policy of building low cost housing has helped many Malays and other low income groups to own modern houses. Private developers have been asked to build low cost housing as part of their mass residential projects; but because of the low profit margin involved, the developers tend to build more expensive houses. More Chinese than Malays can afford these types of houses. Thus, most Malays choose to live in kampung houses which are cheaper; or like other low income groups they sometimes settle for squatter houses.

Squatters are people who illegally occupy land. They usually live in poorly constructed plank houses with zinc or thatch roofing. In Kelang, squatter areas are predominantly found in Port Kelang. The central part of Kelang has been cleared of squatter settlements. In Port Kelang, squatter areas are concentrated in the old port area, and are highly visible. In 1973/1974, it was estimated that about 4.2 percent of Kelang's population consisted of squatter residents (Wegelin 1978:96). This may be compared to Kuala Lumpur with 30 percent of its population living in squatter areas.
Conclusion

The historical development of Kelang has been discussed in this chapter to provide some background to the ethnic and population patterns found in the town. The development of Kelang from the original riverine settlements to its present status as part of a metropolitan region has been shown to follow the development pattern of the western Malay states since the colonial period. Its growth is related to the development of tin mining and large scale commercial agriculture. The establishment of the Port of Kelang is one important result of the development of commerce and trade in the area. In the development of the state of Selangor, the town of Kelang has been bypassed in the industrial development of the Kelang Valley area, except for the port. This, however, has not detracted from the growth of Kelang into a municipality. The population of Kelang has increased tremendously since World War II, receiving migrants from other states on the peninsula.

Two things can be seen in the population distribution and ethnic patterns that prevail in Kelang. First, the Malays are in the minority, although Kelang was originally a Malay settlement. When the tin trade and rubber plantations developed during the colonial period, Malays were outnumbered by the influx of non-Malay immigrants. This numerical distribution continues today. Being a minority has been detrimental to the social participation of Malays, as well as their part in the economy. Second, certain land reservation policies have been instituted to protect the interests of Malays in town. This is a legacy from the British colonial period. Similar pro-Malay programs are being followed today. Land reserves and special trading areas for Malays are two examples of how these policies
are being carried out.

The demographic, ethnic, economic, and housing patterns of Kelang have been discussed in order to provide the background for the succeeding discussion of Malay urban participation among residents of the locality studied. Like many west coast Malaysian towns, Kelang is a multi-ethnic town, dominated by the Chinese. Recent trends in population growth indicate an increasing proportion of Malays in town. In their move to towns like Kelang, the Malays' struggle to participate in urban activities has involved them in various strategies. These are discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER IV

MIGRATION AND HOUSING IN TAMAN KAMPUNG KUANTAN

In this chapter I discuss the origins of the residents of Taman Kampung Kuantan, the establishment of the Taman, and the growth of the kampung population. As the Malay population in urban centers increase, finding land and housing becomes a serious problem. Many Malays have difficulty finding suitable housing in towns, as evidenced by the growth of squatter settlements in Kuala Lumpur and its vicinity (Ali 1971). Few have the resources to enable them to choose where to live. Reservation areas like Kampung Kuantan have provided one of the few alternatives for many migrant Malays.

A kampung has special status since the land within it is usually Malay reservation land. In the Malaysian context this means that only Malays can own and live on kampung land. By keeping the kampung in Malay hands the government has upheld its policies of helping establish Malays in urban areas, and treating the Malays as a special group. This practice has reinforced the persistence of ethnic segregation in residential areas. McTaggart and McEachern (1972:126) have noted that in urban areas of Malaysia,

"Residential patterns among Malays may reflect, first of all, administrative policy, and the constraints which circumstances have placed on administrative action, and only then individual preference and capabilities."

The material from Taman Kampung Kuantan supports this view and suggests that
without government aid Malay urbanization would pose more difficulties for the country as a whole.

**Territory and Population of Kampung Kuantan**

Like the traditional Malay settlement, Kampung Kuantan is situated on the banks of a river. It is bordered on three sides by the Kelang River, its fourth side connecting it to the rest of the town. A sign at the entrance indicates the name of the kampung. Jalan Bukit Kuda, the road which leads into the kampung from the town center, runs right into the middle of the kampung. (See Map 3)

The entrance to the kampung is lined with Chinese shops and houses, because some Chinese occupied sections closest to the town's commercial districts before the kampung became a Malay reservation area. Some kampung residents said in the past, Chinese who did favors for the Sultan were given land in the kampung area as a reward. The families of these Chinese have continued occupying these land grants, this accounts for the presence of Chinese on the periphery of the kampung. Some of these Chinese have sold their land to other Chinese, who in turn have built shop-houses along the road at the entrance to the kampung.

Further into the kampung, the Chinese shops and houses are no longer present; instead, coconut trees line both sides of Jalan Bukit Kuda. Traditional Malay kampung houses with their atap or thatched roof are seen beneath coconut trees. Some are brightly painted, others are just stained with protective oil. The major landmarks inside the kampung are the mosque, three surau or prayer houses, a community hall, provision shops along Jalan Bukit Kuda, a sepak raga or Malay ball game court, and an indoor badminton
Map 2. Kampung Kuantan

Scale: 1 Inch = 500 feet
Two major housing developments are found inside the kampung. The first is Taman Kampung Kuantan, a government built, low cost housing area, which is discussed in greater detail below. The second is Taman Bukit Kuda, a Chinese-owned private housing development. According to some kampung residents this latter development project is a partnership between Malay land owners and Chinese builders. During the fieldwork period, this latter development was still being finished and no residents had moved into it yet.

The origins of the kampung are now only vaguely remembered by the residents. According to some older residents, the name of the kampung derives from Kuantan in Pahang on the east coast. It is said that the first family to live in the kampung came from that town. The practice of naming a settlement after the residents' place of origin is common in Selangor, where the majority of residents are migrants. Kampung Jawa, across the river from Kampung Kuantan is named after Java, since many Javanese migrants have settled there. Some kampung people recall that the kampung was formerly administered by Raja Abdullah, a relative of a former Sultan of Selangor, whose son, Raja Hassan, is said to have first built the old road into the kampung, with the help of Javanese labor.

Migrants from Malacca settled in the kampung in the early twentieth century. Many residents of the kampung are direct descendants of the first Malacca migrants. They are still referred to as orang Malacca or people of Malacca. The Malacca traders first settled in the commercial areas of Kelang and then bought land in the kampung. It is said that the kampung houses in Kampung Kuantan are patterned after the Malacca house style. The Malacca people in the kampung are concentrated on the
western section of the kampung, while migrants from Selangor and other states are found on the eastern section of the kampung.

The kampung was sparsely populated in the early twentieth century since most of the original settlements in Kelang were vacated in the late nineteenth century, perhaps as a result of the disorder created by the Kelang war. By the early twentieth century Kampung Kuantan was mainly forested or planted with coconut and fruit trees like rambutan. Being close to the river, parts of the kampung were inundated at high tide. Some elderly people recall seeing crocodiles come up from the river, but now, pollution from upstream sources has practically killed off all animal life in the river. Some rubber trees were planted by kampung folks in small sections of the kampung after the rubber boom had spread in the state, but a coconut plantation was the main source of livelihood for those who worked in the kampung.

Members of the royal family of Selangor owned the coconut plantation as well as most of the land in the kampung. Kampung people made a living by producing sugar from coconut palm shoots or earned wages in the town as laborers. A portion of each week's produce from the coconut trees was given to the raja as payment for the right to extract from the coconut trees. The rest of the sugar was sold in town. The coconut plantation is now gone. It was subdivided by the children of the rajas and sold to migrant families in individual lots. The last parcel of the plantation was cut down in 1967 to make way for the construction of Taman Kampung Kuantan.

Practically the whole kampung is located on Malay reservation land, but there are a few lots which are not. As mentioned above, some Chinese had
obtained land in the kampung before it became a reservation. The Chinese owned parcels were not included in the reservation act. The local Malays in the kampung refer to reservation land as gran merah or red grant, and to non-reservation land as gran puteh or white grant, using the colonial reference to these types of land. Only Malays can own gran merah land, while gran puteh land may be owned by anybody.

According to the 1970 Census, of the 1,561 residents of the kampung 82.1 percent were Malay, 8.6 percent were Chinese, and 9.3 percent were Indians. The Chinese are less visible than the Indians in the kampung, since they work in town, being in the kampung only during the evening. Indians operate three provision shops on Jalan Bukit Kuda, and are well accepted by the Malays, since they are also Muslims. They are referred to as mamak by the kampung Malays.

As a Malay kampung and part of the municipality, Kampung Kuantan is linked to two administrative bodies, the District Office and the Town Council. The former is the district administrative body, and the latter is the town administrative body. The district is divided into mukims and the mukim consists of several kampungs. Officials of the district, such as the penghulu who heads each mukim or sub-district, and the ketua kampung or village headman, are the main links between the kampung and the District Office. These officials inform the District Office of the needs of their respective areas. The District Office, for example, has provided assistance to the kampung in the construction of mosques, community halls, and water supply.

The development of the kampung area is the direct responsibility of
the District Office. Through the village headman and the Village Development Committee or Jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung, the kampungs get assistance from the District Office. The village development committees were organized in every kampung as part of the government's plan to mobilize popular participation in its rural development program throughout the peninsula. Urban kampungs have been included in this program. The function of the village development committee is to look after the welfare of the kampung as a whole. In the past the activities of the village development committee included the construction of a community hall, the establishment of a kindergarten school, and the establishment of a neighborhood security organization, Rukun Tetangga, in the kampung. Members of the village development committee have acted as spokesmen for the kampung in asking for assistance from the District Office and sometimes from the State Assembly representative for its various projects.

In the Kelang District, the Kampung Kuantan village development committee is known to be one of the most active committees, due to the strong leadership of its members. In 1977 there were twelve members in the committee, including the village headman. The members were chosen among the residents of the kampung: eight Malays, two Chinese, and one Indian. The Chinese and Indian members of the village development committee were included to reflect the multi-ethnic composition of the kampung. As the minority representatives in the kampung, however, the participation of the Chinese and Indians in the committee is minimal. Most projects undertaken by the village development committee in Kampung Kuantan concerned the Malays in the kampung. Attendance of the Chinese and Indian committee members
was evident only on formal gatherings held by the committee.

Meetings of the village development committee are always attended by the penghulu, the head of the mukim, to keep abreast of the kampung developments and to give advice. Whenever the kampung faced a particular problem the village development committee usually tried to invite persons with special knowledge or authority concerning the problem. For example, in discussing reported drug abuse in the kampung, a representative from the police was asked to attend a meeting of the village development committee to verify reports and give advice on handling the situation. In this particular case, the report was publicly mentioned by the Sultan during one of his visits to the kampung mosque. A special meeting of the village development committee was called to discuss the problem because the kampung people were alarmed and wanted to clear the kampung's reputation.

The kampung is linked to the Town Council through a councillor who represents the kampung in the town administration. The kampung has a resident councillor appointed by the state authorities to represent the kampung in the Town Council. The kampung's first councillor was appointed when the Town Board was established after the Second World War. He founded the local UMNO branch of the kampung and became the Speaker of the State Assembly before his untimely death. He was a dynamic and well respected man. The current councillor for the kampung was a close associate of the first councillor and is also the head of the local kampung UMNO.

Taman Kampung Kuantan

Taman Kampung Kuantan is a housing project that was built by the government for Malays inside Kampung Kuantan. It is located on the
southeastern part of the kampung (see Map 2). The origins of Taman Kampung Kuantan go back to 1967, when the owners of the land on which it was built decided to build a housing development. The owners, five Malay brothers, had formed a corporation with a Chinese contractor to build the housing development on their property. Their land consisted of 30 hectares planted with coconut trees, classified as Malay reservation land. The corporation did not intend to build a low cost housing development. To make money they wanted to construct more bungalows and double story row houses. Construction of the Taman started in 1967, it was not finished until 1971. During this period, a crisis developed regarding the disposition of the Taman houses, i.e., whether or not to allow non-Malays to buy houses in the new development.

Buyers were solicited from the town residents, and houses were contracted to be built. Most of the initial buyers favored the single-story row house style, since this was the cheapest model, and most Malays could only afford to buy this type of house. The contractor accepted deposits from applicants to start development. The coconut trees were cut down, and a temporary bund was constructed to prevent the river waters from entering the development. Three rows of single story row houses were built initially. According to some informants, the contractor then claimed that he was running out of capital and asked for more payments from the applicants. The applicants claimed that they could not afford to give more than what they had agreed to pay. Some residents claim that the contractor even tried to cheat house buyers by altering the plans for the houses to save money.

The land owners and the contractor devised a plan to save their devel-
opment. They decided to open the housing development to all races instead of just limiting the development to Malays. To do this, they first had to have the land declassified from a Malay reservation land and reclassified as open land. An application was submitted to the District Office's land office to initiate the process of declassification. When the kampung people found out about the plan from the District Office, they objected to the idea of their kampung being settled further by non-Malays. They felt that the Taman should be kept strictly Malay since there were already some non-Malays residing in the kampung. The arrival of more non-Malays would increase the number of non-Malays and jeopardize the exclusiveness that the Malays wanted in their kampung.

The events that followed are an example of the struggle of Malays to obtain housing facilities in town as well as of the attitudes of Malays concerning their kampung. A meeting of the kampung residents was held to discuss the proposed plan of the development owners to open the new housing area to all races. The village development committee formed a group headed by the kampung UMNO leaders to protest the plan. First, the group went to the District Office to voice their disapproval; then they went to one of the owners of the land to let him know their views and ask him not to open the development to all races. The owner insisted that it was his land and that he had the right to do with it as he pleased dismissing the appeal of the kampung people.

The kampung committee then drew up a petition and obtained signatures from the kampung people to oppose the development plan. A meeting was arranged with the state government Secretary to seek help in the matter.
One proposal for stopping the developers from opening the new housing area to all races was for the state development corporation (PKNS) to take over the development. Then the state would insure that the development was limited to Malays. The state development corporation considered the kampung committee's proposals while two years of negotiations with the land owners dragged on. Finally, PKNS decided to buy the development in 1969.

Before PKNS took over the development there were several factors that were considered by the government. PKNS had to buy the development from its owners; but the price quoted by the owners was high, and PKNS would lose money if it bought the development and continued the project. Political considerations, however, were raised by the kampung committee. Through the UMNO leaders, the kampung committee convinced the state development corporation that it would be wise to take over the development and keep it in Malay hands rather than leave it open to all races. By keeping the development in Malay hands, argued the kampung committee, the government could obtain more Malay votes in the town. It would also be in conformity with the government's policy of urbanizing Malays by providing more opportunities for them to stay in town.

The chairman of the PKNS at that time was also the head of the UMNO state organization. He listened to the reasoning of the kampung UMNO leaders; and as one kampung UMNO leader put it, "pressure politics convinced PKNS to take over the development." PKNS, however, saw the move as a way to help the Malay buyers in the development who were bound by contract to the developers. It was a financial loss for PKNS, but a political victory for the Kampung Kuantan Malays.
The PKNS take over of the development of Taman Kampung Kuantan was guaranteed to benefit Malays. Since the development was on Malay reservation land, non-Malays could not buy into it. Only one type of house was constructed to accommodate the financial abilities of the Malays. Thus Taman Kampung Kuantan became a low cost housing development for Malays as a result of the government take over.

The primary attraction of the Taman to the buyers was that it was a low cost housing project. Compared to other mass housing projects in the Kelang Valley area, the price of a Taman house was low. In 1969, the plank houses in the Taman were worth M$7,000.00. Each applicant was asked to pay a deposit of M$700.00. Upon occupation of the house, each owner paid a monthly installment of M$70.00; this monthly installment was later reduced to M$45.00 after residents petitioned PKNS for a reduction. Private developer built mass housing projects for similar units cost an average of M$20,000 in 1970, and the terms of payment were stiffer than those made by the Taman buyers.

Full occupation of the Taman did not occur until 1972, since some of the houses were not occupied once they were finished. Some were left empty for one or two years. Some owners did not even occupy the houses they bought, instead they rented them out to other Malays. There were many reasons for the slow occupation of the Taman houses. The main reasons were: first, the unsatisfactory quality of some of the houses; second, the lack of proper infrastructure at the beginning like paved roads, water supply, and electricity.

Since many of the Taman buyers did not choose to occupy the houses they bought, the availability of rental units in Kampung Kuantan increased.
Although the Taman houses were supposed to be occupied by their owners, the renting of houses became a common practice in the Taman. As in the case of house ownership in the Taman, the rents in the Taman were reasonable compared to other areas. This made the Taman attractive to Malays who could not afford more expensive types of housing. During the first two years of the Taman's existence, rent ranged from M$50.00 to M$70.00 per month. This was enough to cover the owner's monthly installment to PKNS, if the house was not yet fully paid for. By 1976 the range of the rent had gone up from M$90.00 to M$120.00 per month for the three bedroom plank house. This may be compared with rates in Petaling Jaya which started at about M$200.00 per month for a similar house.

Origins of the Taman Kampung Kuantan Residents

The current residents of Taman Kampung Kuantan consist of owners and renters. Before they moved into the Taman they came from various parts of the peninsula. The origins of the residents were studied through a survey conducted in the Taman. All of the household heads surveyed have had some urban experience prior to their move into the Taman. Although a majority (64%) of owners and renters had lived in Kelang before they transferred to the Taman, most of them were not born in Kelang.

The Taman residents came from various parts of the peninsula. About 71.3 percent of the men and women household heads were born outside Kelang, and most (53.7%) were born outside Selangor. There was no significant difference in birthplace between owners and renters, nor between husbands and wives.

To find out more about the geographic mobility of the Taman residents
I asked survey respondents about where they lived from the time that they were married until their last move prior to settling down in the Taman. The patterns of movement are summarized in Table V. Since most of the informants had moved more than once before they settled in the Taman, information in Table V includes the two previous moves of the informants prior to their transfer to the Taman.

It is apparent from Table V that 120 or 76% of the informants households were not originally residents of Kelang; however, the last move prior to transferring to the Taman found 101 or 64 percent of the households living there. Five types of moves can be generalized from the two moves made previously by the households. First, there is the movement within Kelang town. About 20% of the sample households had moved within the town. Many families in this category had household heads who were born in Kelang. The areas in Kelang where they formerly lived were all Malay neighborhoods, like Kampung Jawa, Kampung Bukit Kuda, and Kampung Sungai Pinang. Second, there is movement to Kelang from out of Kelang. Here there are three points of origin: Kuala Lumpur, other Selangor towns, and other states. About 41 percent of the households followed this pattern of movement before settling into the Taman. Most of them (86%) came from smaller towns in Selangor or other states. Third, there is movement to Kuala Lumpur from Kelang, other Selangor towns, and other states. About 20 percent of the households made these moves. As in the previous pattern, most of these households came from other Selangor towns or from other states. Only three households from this category, 9 percent, moved from Kelang to Kuala Lumpur. Fourth is the movement to smaller towns of Selangor from Kuala Lumpur,
TABLE V. -- Moves made by informants before transfer to the Taman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moves made</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moved within Kelang</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kelang from Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kelang from other Selangor towns</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kelang from other states</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kuala Lumpur from other states</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kuala Lumpur from other Selangor towns</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Kuala Lumpur from Kelang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to other Selangor towns from Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to other Selangor towns from other Selangor towns</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to other Selangor towns from other states</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to another state from other states</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to other states from Kelang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to other states from Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
other towns of Selangor, and other states. Only 8 percent of the households made these moves. Finally there is the movement outside the state of Selangor from Kelang, Kuala Lumpur, and other states. About 10 percent of the households made moves outside the state of Selangor before settling in the Taman.

Among the informants 31 (or 20%) of the households moved within Kelang twice before transferring to the Taman. Movement between Malay reservation areas was characteristic of 61 percent of these households. The others moved from kampung areas to racially mixed residential areas, or vice-versa. Housing near the port of Kelang was the most common choice for many of those who lived in racially mixed residential areas because of the availability of low-cost housing there. This was more typical of policemen and clerks at the port who were eligible for government quarters when they were available.

After the Taman was completed, there were two types of residents who came to live in the Taman, owners and renters. Before moving into the Taman, only 12 percent of the owner households had previously owned their house, while the other 88 percent had rented houses. Among the renters in the survey, only 17 percent had owned houses previously; the other 83 percent had also rented their former residence. The pattern of movement from rented houses to owned houses is a significant factor that influenced the decisions of some households to live in the Taman. Many households wanted to own a house rather than rent.

A few cases may be cited to illustrate the pattern of movement of the informants. Internal movement within Kelang is illustrated by Mohammed,
a truck driver at the port. He was born in Malacca, but he was raised in Kelang by his migrant parents. His wife is from Kelang. After marrying he and his wife initially stayed with his parents. Mohammed had odd jobs until he obtained his present job with a broker firm at the port. When his family increased to three, he and his wife decided to live in their own house. They rented a kampung house in Telok Gadong near the port. It was a small house, not very suitable for a growing family. When the Town Council completed the low cost flats in Pandamaran near the port, Mohammed applied to rent a unit. The family lived in a rented flat there for five years. When they heard about the construction of Taman Kampung Kuantan, he applied to buy a unit. Because he had a regular job at the port, he could afford to pay for the house on an installment basis. He and his family were among the first few families to occupy the houses in the Taman.

Cikgu Basri, a primary school teacher from Ulu Langat, Selangor, moved to Kelang from a small town in Selangor. His wife is from Kelang. After they were married, Cikgu Basri got a teaching assignment in Pualu Lumut, an island near the port, where he taught for five years. They lived in the teacher's quarter there. Then he was transferred to Kelang. The family rented a kampung house in Bukit Kuda, where they lived for eleven years. Living close to Kampung Kuantan, they found out about the construction of the Taman and applied for a unit, thinking that Cikgu would not be transferred again.

Another example of a migrant from out of Kelang is Ismail, a laboratory technician at the Institut Teknologi Mara in Shah Alam. He was born in Kelantan and worked there with the Public Works Department until 1970.
Finding no future in his position as a technician, he migrated to Selangor. Through the newspapers he found an opening at the University of Malaya. While working there, he and his wife shared a rented house with a relative in Petaling Jaya. After two years, he was informed of a better paying position as a laboratory technician at the Institut Teknologi Mara by a friend working there. He applied and was accepted. Commuting between Shah Alam and Petaling Jaya proved to be a strain for him. A friend at the institute who was renting in the Taman informed him of a vacancy there. He and his wife moved to the Taman from Petaling Jaya and have lived there for three years.

**Reasons for moving into the Taman**

Migration is greatly influenced by personal choice. Among the Taman Malays, personal choice factors, such as the desire to find better economic opportunities or the chance to live where housing is cheaper, influenced the decision to live in the Taman. Informants in the survey gave five main reasons for their transfer to the Taman from their previous residence. These are: 1) to obtain their own house; 2) to live in a Malay area; 3) to live near the place of work; 4) to pay lower rent; 5) to be near town amenities. The distribution of these reasons are given in Table VI.

The desire to own a house in a Malay area was the most important reason given by most informants for voluntarily moving into the Taman. House ownership was one aspect of this reason. Living in a Malay area was the other. Although some informants mentioned them together and others mentioned them separately, I have combined them in this discussion because they are interrelated. Those who mentioned ownership of a house and living in a Malay area together emphasized one or the other, and thus
they were coded for the table into one or the other category depending on the informant's order of preference. As mentioned above, because of financial considerations it is easier for Malays to obtain a house, for their own or rented, in a Malay area than in a non-Malay area. In terms of personal preference, such as the desire to live among fellow Malays, living in a Malay area was an important consideration.

**TABLE VI. -- Reasons given for moving into the Taman**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for move</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House ownership</td>
<td>48 (45.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay area</td>
<td>50 (47.6%)</td>
<td>26 (50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near work</td>
<td>4 (3.8%)</td>
<td>2 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low rent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19 (36.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near town</td>
<td>2 (1.9%)</td>
<td>5 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>105 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>52 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among those who currently own their houses in the Taman, about 90 percent rented their previous residence; and their present house is the first house they have ever owned. Many of the owner informants were in the age group where owning a permanent residence was desirable. The owner male household heads had a median age of 44.6 years, while the renter male household heads had a median age of 33.8 years. House ownership was more difficult than renting a house because of the scarcity of affordable housing. Renting, however, was also a risky situation. Some informants have had bad
experiences with landlords, e.g. they were asked to leave before they were ready to move, or the type of house they could afford was too small. The sense of belonging was not as deeply felt by some informants while they were renting. Ownership of a house was seen as a sign of permanence in the community, while renting was associated with transience.

Many of the informants, both owners (47.6%) and renters (50.0%), said that they chose to live in the Taman primarily because it is a Malay area. Out of the 101 households who lived in Kelang just before moving into the Taman, about 59 percent lived in Malay reservation areas such as Kampung Jawa, Kampung Sungai Pinang, and Kampung Bukit Kuda. Most Malays prefer to live among fellow Malays for a variety of reasons. They want to live with those who share the same customs, sama adat, practice the Muslim religion, berugama Islam; and they do not want to mix with other races, tak senang bergaul dengan lain kaum. A few informants noted that the Taman was the last Malay housing project built by the Selangor state government. It is a special neighborhood in this sense. As one informant said it,

"In Selangor there are few kampungs like this. Most kampungs are now mixed. This is one of a few that is not mixed. Kampung Raja Uda was built 20 years ago, Kampung Bahru in K.L. was built many years ago. Ten years ago this was the only kampung where one community kept up to its standards. We don't want to sell the land to others, it is reservation land. We must mix with those top officials, with politicians, join religious associations, at least have connections. Only then can we keep it separate. It is not meant for others, we don't want to quarrel with outsiders, we want only peace within our own community."

Conclusion

Two aspects of the urbanization of Malays, migration and the problem of housing, have been described in this chapter using the example of Kampung Kuantan as a case study. This kampung has grown from a coconut
plantation into a residential section of the town of Kelang, mostly for Malays. The population of the kampung grew with the arrival of successive groups of Malay migrants from Malacca, from other parts of Selangor, and from other states on the peninsula; as well as the coming of non-Malays until the land was declared as Malay reservation land.

Kampung Kuantan is traditionally a Malay area, previously owned by members of the royal family of Selangor. Malays make up the majority of the residents. Chinese and Indian residents settled in the kampung during the early years of the kampung. More non-Malays could have lived in Kampung Kuantan if Taman Kampung Kuantan was opened to all races. The government take over of the development, influenced by the opposition of the kampung people to opening the development to non-Malays, prevented this.

The opposition of the kampung Malays to opening Taman Kampung Kuantan to other races expresses some of the attitudes of the Malays toward their residential preference. They prefer to remain exclusive and do not want other races in their community. This was expressed by the Taman informants surveyed, when they gave their reasons for moving into Taman Kampung Kuantan: They want to live in a Malay area. To fulfill this desire of living in an exclusive area, the kampung Malays used their political connections to influence the state government's decision to take over the development and limit occupation to Malays only.

The case of Taman Kampung Kuantan demonstrates some of the demographic, economic, and political implications of Malay urbanization. Malays are moving into urban areas in greater numbers. The data from the Taman
suggests that movement between urban areas is characteristic of migrant Malays, unlike the often cited rural to urban migration in previous studies. This finding is similar to Pryor's (1975) study of migration in Selangor which suggests that step migration from rural area to a small urban area and finally to a large urban area is characteristic of recent trends.

When Malays settle in town, they need access to housing. Malays, however, have limited housing opportunities because they can not afford most of those offered on the market. They usually find housing in the kampung areas or in low-cost housing projects like Taman Kampung Kuantan. Since Malays have difficulty finding suitable housing in town, they are dependent on government assistance for their residential needs. In many government built low-cost housing projects built for all races, the Malays have to compete with non-Malays. When the government builds low cost housing for Malays only in kampung areas, it is favoring the Malays. By reserving land and housing units for Malays, the government is protecting Malay interests. The dilemma is whether or not this approach is working towards achieving the re-structuring goals of the government.
CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

In this chapter I discuss the economic participation of Taman Malays in terms of their occupations and other economic activities. There is a variety of occupations found among the residents of the Taman. Although wage labor is the predominant economic activity of the residents, a few were engaged in running their own business enterprises. The types of occupations and economic activity of the residents have important implications for understanding the urbanization of Malays. One implication is in terms of their participation in the urban economy. Their participation depends on the opportunities open to them in the new urban environment. Studies of migrants in Selangor indicate that migrants found jobs not only because they had the necessary qualifications but also because they were willing to take jobs which the older residents did not like (Chander and Singh 1977, Narayanan 1977). The Taman Malays are unlike most migrants who come from rural areas. As I indicated in the previous chapter, they are mostly from other urban areas and have brought with them urban occupations and skills. Their occupations, however, are similar to those which Malays have generally held in urban areas, i.e., government jobs and small scale trading. With the exception of the professionals and factory workers there is some cultural continuity in the types of occupations which the Taman Malays hold from the colonial period.
Occupations and Employment Status

Studies of migration in Selangor have found that many of the recent migrants to this state have modern sector occupations upon their arrival such as civil servants, technicians, and some professions (Narayanan 1977). In this sense they are unlike the stereotype of migrants in developing countries, i.e., unskilled rural folk from agricultural backgrounds. Among the Taman informants, there were teachers, clerks, and policemen, as well as skilled technicians and factory workers.

Among the Taman informants, all the male household heads were working except for six men who were retired and were on a pension. In addition to the male household head, wives and other household members were also employed. About 56 percent of the households had the wife and/or other member of the household working in addition to the husband. The "other" working members of households were unmarried siblings, or children of the informants. About 33 percent of the households had only the male household head working. Table VIII gives the distribution of the households according to the type(s) of persons working in each. I will first discuss the occupations of the male household heads, followed by a description of the female household heads' work. Data for the other working household members are incomplete and are thus not included in the description.

Teachers make-up the largest occupational group in the Taman. This is due to the fact that when the Taman was opened to buyers, teachers were among those who had a regular source of income to pay for the deposit and monthly installments, and among government employees teachers are able to obtain loans to buy houses. Government employees, like school teachers,
were also given more chances to buy houses in the Taman because it was a government built project. In 1971 there were 50 teachers living in the Taman. Since then this number has decreased to 40 at the time of the field work because a few teachers have moved out of the Taman. Among the teachers there are religious teachers or ustaz, as well as regular elementary and secondary school teachers who are referred to as Cikgu.

Technical workers living in the Taman mostly work in Petaling Jaya, Subang Airport, or Shah Alam. About one third are employed by the Malaysian Airline System (MAS). Many were former employees of the Malaysian Singapore Airline System (MSAS) in Singapore. When that company split into two companies, with the separation of Singapore from the Malaysian Federation in 1965, these men joined MAS and moved back to Malaysia. Some of the technical workers living in the Taman were formerly with the British Army in Singapore. They obtained their technical training there, and a few were even sent to England for training. After they left the British Army, they found jobs in the new industries in Shah Alam and Petaling Jaya. A few of the technicians are employed in factories on the periphery of Kelang and at the Institut Teknologi Mara in Shah Alam.

The next most numerous group among the male informants are clerks. There are two kinds of clerks living in the Taman, those working for the government and those working for the private sector. They work for the Port Authority, the Town Council, the District Office, and the Religious Department of Selangor. There are also clerks who work in various government departments in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya, e.g. Customs Department
Motor Vehicle Department. Clerks in private firms living in the Taman work either near the port or in Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam.

Policemen are also well represented in the Taman. All the policemen living in the Taman work in Kelang, except for one man who works in Kuala Lumpur. They all belong to the regular police force, except for the one who works in Kuala Lumpur; he is assigned to the Field Force. Those assigned to the regular force have to live within two kilometers of their port, according to one informant. Most policemen live in police quarters. There are police posts both in Kelang North and near the port. Those who can not be accommodated or who prefer to live outside the police quarters are given housing allowances. Those policemen living in the Taman are among those who prefer to live outside the police quarters.

Teachers and policemen are subject to periodic transfers in their work. They are assigned to one area for two to four years, and then are given other assignments. After fifteen or twenty years in the service, however, they are no longer subject to transfers and are more or less permanent in one assignment until retirement. A few of the Taman residents who are policemen or teachers are in this position and have chosen to settle down in the Taman. Some, however, may still be subject to transfers.

Factory workers in the Taman include machine operators, truck drivers, dock workers, and other common laborers. They work in Kelang or Shah Alam. Unlike the teachers, policemen, or technical workers, it is these men who resemble the unskilled migrants to the town or city. They learned their skills in the places where they work and they do not require much education
or training for their work. One important aspect of their work is that they are steadily employed in the firms they work for.

The businessmen in the Taman are mostly involved in sales, owning their businesses and working by themselves or with the help of a few assistants. Their business operations are small, involving the sale of prepared foods, plastic housewares, batik and other types of cloth, dry goods like fezzes and prayer materials, and general provisions. Among those who sell prepared foods are the restaurant or coffee shop owners, and vendors of nasi lemak, a Malay rice dish eaten in the morning. The restaurant or coffee shop owners have stalls at the MARA building in town, or concessions in school cafeterias. The nasi lemak vendors rent space in restaurants in town, where they sell their food in the morning. A popular business in the Taman is the sale of batik cloth. Only two informants were involved in this business on a full time basis. One of them hawked his cloth during the pasar malam or night market in different towns including Kelang, Kuala Lumpur and Kajang. The other man sold his cloth through friends and acquaintances. In his case the cloth he sold was kain songket, a special and expensive gold embroidered cloth from the east coast which is usually worn for special occasions like weddings.

There are few professionals living in the Taman. They include four college instructors, three managers of firms in Petaling Jaya, and six administrators of semi-government corporations like MARA. These men are unlike most of the Taman residents because they have university degrees and have attained professional levels in their work. More than any of the Taman residents, it is these men who could afford to buy housing elsewhere
but they preferred to live in a kampung area.

The retired men living in the Taman include former policemen, teachers and government employees. Their income comes from their pensions, supplemented by their working children's wages. Some have part time businesses such as driving children to school, running general provision shops, or selling cakes made by their wives.

The other categories of occupation include an assortment of taxi and beca or tricycle drivers, mechanics, carpenters, baggage handlers and a bus conductor. Unlike the factory workers these men did not have steady employment, rather their work depends on the intermittent need for their services. Table VII gives the distribution of the male Taman informants by their occupations.

The occupational pattern of the Taman residents is similar to that described by Provencher (1971:63) for Kampung Bahru Malays in Kuala Lumpur. In his study the most numerous categories of work were office workers, sales and business, police and military, and technicians. One difference between the Malays in Provencher's study and those of Taman Kampung Kuantan is that in the Taman teachers, technicians, and clerks are the most numerous, while in Kampung Bahru the clerks, sales and business, and police and military were the most numerous.

One important feature of the current employment situation among the Taman residents is work for women. Malay women have traditionally worked in such occupations as making and selling cakes and other prepared foods, selling vegetables and fish, harvesting padi for wages, and making clothes
TABLE VII. -- Occupation of male household heads in Taman Kampung Kuantan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24 (15.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22 (14.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20 (12.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17 (10.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17 (10.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small business</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College lecturer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baggage handler</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus conductor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No male household head</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>157 (99.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in the rural areas. In the Taman there were 56 wives and 38 daughters in the households surveyed who worked. Among the wives who worked were teachers, clerks and secretaries, factory workers, nurses and midwives, traders or businesswomen. Table IX shows the distribution of the female household heads according to their occupations. As I mentioned above, the data for other household members is incomplete and the occupations of other female members is not included in the discussion.

According to some informants, women have recently found more work in the factories, especially younger women. In the survey, only five female heads of households interviewed worked in factories. They work as machine operators or as processors on the production lines, and as clerks and secretaries. Some informants said that women were preferred over men for work which required little training in the new factories. Men without skills, thus, find it harder to get work than women in some cases.

More wives in the Taman were involved in trading than any other occupation. The type of trading they pursued included making and selling cakes or other prepared foods; selling batik and other types of cloth; selling Pyrex wares and jewelry; running general provision shops; and the trade known as main kutu which I discuss in more detail below. More women were engaged in trading because unlike wage labor, the former does not require special skills or formal education. Most of the women do not have more than an elementary school education. Traditionally women's work, trading is a more familiar activity for Malay women than working in a factory or firm, especially for older women. Most women in the Taman work to supplement the
TABLE VIII.-- Category of informants working in each household.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working people</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband only</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51 (33 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49 (31 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and others</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39 (25 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife only</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11 (7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>157 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IX. -- Occupation of the female household heads.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>97 (63 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11 (7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk/secretary</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18 (12 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16 (11 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse/midwife</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 (3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No female household head</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total used for calculating percentage was 153, which excludes households with no female household heads.
income of their husbands, or to support their households if they are unmarried. Some women work because they are pursuing their professions, e.g., teachers and midwives.

The employment situation of Taman women may be better understood in the context of the national labor force participation of Malay women described by Manderson (1979). According to Manderson (1979:255) the proportion of Malay women in occupations other than those associated with housework had risen from 20 percent in 1947 to nearly 38 percent in 1968. These women were employed primarily as teachers, nurses and midwives; some worked as typists, stenographers and secretaries. The Taman women reflect this national employment picture for Malay women described by Manderson, except for the greater proportion of Taman women involved in trading and those involved in factory work. Employment of women in factories is a recent development which may increase the participation of Malay women in the labor force.

**Income and Socio-economic Status**

In describing their socio-economic status, most of the informants from the Taman referred to themselves as *makan gaji* or wage earners. They contrasted this with working for oneself or *kerja sendiri*. In their view there are two types of people who work for themselves: the businessman and the farmer. They say that unlike the businessman, the farmer is rural based. The informants thought of the difference between rural and urban in terms of working for oneself and working for other people. In the agricultural sector, people work for themselves while in the urban sector people work
for others. The majority of informants were wage earners, only a few had their own small business. Business activities pursued by the informants are discussed in detail in the next section.

When asked to choose between working for wages and working for oneself, the majority of those who gave an opinion thought that it was preferable to work for oneself. Some said that for Malays it was much easier to work for oneself in the rural areas than in the urban areas. In the urban areas Malays usually work for wages, compared to the Chinese who are usually businessmen. They said that it is hard to compete with the Chinese. The main attraction of the urban areas was money. People live in urban areas to make money. To make money, however, Malays have to work for other people. Some informants said that to work for oneself in the urban areas, one had to have money, unlike the Chinese who have money to invest in business.

In working for wages, some informants distinguished between working for the government, kerajaan, and working for private firms, suasta. About one half of the male informants worked for the government. According to some informants, working for the government was preferable because it was more secure compared to the private sector. In private firms, employees could be fired, while in the government this was hardly possible. A few informants said that the government had a guaranteed pension, while private firms do not. Some informants who had formerly worked for private firms changed their jobs and entered government service because of these considerations.

The question of pay and other benefits are two other considerations
which the informants discussed in comparing government with private sector employment. Starting salaries in the government are said to be comparable with those in private firms. In the private sector, however, there is a faster increment in salaries because wage increases depend more on performance than on tenure. Some informants noted that in certain government departments there is a faster promotion rate because of expansion in government machinery. Government employees can also obtain car loans and housing loans at low, 4 percent, interest rates, which private firms do not give to their employees.

The monthly income of the Taman informants give further indications of their socio-economic status. Elementary school teachers earn about M$400 to M$800 depending whether they have an LCE, MCE, or HSC education; university graduates start earning about M$800 to M$1,500 depending on whether they have a pass or honors degree in 1976; industry workers receive from M$150 to M$600 depending on their type of work and tenure. The monthly income of Taman male household heads ranged from M$150 to M$1,500. Table X gives the distribution of the informants' monthly income. A median monthly income of M$680 for male household heads was computed from this distribution. This figure does not represent the monthly household income since the data for female and other working household members were not complete. If these other data were included the median monthly income per household would be higher.

To gain some perspective on the context of these income figures, some estimates of Malaysian household income may provide the context for inter-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M$ 150 - 350</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14 (10 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351 - 550</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38 (28 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551 - 750</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23 (17 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751 - 950</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36 (27 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951 - 1150</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15 (11 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1151 - 1350</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351 - 1550</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 (3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No male household head</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>157</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pretation. The national estimates for 1970 indicate that the mean monthly household income for Malays was M$172; this may be compared with M$264 for the whole nation as a whole, M$428 for the urban average monthly household income (Malaysia 1976:179). Snodgrass (1980:81) estimates that a "middle-class" Malaysian household earned between M$750 and M$3,000 per month in 1970. In contrast, the definition of the poverty line for 1975 was M$300 or less per household (Wegelin 1978:102).

In the context of the above figures, the Taman households may be classified as lower to middle class households based on the income of the male household heads only. If the income of the other working household members were included, the Taman households would definitely fall into the middle-class category.

Education and Social Mobility

The Malays in the Taman have described themselves as wage earners or makan gaji. Their occupations are typical of the jobs which Malays have filled as a result of the growth of modern administration in such areas as civil service and the police. However, they do not occupy the higher positions available to the Malay elite.

They think that their mobility was hampered by the lack of appropriate qualifications and their educational background. Two aspects of the informants' educational experience have limited their occupational choices. First, most of them were educated in the Malay language. The lack of fluency in English was considered a handicap by many of the informants. Ability to communicate in English would have enabled them to pursue other opportunities. Only a few informants were able to learn
English in the "Special Malay Class" type of education. In this system, students are transferred from the Malay classes to English language classes after their fourth year of elementary education. Since most of the informants were educated during the British colonial period, they were educated in a system that treated their education in terms of its "welfare role", i.e. education tempered by a desire to avoid promoting social mobility (Inglis 1979:212).

Second, unlike many Malays today, most of the informants did not have an opportunity to obtain higher education because there were no universities in the peninsula until 1959. Only the children of the wealthy were able to go abroad for university education. Younger informants had the chance to go to universities, but some were unable to go because of financial problems.

The informants had an average education of six years of elementary school. About 51.4% of the male household heads had at least an elementary education, while 66.6% of the female household heads had a similar educational attainment. Some male household heads were able to receive secondary education (41.6%); completing their Lower Certificate of Education (LCE), Malaysian Certificate of Education (MCE), or Higher School Certificate (HSC). Those who eventually became teachers went to teacher training colleges directly from their elementary education, or after their secondary education, depending on the period when they obtained their teacher training. A few informants went to technical schools to train as mechanics and electricians. Only eleven males and females, among the informants, had university education. Table XI gives the distribution of the informants according to
their educational attainment.

TABLE XI. -- Education of Taman Kampung Kuantan informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some elementary</td>
<td>21 (14.8%)</td>
<td>36 (23.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete elementary</td>
<td>52 (36.6%)</td>
<td>66 (43.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Secondary</td>
<td>24 (16.9%)</td>
<td>20 (13.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Secondary</td>
<td>35 (24.6%)</td>
<td>12 (10.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>10 (7.0%)</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not go to school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14 (9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No male/female household head</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>157 (99.9%)</td>
<td>157 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Those with no male/female household heads are not included in percentage calculation.

Education has become an important criterion for employment and advancement. Before independence, an elementary education was all that one needed to get a job, according to some informants. Today at least an LCE is necessary to get work. In order to join government service one must have at least an MCE. Some school teachers who only had an LCE when they became teachers, had to pass the MCE qualifying examination in order to receive salary increases. Those with MCE's had to pass the HSC examination to advance their career. A few teachers have taken leaves of absence to pursue their special course in education or other related fields.
in order to improve their qualifications.

A few examples may illustrate the occupational experiences and mobility of the informants. They show how the informants were channelled into their present occupations either by limited education or by additional training. The first example is Cikgu Mokhtar. He finished his secondary education with an HSC in 1955, two years before independence. He had wanted to study further but he could not afford to go abroad. He then decided to become a teacher since teachers were in demand. A few of his friends also became teachers. After a few years of teaching, he and his friends applied for government scholarships to study abroad. Cikgu Mokhtar, however, did not obtain a scholarship. His friends got the scholarships and were sent abroad. Today he still laments his bad luck for not being able to obtain higher education and improve his position in life.

A second example is Abu Bakar, a government clerk. He finished his MCE before he started working for the accounting section of a construction firm. The company wanted to send him to school to study further, but he was an only child and had to support his widowed mother. He resigned his job with the private firm and applied to work with the government as a clerk. He has been working with the government for the last four years. He said that he decided to join government service because it was more secure, and it provided a pension upon retirement. In his view, he could not afford to obtain further training because he had his mother and family to support.

The third example is Hashim, presently a personnel manager for a private firm. His first job was with the Police Force because he only had an elementary school education. While in police training his superiors
saw some promise in him and recommended that he study English to improve his skills. During his work with the police, he was also able to study for his Cambridge certificate, a school certificate in the pre-World War II period analogous to the current HSC. Gradually he was promoted until he reached the rank of inspector. After 25 years in the service he retired at the age of 45. Because of his experience as a police inspector he got a job as a personnel manager in a private firm upon his retirement from the Police Force. He has joined another firm in Petaling Jaya since the first job as a personnel manager in Malacca. His experience in the Police Force and currently as a personnel manager has enabled him to find better paying jobs in the private sector.

Compared to their father's time, most of the male informants thought that there are currently more opportunities for Malays. Before independence both education and work for Malays were limited. Six years of education was the most that ordinary Malays could obtain during the colonial period. Only the children of the aristocracy and the wealthy were able to get further education abroad or at special schools. Some older informants felt that during the colonial period a six year education could only guarantee work as teachers, the police force, or the army. Those who knew some English were able to get clerical work in the government or in some foreign firms.

Comparing the occupation of male household heads with that of their fathers gives some indication of social mobility. About one half of the male informants' fathers (49.3%) were involved in rural-agricultural occupations such as rice farming, rubber tapping, and fishing, occupations generally referred to by the informants as kerja kampung or village work.
Less than one half (43.7%) of the informants' fathers were urban wage earners like themselves. These fathers' urban occupations did not vary significantly from some of the informants' occupations. Urban fathers' occupation included clerks, drivers, teachers, policemen, public utilities employees, and customs officers. A few had professional occupations like ship captain, government economist, and agricultural officer. Only seven percent of the informants' fathers were involved in sales or business. Among those with businesses, the businesses were small, dealing with the sale of general provisions, clothing, land, and rubber. Table XII shows the distribution of the informants' father's occupations.

TABLE XII. -- Male household heads' father's occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban wage earner</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.62 (43.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural/agriculture</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70 (49.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/business</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No male household head</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage calculations do not include households without male household heads.

By comparing the occupations of male informants and their fathers' it may be concluded that about one half of the male informants are socially mobile, while the other half are not. The socially mobile are those whose
fathers had occupations in the rural agricultural sectors. These men had rural agricultural origins with urban experiences only in the latter part of their life. Their social mobility is indicated by their transfer from the rural based agriculture sector to the modern and urban sector. The socially stable are those whose fathers' occupations were in the modern urban sector. These men are not too different from their fathers, in terms of their occupational experience. They had an earlier exposure to the urban sector through their fathers. It might be expected that the socially stable would have a better adjustment to the modern and urban sector of the economy, but because of the economic opportunity structure for Malays in Malaysian society, the socially stable and socially mobile are found in similar economic situations.

**Part-time Entrepreneurial Activities**

In addition to their full-time occupations, some of the informants from the Taman had part-time businesses. Those who were engaged in business, either part-time or full time, are referred to as *orang berniaga* or trader in the locality. As mentioned above, this type of occupation is categorized under *kerja sendiri* or self-employed, in contrast to *makan gaji* or wage earner. The men and women who are engaged in these businesses may be considered as entrepreneurs, in the sense that they have ventured to pursue additional enterprises and have invested their time and money to improve their economic status. Their entrepreneurial inclinations distinguish these informants from others. These part-time businesses are called by the informants *kerja sambilan* or side line work. These activities are part of the economic participation of the Malays studied.
Before I discuss these part-time trading activities, I will first enumerate the types of businesses they have and who are involved in them. Among the informants, there were twenty two couples who had part-time business activities, in addition to the husband and/or wife's full time occupation. There were also eight other women who were pursuing part-time businesses but whose husbands were not involved. The main reason given for pursuing these business activities was to supplement the family's income.

More teachers were involved in these part time entrepreneurial activities than other male informants in the sample. Ten out of the twenty-two husbands were teachers, three were policemen, three were technical workers, two were clerks, two were laborers, one was an accountant, and one was a sales manager. Six of the wives among the twenty two couples were working. These included teachers and three clerks or secretaries.

The entrepreneurial activities pursued by the informants varied according to the types of goods and services involved, and according to the organization of the activity. By type of goods, there were those involved in the sale of prepared foods, trading of batik cloth, jewelry, carpets, and other household goods, and sale of general provisions. Those with businesses involving services included the repair of appliances, electrical installations, construction of houses, and transport. Table XIII provides a summary of the distribution of the informants with part-time businesses and the type of business in which they were engaged.
TABLE XIII. -- Male informants classified by their full time occupation and by type of part time business.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Provisions</th>
<th>Batik</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Wares</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By types of organization of business activities, there were those involved in family enterprises, licensed stores and shops, and partnerships. Examples of the first type of organization are those who sell prepared foods, batik cloth, or household goods. Examples of licensed businesses are the general provision shops and appliance repair shops. Most of these part-time businesses are family enterprises, except for five informants who were involved in partnerships which did not include relatives. Two of these were partners in an appliance repair shop in the Taman, one was a co-owner of a construction firm, one was a partner in an electrical shop, and one was a partner in a transport business.

There is one explanation for the predominance of teachers among those with part time businesses. Teachers have more time to engage in part time businesses than other wage earners since school teachers in Malaysia work only half a day. They teach either in the morning or in the afternoon most
of the week. Only one school day of the week is given full time to teaching and extra curricular activities in school. The other four working days are half days. Another factor contributing to the ability of teachers to pursue part time businesses is that they are able to obtain loans from their cooperatives for their capital requirements. They can borrow as much as 80 percent of their contributions to the cooperative to which they belong.

Operating a general provision shop was one of the simple enterprises pursued by the informants. Among the provision shop owners, four had stores in town while two had stores at the back of their houses. All these small stores have licenses, since all commercial operations are required to have licenses in Kelang. Most of the informants said that they began by opening a store in their house and selling goods to neighbors. This initial venture was considered a learning experience, or as some informants put it, main-mam sahaja, just playing or trying and not really serious. According to some informants, it was the wife's idea to open up a store in their house. Gradually their ventures and experience grew. Then they set out to open stores in town.

In one case, three school teachers pooled their money together to open a store in one of the shops in the Taman. After a year or so, the venture folded because they were not making enough profit. Each of the traders went their separate ways. Only one remained to continue operating the store in the Taman; one opened a store in his house; and the third went into another line of trading called serba nika which I will describe below.

One of the well known methods of trading on an installment basis is the system referred to as main kutu or play kutu. The word kutu is of
Tamil origin that means an association. In the context of trading it refers to a group of people who unite for the purpose of obtaining certain goods on installment. The system is apparently an invention in the urban areas among households or individuals belonging to lower or middle income groups. Some informants said that they did not know of the system until they came to live in town.

There are usually ten members in a kutu. One of the members or an additional person can serve as the head of the group known as the kepala kutu. The members agree to buy a certain item or items for group member. A dealer or trader is found who can provide the goods. Each month all the members contribute toward the payment of the goods. Either they all get the goods at once, or they each take turns obtaining the desired item each month. The total monthly contributions from the members cover the price of one item. In the case where individuals take turns obtaining the desired item lots are drawn to determine the order of the recipients. The kepala kutu is responsible for forming the kutu, for collecting the contributions or kutipan from each member, and for obtaining the goods from a trader or store. For his efforts, he gets a commission, an item similar to that which the kutu members bought, from the trader.

The other method of trading through installments is known as serba nika, which means goods of various kinds. In this form of trading the trader sells to individuals rather than to groups like the kutu. It is called serba nika because the trader provides different kinds of goods to the buyers. Payment is made over a period of ten months. Usually, the trader operates by holding a serba nika party in the house of an "agent"
who calls together interested parties. The trader then displays his wares and the customers give their orders. It is patterned after the method used by pyrex dealers in the Taman, which I describe in Chapter VI. The agent takes the orders and gives them to the trader. He is also responsible for distributing the goods to the customers, and for collecting the monthly payments from those who made the orders. After the trader has become acquainted with a customer, the customer does not have to go through the agent for his next order. The agent gets a ten percent commission, in kind, from the trader.

In either method, kutu or serba nika, the trader acts as a capitalist to obtain the goods which the customers, or pelanggan, want. Sometimes the trader acts as the kepala kutu. Two informants said that they got started in their trading business by forming kutus. They eventually saved enough from the profits, the mark-up on the price of the goods bought through kutus over the store price which range from ten percent to as much as forty percent, to finance their capital needs.

There are many individuals in the Taman who have engaged in the kutu or serba nika business at one time or another. Four well known traders in the Taman who are involved in this type of business are teachers. The other lesser known traders include other teachers, a clerk, and a technician. How they got started varied from one individual to another. In a few cases the wife started the business by selling door to door to people whom they knew. Batik was usually the initial product sold, payment received in installments. When the business grew, the husband got involved, usually handling the financial aspects of the trade and finding stores where they
usually buy goods, while the wife concentrated on finding customers.

In one case, the trader started by forming a *kutu* himself and becoming its *kepala kutu*, gradually accumulating capital through these types of transactions. His customers were friends or acquaintances. One trader got started when his wife was asked by one of her co-workers to form a *kutu* among her co-workers. Most of his customers have come from his wife's place of work, a cigarette factory. In another case, the trader began by forming *kutus* in his school and then gradually expanded his business to include other customers.

The customers for the *kutu* and *serba nika* are usually people known to the trader, his wife, or to the *kepala kutu* and agent of the trader. One trader said that he had about 40 agents or *kepala kutus* who got customers for him. Some informants said that most of the customers in the *kutu* and *serba nika* are women. When asked why this was the case, the informants said that women are more likely to pay than men and that they are considered to be more honest or *lebih jujur*. Once a trader is known to be in the *kutu* or *serba nika* business the customers usually come to him or her, according to one informant. He or she does not have difficulty finding customers. People like the *kutu* or *serba nika* method of buying because payment is by installment rather than than cash. They do not mind the higher prices because they pay a little bit at a time rather than in lump sums as in stores.

The goods which the trader gets for the customers are obtained from stores in Kelang, Kuala Lumpur, Kelantan and Singapore. Kelantan is a major source of batik, while Singapore is a major source of imported household wares like pyrex. Kelang and Kuala Lumpur stores provide locally
manufactured goods such as thermos bottles and carpets. The stores are owned mostly by Chinese, some by Indians, and a few by Malays. Each trader usually buys his goods from stores where he has become a regular customer. The store owners know that the traders are in the kutu or serba nika business. The traders obtain goods at a discount or wholesale price from these stores because they buy in quantity. Sometimes credit relationships are established with the stores and the trader can obtain goods within the limit of the credit he is allowed, e.g. from M$3,000 to M$10,000.

The store owners started out by selling small items like batik cloth and jewelry before obtaining enough capital to open a store. One teacher and one policeman started out this way. Later they decided to pool their capital in order to open a store in town. They are still running the store, with each one, or their wives, taking turns watching the store.

Only two informants had side businesses dealing with food. One was a policeman whose wife began by selling snacks in a school. They have expanded their business by obtaining the rights to serve lunches at the Institut Teknologi Mara in Shah Alam. The other one is a tractor driver who works for the state development corporation (PKNS) in Shah Alam. He and his wife started out by selling nasi lemak in the morning to the factory workers in Shah Alam. After a few months they opened a stall, along with other food vendors, in one of the strategic areas near the factories and included hot lunches, makan nasi, in their menu. In each of these cases, the husband helped the wife carry the food and other equipment to the place of business early in the morning and then went to work at his regular job. One of them, the tractor driver, helped his wife at noon when the business
was at its peak.

Trading in batik cloth and other household goods such as plates, thermos bottles, and carpets was a popular part time enterprise. There was no specialization in the type of goods sold, except for one teacher, who was not in the study sample because he was too busy, who was well known for his carpet business. Each trader sold a combination of goods, operated from his house, and had neither a store nor a license. Customers were obtained mainly on the basis of personal contacts, in their neighborhoods, at their places of work, or through friends. There are two ways of trading among these men and women: selling on a cash basis, wang tunai; and selling on an installment basis, ansuran. Some combined both of these methods in their trading activities.

I consider these part-time businesses as entrepreneurial activities among the residents of the Taman. It is part of their adjustment in response to the economic opportunities in their urban environment. Since most of them are wage earners with limited education, they have few means of improving their economic position, depending as they do on a fixed income. One of the ways they augment their income is through part-time businesses. Although they operate outside the firm-centered type of economy, they do perform certain entrepreneurial functions like risk taking and innovation (Belshaw 1965). In addition, the informants were all interested in maximizing their investments.

The kutu or serba nika trades, for example, are risky ventures. Each trader invests money in the trade and has to wait for payments each month, unlike store owners who deal with cash transactions. There is always the
danger of customers not paying for the goods. Some informants have lost
money in their trading because customers transferred residence without
completing their payments.

The capital formation for these small ventures shows how the informants
have managed on their own to set up part-time businesses. The initial
capital needed for trading was obtained from individual savings. Some
informants began with about M$1,000 capital, others with M$2,000. They
managed to increase this to as much as M$5,000 in a few years. Later as
the need for more capital arose, they took out loans ranging from M$3,000
to M$5,000 from cooperatives or banks. Some of the informants had busines­
ses within the range of M$10,000 to M$15,000. The traders claim that their
capital is always rolling, for it is usually tied up in goods or debts. The
demand for goods is usually greater than the availability of money or credit
for the trader to buy the goods.

Most of the traders, as I mentioned above, started out selling only an
item or two on a trial basis. Some have stuck to their initial type of goods,
others have diversified. Because of the type of operation and goods they
deal with, there is a limit to their expansion. Time, personnel, and capital
limit their operations. There is also the element of competition. Some
informants said that kutu and serba nika trade have become so popular that
many individuals are now engaged in it. This type of trading has also spread
out to rural areas. One of the informants, a clerk, regularly went to
rubber and oil palm plantation settlements taking his business there. In his
case, he has found a new outlet for his part time business instead of concen­
trating in town.
These part-time businesses are innovative and also demonstrate that Malays can participate in business activities in town. It is usually the Chinese who are attributed with the commercial functions in towns. Part of the Malay dilemma has been their inability to participate fully in the economic life of towns (Mahathir 1970). Various government attempts have been made to help Malays to engage in business but these have been with large businesses and not with individuals who wish to set up small businesses. Bank loans and business permits in towns are usually given to experienced businessmen. Small ventures like those described from the Taman rely on individual initiative and resources.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed some aspects of the economic status of the Malays in Taman Kampung Kuantan to illustrate their economic participation. I have shown that the occupations of the informants are typical of the occupations Malays have in urban areas. There is cultural continuity in the predominance of teachers, police, and clerks among the male informants.

The occupations and other economic activities of the Taman residents reflect the types of economic opportunities usually open to Malays with limited education and skills in urban areas. Their lack of education limits their ability to obtain better occupations or higher positions. Few informants were in the professional, managerial or business occupations. One trend evident among the Taman Malays is the increasing participation of women in the labor force. Although most of the women informants were involved in the stereotyped areas of Malay female employment like teachers, clerks, and midwives, there are those who are finding more work in factories.
The minor participation of the Taman Malays in the urban commercial sector is shown by the small business ventures which some of the informants have entered either on a full time or part-time basis. These business ventures were initiated by the informants themselves and were developed through their own efforts and resources. In a few cases, assistance was obtained through bank loans and government built shops. These small scale businesses, although limited in prospects, help the Malays increase their participation in the urban economic structure, which is dominated by non-Malays.

Part-time businesses provide one way of augmenting fixed wage income among the Taman residents. It is one way of improving their opportunities for social mobility. Increased income enables the Taman residents to give their children the kind of education which they did not obtain. This is one way which the Taman Malays can sustain a stable middle-class status.
CHAPTER VI

NEIGHBORHOOD COHESION AND DIFFERENTIATION

When migrants move into an established neighborhood they have to adjust to the prevailing social and cultural conditions in the area. The transition period for migrants is expected to be smoother if they share the same social characteristics and values as the residents. This view is derived from the concept of the "natural community" (Park et al. 1967) that says that residential solidarity is a product of shared social characteristics and values. It is also possible that in spite of sharing a common culture and residential area, residential solidarity is not developed between the migrants and residents. This view is found in Suttles' (1972:35) concept of the "defended neighborhood" in which the cohesion of a neighborhood is said to come not from sentimental ties, but from structural characteristics like sharing a common boundary and identification with the reputation of a neighborhood.

After the migrants moved into the Taman, the Taman became identified as a distinct neighborhood in Kampung Kuantan. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Taman is distinguished from the rest of the kampung by its housing style and the characteristics of the residents. The houses in the Taman are low cost government row houses, while most of those in the rest of the kampung are made of individual, plankhouses in traditional or contemporary design. Most of the Taman residents are recent migrants to
Kelang while most of the kampung residents are from Kelang.

In addition to their having to adjust to the social order of the kampung, the residents of the Taman had to adjust to each other in their new neighborhood. The Taman migrants came from different parts of the peninsula and were differentiated from each other by occupation, ownership or rental of houses and relative social status. The social differentiation found among the Taman residents influenced their differential involvement in the neighborhood. I suggest that the involvement or lack of involvement of the Malays in the Taman are indicators of their participation in the urban kampung where they have settled.

The discussion in this chapter focuses on the social adjustment of the Taman residents in their new residence. I describe the bases of common identity among the kampung and Taman residents, and examine the factors influencing the differentiation of the Taman from the kampung, as well as the differentiation found among the Taman migrants. The social adjustment of the Taman residents in their new neighborhood indicates that in spite of sharing a common culture, residential solidarity is not evenly developed with the rest of the kampung residents, and that there is a differential involvement in neighborhood relationships among the Taman residents as a result of social differentiation among them.

**Common ethnic identity**

The Malays think of themselves as one ethnic group, or *bangsa*. This term is also used to refer to types of things and different sub-ethnic categories. In the former usage, for example, they say *bangsa kain* when referring to types of cloth. When referring to ethnicity, Malays do not
think so much in terms of physical traits as they do in cultural terms. Anyone who habitually speaks Malay, practices Islam, and follows Malay custom is considered a Malay. In Kampung Kuantan, for example, there are people of Chinese descent who have become Malay, or sudah masuk Melayu. Many of these are females who were adopted as children, anak angkat, by Malays, raised as Malays, and have married Malays.

Sub-ethnic differences are also recognized by Malays. These differences are usually traced to the place of origin. In Kampung Kuantan, for example, there are migrants from various parts of the peninsula as well as from Indonesia. People who originally came from Java are referred to as orang Jawa or Javanese people, those originally from Kelantan are referred to as orang Kelantan. The descent of particular individuals is expressed by the word keturunan, meaning descent or origin. For example, those of Bugis descent are said to be keturunan Bugis or of Bugis origin, and those of Minangkabau descent are keturunan Minangkabau or Minangkabau origin. Local origin and descent are thus two main sources of sub-ethnic referents among Malays in the kampung.

Sub-ethnic differences are also noted by the Taman and kampung people in terms of ways of speaking, style of dress, and personality characteristics or individual tastes. For example, the Javanese speak a different language from the Sumatrans. The kampung people regard Bahasa Indonesia as halus or refined, compared to everyday spoken Malay which is considered kasar or unrefined. Since there are many migrants in the kampung, bahasa daerah or dialects are recognized by different accents and vocabulary. In terms of dress, Javanese women wear their skirts in a different fashion from Malay women, and the scarf is worn differently. Each ethnic group is
also stereotyped by personality characteristics. For example, the Javanese are said to be *rajin* or industrious compared to the Malays who are *malas* or lazy. Sumatrans are said to be *sombong* or arrogant, while the Javanese are not as self-assertive or arrogant.

Sub-ethnic differences among Malays are not, however, played up in the kampung or the Taman. Usually it is only in jest or in private that these are ever mentioned. For most of the migrants, each group tries to conform to Selangor *adat* or customs once they have lived there for some time. Malays in general are proud of the fact that as a group they share the same customs, although these in fact vary from state to state.

One of the most common *adat* mentioned is the Malay concept of cooperation, of being helpful to fellow Malays. This is expressed by terms like *gotong-royong* or mutual self-help, *tolong-menolong* or being helpful, and *kerjasama* or working together. In Kampung Kuantan, *gotong-royong* is understood as cooperation on a community level, while *tolong-menolong* is help on a reciprocal basis between two or more individuals. For example, contributing towards the construction of a *surau* is more *gotong-royong* than *tolong-menolong*, while helping a neighbor cook for a feast or *kenduri* is *tolong-menolong*.

*Gotong-royong* activities are frequently organized around religious activities. All Malays are by definition followers of Islam. Feelings of solidarity are aroused primarily as a result of the common religion. Religious rituals performed in the community, e.g. circumcisions, weddings, and celebrating the Prophet Mohammed's birthday, require a *kenduri* or feast which is a cooperative venture. Kampung people pride themselves
in not having to hire cooks or go to restaurants for a feast. One of the cooperative ventures which was undertaken in this regard was the purchase of plates and glasses for use in kenduris for the kampung. These are kept in the surau or prayer house. Whenever there is a kenduri at somebody's house, they can rent these plates and glasses. The money from the rental is used to replace broken plates or purchase additional pieces.

Malay Muslims believe in five articles of faith: belief in the one God, prayers, fasting, payment of tithes, and the pilgrimage of Mecca. Prayer is the most common religious activity of the kampung people. They are supposed to pray five times a day: at dawn (subuh), afternoon (zuhur), late afternoon (asar), sunset (makhrib), and at night (ishak). Prayers are said more often at home where the father sometimes leads and the mother and children follow. Sometimes the men go to the mosque or to the surau for prayer on ordinary days. On Fridays they have the main worship service at the mosque. Only men go to the mosque for the Friday worship, women are not allowed in the mosque. Since most men in the kampung work, the surau is more often used in the evening and night prayers. It is usually the older men who go frequently to the surau for prayers.

The mosque and the surau are the two most important institutions in the kampung. They are the center of the community. There is one mosque in the kampung and three suraus. The mosque was built in the kampung before the Second World War, on land donated by a Malacca migrant. The mosque personnel include an imam or religious head, an assistant imam, a treasurer, and a secretary. They are all appointed by the Sultan and receive letters of appointment or tauliah from him. In addition to these men there is a
bilal who summons people to prayer, and another bilal who prepares corpses for burial. A mosque committee made up of representatives from the kampung residents helps the imam and other mosque personnel make decisions concerning the running of the mosque. Mosque personnel are appointed by the State Religious Department. Maintenance of the mosque is a community affair. Contributions from the kampung people are usually sought for repairs and improvements. Whenever the cost is too high, it is obtained from higher authorities such as the District Office or the State Assembly representative for the area. During the field work period, part of the mosque caught fire just before the fasting month. Repairs amounting to M$5,000 were required. Efforts were made by the mosque committee to obtain the money from the District Officer and the State Assembly representative. Fortunately, they were successful and able to repair the damage before the big celebration ending the fasting month, Hari Raya Puasa.

There are three suraus in the kampung: Surau Tinggi or tall surau, Surau Haji Salleh, and Surau Taman Kampung Kuantan. Before the mosque was built there was only one surau in the kampung, Surau Tinggi. This surau is now used as a prayer house for women in the kampung. Around the end of World War II, Surau Haji Salleh was constructed on land contributed by the ketua kampung, on the east side of the kampung. The most recent addition to the kampung is the surau inside the Taman.

Unlike the mosque, the organization of the surau is quite informal. The surau imam and other personnel are appointed by consensus of the residents who use the surau. Suraus are used primarily as prayer houses. They are also used for other religious functions in the local area. For example,
tahlil meetings where participants recite praises to Allah and the Prophet, and tarawih meetings where special prayers are said during the fasting month, are done in the surau. Instructions in the reading of the Kor'an are also held in the surau.

Some kampung residents have been worried that having too many suraus would create divisions in the kampung. Others felt that it was convenient to have suraus for particular sections of the kampung, instead of having to walk far to the mosque. These issues came up when the surau inside the Taman was proposed. This is discussed in more detail below. It is important to note, in brief, that the suraus are extensions of the mosque as a center of Islamic religion and culture at the local level.

The religious rituals in the kampung are the primary source of neighborly cooperation in the kampung. This is best manifested during the fasting month or bulan puasa. During the fasting month all Muslims refrain from food and drink, as well as smoking, and some informants added sex or evil thoughts, from dawn till sunset. Even before the fasting month comes, people already anticipate the fast. By fasting, each Muslim, according to ustaz informants, is supposed to feel how a person deprived of basic necessities feels. This common experience is shared by all, rich and poor. Children are trained to fast from age five or six years. All persons who have reached puberty are required to fast. Everybody expects all others to fast. Even kids taunt their playmates who do not fast. The exceptions are women who are menstruating or have just given birth, and persons who are travelling long distances, theoretically 72 miles or more.

Special rituals are held in the kampung during the fasting month. Each
fasting day begins by the bang or the call to prayer and ends by the wail of a siren at sunset. After breaking the fast and after the fifth prayer, at ishak, there is a special prayer session called tarawih. Cakes and coffee or tea are served after the tarawih. These are made and contributed by the women of the kampung. Both men and women participate in the tarawih. Usually most of the participants go home after the tarawih and refreshments. Some stay behind for the tadarus, a session in which men take turns reciting from the Kor'an and their mistakes are corrected. A complete reading of the Kor'an during the fasting month is marked by a kenduri to celebrate the event known as Khatam Kor'an or completion of a full reading of the Kor'an. Again the food for the kenduri is cooked by the women and given to the participants and guests.

Neighborhood Differentiation

Kampung Kuantan is one administrative unit in the town of Kelang. All the Malays in the kampung share common ethnic characteristics. Neighborhood solidarity, however, does not come primarily as a result of sharing these common ethnic characteristics. Within the kampung there are two distinct neighborhoods, the kampung proper and the Taman. These two separate neighborhoods came into being when the Taman was built inside the kampung, and new residents settled into the Taman, as described in Chapter IV.

As a government housing development the physical characteristics of the Taman are different from the kampung. The grid-pattern of its paved streets contrasts with the footpaths found in the rest of the kampung. Unlike the well spaced individual houses of the kampung proper, the almost
identical row houses of the Taman are grouped in blocks of ten to fifteen houses. The identity of the Taman was ascribed even before it was occupied. It had a pre-established name and its boundaries were clearly marked. The Taman residents have further developed this identity by establishing their own neighborhood committees and building their own surau inside the Taman.

In the beginning the Taman residents showed much activity in organizing themselves. One of the reasons for this activity was the incomplete state of the Taman when the residents began to occupy the houses. Many problems regarding the amenities in their neighborhood faced the first Taman residents in 1969. Electricity and water had yet to be installed, river water sometimes overflowed from the dyke into the Taman drains, and garbage collection was non-existent. To solve these problems an ad hoc committee, Jawatankuasa Bertindak, was formed. This committee went to the Town Council and PKNS, the state development corporation, which built the Taman, requesting help for their problems. It functioned for one year until it was replaced in 1971 by another committee for administering the affairs of the Taman residents. Some of the initial problems were solved by this committee.

The ad hoc committee was replaced by the Taman Kampung Kuantan Committee or Jawatankuasa Taman Kampung Kuantan (JTKK). This committee lasted until the end of 1973, when it was eventually merged with the kampung village committee. The JTKK was the first committee which organized the Taman into a unified group of residents. Just like the previous committee, it took the responsibility of acting as spokesman for the needs of the Taman, as well as guiding the development of the Taman.
The structure of the JTKK consisted of one main committee and several sub-committees. Its officers and members were chosen from among the active and respected residents of the Taman. Each street in the Taman was represented in the JTKK. To carry out the different functions of the JTKK, sub-committees were formed. There were four sub-committees: Seksi Ugama for religion, Seksi Belia dan Sokan for youth and sports, Seksi Wanita for women, the Seksi Kebajikan Am for general welfare. Each of these sub-committees had their complement of officers and members just like the JTKK main committee.

In its two years of administering the affairs of the Taman, various benefits were obtained by the JTKK for the Taman residents. Since the Taman was part of the Town Council area and taxes were levied on the residents' properties, the JTKK made sure that services such as garbage collection, grass cutting, mosquito spraying, and drain cleaning were given to the Taman. A petition was also made to the Town Council to lower the monthly service charges from the Town Council, as well as to lower the annual taxes on the houses. The reasons given by the Taman residents were that the Taman was a low cost housing development, that all of the residents were Malays with low income, and that they were still paying for their houses to the PKNS. Lower rates were given to the Taman residents by the Town Council as a result of the request made by the JTKK. Other improvements were also made in the Taman. Street lighting was obtained, the dyke protecting the Taman from the river waters was strengthened to prevent the river from overflowing into the Taman, and playground equipment for children was obtained from the District Office. A post office branch was also installed in one of the stores in the Taman.
Among the various sub-committees within the JTKK, the most active was the religion sub-committee. This sub-committee arranged for Taman celebrations of religious holidays like the Prophet's birthday (Nabi Maulud), and the end of the fasting month (Hari Raya Puasa) and also sponsored guest lecturers on religious matters. The most important accomplishment of this sub-committee was planning and building a surau inside the Taman. Although there was a surau just outside the Taman and a mosque in the kampung, the Taman residents felt that a surau inside the Taman was necessary. Since 1972, religious classes for children and adults had been held in the houses of several teachers and ustaz because there were no other available places. As newcomers to the kampung, the Taman residents were reluctant to use the community hall and nearby surau except for big gatherings. Guest lecturers were periodically invited to speak to the Taman residents on religious subjects. Religious leaders felt that a surau inside the Taman would facilitate meetings, lectures, and religious classes.

Before the surau was built there was some opposition in the Taman. Some residents thought that the construction of a surau inside the Taman would lead to sub-divisions in the kampung, berpecah-belah kampung, since groupings would form around each surau. Those who were for building the Taman surau emphasized the need for such a building, and also its significance for the Taman as a Malay neighborhood. In most Malay communities the mosque or surau is the symbol of the community's unity and religious identity. When visitors came to the kampung and have no place to stay, the surau or mosque is offered to house the visitors. Some residents of the Taman felt that building a surau in the Taman would be an insult to
the ketua kampung who had already built a surau just outside the Taman many years ago. Furthermore, there were already two suraus in the kampung, why build a third one?

Those who were for building the Taman surau, of course, won. Discussions on the pros and cons of building the Taman surau did cause some tension within the kampung. The main concern was whether the Taman residents would be regarded as part of the kampung or as a separate neighborhood because of their desire to build their own surau. The initial activities of the Taman residents already indicated a separatist tendency, by organizing separate committees, in their concern for the residents' welfare. The building of the surau inside the Taman confirmed this suspicion of the kampung proper residents. Thus, the reputation of the Taman as a separate neighborhood in the kampung was reinforced.

The religious committee of the Taman acted on the need for a surau. In a meeting of the Taman residents, they proposed a plan to build a surau inside the Taman. This plan was accepted by the JTKK. Construction of a surau required two things, money and approval of the Religious Department of Selangor. A special committee was appointed to take care of these matters, the Surau building committee or Jawatankuasa pembinaan surau. Seven members were selected to be the committee. As in the JTKK, each street in the Taman was represented on the committee. These members were responsible for collecting contributions from their respective areas. An initial contribution from each member of the committee was made to print the receipt books for the fund drive to build the surau. Each household in the Taman was asked to contribute M$20, payable in M$2 monthly installments. Before
the collection began, a letter was circulated to the Taman residents to inform them of the religion committee's proposals and decisions.

The surau building committee sent a letter of application to build a surau in the Taman to the Religious Department, as well as a request for funds for this purpose. They also asked PKNS to provide a vacant lot in the Taman, formerly used as a badminton court, on which to build the surau. The requests from the Religious Department and from PKNS were all granted after representatives of the Taman went to these institutions to convince them about their plan. Additional money was also requested from the District Office to build the surau. A total of M$5,500 was initially collected from the Taman residents, and M$20,000 was obtained from the District Office. Another M$3,000 was later contributed by the Taman residents for the installation of electricity, water supply, a public address system, and electric fans in the surau. Construction of the surau building was begun in 1975 and completed in 1977.

The other sub-committees of the JTKK had their separate functions within the Taman. Each had its own tasks assigned by the main committee of the JTKK. The youth and sports committee, for example, was directed to perform charitable works or kerja amal, as well as to arrange for traditional dances songs, and sports in the Taman. Its accomplishments, however, only included gotong-royong activities such as cleaning up the Taman and kampung area of litter and garbage, assisting at wedding preparations in the Taman, and helping prepare for public gatherings like the celebration of the Prophet Mohammed's birthday. Like the youth and sports committee, the welfare committee was also given the task of assisting the Taman residents with the
upkeep of the Taman area, as well as organizing burial preparations when
there was a death in the Taman. It was the latter activity which became the
the main concern of the welfare committee. The women's committee was given
the task of organizing activities for women in the Taman such as cooking
classes, and making traditional ornaments for weddings. The organizational
impetus for the women in the Taman was influenced by a national women's
organization, the Women's Institute (WI), which established a branch in the
Taman. This and other organizations in the Taman are discussed further in
the next chapter.

These committees became the core for the later development of formal
associations in the Taman after the main committee of the JTKK ceased to
function in 1974. Each of them became a specialized association, while the
administration of the Taman came under the kampung village development
committee. Taman representatives were assigned to the kampung village devel-
opment committee beginning with the participation of the JTKK president in
the village development committee in 1973. Later more representatives from
the Taman were appointed to the kampung village development committee.

**Taman Groupings**

The Taman residents, for practical and other considerations, have lived
separate from the kampung residents. Their territorial distinctiveness in
the kampung has set them initially apart. The kampung people saw the Taman
as a special locality in the kampung, not really the same as the rest of the
kampung. They have come to live with this separate identity. Patterns of
neighborhood activity have developed and certain groupings among the Taman
residents have formed as time passed.
Among the Taman residents, the ideal neighbor was thought of as one who was friendly and cooperative. As one informant put it, jiran tetangga ini macam sahabat, neighbors are like close friends. Friendliness here means being amiable and, its correlate, avoiding conflict. Neighborly cooperation is bekerjasama, part of adat resam, the commonly accepted body of customs and manners. It is a custom which originates from the rural tradition of gotong-royong or mutual self-help. Whenever there is a feast, a wedding, or a burial the neighbors are expected to help each other. No outsiders are called to help on these occasions, tidak panggil orang jauh. Only Taman residents help each other during these occasions and it is rare that outsiders come to help.

Cooperation in the preparation and attendance at feasts is the major expression of neighborliness in the Taman. There are many tasks to perform in a kenduri. Food has to be prepared and cooked, utensils have to be borrowed and cleaned, chairs and tables have to be arranged. In addition, space is needed to do all the preparations. Next door neighbors are asked to lend their kitchens for the occasion, since the Taman houses are not very big. The most reputed cooks in the Taman are asked to help cook. Serving food is also a cooperative venture. Women usually dish out the food while men carry it to the tables. In a wedding feast where guests come and go successively, clean space and utensils as well as food have to be provided. All the guests are treated the same way. As one informant put it, there is no consideration of status at a kenduri; all guests are welcome.

After a feast there is more work to be done, cleaning and putting away utensils, as well tables and chairs. It is usually the youth of the Taman
who are particularly called upon to help clean up after a kenduri. Next door neighbors are also asked to help out at this time. When it is their turn to hold kenduri they can expect their neighbors to reciprocate this help.

Aside from these custom defined occasions for cooperative tasks among neighbors, there are other occasions in the Taman which bring neighbors together to interact with one another. These result in what may be termed groupings, in the sense that they are a type of gathering which bring people together without necessarily endowing them with formal group organization. Among these are the local activities connected with religion, instrumental activities, associations connected activities, and leisure time groupings.

Religious groupings are formed at the prayer meetings and religious lectures of the Taman surau. Men and women congregate at the surau for daily prayers. It is usually the evening and night prayers which are better attended, with about 30 to 40 people participating. Not everybody attends these prayer meetings for a variety of reasons; some people prefer to say their prayers at home, some attend the prayer meetings at the other surau in the kampung, still others work on shift duty at night, and thus can not regularly attend these prayer meetings.

Prayer meetings, like kenduris, at the surau are also customary behavior patterns. Religiosity, unlike status differentials is not a factor which divides people. People in the Taman do not gossip about the religious behavior of other people. Piety is accepted as an individual and personal matter. Participation at the surau meetings is not mandatory. People in the Taman know who are regular participants at the surau prayers. They say
that it is good when people attend surau prayer meetings: they gain more merits or pahala that way. Most people accept the fact that preoccupation with religion increases with age. Fewer young people attend surau prayer meetings; older people say that the younger people will become more religious as they grow older.

The Taman surau prayer group is a respected group in the Taman, although it is not acknowledged to be a formal group. It is composed of some 20 regular participants, including men and women of different ages. It is distinguished from the prayer grouping at Haji Salleh's surau in the kampung. There are men and women from the Taman who regularly attend prayer meetings there, instead of the surau in the Taman, because it is closer to their houses. The composition of this prayer group is mostly of older men and women, as compared to the relatively younger men and women who regularly attend the Taman surau prayer meetings. The surau prayer groupings are always invited to kenduris. Whenever there is a special feast, e.g. a feast honoring a dead person, the surau prayer participants are invariably among the first to be invited.

Twice a week there are religious lectures and discussions held in the Taman surau for the Taman residents after the evening prayers. These lectures are organized by the ustaz or religious teachers living in the Taman. The ustaz take turns lecturing about the Kor'an and Islam. Sometimes guest lecturers are invited, especially during the month preceding the fasting month or on religious holidays.

These religious meetings are important sources of neighborhood groupings in the Taman, providing occasions for neighbors to meet and to get to
know one another. Before and after the meetings there are small clusters of men who casually converse with one another. Some informants said that it was in this way that they met and got to know more residents of the Taman.

In the Taman there are small clusters of individuals who have formed groupings for particular tasks which are instrumental in nature. These groupings are formed for specific purposes like car pools, cooperative shopping, kutu groups, and pyrex parties. The regularity and period of existence of these groupings vary. Some, like the cooperative shopping or car pools, last for a long time and meet regularly, while others like the kutu and pyrex parties are of short duration and meet only once as a group.

Since many of the Taman residents work outside Kelang, in Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya, some of them have formed car pools to get to and from work. These car pools take two forms: one man provides the ride with his car for the rest of the pool, or if there is more than one car among the participants they take turns each month giving rides to the other persons. It is usually the former arrangement which is common among the Taman residents. Each month the riders pay the car owner M$25 to M$30 for the daily rides to and from work. By joining car pools the Taman residents save some money, either by reducing their bus fare or by obtaining extra cash from the contributions in the car pool. At the same time, the car pool provides a regular and frequent occasion for interaction among the participants.

Cooperative shopping is another instrumental activity which provides a source of grouping among the Taman residents. Here a group of four or
five households agrees to shop in common for basic foodstuff like rice, sugar, and flour. The goods are bought in bulk and divided among the participants. Goods are obtained more cheaply in this manner than if the individual participants had bought them separately. Each month one of the group members is assigned the task of shopping for the goods with money contributed by the participants. Then the participants are called together to divide the foodstuff. These groupings are different from the car pool, or surau prayer groupings in the sense that participants usually know each other before they decide to group together for shopping.

The kutu groupings are similar to the cooperative shopping groupings since their goal is to obtain certain goods for the participants. In this system of grouping, however, the relationship among the participants usually begins and ends with the kutu, unless the participants have a previous relationship, separate from their participation in the kutu. As I have mentioned before, the kutu is formed by a kepala kutu or kutu leader; the method of payment for the goods is by installment; and the participants take turns obtaining the desired item each month or whenever contributions are made by participants. The kepala-kutu has the task of finding the goods. He either gets them from a store or from a kutu trader. If he is working for a kutu trader then he gets a commission for his task of organizing the kutu. The kutu participants may or may not know each other before the kutu is formed. After the payments have been completed and all the participants have obtained the desired item, they may or may not group together again into another kutu at some future time.

Pyrex parties are a frequent occurrence in the Taman. At least one
sales party is held each month, organized and attended by women in the Taman. Pyrex items are very popular among the kampung people, and women collect them for home use as well as for display, usually exhibiting them in the living room along with other ornamental pieces. Since pyrex wares are not sold in stores, they have to be obtained through a dealer who sells them at pyrex parties. This also makes the pyrex wares more valuable to the women, as they are not readily available.

Pyrex parties are organized by hostesses in the Taman in cooperation with a pyrex dealer. There are at least five pyrex dealers and one manager who lives in the Taman. They do not all operate solely in the kampung. At a party the dealer demonstrates the wares - plates, saucers, bowls, etc. The dealer then takes orders for the wares and informs the women of the delivery date.

A "game" follows the submission of orders. Each person present is given a number and three persons are chosen by lots. The three women all receive gifts from the dealer. The number one person gets to give the next pyrex party; the other two "winners" may also give pyrex parties if they wish. For her effort in organizing the party, the hostess also gets a gift from the dealer, as well as a commission from the orders obtained. Gifts and commissions are pyrex wares.

Participation in pyrex parties varies depending on the friendship network of the hostess. The hostess usually invites her close friends. These friends are obliged to attend their friend's pyrex party or risk offending her. Some women, however, do not attend. One woman informant said that most women attend these parties out of consideration for their
friends, and they buy pyrex wares which they don't even need. There is an implicit understanding that all participants give purchase orders during a pyrex party. Another woman said that she never attended these pyrex parties, because if she attended one party of a friend, then she would have to attend the party of other friends where she will have to buy pyrex wares she does not need. Her solution was to refuse them all rather than play favorites. For most other women, however, the pyrex parties are lively affairs which give them a chance to socialize. Housewives bring their young children to these parties. Much talking about themselves and the neighborhood goes on during the proceedings, aside from the business of ordering pyrex wares.

In addition to the instrumental groupings like cooperative shopping and pyrex parties, there are activities organized by the various associations in the Taman which invite participation from among the kampung and Taman residents. These activities are part of the community services performed by the associations. They are also one of the means for popularizing associations, recruiting new members, and provide occasions for kampung residents to interact with one another. These activities include sports, cooking classes, movies and even excursions. The UMNO members in the kampung regularly organize badminton games in the kampung. The Women's Institute holds weekly cooking classes in the Taman. The national organization for the Mecca pilgrimage, locally known as Tabung Haji or Pilgrim Fund, showed a film which described the steps involved in the pilgrimage to acquaint the kampung people with the procedures for a haji. I discuss the activities of these associations in more detail in the next chapter.
Social Differentiation

As in many other Malay localities, the residents of Taman Kampung Kuantan are homogeneous only in terms of ethnic composition. They vary in other respects. There is social differentiation based on area of origin, dialect, and ownership or rental of houses. At the same time there is a system of stratification based on social status and relative wealth. These are the same variables other authors have noted to differentiate Malays in their studies of rural and urban kampungs. For example, Swift (1965) described two social classes among the villagers of Jelebu, the lower class and the upper class, as well as the status differences among individuals according to the performance of certain roles. Husin Ali (1964) also described two "classes" of people in a rural village, those who make their living in agriculture and those who do not. Provencher (1971) describes how the residents of the rural and urban kampungs he studied were distinguished into aggregates depending on ownership or rental of land or houses, sub-ethnic and regional identity, and occupations. All three authors note that these social differences have consequences for kampung residents' perception and behavior toward each other.

Provencher (1971:69) suggests that the occupational diversity in Kampung Bahru influences the physical and social separation of neighbors during working hours and the assignment of different levels of prestige to different neighbors depending on their occupations. The same observation can be made about the Taman Malays as far as their occupational differences are concerned. In addition to this, it can be shown that social differences among Taman residents account for the differential commitment and
participation of the Malays in their locality.

One of the most basic distinctions among the Taman residents is that between owners and renters. As I mentioned in Chapter IV, among the original buyers of Taman houses, many decided not to live in the houses and rented them out. About 30 percent of the Taman households surveyed were renters. This proportion may be compared with the higher proportion of renters (64.9%) among Kampung Bahru residents studied by Provencher (1971:35).

The owner/renter, or pemilik/penyewa, distinction is notable not only in terms of their proportion in the locality, but also in terms of other characteristics which differentiate renters and owners from each other. Among these are differences in occupation and age. In Table VII of Chapter V, it is shown that there are proportionally more teachers, policemen, and factory workers among owners than renters; there are proportionally more technicians, clerks, and professionals among renters than owners. The renters have a higher average income (M$773) than owners (M$662). There is no large difference in the educational attainment of owners and renters. By age, the renters tend to be much younger than owners; about 69.3 percent of the renter male household heads were between 20 and 39 years old, while only 23 per cent of the owners were in the same age range.

The renters are considered transients and owners feel that renters are not as committed to the Taman community as they are. Owners see themselves as more permanently rooted in the kampung and thus more socially significant. Although some renters have lived in the Taman for as long as some owners, they still do not consider themselves as committed to the Taman as the owners. The relative youth of the renters also contributed to their transient image in
the Taman. Some of the renter households were composed of bachelors. Many of these were young workers in the factories of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam. The Taman is more like a dormitory for them rather than a home. Owners frequently commented that they hardly knew their renter neighbors because the renters were away most of the time, either at work or visiting friends and relatives over the weekend. Because of this perceived lack of permanence, renters are not as involved in the community's activities as the owners.

Another important basis of social differentiation in the Taman is social status. Indicators of status differences are occupation, education, inherited and achieved titles. People of higher status are referred to as orang berpangkat, or people with rank. These usually include those with achieved status like cikgu or teacher, ustaz or religious teacher, haji or someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and datuk or policeman of rank. Among the policemen, those who are sergeants and inspectors have high status. Other persons considered as orang berpangkat but who are not given particular honorifics are the ketua kerani or chief clerks, and managers or executives in private firms. The latter are usually people with some higher education, e.g. HSC or university degree. Some traders, full time or part time, are addressed as tawkeh or proprietor. This is significant in the sense that it is the Chinese businessmen who are usually addressed with this term. Among the Taman Malays the use of tawkeh is often in jest rather than as an honorific. Then there are individuals with inherited titles such as Wan or Raja indicating descent from nobility.

Among the Taman residents these men and women keep a low profile because
they are not wealthy, unlike some of the nobility in town. For example, one is only a mechanic, and another is a school teacher.

People of lower status include laborers in factories, ordinary clerks, dock workers, and lower ranking policemen. According to some lower status residents, they do not feel inclined to mix with those of higher status. Some laborers said that they do not mix too much with their neighbors because they can not compare with their higher status neighbors, tidak ada persaingan. A few port workers said that there are some renters in the Taman of higher status who have taken advantage of the lower rent in the Taman even though they can afford to live in Petaling Jaya, and thus they deprive other low income Malays of the opportunity to find housing in the Taman.

A third source of social differentiation among the Taman residents is standard of living. The residents describe their living standard as sederhana, or moderate, their reference to a middle class style of living in Malaysia. Many said that they liked living in the Taman because they wanted to live a middle class life-style, mahu hidup sederhana. Compared to Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya, they claim that the cost of living in the kampung is low, and at the same time have the same amenities of town living. Some residents said that they moved from Petaling Jaya because they could not afford the higher cost of living there. In the Taman they have found a more moderate life-style and cost of living.

Although the Malays in the Taman describe their living standard as sederhana, there are differences in life style among the residents. These are indicated by the houses and material possessions of the residents. All
the houses in the Taman are basically from the same model: a three bedroom house with a living room in the front for receiving guests, a kitchen-dining area, and a bathroom. About 80 percent of the houses are made mostly of wood, the remaining 20 percent are all concrete. The latter were made in the last phase of the development and were more expensive. Most of the wooden houses have remained as they were built. Some of them have begun to deteriorate due to use, weather, and termite infestation. Other houses, however, have been renovated by their owners. People who own concrete houses and those who have renovated their houses display higher standards of living.

Examples of renovations of Taman houses include the following: fencing, concrete walls, and extensions of the houses. When the residents moved into the Taman, there were only wire mesh fences in front of the houses. Since then many residents have installed iron gates and car ports in front of their houses. Some residents felt that their living rooms were too small, so they knocked down the walls separating the first bedroom from the living room thereby enlarged their front room and have equipped it with more furniture. Other residents have enlarged their houses by extending their kitchen area up to the back street. A few have gone so far as to replace wooden walls with concrete blocks.

Variations in household furnishings and ownership of cars are other indicators of differences in material wealth of residents. All houses are furnished with basic household items like front room sitting sets, dining table and chairs, beds, and cabinets for storage. The quality of these furnishings varies from one household to another, depending on the
taste and financial capability of the resident. A favorite front room furnishing is a display cabinet filled with pyrex wares, brass and/or silverware, and phonograph records or cassettes. Other front room furnishings include television sets or radios. Some residents have fancy stereo equipment. Not all houses, however, have these latter furnishings. Perhaps the most wanted item among these is the television set. About 90 percent of the houses have a set, either rented or owned. Refrigerators are still an uncommon appliance in their homes.

One item that is becoming popular among Taman residents is the automobile. Only 50 percent of the Taman households surveyed have a car. Most of them are Japanese made, although there are some British, German or Italian makes. Cars act as status markers in the locality. Taman residents sometimes remember their neighbors by the make and plate number of their cars, rather than by their names. Some residents are said to change cars every four or five years. As in the case of ownership of certain household furnishings, ownership of a car is an indicator of life style among Taman residents. It is perhaps second only to house ownership on the list of priorities for material goods. Like their Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya counterparts, car ownership is perceived to be part of the middle-class living standard which they desire.

Differences in the standard of living of the Taman residents, as indicated by their material possessions, is thus part of the system of social differentiation among them. Although the Taman residents classify themselves in general as orang makan gaji or wage earners, with a sederhana or moderate living standard, there are perceived as well as objective differences among them. These differences have not yet been expressed in terms
of aggregates or categories of people, or in terms of a specific class system. Taman residents perceive themselves and their neighborhood as a fairly homogeneous group and locality, in comparison with other localities. For example, they do not see themselves as poor people or orang miskin, nor do they see themselves as rich people or orang kaya.

In spite of the idealized uniformity perceived by the Taman residents, there are differences among themselves which are expressed in terms of certain attitudes and patterns of behavior. One source of attitudes toward social differences is the differences in material possessions. Material possessions can be a source of envy, irihati, among neighbors. Some informants said that Malays easily get envious of their fellow Malays, and they try to better one another. Neighbors are always curious about new things which other neighbors have bought. For example, when a neighbor buys an electric blender, then other neighbors who do not have that appliance will also want one.

Some informants said that they avoided being too familiar with their neighbors in order to avoid envy and conflict. A kind of social distance or formal avoidance exists among some neighbors when this occurs. One informant expressed it in the following manner, saying, if one is too close to neighbors and sees them very often, one day some incident may happen to create misunderstanding. Another informant said that he did not want his wife to mix too freely with other wives in the neighborhood, because whenever one of the other housewives bought an item for the house, she would tell the wife to ask the husband to buy the same item. These suggestions from neighbors became a source of arguments between him and his
wife. He claimed that he was in no position to compete materially with his neighbors because he was only a laborer.

According to one informant, his neighbors acquire goods not only for their utility but also to show them off to other neighbors. As a result they acquire things which they do not need. For example, women buy pyrex wares not because they need heat proof ovenware, but in order to display them in their living room cabinets. Parents buy their children bicycles because the next door neighbors buy them for their children. One informant said that many people are in debt because they buy things which they don't really need. Each month they have to pay the installments for the new appliances, the car, or some other luxury item. In the meantime, they buy food at the neighborhood store on credit because their income is tied up in monthly payments.

The possibility of envy keeps the neighbors from being too familiar with each other. A Malay proverb reflects this attitude: Rambut sama hitam tetapi hati berlain-lain, we all have black hair but our dispositions are different. The recognition of differences in status or dispositions is a source for caution. One can not be too close to neighbors. There is also the possibility of being afflicted by the magic of jealous neighbors. An informant's wife got sick and her husband brought her to a bomoh or Malay medicine man for a cure. When asked why he did this, he said that a neighbor had been envious of his wife's success in trading and had asked a bomoh to cast a spell on his wife. Instead of bringing his wife to a doctor he went to another bomoh to counter the spell. Envy arising from material possessions or the lack of it have thus influenced the social relationships
of some Malays in the Taman.

Leadership Patterns

The distinction between higher status and lower status people in the Taman is manifested in the attainment of leadership positions. It is people of higher status in the Taman who are also leaders in the Taman. Two types of leaders exist in the Taman: religious and political. In the opinion of most Taman residents, religion and politics do not mix. Each is a different sphere of activity, and the leaders of each sphere have their special and separate competency. For example, whereas political leaders are considered to be berpangaroh or influential, religious leaders are said to be kuat dalam ugama or strong in religion. Religious leaders are respected for their piety and religious knowledge.

Before the Taman was built all the leaders in the kampung were elderly men such as the ketua kampung, the hajis and the ketua or head of UMNO. These men were respected for their age and experience. Traditionally the leader of the kampung was the ketua kampung. In Kampung Kuantan the first ketua kampung was appointed after the Second World War. Since then only one other person, a haji, has held the position of ketua kampung. Before the appointment of a ketua kampung the administration of Kampung Kuantan was the penghulu's responsibility. In the current government of local areas, the ketua kampung, unlike the penghulu, is not in the civil service. He receives no salary, although he gets a small annual allowance from the state. His position is considered honorary, and his role is limited to dealing with affairs within the kampung. For example, he presides at the village development committee meetings and is always present at important kampung functions.
He is in charge of knowing all the residents in the kampung. During election time he takes care of registering voters in the kampung.

When it comes to matters concerning the kampung and outside authorities or groups, the men who have provided the leadership and direction in the kampung are the political leaders and religious leaders. UMNO is the only political party represented in the kampung. As mentioned above, the head of the local UMNO branch is also the kampung representative on the Town Council. He is a member of the village development committee, together with the secretary of the local UMNO branch. The respect he has gained from the kampung people has also earned him the reference term of bapak or father of the kampung. His experience as an official of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka a government institution for publications and textbooks, and involvement in sports, as well as his active political and civic life has earned him three honorary titles from the Sultan of Selangor. As a higher status person in the locality he is always consulted on various matters. He is also commonly referred to as a penasihat or adviser in the kampung.

In the religious sphere the leaders of the kampung are the imam, haji, ustaz, and labai. The function of the religious leader is to provide Islamic teachings and guidance in the performance of religious beliefs and rituals. There are two kinds of imam or religious leader, one for the mosque and the other for the surau. As discussed earlier, the former is an official with an appointment from the Religious Department, while the latter is a leader chosen by consensus among the surau members. The imam is usually the leader during prayers in the mosque, surau, and other religious gatherings.

Next to the imam, perhaps the most respected religious functionary is
the ustaz or religious teacher. Like the mosque imam he has an official appointment from the Religious Department. Both males and females can become religious teachers, unlike the mosque imam who can only be a male. Ustaz teach religion in school. There is a full time religious school in the kampung apart from the regular public schools. Aside from the ustaz there are other persons in the kampung who teach children to read the Kor'an. These are the labai or pious men who voluntarily hold instructional sessions for children.

Persons who have gone to Mecca for the pilgrimage use the title of Haji. An imam is usually an haji. In the kampung most of the hajis are middle aged or elderly men and women. As I mentioned above, the Malays in the Taman believe that religious activity increases with age and the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the high points of one's religious life, it is also an expensive journey which can only be made after years of saving. Hajis are therefore well respected individuals. Whenever there is a kenduri and other meetings somebody is always asked to say the doa selamat blessing for the gathering. It is usually an imam, haji, or ustaz who is chosen to do this.

Thus, there are two types of leaders in the kampung: religious and political. Before the Taman was built all the leaders in the kampung were older men such as the ketua kampung, hajis, and ketua of UMNO. With the opening of the Taman and the influx of new migrants, younger leaders came to the kampung. These new leaders or pemimpin bahru, were mostly school teachers, cikgu, and religious teachers, ustaz. They have become active in UMNO as well as in the religious affairs of the Taman, along with the
established elders of the kampung.

Some of the younger political leaders in the Taman refer to themselves as pemimpin kecil or small leaders because they have not yet become established like the older men of the kampung, the ketuas. They are, however, active members of UMNO in the kampung. They have positions in the party branch, e.g., secretary, youth chairman, etc. It is they who have the work of mixing with the people in the kampung and communicating the ideas and activities of UMNO. Although some of them have lived as renters in the kampung before the construction of the Taman, and are now owners in the Taman, they are still uncertain about their capability to influence the kampung people. Some of them feel that they have a hard task leading the kampung people. Malays, they say, are wary of those who are not in established positions. Some people think that new leaders are active because they only want the position and honor of being a leader, cari nama sahaja or seeking status only.

The religious leaders are not as full of misgivings about their role compared to the new political leaders from the Taman. Their activities, they think, are of a different nature, and there is no rivalry, like in the political scene. The distinction between political activity and religious activity is clearly recognized by the Taman residents and leaders. If there is a mixture of the two, it is usually the politicians who insert religious matters into their work. This could account for the apparent lack of political activity of ABIM, which is described in the next chapter, an otherwise influential organization on the national scene, in the kampung. It is UMNO the political party of the Malays, which mixes political and religious
elements in its pronouncements in the kampung. As the main political party of Malays, the promotion of Islamic interests is also part of its practice.

The new leaders, political and religious, are noted for their active participation in committee work of various Taman associations. Committees are the formal expression of task groups in the Taman. Whenever there is a major activity, e.g. building a surau, a committee is usually formed to accomplish the task. The more active leaders are generally members of some committee or other, sometimes involved in most of them. Members propose these persons to be in the committees. As I mentioned above, these leaders are higher status persons in the Taman, e.g. teachers, ustaz, and college instructors. An examination of the membership list of various committees during the past five years of the Taman's existence, showed about twenty five men and women who were consistently on these lists.

Conclusion

The social structure and organization of the Malays in Taman Kampung Kuantan are based on ethnic institutions. I have shown that ethnic institutions such as the traditional village customs of neighborhood cooperation, religious organization and practices, and leadership patterns are the basis for social cohesion in the locality. I have also shown that in spite of sharing a common culture and residential area, community unity is not evenly developed in Kampung Kuantan. Within Kampung Kuantan there are two distinct neighborhoods, the kampung proper and the Taman. The Taman area is the neighborhood of the new migrants to the kampung.

The social cohesion and differentiation found within Kampung Kuantan is a result of a combination of territorial and social factors. The separ-
ation of the Taman from the rest of the kampung is a territorial phenomenon. When the Taman was built, its physical characteristics differentiated it from the rest of the kampung. The newcomer status of most of the Taman residents also added to the reputation of the Taman as a distinct locality. As newcomers to the kampung, the Taman migrants felt constrained to organize their own committees to protect and cultivate their interests in the locality.

The adjustment and organization of the Taman residents in their new locality is characterized by a combination of traditional patterns of behavior found in the village system and contemporary patterns of urban culture. Among the traditional village patterns is the emphasis on neighborhood cooperation and the strong role of religion in the organization and promotion of community cohesion. These are manifested in community activities like holding of feasts, religious meetings, and community development projects. In contrast to the idealized pattern of neighborhood cooperation there are the differential social status and wealth found among the Taman residents that encourage social distance. Most Taman residents consider themselves to be makan gaji or wage earners. Their wages have given them access to certain material possessions like household appliances and cars which have caused envy and avoidance patterns among neighbors. This is working against the idealized neighborhood solidarity and cooperation. Other factors like owner/renter status and occupational differences also serve to differentiate Taman residents from each other and influence their commitment and participation in community activities. These are explored further in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII

ASSOCIATIONS AND PARTICIPATION

When migrants settle in urban areas, interactions may be organized through the formation and participation in various types of associations. A functional view of associations in urban areas of developing nations sees them as important links between the traditional and urban ways of life (Little 1965). As adaptive mechanisms, associations are said to provide the rural migrant with a bridge in the transition from rural to urban lifestyles. On the one hand, they emphasize traditional or rural norms and obligations; on the other hand, they also try to foster the adoption of modern attitudes and social practices.

Studies in Africa by Banton (1957), Epstein (1961), Little (1967), and Parkin (1969) have shown the adaptive function of ethnic, regional, religious, and occupation based associations. For example, these associations cater to the material needs of the urban migrants through the provision of rotating credit, accident benefits, and decent burial for members. They are also said to provide social and cultural activities like the performance of traditional music and dances, religious talks and discussions, excursions and picnics.

These observations may be true for rural to urban migrants in the areas studied by the authors cited. For situations which do not involve
rural to urban migrants, the function of voluntary associations may be different. I have noted in Chapter V that the migrants in Taman Kampung Kuantan are mostly urban to urban migrants. In their case, the adaptive function of voluntary associations described by Little is not completely valid. Although the associations in the Taman provide some material and social benefits, their most important function is the provision of mediating roles for the members of the community. Expressive rather than instrumental activities are more characteristic of the associations. In the culturally and structurally heterogeneous urban environment, potential rivalry and conflict with other groups exist. Migrants and their locality have to contend with many outside groups and institutions. One function of local associations is to mediate with these outside groups and institutions. The leaders of these associations, who are usually high status persons in the locality and have economic or political ties outside the locality, engage in politics in order to maintain or promote the interests of their group vis-a-vis other groups.

In Taman Kampung Kuantan there were six associations which were important sources of formal and informal groupings among the Taman and kampung proper residents. These six associations were: the Surau Committee, the Welfare Association, the Rukun Tetangga, the Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, the United Malay National Organization, and the Women's Institute. These six associations performed three main functions. First, they provided the organization and expression of specific interests in the locality. Second, they served as the communication link between the Taman and the wider society on issues of concern to the particular association, as well as, on
issues of specific interest to the locality. Third they provided the arena for recognizing individuals with leadership qualities in the locality. The following discussion focuses on organizational activities, and participation in the associations.

Religious and Welfare Organization

In a Malay locality, religion and politics are well organized. Religion is the concern of all residents since all Malays are Muslim by definition. Organization of religious activities, however, is limited to a small segment of the population, e.g. the imam, ustaz, and hajis. They lead and encourage participation in prayer meetings, religious classes, lectures, and discussions. Three associations which were active in these activities were the Surau Committee, the Welfare Association, and Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia. I will discuss the goals and activities of each in line with the functions enumerated above.

In the Taman, the Surau Committee or Jawatankuasa Surau is the main body which looks after the religious affairs of the community. This committee was formed when the Taman residents decided to build their own surau, as described in the previous chapter. The religious matters which the Surau Committee undertook in the Taman included holding the daily prayers in the afternoon and evening, children's religious education, and other religious gatherings like the celebration of the Prophet's birthday in the Taman, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In addition to the religious affairs of the Taman, the general welfare of the residents was part of the responsibilities of the Surau Committee. Whenever representation was required from the Taman at kampung gatherings,
there were representatives from the Taman Surau Committee at the meeting. A sub-committee of the Surau Committee took charge of monitoring the general welfare of the needs of the Taman, e.g. cleanliness of the locality. Out of this sub-committee a new association came into being among the Taman residents, the Welfare Association of Taman Kampung Kuantan, Badan Kebajikan Taman Kampung Kuantan.

This new group was limited in its functions. In keeping with its original task of assisting in the general welfare of the Taman residents through the Surau Committee, the new Welfare Association confined its activities to assisting members when death occurred in their households. In effect it became a burial association, khairat kematian. Since burial is a religious matter for Muslims, it also fell within the concerns of the Surau Committee. Most officers of the Welfare Association were also members of the Surau Committee.

The Welfare Association took care of administering the mechanics of burials for the Taman residents. Whenever a death occurred in the Taman, residents utilized the services of the kampung bilal, who prepared the corpse, the mosque imam who officiated at the burial, and the kampung cemetery for the site of the burial.

There is another burial association in the kampung headed by the ketua kampung. Taman residents, however, were reluctant to join in the kampung's burial association. One of the reasons for setting up a separate burial association in the Taman was that the residents initially did not feel like imposing on the kampung burial association when a death occurred. In the kampung burial association a collection for the bereaved family was taken
from members whenever a death occurred. When the Taman burial association was formed, its members decided to vary their method of collecting contributions and assisting the bereaved household. Another reason for forming a separate burial association in the Taman was that burials are usually managed by the mosque or surau committee. The Taman residents felt that they should have their own burial association because they had a surau of their own.

When the Taman set up its own burial association, the ketua kampung was displeased, since he felt that this was a sign of division within his kampung. He considered preventing burials by Taman residents in the kampung cemetery. Fortunately, he did not pursue this intent, and the ketua kampung accepted the existence of a separate burial association in the kampung.

The Welfare Association of the Taman had 97 members in 1976. Usually one member per household was all that was required. The exception was if a household included working children, then, in addition to a parent, they also became members. An initial membership fee of M$5 was made by every individual. Money from the members was used to help bereaved families when a death occurred. A contribution of M$200 was given to the family if the dead person was a member of the association, M$100 was given if the dead person was part of the member's family, living in the household, e.g., wife, parent, child, or wife's parent. This money was used to pay burial expenses.

Aside from financial contributions, the Welfare Association also helped in the preparation of the burial. Members were assigned different tasks in case of a death, e.g. registration of the death, informing the mosque imam and bilal who officiate at the burial, buying the burial plank and cloth,
and preparing the grave. It is not only members of the association but also non-members in the Taman who receive this kind of help from the association. The only difference is that monetary assistance is given only to association members.

Participation in the Taman Welfare Association was more common among owner residents. Only five of the 97 members in 1976 were renters. Few renters were members of the association since they considered themselves to be transients in the Taman and expected to be buried in their home kampung when they die. Only owner residents in the Taman expected to be buried in the kampung cemetery. For example, a renter's child was killed in an accident while watching a car race near Petaling Jaya. The child's body was sent back to the parent's kampung rather than to the Taman for burial after the accident. In another case, the son of an owner resident was killed in a motorcycle and bus collision. His burial took place in the kampung cemetery.

Although Malays are Muslims, there is still some concern that not all Malays have complete understanding of Islam and therefore do not faithfully follow its tenets. There is a strong movement within the country to encourage Islamic studies among Malays. An organization involved in this movement is called Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), and it is represented in the Taman.

Angkatan means an association of people with a common purpose, or a movement. ABIM is, thus, more than just an ordinary association. Its main objective, according to local informants, is summed up by the word dakwah which refers to the mission of propagating the Muslim faith. As a movement
for the revitalization of Islam in Malaysia, one of its goals is to strengthen the faith of the followers of Islam, *berpegang teguh dengan Islam*, through knowledge of the real teachings of Islam and the fervent practice of Islam as a way of life, *cara hidup Islam*. On the national level, ABIM is becoming one of the strong organizations which is influencing the impact of Islam on national policies; a possible political force in the future, as some informants noted. For the moment, however, religious revitalization is the main function of ABIM in the Taman and the kampung.

As part of the movement's name declares, ABIM is for the younger generation. *Belia* means youth. ABIM's members are supposedly the young people, i.e., those who are not of the older generation or *kaum tua*. The Taman branch of ABIM was started in the kampung by an *ustaz*. So far, only residents of the Taman have joined. According to the secretary of the association branch in the Taman there is no active drive to get members, since participation is voluntary or *sukarela*. People just learn about ABIM and then join at their own initiative.

The Taman ABIM is part of the Kelang ABIM unit known as an *usrah*, literally meaning a family. An *usrah* has at least seven members, according to an *ustaz* informant. In the Kelang *usrah* there were 120 members, at the time of the fieldwork. Two groups make up the Kelang *usrah*, the Kelang North group and the Kelang South group. The Taman group which included 50 members was part of Kelang North.

The Kelang *usrah* meets twice a week. Once a week members meet at the Taman *surau* to hold *Tafsir Kor'an* meetings, interpretation of the Kor'an. On another night of the week each group of the *usrah* meets separately at a
house of a member and the same type of meeting is held. Meetings at the individual members' houses are on a rotation basis. These meetings are the usual activity of the ABIM members of the Taman. Each meeting is begun and ended with a prayer. A snack usually follows the meeting. During the meeting, members take turns reading assigned passages from the Kor'an. After each reading, which is in Arabic, a translation and commentary from another source is also read. A discussion among the members follows. It is usually the ustaz in the group who give comments and discuss the readings. It is they who are more knowledgeable about religious matters. Most Malays know how read the Kor'an but they don't always understand the meaning of what they read in Arabic. ABIM members get to know the meaning of the passages during these sessions.

In its work in the Taman, ABIM has brought in guest lecturers to give sharahan or religious talks. The lecturers are usually university instructors or professors in Islamic studies, or officers of the Religious Department. The purpose of these lectures is to give the kampung residents a chance to hear current views of Islamic teachings. Religious teachers are very much concerned about the understanding of Islamic teachings by the ordinary people. They do not want them swayed by false interpretations.

One example of a possible misinterpretation of Islamic teachings mentioned by an ustaz informant, is the meaning of the dakwah concept. There are currently various interpretations of the pursuit of dakwah in Malaysia. One version interprets it in a very anti-materialistic sense. For example, reports appeared in the newspapers that certain dakwah groups preached that television was evil and they exhorted Muslims to throw their television sets
into the river. This was not condoned by the Religious Department. To prevent such misinterpretations of *dakwah*, the Religious Department has been trying to control missionary activity and preaching. ABIM as a proponent of *dakwah* has the sanction of the Religious Department of Selangor. It is working to convince people not to heed preachers who are not authorized by the Religious Department.

The *ustaz* in the Taman are the active members of ABIM. They usually represent the Taman branch in the meetings at the upper levels of the organization. Common members learn indirectly about the results and decisions of these meetings. A newsletter is also distributed among the members so that they can learn about other *usrah* and the activities of the parent organization. As religious leaders, the *ustaz* see themselves as guardians of the religious affairs of the Taman. They are acknowledged in this role by being chosen to lead in the associations like the Surau Committee.

**Political Organization**

Malay welfare and politics are organized in the kampung and the Taman by the lone political party represented there, the United Malay National Organization (UMNO). Although the organization is strictly political in its objectives, its activities include more than politics. UMNO is an organization which oversees the welfare of the Malays. UMNO is identified with Malay interests. As one kampung UMNO leader put it, *UMNO itu Melayu dan Melayu itu UMNO*, UMNO is Malay and Malay is UMNO.

The progress of Malays is associated with the stability and strength of UMNO. This is emphasized by the UMNO *ketua* or leaders whenever they speak
to their members. Taman and kampung people are aware of Malay minority status in town, and they believe that UMNO protects the interests of the Malays. "If Malays were not well represented and their needs not heard, then they would be unhappy, hati tak senang. The ethnic and political situation in town requires that the various ethnic groups are well represented or there would be instability in the administration of the town.

The kampung UMNO is a branch of the Shah Alam division of the state UMNO organization and is perhaps the oldest organization in the kampung. It was started in the kampung in 1960 by a former town councillor for the kampung. Although it was organized as a result of outside influence, there is active participation among the kampung people and it is functioning well. After the Taman was settled, there were some residents who became members of the kampung UMNO. The government projects which have been accomplished in the kampung were a result of UMNO pressure, hasil dari desakan UMNO. The reservation of the Taman solely for Malays is one example of UMNO achievements that benefit the Taman.

There are two sub-groups, or wings of the party, in the kampung UMNO. The pemuda or youth group is made up of men who are 40 years old or younger. The wanita or women's group is the female counterpart of the men's group and has no age restrictions. The two sub-groups are formally called pergerakan or movements. Each has a separate committee within the organization. It is the committees which organize UMNO activities at the local level.
UMNO activities include political and educational meetings for members, as well as activities for area residents who are not party members. Political activities include courses, seminars, and dialogues with prominent political figures, as well as with members of the other branches of UMNO. These are held in the kampung, or on special occasions they are conducted outside the kampung. In addition to these, there are periodic lectures which are conducted to keep the members informed on various topics such as the discussion of cooperatives, ceramah koperasi, or discussion of national security, ceramah keselamatan negara. Religious lectures, particularly about dakwah, are regularly given. Visits to public places, rombongan, and to the houses of state representatives, lawatan, are also part of the social and educational activities of the members.

UMNO is closely involved in community affairs, and there is a close contact and cooperation between UMNO and the village development committee. In the kampung it might be said that UMNO is the guardian of the village development committee. The head, secretary, and some committee members of the kampung UMNO are also members of the village development committee. It is through UMNO that various government projects have been accomplished in the kampung, because UMNO leaders work for financial and other support necessary for kampung projects like, building a community hall and a religious school, or the repair of the mosque.

The pemuda and wanita groups of UMNO have also contributed respectively to the kampung's welfare. Pemuda members give special classes, kelas bimbingan, for Standard Five students in the kampung to help them prepare for the national examinations. Many members of UMNO are school teachers.
and are able to give instruction in mathematics, science, English and Bahasa Malaysia to students in the kampung. An anti-drug campaign was also launched by the pemuda and wanita groups of UMNO. This consisted of lectures and exhibits in the kampung showing the evils of drug abuse. The problem of drug addiction was considered a threat to national security by UMNO, and thus the local branch sponsored this activity.

The political orientation of the wanita group of UMNO in the kampung distinguish it from the other women's association, the Women's Institute, which I discuss below. Although the wanita group is subordinate to the male dominated UMNO branch committee, it supports the goals and resolutions promulgated by the main committee. It follows the political directives of the main committee and uses the particular influence of its members as women in the kampung to effect the political aims of UMNO.

The membership of the two women's groups often overlap. Their activities also are similar. For example, the wanita group has accumulated a stock of plates and glasses, pinggan mangkuk, for use in kenduri, just like the Women's Institute. They rent these out to individual households for large parties and feasts. Both groups hold excursions to public places for members and their families. The UMNO wanita is more active in the organization of sports events like badminton and sepak takro, Malay football, which are held weekly in the kampung. These sports events are particularly useful in attracting new members as well as a good means of involving members in the activities of UMNO.

The kampung UMNO is strong because of its leaders. The ketua or head of the kampung UMNO is also the current councillor for the kampung on the
Town Council, as well as the number two man in the Shah Alam division of UMNO. The secretary of the organization is also the secretary of the Shah Alam division and the confidential secretary for the Shah Alam member of parliament. These two men are highly regarded for their political activities. They have been awarded titles by the Sultan of Selangor in recognition of their community leadership abilities and activities. The ketua has three titles, while the secretary, so far, has one. These titles are signs of higher status in the Malay community, as well as among other ethnic groups. Chinese and Indians have also obtained honorable titles. Other committee members of the kampung UMNO have also contributed to the strength of the kampung UMNO. Some have been chosen to represent the UMNO division in state level meetings. Some have obtained higher education which is considered a great asset for the organization.

It is through these leaders that the kampung UMNO obtains information and other communications concerning the party. National issues are brought to the attention of members in general and committee meetings. For example, two important issues which came up during the field work period were the case of Datuk Harun and the infiltration of communists in the government. Datuk Harun was accused and later convicted of corruption, forgery and criminal breach of trust. As a current vice-president of UMNO and former Mentri Besar of Selangor, his case was important for the kampung Malays. Issues like these were used as rallying points for the members of the organization. Resolutions are usually passed at general meetings concerning these issues and they are communicated to the higher officials of the organization.
The UMNO leaders in the kampung are important links between the locality, the town, and the rest of the state. They represent the interests of the kampung to outside groups and agencies. For example, the town council representative in the kampung is also the kampung UMNO ketua. His influence is thus not limited to the town council, but also reaches to the state level agencies like the state development corporation (PKNS) which built the Taman.

**Security Organization**

The security interests of the Taman are covered by the kampung security organization, the Rukun Tetangga. The Rukun Tetangga is a program instituted by the federal government to promote neighborhood peace and order, as well as closer relationships among local residents. It is a program which a neighborhood may or may not choose to implement, but once established, all males from age 18 through 55 are required to participate. The women of the neighborhood are not included in the program. In Kampung Kuantan the Rukun Tetangga was established in 1975, prompted by an increase in reported thefts and drug abuse. A committee was set up by the village development committee to establish a Rukun Tetangga sector in the kampung. The District Office provided the instructions on the structure and operation of a Rukun Tetangga sector. Unfortunately no financial or material assistance was given. It was left to the particular neighborhood to supply the money and materials needed. The overall administrative monitoring of Rukun Tetangga sectors was under the District Office which also provided training seminars for Rukun Tetangga organizations.

During the first year of the Rukun Tetangga, it was able to manage the organization of the kampung sector. The kampung was divided into five zones.
One of these zones was the Taman. Each zone was to be patrolled by separate groups of ten men, twice each night. One group kept watch from 9:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m.; then another group took over from 1:00 a.m. to 5:00 a.m. The kampung community hall was used as the headquarters and base of the Rukun Tetangga. Donations were asked from businessmen in the kampung's area. Most of these contributors were Chinese. With the money collected, the sector was able to buy flashlights, guard sticks, and identification tags for the organization. As a result of establishing a Rukun Tetangga, there was a decrease in reported thefts and drug abuse in the kampung, and kampung residents felt safer in their homes.

During the Rukun Tetangga's second year of existence in the kampung, the association began to encounter problems. The first problem was money. There was a shortage of funds to cover equipment expenses, and for paying for the electricity used at the community hall headquarters. Committee members were thinking of asking for more donations from the kampung businessmen, but some committee members felt that the organization could not keep on asking from the same people year after year. They also did not want to collect from the kampung residents, who were already burdened with giving their time for patrols each month. It was decided that until some regular means of financing the organization was obtained, the committee members would each contribute toward the upkeep of the kampung Rukun Tetangga.

Aside from monetary difficulties, other problems began to plague the organization. There were grumblings from the men about their group assignments, as well as the time of their patrols. Each group was composed of men from various parts of the kampung. No group was composed of men from
the same area of the kampung. This was to encourage neighbors to know one another better, one of the aims of the Rukun Tetangga program. But some men did not get along with others. Although the time assigned to each was never the same as the previous assignment, the day of the month when they were assigned to watch created some problems. As a result of these difficulties some members started complaining about the individuals who organized the groupings. The committee organizers were not able to respond to these requests, since accommodation of one request would mean accommodating other requests as well. Reports of idle behavior among those who were supposed to be on patrol were heard, e.g. instead of patrolling, some men just sat around and talked at the headquarters or some street corner. Gossip about tardiness and non-attendance on night patrols spread in the kampung.

There are legal sanctions for non-compliance with the requirements of the Rukun Tetangga. The government can prosecute and jail men who refuse to participate in their neighborhood Rukun Tetangga organization. In the kampung, the committee did not report those who failed to attend once in a while or those who were late for duty. They thought that they would only report to higher authorities the cases where the individual did not wish to participate in the organization.

In its third year of operation the Rukun Tetangga of Kampung Kuantan transferred its headquarters from the community hall to a vacated office donated by the developers of a new housing project in the kampung which was not yet complete. Reasons for the transfer stemmed from complaints about the use of the community hall by the patrols. According to some committee members, the community hall was usually found untidy following the
night's use by the patrols, e.g. cigarette butts littered the floor, and the tables were often in disarray. Since the community hall was also used as a classroom for the religious school in the kampung during the day, it was felt that the unsightly condition of the community hall in the mornings was detrimental to the children's education. Another reason for the transfer was that the new base was too small for sleeping and would discourage laziness among the patrols.

Leadership and participation in the Rukun Tetangga became a problem in the organization because of the above difficulties. Some committee members left the committee because of disagreements with other members about the problems of the organization, e.g. they advocated collecting money from the kampung residents, instead of contributing from their own pockets, or they advocated returning the headquarters of the sector to the community hall, since a new religious school was going to be built in the kampung. Ordinary members did not always attend to their duties in the patrols. Some said that those on patrols sometimes did not report fellow members whom they saw or knew to be drug users.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the Rukun Tetangga has become a focal point of interaction for the kampung and Taman residents. Through the organization the kampung and Taman residents were brought together in pursuing a common goal, neighborhood security. The patrols have created a situation whereby men who would otherwise not usually be in contact with each other, were able to meet and interact. This is especially true for the Chinese and Indian residents of the kampung who also participated in the patrols. Aside from the village development committee inter-ethnic participation in an organization in the kampung was only evident in the
Rukun Tetangga.

The Rukun Tetangga committee was composed of men who were concerned about local affairs. Their abilities in actively pursuing community interests were recognized by area residents when they were chosen to be members of the committee. The earnestness of the committee in trying to solve the difficulties of the organization gained sympathy among the kampung and Taman residents, and most of the men in the kampung cooperated in its activities. Just like the Surau Committee and other committees in the locality, membership in the Rukun Tetangga committee is a measure of an individual's prestige in the locality, constituting a sign of recognition and leadership among the kampung and Taman residents.

Women's Organizations

Women's interests in the kampung are represented by two organizations in the kampung: the UMNO Wanita mentioned above, and the Women's Institute of Taman Kampung Kuantan (WI). Unlike the previously mentioned organizations which have specialized interests, politics or religion, the WI is a general association for women with no political or religious bias. The Taman WI initially got its start in 1971 along with the organization of various Taman committees. The Seksi Wanita, as it was then known, took care of the interests and activities of women in the Taman. When the Taman Committee ceased to function, the women's committee was transformed into the Women's Institute of Taman Kampung Kuantan, Pertubuhan Perkumpulan Perempuan Taman Kampung Kuantan, through the connections of some Taman women with the national organization of the Women's Institute. Thus the Taman WI became a branch of a national organization. The national Women's Institute had
its foundation in Malaysia during the colonial period when it was started by the British (Manderson 1979:250). The organization has evolved from a rural poly-ethnic organization into an almost exclusively Malay organization.

The Taman WI is structured in the same manner as other associations in the kampung. It is a branch of a national organization, has six officers and several committee members. The number of committee members was not fixed; rather it depended on the active participation of its members. Each street in the Taman had at least one representative, sometimes two, if both were very active members living on the same street. When the Taman WI was founded, the UMNO Wanita group was already established in the kampung. Since the UMNO Wanita was a political organization, not all the women in the kampung were interested in it. With the foundation of the Taman WI, the women in the kampung had another women's association to join. Although the Taman WI has members from the Taman and kampung proper, it is primarily identified with the Taman. With about 200 members in 1976, the Taman WI had the largest membership among the 23 WI branches in the district.

Among the various associations in the Taman, the WI is perhaps the most active group. Every week there was always some meeting or gathering of its members. A sample of their activities included weekly cooking classes, catering food for meetings, public lectures for its members, religious lectures, visits to other WI groups, receiving visits from other WI groups, lessons in making traditional betrothal gifts, gardening, and neighborhood gotong-royong or cooperative activities. All these were occasions for lively interaction among its members.

WI activities were not limited to the Taman. As part of a national
organization with district and state level organization the Taman WI periodically sent representatives to the meetings organized at different levels. At these meetings there are usually contests held among the various branches. For example, there are competitions for membership drives for baking native cakes, and for sewing traditional bethrothal gifts. During these meetings; district and national issues are communicated to the WI representatives. For example, the anti-drug abuse campaign, and the plan to build the state WI headquarters in Kelang were some of the issues which the Taman WI representatives brought back from a meeting of Kelang district WI presidents.

The general meetings of the Taman WI are always a lively affair, held in the Taman surau and are usually well attended. Each meeting is started by judgement of entries to the various contests among the members, e.g. cooking, sewing, flower arrangement. This is followed by the arrival of the honored guest and officers of the WI. Every meeting has a special guest who opens the meeting and addresses the gathering, as well as awards prizes to the contest winners. After the speeches, a prayer or doa selamat, is said by an ustaz or an haji. This is followed by a jamuan or small feast of cakes and tea or coffee. The business meeting is held after the guests have left.

These meetings are notable in several ways. First, they follow a standard procedure similar to that used in other kampung organizations. They are very ordered gatherings, where language and behavior is formal. For example, speeches are in bahasa kebangsaan or national language and not bahasa kebiasaan or colloquial everyday language. Speakers are formally
introduced, although they are known to the audience. Second, the guests who are invited give prestige to the organization. Usually these are the UMNO leaders and ketua kampung, and a special speaker. The president of the WI once commented that in the year she became president, she was able to invite the state and parliamentary representatives, who were Chinese, to the meeting. This was not done by previous WI presidents. As a result of this, participation in the organization improved and the president was re-elected.

As a women's organization in the kampung and Taman, the WI's involvement in kampung affairs has been limited to activities traditionally ascribed to women. These are mostly related to the home and family. For example, the WI is usually the organization which is asked to prepare refreshments for kampung gatherings. The group's main source of income is from catering to the various meetings, including Rukun Tetangga meetings, seminars at College Islam in Kelang, and surau meetings in the Taman. Just like the UMNO wanita group, a stock of cooking and serving utensils have been accumulated by the Taman WI which are kept in the Taman surau's storage room. The Taman WI uses these for catering and when there is a kenduri they rent them out. Income from these services has been used by the WI to give scholarships to children in the kampung, as well as to contribute for the upkeep of the Taman surau.

Like the UMNO Wanita, the Taman WI has shown to the kampung the vital role of women have to play in the life of the community. Most of the associations in the kampung are male oriented. The Taman WI has given the women in the Taman an organization of their own which serves as a focus for their activities and a source for cultivating further relationships with
their neighbors. In kampung celebrations like the the Prophet's birthday, each of the kampung organizations contribute to the festivities. The Taman WI's participation is always acknowledged publicly by organizers of the festivities.

The Taman WI has also served as a forum where women with leadership qualities gain recognition in the kampung. The WI is not a political or religious association. Since it is in a Malay area, however, it reflects Malay women's interests in its membership and activities. As in other organizations in the kampung, there are positions of leadership which members can aspire to and which constitute a source of prestige within the locality. Capable women, like the president mentioned above, get recognition by being elected to these positions.

There is also some rivalry between the Taman WI and UMNO Wanita for recognition as the leader of women's interest, *kaum ibu*, or women's group in the kampung. As I mentioned above, the strictly political orientation of the UMNO Wanita limits its identity, while the Taman WI with its wide coverage of interests has an open image. There is an overlap in the membership of the two women's organizations. This tends to dampen the rivalry between them. The leadership of the two organizations, however, is quite distinct, reflecting a difference in the leadership qualities acknowledged in the respective organizations. The UMNO Wanita leaders are recognized for their political bent and abilities, while the Taman WI leaders are recognized for their ability to organize fellow women and their interests.
Participation in Associations

To gain some perspective on participation in the associations which I have described above, as well as participation in other associations outside the locality of the residents, I will now discuss membership in these associations. Table XIV summarizes the membership of the Taman informants.

TABLE XIV. -- Distribution of male and female informants according to membership in associations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associations</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th></th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMNO only</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMNO and ABIM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside associations</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMNO and outside associations</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare association</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not member of any association</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No male/female h.h. head</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taman WI only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taman WI and UMNO</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table I have calculated that husbands had a higher proportion (71.8%) of membership in various associations than wives (60.4%) both inside and outside the kampung. Renters had a lower proportion of member-
ship than owners for both males (61.2% of renters and 85.7% of owners) and females (46% of renters and 70.9% of owners). Comparing the membership according to the types of associations which the informants had joined, it is apparent that male informants had joined more types of associations than the females.

Among male informants, UMNO attracted more members than ABIM, and more than the Welfare Association. UMNO was second to the WI in obtaining members among the women. Almost one half of the male informants were also members of associations based outside the kampung. These were mostly organizations connected with the male informants' work. For example, they joined labor unions, teacher's or police cooperatives, and their company's sports teams.

Many informants claimed only nominal membership, ahli sahaja, rather than active participation in the associations. This was apparent in the attendance of association meetings in the Taman. The annual general meetings were the only well attended gatherings. At other times about 15 to 20 members attended the activities of each association. If there was some activity of interest to the individuals, then they attended. Otherwise, nominal membership was all that the members contributed to the association.

One factor which influenced active participation in the Taman was the type of activity held by the association. I have categorized three types of activities among the various associations. These are organizational, instrumental, and expressive activities. All of the associations described performed these types of activities. Depending on the inclinations of the members, activities were either well attended or had mediocre participation.
Organizational activities refer to those mainly concerned with the internal structure and organization of the association. For example, there are meetings for election of officers and committee meetings. Meetings for the election of officers coincide with the annual general meetings which are usually well attended. Committee meetings are held to discuss specific projects like the upcoming district level meeting of the WI or assigning individuals to distribute announcements to the Taman residents.

Instrumental activities are those whose objectives affect mainly the members of the association and provide immediate gratification for the members. For example, there are cooking classes for the Taman WI, excursions organized by UMNO for its members, sports events are held among the pemuda and wanita groups of UMNO. These activities provide fellowship among the members. Some provide useful information like learning how to plant a mini-garden, or finding out where to get bargains for certain foodstuff.

Expressive activities have objectives which affect not only members but non-members as well, and do not necessarily provide immediate gratification for the membership. Community oriented activities fall under this type of activity. For example, UMNO pemuda organized a gotong-royong activity to clean up the kampung, the Surau Committee took up collections from the Taman residents for the repair of the mosque, and UMNO leaders petitioned the District Office and Town Council to improve the kampung street lighting. In most of these activities the initiative came from the leaders of the respective organizations. It is they who create the ideas for the activities or initiate the activity by calling on members to act.
To a great extent it is the organizational and expressive activities that are the most visible aspects of the associations' existence in the kampung. Instrumental activities do not have as big a role in the functioning of the associations in the Taman. Most of the active members in the associations take part in committee work. The committees perform most of the organizational and expressive activities of the associations. The Taman residents rely on their leaders for initiating activities and participate only when manpower is required. The leaders articulate for the members, and most members accept the decisions of the leaders.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the role of associations in the adjustment of Taman Kampung Kuantan Malays. I have suggested that these associations perform three main functions: expressive, mediating, and leadership. These functions do not completely agree with the functional role of voluntary organizations suggested by Little (1965). According to the functional view, voluntary associations are adaptive mechanisms for the transition of migrants from the rural to the urban way of life. It emphasizes the instrumental function of associations in assisting the migrants in urban areas. The material from Taman Kampung Kuantan suggest that the Malays in the locality make use of the associations not so much for their individual or particular needs but for the needs of the community as a whole.

I suggest that the associations do not have as much significance for individual Taman residents as they have for the locality as a whole. Associations provide activities and support interests which are not indi-
vidual but community oriented. These community oriented activities are
the most visible manifestation of associational activity in the locality. The most common activities were organizational and expressive activities rather than instrumental activities. These activities were more beneficial for the locality as a whole since they provide mediating functions between the locality and outside institutions.

All the associations in the locality, except the Welfare Association, are local branches of national organizations and as such they serve as mediators between the local residents and national organizations. The structural organization of these associations provide efficient means of communication from the parent organizations which act as the main source of information, organizational support, and issues to tackle.

The associations are vehicles for recognizing active and superior individuals in the locality. At the same time they provide an arena where the leaders can gain added prestige and influence locally as well as outside the area. Potential leaders in the locality are recognized by being chosen as the heads of the associations or committee members. From these positions they are able to exercise their leadership qualities in the locality.

One study of voluntary associations in Malaysia has concluded that the preponderance of new associations among various ethnic groups is a result of expressive needs (Douglas and Pedersen 1973:96):

"This need for expressive social interaction may arise out of the anxiety experienced by individuals when they are confronted with socioeconomic changes or the decline of traditional structures, which served this need, or most likely, out of both."
The primary factor behind the expressive social interaction of Malays in the Taman is not the decline of traditional structures but the changes they experience in urban areas. This is especially true for towns like Kelang that have multi-ethnic populations. The heterogeneous population can pose problems for the fulfillment of the Malay community's needs. Malays look upon these associations for leadership in their community, and these associations fulfill the functions of organizing, mediating, and providing leadership in the pursuit of ethnic and local interests.
CHAPTER VIII

KINSHIP, FRIENDSHIP, SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND URBANIZATION

In the urban system, individuals can participate in various kinds of social relationships. Urban Malays have social relationships based on kinship, ethnic, neighborhood, work, and leisure ties. An individual's social relationships are typically a composite of these categories of relationships. Some relationships, however, may be more important than others. At one extreme are individuals who encapsulate themselves in certain limited traditional relationships based on locality and kinship. On the other hand, there are individuals whose social relationships include all types of relationships found in the urban system.

In this chapter I describe the kinship and friendship patterns of Taman Malays and analyze the social networks of a sample of Taman residents. I discuss these elements of Taman residents' social relationships to compare their varied social linkages in the locality as well as outside. This is one indication of the social participation in the urban environment of the group studied.

Kinship is one of the traditional bases of Malay social organization in rural areas. It is one of the primary sources of social cohesion there. In the rural areas, most of the kin group live nearby and this facilitates solidarity among residents of a locality. In urban areas, where the kin group is not likely to be found in one locality, one can ask whether they
are as important in an individual's system of relationships. The persistence of kinship in urban areas has often been observed in studies of urban social organization, e.g. Mangin (1970). Such studies have shown evidence opposing the hypothesized decline of kinship in the urbanization process.

Some changes in kinship have, however, been noted by investigators of urban social organization. This is particularly evident in studies where kinship is considered to be only one facet of the complex system of relationships in the urban areas. Factors which have been suggested as influencing differences in kinship relationships in urban areas are geographic and social mobility, phase of individual or family development, ethnicity, and neighborhood characteristics (Firth 1956, Bott 1956, Adams 1968, Bruner 1970). I consider these same factors in my discussion of kinship among Taman residents, changes in household roles, and relations with extra-household kin.

Friendship, like kinship, is only one category of social relationship in urban areas. In the complex urban setting the recruitment and maintenance of friendship ties are important aspects of social relationships (Chrisman 1970:248). Who becomes a friend, how, and where, are some of the questions I discuss in relation to these aspects of friendship. The relative importance of kin to non-kin can be shown by comparing kin relationships with friendship. I will show that whereas kinship is associated with rights and obligations, friendship is concerned with shared interests and voluntary activities. Among Malays, kinship and friendship are reactivated if they have been interrupted by circumstances like migration.
The study of social networks is one of the techniques used by anthropologists to analyze the participation of individuals in urban institutions, groupings, and other categories of social relationships (Mitchell 1969). The social network is an indicator of the extent of which individuals limit their social relationships or the ways by which they cross-cut social ties based on territory, ethnicity, kinship, friendship, or work. My analysis will show that Taman residents are involved not only in a social matrix based on traditional social order, characterized by limited local and kinship relationships, but also participate in the urban social system by the inclusion of network members who are neither limited to their locality nor kinsmen.

Taman Family and Kinship

Taman Malays follow the general characteristics of the Malay kinship system found in peninsular Malaysia. This system is cognatic or bilateral with some patrinominal influences from Islam. Even though descent is traced nominally through the father, an individual considers himself or herself to be related to both his parents' kin. The system of reference and address terminology is Hawaiian, distinguishing various categories of kin on the basis of generation, relative age, and sex. An exception to this pattern is the situation in Negri Sembilan which is characterized by a matrilineal system.

As in all bilateral systems, the hub of any set of kin relations is the individual. In the Malay kinship system the kin group is called *saudara*. This kin group is not clearly bounded. It includes those kin who are genealogically close, as well as kin who are genealogically distant. The
element of emotional closeness is an important factor in distinguishing important kin from those who are not. Close kin are referred to as _keluarga_ in Taman Kampung Kuantan. This term usually includes a specific set of kinsmen such as parents, siblings, children, and grandchildren. Distant kin are referred to as _saudara jauh_. Some kin who are genealogically distant but who are emotionally close to the individual, are sometimes included within the _keluarga_ category, e.g. cousins. People who are not _saudara_ are called _orang lain_ or outsiders. Since there are migrants from the different states of the peninsula in the Taman, however, the terminology used for various kin sets varies according to the usage of the home state. The principles of categorization, nevertheless, are similar. The regional variation among the Taman informants made it difficult to generalize how far the informants traced their genealogical and affinal ties. If one were to follow Selangor _adat_ or custom, Malays recognize three ascending and descending generations of kin.

Affinal kin are referred to by specific terms and are not covered by one category like _saudara_. They are distinguished generationally and by sex. Thus, the parents of the spouse are referred to as _mertua_; same generation affines are referred to as _ipar_; and one generation lower affines are referred to as _menantu_. For example, a mother-in-law is _emak mertua_, a brother-in-law is _abang ipar_ if he is older than ego, and a son-in-law is _anak menantu_. Affines are sometimes included in the _keluarga_ category depending on the residence and emotional closeness to the individual.

One other aspect of Malay kinship in the Taman which has some influence on social organization is the extension of kinship categories to non-kin.
The term saudara, for example, is extended to include non-kin who are highly esteemed or emotionally close to the individual. Common forms of address to adults of the parents' generation are mak cik or "aunt," pak cik or "uncle." These are used as terms of respect for older adults. Among people of the same generation, but who are of varying age, abang or older brother and kak or older sister are often used.

Among the Taman neighbors it is not uncommon to hear young people addressing next door neighbors who are not genealogically related as "mak cik" or "pak cik", when they want something or want to commucate something. Neighbors who are emotionally close to the informants are not only addressed like kin, but in some instances are also treated like kin. Traditional food exchanges among kin in the rural kampung are also practiced among close neighbors in the Taman. Some informants said that they also relied on close neighbors, who were like kin, for baby sitting. Normally they would be malu or ashamed to ask other neighbors to watch their children.

The flexibility of the Malay kinship system may be attributed to the bilateral characteristics. There is a possible choice between the mother and father's kin when an individual forms any association with kin. As a result of this choice option there is a tendency to produce networks of kin rather than clearly bounded kin groups. In the situation studied, this extends to include non-kin. In a setting where the residents are mostly migrants and available kin are limited, the extension of kinship categories further enhances relationships with non-kin.
Household Composition

Among the Taman Malays the most important kinship grouping is the household. As Wilson (1971:44) observes, the household is the repository of Malay identity, of values and norms pertaining to family and kinship. Among Taman residents the household is the focal point of family and kinship interaction. In terms of family interaction, visiting is usually on a household rather than on an individual basis. As I will show below, most of the Taman residents' available kin in Kelang are those found within their households.

I have categorized the households of the Taman, from the survey, according to their structure as follows:

1. nuclear family - a married couple and their unmarried children;
2. supplemented nuclear family - a nuclear family, plus other unmarried kin;
3. extended family - nuclear family, plus other married kin and their children;
4. denuded nuclear family - a nuclear family with one parent absent;
5. singles - a household of unmarried individuals.

The majority of the households in the Taman sample were of the nuclear family type (55.4%). A married couple and their unmarried children were the usual members of these households. In two cases only a husband and wife were living in their house on a full time basis, since their children were at boarding school in Kuala Lumpur and came home only on weekends; in one case a couple was living alone because their son was with the wife's parents. Some couples had only one or two of their children living with them since the others had already married and set up separate households.
Examples of nuclear family type of households are those belonging to Encik Kamal and Cikgu Ariff. Encik Kamal lives with his wife and a son who is two years old. They are renting a house in the Taman, and have lived there for two years. He works for the Malaysian Airline System as a flight steward on local flights. His wife used to work as a store clerk, but she stopped after their baby was born. They initially lived with his wife's widowed mother and sister. When the baby was born, they moved out of his wife's mother's house and rented their current house. According to Encik Kamal, among Malays there is an expectation for married couples to set up their own independent household as soon as they have their first child, if they have not done so earlier.

Cikgu Ariff lived with his wife and three children. He worked as a secondary school teacher while his wife was a primary school teacher. The three children are all going to school. Cikgu and his wife take turns being at home during the day. He teaches in the morning while his wife teaches in the afternoon. Two of their children go to school in the morning while one attends school in the afternoon. In Malaysia there are two shifts in the schools, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, because classroom space is limited. Cikgu and his wife both feel that somebody ought to be at home with the children all the time. When the children were younger they had a maid. Today, however, maids are hard to find because opportunities now exist to do factory work, according to Cikgu's wife. Now the couple would rather take care of their children themselves rather than impose on other relatives to come and stay with them, to help with the care of the children.
The next most common type of household is what I call the supplemented nuclear family (18.5%). Basically this is a nuclear family supplemented by the presence of other kin such as unmarried siblings of either or both spouses, cousins, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren. The most common addition to the nuclear family among Taman residents were unmarried siblings or grandchildren. Some informants who had married children living separately, had young grandchildren living with them. In most of these cases the parents of the grandchildren were both working and needed the informant's assistance in caring for the children. Unmarried siblings who were living with the informants were usually younger than the informants, and were either still studying or were working. In the case of the nephews or nieces and cousins, they were there to help with household chores or to watch the younger children while the parents worked.

Examples of this type of household are those of Encik Mustafa, Encik Zainal, and Encik Abdul Latif. Encik Mustafa lives with his wife, their two children, and his wife's younger brother. His brother-in-law came to stay with them one year ago from his wife's home state of Kelantan. He is still in the process of seeking a job. Encik Mustafa and his wife expect to have his brother-in-law stay with them for a while even after he finds a job.

Encik Zainal and his wife are both working in Shah Alam as machine shop operators. They have a young son and niece living with them. The niece is only fourteen years old but is no longer going to school. She lives with them to help in the house and to care for their young son who is three years old. Although the niece is sometimes irresponsible, according
to Encik Zainal's wife, they feel that they need her to watch their son while they are working. Encik Zainal and his wife sometimes work on shift duties, during the day or at night. It is not possible for them to be at home at regular hours.

Encik Abdul Latif is a retired policeman. He lives with his wife and two children and a granddaughter. Two of their children have already married and were living separately. One of their married children has left her daughter with Encik Abdul Latif's household. When I asked why his daughter left her daughter with them, Encik Abdul Latif replied that his daughter was modernised, *modan*, and she would not be able to work with a daughter at home. The granddaughter is four years old and has lived with Encik Abdul Latif's household for more than three years. She was like their own daughter; she visited with her parents some weekends but prefers to stay with her grandparents.

There were only a few (15.9%) extended family households in the Taman. These were usually three generation households made up of a couple, unmarried children, one of their married children, and grandchildren. There was only one case of two married siblings and their families living in the same house.

The households of Encik Zakariah and Encik Kassim are examples of extended family households. Encik Zakariah lives with his wife, four unmarried children, one married daughter and her husband, and two grandchildren. He is a retired police inspector from Singapore but is now working as a personnel manager in a firm in Shah Alam. Encik Zakariah felt very strongly about his family staying together, even if the children were
already married. He said that he is planning to buy a bigger house in Shah Alam to accommodate his growing family.

Encik Kassim lives with his wife, two children, two unmarried brothers and his widowed mother. His two brothers are already working, and his children go to school. When asked why his two brothers were still living with him, Encik Kassim replied that he and his brothers are very close, and they also were not as well off as he. He worked as an executive secretary in Kuala Lumpur, while his brothers were factory workers in Shah Alam.

There were households in the Taman that were incomplete families, or not families at all, consisting of single males and females. The incomplete households were usually headed by a widow, a divorced woman, or a divorced man. I have called these "denuded nuclear families" because one of the parents was absent from the household. Households made up of bachelor residents or singles households have members of only one sex each, two were all-female households, and two were all-male households. Only one household among the singles households had members related by kinship.

Denuded nuclear families usually consist of a widowed or divorced woman and her unmarried children. In five cases the household head was a widow and the children were supporting her. The absence of a male parent in one case was due to a polygamous marriage where the husband was living more regularly with the younger wife in another area. Three of the denuded households were the result of divorce, two were headed by females and one by a male. In the former, the mothers were the wage earners of the family. The household with a male household head included a father and son, plus two male boarders. The practice of taking in boarders was not limited to
In another household, a widow and her family also had boarders. Nuclear family households with a room to spare also rented to friends, e.g., a single male friend of the husband.

The singles households in the Taman were an oddity. Ever since the original Taman buyers began renting out their houses, single individuals have been among the renters. These included working single males and females, as well as university students from the MARA Institute of Technology in Shah Alam. The Taman residents looked upon these singles households as the most transient residents of the locality. Among the working singles, it was not uncommon for the members of the household to be working in the same company. Because of the job changes or personal circumstances like marriage, these singles households generally do not last for more than a year. They would change composition or were replaced by other tenants. In one all-male singles household, one of the men took over the house after he got married, and the other members found different lodgings. The female singles households are specially regarded as odd, since single females are expected to live with their families rather than away from them. Their moral character was suspect, because they were living without any older adult or parental guidance.

Table XV gives the distribution of household types among the sample of Taman residents. Comparing the owner and renter households in the Taman, it appears that there were few differences in the composition of their households. There were, however, more supplemented nuclear family households among renters than among owners, numerically as well as proportionally. There are also more denuded nuclear family households among owners than
renters. Aside from these differences, the majority of owner and renter households were of the nuclear family type.

TABLE XV. -- Distribution of household types among Taman residents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household type</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td>65 (61.0%)</td>
<td>22 (42.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplemented nuclear family</td>
<td>13 (12.4%)</td>
<td>16 (30.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family</td>
<td>14 (13.3%)</td>
<td>11 (21.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denuded family</td>
<td>10 ( 9.5%)</td>
<td>1 ( 1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singles</td>
<td>3 ( 2.9%)</td>
<td>2 ( 3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>105 (100%)</td>
<td>52 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nuclear family seems to be the preferred arrangement for domestic living among the Taman informants, especially among the younger couples. This pattern of household structure is similar to other urban Malay households studied by Djamour (1959) in Singapore, Wilson (1967) in Jendram Hilir, and Rokiah (1973) in Kelang. These studies have also found a majority of the households studied to be of the nuclear family type.

Djamour's (1959:58) sample of urban Malays in a Singapore municipality provides a detailed example of household composition with which to compare the Taman sample of households. Table XVI summarizes the two sets of data. In Djamour's study, as in the Taman, the nuclear family is the most common household type. This is followed by singles households. Among the
sample, singles households were the fewest. Djamour attributes the presence of a large number of singles households to single male migrants looking for work in Singapore. There were more supplemented and extended family households in the Taman than in Djamour's sample. Djamour found that kin additions to the nuclear family households were usually siblings or parents of the husband and/or wife. The same pattern is found among the extended and supplemented family households in the Taman sample.

TABLE XVI. -- Distribution of household types among Taman sample (1976) and Djamour's Singapore Malay sample (1959).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household type</th>
<th>Singapore Malay</th>
<th>Taman Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td>264 (46.1%)</td>
<td>87 (55.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplemented family</td>
<td>51 (8.9%)</td>
<td>29 (18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family</td>
<td>18 (3.2%)</td>
<td>25 (15.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denuded</td>
<td>66 (11.5%)</td>
<td>11 (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singles</td>
<td>142 (26.2%)</td>
<td>5 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>23 (4.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>572 (100%)</td>
<td>157 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kampung Bahru, Kuala Lumpur, Provencher (1971:82) found that two generation households tended to be the norm. He found that owner households tend to have greater generational depth than renter households. This may be compared with the trend found in the Taman where the renter households tend to have more elaborate structures than owner households,
although similar in terms of generational depth. The renters of the Taman have more types of kin in the nuclear supplemented households than the owners. A different case was found in Kampung Penchala, Kuala Lumpur, where the majority (66.1%) of the households were three generation households (Abdul 1976:175). In this particular case, the author suggests that the poverty of the group studied influenced sharing households among kinsmen.

Male and Female Household Roles

Another aspect of kinship in the Taman concerns the household relationships of Taman residents. The household was the primary source of kinship interaction among Taman residents. Except in a few cases, members of the household were related to each other by kinship. Relationships within the households were structured by factors of generation, sex, and relative age. There was a strict division of labor between the men and women of the households. In the traditional setting, custom or adat and Islam dictate that women play a subordinate and supportive role in the household (Manderson 1979:234). Among the Taman Malays the father was the head of the family and the dominant authority in the household, except when his or his wife's parents were also living in the household. In this case they also had a say in household affairs. Wives often addressed husbands as abang or older brother in everyday conversation, reflecting their subordinate position in relation to the husbands.

Comparing the activities of the husband and wives, there was a distinct separation of tasks and interests. Following Bott's (1957:53) terminology, most of the households in the Taman showed a highly segregated conjugal
role relationship. That is to say, husbands and wives had a relatively large proportion of complementary and independent activities and a relatively small proportion of joint activities. The separation of activities between husbands and wives is evident in the neighborhood activities which I previously described in Chapter VI. Women held their pyrex parties and cooking classes, and visited with each other. Men went to work, prayed at the mosque, and did their Rukun Tetangga duty. In the surau and at other religious meetings where both men and women participate, men sat as one group, while women were seated separately.

In keeping with the normative separation of sexes dictated by adat or custom, the circle of friends and acquaintances of husbands and wives were also separate. Wives more than husbands visited with neighbors. Even when there was a visit from kin and friends, there was a separate area of interaction, i.e. while the men talked in the living room, the women congregated in the back room or kitchen. In a kenduri where friends were invited there was also a separation of men from the women; if tables were used, men were served at one table and women at another. If the kenduri was in a home, the men usually ate in the front room, while the women ate in the back room.

Like many other relationships, however, traditional norms of household roles are being altered by conditions of urban living. Although the men were nominally the heads of the households, decisions regarding the household support and management were often shared with the wife. Some informants said that while the husband was primarily responsible for supporting the family financially, the wife was primarily responsible for
housework and child care. This ideal was not always followed. As I noted in the discussion of occupations in Chapter V, in many households both husband and wife worked. Traditionally the primary roles of wives were those relating to the care of the husband and children. In this activity, the household budget was left to the wife. Some male informants said that they considered women to be more economical than men when spending money for the household. Other informants, men and women, said that it was necessary to discuss what is bought with their spouses, since inflation and market conditions were unstable. Things like children's clothing and daily provisions of rice, sugar, and chili had to be discussed before they were bought. Some men informants said that in the course of their work they were able to find out from co-workers and friends where things could be bought cheaper. They then communicated this to the wife.

Child rearing was usually delegated to women. In the Taman, however, there were no readily available female kin to help with child care. Unlike the rural kampung where men use their leisure time differently, Taman husbands did not hesitate to watch their children when they were at home; playing with them or taking them for walks around the neighborhood.

The religious education of the children was thought to be the parents', especially the father's, responsibility but, more often than not, the children were sent to the kampung religious school or to a neighbor who volunteered to teach them prayers and reading the Kor'an.

These manifestations of changes in the role relationships of husbands and wives were more common among the younger households than among older households. For example, in the older households the husband was the main
wage earner. Among the younger households, however, there were more working wives. Working mothers are adding a new dimension to the traditional roles in the household where the wife was expected to concentrate on running household affairs and rearing children, rather than supplementing the family income. A working wife was more acceptable among the younger couples. They also had more reliance upon their parents and other relatives to help in the care of their young children. This may be one reason for the incidence of supplemented nuclear families and extended families among some households.

Extra-Household Kin Relations

The composition of an individual's kinship network is determined to a great extent by the availability of kin. For many Taman residents the members of their households were the only kin available to them in town. Unlike the rural kampung, there were no clusters of kin living near the Taman informants. Effective contact with kin was influenced by geographic accessibility, personal preferences, custom, and economic ties. Geographic distance from kin was partly a function of the mobility of the informants. As I previously noted, most of the informants were not originally from Kelang, many were from outside Kelang. Most of their kin or saudara were living in other parts of the state of Selangor or in other states, and were not available for immediate or frequent interaction.

Table XVI shows how many male informants reported having certain categories of kin living in Kelang or outside Kelang. To obtain data for this table, I asked the male household head if he had any of the various categories of kin enumerated in the table who lived in Kelang or outside Kelang.
In this inquiry I did not inquire about how far the informants traced their genealogical or affinal ties. I was primarily interested in the existence of certain categories of kin. The discussion is thus limited by this type of data and does not make possible a more extensive analysis. When it came to discussing affines I also inquired about the wife's kin. In most cases the recall was not as complete, since it was limited by the husband's knowledge of his wife's family of orientation.

TABLE XVII.---Distribution of male informants with available kin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of kin</th>
<th>Residence in Kelang</th>
<th>Residence Outside Kelang</th>
<th>Dead or none</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>13 (8.2%)</td>
<td>50 (31.8%)</td>
<td>94 (59.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' siblings</td>
<td>6 (3.8%)</td>
<td>103 (65.5%)</td>
<td>48 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousins</td>
<td>36 (22.9%)</td>
<td>82 (52.3%)</td>
<td>39 (24.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>42 (27.3%)</td>
<td>108 (68.8%)</td>
<td>7 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephews/nieces</td>
<td>30 (19.1%)</td>
<td>118 (75.6%)</td>
<td>9 (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's parents</td>
<td>15 (9.5%)</td>
<td>135 (88.0%)</td>
<td>7 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's siblings</td>
<td>29 (18.5%)</td>
<td>121 (77.0%)</td>
<td>6 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a small proportion of informants had kin, of every category listed in the table, who were living in Kelang. Most informants were relatively isolated from their kin group. Many of the informants attributed this situation to their being migrants to the area.
Most of the intimate kin of the informants were siblings and parents. Intimate kin here refer to family members who were seen frequently and had mutual exchanges of help when necessary. About one half of the male informants reported having at least one sibling of either their own or their wife living in Kelang. Only eight households had other categories of kin living among other households in the Taman; only four informants had siblings of the husband or wife living in the Taman.

Examples of informants with siblings or parents living in Kelang are Encik Ismail, Cikgu Ariff, and Encik Hashim. The parents of Encik Ismail own a house in the Taman. His father is a policeman in Kelang and is close to retirement. Encik Ismail rented a house in the Taman because it was near his parents' house. He lives in the Taman, despite the fact that he and his wife both work in Kuala Lumpur. They have a young son whom they leave with Encik Ismil's parents while they are at work during the day.

Cikgu Ariff has two brothers in the Taman. They all bought houses in the Taman when it was opened for development. Their mother was from Kelang, and they all grew up there. Together with another brother who lives in the kampung proper, they have formed a music band which sometimes performs for weddings or birthday parties. Every Sunday they get together at the oldest brother's house for practice.

Encik Hashim has siblings living in Kelang. His wife also has a sister living there. Both he and his wife were from Selangor but not from Kelang. Encik Hashim does not feel as isolated as some of his neighbors because he has two brothers and a sister living in Kelang with whom he
frequently interacts. His wife also does not feel distant from her kin because she and her sister regularly visited each other’s house.

Visiting was the most common effective contact among kin. Among easily accessible family members, e.g., those living in Kelang or Kuala Lumpur and vicinity, visits were frequently exchanged on weekends, either at the informant’s house or at the house of the kinsman. Visiting was a family affair. For example, when an informant visited his parents or siblings, he always brought his wife and children along. Only when there was a pressing matter which needed discussion or resolution did an individual make an unaccompanied visit to his or her kin. It was uncommon for a married individual to visit alone.

Since most of the Taman informants were not born in Kelang and their kin resided in the home kampung, they saw these kin only when they visited the home kampung. This type of visit is referred to as balik kampung or return to the village. Holidays, legal and religious, are the usual time for balik kampung. School holidays for children are also common periods for this type of visiting. The most important occasion for balik kampung is Hari Raya Puasa, the holiday celebrating the end of the fasting month. At this time practically half of the houses in the Taman are empty because the residents have left to visit their home kampung.

There are other occasions which bring Taman residents back to their home kampung. The birth of a baby is one of these. Malay women prefer to have their babies born in the company of their mother and other relatives. Few women prefer going to the hospital for delivery. Another important occasion which bring informants back to the home kampung is the burial
ceremony for a close kin or keluarga member.

Some informants mentioned land ownership in the home kampung as one of the reasons for balik kampung. A few informants owned land in their home kampung. These pieces of property were sometimes planted with coconut trees, coffee, or another cash crop and were tended by relatives. The informants would return to their kampung to oversee their property. Some informants said that they would like to live on these village properties when they retire. Visit to their land in the home village also gave the informants a chance to visit with kin.

Among those who were far from their kin, separation from the kin group was sometimes a deliberate choice. A few informants expressed the opinion that they preferred living separately from their saudara. They said that having their households live in a separate locality from the saudara was more peaceful and pleasant, lebih aman dan seronok. One informant said that living in close proximity with kin gave occasions for too much familiarity and sometimes occasions for quarrels. Another informant said that when one lives separate from one's saudara and sees them only occasionally, then the saudara are usually more glad to see them, and there is plenty to talk about when visiting time comes around. Some informants implied that they preferred not to share information about personal and family affairs with saudara; that these were reserved for their family or keluarga or for close friends.

Friendship Patterns

Friends can be defined in many ways. Among the Malays there are various degrees of friendship. Friends in general are referred to as
kawan or sahabat. Good friends are kawan baik while close friends are kawan rapat. The distinction among these various categories of friendship is a function of effective contact and intimacy. Good friends are seen very often and one can expect to drop in and visit. Close friendship is manifested by frequent contact, as well as by expectations of assistance when necessary.

Most Malays would refer to their fellow Malays as friends, because they are fellow Muslims. For example, when I started inquiring about friendship many informants said that all their neighbors were friends. Further inquiry into this kind of reference to neighbors revealed the reason. One informant said, fasal kita semua orang Melayu dan berugama Islam, because we are all Malays and followers of Islam. Sharing membership in the same ethnic group and religion ideally implied not only neighborhood but also friendship relationships in the Taman.

Not all fellow Malays are, however, treated the same way nor accorded the same degree of intimacy. Differences among fellow Malays are recognized. This is expressed in the proverb mentioned previously, Rambut sama hitam tetapi hati berlain-lain, we all have black hair but our hearts vary. Because of differences in disposition among fellow Malays, not all of them can be considered as close friends by other Malays. This can be observed from the actual friendship patterns.

Aside from ethnic, religious, and personal factors, other circumstances can influence the formation of close friendship. In my inquiry about friendship patterns I asked informants about the characteristics of three close friends. Since an individual's friends can include countless people,
one way of operationalizing the analysis of friendship patterns is to inquire about the three close friends (Kadushin 1966). For each close friend, kawan rapat, I asked the male informants about the age, occupation, residence, length of time known, mode of acquaintance, and ethnic group membership of the friends. These characteristics were obtained as a basis for describing the structure of friendship of Taman residents in the locality as well as outside the area. These topics also provided data on the recruitment and maintenance of friendship.

There were 387 close friends mentioned by 129 male informants. Thirteen informants did not give the names of their three close friends because they claimed to have no close friends or that they did not distinguish close friends from other friends. For example, one informant said that all his neighbors were his friends, and he could not choose only three among them since they were all equally close to him. The other households not included in this friendship inquiry had no male household head.

Among those who did mention three close friends, most had Malay close friends, and only four informants mentioned non-Malay close friends. Ethnicity, therefore, appears to be a significant characteristic in the close friendship pattern of the informants. Table XVII gives the distribution of close friends given according to the characteristics mentioned above.

The initial acquaintance of the informants with their three close friends included meeting in former neighborhoods, at work, in the current locality, through friends, or while at school. Most of the friends were met either in former neighborhoods (33.3%) or at work (27.5%). Since many of the informants were migrants from other states, and have moved many times
before living in the Taman, they had friends in their home kampung as well as in other localities where they have lived. An example demonstrating: the continuity of friendship from previous neighborhoods up to the time of the research is Encik Kahar from the state of Perlis. Two of his close friends were from his home kampung. He migrated to Selangor before they did. When they also moved to Kuala Lumpur they looked him up and have renewed their friendship with him.

### TABLE XVIII.-- Characteristics and distribution of three close friends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Residence: Kelang</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Kelang</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occupation: Same as informant</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different from informant's</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age: Same age category as informant</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different age category</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Time known: Five years or less</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than five years</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mode of acquaintance: Work</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former neighbor</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current neighborhood</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through friend</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Friends met at work were the result of a common career or occupation; although not necessarily co-workers in the same office or institution. Work related friends were often met in the performance of work. One example illustrating the role of occupation in fostering friendship is Encik Kamarudin, a policeman from Johore. During his police training he became
acquainted with his three close friends who were also trainees at the time. After training they all received their initial assignment to work in Johore. Five years later, two of Encik Kamarudin's friends were transferred to Negri Sembilan. Encik Kamarudin subsequently also was transferred to other assignments. These friends renewed their friendship when Encik Kamarudin was assigned to Kelang. He found two of his close friends there, and the third was assigned to Kuala Lumpur.

Another example is Encik Basri, a clerk at the Land Office. Two of his close friends from work were real estate salesmen registering land sales at the Land Office where Encik Basri was employed. Because of their mutual interests in land transactions, they have become close friends.

About one half of the close friends mentioned lived outside Kelang, while the other half lived in Kelang. Most of the close friends who were not from Kelang lived in Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, Shah Alam, Kajang, and other towns near Kelang. This may be related to the migratory aspect of the informants history, as well as, to the above mentioned pattern of the work place as a significant factor in the formation of friendship. The Kelang Valley area, which extends from Kuala Lumpur to Kelang, has the largest concentration of modern industries and commercial establishments on the peninsula. Workers from all parts of the peninsula have come to this area, and have found housing in different areas of the valley, some in the locality where they work, others in separate localities. Informants who did not work in Kelang were more exposed to residents of other localities in the valley.

Among those with close friends in Kelang, only 20 informants or 15.5 percent had close friends residing in Kampung Kuantan, and the majority of
these close friends were also residents of the Taman. The close friends who were living in Kelang, but not in Kampung Kuantan were mostly residents of other Malay areas and of the port area. Friendship made in the kampung were the result of common residence in the locality. This was reinforced by common participation in community activities i.e., prayers in the mosque or Taman surau, performance of the monthly Rukun Tetangga patrols, and participation in kendiirs for weddings and other ritual occasions. Only a small proportion of the close friends mentioned (15.2%) were from Kampung Kuantan. One reason for this may be the relatively short period of the Taman's existence, so the residents may have not come to know each other very well. Some residents have lived in the Taman for five years (37.4%), others have lived for one year or less (3.2%).

The period of acquaintance between the informant and their close friends ranged from two years to almost forty years. A majority of the close friends (57.9%) have known each other only five years or less, while 42.1 percent have been friends for more than five years. As mentioned above, close friendships among neighbors in the Taman have developed out of long acquaintance in the locality. Most of these informants with close friends in the Taman were owners. Some informants and their close friends were among the first to live in the Taman. One example is Encik Mahmud and two of his close friends who were also neighbors in the Taman. All three were among the first new home owners in the Taman to occupy the first block of houses that were finished. They were also co-members of the committee which petitioned for government assistance when the Taman was threatened with the possibility of non-Malays living there.
Some informants whose close friends lived in the Taman were also former neighbors in the kampung before obtaining housing in the Taman. One example of this is Cikgu Talib. His three close friends were all residents of the Taman. All four were renting houses in Bukit Kuda, a locality adjacent to the kampung, before obtaining housing in the Taman. They all settled in the Taman at about the same time, one year after the Taman was opened.

Many of the close friends enumerated were initially met at work. A majority of the close friends (62.3%) had the same type of occupation as the informants. For example, teachers had other teachers as close friends, and clerks had other clerks as close friends. In many cases the close friend also worked in the same company or institution as the informant. One example is Cikgu Ariff. His three close friends were all secondary school teachers. Two of these were teaching in the same school as he and one of them was a neighbor in the Taman. Some close friends were met initially through former jobs and have maintained friendship with the informants even after the informant or friend had changed jobs. One example is Encik Abdullah, a former police inspector who became a personnel manager for a private firm. Two of his close friends were policemen and the third was a personnel manager in another firm.

The age of the informants did not vary much from their close friends. In general, friendship with men of the same age group was more common than with men of different age categories. For example, men in their twenties formed friendships with other men in their twenties, while men in their forties or older had close friendship with men who were also in their forties or older (76.7%). This pattern is consistent with the traditional
pattern of age groupings, golongan selapis.

Thus it can be seen from the above patterns of friendship characteristics that ethnicity, former residence, work, and length of time known are some factors influencing the formation of close friendships among Taman informants. One important finding in this inquiry about friendship is that few of the informants' close friends were from the locality where they lived. Friends met in other areas and social contexts formed the majority of their close friends. Co-residence in the same locality has not produced close friendships among most Taman residents. Close friendships with non-local individuals is more characteristic among them.

Composition of Social Networks

Social network data was collected from 24 individuals in the Taman. These 24 informants were chosen to represent important differences in the characteristics of Taman male household heads. I used three characteristics in choosing the sub-sample for the network analysis: owner/renter status, birthplace, and occupation. One half of the informants chosen were owners of houses in the Taman, the other half were renters. By birthplace, eight of the informants chosen were born in Kelang, eight were born in Selangor, but not in Kelang, and eight were born outside Selangor. The occupational distribution of the 24 informants is as follows: 4 teachers, 4 clerks, 4 technicians, 4 policemen, 4 professionals, and 4 factory workers. In the original Taman sample, I previously described: one third of the Taman households surveyed were renters, two-thirds were owners; by birthplace, less than one-third were born in Kelang, and over two thirds were born outside Kelang; by occupation, the most typical categories were teachers,
technicians, clerks, policemen, factory workers, traders, and professionals, comprising over 80 percent of the Taman sample (see Table XIX).

Each informant was asked to list the people with whom he interacted very frequently and knew very well. The goal of the listing was to obtain a list of the informants' effective network rather than his extended network (Epstein 1969:111). The residence, occupation, and ego's relationship to his network members were also obtained. When inquiring about the informant's relationship with members of his network, I specifically asked who were kin, neighbors, friends, and co-workers. I also inquired about the informant's usual type of interaction with the network member mentioned, e.g., visiting, casual conversation, business and other instrumental exchanges.

Next I asked the informant about each member of the network and which other member(s) in the network each member knew. This provided data for measuring the density, or degree of interconnectedness of the network members. Each individual in the network was assigned a number, then the numbers were arranged on the horizontal and vertical axes of a matrix, giving each network member a row and column number. A link between the units of the network corresponds to a cell lying at the intersection of the appropriate row and column in the matrix. The data collected and arranged in the method described was used to analyze the structural characteristics of the networks (Barnes 1969, 1972). I also analyzed the types of interaction which the informants reported they usually engaged in with the members of their networks in order to describe the interactional aspects of their social networks and to relate these to the structural characteristics of the
TABLE XIX. -- Distribution of Taman and network analysis samples by selected characteristics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Taman Sample</th>
<th></th>
<th>Network Sample</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelang born</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Kelang born</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policemen</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
networks.

In my use of social network analysis I follow the structuralist perspective rather than the transactional perspective in interpreting the data obtained (Mitchell 1974:284). Thus, I use morphological characteristics of social networks like size, composition, and density to describe the Taman informants' social networks, and to determine the relative importance of kinship and friendship among other categories of relationships. Inference about the sociological importance of social network composition is made through an account of the interactional aspects of the informants' social relationships. These include visiting, work relationships, and the exchange of information, material goods and services.

The social networks of the informants varied in size, ranging from 12 to 109 non-focal network members, i.e., all the network members excluding ego (Cubbitt 1973:75). The average network size was 36.7. These numbers represent the people with whom the informants were in effective contact. They knew other people who were potential interactants. Some informants initially recalled more people but when asked about their current relationships with them, they commented that they had not seen some of them for months. These people who had not been in touch with the informants for the past month or more prior to the interviews were excluded from the listing.

Identifying individuals who were in effective contact with the informant reveals more important information about their social networks. Here I am referring to the composition of the social networks according to the activity fields, the institutionalized base from which the relationships
were recruited (Chrisman 1970:248). In categorizing the non-focal network members according to their activity field in relation to the informants, I used four categories: kinship, friendship, neighborhood, and work. A fifth category voluntary associations, was used for only six informants. Most of the informants did not have voluntary associations as a common activity field among their non-focal network members.

When analyzing the network data according to the activity field of the network members I discovered that there was an overlap in some of the categories. For example, some kinsmen were also neighbors, or some neighbors were also co-workers. The degree of overlap among kin, neighbors, co-workers, and friends was, however, minimal. For the most part, kin, neighbors, co-workers, and friends were mutually exclusive categories. I will elaborate further on the overlap of these categories in discussing the data.

First, I discuss the localization of the informants' social networks. The informants had a range of 0 to 24 neighbors among their non-focal network members, and an average of 9.4 neighbors per informant. Of the total 881 non-focal network members mentioned by the informants, 226 or 25.7 percent were from Kampung Kuantan. The other 74.3 percent lived in Kelang or other towns of Selangor state. Some of the enumerated neighbors included kin and co-workers of the informants. Three informants had kin among their neighbors, while eight informants had co-workers among their neighbors.

Comparing the informants by the proportion of neighbors among their non-focal network members, I found no significant differences between renters and owners, or between those born in Kelang and those born outside Kelang. Among the various occupational categories, however, clerks had the highest propor-
tion of neighbors (42.2%) among the enumerated non-focal network members. The proportion of neighbors among the non-focal network members of teachers, technicians, and professional ranged from 16.9 percent to 27.0 percent.

Next I discuss the composition of the social networks in terms of the activity field or category of relationship within which the informants knew their non-focal network members. Friendship formed the largest activity field among the networks of the informants. Of the total non-focal network members enumerated, 238 or 27 percent were non-local friends of the informants. These were in addition to the neighborhood friends who were classified as "neighbors." Many of these friends were already known to the informants before they moved into the Taman. As I mentioned in the previous section, friends were initially met in the home kampung, in school, in former neighborhoods, and former jobs. There were no significant differences among the informants in the proportion of non-local friends among their network members, although renters had a slightly higher proportion (29.6%) than owners (15.9%).

Co-workers formed the second largest category of relationship among the non-focal members of the networks. The number of co-workers ranged from 0 to 31 among those listed by the informants, with an average of 9.7 co-workers per informant. Co-workers made up 26.4 percent of the total non-focal network members enumerated. Comparing renters with owners, the former informants had twice the proportion of co-workers in their network (30.7%) compared to the latter informants (14.7%). As I mentioned earlier there was an overlap between neighbors and co-workers. Out of the total 226 neighbors listed, 20 were also co-workers.
Non-focal network members based on kin relationships were the least numerous in the informants' social networks, comprising 21.2 percent of the total enumerated. The number of kin included in the social networks of the informants ranged from 0 to 31, with an average of 7.8 kin per informant. Most of the kin listed were of the same generation as the informants', i.e., siblings and cousins. Other kin who were mentioned included parents and affines.

I have so far described the social networks of the informants in terms of their numerical composition and activity field composition. The numbers have shown the size of the total effective network, as well as the size of the membership in the different activity fields. The average size of the networks indicate that the informants had a fairly wide range of contacts not only in the locality, but more so outside the area, three fourths of their non-focal network members were non-residents of Kampung Kuantan. These numbers have significance also for the degree of interconnectedness among members of the network. I elaborate further on the significance of this aspect below.

**Density of Networks**

An important structural aspect of social networks is the density of networks, i.e., the degree of linkage among the units of the network. Barnes (1969:63) has defined density as the proportion of the theoretically possible direct links actually in existence among members of the network. He has measured this in terms of the ratio of actual existing links to the number of possible links. The concept of density is thus a measure of the interconnectedness among the network members.
Interpretation of the meaning of density has taken two forms. On the one hand, it is interpreted as a measure of the potential flow of exchanges of communication, service, and goods (Boissevain 1973). On the other hand, it is used as a measure of the actual social relationships in existence (Barnes 1969). In the former interpretation there are studies which use density to measure the passage of information like rumour or gossip from one person to another and the communication of values and judgments (Epstein 1969, Coleman et al. 1957). Use of the second interpretation is made in studies of the actual exchanges of goods and services. Description of the density of networks is thus a useful indicator of the interconnectedness among members of the network.

Table X provides data on the size and density of the informants' social networks. The densities of individual networks ranged from 16.7 percent to 63.6 percent, with an average density of 35.2 percent. As other studies have noted, the total network densities tend to be low (Boissevain 1973, Cubbit 1973). One of the factors which has been observed to influence the density of networks is their size (Barnes 1969). For example, from Table XVIII, Zaini had 109 non-focal network members and a density of 26.6 percent for his network, while Hashim had 12 non-focal network members and a density of 63.6 percent. The higher the density the more interconnected are the non-focal network members.

Some network analysts have suggested that the relative importance of certain activity fields can influence the structural features of social networks (Boissevain 1968). A network may have low density, or not be interconnected, in its totality, and still be highly interconnected in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Number of non-focal network members</th>
<th>Number of network links</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rimbun</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaini</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idris</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majid</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafai</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokhtar</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaafar</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusof</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>62.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informantt</td>
<td>Number of non-focal network members</td>
<td>Number of network links</td>
<td>Density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukarman</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohd. Arbi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwar</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussin</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osman</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohd. Noh</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hashim</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
parts (Epstein 1961, Cubbit 1973). Boissevain (1968) has noted that the relative importance of an activity field, e.g. kinship or friendship, is shown by the greater connectedness within that sector of the social network. Cubbitt (1973) followed up on this idea, recommending looking for the sectors with high density in a network and examining why some parts or sectors have greater density than others. She further speculates that those members of the network with the same type of links to ego are likely to have high density and that where there is some overlap between sectors of the network, a higher density may occur. By looking at the density of the different sectors of the network in relation to the whole network, the relative importance of certain sectors may be gauged and their sociological importance inferred.

Table XXI gives the numerical composition and densities of various sectors of the 24 social networks collected. I delineated four sectors in the social networks of the informants, categorized according to the activity field from which the members were recruited: neighborhood, kinship, work, and friendship. The density of each sector was calculated utilizing the same formula used in the calculation of density of the total effective network, i.e., the ratio of actual existing links to the number of possible links. Among the four sectors, the neighborhood sector showed the highest average density (65.0%), and the friendship sector had the lowest average density (32.0%). The kinship (56.4%) and work (52.6%) sectors had similar average density.

Compared to the density of the total effective networks of the informants, the sector densities were much higher. This was due to the smaller
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Number of kin sector members</th>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Number of neighborhood sector members</th>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Number of work sector members</th>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Number of friendship sector members</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jafar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmid</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86.7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokhtar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahamed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majid</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
<td>86.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaini</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>95.8%</td>
<td>95.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimun</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informants</td>
<td>Number of kin sector members</td>
<td>Density</td>
<td>Number of neighborhood sector members</td>
<td>Density</td>
<td>Number of work sector members</td>
<td>Density</td>
<td>Number of friendship sector members</td>
<td>Density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohd. Noh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hashim</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohd. Noh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72.2%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hashim</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XXI. (continued)
size of the network sectors, as well as to the nature of the interconnectedness in the sectors. In some sectors there were more links than in others, e.g. neighborhood and kinship. The non-focal members of each sector in the networks also shared a similar type of link to ego, i.e., as kinsman, neighbors, or friend.

The neighborhood sector showed the highest average density because neighbors of ego were more likely to know each other than non-local friends of ego. In the Taman the population was relatively small and the houses were linked to each other in blocks. Neighbors in adjacent houses and blocks of houses were likely to know each other as a result of religious, political, and other meetings which provided the Taman residents with opportunities for interaction.

It might be expected that the kinship sector densities would be high, since ego's kin are likely to know each other. This is not the case, however, since some of the informants' kin did not know one another or had no contact with each other. Among the non-focal kinship sector members there were siblings, cousins, affines, parents, and other distant relatives of the informants. In some cases, cousins and affines of ego did not know one another, or some siblings and cousins of ego did not have effective contact as far as the informant knew. The genealogical distance of the kin to ego, thus had some influence on the interconnectedness of the kin sector. The more distant the genealogical link, the fewer linkages in the kinship sector.

The work sector followed neighborhood and kinship in the average density of the sectors. Most of the work sector non-focal network members
enumerated by the informants were co-workers in the same office, company, or school. Some of them, however, were individuals who did not work in the same office or company, but were encountered by ego in the performance of his work. In the former case there was a higher rate of linkage among non-focal members than in the latter. For example, a teacher informant had many other teachers in his work sector, while a clerk in a land office had clerks and land salesmen in his work sector. In the case of the teachers, they all were acquainted with each other. In the clerk's case, the clerks knew each other, but the other clerks did not necessarily know the land salesmen known by ego.

The friendship sector had the lowest average density among the four sectors of the social networks. The friends included in this sector for analysis were friends of the informants who were neither neighbors nor co-workers. As mentioned in the previous section, the informants' friends were recruited from different situations: the home kampung, former jobs, schools, and former neighborhoods. Thus, the likelihood of an individual's friends knowing one another was smaller, as reflected in the lower average density of the friendship sector in informants' social networks.

Comparing the informants according to the sector density of social networks, I found some differences in the ranking of sectors among owner informants and renter informants. Table XXI gives the data for this part of the analysis. For renter informants the sector of greatest density was neighborhood, followed by work, then kinship, and finally friendship. In addition to this, renters had higher sector average density than owners in the neighborhood, work, and friendship sectors. Owners had higher
average sector density for kinship than renters.

The differences in sector densities among owners and renters may have been due to the size of the sectors, if one recalls the previously mentioned relationship between density and network size noted by Barnes (1969), i.e., the smaller the size the higher the density. I examined the average numbers per sector and compared them with the average sector densities to test this relationship. I found that the observed relationship did not follow except in the case of the neighborhood sector, where the smaller average number for the renters resulted in a slightly higher average density (85.3%) than that of the owners (64.7%) who had a higher average number of members for the sectors (10.6). For the kinship, work, and friendship sectors the lower average numbers per sector also had lower densities when comparing renters and owners. Table XXII summarizes the results of this comparison.

Table XXII.—Average number of sector members and average sector density.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Average Number</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Average Density</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Average Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I would interpret these sector patterns as follows. For owners, kinship had more significance in their social networks than work, friend-
ship or neighborhood, as evidenced by the large average number of members and higher average density of the kinship sector. For renters, work and non-local friends had greater significance than kinship in their social networks. In the neighborhood sector, owners had a higher average number of members and a lower average density than renters in this sector. This means that renters had more interconnectedness among their neighborhood friends than owners who had a wider range of neighbors but less interconnectedness among them.

I observed other differences in the sector densities of the social networks when comparisons were made according to the birthplace and occupation of the informants. Informants born in Selangor state but not in Kelang, had higher average kin sector density (85.5%) than those born in Kelang (37.7%) and those born outside the state of Selangor (47.3%). Informants born in Kelang had lower average work sector density (36.0%) than those born outside Kelang (54.7%). Among the various occupational groups, technicians had the lowest average neighborhood sector density (37.4%), while professionals had the highest average neighborhood sector density (81.7%). These differences are not statistically significant and thus only indicate certain trends in the structure of the social networks of the informants which are continually changing.

**Interactional Characteristics of Social Networks**

The importance of certain activity fields in the social networks of the informants has been identified in terms of numerical composition and density. The next step is a discussion of the interactional aspects of informants' social networks which include the qualitative aspects of the
informants' relationships with other members of their social networks.

For the analysis of the interactional characteristics of the social networks I examined each sector of the social networks and categorized the relationships of the informants with the members of each sector. Four types of interactions were identified among those mentioned by the informants in describing their relationships with non-focal network members. These are visiting, conversation, instrumental activities, and work.

These categories of interaction may be referred to as exchange relations between the informants and non-focal members of the networks. They involve exchange of information, affect, services, and sometimes material goods. Visiting was an activity which was frequently exchanged between informants and their network members, either at the informant's house or at the non-focal network member's house. Some of the terms used by the informants to refer to these visits were mengunjungi or to visit, and urusan keluarga or family activity. Under the category of conversations I have included casual talk at chance or everyday meetings, jumpa biasa, in the Taman or other locations, and special conversations which are purposive or task-oriented in nature. In the latter category are conversations in the surau, at meetings, or even in homes to discuss particular topics, e.g. installation of lights at the surau, collection of tithes, or garbage collection in the Taman. Instrumental activities included exchange of material goods and services, e.g. money, food, watching children, or car repair. Work refers to interaction in the work place, e.g. at the school, office, or factory. Informants referred to these situations as urusan kerja or work related activity, satu pekerjaan or same work, and satu peja-
Table XXIII gives the number of non-focal network members from each network sector who usually interacted with the informants in the specified category. The percentages refer to the proportion of non-focal network members from the total for that activity field. For example, there were 118 non-focal network members, or 63.1 percent, of the total (187) kin sector, who had visiting relations with the informants. In some cases there were non-focal network members who had one or more types of interaction with the informants, thus proportions do not add up to 100 percent. For example, some kin sector members had visiting and instrumental exchange relations with the informants. These were then included in the tallies for the two types of interactions in the same activity field.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction</th>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>Neighbor</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Friendship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(63.1%)</td>
<td>(26.1%)</td>
<td>(28.3%)</td>
<td>(68.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46.1%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(35.2%)</td>
<td>(60.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11.7%)</td>
<td>(15.0%)</td>
<td>(19.3%)</td>
<td>(21.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.1%)</td>
<td>(8.8%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table XXII shows that visiting was more characteristic among the informants' kinship and non-local friends than among neighbors and co-workers. In the interviews many informants said that they usually visited only with kin and close friends. It was not their common practice to visit with neighbors and co-workers, although some informants did visit with some co-workers who were very close friends.

Casual conversation was more prevalent with neighbors and friends than with kin and co-workers. This type of interaction usually took place in Taman gatherings or out in the streets of the Taman, as well as in public places. Jumpa biasa or casual encounters was one frequent referent of the informants to this type of interaction. They talked to neighbors, but more often outside their houses. Entry into houses, such as on a visit, required certain formalities which most people did not want to go through, so they just talked outside their houses. Provencher (1972:71) has also noted the separate behavioral regions Malays have and the formalities involved for each. Unless it was a very personal matter, the informants said that they did not converse with neighbors inside their houses. Casual visiting with neighbors, at least for men, was not usual.

Instrumental exchange was not as prevalent in the informants' relationships with their non-focal network members. Only 152, or 17.3 percent, of the non-focal network members had instrumental exchange relationships with the informants. More friends than kin or neighbors were involved with the informants in such exchanges. Co-workers were next in the proportion of non-focal network members with whom the informants had instrumental types of interactions.
The kinds of instrumental relations between the informants and their network members involved material exchanges as well as services. They were either partners in part-time businesses, such as an electrical repair shop, or construction firm, or the friends and co-workers were agents for the informants in their kutu business. I have described these activities in Chapter V. Services included help in finding houses or even jobs, tutoring children for examinations, and repairing appliances. Some informants helped friends or co-workers meet other individuals who could be of help in solving problems, e.g. an informant introduced one of his friends to a neighbor who was good at cooking for kenduris.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the kinship, friendship, and social networks of the Taman residents in the context of urbanization. The description and analysis shows that the Malays in the Taman participate in various spheres of social relationships found in the urban system. There is no single encapsulating institution in the social relationships of the informants. Their social networks include kinsmen, neighbors, friends, and co-workers who are from within the locality as well as from outside the locality where they live.

The friendship patterns and social network composition of the Taman residents show that they are not encapsulated in the urban kampung. The Taman is but the residential base from which they develop relationships which ramify more extensively outside their locality. Only one fourth of the network members of the sample of Taman residents were from the locality.
Although the social networks of the Taman informants included various categories of relationships, some were more significant than others. This is shown by the difference between kin and non-kin relationships and the relative significance of each in the social networks. Non-kinship relationships like those based on friendship and work make up the greatest proportion of the informants' social networks. Because of the past mobility of the informants, they did not have as many kin available in the locality or the town. Those kin who were available were relatively scattered and loosely connected with each other.

The relative significance of certain types of relationships was shown by the composition and density of social networks, and by the density of network sectors. In general, the neighborhood sector showed the highest average density, or interconnectedness, because neighbors of the informants were more likely to know each other and interact with each other. Next to neighbors, the kinsmen, co-workers, and friends of the informants followed in the degree of interconnectedness of the members. This ranking of the various categories of relationships shows the relative significance of each category.

A comparison of the informants' social networks showed that some differences existed between owners and renters in terms of the ranking of the various categories of relationships. For owners, kinship had more significance in their social networks than work, friendship or neighborhood. For renters, work and non-local friends had greater significance than kinship.

The interactional characteristics of the social networks supplement
the findings of the structural analysis which ranked the significance of certain types of relationships. While visiting was more characteristic of relationships with kin and non-local friends than with neighbors and co-workers; instrumental exchanges of services and material goods were more common among friends and co-workers than with kin and neighbors. These patterns are additional indicators of the growing significance of non-kin, specifically friends and co-workers in the social relationships of Taman Malays.

The limitations imposed by geographical distance on the kinship relationships of the Taman Malays also influence the structure and relationships within the household. Most of the Taman households were of the nuclear family type. This is similar to the pattern found among other urban households in Malaysia. Some households in the Taman have other kin members in addition to the nuclear family. These additions are indications of certain adjustments to urban conditions if both the husband and wife are working. These additions provide supportive functions for the household, e.g. assistance in child care.

Within the household the traditional roles of the husband and wives are still followed. It is within the context of these traditional roles that certain changes are occurring in response to conditions of urban living. For example, roles pertaining to the financial support of the family, running of the household, and child care tend to be shared by both husband and wife. This is unlike the traditional pattern which separated these roles between the husband and wife. The absence of easily accessible extra-household kin in the urban areas accounts, in part for the greater sharing of decisions between husband and wife in running the household.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This study of a middle-class Malay locality described the effects of social cohesion and differentiation on the participation of Taman Malays in their urban environment. I have shown that the ethnic community is the primary institutional framework for the participation of urban Malays. Using data from a sample of Taman residents I have described the various social linkages of Taman Malays and analyzed the associational activities in the locality. In this concluding chapter I summarize the major findings of the study and relate the main contributions.

The discussion of Malay participation in urban areas was introduced by a description of the urbanization background on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Malay participation was described in the context of an urban environment where ethnic stratification is a major condition. I showed that the minority position of Malays in urban areas is a result of colonial policy and practice which channeled ethnic groups to different sectors of economic activity. This was shown to be true for the town of Kelang. My description of the ethnic patterns in Kelang show the minority position of Malays relative to the non-Malays.

An initial finding of this study is that although Malays are a minority in urban areas, they are a majority on the national political scene. This paradoxical situation guides the progress of Malays in urban
areas. Since the Malays are perceived as the group which needs assistance in order to catch up with the other ethnic groups, they are being given special treatment by the government. This is a situation which encourages the dependency of Malays on government for their development.

The government has formulated programs to assist Malay participation in urban areas and national development. These are embodied in the New Economic Policy which seeks to correct the imbalances in the relationships of the various ethnic groups. One of the goals of the New Economic Policy is the promotion of Malay urbanization. Malays are being encouraged to move to urban areas and participate in the urban economy.

Given the context of a pluralistic environment wherein ethnic politics characterize most transactions, migrant Malays utilize their ethnic privileges as a means of gaining a foothold in the urban environment. Government policies and assistance for Malays in town concerning employment, commerce, and housing are examples of the kinds of assistance which migrant Malays can obtain when they settle in town. There are government regulations reserving Malay quotas for certain positions in government institutions and in private industries. Commercial premises are provided by the government for Malays in town and loans for business operations have also been made available for qualified Malays. Some of the informants in the study benefitted from these opportunities by obtaining the rights to operate their businesses in government built commercial stalls. The low cost housing project in the locality studied was taken over by the government for Malays.

The Taman Kampung Kuantan Malays are unique in at least one way. They are part of the new trend in internal migration in modern Malaysia. This
new trend is characterized by urban to urban movement rather than the classic rural to urban migration. Most of the Taman residents, two-thirds, lived in other urban areas before moving to the Taman. This aspect of their geographical mobility has greatly influenced their economic and social participation in Kelang.

When Malays move to urban areas, from rural or other urban districts, they usually settle in urban kampungs rather than other parts of a town. There are two main reasons for this preference for urban kampung living. One is that the urban kampung provides the exclusiveness which allows Malays to maintain their ethnic life-style and institutions without any disruption from other groups. Malays, for example, feel more comfortable living among fellow Malays than in mixed neighborhoods; they prefer to live close to a mosque or prayer house.

Another reason for living in an urban kampung is that housing costs in the urban kampung are cheaper compared to housing outside the kampung. Most Malays in urban areas belong to middle and low income groups and can not afford other, more expensive types of housing. They rely, in many cases, on government assistance for their housing needs.

The construction of Taman Kampung Kuantan is a case in point which shows Malay attitudes about the urban kampung, as well as the government's paternal treatment of the Malays. When the Taman was started by a private corporation, the owners had intended to open the development to non-Malays. The Malays in the kampung objected to having more non-Malays live in their kampung. They requested the government to buy the development and limit its occupation to Malays. By acting on the request of the kampung people, the
government helped keep the ethnic exclusiveness of the development. Taman Kampung Kuantan is exceptional in the sense that it may be the last government built housing project in Selangor constructed exclusively for one ethnic group. The government is building more housing projects but they are intended for all Malaysians.

The occupations of Taman residents give an indication of their economic participation in their urban environment. The types of occupations they hold are a result of the occupational opportunities open to Malays in town, as well as the education and training they have brought with them. Most Taman Malays do not have more than secondary school education and have few technical skills. Those who were born and grew up during the colonial period had few opportunities for education. Data from the Taman Malays support the structural hypothesis explaining the economic inequalities in Malaysia, as far as the occupational characteristics are concerned. Most of the Taman male informants' occupations coincide with the established types of Malay occupations in town - clerks, teachers, policemen, and traders. These do not show significant change from the occupational patterns of Malays in town during the colonial period. To survive in the urban area, migrant Malays secure the jobs that are available to them in the occupational opportunity structure of the town. Since they do not have much education, they have obtained jobs that are already established for Malays in town.

They are not lacking in aspirations. Some of the informants who have been fortunate in obtaining university or technical education have found work in managerial, administrative, and technical positions in government or industry. The data from the Taman suggest that they are not content to
limit themselves to ethnically defined or ascribed economic activities and opportunities. Some of the informants engaged in part-time or full-time entrepreneurial activities to improve their economic status.

One of the main themes of this study is to show that ethnic institutions are the primary institutional framework for the participation of Malays in urban areas. I discussed the activities of associations in the Taman to illustrate this theme. Five types of associations were established in the Taman: political, religious, welfare, security, and women's. I have suggested that these associations perform three functions for the Taman residents. First, they provide the organization and expression of specific interests in the locality. The welfare association in the Taman, for example, organized the Taman residents into an association which took care of the burial needs of the residents; the Rukun Tetangga managed the neighborhood security concerns of the locality by providing patrols at night. Second, they serve as the communication link between the Taman and the wider society for issues about which the particular association was concerned. Since four of the six associations in the locality were local branches of national organizations they received communications of issues which the parent organization wanted local branches to know. For example, the political organization UMNO informed the Taman and kampung people about current political issues which affected Malays. Third, they provide the arena for recognition of leaders in the locality. Most of the active and articulate residents of the Taman became the heads of the associations, or members of the various committees which organized the activities of the associations.
The three functions of associations observed in Taman Kampung Kuantan do not fully support the "functional view of voluntary associations" suggested by Little (1965) which emphasize the instrumental role of associations in the adaptation of rural to urban migrants. Voluntary associations help Taman Malays adjust to their urban environment not by providing assistance for their material needs, but by assisting them to express their ethnic identity and interests. The Taman associations serve as mechanisms for reminding the residents that they are Muslim Malays. They facilitate interaction with one's own people and give status recognition to local leaders.

Taman associations are different from the tribal and regional associations described by Meillasoux (1968) in Africa or Doughty (1970) and Jongkind (1974) in Peru. The Taman associations do not have regional criteria. Doughty supports Little's view of associations by citing the integrative function of associations in recreating provincial life in the city. Jongkind rejects Doughty's suggestion that associations alleviate the problems experienced by migrants in their confrontation with city life. He observes that associations in Peru are only a means for showing off prestige among members.

By facilitating the expression of ethnic interests, the Taman associations perform a service Anderson and Anderson (1962:369) have conceptualized as the "replicate social structure" or the "adapted organization of traditional institutionalized groups to articulate with one another and with a modern bureaucracy." For example, UMNO and its leaders in the locality have served as the communication link between the locality and
the government bureaucracy in obtaining help for improving physical facilities in the Taman.

There is a reciprocal relationship between the local residents and the government via the vertical connections of association leaders. Through the associations government policies and interests filter down to the local Malays. In exchange for supporting government policy, the Malays receive assistance when they request it through their leaders. In this way the associations bridge the gap between the locality and government bureaucracy. This is important in a multi-ethnic country like Malaysia where ethnicity is almost always a significant factor in obtaining government assistance.

In contrast to the group cohesion of the Taman residents in dealing with outside groups or agencies, the social participation of individual residents do not indicate a strong community orientation. Within the Taman community there is an indication of the declining significance of neighborhood ties among urban Malays. This is shown by the differential involvement of the Taman residents with their neighbors. The stratification of the residents based on ownership or rental of houses, relative social status, and standards of living determined the interaction of the residents with their neighbors. Owners were more committed to living in the Taman and thus had more involvement in local activities. Renters were considered to be transients and lacked commitment to the neighborhood. Differential social status limited contact among neighbors. The leadership pattern in the locality was also influenced by relative status. Persons with education or high occupations were usually depended on for leadership and were
frequently involved in local decision-making activities for the Taman, while common clerks and factory workers were not. Social distance was created among some neighbors because of relative social status and differential possession of material wealth.

Those who obtained leadership positions among the Taman residents, e.g., teachers and religious functionaries, were also the same type of individuals who occupied traditional leadership roles. As Bador (1973) suggests, there is a persistence of traditional values in the leadership patterns of Malays. In his study, he observes that there is a continuity of traditional class and status distinctions among Malays in Perak. Husin Ali (1964) suggests that although new forms of leadership have emerged in Malay village society to accommodate political and economic changes, traditional leadership roles were often retained intact, sometimes with new functions but in traditional form. This retention of traditional values in leadership roles supports the view that tradition is not inimical to change but rather "a springboard from which change may occur and a base to which the members of the society may refer" (Manderson 1980:9).

This observation about tradition and change also applies to the interpersonal relations of Taman Malays. Provencher (1972) has noted the traditional character of Malay behavior in Kuala Lumpur, arguing that it is an intensification of rural patterns. Clarke (1976) takes issue with this argument and suggests that the urbanism of Malays is not a reduplication of rural life. In his view the difference between rural and urban patterns of Malay relationships lies in the expression of recipro-
city, in rural areas reciprocity is based on similarities, but in urban areas it is based on differences in occupation and access to resources; reciprocity is created in associations within the neighborhood. The findings of this study do not completely agree with Clarke's (1976:449) conclusion that it is in the neighborhood and among members of the local group that urban Malays establish a community of their fellow urbanites. Among Taman Malays, the conditions of urban migration have directed social interaction from a locality based pattern to a network type which cross-cuts social and locality boundaries. Although the urban kampung is the residential base from which they establish associations with fellow Malays, Taman Malays have more important relationships outside the locality. The majority of the members of the social networks of the Taman informants were made up of non-local Malays. Thus it can be argued that the traditional pattern of neighborhood relationships is only the base from which Taman Malays experience some changes in their social relationships.

Geographic mobility and occupations have greatly influenced the social relationships of Taman Malays as manifested in their social networks. For example, their close friends came from former neighborhoods, work, and Kampung Kuantan in that order. Friendships that were developed in other areas or at work were more numerous than those in the locality. The interactional aspects of the social networks also indicate more significant relationships with non-local members than with local members. For example, visiting was more characteristic of relationships with kin and non-local friends than with neighbors and co-workers; instrumental exchanges of
services and material goods were more characteristic of relationships with non-local friends and co-workers than with neighbors.

As migrants to a new locality most of the Taman residents do not have many kin with whom to interact in the town. Non-kinship relationships make up a large proportion of the members of the Taman informants' social networks since few kin are available for interaction. As a result of this external constraint, the Taman residents have limited interaction with extra-household kin, which usually takes the form of periodic visits. Household members were the main source of kinship interaction in the locality for most of the Taman informants.

Within the Taman residents' households some changes are manifested in the structure of households and in the roles of husbands and wives. The nuclear family type of household is the most common domestic arrangement among Taman Malays. Kin additions to this type are seen in the supplemented nuclear family household which includes unmarried siblings or cousins of either spouse, and extended family household which includes parents and one or more of their unmarried children. The additions to the nuclear family provide supportive functions for the household, especially where both husband and wife work, e.g., parents of the couple or siblings help in child care.

There is greater sharing of activities and decisions within the household between the husband and wife. Traditionally there was a separation of activities between husband and wife, with the husband being responsible for the financial support of the household and the wife had the
responsibilities of caring for the house and children. In the urban setting the possibility of the wife working to support the household, alone or with the husband, have brought changes in the traditional role of husband and wife. The separation from other kin have also influenced the adjustments within the Taman households as far as activities like child care are concerned.

To summarize, the arguments of this study are as follows. It is suggested that ethnic institutions, symbolized by the urban kampung, are the primary institutional framework for the participation of Taman Malays in urban areas. They are the main source of group cohesion in the locality, as well as the mechanisms for representing the interests of the group to outside groups and government agencies. The economic participation of urban Malays are limited by structural constraints which are slowly being removed by government programs which assist Malay development.

The urban kampung plays a dual role in the urban participation of Malays. On the one hand, it provides a stable settlement area for Malays in situations where housing and other urban amenities are difficult to obtain. On the other hand, settlement in an urban kampung encourages segregation by enhancing the distinctiveness of the Malays as a group in a pluralistic urban environment.

Living within the confines of an urban kampung encourage the persistence of traditional patterns of Malay ethnicity. Traditional patterns, however, serve only as the base from which changes can occur. Migrant Malays, like those in Taman Kampung Kuantan, bring with them other urban
experiences and social linkages which influence the extent of their participation in the locality. They are not limited to their locality in forming social relationships. Thus the social networks of the Taman residents indicate a decline in the significance of the neighborhood in the social relationships of urban Malays.

Within the Taman there are stratificational differences which encourage social distance among the residents. Among these are occupation, ownership or rental of houses, and relative social status. These differences only serve to break the encapsulating influence of the Malay urban kampung, and encourage the participation in extra-local relationships.

It was hypothesized at the beginning of this study that stratificational differences may conflict with the claimed monolithic unity of Malay ethnicity. This hypothesis is not supported by the Taman data. The Taman residents are still organized vertically to the government by a series of community institutions which protect their interests. The heterogeneity of the Taman population does not reflect the kind of class division which Evers (1978a) and Stenson (1976) envision for the Malays which can override ethnic unity and promote class conflict. Furthermore, the Taman Malays represent a middle income group. They are among the protected groups in the current national policy thinking. As such it is in their interest to support the ethnic policies of the government which is supporting their development in urban areas.

This study focused mainly on intra-ethnic relationships of Taman Malays because the local relationships of the group studied do not show
too many inter-ethnic ties. The social networks of the sample studied indicate only minimal inter-ethnic involvement in the non-local ties of the Taman Malays. As Malays get increasingly involved in commercial and other urban activities, inter-ethnic relations will have greater significance in their urban system of relationships. The study of these inter-ethnic relationships is thus needed to understand more fully the extra-local relations of urban Malays which this study has only briefly touched on. The participation of Malays in urban areas include not only local ties in the urban kampung but also extensive contacts with Malays and non-Malays in other urban localities.
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Glossary

adat: custom, e.g., adat resam or customary behavior
anak: child, e.g., anak angkat or adopted child
bahasa: language, e.g. bahasa daerah or dialect
bang: signal to break the daily fast during the fasting month
bapak: father
belia: youth
bilal: mosque functionary who calls people to prayer, also prepares dead for burial
bomoh: medicine man
ceramah: seminar or discussion
chegu: term of reference and address for school teachers
dakwah: religious mission
datuk: honorific term for men with rank, e.g., policemen
doa selamat: prayer for blessings in a gathering
emak: mother
encik: mister, e.g. Encik Jaafar or Mr. Jaafar
gerakan: a grouping or movement, sometimes political in nature
gotong-royong: community self-help cooperation
halus: refined
Hari Raya Puasa (Idil Fitri): holiday marking end of the fasting month
hati: literally liver, reference to heart
ipar: same generation affines
imam: religious leader
jawatankuasa: committee
jiran: neighbor
kampung: village
kasar: coarse, unrefined
kaum: grouping of people, e.g., kaum ibu or mother's group
kawan: friend
kedai: store, e.g., kedai runcit or provision shop
keluarga: family
kenduri: feast
kerja: work, e.g., kerja amal or good works, kerja kampung or farm work
kerjasama: cooperative work
kerani: clerk
ketua: elder or head, e.g., ketua kampung or village head
keturunan: descent
khairat kematian: burial association
lebai: religious person about to make pilgrimage to Mecca
main kutu: "play" kutu, grouping which acquires certain goods together and pay through instalments
makan gaji: wage labor
masuk Melayu: to become Malay
menantu: one generation lower affine
mertua: parents of spouse
mukim: a geo-political division within a district
nasi-lemak: a cooked rice delicacy eaten in the morning
orang: people, e.g., oran berniaga or people who trade
pahala: merit or grace
pangaroh: influence
pangkat: status, e.g., orang berpangkat or people with status
pasar: market, e.g., pasar malam or night market
pemimpin: leader
penghulu: head of a mukim
sahabat: close friend
saudara: kin group, relatives
sederhana: moderate
sepak raga: a Malay ball game, also sepak takro
serba nika: variety of dry goods
sharahan: religious lecture
sungai: river
surau: prayer house
suasta: private sector
taman: literally garden, term of reference for mass housing projects
tauliah: letter of appointment from the Sultan
tawkeh: capitalist, proprietor, owner
tolong-menolong: reciprocal help
raja: royal title
Rukun Tetangga: literally neighborhood principle, a security organization
ustaz: religion teacher
APPENDIX I

TAMAN KAMPUNG KUANTAN SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Date:

Address:

Name:

1. Where were you born?

2. Where was your wife born?

3. When did you move into this house?

4. Where did you live before moving into this house?
   Please give the name of the locality, state, how long you lived in each place, whether you owned or rented, and why you left?

5. Is this your own house or do you rent?

6. Who are the residents in this house?
   Please give the names, sex, age, and relationship to you.

7. How many people work in this house?
   Please give the names, type of work, and place of work.

8. What is your monthly income?

9. What was your highest educational attainment?

10. What was your wife's highest educational attainment?
11. What was your father's education?

12. What was your father's occupation?

13. Do you have the following kinsmen living in this locality?
If not, where do they live?

- Parents:
- Siblings:
- Cousins:
- Parents' siblings:
- Nephews/nieces:
- Wife's parents:
- Wife's siblings:
- Wife's other relatives:

14. Why did you choose to live in this area?

15. Are you a member of any association in this area?
Which ones?

16. Do you belong to any other association?
What are they?

17. Could you please tell me about your three close friends?
What are their names?
For each one: How old is he/she?

- Where does he/she live?
- What is his/her occupation?
- How did you make his/her acquaintance?
- Where did you make his/her acquaintance?
- How long have you known him/her?
missed in numbering
1. MARA commercial premises for Malays.

2. Traditional Malay house.
3. Provision shop in the Taman.

4. Government built housing project in the kampung.
5. Community hall and indoor badminton court.

6. Kampung leaders in a children's program.
7. Prayer house inside the Taman.

8. Religion class for children.
9. Women's Institute meeting.

10. Cooking class for kampung women.
11. Kor'an reading session.


14. Malay food vendor in town.